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**DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN FILOLOGIA
E STORIA DEL MONDO ANTICO
XXVI CICLO**

ARTEMIS AND VIRGINITY IN ANCIENT GREECE

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Dedication:

To S & J with love and gratitude.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS: ANCIENT AUTHORS AND WORKS

Ael.	Aelianus
<i>NA</i>	<i>De natura animalium</i>
<i>VH</i>	<i>Varia Historia</i>
Aesch.	Aeschylus
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>Cho.</i>	<i>Choephoroe</i>
<i>Eum.</i>	<i>Eumenides</i>
<i>PV</i>	<i>Prometheus Vincetus</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Septem contra Thebas</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>
Alc.	Alcaeus
Alcm.	Alcman
Ammon.	Ammonius grammaticus
Andoc.	Andocides
<i>Anecd. Bekk.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca, ed. I. Bekker, 3 vols. (1814-21)</i>
<i>Anecd. Ox.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. Bibl. Oxon., ed. J. A. Cramer 4 vols. (1835-7)</i>
<i>Anecd. Par.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Parisiensis, J. A. Cramer (ed.), 4 vols. (1839-41)</i>
Ant. Lib.	Antoninus Liberalis
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Anth. Pal. (AP)</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
Ap. Rhod,	Apollonius Rhodius
<i>Argon.</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
Apollod.	Apollodorus mythographus
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome</i>
Apollonius	Apollonius paradoxographus
<i>Mir.</i>	<i>Mirabilia</i>
Apul.	Apuleius
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Ar.	Aristophanes
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Equites</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>
<i>Pax</i>	<i>Pax</i>
<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus</i>
<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae</i>
<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>
Ar. Byz.	Aristophanes Byzantinus
Archil.	Archilochus
Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athēnaiōn Politeia</i>
<i>De. an.</i>	<i>De anima</i>

<i>Div. somn.</i>	<i>De divinatione per somnia</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
<i>Gen. an.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>
<i>Gen. corr.</i>	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>
<i>Hist. an.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>
[<i>Mir. ausc.</i>]	<i>See Mir. ausc. Under M</i>
<i>Part. an.</i>	<i>De partibus animalium</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>
<i>Sens.</i>	<i>De sensu</i>
Arr.	Arrian
<i>Tact.</i>	<i>Tactica</i>
Ath.	Athenaeus
Athenagoras	Athenagoras
<i>Leg. pro Chrst.</i>	<i>Legatio pro Christianis,</i>
<i>Auct. ad Her.</i>	<i>Auctor ad Herennium</i>
August.	Augustine
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessions</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Aul. Gell.	See Gell.
Bacchyl.	<i>Bacchylides (ed. B. Snell and H. Maehler, 1970)</i>
Basil.	Basilius,
<i>De virg.</i>	<i>De virginitate</i>
Callim.	Callimachus
<i>Hymn 2</i>	<i>Hymn to Apollo</i>
<i>Hymn 3</i>	<i>Hymn to Artemis</i>
<i>Hymn 4</i>	<i>Hymn to Delos</i>
<i>Hymn 5</i>	<i>Hymn to Athena</i>
<i>Hymn 6</i>	<i>Hymn to Demeter</i>
Cato,	Cato
<i>Agr. Orig.</i>	<i>De agricultura or De re rustica Origines</i>
Cic.	Cicero (Marcus Tullius)
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De divinatione</i>
<i>Nat. D.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus
<i>Paed.</i>	<i>Paedagogus</i>
<i>Protr.</i>	<i>Protrepticus</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromateis</i>
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
Columella, <i>Rust.</i>	<i>Columella, De re rustica</i>
	<i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, ediderunt E.L. Leutsch et F. G. Schneidewin. Gottingae. Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1839-1851.</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
Dem.	Demosthenes
<i>De cor.</i>	<i>De corona</i>
Democr.	Democritus

<i>De vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus (auctor ignotus)</i>
Diehl, <i>Anth. Lyr. Graec.</i>	E. Diehl, <i>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</i> (1925; 2nd ed. 1942; 3rd ed. 1949-52)
Dio Cass.	Dio Cassius
Dio Chrys.	Dio Chrysostomus
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
	<i>De clarorum philosophorum vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus (Olympiodorus, Ammonius, Iamblichus, Porphyry, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plotinus et Isidorus). A. Westermann (Ed.)(1862). Paris: Didot.</i>
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius Halicarnassensis
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>De Demosthene</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>De Lysia</i>
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Ars rhetorica</i>
Epicharm.	<i>Epicharmus. G. Kaibel, Comicorum graecorum fragmenta</i> (1958 [1899-])
<i>Epigr. Gr.</i>	<i>G. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> (1878)
Epiph. <i>Adv. haeres.</i>	<i>Epiphanius, Adversus haereses</i>
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes
<i>Etym. Magn.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>
<i>Cyc.</i>	<i>Cyclops</i>
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>
<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helena</i>
<i>HF</i>	<i>Hercules furens</i>
<i>Heracl.</i>	<i>Heraclidae</i>
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>
<i>IT</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>
Euseb.	Eusebius
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronica</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Praep. evang.</i>	<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>
<i>Vit. Const.</i>	<i>Vita Constantini</i>
Eust.	Eusthatius
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Ad Iliadem</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Ad Odysseam</i>
FHG	<i>K. Müller, Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i>

		(FHG) 4. Paris: Didot, 1848-1874
FGrH		F. Jacoby. <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (1923-)
Gell.		Aulus Gellius
	NA	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Harp.		Harpocration
Hdt.		Herodotus
Heraclid. Pont.		Heraclides Ponticus
Hes.		Hesiod
	Cat.	<i>Catalogus mulierum</i>
	Op.	<i>Opera et Dies</i>
	Th. or Theog.	<i>Theogonia</i> (Merkelbach-West (M-W) <i>Hesiodi Theogonia: Opera et dies: Scutum, ediderunt R. Merkelbach et M. L. West. Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano</i> (1970)
Hsch.		Hesychius <i>Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Ed. Kurt Litté v. 1</i> (1953) (Lys. Fr. Harp. 54.6) (<i>Anecd. Bekk. I 234</i>)
Hieron.		Hieronymus (see Jerome)
Hippoc.		Hippocrates
	Aer.	<i>De aera, aquis, locis</i>
	[Ep.]	<i>Epistulae</i>
	Vir.	<i>De virginibus morbis</i> (Littré, É., 1853) <i>Ouvres complètes d'Hippocrate. Vol. 8. Paris: Baillière. Repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1962.</i>
Hippol.		Hippolytus
	Haer.	<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>
Hom.		Homer
	Il.	<i>Iliad</i>
	Od.	<i>Odyssey</i>
Hor.		Horace
	Ars. P.	<i>Ars poetica</i>
	Carm.	<i>Carmina or Odes</i>
	Epist.	<i>Epistulae</i>
Hsch.		Hesychius
Hyg.		Hyginus
	Fab.	<i>Fabulae</i>
	Poet. astr.	<i>Poetica astronomica</i>
Hymn. Hom. Ap.		<i>Hymnus Homericus in Apollinem</i>
Hymn. Hom. Art.		<i>Hymnus Homericus in Artemidem</i>
	Bacch.	„ „ <i>Bacchum</i>
	Cer.	„ „ <i>Cererem</i>
	Mart.	„ „ <i>Martem</i>
	Merc.	„ „ <i>Mercurium</i>
	Ven.	„ „ <i>Venerem</i>
Hymn. Orph.		<i>Hymni Orphici</i>
Iambl.		Iamblichus
	Myst.	<i>De Mysteriis</i>
	VP	<i>De vita Pythagorae</i>
Ibyc.		Ibycus

IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae. Guarducci, Margherita (Ed.), (1935-1950)</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae (1873-)</i>
Isae.	Isaeus
Isid.	Isidorus
	<i>Etym. Etymologiae</i>
Isoc.	Isocrates
	<i>Paneg. Panegyricus</i>
Jer.	Jerome
	<i>Adv. Iovinian. Adversus Iovinianum</i>
	<i>De script. eccles. De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis prolegomena proleg.</i>
	<i>De vir. ill. De viris illustribus</i>
	<i>Ep. Epistulae</i>
Joseph.	Josephus
	<i>AJ Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
	<i>Vit. Vita</i>
Kern,	<i>O. Kern Orph. frag. Orphica Fragmenta (1922)</i>
<i>Rel. d. Griech.</i>	<i>Die Religion der Griechen, 3 vols. (1926)</i>
Lib.	Libanius
	<i>Orat. Libanii Sophistae Orationes</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
Livy	
Loeb	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
LP	<i>E. Lobel and D.L. Page, Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i>
LSCG	<i>F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées des cites grecques (1969)</i>
LSJ	<i>Liddell and Scott Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed. rev. H. Stuart Jones</i>
LSS	<i>F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées des cites grecques. Supplement (1962)</i>
Lucian	Lucian
	<i>Dial. Meret. Dialogi meretricii</i>
Lycoph.	Lycophron
	<i>Alex. Alexandra</i>
Lycurg.	Lycurgus
	<i>Leoc. Against Leocrates</i>
Lys.	Lysias
Marcellin.	Marcellinus
Mart.	Martial
<i>Migne, PG</i>	<i>Migne, Patrologiae Cursus, series Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus, series Latina</i>
<i>Mir. ausc.</i>	<i>De mirabilibus auscultationibus (auctor ignotus)</i>
Nauck	<i>see TGF</i>
Nic.	Nicander
	<i>Alex. Alexipharmaca</i>
	<i>Ther. Theriaca</i>
Nonnus, Dion.	<i>Nonnus, Dionysiaca</i>
OCT	<i>Oxford Classical Texts</i>
Origen, C. Cels.	<i>Origen, Contra Celsum</i>
Ov.	Ovid

<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panegyricus</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
Paus.	Pausanias (lexicographer)
<i>PG</i>	<i>see Migne</i>
<i>PGM</i>	<i>K. Preisendanz and others (eds.), Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (1973-4)</i>
Phaed.	Phaedrus
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>
Pherec	Pherecydes
Philo	Philo Judaeus
Philol.	Philologus
Philostr.	Philostratus
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroikos</i>
<i>Imag.</i>	<i>Imagines</i>
<i>VA</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Phld.	Philodemus
Phot.	Photius
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
Pind.	Pindar
<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Ode</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythian Ode</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	Plato
<i>Chrm.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges</i>
<i>Phd.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>
<i>Phdr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Prt.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
Plaut.	Plautus
<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>
<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i>
<i>Merc.</i>	<i>Mercator</i>
<i>Mostell.</i>	<i>Mostellaria</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persa</i>
<i>Truc.</i>	<i>Truculentus</i>
Plin.	Pliny (the Elder)
<i>HN</i>	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Plin.	Pliny (the Younger)
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Plotinus	Plotinus
<i>Enn.</i>	<i>Enneades</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>
<i>Amat.</i>	<i>Amatorius</i>
<i>Educ.</i>	<i>De liber educatione</i>

<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Conv. sept. sap.</i>	<i>Convivium septem sapientium</i>
<i>De glor. Ath.</i>	<i>De gloria Atheniensium</i>
<i>De mul. vir.</i>	<i>De mulierum virtutibus</i>
<i>De Pyth, or.</i>	<i>De Pythiae oraculis</i>
<i>De sera</i>	<i>De sera numinis vindicta</i>
<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	<i>Quaestiones convivales</i>
<i>Quaest. Graec.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Graecae</i>
<i>Quaest. Plat.</i>	<i>Platonicae</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitae Parallelae</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Lycurgus</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>
<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>
[Plut.] <i>Cons. ad Apoll.</i>	[Plutarch], <i>Consolatio ad Apollonium</i>
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci. D.L. Page (ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press (1962)</i>
Poll.	Pollux
<i>Onom.</i>	<i>Onomasticon</i>
Porph.	Porphyry (1886). <i>Porphyrii philosophi Platonici Opuscula selecta. August Nauck (Ed.). Bibliotheca scriptorium Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner</i>
<i>Abst.</i>	<i>De abstinentia</i>
<i>De antr. nymph.</i>	<i>De antro nympharum</i>
<i>Plot.</i>	<i>Vita plotini</i>
POxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri, (1898-)</i>
Procl.	Proclus, <i>Chrestomathia</i>
PW	A. Pauly G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (1893)</i>
Quint.	Quintilian
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
RGVV or RVV	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. A.Dieterick and R. Wünsch (Eds.)</i>
Roscher, <i>Lex.</i>	W.H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griechischen u.Römischen Mythologie</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum (1923-)</i>
Sen.	Seneca (the Elder)
<i>Controv.</i>	<i>Controversiae</i>
Sen.	Seneca (the Younger)
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Helv.</i>	<i>Ad Helviam</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De providentia</i>
<i>Q Nat.</i>	<i>Quaestiones naturales</i>
Serv.	Servius
<i>Praef.</i>	<i>Praefatio</i>
Socrates, <i>Hist. ecc.l</i>	<i>Socrates, Historia ecclesiastica</i>
Soph.	Sophocles

	<i>Aj.</i>	<i>Ajax</i>
	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>
	<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>
	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>
	<i>Trach.</i>	<i>Trachiniae</i>
Sor.		Soranus
	<i>Gyn.</i>	<i>Gynaeceia</i>
Sozom.		Sozomen
	<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Stat.		Statius
	<i>Theb.</i>	<i>Thebais</i>
Steph. Byz.		Stephanus Byzantius or Byzantinus
Str.		Strabo
<i>Suda</i>		<i>Greek Lexicon formerly known as Suida</i>
Tac.		Tacitus
	<i>Agricol.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
	<i>Germ.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
Tert.		Tertullian
	<i>De praescr. haeret.</i>	<i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i>
<i>Teubner or T.</i>		<i>Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum</i> <i>Teubneriana (1849)</i>
<i>TGF</i>		<i>A. Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, 2nd ed.</i> <i>(1889); Suppl. by B. Snell (1964)</i>
Theophr.		Theophrastus
Theoc.		Theocritus
	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
Thgn.		Theognis
Thuc.		Thucydides
Verg.		Virgil
	<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
	<i>G.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>
Xen.		Xenophon
	<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>
	<i>Ap.</i>	<i>Apologia Socratis</i>
	<i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus</i>
	<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>
	<i>Lac.</i>	<i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum</i>
	<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>
	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>

ABSTRACT

This thesis will examine the nature and function of virginity in the service of Artemis. It will look at two famous virgins in classical literature, Iphigenia and Hippolytus, the girls called “bears” in the festival of Artemis at Brauron, the virgin choruses of Artemis in Sparta, prophetic and sacrificed virgins, abducted and dead virgins in Ovid (Daphne, Callisto, and Philomela), and the virgin goddess Artemis herself. Whereas previous studies emphasize social and legal aspects, arguing that virginity mattered in order to legitimize offspring and marriage, this study will attempt to demonstrate that virginity was originally largely a religious concept and that it occupied a significant place in ancient society, at least as reflected in literary sources. In classical antiquity, however, the chiefly religious properties of virginity became intellectualized as purity and chastity among poets and philosophers. Euripides and Plato were two early proponents. These concepts in the realm of ethics were further developed by pagan philosophers in late antiquity. Early Christian writers, who were heavily influenced by contemporary philosophical teachings, subsequently reclaimed virginity, purity, and chastity as religious properties in the service of God.

INTRODUCTION

In spite of much interest in virginity among Latin and especially Greek authors in classical antiquity and among early Christian writers,¹ the topic has not received much attention from modern classical scholars except for those working in the early Christian period (Brown, 2008 [1988]; Elm, 1994; Cooper, 1996).² For classical antiquity there are few in-depth studies on the subject.³

There is no entry for virginity in the 2nd ed. of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.⁴ In the 3rd and most recent edition there is no entry for virginity although one for chastity, which was a related, albeit chiefly philosophical, rather than religious, concept in antiquity, without offering a definition, and another for asceticism, which is treated mainly as a philosophic concept connected with discipline and self-mastery.

This study does not attempt to offer a precise definition of virginity since the term is both polythetic and polysemantic and greater semantic precision would only distract from the explicit objective of this treatise, which is to examine the importance of religious virginity (see brief discussion infra pp. 20-21). For this purpose it does not much matter whether a virgin is an unmarried young woman, a maiden as is the usual contemporary translation, or a woman who has not had sexual intercourse with a man, especially since the two statuses often coincided in classical antiquity.

Previous scholarship

Many modern scholars, under the influence of Paule Veyne and Michel Foucault, embraced theoretical approaches referring to the body and sexuality in the context of asceticism. These approaches diverged from a more traditional theological methodology to one centered on gender dynamics. Giulia Sissa's book *Greek Virginity* (see n. 3)

¹ Homer, Hesiod, Alcman, Sappho, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Callimachus, and others in classical antiquity. Origen, Methodius of Olympus, Clement of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose of Milan, Basil of Ancyra, and other early Christian writers.

² Because of the virtual lack of major studies on ancient virginity and Artemis, a diachronic approach to earlier scholarship has been abandoned for one which instead highlights a few important secondary sources.

³ With the noted exception of Giulia Sissa's book *Le Corps virginal: la virginité féminine en Grèce ancienne*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1987; *Greek Virginity*. Arthur Goldhammer (Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.

⁴ Nor in the Pauly-Wissowa (*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*) or *Der Neue Pauly*.

reflected this approach, although it was unique in focusing on classical rather than late antiquity. The English title is misleading. The work was not on Greek virginity in a general sense. The French title, *Le Corps virginal*, more accurately describes the focus. Sissa saw the virginal female body in classical Greece as a metaphor for inspiration, alternating “closed” or “open” representations, either as a vessel (container) or as a “perforated jar or leaking sieve.” The cultic and mythic expressions of this openness and closedness included the role of the Pythia, the language of the mysteries at Eleusis, and the myth of the Danaids.

An important contribution was her survey of the medical literature of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, Galen, and Soranus, and her conclusion that they dismissed or did not believe in the existence of a hymen (Sissa, 1990, p. 172).⁵ However, Soranus was aware of the possibility of a membrane, hymen, but argued against its existence: “For it is a mistake to assume that a thin membrane grows across the vagina...and that this membrane causes pain when it bursts in defloration or if menstruation occurs too quickly...this membrane is not found in dissection.”⁶

A unique work on a term related to virginity and chastity, *sophrosyne* (“moderation”), in Greek literature is Helen North’s superb 1966 study of the concept from Homer to the philosophical schools of late antiquity. Noting that there are only four references to *sophrosyne* in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, North concluded that the quality (at least under its classical name) was of minor importance to the heroic age. In the sixth and fifth centuries *sophrosyne*, for all its Ionian origins, became part of what might be called the aristocratic Doric ethical tradition represented by Theognis, Pindar, and Bacchylides. North viewed *sophrosyne* as a masculine virtue in Aeschylus where it is essentially religious, an acceptance of mortal limitations. In Sophocles it is no longer a masculine virtue, but is generally opposed to the heroic. It is here interpreted as the power to

⁵ Even though Sissa entirely dismissed the idea that a hymen was known in ancient Greece, it seems more likely that the hymen was known to many women, especially mothers and midwives. Martin Nilsson saw the prenuptial bath as a metaphor for perforation of the hymen (Nilsson, 1906, p. 367). Gregory Sifakis believes that the popular and general belief in the existence of the hymen is amply documented by the Hymen and Hymenaios, the wedding song and divine personification of the wedding ritual (oral communication with Gregory Sifakis). Hanne Blank’s book *Virgin: The Untouched Story*, 2007, is another book which looks at virginity although from a broader perspective. The double entendre in the title also alludes to the very few academic studies on the subject of virginity.

⁶ Soranus. *Gynecology* 1.17. Moreover, Galen stated: “Just as the uvula is for the protection of the pharynx, in the same way, what is called the nymph protects the womb, covering and protecting from the cold the opening of the cervix, which comes out into the vagina” (*Nat. Fac.* 15.3) and Hippocrates, too, seems to have been aware of the hymen: “If a woman does not receive the semen even though menstruation occurs regularly, the problem is that the membrane is in front” (*Hipp. Mul.* 20, VIII. 58 Littré).

recognize reality and is identified with self-knowledge. For Euripides, *sophrosyne* is one aspect of the rational element, eternally in conflict with the irrational. It appears chiefly as the control of emotions and appetites, and now becomes predominantly moral rather than intellectual.

Michel Foucault in *The Use of Pleasure* concluded that it would be a mistake to infer that the sexual morality of Christianity and that of paganism formed a continuity, for although several themes, principles, or notions may be found in one or the other, they do not have the same place or the same value within them (pp. 20-21).⁷ “In classical thought,” Foucault continued, “the demands of austerity were not organized into a unified, coherent, authoritarian moral system that was imposed on everyone in the same manner” (p. 21).

Although there are no full-length, comprehensive, studies on Artemis, especially not on her virginal aspect, she is generally discussed as one among other Greek deities in more or less popular studies or general surveys of Greek myth, such as M.P. Nilsson’s *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* and Walter Burkert’s *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. Here the approach was historical-religious, although Burkert was also much influenced by anthropological and social theories. In this context, Burkert’s hypothesis about the origin of virgin sacrifice in his 1972 study *Homo necans: interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* is also worth mentioning. Another important work was Claude Calame’s 1977 study *Les Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* because of its pioneering and highly original focus on young women (as opposed to young men), the institution of the chorus as an integral element in education, and rites of passage.⁸ Using semiotic and anthropological theory, Calame reconstructed the religious and social institutions surrounding the songs to demonstrate their educational function.⁹ He viewed the chorals as rituals of initiation in cult practices rather than as simply literary texts and the chorus as the primary means by which adolescents were educated and socialized.

⁷ Foucault, Michel. *The Use of Pleasure. History of Sexuality 2*. Robert Hurley (Trans.). London: Penguin Books, 1992. *L’Usage de plaisirs*. Gallimard, 1984.

⁸ Calame, Claude. *Les Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque. Filologia e critica* 20-21. Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1977; *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function*. Derek Collins and Janice Orion (Trans.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997.

⁹ The Greek words “choros” and “choregos” are virtually synonymous with student and teacher in Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch.

The objective of the thesis

The idea of virginity and its importance in classical antiquity as reflected in some of its literature will be examined by focusing on religious-historical aspects described in ancient texts, such as those of Plato, Euripides, Alcman, Sappho, Ovid, and Pausanias, rather than on the sociological or political implications and consequences of virginity. For even though these implications are important for understanding the role of young brides to bear legitimate children, whether for (tribal) kinship or property rights, the focus here is on the historical (or prehistorical) origins of virginity in cultic practices as described or interpreted in ancient narratives which do not bear on the question of the legitimacy of heirs and the like.¹⁰

Religion was embedded in every aspect of Greek life. There was no division between the sacred and the profane or church and state. Cultural ideology often influences modern scholars rather than real-life religious and social practices. In the following, a few key-texts in epic, lyric, drama, and prose (histories, philosophical treatises, antiquarian commentaries) will be examined to elucidate the concept of virginity in the religion(s) of early Greece.¹¹

My hope is that this thesis will begin to fill the lacuna in studies on Artemis and virginity in classical antiquity by examining the significance of virginity. Since the topic of virginity in ancient Greece is enormous, I am concentrating mainly on the virgin goddess of Greece, Artemis, as described in ancient literature, plus some case studies on virginity with Artemis as a link. For what Hippolytus and Iphigenia as well as many of the virgins in Ovid have in common, in addition to their virginity, is their devotion to the goddess Artemis, the protector of virgins and herself a virgin. The loss of virginity, on the other hand, is severely punished by the goddess, as the example of Callisto well illustrates (*Ov. Met.* 2.409-530).¹²

¹⁰ Attic law codified in the sixth century BCE stipulated that a daughter inherited in cases where there were no sons. She was obligated to marry the next-of-kin when she came of age (*Isae.* 6.14) (cf. *Pl. Nom.* 924C-926A). If the next-of-kin was already married, he had to divorce his wife in order to marry his relative (*Isae.* 3.64).

¹¹ The chapters build on each other, but they can also be read separately, which makes some repetition of the material unavoidable. The text translations used are those of the Loeb editions, occasionally modified by the author.

¹² A brief look at virginity in the literature of late antiquity, especially relating to Saint Thecla and the Virgin Mary, is included in an appendix, serving chiefly as a “footnote” to elucidate the ancient concept of virginity.

The element of virgin sacrifice may have been an aspect of some Artemisian cult practices. This type of sacrifice is known from several cultures, such as among the Aztec, Pawnee, and Polynesian peoples. The virgin sacrifice of Iphigenia points to a possible early Greek practice, and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ is perhaps a late Roman example.¹³ Why sacrifice virgins? Clearly this has no direct correlation to bearing legitimate children or inheritance. Other instances include the figurative sacrifices of Hippolytus and the many female virgins whose rape or attempted rape by gods and mortal men in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* so often result in the disintegration of the human (mostly female) body into animal or other organic forms.

Ancient perceptions of the body have attracted interest in recent years, but are frequently interpreted through a secular modernist and, indeed, often anachronistic lens. Structuralist and other literary theories dominate. Structuralists usually reject a cross-cultural approach in favor of a culture-specific analysis. This study will make use of both cross-cultural and cross-chronological methodology in recognition of the fact that cultural expressions are rarely formed in a vacuum. Trade, migration, and exogamy commonly transmit ideas among societies. Moreover, whether we are hard-wired for certain cultural manifestations such as a belief in supernatural powers, in a spiritual dimension to nature, the stars, etc., or refer to these as Jungian archetypes born out of a collective consciousness, or something else, cultures throughout the ages have displayed similar responses to various phenomena.¹⁴

The nature and function of Artemis and her relationship to virgins will be explored. Young women participated in music and athletic competitions at festivals and sanctuaries devoted to Artemis throughout Greece. Virgins in the service of the goddess were called bears (in the cult of Artemis Brauronia at Brauron), fawns (in the cult of Artemis Throsia at Larissa), and bees (as the virgin priestesses of the Ephesian Artemis were called).¹⁵ The ἄρκτεια was a festival celebrated at the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron, located north-east of Athens. The interpretation of what transpired there, the age of the participants, how often the festival was held, and what its purpose was have been hotly debated topics

¹³ The crucifixion of Jesus is frequently referred to as a [virgin] sacrifice by the Church Fathers. St. Methodius sees Christ as the Archvirgin (see St. Methodius. *The Symposium: A Treatise on Chastity*, p. 19. Herbert Musurillo (Trans.). Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1958). Paul writes in one of his letters to the Corinthians that, "Christ was sacrificed as our paschal lamb (τό πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη, 1 Cor. 5:7).

¹⁴ "Learning is recollection," ὅτι ἡμῖν ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνάμνησις, as Socrates says (Pl. *Phd.* 72e).

¹⁵ Possibly cows (βοῦαί) already at Pylos and elsewhere in Laconia. The word "qowija," i.e., boia, according to Bernard Sergent, should be interpreted as a deity or protector of the female adolescents listed on a Linear B tablet from Pylos (PY Tn 316) (see Sergent, 1990, pp. 199-200; 215-216).

for years.¹⁶ The fact that not much of the excavated material has been published has not served to untangle the mysteries.

What did it mean that virgins played/imitated/embodied these animals for the goddess and why? Moreover, throughout the many aspects of Artemis as goddess of trees and plants, animals, women, healing, etc., one characteristic remains constant -- that of her as virgin. In this context the question why Artemis', or her Roman equivalent Diana's, many other aspects besides virginity were not retained in Mary such as her as mistress of animals, huntress, "midwife," etc., is interesting. It could be argued that the virginal aspect of Artemis/Diana was of such significance that logic and rationale had to be ignored in the construct of the Mary legend. One of Mary's earliest churches was built on the destroyed temple grounds of the great Artemis temple at Ephesus. According to tradition, Mary lived at Ephesus with James after the death of Jesus and died there. With the council of Ephesus in 431, the parthenogenesis was proclaimed and Mary glorified as "Queen of virgins" and Theotokos. The Virgin Birth and Mary's perpetual virginity were viewed as a guarantee for the Church's integrity, similar to Horace's understanding of the significance of the Vestal Virgins for the existence and survival of the Roman pagan state ("dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex," Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.8-9). There were of course other influences on the construct of Mary, such as Isis and Anahita, the mother of Mithra, especially in the early iconography of Mary as Mother. However, the influence of the pagan Virgin of Ephesus on the creation of the Christian Virgin cannot be dismissed.

For Walter Burkert virginity was connected with ritual taboos related to sexual abstinence before a hunt (1966, pp. 87-121). It should be pointed out, however, that this taboo is not attested to before the classical period and Artemis was much more than a hunting goddess. In fact, literary contexts in which her virginity is most celebrated tend to be in her relationship to young women and the chorus. Certainly, the emphasis on virginity for marriage is part of it, but even this is not a sufficient explanation. It does not explain Artemis' perpetual virginity. She was not married. Rather, in this context, virginity appears to be more connected with religion and power.

Virginity played a prominent role in classical antiquity. In fact, it was a requirement for some who served as priestesses.¹⁷ Arguably, the most powerful woman in antiquity

¹⁶ See e.g., Perlman, 1983; Hamilton, 1989; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990; Gentili & Perusino, 2002; Fischer-Hansen & Poulsen, 2009.

was the woman (women) known as Pythia, the name being synonymous with the Oracle of Delphi. Just why did she have to be a virgin; in order to be enthused with divine inspiration? Why, for example, could not a married man be so enthused as well? Both early and late antiquity had many prophesying virgins, such as Cassandra and the Sibyl, and both the Hebrew and Christian bibles include a number of such virgins; for example, Miriam, the sister of Moses,¹⁸ and the Virgin Mary.¹⁹

Defining virginity

As stated earlier, this thesis does not attempt to definitively answer the question who is and who is not a virgin since the definition clearly changes with the context, that is, did the Greek word “parthenos” and the Latin “virgo” refer merely to a young unmarried woman, or do these terms have sexual connotations. Giulia Sissa presents several examples where the sexual meaning is unmistakable and other instances in which the term “virgin” seems to simply denote a young unmarried woman (Sissa, 1990, pp. 77-78). Even Paul seems to feel a need to make a distinction when he speaks of “ἡ γυνή ἢ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος,” a woman, unmarried and virgin, which may reflect the use of the Hebrew “betulah,” “virgin,” which generally seems to mean “young woman” in Biblical times; although, this is perhaps debatable (1 *Cor.* 7:34). Certainly, in post-Biblical times it refers to a woman who has had no sexual relations with a man. It appears mostly in marriage contracts to emphasize that a woman is indeed a virgin. A divorced woman, for example, would not be referred to as a betulah.

“Parthenos” in Euripides seems generally to be a physical virgin. An interesting passage in Euripides, however, refers to the participants in the Bacchanal as young wives, old matrons, unmarried virgins (παρθένοι τ’ἔτ’ ἄζυγες, *Bacchae* 694). Pindar and Sophocles use the word to denote also a deflowered unmarried woman (Pindar, *Pyth.* 3. 34; Sophocles, *Trach.* 1219). Partheneia is itself subject to seizure (λαμβάνειν), a treasure that one guards (φυλάσσειν), a value that must be respected (τηρεῖν). As Sissa surmises:

¹⁷ Priests were expected to be chaste as well (see e.g., Parker, 1983, pp. 86-88). Even though life-long virginity was not always expected, chastity during the time of priestly service was usually required.

¹⁸ *Exod.* 15:20.

¹⁹ “From now all women and generations will call me blessed” (*Luke* 1:48).

“It is not easy to understand the point of the image if virginity refers to nothing more than an age group” as several authors seem to argue (Sissa, 1990, p. 77).²⁰

A well-known example of the former interpretation, which Sissa does not mention, is Electra in Euripides’ play in which she is married to a farmer but remains a virgin.²¹ Another example is provided by Herodotus who refers to false virgins who, although young and unmarried, died as a result of not being real virgins while competing at a festival (Hdt. 4.180). There are also examples of women who remained virgins as mothers. The most famous of them is, of course, Mary, but several examples from classical antiquity exist as well, the best known being Artemis’ companion Atalanta and her son Parthenopaeus, one of the Seven against Thebes. Virginity could also be restored in literature; Hera bathed in Nauplia annually to become a virgin anew (Paus. 2.38.2-3).²² There were other virginal deities in Greece and Rome besides Artemis, such as Athena (her temple, the Parthenon, being the House of the Virgin on the Athenian Acropolis), and Hestia or Vesta in Rome and her Vestal Virgins. These virginal goddesses together with Artemis are mentioned among the only ones whose hearts Aphrodite cannot soften in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (lines 7-32). However, they are discussed here only briefly since the focus is on Artemis and her particular brand of virginity as protector of virgins.

²⁰ Jeanmaire, Henri. *Coures et courètes*. Lille: Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1939; Brelich, Angelo. *Paidés e Parthenoi*. Rome: Edizione dell’ Ateneo, 1969; and Calame, Claude. *Les Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, Rome: Edizioni dell’ Ateneo & Bizzari, 1977.

²¹ The farmer calls her a virgin, παρθένος, in spite of her being married to him (Eur. *El.* 44) and speaks of not taking her virginity, λαβεῖν ὑβρίζειν, commit outrage against (Eur. *El.* 46). The married Electra as a virgin is mentioned again later (Eur. *El.* 270).

²² R.F. Willetts sees Hera Parthenos as a local goddess in Nauplia who through a “hieros gamos” became identified with the wife of Zeus (see Willett’s discussion of a Minoan mother goddess and Heracles as the male partner of Hera, Willetts, 1962, pp. 50-52). Early Christian writers claimed that widowed or even divorced women could choose to become virgins anew. Interestingly, Ignatius of Antioch refers to virgins who have attained the status of “widow” (*Smyrn.* 13.1), although Tertullian complains about a “virgin” who has insinuated herself into the rank of widows – uirgo uidua (*De Virg. Vel.* 9.2).

Recent scholarship

Three recent books deal with topics related to mine. Thomas McGinn's *Widows and Patriarchy: Ancient and Modern* (2008) examines the treatment and status of widows in various periods and geographic areas. Like my study it focuses on a category of women through time and space and their status in society. Another interesting study is Joan Connelly's *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (2007) which deals with priestesses, most of whom, according to the author, were not virgins. In fact, she argues that there has been too much emphasis on virginity among priestesses due to a male bias favoring young women. In contrast to this view, I propose that at least originally there was a strong connection between "virgins" and "priestesses," a virtually synonymous role which was subsequently subverted for socio-political or other reasons. An important work is Michael Flower's *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (2008), which like my study offers a synthetic rather than diachronic account of, in this case, oracles and prophecy in ancient Greece. As his discussion makes clear, diviners were often men and women of exceptional wisdom and high moral character held in much regard by the community throughout classical antiquity. An assertion of my thesis is that the high regard with which virgins were held was in part due to their ability to divine. Another similarity between my study and this one is Flower's use of ethnographic evidence in order to illuminate cultural phenomena found, otherwise, only in a literary context (Flower, 2008, p. 10).

In 2009, a book-length treatise on Artemis was finally published entitled *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*.²³ It contains a collection of interesting essays on various aspects of the worship of Artemis/Diana from the Near East to Rome. Although this treatment is long overdue and valuable for offering a more comprehensive picture of the goddess, the goddess' spheres of virginity and virgins' coming-of-age are not given much consideration or in-depth examination since the aim is to survey a highly complex and multi-faceted goddess in all or many of her functions throughout time and place. It also bases its findings mostly on archaeological rather than literary evidence. One of this book's essays of particular interest for my own study traces a potential worship of the goddess of the Orthia festival to at least the Geometric period (as early as

²³ Fischer-Hansen, Tobias & Birte Poulsen (Eds.). *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology. Acta Hyperborea 12. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2009.

the 10th century BCE) based on pottery finds and draws parallels between the representations of a Πόρνια Θηρῶν (“Mistress of Animals”) at Sparta and similar representations of pre-Greek and Near Eastern origin, for example, from Hittite Hattusa from the 2nd millennium BCE.²⁴ The author further examines lead plaques depicting lions, pomegranates, double axes, rosettes dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, and clay masks found at Sparta with parallels from Mesopotamia and Phoenician cities.

Another recently published (2012) collection of essays with an archaeological and anthropological focus is *Antropologia e Archeologia a Confronto. Rappresentazioni e Pratiche del Sacro*, based on papers presented at a conference held at the National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome in May of 2011.²⁵ The conference proceedings are of interest for my study because of their focus on cult practices throughout many centuries and cultures, such as the contribution by Stefano Allovio, “L’uso di oggetti nei rituali iniziatici e le forme dell’immortalità” (pp. 491-503), which discusses the use of figurines and masks and other paraphernalia in initiation rituals; the contribution by Angela Bellia, “Da Bitalemi a Betlemme. Riti musicali e culti femminili in Sicilia” (pp. 681-692), which examines the festival of Demeter Thesmophoros on Sicily, including its large musical component and its references to the festival of the Madonna delle Grazie at Bitalemi in Gela to whom the local contemporary women bring statuettes made of gypsum while singing and praying. This practise may in fact be a descendent of the Demeter worship in the area with its connection to childbirth and figurines representing women holding children in their arms or pomegranates and piglets. Religious activities are attested to from the archaic period to the Middle Ages; the contribution by Enrico Comba, “Tra l’erba e sotto le stelle: luoghi del sacro tra gli indiani del Nord America” (pp. 109-124), which addresses the notion that animals among native peoples symbolize an intermediary between the spirit and human worlds and, like my study, utilizes ethnographic evidence from Native American religious life, especially those of the Lakota and the Cheyenne; and the contribution by Barbara Ferlito, “La strumentazione del culto nel mondo Greco” (pp. 841-850), which looks at rituals and instruments used in Greek sacrifice.

²⁴ Zink Kaasgaard Falb, Ditte. “Das Artemis Orthia-Heiligtum in Sparta im 7. und 6. J.H. v.Chr.” In Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (Ed.). *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*, pp. 127-152. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2009.

²⁵ Nizzo, Valentino & Luigi La Rocca (Eds.). *Antropologia e Archeologia a Confronto. Rappresentazioni e Pratiche del Sacro*. Atti dell’Incontro Internazionale dei Studi. Atti del 2^o Congresso Internazionale di Studi. Roma. Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pegorini” 20-21 Maggio 2011. Rome: E.S.S., 2012.

Two studies of interest for my discussions on sacrifice are Michael Beer's 2010 book *Taste or Taboo: Dietary Choices in Antiquity* and Maria Zoe Petropoulou's 2008 book *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity*. The latter assumes a wide perspective, spanning several centuries and various cultural areas while examining a particular practice. Her not entirely convincing contention is that animal sacrifice was the chief mode of sacrifice in ancient Greece.²⁶

Michael Beer's book examines what kinds of foods were eaten in classical antiquity and since meat was consumed mostly in connection with religious proscriptions of sacrifice, it has informed my discussions on sacrifice and meat-eating. A study important to any treatise on human sacrifice is the still classic, Dennis Hughes' 1991 book *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*. The subject has recently received a great deal of attention due in part to archaeological discoveries at Etruscan Tarquinia and other sites. A summary of the archaeological finds and literary references to human sacrifice can be found in the entry in the *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum (ThesCRA)*²⁷ and in Larissa Bonfante's informative introduction to *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions* (2011, pp. 1-35).²⁸

Chapter outline

Following an introduction, chapter 1 examines the nature and function of Artemis. One of the most striking features of Artemis is her relationship to women, especially young women, and to choral dancing; "Where has not Artemis danced?" asks a Greek proverb cited in Aesop.²⁹ Pausanias mentions 86 temples dedicated to Artemis and numerous festivals in her honor at which women competed in musical and athletic competitions. Her role in rituals of transition of young women is examined, as is the

²⁶ Another book on this topic had not yet been released at the completion of this thesis, but seems promising, *Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*. Sarah Hitch and Ian Rutherford (Eds.). Forthcoming 2014 from Cambridge University Press.

²⁷ *ThesCRA* s.v. sacrifice. Vol. I. A. Hermary & M. Leguilloux avec l collaboration de Véronique Chankovski (pour les textes épigraphiques). "Les sacrifices dans le monde grec," 2004, pp. 59-134, "Les sacrifices humains," pp. 129-132; Luigi Donati. "Il sacrificio umano," pp. 136-139.

²⁸ Bonfante, Larissa (Ed.). *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

²⁹ Ποῦ γὰρ ἡ Ἄρτεμις οὐκ ἐχόρευσεν; *Proverbia Aesopi* 188 (no. 9). *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* II, p. 229. E.L. Leutsch (Ed.). Hildesheim: Olms, 1958.

potentially amorous character of her relationship to various “nymphs” and of the devotees of Artemis to one another. Girls as bears in the cult of Artemis receive special attention.

Chapter 2 examines two “sacrificed” virgins and devotees of Artemis, Hippolytus and Iphigenia, most famously treated by Euripides in his plays *Hippolytus* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*, in which the virgin state, the deaths of the protagonists, and their respective relationship to the goddess Artemis form central themes.

Without the sacrifice of Iphigenia the Trojan War would not have come about and the Greek civilization would not have conquered the barbarian as Iphigenia herself contends: “Bring me away; the sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians” (Eur. *IA* 1475-1476). Iphigenia’s virginity is of central importance, not in order to legitimize marriage and offspring, but her virgin sacrifice will de facto save all of civilization.

Iphigenia and Hippolytus are complex characters who are often dismissed as peculiar and unique. I argue that their experiences were formed not in a vacuum but in a cultural context that was reflected in mystic doctrines such as Pythagoreanism, the worship of Cybele, and Orphism, which influenced both Euripides and Plato.³⁰

Both Hippolytus and Iphigenia hold special relationships to Artemis and, arguably, both die for her. The argument includes a discussion of (virgin) sacrifice (human and non-human) and its significance in ancient Greece.

Chapter 3 looks at the concepts of virginity and moderation (partheneia and sophrosyne), especially prominent in Euripides and Plato. In this context the idea of asceticism in Pythagorean and Orphic beliefs is examined, including abstinence from sexual activity and meat-eating, referring back to the claim made by Theseus about his self-proclaimed chaste son Hippolytus that he was a vegetarian (Eur. *Hipp.* 952-54). This chapter also identifies prophecy as the realm of virgins like the Pythia and Cassandra.

Chapter 4 examines components in the education of young women, especially in Sparta where membership in a chorus and the relationships among the women helped shape them into strong and vital members of the larger community. Choral education led to ἀρετή (Pl. *Nom.* 2.665; 2. 654a-e). It provided a young man and woman with a model of grace and charm, χάρις.³¹ This harks back to the Pythagorean belief that there existed a mystical connection between the world of sounds and that of the human soul.

³⁰ Plato mentions Orphic writings several times; for example, in *Nom.* 2.669d and 8.829d; *Ion* 536.5; *Resp.* 2.364e.

³¹ Pl. *Resp.* 3.401, D5-E1; 403, B6.

Music and choral contests and competitive athletics were also essential elements in many religious festivals, not the least in those devoted to Artemis. For Plato, music and athleticism serve important pedagogical objectives. He recommends that after the age of six, each sex shall be kept separate, boys spending their time with boys, and likewise girls with girls... and that twelve women be in charge of the education of both girls and boys until the age of six (Pl. *Nom.* 7.794b-c). After the age of six he recommends that the lessons, supervised by male and female officers, be divided under two heads -- the gymnastical, which concerns the body, and the musical, which aims at goodness of the soul (Pl. *Nom.* 7.795e). In physical education, Plato favors wrestling and dancing (Pl. *Nom.* 7.795e). The latter, he argues, emphasizes rhythm, which, in turn, teaches moderation.

Chapter 5 offers a close reading of the rapes of three “Artemisian” virgins who subsequently lose their human form: Daphne, Callisto, and Philomela, all immortalized by Ovid. Ovid has much to say about virgins, especially in his *Metamorphoses*, in which there are approximately fifty stories of abduction, mostly of virgins. The elements are the same; rape of a virgin by a powerful man -- the masculine gaze, animal hunt imagery (canis-agna), deception, capture, isolation, and mutation of the victims. Abduction of youths, the “taming,” and the death of virgins are discussed. The stories of abduction and rape so common in myth and history (of, for example, Kore/Persephone and the famed Helen of Troy), especially in Artemisian rituals, are seldom viewed as grounded in real events; however, the importance of property and kinship rights in antiquity makes such an interpretation plausible (to the suitors, Penelope matters less than the power and possession they would gain through her), as, I argue, do the conquest and vanquishing of the perceived religious or spiritual powers held by virgins.

In recent years, the explanation most often given by scholars such as Brelich, Jeanmaire, Calame, and Burkert is a reference not to historical events (actual abductions), but to metaphorical portrayals of rites of passage as signifying a virtual death of the adolescent as a prefatory step to adulthood. It is possible, I believe, to posit a synthesis of the two hypotheses.

There are many stories of abductions of women in accounts that claim to be historical (for example, the ones described by Herodotus in the beginning of book 1), but there are also similar accounts of mock abductions in the rites of passage of young people in many

cultures such as the Cretan and Spartan societies.³² One may, therefore, argue that there is a historical basis for these events whether as part of a ritual or to acquire human “property,” especially those that may decide power and hegemony as the abduction of Helen which started the Trojan War or of Kore and the epic struggle between life (Demeter) and death (Hades).

Chapter 6 offers some concluding remarks and advances theories about the significance of “Artemisian” virginity in classical antiquity as a non-gendered and ambiguous category with special abilities such as the power to heal and prophesize. Artemis was a highly liminal figure and often linked so closely to her twin Apollo as to become virtually identical with him. He represents the male principle to men and boys; she the female principle to women and girls. It could be argued that female chastity desexualizes a woman and assigns to her a third gender, an intermediate state between the two gender categories, the masculine and the feminine. The ancient virgin was powerful precisely because he or she was viewed as not yet fully male or female but of a third gender which shared the qualities of both. This third, “betwixt-and-between” category is abnormal because the uncommon and complex are in many societies identified with the holy. At the threshold of life, stages such as those of pubescent teenagers or menopausal women were special, a symbol of boundary-crossing between the earth and the spirit world.

Comparisons are made with various cultural and religious expressions in ancient Greece, especially in relation to so-called rites of passage, but also with Native American culture. The Ojibwa, for example, offer many interesting parallels such as girls “being bear,” abduction, seclusion, gender inversion -- interpreted as rituals of transition from virgin to mother -- in addition to athletic and choral competitions, unmarried women as choreographers, poets, shamans, and healers.

An appendix briefly highlights some similarities between ancient pagan virginity and Christian virginity in late antiquity. In this context the first female martyr, Saint Thecla, and Virgin Mary form guiding lines.

³² See, for example, R.F. Willetts, 1962, pp. 115-116.

Contribution of the thesis

This thesis offers a contribution to the study of classical antiquity more generally, and to the area of early Greek religion more specifically, and aims at beginning to fill the gap that the dearth of major studies on the significance of virginity in classical antiquity and its relationship to the goddess Artemis has created. The plethora of studies on virginity and the Virgin Mary rarely include the pagan origins of the religiously inspired virgin state, and when they do, they are only summarily treated and generally thought to have little relationship to the Christian virginity of late antiquity. Peter Brown's assessment provides a perfect summary of the notion of a clear break between early and late antiquity with respect to virginity:

The message conveyed by such women as the Vestal Virgins in Rome and the virgin prophetesses and priestesses of the classical Greek world was that their state was of crucial importance for the community precisely because it was anomalous. They fitted into a clearly demarcated space in civic society. Though eminent and admired, they were not thought to stand for human nature at its peak. Their virginity did not speak to the community as a whole as a long-lasting perfection" (Brown, 1988, p. 8).

Peter Brown echoed Michel Foucault's view of what he, too, saw as fundamentally different attitudes towards the body and self in Greco-Roman pagan culture and Christianity:

...One may get the impression that the sexual ethics attributed to Christianity or even to the modern West was already in place, at least with respect to its basic principles... But this would be to disregard fundamental differences concerning the type of relation to the self and hence the forms of integration of these concepts in the subject's experience of himself (Foucault, 1986, p. 144).

Although it is true that virginity was not a human ideal for all in classical antiquity, I will argue that the powers that virgins were believed to possess in ancient Greece,

especially in the archaic and early classical periods, were at their core very similar to those represented in late antiquity – a special closeness to the deity, prophetic and healing powers, purity and integrity of mind and body, a liminal or intermediate state between the masculine and feminine -- the “sacred androgyne” -- wild and tame or cultivated and civilized, mother/woman and virgin/girl, and between the mortal and the divine. This third, “intermediate” category was occupied, for example, by the Pythia in classical antiquity and by angels and saints among the Christians, but above all by the sacred nature of virginity in both pagan and Christian thought, an essential element of virginity combined with creative powers in the chief principle of the Virgin Goddess (Artemis) and Virgin Mother (Mary).

CHAPTER 1: ARTEMIS, THE DIVINE VIRGIN

One of the most striking features of Artemis is her relationship to women, especially young women, and to choral dancing; “where has not Artemis danced?” asks a Greek proverb cited in Aesop.³³ Pausanias mentions 86 temples dedicated to Artemis and numerous festivals in her honor at which women competed in musical and athletic competitions. This chapter examines the role of Artemis in rituals of transition for young women, as well as her relationship to various “nymphs” and of the devotees of Artemis to one another. It further outlines the nature and functions of Artemis, especially her relationship to nature (sacred animals and healing plants) and culture (protection, guidance, “rite de passage,” “taming” of young women and men, although the latter role was frequently performed by her twin brother Apollo.

The following list of Artemis’ many epithets and sanctuaries is far from exhaustive, although it is intended to be comprehensive in an effort to convey her numerous functions and extreme popularity among the people.³⁴ It serves also to illuminate the fact that she possessed dominion over everyone and everything and to illustrate the ease with which various goddesses and gods, too, could become syncretized with her, and to point to her own composite nature of various gods and goddesses, especially of the Great Goddess figures of the Near East, Anatolia, and Crete.

A feature which she never loses, regardless of time and place and whatever aspects of her personality are emphasized, is her indomitable and infallible virginity. She is one of only three deities over whom Aphrodite has no power. Athena and Hestia are the other two. However, Artemisian is quite different from Athenian or Hestian virginity. Athena sports an asexual (male-) constructed and civic and Hestia a domestic, narrow, and more subdued kind. Artemisian virginity, on the other hand, is female and nature oriented, untamed, and impassioned.

³³ Ποῦ γὰρ ἡ Ἄρτεμις οὐκ ἐχόρευσεν; (*Proverbia Aesopi* 188, no. 9). *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* II, p. 229. Edited by E.L. Leutsch. Hildesheim: Olms, 1958.

³⁴ <θῦω σοι> τόδ’ ἄρωμα, Διὸς τέκος, ἰοχέαιρα, Ἄρτεμι, Περσεφόνη, ἐλαφηβόλε, νυκτοφάνεια, τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε, τρικάρανε Σελήνη, θρινακία, τριπρόσωπε, τριαύχενε καὶ τριοδίτι, ἢ τρισσοῖς. ταλάροισιν ἔχεις φλογὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ καὶ τρίοδον μεθέπεις τρισσῶν δεκάδων τε ἀνάσσεις καὶ τρισὶ μορφαῖσι καὶ φλέγμασι καὶ σκυλάκεσσι. δεινὴν ἐξ ἀτόνων πέμπεις ὀξεῖαν ἰωὴν, φρικτὸν ἀναυδήσασα θεὰ τρισσοῖς στομάτεσσι. *Papyri magicae* 4.2519 (Preisendanz).

According to Callimachus, the story of Artemis begins when she at age three asks her papa Zeus not to have to marry but that he instead grant her perpetual virginity, as many names as her brother Phoebus, a bow and arrow, a saffron tunic with a red hem reaching down to her knees, sixty nine-year-old virgins, daughters of Oceanus, to form her chorus, and twenty virgins as her handmaidens, daughters of the Cretan river Amnisus, all mountains of the world, and any town. She wants to live in the mountains and only visit cities to aid women in childbirth. She says that she was ordained by the Fates, Moirai, to be a helper of women. Papa Zeus generously grants her all in addition to giving her thirty cities, and making her guardian of harbors and roads. Sappho (or Alcaeus) also emphasizes her perpetual virginity:

...(golden-haired Phoebus) whom the daughter of Coeus bore, having lain with Cronius' son (god of the high clouds) whose name is great; but Artemis swore the [gods] a great oath: "By your head, I shall always be a virgin, [] on the peaks of the [] mountains: come, grant this for my sake. So she spoke, and the father of the blessed gods nodded his consent; and gods [] call her [the virgin...], huntress, a great title. Love [loosener of limbs] never approaches her... (Sapph. 44A [=Alc. 304 L.-P.]).³⁵

Artemis' request to remain a virgin closely resembles the description of another perpetual virgin, Hestia, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in which Hestia touches the head of Zeus beseeching him not to have to marry but instead remain a παρθένος.

She was wholly unwilling, even stubbornly refused; and touching the head of father Zeus who holds the aegis, she, that fair goddess, swore a great oath that she would be a virgin always (*Hymn. Hom. Ven. 25-28*).³⁶

Artemis, the goddess of the people, especially of women, bears little resemblance to the Homeric/Olympian deity, the sister of Apollo. Originally, she was a goddess of wild nature to which her epithet Ἀγροτέρα attests. Her realms were the mountains, forests, groves, and meadows. She is the most popular of the female deities in Greece, but Lilly Kahil also views her as having an evasive and complex personality pointing to a

³⁵ []σανορες..[]μαι τὸν ἔτικτε Κόω. [Κρ]ονίδα μεγαλωνύμφω [] μέγαν ὄρκον ἀπόμοσε []λαν· αἶ πάρθενος ἔσσομαι [].ων ὀρέων κορύφαισ' ἔπι []δε νεῦσον ἔμαν χάριν· [].ε θεῶν μακάρων πάτηρ· []ολον ἀγροτέραν θεοὶ [].σιν ἐπωνύμιον μέγα· []ερος οὐδάμα πίλναται· [].[.].....αφόβε[.].

³⁶ ἢ δὲ μάλ' οὐκ ἔθελεν ἀλλὰ στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν, ὤμοσε δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον, ὃ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν, ἀψαμένη κεφαλῆς πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο παρθένος ἔσσεσθαι πάντ' ἤματα, δῖα θεάων.

conflation of civic virtues such as Artemis presiding over young brides, families, and childbirth, and her wild character (*LIMC* 2:1, p. 618).

Even as a civic goddess, though, Artemis never loses her essential character as goddess of nature.³⁷ She is found especially on mountains and in forests in the company of nymphs. She dances with her nymphs of whom she is the foremost. Virgins danced in her honor all over Greece and especially on the Peloponnese. She is Artemis Hymnia (“of the song”) at Orchomenos in Arcadia.³⁸ Laconian virgins danced in her honor at Caryae and in the festival at the Tithenidia at Sparta (Paus. 3.10.7). These dances were so called orgiastic in nature (Paus. 3.16.11; Verg. *Geog.* 2.487).³⁹ At Pisa in Elis the title Artemis Cordax (κόρδαξ) may also refer to such a dance (Athen. 14.630e, Theophr. *Char.* 6.3). According to Pausanias, this type of dance was performed by the dwellers at Mount Sipylus in Elis (Paus. 6.22.1). Similar dances are reported from the Spartan cult of Artemis Corythalia where rituals, among other things, involved men wearing female masks (Nilsson, 1906, p. 183).⁴⁰ Orgiastic dances formed part of rituals also at Syracuse (Athen. 14, 629e) and at Dereatis (Paus. 3.20.7) as well as of women worshipping the Muses at Thespieae at the foot of Mt. Helicon (Paus. 9.29.1).

1.1 The many facets of Artemis

Artemis corresponds to the mistress of animals in the Near East and Anatolia (*LIMC* 2: 1-10). Other facets relate to Isis (*LIMC* 2: 2 912-913), to Tyche (*LIMC* 2: 2 [Artemis] 893-899), to Bendis,⁴¹ to Selene depicted with a moon crescent on her head (*LIMC* 2:2 [Artemis] 900-911), and to Cybele (*LIMC* 2:1 p. 618). According to Kahil, there is also

³⁷ Although I believe that Spyridon Rangos is correct when he, in reference to the Paris School and its sociological approach to religion, especially that of Jean-Pierre Vernant, concludes that the discussion about wild space as the Other of civic life misses the symbolism of wildness. For Rangos it is based on an erroneous and contradictory application of the polarity between nature and culture (Rangos, 2000, p. 76). The same objection can be raised against the dichotomy found in the title of Synnøve des Bouvrie’s contribution in Fischer-Hansen & Poulsen. “Artemis Ortheia: A Goddess of Nature or a Goddess of Culture?” (p. 153).

³⁸ In her service were a priestess and priest who adopted life-long purity (Paus. 8.13.1).

³⁹ According to Hugh Lloyd-Jones, although Artemis is often honored by young virgins, the dances which they performed for the goddess “were not always decorous” (Lloyd-Jones, 1983, p. 91).

⁴⁰ ...τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ἀγρὸν [καὶ] πρὸς τὴν Κορυθαλίαν καλουμένην Ἄρτεμιν (Athen. *Deipnosophistae.* 4.16.28 (Athen. 4.139) -- Κορυθαλία, i.e., white-berried ivy, heder helix, Theophr. *HP* 3.18.6.

⁴¹ In the *Republic* (1.24; 354a), Socrates describes how he and Glaucon went to Piraeus to pay homage to the newly-imported cult of the Thrasian goddess Bendis. Proclus in commenting writes: “Do we not know that the Bendida is a festival in honor of Artemis” (W. Kroll. *Procli Diadochi in Platonis rem publicam commentarii*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner 1 (1899); 2 (1901), repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965. 1.18. 8-19, see esp. 1.18.10-11 Helicon).

assimilation with Britomartis, Callisto, and Iphigenia, and some of her characteristics resemble those of Astarte (Ishtar) (*ibid.*). Pausanias wrote of sanctuaries associated with Artemis Ἀστρατεία, a name that might be derived from Astarte, although Pausanias thinks it refers to the Amazons staying their advance (*strateia*) there (Paus. 3.25.3).⁴²

Other influences can be seen in the Phoenician goddess Tanit and her many “Artemisian” attributes – the dove, palm tree, fish, and moon crescent. In the land of Canaan, Asherah was called the Virgin and she who gives birth to the gods and her daughter Anath was a goddess of war, the hunt, and of childbirth (Hazleton, 2004, p. 114). Another affinity is with Sumerian Belili (Slavonic “beli,” white and Latin “bellus,” beautiful), goddess of trees, the moon, wells, springs, and the willow – all sacred to Artemis. In Herodotus, Artemis is identified with Bubastis in Egypt (Hdt. 2.156).

Although the Artemis image contains elements of holistic Middle Eastern goddess figures, such as her association with the double axe, some accounts trace the qualities by which she became known to Old European goddesses whose attributes interbraided with Near Eastern and Indo-European prototypes. Marija Gimbutas traces the classical Artemis back to a “Goddess of Life and Death” of the sixth and fifth millennia BCE (Gimbutas, 1982, pp. 196-200). Other scholars view her as a goddess of Minoan origin (Nilsson, 1971 [1950], p. 503). The manner in which Willetts describes the Minoan goddess fits Artemis nicely: “The Minoan goddess is represented in a rich variety of associations; with animals such as birds and snakes;⁴³ with the baetylic pillar and the sacred tree; with the poppy (a check on menstruation); the lily [a symbol of fecundity, an “emollient of the uterus” (Plin. *NH* 21.126)]; the sword, and the double axe. She is a huntress and a goddess of sports; she is armed and presides over ritual dances; she has female and male attendants. She has dominion over mountains, earth, sky, and sea; over life and death. She is a household goddess, vegetation goddess, Mother and Maid” (Willetts, 1962, p. 75).

There are suggestive links between sites in Anatolia and worship of the goddess on Crete (Nilsson, 1971, pp. 516-522, 572). Robert Graves refers to A.B. Cook who in his *Zeus* gives evidence for the Graeco-Libyans and the Thraco-Phrygians being related, and

⁴² “At Pyrrhichus there is a well in the market-place, considered to be the gift of Silenus. If this were to fail, they would be short of water. The sanctuaries of the gods, that they have in the country, are of Artemis, called Astrateia and an Apollo Amazonius. Both gods are represented by wooden images, said to have been dedicated by the women from Thermodon.

⁴³ Snakes were also connected to virginity, e.g., in Lanuvium where virgins fed a snake cakes and fruits, supposedly to test the authenticity of their virginity (Propert. 4.8; Ael. *NA* 11.16). The snake is associated with the changes in nature, rebirth, and maturation ceremonies.

for both tribal groups having relatives among the early Cretans (Cook v. 2, 1925, p. 1111 and Graves, 1948, p. 59). Nilsson, too, points out connections between Crete and South West Asia Minor; for example, Leto, Artemis' mother, whom he views as originating in South West Asia Minor and her festival Ekdysia at Phaestus (Nilsson, 1971, pp. 516-517). According to Diodorus Siculus, Artemis was born on Crete (Diod. Sic. 72). At the very least, Artemis seems to have been known to the Myceneans.⁴⁴

Artemis became a kind protector of women in travail, although initially she revealed her fury against those who left her sphere by surrendering their virginity. Lloyd-Jones sees Artemis' original character and disposition as changing after she is made Apollo's sister (Lloyd-Jones, 1983, p. 100). She is usually considered to be the daughter of Leto and Zeus and sister of Apollo. According to one tradition, Artemis was the wife of Apollo (*Eustath. ad Hom. (Il). 1197*). The worship of Artemis and Apollo on Delos reportedly originated from the Hyperboreans (Hdt. 2.32; 35), a mythical people living beyond the north-wind (Boreas). It was among the Hyperboreans that Heracles looked for the golden-antlered hind of Artemis. Pindar describes a paradisaic existence without wars or labor and with virgin choruses dancing and lyre and flute music playing (*Pyth. 10*). The Hyperboreans had a life-span of a thousand years and the sun never set in their land. To shorten this period, an individual would put on garlands and throw her or himself into the sea from a rock, which may allude to a form of human sacrifice, perhaps more specifically, to virgin sacrifice. Several Hyperborean virgins or maidens came to Delos to deliver offerings to Artemis, whereupon they died.

1.2 Artemis and Apollo

As noted in the introduction, Artemis appears sometimes to have been linked so closely to her twin Apollo to become virtually one with him. He came to represent the male principle to young men and boys; she the female principle to young women and girls. However, Artemis is also *αὐτοκασιγνήτη* (*Hom. In Dianam 3*). She was worshipped early in Arcadia roaming in the wilderness with nymphs and this Arcadian Artemis had no relationship to Apollo and whereas Artemis is an old, possibly Minoan-

⁴⁴ It is believed that her name appears on Linear B tablets at Pylos – a-ti-mi-te (dat.) (PY Un 219.5) (See Bennett, 1955, p. 209) and a-te-mi-to (gen.) (PY Es 650.5). Although if B. Sergent is correct, she is Posidaeja in a tablet from Pylos (PY Tn 316; Sergent, 1990, p. 215). *Diccionario Micénico* <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/portal/diccionariomicenico/> and DÂMOS (Database of Mycenaean at Oslo) <https://www2.hf.uio.no/damos/>. See also Burkert, 1977, p. 85 n. 28.

