VI. GENDER

Historians and anthropologists use the term 'gender' to denote the social meanings and cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity instead of the physical connotations of sex. Although anthropologists have also done some work on concepts of masculinity,[1] recent studies of Greek religion have mainly analysed positions and representations of women, in so far as they have focused on gender differences at all. We will therefore first look at some elements of the female life cycle and daily life (§ 1), then look at representations of women in art and myth and at goddesses as possible role models (§ 2), and conclude with a discussion of the most important women's festivals (§ 3).[2]

1. *The life cycle and daily life*

In Athens gender differentiation was immediately apparent at birth, since parents hung a woollen fillet on the doorpost for girls and an olive wreath for boys. The symbolism seems clear: weaving and spinning were among the main activities of Greek women, whereas an olive wreath was the prize given to the male winner of the Olympic games.[3] Regarding young girls, little is known about religious activities in general, but we are reasonably well informed about their coming-of-age rituals, which have recently drawn much attention.[4]

Typical motifs of Greek female initiations were the prominence of aristocratic girls, seclusion, humiliation, choral dancing, physical exercise, and attention to beauty, as the following examples may illustrate. In Athens four girls of noble families, the *arrhephoroi*, lived on the Acropolis for a number of months (below). In Attic Brauron noble girls stayed for a while as 'she-bears', *arktoi*, in the sanctuary of Artemis, where they passed their time with dancing, running, and weaving.[5] In Corinth seven boys and seven girls of the most prominent families spent a year in the temple of Hera Akraia on the Acropolis dressed in black clothes and with close-cropped hair. In Ilion two maidens of the best families of Locri had to spend one year in the temple of Athena Ilias, which they had to keep clean, while being barefoot, their hair cut short and with only one dress to wear. On Keos, finally, marriageable girls had to spend the day in sanctuaries with sport and dancing, but at night they performed menial duties in other people's homes. All these rites are most easily understood as transformations of initiations, since these are their closest parallels.[6]

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In Sparta female initiation lasted longer than anywhere else in Greece. Here the girls received a thorough physical training in palaestras and racing-courses to become fit for producing firm and vigorous children. During the later part of their initiation some girls received a female lover. The seventh-century poet Alcman already describes the principal girls of a chorus, Hagesichora and Agido, as being in love with each other (fr. 3 Calame = 1 Page/Davies). Comparable 'lesbian' relationships existed on the island of Lesbos where girls received a pre-matrimonial training by means of dance and song in various circles: the poems of Sappho, the 'mistress' of one of these circles, testify to her passionate love for some of her pupils.[7]

In the final part of their initiation Spartan girls moved in the sphere of Helen who in Sparta was worshipped as a goddess. An important element in her service was running, which was not unique to Sparta: girls in Brauron ran races (above); in Chios girls ran against boys, and during Hera's festival in Elis girls ran in a very short dress, hair loosened, and right shoulder and breast bare.[8] In Helen's service the girls also performed choral dances during which these 'little Helens' sang patriotic songs and displayed their beauty. This connection between beauty and female adolescence was widespread. In Athens an aristocratic, marriageable girl could simply qualify her function as carrier of the sacrificial basket in processions (*kanephoros*) with 'when I was a beautiful girl' and the exemplary female novice of Arcadia was significantly called Kallisto, or 'The most beautiful'. In fact, in several places female initiation ended with a beauty contest. The parallels suggest that originally the situation in Sparta had not been all that different, but Spartan males, being a minority, had intensified the traditional physical exercise and concern for beauty to ensure that their domination over the Messenian helots was supported in all possible ways.[9]

Although the ritual elements were largely comparable, local myths varied widely and tied the rites closer to their communities. For example, in the myth of the *arrhephoria*, which is widely but not universally believed to reflect an initiation scenario, the three daughters of Athens' first king Kekrops (Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse) grew up in the palace on the Acropolis. The goddess Athena gave them a basket to guard and sternly forbade them to look inside it, but one night the sisters opened the basket and saw the child Erichthonius/Erechtheus and two snakes. Panic-stricken by this view they cast themselves from the Acropolis. In addition to explaining the presence of precincts of Aglauros and Pandrosos on the heights and slopes of the Acropolis, this myth associated the *arrhephoroi* with the heart

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of the Athenian tradition and motherhood: Erichthonius/Erechtheus was the first human king; a snake who was believed to guard the city was the most famous inhabitant of the Acropolis, and Athenian women put gold amulets in the form of snakes around their own babies 'observing the custom of their forefathers and of earth-born Erichthonius' (Euripides, *Ion* 20f).[10]

Why was it usually only a few aristocratic girls who participated in these 'initiatory' rites and why was the coming of age of 'lower-class' girls not ritualized? An answer to this difficult question may perhaps be found in Crete, where only the aristocratic boy had a pederastic relationship, even though the other boys 'graduated' with him (Ch. IV.3). Similarly, the relationship of Hagesichora and Agido seems to have been paradigmatic for the other Spartan girls. Evidently, aristocratic youths played a more prominent role in the ancient puberty rites than other adolescents. When in the course of the Archaic period the puberty rites lost their original significance, perhaps because of urbanization, they were not totally abolished but reduced to a symbolic participation of a few boys and/or girls. It is only understandable that these few 'exemplary' youths were recruited from the nobility, considering its dominant position. In democratic Athens such an exclusively aristocratic privilege was no longer tolerable, as is shown by a vote that all Athenian girls had to be a 'bear' at Brauron, which was known to the fourth-century historian Krateros (*FGrH* 342 F 9). This discontent in Athens with the prominent place of aristocratic girls already comes to the fore in the Archaic period, when non-aristocrats frequently dedicated statues of their daughters (*korai*) on the Acropolis to advertise their own status.[11] In many places in Greece, though, after the disintegration of the puberty rites the wedding seems to have become the main rite dramatizing the transition from youth to adulthood for girls of all classes.

Married Greek women would soon experience that religion helped to sustain a social system in which they occupied an inferior position, but which, paradoxically, also enabled them temporarily to escape from that system. Women were considered to be more susceptible to impurity and pollution, and giving birth was sometimes linked with defecating and urinating as the three important taboos on sacred ground, which illustrates a regular association of women with 'dirt'. This association also spilled over into secular life where, for example, in the Hippocratic tradition only female patients were 'purified' with excrements.[12] These negative associations also appeared in other ways. Statues of goddesses were more often washed than those of gods, sexual abstention seems to have been more strictly enforced for priestesses than for priests, and women were more

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often excluded from sanctuaries, especially from those of macho gods and heroes, like Poseidon (Ch. II.3) and Heracles (Ch. II.2).

Female festivals, on the other hand, enabled women to move among other women for a limited period (§ 3). Greek males realized the importance women attached to these events, since Democritus reportedly did his utmost not to die during the most important women's festival, the Thesmophoria, in order that his sister would not be prevented from attending (Diogenes Laertius 9.43). Women also played an important role in the new cults and 'sects' that gradually infiltrated the Greek world – a phenomenon well attested for Late Antiquity