Mycenean, goddess, with many aspects of Near Eastern great goddesses, the origin of her twin brother may be found in the north, possibly Scythia. However, his name may be Doric,⁴⁵ and as with Artemis, Apollo is a composite character with components of Mycenaean and Syrian-Hittite gods (an Indo-European sky god).⁴⁶ Her origin was the moon, the old lunar calendar, and the cycles of life and of nature (plants and healing); his sphere was the light and the sun and the new solar calendar, although the organizer and civilizer Apollo, as Artemis' pendant, later usurped many of her functions, such as healing (as the mythical father of Asclepius) and prophecy after killing Pytho and replacing Ge and Themis as the deity of Delphi, even taking over as chorus leader of the nine Muses.⁴⁷ In some traditions, the days of the new and full moons were dedicated to him, having been born on the seventh day of the month Thargelion. Both Artemis and Apollo were said to have been gods of ritual purification (Proclus. *Chrestomathia* 2.183).

Various traditions attribute different mothers to Artemis. One of them sees her as daughter of Demeter (Paus. 8.37.6, attributed to Aeschylus fr. 324);⁴⁸ Hdt. 2.156); another of Persephone (Cic. *De nat. deor.* 3.58);⁴⁹ or of Isis and Dionysus (Hdt. 2.156). Hesiod claimed that she was daughter of Asteria, sister of Leto and the Titan Perses (Hes. *Theog.* 409) and Athenagoras that Artemis and Apollo were children of Dionysus (*Legatio* 28.3).⁵⁰ Cicero lists several traditions of Apollo and Artemis and divides them into four Apollos and three Artemises:

The most ancient of the Apollos is the one, whom I stated just before, to be the son of Vulcan and the guardian of Athens. The second is the son of Corybas and was born in Crete; tradition says that he fought with Jupiter himself

⁴⁵ Hesychius connects the name with the Doric ἀπέλλα, "assembly," associating the god with political life.

⁴⁶ Burkert, W. *Greek Religion*, 1985, p. 144.

⁴⁷ See Cicero for an attribution of the moon to Artemis and the sun to Apollo (Cic. *De natura deorum.* 3.51). According to Cicero, "luna" is derived from "luceo," "to shine," "for it is the same word as Lucina and therefore in our country Juno Lucina is invoked in childbirth as is Diana in her manifestation as Lucifera ("light-bringer") among the Greeks" -- ut apud Graecos Dianam eamque Luciferam sic apud nostros Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo invocant" (Cic. *De nat. Deor.* 2.68). Cicero also calls her Diana Omnivaga (wide-wandering) because she is counted as one of seven planets or wanderers (vagari). She was called Diana, he writes, because she made a sort of day in the night-time ("diurnus"). She is invoked to assist in child-birth because the period of gestation is occasionally seven or, more commonly, nine lunar revolutions, and these are called menses (months) because they cover measured (mensa) spaces (Cic. *De nat. Deor.* 2.68-69).

⁴⁸ Ἀνυτον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λέγεται· Δῆμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὄντα Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ Ἑλλήνας.

⁴⁹ ...in Arcadia, quem Arcades Nomionem appellant quod ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse. Dianae item plures, prima Iovis et Proserpinae, quae pinnatum Cupidinem genuisse dicitur.

⁵⁰ Seaford identifies similarities between Artemis and Dionysus. They both hunt, lead female orgiastic dances and female thiasoi in the wild, carry torches, inspire and suffer frenzy (1988, p. 125).

for the possession of that island.⁵¹ The third is the son of the third Jupiter and of Latona, and is reputed to have come to Delphi from the Hyperboreans. The fourth belongs to Arcadia and is called by the Arcadians Nomios, as being their traditional lawgiver. Likewise there are several Dianas. The first, daughter of Jupiter and Proserpina [Cicero also mentions the “first Dionysus as son of Jupiter and Proserpina), is said to have given birth to the winged Cupid. The second is more celebrated; tradition makes her the daughter of the third Jupiter [Cretan Jupiter and son of Saturn] and Latona. The father of the third is recorded as having been Upis, and her mother Glauce. The Greeks often call her by her father’s name of Upis (Cic. *De nat. Deor.* 3.57-58).

Artemis was the protectress of women from childhood through puberty and adulthood. Boys were also protected by Artemis, for example, at the Artemis Orthia temple. The antiquity of Artemis is reflected in her perpetual virginity, in her eternally “pure” state, in her refusal to marry and become mother, and in her wild character as a nature goddess in contrast to the cultured Apollo. That she was older than Apollo is further reflected in the fact that Artemis herself aids in his delivery (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.1).

In various regions Artemis was honored with at least three months – Mounychion (April-May)⁵² and Elaphebolion⁵³ (March-April) in Attica and on Iasos (*CIG* 9595, 2675b). On Delos the month of the births of both Artemis and Apollon was said to have

⁵¹ Although the name Apollo does not appear in the Linear B tablets, he may be the one referred to as “pa-ja-wo-ne,” possibly the Apollonian epithet “Paeon.” The name “pajawone” appears in the dative on a tablet at Knossos KN V 52.2.

⁵² According to Bernard Sergent, this month may be referred to as Plowistos on a Linear B tablet from Pylos (PY Tn 316), see Sergent, 1990, pp. 175-217.

⁵³ The Phocians held their greatest festival, Elaphebolia, to Artemis at Hyampolis (Plut. *De virt. mul.* 244d). A special kind of cake (elaphos), probably in the shape of a deer, was offered to the goddess. This festival was celebrated also in other parts of Greece. The action for Elaphebolion and its festival given by Pausanias was that after Alpheus had attempted to ravage Artemis Alpheiaea she smeared her face with mud along with her nymphs, in an attempt to avoid detection, at an all night revel. However, the Eleans transformed the temple from Artemis Alpheionia or Artemis Alpheiusa to Artemis Elaphiaea or Elaphia (ὁ Ἀλφειὸς Str. 8.3.12; C343), named after a woman, Elaphios, by whom, they said, Artemis was reared (“οἱ διὰ πειθοῦς καὶ δεήσεως τὸν γάμον, ἐπιτολμᾶν ὡς βιασόμενον τὴν θεόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς παννυχίδα ἐς Λετρίνους ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τε ἀγομένην τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν αἷς παίζουσα συνῆν [αὐτῆ]· τὴν δὲ— ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἔχειν—ἀλείψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ὄσαι τῶν νυμφῶν παρήσαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὡς ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ἄτε δὲ οὐ διαγινώσκοντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ ἀπράκτῳ τῷ ἐγχειρήματι. Λετριναῖοι μὲν δὴ Ἀλφειαίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῷ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι· οἱ δὲ Ἡλεῖοι, φιλία γάρ σφισιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς Λετριναίους, τὰ παρὰ σφισιν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς τιμὴν τῆ Ἐλαφιαία καθεστηκότα ἐς Λετρίνους τε μετήγαγον καὶ τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐνόμισαν τῆ Ἀλφειαία δρᾶν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν Ἀλφειαίαν θεὸν Ἐλαφιαίαν ἀνά χρόνον ἐξενίκησεν ὀνομασθῆναι. Ἐλαφιαίαν δὲ ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλάφων ἔμοι δοκεῖν τῆ θήρα· αὐτοὶ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας ὄνομα εἶναι τὴν Ἐλάφιον καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τραφῆναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν φασι. Λετρίων δὲ ὅσον τε ἐξ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἀέναος λίμνη τριῶν ποῦ τὴν διάμετρον σταδίων μάλιστα,” Paus. 6.22.11). On Mount Lykaios the worshippers of Zeus Lykaios were called elaphoi (Cook, 1894, p. 137). A human victim wearing a deer’s head and horns is said to have been sacrificed to the wolf-god on Mt. Lykaios in Arcadia (Cook, 1894, p. 155).

been Thargelia (Thargelion in Athens) (May-June). A festival was celebrated on the day of her declared birth, 6. Thargelion in May (Diog. Laert. *Vita Plat.* p. 6).⁵⁴ In Athens, too, the 6th of Thargelion and of any other month was usually devoted to Artemis, and the 7th to Apollo, having traditionally been born on the following day. The name of the month of Thargelion derives most likely from the name of the festival, Thargelia (Θαργήλια), which in turn derives from “thargelos,” a form of sprouted grain bread, probably made from barley. The month of May sees the first harvest of the green cereals, which were offered to Artemis (Hom. *Il.* 9.534) and later to Demeter (Theoc. 7.3) and/or Dionysus as τὰ θαλύσια, from “young shoot” or sprouting greenery, θαλλός.⁵⁵ H.W. Parke claims that on Thargelion 6, bad things are driven out, while on Thargelion 7, good things are carried in (a notion that may survive in the Tatian aphorism “Artemis is a poisoner, Apollo heals”)⁵⁶ and that the 6th was a day of purification and the 7th a day of offerings (Parke, 1977, p. 25).⁵⁷ In various places the months were named after the gods -- Artemisios (Artamitios) on Naxos, Patmos, Chios, and at Magnesia, Delphi, Sparta, and Ephesus.⁵⁸

According to Strabo, Artemis was born at Ortygia, a seaside grove near Ephesus (Str. 14.1.20; C639; Tac. *Ann.* 3.61) – although other places also carried the name (Roscher, *Lex.* p. 578). Athenaeus, for example, says that the old name of Delos was Ortygia (Athen. 9.392d) and Sophocles refers to Artemis Ortygia on Euboia (*Trach.* 212-214). At her birth, the Couretes, Strabo writes, made a terrible din to drown out the screams of the baby to protect Leto from Hera (14.1.20; C640).

⁵⁴ Diogenes Laertius. *De clarorum philosophorum vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus* (Olympiodorus, Ammonius, Iamblichus, Porphyry, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plotinus, and Isidorus). A. Westermann (Ed.). Paris: Didot, 1862.

⁵⁵ “Κουρήτες δὲ διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρηϊ. καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὄρσε χωσαμένη ὃ οἱ οὐ τι θαλύσια γυνῶ ἄλωϊς Οἰνεὺς ῥέξ’· ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ’ ἐκατόμβας, οἷη δ’ οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κούρη μεγάλοιο” (Hom. *Il.* 9.532-536).

⁵⁶ Tatian. *Address to the Greeks* 8.

⁵⁷ Parke, H.W. *Festivals of the Athenians*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977.

⁵⁸ At Ephesus in 162/63 it was decided by a vote to make the entire month of Artemisios free from work (*IvE* I 24). This has been interpreted as a sign that the Artemis cult was waning at this time and that this perk was an attempt at reviving it (Knibbe, 2004 [1995], p. 147). The Spartan month Artamitios (Artemisios) was, according to Thucydides, equated with the Attic Elaphebolion, i.e., March 24-April 23 (Thuc. 4.118; 12.119; see also supra n. 53).

1.3 Animals – wild and virginal

Artemis is a protectress of the young, of both human and non-human animals such as the bear,⁵⁹ the deer,⁶⁰ and the bee.⁶¹ The latter two were considered chaste animals in antiquity and the bear a creatrix and an exemplary protectress of the young. However, she, too, like the deer, part ways with the male immediately after mating, which for the bear only occurs every other or third year. In Hesychius the bear is defined as a helper and a healer, an animal and priestess of Artemis -- ἄρκος (i.e., ἄρκτος), ἄρκεσμα βοήθεια. ἢ τὸ παίονιον καὶ τὸ ζῶον καὶ ἰέρεια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.

⁵⁹ The bear (and deer) was closely connected to Artemis as a “potnia theron” of wild animals. It (like the deer) has a long history in folklore and art among many peoples. A bear goddess may, in fact, be attested to as early as the Upper Paleolithic era during which cave paintings depict bear.⁵⁹ Paul Faure says that bears were featured in the cult of Artemis at Akrotiri, a peninsula north-east of Kydonia (modern Chania) whose worshippers were pre-Dorian (Faure, 1960, p. 192). However, also in contemporary Crete there is the Panagia (Mary) Arkoudiotissa, Virgin of the She-Bear, at the cave Arkoudia at Akrotiri with a stalagmite in the shape of a bear. A festival in honor of the Virgin of the She-Bear is celebrated at the cave on February 2, the Day of the Annunciation (see also Willetts, 1962, p. 276) and there is a sanctuary to ὑπαπάντη τῆς θεοτόκος. Thomson believes that a bear goddess belonged to the Pelasgians who brought her to Attica from Lemnos and ultimately from the shores of the Black Sea (Thomson, 1954 [1949], p. 277). A bear priestess of Artemis is mentioned in an inscription from Cyrene (*LSCG Suppl.* 115). In a Greek magical papyrus the bear goddess (Artemis) is called upon: “Thozopithe, Bear, greatest goddess, ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining goddess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the universe, AEEIOYO (square), you who stand on a pole...” (*PGM IV* 1275-1322). Another magical papyrus reads: “Bear, bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion; /I appeal to you... I call upon you with your holy names at which your deity rejoices...; BRIMO, earth-breaker, chief huntress, BAUBO L... I AUMOR AMOR AMOR...IEA [shooter] of deer AMAM[AMAR] APHROU...MA, universal queen, queen of witches, /AMAMA, well-bedded, Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner, man-conqueror, LICHRISSE PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one...” (*PGM VII* 686-701). When Christians failed to eradicate the pagan bear image, they sometimes syncretized it, as in the case of the elevation of Ursel, a bear goddess worshipped in Cologne, to the status of St. Ursula, an Artemis-like priestess who traveled everywhere with a court of eleven thousand virgins. Artemis’ companion Atalanta was said to have been nursed by a bear (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.9.2). The big and little bears were so important that they formed part of the heavens as the constellations, Ursa Maior and Minor, Artemis/Callisto and Arcas, the eponymous founder of Arcadia. In spring-time, the birth season of Artemis, the paws of Ursa Maior, the Big Dipper is at its highest and with the bowl shape underneath to accept the gifts of the goddess.

⁶⁰ According to Aristotle, the deer does not like copulating (Arist. *HA* 578b-579a or 29.5-29.30). See more about deer on pp. 67-68.

⁶¹ The virgin priestesses of Artemis Ephesia were called “melissai” (*IvE* v. 6. 2109). Demeter’s priestesses had no communion with men and were also called melissai as were priestesses at Delphi (Mylonas, 1961, p. 232). There was further a nymph by the name of Melissa (Larson, 1995, p. 153). See also Scheinberg’s interesting article “The Bee Maidens of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83, 1979, pp. 1-28. In addition to the holy and virgin character of bees, honey and bees were associated with oracles and prophets, but also with poetry and poets (Hom. *Il.* 1.249; *Od.* 12.187; Pind. *Ol.* 10.98-99; *Nem.* 3.77, *Is.* 5.54, *Pae.* 6.59). Sappho and Erinna are compared to bees in the *Palatine Anthology* (2.69; 2.108ff.; 7.13). See also **fig. 9** of this thesis featuring bees in heraldic schema around a “potnia theron” honeycomb.

The Artemis Orthia sanctuary uncovered numerous animal figurines (Dawkins, 1929).⁶² Animals sacred to Artemis include dogs (she herself is referred to as a leader of bitches -- τὴν κυναγὸν Ἄρτεμιν, Soph. *El.* 563; Call. *Hymn* 3.17),⁶³ birds (*SEG* ix, 72); for example, the guinea fowl (Ael. *NA* 4.42), the partridge (Ael. *NA* 10.35), the quail (ortyx, Ortygia?), and the buzzard hawk (Ael. *NA* 12.4), and horses (for horse metaphors, see chapter 4 of this thesis -- Pind. *Ol.* 3.26), boars, hares or rabbits (Nilsson, 1971 [1950], p. 505), and bulls to which her epithet Ταυροπόλος attests (Eur. *IT* 1457; *LIMC* 2:2 700-705).⁶⁴

A statue of Artemis "Tauropolos" in her temple at Mounychia in Attica was said to have been brought from the Taurians by Iphigenia. Tauropolia was also a festival of Artemis in Athens and there were temples to her on Samos (Hdt. 3.48) and at Ikaria (Ael. *NA* 11.9). When depicted as Tauropolos on Roman coins, the goddess is seated on a bull. The word has been variously interpreted as "worshipped at Tauris," or "pulled by a yoke of bulls," or "a hunting bull goddess." The word πόλος can mean -- pivot, pole, axis, celestial sphere, head-dress, center of the circular threshing floor. The interpretation of the word referring to hunting bulls, I think, can be dismissed off hand. I believe rather that it could refer to the sign of the Taurus in the Zodiac, Artemis' birth sign (6 Thargelion) or, more likely, to a head-dress such as the one with bulls on the Artemis statue at Ephesus, which I suspect may have originated in the Minoan so called "snake frame," which in fact, as I showed in an earlier work, and subsequent article co-authored with Robin Hägg, represented bulls' horns rather than snakes (**fig. 6**).⁶⁵ See also the epithet bull-horned "ταυρόκερωσ" for Diana in the *Orphic Hymn to Selene*, the Moon (*Hymn. Orph.* IX).

In addition to Artemis Αἰγναία as goat (Paus. 3.14.2), there are other epithets that relate to her connection to the goat, Knagia, Knakalesia in Kaphyai, and Knakeatis (κνάξ, κνακός, κνακῶν/κνήκων) at Tegea (Paus. 3.18.4; 8.23.3-4; 8.53.11).⁶⁶ She was Artemis Lykeia (the wolf) in Trozen⁶⁷ and a cat (Bastet) in Egypt (Hdt. 2.59; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 28).⁶⁸

⁶² Such as tortoises, turtles, goats, and fish. It is likely that Artemis was capable of turning herself into animals such as the doe or bear that then served not only as her familiars but also as her metamorphic substitutes. Homeric epithets such as "owl-eyed Athena" and "cow-eyed Hera" may be survivals of theriomorphic worship.

⁶³ And κυναγὲ παρσένε "virgin dog leader" (Ar. *Lys.* 1270).

⁶⁴ Ταύρεος (or Ταύρειος (*Hsch.* s.v. ταῦρος); Ταύριος (*Sud.*) was an epithet of Poseidon in Boeotia (Hes. *Scutum* 104, F. Solmsen, *Hesiodi opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970: 88-107) and his priests or initiates at Ephesus were called ταῦροι, according to Sergent (1990, pp. 186-87). Cows and bees were already connected with the Anatolian Neolithic goddess (Mellaart, 1963, p. 80, fig. 12).

⁶⁵ "The Minoan 'Snake Frame' Reconsidered," *Opuscula Atheniensi* 15 (1984): 67-77.

⁶⁶ A virgin priestess served at the Artemis Knagia temple in Sparta (Paus. 3.18.4-5). Pausanias says that she had been abducted from Crete by a man by the name of Knageus, "λέγουσιν ὀνομάζειν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν·

Fish were also connected to Artemis (see **fig. 4** with fish featured on the dress of the “potnia theron”). Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoses* writes that Artemis, alias Aphaea, Dictynna, Britomart or Atergatis, was pursued and finally escaped in the form of a fish (Ant. Lib. 40). Fish-tail is featured on statues of the goddess at Ascalon, Phigalia, Crabos, Aegina, Cephallenia, and at Dictynnaeum in Crete. Artemis also received fish offerings (Athen. 7.325c).

William Whallon calls her a goddess of the weak and helpless (Whallon, 1961, p. 82). In Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, Calchas explains that Artemis feels pity for the victims of the eagles. “Artemis loathes the feast of the eagles” – στρυγεί δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν (Aeschyl. *Ag.* 137). She feels pity for the hare and her young. At this point she was not a cruel hunter. Aeschylus writes:

She was kind to the playful cubs of fierce lions
delighting in the suckling of the young of every
wild creature that roams the fields (Aesch.
Ag. 140-143).⁶⁹

Strabo reports that among the Heneti (of northern Italy) in the sacred precincts of Artemis, wild animals became tame and deer herd with wolves and they allow people to caress them (Str. *Geog.* 5.1.9). Piccaluga speculates that Artemis’ compassion towards animals may have been deliberately defied for at Patrae the festival of Artemis Laphria

ἐμοὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κναγεὺς ἄλλως ἀφικέσθαι πως ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεται καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φασιν;... τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐστὶ μὲν δῆλον ἀπὸ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τῆ πόλει γεγονός, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν φωνῇ τῆ Ἀρκάδων Καφυᾶς ἐκνενίκηκε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Καφυεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἶναι χώρας” (“the name of the city is clearly derived from Cepheus, the son of Aleus, but its form in the Arcadian dialect, Caphyae, is the one that has survived. The inhabitants say that originally they were from Attica,” Paus. 8.23.3); βληθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν φυγεῖν καὶ ἰκέται γενόμενοι Κηφέως οἰκῆσαι ἐνταῦθα. τὸ μὲν δὴ πόλισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ πεδίου τῷ πέρατι ὄρων οὐκ ἄγαν ὑψηλῶν παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι. Καφυάταις δὲ ἱερά θεῶν Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κνακαλησίας Ἀρτέμιδος. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄρος Κνάκαλος, ἔνθα ἐπέτειον τελετὴν ἄγουσι τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι (“on being expelled from Athens by Aegeus they fled to Arcadia, threw themselves on the mercy of Cepheus, and found a home in the country. The town is on the border of the plain at the foot of some inconsiderable mountains. The Caphyatans have a sanctuary of the god Poseidon, and one of the goddess Artemis, surnamed Cnacelesia”) “...ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄρος Κνάκαλος, ἔνθα ἐπέτειον τελετὴν ἄγουσι τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι” (“they have also a mountain called Cnacalus, where every year they celebrate mysteries in honor of their Artemis,” Paus. 8.23.3-4); “ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λυμνάτιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν ἐβένου ξύλου· τρόπος δὲ τῆς ἐργασίας ὁ Αἰγίναϊος καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. τούτου δὲ ὅσον δέκα ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις Ἀρτέμιδος Κνακεάτιδος ἐστὶ ναοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια” (“about seven stades farther on is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Lady of the Lake, with an image of ebony. The fashion of the workmanship is what the Greeks call Aeginetan. Some ten stades farther on are the ruins of a temple of Artemis Cnaceatis,” Paus. 8.53.11).

⁶⁷ Pausanias speculates that this may have been a surname among the Amazons (Paus. 2.31.4-5). See also the magical spell on pp. 55-56 of this thesis.

⁶⁸ Herodotus also describes temples dedicated to the “Egyptian Artemis,” Bubastis (Hdt. 2.137).

⁶⁹ τόσον περ εὐφρων ἂ καλὰ [ἐπωιδ.] δρόσοις ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων πάντων τ’ ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις θηρῶν ὀβρικόλοισι τερπνά.

included a procession in which the virgin priestess rode in a chariot drawn by deer and the sacrifice of many animals that were burned alive (Paus. 7.18.7-12; Piccaluga, 1981, p. 243). Maimed animals were sacrificed to Artemis Kolainis at Amarynthus in Euboia (from a *scholion on Aristoph. Birds* 872; Ael. *NA* 12.34).⁷⁰ She was Ἄγροτέρα, of the wild (*Il.* 21.471, *Xen. Cyn.*6.13), worshipped at Agra in Attica (*IG* 2.467, Paus.1.19.6), at Sparta, and elsewhere (*Xen. Hellenica* 4.2.20, *Ar. Eq.* 660).

1.4 Plants and healing

Artemis is also connected with vegetation and trees. Her epithets Lygodesma (Paus. 3.16.11) and Phakelitis at Tyndareis reflect this connection as do Kedreatis (of the Cedar, Paus. 8.13.2) at Orchomenos in Arcadia; Daphnaia (of the Laurel) in Hypsos (Paus. 3.24.9); Daphnia (Str. 8.3.12; C343); Delphinia (of δελφίνιον, larkspur, Delphinium Ajacis, Ps.-Dsc.3.73; *Gp.* 20.2.2) in Attica (Poll. *Onomasticon* 8.119). It was larkspur that Kore was picking from the virgin meadow of crocuses, hyacinths, roses, irises, violets when she was abducted by Hades. The nymph Cyane (cyan blue and cornflower, centaurea cyanus) tried to stop him and was turned into a spring. Artemis is also Kubarissia (of the Cypress) in Arcadia (Paus. 3.22.9; 10.38.9) and Dereatis in Sparta on Mount Taygetus (Paus. 3.20.7-8). She is Artemis Karyatis (κάρυα of the walnut or chestnut tree) in Laconia at whose festival choruses annually dance (Paus. 3.10.7) and Lyaia at Syracuse (λύω, loosen, epithet of the Great Mother, κακῶν λυαία, *Tim. Pers.*132). Other plants that were sacred to her include the amaranth, the asphodel, the plane tree, and the palm tree (Paus. 9.19.6-7). Hamamelis *virginiana* (*witch hazel*) was used to stem profuse menstruation flow.

Her relationship to plants and herbs gave Artemis the ability to cure and alleviate various illnesses. As Artemis Podagra she cures gout, as Artemis Chelytis cough (Clem. Alex. *Protrepticus* 2, pp. 32, 33 quoting Sosibius), and as Artemis Rhokkaia, “rabies” (Ael. *NA* 14.20). As Artemis Lygodesma, “chasteberry tree,” she helps women with menstruation cramps and labor pangs. Lygos, to alleviate menstruation cramps, was important in the Artemis cults at Sparta, Athens, and Samos (Nilsson, 1906, p. 191).⁷¹

⁷⁰ The meaning of Kolainis is not clear, but its reference in Aristophanes’ *Birds* may indicate that it referred to a type of bird.

⁷¹ That is castus agnus, chasteberry tree, osier, Keuschlamm (in German).

The drug Artemisia (ἀρτεμισία, “wormwood,” Dsc. 3.113) was named after her.⁷² It was used in different dosages for fertility and for the prevention and abortion of pregnancy as well as to alleviate menstruation cramps (Hazleton, 2004, p. 94). Harris says that it was formerly called Parthenis (Harris, 1916, p. 19). Pyrethrum Parthenium, feverfew as the *LSJ* (p. 1339) translates it, also alleviated menstruation cramps. Other plants used in connection with menstruation and pregnancy were κόκκος,⁷³ “kermesberry,” and κόκκων, “pomegranate seed,”⁷⁴ which afforded Artemis yet another epithet -- Artemis Kokkoka at Olympia (Paus. 5.15.7). Other herbs connected with Artemis included “ditanny”⁷⁵ and “maidenhair.”⁷⁶ Artemis is Corythalia, κορυθαλία, “white-berried ivy,” “hedera helix”) at Sparta and Ionia (Theophr. *HP* 3.18.6; Athen. 4.139). Artemis Thermia presided over healthful hot springs (Aelius Aristides 67).⁷⁷

⁷² “ἀρτεμισία μονόκλωνος· οἱ δὲ τοξιτησία, οἱ δὲ Ἐφεσία, οἱ δὲ παρθενικόν, οἱ δὲ ὑπόλυsson, οἱ δὲ ἀνακτόριος, οἱ δὲ σφύζουσα, οἱ δὲ λοχεία, οἱ δὲ λευκοφρυς, προφήται αἷμα ἀνθρώπου, Ῥωμαῖοι οὐαλέντια, οἱ δὲ σερπούλλουμ, οἱ δὲ ἔρβα ῥήγια, Γάλλοι πονέμ, Δάκοι ζουούστηρ” (Dsc. 3.113).

⁷³ The word is, in fact, also a name for the pudenda muliebria (*Hsch. s.v. κόκκων*). As the color of life, κόκκινος, “red.” Red ochre was used to color skeletons and female figurines in burials as early as the Palaeolithic age.

⁷⁴ At the Artemis Orthia temple at Sparta many figurines and pendants depicting pomegranate buds were found (Dawkins, 1929) similar to those found at Tegea (see pp. 120-121).

⁷⁵ Δίκταμον, “maidenhair,” was also used to heal open wounds, and is further said to have functioned as a love potion and as incense (francincense) to communicate with spirits (Dsc. 3.32). Another name for ditanny is ἀρτεμίδιον or ἀρτεμυδῖον δίκταμνος (Ps.-Dsc.3.32, Thphr. *HP* 9.16.1). The following incantation to invoke Artemis is from the *Hymns of the Orphica*: “Ἀρτέμιδος, θυμίαμα μάνναν (incense of manna). Κλυθί μου, ὧ βασιλεια, Διὸς πολυώνυμε κούρη (girl with many names), Τιτανίς, βρομία (noisy), μεγαλώνυμε (with a great name), τοξότι, σεμνή (holy), πασιφαής (all shining), δαιδοῦχε (torch-bearing) θεά, Δίκτυννα, λοχεία (child-birth), ὠδίνων (being in travail) ἐπαρωγὲ καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμύητε (uninitiated into labor pangs), λυσίζωνε (ungirded), φίλοιστρε (inspire with frenzy), κυνηγέτι, λυσιμέριμνε (driving away worry), εὐδρομε, ιοχέαιρα, φιλαγρότι (friend of the wild), νυκτερόφοιτε (appearing at night), κληυσία (famous), εὐάντητε (gracious), λυτηρία (healer), ἀρσενόμορφε (male shaped), Ὀρθία, ὠκυλόχεια (giving a quick birth), βροτῶν κουροτρόφε δαῖμον, ἀμβροτέρα (immortal), χθονία (earthly), θηροκτόνε, ὀλβιόμοιρε (of blessed form), ἢ κατέχεις ὀρέων δρυμούς, ἐλαφηβόλε, σεμνή (holy), πότνια, παμβασιλεια (all powerful queen), καλὸν θάλος, αἰὲν ἐοῦσα, δρυμονία, σκυλακίτι, Κυδωνιάς, αἰολόμορφε· ἐλθέ, θεά σώτειρα (healer), φίλη, μύστησιν ἅσασιν εὐάντητος, ἄγουσα (childless) καλοῦς καρποῦς ἀπὸ γαίης send (from the earth beautiful fruits) εἰρήνην τ’ ἐρατὴν (lovely peace) καλλιπλόκαμόν θ’ ὑγίαιαν· (health with lovely hair) πέμποις δ’ εἰς ὀρέων κεφαλὰς νούσους τε καὶ ἄλγη (and drive diseases and worry to the mountains) (Orph. 36).

⁷⁶ As a noun ἀδιάντος refers to maidenhair (Orph. *Arg.* 915). The adjective means “unwettered” ἀδιάντον· “οἱ δὲ πολύτριχον· φυλλάρια ἔχει ὅμοια κοριάνδρω, ἐπεσχισμένα ἐπ’ ἄκρου, τὰ δὲ ῥαβδία, ἐφ’ ὧν ἐκπέφυκε, μέλανα ἰσχυρῶς, λεπτά, σπιθαμαῖα· οὔτε δὲ καυλίον οὔτε ἄνθος οὔτε καρπὸν φέρει· ῥίζα ἄχρηστος. δύναται δὲ τὸ ἀφέψημα τῆς πῶας βοηθεῖν πινόμενον ἀσθματικοῖς, ἰκτερικοῖς, σπληνικοῖς, δυσουροῦσι· θρύπτει δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ κοιλίαν ἴσθησι καὶ θηριοδόκτοις βοηθεῖ καὶ στομάχου ρέυματι σὺν οἴνω ποθέν· κινεῖ δὲ καὶ ἔμμηνα καὶ λοχεῖα, ἴσθησι καὶ αἵματος ἀναγωγὴν. καταπλάττεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς θηριώδη <ἔλκη> καὶ ἀλωπεκίας δασύνει, χοιράδας σκορπίζει, ἀποσμά πίτυρα καὶ ἀχῶρας σὺν κονία. σὺν λαδάνω δὲ καὶ μυρσινίω καὶ σουσίνω ἢ καὶ ὑσσώπω καὶ οἴνω τρίχας ῥεούσας παρακρατεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἀφέψημα δὲ αὐτοῦ σὺν οἴνω καὶ κονία σμηρόμενον. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρονάς καὶ τοὺς ὄρνυγας μαχίμους εἶνα μειγνόμενον τῇ τροφῇ· φυτεύεται δὲ ἐπ’ ὠφελεία προβάτων ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις. φύεται δὲ ἐν παλίσκιοις τόποις καὶ τοίχοις ἐνίκμοις καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας.”

⁷⁷ The noun ἀρτεμία is also translated as “soundness, health” (AP9.644 [Agath.]; Procl. *H.* 1.42); pl., recovery (Max. 184).

Numerous Artemisian cults were devoted to female puberty and menstruation. Not surprisingly, Pausanias cannot figure out why Artemis has the epithet Artemis Kokkoka (pomegranate seed or kermesberry) “τέταρτος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κοκκώκας... ἀνθ’ ὅτου δὲ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπονομάζουσι Κοκκώκας” (“why Artemis is surnamed Kokkoka I could not discover,” Paus. 5.15.7). Chasteberry tree, agnus castus (λύγος, Artemis Lygodesma), wormwood (“artemisia”), and feverfew (“pyrethrum parthenium”) were all used to alleviate menstruation cramps and, in some cases, to hasten the onset of menstruation (*Hsch. s.v. γυναικεῖα τὰ ἔμμηνα. καὶ οἱ γυναικεῖοι τόποι*). Wormwood leaves in wine was recommended by Pythagoras to ease childbirth whereas Hippocrates recommended it to alleviate menstruation cramps (*De Nat. Mul.* 32), and Greek physician Soranus described a bath with wormwood to induce abortion (*Gyn.* 1.64). Ἄδιαντος, maidenhair, was used to absorb the blood of menstruation and childbirth (Dioscorides Pedanius. *De materia medica* 4.134; Orph. *Argonautica* 915. See n. 76). Another aid in menstruation and childbirth was μυρρίς, sweet cicely, used as a tonic for teenage girls, 15-18 years of age.⁷⁸ A Linear B tablet may also refer to various herbs as gifts to Artemis and other gods, such as calamint, hyssop, and fennel which are traditionally used for cramps and various “hysterical” complaints.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ “μυρρίς” was also used to counter the bite of vipers and spiders, as a love potion, and for various stomach problems: “μυρρίς, οἱ δὲ μύρραν καλοῦσι· τῷ καυλῷ καὶ τοῖς φύλλοις ἔοικε κωνεῖω, ρίζαν δὲ ἔχει ὑπομήκη, ἀπαλήν, περιφερῆ, εὐώδη, ἠδεῖαν βρωθῆναι, ἣτις πινομένη σὺν οἴνῳ φαλαγγιοδῆκτοις βοηθεῖ. καθαίρει δὲ ἔμμηνα καὶ λοχεῖα, καθεψηθεῖσα δὲ ἐν ροφήμασιν ὠφελίμως φθισικοῖς δίδοται. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ ἔνιοι πινομένην αὐτὴν καθ’ ἡμέραν δις ἢ τρίς σὺν οἴνῳ ἐν λοιμικαῖς καταστάσεσι βοηθεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἄνοσον διαμένειν” (*Dsc.* 4.115).

⁷⁹ PY Un 219. This is the same tablet where Artemis (a-ti-mi-te) may appear in the dative as recipient of these and other herbs. Could “po-ti-ni-ja” be an epithet for Artemis as in πότνια θεά (Hom. *Od.* 20.61) and πότνια θηρῶν (Hom. *Il.* 21. 470)? The common attribution is for Demeter as po-ti-ni-ja and followed by (w)anakate (in the dative), which is usually interpreted as king or tribal lord as in Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ ‘Hermes, the lord’ (*Iliad* II. 104).

1.5 Borders and waters

She is found also in border areas (Cole, 2000).⁸⁰ Pindar refers to her as a river goddess – ...ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος (*Pyth.* 2.7) – Artemis Potamia at Cladeus (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.17). She was a river goddess at Alpheionia or Alpheiusa at Elis (Str. C343; 8.3.12), but also at Letrinoi (Paus. 6.22.5-9), Olympia, Samos, and Syracuse. Several sanctuaries were dedicated to her as “Lady of the Lake,” Limnaia and Limnatis (λίμνη, lake) at Sicyon, Patrae, Tegea, Epidaurus, Limera, Sparta, Messene (see e.g., Paus. 8.53.11). Artemis Limnatis was also venerated at the foot of Taygetus and at Elis and in the Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily. Moreover, she was Artemis Heleia (ἐλεία marsh-τῆς Ἐλείας, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν) at Messenia and Triphylia (Str. 8.3.25; C350). Many of the festivals of Artemis, especially those dedicated to coming-of-age rituals such as at Mounychia, Halai Araphenides, and Brauron, were held by the sea.

1.6 Epithets

Pausanias gives sixty-four epithets for Artemis, only three fewer than for Zeus. Callimachus refers to her as πολυωνυμία (Call. *Hymn.* 3.7). Horace and Catullus laud her as an “omnium domina” (Hor. C. 1.21.5; Catull. 34.12—potens Trivia).⁸¹ She is ἀριστόβουλος, “best in counsel,” at Melite (Plut. *Them.* 22) and at Rhodes (Porph. *Abst.* 2.54) -- hence Ἀριστοβουλῖασταί, οἱ, a confraternity of her worshippers (*IG* 12(1).163 --

⁸⁰ As Spyridon Rangos notes, whereas it is correct that Artemis is worshipped near swamps and lagoons, this does not necessarily make Artemis a marginal or border goddess, but could in fact be connected with fertility often manifested in moisture (Rangos, 2000, p. 78).

⁸¹ She is called Stymphalia at Stymphalos (Paus. 8.22.7-9); Pergaia at Perge in Pamphylia (Str. Geog. 14.4.2,); Skiatis at Skias near Megalopolis (Paus. 8.35.5); Alpheiaia (Str. 8.3.12; C343); Eurynome (εὐρύνω, make wide for dancing, Paus. 8.41.4-5); Koryphaia at Epidaurus (κορυφαία, head-stall of a horse bridle, Xen. *Eq.* 3.2, 5.1, 6.7, Poll. 1.147). Paus. 2.28.2); Agrotera (of the wild, Paus. 7.26.3; *CIG* 2117, 5173); Laphria at Patrae (Paus. 7.18.8) and Delphi (λαφός· ὁ ἀριστερᾶ χειρὶ χρώμενος, Hsch. See also supra pp. 40-41 and Ettore Lepore’s discussion on this epithet which he associates with the agela and horses, 1986, pp. 149-154). She is Artemis Triklaria at Patrai; Artemis Issoria at Teuthrone (Paus. 3.25.4); and Artemis Anaeitis among the Lydians (Paus. 3.16.8). She is referred to as the noisy goddess – Κελαδεινή (Hom. *Il.* 23.208); Artemis Agoraia (of the market) at Elis (Paus. 5.15.4); and Artemis Hiereia (priestess) at Haimoniae in Arcadia (Paus. 8.44.2 cf. ἱεραί, αἱ (female members of a religious college or guild, *IG* 5(1). 1.c.); Artemis Hegemone (leader) (Paus. 3.14.7) at Sparta and Tegea; and Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Philostr. *VA* 6.20. See also infra p. 51-52). She is Artemis Protothronia (the first throne) at Amphissa in Locris and at Ephesus (Paus. 10.38.6) and at Caphyae in Arcadia she is Condyleatis (Paus. 8.23.6, of the knucklebones or astragals, a common game in homosexual and heterosexual courtship, but also connected to chance and cleromancy, Larson, 1995, p. 350). See also images of girls playing with knucklebones in front of a statue of Artemis at Ephesus (Hogarth, 1908, pp. 190-192).

Rhodes). The precinct of “Kalliste” and “Ariste,” just north-west of Athens near Kerameikos, referred to Artemis, according to Pausanias (1.29.2)

She is πότνια θεά (Hom. *Od.* 20.61),⁸² πότνια θηρῶν “mistress of animals” (Hom. *Il.* 21. 470) (**Figs. 3-9**), ιοχέαιρα “shooter of arrows” (Hom. *Od.* 6.102, 11.172, 15.478, etc.), ἐλαφηβόλος “shooter of deer” (*Hom. Hymn. Dian.* 2), ἐλαφοκτόνος “deer killer” (Eur. *Iph. T.* 1113), Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη (Hom. *Il.* 21.471), χρυσόθρονος, “golden-throned” (Hom. *Il.* 9.533),⁸³ and, above all, virginal, chaste – ἀγνή (Hom. *Od.* 5.123; 18.202; 20.71),⁸⁴ παρθένος, “virgin” (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.9), παρθένος ἀδμής (*Od.* 6.109), ἀεὶ ἀδμήταν, (Soph. *El.* 1239), and ἀταύρωτος – a peculiar word presumably meaning virginal (Aesch. *Ag.* 245 and *Ar. Lys.* 217).

She is the goddess of women. Young women who suffered various maladies were accustomed to dedicating clothes to her as the Hippocratic treatise on the maladies of virgins illustrates (*Vir.* 1.38-39).⁸⁵ Artemis “Mekos” gave to the daughters of Pandareüs “stature,” “build,” “μῆκος δ’ ἔπορ’ Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή” (Hom. *Od.* 20.71). She is “Philomeirax,” “τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Φιλομείρακος Ἀρτέμιδος” (“friend of girls”) at Elis (Paus. 6.23.8; Diod. 5.73; Aesch. *Ag.* 142) and Oupis after one of the Hyberborean maidens at Ephesus, Sparta, and Trozen, and Chryse after another virgin.

She was also a goddess of birth in her capacity of assisting women at different stages in their lives. As such she acquired much of the character of the ancient goddess of birth, Eileithyia (*CIG* 1596, 1997; Lloyd-Jones, 1983, p. 96) at Tholos, Orchomenos, Thespieae, Charonea, Tanagra, and Thisbe.⁸⁶ She is called child nurse, παιδοτρόφος at Corone in Messenia (Paus. 4.34.6) and κουροτρόφος (Diod. Sic. 5.73.6), and she is Artemis Locheia (Eur. *IT* 1097; Eur. *Suppl.* 958; *Orph. Hymn* 35.3; *CIG* 1768, 3562). In Phigalia, Artemis Soteira helped women in childbirth (Paus. 3.22.12-13; *AP* 6.267 (Diotima); *IG* II² 1343.4695). The family of myrtle featured prominently in her cult. It has many medicinal uses, such as acting as an emmenagogue and an abortifacient.

⁸² Ἄρτεμι, πότνια θεά, θύγατερ Διός, αἴθε μοι ἤδη (*Od.* 20.61).

⁸³ ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή (*Od.* 5.123).

⁸⁴ αἴθε μοι ὡς μαλακὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή (*Od.* 18.202).

⁸⁵ *Œuvres complètes d’Hippocrate*, vol. 8, p. 468. É. Littré (Ed.) (1961-1962). Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert.

⁸⁶ A third-century BCE inscription at Gonnoi in Thessaly a woman dedicated an offering termed *πασιτοκεῖα* (Ἀρτέμιδι Ἰλιθύαι Μενέπολις Ἐπίνου πασιτοκεῖα ἀνέθηκε) to Artemis Eileithyia meaning perhaps an offering to end pregnancy although a common translation is an offering at the end of pregnancy or childbirth (B. Helly, *Gonnoi* II no. 175 bis: “Ménépolis a consacré ‘ce qui met fin à ses couches, ce qui en marque le terme et sa délivrance’”; J. and L. Robert. *Bull. épigr.* 1973, p. 247: “en offrande pour la fin des couches”; *LSJ Suppl.* s.v. *πασιτοκεῖα*: “an offering marking the end of childbirth”).

1.7 Attributes

Of her attributes the bow is the most frequently mentioned in literature and depicted in art⁸⁷ (Hom. *Il.* 21. 490 and 496) -- she is designated “archer” – ιοχέαιρα (Hom. *Il.* 5. 53; 6. 428; 20. 39; *Od.* 6.103, etc.) and “arch bearer” -- τοξοφόρος (Hom. *Il.* 21. 483). Her iconography includes also torches as ἀμφίπυρος (Soph. *Trach.* 214), φωσφόρος (Eur. *Iph. T.* 21; Paus. 4.31.10) πυρφόρος, and πυρωνία (Paus. 8.15.9). Artemisian festivals were often held at night.⁸⁸ For Cicero who refers to her as Omnivaga, she is one of the seven planets (Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2.68-69) and Lucifera, “light bringer,” identified with Luna, “the moon” (Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2.27).⁸⁹ Artemis was offered round cakes with burning candles in the middle (ἀμφιφῶντες) representing Artemis as a moon goddess (Benko, 1993, p. 63; Pausanias (Attic.) 105.1; Pausanias, *FG Hist* 244, 152)⁹⁰ at the Mounychia festival, celebrated after the full moon on the 16. Mounychion, and most likely a celebration of menarche (see the discussion in chapter 6).⁹¹

She is associated with Hecate as Artemis Trivia, “of the Crossroads,” the triple goddess, which also relates to Artemis as protectress of the three stages of life, as child or young adult, adult or mother, and old woman (*LIMC* 2:2 875-881)⁹² – Στροφάδα (Strabo 10.1.10) and Εἰνοδία, “roadside” (“in-the-road”) Artemis (in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Hes. *Cat.* 71 and *Hymni Anonymi. Hymni e papyris magicis collecti*, frags. 10.46; 13.8).⁹³

⁸⁷ Artemis as huntress did not seem to have been the subject of many cult practices for Artemis Agrotera was a goddess of the wild, not of hunting.

⁸⁸ Martin Nilsson’s statement that “even women had to be allowed to take part in certain nocturnal festivals” (Nilsson, 1971 [1940], p. 96) is nonsensical since almost all Artemisian festivals for women and girls took place at night as did many festivals devoted to Demeter such as the Thesmophoria.

⁸⁹ quorum alterum Apollinem Graeci alteram Dianam putant quod si luna dea est, ergo etiam Lucifer ceteraeque errantes numerum deorum optinebunt; igitur etiam (Cic. *De natura deorum* 3.51) and ut apud Graecos Dianam eamque Luciferam sic apud nostros Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo invocant (Cic. *De nat. deor.* 2.68).

⁹⁰ Cf. the Collyridians who dedicated cakes to Virgin Mary.

⁹¹ Intriguingly, Bernard Sergent believes that initiation rituals of youths along with Iphigenia (Ipmedeja) and the month of Mounychion are mentioned already in a Linear B tablet from Pylos (PY Tn 316).

⁹² There are many triads in Greek mythology that may reflect this idea of the three stages of life—the Gorgons, the Horae, the Moirae, the Charites, and others. Several of these virgin nymphs have oracular and other supernatural powers (Paus. 8.37.11; 9.3.9; 10.5.5; Hes. *Theog.* 235; Dio Cassius 41.45). There are few male triads.

⁹³ “χαῖρε θεά, καὶ σαῖσιν ἐπωνυμίαις ἐπάκουσον. θύω σοι τόδ’ ἄρωμα, Διὸς τέκος, ιοχέαιρα, οὐρανία, λιμνῖτι, ὀρίπλανε εἰνοδία τε, νερτερία νυχία τ’, αἰδωναία σκοτία τε, ἥσυχε καὶ δασπλήτι, τάφοις ἐνι δαῖτα ἔχουσα” (E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963, pp. 180-199).

1.8 Physical aspects

Physical aspects of Artemis described in literature are her height (Hom. *Od.* 6.107-108) and her “beauty,” καλή (Aeschyl. *Ag.* 140; Aristoph. *Ranae* 1358 as Dictynna), καλλίστη or καλλίστα (Paus. 8.35.8; Eur. *Hipp.* 66). Like Nausikaa, Persephone, and Helen she is “beautiful,” καλλίστη (Sappho recorded in Paus. 1.29.2), καλλίστα πολὺ παρθένων (Eur. *Hipp.* 66), and ἐϋπλόκαμος, “fair-tressed” (Hom. *Od.* 20.80), χρυσός, χρυσέα, κόμη, χρυσοκόμας, χρυσοχαίτης, “golden-haired, χρυσεοβόστρυχος (Eur. *Hipp.* 82; Eur. *Phoen.* 191) and λευκώλενος, “white-armed” (Bacchyl. 5.99); λευκοφρῶνη, “white-browed” in Phrygia (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.19) and at Magnesia and Ephesus (Paus. 3.18.9). As a wild and untamed virgin, her clothing is a chiton reaching down to her knees and buskins on her feet (Call. *Hymn* 3. 11-12, 16; *LIMC* 2:2 (Artemis) 190-334). A so called “Artemis’ belt” (a sanitary belt pad?) seems to have been used as a magical device at least as late as the 5th century CE (Trombley, 1993, p. 88). At Kastabale near Tyana, the metropolis of Second Cappadocia, the priestesses of the Perasian Artemis walked barefoot over hot embers without experiencing pain (Str. *Geog.* 12.2.7).

1.9 Relationship to men and women

Artemis was often cruel towards men, a recurring motif in art and literature (Tripp, 1970, pp. 103-104; Bell, 1991, pp. 72-73). For example, when Oeneus, king of Calydon did not sacrifice to Artemis at a harvest feast, he was visited by a boar which ravaged his country and led to the Calydonian boar hunt (Paus. 2.25.2; Hom. *Il.* 9.530). Admetus forgot to sacrifice to her at his wedding to Alcestis whereupon the goddess filled the bridal chamber with snakes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.15). Phalaecus, tyrant of Ambracia, was torn to pieces by a lioness for playing with a lion cub (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4). She is especially dangerous to hunters. She drove Broteas mad after he had neglected to pay her honors whereupon he threw himself into the fire (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4). When giants Otus and

Ephialtes pursued her, Artemis transformed herself into a deer. When the giants aimed at it, she disappeared and their spears hit each other (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.4).

When Orion tried to rape either Artemis herself or Oupis, one of the Hyperborean virgins, Artemis sent a scorpion to kill him (Hyg. *Fab.* 195; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.5; Liban. *Hymn* 5.9). Boupagus was killed when he tried to pursue Artemis (Paus. 8.27.17). She caused Narcissus to fall in love with himself (Paus. 9.31.7). She sent the golden lamb that set off the deadly rivalry between Atreus and Thyestes (Apollod. *Epit.* 2.10-13). She caused leprosy on Teuthras for killing one of her sacred boars (Ps.-Plut. *De fluv.* 21.4; Paus. 8.4.7; 10.28.8). When Alpheius sought to rape Artemis, she and her nymphs smeared their faces in mud, so that he could not tell them apart (Paus. 6.22.9). Actaeon was torn to pieces by dogs after being transformed by Artemis into a stag after seeing the Goddess naked, according to a popular myth (Ovid. *Met.* 3.138ff.).⁹⁴

The myth of Actaeon seeing Artemis naked is not attested to until Hellenistic times. Euripides in *Bacchae* (339-40) uses the older version in which she kills him for having boasted that he surpassed the goddess as a hunter. Both Stesichorus (fr. 236 *PMG* F) and pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* make her get rid of him because he pursued a woman, Semele (Paus. 9.2.3). Another source says it was because he sought to seduce Artemis (Diod. Sic. 4.81.4).

A more logical explanation to account for why Actaeon was transformed into a stag specifically may be that the avid hunter had overstepped his boundaries and killed in hubris either a deer sacred to the goddess or too many of the goddess' herd as protectress of deer and all animals. The hunter became the hunted as punishment and was taught a lesson about respecting life and nature.⁹⁵

She was usually kinder to women. She saved Britomartis from Minos and Arethousa from Alpheius (Ovid. *Met.* 5.610). She helped Taygete, daughter of Atlas and Pleione

⁹⁴ Robert Graves explains that the horned god Actaeon's slaying of her holy bitches was part of the drama of the ritual bath, the nakedness, tearing to pieces of a sacred king (Graves, 1948, p. 198). Graves refers to this episode as a pre-Hellenic stag cult, in which a sacred king was torn to pieces at the end of his reign of fifty months, half a Great Year; his co-king or tanist reigning for the remainder. The Nymph properly took her bath *after*, not *before* the murder. Graves sees numerous parallels to this in Irish and Welsh myth. In barbarian Germany the Goddess' ritual bath could only be witnessed by men doomed to die (Tacit. *Germ.* 40). There is a similar story about the virgin Athena. Chariklo, the nymph beloved by Athena, bathes naked together when a man surprises them upon which Athena blinds him (Call. *Hymn* 5.70-92).

⁹⁵ A children's cartoon on American TV a couple of years ago featured the story of Artemis and Actaeon. Artemis transformed the hunter Actaeon into a stag to teach him a lesson about not killing animals. The terrified, now deer, Actaeon attempts to speak but is not able to make himself understood without a human language. As his hunting companions are poised to throw their spears and shoot their arrows and the hunting dogs are about to pounce at the deer Actaeon, he promises Artemis that if she would only change him back into human form, he would never kill another living being and instead educate his hunting companions about the plight and suffering of hunted animals, which indeed was the happy outcome.

escape Zeus by changing her into a cow or doe (Pind. *Ol.* 3.29).⁹⁶ Artemis took pity on Procris when she tried to escape her husband and live as a chaste huntress. Procris put on a boy's attire and cut her hair short to teach her cheating husband Cephalus a lesson, according to Hyginus (Hyg. *Fab.* 189). Tityus attempted to rape Leto but was killed by Artemis (Pind. *Pyth.* 4). Artemis took revenge on Aristomelidas after he abducted a Tegean virgin who subsequently committed suicide (Paus. 8.47.6).

Artemis cures “madness” which is sometimes brought on by Hera and marriage. See, for example, Bacchylides’ Ode 11 about the Proitids who do not want to marry but remain in their father’s house, that is, remain virgins. Hera had made them mad after they had committed an act of hybris—a refusal to marry, according to Claude Calame (Calame, 1997, p. 117).

Artemis could also be cruel towards women who had broken the vow of chastity to which the story of Callisto attests (Ovid, *Met.* 2.409-2.530)⁹⁷ and she killed the daughters of Niobe after Niobe had boasted that she was more fertile than Leto, mother of Artemis (Hom. *Il.* 24. 604-609). Polyphonte rejected Aphrodite who forced her to fall in love with a bear. Artemis, allegedly in disgust, turned all animals against her (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 21). Comaetho and Melanippus had sexual relations in the temple of Artemis Triklaria in Achaia whereupon Artemis changed Melanippus into a mare (Melanippe) as punishment (Paus. 7.19.1-6).

She transformed another virgin because of her beauty (or more likely in an effort to protect her virginity): “You Titan, daughter of Merops, are blest, you whom Artemis chased from her band (ἐξεχορεύσατο) as a deer with golden horns because of her beauty” (“ἄν τέ ποτ’ Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο χρυσοκέρατ’ ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν,” Eur. *Hel.* 381-383).

In the *Iliad*, Hera refers to Artemis as a “Lion to Women” – “...τοξοφόρῳ περ εἰούση, ἐπεὶ σὲ λέοντα γυναιζὶ Ζεὺς θῆκεν, καὶ ἔδωκε κατακτάμεν ἦν κ’ ἐθέλησθα. ἦτοι βέλτερόν ἐστι κατ’ οὔρεα θήρας ἐναίρειν ἀγροτέρας τ’ ἐλάφους ἢ κρείσσοσιν ἴφι μάχεσθαι” -- and compares her to a lion hunting a deer, presumably referring to her ability to take the lives of women in childbirth (Hom. *Il.* 21.483). However, the reference to lions may also allude to the fact that lions were thought to be incapable of sexual intercourse (Apollod.

⁹⁶ Eventually, the god managed to rape her and the result was a son, Lakedaimon, the founder of Sparta (Pind. *Ol.* 3.26).

⁹⁷ One tradition says that Hera turned Callisto into a bear and that Artemis killed the bear in order to please Hera (Paus. 8.3.6).

Bibl. 3.9.2; Ovid *Met.* 10.560-706) and that lionesses were thought to be very protective of their cubs.⁹⁸

Artemis' shunning of men, her eternal virginity, her companionship with and protection of women, and her role in girls' maturation rituals have a homoerotic subtext (see discussion in chapter 4) similar to that of her twin Apollo.⁹⁹ Callimachus lists some of her virgin companions -- Cretan Britomartis, "whom she loved beyond all others" (*Call. Hymn* 3.189); Cretan Oupis; Cyrene, daughter of Hypsios; "lovely Antikleia whom she loved like her eyes" (*Call. Hymn* 3. 210-211); and Atalanta.¹⁰⁰ According to Pausanias, "Britomartis took delight in running and the chase and was very dear to Artemis" (*Paus.* 2.30.3).¹⁰¹ To Hesychius, Britomartis meant "sweet virgin" (*Hesych. s.v. βριτώ*, "sweet"). One tradition tells of her escape from Minos by disappearing into a grove at Aegina where she was worshipped as Aphaia (*Ant. Lib.* 40; cf. *Paus.* 2.30.3). Another version tells how, when attempting to escape Minos' pursuit, she is saved by Artemis or she throws herself into the sea to escape Minos (*Call. Hymn* 3.189-203). Aristophanes relates the story that Artemis saved Britomartis from hunters' nets (*Ran.* 1356) and in another version she is saved by the nets of fishermen and known afterwards as Dictynna (*diktyon* meaning net) (*Call. Hymn* 3. 198; *Hesych. s.v. Ἀφαία ἢ Δίκτυννα, καὶ Ἄρτεμις*).¹⁰² In Euripides, there is assimilation of Dictynna with Artemis (*IT* 126) -- ὦ παῖ τᾶς Λατοῦς, Δίκτυνν' οὐρέϊα. Several places in Peloponnesus have cults to Britomartis-Dictynna, Sparta (*Paus.* 3.14.2); Phokis (*Paus.* 10.36.5); Trozen (*Eur. Hipp.* 145, 1130). Callimachus links Dictynna with Mount Dikte and she is referred to as a "hetaira" of Artemis (*Call. Hymn* 3. 198-199).¹⁰³ At times, Britomartis or Britamartis (the Cretan form

⁹⁸ In addition to lions, deer, bears, and bees were also considered chaste animals although Oppian describes the bear quite differently (3.145-148).

⁹⁹ For a discussion about female homoeroticism involving Artemis and specific women such as Britomartis, Cyrene, Prokris, Antikleia, and Atalanta, see Calame, 1997, p. 253. As for Apollo and his relationship to, for example, Hyacinthus, see Calame, 1997, p. 180; Nilsson, 1906, pp. 129-140 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.3 and 3.10.3. Pausanias calls Hyacinthus the initiator of male homosexuality (*Paus.* 3.19.5). Just as with Artemis and Britomartis there is an amalgamation between Apollo and Hyacinthus (Nilsson, 1906, p. 139) as is evident in the epithet Apollo Hyakinthos (*Nonnus. Dion.* 11.330). Hyacinthus also had a sister, Polyboia, whom Hesychius identifies with Artemis.

¹⁰⁰ In popular literature this is often the inference. Robert Bell calls Britomartis Artemis' lover and writes that "it is probably safe to say that they were lovers in the total sense" (Bell, 1991, p. 72).

¹⁰¹ "χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι."

¹⁰² Nilsson refers to Dictynna as a goddess in western and Britomartis in eastern Crete and to the two as Mother and Maid (Nilsson, 1971, p. 511).

¹⁰³ The word hetaira which came to mean a woman with dubious moral character originally most likely referred to loving companions such as those in Sparta where men and women were called hetairai (see the discussion in chapter 4). In Pindar's *Third Pythian* at the wedding of Coronis, the parthenoi are referred to as ἐταῖραι of the bride. Some of the companions who left her sphere, usually by being "abducted" by men, include, Persephone, Arethousa (Arcadia), Aura (Titanis), Beroe (Phoenician Beruit), Nikaia (Phrygia),

is Britomarpis, *IC* 1 p. 36 Guarducci) and Artemis are one and the same. The festival Britomartia at Delos followed immediately upon the festival of Artemis (*IG* XI (2) 145.34). In fact, according to Hesychius, Artemis took over the festival from Britomartis (*Hesych. s.v. καλαβίς*). In another story she is a Minoan goddess, the daughter of Zeus and Hecate or she is fatherless and her mother is Leto, the mother of Artemis (Neanth. fr. 23; cf. Paus. 2.30.3).

1.10 Temples and festivals

Pausanias mentions a total of eighty-six sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis, forty-nine of which were on the Peloponnese. She was especially prominent in Lakonia and Arcadia – Artemis Limnatis, Artemis Caryatis, and Artemis Orthia. For Martin Nilsson the famous scourging of young men at the Artemis Orthia festival was a fertility rite.¹⁰⁴ However, according to Pausanias, it replaced an earlier human sacrifice (3.16.10-11; see also Philostr. *VA* 6.70). The scourging continued in Roman times (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.34). The prize of the competition among men and among women at Artemis Orthia was a sickle. Theories include references to harvesting, castration, and beheading. A golden sickle was used by the Gallic Druids to lop the mistletoe (an attribute of Apollo), which was a phallic emblem, according to Graves, who viewed the act as a symbolic castration (Graves [1948] 1966, p. 61).

Lloyd-Jones speculates that the Orthia festival had phallic significance because of its name ὀρθός, meaning “straight” (Lloyd Jones, 1983, p. 91) although Calame does not think that this meaning is likely (Calame, 1977, p. 165, n. 231). Asclepius “Orthios” refers to the god as savior, meaning something like “safety.” The name could also be connected with ὄρθρος, “dawn,” ὄρθρου, “at dawn.” The explanation given by Pausanias seems to me the most appropriate. According to him, the statue was encircled by willow,

Pholoe (Central Italy), Syrinx (Arcadia), Taygete (Lakedaimon), Atalanta (Boeotia), Callisto (Arcadia), Cyrene (Thessaly), Phylonome (Arcadia), Prokris (Attica), Anticleia (mother of Odysseus, Phokis). Her attendants were the sixty Oceanides, twenty nine-year-olds, the Amnisiades, Aspalis (Phthiotis), Britomartis (Crete), Hecaerge, Loxo and Oupis, the Hyberborean virgins (Delos), Iphigenia (Mycene), Makaria-Eukleia (Thebes). Almost all companions were female with perhaps the exception of Hippolytus and Orion who both were considered to be effeminate or homosexual men. Orion lived with a man “in too close an intimacy” (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.34). Artemis and her nymphs were described by Wilhelm Dilthey some 150 years ago as being equivalent to the wild huntsman and his followers (Dilthey, 1870, pp. 321-332).

¹⁰⁴ Certainly, fertility rites have received far too many simplistic attributions in modern scholarship, especially, since this kind of rite is rarely defined or explained.

lygos, which made the image stand upright (Paus. 3.16.11). For this reason Orthia was often referred to as Lygodesma, that is, “withy,” “agnus castus” (or “chasteberry) bound. As we saw earlier (p. 41), “lygos” was associated with coming-of-age and menstruation. The foundation myth of the flagellations at Artemis Orthia was that a brawl broke out among participants from the four quarters of Sparta while they were sacrificing to the goddess (Paus. 3.16.9-11). Some died and others fell victim to an epidemic. The oracle ordered the altar to be wetted with human blood to atone for the deaths. A human victim was chosen by lot, but Lycurgus is credited with changing the custom to instead flog the epebes until they bled (Paus. 3.16.10). The sticks used in the scorging were made of “lygos.” (Artemis?) Orthia’s cult in Sparta can be traced back to at least the Geometric period and it continued until late antiquity (Dawkins, 1929, pp. 5-6).

Adult female priestesses served at the Artemis Orthia temple at Messene. They lit the sacrificial altar with a torch of one of the virgin initiates, who perhaps had won a torch race.¹⁰⁵ There was a “dromenon” or sacred race/dance by the initiates. The parents of the virgin initiates dedicated life-size statues of the young women to Artemis Orthia and paid honor also to the priestesses by donating small-size portrait statues of them. There were a number of terracotta, lead, and ivory figurines found going back to the archaic period which represent Artemis as mistress of animals and as Phosphorus with short chiton wrapped with a nebris and polos.¹⁰⁶ Another popular Artemisian festival was that of the Basket (Κάλαθος), celebrated in Bithynia at least as late as c. 450 CE.¹⁰⁷ This great ritual (μεγάλη ἀγιστεία) featured worshippers making baskets “dance” (χορεύειν) (Str. *Geog.* 13.4.5).

1.11 Artemis Ephesia

Numerous temples were dedicated to Artemis in Boeotia, Euboea, Phokis, Naxos, Delos, Thessaly, Samos, Ikaria, Rhodes, Lydia, Mytilene, Kyzikos, Klaros, Klezomenai,

¹⁰⁵ Themelis, Petros G. (1994). *Artemis Ortheia at Messene: The Epigraphical and Archaeological Evidence*. In Hägg, Robin. *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*. Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 November 1991, p. 101. Stockholm: Paul Åström Förlag.

¹⁰⁶ Similar figurines are commonly found also in Athens, at the Athenian Agora, Volos, Berosia, Delos, and other places.

¹⁰⁷ A certain Hypathius was a monk in the Bithynian countryside. His life is described by Callinicus of Rufiniana (*De Vita S. Hypatii Liber*. Seminarium Philologorum Bonnensis Sodales, Leipzig, 1895) in which it says that he witnessed an epiphany of the goddess as a woman as tall as ten men who went about spinning and raising pigs. Hypathius had been warned about traveling because this Artemis was characterized as stranger-hating (μισόξενος).

Chios, the Troad, and Crete (Roscher. *Lex.* p. 592). Her largest sanctuary, though, was at Ephesus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World¹⁰⁸ -- Artemis Ephesia -- where Amazons, according to the myth, served as priestesses and/or were founders of the city or sanctuary (Pindar, fr. 174; Paus. 7.2.7; Call. *Hymn* 3.237ff.).¹⁰⁹ Supposedly, an Amazon queen, Ephos, gave her name to Ephesus. The Amazons had also taken refuge at the Artemision when pursued by Dionysus and later by Heracles (Paus. 7.2.7). The Ephesus temple was a beehive with swarms of priestesses named bees, melissae, divided into three groups – Mellierai, Hierai, Parierai (*CIG* 3001-3003) -- and eunuch priests named essenens (drones).¹¹⁰ Vergil describes the noise of cymbals to attract the bees of the Great Mother (*Georg.* 4.64). There was an altar for Artemis Protothronia (“the First Throne”). Artemis Leukophryene (“White-Browed”) was also honored at Ephesus.

Two ancient Greek romances – Xenophon’s *Ephesiaka* and Achilles Tatius’s story of *Leukippe and Cleitophon* offer vivid descriptions of Ephesus and some of its religious activities. There is also Heliodorus’ story of Chariclea who resembled her mistress Artemis in virginity, in beauty of form, and in joy of hunting. She participates in the procession to the temple of Artemis dressed in a purple robe which was embroidered with gold. In her left hand was a golden bow and in her right hand a lighted torch (Heliod. *Aethiop.* 3.4). Hipponax in reference to the procession on 6. Thargelion, the birthday of Ephesian Artemis, claims that a scapegoat is led in the procession and later sacrificed.¹¹¹

According to Strabo, Artemis Ephesia was born at Ortygia (14.1.20). In 1087 BCE, Androklos, son of king Kodros of Athens, allegedly landed in Ionia and brought Artemis who became syncretized with the old Anatolian goddess (Jenny-Kappers, 1986, p. 35). Indeed, Artemis Ephesia appears to be an Anatolian goddess although Pausanias and Strabo deemphasize this origin to harmonize with the Greek. The eunuchs, megabyzoi are a conspicuous Anatolian aspect (Strabo. *Geog.* 14.1.23). The Essenai were later and, presumably, chaste only during their year of service (Paus. 8.13.1). Only virgins could enter the Artemis Temple (Fleischer, 1995, p. 609). There were also cults to Hecate and

¹⁰⁸ There may have been a Minoan temple at the site (Pillinger et al., 1999, p. 87). Ancient Koressus, an archaic Greek settlement founded under the legendary leadership of the Attic prince Androklos, was probably located on the southern side of the bay (Scherrer, 2004 [1995], p. 3). The Lydian town which is well attested in literature and the city founded near the Artemision by Croesus have not yet been located (Scherrer, 2004 [1995], p. 3). Few traces have been found of the new Hellenistic city, which Lysimachus established in approx. 290 BCE. Under Augustus, Ephesus was made “the capital of Asia.”

¹⁰⁹ Only unmarried women (virgins) were allowed to enter (Fleischer, 1995, p. 609).

¹¹⁰ See Roscher for a detailed description of the various temple staff (Roscher, *Lex.* p. 591).

¹¹¹ Human bones were found under Temple A (Jenny-Kappers, 1986, p. 31). Certainly, this does not mean that they came from sacrificed “scapegoats.”

Cybele (“μήτηρ ὄρος, μήτηρ ἀγνή -- Ἐκάτης...Μήτηρ θεῶν”), to Aphrodite, Demeter, Poseidon, Zeus, Hestia, Apollo, Dionysus, and Leto that may have preceded that of Artemis at Ephesus.

Artemis Ephesia had temples also at Massilia (Marseille) and at Iberia (Strabo. *Geog.* 4.1.4), at Skillus near Elis, at Corinth (Paus. 2.2.6), and at Arcadia (Paus. 8.30.6). Other temples were located at the Pantikapsaion on the Crimean Bosphorus, at Smyrna, Aphrodisias, near Dirmil in Karia, on Chios, in Macedonia, Rome, and Berezan in the Ukraine. The aetion for the temple at Massilia tells of a woman by the name of Aristarcha who sailed with the Phocaeans to colonize Massilia after Ephesian Artemis in a dream had commanded her to found a temple in the new colony.

The famous “many breasted” cult statue of Artemis Ephesia has been amply discussed in modern scholarship (**fig. 10**). For example, an interesting article by Lynn LiDonnici summarizes the various hypotheses. Robert Fleischer, for example, suggests that the so called breasts are pictorial ornaments forming part of a garment, a fact that was misunderstood (perhaps deliberately) by the Christian Church Fathers (LiDonnici, 1992, p. 397). She further speculates that the popularity of the theory of another scholar, Gérard Seiterle, that the breasts depict severed scrotal sacs of sacrificial bulls, may be born out of the radical masculinization of the 20th century Western construction of gender that tended to identify the categories of power and virility with one another (LiDonnici, 1992, p. 393). Marjatta Nielsen accepts Seiterle’s theory on the grounds that the “nipples are missing” (Nielsen, 2009, p. 455). However, this cannot be said with any certainty since the original cult statue was made of wood and has long since perished. Also, the statue could have been painted or had breast jewelry, as Robert Fleischer contends. Further, gourd-shaped “teardrops of amber, elliptical in cross-section and drilled for hanging,” were rediscovered in 1987-88.¹¹² They had remained in situ where the ancient wooden statue had been caught in an eighth-century flood. The hoard of jewelry is dated to the Geometric period, so if they belonged to the xoanon, these egg or breast or tearlike drops would date back to at least this period.

The “beehive” organization of the temple may hold a clue. As the queen bee Artemis continually produces offspring (eggs), which fits the shape well. However, a common-

¹¹² Fleischer, Robert. "Neues zu kleinasiatischen Kultstatuen" *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 98 (1983): 81-93. Fleischer seems to doubt that the statue would have been painted. He cites Pliny who says that it was polished with varnish to preserve it and that this would have darkened the wood, p. 82 (Bammer, Anton. "A Peripteros of the Geometric Period in the Artemision of Ephesus." *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 137–160, esp. 153).

sense approach seems to me the most plausible explanation. The Ephesian Artemis was Mother of all living things depicted on her dress and head gear, and in this capacity, she needed to be able to feed, nurse, all her children, human and non-human alike.¹¹³ According to Pausanias (as quoted in Eustathius. *Comm. ad Hom.* 19.247), so called Ἐφέσια γράμματα (Ephesian letters) were marked on the crown, cincture, and feet of the cult statue, which had reportedly fallen from god (Διοπετής) (*Acts* 19:35).

That magic played a large role in the cult of the Ephesian Artemis is indicated by this magical formula used in the making of amulets. Plutarch refers to the Ephesian letters as intended for those possessed by daimones (*Quaest. Conv.* 7.5, *Moralia* 2.706e). These incantations or spells seem to have had an apotropaic function. Though many of the sources mentioning them are late Hellenistic or Roman, they are referred to on a Cretan tablet as early as the fourth century BCE.¹¹⁴ A certain Pythagorean Androcydes interpreted the “words” of the Ephesian “grammata” -- ἄσκιον, κατάσκιον, λίξ, τετράξ, δαμναμενεύς, αἰσία or αἴσιον -- as allegories for the earth and heaven and the turning of the sun during the year (quoted in Clement. Alex. *Strom.* 5.8.45.2-3: “askion,” the word, ἄσκιος, in Greek means “shadowless” (“darkness,” according to Androcydes); “kataskion,” κατάσκιος in Greek means “shaded” and “the name of the second place of three” (“light,” according to Androcydes); “lix,” λίξ in Greek means “placed sideways,” “oblique motion” of the regions around the celestial poles and it is also synonymous with πλάγιον, a technical term used in connection with the initiation of ἔφηβοι (“earth,” according to Androcydes);¹¹⁵ “tetrax,” the Greek word τέτραξ, refers to a type of bird and τετραξός, ή, όν, means “fourfold,” γραμμαὶ τετραξαί, “four sets of lines” (“year,” according to Androcydes);¹¹⁶ “damnameneus” the word δαμναμένη refers to the “muzzle for horses” (= κατανάγκη, Ps.-Dsc.4.131 = κῆμος, ib.133). (“sun,” according to Androcydes); “aisia,” αἴσιος, ον, also α, ον “auspicious” (Pind. *Nem.* 9.18) is used for omens such as in “αἰσία ὄρνις” (Soph. *OT.* 52) (“the true voice,” according to Androcydes).

¹¹³ Jerome writes that the Greeks referred to the statue as πολυμαστόν and derides them for the, according to him, false assertion that the goddess is “omnium eam bestiarum et viventium esse nutricem” (Jer. *Comm. Eph.* PL 1:540-41).

¹¹⁴ McCown, C.C. “The Ephesia Grammata in Popular Belief.” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 54 (1923): 128-140, 132ff.; Preisendanz, K. “Ephesia Grammata.” *Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (2 vols.). Leipzig & Berlin, 1928, col. 515.

¹¹⁵ *Chron. d' Égypte* 7 (1932), 301, Sammelb.7239.25 (ii A.D.), BGU 1084.31 (ii A.D.).

¹¹⁶ Arist. *Metaph.* 1076 b32.

The first two “words” were used in initiation (*PGM* LXX.12), the “damnamenea” was used in the bear charm (*PGM* LXX.12) and “damnameneus” was used twice in a magical papyrus invoking Artemis as the she-wolf, to the powerful “subdue” δαμνόν, δεινόν [Hsch.] also meaning “tamed” as in δάμνος· ἵππος [Tyrrhen.] and δαμνῶ, she that subdues, which is also an epithet for the Moon (*Hymn. Mag.* 5.43) – “Artemis the she-wolf and subducer, on the 13th say the 13th name” -- Ἄρτεμι Δαμνω δαμνο λύκαινα, τῆ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τὸ [τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ὄνομα] λέγων (*PGM* III. 434-35).¹¹⁷ In a prayer to Ephesian Artemis where “all things” (τὰ πάντα) are said to be governed by her, she is even credited with the powers of resurrection (in the *Acts of John* by Pseudo-Prochorus). Ephesus was not only a religious pagan center for the worship of Artemis, Cybele, Dionysus, Leto, Zeus, and other gods and goddesses, but it became important to Jews and Christians as well. Magical amulets with Jewish characters were found at and in the vicinity of Ephesus although the Synagogue mentioned in the *Acts* has not yet been located.¹¹⁸ Books containing magical incantations to Artemis were eventually burned by the Christians (*Acts* 19:19).

The temple was attested in antiquity, whether accurately or not, to have been burned down on February 6, 356 BCE by a Herostratus, on the night of the birth of Alexander the Great (Plut. *Alex.* 3.3-5; Strabo *Geog.* 14.1.22; Cic. *De nat. deor.* 69). Soon the temple was rebuilt. The architect Cheirocrates was said to have made it four times as large as the Parthenon, the Athenian “House of the Virgin.”

Artemis held a long and successful position as the Great Goddess until Christians began to vilify her and her followers whom Paul calls animals, not a subtle reference to Ephesian Artemis as Mistress of Animals and her cult statue full of animals (*Cor.* 15:32). As noted earlier (p. 37), Tatian in misogynist fashion claimed that “Artemis is a poisoner, Apollo heals” (Tatian, *Address to the Greeks*, Ch. VIII, In Whittaker, 1982, p. 15). The Gospels demanded total destruction of the temple at Ephesus and of all temples of Artemis worshipped by “Asia and the whole world” (*Acts* 19:27).¹¹⁹ They tell the story of more than 25,000 devotees who had gathered in the theater at Ephesus chanting “ἡ

¹¹⁷ The charm of Hekate Ereschigal, a Babylonian goddess with whom Artemis and Hecate were identified, was used against fear of punishment: “If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel and recite the following: “Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, serpent, wreath, key, cadeucus, golden sandal of the ruler of Tartaros and you will avert him” (*PMG* LXX).

¹¹⁸ Keil, J. “Ein rätselhaftes Amulett.” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, Beiblatt 32 (1940): 79-84.

¹¹⁹ See the interesting discussion in Brinks, C.L. (2009). “Great is Artemis of the Ephesians”: *Acts* 19:23-41 In Light of Goddess Worship in Ephesus,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 71.4: 776-794.

μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων” for two straight hours, the so called riot of the Silversmiths (*Acts* 19:32-40). The *Acts* vividly describe Ephesus as a center for several religions in the area – pagan, Jewish, and Christian -- reminiscent of present-day Jerusalem. According to the *Book of Revelation*, there were twenty Christian churches at the time of its writing (c. 60-95 CE). John Chrysostom preached against the temple as late as in 406 CE. Its final destruction took place in 458 (Ammonios, *PG* 85, 1577, AB). However, as Frank Trombley makes clear, the cult of Artemis proved exceptionally difficult to eradicate, whether it was observed at temple closures, trees, or groves (Trombley, 1993, p. 157). The cults of some female deities like Artemis persisted throughout the fifth and sixth centuries and are occasionally attested to also in the eighth and ninth centuries (Trombley, pp. 334ff., 344, 349-351).

However, already in the 4th century the Church took over the temple at Ephesus and built a church on the so-called Museion and dedicated it to Mary (*Forschungen in Ephesos* IV. I 1932). That Mary had lived and possibly died at Ephesus is hinted at in letters connected with the Council of 431 in which it was decided that the title Theotokos – Θεοτόκος -- be given to Mary. The letters are one from Cyril of Alexandria¹²⁰ and another general letter from the Council. The meeting of the Council of Ephesus took place in the Great Church or the Church of Saint Maria Theotokos and Perpetual Virgin – “ἡ ἀγιοτάτη ἡμῶν ἐκκλησία τῆς παναγίας ἐνδόξου θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.”¹²¹ It is likely that at that time the Church considered it “safe” for Mary to take center stage after the christocentrism of the first few centuries since earlier the pagan Goddess was still vivid and real in people’s minds, which may have resulted in Mary simply being syncretized with Artemis/Diana, which happened naturally anyway. This reality is attested to in the more than twenty churches at the Ephesus precinct. The explanation du jour is that using pagan temples in the construction of churches was merely a matter of recycling. Even though it is true that it would have been convenient to have the foundations for the Christian churches already in situ, it is naïve to think that

¹²⁰ Letter 24. *SC* 4.1241. Paul mentions Ephesus for the first time in 1 *Corinthians*. He arrived at Ephesus in 52 CE. While there he wrote 1 *Corinthians*, *Philippians*, *Galatians*, *Philemon*, and major parts of 2 *Corinthians*. James and, probably, Mary were there as well. The existence and location of the house of the Panagia (Mary), however, was based on a vision by Mystic Anna Katharina Emmerick, an Augustinian nun from Westfalen born in 1774.

¹²¹ Hypatius. *Decretum de mortuis sepeliendis* (line 11). F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica [Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938 (repr. 1962): 126. *IvE* vii 4135.

ideology played no part. It goes against everything we know of this proselytizing religion.

A set of terracotta figurines found at Ephesus depict Artemis with bulging breasts and holding a small child. One of the images dates from the fourth century BCE.¹²² They bear a striking resemblance to representations of Mary and the Christ child. An inscription of Demeas boasts that he has taken the daemon Artemis from the site and replaced it with a Christian cross erected at the Gate of Hadrian where the procession went to Ortygia, the birth place of Artemis (Strabo 14.1.20).¹²³ Poignantly, three statues of Artemis were carefully buried, most likely in an attempt to rescue them from Christian destruction. The Diana temple on the Aventine made way for a church dedicated to St. Sabine (*Lexicon Topographium Urbis Romae*, pp. 221-223). The edicts of Theodosius of 381 CE led to the final death knell for the pagan cults.¹²⁴

Kraemer and Sprenger, the infamous inquisitors of the Renaissance, regarded Artemis as the Goddess of the heathens with whom witches consorted (Kraemer & Sprenger, 1971, p. 104). Torquemada declared that Diana, the Italic goddess with whom Artemis was identified, is the devil -- “Diana est diabolus” (Russell, 1972, p. 235) (cf. Artemis as *Lucifera*, light-bringer).¹²⁵

The collective name for a goddess such as Ephesian Artemis is often “Mother Goddess” or “Great Goddess” to encompass her numerous epithets, functions, and attributes. The amalgamations with various local deities and chronological and cultural developments (eastern influence, for example) have added others to the list. This is one of the reasons why defining Artemis is so difficult. The goddess we know best from classical Greece, the virgin and huntress, had many more spheres earlier, contemporaneously, and later, and they differed as to geographic area as well. Whereas the previous pages gave a quick overview, a catalogue of epithets and functions, the following will offer a closer look at some aspects of the role of the Greek Artemis and her virgins.

¹²² Hogarth, D.G. “Small Objects from the Croesus Temple,” in *British Museum. Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemisia*. D.G. Hogarth (Ed.). London, 1908, pp. 313-315.

¹²³ *IvE* iv 1351.

¹²⁴ Eventually, many pagan gods became Christian saints – Artemis, St. Artemidos; Venus, St. Venere; Mercury, St. Mercurios, Helios, St. Elias. Recent scholarship has put into doubt the outlawing of pagan cults in the Theodosian code believing instead that the prohibitions referred more narrowly to divination and the Vestal Virgins (see e.g., Isabella Sandwell’s contribution “Outlawing ‘magic’ or outlawing ‘religion’?” In Harris, 2005, pp. 87-123). However if “only” magic was the target, why outlaw the Vestal Virgins?

¹²⁵ Cf. *Lucifera*, one of the goddess’ epithets.

1.12 Artemis Brauronia

The arkteia was a festival celebrated at the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron, located north-east of Athens. The interpretation of what transpired there, the age of the participants, how often the festival was held, and what its purpose was have been hotly debated issues for years (see e.g., Perlman, 1983; Hamilton, 1989; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990; Gentili & Perusino, 2002; Beaumont 2012). The fact that not all of the excavated material has been published due to the untimely death of its chief excavator, John Papadimitriou, has not served to untangle the mysteries (see **figs. 11-17**).

Sourvinou-Inwood adhered to Jean-Pierre Vernant's thesis about the importance of marriage for ancient Greek women to the exclusion of all else. She presented the arkteia as a virtual "bachelorette party" in spite of her equally certain position on the age of the participants.¹²⁶ Following the *Suda* (s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους and a manuscript in Leyden on Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, *Schol. Ley. Lys.* 645), she posited that they were between five and ten years old, which in turn led her to explain the presence of breasts on some of the girls depicted on pottery found at Brauron as a mere metaphorical depiction (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1988, pp. 33-37).¹²⁷

In interpreting the passage in *Lysistrata* 645, Sourvinou-Inwood read "καταχέουσα," "shedding, taking off."¹²⁸ She favored the reading of the Ravenna codex καταχέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν. However, since Iphigenia was wearing the "krokotos" when she was to marry Achilles, putting on or wearing the krokotos would fit better with her interpretation that the arkteia was a pre-nuptial festival. The krokotos was worn by "γυναῖκες" (married) women, according to Aristophanes. Jeffrey Henderson interpreted the passage, as Sourvinou-Inwood did, that is, "shedding the saffron robe I wore as bear at Brauronia."¹²⁹ In Aeschylus, it seems to mean something similar -- κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα

¹²⁶ Cantarella, too, seems to acknowledge only two ages for women, pre- and post marriage (Cantarella, 1987, p. 21).

¹²⁷ She interprets Hesiod's, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἠβώοι, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοῖτο (Hes. *Op.* 698), not as referring to the fourth and fifth year after puberty (i.e., after menarche), but as referring to "after the growth of pubic hair or at the end of childhood," which she sets at ten years of age (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1988, p. 27).

¹²⁸ In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Iphigenia takes off, sheds, her saffron-colored robe (239) -- κροκωτὸν ἠμφιεσμένα (Suda) as wear -- κροκωτὸν ἠμφιεσμένη (Leyden) -- κροκωτὸν ἰμάτιον φοροῦσαν (Ravenna); καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους and then being a pretty child, "παῖς καλή". The texts have been variously amended as "κᾶτ ἔχουσα" "κατ ἔχουσα," and "καὶ χέουσα."

¹²⁹ *OCT*, 1987, pp. 156-57.

(Ag. 239). Hugh Lloyd-Jones translated the Aeschylus passage as “with her robe of saffron hanging down towards the ground,” a translation which Sourvinou-Inwood modified to “the robe is falling to the ground” (baring Iphigenia’s breasts) (Lloyd-Jones, 1952, p. 135).

Greek myths were often invented (or pre-existing myths adopted) to account for the origin of rituals. The aetiological myth in this case was that a girl had been scratched by a sacred she-bear when she teased it. Her brother(s) killed the bear to avenge the scratch or the Athenians killed the bear because Artemis in turn sent a plague or famine to the people of Athens that could only be assuaged by Athenians sending their daughters to act the bear.¹³⁰

The festival at Mounychia had a similar action. Lexicographer Pausanias says that a she-bear was killed by Athenians upon whom Artemis sent a plague that could only be stopped by the sacrifice of a girl (fr. 2. 179. Eustat. p. 331, 27 [Rindfleisch p. 72]). A certain Embaros agreed to sacrifice his daughter provided that his clan was to hold the priesthood in the future. He dressed up a goat as his daughter (Libanius *Disc.* 529-30). The proverb ἔμβαρός εἰμι “I am an Embaros,” i.e., clever, derives from this myth (Pausanias. *Lexicon in Eusthatius (Il.)* 1.273).

Other ancient references to Brauron include, for example, Lysias who says that virgins before marriage dedicated themselves to the Mounychian or to the Brauronian Artemis (see *Harpocration s.v. Ἀρκτηῦσαι*).¹³¹ He says that to dedicate oneself to Artemis is called ἀρκτηεῦν and elsewhere to dedicate oneself as a bear to Artemis, ἀρκτηῦσαι. The scholia sometimes add information that may or may not be valuable for the interpretation of the arkteia. The Leiden MS, for example, connects the arkteia with Iphigenia and, at the end of 645a, claims that “what they say about Iphigenia took place at Brauron, not at Aulis.” As support for this version, the scholiast quotes a line from the 3rd-century writer Euphorion, “Brauron near the sea. Cenotaph of Iphigenia,” Ἀγχίαλον Βραυρῶνα, κενήριον Ἰφιγενείης (Euphor. 91.1). The line appears also in Nonnus (*Dion.* 13.186).

Three scholia on the passage in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 645 survive: the Ravenna and the Leiden codices, and the *Suda*.¹³² The information given in the manuscripts differs somewhat: In the Leiden manuscript, the “bears” are 5-10 years of age; the action asserts that Athenians killed the bear at Brauron, not at Aulis; and that a bear, not a deer, was

¹³⁰ Κατακοντίζειν is generally not used for killing animals, but for killing men and with trickery (Hdt. 9.17).

¹³¹ *Anecdota Graeca*. Bekker, I, 444.

¹³² *Schol. Ley. Lys.* 645) and the *Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίως* (Codices Gamma = Laurentianus plut. 31. 15 and Leidensis Vossianus Gr. F. 52; B - Parisinus inter Regios 2715; C - Parisinus inter Regios 2717.

sacrificed; that the girls participated before marriage; that they wore the crocus-colored himation; and that Artemis had sent a λιμός (famine). In the Ravenna manuscript, a brother killed the bear; Artemis demanded that all virgins imitate the bear; participation was to take place before marriage; the girls wore the crocus-colored himation; and there was a λοιμός (plague). In the *Suda* the girls took off the saffron-colored dress; the bear was in the deme Phlaidon or Philaidon; brothers, rather than one brother, killed the bear; and Artemis sent a λοιμός (plague).

The aetiological myths are very similar. In the Attic version the Athenians killed a she-bear.¹³³ Artemis got angry. The Oracle at Delphi told them to sacrifice a virgin (Mounychian version) or that they must act the bear (Brauronian version). Either a goat was substituted (Mounychian version) or they instituted a bear ritual (Brauronian version). The Arcadian myth about Callisto and Artemis tells the story of a girl being transformed into a bear. When Callisto breaks her vow of virginity (in the Ovidian version after Zeus, initially disguised as Artemis, rapes her, *Met.* 2. 401-530), Artemis gets angry and transforms her into a bear. Callisto is shot by Artemis (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2) and transformed by Hera (ibid.; Paus. 8.3.6). In Hesiod, Callisto loses her virginity and Artemis transforms her into a bear (fr. 163 M-W). In Ovid, Callisto is transformed by Hera and almost shot by Arcas, her son (from the rape) and eponymous hero of Arcadia (*Met.* 2. 401-530 and *Fast.* 2.153-192).

The name “bears,” arktoi, was used for the virgins “performing the arkteia” in Euripides’ *Hypsipyle* and in Aristophanes’ the *Lemnians* and *Lysistrate*. Lexicographers explained that the arktoi were ten years old or that the Greeks customarily dedicated to the gods a tithe of what was most excellent or that the girls were ten in number.¹³⁴

Sourvinou-Inwood saw a connection between girls depicted running on small pots, so called krateriskoi (**figs. 11-13**), found at Brauron (modern-day Vravra), Mounychia (by Piraeus), the Athenian Acropolis, a grotto of Pan and the Nymphs at Eleusis, Artemis Aristoboule at Melite, Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides (modern-day Loutsia), and Artemis Aristoboule near the Athenian Agora, and “abduction” scenes involving adult women found on pottery elsewhere (**figs. 11-12**).¹³⁵ We may be seeing abduction

¹³³ *Schol. Leid./Rav. ad Aristoph. Lys.* 645; *Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίως* a 3958 and *Suda s.v. ἔμβαρός εἰμι* e 937, with Adler’s testimonia.

¹³⁴ See e.g., Craterus fr. 2 (Krech 1888). Δεκατέθειν – *Harp s.v. Hesych s.v. δεκατέθειν*; Anecd.Bekk. I 234 s.v. δεκατέθειντες. Hesychius (Anecd Gr I 23ys) s.v. δεκατέθειντες. Latté (1953) p. 563 (Lys. Fr. ap. Harp. 54.6). Also *Harp. s.v. Ἀρκτηῦσαι* (*Schol. Arist. Lys.* 645 [Leyden]).

¹³⁵ 6th-5th century black-figure pottery; little kraters, some of which were chared. They may have contained herbs or incense or other plant material that was burned.

scenes on the krateriskoi or simply girls competing in foot races and/or dancing. Some of the girls running are naked. According to Sourvinou-Inwood, it was the older (presumably ten-year-old) girls that were naked and had small emerging breasts. To explain their young age, she believed that we should not take the existence of the breasts literally; but as a metaphor for girls on the threshold of menarche (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1988, pp. 33-37).

Portrayed on a krateriskos are also humans wearing bear masks, which Richard Hamilton viewed as a depiction of a transformation (Hamilton, 1989, p. 462). He further speculated that the scene could be Callisto with her son Arcas rather than a priest and priestess, as Kahil suggested and that it is showing the “mysterion” (Kahil, 1977, pp. 86-98, see esp. pp. 92-93).¹³⁶ According to Hamilton, the presence of Artemis, Apollo, and Leto on at least one of the krateriskoi suggests a different plane of reality. For example, some of the scenes depict Artemis seated on a bull (Artemis Tauropolos). Other scenes on the krateriskoi show girls about to begin a footrace with a bear standing in the background which may be the bear of Artemis in whose honor the festival is held or one of the initiates.¹³⁷ Deer are featured on the krateriskoi at Mounychia, but only on terracotta reliefs at Brauron, where you also do not find girls depicted with long hair, which Hamilton speculated might indicate that the girls are older (Hamilton, 1989, p. 457). The girls on the krateriskoi are often dancing around an altar or running towards a burning altar or a palm tree¹³⁸ carrying torches which indicate a nightly ritual under the moon light, typical of many festivals for Artemis and wreaths, a common ingredient in maturation rituals.¹³⁹

Sometimes the arkteia is referred to as a penteteric festival (*Pax* 876; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54-57), at least in the fifth century and, at other times, as a yearly celebration (*Lysistrate* 645). Sourvinou-Inwood referred to the arkteia as penteteric at Brauronia, and yearly at Mounychia (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990, p. 5). Hamilton distinguished between a public penteteric festival open to male spectators and a private female “holy hunt” or “mysterion” (Hamilton, 1989, p. 471). Brelich argued that, originally, all Athenian girls

¹³⁶ “L’ Artémis de Brauron: Rites et Mystère.” *Antike Kunst* 20.2 (1977): 86-98.

¹³⁷ A number of figurines were found. One of them shows a woman playing the kithara (**fig. 17**); others depict women holding a torch, a small girl, a deer, a dove or a rabbit, and accompanied by a dog. There are many rabbit figurines excavated at the temple in the museum of present-day Vravra.

¹³⁸ Inge Nielsen argues that the palm tree symbolizes birth and reproduction, which fits nicely with rituals preparing girls for puberty (Nielsen, 2007, p. 98). For Mario Torelli the palm rather denotes exotic space (Gentili & Perusino, 2002, pp. 139-151). The palm tree is also an Artemisian attribute (Paus. 9.19.6).

¹³⁹ For the significance of wreaths in maturation rituals see n. 197 and **fig. 32**.

took part; and later, that the rites were carried out by a representative few (Brelich, 1969, pp. 240-242).

The age of the participants and why they participated in the arkteia spurred much discussion (see e.g., Perlman, 1983; Hamilton, 1989; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990; Gentili & Perusino, 2002; Beaumont, 2012). According to Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, the arkteia was a pre-nuptial rite, preparing girls for the wedding ceremony (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1987, p. 145).¹⁴⁰ Libanius says that girls had to serve Artemis before they could know Aphrodite.¹⁴¹ The Ravenna scholion and the *Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις* mention an Athenian psephisma requiring Athenian maidens to participate in the arkteia before marriage. *Harpocraton s.v. Ἀρκεῦσαι* refers to Craterus and a Psephisma (Ψήφισμα) or *περὶ Ψηφισμάτων* requiring girls to participate in the Mounychia or the Brauronia.¹⁴²

Sourvinou-Inwood believed that the scholiast in the Leiden manuscript to Aristophanes' *Lysistrate* 645 is correct in referring to the girls sent to Brauron as being between five and ten years of age. She did not seem to view the young age of the girls as problematic. A law in Gortyn states that girls can get married at twelve, but a common practice seems to have been at fourteen.¹⁴³ In Sparta the marriage age was typically twenty. Plato sets the appropriate age of marriage for both girls and boys at between sixteen and twenty (*Nom.* 6.785b, *Resp.* 5.460e; *Arist. Pol.* 1335a 28-32). Plato speaks of girls' initiation foot races and distinguishes between prepubescent girls who are to compete in the nude and girls thirteen to twenty years old dressed in proper attire (*πρεπούση στολῆ*) (*Plat. Nom.* 833d).¹⁴⁴ In Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, the sixty Oceanides are nine years old. The girls represented in votive statues dedicated in the sanctuary (4th-3rd century BCE) appear to be of varied ages (**fig. 16**).

¹⁴⁰ I believe Richard Hamilton correctly distinguishes initiation, which is exclusive and not always found in a society, from rites of passage, which involves everyone of a certain age (Hamilton, 1989, p. 459 n. 20).

¹⁴¹ Libanios *Or.* 5.29 (R. Foerster (Ed.) (1997). *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Hildesheim; Zürich; New York: Olms); the Aristophanes scholiast also (*Schol. Arist. Lys.* 645); and the scholiast Harpocraton.

¹⁴² Harpocraton. *Lexicon*. Vol. 1. Lipsiae: C.H.F. Hartmann, 1824. W. Dindorf. *Harpocratonis lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1853 (repr. Groningen: Bouma, 1969), p. 58. 4-9.

¹⁴³ *ICret.* iv 72 xii.17-19.

¹⁴⁴ Paula Perlman seemed to accept the theory that nudity for male athletes was a way to expose their sexual *sophrosyne* to each other, but not that the nudity of women filled a similar function (Perlman, Spring 1983, p. 125 n. 50). She conjectured instead that they may have wanted to be seen by prospective male suitors (Perlman, Spring 1983, p. 126) as alluded to in Plato (*Nom.* 771e-772a). Other contests such as the so called beauty contests on Lesbos in the precinct of Hera (*scholion to the Iliad* 9.129) is described as being performed for women (Alcaeus fr. 130b.19).

Paula Perlman set the age of the arktoi at between ten and fifteen years old based on Plato's *Nom.* 8.833c-834d. Grebe concluded that Aristophanes says that the arktoi are at least ten years old (Grebe, 1999, p. 203; *Pl. Nom.* 8.833c-d). Herodotus seems to indicate that "married" women also participated, γυναῖκες, adding that women (not girls) at the festival were abducted by Pelasgians from Lemnos (Hdt. 6.138). Herodotus simply says that Athenian women were celebrating a procession in honor of Artemis. He does not refer to the festival as pre-nuptial. On the other hand, his interest is in the Pelasgians and their deed, and not in the festival itself. He adds something of particular interest -- σφέας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον. It is hard to imagine that five to ten-year-old girls would have been made concubines. Lucian refers to virgins being abducted while celebrating the Arkteia in honor of the goddess of Brauron, which may account for the concubine story (Lucian 25.52).

Hesiod divides a female's period of youth into five periods, assigning marriage to the last, that is, at 17 or 19, so also for him marriage at the ages of five to ten would be anomalous (*Op.* 698). The Hippocratic school refers to the age group seven to fourteen as παῖδες (περὶ ἑβδομάδων, 5.1-35) while Soranus, the Greek physician, asserts that the majority [of women] from the ages of fifteen to forty are fit for conception if they are "not mannish, compact, and oversturdy, or too flabby, and very moist" (*Gyn.* 9.34).

It is clear that the girls at Brauron, if indeed they were between five and ten, were not preparing for their weddings. At any rate, if the girls were at Brauron to be bears between the ages of five and ten (**figs. 14-16**), there must have been older girls or women there to guide them (**fig. 17**), especially since there is evidence that the festival entailed initiation into so called mysteries.¹⁴⁵

I do not believe that the arkteia was a pre-nuptial celebration but rather a ritual preparation for girls' coming-of-age as it relates to their ability to give birth, that is, the onset of menstruation.¹⁴⁶ Mommsen is most likely correct when he translates ράκος,

¹⁴⁵ The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Lysistrate* (Leiden) refers to the arkteia as a μυστήριον (*Ar. Lys.* 645) and *Hesychius s.v.* ἀρκτεῦσαι as a τελετή (*Harp. s.v.* δεκατεύειν) and to a ἱερὸν κυναγέσιον (*Hypothesis to Demosth. Or.* 25).

¹⁴⁶ However, also this is questionable, according to Van Gennep. He does not want to call initiation rituals "puberty rites" since the first menstruation does not occur at the same age among various peoples and individuals (1960, p. 66). It is also likely that menstruation has changed quite considerably since antiquity when girls were often more active and lived more communally under the moon light rather than with artificial light as in today's society (see *Plut. Quaest.conv.* 3.10, 658e-659a). According to Van Gennep, the variations are so great that we cannot conceive of an institution being founded on an element as indeterminable and as irregular as puberty. In recent hunter-gatherer societies such as the !Kung, Agta, and Efa and other non-industrialized societies menarche occurs around 17, not 12 or earlier as in contemporary society (Bentley, 1996, p. 31; Sperling and Beyene, 1997, p. 144). Van Gennep adds that among many

mentioned in some of the inscriptions, as a menstruation rag, dedicated to Artemis by the girls at Brauron (Mommsen, 1899, pp. 343-347).¹⁴⁷ Further, Hesychius records that the “bears” sacrificed a goat to the goddess and that the *Iliad* was recited.¹⁴⁸ I doubt that the *Iliad* would have been recited at a pre-nuptial ritual? It fits more in with the educational elements in puberty rites. I believe that a better interpretation of the arkteia is a menarche festival involving a series of initiation rites of which “being bear” was central (figs. 14-15). At the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron, girls in yellow saffron dresses¹⁴⁹ served the goddess as ἄρκτοι, bears, and performed a bear dance at her annual festival, the Brauronia.¹⁵⁰ Similar rituals were most likely performed also at some other sanctuaries, including the Artemis temple at Mounychia at Piraeus and the Artemis Brauronia temple on the Acropolis in Athens.¹⁵¹

Since the existing sources do not explain the festival, using ethnographic evidence might shed some light on what was going on. There is similarity to a rite of passage among the Native American tribe the Ojibwe in which when approaching a girl’s menarche she is known as wēmákwá’wē, “going to be a bear,” and at menarche she is in

hunter-gatherers the first birth occurs after 2-3 years upon menarche and that there are longer intervals between births and that menopause occurs earlier, around 42, instead of around 51 as at the present day rather sedentary population. Although Van Gennep is probably correct, the variations would not necessarily have been as great as in today’s society. For women who live in the same house and in the country-side the menses tend to become synchronized. Also, the girls being isolated and initiated into the “mysteries,” would have been the ones who had entered menarche.

¹⁴⁷ Ἦν κυοῦση ἐπιφαίνεται, ὀνίδα ξηρὴν, μίλτον (blood), ὄστρακον σηπίης τρίνας λεῖα, ἐς ῥάκος ἀποδήσας, προστιθέναι. Ἄλλο· γλυκυσίδης τοὺς μέλανας κόκκους (pomegranate seeds, kermesberries, pudenda muiebria) τρίβων ἐν οἴνῳ διδόνα πιεῖν κεκρημένῳ (Hipp. *De Mul. Affect.* i-iii. 245). See also Claude Calame’s discussion in Gentili & Perusino, 2002, pp. 43-64, esp. pp. 57-61.

¹⁴⁸ Βραυρωνίους· τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἦδον ῥαψῳδοὶ ἐν Βραυρωνίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ Βραυρώνια ἑορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδι Βραυρωνίᾳ ἄγεται (*Hsch. s.v. Βραυρωνίους*). Among the Ojibwe, various legends are told especially by older men and women and sometimes they are even re-enacted as they are being recited (Hilger, 1951, p. 114).

¹⁴⁹ Just like the dress the young girl Artemis requested from father Zeus. Gunnel Ekroth refers to the *krokotos* as a bridal veil (Ekroth, 2003, p. 64). Sourvinou-Inwood claims that the veil is associated with sexual allurement (1990, p. 7). Tertullian speaks of a woman who heaped saffron on her hair as upon an altar for anything that is normally buried in honor of an unclean spirit (*De cultu feminarum* II 6, 1 video quadsam et capillum croco uertere -- *La Toilette des Femmes*. Paris: Édition du chert, 1971. *Sources Chrétiennes* no. 173, trans. Marie Turcan). Pollux (7.55-56) writes that παρθένοι wore short chitons (χιτωνίσκοι), but that married women wore the κροκωτὸν ἰμάτιον. In the fourth-century BCE Athenian wives dedicated a saffron-colored dress to Artemis Brauronia (*IG* II2 1514 60-62; 1516 35-38). Cf. “the crocus goddess” of the Thera frescoes (Davis, 1986, pp. 399-406). There are many references to the crocus (saffron) in classical literature, for example, Pliny *NH* 16.154-155; Nonus. *Dionysus* 12.85-86; 15.350-356; Eur. *Ion* 889; Pollux 7.55. See also the lengthy discussion by Marco Giومان In Gentili & Perusino, 2002, pp. 79-101.

¹⁵⁰ The area around the sanctuary has yielded evidence of human activity since the Neolithic period (Ekroth, 2003, p. 93). The sanctuary was said to have been built to appease the goddess because she had inflicted a plague on Athens after a bear, sacred to Artemis, had been killed (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.6; Arist. *Pol.* 873-874).

¹⁵¹ As mentioned earlier (pp. 36, 46, n. 52, n. 91), this festival gave name to the month in which it was celebrated. If B. Sergent is correct, the festival with its puberty rituals may have been practiced already in the Late Bronze Age (Sergent, 1990, pp. 175-217).

seclusion, at which point she is known as mákwá'we, "she is a bear" (Dunning, 1959, p. 100). A girl during her first menstruation was isolated continuously both day and night in a small wigwam. The period of isolation, called mákwá' or mákwá'w, means both unavailable and turning into a bear as the bear lives alone all winter (Hilger, 1951, p. 50). Robert Dunning mentions a father who called the Christian school which his daughter attended and explained that she was absent because she was a bear "wa-whkawin-akosidashmukowe" (Dunning, 1959, p. 100).

If the girls were five to ten years of age, the celebration would have been in preparation for their eventual puberty. Among the Ojibwa, girls and boys at the age of five to six began fasting in order to develop their abilities to dream. The days of fasting increase as they approach actual puberty. Seclusion, flagellation, lustration, and intoxication are all ingredients in these rites as are foot races and other endurance tests and dances.¹⁵² Bear, eagle, and buffalo dances are common among the Ojibwa (Hilger, 1951, p. 113). Van Gennep, in pointing out the individual differences among girls with regard to the onset of menstruation, wants to separate social from physical puberty (Van Gennep, 1960, p. 68). In Congo, Van Gennep writes, "puberty rites" are performed at 7-20 years of age depending upon the onset of menstruation and other signs of maturing such as voice change or facial hair in boys (Van Gennep, 1960, 1980).

The Vestal Virgins were selected well in advance of the onset of menstruation between the ages of six and ten.¹⁵³ As Cantarella points out, what marked a woman's definitive passage into the husband's family was not the wedding but the birth of the first child (Cantarella, 1987 [1981], p. 47). According to Calame, tribal initiation in Greece was not immediately followed by the marriage ceremony (Calame, 1997, p. 262). He points in particular to Sparta where two cults of Helen show the marriage as a second transition after the initiation itself. Nanno Marinatos divides the development of girls into three age groups; childhood, 3-6 years old; pre-adolescence, 7-11 years old, and adolescence, 12-14/15 years old. She places the "bears" in the last category (Marinatos, 2002. In Gentili & Perusino, pp. 29-42, esp. 32-36). She further links the story of Callisto to the Brauronia

¹⁵² In 1933 Dora Earthy described girls' initiation among the Valenge women in South Africa and said that it consisted of nude dances and an operation afterwards that entailed defloration (Earthy, 1933, p. 31). After the operation the girls received a sedative. A black and white she-goat (kid) was sacrificed. Objects used in initiation such as drums, dolls, etc., were covered with sacred red ocre (the life blood, i.e., menstruation and postpartum blood). The hair dressing of uninitiated girls had the same pattern as on the drum. During the segregation period they spoke a secret language.

¹⁵³ Another interesting phenomenon involving virginity is the Kumari ("virgin" in Sanskrit) in India, who is selected to serve as the embodiment of the virgin goddess Durga from the age of four or five until the onset of menstruation.

and speculates that “playing bear” might be a re-enactment of the myth about the rape of Callisto and her subsequent transformation into a bear. However, the bear embodiment occurred after the abduction and rape, so again it does not mesh with the “bears” getting ready for marriage.

The reference to marriage in the Ravenna ms. and the *Suda* is perhaps a misinterpretation or it is to be understood as referring to the importance of participation in the arkteia before the girls were to get married in the future. Participation in the arkteia was one of the essential steps the girls and young women of Attica had to go through in preparation for life, marriage, and, most importantly, motherhood.

Artemis was not the goddess of marriage in spite of many attempts at making her such (see, e.g., Seaford, 1988, p. 120; p. 127; Vernant, 1980). Artemis was a goddess of the cycles of women, women’s lives – when born, as adolescent, woman of child-bearing years, and old woman -- but not at the wedding. Also significant is the fact that there are no wedding scenes on the published krateriskoi.¹⁵⁴

In *Paidēs e parthenoi*, Angelo Brelich traced the source of a number of religious feasts and institutions of the Greeks in classical times to pre-historic initiatory rites (Brelich, 1969). He attempted to determine why some primitive elements were suppressed while others were maintained or modified. From Aristophanes’ *Lysistratē* he surmised that girls passed through four different stages of initiation as arrephoroi, aletrides, arktoi, and kanephoroi. The first, he concluded, was entered at the age of seven, the second at ten. The age of the third stage is not given. The last one was for “beautiful young women.” Special insignia are named for two of the grades, (crocus) saffron (a spice which has a long history of alleviating menstruation cramps and PMS) robe for the arktoi and a necklace of dried figs (with its seeds alluding to potential future offspring) for the kanephoroi. The deities served were the virgin goddesses Athena and Artemis.

1.13 Deer and the Nebraia

Similarly, the cult of Artemis Pagasitis at Pagasae-Demetrias and the cult of Artemis Throsia at Larissa included a practice called the “nebraia,” which probably consisted of the consecration of girls to Artemis for a certain period during which they were called “nebroi,” fawns (Clément, 1934, pp. 401-409). Paul Clément analyzes the name Throsia

¹⁵⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood would likely assert that this observation is culturally determined (see Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990, p. 2).

and views it as derived from the root θορ- θορός (semen), θρώσκω, i.e., to impregnate, and θρωσμός (swelling), and interprets the epithet as connected with fertility. However, the verb generally means to “leap” or “rush,” which for me rather brings to mind the movement of fawns.

Since the girls were fawns rather than does, I believe it is more likely that the festival celebrated the girls’ puberty or menarche, which enabled them eventually to become mothers. Clément further concludes that the νεβεύσσα in an inscription found at Larissa (*IG ix(2) 1123*), mentioning ransom or atonement to Artemis Throsia, is a participle of νεβέω and that the connection of this word with the word νεβρός (fawn), whether through the fall of the ρ or through direct junction of εω to the root νεβ-, is unavoidable (Clément, 1934, pp. 402-403).

Deer abound in images of Artemis.¹⁵⁵ Sappho says “my knees do not carry me to dance like young fawns” [α], γόνα δ’ [ο] ὑ φέροισι]ησθ’ ἴσα νεβρίοισιν (Sappho 58). Heracles stole a bronze-shod white deer from the grove of Artemis at Ceryneia in Arcadia. Deer appear often with women in water-fetching scenes during the last decade of the sixth century.¹⁵⁶ They may be symbols indicating protection by Artemis, nymphs, a sacred forest, or simply outdoor space. However, some virgins served as hydrophoroi, water-bearers, in which case the deer may symbolize virginity. As we have seen, water, too, alludes to virginity.

Artemis’ companion nymph Taygete, one of the Pleiades, was transformed into a doe to escape Zeus (Pind. *Ol.* 3.29-30). In the legend of the Alodae, Artemis herself assumes

¹⁵⁵ According to Klinger, the deer was associated with the initiation of young men into maturity (Klinger, 2002, p. 18) and a carriage pulled by felines or deer was related to marriage (Klinger, 2002, p. 19). On the other hand, Artemis, not a goddess of marriage, is frequently seated on a carriage pulled by deer or felines (**fig. 2**). Deer iconography is found already in the Neolithic age (Mellaart, 1963, fig. 5a). It is doubtful that the institution (or ceremony) of marriage existed at that time. Also note a πόντια θηρῶν in the National Museum at Boeotia with running deer below the frieze (*Ephemeris Arch.* 1892, pl. 9). When running deer appear, Klinger interprets this as a metaphorical image comparing girls needing to be tamed for marriage and the taming of female deer (were deer tamed?). Klinger further refers to flowers and women holding the folds of their dresses as hetero-erotic images. In gay male courtship scenes adult males present younger males with a deer (Klinger, 2002, p. 18), but the young men hunted deer, also a homoerotic allusion, according to Dover, as a rite of passage into manhood (Dover, 1988). Peculiarly, Klinger speculates that when a deer is seen given by an older man to a younger, it is a courtship gift (Klinger, 2002, p. 18) but that women’s heterosexual readiness is indicated by the gift of a cock (Klinger, 2002, p. 30).

¹⁵⁶ The most important type of Celtic goddess was a deer goddess named Sadv, who went to live among the immortal Tuatha Dé Danann, or people of the goddess Dana, and who appear as the ancestor of tribes in many Celtic legends (Ellis, 1992). Based on place names such as the river Danube, Dniestr, Dniepri, and Don she appears to have been worshipped throughout the Celtic world. The presence of a goddess named Danu in Hindu mythology, associated with water and mother of a race of Asuras called the Danavas, may indicate a Proto-Indo European origin for this figure. The name dhanu seems to have originally meant “swift.” There are several sculptures of women with deer antlers. In many medieval legendary hunts, a female deer or hind, usually snow white, becomes the quarry. Sometimes she is hunted down, but often she eludes the hunters, leading them to wander forever in the woods (Graves, 1948, p. 49).

the role. In the temple at Despoina in Arcadia her statue was clothed with deer pelt (Paus. 8.37.4). Near Colophos lay a small island sacred to Artemis to which it was believed that pregnant does swam in order to bear their young (Str. 14.1.28; C643).

There are countless stories of deer goddesses and deer priestesses throughout Europe. McKay detailed some of the stories among the ancient Calidonians maintaining that there existed two cults, which he believed were pre-Celtic, a deer-cult and a deer-goddess cult in the Scottish Highlands (McKay, 1932, p. 144).¹⁵⁷ He also mentioned male deer dancers dressed up as women in both England and Germany. A.B. Cook referred to what he saw as a deer(stag) cult in Greece by narrating stories of Actaeon being transformed into a stag, Taygete into a hind by Artemis and Cos, the daughter of King Merops into a hind with golden horns, and the Cerynean hind with golden horns, which Heracles was carrying when being met by Artemis (Cook, 1894, pp. 134-135).¹⁵⁸ Cook saw Artemis as originally a deer herself as her epithet and her festival Elaphebolion may reveal at which festival flat-cakes in the shape of deer were offered. Irish Cailleach was in addition to a deer goddess also an earth goddess, a mother goddess, and a goddess of the dead. McKay compares her to the Roman Diana worshipped by the plebeians in early Rome.

Girls at menarche participated in festivals dedicated to Artemis as asexual and wild deer or as bears going off to fast and in seclusion, where their virginity and untamed state were expressed in gymnastic and choral activities leading up to the mysterion and the shedding of the saffron, the color of bears and deer, and a plant used to alleviate pain associated with menarche and childbirth. Saffron crocus cultivation spans at least three millennia. Already the Sumerians used a wild version in remedies and magical potions (Willard, 2001, p. 12). A sterile mutant relative of the wild crocus was commonly used in Crete. The crocus is often depicted in Minoan frescoes such as the famous saffron gatherers at Akrotiri (Thera) where teenage girls with partially shaved heads and locks

¹⁵⁷ The Scottish tales, mostly recorded at the end of the 19th-century, often featured a supernatural woman in the mountains called a hag or *glaistieg* who was a guardian of the deer, which she herded and milked (Davidson and Chaudhri, 1993, p. 151). She often resents the shooting of her deer by the hunter, especially if he kills a hind. In the Caucasus the hunter would generally avoid killing white animals since they were regarded as special guardians of the herd, appointed by a deity (Davidson and Chaudhri, 1993, p. 156). There are many traditions about a deer goddess. She is known to the Svans as Dali and to the Mingrelians as *Tkashi-mapa*, Queen of the forest. In traditions in Georgia and elsewhere in the Caucasus she is often referred to simply as the "Mistress" or "Shepherdess of the beasts" (Davidson and Chaudhri, 1993, p. 157). One of the favorite manifestations of Dali was a white hind and in this guise she would lure a hapless hunter to his doom. The hunter had to have the goddess' permission to shoot her deer, but never a white deer, which was a manifestation of the goddess herself.

¹⁵⁸ A.B. Cook quotes W. Ridgeway in referring to a hind with horns as a reindeer (Cook, 1894, p. 465). He further argues that "the attribution of horns to female deer was a blunder common to Greek and Hebrew writers" (Anac. frag. 51 Bergk (Teubner texts); Simon. frag. 30 Bergk; Soph. *Alcadai* frag. 86 Nauck; Eur. frag. 857 Nauck; Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 75, schol.; Pind. *Ol.* 3.52), Latin (Val. Flacc. 6.71; Cook, 1894, p. 465).

are picking saffron crocuses, a flower of the uncultivated meadow of Hippolytus, Helen, Nausicaa, Kore, and other virgins. Shaved heads of girls and boys are common in coming-of-age rituals across the world. The “arktoi” in their saffron robes were subsequently leaving behind their wild, untamed, and uncultivated state as girls at the point of menarche and their subsequent ability to give life and the figs of the kanephoroi would have been seen as a preparation for their domestic role as wives and the seeds of the figs for their role as future mothers.¹⁵⁹

The subject of festivals and ceremonies devoted to girls’ puberty, menarche, is a much neglected one. To understand why girls were bears and why menstruation rags were mentioned in inscriptions at Brauron and why girls raced and some of them in the nude, why Artemis had so many herbal epithets related to menstruation, and why Athenian and Spartan girls participated in festivals to Artemis in the first place requires a new set of questions and examinations.

1.14 The Amazons

The Amazons are frequently linked to Artemis as her virgin devotees. The connection may even be discernable in the etymologies of the words “oiorpata,” “parthenos” (virgin), and the theonym “Artemis.” Herodotus calls the Amazons “Οἰόρπατα” (Hdt. 4.110). He translated this word into Greek as “androktonoi” (man killers).¹⁶⁰ G.W. Elderkin built on Herodotus’ etymology and argued that the word “oiorpata” was derived from the Indo-European root for man “oior,” a cognate to the Persian “vira,” and “pata,” in turn a cognate to the Greek verb “παίω” (to smite). “Oiorpata” would then be a cognate to “parthenos” which was the epithet of Artemis, associated with the Amazons in text, and thought to have been the chief deity in the Amazon region of Themiscyra (Elderkin,

¹⁵⁹ Girls in these rituals among the Rahûna in Morocco had shaved heads except in the front and a tuft on top as at Thera. Brides-to-be offered their hair to virgins such as Hippolytus, Iphinoe at Megara (Paus. 1.43.4), and the Hyperborean virgins, Oupis and Hecaege, on Delos (Paus. 1.43.4; Hdt. 4.34.1). The saffron crocus was used for many ailments, including those of menstrual cramps (Willard, 2001, pp. 34-35; Hipp. *De mulierum affectibus* i–iii. 208.5). Also today it is used to alleviate cramps and PMS related conditions (See the popular online Web site “WebMD” <http://www.webmd.com/vitamins-supplements/ingredientmono-844-SAFFRON.aspx?activeIngredientId=844&activeIngredientName=SAFFRON>). The Greek myth tells the story of the mortal Crocus who fell in love with the virgin woodland nymph Smilax whereupon Artemis turns him into a purple crocus flower and her into bindweed (Ovid. *Met.* 4.283; Non. *Dionysiaca* 12.86).

¹⁶⁰ G. Bonfante believed that the word amazon should be traced back to the privative “not” and Old Slavic “mōzi” (man) and Russian “mūz” (man). That is Amazon, in this interpretation, would mean “woman without a man” (Bonfante, 1983, p. 153).

1935, pp. 344-345). The word “parthenos,” according to this interpretation is derived from the root “par,” which is cognate to the Latin “mas,” “mar-is,” and Greek “theino” meaning to “smite.” “Virgo,” “vir-ginis” also has the meaning of man-killer, according to Elderkin. Lat. “Vir-ginis,” constructed from “vir” (man), and “gin” which equals “κενίς,” Cretan “κεν,” which is the same as Hittite “kwen” and the Greek “θεν,” “to smite” patterned after the Scythian “oiorpata.”

There is also uncertainty and controversy regarding the etymology of the theonym Artemis.¹⁶¹ Most frequently it is argued that it is derived from the verb ἀρταμεῖν = κατακόπτειν (Euripides. *Περίοδοι* fr. 612), “cut in pieces,” “rend asunder,” which would fit nicely with the translation of “parthenos” and “oiorpata” as “mankiller.”¹⁶² At Tauris men were sacrificed by Artemis Tauropolia or Artemis Dictynna or, possibly, Artemis Orthia, at the Artemis Orthia temple in Sparta boys were whipped, and at Halai Araphenides a few drops were cut from a man’s neck.

The Amazons hunted on horseback like the men and with, or without, men roamed wildly about, making war and wearing the same clothes as men (Hdt. 4.116-117). They did not marry until they had killed a man (Hdt. 4.112) or three, according to Pliny (*NH* 6. 19) and those who did not kill remained unwed.

Plato refers to myriads of women he calls Sauromatides in the district of Pontus upon whom it is imposed the duty of handling bows and other weapons in addition to horses and who practice it equally with men (Plato *Nom.* 804e). Plato elsewhere refers to Amazons (*Nom.* 806b). According to Homer, the Amazons lived among the Phrygians and Lycians in Asia Minor (*Il.* 3.189; 6.186).

Amazons are described in a poem from the archaic epic cycle the *Aithiopsis*, allegedly written by Arctinus of Miletus ca. 750 BCE. The original text is lost, but a summary is provided in the fifth-century CE *Chrestomathia* by Proclus. Hecataeus of Miletus wrote

¹⁶¹ For a discussion on the etymology of the name Artemis, see Burkert, 1999, p. 61 and, the more extensive discussion by G. Miroux, 1986, pp. 127-132, in which Miroux rejects the derivation from ἄρταμος, butcher or murderer, and says that the word is not attested to before Sophocles, i.e., quite late (however, it appears also in a fragment attributed to Aeschylus’ *Fragmenta* (Mette) 44, play A: 633a, 2) and argues that it is used more often in a sacrificial context and that he does not view Artemis as a sacrificer. However, there is ample evidence of sacrifice having formed part of many festivals dedicated to Artemis, especially as Tauropolos.

¹⁶² ἄρταμος is translated as butcher (Robert in L. Preller. *Griech. Mythologie* 4th ed. vol. 1, p. 296 no. 2; *Photius. Scr. Eccl. et Lexicogr., Lexicon (A—A)*, A 2886; Hesychius. *Lexicon (A—O)*. A 7481, ἄρταμος· μάγειρος. On the other hand, Strabo claims that the name Artemis is derived from ἀρτεμέας meaning “safe and sound” (Str. *Geog.* 14.1.6, ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρτεμέας ποιεῖν). Homer also connects her name with ἀρτεμέα “safe and sound,” “not injured but whole” (Hom. *Il.* 7.308, ὡς εἶδον ζωὸν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα; *Od.* 13.43, εὐροῖμι σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν). Perhaps a somewhat less plausible theory was put forth by Robert Graves who suggested that the name could mean something like “Disposer” (of θέμις, judgement, decree, custom, statute, and oracle) of Water (ἀρδ-, ἀρδεία, irrigation) (Graves, 1948, p. 653).

the earliest extant ethnography of the Scythians. This text, written c. 500 BCE, is only preserved in an epitomized list format by Stephanus of Byzantium (*FGrHist.* 1A, frgs. 17, 18b). In it Hecataeus calls the Amazons “Chadesiai,” presumably after Chadisia, the city of the Leukosauroi (1 F 200). Apollonius mentions three tribes of Amazons – the Chadisiai, the Themiscyrans, and the Lycastians (*Argonautica* 2.373-4). Pherecydes of Athens locates the territory of the Amazons as being near Thermedon on the Doiontian (Themiscyran) plain.¹⁶³ According to Herodotus, some Amazons drifted to Scythia upon being captured by the Greeks at Themiscyra (Hdt. 4.110). They made war on the Scythians, but later intermarried with them. Their descendants became known as the Sauromatai.¹⁶⁴

Ephorus, like Herodotus, identified Amazons as ancestors of the Sauromatians (*FGrHist.* 2a, 70, F fr. 114a). The Sauromatians (“lizard eaters”) were sometimes identified with the Galactophagoi, who were said to live communally and not to marry. According to the *Etymologicum Magnum*, a Byzantine Lexicon from the 12th century, the Sauromatians did not eat flesh, which is similar to the Galactophagoi, milk-eaters, who may have been vegetarian nomads (Shaw, 1982, pp. 5-31). Ephorus, however, seems to

¹⁶³ Müller, K. *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum (FHG)*, vol. 1, fr. 25. Paris: Didot, 1874.

¹⁶⁴ In the late twentieth century, classical scholarship often rejected the Amazons as a man-made myth. Andrew Stewart, for example, asked why the Greeks needed Amazons and what the Amazons could say about “otherness” that Trojans, Giants, and the rest could not (Stewart, 1995, p. 572). According to Stewart, “Bachofen’s theory about the Amazons as remnants of a prehistoric matriarchy was swallowed up by a whole series of unenlightened individuals such as Marxists, feminists, Freudians, Jungians,” and what he called, “latterday devotees of the Goddess” (Stewart, 1995, p. 572). Stewart concluded that the scholarship of the sixties and seventies achieved a rare consensus seeing Amazonian society as a mirror image of the Greek polis, and using the specter of a gynaikeia or “female tyranny,” which is how he translated this term, to illustrate Greek notions about barbarian despotism (Vidal-Naquet, 1986 [1970]; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988 [1972]; Carlier-Détienne 1980-81). He included among the more enlightened scholars, “more sophisticated feminists” without naming them although later he referred to Page duBois and Mary Lefkowitz (1995, p. 573). Structuralists took their cue from Jean-Pierre Vernant’s aphorism that in Greek society marriage was for girls what war was for boys – “le mariage est à la fille ce que la guerre est au garçon” and “si la guerre trouve son terme dans le mariage, le mariage est aussi à l’origine de la guerre qu’il fait renaître et rebondir” (1974, p. 34; 1980, p. 23; p. 38; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988 [1972], p. 99). According to this line of thinking, the Greeks used matriarchy as a tool for conceptualizing, explaining, and validating the polis’ customs, institutions, and values by postulating their opposites and revealing them as absurd. The message they wished to convey is that women must marry. The fact that Russian archaeologists had discovered female warrior burials in Russian Central Asia, i.e., the region of the legendary Amazons was not incorporated into Stewart’s discussions (Stewart, 1995, p. 576). Further, in an effort to downplay the antagonism between the Amazons and men such as Heracles and Theseus, Stewart did not seem to view “romances” between these men and the Amazons they kill as male constructs, only the “need” for Amazons in the first place (Stewart, 1995, p. 577). Aeschylus (*PV* 416), Hippocrates (*Aer.* 17), and Herodotus (4.114, 117) call them “parthenoi.” Herodotus has the Amazons say, as the Spartan women do: “We are archers, javelineers, and riders; we have not learnt the works of women.” In typical anachronistic manner, Stewart describes the Amazons as “unruly teenagers: unripe, undeveloped, undomesticated, and unrestrained” in reference to Hippocrates and Hellanicus who stated that they mate with men and maim or kill the male infants born of these liaisons (Hipp. *Articulations* 53; Hellanicus, *FGrHist.* vol. 3 B. 323a F 17c). In late 20th century style Stewart described the “sex lives” of the Amazons as a continual “series of flagrantly public one-night stands” (Stewart, 1995, p. 580).

distinguish between the Galactophagoi and Sauromatians (Ephor. In Strabo. *Geog.* 7.3.9). He says that the modes of life of the Sauromatai and of the other Scythians are unlike for whereas some eat human beings, others abstain from eating any living creature whatsoever. He refers to Scythian nomads, possibly the Galactophagoi, who feed only on mare's milk and "excel all men in justice" (ibid.).

As an explanation of why people held Artemis in honor above all the gods, Pausanias refers to the renown of the Amazons who had dedicated the statue at Ephesus and the extreme antiquity of the sanctuary, possibly founded by the Amazons (Paus. 4.31.8). The Amazons are the quintessential Artemisian virgins – free, strong, independent, untamed, androgynous, blond, and long-haired, warrior priestesses in the service of the Goddess and they were presumably true virgins since false ones drowned, according to Pausanias (καταδύονται δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν γένους τοῦ θήλεος αἱ καθαρῶς ἔτι παρθένοι, Paus. 10.19.2). Pindar says that Amazons were buried in and around Athens and in Boeotia and Thessaly (Pind. Fr. 174 Snell (Teubner texts); Aes. *Eum.* 685-89; Hdt. 9.27; Plut. *Thes.* 27).

That life is stranger than fiction has become evident in recent years with the excavations of the burials of warrior women in southern Russia on the border of Mongolia in the purported homeland of the Amazons. Through DNA analysis a direct match was found between these warrior women and an eight-year-old blond girl, a natural on horseback, living among the Nomads in the area.¹⁶⁵

As shown by the excavations of Troy and Mycenae we know that the stories told in the *Iliad* are not pure fiction. So, too, with the Amazon legends; warrior women in the Caucasus were a historical reality. This does not imply that myths were not spun around them or that elements used in maturation rituals, for example, did not imitate or transform some of these tales. To uncover what is true and what is fiction is the virtually impossible and never-ending task of the scholar. However, it is unwise to dismiss certain ancient references to the Amazons, especially so abundant and frequent in writers we ordinarily trust, such as Tacitus or Thucydides, because of ideological barriers to appreciating the possibility that women may not have been universally and always oppressed, and that autonomy and self-reliance and, even, power of women may have been a reality.

¹⁶⁵ PBS special: *Secrets of the Dead: Amazon Warrior Women*. Story House Productions for Thirteen/WNET in New York in association with National Geographic International and ZDF.

CHAPTER 2: THE SACRIFICE OF TWO VIRGINS: IPHIGENIA AND HIPPOLYTUS

The importance to which Euripides assigns the status of virginity in his two plays *Iphigenia at Aulis* and the *Hippolytus* affords a closer examination. The following chapter centers on two “sacrificed” virgins and devotees of Artemis, Hippolytus and Iphigenia, most famously treated by Euripides in his plays *Hippolytus* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*, in which the virgin state, the deaths of the protagonists, and their respective relationship to the goddess form central themes. Both Hippolytus and Iphigenia hold special relationships to Artemis and, arguably, both die for her. The argument includes a discussion of (virgin) sacrifice (human and non-human) and its significance in ancient Greece.

2.1 Human (virgin) sacrifice

There are many reports of human, especially virgin, sacrifice in ancient literature.¹⁶⁶ Demophon and Iolaos could not defeat Eurystheus without the sacrifice of Makaria

¹⁶⁶ The origin of human sacrifice was discussed also in antiquity. In the beginning, wrote Theophrastus, people performed sacrifice only from the fruits of the earth. But in time, negligence of piety and scarcity of crops led them to consume meat (Porp. *Abst.* 2.27.1-2—Theophr. Fr. 13.22-26). The jury is clearly out on the possibility of human sacrifice in Bronze Age or later Greece, that is, “the literature is ambiguous and the archaeology inconclusive” (oral communication with Larissa Bonfante). Richard Hamilton points out some weaknesses when modern scholars so vociferously deny the possibility of human sacrifice in his review of Dennis D. Hughes’s book “Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece” (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 1992, pp. 1-3). He laments the fact that there is seldom a consideration of the counter argument. The ample references to human sacrifice in classical Greek tragedy and the absence of it in Homer are worth noting, but this may simply be due to a lack of relevance to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. A fairly recently discovered possible human sacrifice is the one at Tarquinia. During the so called Proto-Villanovan phase, an area used for ritual practices and dated to the late 10th century BCE, has been excavated uncovering a small amphora, a jug, and a carinated cup in impasto, which are vessels used for libation. There is evidence of offering the first fruits and deer horns. On the basis of the deer horns, it is believed that a deity, presumably Artumes, was invoked (Bonghi Jovino, Maria (2010). “The Tarquinia Project: A Summary of 25 Years of Excavation.” *AJA* 114: 161-180). Deer antlers also feature prominently in a child’s grave from the 9th-8th centuries. The child was albinic, encephalopathic, and epileptic. Dating to the second quarter of the eight century BCE, a burial of a man of large stature was discovered. Some fragments of an “Euboean” jug were laid on his chest, possibly revealing his origin. The man had been killed by a blow to the head. In another area three newborns were discovered as well as an eight-year-old child who had been beheaded. In and near the cavity, animals -- pig, sheep/goat, cow, bird, and fish -- seem to have been sacrificed along with

(Lloyd-Jones, 1983, p. 89). The daughters of Antipoinus had to be sacrificed in order for Thebes to defeat Orchomenos, and for Messenia to repel the Spartans, the daughters of Aristodemus were sacrificed. The Carthaginians sacrificed children to Moloch at times of crisis.¹⁶⁷ Niobe's seven daughters and sons who were killed by Artemis and Apollo reflect perhaps a similar action as well as the tribute of seven Athenian girls and boys to the Minotaur (Bacchyl. 17).¹⁶⁸ In Corinth, seven boys and girls spent a year wearing black robes and shaved hair in the shrine of Hera Akraia. The climax was a sacrifice of a black he-goat. Lloyd-Jones, in referring to Burkert, speculates that the cult legend may have been an action for the story of the killing of the children of Medea (Lloyd-Jones, 1983, p. 94).

Virgins are reported to have been sacrificed to atone for the wrong-doings of some individual or community or to avert some pending disaster. In Laodicea in Syria a virgin was sacrificed each year to Athena, but now a deer is sacrificed (Porp. *Abst.* 2.56.4). Polybius (12.5.7) and Strabo (13.4.14.) relate the story about the Locrians who were required to send a tribute of young virgins to serve in the temple of Athena at Troy for one thousand years to atone for Aias violating Cassandra in Athena's temple. One of the virgins could be sacrificed if captured. The daughters of Erechtheus were sacrificed when Eumolpus of Eleusis threatened to destroy Athens (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 98-101). The daughters of Leo were sacrificed to drive out a plague or famine from Athens after the oracle of Delphi was consulted (Dem. *Epitaphius--The Funeral Speech* 29.2).

When a beast called Sybaris ravaged the area of Delphi, the oracle declared that a youth had to be exposed before the cave of the beast. Alcyones was chosen by lot, but the

humans. In an unpublished paper given at a conference sponsored by the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Buffalo, NY in April 2011, Nancy De Grummond views the sacrifice of children as especially effective communicants with the gods because of their purity (De Grummond, 2011). For Larissa Bonfante, human sacrifice is a fact, "the available archaeological evidence has shown that such a custom existed and that it was shared by pre-Classical Greeks and barbarians" (Bonfante, 2011, p. 13). An article by Bonfante about human sacrifice among the Etruscans more broadly was recently published (2013, pp. 67-82). Pliny declared that the Roman State finally outlawed human sacrifice in 97 BCE (*NH* 30.13). Plutarch relates that two women and two men (two Greeks and two Gauls) had been buried alive in the Forum Boarium (*Quaest. Rom.* 83; *Mor.* 283F). Livy, too, refers to this sacrifice having been performed during the Punic War in 216 BCE (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 22:27). Vergil recounts that the Romans changed their practice of sacrificing prisoners at the funerals of great men to instead perform gladiator games (Verg. *Aen.* 3.67).

¹⁶⁷ Although this has recently been called into question (Markoe, 2000; Higgins, 2005; Sergio Ribichini. "Histoires de Moloch, le roi effroyable." In Nagy & Prescendi, 2013; A.R.W. Green. *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*. Scholars Press for the American Schools of Oriental Research ([Ph.D. thesis], 1975, pp. 179-182). The existence of human sacrifice in antiquity has again recently been refuted (see Nagy & Prescendi, 2013).

¹⁶⁸ B. Sergent suggests that the human "victims" listed in a Linear B tablet from Pylos (PY Tn 316) re-enacts this story (Sergent, 1990, pp. 180-181).

hero Eurybatus walked by and fell in love with him and took his place and killed the monster (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 8). In describing the foundation of Methymna, Plutarch writes that an oracle declared that a virgin had to be sacrificed to Amphitrite (*Conv. Sept. Sap.* 20. 163 a-d); a daughter of Smintheus was chosen by lot. Laomedon must expose his daughter Hesione to a sea-monster sent by Poseidon, but she is saved by Heracles (Hellanicus *FGrHist.* 1a, 4, F fr. 26b; Diod. Sic. 4.42.2-7). Perseus rescues Andromeda who has been tied to a rock by her father as a meal for another Poseidon-sent sea monster (Eur. fr. 114-156;¹⁶⁹ Soph. fr. 126-129¹⁷⁰; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.3). The Hyakinthides, according to an Attic myth, were said to have been sacrificed by Erechtheus at the tomb of the Cyclop Geraestus to save their country (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.8).

Hecuba asks that Helen, being the most beautiful, be sacrificed and not her own daughter Polyxena in Euripides' drama (Eur. *Hec.* 267-270). She [Polyxena] dies on her own accord (Eur. *Hec.* 548) -- a virgin that is virgin no more (Eur. *Hec.* 612). Achilles' ghost demands the sacrifice (Eur. *Hec.* 305). Hecuba asks Odysseus what has compelled the Greeks to perform human sacrifice (ἄνθρωποσφαγεῖν) on Achilles' grave, on which it is proper to sacrifice cattle (βουθυτεῖν) (Eur. *Hec.* 260-261). Unfavorable winds in Euripides occur, this time, after, and not before, Polyxenas' sacrifice (Eur. *Hec.* 900-901). Polyxena is described as having a gold-decked neck -- αἵματι παρθένον ἐκ χρυσοφόρου δειρής νασμῶι μελαναυγεῖ (Eur. *Hec.* 151-152).

In Euripides' *Children of Heracles*, a virgin, daughter of Heracles, offers herself willingly to be sacrificed to save her brothers (*Heracl.* 530-534). Argos' king Eurystheus attacks Athens to kill the sons of Heracles who are protected by Theseus' son and king of Athens, Demophon, who says that oracles have told him that the only way Athens will win is through a virgin sacrifice to Persephone (408-409). The deed will replace marriage and children (579-80, 590-92). In *Phoenician Women*, one of the members of the Theban royal house, Menoeceus, must be sacrificed in order to win the war against the Argives (931-941).¹⁷¹

The Taurus sacrifice to the Virgin was of all shipwrecked sailors and their heads were impaled on stakes before her temple (Hdt. 4.103.1-2). Orestes was originally to be sacrificed to "Artemis" as all (male?) strangers landing at Tauris, but was spared by

¹⁶⁹ Frgs. 1-43. Babel, Frank. *Euripides, Andromeda. Palingenesia*, Bd. 34. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991.

¹⁷⁰ From Soph. *Andromeda*. Lloyd-Jones, Hugh (Ed.). *Loeb Classical Library* series. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.

¹⁷¹ Anna Maria Belardinelli argues that also Sophocles' Antigone belongs in the category of virginal (self-) sacrifice (Belardinelli, 2010, pp. 14-18).

Artemis because of her affection for Iphigenia. According to Herodotus in the 5th century BCE, the Taurians were still performing human sacrifices to the goddess:

...the Tauri have the following customs:
all ship-wrecked men...they sacrifice to
the Virgin (Goddess)...after the first rites
of sacrifice, they smite the victim on the
head with a club, and according to some,
they then throw down the body from the
cliff whereon their temple stands, and
place the head on a pole (Hdt. 4.103).¹⁷²

Similar claims of human sacrifice to Artemis have been made for Artemis Triklaria at Patras (Paus. 7.19.4). The festival Tauropolia at Halae Araphenides in Attica involved the offering of some drops of blood drawn from a man's neck to Artemis Tauropolos, a possible remnant from earlier beheadings (Eur. *IT* 1458-1460; Walker, 1983, p. 58). Other violent acts for the goddess are recorded by Athenagoras who says that devotees of Artemis Ephesia made incisions and gashed their genitals (Athenagoras *Leg. Pro Christ.* 26.2). Human sacrifice at the temple of Artemis Orthia in Sparta may later have been changed to the scourging of young men which in Roman times occasionally caused boys to die (Paus. 3.16.9-10; Dixon-Kennedy, 1998, p. 48).¹⁷³ An action for the whipping of ephebes at the Artemis Orthia sanctuary is a struggle around the altar of the goddess among the inhabitants of the four villages that formed early Sparta (Xen. *Lac.* 2.9; *Lyc.* 18.1-2).

Several myths relate stories in which the human, mostly virgin, was substituted by an animal, though, not always with the expected happy outcome.¹⁷⁴ A mare died instead of a Boeotian girl before the battle at Leuctra in 371 BCE (Ael. *NA* 12.34 -- Tenedos). At a Dionysus temple at Potniai the worshippers killed the priest in a drunken stupor. The Delphic Oracle proclaimed that a boy must be sacrificed to avert the pestilence that had ensued. A few days later the god substituted a goat for the boy (Paus. 9.8.2). The Spartan Agesilaüs stayed overnight at Aulis getting ready to lead a Panhellenic force against the

¹⁷² Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοσίδε χρέωνται. Θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄν λαβῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καταρξάμενοι ῥοπάλῳ παίουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν.

¹⁷³ Pausanias (8.23.1) also speaks of women being flogged at the sanctuary of Dionysus at the Sciereia festival, which appears to contradict Ducat's assertion that "torture" was not part of girls' initiation rites (Ducat, 2006, p. 244).

¹⁷⁴ These stories are common in the Hebrew bible. Abraham and Isaac sacrificed a ram instead (*Genesis* 22. 10-13). In *Judges* (11:30-40), Jephthah promised Yaweh that he would offer as a holocaust the first person he encountered should he return home victorious from a battle. His beloved daughter ran to meet him.

Persians in 397 BCE (Plut. *Ages*. 6. 4-6). On hearing a voice bidding him to emulate the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter, he agreed, but instead offered a hind as a symbolic gift. The expedition failed.

Burkert hypothesizes that sacrifice, especially virgin sacrifice, originated in the hunt.¹⁷⁵ He argues that the sacrifice of a virgin before battle symbolized a need to sublimate eros for war, "an eros that is in danger of returning in a violent and uncontrolled form after battle" (Burkert, 1966, pp. 87-121). He concludes that "hunting and war are sanctioned

¹⁷⁵ Much inaccurate and often repeated information about our early history and often based on nothing but conjecture is being re-examined and re-evaluated. Such a case is "Man, the hunter," paradigm, which several scientists (for example, Adrienne Zihlman, 1997, Jonathan Marks, 1991, Matt Cartmill, 1997, Donna Hart and Robert Sussman, 2005) have begun to question. A statement such as that what separates humans from other species is that we are "Man, the hunter" has proven incorrect since many species of mammals hunt. Those who saw "Man, the hunter" as the model were delighted when Jane Goodall reported that chimpanzees, one of our closest relatives, hunt. However, hunting among them is transitional and a chance phenomenon. Meat makes up a very small portion of their diet. Tools are used for gathering termites and ants, or cracking nuts, or soaking up water from puddles and female chimps use more tools than the males do (Hart and Sussman, 2005, p. 214). Among hunter-gatherer cultures, most tools are not used for hunting but rather for gathering plants, eggs, honey, small insects, and small burrowing animals. Most of the tools are made and used by women, not men. Some 60-90 percent of the food collected by most modern human foragers in the tropics is provided by women (Hart and Sussman, 2005, p. 215). Almost all field-work among the Valenge in South Africa has been carried out by the women, which is typical for many peoples in the developing world (Earthy, 1933, p. 31). The first stone tools appeared 2-3 million years ago; the first hominids around 7 million years ago. Our earliest evidence of systematic hunting is late – 60,000-80,000 years ago (Hart and Sussman, 2005, p. 224). The first hominids appeared more than 6.9 million years earlier. Social strategies rather than aggression were most likely the ingredients of early civilization. We live in groups for protection from predators hunting us (Cf. Pl. *Prot.* 322b: "...men dwelt separately in the beginning, and cities there were none: so that they were being destroyed by the wild beasts since these were in all ways stronger than they"). We prefer open spaces (a remnant from the days of Man, the hunted). We may have learned language from alarm vocalization. We were foragers, scavengers, and we were ourselves hunted. We commonly give birth at night when it is safer from predators. A statement such as that the human brain is larger than that of others in relation to its body size is another fallacy. The prototypical "stupid" Neanderthals had larger brains and were somewhat smaller in body size (Papagianni, Dimitra & Michael A Morse. *The Neanderthals Rediscovered: How Modern Science is Rewriting Their Story*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2013). It is interesting to note that humans share 98 percent of their DNA with both chimpanzees and bonobos (98.4% with bonobos). These apes took a different turn in evolution when they split from each other some 2 million years ago for whereas chimpanzee society is patriarchal and hierarchical and, on occasion, quite aggressive and warlike, bonobo society is matriarchal, cooperative, and peaceful. It should give us pause when we consider our early history and questions of matriarchy versus patriarchy. The Bonobo females form groups, gather food together and eat before the males whereas their chimpanzee female cousins are generally solitary when searching for food after the group males have finished eating and thus more vulnerable to aggressive behavior on the part of males. Female homosexuality as a way of socializing is common among bonobos. Other attempts at setting humans apart from other animal species have been by references to "Man, the toolmaker." Jane Goodall has shown that chimpanzees made and used tools; "Man, the food sharer" – bonobos and chimps share their food; "Man, the user of language" – chimps, bonobos, and gorillas are able to learn American sign language, not to mention the fact that most species use various forms of oral (and non-verbal) communication (for the learning of English and communication of bonobos via keyboard see, Pär Segerdahl, William Fields and Sue Savage-Rumbaugh. *Kanzi's Primal Language: The Cultural Initiation of Primates into Language*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), "Man, the possessor of culture"? -- many primates transmit learned behavior from one generation to the next as do many, perhaps most, other species as well; "Man, the bipedal"? -- however, many apes and even bears can walk on two legs.

by social custom as tests of manhood, and they take precedence over courtship and marriage. Man declines to love in order to kill” (Burkert, 1972, p. 64).

This is pure speculation. It is questionable whether these kinds of inferences can be made about prehistory. Many scholars such as Mary-Kay Gamel seem to accept Burkert’s assessment without question. She agrees that the sacrifice of a virgin symbolizes the renunciation of marriage, sexual activity, and reproduction which the warriors are making (Gamel, 1999, p. 308).¹⁷⁶

However, as Parker points out, sexual abstinence in preparation for hunting and warfare is not demonstrable in the historical period (Parker, 1983, p. 84). If so, can we really draw the conclusion that this was what was going on at a time from which we have no written accounts? George Thomson elaborates on the theme of all things originating in warfare and hunting and concludes that the idea that the tribal system had its origin in warfare is a gratuitous invention. Thomson views its origin rather in the the family, private property, and the state (Thomson, 1954 [1949], p. 107).¹⁷⁷

In examining the “historical” and mythological accounts, the sacrifice of virgins does not appear to have been a routine occurrence, but rather one performed only at times when there is a perception of great danger facing a community; for example, when pestilence, plague, or famine threatens the population, usually thought to have been brought on by some offence against the gods. In the case of Iphigenia, the fate of the entire Greek civilization is at stake. The disaster that time was “unfavorable winds” brought on by the gods (in this case Artemis) as punishment for a human affront against them. None of the stories relate the sentiment of men having to clear their minds of love, which then is supposed to necessitate the sacrifice of a virgin.

¹⁷⁶ Van Gennep stated something similar, but the rationale was different: “When a man sets out on a hunt or campaign, he has to stay away from intercourse with her; otherwise she will paralyze his strength and bring him bad luck” (Van Gennep, 1960, p. 139). This is quite different from Burkert’s notion that men need to clear their heads of love and turn to killing. The statement by Van Gennep places the power in the hands of women.

¹⁷⁷ Vernant, a master of not always intelligible *sententiae*, argues that animal sacrifice and marriage are parallels, “on peut dire que le mariage est à la consommation sexuelle ce que le sacrifice est à la consommation carnée” (Vernant 1980, p. 138= 1974, p. 149); 1981, p. 13).

2.2 Iphigenia¹⁷⁸

Classical literature abounds with tales of virgins; historical, legendary, and mythical. Euripides seems to have had a particular interest in virginity as a concept, especially the term *sophrosyne*, referring to self-control and moderation in matters of the mind and body, and in mythical virgins, such as the one whose sacrifice is perhaps the most famous of all in classical antiquity (**figs. 21-22**), that of Iphigenia without which the Trojan War would not have come about – “bring me away; the sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians” (Eur. *IA* 1475-1476) -- and the Greek civilization would not have conquered the barbarian:¹⁷⁹

Make the sacrifice! Eradicate Troy!
For a long time to come that will be
my monument, my children, my
marriage, my fame (Eur. *IA* 1398-1399).¹⁸⁰

Iphigenia’s virginity is of central importance, not in order to legitimize marriage and offspring, but her virgin sacrifice will de facto save all of civilization.

Iphigenia was the daughter of Clytaemestra and Agamemnon, whom the latter sacrifices to Artemis for favorable winds that will enable him and the rest of the Greek fleet to sail to Troy.¹⁸¹ Various reasons are given for the Goddess’ wrath in sending contrary winds holding back the Greeks (Tripp, 1970, p. 104). One reason could have been the fact that Artemis supported the Trojans against the Greeks in the War. However, the common explanations were either that Agamemnon had shot a deer or he had broken

¹⁷⁸ As we saw in chapter 1, Iphigenia was sometimes identified with Artemis, sometimes distinct from her. At Hermione in the Argolid there was a cult of Artemis Iphigenia (Paus. 2.35.1); a temple of Artemis at Aegira which was earlier dedicated to Iphigenia and an ancient image of her (Paus. 7.26.5); and a temple of Artemis built by Iphigenia’s father Agamemnon, according to Pausanias (Paus. 1.43.2). Another of Artemis’ followers who was sometimes identified with her was Callisto. Pausanias mentions a grave of Callisto at a temple to Artemis in Arcadia (Paus. 8.35.8). Mary Hollinshead speculates that the original cult at Brauron was for a cave-dwelling goddess of childbirth called Iphigenia, to whom women’s garments were dedicated (1985, p. 425).

¹⁷⁹ After the virgin “sacrifice” of La Pucelle, Joan of Arc, that of Iphigenia is history’s most famous sacrifice unless one considers the crucifixion of Jesus as belonging to this category. The story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is frequently depicted in art (*LIMC* 2:2 1373-1384).

¹⁸⁰ θύετ’, ἐκπορθεῖτε Τροίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου διὰ μακροῦ καὶ παῖδες οὗτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ’ ἐμή.

¹⁸¹ Following Hesychius, “Ἰφι” means beautiful, so the name would mean “born beautiful.” Usually, though, the name is translated as “strong born.” See also the story of Iphis and Ianthe in Ovid (*Met.* 9.666-9.797). Animals who like Iphigenia “willingly” sacrifice themselves are found, e.g., in *Ag.* 1297; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.51; Porph. *Abst.* 1.25.7; Plut. *Del.* 22; Apollon. *Mir.* 13; Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 844a35; Philost. *Her.* 8 p. 294.

a promise to offer to her the most beautiful thing born in the year of Iphigenia's birth, which was Iphigenia herself (the latter is the version given by Euripides in *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*), or he had angered Artemis by boasting that he surpassed her as an archer as in the *Kypria* and Sophocles' *Electra*. Apollodorus followed the epic Alkmeonis or Stasinus that Agamemnon's father Atreus had reneged on his promise to sacrifice to Artemis the golden lamb (Apollod. *Epitome* 3.21-22). Either way, the seer Calchas announced that she could be appeased only by the sacrifice of Agamemnon's virgin daughter Iphigenia and so Iphigenia was brought to Aulis with her mother Clytaemestra under the pretext of her marrying Achilles.¹⁸²

The earliest mentioning of the sacrifice of Iphigenia and of Iphigenia as daughter of Clytaemestra and Agamemnon is in the 7th century *Kypria* by Stasinus (summary in Proclus, *Chrestomathia*, 47-51, as preserved in Photius). In the *Kypria* after Agamemnon killed a deer, Artemis got angry and demanded a virgin sacrifice. Artemis substituted a hind for Iphigenia and Artemis subsequently made Iphigenia immortal and transported her to the land of the Taurians. In the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (Hesiod Fr. 23) a cause for the sacrifice is omitted.¹⁸³ Iphimede, as she is called, is substituted for an image (eidolon), after which Artemis made her immortal as Artemis of the Crossroads (Einoida), that is, Hecate (Paus. 1.43.1). Also Stesichorus in the *Oresteia* follows Hesiod in turning Iphigenia into Hecate (Philodemus *Piet.* 2.5; *Oresteia–Piet.* 215 -- book 1 or 2, and Paus. 1.43.1) – Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἑκάτην εἶναι· τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε.

Pausanias mentions a version in which Iphigenia is the daughter of Helen and Theseus given to Clytaemestra to raise, quoting Euphorion of Chalcis, Alexander of Pleuron, and Stesichorus of Himera (*PMG* 191; 215 Philodemus (Page); Paus. 2.22.6-7) or the daughter of Agamemnon and the Trojan Chryseis (*Etym. Magn.* 815, 59 (p. 739 -- χρυσόπολις).¹⁸⁴ In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon has a daughter called Iphianassa who is still alive in the ninth year of the Trojan War. In Pindar's eleventh *Pythian Ode*, Iphigenia is killed without any substitution or rescue. Some versions put the place of sacrifice at Brauron rather than at Aulis (*FGrHist.* I, fr. 10.3 – *Etym. Magn. s.v. Ταυροπόλον τὴν*

¹⁸² I agree with Ken Dowden that Achilles entered the Iphigenia story after it became part of the Trojan cycle (Dowden, 1989, p. 13).

¹⁸³ Hesiod. *Theogonia, Opera et dies. Scutum. Fragmenta selecta. Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis.* R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (Eds.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

¹⁸⁴ Iphigenia may be of Mycenaean (or possibly Minoan) origin. A Bronze Age Linear B tablet from Pylos mentions an I-pe-me-de-ja (PY Tn 316) (see n. 92). M. Ventris and J. Chadwick. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* 2. No. 172, pp. 286-89, 459-65, 548. Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Ἄρτεμιν).¹⁸⁵ Pausanias says that the Megarians claim a heroon of Iphigenia, but he expresses doubt at the local assertion that she died at Megara (1.43.1).

According to the manuscript in Leiden on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 645, Euphorius claims that Iphigenia was sacrificed at Brauron and that a bear and not a deer, was substituted for her (**fig. 22**). Phanodemus also believed that it was a bear (*FGrHist.* I, fr. 10.5 – *Etym. Magn. s.v. Ταυροπόλον τὴν Ἄρτεμιν*).¹⁸⁶ In most versions, Artemis substituted a deer for Iphigenia making Iphigenia her priestess in the land of the Taurians (Proclus' *Chrestomathia* (the *Cypria*); Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*; *LIMC* 2:2 1373-1384) (**fig. 18**). After twenty years, Orestes came to Tauris and he and Iphigenia returned to Greece with a statue of Artemis.¹⁸⁷ According to Euripides in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, Iphigenia subsequently assumed the role of the priestess of Artemis Brauronia or, according to Pausanias, became the priestess of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Paus. 3.16.7). However, Pausanias also refers to the Tauric Artemis as being worshipped at Brauron (Paus. 1.23.7).

The story of Iphigenia and her virgin sacrifice is most famously and passionately told by Euripides.

If Artemis wishes to take my body, will I, mortal,
stand in the way of a goddess? No, impossible. I
give my body to Greece. Make the sacrifice!
Eradicate Troy! For a long time to come that will
be my monument, my children, my marriage,
my fame (Eur. *IA* 1395-1399).¹⁸⁸

The chorus in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* establishes that Artemis takes joy in human sacrifice -- θύμασιν βροτησίοις χαρεῖσα (Eur. *IA* 1524-1525). In Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, Iphigenia is critical of Artemis and her affinity for human sacrifice:

I criticize Artemis's clever logic; if a mortal
is involved in bloodshed or touches a new
mother or a corpse, she shuts him out from

¹⁸⁵ Müller, K. *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum (FGH)* 1, pp. 366-370. Paris: Didot, 1841-1870.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Claudia Montepaone makes an interesting point about the taming of Iphigenia by way of the "wild and uncivilized" Tauris before she can return to civilization and preside over girls' puberty rituals in Mounychia (1986, pp. 137-144).

¹⁸⁸ εἰ δ' ἐβουλήθη σῶμα τοῦμόν Ἄρτεμις λαβεῖν, ἐμποδῶν γενήσομαι ἴω θνητὸς οὔσα τῆι θεῶι; ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον· δίδωμι σῶμα τοῦμόν Ἑλλάδι. θύετ', ἐκπορθεῖτε Τροίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου διὰ μακροῦ καὶ παῖδες οὔτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ' ἐμή.

her altar as polluted, but she herself takes pleasure in human sacrifice (*IT* 380-384).¹⁸⁹

In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* the seer gives Artemis as the cause of the sacrifice μάνας ἔκλαγξεν προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν (201) ...μιαίνων παρθενοσφάγοισιν ῥείθροις πατρώιους χέρας πέλας βωμοῦ... γὰρ θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος) (209-215) – “the altar stained with streams of virgin blood.”

Twice the question is asked what Iphigenia and Helen have to do with one another (Eur. *IA* 494, 1236). She refers to herself with an epithet used in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (689), “heleptolis,” destroyer of the city or destroyer of Helen (Eur. *IA* 1476).¹⁹⁰ David Sansone notes a number of parallels such as the fact that both Orestes in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and Iphigenia in *Iphigenia at Aulis* are sacrificial victims of Artemis (Sansone, 1975, p. 285).

Iphigenia clearly sees herself as the savior of Greece. She says that her death will accomplish the sailing of the fleet, the sacking and overthrow of Troy, and in the future, no matter what the barbarians do, they will no longer be allowed to seize Greek women from blessed Hellas. The payment will be exacted for the destruction of Helen.

Instead of giving her body to Achilles or Hades, Iphigenia now gives it to Greece and Artemis (1395-1397). She herself makes the connection to the salvation of the civilized world, Greece, and the barbarian, Troy, and her body offered to the goddess. When she says, ἀγετέ με τὰν Ἰλίου καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν (*IA* 1475-1476; 1511-1513) – “bring me away; me the sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians” -- she emphasizes the pivotal role of her sacrifice for the destruction of Troy. “I am coming, the woman who will give the Greeks victory and salvation” (1473-1474); “no burial mound will be heaped over me” (1442); “the altar of the goddess, Zeus' daughter, is my monument (1444). ... to the grove of Artemis, where I will be slaughtered” (1463). Iphigenia sees herself as chosen by Artemis (1395-1396), praises the goddess (1480-1483), and insists that others join in the praise (1467-1468, 1491-1492).

The chorus agrees with Iphigenia's assessment of the meaning of her virgin sacrifice:

Look at [ἴδεσθε] her, the city-sacker of Troy
and the Phrygians, as she walks, with a crown
upon her head and dashed with the lustral waters,

¹⁸⁹ τὰ τῆς θεοῦ δὲ μέφομαι σοφίσματα, ἥτις βροτῶν μὲν ἦν τις ἀψηται φόνου ἢ καὶ λοχείας ἢ νεκροῦ θίγηι χεροῖν βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσσάρδον ὡς ἡγουμένη.

¹⁹⁰ As Mary was the destroyer of Eve, the evil woman.

to the altar of the divine goddess, with streams of
 flowing blood, she is stained at the lovely
 [εὐφυῆ τε σώματος δέρην σφαγεῖσαν] neck of
 her body, slain as a sacrifice (Eur. *IA* 1510-18).¹⁹¹

However, the chorus is not wholly supportive: “But what is happening here and the goddess are sick” (1403). The parallel with animal sacrifice is emphasized. Iphigenia was hoisted above the altar like a she-goat (Aesch. *Ag.* 252) and sacrificed like a calf -- ὄστε μόσχον (Eur. *IT* 359). Lucretius’ famous polemic against an unjust religion uses the sacrifice of Iphigenia as an exemplum:

...as when at Aulis, the altar of our Lady of the Crossways was foully defiled by the blood of Iphianassa, shed by chosen leaders of the Danaï, best of men. As soon as the ribbon had bound her virgin hair falling in equal lengths down either cheek, as soon as she saw her father standing sorrowful before the altar, and by his side attendants hiding the knife, and the people shedding tears at the sight of her, mute with fear, she sank to the ground on her knees. Poor girl! It did not help her at such a time that the name of father had been given the king first by her; for lifted up by the hands of men, all trembling she was brought to the altar, so that she not in solemn and sacred ritual might be escorted by loud hymeneal song, but a pure virgin to fall by impure hands at the age of marriage; a victim, sorrowful, slain by a father’s hand; all in order that a fair and fortunate release might be given to the fleet. So powerful was Religion in persuading evil deeds (Lucretius. *De rerum natura* 1.83-101).¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ ἴδεσθε τὰν Ἰλίου καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν στείχουσας, ἐπὶ κάραι στέφῃ βαλουμένην χερνίβων τε παγὰς, βωμόν γε δαίμονος θεᾶς ῥάνισιν αἱματορρύτοις θανοῦσαν εὐφυῆ τε σώματος δέρην.

¹⁹² “Aulide pro pacto Triuiuai uirginis aram/ Iphianassai turparunt sanguine foede/ ductores Danaum delecti, prima uirorum./ cui simul infula uirgineos circumdata comptus/ ex utraque pari malarum parte profusast,/ et mestum simul ante aras adstare parentem/ sensit et hunc propter ferrum celare ministros/ aspectuque suo lacrimas effundere ciuis,/ muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat./ nec miseræ prodesse in tali tempore quibat/ quod patrio princeps donarat nomine regem./ nam sublata uirum minibus tremibundaque ad aras/ deductast, non ut, sollempni more sacrorum/ perfecto, posset, claro comitari Hymenæo/ sed casta inceste, nubendi tempore in ipso,/ hostia concideret mactatu maesta parentis—exitus ut classi felix faustusque daretur! tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!”

2.3 Hippolytus

As a man Hippolytus is perhaps not the typical Greek virgin.¹⁹³

Upon this sun-lit earth there is no man, deny it
though you may, more chaste than I (Eur. *Hipp.* 993-995).¹⁹⁴

In this case, virginity is not merely a physical state but akin to the “Christian” perception of purity. Hippolytus is a complex character who is often dismissed as peculiar and unique. I argue that his experiences were formed not in a vacuum, but in a cultural context that was reflected in mystic doctrines such as Pythagoreanism, the worship of Cybele, and Orphism, which influenced both Euripides and Plato.¹⁹⁵

According to Diogenes Laertius, Plato and Euripides traveled to Egypt together in order to “see those who interpreted the will of the gods” (Diog. Laert. 3.6, Plato). Even though this story may not be true since Plato would have been very young and Euripides very old at the time of their alleged trip, it does say something about the connection made in classical antiquity both between the two men and between them and mystery religions. Euripides’ *Bacchae* and *Helen*, for example, offer a syncretism of the mystery rites of Cybele, Dionysus, and Demeter.

Hippolytus was the object of local cults in Trozen and Attica (**fig. 19**). The name Hippolytus was borne by a mythical king of Sikyon, son of Rhopalos, son of Phaistos (Paus. 2.6.7) and a favorite of Apollo (Plut. *Num.* 4.5.4-5). At the Trozen precinct, there is also an Apollo temple. Diomedes was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus, according to Pausanias, and this same Diomedes was the first to hold the Pythian Games in honor of Apollo. The connection of Hippolytus and Apollo may be a natural progression from Hippolytus’ devotion to Apollo’s twin sister Artemis. Hippolytus is the typical companion of Apollo, but Hippolytus’ chastity and hunting activities make him rather a devotee of Artemis.

Hippolytus in Euripides’ play invokes Artemis as the most beautiful of virgins -- καλλίστα παρθένων (Eur. *Hipp.* 66). He respects his Amazon mother. He wants to stay

¹⁹³ Although there are other male virgins in tragedy, such as Menoeceus in Euripides’ *Phoenissae*.

¹⁹⁴ εἰσορᾷς φάος τόδε καὶ γαῖαν· ἐν τοῖσδ’ οὐκ ἔνεστ’ ἀνὴρ ἐμοῦ, οὐδ’ ἦν σὺ μὴ φῆς, σωφρονέστερος γεγώς.

¹⁹⁵ Plato mentions Orphic writings several times; for example in *Nom.* 2.669d and 8.829d; *Ion* 536.5; *Resp.* 2.364e.

chaste—an untouched meadow which does not give fruit or grain, because it is not cultivated; it is not useful for animal grazing.

I bring a plaited garland I have made, gathered from
 an untouched meadow, a place where it is not worth
 for the shepherd to pasture his flock, where the iron
 scythe has never come: no, untouched it is, and the
 bee makes its way through it in the springtime.
 Modesty tends it with streams of river water, for
 those to pluck who owe nothing to teaching but
 in whose very nature chastity (sophrosyne) in all
 things alike has won its place: to which the base
 has no right. So, dear mistress, take this coronal
 for your golden hair from a worshipful hand.
 I alone of mortals have this privilege: I spend
 my days with you and speak with you, I hear your
 voice but never see your face. May I end
 life's race even as I began it! (Eur. *Hipp.* 73-87).¹⁹⁶

In the *Hippolytus*, the garland has been plucked from a virgin meadow, cultivated only by *aidos* (shame or reverence) with pure river water.¹⁹⁷ “You put on many wreaths of violets and roses and (crocuses?) together by my side, and around your tender neck you put many woven garlands made from flowers and...” (Sappho 94). The right to pluck

¹⁹⁶ σοὶ τόνδε πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος, ὃ δέσποινα, κοσμήσας φέρω, ἔνθ' οὔτε ποιμὴν ἀξιοῖ φέρβειν βοτὰ οὔτ' ἤλθέ πω σίδηρος, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον μέλισσα λειμῶν' ἠρινὴ διέρχεται, Αἰδῶς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις, ὅσοις διδακτὸν μηδὲν ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴληχεν ἐς τὰ πάντ' ἀεὶ, τούτοις δρέπεσθαι, τοῖς κακοῖσι δ' οὐ θέμις ἀλλ', ὃ φίλη δέσποινα, χρυσέας κόμης ἀνάδημα δέξαι χειρὸς εὐσεβοῦς ἄπο. μόνωι γάρ ἐστι τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ γέρας βροτῶν· σοὶ καὶ ξύνειμι καὶ λόγοις ἀμείβομαι, κλύων μὲν αὐδῆς, ὄμμα δ' οὐχ ὀρῶν τὸ σόν. τέλος δὲ κάμψαιμ' ὥσπερ ἠρξάμην βίου.

¹⁹⁷ The wreath, bough, or garland has significance in many myths and legends involving young women (cf. the wreaths of the *arktoi* in the *krateriskoi* from Brauron p. 62). Even today, girls in Sweden collect seven (or nine in some regions) different kinds of flowers on Midsummer Night's eve to place under their pillows. The modern-day explanation is to dream of their future betrothed. These traditions are also common in other parts of contemporary Europe, including Greece and Italy. An ancient Greek custom involved so called *bucoliasts*, devoted to Artemis, who wore hartshorns on their heads and carried loaves stamped with figures of animals, a sack of fruit of all kinds, and a skin of wine. They strewed the fruit on the thresholds of the houses and offered a drink of wine to the inhabitants. On the Cyclades, women went around singing a hymn to the Hyperborean virgins and collecting alms for them (Hdt. 4.35). At the Carneia festival at Sparta one of the *staphylodromoi*, graperunners, put fillets on his head and ran on before the others, pronouncing blessings upon the town. It was a good omen if he was overtaken by the others and a bad omen if he was not (Nilsson, 1971 [1940], p. 35). The Artemis Korythalia festival may also have included a so called May bough – *korythale*. In Theocritus' *Epithalamion of Helen* girls celebrate Helen's wedding by dancing around her plane tree, adorning it with ribbons, and pouring oil at its root (18.43-46). For Kore and the other virgins the flowers were roses, lilies, crocuses (see n. 149, n. 159 and p. 70), hyacinths (regarding hyacinths in connection with loss of virginity, see Catullus 61.85.90), irises, larkspur (see p. 39), violets, and narcissus. The virgin nymphs alongside Kore were Artemis, Leucippe, Phaeno, Electra, Ianthe, Melita, Iache, Rhodea, Callirhoë, Melobosis, Tyche, Ocyrhoë, Chryseis, Ianeira, Acaste, Admete, Rhodope, Pluto, Calypso, Styx, Urania, Galaxaura, and Athena (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 349ff.).

such a garland belongs only to those for whom being “sophron” is not a learned quality, but one which has been assigned as part of their nature in every respect for ever. It is innate and life-long (Segal, 1970, pp. 278-99). Sophrosyne in Hippolytus has several meanings such as sexual chastity or purity, virtue, self-control, and good sense. Hippolytus is sure of his own σωφροσύνη (80, 949f, 995, 1007, 1035, 1100, 1365, so also of Artemis (1402) and of Phaedra’s lack of it (667, 1034), and of the Nurse (494).

The scholiast to the Hippolytus refers to a chorus of young hunting partners of Hippolytus’ “χορὸς τῶν κυνηγῶν Ἴππολύτου”¹⁹⁸ and says that they are of the same age, “ἡλικας” (947, 987, 1180); νέοι ... ὁμήλικες (1098) (for a discussion of this expression, see chapter 4). According to Elizabeth Craik, Theseus accuses Hippolytus of not only being an Orphic but also a homosexual prostitute (Craik, 1998, p. 43). Hippolytus’ experience seems partly modeled on the Kore myth. Like Persephone he suffers violent separation from a sacred meadow associated with virginity.

Because of what Theseus deems to be Hippolytus’ excessive sophrosyne, Theseus accuses Hippolytus of being an Orphic: “Continue then your confident boasting, adopt a meatless diet and play the showman with your food, make Orpheus¹⁹⁹ your lord, and engage in mystic rites, holding the vaporings of many books in honor” (952-54).²⁰⁰ Theseus adds: “To all I give the warning, avoid men like this. For they make you their prey with their holy-sounding words while they contrive deeds of shame” (955-57).

Hippolytus is clearly proud of his chaste life and even details just how chaste he is. In this case, virginity is not merely a physical state but akin to the “Christian” idea of purity. One can almost hear a St. Jerome or a St. Ambrose in the following passage:

By one thing I am untouched, the very thing in which
you think you have convicted me: to this very
moment my body is sacred (or pure) (“agnos”).

¹⁷¹ Schwartz, E. *Scholia in Euripidem*, 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1:1887; 2:1891 [repr. De Gruyter, 1966]: 58.1.

¹⁹⁹ According to Plato, Orpheus was the first to reveal the meaning of rites of initiation [telestai] (Pl. *Resp.* 2.364e; Arist. *Ran.* 1032).

²⁰⁰ One of my professors used to say “Hippolytus reads too much.” I assume that Euripides alludes mainly to sophists like Protagoras and Gorgias when he says “holding the vaporings of many books in honor.” These men were famous in Euripides’ day for selling their services in Athens teaching rhetoric to persuade and convince others regardless of the argument and for being clever hair-splitting wordsmiths rather than wise men, at least as they seem to have been viewed by some intellectuals, such as Euripides and Aristophanes (“for they make you their prey with their holy-sounding words while they contrive deeds of shame”). Theseus’ accusation that Hippolytus was a vegetarian may not have been entirely accurate. Barrett perceptibly asks if we should believe that when the passionate hunter [Hippolytus] sits down after his hunt to a τράπεζα πλήρης (110), the table is laden not with venison but with bread and cheese (Barrett, 1964, p. 343).

I do not know this act save by report or seeing it in painting, I am not eager to look at it either since I have a virgin soul (Eur. *Hipp.* 1002-1006).²⁰¹

Hippolytus describes himself as “the holy and god-revering one, the man who surpassed all men in moderation” (1364-1365) and adds that “... all in vain have been my labors of piety toward men” (1367-1369). Phaedra chides Hippolytus’ pride and says that “my death will prove a bane to someone else, so that he may learn not to exult over my misfortune: by sharing with me in this malady, he will learn moderation” (729-731). The irony of this statement is hard to miss. The self-proclaimed master of moderation and self-control (*sophrosyne*) will learn moderation from a woman who is incapable of maintaining this state for herself.²⁰²

When Hippolytus says that one must have complete and innate *sophrosyne* to cull a garland and that others are “*kakoi*” and must keep away, Barrett believes this to be an astonishing claim by ordinary Greek standards; normal fifth-century practice required that the man who entered a sacred place or took part in a sacred ritual should be *agnos*, but this *agneia*, says Barrett, was a purely formal affair of observing taboos of avoiding, or purging, pollution caused by such things as physical uncleanness or contact with some aspect of birth, sex, or death (Wachter, *RGVV*, 1910). According to Barrett, and to Mills more recently, Hippolytus’ requirement of moral purity is alien to the ordinary Greek cult until Hellenistic times and concludes that “his insistence that the purity must be innate would be extraordinary even then” (Barrett, 1964, p. 172).²⁰³

Sarah Mills contends that purity in regular Greek cult differs from Christian purity in that it depends not on interior cleanliness but on avoiding ritual taboos or performing particular ritual actions (Mills, 2002, p. 66). This is not entirely accurate. So-called mystery religions were popular at least since the archaic period and various philosophical

²⁰¹ ἐνὸς δ’ ἄθικτος, ὧι με νῦν ἔχειν δοκεῖς· λέχους γὰρ ἐς τόδ’ ἡμέρας ἀγνὸν δέμας. οὐκ οἶδα πρᾶξιν τήνδε πλὴν λόγῳ κλύων γραφῆι τε λεύσσω· οὐδὲ ταῦτα γὰρ σκοπεῖν πρόθυμός εἰμι, παρθένον ψυχὴν ἔχων.

²⁰² In the surviving fragments of Euripides’ *Chrysippus* there is a depiction of Laius’ inner (homosexual) struggle which is reminiscent of Phaedra’s forbidden love for Hippolytus organized around a single issue, that of the nature of *sophrosyne*.

²⁰³ Some scholars, of course, view Euripides as a “Hellenistic” writer. The play *Hippolytus* has been a gold mine for psycho-analysts. In George Devereux’s ethno-psychoanalytical study, Hippolytus is characterized as “narcissistic, neurotic, phobic, schizoid, and paranoid” (Devereux, 1985, p. 10). An alleged hatred for an immoral Amazon mother has resulted in hatred for women in general as well as an excessive devotion to the goddess Artemis, a replacement for his mother.

schools did indeed preach detachment and inner purity.²⁰⁴ Asia Minor, Egypt, Persia, Magna Graecia provided influence here in the form of Cybele and her eunuchs, Pythagoras, and Orpheus (**fig. 20**) who taught abstinence from sex and meat, and Euripides himself reveals a great interest in the ideas of moderation and chastity.²⁰⁵ Euripides more than the other tragedians frequently uses *partheneia* and *sophrosyne* and their cognates. Plato, too, has a keen interest in these matters as is obvious in *Protagoras*, *Charmides*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, but also the *Laws* and the *Republic* in which sexual intercourse is restricted to procreation alone and food intake is limited. Pythagoras was reported to have traveled to Crete to be initiated into mysteries.²⁰⁶ Perhaps one should also keep in mind that Hippolytus was the son of an Amazon. The Amazons, who worshipped Artemis, led virgin lives. Through his descent from an Amazon, one may perhaps also note his barbarian or non-Greek origin, which already set him apart.

A common ingredient in rituals of transition is gender inversion. This is clearly an aspect of the virgin Hippolytus, but also of his “masculine” counterpart, Phaedra. I believe Froma Zeitlin is correct in interpreting Phaedra’s lust as a desire to be Hippolytus rather than simply to be with him (Zeitlin, 1985, p. 110). Phaedra wants to hunt (Eur. *Hipp.* 215-222) and tame horses (Eur. *Hipp.* 228-231).²⁰⁷ She says while she, too, invokes Artemis: “Mistress of the Salt Lake, Artemis, mistress of the coursing ground for horses. O that I might find myself on your plains taming Venetian colts!” (Eur. *Hipp.* 228-231) and she exclaimed: “How I long to draw a drink of pure water from a dewy spring and to take my rest under the poplar trees and in the uncut meadow!” (Eur. *Hipp.* 208-211).

Phaedra laments the loss of her virginity, childhood innocence, and independence. Phaedra and Hippolytus are one and the same, neither female nor male, an androgyne, caught between idealism and reality, good and evil, love and hate, religion and secularism.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Cf. Plato who in the *Laws* punishes bachelors over 35 with a fine of up to 100 drachmas in addition to humiliation and shunning. Plato suggests that the fine should be consecrated to Hera, the goddess of marriage (*Nom.* 6.774a).

²⁰⁵ Guthrie calls Orphism a highly developed religion by the classical age (Guthrie, 1993 [1952], p. 49). Many Pythagorean and Bacchic mystery cults seem to have adopted Orpheus as their figure-head and the neo-Platonists presented him as a theological thinker.

²⁰⁶ The initiates call themselves “*mystoi*” of Zeus *Idaios* and Bacchantes of the *Couretes* (Porph. *Vita Pythag.* 17). As mentioned earlier, Plato and Euripides may have traveled to Egypt together in order to “see those who interpreted the will of the gods” (Diog. Laert. *Plato* 3.6).

²⁰⁷ Note the names Hippolytus and Hippolyte meaning “horse loosener” (see the discussion about horse-related names in chapter 4).

²⁰⁸ The Greek novel *Metiokhos kai Parthenope* belongs to the rich tradition of the lover and the virgin in Muslim literature. Interestingly, one of the first stories in this vein may have been the one about Phaedra

2.4 Hair

Hair holds a special significance to virgins. Virgins are often described as having long (as in untamed and free) and blond or golden hair (as the color white signifies purity). Hippolytus is blond (Eur. *Hipp.* 1343) as well as other young effeminate men like Menelaus (*IA* 175), but also the “masculine” Phaedra (Eur. *Hipp.* 134 -- ξανθὰν κεφαλὰν σκιάζειν) (134); παρὰ χαίταν ξανθὰν ῥῖψαι Θεσσαλὸν ὄρπακ’ (220). Hippolytus refers to Artemis as blond: “So, dear lady, take this coronal for your golden hair from a worshipful hand” (Eur. *Hipp.* 82-83). Iphigenia has golden hair (Eur. *IA* 1366) as does Cassandra and Alcman’s Hegesichora (*Louvr. Parth.* 51-54). Phoebus, as his sister, is golden-haired (Sapph. 44A [=Alc. 304 L.-P.]). The virgin companion of Artemis, Atalanta, was blond (Thgn. 1290ff.), as were the legendary Amazons.

The Trozenian cult in which would-be brides dedicated their hair to Hippolytus is mentioned by Euripides and by Pausanias (2.32.1-4).²⁰⁹ After a woman gets married, her long and loose hair is bound in a knot. As Ovid writes about Callisto when she was still a virgin: “There was no need for her to spin or arrange her hair” – “non erat huius opus lanam mollire trahendo nec positu uariare comas” (Ov. *Met.* 2.411-412). Apollo muses about what a controlled and tamed Daphne [after losing her virginity] might look like -- the compta puella -- spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos et “quid, si comantur”? (Ov. *Met.* 1. 497-498). In Euripides’ *Electra* the protagonist has her hair cropped after her marriage, χέρα τε κρᾶτ’ ἔπι κούριμον -- on my shorn head, Electra says (Eur. *El.* 148).²¹⁰ She is a virgin, but married, so no longer free and untamed.

Barrett sees the Hippolytus story as an aetiological myth to explain why young women offer hair to him. Eukleia, daughter of Heracles and Myrto, sister of Patroclus, died a virgin and received sacrifices by would-be brides and grooms just like Hippolytus (Plut.

and Hippolytus. Even the plot is reminiscent of Euripides’ play. Metiokhos has an evil stepmother, Hegesipyle, who promotes the interests of her own children (Lucian *De saltatione* 2). “What man, well-educated and philosophically minded, a critic of dance, would give up his moral and literary pursuits to sit enthralled by flute playing, watching an effeminate fellow, who indulges in soft clothes and lewd songs, impersonate oversexed females, the most leacheress ones of ancient times, such as Phaedra and Parthenope and Rhodope?” Ovid refers to a Rhodope as having “changed into a man” (*Met.* 6.87).

²⁰⁹ The word “komawenteia” which appears in a Linear B tablet from Pylos (PY Tn 316) may refer to hair and if the tablet refers to puberty rites, as Sergent contends, shaving off hair and dedicating it to deities may already have been practiced during the Bronze Age (Sergent, 1990, p. 201). Pausanias mentions a priest in the Trozenian cult who holds his office for life (Paus. 2.32.1-4).

²¹⁰ As already mentioned in n. 159, as part of rites of passage, the heads of little girls are shaved among the Rahûna in Morocco except in the front and a tuft on top (Van Gennepe, 1960, p. 167), similar to depictions of girls on Thera (Davis, 1986, pp. 399-406).

Arist. 20.5-6). Patroclus himself died a virgin and his beloved Achilles -- whom Plato describes as the most “sophron” -- σωφρονεστάτος (*Pl. Resp.* 3.391c) dedicated a few of his own blond hairs to his slain friend instead of as promised to the river (*Pl. Resp.* 391b). In coming-of-age rituals throughout Greece the hairs of adolescents were cut or shaved and dedicated to virgins such as Iphinoe at Megara (*Paus.* 1.43.4), to the Hyperborean virgins, Oupis and Hecaerge, on Delos, (*Paus.* 1.43.4; *Hdt.* 4.34.1; Dedicatory epigrams *AP* 6. 276-279), to Athena at Argos (*Stat. Theb.* 2.253 ff.), and to Artemis, Hera, and the Moirai in Athens (*Poll.* 3.38). Artemis usually received the hair of girls and Apollo that of boys (*Calame*, 1997, p. 106 n. 51). However, Artemis also received the locks of young men as at the Corythalia festival (*Hesych. s.v. κορυθαλία*).

In so called mystery religions, untied hair was important in worship. Tibullus mentions a woman untying her hair twice daily while praying to Isis (1.3.29-32). Female worshippers of Dionysus and Cybele wore their hair down. The galli of Magna Mater in addition to castrating themselves wore women’s clothing and their hair long and loose. Spartan Lycurgus had encouraged long hair for men because he felt that it made them look “taller, more dignified, and more terrifying” (*Xen. Lyc.* 10.3).

Interestingly, for Paul long hair is a God-given symbol of woman’s subordination to man: “It is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved. A man ought not to cover his head because he is the image and glory of God. But woman is the glory of man” (1 *Cor.* 11: 5-16). In a manner of speaking this is a perversion of the long-haired wild virgin theme, for example, Ovid’s Daphne. Virginity to Paul and other Christians did not symbolize freedom or an untamed state; rather the opposite.

2.5 Animal sacrifice

The myths make a recurring connection between human and animal sacrifice. Often, as in the case of Iphigenia, an animal is substituted for the human victim. Albert Henrichs dismisses Jane Harrison’s observation regarding sacrifice as “typical of her time and mentality,” that for the primitive mind “the line between human and animal ‘sacrifice’ is not sharply drawn,” and says that “it is doubtful that the so-called primitive mind was ever so indifferent to such vital distinctions, especially if the “primitive society” which Miss Harrison had in mind turns out to be Greece in the early Archaic period” (*Henrichs*, 1981, p. 206; *Harrison, Prolegomena*, 1922 [1903], pp. 110ff.; 114). Hopefully, today we

have a slightly more nuanced and less derogatory perception of “primitive” society and archaic Greece. Tribal “primitive” society was still very much a reality in Greece at this time.

Henrichs also claims that, “we may safely assume that as far as the Greeks were concerned, it made a distinct difference whether the victim in a sacrifice was a man or an animal” (ibid.). Yes, but perhaps not if the victim was a young woman or a child, I would add. Animals and nature (and women) were not so much “the other” among pagans as the Judeo-Christian legacy has instilled. The belief in antiquity was that animal sacrifice was a newer invention prompted by a lack of food or an aversion to human sacrifice. An important consideration is that most or all of the meat eaten was that of sacrificed animals.

Animal and human sacrifice is often overtly connected as when twelve young men were sacrificed by Achilles to avenge for Hector’s killing of Patroclus. The boys were burned together with skinned sheep, cattle, four horses, two dogs, and other animals (Hom. *Il.* 23, 114-176).²¹¹ The many animal substitutes for humans as a deer for Iphigenia and a ram for Isaac are other examples. In the Hebrew bible or Old Testament the connection is made with regard to the first fruit or first born: “You will give me the first born of your sons. You shall do likewise with your oxen and with your sheep” (*Exod.* 22:29-30); “Consecrate to me all the first-born, whatever is first to open the womb among the people of Israel, both of man and of beast, is mine” (*Exod.* 13:2).

In the last quarter of the third century, Porphyry argued that the first sacrifices were crops, then, neglecting holiness and in a state of famine, people ate each other and offered human sacrifice to the gods. Eventually, other animals became substitutes for human sacrifice (*Abst.* 2.27). The crop, the human, and the animal are all placed upon the altar in Porphyry’s history, but his larger argument is that a true god does not require such sacrifices. Animal sacrifice was for Porphyry a devolution from truly pious practices, in part, because they represent a misunderstanding of the kinship between human and animal. Appropriate sacrifice should instead occur through pure thoughts and “our own uplifting as a holy sacrifice to god” (*Abst.* 2.34).

²¹¹ At Punic sites human child and animal bones have been found together in urns. See the very interesting articles in *Antiquity*: Schwartz, J.H., F.D. Houghton, L. Bondioli, & R. Macchiarelli (2012). “Bones, Teeth, and Estimating the Age of Perinates: Carthaginian Infant Sacrifice Revisited.” *Antiquity* 86 (2012): 738-745; Xella, Paolo, Josephine Quinn, Valentina Melchiorri, & Peter van Dommelen. “Phoenician Bones of Contentment.” *Antiquity* 87 (2013): 338.

Porphry blames Ares and war for animal sacrifice and human misunderstanding of their ontological connection to animals; these practices [of the sacrifice of myrrh, frankincense, and honey] are still preserved among some peoples, like traces of the truth; “the altar was not soaked by violent deaths of bulls.” “I think,” Porphyry writes, “when friendship and perceptions of kinship ruled everything, no one killed any creature, because people thought that the other animals were related to them. But when Ares and Battle-noise and all kinds of conflict and source of war were in control, then for the first time no one spared any related creature at all” (*Abst.* 2.21-2.22).

Plutarch connects the gluttony of human carnivores with acts of war:

... at the beginning it was some wild and harmful animal that was eaten, then a bird or fish that had its flesh torn. And so when our murderous instincts had tasted blood and grew practiced on wild animals, they advanced to the laboring ox and the well-behaved sheep and the house-warding cock; thus, little by little giving a hard edge to our insatiable appetite, we have advanced to wars and the slaughter and murder of human beings²¹² (Plut. *De eso. carn.* II.4; *Mor.* 998 B-C).

According to Porphyry and Eustathius, animal sacrifice was a later invention when the luxury of a meat diet and imported innovations in food were introduced (Porph. *De abst.* 2; Eustath. *Ad Il.* 1449 paragraph 132).²¹³ For Clement animal sacrifice was invented to allow humans to eat meat: “But I believe sacrifices were invented by men to be a pretext for eating flesh” (Clem. Al. *Strom.* VII, cap. VI, 32.6).²¹⁴ Empedocles in the fifth century BCE spoke against animal sacrifice.²¹⁵ Aristotle explained that most annual sacrifices were offerings of first fruits, a fact Petropoulou seems to ignore. Aristotle’s student

²¹² οὕτω τὸ πρῶτον ἄγριόν τι ζῷον ἐβρώθη καὶ κακοῦργον, εἴτ’ ὄρνις τις ἢ ἰχθὺς εἴλκυστο• καὶ γευσάμενον οὕτω καὶ προμελετῆσαν ἐν ἐκείνοις τὸ φονικὸν ἐπὶ βοῦν ἐργάτην ἦλθε καὶ τὸ κοσμοῦν πρόβατον καὶ τὸν οἰκουρὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω τὴν ἀπληστίαν στομώσαντες ἐπὶ σφαγᾶς ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολέμους καὶ φόνους προῆλθον.

²¹³ For a useful summary of different theorists’ explanation of sacrifice, see Foley, 1985, pp. 46-56.

²¹⁴ σαρκοφαγιῶν δ’ οἶμαι, προφάσει αἱ θυσίαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπινενόηνται.

²¹⁵ So was Lucretius. His moving description of the sacrifice of a calf and its impact on its mother is worth quoting in toto: “For often in front of the noble shrines of the gods a calf falls slain beside the incense-burning altars, breathing up a hot stream of blood from his chest; but the mother, bereaved, wanders through the green glens, and knows the prints marked on the ground by the cloven hooves, as she surveys all the regions if she may spy somewhere her lost offspring, and coming to a stand fills the leafy woods with her moaning, and often revisits the stall pierced with yearning for her young calf; nor can tender willow-growths, and grass growing rich in the dew, and those rivers flowing level with their banks, give delight to her mind and rebuff that care which has entered there, nor can the sight of other calves in the happy pastures divert her mind and lighten her load of care: so persistently she seeks for something of her own that she knows well” (Lucr. *De rerum natura* 2.352-366).

Theophrastus argued that the earliest religious practices did not include animal sacrifice (quoted in Porph. *De abst.* 2.5-32) and that sacrifice began with Hestia when first fruits were offered to the gods of heaven (quoted in Porph. *De abst.* 2.5). Porphyry, too, maintained that crops, not animals, were sacrificed to the gods, and that they did not use animals for food, and that human sacrifice was substituted for that of animals (Porph. *De abst.* 2.54-56).

Plato, too, refers to animal sacrifice as originating in human sacrifice (Pl. *Nom.* 6.782c).

... when they were forbidden so much to eat ox
and their offerings to the gods consisted, not of
animals, but of cakes of meal and grain steeped
in honey, and other such bloodless sacrifices, and
from flesh they abstained as though it was unholy
to eat it or to stain with blood the altars of the gods;
... those of us men who then existed lived what is
called an Orphic life, keeping wholly to inanimate
food and, contrariwise, abstaining wholly from
things animate (Pl. *Nom.* 6.782c-d).²¹⁶

As G.S. Kirk cautions, in the Late Bronze Age, judging from archaeological evidence, burnt animal sacrifices were comparatively rare, and the regular means of worship was through libation and the presentation of vegetables” (Kirk, 1981, p. 77).²¹⁷ In reference to Meuli and Burkert, who both viewed animal sacrifice as originating in pre-historic hunting, he says that altars for burnt offerings as the major cult act became important in Greece only after the end of the Bronze Age and that the form of cult they presuppose seems to have been introduced from the west Semitic area of Syria and Palestine. In

²¹⁶ ὅτε οὐδὲ βοῶς ἐτόλμων μὲν γεύεσθαι, θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖσι ζῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἀγνὰ θύματα, σαρκῶν δ’ ἀπείχοντο ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ὄν ἐσθίειν οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς αἵματι μαιίνειν, ἀλλὰ Ὀρφικοί τινες λεγόμενοι βίοι ἐγίνοντο ἡμῶν τοῖς τότε, ἀψύχων μὲν ἐχόμενοι πάντων, ἐμψύχων δὲ τοῦναντίον πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι. Ovid in book 15 of the *Metamorphoses* describes the so called golden age when animals were not hunted, sacrificed, and eaten:

“...that former age, that we call golden, was happy with the fruit from the trees, and the herbs the earth produced, and did not defile its lips with blood. Then birds winged their way through the air in safety, and hares wandered, unafraid, among the fields, and its own gullibility did not hook the fish: all was free from trickery, and fearless of any guile, and filled with peace.” ‘At vetus illa aetas, cui fecimus aurea nomen, fetibus arboreis et, quas humus educat, herbis fortunata fuit nec polluit ora cruore. tunc et aves tutae movere per aera pennas, et lepus inpavidus mediis erravit in arvis, nec sua credulitas piscem suspenderat hamo: cuncta sine insidiis nullamque timentia fraudem plenaque pacis errant (Ovid. *Met.* 15. 96-103).

²¹⁷ See also the discussion by David Frankfurter in “Egyptian Religion and the Problem of the Category ‘Sacrifice’” In Knust, J. W. and Z. Varhelyi (Eds.) *Ancient Mediterranean Sacrifice*, pp. 75-93, p. 82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

examining Homeric practices, Kirk further concludes that there is no sprinkling or garlanding of animal victims, nor any attempt at getting the assent of the victim as in classical times and no arraying of the bones (Kirk, 1981, pp. 67-68). It is, therefore, doubtful whether these rites are a relic of prehistoric (hunting) practices. Kirk argues that epic sacrifice placed less emphasis on the moment of death than did classical ritual (Kirk, 1981, pp. 68-77). According to Maria Zoe Petropoulou, animal sacrifice occupied the pre-eminent position in Greek religion and was the primary offering (**fig. 23**). Her position is based chiefly on the so called sacred laws (Petropoulou, 2008, p. 39). She compares animal sacrifice to other forms of sacrifice, especially to libations (**fig. 24**).

I would argue that her claims are not entirely convincing. Libations would not necessarily have been noted in literary or documentary evidence since they did not require the same kind of preparation, equipment, or special location to be performed nor would they have been surrounded by the same level of pollution restrictions. The archaeological record is also not conclusive since for libations an altar was not always necessary. Moreover, the type of sacrifice used may have varied according to time and place. That she finds references to animal sacrifice in inscriptions simply shows that for animal sacrifice various proscriptions are particularly important and plentiful, which in fact could point to it being less common and in need of more instruction and explanation. As she herself concedes: “It is crucial to emphasize that the evidence for animal sacrifice in mainland Greece and Asia Minor is obstinately scanty and discontinuous as regards the period with which we are concerned. On the one hand, epigraphic sources are scarce both chronologically and spatially, with the exception of Athens, Rhodes, Delos, and Ephesus; on the other, the literary evidence,” she says, “deals with sacrificial rites which are mythical or earlier than our period, or, in the best case, it deals only with sacrificial rites of the second century A.D.” (Petropoulou, 2008, p. 46). Petropoulou further argues that unlike vegetables, cakes, and libations, animal sacrifice performed other functions than the offering itself such as purification and divination (Petropoulou, 2008, p. 40).

Whereas Greek ritual killing was often followed by the offering of a libation, the latter was also considered a distinct and autonomous sort of offering. Lucian, in his treatise *Περὶ θυσίων* criticizes animal sacrifice. In *On Sacrifices* 12, immediately after citing on a par the θυσίαι of oxen, lambs, goats, incense, and cakes, Lucian goes on to ridicule those who sacrifice (ἀλλ’ οἳ γε θύοντες) by ironically describing in detail only the procedure for an animal, and not vegetable, sacrifice. To Petropoulou, this passage suggests that, at the religious level, animal offerings were at the center of discussions and criticisms of

sacrifice among Christian writers, as, at the linguistic level, the verb θύω mainly alluded to animal offerings (Petropoulou, 2008, p. 39).

Adolf E. Jensen has pointed out that in primitive societies, the ritual killing of a wild animal was not of a ‘sacrificial’ character; sacrifice took place later, in agricultural societies, and the victim was a domestic, not a wild, animal (Jensen, 1963, p. 162).²¹⁸ J. Z. Smith agrees that it is inaccurate to place the origins of sacrifice in pre-agrarian societies (Smith, 1987, p. 10).²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Jensen discounts ritual killing among early peoples, the so called hunter-gatherers, and maintains that the killing was not seen as either desirable or laudable, but rather one forced upon humans by the struggle for sustenance (Jensen, 1963, pp. 164-165).

²¹⁹ Indeed, Ovid in book 15 of the *Metamorphoses* describes an agrarian connection “... it is thought that the pig was first considered to merit slaughter because it rooted up the seeds with its broad snout, and destroyed all hope of harvest. The goat was led to death, at the avenging altar, for browsing the vines of Bacchus. These two suffered for their offences! What did you sheep do, tranquil flocks, born to serve man, who bring us sweet milk in full udders, who give us your wool to make soft clothing, who give us more by your life than you grant us by dying? What have the oxen done, without guile or deceit, harmless, simple, born to endure labor? He is truly thankless, and not worthy of the gift of corn, who could, in a moment, remove the weight of the curved plough, and kill his laborer, striking that work-worn neck with his axe, that has helped turn the hard earth as many times as the earth yielded harvest. It is not enough to have committed such wickedness: they partner the gods in crime, and believe that the gods above delight in the slaughter of suffering oxen!” ...et prima putatur hostia sus meruisse mori, quia semina pando eruerit rostro spemque interceperit anni; vite caper morsa Bacchi mactandus ad aras ducitur ultoris: nocuit sua culpa duobus! quid meruistis oves, placidum pecus inque tuendos natum homines, pleno quae fertis in ubere nectar, mollia quae nobis vestras velamina lanas praebetis vitaeque magis quam morte iuvatis? quid meruere boves, animal sine fraude dolisque, innocuum, simplex, natum tolerare labores? inmemor est demum nec frugum munere dignus, qui potuit curvi dempto modo pondere aratri ruricolam mactare suum, qui trita labore illa, quibus totiens durum renovaverat arvom, quot dederat messes, percussit colla securi. nec satis est, quod tale nefas committitur: ipsos inscripsere deos sceleri numenque supernum caede laboriferi credunt gaudere iuveni (Ov. *Met.* 15. 111-129). Plutarch makes a similar connection in book 12 of the *Moralia*: “You call serpents and panthers and lions savage, but you yourselves, by your own foul slaughters, leave them no room to outdo you in cruelty; for their slaughter is their living, yours is a mere appetizer. It is certainly not lions and wolves that we eat out of self-defense; on the contrary, we ignore these and slaughter harmless, tame creatures without stings or teeth to harm us, creatures that, I swear, Nature appears to have produced for the sake of their beauty and grace...” ἀλλὰ δράκοντας ἀγρίους καλεῖτε καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας, καταλιπόντες ἐκείνοις οὐδὲν ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ὁ φόνος τροφή, ὑμῖν δ’ ὄψον ἐστίν’. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ λέοντάς γ’ ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ λύκους ἐσθίομεν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐώμεν, τὰ δ’ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ χειροῆθη καὶ ἄκεντρα καὶ νωδὰ πρὸς τὸ δακεῖν συλλαμβάνοντες ἀποκτινύομεν, ἃ νῆ Δία καὶ κάλλους ἕνεκα καὶ χάριτος ἢ φύσις ἔοικεν ἐξενεγκεῖν (Plut. *De eso. carn.* I.2-3 *Mor.* XII 994a-b). Plutarch goes on to describe the injustice done to domesticated animals: “But nothing abashed us, not the flower-like tinting of the flesh, not the persuasiveness of the harmonious voice, not the cleanliness of their habits or the unusual intelligence that may be found in the poor wretches. No, for the sake of a little flesh we deprive them of sun, of light, of the duration of life to which they are entitled by birth and being” Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δυσωπεῖ, οὐ χροᾶς ἀνθηρὸν εἶδος, οὐ φωνῆς ἐμμελοῦς πιθανότης, οὐ πανουργία ψυχῆς, οὐ τὸ καθάριον ἐν διαίτη καὶ περιττὸν ἐν συνέσει τῶν ἀθλίων, ἀλλὰ σαρκιδίου μικροῦ χάριν ἀφαιρούμεθα ψυχῆν, ἡλίου φῶς, τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἐφ’ ἃ γέγονε καὶ πέφυκεν (Plut. *De eso. carn.* I.4 *Mor.* XII 994D-E).

CHAPTER 3: ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΙΑ AND ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ

This chapter examines the related concepts of virginity and moderation (παρθενεία and σωφροσύνη) in ancient Greece, especially prominent in Euripides and Plato. In Euripides, partheneia and its related forms occur 176 times and sophrosyne and its related forms 99 times.²²⁰ In Plato, partheneia and its related forms occur 81 times and sophrosyne and its related forms 382 times.²²¹ In this context, the idea of asceticism in Pythagorean and Orphic beliefs is examined, including abstinence from sexual activity and meat-eating, referring back to a claim made by Theseus about his self-proclaimed chaste son Hippolytus that he was a vegetarian and an Orphic (Eur. *Hipp.* 952-54).

3.1 The concept of sophrosyne

Sophrosyne, moderation or self-control, as outlined so superbly by Helen North in her book *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*²²² came to refer to self-control from Euripides and Plato and onwards mainly in matters of the body, such as abstinence from sexual relations, meat, wine, and sometimes wealth.²²³

Sophrosyne in Homer, on the other hand, is devoid of moral and religious implications. In three of the four passages where the concept is found, it denotes prudence or shrewdness in one's own interest (North, 1966, pp. 2-3). In the *Iliad*, Apollo's reply to Poseidon's challenge to battle (the earliest connection in Greek literature between Apollo and sophrosyne) contains a sense of self-knowledge and an appreciation of the boundary between god and human (Hom. *Il.* 21.462-64). North concludes that the few references to

²²⁰ In Aeschylus, *partheneia* and its related forms occur 34 times and *sophrosyne* or its related forms 22 times; in Sophocles, *partheneia* or its related forms occur 18 times and *sophrosyne* or its related forms 13 times.

²²¹ In Aristotle, *partheneia* and its related forms occur 27 times and *sophrosyne* and its related forms 183 times (most occurrences are found in the *Nicomachean Ethics*).

²²² North, Helen. *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966.

²²³ Words such as καθαρός, άγνός, and άμικτος sometimes have a similar meaning although "katharos" usually holds the more specific connotation of clean and pure, άγνός pure and holy, and άμικτος, pure and unmixed (as in wine).

sophrosyne in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* seem to indicate that the quality (at least under its classical name) was of minor importance to the heroic age (North, 1966, p. 2). Only the earlier, non-contracted forms of the noun *σαοφροσύνη* (*Od.* 23.13 and a plural form in *Od.* 23.30) and the adjective (in the accusative) *σαόφρονα* (*Il.* 21.462; cf. *Od.* 4.158) appear – always in passages that have been regarded as late additions to the poems and their meaning is something like “of sound mind” although even among these four passages slight but significant differences occur (such as “prudent” and “discreet”).²²⁴ In the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, the word *sophron* denotes self-control and calm (“σαόφρονα θυμόν,” *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 7.49). Heraclitus is the first of the pre-Socratic philosophers to refer to *sophrosyne* and he is the first to make the link that Homer implied between *sophrosyne* and self-knowledge -- ὕβριν χρῆ σβεννύναι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊήν,” “one needs to extinguish insolence more than fire” (Diog. Laert. 9.1) -- “πρώτας μὲν τάσδε, φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην· ἐν εἶδει δὲ τούτων μεγαλοψυχίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, καρτερίαν, ἀγχίνοιαν, εὐβουλίαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν” (Diog. Laert. 7.6-8).²²⁵

In the sixth and fifth centuries *sophrosyne* in spite of its Ionian origins, became part of the aristocratic Doric ethical tradition as seen in Theognis, Pindar, and occasionally in Bacchylides. Helen North concludes that “what Tyrtaeus did for ἀνδρεία, Solon for δίκη and Xenophanes for σοφία, Theognis and his imitators did for σωφροσύνη (North, 1966, p. 16; Thgn. 379, 701, 1138).²²⁶ Theognis, for example, urges us to maintain the mean between thirst and drunkenness.²²⁷ He is also the first to provide *sophrosyne* with a political context.²²⁸ Another innovation in the *Theognidea*, as observed by North, is the earliest specific linking of *sophrosyne* with maturity, as distinguished from youth (North, 1966, p.17). In the first *Paeon*, Pindar associates *sophrosyne* with the orderly rule of the conservative nobility “[σαό]φρονος ἄνθεσιν εὐνομίας,” “with flowers of wise order,”

²²⁴ For a cogent discussion about the Homeric perception of body and soul, see Snell, 1982, pp. 1-22. Snell argues that the Homeric view of the body is not one of a unitary whole (σῶμα), but one of aggregates as in words for the limit (skin) (χροός), frame (δέμας), and limbs (γυῖα, μέλεα) and instead of ψυχή words such as θυμός (breath of life) and νόος (imagination) were used to correspond to a later concept of the soul akin to ours. Soma and psyche did not become unitary concepts until the 5th century.

²²⁵ Heraclitus frags. 112.1; 116.2. Diels, H. and Kranz, W. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, 6th ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951; Long, H.S. *Diogenes Laertii vitae philosophorum*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964 (repr. 1966).

²²⁶ ὦιγετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, ὦιγετο δ' ἀνδρῶν Σωφροσύνη, Χάριτες τ', ὃ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον· ὄρκοι δ' οὐκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι, οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδεὶς ἄζεται ἀθανάτους (Thgn. 1137-1140).

²²⁷ Ἄφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς καὶ σώφρονος οἶνος, ὅταν δὴ πίνῃ ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κοῦφον ἔθηκε νόον, 497-498). Young, D. (post E. Diehl), *Theognis*, 2nd ed. Leipzig: Teubner, 1971.

²²⁸ σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ' ὕπατον, βασιλεῦ. πῶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμαῖ νόος ἀνδρας ἄλιτρούς ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν, ἢν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῆι νόος ἢν τε πρὸς ὕβριν (Thgn. 375-378).

Pind. *Paean* 1.10). North notes that this contains the first recorded prayer to Apollo for the gift of sophrosyne (North, 1966, p. 24).

One further phenomenon of the archaic age is the spread of mystery religions. Pythagorean and Orphic beliefs had bearing on sophrosyne. Pythagorean writings of later times, for example, Iamblichus' and Porphyry's accounts of Pythagoras' life, attach great importance to sophrosyne in the sense of self-restraint or abstinence. In his so-called *Golden Sayings* (*Carmen aureum*), Pythagoras exhorts us to look after our health and be moderate in drink, food, and sports (32).²²⁹ The image of Orpheus whose music had a calming effect and was associated with sexual purity and abstinence from eating meat, etc., made Theseus accuse Hippolytus of being an Orphic (Eur. *Hipp.* 952-954).

To Aeschylus, sophrosyne is essentially religious and heroic, an acceptance of mortal limitations. As already mentioned, related forms to sophrosyne occur in Aeschylus only twenty-two times and partheneia and its related forms, thirty-four times. Ideas expressed by aphorisms such as “μηδὲν ἄγαν” is of importance to Aeschylus in the same way as the notion of “γνώθι σεαυτόν” is to Sophocles. To Sophocles, sophrosyne is self-knowledge and the power to recognize reality rooted in the imperfection of the heroic nature. However, he does not use it as a noun. Only thirteen related forms are found and partheneia and its related forms occurs a mere eighteen times.

As North observes, to Euripides, sophrosyne is one aspect of the rational element, continuously in conflict with the irrational (North, 1966, p. 69). It appears chiefly as the control of emotions and appetites, and is predominantly moral rather than intellectual. Only for Euripides among the tragedians does it mean self-control. The noun “σωφροσύνη” makes its first appearance in tragedy in Euripides. He uses it six times. Other lexical forms used are σώφρον fifty-four, σωφρονεῖν thirty-two, σωφρονῶς five, σωφρονίζειν twice and, as already mentioned, παρθενεῖα and its related forms occur 176 times. To Euripides, who saw in the triumph of the irrational over the rational the primary source of tragedy for the individual and society, sophrosyne is one of several names for the rational element, especially in the *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae*. In the *Medea*, it is called the fairest gift of the gods (σωφροσύνα, δώρημα κάλλιστον θεῶν, 636) and is identified with the mastery of passion. In *Iphigenia at Aulis* there are at least five nuances of meaning – moderation (379), sanity (407), chastity (543-44), modesty (824), and good sense (1024). Hippolytus boasts of his sophrosyne (99, 1007, 1034-35, 1100, 1364-65).

²²⁹ οὐ δ' ὑγιείας τῆς περὶ σῶμ' ἀμέλειαν ἔχειν χρῆ, ἀλλὰ ποτοῦ τε μέτρον καὶ σίτου γυμνασιῶν τε ποιεῖσθαι (Pyth. *Carmen Aureum* 32).

In Plato's *Symposium*, Agathon identifies sophrosyne with the control of pleasure and desire (196c). Eryximachus argues that "pleasure ought to be roused in moderation; otherwise we lapse into sickness" (187e). According to Charmides, the concept is related to "orderly and quietly" (159b). Consequently, it is synonymous with "aidos" ("modesty") (160e). When Critias joins the discussion, the definition becomes "to do good things" (163e), later "self-knowledge – γνῶθι σεαυτόν (164d) -- and finally, it is "knowledge of what one knows and not knows" (175c) and "a science of the sciences" (174d). "Nothing to excess" and "know thyself" are in Plato ideas inseparable from sophrosyne. Socrates makes the point that a philosopher does not care much about food, drink or sex (Pl. *Phd.* 64d) and that philosophers separate the soul from the body (Pl. *Phd.* 65a-d). Moderation of desires and passions is in fact a central theme in Plato:

...the lover may kiss and pass the time with and touch the beloved as a father would a son, for honorable ends, if he persuade him. But otherwise he must so associate with the objects of his care that there should never be any suspicion of anything further, on penalty of being stigmatized for want of taste and true musical culture (Pl. *Resp.* 403b-c).²³⁰

Socrates praises Glaucon as exemplary for his valor in battle (*Resp.* 368a). He is not only victorious in battle but also fond of music (398e), philosophy (450b), and youths with a noble soul (402d). Xenophon says: "He [Lycurgus] required them [youths] to keep their hands under their cloaks, to walk in silence, not to look about them but to fix their eyes on the ground...men have more sophrosyne than women [as a result]" (Xen. *Lac.* 3.4). They will eat small quantities of meat, roasted rather than fried or boiled. Oat cakes and ordinary vegetables will complete the rest of the menu, minus any fancy sauces and spices. Sexual activity will be kept to a minimum. They will use wine in moderation (Pl. *Resp.* 403a-404e; esp. 403e). Drinking parties so common in other cities such as Athens are forbidden in Sparta (Pl. *Nom.* 637a-b). Plato continues by asserting that:

He that counts bodily desire as but secondary, and puts longing looks in place of love with soul lusting really for soul, regards the bodily satisfaction of the body as an outrage, and reverently worships temperance, courage, nobility and wisdom will desire to live always chastely in company with

²³⁰ ... φιλεῖν μὲν καὶ συνεῖναι καὶ ἄπτεσθαι ὡσπερ ὑέος παιδικῶν ἐραστήν, τῶν καλῶν χάριν, ἐὰν πείθῃ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὕτως ὁμιλεῖν πρὸς ὃν τις σπουδάζει, ὅπως μηδέποτε δόξει μακρότερα τούτων συγγίγνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ψόγον ἀμουσίας καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας ὑφέξοντα.

the chaste object of his love” (Pl. *Nom.* 837c-d).²³¹

As noted, Plato believed that sexual relations were intended for procreation alone (Pl. *Nom.* 838e). In connection therewith he suggested that there should be an annual mating festival with a lottery to select mating pairs equal in number to the estimate of new births required to replenish the population of rulers and auxiliaries (Pl. *Resp.* 460a-461a). “We should mate the specimens in their reproductive prime” [twenty to forty years of age for women]. Plato appears to contradict himself when he praises homosexual love in the *Symposium*, but seems to condemn it in the *Laws*. However, since for Plato the law of nature is that sex is for procreation, sexual activity among individuals of the same sex is clearly to be avoided. Plato refers to men and women being corrupted into homosexuality, as most other Hellenes and barbarians and concludes that the Spartans and Cretans readily give in to this unnatural impulse because they have not learned to resist pleasure (Pl. *Nom.* 840d-e). Plato’s ideas about sexual abstinence may at least in part have been inspired by Pythagoras who, in spite of him reportedly having been married, maintained that sexual pleasures are always harmful and not conducive to one’s health, according to Diogenes Laertius (Diog. Laert. *Pythag.* 8.9).²³²

In Herodotus the adjective and verb “σώφρων/ον” and “σωφρονεῖν,” and the adverb “σωφρόνως” imply soundness of mind, good sense, or, occasionally, sanity. Sophrosyne never occurs in Thucydides with the meaning of chastity, which is otherwise common in the fifth century as seen in Plato and Euripides. In Thucydides sophrosyne has the sense of (Spartan) political moderation or conservatism whereas Democritus is probably the first philosopher to systematically link sophrosyne to the control of appetites (North, 1966, p. 119).

Michel Foucault in *The Use of Pleasure* offers a more precise distinction between two related concepts: sophrosyne and enkrateia.²³³ Unlike the moderate man (ruled by sophrosyne), the continent man (ruled by enkrateia) experiences pleasures that are not in

²³¹ Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἐρῶν, καὶ τῆς ὥρας καθάπερ ὀπώρας πεινῶν, ἐμπλησθῆναι παρακελεύεται ἑαυτῷ, τιμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀπονέμων τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθει τοῦ ἐρωμένου· ὁ δὲ πάρεργον μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων, ὀρῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ὄντως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτεθυμηκῶς, ὕβριν ἤγηται τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ σώματος πλησμονή, τὸ σῶφρον δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον αἰδούμενος ἅμα καὶ σεβόμενος, ἀγνεύειν αἰεὶ μεθ’ ἀγνεύοντος τοῦ ἐρωμένου βούλοισι’ ἄν.

²³² Diogenes Laertius says that Aristoxenus claimed that Pythagoras learned most of his moral doctrines from the Delphic virgin priestess Themistoclea (Diog. Laert. 8.21 (*Pythag.*), just as Socrates allegedly received his teachings about love from Diotima of Mantinea. According to Iamblichus, nearly one-third of Pythagoras’ female disciples were Spartan (VP 267).

²³³ Foucault, Michel. *The Use of Pleasure. History of Sexuality 2.* 1984. *L’Usage de plaisirs.* Gallimard. Robert Hurley (Trans.). London: Penguin Books, 1992.

accord with reason, but he no longer allows himself to be carried away by them, and his merit will be greater in proportion as his desires are strong. He contends: “Thus enkrateia can be regarded as the prerequisite for sophrosyne, as the form of effort and control that the individual must apply to himself in order to become more moderate (sophron)” (p. 65).

3.2 The concept of partheneia

One may argue that virginity mattered because of the legitimacy of children and inheritance or because of viability for marriage, emphasizing social and legal aspects. However, these considerations relate chiefly to classical Athens, whereas I believe that religious aspects such as the requirement that a priestess or prophet be a virgin reflect an earlier concept in archaic Greece when divine rather than human law regulated community life.

Just as for the early Christians, ancient virginity was believed to further a union with the divine (Hdt. 1.182). The cultic requirement of virginity may in part be based on ritual pollution resulting from sexual intercourse. A man should not clean his body with water in which a woman has washed “...μηδὲ γυναικείῳ λουτρῷ χροῖα φαιδρύνεσθαι” (Hes. *Op.* 753). Virginity in the myths and cults of Artemis in archaic and classical Greece does not merely refer to chastity, but also to independence and wildness as opposed to the taming of marriage. In fact, marriage itself seems to be “impure.” In the *Phoenissae*, Haemon could not be sacrificed for the city because of his engagement to Antigone (*Phoen.* 944ff.). When Achilles in *IA* (940) says that he is no longer pure – ἀγνὸν δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶ σῶμ’ ἐμόν -- it probably refers to the false “marriage” with Iphigenia.

Some early Christians believed that without chastity one cannot enter heaven and that virginity is the true likeness to God and to Christ – virginity, i.e., “next-to-God-ness” (partheneia and partheia) (Meth. *Symp.* 8).²³⁴ Methodius in his *Symposium* from c. 300 CE established the virgin Thecla as the chief among a chorus of virgins who present speeches glorifying virginity in direct contrast to Plato’s *Symposium* of sexually active men honoring eros (Meth. *Symp.* 7.9). Thecla’s virginity, as that of Artemis, gives her

²³⁴ Cf. Plato’s metaphor about the soul that has been a slave of sensation and which departs polluted whereas a soul that has shunned the body escapes pure at death (Pl. *Phaed.* 114e).

power to heal. In the *Life and Miracles of Thecla*, physicians at Ephesus plot to have her killed because they fear that she is attempting to usurp the healing role of their goddess Artemis.

3.3 Prophecy and virginity

Prophecy and virginity are closely related in literature. The Sibyl of Cumae, Cassandra, and Daphne were all virgins. Tragedy celebrates Cassandra, the young Trojan woman and virgin condemned to prophesize unheeded, because she refused to succumb to Apollo's sexual advances. A tradition, reported in Diodorus Siculus, depicts the virgin Daphne, the daughter of Teiresias whose hair became the laurel which the Pythia used when pronouncing prophecies (4.66).²³⁵ Pausanias credits Gaia with the original prophetic powers and adds that she passed it on to the virgin nymph Daphnis (Daphne?) (Paus. 10.5.7).²³⁶ In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes' first gift of prophecy came from three virgin prophetesses, the Triae, and not from Zeus (*Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 551-563). Theonoe in Euripides' *Helen* is a virginal oracle who is credited with "knowing everything" (πάντ' οἶδ', line 823). In the play she says: "May Cypris be propitious to me though she does not suit me! [I shall remain virgin forever]" (Eur. *Hel.* 1006-1008). In Plato's *Charmides* (158b) there is a reference to Abaris, a Hyperborean virgin oracle (see also Hdt. 4.36.24). Ocyrhöe, a virgin daughter of Chiron and Chariklo, was turned by Apollo into a horse because she was an excellent prophetess (Ovid. *Met.* 2.633).

Artemis herself is referred to as a Sibylla Delphis and an Artemis Eukleia at Boeotia and Lokris (Plut. *Arist.* 20.5-7), and an Artemis Pythia at Didyma (CIG 2866, 2885).²³⁷ According to Pausanias, the first Sibyl was a daughter of Zeus by Lamia, daughter of Poseidon (Paus. 10.12.1). The name Sibyl was given to her by the Libyans. Helen and the Trojan War were foretold by another Sibyl, Herophile, who wrote hymns, according to Pausanias, and in one of them, she called herself Artemis and the wife, sister, and daughter of Apollo (Paus. 10.12.2). The nymphs, the companions of Artemis, are also often associated with oracles (Paus. 10.12. 1-11).

²³⁵ The laurel leaves and berries have narcotic properties and can act as an emmenagogue and an abortifacient,

²³⁶ Artemis had the epithets Daphnaia in Hysos (Paus. 3.24.8) and Dafnia at Olympia (Str. 8.3.12).

²³⁷ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I.21. In Alexander Roberts, & James Donaldson (Eds.). *Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*. New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1899.

Vergil's famous fourth *Eclogue* refers to the return of the Virgin in a prophetic context, "iam redit et Virgo" (*Ecl.* 4.6). Miriam, sister of Moses, was a prophetess (*Exod.* 15:20), as was Deborah (*Judg.* 4:4), Philip had four daughters who prophesized (*Acts* 21:9), and the Virgin Mary prophesized: "From now, all women and generations will call me blessed" (*Luke* 1:48). Jerome refers to the ascetic women of the Montanists or Quintillians as: "...primum cum Prisca et Maximilla, insanis uatibus, incipiente Montano" (*De vir. ill.* 26). Epiphanius in reference to the Montanist sect described how seven virgins dressed in white and carrying torches came frequently to prophesize to the people (*Panarion* 49.1-3).²³⁸ In *Revelations*, seven virgins carry lamps and prophesize (*Rev.* 127) (**fig. 42**).²³⁹

Jews, pagans, and Christians believed that abstinence from sexual activity, and especially virginity, made the human body a more appropriate vehicle to receive divine inspiration (Brown, 1988, p. 66). Philo of Alexandria claims that Moses came to disdain sex after his encounter with God and became ready to receive oracular messages (Philo *De vita Mosis* 2.68-69) (Brown, 1988, p. 67). In *Acts* 21:9, virgin girls appear as prophets and a slave girl utters oracles (16:16-18). Arian describes a Syrian woman who was an oracle and attended to Alexander the Great, while another Syrian woman, Martha, was an oracle to Marius (157-86 BCE) (Aune, 1983, p. 45).

According to Diodorus Siculus, virgins in ancient times delivered the oracles because they have their natural innocence intact and are "in the same case as Artemis" (Diod. Sic. 16.26.6).²⁴⁰ He further recounts that the office of the Oracle of Delphi was originally held by a young virgin until a man from Thessaly raped her, after which incidence the young virgin in office was replaced by an elderly chaste woman.²⁴¹

Virginity, whether extra-ordinary, as in the case of oracles, prophets, and priestesses, or in the form of moderation or self-control as exercised by philosophers and the literati, set its practitioners apart and elevated them to a higher plane. It brought them closer to the gods. Pythagoras for whom purity was so important was even believed to have been a

²³⁸ The color white was associated with virginity. Many sacred laws proscribed white clothing when entering a temple (e.g., *LSAM* 35.3-5). In the modern Western world the white bridal gown can traditionally be worn only by a bride who is a virgin. The virgin Artemis was "λευκωλένου" [white-armed] (*Bacchyl.* 5.99) and "λευκοφρυενή" [white-browed] in Phrygia (*Xen. Hell.* 3.2.19). Artemis was the Torch-Bearer as many of her festivals were held at night and she was associated with the Moon goddess. She was Amphipyros, Phosphoros, Pyrphoros, Pyronia, and Lucifera.

²³⁹ Artemis was also Omnivaga, one of the seven planets.

²⁴⁰ Θεσπιωδεῖν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον λέγεται παρθένους διὰ τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδιάφορον καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ὁμογενές.

²⁴¹ The virgin in literature was often vulnerable to sexual violence as illustrated by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (see chapter 5 of this thesis).

semi-god himself as the son of Apollo through a virgin birth and he, too, like Jesus ascended to heaven. “Son of Apollo” was an attribution made also for Orpheus (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.176).

Possessing a clean and pure mind and body was no longer only about observing religious taboos or respect for the sacred, but for Plato it was a life-style that should be adopted by all (guardians) to achieve “a higher level of consciousness” (to borrow a phrase mostly associated with Buddhism). Only by living a life of moderation can an individual gain “arête” and the community as a whole happiness. Such sophrosyne was related also to sobriety, for wine and food were to be limited; for some philosophers, such as Pythagoras and Empedocles, meat, especially, was to be avoided altogether. However, for Euripides, as in his *Hippolytus*, “too much” moderation can lead to hubris. Hippolytus’ rejection of love and Aphrodite leads to his demise.

3.4 Attitudes towards virginity

Attitudes towards virginity have shifted greatly with time for even though virginity has always held a “special” status, the sacredness of the virgin in early religion and tribal society eventually lost its significance and its true nature was obfuscated with other layers of meaning. During the Archaic period (7th century-480 BCE) and the great colonization era, tribal life was transformed to civic life. The power and wealth acquired through trade created new classes of citizens and new political alliances which in turn gave rise to aristocratic and timocratic regimes as well as tyrannies. Philosophy emerged in the late seventh century BCE as “mythos” gave way to “logos.” Although religious beliefs and practices tend to be conservative in their preservation, the “new” philosophers became in reality the priests and oracles teaching/preaching ethical behavior. Ritual developed into faith and cult and magic into metaphysics (ontology, cosmology, and epistemology) and religious proscriptions into moral philosophy.

With this transformation, the philosophical concept of chastity became conflated with the religious reality of virginity, sacredness, and taboos. The early Christians brought back some of the religious significance of the virgin state, but its power and privileged status was now a vehicle of the Church with which to manipulate its followers. The Vestal Virgins had been a vehicle of morality for the Roman state as well, but the

institution was of such antiquity and so “peculiar” that the state did not quite succeed in usurping the unique power of the sacred virgin.²⁴² Plutarch speculated about the virginity of the Vestals, proposing that the man accredited with introducing this institution, king Numa, believed that the fire the Vestals guarded was pure and uncorrupted and had to be guarded by those equally pure and undefiled or that he attributed its fruitlessness and sterility to virginity (Plut. *Numa* 9.5).

In Rome, the Vestal Virgins enjoyed several privileges (**fig. 25**). They could act as lectors, give evidence in court and bequeath property in their own right. Most Vestals remained virgins after their thirty years of service (Plut. *Num.* 10.1-2). The Vestals were chosen between the ages of six and ten (Aul. Gell. *NA* 1.12.1-19). A Vestal could have no disabilities and both parents had to be alive and freeborn. Seneca writes that “a priestess must be chaste and of chaste [parents], pure and of pure [parents]” (*sacerdos casta e castis, pura e puris sit, Controv.* 1.2). In an effort to avoid guilt and possible retribution for the death (sacrifice) of an unchaste Vestal, the state and the pontifex maximus interred her in a chamber with bread, milk, water, and a lamp (Plut. *Mor.* 286-87). In one such case, the priestess Aemilia prayed to Vesta for help in proving her innocence: “I have performed the sacred offices to you in a holy and proper manner, keeping a pure mind and a chaste body” (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.67.1-5).

The consecrated virgins were crucial to Roman civic integrity and divinely ordained destiny.²⁴³ In an insightful article, Holt Parker views the burying alive of unchaste Vestals as a form of human sacrifice, a type of scapegoat (*pharmakos*) phenomenon incarnating the Roman collective in times of crisis.²⁴⁴ He sees their virginity as a binding spell and a totem, an embodiment of the clan (p. 574).²⁴⁵ These theories could be applied equally to other virgin sacrifices.

Many virgin priestesses held special privileges, which attest to both the antiquity of the offices and their importance to the community.²⁴⁶ A priestess of Athena, Chrysis, led

²⁴² It was probably not a coincidence that Theodosius’ chief pagan target was the institution of the Vestal Virgins.

²⁴³ See, for example, Thompson, Lindsay. *The Role of the Vestal Virgins in Roman Civic Religion: A Structuralist Study of the crimen incesti*. Lewiston; Queenston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010.

²⁴⁴ In a scholiast’s remark on Aristophanes’ *Knights* 1136, a *pharmakos* purifies the city by offering his/her blood.

²⁴⁵ Parker, Holt N. “Why Were the Vestals Virgins?: Or The Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State.” *American Journal of Philology* 125, 4 (2004): 563-601.

²⁴⁶ Judy Turner lists a few of what she terms sub-sacerdotal virgin females (Judy Ann Turner. *Hiereiai: Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece* [doct. diss. University of California, Santa Barbara], 1983. These had cult duties for various goddesses, frequently Artemis and Athena, but also for Demeter and Dionysus. For example, the *agretai*, *aletrides*, *amhipoloi*, *anthesphoroi*, *anthesteriades*

a procession to Pythian Apollo in Delphi.²⁴⁷ She was given various privileges by the city of Delphi; “proxenia,” for herself and her descendants, the right to consult the oracle, priority of trial, safe conduct, freedom from taxes, front seat at all contests held in the city, and the right to own house and land. The Pythia had also freedom from taxation, the right to own land and to view public contests, front row seat at the theater, salary and housing (Broad, 2006, p. 32). A variety of virgins – Kanephoroi,²⁴⁸ Arrephoroi,²⁴⁹ Hydrophoroi, and others -- carried the sacred implements in processions and provisions at sacrifices and in, general, enjoyed a high social standing (Nilsson, 1971 [1940], p. 96).

Ideas about and laws regulating sexual purity existed in Greece as well as in Rome. For example, according to the laws of Solon, a man could sell his daughter or sister if she no longer was a virgin (Plut. *Sol.* 23.2). Another example is offered by Robert Parker who says that because unmarried women may have been entrusted with the preparation of food, their purity might have been required in order to begin the harvest (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 655d; Parker, 1983, p. 78). Beekeeping had to be handled by children or the abstinent or only after purification because of the bees’ alleged antipathy towards sexuality and because of their sacred status as servants of Artemis (Columella, *De re rustica* 9.14.3 and 12.4.3). In such cases, purification seems to have been possible using eggs or the blood of pigs (Aes. *Eum.* 280-283), whose sacred power, though, is affected by many prohibitions against sacrificing pigs and goats (Lupu, 2005, p. 57).

In the medical literature attitudes towards virginity and its healthfulness were mixed. Soranus (98-138 CE), in contrast to the Hippocratics, recommended perpetual virginity as healthful for both men and women (*Gyn.*1.30-32):

(anthestrides), arkttoi, arrephoroi (errephoroi), ergastinai, Bacchantes, Deliades, Dionysiades, hersephoroi, hydrophoroi, kanephoroi, Leukippides, loutrophoroi, melissai, plynterides, tragephoroi, and others. According to Vergil, priests who maintain lifelong chastity are rewarded in the underworld (Verg. *Aen.* 6.661). Joan Connelly rejects the focus on virgin priestesses as opposed to offices held by mature or elderly women (Connelly, 2007, p. 18). I do not think that the issue is so much an emphasis on young versus old as a lack of attention paid to women in general in modern classical scholarship. She sees this “emphasis” as the result of Christian perceptions among modern Western scholars and an interest in the Vestal Virgins and adds that the situation of Christian and Vestal Virgins had no relationship to virginity in ancient Greece. I do not agree that there has been much focus on virginity in ancient Greece; the interest in the Vestals, I believe, is borne out of the gruesome punishment for sexual transgression on the part of the Vestals and the use of them in the ideology of Rome, especially the early Empire. A Christian bias is certainly apparent in much of classical scholarship. However, (life-long) virginity is not encouraged by most contemporary Christian churches. Rather, women are universally expected to become wives and mothers. Consequently, the attention paid to women in antiquity by modern scholars has chiefly been to their roles as wives or mothers of particular men.

²⁴⁷ *IG* Editio Minor, vol. 2/3 pars 1, fasc. 2, no. 1136. 2nd century BCE.

²⁴⁸ Κανηφόρος, a virgin Basket Bearer, who carried the offering of first fruits, the sacrificial knife, and fillets to decorate the bull at the Panathenaic and other festivals.

²⁴⁹ Ἀρρήφορος who performed rituals in an underground cave for Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis. According to Harpocration, two of the arrephoroi supervised the weaving of the Panathenaic peplos.

Permanent virginity is healthful. Even among dumb animals do we see that those females are stronger which are prevented from having intercourse. Virgins are less susceptible to disease (ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν διηνεκῆ παρθενίαν ὑγιεινὴν εἶναι φαμεν ...βλέπομεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἐν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς ὄντα ἐρρωμενέστερα τὰ κωλυόμενα τῆ συνουσία χρῆσθαι, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν δυσσαλωτοτέρας πρὸς νόσους...) (Sor. *Gyn.* 1.7.32).

Animals where the uterus has been cut out are bigger, better nourished, stronger, and firm like males (...αἱ τὰς μήτρας ἐκτμηθεῖσαι μείζους καὶ εὐτροφώτεραί τε καὶ ἰσχυρότεραι καὶ τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἐμπερῶς ἐσφιγμέναι) (Sor. *Gyn.* 1.7.30). For pregnancy and parturition exhaust the female body and make it waste greatly away (αἱ γὰρ συλλήψεις καὶ ἀποτέξεις δαπανῶσι τὰ σώματα τῶν θηλειῶν καὶ ἀθρόως ἀπομαραίνουσιν...) (Sor. *Gyn.* 1.7.30).

Virginity in 5th century Athens was only encouraged to a point. A refusal to marry and reproduce was not encouraged even for philosophers. Oracles and priests were exempted, which speaks to the special status religion gave to virginity. However, whereas virginity to the ancient Greeks pertained to happiness in this life and on earth; to the early Christians, it was a way to get to heaven and happiness after death.

3.5 Attitudes towards the body

Ideas of taboos became transformed into ideas of purity and impurity. The Orphic life entailed asceticism; abstention from meat, wine and sexual intercourse.²⁵⁰ The notion of “soma” as “sema” (body as tomb) had influence on several leading philosophers such as Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato and hence on Neoplatonism and Christianity.²⁵¹ In *Phaedo*, Plato argues that “the soul is utterly superior to the body...the body is no more

²⁵⁰ There was an identification of the Hercules-Dionysus-Mithras bull, whose living flesh the Orphic ascetics tore and ate in their initiation ceremony, with Jesus Christ whose living flesh was symbolically torn and eaten in the Holy Communion (Graves, 1948, p. 132).

²⁵¹ The development of sophrosyne in Hellenistic, Greco-Roman, and Christian thought owes, especially, much to Plato.

than a shadow which keeps us company” (80a-e). However, he seems also to have anticipated Juvenal’s “mens sana in corpore sano,” advocating bodily exercise for all; although, for Plato, this was not to benefit the body itself as much as the mind or the soul. Aristotle defined the soul as the principle of life and described it as the form of the particular living body. There cannot be one without the other. The Stoics were also more positive towards the body. The apologist Origen, however, castrated himself following the exhortation of Jesus. Jesus emphasized the necessity of self-denial, fasting, poverty, and chastity. Origen moreover compared Christian virgins with pagan counterparts whose claims of virginity, according to him, were “not unmixed with drugs, bribe-taking, or other forms of constraint” (*Cels.* 7.48). Paul seems to have taken an ambivalent stance; he taught that the body should be bruised, but honored; mastered, but hallowed; crucified, but glorified; it is an enemy, but also a temple and a member of Christ. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine following Aristotle appear to have harbored a less ambivalent and more favorable attitude towards the body.

3.6 Moderation and the consumption of animals

Moderation or abstinence in matters of sexuality often extended to other matters of the body as well, such as exhortations to moderation in drinking and eating. However, the issues of vegetarianism and resistance to animal sacrifice go beyond the importance of mere moderation. Just as virginity became a temporary act of religious purity rather than an instrument of extra-ordinary powers or abilities, eating and drinking were given various healthful restrictions, which was different from an aversion to eating the goddess’ creatures or one’s ancestors.

In the previous chapter we saw resistance to especially human sacrifice, but also towards sacrificing non-human animals, keeping in mind that the meat eaten in ancient Greece was that of sacrificed animals. In this same context, questions of vegetarianism arise as we saw in Theseus’ characterization of Hippolytus as a vegetarian and an Orphic.

Besides Orpheus, the most famous vegetarian in antiquity was Pythagoras although there are varying traditions. Was he strictly vegetarian or did he eat some meats? It seems likely that he was a strict vegetarian since he believed in the transmigration of souls, including between human and animal, and since he considered meat-eating harmful to

human health. He is also said to have avoided beans, which were associated with the souls of the dead and with metempsychosis.

Plutarch certainly sees Pythagoras as a strict vegetarian in book 12 of his *Moralia*:

Can you really ask what reason Pythagoras had for abstaining from flesh? For my part I rather wonder both by what accident and in what state of soul or mind the first man who did so, touched his mouth to gore and brought his lips to the flesh of a dead creature, he who set forth tables of dead, stale bodies and ventured to call food and nourishment the parts that had a little before bellowed and cried, moved and lived. How could his eyes endure the slaughter when throats were slit and hides flayed and limbs torn from limb? How could his nose endure the stench? How was it that the pollution did not turn away his taste, which made contact with the sores of others and sucked juices and serums from mortal wounds?
(Plut. *De eso. carn.* I.1 *Mor.* XII 993 a-c).²⁵²

Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* attributes similar statements to Pythagoras; however, it is tempting to think that they may at least in part reflect also Ovid's own sentiments.²⁵³

What evil they contrive, how impiously
they prepare to shed human blood itself,
who cuts at a calf's throat with the knife,
and listen unmoved to its bleating, or can
kill a kid that cries like a child, or feed on
a bird, that they themselves have fed!
How far does that fall short of actual
murder? Where does the way lead
on from there? (Ov. *Met.* 15. 463-469).²⁵⁴

²⁵² Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἐρωτᾷς τίς λόγῳ Πυθαγόρας ἀπείχετο σαρκοφαγίας, ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάζω καὶ τίς πάθει καὶ ποία ψυχῆ [ἢ λόγῳ] ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἤσατο φόνου στόματι καὶ τεθνηκότος ζώου χεῖλεσι προσήσατο σαρκὸς καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐώλων προθέμενος τραπέζας ὄψα καὶ τρυφὰς [καὶ] προσέτι εἶπεν τὰ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν βρυχώμενα μέρη καὶ φθηγόμενα καὶ κινούμενα καὶ βλέποντα πῶς ἢ ὄψις ὑπέμεινε τὸν φόνον σφαζομένων δερομένων διαμελιζομένων, πῶς ἢ ὄσφρησις ἤνεγκε τὴν ἀποφορὰν, πῶς τὴν γεῦσιν οὐκ ἀπέστρεψεν ὁ μολυσμὸς ἐλκῶν ψαύουσαν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ τραυμάτων θανασίμων χυμοὺς καὶ ἰχῶρας ἀπολαμβάνουσιν. Plutarch. *Moralia*. with an English translation by Harold Cherniss and William C. Helmbold. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1957, pp. 541-579.

²⁵³ See Steven J. Green's interesting article "Save Our Cows? Augustan Discourse and Animal Sacrifice in Ovid's *Fasti*." *Greece & Rome ser.* 2. 55.1 (2008): 39-54. He argues that Ovid in the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* exposes a contemporary debate on animal sacrifice and two opposing viewpoints of what he sees as a traditional "Augustan" anti-animal sacrifice perspective and a "Pythagorean" pro-animal sacrifice perspective, which invites the reader to empathize with the animal victims by blurring the barrier between human and non-human animals.

Also according to Eudoxus, Pythagoras, “the mouthpiece of Delphi,” avoided any association with butchers and hunters (Porph. *VP* 7). Diogenes Laertius claimed that Pythagoras forbade the killing, let alone the eating, of animals (Diog. Laert. *Pythag.* 8.13). Taboos in Hesiod are found among the Pythagorean precepts such as that one must not kill even a louse within a sacred precinct (Iambl. *VP* 154). Even the “flesh-tearing” Bacchants in Euripides’ *Cretans* guard against eating food derived from any living creature (fr. 79 Austin).²⁵⁵ Athenaeus comments with astonishment at the constant flesh eating in Homer (Athen. 1.25). Early witnesses to “Orphic” vegetarianism are Euripides and Plato.²⁵⁶ Virginity and a meatless diet were often connected and not just in the *Hippolytus*. The Vestal Virgins, for example, could only perform bloodless sacrifices.

Plato refers to the custom of men sacrificing men among the Greeks as surviving among other peoples. “And among others the opposite existed as the “Orphic Life” when they were forbidden to eat any meat and their offerings to the gods consisted not of animals, but of cakes of meal and grain steeped in honey. They abstained from flesh as though it was unholy to eat it or to stain with blood the altars of gods” (Pl. *Nom.* 6.782c). Following this description, Plato explained that this is common knowledge: “What you say is widely reported and easy to credit” (Pl. *Nom.* 6.782d).

As Michael Beer argues, meat eating was rare in Greece, and then almost always in the context of sacrifice as part of a religious ceremony (Beer, 2010, p. 25). He further surmises that fish and shellfish were status symbols and regarded as luxury items and surrounded by various taboos (Beer, 2010, p. 26). The diet was largely vegetarian, with a cereal base, supplemented with fruits and nuts, with only an occasional addition of meat and fish (Beer, 2010, p. 27).

For Plutarch (Plut. *De esu. carn.* 995 D-E), Porphyry (*Abst.* 15), and Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus* II., Cap. 1, 7.3-4), meat-eating was also considered harmful to human health. As we saw above (p. 93), for Plutarch killing engendered killing. If a person is willing to hurt or kill an animal, this person is more inclined to hurt and kill a human being (Plut. *De esu. carn.* 998 B-C). Plutarch clearly cared about the welfare of

²⁵⁴ quam male consuescit, quem se parat ille cruori inpius humano, vituli qui guttura ferro rumpit et inmotas praebet mugitibus aures, aut qui vagitus similes puerilibus haedum edentem iugulare potest aut alite vesci, cui dedit ipse cibos! quantum est, quod desit in istis ad plenum facinus? quo transitus inde paratur?

²⁵⁵ *Nova fragmenta Euripidea. In papyris reperta.* Colin Austin (Ed.). Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968.

²⁵⁶ Plato mentions Orphic writings several times, for example, *Nom.* 2.669d and 8.829e; *Ion* 5365; *Resp.* 2.364e. Philostratus visited naked philosophers who abstained from animal flesh, desires, and envy (*VA* 2.6-43).

animals irrespective of the affect on humans, for example, when he wrote about the cry of animals begging not to be killed (Plut. *De esu.carn.* 994E). Nevertheless, he saw a vegetarian diet as more natural to human physiology by pointing to the human inability to process raw meat as well as the absence of fangs and claws.²⁵⁷

For the Greeks, as already noted above, the meat permitted to be butchered for consumption was generally from sacrificed animals (Détienne 1987, pp. 1-20). Their staple diet was largely vegetarian.²⁵⁸ Theophrastus believed that humans began to eat animals because of famine or the like. According to him, the punishment was that some became atheists while others developed mis-conceptions about divinity (Porph. *De abst.* 2.7-9). Porphyry's selections from Dicaearchus' life refer back to Hesiod's golden race which did not eat animals (*De abst.* 4.2).

Gunnel Ekroth has also examined the perception of meat-eating and animal sacrifice in ancient Greece.²⁵⁹ The overwhelming iconographic and literary evidence does in fact show this link, but also the examples she offers of Theophrastus referring to the sale of meat and love gifts in the form of rabbits and the like represented in vase paintings can easily be explained by references to the idea of "kosher" meat and the rabbits and other

²⁵⁷ "We declare, then, that it is absurd for them to say that the practice of flesh-eating is based in Nature. For that man is not naturally carnivorous is, in the first place, obvious from the structure of his body. A man's frame is in no way similar to those creatures that were made for flesh-eating: he has no hooked beak or sharp nails or jagged teeth, no strong stomach or warmth of vital fluids able to digest and assimilate a heavy diet of flesh. It is from this very fact, the evenness of our teeth, the smallness of our mouths, the softness of our tongues, our possession of vital fluids too inert to digest meat that Nature disavows our eating of flesh ...no one eats the flesh just as it is; men boil it and roast it, altering it by fire and drugs, recasting and diverting and smothering it with countless condiments the taste of gore so that the palate may be deceived and accept what is foreign to it. It was indeed a witty expression of a Lacedaemonian, who, having purchased a small fish at a certain inn, delivered it to his landlord to be dressed; and as he demanded cheese, and vinegar, and oil to make sauce, he replied, if I had had those, I would not have bought the fish" (Plut. *De eso. carn.* I. 5 *Mor.* XII 994 F-995A-B) -- ἄλογον γὰρ εἶναι φαμεν ἐκείνους λέγειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὴν φύσιν ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ σαρκοφαγεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων δηλοῦται τῆς κατασκευῆς. οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔοικε τὸ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τῶν ἢ ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγία γεγονότων, οὐ γρυπότης χεῖλους, οὐκ ὄξύτης, ὄνυχος, οὐ τραχύτης ὀδόντος πρόσεστιν, οὐ κοιλίας εὐτονία καὶ πνεύματος θερμότης, τρέψαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι δυνατὴ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ κρεῶδες ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ἡ φύσις τῆς λειότητι τῶν ὀδόντων καὶ τῆς σμικρότητι τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῆς μαλακότητι τῆς γλώσσης καὶ τῆς πρὸς πέψιν ἀμβλύτητι τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξόμνυται τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν... ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄψυχον ἂν τις φάγοι καὶ νεκρὸν οἶόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἔψουσιν ὀπτῶσι μεταβάλλουσι διὰ πυρὸς καὶ φαρμάκων, ἀλλοιοῦντες καὶ τρέποντες καὶ σβεννύοντες ἡδύσμασι μυρίοις τὸν φόνον, ἴν' ἡ γεῦσις ἐξαπατηθεῖσα προσδέξεται τὰλλότριον. καίτοι χάριέν γε τὸ τοῦ Λάκωνος, ὃς ἰχθύδιον ἐν πανδοκείῳ πριάμενος τῷ πανδοκεῖ σκευάσαι παρέδωκεν: αἰτοῦντος δ' ἐκείνου τυρὸν καὶ ὄξος καὶ ἔλαιον, 'ἀλλ' εἰ ταῦτ' εἶχον' εἶπεν 'οὐκ ἂν ἰχθὺν ἐπιρίαμην."

²⁵⁸ Marcel Détienne examined what he called the male monopoly in matters of blood sacrifice and meat-eating (Détienne, 1989, pp. 125-147). For references to meat eating as masculine, see Juvenal *Saturae* 2.36-63; Martial *Epigrammata* 7.67.13-15. Dental and jaw morphology among fossils points away from meat-eating in the early diet; for example, the so called Lucy dated to 3.2 million years ago (Hart and Sussman, 2005, p. 227). Humans have a short intestinal tract, which is not good for processing meat and neither fangs nor claws. Agriculture began only 10,000-15,000 years ago.

²⁵⁹ Ekroth, Gunnel. "Meat in Ancient Greece: Sacrificial, Saced or Secular?" *Food & History* 5.1 (2007): 249-272.

small animals to gifts, pets, and not food; for instance, she refers to bones of wild animals that are often recovered together with the bones of domesticated animals. The former she believes would have been eaten, but not sacrificed. However, a number of wild animals such as deer have been found at sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis. Clearly, wild animals were occasionally eaten then as now, but also sometimes sacrificed to certain deities on particular occasions.

3.7 Christian vegetarians

Among the early Christian ascetics there was often a preference for vegetarianism. Basil of Caesarea says that humans did not eat meat before the fall from Paradise (*De hom. Structura* 2.6-7 [SC 160.238-246]); Jerome, on the other hand, says before the Great Flood (*Adv. Jov.* 2.16). After many Manichaeans surreptitiously entered the clergy, Timothy introduced meat into the clergy's diet to weed them out.²⁶⁰ Ambrosiaster warned that they were particularly attracting women (*CSEL* Pars II, vol. 81: 7, 2 – *Ad Corinthios Prima*). The Manichaeans rejected sex, meat, and work. In the late third century, the Egyptian teacher Hieracas of Leontopolis established a large ascetic center in the southern part of the Nile Delta. He and his followers rejected marriage, wine, and meat (Epiphanius. *Pan.* 55.5). The Eusthatians also condemned marriage and meat-eating (Sozomen. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.14.31). The women among them wore the same clothes as the men, a philosopher's cloak, and shaved their heads. There was equality between women and men and slave and free. They rejected all property.²⁶¹

The Encratites, a second century Christian sect, literally “abstainers” or “persons who practiced continency,” regarded meat as an abomination and usually abstained also from marriage and wine. The Essenes, influenced by Pythagoras, wore linen, avoided animal sacrifice, practiced divination, and were experts in the virtues of plants and stones.

The religious connections of virginity, vegetarianism, purity, and moderation continued although in a more extreme form among the early Christians. It was now a way of life among a large number of Christians. Actual human and animal sacrifice, however, is discontinued although a ritual version might be said to survive in the form of the Eucharist.

²⁶⁰ Manichaeism originated in Sassanid Persia and became a widespread religion with Manichaean churches and scriptures found from China in the east to the Roman Empire in the west.

²⁶¹ They were condemned as heretics at Gangra in 340 or 341.

CHAPTER 4: ARTEMIS AS “CHOREGOS”: MUSIC, GYMNASTICS, AND FRIENDSHIP

This chapter examines components in the education of young women, especially in Sparta where membership in a chorus and the relationship among the women helped shape them into strong and vital members of the larger community. Rufus of Ephesus claimed that choruses were not invented merely to honor the deity but also with a view toward health.²⁶² Choral education led to ἀρετή (Pl. *Nom.* 665; 654a-e). It provided a young man and woman with a model of beauty and charm (χάρις). Music and choral contests and competitive athletics were also essential elements in many religious festivals, not the least in those devoted to Artemis. For Plato, music, dance, and athleticism serve important pedagogical objectives. In physical education, Plato favors wrestling and dancing (Pl. *Nom.* 795e). The latter, he argues, emphasizes rhythm, which, in turn, teaches moderation. Plato’s theories about education appear to have been influenced by Cretan and Lacedaemonian reality, and, to some extent, also by the Athenian system, at least as it was structured before Cleisthenes (Hdt. 6.131). Even as late as in Pausanias’ time, the Spartan agora was called “choros” (Paus. 3.11.9). Ion of Samos refers to Sparta as “kallichoros,” (having) pretty dancing places.²⁶³ In Aristophanes’ *Clouds*, the old Athenian educational system is described as the teaching of traditional songs (964ff.). A passage in the *Frogs* explains that the well-born, wise, just and virtuous citizens have been raised in the palaestra and in the chorus (*Ranae* 727ff.). Socrates is said to have concluded that those who honor gods in the most beautiful manner with their dances are the best in war [οἱ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοῦς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι ἐν πολέμῳ] (Athenaeus 14.628f).

As previously noted, according to the dictum repeated by Aesop, the Greeks posed a rhetorical question as to whether there was a single occasion when Artemis did not participate in a chorus -- Ποῦ γὰρ ἡ Ἄρτεμις οὐκ ἐχόρευσεν “for where has not Artemis danced?” (*Proverbia Aesopi*, no. 9, *Corpus paroemiogr. Grace.* II, p. 229).²⁶⁴ Music and choral contests and competitive athletics were integral to most religious festivals. At the

²⁶² Rufus II, in *Oribasius* vol. III, pp. 82-85. See the discussion in Foucault, 1986, pp. 133-144.

²⁶³ Page, Denys L. *Epigrammata Graeca (Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis)*, pp. 508-509. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

²⁶⁴ In art she is often portrayed with the phorminx, plektron, and lyre (*LIMC* 2:2 [Artemis] 714-719).

spring festival of the Thargelia, girls competed in music and gymnastics for Artemis and Apollo (**figs. 27-30**). Girls performed also at the Plynteria (from πλυντήριος, for washing). The days of the festival were ἀποφράδες or dies nefasti, impure, unmentionable, during which the statue of Athena Polias was ritually cleansed by the female priesthood, the παραξιεργίδαι. A procession was held on the day of the Plynteria, with a quantity of dried figs, called ἡγητορία, being carried around (*IG* 12.842; Lycurg. Fr. 44; Plu. *Alc.* 34). The festival of Kallynteria (καλλοντήριος, beautifying) also involved virgin choruses and ritual cleansing of the cult statue by a group of priestesses (*Phot. s.v. καλλοντήρια*; *Phot. [Lexicon] EM* 487.13). Another festival in which virgin choruses performed was the Oschophoria where two young men, chosen from the sons of citizens, were dressed in women's clothing carrying vine-shoots loaded with grapes (ὠσχός) in a procession from the temple of Dionysus in Athens to that of Ἀθηνᾶ Σκιράς at Phalerus (*Athen.* 14.681; *Philoch.* 44; *Plut. Thes.* 22-23; *Alciph.* 1.4; 3.1). The festival involved also a contest of ephebes racing from Athens to Phalerus just like at the Artemis Mounychia festival at which virgin choruses and arktoi held center stage, and where ephebes held races at sea.²⁶⁵

The chorus in Euripides' tragedies, when made up of women, often speaks of its service to Artemis. It is Artemis the chorus of the *Trojan Women* feted when the horse was introduced into Troy. Iphigenia asks the young women (neanides) who form the chorus to sing the paean in honor of Artemis and in expiation of the murder about to be committed (*Eur. IA* 1467-69). Amazons set up a statue to Artemis on the shore of Ephesus around which they performed an armed dance.²⁶⁶ Helen envies the fate of Callisto and of the daughter of Merops whom Artemis is said to have chased away from her chorus because of her beauty and turned into a deer (*Ant. Lib.* 15; Calame, 1997, p. 91). In the myths, female choruses, particularly those made up of girls appear more frequently than do male choruses.

This may also extend to actual religious life. Choral performances in rituals are associated more frequently with women. A study of artifacts, chiefly pottery, covering 800-350 BCE, found representations of 81 female choruses to 28 male (Crowhurst, 1963). Women's choruses appear in Attic, Argive, Boeotian and Cycladic pottery and on a bronze figurine group from the Geometric period (Crowhurst, 1963, pp. 208-209).

²⁶⁵ Hesychius (1159) σκύθραξ, μεῖραξ, ἔφηβος. The Greek word ἔφηβος (ἦβη) can refer to either a boy or a girl.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Plato's discussion about armed dances in the *Laws* 830d-e.

Chiot, Clazomenian, Eretrian, and Melian vases of the Orientalizing period have such representations as well as proto-Attic ware. Numerous female choruses are found on Corinthian ware dated from the beginning of the sixth century, according to Crowhurst's study. Attic black and red figure vases also have such scenes albeit in diminishing numbers in the fifth and fourth centuries. There are male choruses featured on Argive, Attic, Laconian, and Milesian pottery at the end of the eighth century and slightly later but also on East Greek Chiot and Clazomenian fragments and Corinthian pottery. Crowhurst also found that many participants appear in pairs (Crowhurst, 1963, pp. 286-287).

As noted earlier, the choral celebrations to Artemis were often held at night. The epithets of Artemis as Phosphorus and her frequent assimilation with a moon goddess are a testament to this. Athenagoras contends that the festival at Tauropolia involved dancing at night by choruses of girls. Also according to Timaeus, many Artemisian festivals had girl choruses dancing at night (Timaeus *FGrHist.*, vol. 3 B. 566 F 131). Sappho's παρθένοι celebrate all night δ[παννυχισδο.[.]α.[ι (fr. 30): "night...virgins...all night long might sing." In addition, Euripides alludes to girls dancing at an all-night festival on the Acropolis (*Heracleidae* 777-783).²⁶⁷ According to Callimachus, the Pleiades were the first virgins to participate in choral dance and at night (Pfeiffer, 1949-1953, Callimachus, fr. 407).²⁶⁸

Perhaps the most important social function of choral activity was educational. Pythagoras, for example, emphasized the importance of dance and song in education²⁶⁹ (figs 27-29). In Plato, choral activity is the whole of education (*Nom.* 672e) – choristry as a whole is identical with education as a whole. Plato concluded that education owes its origin to Apollo and the Muses (Pl. *Nom.* 654a). In Crete and Sparta the girls, like the boys, received gymnastic and musical training – wrestling, running, swimming, throwing the discus, and javelin (Willetts, 1962, p. 46)²⁷⁰ (fig. 30). There were two song masters and a choregos. Pollux says that school, especially among the Dorians, was often called χορός and the school master "choregos," quoting two passages of Epicharmus (Poll. 9.41.42 [Epich., fr. 13]).²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Girls in choruses for Artemis abound in literature: for example, in Hom. *Il.* 16.181; *Hymn. Hom. Art.*; *Hymn. Hom. Ap* 190; *Hymn. Hom. Ven* 115; Apoll. Rhodius *Argon.* 1.1225; and Ael. *NA* 12.9.

²⁶⁸ Pfeiffer, Rudolf (Ed.). *Callimachus*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949-53, pp. 330-338, 451.

²⁶⁹ No. 11 in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker I.* H. Diels (Ed.) 4th ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922.

²⁷⁰ In the Code of Gortyn "anoros" signifies the boy or girl below the age of puberty (*IC* IV.72; VII. 30 45; VIII. 46; IX.19) and "ebion," "ebionsa" and "orima" the boy or girl after puberty (*IC* VII. 37; VIII. 39).

²⁷¹ Kaibel, George. *Comicorum graecorum fragmenta*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1958.

The chorus of the captive Trojan women in *Hecuba* wonders whether they will ever join the Deliades to celebrate Artemis (Eur. *Hec.* 462-464). In *Trojan Women*, the chorus sings of dancing for Artemis (Eur. *Tro.* 551-555). In *Iphigenia among the Taurians* the chorus wants to rejoin choruses of Artemis with virgins their own age (1143ff. -- ἡλικῶν θιάσους). Chorus members “of the same age” is clearly significant, pointing to a system of age groups. Andromeda in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriuzai* wants to rejoin the choruses of young girls “her own age,” ὑφ’ ἡλικῶν νεανίδων. Pindar’s third *Pythian Ode* refers to the women of the chorus as all being “of the same age,” ἄλικες παρθένοι and calls them ἑταῖραι of the bride. Telemachus in the *Odyssey* (15.195ff.) refers to himself and Peisistratus as age mates (ὁμήλικες). Poole suggests that this term, “of the same age,” may have been used in early poetry to convey that they were homosexual lovers (Poole, 1990, p. 130). In Theocritus’ *Epithalamy of Helen* (*Hymn* 18), the female chorus recalls their former activities: “We are four times sixty maidens, the female corps of youth” (νεολαῖα) (Theoc. 18.22-25); “we are all age-mates (συνομάλικες) who practice the same running course and oil ourselves down like men alongside the bathing pools of the Eurotas” (Theoc. 18.24).

4.1 Athletic competitions for boys and girls

Plato in his *Laws* proscribes that there shall be no less than 365 feasts. To the twelve gods there will be monthly sacrifices and musical and gymnastic contests (Pl. *Nom.* 828b-c). The apparel and diet of the choristers and athletes should be regulated. Girls below thirteen should exercise naked and girls over thirteen should dress in decent and appropriate apparel until marriage at the ages of eighteen to twenty (Pl. *Nom.* 833d). He also declares that choristers should fast when training their voices (Pl. *Nom.* 665e). Xenophon, too, describes Spartan education for boys and girls as consisting of μουσική and gymnastic exercises (Xen. *Lac.* 1.13).

That Spartan girls were not only preparing for marriage is indicated by Plutarch, who writes that girls not only exercised to produce strong offspring and contend with birth pangs, but also, if the need arose, to defend themselves, their children, and their country (*Mor.* 227 d.12) or as Plato surmises, not to waste half of humanity (Pl. *Nom.* 806c).

At Olympia, Pausanias gives an account of girls' foot races at the quadrennial festival for Hera (5.16.2-3).²⁷² The girls ran in three age groups, and wore Amazon-style short chitons (see **fig. 30**). Pausanias describes the Heraia as women running with hair flying, the chiton caught up a little above the knee, and the right shoulder bare to the breast (Paus. 5.16.2-3). This may not have been the "proper attire" proscribed by Plato (Pl. *Nom.* 8. 833d).

Boys competed in age groups, like the girls, at the festival of the "Gymnopaïdai," or the "Festival of Naked Youths," at Sparta in honor of Apollo (Hdt. 6.67.3; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4-16; Plut. *Ages.* 29.2-3). Naked athletes, girls and boys, at Orthia received a sickle as prize. A lotus in the hands of, for example, female athletes may have been a prize in athletic or choral competitions as well as a sign of virginal purity (**fig. 32**) (Scanlon, 1988, p. 195).

According to Plato, girls should learn what boys learn -- to ride horses, practice archery, and to hurl the javelin and the sling -- and also be able to use heavy arms: swords, shields, and spears. Plato prefers group performances, with the participants in armour and bearing weapons, uniting grace with practical military skills.

Plato and his "utopian" laws of an ideal state seem largely to be modifications of existing customs among the Spartans and Cretans. He recommends that after the age of six, each sex shall be kept separate; boys spending their time with boys, and likewise girls with girls ... and that twelve women be in charge of the education of both girls and

²⁷² Without explanation Ducat dismisses any similarity with the Olympic model (Ducat, 2006, p. 234). For Ducat, the reason for athletic exercises for women is to remain pretty (Ducat, 2006, p. 238). He also dismisses mixed racing in Sparta in spite of words like ξὺν νέοισιν (Eur. *And.* 597), κοινῶς (Eur. *And.* 600), συγγυμναζομένῳ in Philostratus (Philostratus. *De gymnastica* 27.8). This belief seems to be shared by Inge Nielsen who in spite of the existence of both a gymnasium and a palaestra at Brauron, at the sanctuary of the arktai and the many depictions of girls racing on the krateriskoi found at the temple area (see pp. 61-62), still assumes that these must have been used by boys and young men ("The Sanctuary of Artemis Bauronia." In Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (Ed.). *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2009, p. 92). For Ducat these terms peculiarly mean simply to frequent the same athletic amenities (Ducat, 2006, p. 235). We certainly know of the Spartan female athlete Cynisca who was alleged to have been the first of several women to breed horses and to win an Olympic victory (Paus. 3.8.1). The nudity and athletic competitions Ducat sees as religious, but only for girls (Ducat, 2006, p. 235). Clearly, the nudity and athletic competitions were part of religious festivals for boys as well. Ducat further says that he is not sure that we can even believe that girls exercised and competed in the nude in spite of many references to the contrary among ancient authors (e.g., Plato, Theocritus, Plutarch). With reference to bronze statuettes of young female wrestlers from the second half of the sixth century, he describes them as "conforming in all aspects to the canon of Nabokov" (Ducat, 2006, p. 230). Vidal-Naquet also questioned the suitability of sports for girls referring to the young women in physical activities at Sparta as "garçon manqué" (Vidal-Naquet, 1981, p. 206). Perhaps there needs to be a better understanding of what happens to the bodies of athletic girls with exercise. Ruth Landes describes Ojibwe girls and women who participated in the same types of athletic competitions, competing against men (Landes, 1938, pp. 19-22). Women often beat the men, she writes (Landes, 1938, pp. 24-27). One woman in particular reigned supreme and won foot, endurance, and obstacle races for more than twelve years in a row (ibid. p. 8).

boys until their sixth birthday (Pl. *Nom.* 794b-c). After the age of six, he recommends that the lessons, supervised by female and male officers, be divided under two heads – the gymnastical, which concerns the body, and the musical, which aims at the goodness of the soul (Pl. *Nom.* 795e), and adds that “... we say that our hymns are now made into nomoi,” laws (Pl. *Nom.* 799e) (figs. 27-30).²⁷³

In addition to athletic and choral competition, “beauty” contests may have been an element in the upbringing of youths. Burnett speculates that beauty contests among women were survivals of earlier initiation such as proofs of virtue like the euandria of the men’s groups in Athens (Burnett, 1983, p. 212 n. 10). There were also beauty contests for men. In the cult of Zeus in Aegion, Achaea, the priest was elected through such a contest among boys (Paus. 7.24.4). At the most famous beauty contest in literature, that on Mount Ida with Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena as contestants and with the Trojan prince Paris as judge, Artemis is notably absent.

4.2 Horse herds: Archaic sororities and fraternities

The agelai at Sparta were troupes of young males and females respectively. The word “agela” or “agele” means (horse) herd and gives evidence to an element of education that entailed the “taming” of the adolescent perhaps patterned after the taming of a horse. Pindar and Euripides designate a group of women as belonging to an agela. A line by Pindar (fr. 112 B), quoted in Athenaeus, speaks of a troupe (ἀγέλα) of Laconian virgins (παρθένων) -- Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα (Athen. 14.30.17). The thiasos/choros of the Maenads in *Bacchae* is also called an agela (1022). The Cretans, according to Ephorus, had an educational system similar to the Spartan agoge and divided adolescents into agelai (Strab. 10.4.16 and 20 = Eph. *FGrHist.* vol. 2 A. 70 F 149.16 and 20).²⁷⁴ Bremmer

273 “Nomos” (νόμος) can mean statute, practice, law and chant or tune. Leon Crickmore emphasizes the importance of understanding that Plato’s ideas about music as those expressed in the *Republic* 545c-546d were based on Pythagorean mathematics and its intrinsic relationship to music (Leon Crickmore. “The musicality of Plato.” *Hermathena* 180 (2006): 19-43).

274 Lonsdale reduces the complexities of women’s rites of passage and claims that “for the entire period between childhood and the moment she was married, the young girl was a liminal personage poised on a boundary, vacillating between one state and the other while the young man passed through progressive initiatory stages” (Lonsdale, 1993, p. 176) (however, cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 640ff. and the four stages mentioned, “arrephoroi, aletrides, arktoi, and kanephoroi”). Lonsdale, building on Vidal-Naquet’s work, also surmises that female education was based on male Spartan initiatory rituals (Lonsdale, 1993, p. 201). This is speculation. It could just as easily be the other way around. Jean Ducat, who exercises selective

writes that in several Cretan cities the technical term for leaving the agela is “to undress” (Bremmer, 1999, p. 188).²⁷⁵ In the final stage the initiates were called “the nude ones.” This fits nicely if we interpret the passage in the *Lysistrata* as the “bears” shedding, taking off, the saffron (crocus) dress. If the final stage is nudity, the girls we see racing in the nude on the krateriskoi would be at the final stage of their training at Brauron.

The Spartan girls are metaphorically referred to as fillies like the boys, which is further evidence of the fact that they belonged to “horse herds” in archaic and classical times (Alcman *Parth.* 59; Ar. *Lys.* 1308-1313).²⁷⁶ Jeffrey Henderson suggests that the comparison of girls to fillies derives from theriomorphic maiden-dances (like the arkteia).²⁷⁷ The horse metaphor is common in reference to adolescents in ancient Greece. In Euripides’ *Helen* (1465 ff.), Spartan virgins dance with the Leukippides (white horses) and with Helen as leader.²⁷⁸ In the vicinity of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea votive figurines of bronze from as early as the Geometric and Archaic periods have been found in the form of horses, deer, bulls, lions, turtles, dogs, hares, and birds, (Voyatzis, 1990, pp. 127-162; Voyatzis, 2002, p.162), which may reflect the existence of puberty rituals.²⁷⁹ The large number of animals such as deer may also indicate an earlier occupant of the

caution throughout his book on Spartan education, concludes that he has trouble imagining warriors, even young ones, allowing themselves to be targets of the sarcasm of young girls (in connection with the rites of Artemis Orthia) in spite of much evidence supporting this practice, also at the bridge en route to the Eleusinian Mysteries where women berated the festival goers and at the Thesmophoria festival where the women hurled insults at each other (Ducat, 2006, p. 226). Those glorified by the girls were called “kleinoi.” Ducat further concludes that girls did not undergo tests of endurance (like the boys in puberty rites) (Ducat, 2006, p. 240). Again without offering evidence, Ducat concludes that girls took part in the Hyakinthia festival “on a far from equal basis” (Ducat, 2006, p. 264). Boys and girls played the cithara and the aulos and participated in choruses and at Amyclae the women and girls of Sparta decorated carts for the procession and women wove the chiton that was offered to Apollo, similar to the peplos being offered to Athena at the Panathenaic Games, which had pride of place. In the cult of Artemis Throsia at Larissa, girl initiates may have assumed the role of fawns, nebroi. As we saw at Brauron, girls in different age groups competed in foot races and dances, and assumed the role of bears, “arktoi.” The Artemis Tauropolos sanctuary at Halai Araphenides was associated with both girls’ and boys’ initiation rites (*IT* 1439ff.). As we have seen, at Artemis Mounychia, the sanctuary was associated chiefly with female puberty rites. Ephebes sailed from Zea and held races at sea.

²⁷⁵ These stages of undressing and nudity should be noted in reference not only to the “arktoi” at Brauron but also to Iphigenia with the “falling or removal” of the robe as a symbolic representation of entering puberty.

²⁷⁶ The girls in Alcman’s partheneia most likely participate in a ritual to Artemis whom they call “the healer of our sufferings” -- πόνων γὰρ ἄμιν ἰάτωρ ἔγεντο (Alcman *Louvr. Parth.* (fr. 1.89).

²⁷⁷ Henderson, J. *Aristophanes’ Lysistrata*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, p. 221.

²⁷⁸ The horse race appears to be a metaphor which has homoerotic connotations in choral lyric.

²⁷⁹ For the significance of these kinds of figurines for initiation, see Stefano Allovio. “L’uso di oggetti nei rituali iniziatici e le forme dell’immortalità.” In Nizzo, Valentino & Luigi La Rocca (Eds.). *Antropologia e Archeologia a Confronto. Rappresentazioni e Pratiche del Sacro*. Atti dell’Incontro Internazionale dei Studi. Atti del 2° Congresso Internazionale di Studi. Roma. Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pegorini” 20-21 Maggio 2011, pp. 491-503. Rome: E.S.S., 2012.

sanctuary in the form of Artemis or a “mistress of animals,” a theory supported by the presence of pomegranate pendants and double axes.

4.3 Taming of young men and women

The word πῶλον meaning “filly,” is often used for a young woman or man. The image is continued in ἄζυγα and ζεύξασα (the common metaphor for a yoke of marriage or a sexual union, πῶλον ἄζυγα λέκτρων, Eur. *Hipp.* 546). Alcman compares the women racing in footraces for Agido to fillies (Calame, 1997, p. 237). The term πωλοδαμνεῖν, to “tame colts,” is used particularly by Plutarch and Lucian in a pedagogical context to express the need to educate male youths (Plut. *Mor.* 13d; Luc. *Am.* 45), while the word ἄδμης (ἄδμητος, ἀδμήται) means both “untamed” and “unmarried” (μὰ τὰν Ἄρτεμιν τὰν ἀεὶ ἀδμήταν) (Aesch. *Suppl.* 149, Soph. *OC* 1056, etc., Soph. *El.* 1239, *Aj.* 450, *OC* 1321); thus Theognis describes the process of taming Atalanta (Theogn. 1283ff.). The technical term “agele/a” for a troupe of young men or women probably originated in the taming of young horses -- πῶλον ἄζυγα (Eur. *Hipp.* 545ff.). Artemis had the epithet Eurippa at Pheneüs (Paus. 8.14.5). Hippolytus’ mother Hippolyte was a horse-tamer. She in turn is tamed by Heracles, who takes her belt, thus removing the symbol of her virginity. Hippolytus dies by the harness of his Venetian mares -- συζυγίαν πῶλων Ἐνετᾶν. The yoke could be interpreted as the taming of a young person through marriage; in this case, Hippolytus is marrying Hades. Heracles or Theseus tames/kills both Hippolytus and his mother. In the *Hippolytus* the chorus says:

The filly in Oechalia (Iole), unjoined as yet to the marriage bed, unhusbanded, unwed. Cypris took from the house of her father Eurytus and yoked her like a footloose Naiad or a Bacchant and gave her...

τὰν μὲν Οἰχαλίας πῶλον ἄζυγα λέκτρων,
ἄνανδρον τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἄνυμφον, οἴκων
ζεύξασ’ ἀπ’ Εὐρυτίων δρομάδα ναῖδ’
ὅπως τε βάκχαν σὺν αἵματι, σὺν
καπνῶι... Κύπρις ἐξέδωκεν (545-51).

This is clearly a description of the ritual of taming young people for adulthood, in contrast to Hippolytus' refusal to conform, to be tamed.

In the *Laws*, Plato compares the young Spartans, τοὺς νέους, to colts πώλους φορβάδας,²⁸⁰ collected into a flock (or herd of horses) (ἐν ἀγέλῃ) (σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα, ἵπποκόμον), and thus links the education of youths to the image of the domestication of animals. He contrasts this with the Athenian concept of individual education. Plato writes:

You keep young people massed together like a
Herd of colts on grass; none of you takes his own
colt, dragging him away from his fellows in spite
of his fretting and fuming and puts a special
groom in charge of him and trains him by
rubbing him down and stroking him and
using all the means appropriate to child-nursing
[to make him a warrior] (Pl. *Nom.* 666e).²⁸¹

Other myths recording ritual taming of young people may include the contest between the Sirens and the Muses in Crete (where there was a temple to Artemis Aptaera, unwinged, unfeathered (ἄπτερος as in Harpies, initiates in a chorus(?), unfledged (as in a young bird or virgin), of great speed, and unspoken (Paus. 9.34.3; *Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄπτερα*). The victorious Muses plucked out the feathers of the Sirens who then became white and threw themselves into the sea. Willetts sees the leap into the sea as a Minoan religious feature involved in initiation myth and wonders whether the Leukai (white girls) of Aptaera were female initiates (Willetts, 1962, p. 189). The Sirens were originally fatherless. Helen, in Euripides' play, prays to Persephone to send the Sirens to weep with her, picturing them as daughters of the Earth, winged girls, and virgins (Eur. *Hel.* 167). The contest between the Muses and the Sirens is probably based on a contest between rival female choruses, a contest which ends with the ritual ordeal of the leap into the sea.

That girls were organized in age groups like the boys is also indicated by references in Alcman who calls a chorus of girls "cousins," ἀνεψιαί, a term used also for boy colleagues (*Louvre Parth.* 52). The "cousinship," ἃ δὲ χαίτα τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιάς Ἀγησιγόρας ἐπανθεῖ χρυσὸς [ὦ]ς ἀκήρατος, in Alcman's *Louvre Partheneion* (fr. 1.51-54), relating the chorus members to their leader, suggests a group of adolescents belonging to

²⁸⁰ The word φόρβας can refer to "fruitful," "giving pasture," "a mare," and "a prostitute."

²⁸¹ ἀλλ' οἷον ἀθρόους πώλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους δ' ὑμῶν οὐδεις τὸν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῶν συννόμων σπάσας σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα, ἵπποκόμον τε ἐπέστησεν ἰδίᾳ καὶ παιδεύει ψήγων τε καὶ ἡμερῶν, καὶ πάντα προσήκοντα ἀποδιδούς τῇ παιδοτροφίᾳ...).

a society similar to one of the agelai in which ephebes of Lacedaemon were enrolled (see e.g., Calame, 1997, p. 7 n. 16). Χαίτα, χαιτή refers to “loose, flowing hair,” but it also means “mane” of a horse -- πλόκοι “unshorn locks.” Boys and girls at puberty have their hair cut, which they then offer to divine virgins such as Hippolytus [his name, as that of his mother Hippolyta, meaning “letting horses loose or horse loosener”] (Eur. *Ion* 1266); λειμών, “uncut meadow” (Eur. *Hipp.* 73); ἐμπόριον, “virgin market” (Hdt.4.152); undefiled, a virgin (Eur. *Tr.* 675; Plat. *Nom.* 84cd). Ἀκήρατος means “undefiled, pure, and virginal.” *Hesychius s.v. κάσιοι* says that the word kasioi, “cousins,” was used in Sparta also for women. Terms such as ἀνεψιός, κάσεν, κάσις or κάσιος meaning brother, sister, or cousin appear in numerous inscriptions mostly from the Roman period which suggests an educational reform whose inception is possibly even datable to c. 184 BCE when the Spartans were to have revived the archaic system.²⁸²

Callimachus refers to a group of Spartan virgins as an ἴλα [ila: the clan division and collection of virgins] (the scholiast observed, ἴλα -- ἡ τῶν νυμφῶν φρατρία καὶ ἄθροισις, *Hymn* 5.33-34). The most common term used in Hellenistic inscriptions for Greek phratries is “thiasoi.” In Euripides the words χορός and θιάσος are practically synonymous (ἠλίκων θιάσους, Eur. *IT* 1146); Sappho, κόραι (fr. 140a); πάις (fr. 49.2 Atthis), παῖδες (fr. 58.11), πάρθενοι (fr. 17.14; 27.7; 30.2; 153, etc.). Anne Klinck acknowledges that Sappho and her “associates” seemed to have formed a singing, dancing, and worshipping “thiasos” and that more generally they also belonged to a “hetaireia” of friends (Klinck, 2008, p. 26).²⁸³ In Euripides’ *Bacchae*, the Bacchantes refer to thiasoi of female dancers (600), and the term is also used for maidens in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (1146). Klinck makes a loose distinction between a religious group, a thiasos, and a political one, such as the hetaer(e)ia. Whereas she might be correct in reference to a thiasos, I believe that it may be more accurate to view the hetaireia as a social grouping. One of the latest indications of the girls’ agoge is a second century CE inscription mentioning a board of six gynaikonomoi, regulators of women, corresponding to the young men’s “paidonomoi” (*IG* 5.1.170).

²⁸² Cross-cousins among the Ojibwe were sometimes lovers referring to each other as mice, grasshoppers, birds, etc.

²⁸³ Klinck, Anne L. “Sappho’s Company of Friends.” *Hermes* 136.1 (2008): 15-29.

4.4 Education and friendship

“One of the most significant features in Greece of the passage from childhood to adulthood is homoeroticism, probably girls too,” theorizes Claude Calame (Calame, 1997, p. 260). Plato in his last work, the *Laws*, appears to condemn relations between women (and between men) (*Nom.* 836a-837a). He says that it is beyond nature “*paraphysin*” when male mates with male or female with female (Pl. *Nom.* 636c); however, in the *Symposium* there is no such condemnation. Women are there called “*hetairistriaí*” (fem. *ἑταιρίστρια*, masc. *ἑταιριστής*, 191e). In the *Republic*, he makes clear that he is not referring to same-sex relationships per se, but to sexual acts that cannot or do not lead to offspring when discussing the education of the guardians, modeling his views largely on Spartan reality (423e-424a). In Sparta, Lycurgus had echoed a similar sentiment saying that men should refrain from molesting boys. As Xenophon observes, “in Sparta if it was clear that the attraction is for the boy’s physical beauty, he [Lycurgus] banned the connection as an abomination” (Xen. *Lac.* 2.12).

The common perception of Sparta appeared to have been quite different, though: “It does not surprise me that some people do not believe this since in many cities the laws do not oppose lusting after boys” (Xen. *Lac.* 2.13).²⁸⁴ “Most of the other Hellenes or barbarians corrupt them into disorderly Love” -- *ἄτακτον ἀφροδίτην* (Pl. *Nom.* 8.840e). For Plato, as later for the Catholic church, sexual relations should be limited to reproduction: “The unequal relationship between a man and a boy or young girl can be either sexual or chaste” (Pl. *Nom.* 836c-e); sex should be for procreation only.²⁸⁵ He also adds that “in most species males and females pair for life²⁸⁶ and engage in sex only to bear young.”²⁸⁷

As we have seen, the virgins in the famous so called *Louvre Partheneion* of Alcman refer to themselves and their leaders Agido and Hegesichora as horses -- Colaxaeon, Venetic, and Ibenean – which, as discussed earlier, may refer to the young women as members of an *agele/a*. The element of abduction so common in rites of passage has also

²⁸⁴ Plutarch’s sources were Herodotus and Thucydides, but also Theopompus (fourth century BCE) and Timaeus (late fourth/early third centuries BCE).

²⁸⁵ Since children and parents were not to know each other in the Ideal State, the statement may also express a concern for the potential for incest.

²⁸⁶ This is true mostly for some bird species.

²⁸⁷ Lycurgus also stated that men should not be seen leaving or entering a wife’s bedroom. There should not be too much sex (Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3-5).

been suggested in the reference to the “Pleiades,” Agido and Hegesichora [the actual Pleiades were abducted by Orion and in order to escape they leaped into the sea (Hes. *Op.* 619-20)]. Ingalls translates “pharos” (line 61) as plough and says it refers to intercourse (Ingalls, 1999, p. 381). Surely, the word “pharos” here means “cloak,” as in the conventional manner in which trysts are portrayed in art. See, for example, a lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which has been attributed to the so called Pharos Painter and dated to c. 550 BCE, depicting two women wrapped in a robe, which was a common manner in which to portray loving couples (**fig. 31**). This would certainly fit the context and spirit of a virgin chorus better than a reference to sexual intercourse.²⁸⁸

Alcman’s poem is rife with same-sex amorous language such as: Ἀσταφίς [τ]έ μοι γένοιτο καὶ ποτιγλέποι Φίλυλλα (*Louvr. Parth.* frag. 1.75) – “if only Astaphis were mine. If only Philylla were to look my way” -- ἀλλ’ Ἀγησιχώρα με τείρει – “but Hegesichora wears me out (with love)” (Alcman *Louvr. Parth.* frag. 1.77). Agido is the chosen one to stand next to Hegesichora. Depicted are pedagogical and romantic relationships between the chorus members and their leader -- λυσιμελεῖ (limb-loosening) τε πόσσωι, τακερώτερα δ’ ὕπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρεται, “and with limb-loosening desire she looks [at me] more meltingly than sleep or death” (3.61). Hermann Diels called Agido and Hegesichora “ἐραστρία” and “ἐρωμένη” and contended that this means “beloved” on Crete just like “καλός” does in Attica and “αἶτας” in Sparta and on Lesbos (Diels, 1896, pp. 352ff.). Diels refers also to ἐρώμενος κλεινός and φιλήτωρ ἐραστής (*Aes. Ag.* 1446) in the choruses on Crete (Diels, 1896, pp. 353-354) and to the expression “κλεινὰ χοραγός” as having amorous significance -- κλεινοί· οἱ εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ ἐπὶ κάλλει ἀρπαζόμενοι παῖδες (Hesych.).²⁸⁹ Scholia to Aristophanes (*Schol. Ar. Pax* 874) and the *Suda* (s.v. βραυρών) refer to an abduction of many prostitutes at Brauron during the Dionysia (τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐν ᾧ τὰ Διονύσια ἤγοντο καὶ μεθύοντες πολλὰς πόρναις ἤρπασον).

Naturally, this does not describe a red-light district to quote Hugh Lloyd-Jones, but possibly the fact that young women/girls danced, processed, raced naked and formed close companionships (1983, p. 92, n. 31).²⁹⁰ Prostitution and homosexuality have

²⁸⁸ According to Alcman, a pharos was given to Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Alcman, *Louvr. Partheneion* 60ff.).

²⁸⁹ Interestingly, Van Gennepe asserts that both Roman Catholic virgins and prostitutes must submit to ceremonies constructed on the pattern of rites of passage (Van Gennepe, 1960, p. 98).

²⁹⁰ Ingalls (1999, p. 381, n. 62), on the other hand, quotes Diane Rayor who believes that the intent of Alcman’s *Partheneion* was to display marriageable young women to the community and, more importantly, to potential suitors (“Competition and Eroticism in Alcman’s *Partheneion* [I *PMG*].” American Philological Association. Annual Meeting 1987 Abstracts. Decatur, 1987). Stehle, too, argues that the chorus is presenting its own desirability to the community and to young male spectators (1997, pp. 85-86).

historically been linked. Hephaestion, Dorotheus, Firmicus Maternus, Martial, Plautus, Lucian of Samosata make these connections (Brooten, 1996). Worth mentioning here is the reference to a Sappho as prostitute in the *Suda* (surely, the poet Sappho). “Hetairistriae” in Plato’s *Symposium* refers to women having relationships with women.

As we know, the term came to mean something else later on, possibly as a critique or a sanitized adaptation of the earlier meaning of amorous companions. The girls are “ἑταῖραι” (“φίλαι”) and “μαθήτριάι” of the poet (*Suda s.v. Σαπφώ*) and the bond between them is referred to by the term “σύζυγος,” i.e., under the same yoke, also used by the tragedians to refer to a married spouse. In *IT* (250) Orestes is the “sysisygos” of Pylades and in *HF* (673ff.) there is a σύζυγια between the Muses and the Graces. The so called orgiastic (ὄργια) rituals associated with Dionysus and Artemis gave us the word orgy. In the *Suda* passage ἀσελγαινούσης τῆς παιδίσκης – “ἀσελγαίνω” means behave licentiously and “παιδίσκη” is a regular term for a prostitute (however, also meaning young girl). The word ἵππος, “horse,” so common in the context of adolescents and puberty rituals, could also mean “lewd woman” (Ael. *NA* 4.11) and refer to the “pudenda muliebria et virilia” (Hsch.). It seems fairly certain that this refers to relationships among women. Pollux makes the terms “ἄγελαῖοι, συνεργασταί, συμμαθηταί, σύννομοι, χορευταί, σύντροποι, ἑταῖροι” synonymous (4.43ff.).

The members of the phratry were often designated by terms such as “ἑταῖρος” and “ἀδελφός.” Two funerary epigrams show the presence of similar associations on the coast of Ionia.²⁹¹ Men, like women, formed so called “hetaireiai,” which originally may have referred to more or less informal same-sex companionships (Willets, 1962, p. 41). Sappho calls her friends “ἑταῖραι” (fr. 160). This is probably quite similar to the masculine “hetaireia” of Alcaeus and others (Burnett, 1983, p. 210 n. 1). Sappho also refers to young women as “paides,” “korai,” and “parthenoi,” which may have caused the *Suda* to assume that Sappho had a “pais,” that is, a child called Kleïs. The word used to refer to her, “παῖς,” occurs in connection with boy-lovers in masculine society. In the Sapphic corpus, it means girl ten times and “child of x” five times (Burnett, 1983, p. 279, n. 2).²⁹² To see a reference to a daughter is most likely a misinterpretation of her poetry –

These rather somewhat far-fetched theories remind me of Sir Denys Page’s wise words from 1955 about Sappho’s fr. 31 which deserve to be repeated, “there was never such a wedding song in the society; and there should never have been such a theory in the history of scholarship,” referring to modern attempts at denying the amorous content of the poem by referring to it as a mere wedding song (Page, 1955, p. 33).

²⁹¹ Kaibel, G. *Epigrammata Graeca*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1878. Nos. 223.8, Miletus, and 239.2, Smyrna.

²⁹² Maximus of Tyre says that Sappho loved beautiful young women in the same way Socrates loved beautiful young men (*Orationes* 18.9).

the name Kleï̄s seems to be mentioned with Sappho's family in 98, and later antiquity gave this name both to the poet's mother and to her daughter (see the *Suda s.v. Σάπφω*) -- or a comic allusion just like the comic reference to a husband called "Penis from the Isle of Man" -- "Kerkylas from the Isle of Andros." In Greek choruses, adolescent girls are described as girls (*korai*), daughters (*thygateres*), children (*paides*), and virgins (*parthenoi*). The Muses are referred to alternatively as "thygateres, korai, paides, parthenoi, tekna, neanides, nymphai, and gynaikes."

Greek myths mentioning same-sex companions are common, such as Artemis and her nymphs with whom she forms individual relationships. Callimachus says that the love of Artemis touches certain nymphs, who are then called companions (*ἐταῖραι*).²⁹³ Some of these nymphs include Britomartis (*φίλαο*) who escaped from Minos by throwing herself into the sea; Cyrene (*ἐταρίσσαο*), the wild virgin (*παρθένος ἀγροτέρα*) of Pindar (*Pind. Pyth.* 9); Prokris (*ὀμόθηρον*); and beautiful Antikleia (*φιλησαι*), both hunters and; Atalanta (*ἤνησας*), the blond girl who fled into the mountains, as described by Theognis, to avoid marriage and the "gifts of Aphrodite" (*Call. Hymn* 3.210-221; *Thgn.* 1283ff., esp. 1291).²⁹⁴

Zeus raped Callisto assuming the shape of Artemis in an effort to seduce her (*Hyg. Astr.* 2.1). Leucippus disguised himself as a girl to get close to Daphne (*Paus.* 8.20.2-4), and other myths refer to Achilles and Patroclus, Theseus and Peirithoos, and Heracles and Iolao as companion-lovers. Strabo, based on Ephorus, discusses same-sex practices in his description of Crete (10.421-483). Aristotle attributes same-sex practices to the Celts (*Pol.* 2.6.6 -- 1269b). Others attribute them to the Cretans (*Heracl. Pont.* 508).

Orpheus is referred to as homosexual (Phanocles, *frr.* 1.7-10 (Powell); *Stobaeus. Eclogae* 20.2.47;²⁹⁵ *Ovid. Met.* 10.83-85) and *Ἀπολλωνίας ἐταῖρον* in an inscription from Thrace.²⁹⁶ In addition to Orpheus, Heracles is sometimes viewed as Apollo's companion-lover (*ibid.*). Inscriptions with pederastic acclamations found near the temple of Apollo

²⁹³ The term nymphomaniac, as referring to an oversexed female, derives from these nymphs in Greek mythology rather than from the ancient Greek term for bride. The Greek word *nympholeptoi* refers to men going mad if caught by a nymph.

²⁹⁴ μόνον δὲ ὅσοι ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίῳ ἠράσθησαν ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα.

[Ἄρτεμις], Ἀταλάντη καὶ Πρόκρις καὶ ἦτις ἄλλη (*Xenophon. Cyngeticus.* 13.18.4).

²⁹⁵ *Collectanea Alexandrina: Reliquiae minores poetarum graecorum aetatis ptolemaicae 323-146 A.C.* Powell, J.U. (Ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

²⁹⁶ "Inscriptions grecques de l'Hémos," *Bulletin de Correspondance de Hellénique* 2 (1878): 401-412.

Karneios at Thera discuss the young men's skills as athletes and dancers. "Καλός, ἀγαθός, ἄριστος" are common epithets in these inscriptions (*IG XII (3) 536-601*).²⁹⁷

Plutarch and Xenophon speak of Spartan pederasty as an institution within the educational system of the agoge, with a specific pedagogical function -- πρὸς παιδείαν (Plut. *Lyc.* 17.1-5 Xen. *Symp.* 8.35). According to Plutarch, sexual relationships of this type were so highly valued that respectable women would have love affairs with virgins (unmarried girls) -- ὥστε καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐρᾶν τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς γυναῖκας (Plut. *Lyc.* 18.4). Yet there was no rivalry, again, according to Plutarch; instead, if individual males found that the women's and their own affections had the same object, they made this the foundation for a mutual friendship, and eagerly pursued joint efforts to perfect their loved one's character (Plut. *Lyc.* 18.4).

Athenaeus claims that in Sparta custom demanded that girls be treated as paidiká (like the eroumenos) prior to their marriage (13.602d-e). In Alcman the term "αἴτις" (Alcm. 1.1.46),²⁹⁸ the eroumenos, is the Thessalian counterpart to the Laconian "εἰσπνήλας" (εἰσπνήλαις, Call. *Aetia* fr. 68.1; Call. fr.169; Theoc.12.13), the erastes.²⁹⁹ It is similar to male homoerotic vocabulary.

The language of Sappho is rife with amorous allusions comparing a blossoming virgin to a sweet apple reddening on a bough so high that apple pickers cannot reach it (fr. 105a). She compares marriage to a flower plucked by a strange hand and pronounces, "I shall remain a virgin always!" (Sappho fr. 44A=Alc. 304 L-P). Other same-sex allusions occur, for example, in Sappho fr. 47, 48, 49, 130 -- Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ μοι Φρένας and Ἔρος δηῦτέ μ' ὀ λυσιμέλης δόνει -- "once again limb-loosening love makes me tremble." Also fr. 1.19, φιλότατα and 16.4, ἔραται; also 94.21ff. -- καὶ στρώμ[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν ἀπάλαν πα[...]ων ἐξίης πόθο[]νίδων -- "and on soft beds...you would satisfy your longing (for) tender...". Anne Pippin Burnett also points out the sexual meaning of sleep in fr. 2.8 (Burnett, 1983, p. 298). The bonds of women were placed under the sign of Aphrodite (see, for example, Sappho fr. 2.13 and 15.9). Other erotic symbols in Sappho abound such as (apple) groves, grass, meadows, and water, the sacred virgin meadow, "die Nymphengarten" (Burnett, 1983, pp. 265-266).

²⁹⁷ See, for example, *IG XII (3) 540, 544, 545, 546*. The words pederast (παιδεραστής), erastes, eroumenos are not Indo-European, according to Sergent (1996 [1984], p. 50).

²⁹⁸ Page, D.L. *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

²⁹⁹ Φασὶ γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἔρωτα ἐκ τοῦ εἰσπνεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ ἐρωμένου. Ὅθεν καὶ εἰσπνήλας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐραστὰς παρὰ Λάκωσιν (*Etymologicum Magnum*, Kallierges 43.35). Also ἔθνος Θεσσαλίας, εἰσπνήλος εἰσπνήλης ὁ ἐρώμενος (Aelius Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica*. 3.1.79.11).

Praxilla of Sikyon composed poetry and taught choruses of boys at the Karneia, a festival to Apollo Karneios (Ingalls, 1999, p. 390).³⁰⁰ A late testimonium from Philostratus reports that a certain Damophyle of Pamphylia composed love poems to young girls (παρθένους) and hymns to Artemis Pergaia (Philostr. VA 1.30).³⁰¹ She is said to have modeled herself on Sappho. The girls were disciples (συνομιλήτρια, ὁμιλητῆς) of Damophyle. Telesilla, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century at Argos, wrote a poem addressed to young girls which tells the story of Artemis fleeing from Alpheius (Telles. fr. 717, see also fr. 720, Artemis Coryphaea).

According to Plutarch and Athenaeus, pederasty among the Cretans, Eleans, Megarians, Thebans, and Chalcidians had initially religious significance (Plut. *De lib. educ.* 15 (11F); Athen. 13.601e-f). For Socrates the male eros liberates the mind from the restraints of materialism and promotes the soul over the body with love transcending the sexual drives (Pl. *Symp.* 211b). Calame sees same-sex relations as an integral part of the pre-marriage pedagogical relationship between mentor and protégé (Calame, 1997, p. 249). The story of Poseidon, Pelops, and Hippodameia is an example of a same-sex relation before marriage and its pedagogical aspect (Himerius *Or.* 9.6; Pind. *Ol.* 1.67ff.).³⁰² The wedding of Hippodameia, that is, the tamer of horses, to Pelops at Olympia is given as one of the foundation myths for the Heraia. Poseidon instructs his beloved Pelops in the equestrian arts and then organizes the wedding ceremony for his lover and Hippodameia; he even sings the nuptial song for them.

Same-sex subtexts are found also in the *Bacchae*, in which Pentheus claims that the stranger's (Dionysus') effeminate appearance defiles the beds of women (352ff.). The stranger is described as having long hair and an indoor complexion (typical female attributes). Pentheus wants to cut off his delicate hair, is dressed as a woman since he wants to avoid being killed on Mount Cithaera if seen as a man (823), and expresses

³⁰⁰ There were many Greek female poets who continued the Sapphic tradition: Praxilla, Learchis, Erinna, Corinna, Myrtis, Moero the Byzantine, Praxagoris, Cleito, Anyte, Telesilla, Nossis, Mnesarchis the Ephesian, and Thaliarchis the Argive (Tatian attacked Greek pagans for erecting statues of them, *Address to the Greeks* 33).

³⁰¹ ὃ τι ὄνομα ἦν τῆ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί, ἢ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι... καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητριάς κτήσασθαι τὰ ποιήματά τε ζυνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά δὲ ὕμνους. τὰ τοι ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ παρῶδηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῶων ἦσται (Philostr. VA 1.30).

³⁰² Cf. Apollo and his assistance to his beloved Admetus at his wedding to Alcestis (Soph. fr. 851 Stefan Radt – *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* vol. 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977 and Sappho and her chorus members.

frustration at not being able to see the maenads practicing their immorality (“αἰσχυργίαν”) (Eur. *Bac.* 1058ff.).³⁰³

“Unusual” [read same-sex] sexual practices of women were reported among the Pelasgian and Aeolian tribes and at Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 18.4; Xen. *Symp.* 8.35ff. and *Lac.* 2.13; Ael. *VH* 3.10-12). There was a Bacchic-Orphic cult on Lesbos (Clem. *Protr.* 3; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 5.36.3). Livy claims that originally only women were admitted to the cult of Dionysus when first introduced to Italy and Rome (39.13). Later men were allowed to attend, initiation became more frequent, and the rites took place at night instead of during the day. As a result, erotic practices developed, according to Livy, which were predominantly homosexual and worse among men than among women (*plura uirorum inter sese quam feminarum esse stupra*), and those who were reluctant to participate (*si qui minus patientes dedecoris et pigriores ad facinus, pro victimis immolari*) were made into sacrificial victims (Poole, 1990, p. 120).

The Hyperborean virgins – the three daughters of Boreas, Oupis, Loxo, and Hekaerge (and their male “twins”)³⁰⁴ -- are closely associated with Artemis on Delos and with Apollo at Delphi.³⁰⁵ According to Nilsson, the Hyperborean maidens were in the same

³⁰³ Since only women were allowed, we have to assume that the immorality refers to same-sex relations. Chloris was depicted as resting her head in the lap of Thyia in a painting in the Delphian Lesche. According to Pausanias, Thyia was the first woman to celebrate religious orgies in honor of Dionysus (Paus. 10.6.4) and she was the one who brought Chloris into the Dionysian cult. “Wild women” were a common feature at exclusive women’s orgiastic festivals such as the Thyiades (being synonymous with the Bacchantes and named after Thyia, whose name is believed to derive from the verb θύω, “to sacrifice,” as she was also thought to have been the first to sacrifice to Dionysus) at Delphi, Maenads at Thebes, and at the Lenaean (Ληναί in the same group as maenads) festival in Attica. Δημητρος δὲ οἱ τε μύσται καὶ δαδοῦχοι καὶ ἱεροφάνται, Διονύσου δὲ Σειληνοὶ τε καὶ Σάτυροι καὶ Τίτυροι καὶ Βάκχαι, Ληναί τε καὶ Θυῖαι καὶ Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Ναΐδες καὶ Νύμφαι προσαγορευόμεναι (and the initiated and torch-bearers and hierophants of Demeter; and the Sileni and Satyri and Bacchae, and also the Lenae and Thyiae and Mimallones and Naïdes and Nymphae and Tityri of Dionysus (Strabo 10.3.10). An Aurignacian cave-painting at Cogul in north-east Spain from the palaeolithic period may represent a god like Dionysus, as Robert Graves contends, and an early version of a “Lenaean” festival. A young “Dionysus” with erect genitals stands unarmed alone and exhausted in the middle of a crescent of nine dancing women who face him. He is naked except for boots(?). The women are fully clothed and wear small, “witches” cone-shaped hats. The women are of different ages – triads of the New Moon (virgin), Full Moon (mother) Old Moon (crone) and are dancing clock-wise by age progression. There is a hornless fawn and a black pig(?) (Graves, 1948, p. 352). Based on the male figure’s nudity and his “exhausted” appearance, Graves speculated that he is being punished by the women for some offence and that the women are closing in on him to tear him apart during the winter solstice festival. There are many similar figures in European folklore. Pratt mentions “die Wilde Frauen” who haunt Wunderberg near Salzburg and the Serbian Vilas who comfort wounded deer in the forests (Pratt, 1994, pp. 285-286). Sacred caves, springs, and trees, which unlike constructed temples, could not be destroyed remained the last refuge for pagan worship (*Canons of the Trullan Synod* in 692).

³⁰⁴ The twin is regarded as sacred, as a dualistic nature of the universe (Apollo the sun and Artemis the moon, in ancient Egypt Geb, earth and Nut, sky) in many cultures, including among the Ojibwa (Hilger, 1951, p. 30).

³⁰⁵ The earlier Hyperborean Virgins are O(u)pis and Arge (Hdt. 4.33; 35) or Hekaerge (Pl. *Ax.* 371a), also Loxo (Call. *Del.* 292). Their male counterparts were Oupis and Hekaergos (Cic. *Nat.D.* 3.58; Paus. 1.43; Pl.

relationship to Artemis as Hyacinthus to Apollo (Nilsson, 1906, p. 207). In Callimachus, Artemis had the epiclesis of Oupis in the cult celebrated by the Amazons at Ephesus (Call. *Hymn* 3. 204 and 240).

Hyacinthus was a beloved of Apollo (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.3; Paus. 3.19.5). Nilsson saw him as an old Minoan-Mycenaean god who was downgraded to a hero and a servant of Apollo, similar to the development of Britomartis and Artemis (Nilsson, 1971 [1950], pp. 556-557). The Hyakinthia was a three-day festival of mourning for Hyacinthus and a feast of rejoicing with processions and dances. Hyacinthus was buried in a tomb that formed the pedestal of the monumental statue of Apollo just like Callisto's grave was surmounted by a temple to Artemis Calliste (Paus. 3.1.3. and 3.19.3). There is also an interesting myth about Artemis as nurse to Hyacinthus; at Cnidus Artemis Hyakintrophos had a temple and a festival. In Euripides' *Helen* there is mention of the nocturnal revels in Sparta at the festival in honor of Hyacinthus who had been killed by Apollo at a discus-throwing contest (1465ff.). Nilsson parallels Hyacinthus with Zeus as an annually dying vegetation god reared by a nymph-nurse; in this case, Artemis Hyakintrophos.

In conclusion, it should be obvious to anyone who examines the evidence that male and female same-sex companionship was an element in the education of boys' and girls' coming-of-age. Prejudices have clouded the ability of scholars to read the evidence properly. After centuries of criminalization, pathologizing, condemnation, and suppression, it is difficult to understand how these kinds of friendships could ever have been considered normal, proper, and important for the development of young men and women into viable and productive members of a community. Yet, they were.

4.5 Gender inversion

Male and female gender inversion is common in Greek literature and was most likely an element in rituals of transition and initiation. Before puberty, visible differences, apart from the genitals, of girls and boys are negligible. Children are a clean slate, and can often take on the cultural gender of either sex to one extent or another. Even in contemporary Western culture many boys and girls are viewed as sissies and tomboys, as

Ax. 371a). Later names were Hyperoche and Laodoke (Hdt. 4.33-35) with their male counterparts Hyperochos and Laodokos (Paus. 10.23.2). As we shall see, gender inversion appears to have been an element in rites of passage.

an “in-between.” Because of the devalued status of women, being a sissy is not desirable; being a tomboy, on the other hand, is considered cute until puberty, after which point it, too, becomes a cause for alarm.

The attitude in antiquity appears to have been quite different. In ancient literature, women are frequently depicted as manly, especially in Euripides (Phaedra in *Hippolytus*, Medea, Iphigenia, etc.), but also Sophocles’ *Antigone* and Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, and men as feminine (Hippolytus, Rhesus, Orpheus, Apollo, Pentheus, and Dionysus in *Bacchae*). Read, for example, Phaedra’s monologue in Euripides’ *Hippolytus*, in which she says, “how I long to draw a drink of pure water from a dewy spring and to take my rest under the poplar trees and in the uncut meadow!” (Eur. *Hipp.* 208-211); she wants to hunt (215-222); “mistress of the Salt Lake, Artemis, mistress of the coursing ground for horses. O that I might find myself on your plains taming Venetian colts!” (228-231) or the description of Iphigenia in a Messenger speech in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, “every one who heard her was struck by the courage and manliness of the virgin” (Eur. *IA* 1561-62). Mary-Kay Gamel notes that it is as if in this rite of passage Iphigenia has not made the transition from parthenos to gyne, but from female to male (Gamel, 1999, p. 316). Both Phaedra and Hippolytus desire to be free and untamed and both have a non-Athenian, “non-civilized,” background (Crete and the Amazons).

In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, several virgins dress like men and, in at least one example, is actually metamorphosed into a man. In the story of Iphis and Ianthe two virgins fall in love with each other -- “ardetque in uirgine uirgo” (Ovid. *Met.* (9.666)-9.797). On the night before the wedding, Iphis is transformed into a man. Caenis is a female virgin raped by Neptune who begs to become a man (Ovid. *Met.* 12. 189-209). Rhodope dressed and wore her hair like a boy because she wanted to remain a virgin (Ovid. *Met.* 6.82; Achilles Tatius. *Leucippe and Clitophon* 8.12).

At Phaestus the Cretan boys practiced transvestitism at the Ekdysia in honor of Leto Phytia. New brides at the festival slept next to a statue of Leucippus, patron hero of the festival (Ant. Lib. 17).³⁰⁶ This may be the same Leucippus who performed a male-to-female gender switch in order to join Daphne and her companions (Paus. 8.20.2-4) (see below). At Delphi the colleges of priestesses were called Leucippides, namesakes of the women who attempted to shun marriage to the Tyndaridai, Castor and Pollux. The Leucippides, or daughters of Leucippus, means white “mares” whereas their spouses, the

³⁰⁶ Antoninus Liberalis mentions also other gender-switchers (Ant. Lib. 17). Ovid, too, lists several gender-benders such as the male-to-female metamorphosis of Scythin (Ov. *Met.* 4.279-280).

Tyndaridae are known by the epithet “Leukopoloι,” “white colts” (Scanlon, 1988, p. 200). It is easy to see references to the *agelai* and puberty rituals in these stories. The aetion for Ekdysia told of a girl who had been brought up as a boy called Leucippus and had been changed by Leto into an actual boy when she became an adolescent at the bequest of her mother. This may have been a conflation with the story of the boy dressing like a girl to win the heart of Daphne. Leucippus had fallen in love with Daphne, but realizing that she was not interested in men, disguised himself as a woman; however, after Daphne and the other virgins stripped him of his clothes in order to bathe in a stream called Parthenia or Parthenos, they realized his deception and killed him (Paus. 8.20.2-4).³⁰⁷ Cretan inscriptions refer to participants in similar rites as “*ekduomenoi*” from *ἐκδύομαι* “strip oneself of something” (Nilsson, 1906, pp. 370-374).

In a number of stories, men attempt a gender switch. Teiresias, who had been transformed into a woman after he had separated two mating snakes, was made blind by Hera following the response that women take seven times more pleasure in sexual relations than do men (Hesiod. Fr. 275 (M-W); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7). At the festival of Oschophoria (and Antesteria) boys who were dressed as girls led the procession (Vidal-Naquet, 1986, pp. 115-16). At the festival of Artemis Korythalia at Sparta men wore female masks (Athen. 4, p. 139; Nilsson, 1906, p. 183).³⁰⁸ At the Artemis Orthia festival boys participated in the procession dressed in women’s clothing. Jean Ducat interprets this as boys being exposed to “the greatest humiliation; being likened to girls” (Ducat, 2006, p. 256).³⁰⁹ A Thracian goddess, Cotyto, was popular in Corinth and in Sicily. One of the rituals in her cult was baptism, which had an orgiastic character, with male dancers dressed as women (Srebrny, 1936, p. 438).³¹⁰ The priest of Heracles at Cos wore women’s clothing when he sacrificed (Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 58) and a groom greeted his bride as a woman (Frazer, 1990 [1913], p. 433). In the *Germania*, Tacitus reports a similar story of the priest wearing women’s clothing when performing rituals (Tac. *Germ.* 43.4). Rather than interpreting these customs as “humiliating, being likened to girls,” they

³⁰⁷ Str. 10.457.

³⁰⁸ *Κορυθαλία* is white-berried ivy, *hedera helix* (see Theophr. *HP* 3.18.6).

³⁰⁹ Throughout his book, Ducat claims that the girls’ initiation rites were imitating the boys rather than the other way around – the prevalence of boys dressed as girls seems rather to suggest that the rituals originally were performed by females.

³¹⁰ This goddess was conflated with the Ephesian Artemis, Artemis Pergaia at Pamphylia, Artemis Koloene at Sardis, and Thracian Artemis, e.g., Artemis Basileia. Herodotus refers to Artemis, Ares, and Dionysus as Thracian deities (Hdt. 5.7).

may in fact be remnants of a time when the priesthood, especially in cults for female deities, was reserved for women.

Spartan women were raped by Aristomenes, leader of the Messenians. The Messenian version says that boys dressed as girls attacked the Messenians after the rape of virgins by the soldiers of Aristomenes, leader of the Messenians (Str. *Geog.* 6.1.6; 6.3.3; 8.4.9). Another such story tells of Megarians who were incited to capture Athenian women who, in turn, turned out to be men dressed as women (Plut. *Sol.* 8.4-6). A gender switch from female to male can be seen in brides dressing as men and shaving their heads at Sparta (Pomeroy, 2002, p. 42). The priestesses and priests at Ephesus, Walter Burkert famously described as “verweiblichten Priestern und vermännlichten Jungfrauen“ (Burkert, 1999, p. 60).

Among the Etruscans, phenomena interpreted by haruspices included the birth of an androgyne (de Grummond and Simon, 2006, p. 39). In reference to a statue of Vertumnus set up in Rome (Propertius of Perusia 4.2), de Grummond suggests that it expresses the Etruscan tendency to be vague or ambivalent about the gender as well as other characteristics of a particular deity. In Ovid, Vertumnus himself changes sex (*Met.* 14.623-771).³¹¹

Among the early Christians, the followers of Eustathius were condemned at the Council of Gangra because the women wore men’s clothing and shaved their heads.³¹² Eugenia cut off her hair and dressed like a man and joined a monastery and became the head Abbott (Davis, 2001, p. 144). In the *Vita of Pelagia/Pelagius* in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobo da Voragine, Pelagia wore male clothing and joined a monastery. When it was discovered that she was a woman, the nuns in the region insisted on attending her funeral. Other Christian women dressed as men; for example, Eufrosia and Eugenia in the tenth century, and Joan of Arc in the fifteenth.³¹³

³¹¹ According to Varro, Vertumnus was the chief god of Etruria (*De lingua Latina* 5.46).

³¹² They wore a “philosopher’s cloak. Diogenes Laertius cites Dicaearchus who mentions two female disciples of Plato, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius who wore “men’s clothing” (Diog. Laert. 3.46 -- Plato).

³¹³ It is doubtful, though, whether it is accurate to compare this inversion based largely on social and economic realities with the religiously-based gender inversion of both males and females in rites of passage in ancient Greece in spite of Joan’s own assurances that God himself had requested that she wear male attire.

4.6 The Thesmophoria festival

Two festivals reserved for women played with gender, class, and age reversals. One of the most interesting works on the festivals of the Bona Dea, the Roman goddess, reserved for noble women and the Vestals, and the Thesmophoria for Demeter Thesmophoros (the [divine or natural] Law-bringer) (fig. 26) is that of H.S. Versnel. He suggested that these festivals may intentionally have incorporated primitive rites, similar to those of the boy initiates sleeping on stibades, the beds made of herbage by the boys themselves at the Artemis Orthia festival, and the girls making their own wigwams among the Ojibwe. At these festivals women withdrew in seclusion, sleeping on beds of “lygos” at the Thesmophoria, drinking milk and honey instead of wine, except at certain religious festivals, reminiscent of the Golden Age, especially at the Bona Dea festival.³¹⁴ This imitation of the “old way of life” included preparing food not on a fire, but in the heat of the sun, and camping in booths and shelters arranged in rows. During the Bona Dea festival, celebrated in the month of December, all men had to leave the magistrates’ house where the festivities were held. Even male animals or images of male personages were removed.³¹⁵

The traditional interpretation sees this as a fertility/vegetation festival. It was a nocturnal festival, in which the Vestal Virgins also participated.³¹⁶ Prisoners were freed from their chains and the law courts and council meetings were suspended. Versnel viewed this as a reversal of the usual order, a festival of exception and reversal, like the Nonae Capratinae, where slave women were waited on by their mistresses, lived in huts, and mocked male passers by. The action here was that slave women contributed to the annihilation of an enemy army.

The Thesmophoria held in the autumn in Athens and a few other places was a three-day festival to Demeter Thesmophoros (“the [divine or ancient] Law-bringer”) and reserved for (possibly married) women only. Piglets (“choiroi” also referring to the “pudenda muliebria”), models of snakes, and genitalia in the form of cakes were offered.

³¹⁴ That is, the *castus agnus* (osier, vitex, chasteberry tree, willow) sacred to Artemis. Chasteberry is still prescribed by health practitioners for relief from pain associated with menstruation and PMS.

³¹⁵ Cf. modern-day Mt. Athos on which island no female, human and non-human, animals are permitted.

³¹⁶ An interesting “fertility” or purification festival held in May in Rome also included the Vestals, involving the throwing of effigies (rush dolls) (argei) from the Sublician Bridge into the Tiber. Sarolta Takács observes that bulrush is used in Chinese medicine to help women with uterine fibroids and resulting infertility (Takács, 2008, p. 47).

(Cf. the festival of Demeter Thesmophoros on Sicily where the goddess was offered cakes, so called “mylloi,” made of sesame seed and honey and in the shape of female genitals [Bellia, 2012, p. 682]). The participants at the Thesmophoria shouted abusive words and struck each other with a scourge plaited out of bark (cf. the flagellation in puberty rites at Artemis Ortheia). According to Herodotus, the ritual of the Thesmophoria was brought from Egypt by the Danaids, who settled in Argolis and there transmitted the tradition to the women of the indigenous Pelasgoi (Hdt. 2.171).

They were thus temporarily “reduced” to the status of virgin, which, one might argue, would exclude this from being primarily a fertility festival (as does the dedication to Demeter Thesmophoros).³¹⁷ They called each other “bees,” which were sacred also to Artemis and a symbol of religious virginity. The action of the Thesmophoria referring to Demeter on Paros does not mention “gynaikes” (matronae), but “nymphai,” that is, virgins on the verge of marriage. Versnel’s interpretation of the festival as exploring the dichotomy of natural/wild and cultural/tamed women seems plausible; if this festival was for married women, there would be no need to tame them. A likely scenario could be a regression to childhood, and a re-enactment of the initiation rites as girls. Women reportedly killed men who spied on them just like the Cyrene slaughterers, who killed King Battus, or Aristomenes of Messenia, who was taken captive. King Pentheus in the *Bacchae* was torn to pieces by one of the celebrants, his own mother.³¹⁸

Gender and age distinctions were frequently less categorical in ancient Greece, especially in the realm of religion.³¹⁹ A woman elder assumed the role of a young virgin as the Oracle of Delphi, and Gerairai (γέραιραι) or Gerarai (γεραραί), the Women Elders, was the title of the group of fourteen young Athenian virgin priestesses in the service of Dionysus and Gerairades (γεραираδέες) the priestesses of Athena at Argos. Young men at Artemis Orthia wore masks depicting elderly people, and at the same festival, boys wore masks of women. Reversals were an integral part of maturation rituals. The “betwixt-and-between” category held a sacred place in many ancient cultures precisely because of its liminal and fluid state, an intermediary between the earthly and spirit worlds.

³¹⁷ For a discussion of the epithet, see Stallsmith, Allaire B. “The Name of Demeter Thesmophoros.” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 48 (2008): 115–131. Stallsmith translates the epithet somewhat awkwardly as “bringer of agriculture and mysteries.”

³¹⁸ It has been suggested that since there were many objects that might provoke erotic desire and no men allowed, their interest could have been directed towards each other (Versnel, 1992, p. 39).

³¹⁹ In prehistoric art we have to rely on depictions of genitalia and color-coding to distinguish gender.

CHAPTER 5: THE ABDUCTION, RAPE, AND DEATH OF VIRGINS

This chapter offers a close, slightly post-modernist, reading of the rapes of three “Artemisian” virgins who subsequently lose their human form, Daphne, Callisto, and Philomela, all immortalized by Ovid. Ovid has much to say about virgins, especially in his *Metamorphoses*, in which there are approximately fifty stories of rape, mostly of virgins.³²⁰ The elements are the same; rape of a virgin by a powerful man -- the masculine gaze, animal hunt imagery (canis/lupus-agna), deception, capture, isolation, and mutation of the victims. Abduction of youths, the “taming,” and the death of virgins are discussed. The stories of abduction and rape so common in myth and history (of, for example, Kore/Persephone and the famed Helen of Troy), though especially in Artemisian rituals, are seldom viewed as grounded in real events; however, the importance of property and kinship rights in antiquity makes such an interpretation plausible, as do, I argue, the conquest and vanquishing of the perceived religious or spiritual powers held by virgins. Rape is still an instrument of war.

In recent years the explanation most often given by scholars such as Brelich, Jeanmaire, Calame, and Burkert is a reference not to historical events (actual rapes and abductions), but rather to metaphorical portrayals of rites of passage signifying a figurative death of the adolescent as a prefatory step to adulthood. It is possible, I believe, to posit a synthesis of the two hypotheses.

There are many stories of abductions of women in accounts that claim to be historical (for example, the ones described by Herodotus in the beginning of book 1), but there are also similar accounts of mock abductions in the rites of passage of young people in many cultures such as the Cretan and Spartan societies.³²¹ One may, therefore, argue that there is a historical basis for these events whether as part of a ritual or to acquire human “property.”

In Ovid’s poetry, Daphne becomes the symbol of poetic inspiration and of poetry itself. She stands as an archetypal symbol of man’s triumph over woman, masculine

³²⁰ I am using a deconstructionist approach when analyzing the texts in an attempt at uncovering subtext.

³²¹ See, for example, Willetts, R.F. 1962, pp. 115-116.

poetry (elegiac/written) over feminine (epic/oral). The laurel becomes the symbol of triumph. Whose triumph is it we might ask? Is it Daphne's for escaping rape through death, or Apollo's, the male amator and narrator, for owning woman, poetry?

A number of Greek myths describe virginal women who through acts of male aggression become fragmented and muted. Ovid is a gold mine of tales of virgins in Greek myth. His *Metamorphoses* deals with most of the virgins mentioned in this thesis. It is naturally problematic to read Ovid as a source of beliefs and practices in early Greece. Ovid is not only a Roman poet, but a master of literary distortion and transformation. His tales are, however, replete with allusions to the significance of virginity, the power of the virgin, and metaphors of rituals of virgins' coming-of-age. These clearly belong to an ancient tradition. Religious beliefs and practices tend also to be conservative and slow to change.

The *Metamorphoses* are what might be described as gendered texts exploring violence against women, power imbalance; codes abound -- linguistic, ideological, and cultural. They are texts written by a man for a predominantly male audience, the narrator/seer/agent/amator being male (Helene Cixous' *écriture masculine* and Luce Irigaray's *parler homme*) at a particular time and place (the early Empire in Rome) in a particular cultural context (the educated *élite*). Much interesting work during the past twenty years has concentrated on the attitude towards women displayed in the texts of Ovid.

Amy Richlin, for example, described what she identified as Ovid's representation of "the female as the site of violence," and asked why rape was the apparent figure of choice for Ovid and what the affects on his audience might have been (Richlin, 1992, p. 178). She saw Ovid as a pornographer who takes pleasure in violence against women, whereas other scholars have argued that Ovid's representation of sexual violence is a literary strategy that serves to unmask and critique the brutality inherent in amatory relations, and that Ovid expresses sympathy with the plight of victimized women (Cahoon, 1990; Curran, 1978). Ellen Greene believed that Ovid extends his critique of violence and exploitation of women to a more general critique of a social and political system that promotes aggression, conquest, and exploitation of others (Greene, 1998, p. 95).

Stories about virgins being abducted and/or raped abound in Greek mythology, especially when they, as chorus members, celebrate festivals in honor of Artemis; Kore,

for example, is abducted from a chorus of Artemis in Euripides' *Helen*.³²² There are variants; at Megalopolis, Kore gathers flowers with Athena and Artemis (Paus. 8.31.2) and at Olympia, she is playing ball with nymphs (Paus. 5.20.3). Helen is abducted by Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 31.2), Spartan maidens are abducted while dancing for Artemis at Caryae (Paus. 4.16.9-10), and even the goddess Aphrodite herself is abducted when dancing in honor of Artemis (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 117-120). Alpheius tries to rape Artemis at a nocturnal feast with her nymphs (Paus. 6.22.9, see 5.14.6; Call. *Hymn* 3. 237ff.); the Pelasgians seize Athenian women holding a festival to Artemis Brauronia (Hdt. 6.137-138.1 and 4.145.2), and Lacedaemonian virgins, having been raped by Messenian men at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (Paus. 4.4.2; Strabo 6.3.3; 6.1.6; 8.4.9), commit suicide. Suicide is a common response to violence in ancient narratives; the nymph Taygete hangs herself in shame after being raped by Zeus (Ps. Plut. *Fluv.* 17.3), the nymph Britomartis, the hunting companion of Artemis, throws herself into the sea for fear of being raped by Minos (Eur. *Hipp.* 1130), and the two daughters of a local man who are raped by Spartan soldiers hang themselves before the Battle at Leuctra (Paus. 9.13.5).

The Pythia, a virgin, was, according to Diodorus Siculus, raped by Echeocrates whereupon she instead was selected among elderly (post-menopausal) women although she was still dressed in the clothes of a young woman (a virgin) (Diod. Sic. 16.26.6). In Plutarch's day, the Pythia was again a young virgin (*Mor.* 405c). The priestess of Artemis Hymnia at Mantinea, just like the Pythia, was in remote times required to be a virgin, and like the Pythia, when one of those virgin priestesses was raped by a man named Aristocrates, the Arcadians abolished the rule that only a virgin could serve as priestess (Paus. 8.5.12-13).

...indeed virgins were alleged to be well-suited
to guard the secrecy of disclosures made by
oracles. In more recent times, however,
people say that Echeocrates the Thessalian,
having arrived at the shrine and beheld
the virgin who uttered the oracle, became
enamored of her because of her beauty,
carried her away with him and violated her;
and that the Delphians because of this

³²² Graves saw the pursuit of women as a reversal where men could be sexually assaulted if they ventured onto islands of women (later remnants e.g., Dryope and Hylas, Venus and Adonis, Diana and Endymion, Circe and Ulysses (Graves, 1948, pp. 352-53).

deplorable occurrence passed a law that in the future a virgin should no longer prophesy but that an elderly woman of fifty should declare the oracles and that she should be dressed in the costume of a virgin, as a sort of reminder of the prophetess of olden times.

In light of the current preoccupation of classical scholars with rites of passage, abduction stories are generally interpreted metaphorically as “taming girls for marriage in rites of passage” (Calame, 1997, p. 145). Although this interpretation is most certainly correct since abduction was a common feature in at least Crete and Sparta in the course of coming-of-age rituals and mock or actual wedding rites of both young men and women (see the discussion in chapter 4), a historical origin of rape and abduction at religious festivals, whether involuntary or not, seems likely. The abduction of virgins from choruses of Artemis may reflect a historical reality in addition to acting as cautionary tales.³²³

5.1 Chase and abduction of boys and girls in puberty rituals

The theft of women and cattle is often referred to as having been the start of conflicts. However, stealing and deception are also ingredients in maturation rituals for boys and girls in many cultures. At Artemis Orthia, for example, stealing cheese and tricking adults were part of the rites – the verbs ἀρπάζειν (to snatch, abduct) and φουάδδει (exercise by wrestling) and φοῦαι (act the fox), φουλίδερ (παρθένων χορός, “virgin chorus”) (Hsch.) may attest to this.³²⁴ At Artemis Orthia, based on similar snatching, perhaps the abduction of virgins, one could possibly interpret ἀρπάζειν as the snatching of sacred objects. However, the animal and virgin references could possibly also offer a clue. Perhaps at a festival with the customary virgin chorus, adolescents were acting like a fox or other totemic animal that might “steal” the food from humans or neighboring clans like

³²³ As Annis Pratt argues, “when the invading Achaeans needed to enforce more patriarchal control than indigenous Old Europeans were willing to accept, they used narratives about gods and heroes raping local divinities and their priestesses and worshippers to suggest the kinds of punishment a self-determining woman might expect” (Pratt, 1994, p. 353).

³²⁴ The religious element βωμολογία at Orthia and elsewhere meant ambush at altar (βωμός, altar, λόχος, ambush).

humans steal, for example, honey from bees. At the Cotyttia festival participants hung cakes and nuts from branches and people were ordered to snatch them (Hdt. 3.48).³²⁵

Typical ingredients in rites of passage include, for example, “death” and rebirth, “orgies,” same-sex relations, torture, seclusion (sometimes in the mountains, in the forest, or simply in a hut away from the community at a border such as a river or lake; there are many stories in which adolescents of either sex find themselves threatened and through trickery find refuge in a shrine (seclusion in initiation; they are shut up for some time, for example, Locrian virgins sent to Troy and the Heracleidae in Attica and a room in the sanctuary at Mounychia where a girl was in hiding may refer to this type of seclusion during menarche and/or as the place where the “mysterion” was revealed to her), abduction or stealing of livestock and food (and virgins, female and male). The rape of the Sabine women is usually explained as a case of marriage by capture, but if the Sabines were matriarchal, Thomson speculates, it is possible that the rape was more about the estates than about the women (Thomson, 1954 [1949], p. 99).³²⁶ For even though the element of “marriage by abduction” was clearly an “institutional” feature in some early tribal communities (and some more recent Native American tribes, such as the Ojibwe, see chapter 6) it may have originated in the theft of property.³²⁷ The abduction of the virgin priestesses of a community’s deity may in addition have been an effective method to conquer the community which had had its vital link to the god broken.

According to Jean Ducat, the *crypteia* in Sparta was an institution in which ritual signified a regression to childhood (Ducat, 2006, p. 295) – the young men slept on beds -- *stibades* -- made from twigs or herbage by the boys themselves, a parallel phenomenon to the one at the Thesmophoria festival, at which the women made their own beds, possibly in the course of a “regression” to a virgin state. The participants at Orthia festival are referred to as “*agamoi*” (*Hesychius s.v. καρνεᾶται*).³²⁸ The *staphylodromoi* (grape runners) ran after a man with sacrificial ribbons. If they caught him it was a good omen; if not, the crops would fail (Ducat, 2006, p. 276).

³²⁵ In present-day Sweden there is a traditional feast called the “plundering of the Christmas tree,” which is celebrated twenty-days after Christmas (on January 13). Children dress up in papier-maché masks and go around to houses and beg for left-over candy having been “plundered” or snatched from the Christmas tree.

³²⁶ The initiation ceremony by which a Vestal Virgin was introduced was called “*captio*” (capture). She was dressed both as a bride and as a matron; yet, she was neither.

³²⁷ In the *Pseudo-Hesiodic Catalog* Glaucus drives oxen to win the heart of Eurynome as price to be given to her father (7.8-9). The raiding of oxen -- *βοῦς ἤλασαν* -- is referred to in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.154).

³²⁸ *Καρνεᾶται* was the name of unmarried ministrants of Apollo, who was called *Κάρνειος* in the Peloponnese and *Κάρνεια* was the name of the festival held in his honor, and *Κάρνειος*, the month in which it was held (Hsch.).

In Crete a ‘mock’ marriage involved the capture by an older of a younger boy whose friends were warned three to four days in advance that the abduction was to take place. An abducted boy was called by a special name – παραστάτης – “the one set aside,” the one closest to the choregos (Arist. *Metaph.* 1018b).³²⁹ “He had the position of highest honor in dances and races and was allowed to dress in better clothes than the others, the clothes presented by his lover,” Strabo writes (Strabo 10.4.21; Willetts, 1962, p. 116). Those “set apart” were renowned, “kleinoi.” The “kleinos” when he left the agela, like others of his age, married simultaneously at collective wedding ceremonies (Str. 10.482; Willetts, 1962, p. 117).

According to Ephorus, contact between adult lover and young beloved was limited to two months on Crete (Strab. 10.4.21--Eph. *FGrHist.* 70 F 149.21). Boys of different ages lived under the supervision of a young man called eiren, eating and sleeping together as members of an agela, corresponding to the adult male communities. Each age class is divided into ox-herds (“bouai”) headed by ox-herd leaders (“bouagoi”) (Willetts, 1962, pp. 45-46). At the end of the twelfth year, the boys shaved their heads. In the summer they slept on rushes.

According to Plutarch, the women were carried off by force for marriage in Sparta when “in full bloom and wholly ripe” (Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3). Their hair was cut closely and they wore men’s clothing. The origin of the abductions of virgins from choruses can likely be found in these mock abductions (cf. parallels among the Ojibwa, see chapter 6). The archetypal abduction is that of Kore picking flowers (*Hymn to Demeter* 8-16). Plato refers to ἐρώντων θήρα (“the lovers’ chase”) (Soph. 222d) and to hunting by men both in war and in friendship (*Nom.* 823b). The myth of the abduction of Ganymede was invented, according to Plato (*Nom.* 636c-d), by the Cretans to justify their habit [of homosexuality] and there was a tradition that Minos, and not Zeus, was the ravisher (Athen. 13.601ff.). At the banquet of Tantalos, Pindar says that Poseidon snatched Pelops away to be his lover -- τὸν εὐνομώτατον ἐξ ἔρανον (*Ol.* 1.37). David Sansone draws parallels with Pelops and Iphigenia, both being snatched away by divinities (Sansone, 1975, p. 290). The elements in initiation of abduction and homosexuality and/or heterosexuality are recurring themes.

³²⁹ In choruses of young women, there is usually one adolescent who distinguishes herself from her companions (Calame, 1997, p. 42). She is given the attribute of “beautiful” and is put in a place of honor in the middle of the others. Nausicaa stands out from the girls around her by her beauty, like Artemis among her chorus of Nymphs (Homer *Od.* 6.99ff.).

5.2 Dead virgins

Sometimes the intended rape victim is transformed into non-human form as when Proitos tried to rape his daughter Nyktaia, who subsequently turned into an owl (Ovid. *Met.* 6.111). In other cases the death of a virgin is symbolic through a metamorphosis into natural objects; for example, as Daphne is being transformed into a laurel tree to escape from Apollo, Syrinx into a reed to escape from Pan, Arethusa into a spring to escape from Alpheus, and Pine into a pine tree to escape from Boreas (*Geoponica* 11.10). Sometimes the change is described as a punishment by a patriarchalized goddess; for example, Athena turning Medusa into a snake-haired Gorgon and Hera or Artemis turning Callisto into a bear. Clearly these transformations to and from animals and other natural objects are origin myths to explain various divinities in non-human form but may also be a remnant of totem animals in early tribal clan society.

Stories of the transformation of “dead” virgins are common. In many cases they are transformed and reborn -- in the case of Daphne as a tree, Callisto as a bear and, later, as a constellation, and Philomela as a swallow. Other virgins are reincarnated into “human” or at least ghost form. Gello is one of them. Sappho refers to her as “fond of children” (frag. 178). Johnston sees Gello as a dead virgin who kills babies and pregnant women (Johnston, 1999, p. 22). Aristophanes refers to two other ghost virgins, Lamia and Mormo, who attack babies and pregnant women (*Eq.* 693; V. 1035 (=Pax 758), 1177; Pl. *Phaed.* 77e; Xenophon. *Hell.* 4.4.17). Fifth-century comedy writer Crates portrays Lamia as having a staff, skutale, that is a penis (Crates fr. 20, *schol. Ar. Eccl.* 77); Aristophanes says testicles (Ar. *Vesp.* 1177; Ar. *Vesp.* 1035; Pax 758. *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877). Many of these dead virgins such as Mormo, Gello, Karko, Sybaris, Empousa, and Onoskelia/Onoskelis attack men, suck their blood and eat their entrails (Nilsson, 1971 [1940], p. 91). The (white) Roman goddess Cardea was identified with Alphito who destroyed children after disguising herself in bird or beast form, but also with Cranaea “the harsh or stony one,” an epithet of Artemis, whose hostility to children had to be appeased (Graves, 1948, p. 63).

The antithesis of virginity and motherhood as “evil” versus “good,” barbaric and abnormal, versus civilized and conventional is reflected in the “killer virgins.” If the Scythian “oiorpata” and the Greek and Latin words for virgin indeed mean “man-killer” (see the section 1.14 “the Amazons” in chapter 1), these “extreme” and “mannish”

virgins fit well. The Amazons were not exactly mothers-of-the-year to their sons, whom those who produced children either killed, according to most accounts, or gave to the fathers to raise.

No one has suffered death in as many ways as Ariadne, whose name, according to Nilsson in reference to Hesychius, means “very holy Cretan (maid)” (Nilsson, 1971, p. 527). Ariadne was likely a Minoan goddess originally (Nilsson, 1971, p. 523), possibly the Mistress of the Labyrinth mentioned in a Linear B tablet at Knossos or the Snake Goddess of Crete (Powell, 1998, p. 368).³³⁰ On “the shield of Achilles” in the *Iliad*, Daedalus made a dancing place for Ariadne on Crete (18.590). In one myth, Artemis kills Ariadne on the island of Dia at the instigation of Dionysus (Hom. *Od.* 11.321). Nilsson believes that this latter myth has to be explained as the nature god Dionysus encountering, on the islands of the Aegean, the old nature goddess Ariadne, who had to succumb to the male god (Nilsson, 1971, p. 525). In another myth, Ariadne hangs herself, like Erigone and the hanging Artemis (see below), when she is abandoned by Theseus or she dies in childbirth; or she dies on Naxos where her tomb turns out to be that of her nurse; or she was buried in the temple of the Cretan Dionysus at Argos (Plut. *Thes.* 20.1).

³³¹ Nilsson sees these tales as grounded in a vegetation cult in which the vegetation goddess died and was reborn annually.

Diogenes the Cynic, while strolling among the olive groves, saw several hanged maidens swinging from the branches of the trees, at the sight of which, he exclaimed: “If only all trees bore such fruit” (Diog. Laert. 6.52). There is a hanged virgin also in the legend of the death of Hesiod at Oinoe; the corpse was brought ashore by dolphins while the inhabitants were celebrating a festival for Ariadne. Hesiod’s murderers fled to Crete and the virgin, whom Hesiod was supposedly falsely accused of having raped, hanged herself (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 323, derived from Alcidamas and Eratosthenes).³³² Helen in one myth was hanged from a tree by Polyxo, wife of Tlepolemos, after Menelaus’ death. Helen, perhaps originally also a nature goddess, has the epithet of dendrites, tree goddess.

³³⁰ Powell, Barry B. *Classical Myth*. 2nd ed. with new translations of ancient texts by Herbert M. Howe. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1998.

³³¹ Plutarch tells an interesting story. When Theseus had abandoned Ariadne and she had died in childbirth, he returned and enjoined the locals to make a sacrifice to her on the second day of the month Gorpiaeus at which event a young man lay down and imitated the cries and gestures of women in travail (Plut. *Thes.* 20.4).

³³² *Loeb Classical Library* (Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Ed.), 1977, uses Gotha Goettling’s pagination [3rd ed.]. Leipzig, 1978).

The nymph Amalthea (“tender goddess”), who is sometimes identified with a goat, hanged herself as well (Hyg. *Fab.* 139). In Caryae a feast was celebrated in Artemis’ honor at which dancing choruses of Spartan virgins took part (Paus. 3.10.7). Dionysus fell in love with a priestess to Artemis Carya who was transformed into a nut tree (Verg. *Ecl.* 8.30). While dancing, the virgins who made up the chorus had been threatened with rape. To escape they hanged themselves from a nut tree. Plutarch described a feast celebrated in Delphi called Charilia (*Quaest. Graec.* 12.293e). Charilia was a poor young orphan who had petitioned the king for food. The king kicked the little girl who subsequently hanged herself. Hardships befell the city and the oracle, who was consulted, declared that Charilia’s death must be expiated. A feast was celebrated at which a “king” kicked a doll representing Charilia. The doll was carried in a procession and was buried in the earth with a noose around its neck.

In Thessaly, at Melitaea, a tyrant by the name of Tartaros sent his soldiers to capture virgins and bring them back to the palace where he would rape them. One virgin, Aspalis, managed to escape the outrage by hanging herself before the arrival of the soldiers. To avenge her death, her brother, Astigite, dressed as a woman, was brought before the tyrant whom he killed. Astigite was made king and the villagers searched for the body of the virgin. It had disappeared and in its place was a new body. This event was celebrated every year in Melitaea with a ritual in which the virgins of the village killed a goat and hanged it (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 13).

In Athens a feast called Chytroi was celebrated every year (Athen. 4.3.26).³³³ At this festival, virgins sat on swings. The “aetion” was that after Orestes had killed Clytaemestra and Aegisthus, their daughter Erigone tried to avenge her parents’ murder, but when Orestes was acquitted, she hanged herself. Athenian virgins in imitation of Erigone killed themselves en masse, thus endangering the future of the city which was left almost entirely without marriageable women. Erigone’s suicide could also be interpreted as a hopeless protest against the transformation to a patriarchal order as the Erinyes were transformed into the Eumenides, and the matrilinear queen Clytaemestra, through whose marriage Aegisthus was made king, was killed. The oracle declared that swings had to be built so that girls could rock on them (Hyg. *Fab.* 130). The Aiora, or swinging festival, in Attica had youths leaping on skin sacks filled with wine and young women sitting on swings. This has traditionally been interpreted as a fertility festival

³³³ Kaibel, G. *Athenaei Naucratis deipnosophistarum libri xv*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1-2:1887; 3:1890 (repr. Stuttgart, 1-2:1965; 3:1966).

(Nilsson, 1971 [1940], p. 33). Cantarella sees the stories of hanging virgins as rites of initiation or rites of passage (Cantarella, 1985, p. 95). Cantarella, like Nilsson, also speculates that swinging was an element in fertility rites (1985, p. 98). Homer writes about sacrifices being performed by a spring beneath a plane tree and that votive gifts were suspended from the branches of the trees in the grove (Nilsson, 1971 [1940], p. 81).³³⁴

The many hanging virgins may have some basis in fact. Hippocrates offered one explanation when he claimed that many “diseased virgins,” that is virgins who did not want to marry, hanged themselves (*Corp. Hipp.* VIII. 464-471). This “mental affliction,” however, would disappear upon marriage, according to Hippocrates. The death or the urge that causes young women to hang themselves could also be interpreted as a metaphor for the transformation and grief generated by the loss of virginity, autonomy, and self-determination.

The most famous dead virgin is Artemis herself who is worshipped as “she who strangles herself,” Arangchomene (Ἀραγκομένη), at Condylea in Arcadia (Paus. 8.23.7). According to the story, some children put a noose around a statue of Artemis, and the locals killed the children as punishment, but Artemis, who, in her role as midwife protects children, got angry and, in turn, punished the population with still-births (Paus. 8.23. 6-7).

5.3 Three Greek virgins metamorphosed into animal form: Daphne, Callisto, and Philomela

In the *Metamorphoses*, the narratives of Daphne, Callisto, and Philomela share many elements such as rape or attempted rape of virgins by powerful men, attempts at deception by the rapists, fragmentation and destruction of women’s physical, psychological, and spiritual “formae” in addition to a literary and actual silencing of the female victims.

In the story of Apollo and Daphne there are a number of motifs that occur later in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (**fig. 33**). Daphne is virginal, unbridled, uncontrolled, free from

³³⁴ Among the Ojibwa, the placenta is hung from trees (Hilger, 1951, p. 18).

male possession and control – a huntress nymph of Diana.³³⁵ She is the kind of woman the “amator” loves to try to capture, to win. Apollo takes up the challenge, chases Daphne through her forest, and attempts to gain her trust through deception and lies. He assures her that he is no brute, no hunter, “a lover not a fighter” who expresses concern that she not fall among the brambles. If she slows down, he will also. He adds to his trickery attempts at impressing by boasting of his exploits, even describes himself as the world’s help-giver – “opifer per orbem” (1.521). When neither his deception nor his boasting convinces, he reveals his true character. He now becomes the hunter and she the hunted -- he the lupus, she the agna; he the leo, she the cerva; he the aquila, she the columba (1.505-506).

All throughout we are invited to share with the narrator the voyeuristic gaze of Apollo; for example, when he muses about what she might look like naked – “nudos media plus parte lacertos; si qua latent, meliora putat” (1.501-502)³³⁶ -- and controlled -- the “compta puella” – “spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos et quid, si comantur?” (1.497-498).

In the end, she asks that her figura be destroyed rather than be captured by Apollo. The deconstructed woman loses her human form and becomes a tree. As an inanimate object she can finally be possessed – “quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse, arbor eris certe...mea!” (1.557-558). Even now Daphne, in the shape of a tree, tries to escape – “refugit tamen oscula lignum” (1.556) -- but in vain. Daphne is enclosed in bark.³³⁷ Callisto’s story has the familiar elements of a virgin in the woods, no interest in men, a virginal warrior nymph of Diana.³³⁸ She was an Amazon goddess – “miles erat Phoebes” (2.415). The rapist this time is Jupiter, in the shape of Diana. Callisto, too, has no need to spin or arrange her hair – “non erat huius opus lanam mollire trahendo nec positu uariare

³³⁵ Daphne in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* arises out of the Earth’s parthenogenic birth of the “monster” snake Pytho (1.438-450). Like Diana she is given the joy of virginity -- Da mihi perpetua uirginitate frui! Hoc pater ante Dianae. Daphne’s request of her father for eternal virginity (1.486-87) resembles Artemis’s desire for perpetual virginity (Call. *Hymn* 3.6).

³³⁶ Pausanias describes the Heraia as women running “with hair flying, the chiton caught up a little above the knee, and the right shoulder bare to the breast” (Paus. 5.16.2-3).

³³⁷ Note the double entendre; liber means also book and Daphne’s hair changes to foliage “fons” which can also refer to the outside of a book roll. In the Turkish village of Daphne, Thecla is “killed” when trying to avoid rapists pursuing her (see the appendix). A cave opens up and only a piece of her garment remains just as in Ovid’s tale of Daphne of whom only a light remains – “remanet nitor unus in illa” (*Met.* 1. 552) -- as she becomes enclosed in the laurel tree’s bark. Pierre Bersuire, writing in the fourteenth century, casts Daphne as the reluctant synagogue obstinantly resisting the opportunity to convert to Christianity while the would-be rapist Apollo is figured as Christ and in *Ovide moralisé* Daphne is contrasted with Virgin Mary (Brown, 2005, p. 52).

³³⁸ Virginity is “ἀστεργάνορα (παρθενίαν)” which the *LSJ* translates as “without love of man, unwedded, intolerable, repellent, unyielding” (Aesch. *PV* 898).

comas” (2.411-412). A woman’s hair signals her freedom and independence as virgin.³³⁹ Jupiter moves in when catching Callisto off-guard – “Iuppiter ut uidit fessam et custode uacantem” (2.422). Like Apollo, he uses deception by assuming the guise of Diana, and senses the irony of Callisto calling him (i.e., Diana) “greater than Jupiter” (“maius Ioue”), finding it amusing to be prized more highly than himself.

Next he kisses her on the lips, and not modestly, we learn -- oscula iungit, nec moderata satis nec sic a uirgine danda (2.430-431) -- Callisto is not yet resisting, since she believes the amator to be Diana.³⁴⁰ Callisto finally realizes that the amator is not Diana when he proceeds to rape her. Like many rape victims, Callisto blames herself. When she comes upon Diana and her female companions, she attempts to hide her shame – “difficile est crimen non prodere uultu” (2.446). Diana and her companions take off their clothes to bathe in a brook, only Callisto lingers so as not to reveal the blood stemming from her broken body. When refusal becomes intolerable, her shame becomes apparent – “qua posita nudo patuit cum corpore crimen” (2.462). Diana, in jealousy and anger, tells her to leave and not pollute the sacred spring – “i procul hinc...nec sacros pollue fontes!” (2.464). Callisto’s figura and speech are subsequently taken away from her by Juno, who turns her into a bear,³⁴¹ so that Callisto, ironically, once a huntress, is a hunted animal fearing the hunters – “uenatrixque metu uenantum territa fugit!” (2.492).³⁴²

The tale of Philomela has some features not in common with the two we have examined so far.³⁴³ The rapist is not a god, but a powerful mortal, the Thracian king

³³⁹ Cf. “...διὰ τὸν τῶν τριχῶν ἀρχμὸν (John Chrysostom, *De uirginitate* 7.11. PG 48, 537 Z). A law of 390 (*CTh.* 16.2.27.1) regulating the conduct of virgins, declares that those who have cut their hair short may not enter churches...” See also the section “Hair” in chapter 2).

³⁴⁰ W. R. Johnson calls the kiss “an exciting lesbian moment for the masculine gaze” (Johnson, 1996, p. 11). For additional discussion of this kiss and attitudes towards female homosexuality in ancient Greece, see Boehringer, Sandra, 2009, pp. 33-50.

³⁴¹ W. R. Johnson sees Juno’s frequent acts of cruelty towards the young women Jupiter defiles as a depiction of the patriarchal woman acting as guardian of the status quo and, out of powerlessness, turning her rage not at the guilty husband/man but, instead, at the more powerless female victim (1996, p. 17). The blood (menstruation) and subsequent transformation into a bear is reminiscent of the Arkteia festival at Brauron.

³⁴² Already Apollodorus explained that Zeus tricked Callisto by taking on the likeness of Artemis (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2) and Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.1) quoted Amphis, a comedy writer from the 4th century BCE, who asserted that Zeus took the form of Artemis to seduce Callisto. When later questioned by Artemis, Callisto blames Artemis for making her pregnant. Either Zeus or Hera changed Callisto into a bear and asked Artemis to kill it (Paus. 8.3.6). Hesiod refers to Callisto as “having been discovered to be pregnant” (Hesiod. *Astron.* Frag 3 from Pseudo-Eratosthenes *Catasterismi* fr. 1.2). In Arcadia there was a grave of Callisto with a temple of Artemis Calliste on top – another example of a divine merger (Paus. 8.35.8).

³⁴³ Beyond the stylistic considerations and Ovid’s possible intent, the myths were well-known before Ovid. Nilsson sees the story of Procne and Philomela as an aetiological tale observing that Procne is called

Tereus. Philomela is not turned into an animal or inanimate object immediately following or preceding the rape. Although she is a typical Artemisian virgin (see chapter 1), Artemis herself is absent from the story, and the tale has unusually gruesome elements to it, such as actual mutilation following the rape. There are two female victims instead of one, and since the perpetrator is human, his victims succeed in avenging his crime, and there are references to incest, necrophilia, and amputee assault (6.481-482, 540-541, 561-562). There is more explicit war imagery -- uicimus (6.513), praemia (6.518), barbarus (6.515).

The similarities, however, are apparent; rape of a virgin by a powerful man, the masculine gaze, animal hunt imagery (canis-agna 6.456; 6.527), deception, capture, isolation, and mutation of the victims. Tereus is the husband of Procne who in turn has a virgin sister in Athens, Philomela, whom she longs to see. Tereus agrees to fetch her. When he sees the beautiful virgin -- diuitior forma -- he is immediately inflamed with "passion" -- "non secus exarsit conspecta uirgine Tereus" (6.455). Tereus, like Apollo, fantasizes about the body hidden underneath the clothes -- "fingit quae nondum uidit" (6.492). Also like Apollo and Jupiter, he practices deception to get what he wants. He pleads the case of Procne by imitating her -- "agit sua uota sub illa" (6.468) -- and adds fake tears to his entreaties. Philomela's virginity and aloneness are emphasized -- "[...] et uirginem et unam" (6.524). Philomela leaves with Tereus who takes her to a hut in the forest where he repeatedly rapes her. After regaining her senses following the rape -- "mox ubi mens rediit" (6.531) -- she, in an eloquent speech, threatens to tell all. Tereus approaches her with a sword. She offers her throat in the hopes that he might kill her -- "iugulum Philomela parabat spemque suae mortis uiso conceperat ense" (6.553-554).³⁴⁴

Aedon, nightingale and Philomela is called Chelidon, swallow, and Tereus Polytechnos, carpenter i.e., woodpecker (Ant. Lib 11). The swallow titters unintelligibly because her tongue has been cut out. The nightingale is continuously crying "Itys," "Itys." The woodpecker, the carpenter of the animal world, hammers persistently (Nilsson, 1949, p. 68). Other versions tell of Procne who jealously watches her sister's growing number of children and decides to kill one of them, but accidentally kills her own son Itys (Nilsson, 1949, p. 68). Robert Graves thinks that the tale was invented by the Phocian Greeks to explain a set of Thraco-Pelasgian religious pictures in a temple at Daulis (Graves, 1948, pp. 382-383 n. 1).

³⁴⁴Like a sacrificial animal and not unlike the virgin Iphigenia in Euripides's play *Iphigenia at Aulis*, but also Ovid's own version in Book 12 of *the Metamorphoses*. Charles Segal sees Ovid's Iphigenia as the author "self-consciously crossing the generic boundaries between epic and tragedy" (Segal, 2003, p. 531). Virgin sacrifice and self-sacrifice (usually to appease a deity) abound in Greek and Latin literature; for example, Polyxena's voluntary self-sacrifice in book 13 -- 'utere iam dudum generoso sanguine', dixit, '...nulla mora est. At tu iugulo uel pectore telum conde meo' (13.457-459). In reference to the Arkteia festival at Brauron, Henri Jeanmaire believes that the young female Athenians who play the she-bear are virgins whose consecration to Artemis was "understood as expiation for the murder of the sacred animal (comme une expiation du meurtre de l'animal sacré)" (Jeanmaire, 1939, p. 259). The willingness of a virgin to sacrifice herself [to God] continues in a figurative sense in the writings of the Apologists and Apostolic Fathers (e.g., St. Anthony (see *Letters*

However, Tereus' intent is instead to silence her by cutting off her tongue. As Elissa Marder observes, the act of speaking rape is now replaced by the act of "raping" speech (Marder, 1992, p. 158).

Philomela, in a language that has no tongue, spins and weaves her fate into a tapestry. Whereupon reading her tale, Procne frees her sister from her prison. Procne, too, becomes mute when she learns of her sister's fate – "dolor ora repressit" (6.583). The relationship between violation and access to speech is evident. Only after Philomela is raped and mutilated does she attempt to write (Marder, 1992, p. 157). Woman as literary materia is here used to its full extension, the dominant male tradition and the "muted" female tradition, the written bodies of women (real, biological entities) and the written bodies of woman (cultural constructs). The literary connotations are apparent in the terminology: "compta puella" to refer to poetic composition, a constructed style of writing; "forma" and "figura," existing and changed/lost/destroyed, as referring to the female body, beauty, face, character, manner, but also to a mold, literary form and "figure of speech"; the uerba imperfecta of Apollo (1.526); the silencing of the language of women, both as objects of the narrative and inside the narrative as a result of mutilation or transformation into animals or plants. Certainly, there can be no doubt that when the amator fantasizes about what the clothing hides, the chase and the virginal/lesbian aspects that that would have acted as titillation for its chiefly male audience, and probably for Ovid himself.³⁴⁵

On the other hand, this Ovid is not a contemporary pornographer depicting rape victims as willing participants in their own assault. Daphne, Callisto, Philomela (and Procne) fight with all their senses. Apollo, Jupiter, and Tereus are portrayed as cowardly, deceitful, and brutal. The sympathy is with the women, not with the perpetrators. This is not to say that Ovid was a "feminist" critic of rigid gender roles or that the texts are a

of St. Anthony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint. Samuel Rubenson (Ed.). Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995. pp. 3, 5-7) and St. Methodius. *The Symposium: A Treatise on Chastity.* Herbert Musurillo Trans.). *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers* no. 27. Westminster, MD: Newman Press; London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1958, pp. 84-85, 88. The crucifixion of Jesus is frequently referred to as a [virgin] sacrifice by the Church Fathers. St. Methodius sees Christ as the Archvirgin (see Methodius, p. 19). Paul writes in one of his letters to the Corinthians that "Christ was offered as our paschal lamb (τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη)" (1 Cor. 5:7).

³⁴⁵ The Freudian theory of scopophilia may be worth exploring in this context -- women portrayed as image and spectacle -- both as a mirror for male desire and a source of arousal -- dismembered and fragmented by the author's and narrator's controlling gaze -- the male gaze projects his fantasy onto the female figure who is styled accordingly -- as the narrator/amator uses his materia. The possessive, controlling gaze is linked with a male/viewer, female/object "exchange."

critique of sexual violence either in itself or as paradigmatic of a corrupt social and political system.

The mythological characters of Daphne, Callisto, and Philomela are not “real women” -- poststructuralists might refer to them as allegories of representations of gendered subject positions.³⁴⁶ There is no direct correlation to the plight of particular raped “real women.” Having said that, though, the choice of the representations of rape, mutilation, fragmentation, and mutation of mostly women (fifty tales of rape in the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*) cannot be without significance or a cultural, subjective, representational, or historical context. Although I agree with Richard Rutherford’s observation that what mattered to Ovid himself was most likely skillful technique and ingenious modification of literary models rather than a desire to deliver a message, whether moral or metaphysical [or political] (Rutherford, 2005, p. 42), the ambiguities in tone and ideology are clearly intentional.

Teresa de Lauretis’ expansion and reversal of Foucault’s notion of a “rhetoric of violence,” i.e., a language that names violence, to a “violence of rhetoric,” i.e., the notion of a language which, itself, produces violence, seems particularly pertinent here (De Lauretis, 1987, pp. 32-33). For De Lauretis the representation of violence is inseparable from the notion of gender, even when the latter is “deconstructed” or indicted as “ideology.” In short, the sex-gender system is both a socio-cultural construct and a semiotic apparatus or to quote De Lauretis: “The construction of gender is both the product and the process of its representation” (De Lauretis, 1987, p. 5). The “deconstruction” and “construction” of gender and epic in the *Metamorphoses* involve deception of text and narrative, mutation of woman and language, fragmentation of epic and persona, rape of woman/virgin, nature and poetry, as well as transformation of gender and epic.

The religious or mythological context is Greek. As such many of the usual elements in maturation rituals of young people are represented – long hair, wildness, taming, animal and hunting metaphors, seclusion, silence, deception, mutilation or markings, and transformation. The Roman poet has either intentionally perverted these rituals into the usual “amator—puella” relationship of the typical Augustan poet or they may have been forgotten or misunderstood. Considering the closeness in time, especially the fact that the

³⁴⁶ This reminds me of Kristin Walter’s perceptive critique of postmodernist jargon: “In a postmodern world, theories become discourses, words become signifiers, both books and bodies become texts to be read, studied and dissected [*figura* and *forma*], criticisms become deconstructions; and people and groups become fragmented selves, reason becomes desire, and substance becomes style (Walter, 1996, p. 289).

Spartan educational system is said to have been revived at that time, and that the poet had access to sources now lost to us, the former interpretation seems likely. If so, the rituals of transition have been transformed by the master of metamorphoses in his own indominably erudite, literary, and playful, yet, one might add, deeply disturbing, Ovidian fashion.

Ovid's possible transformation of rituals of transition of adolescents gives evidence of the ease with which historical, cultural, religious, and political phenomena can be turned up-side down and become so conflated that they are practically indistinguishable. For this reason to use one interpretation to explain a phenomenon such as the rape of virgins does not work. At the base there is likely abduction and/or rape of a virgin or virgins, possibly to deflect their (religious) powers in early Greece; these abductions may later have been incorporated into the stories told or re-enacted at religious initiation or puberty rites, possibly as cautionary tales. The elements in rituals of transition – deception, abduction or snatching, torture, seclusion, silence, death and rebirth, transformation into a bear (as in the case of Callisto) or other animal -- subsequently found their way into the literary workings of a renowned Roman "court" poet. It offers a good illustration of how historical phenomena can be perverted to fit a literary text.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION, PUBERTY AND THE POWER OF THE VIRGIN

This concluding chapter attempts to place virginity and puberty into a larger context by drawing on ethnographic studies about the Native-American tribe Objive. There are startling similarities between the tribal societies of contemporary native peoples and the tribal societies of early Greece with regards to rituals and ceremonies, belief systems and legends. This should not come as a surprise to anyone willing to look beyond simple binary definitions and interpretations -- civilized versus tribal and primitive, the Greek democratic and civilized world versus the barbarian east and north, the Athens of Pericles and Aristotle versus the tyrannical and uncultured societies of Sparta and Crete or, even worse, those of Asia Minor or the Black Sea.

The truth is that with the exception of the upper echelons of the Greek archaic and classical worlds, the invisible masses, those who brought offerings to Artemis and the nymphs in trees, caves, small sanctuaries for help with cramps or childbirth or boys and girls taking the hugely important step to adulthood, the tribe, the village, is what mattered and the rituals and belief systems of their ancestors. “Historians consider the written word objective while devaluing physical evidence as only accessible to subjective interpretation. Behind their dismissal of the physical evidence from prehistory lies the Platonic notion that ideas expressed in the written word are more real than physical reality”(Pratt, 1994, p. 343). As has been noted in a recent examination of the Amazons, “while Soviet archaeologists were digging up bodies of women interred with weapons in the latter half of the twentieth century, western Classicists were busy applying structural theory to deny the Amazon legends,” as Walter Penrose so aptly put it (Penrose, 2006, p. 234).

6.1 The Ojibwa: Bears, prophets, athletes, choristers

Linguistic theories based on the premise that language is somehow more authentic than the material world are alien to Native Americans, who believe that the Earth has a language of its own. The native peoples named Ojibwe (plural Ojibweg), the anglicized

Ojibwa or Ojibway, Odjibwa, Otchipwe, Chippewa, and Anishinaabeg and who live in parts of Canada (Northern Ontario and Manitoba) and the United States (Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Michigan) do not have written histories (**figs. 34-37**). Their world and identities have traditionally turned on dreams and visions.³⁴⁷ Their leaders are dreamers and orators, speaking in visual metaphors. The poetic images are held in song and in the rhythms of visions and dreams in music. The Midéwiwin or the Grand Medicine Society believes that music and the knowledge and use of herbal medicine extend human life. The musical instruments used are chiefly the flute and drum or rattle. One tribal singer was ostracized from the Midéwiwin because he disclosed religious secrets and allowed sacred songs to be recorded by North American missionaries (Vizenor, 1984, p. 27).

The Ojibwa are divided into a number of animal clans (odoodeman, singular doodem). The five totem animals of these clans are Wawaazisii (Bullhead), Baswenaazhi ("Echo-maker," i.e., Crane), Aan'aawenh (Pintail Duck), Nooke ("Tender," i.e., Bear) and Moozwaanowe ("Little" Moose-tail). The Crane totem is the most vocal among the Ojibwa and the Bear the largest — so large, in fact, that it is sub-divided into body parts such as the head, the ribs, and the feet. The Ojibwa men and women take on the character of loons, bears, beavers, and many other animals, and speak the language of these animals (Vizenor, 1984, p. 46).

Deities reside in things of nature such as lakes, rivers, and hills (cf. the Greek nymphs), rocks of an uncommon shape or magnitude, plants, thunder, wind storms, and lightning (Hilger, 1951, p. 61). Shamans seek to balance the forces of the world through ecstatic experiences in music, herbs, dreams and visions, and ceremonial dances (Vizenor, 1984, p. 146). Their calendar follows the phases of the moon; a new month is counted by a new moon (Hilger, 1951, p. 102).³⁴⁸ Gestation covers a period of nine missed menses. In their language a gender distinction is not formally expressed; however, a grammatical distinction between inanimate and animate objects is essential.

Some of the history and culture of the Ojibwa have been documented as part of a project undertaken by the Bureau of American Ethnology, at least as much as was known

³⁴⁷ Perceptively, Spyridon Rangos summarizes the turn the interpretation of religion took with the emergence of the Enlightenment "...when Man was placed at the center of the enquiries of religious phenomena... Human agency was for the first time arising in people's consciousness as the sole factor that determines history... a view that led to the historicism of the nineteenth century... conceived as a holistic study of man's deeds and thoughts" (Rangos, 2000, p. 79).

³⁴⁸ The earliest Greek calendars were also lunar (i.e., based on cycles of the lunar phases). The Julian and Gregorian calendars were solar.

and preserved in the late 1800s and early part of the 1900s when much of the information was recorded. Mary Hilger explains that giving birth is something that traditionally has been aided by plants, herbs, and midwives among the Ojibwa (as among the ancient Greeks), rather than in hospital beds with the aid of male obstetricians. “Some full-bloods do not want men around, not even [male] doctors when giving birth,” she writes (Hilger, 1951, p. 12). They give birth in a kneeling position and walk and work in order to alleviate birth pangs (Hilger, 1951, p. 15).

Abduction was a common occurrence, similar to “rites of passage” abductions among the Cretans, Spartans, and other Greeks. Ruth Landes says that girls among the Ojibwa are often abducted by “strange men” during the summer months both in peace and in war (Landes, 1938, p. 30). The secrecy that had to be observed in Sparta with husbands having to sneak into their wives’ homes to procreate has a parallel phenomenon among the Ojibwa. Secret trysts among them occurred at night when parents were “asleep.” The bawdy banter between men and women so common in Sparta and elsewhere (for example, on the way to Eleusis and its Mysteries (*Hesych. s.v. γεφυρίς – γεφυρισται*) is found among the recorded phenomena of the Ojibwa as well (Hallowell, 1992, p. 55) as are the “orgies” often attested to at festivals devoted especially to Dionysus, but also to Artemis and Demeter (Landes, 1938, p. 49).³⁴⁹ As in ancient Greece, Ojibwa women composed love songs that were handed down through generations. Landes describes a woman who did the choreography for a chorus of sixty individuals (Landes, 1938, pp. 129-130).

Ojibwa women had many different occupations and not only the traditional women’s tasks such as sewing and bead work, but also fishing, hunting, building canoes, and those of warriors. Hanging Cloud (Ojibwa name Ah-shah-way-gee-she-go-qua [Aazhawigiizhigokwe in the contemporary spelling] meaning “Goes across the Sky Woman”) was a female warrior (ogichidaakwe in Ojibwa).³⁵⁰ Moreover, there are female seers, shamans, and medicine women. They participate in the same athletic competitions (see n. 272). One woman won foot, endurance, and obstacle races for more than twelve years in a row (Landes, 1938, p. 8).

³⁴⁹ Vergil describes a celebration to Dionysus on Mount Taygetus as conducted by Laeonian virgins (*Georgics* 2.487-488). Also other Dionysian rites were performed by virgins (Paus. 3.13.7).

³⁵⁰ There are brief online dictionaries of the Ojibwa language: *Freelang Ojibwe-English and English-Ojibwe Online Dictionary* at: <http://www.freelang.net/online/ojibwe.php> and *the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary* at: <http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/>.

Keewaydinoquay, an Ojibwa woman, was a scholar, ethnobotanist, herbalist, medicine woman, teacher, and author. She was born in Michigan around 1919 and later became an Ojibwa Elder of the Crane Clan. When she was nine months old, her parents placed her on a blanket and went blueberry picking. When they returned, the baby was standing with bears eating berries whereupon she received her childhood name, “Walking Away with Bears” and the blueberry bushes were laughing and kissing the baby on her lips. The baby laughed and kissed them right back. After puberty and the mandatory “vision quest,” she received her adult name, “Woman of the Northwest Wind.” There are several elements of coming-of-age rituals in the story of her childhood and adolescence -- the blood and kiss of blueberries, being a bear (“walking away with bears”), and a new, adult name and identity when reaching puberty.

According to Landes, some Ojibwa women who live alone and do “men’s” work become hermaphrodites (Landes, 1938, p. 20). However, unlike the Plains Indian “invert” (for example, Dakota Sioux) or berdache, the ‘unconventional woman’ [my quotes] among the Ojibwa who follow men’s occupations is not recognized as having deserted the status proper to her sex” (Landes, 1938, p. 20). The berdaches among other Native American groups such as the Pawnees, Lakota, and Cheyennes were considered a third gender (Wishart, 2007, pp. 36-38). The women were hunters and warriors and sometimes took wives, and the men did quilling and beading and kept husbands. They were often believed to have special powers of shamanism and healing and to be called to their state in a dream or vision. Among the Ojibwa these men and women of a “third gender” were referred to as “Two-Spirits” (Landes, 1938, pp. 153, 176, 178-179).

So called Two-Spirit women among the Ojibwa take on “men’s” roles, classified as "Iron Woman" and "Half Sky." “Two spirit” men practiced Shamanism. A “woman covered all over” assumes the role of her dead husband. Ozaawindib ("Yellow Head" in English, recorded variously as Oza Windib, O-zaw-wen-dib, O-zaw-wan-dib, and Ozawondib) was an Ojibwa warrior who lived in the early 19th century. She is described as an “egwakwe,” "agokwa" in literature, literally meaning "genitaled-woman"—what a modern Ojibwa would describe as a “niizh manidoowag” (“two-spirit”).

Ojibwa religious life was a world filled with spirits which inhabited birds, animals, rocks, and cosmic phenomena including the sun, moon, the four winds, thunder, lightning, and thunderbirds. On an individual basis, one of the most important spirits was an individual's guardian spirit which was acquired via a dream or vision and could be called on for protection and guidance. Oral traditions described the world of spirits and

provided appropriate models of correct behavior with regard to them. The spiritual leaders were respected and feared for their supernatural powers, which could be used for good or evil. Such powers were gained through the so called vision quest but were not to be used until an individual reached middle age. In fact, from the ages of four or five, children of both sexes were encouraged to go on a “vision quest,” that is to dream (Hallowell, 1992, p. 87).³⁵¹ This ability is helped by the children fasting, but they have to be sexually “pure” or the fast is useless. They are divided into age groups. Children of four or five fast for one day at a time, children between the ages of six and eight years fast for one to four days, and those between ten and twelve fast for four to ten days. Boys traditionally fast and sleep in trees, on platforms or in “nests.” The boy, when returning from his fasting, is usually met by his father. He avoids meeting a woman first since this might paralyze him.³⁵²

6.2 Menarche and the ability to generate life

Ancient authors like Plutarch described the effect of the moon on women’s reproductive health and the connection to Artemis:

Nurses are exceedingly careful to avoid exposing young children to the moon, for, being full of moisture like green wood, they are thrown into spasms and convulsions. And we see that those who have gone to sleep in the light of the moon are hardly able to rise again, like those with senses stunned or doped, for the moisture poured through them by the moon makes their bodies heavy. The moon is also said to assist in easing child birth, when it occurs at full moon, by making the pains gentler by releasing moisture. For this reason, I take it, Artemis, who is none other than the moon, is called Locheia and Eileithyia (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 3.10 658e-659a).³⁵³

³⁵¹ A fourth-century inscription from the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus reports that a Spartan mother came to find a cure for her daughter’s dropsy. She saw a vision while sleeping at the sanctuary, and when she returned home she found that her daughter had seen the same vision and that she had been cured (*IG iv* 2.121-122).

³⁵² Freud writes that “the first coitus with a woman is taboo, but also sexual intercourse with a woman in general; one might almost say that women are altogether taboo... It is true that, on particular occasions, primitive man’s sexuality will override all inhibitions; but for the most part it seems to be more strongly held in check by prohibitions than it is at higher levels of civilizations” (Freud, 1918, p. 198).

³⁵³ διὸ τὰ μὲν νήπια παντάπασιν αἱ τίτθαι δεικνύναι πρὸς τὴν σελήνην φυλάττονται· πλήρη γὰρ ὑγρότητος ὄντα, καθάπερ τὰ χλωρὰ τῶν ξύλων, σπᾶται καὶ διαστρέφεται. τοὺς δὲ κατακοιμηθέντας ἐν ἀγῆ σελήνης

Puberty for girls means primarily menarche, which enables them to become future mothers. Although in our modern Western world, it is viewed as a “necessary evil” and virginity serves mostly to either glorify or vilify a woman, ancient peoples and modern American native peoples have displayed a profoundly different attitude towards women, virginity, female puberty, and nature. Menstruation, according to this view, is less a nuisance to women than a danger to others. Menstruation taboos seem to relate more to power in antiquity, than to sin or filth as in the Judaeo-Christian belief system.³⁵⁴ The water of life, menstrual or postpartum blood, was held sacred.³⁵⁵

It was believed that women’s menstruating power could cause men to die on the eve of combat (Allen, 1992, p. 253). As already noted in the introduction, according to Roman agricultural writings, menstrual blood sours wine, blights trees and crops, blunts knives, kills bees, rusts metals and maddens dogs (Columella, *De re rustica* 11.3.50; *Geoponica* 12.20.5, 25.2). Aristotle who claimed that a menstruating woman dims the mirror before

μόλις ἔξανισταμένους οἶον ἐμπλήκτους ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι καὶ ναρκώδεις. ὀρώμεν· ἢ γὰρ ὑγρότης ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης διαχεομένη βαρύνει τὰ σώματα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς εὐτοκίαν συνερβαρύνει τὰ σώματα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς εὐτοκίαν συνεργεῖν, ὅταν ἦ διχόμητος, ἀνέσει τῶν ὑγρῶν μαλακωτέρας παρέχουσα τὰς ὠδίνας. ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Λοχείαν καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν, οὐκ οὐσαν ἑτέραν ἢ τὴν σελήνην, ὀνομάσθαι.

³⁵⁴ Annis Pratt relates a story about a group of Wisconsin activists supporting Ojibwa treaty rights that got angry at the beginning of a round dance one year when menstruating women were reminded to stand outside the circle, not realizing that the reason for the request was the power these women exerted, which may have affected the circle to go off kilter (Pratt, 1994, p. 327). With regard to women and women’s sexuality as taboo, Freud concluded that because of primitive taboos women lived with women, men with men; and that family life in our sense seems scarcely to exist among many primitive tribes (Freud, 1917, p. 198). “...this separation goes so far that the women develop a language with a special vocabulary.” He further argued that at first intercourse is a disappointment to women. “It usually requires quite a long time and frequent repetition of the sexual act before she begins to find satisfaction in it” (Freud, 1917, p. 201). Antiphanes and others speak of fear rather than disappointment -- ζυνὸν παρθενιαῖσι φόβον. Petalê died a virgin out of fear of the wedding night (Antiphan. 3 Gow and Page). Soranus states that: “Women usually are married for the sake of children and succession and not for mere enjoyment...” (*Gyn.* 1.9.34).

³⁵⁵ As already mentioned, the red pomegranate seed, κόκκων, also referred to the pudenda (*Hesych. s.v.*) – Kokkinos that is red, the color of life (menstruation) and κόκκος that is grain, seed, kermesberry used to dye scarlet (Paus. 10.36.1) were connected with menstruation (ἔμμηνα, τά, *the menses* of women, Dsc. 3.36, sg., Sor. 1.19). Κοκκῶκα was an epithet of Artemis at Elis (ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὐθις διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν, εἰσὶν ὅπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου Κλαδέου τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοί, ὁ δὲ μετ’ αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κοκκῶκας, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος... ἀνθ’ ὅτου δὲ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπονομάζουσι Κοκκῶκαν [Paus. 5.15.7]). As we saw earlier, the word for piglet, choiros, was also used for the “pudenda muliebria” (Varr. *RR* 2.4.10) and piglets and models of genitals were sacrificed at the Thesmophoria. A Sicilian folk tale tells the story of how Hera gave to Zeus a girl named Angelos (Artemis) whom Zeus gave to the nymphs to rear. Artemis stole the myrrh Hera used to rouge her face. With Hera in pursuit Artemis went to a woman who had just given birth and then to men carrying a corpse (Plin. *NH* 7.64). The kabeiroi took her to the river Acheron to purify her. All over Greece there are rivers and streams named “parthenia” and “parthenios” where girls used to purify themselves before religious festivals. Belief in girls being pregnated by water is common in European folk tales – “Skamandros take my virginity!” (Ps.-Aesch. *Ep.* 10.3). In Swedish folklore, young women are impregnated by the Nude One, a Pan-like figure who lives in the river and plays the fiddle to entice women who often end up drowning themselves in the same river. Rivers as divine and springs as dangerous appear in several Greek so called sacred laws (*LSCJ* 152; Pl. *Nom.* 845d-e).

which she stands (Arist. *Div. Somn.* 459b24—460a23) also assumed that blood had to be mixed with milk as nourishment for the growth of embryos and for the newborn (Arist. *Hist. An.* 583a, 729a, 737a, 739b). Ancient and medieval thought believed the embryo to be formed from the blood retained in the uterus after the stoppage of menstruation (Arist. *GA* 2.4; *PA* 2.6.1; Plin. *NH* 7.66). The Ojibwa also surmised, as Aristotle did, that babies grow from their mothers' blood (Hilger, 1951, p. 5). This is the blood of life. It was related to the birth of a new life, and the hope for a continuation of an old life after death. The common way to place people in graves was to mark them with blood or the color of blood (red ochre), often in fetal position to prepare for rebirth.

As a powerful taboo, blood forbids contact but also imparts vital energy.³⁵⁶ Pliny remarked that menstruating women should walk through a field bare-foot with loose hair and skirts pulled up to their hips to stimulate plant growth (Pliny. *NH* 28.78). Democritus, according to Columella, recommended that women should run around the crops three times with bare feet and flowing hair (cf. the wild and independent virgin with long, flowing hair, see chapter 2) (Columella. *Rust.* 11.3.64).

It could work for life, as for death. The sacred and dangerous power of woman is also evident in the view of menstruation among Native Americans. The Ojibwa believed that a young boy or girl could be crippled for life if they come too near a wigwam where a girl is secluded during her first menstruation and that if a menstruating girl touches a tree it will die, and if she touches a pot of soup, it will turn to water (Jenness, 1935, p. 97). If a girl at puberty touches plants, they wither (Hilger, 1951, p. 52). If she goes into lakes or rivers, she is likely to kill the fish. In fact, during the entire year following first menses, she is not to look at anyone, to touch babies, or the clothes of her father, or brothers, or of any man for it would cripple them. Among the Ojibwa girls after their first menstruation and boys after their voices begin to change are no longer eligible for fasting. They are considered "impure" after that (Hilger, 1951, p. 43).

Sacred often means taboo, i.e., what is empowered in a ritual sense is not to be touched or approached by those who are weaker than the power itself lest they suffer negative consequences from contact. The term sacred which is connected with power is similar in meaning to sacrifice, which means "to make sacred." What is made sacred is empowered.

³⁵⁶ Robert Parker expresses surprise at the virtual lack of menstrual taboos in Ancient Greece. It appears only in proscriptions about entering a temple and then only in late sacred laws of non-Greek cults (*LSS* 54.7-8; *LSCG* 55.5). Parker concludes without offering any explanation or illustration that "a connection of some kind between menstruation and women's status as an inferior, threatening or mistrusted being is widespread" (Parker, 1983, p. 100).

Blood was used in sacrifice because it possessed the power to make something else powerful or conversely to weaken or kill it (Allen, 2001, p. 353).

The taboo on the one hand is inviolable, holy; on the other hand, it is polluted and unclean. A more accurate characterization than our modern simplistic notion of good versus evil is a need to cleanse the body and return to a pure and innocent state before communicating with the gods. Among many Indian tribes, important ceremonies cannot be held without women present (Allen, 1992, p. 47). Sometimes they must be virgins so that the power they channel is unalloyed, unweakened by sexuality, which is similar to the explanation given in antiquity for why oracles had to be virgins (Diod. Sic. 16.26.2-6).³⁵⁷

Menarche among the Ojibwa usually begins between the ages of twelve and fifteen. A girl during her first period is isolated in a wigwam, which she or her mother has built of saplings, branches and twigs of birch bark. The floor is covered with cedar boughs.³⁵⁸ A girl living in her menstrual wigwam is called *bākānē'gá* (living by herself); the period of isolation is called *mákwá'* or *mákwá'wē* (turning into a bear; the bear lives alone all winter, Hilger, 1951, p. 50). Upon the girl's homecoming from her period of isolation there is a feast for her, organized by her mother and elderly women in the community.

Seclusion, fasting, turning into a bear or fawn, etc., most likely signal coming of age, preparation for puberty (menarche) and the subsequent ability to give life, and are at the center of many celebrations devoted to Artemis, such as the festivals at Brauron, Mounychia, Larissa, etc. The bear, in addition to being a creatrix and exemplary mother, goes through a series of symbolic deaths and rebirths (winter sleep and spring rise), just like the "arktoi" for Artemis were being prepared for a symbolic death and the transition from girl to woman and child to mother, and the ability to give life after the onset of menstruation. Edith Specht speculates that there were holy days set aside for menarche among the women of ancient Greece (Specht, 1989, p. 79). Indeed, as I contend, there were rituals and entire festivals dedicated to it.

The significance of menarche, the cycles of the moon and months (menses) have largely been ignored by classical scholars. Artemis is generally referred to as a hunting goddess, but in actual religious practices this role is negligible by comparison to that of her as a goddess of puberty and childbirth, that is, of the reproductive processes of

³⁵⁷ See p. 104.

³⁵⁸ As noted in our discussion about Artemis Brauronia in chapter 1.

women and the cycles of life and of nature itself (the seasons turning and plants and animals dying and being reborn).

The supreme power of the Goddess was universal.³⁵⁹ The blood and life coming out of a woman must have appeared awesome and mysterious to early humans in addition to the vital importance of increasing a population vulnerable to the climate, often harsh environments, and to wild animals hunting and eating them. Our origin was communal living and in many early societies, inheritance and descent were matrilinear since only the mother could be established with absolute certainty. Nature, trees, plants, and animals were not only perceived as essential for survival, but were living embodiments of the spirit world.

In fact, human lives were so profoundly different from those of our contemporary Western world that I am not certain that we as modern classicists can draw accurate or even credible conclusions about antiquity, and the further back in time we go, the thinner the ice gets. One of our most profound misconceptions has been with regards to the roles and statuses of men and women. As Linda Owen writes:

Just as modern assumptions about gender roles are uncritically projected onto the past, ideas about prehistoric gender roles are used in the sciences to explain differences in the cognitive abilities and brain anatomy of men and women today. Scientists use unproven assumptions about the division of labor during human evolution and recent hunter-gatherers to interpret their findings. A critical view of the available data contradicts their conclusions (Owen, 2005, p. 182).

The subordination of women in the Western and much of the Eastern world has been at the heart of civilization for so long and been woven into our way of life and understanding that we can no longer think beyond this paradigm. When confronted with

³⁵⁹ In discussing Minoan Crete, R.F. Willetts concludes: “The late appearance and subordinate status of a male deity underline the overwhelming importance of the goddess. There was the conception of a male anthropomorphic divinity in the Neolithic period. Although his appearance is by no means frequent in the Middle and Late Minoan periods, two conclusions emerge from the evidence. The god is a secondary deity, but by the end of the Minoan age, the tendency to raise him to a superior status is clear. The social implications are important. Just as the domination of the goddess reflects the social importance of women, based on the survival of communal relationships and of matrilinear rights of inheritance and descent, the rise of the god similarly reflects the pressure exerted on this system by the changing social status of men” (Willetts, 1962, p. 79). This coincides with the onset of militarization in the Late Bronze Age.

evidence of a different scenario, many react with disbelief and often ignore, misinterpret, suppress, or distort such evidence. Classical Athens, seen from our limited modern Judaeo-Christian and male centered view even of this polis, becomes the model, and anything that differs from or contradicts Athenian “reality” is of lesser or no importance or simply wrong.

The situation of ancient Athenian women is usually compared to that of women in some contemporary Muslim countries. Though, how often are we presented with a Plato or a Euripides among today’s Muslim, Jewish, Christian, or even secular writers and philosophers? It is true that the laws of property rights and inheritance, citizenship with regard to voting rights, etc., largely ignored women in classical Athens; but when do our contemporary girls go off to a “retreat” to celebrate the onset of menstruation and compete in nude footraces? When do women leave home for nightly revels at religious festivals from which they prohibit any male (including non-human males) to participate?³⁶⁰ When you read a statement such as, “there is no evidence for a matriarchy,” one response could be that it depends on how one defines or interprets evidence (Redfield, 2003, p. 27). I do not know if Crete was a matriarchal society or if the Amazons existed or human sacrifice was ever practiced among Bronze Age Greeks, but what I do object to is the unwillingness or inability to even attempt to examine these questions without preconceptions and pre-determined or absolute positions.

The “feminist” ideas expressed in Plato’s *Republic* or *Laws*, in Euripides’ *Medea*, or Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, appear radical even today. They find their expression in Pythagoras, who had emphasized the equal status and merit of the female and male mental faculties and his female disciples (Iambl. 36.267 and Diog. Laert. 3.46 and 4.1-2),³⁶¹ in the reputed female teachers of both Socrates and Pythagoras himself, in Sappho, Corinna, Erinna, Telesilla and other female poets, in priestesses and oracles, in the Spartan and Cretan states, and in Asia Minor, in myths and legends, and in events and characters believed to have been historical by the ancients, such as the Amazons, Clytaemestra, Hecuba, Cassandra, Antigone, and Iphigenia. But above all we find them

³⁶⁰ This was not just true for the Thesmophoria (and the Bona Dea). On the third day of the seven-day Demeter festival at Achaia, for example, neither male humans nor male dogs were allowed (Paus 7.27.9-10).

³⁶¹ The very existence of Pythagoras, so admired by philosophers in antiquity, has been called into question, in part because of the myths spun around him (son of Apollo, result of a virgin birth, and his mythical apotheosis), but also because his writings have been lost except for some of his sayings which have been preserved in the works of other writers. However, most of the literature of classical antiquity has been lost to us; yet, we rarely doubt the existence of an Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, or a Democritus whose works we also no longer possess.

in religious cults and rituals devoted to Artemis, Demeter, Cybele, and to some extent also in the cult of Dionysus.

Among the seven kinds of what Plato deems legitimate authorities, such as adult vs. child, free vs. slave, that of man over woman is not included (Pl. *Nom.* 690a-c). Plato outlined his views about equality between men and women chiefly in book 6 of the *Laws*, in which he says that it is a mistake to confine women to the home, for it denies society half of the available talent and condemns half of the population to lives that are unhappy and unfulfilled. He believes that it encourages women to be secretive and cunning rather than courageous and virtuous. He argues that equality between the sexes increases the total happiness of the state and uses the metaphor of guard dogs, whereby he establishes that many guard dogs are female and that females are not kept apart from the males in the kennel. They do the same as men -- hunt, herd, and guard. He concludes that girls must be educated in the same way as boys, in music, gymnastics, and in the arts of war. Xenophon voices a similar sentiment when discussing the “exceptional” status of women in Sparta: “The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen – to keep quiet and do woolwork. How then is it to be expected that women thus brought up will bear fine children?” (Xen. *Lac.* 1.3).

Plato recommends marriage for women between sixteen and twenty and for men between thirty and thirty-five (Pl. *Nom.* 785b). He continues: “...philosophy is of more ancient and abundant growth in Crete and Lacedaemon than in any other part of Greece, and sophists are more numerous in those regions“ (Pl. *Prot.* 342b). “...In those two states there are not only men but women too who pride themselves on their education” (Pl. *Prot.* 342d). Plato further claims that all goods are in the hands of women in Athens (Pl. *Nom.* 805e). The Laconian women abstain from woolwork, but engage in music and gymnastics, he writes, and women must be able to defend themselves and their children (Pl. *Nom.* 806a). Women, therefore, should go through the same military training as the men in order to defend the city (Pl. *Nom.* 813e-814a). In fact, women did just that on several occasions. An early Tegean legend relates that when the Spartans attacked Tegea, the women, led by Marpessa, took to the field and defeated the Spartans (Paus. 8.48.5). When the Spartan king Cleomenes attacked the Argives by the river Sepeia, the Argive women defended the walls under the command of the poet Telesilla (Paus. 2.20.8-10). Pausanias mentions a festival to Demeter at Aegila in Laconia at which the women defended themselves when attacked by Messenian men under the leadership of Aristomenes (Paus. 4.17.1).

The sayings of Spartan women describing their status were legendary. Some reported that they had killed their cowardly sons. Another remarked, when asked by a woman from Attica, why Spartan women are the only ones who can rule men: “Because we are the only ones giving birth to men.” Aristotle noted that “Spartan women managed estates, ruling over Spartan men” (*Pol.* 1269b-1270a).

Stories from Magna Graecia describe a similar situation. Polybius reports that the Locrian nobility was derived from women, not from men, which is why they appointed female virgins to be sent to Ilium to atone for the rape of Cassandra by Ajax in the temple of Athena. The tribute was ordered by the oracle (*Polyb.* 12.5.6ff.; *Plut. De sera* 12, and *Str.* 13.1.40; C600). Homer describes the elevated status of the women among the Phaeacians, contrasted with that of his own time (*Od.* 7.66-68). Strabo claimed that among the Calabrians, husbands give dowries to their wives and that the daughters are the heirs (*Str.* 3.4.18). The brothers are married off by their sisters, the Calabrian, Thracian, Scythian, and Celtic women till the soil and the men take to the bed after the women give birth (*Str.* 3.4.17). To view these stories as at least in part based in fact is just as valid as dismissing them as “male constructs to demarcate the “Other” or similar assertions and even if these situations were only to exist in literature, the prevalence of them would surely say something about ancient society.

Heracleides Ponticus claimed that from time immemorial the Lycians had been ruled by women. “They know no written laws, he adds, only unwritten images” (*Arist. fr.* 611.43).³⁶² Pausanias mentions a Council of Sixteen Elean Matrons that served as an ancient judicature for public disputes, consisting of the oldest and most noble women from each of the sixteen cities of Elis (*Paus.* 5.16). In Italy, Sabine women decided over battle lines and on the terms of peace treaties (*Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 284-85), and the thirty curiae were named after them (*Livy* 1.135 ff.). Bruno Snell refers to what he terms the most typical feature of Homeric religion, “the suppression of all chthonian elements, including the worship of Ge and Demeter, by contending that the great barons of Thessaly deliberately distinguished their religion from the crude superstitions of the peasants” (Snell, 1982, p. 36).

The words spoken by the Pythia in the beginning of the *Eumenides* are well-known:

First, in this my prayer, I give the place of highest honor

³⁶² *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmentis. Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana.* Rose, Valentin (Ed.), 1886, p. 379, line 21.

among the gods to the first prophet, Gaia; and after her to Themis; for she, as is told, took second this oracular seat of her mother. And third in succession, with Themis's consent and by constraint of none, another Titan, Phoebus, child of Earth took here her seat. She bestowed it, as a birth-gift, upon Phoebus, who has his name from Phoebus (Aes. *Eum.* 1-8).³⁶³

Empedocles speaks of the days when the god Ares was not, nor king Zeus, nor Kronos, nor Poseidon, but only Kypris, the goddess.³⁶⁴ Jane Harrison sees the Danaids as being of the old matriarchal order (Harrison, 1922[1903], p. 619).³⁶⁵ “We, the great seed of a Holy Mother, ah me! Grant that we unwed, unsubdued, from marriage of men may flee” (Aes. *Suppl.* 158).³⁶⁶ The Danaids impart their rites to the Pelasgian women, but not to the men (Hdt. 2.171).³⁶⁷

³⁶³ πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῆι τῆιδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμις, ἣ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἔζετο μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ λάχει, θελοῦσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός, Τιτανίς ἄλλη παῖς Χθονὸς καθέζετο Φοίβη, δίδωσιν δ' ἠ γενέθλιον δόσιν Φοίβωι· τὸ Φοίβης δ' ὄνομα ἔχει παρώνυμον.

³⁶⁴ Emped. fr. ap. *Porph de Abst.* II 20. (fr. 128 -- H. Diels (Ed.) [1922]). *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* I, 4th ed. Berlin: Weidmann. All over the Greek world are sanctuaries that once belonged to a female occupant(s) and that were later superimposed by male gods. Pythian Apollo came into being after killing the previous female occupant, the dragon, the Pytho (Pythia), and taking the spring from Telphusa as well as suppressing the Cretans (*Hymn. Hom. Pyth. (Ap.)*, 356-544). Ge and Themis were earlier occupants of Delphi. As when Christian churches were constructed on top of pagan temples or when pagan sanctuaries were incorporated into the church constructions, the shift from female to male worship may have signaled a new male-centered view of the universe.

³⁶⁵ It is obvious that the subordination of women was not universal or by nature ordained. McKay offers a hypothesis to explain how, according to him, Celtic matriarchies may have been destroyed. He writes: “In a state of society in which all women are magical and supernatural, which may have lasted for ages, the eventual necessity for specialization had their inevitable result, and sacerdotal duties were allocated to a small group of women. Finally a state is reached when the small group breaks up, and its members fall away until only one individual is left” (McKay, 1932, p. 163).

³⁶⁶ Again and again we encounter the idea of marriage as subduing the powers of women. Mythological and historical virgins resisted marriage often to their own undoing as, already noted, Hippocrates claims in his reference to the many “diseased virgins,” i.e., virgins who did not want to marry, but who instead hanged themselves (*Corp. Hipp.* VIII. 464-471). Freud quotes Ferenczi who traces, what he calls, the hostility of women (emancipated women) to the period when the sexes became differentiated. At first, he says, copulation took place between two similar individuals, one of which, however, developed into the stronger and forced the weaker to assent to sexual union. He believes that the feelings of bitterness arising from this subjugation still persist in the present-day (the early 20th-century) disposition of women (Freud, 1918, pp. 205-206). The daughters of Proitos at Tiryns (Iphianassa and Lysippe?) were virgins who entered the sanctuary of Hera and committed an act of hubris. To punish them Hera made them mad. Artemis intervened. They regained their sanity and founded a sacrifice and choruses of women in honor of Artemis. As Hesiod writes, Hera, provoked by their lasciviousness, sent a madness that took away the flower of their youth (Hes. Fr. 132 M-W). Calame speculates that their lasciviousness was a refusal to marry (Calame, 1977, p. 117).

³⁶⁷ Danu of the Tuatha dé Danaan, of the Bronze Age Pelasgians, who was expelled from Greece in the middle of the second millennium, Robert Graves identified with the pre-Achaean goddess Danaë of Argos (Graves, 1948, p. 59). By Homer's time Danaë was masculinized into Danaüs, son of Belus, who was said to have brought his daughters to Greece from Libya by way of Egypt, Syria, and Rhodes. The names of the three daughters, Linda, Cameira, and Ialysa are titles of the goddess who also figures as Lamia, daughter of

Laura Cherubini's interesting look at Antoninus Liberalis 21 and its description of Poliphonte whose virginity Aphrodite punished by making her the lover of a bear and then a strix, which is described as "upside-down," is illuminating. The strix was a nocturnal bird associated with the bubo, a vulture(?). According to Verrius the strix was called strinx by the Greeks and associated with witches (*Fest.* 414.24-31). Petronius' Trimalchio tells his audience that strigae, witches, are "mulieres plussicae" ("women who know more"). Cherubini sees the upside-down of Poliphonte as strix, referring to her "inverted" womanhood, a monstrous example of an unresolved transition, an unsuccessful rite of passage (Cherubini, 2009, p. 86). Whenever a virgin tries to imitate Artemis "too much" she falls into bestiality (Cherubini, 2009, p. 88).

Again, we see the Artemisian sentiment expressed in the desire to remain free and untamed, uncultivated and wild. Forty-nine of the Danaids carry this desire to its extreme by killing their husbands on their wedding night. However, it was too late. Most women had already been "tamed," that is, the institution of marriage was now a reality and prophetic virgins and witches ("women who knew more") became dangerous, inverted monsters. Women no longer belonged to themselves; their power became limited to religion and even that was gradually to disappear.

As often, we pick and choose what to accept as truth and fantasy among ancient historians and philosophers. Nevertheless, it may be a useful exercise to venture outside the familiar box and put long-held beliefs aside for a moment, and see if what we traditionally have relegated to fantasy could have a kernel of truth to it and that which we have always accepted as truth could possibly be a fallacy. What we might discover is that pieces of the puzzle may fit better or fall into place in new and unexpected ways.

6.3 The power of the Virgin: The extra-ordinary and rituals of transition

Virginity signaled independence, autonomy, self-reliance, an untamed status, and closeness to the deity as a result of a perception of purity and innocence. The virgin existed in a state between female and male, daughter and mother, son and father, child

Belus, a Libyan queen. Graves further speculates that the number of the Danaids who massacred their husbands on their wedding-night may have been increased from three to fifty because it was the regular number of priestesses in the Argive and Elian colleges of the mother goddess cult.

and adult, mortal and immortal which gave her or him extra-ordinary capabilities, such as the ability to prophesize and heal.

Puberty or the coming into man and womanhood was an important stage under special protection of Artemis in ancient Greece. Artemis was, consequently, a goddess of puberty and a protectress of virgins. Numerous epithets attest to this – Philomeirax, Mekos, Koryphaia, Lyaia, Kokkoka, Eurynome, Kourotrophos, Agrotera, Brauronia, Lygodesma, Orthia, and others. The puberty of girls clearly had a greater impact on the community than the voice change or facial hair of boys, since a girl's menarche, and subsequent ability to give birth and sustain life, was essential for the survival of the community. Her blood was life itself, and because of its highly sacred nature it could also be dangerous, taboo.

We have seen the importance of Artemis, the “liminal” goddess, in the rites of passage that bring boys and girls across the threshold of childhood to adolescence and adulthood. The transition of life into adulthood was surrounded by many rituals that were to prepare boys and girls for what lay in store, and to make them strong and capable members of the community. Common ingredients in boys' and girls' coming-of-age rituals and in education as a whole were seclusion (sometimes in the mountains, in the forest, or simply in a hut away from the community, at a border such as a river or lake, by the sea outside of the city as at Mounychia and Brauron, in a “secret room” as at Mounychia), deception, stealing or abduction of livestock and food, “a holy hunt,” pedagogical same-sex courtship (sometimes fostered by tutors, chorus leaders, teachers, and guardians), change of dress -- “abandoning of the cloak” – long hair, simulated death and rebirth (the Ojibwa Médiwiwin initiation, for example, includes ritual “killing” and subsequent resuscitation and rebirth of the initiate), orgies (at several Artemisian festivals such as at the temples of Artemis Corythalia, Dereatis, Orthia, etc., as well as among the Ojibwa), torture (for example, flagellation at Orthia and Thesmophoria), song, dance, recounting of myths (such as the reciting of the *Iliad* at the Artemis Brauronia), secrecy, wildness, taming, animal embodiments (fox and horse at Artemis Orthia, bear at Artemis Brauronia, deer at Artemis Throsia), silence, mutilation or markings, and transformation.

A striking feature in almost all puberty ceremonies is that the initiates must die before they can assume a new life as fully accepted and procreative members of a community (Jensen, 1963, p. 183). Unlike rocks that are immortal, animate life must die and be born. All animal life must maintain itself by the destruction of life. The climax of the Eleusinian mysteries was presumably the raising of an ear of corn and the words: “Let it

rain and bear fruit.” The harvesting of plants, on the other hand, was associated with the destruction of life, of mortality. This connection lives on in the image of the Grim Reaper, i.e., Death. Artemis was not just a protector of women, but also a bringer of death – “a lion onto women” -- and blood signaled not only the potential for life, but also the inevitability of death.

Artemis was a goddess of life and death, nature, and all its creatures. Especially critical was the beginning of life (childbirth) and menarche that enabled physically and mentally well-tested and well-prepared young women to continue the cycles of life, death, and rebirth. However, it is the virginal phase that really matters to Artemis, when girls are full of life, at an early stage of life, untamed, strong, pure, and innocent and able to communicate with immortals and mortals as go-betweens, and as possessing the powers of healing, magic, and prophesy, of music and dance, of love and friendship, of grace and beauty, of endurance and strength. Through athletic competition and artistic training girls were believed to develop into well-rounded individuals and valuable members of the community, and, yes, for a majority, into capable mothers and wives, too. As Plutarch tells us, when a man’s and a woman’s love object happens to be the same, there is no rivalry. Instead they join forces to build the character of the object of their affections more effectively. Life-long religious virginity in archaic and classical Greece was now reserved for a chosen few -- priestesses, oracles, healers, and “women who knew more.”

The archaeological and literary and documentary evidence is still very small and often fragmented, opening it up to subjective interpretation rather than to measurable reality. As curious scholars who want to learn and research facts, we need to ask uncomfortable and sometimes “controversial” questions about things unknown or uncertain. As challenging as this is, it is also incredibly exciting to realize that there are still many unanswered questions and many topics left to explore, such as the significance of “puberty rites” for girls and its many aspects – embodying animals (and what that might imply about clans and totemic worship), abductions, gender inversion, menarche, virginity, herbs, plants, and trees, the role of magic and healing, song, dance, and music in the education of both girls and boys, athletic pursuits also for girls and women, same-

sex companionship, “unorthodox” deities such as Artemis, beliefs in rebirth and reincarnation, the power of dreams,³⁶⁸ numbers,³⁶⁹ and prophecy, and much more.

We also have to be willing to entertain the thought that girls and women in ancient Greece may have mattered in their own right and to examine “primitive” tribal society and religion in contrast to intellectual, “civilized,” and “democratic” Athens and to explore what it could have meant to a society to see deities in trees, caves, and constellations and not only in “state” sponsored temples and churches, and above all what the mysteries of life and death meant to a people without hospitals and funeral parlors. What did it mean that women shed blood along with the turning of the moon and the lunar calendar adhered to by the people of the vast country-side, gave life from their wombs, and sustained life through milk from their breasts, just like all other mammals around them? And what did it mean to live close to death with regards to matters of taboos, predictions, oracles, visions, ancestral honors, rebirth, and to live in nature and follow the seasons and the sun and the moon?

This thesis has tried to offer some clues if not clear answers to questions about the significance of virginity in the cult of Artemis, of coming-of-age rituals, of virgin sacrifice, of a special relationship to the divinity granting abilities to heal and to prophesize, and of moderation and abstinence among philosophers, the new pagan “priesthood”: “Magic is effective with the uneducated and the morally depraved but ineffective with those who have studied philosophy... (Origen. *C. Cels.* 6.41).³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ The presumably late Hellenistic text of the *Orphica* contains a hymn to the divinity of dreams (Orph. 86).

³⁶⁹ Numbers were important in ancient religion, philosophy, and magic. They were sacred in antiquity and they transcend religions, geographic regions, and time. Some of the numbers that were significant include seven (as in seven wonders, seven days of the week, seven days of Passover, seven days of creation, seven colors in the rainbow, seven sages, seven planets of Ursa Maior, the Big Dipper (Artemis/Callisto), seven seas, seven hills of Rome, seven kings of Rome, the Menorah, seven deadly sins, seven heavens in Islam, the seven great miigis (radiant/iridescent) beings among the Ojibwa); nine (as in nine Muses, Ramadan, the ninth month, three times three); and three (the Pythagorean triad and triangle, the Triple Goddess, the Holy Trinity, the Charites (Graces), the Moirai (Fates), the Gorgons, the Horae, the Hyperborean virgins, the Triae (the virgin prophethesses), the three groups of melissai at Ephesus).

³⁷⁰ The Platonist Celsus, late 2nd century CE, refers to a statement by an Egyptian musician named Dionysius that magic is effective with the uneducated and the morally depraved but that it is ineffective with those who have studied philosophy because they are careful to lead a healthy life (Origen. *C. Cels.* 6.41).

EPILOGUE

The ancient admiration for virginity has survived among Roman Catholics and Christian Orthodox communities in their veneration of Mary. Today, however, the Virgin Mary bears little resemblance to the free, wild, untamed, autonomous, and man-slaying Virgin Artemis/Diana of classical antiquity and virginity holds no more power in women than attracting fitting suitors in marriage.³⁷¹ Oracles and healers are no longer required to be chaste to practise their crafts. Today, so called psychics read palms and astrological charts out of Las Vegas store front windows, which is a far cry from the influence and power exerted by oracles in antiquity or shamans among native peoples. Female physicians are regaining respect after centuries of resistance. Women in Christian churches struggle to regain their “ancient” role as priests[sic].

Chastity lives on in small monastic communities, in which “purity” as the “vow of chastity” is still essential in establishing communion with God, and the epiphanies of the Virgin Mary still appear mostly to young women in Catholic communities such as at Lourdes, Laus, Akita, or Banneux or to children, who like virginal women are perceived as innocent, such as at Fátima, Pontmain, or Beauraing. The power of the virgin, along with the special power of women, has long since vanished or has been co-opted and perverted into the evangelical Christian slogan of a “born-again virgin,” or the quasi-pornographic “Ovidian” notion of male titillation as in the American singer Madonna’s popular song “Like a virgin.”

In classical antiquity, especially in archaic Greece, Artemis, the Virgin, was a powerful goddess, a protector of virgins, female and male. Virgin athletes competed and virgin choruses proudly sang of the gods and of love at numerous religious festivals and in rituals of various transitions, the most important of which was puberty and the onset of menstruation for girls. Chastity was necessary in order to serve gods as priests and priestesses, and to receive healing and prophesizing powers from them.

Before Athenian democracy, and before militarization, and later in peace time, religious power was what really mattered and, here, virginal and post-menopausal women held a sacred position. The many stories of the rape of virgins in Greek mythology and in

³⁷¹ For example, the physical examination some thirty years ago of the future Princess Diana to ascertain whether she was a virgin and, therefore, suitable to marry the future king of England.

“historical” events (the Trojan War, the Persian Wars, etc.) show the power of the virgin. In order to gain political and religious power, it was necessary to abduct the unmarried virgin both to conquer and subdue a territory or community and to conquer and subdue her special powers. The relentless and violent suppression of the Ephesian Artemis by Christians proved successful only to a point; the sacredness of the virgin was so powerful that the virginal aspect of Artemis had to survive in Mary. Mary took over Ephesus, both in the form of her early church on the temple grounds of Artemis/Diana and in the proclamation of her as a virginal Theotokos, a perversion of medical reality, yet a completely logical development from an autonomous and self-determined Virgin and Mother Goddess of all living things, to the Virgin Mother of the One and Only God; from a pagan Goddess in harmony with Nature, to the Judaeo-Christian God in control of it **(figs. 43-45)**.

APPENDIX: FEMALE VIRGINS IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

There can be no study of virginity without at least a cursory glance at this phenomenon in the early Church.³⁷² As modern Western scholars we are inextricably influenced by the idea of Virgin Mary and other Christian virgins and inevitably view virginity through this lens. This appendix will briefly survey two Christian virgins with links to Artemis and Artemisian virginity, Saint Thecla and the Virgin Mary. It will offer some examples of virgins, ascetics, and vegetarians among the early Christians, hoping to invite further research into links between perceptions of the mind and body among pagans and Christians. As Peter Brown noted (and Michel Foucault before him, see Introduction), virginity among the pagans and among the Christians was not synonymous; in my opinion, however, the differences were more a matter of gradation than a clear shift. If it had been profoundly different, an ascetic life style would not have come so easily to many early Christians.

Philosophers since Pythagoras had taught abstinence, and with Plato it had become a chief tenet among many schools of philosophy. In pagan religions, chastity for priests and priestesses, though, not necessarily, virginity was mandatory. Virginity related to purity and a special relationship or communion with the gods was not a new concept. What was new was that virginity became an ideology which was propagated by writers and preachers to the general public as the surest way to gain salvation.

The Virgin “Saint” Thecla

Saint Thecla extolled the exemplary virgin par excellence for many early Christians, in Asia Minor, Italy, Gaul, Germany, North Africa, Armenia, Cyprus, Palestine-Syria, and Egypt. Elsewhere she was honored as the first female martyr, and ranked alongside her male counterpart, Stephen, as the first male martyr (*Acts* 6:8-7:59). Gregory of Nyssa called her Paul’s virgin apostle (*Cantica Canticorum*, *Homily* 14, *PG* 44 1068A). Gregory of Nazianzus included Thecla as the only female witness in a list of early Christian apostolic martyrs including John, Peter, Paul, James, Stephen, Luke, and Andrew (*Or.* 4.69). The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* preserved in the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* was written around 170 CE, and there are Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin versions. These often differ from one another.³⁷³ The *Life and Miracles of Thecla*, in Greek, completed around 470 CE, appears in several Greek, Latin, Syrian, Aethiopian, and Coptic versions.

The diametrically different portrayal of male and female characters in the *ATH* is striking. All men, including Paul, are portrayed negatively whereas all women, except for

³⁷² I am aware of the risk of oversimplifying and even misunderstanding certain events and theories in an area in which I lack expertise. However, because of the significance of virginity in late antiquity, I will venture to point out some parallel phenomena I see in the early Christian period and ancient Greece.

³⁷³ The Coptic version, for example, show many omissions, transpositions, and interpolations. There are fragments of the *Acta* in a 4th or 5th-century codex. It is found almost complete in a Coptic Ms. from the sixth century. There is a Latin translation and a Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Slavonic version (Edgar J. Goodspeed. “The Book of Thecla.” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 17.2, January 1901, pp. 65-95).

Thecla's mother, are described in a positive light. A faceless group of women functions almost like the chorus of a Greek tragedy, reappearing and voicing their commentary of support or lamentations over the heroine's predicaments. A female lion in the arena attempts to protect her from a male lion and a male bear.³⁷⁴ The lioness is killed, which causes grief among the women in the arena. The women in the audience had tried to protect Thecla (and the lioness) by throwing perfumes in order to mesmerize the male animals, but all in vain.

Thecla eventually settled in a cave outside of Seleucia and in time attracted a following of female apotactics and patients whom she unfailingly healed. The local doctors as a consequence of the shrine's success suffered huge financial losses, and decided to hire a gang of men to rape her, assuming that she was a virgin sacred to the great goddess Artemis, and that if she were defiled, she would lose her healing powers. The doctors warned each other that Artemis hears her because she is a virgin.³⁷⁵ In an effort to evade them, Thecla jumped into a rock, leaving behind only her veil, which the perpetrators grabbed.³⁷⁶

Many cells of men and women and a church devoted to Thecla were reported. In Seleucia some of the well-born women, having learned about the virgin Thecla, came to her in the cave, learned the oracles of God, and subsequently lived an ascetic life with her. Following the death of his father in 374, Gregory of Nazianzus retired to Thecla's shrine. In Egypt, a series of terracotta pilgrim flasks have been found featuring images of Thecla in a posture of prayer and framed by two lions in the manner of a "potnia theron" (Davis, 2001, pp. 114-120). Ascetic treatises, miracle stories, and martyr accounts, pilgrim flasks, wall paintings, and grave stelae give evidence of the communities that gave rise to the cult of Saint Thecla in Egypt.

The earliest patristic reaction to Thecla we know of is that of Tertullian, who is hostile to her teachings and baptizing, and sees her as a negative role model for other women (Tert. *De Bapt.* 17.5, *CSEL* 20.215). Ambrose also seems less than enthusiastic, and refers to the large cathedral consecrated to Thecla in the heart of Milan merely as the Basilica Nova (Ambrose. *Ep.* 20.1). Thecla was, in fact, the city's patron saint. Ambrose has greater respect for Mary and Agnes, the latter also an apocryphal virgin martyr. Many others, however, admired Thecla. Jerome in 384 tells Eustochium that among the rewards for her ascetic life was the fact that Thecla would be in heaven to greet her together with Mary and the Bridegroom Himself (Jer. *Ep.* 22.41). She received the highest praise from the Cappadocian Fathers. It was also in the east that the expanded *Life and Miracles* was authored. Both the *Treatise on Virginity* by Athanasius of Alexandria and the anonymous *Greek Homily on Virginity*, preserved among the writings of Basil of Caesarea, exhort young women to pattern themselves after Thecla. Both Athanasius in the mid-fourth century and pseudo-Chrysostom in the fifth wrote biographies about Thecla. Jerome accepted her as a saint, although he regarded her travels as apocryphal. Methodius' *Symposium* (logos 8 (ή)) features her as an "exemplum," and shifts the focus from male

³⁷⁴ There are similar stories of men being protected by lions in the arena, most notably Paul (*Acts of Paul* 7) and Androcles (Aulus Gellius. *Noct. Att.* 5.14).

³⁷⁵ *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha* 1. Leipzig, 1891, pp. 269-272 Codex G.

³⁷⁶ This is reminiscent of Ovid's description of Daphne leaving behind only her trembling heart beat as Apollo attempts to grab her.

sexuality to female virginity, with Thecla as “Socrates”/teacher and with Jesus Christ as the Leader of the choir of virgins, as Artemis had once been.³⁷⁷

Thecla’s cult, based in Seleucia, was in full bloom in the late fourth century when the nun Egeria took communion in the church in the precinct after reading the *Acta (Itinerarium Egeriae 23)*. The cult continued to appeal to especially women and apotactics well into the sixth century (Petropoulos, 1995, p. 126). Thecla has remained a paragon of female chastity and asceticism in the Orthodox Church, which commemorates her on September 24. From the fifth century on the apocryphal version of her legend was progressively shed of its more obvious feminist elements. In the tenth century the *Great Menologion* incorporated a radically expurgated version of her vita, and her feasts and cult were eventually officially suppressed by the Roman Catholic Church in 1969, though her cult continues in some countries such as Spain.³⁷⁸

The Virgin Mary

Not even a casual observer can ignore the epithet of Artemis and Mary as the Virgin. One could argue that the virginal aspect of Artemis/Diana was of such significance that logic and rationale (and medical science) had to be ignored in the construct of the legend of Mary. One of Mary’s earliest churches was built on the destroyed temple grounds of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus. According to legend, Mary lived at Ephesus with James after the death of Jesus, and died there. With the council of Ephesus in 431, the parthenogenesis was proclaimed and Mary glorified as “Queen of virgins” and Theotokos. The Virgin Birth and Mary’s perpetual virginity were viewed as a guarantee for the Church’s integrity just like the significance of the Vestal Virgins for the existence and survival of the Roman pagan state (“dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex,” Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.9).

The veneration of Mary did not take root immediately, possibly because her similarity to Artemis and other pagan goddesses was too close for comfort (**figs. 38-41**). The potential confusion of the Mother Goddess (Dea Mater and Mater deorum) with God’s Mother (Mater Dei) had to be avoided. According to Graves, there was even an identification of the Virgin Mary with the Triple Goddess (Graves, 1948, pp. 132-133). The Copts combined the Three Marys – Mary Cleopas, Mary Magdalen, and the Virgin Mary -- who were spectators at the Crucifixion, into a single character.

Epiphanius refers to a group of women in late fourth-century Arabia, originally from Thrace, the Collyridians, who acted as bishops and presbyters, possibly the same as the “Philomarianites,” who worshipped Mary as a deity, celebrated the Eucharist, and offered bread (cakes) -- προσφέρουσι τὴν κολλυρίδα -- to her, just as cakes had been offered to Artemis (Epiph. *Panarion* 78.23; 79.1). Sozomen, in the 440s reported that people were being cured of diseases by Mary, the Mother of God, the Holy Virgin (*Eccl. Hist.* 7.5.3), and that they were offering icons or amulets of various body parts as they had done to Artemis for centuries (cf. Artemis Soteira and Santa Maria della Salute). Heraclius had an icon of the Virgin attached to the mast of the ship that took him from Carthage to

³⁷⁷ Bonwetsch, D.G. Nathanael (Ed.). *Methodius*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1917.

³⁷⁸ By Symeon Metaphrastes. *PG* 114.821-846.

Constantinople to conquer the imperial title. When in 626 Avars and Persians besieged the city of Constantinople, the patriarch Sergius had icons of the Virgin mounted on the doors of the city and carried in processions on the walls. The early iconography of Mary as “Queen of Heaven” seated on a throne, even as a *potnia theron*, is reminiscent of the iconography of Artemis as “First Throne” at Ephesus (figs. 38-41).

The glorification of virginity

Before the offence in paradise, Adam and Eve were virgins, according to both St. Jerome and Origen. This opinion goes back to St. Justin and St. Irenaeus and is found also in the writings of Tertullian. For Saint Jerome, Christ was a virgin, the mother of our virgin was a perpetual virgin, Saint Joseph was a virgin (*Adversus Helvidium* 21.3-4 PL 23.213), and John the Baptist as well. All apostles who were married at the time of their calling became “virgins.” The *Pseudo-Athanasian Canons* was compiled between 350 and 450 by an unknown Egyptian author. Ten of the 107 canons deal with virgins -- “to every house of Christians it is needful that there be a virgin, for the salvation of this whole house is this one virgin” (*Canon* 98).

Treatises on virginity were popular among many early Greek and Latin Christian writers such as Methodius of Olympus, Athanasius of Alexandria, Ambrose of Milan, Basil of Ancyra, Gregory of Nyssa. They contain praise of virginity, examples of virgins, and precepts of virginity. Asceticism was widespread also before Christianity both in Palestine (the Essenes) and Egypt (the Therapeutai) and among Pagans within Cynicism, later Platonism, Neopythagoreanism, Neoplatonists³⁷⁹ and among Orphics and in the religions of Artemis/Diana and Hestia/Vesta.

In the first century, Jewish male Therapeutai and female Therapeutrides lived at the outskirts of Alexandria. Philo refers to the Therapeutrides as aged virgins (*Vita Cont.* 68) and says that they became virgins because of their ardent “yearning for wisdom.” Christian ascetic practices can be traced back to John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul, all within a Jewish context, because asceticism played a central role in the mystical and apocalyptic tradition of Judaism. Daniel, for example, had had neither meat nor wine for three weeks before his vision of God (*Dan.* 10:3). Purity, demanded by the Qumran sect as we know from the Dead Sea Scrolls, reflects the regulations with regard to sexual activity found in *Leviticus*, and the requirements laid upon men involved in a holy war in *Deuteronomy*, which probably explains the reference to virginity in *Rev.* 14:4.

In the first century, asceticism normally meant a life of celibacy. The apostle Paul shows a clear preference for celibate life. Marriage and sexuality interfere with the contact with God, and divert the devotee from his or her relationship with God. According to Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* I.28.1), this sentiment developed in particular with the doctrine of Tatian.³⁸⁰ Condemnation of matrimony occurs in the apocryphal *Acts of John* (63; 113); *Acts of Andrew* (28; 35); *Acts of Thomas* (12-16; 96-103; 131).

³⁷⁹ Plotinus was said to have practiced moderation. In fact, he remained unmarried and is described as “having eaten as little as possible” (Porph. *Plot.* 1).

³⁸⁰ See, e.g., Whittaker, Molly (Ed.). *Tatian: Oratio Graecos and Fragments*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Asceticism is discussed also in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, in the dialogue between Jesus and Salome cited in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* III 9.63.2-66.1).

During the fourth century there was a subtle change in the perception of the body itself, writes Peter Brown, quoting Clement of Alexandria (Brown, 1988, p. 31): “The human ideal of continence, I mean that which is set forth by the Greek philosophers, teaches us to resist passion, so as not to be made subservient to it, and to train the instincts to pursue rational goals,” “but Christians went further,” Clement wrote, “our ideal is not to experience desire at all” (*Clem. Al. Strom.* 3.7.57).

The consequence of this gradation was fundamental in my view. The pagan and Christian cases must be viewed in a different light, but the pagan origin layed the foundation for the “extreme” position of Christianity.

During the second century it was felt that a widow or widower should not remarry although they were not yet considered to be sinners if they did. Justin Martyr was probably the first to voice an opinion against second marriages (Drijvers, 1987, p. 243). Around 177 the Christian philosopher Athenagoras mentioned that he knew a large number of men and women who had decided to remain unmarried to get closer to God (*Supplicatio* 33.1).³⁸¹ Jerome separates real virgins from widows who have decided to remain unmarried and so return to a “virgin” state (*Ep.* 22.15). He praised marriage only because it could produce more virgins (*Ep.* 22.20). The hundred-fold harvest of virginity must, in Jerome’s view, be deemed superior to the sixty-fold harvest of widowhood and the thirty-fold harvest of marriage (Jerome. *Ep.* 22.15). Jerome puts great emphasis on the superiority of virginity and asceticism, especially in women. His position is well illustrated by references to biological mothers who even ate their own babies before the fall of Rome in contrast to an ascetic virgin and vegetarian woman like Marcella who protected her spiritual “daughter” Principia from rape and violence (*Ep.* 127).³⁸²

A couple of centuries after Jerome, Gregory the Great mentioned that there were 3,000 virgins in Rome. In 320, after Constantine’s abolishment of the Augustan marriage law, it was no longer possible for the patres to compel women to marry against their will. A law promulgated by Constantius II in 354 and addressed to Orfitus, prefect of the city of Rome, forbids the rape of sacrosanct virgins and widows (*C.Th.* 9.25.1).

Cyprian was one of the first to make a comparison between ascetics and martyrs (de habitu uirginum 21), and to place ascetics among a choir of apostles, prophets, and martyrs. In the fourth century, when martyrdom was no longer an option, the number of ascetics increased rapidly. The ascetic reality was mainly one of celibacy, on account of which Origen even castrated himself (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* 6.8.2). He believed ascetics constantly had to fight against temptation; by resisting it, they would become more perfect and closer to God (Drijvers, 1987, p. 243). By the end of the third century, asceticism had come to mean more than celibacy. Material wealth now became another obstacle to salvation.

³⁸¹ In modern religion we see this projection of an almost romantic relationship to God – nuns when they take their vows become “the brides of Christ.” References to marriage with God can be found in *Epistle to Ephesians* 5:22-33; *Matt.* 9:15; *Mark* 2:19; *John* 3:29-30; and the *Song of Songs*.

³⁸² See also Salzman, Michele Renee. *Apocalypse Then? Jerome and the Fall of Rome in 410 CE*. In Harvey, Paul B., & Catherine Conybeare. *Maxima Debetur. Magistro Reverentia: Essays on Rome and the Roman Tradition in Honor of Russell T. Scott. Bibliotheca di Athenaeum 54*. Como: New Press, 2009.

Vegetarianism and gender equality

A relationship between vegetarianism or fasting and chastity occurs repeatedly among both pagan and Judeo-Christian thinkers. Hieracas of Leontopolis in the third century in Alexandria rejected both marriage and meat, as did the Manichaeans, a sect founded by the Persian Mani in Mesopotamia in 240 CE. The followers of Eustathius (300-380 CE), bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, condemned marriage and did not eat meat. Female followers wore the same clothes as men, a philosopher's cloak, and shaved their heads, so that there would be no ostensible difference between the sexes. They preached equality between women and men, and slave and free. Indeed, Eustathius proclaimed that the gift of asceticism was equality, and the Eustathians, who preached the abolition of slavery and women's liberation, rejected all property. They were condemned as heretics at Gangra in 340 or 341. The Carpocratians in the second century also taught and practiced equality between the sexes and even the equality of all beings, including non-human animals (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 3.2.5-11).

The Encratites regarded meat as an abomination and forbade marriage. They celebrated mysteries with water instead of wine, which they regarded as of the devil. Ps.-Athanasius concluded that fasting heals diseases, casts out demons, chases away wicked thoughts, makes the mind clearer and the heart pure (Pseudo-Athanasius. *De Virg.* 14). The diet of virgins should be restricted to vegetables, oil, and bread once a day.

Early Christian women as priests, prophets, and teachers

Around 160 CE a Montanus and two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, appeared in the region of Phrygia, predicting the end of the world, and declaring that the towns Pepuzza and Tymion were the sites of the Lord's second coming. They are referred to in the sources from the 2nd-9th centuries.³⁸³ Quintillianists or Papuzians, also known as Priscillianists, were sister sects or different names for this same sect. Some claimed that the founders were Priscilla or Quintilla rather than Montanus. There are seven virgins with lamps who often come to prophesize, according to Epiphanius of Salamis, the cataloger of heresies, in his *Panarion* (49.2) from 374, in which he also adds that there were female bishops and presbyters among them and that they referred to the Galatians to justify this custom.³⁸⁴ Epiphanius called them Artotyrians, because they put forth bread and cheese in their mysteries, and he concluded that "the devil seemed to vomit forth such teachings from women, as in the case of the ridiculous teachings of Quintilla, Maximilla, and Priscilla." An example was the claim by Priscilla or Quintilla that Jesus had slept with the priestess in the shape of a woman (*Panarion* 49.1-2).³⁸⁵ Montanus had

³⁸³ St. Jerome, *Ep.* 41; St. Basil, *Ep.* 188; Sozomen II. 32; Philastrius, *Haer.* 49; Germanus of Constantinople, *PG* 98; Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.14; Hieronymus, *Ep.* 41 and others.

³⁸⁴ "There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (*Gal.* 3:28).

³⁸⁵ This same claim was made by Joan of Arc who said that Jesus had slept in her bed in the shape of a woman. Joan further identified the saints Catherine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antioch as her voices

previously been a priest of Cybele. In 204 BCE the cult of Magna Mater was introduced from her native Pessinus in Asia Minor (Livy 29.10). The seven virgins of Epiphanius 49.2 are congruent with the maidens who wept over the fate of Attis at the Phrygian festival. The Montanists allegedly also prayed to Eve.

Epiphanius reports that over 70 virgins were excommunicated along with Arius (*Pan.* 69.3). Around 318/19 Alexander of Alexandria denounced two aspects in particular; namely, that the Arians communicated with women through letters and other writings (*Epistula Alexandri Alexandriae (episcopi) ad Alexandrum Constantinopolitanum* 13, PG 18.569) and that they allowed their virgins to roam the streets, that is, to go out in public places (*Epistula ad Alexandrum* 1, PG 18.549).³⁸⁶ Athanasius' virgin followers were later attacked by Arians in 355-356. Athanasius, in *Orationes tres adversus Arianos*, personifies his opponents' movement as a woman, playing off the feminine gender of the Greek αἵρεσις (heresy). The fourth century (c. 370) Roman writer referred to as Ambrosiaster testifies to the special attraction this religion above all others held for women (*CSEL Pars II*, vol. 81: 7, 2 – *Ad Corinthios Prima*). In *On Baptism* Tertullian warns against a group of women who not only serve as Christian teachers but also claim the right to baptize (*Tert. De Bapt.* 17.4).

According to bishop Firmilian in a letter to Cyprian around 235, a prophetess came to Caesarea after an earthquake and appeared in a state of ecstasy (Cyprian. *Epist.* 74; 75). She predicted the future and performed miracles such as walking barefoot in the snow. According to Firmilian, she “pretended” to sanctify the bread and celebrate the Eucharist, and baptized many, until, Firmilian says, an exorcist finally “subdued this evil spirit” and terminated her career (Elm, 1994, p. 31).

The *Martyrdom of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra (and the Seven Virgins with him)* relates the story of seven Christian women who were put to death by Theotecnus after refusing to worship Artemis and Athena as their priestesses. They were led naked around the city carrying statues of Artemis and Athena among the jeers of the assembled crowds, and were threatened with rape. Theodotus recovered their bodies and buried them, which resulted in him being sentenced to death as well. The leader of the virgins was presbytera “parthenos” Tekousa (Elm, 1994, pp. 53-55). Epiphanius described the sect of the Apotactites, having a hold on three of these virgins, as an offshoot of the doctrines of Tatianus -- the Encratites, the Tatiani, and the Cathari (*Panarion* 60.1).

whom she had embraced and kissed, touching them corporally (Tisset P., & and Y. Lanhers (Eds.). *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* 1, Paris, 1960-71, pp. 290-7). Joan referred to herself as La Pucelle (the Virgin). She viewed her virginity as divinely ordained and claimed to be a holy woman and a visionary. In addition to the repeated accusation of Joan wearing male attire and short cropped hair, another accusation was that she was a witch inspired by a Tree of Fairies around which fairies (cf. the nymphs of Artemis) used to dance (see e.g., P. Duparc (Ed.). *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* 1, Paris, 1977-1989, pp. 252-5).

³⁸⁶ Women in particular seem to have been attracted to Gnostic groups and doctrines which offered them an escape from the bonds of marriage and its social and cultural control. Asceticism was an acceptable refuge.

Female companionship in early Christianity

One Gnostic group in Egypt contained eighty women who were said to be devoted to flamboyant inversions of conventional sexual morality while remaining regular parishioners of their local church (Brown, 1988, p. 244). Intense friendships between ascetic female companions played an essential role. We find companions renting rooms together in town or moving a soul mate into their family home. Basil of Ancyra refers to a choir of virgins as well as to several women living together. In reference to Basil of Ancyra, Peter Brown in typical manner surmises that “sexual stirrings occurred when young girls snuggled down together in bed” (Brown, 1988, p. 268). Basil relates this as one of the warnings he gives to virgins (Basil of Ancyra, *De virginitate tuenda*, 3 PG 30, *Liber de virginitate* 797bc). In *Miracle* 46 of the *Life and Miracles of St. Thecla* a female monk, Dionysia, shares a room with Sosanna. Thecla enters the room and spends the night with her “holding her close in her arms.” Homoerotic subtexts among pagan virgins are found also among their Christian counterparts. As Paul writes: “Their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural, and the men gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion one for another” (*Romans* 1:26-27). Luxorius (6th century CE) writes:

Although you have a beautiful snow-white body, you desire to observe all the rules of chastity. It is wonderful how gloriously you control nature, inasmuch as you pass for a Minerva in your way of life and for a Venus in your body. You find no happiness in taking yourself the comfort of a husband, and you often choose to shun the sight of men. Nevertheless, you have a fancy for this pleasure, hateful though it may be to you! Is it not possible for you to be the wife of someone like yourself? (78) Rosenblum. Luxorius 156-159).³⁸⁷

The Naassenes saw sexual relations between men and women as wicked and filthy (Hippolytus, *Elench.* 5.2). For them, androgyny characterized the world above, and Brooten speculates that they may have regarded the “unnatural intercourse” of *Rom.* 1:26 as natural (Brooten, 1996, p. 341). John Chrysostom mentions female homosexuality (In *Epist. ad Rom. Homily*, 4 PG 60. 417), as does Shenute of Atripe, in his *Freer Gospels* (*Codex Panopolitanus*) from the White Monastery on the west bank of the Nile River, not far from Akhmîm/Panopolis, and dated to the end of the 4th century. Augustine of Hippo criticizes homoerotic activity on the part of married women or of girls who intend to marry, but he particularly deplors such behavior when practiced by “widows or by virgins dedicated by a holy vow to be handmaids of Christ” (*Epistle* 211, *PL* 33.964). He tells nuns to go to the public baths only once a month, and then only in groups of three or more, presumably to avoid temptation.

An episode in the *Acts of John* tells of Drusiana, whose husband tells her that he must have her as his wife as before, or she must die. She chose to die rather than commit the abominable act after having converted to continence (Cooper, 1996, p. 53). The *Martyrdom of St. Parthenope* describes the short life and “glorious death” of a Christian

³⁸⁷ Rosenblum, Martin (Ed.). *Luxorius: A Latin poet among the vandals. Together with a Text of the Poems and an English Translation*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

virgin martyr.³⁸⁸ She chose death to preserve her virginity. She was brought to Constantine from a convent where she lived with other virgin nuns, because he wanted her as his lover. She prayed and cried, and said that she was promised to God. Constantine returned her to the convent unharmed. Next, a pagan Persian king had her brought by force to him, but she killed herself before he could touch her. The nuns had cut her hair when she entered the convent. She is described as exceedingly beautiful. Some Christian women just like their pagan counterparts (*Corp. Hipp.* VIII. 464-471) chose to commit suicide rather than succumb to sexual relations.

Mulieres viriles

According to the *Gospel of Thomas*, Jesus says to Simon Peter that women will enter the Kingdom of Heaven as men (*Log.* 114),³⁸⁹ and Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, in *De Virginitate*, insists that in heaven there is neither male nor female, but all the women who are received by the lord achieve the rank of men (*PG* 28. 264). Jerome also concludes that angels are neither male nor female. He further remarks that a certain Theodora who had taken the vow of chastity was once a woman, but now a man, once an inferior, but now an equal (*Jer. Ep.* 71.3). Drijvers refers to these women as “mulieres viriles” (Drijvers, 1987, p. 267), but warns not to confuse them with the so-called transvestite saints – women who disguised themselves as monks and lived as men in monasteries (Patlagean, 1976, pp. 597-623; Anson, 1974, pp. 1-32). The phenomenon “mulieres viriles” originated somewhere in the fifth century, beginning with St. Pelasgia, Paula, Melania, and others. The transvestite saints, however, were in disguise, and no one knew of their gender; for example, Pope Joan.

Basil of Caesarea, the brother of Gregory of Nyssa and Macrina and one of the Cappadocian Fathers, became the founder of monasticism in Asia Minor, and Macrina of female communities. She founded a monastery for women on their estate at Annesi, to which she arrived ten years before Basil. She was “father, teacher, pedagogue, and mother.” Macrina was a “gyne andreaia” who had “progressed” beyond male and female. When Macrina died, a Lampadion presided over “a chorus of virgins” as Artemis once had done. Thecla is said to have dressed as a man on her travels, allegedly to avoid rape.

I am not arguing that “cross-dressing” and same-sex companionship or even virginity itself in pagan Greece and Christian Rome are the same or even similar phenomena. They are linked but in a “perverted” topsy-turvy kind of way. Same-sex companionship is hardly encouraged among Christians in the course of education or otherwise. Cross-dressing is now only on the part of women as a way to enter heaven as “men.” Virginity in ancient Greece was expected among priests and priestesses and was a vehicle to healing and prophesizing. The latter was true to some extent among the Christians as well although the chief incentive for individuals to remain or “become” virgins was the promise of salvation. There are many unanswered questions and much research yet to undertake to better understand pagan influences on early Christian doctrine and the concept of virginity among pagans and Christians.

³⁸⁸ Though surviving in its entirety only in Arabic and fragmentary in Coptic, is likely to have been first composed in Greek.

³⁸⁹ “Every female who makes herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven” (*Gospel of Thomas. Logion* 114).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. First page: “Diana of Versailles.” Diana with deer and bow and arrow wearing her short chiton. Roman marble sculpture, an adaptation of a Greek original by Leochares(?) from circa 330 BCE.



Fig. 2. Artemis in a chariot driven by hinds. Side of a Boeotian red-figure calyx-krater from c. 450–425 BCE. Louvre CA1795.



Fig. 3. Winged Artemis(?) as Potnia Theron. Detail of the François Vase, 570-560 BCE.



Fig. 4. Potnia Theron on Boeotian amphora from Thebes from c. 680 BCE. Inv. No. 220. National Museum, Athens.



Fig. 5. Potnia Theron.



Fig. 6. Minoan seal from Knossos, made of onyx. Potnia Theron flanked by griffins and holding bull's horns (Evans' "snake frame") and a double axe. C. 1500 BCE. Herakleion Museum.



Fig. 7. Minoan pythos with bull's heads and double axes.



Fig. 8. Carnelian scarab with lions flanking a sacred tree. Phoenician c. 600-580 BCE. British Museum.



Fig. 9. A “Potnia theron” (honeycomb) flanked by bees. Minoan gold pendant from Malia. 1700-1550 BCE. Herakleion Museum.



Fig. 10. Artemis of Ephesus. Found at the amphitheater in Leptis Magna. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Tripoli.



Fig. 11. Krateriskos from Brauron with girls racing or dancing.



Fig. 12. Another krateriskos fragment from Brauron with racing or dancing girl.



Fig. 13. A third krateriskos from Brauron featuring older dancing girls.



Fig. 14. Clay figurine with Bears at Brauron (“Mama and Baby Bear”?).



Fig. 15. The real thing.



Fig. 16. Arktoi(?) at Brauron. Marble votive statuettes.

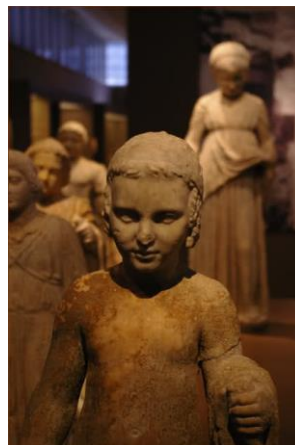


Fig. 17. Lyre player from Brauron.



Fig. 18. Artemis and Iphigenia. Roman marble copy of Hellenistic original. At Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.



Fig. 19. Hippolytus. Attributed to the Darius Painter. Apulian red figure volute krater. C. 340-320 BCE. British Museum 1856.1226.1.



Fig. 20. Orpheus with various birds (peacock, stork, crow, ostrich), a bull, snake, leopard, deer, tortoise, wolf, hare, antelope, and tiger. Roman mosaic, from Building A of the Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo. Date: between circa 200 and circa 250 CE. The "Antonio Salinas" museum in Palermo, Italy.



Fig. 21. Sacrifice of Iphigenia. 1st c. CE fresco. Roman copy of original by Timanthes 4th c. BCE.



The Sacrifice of Iphigenia
1st century AD Roman fresco based on a lost 4th century BC painting by Timanthes

Fig. 22. The sacrifice of Iphigenia. Apulian red figure. Volute krater. C. 375-350 BCE. In addition to Iphigenia being substituted for a deer, Artemis and Apollo are seated on both sides with the priest Chalcas in the center raising the sacrificial knife. British Museum 1865. 0103.21.

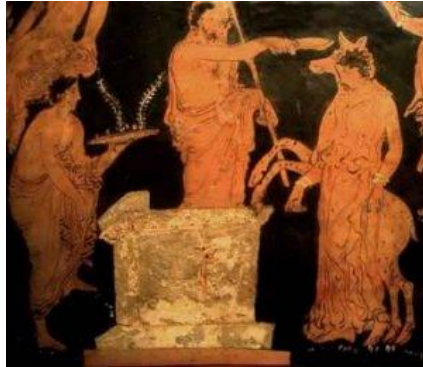


Fig. 23. Animal sacrifice. The so called Pitsa Panel. Corinth. C. 530 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

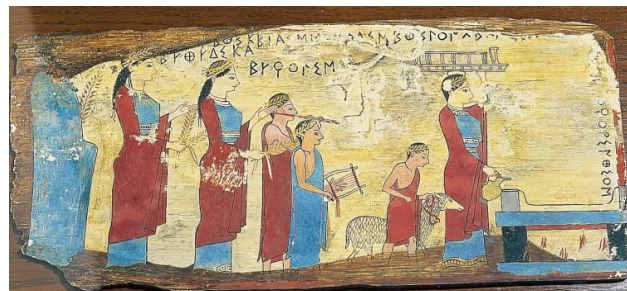


Fig. 24. Libation sacrifice. Attic red figure krater by the so called Pothos Painter. Ca. 430-420 BCE.



Fig. 25. Vestal Virgin. Roman Marble bust, c. 300 BCE. National Museum of Rome.



Fig. 26. The (Demeter) Thesmophoria Festival.



Fig. 27. Attic Red-figure, c. 450. Attributed to the Menelaos painter. Maenads making music. H. 14 7/8 in. (37.8 cm). Red-figure stamnos, a vase for keeping and carrying wine, with maenads celebrating a Bacchic festival. Typically, they are celebrating the power of Dionysos in song, music, and dance. One maenad plays the aulos, her cheeks puffed up, a second one plays the lyre, while a third carries a thyrsos and holds a kylix by its foot as she opens her mouth to sing. Of the four additional maenads, one holds a thyrsos, the next holds a skyphos, the third plays the aulos, and the last holds a lighted torch. Met. 06.1021.178.



Fig. 28. Attic. Terracotta bell-krater. Red-figure, c. 460 BCE, Attributed to the Danaë Painter. Woman playing lyre and two women listening, affectionately. H. 11 7/8 in. (30.2 cm) diameter of mouth 13 5/8 in. (34.6 cm). On display in Gallery 159, Metropolitan Museum. Met. accession number 23.160.80. In an indoor setting, a seated woman plays the lyre. Before her stand two women, one of whom rests her chin and hands on the shoulder of the other. Depictions of women in intimate settings, such as on this bell krater, became popular in Attic vase painting in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Here, a woman seated on a cushioned chair plays a type of lyre, while two companions stand before her in rapt attention. The lyre she holds is known as a barbitos and is characterized by longer strings and, therefore, a lower pitch.



Fig. 29. Archaic. Attic. Terracotta. Black-figure, c. 540. Attributed to Exekias. Men and women in chariot accompanied by woman and kithara player. The two women in the foreground are turned towards each other. The two men are in the background. H. 18 1/2 in. (47 cm) diameter 9 3/4 in. (24.8 cm). On display in gallery 155; 27.16. On the body, obverse and reverse, man and woman in chariot accompanied by woman and kithara player. Met. accession number 17.230.14a, b.



Fig. 30. Spartan bronze figurine showing a girl dancing or running.



Fig. 31. Archaic. Attic. Terracotta lekythos, c 550 BCE. Attributed to the so called Pharos Painter. Two women wrapped in a cloak. H. 6 7/8 in. (17.5 cm). On display in gallery 155, Metropolitan Museum. Met. accession number 75.2.10. Two women wrapped in one cloak. Lekythoi were traditionally placed as offerings in tombs or on grave monuments. The elongated shape of this example is typical of the earliest form. The subject of two women wrapped in one mantle was favored by the Pharos Painter (pharos is a word for "cloak"). There are also contemporary representations of two males with one cloak. The meaning is most likely sexual.



Fig. 32. East-Greek, C. 550-525. Carved limestone pillar with woman carrying a lotus in her hand on one side with two tiny winged youths with wreaths hovering above her head.

A man wearing a long robe and carrying a wreath and a lyre. Also perhaps a sphinx. There is another man wearing a wreath leading a sacrificial goat. Met. L. 1996.864. A figure carved in low relief decorates each face of this pillar. The figures are a woman holding a lotus flower, attended by two tiny winged youths over her head, a man in a long robe who wears a wreath and holds a laurel branch and a small lyre - Bes, the animal-headed Egyptian god, and the legs of a feline, presumably a sphinx - and a man who wears a wreath and a long robe and leads a sacrificial goat. The style of carving is Greek provincial, but this distinctive type of monument is a Phoenician form. The pillar may have been a votive dedication rather than a grave marker.



Fig. 33. Bernini's Apollo and Daphne, 1622-1625. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

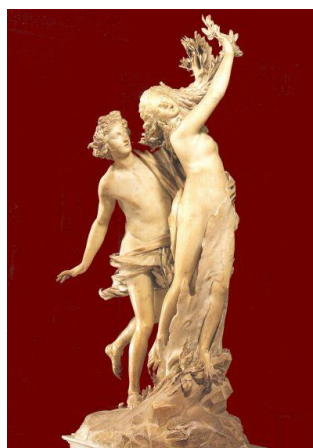


Fig. 34. Ojibwa pictorial writing, used in religious rites of the Midéwiwin and recorded on birch bark scrolls and possibly on rock. The many complex pictures on the sacred scrolls communicate historical, geometrical, and mathematical knowledge. Petroforms and medicine wheels were a way to teach the important concepts of four directions and astronomical observations about the seasons, and to use as a memorizing tool for certain stories and beliefs.

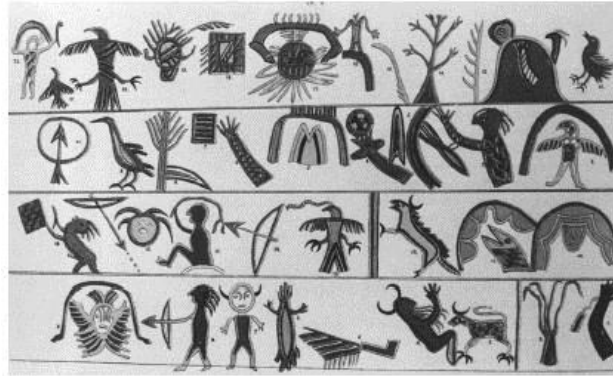


Fig. 35. Hanging Cloud (Ojibwa name Ah-shah-way-gee-she-go-qua, meaning "Goes Across the Sky Woman") was an Ojibwa female warrior.



THE CHIEF'S DAUGHTER.

Fig. 36. Ojibwa woman with the typical female dress, trousers, and shoes with her daughter.



Fig. 37. An Ojibwa woman in ceremonial dress.



Fig. 38. St. Anne, Mary, and Child by Francesco Traini (1321-1363). Princeton Art Museum.



Fig. 39. Coronation of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven (a potnia theron on her throne).
Artist unknown. Reproduced in Cowie, L.W. & John Selwyn Gummer. Springfield, MA:
G & C Merriam Company, 1974, p. 98.



Fig. 40. Mary, Queen of Heaven, St. Peter's Basilica.



Fig. 41. Our Lady of Lledó, Spain.



Fig. 42. The ten virgins with lamps (“the parable of the ten virgins”) flanking a nursing Virgin Mary. Exterior of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome.



Fig. 43. A modern conception of the goddess: “The Artemis in You.” Rev. Dr. Charlene M. Proctor.



Fig. 44. The Goddess of all living creatures. Modern day new age phantasy.

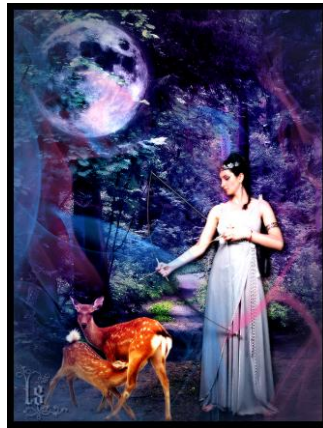


Fig. 45. God in charge. Michelangelo. Sistine Chapel.

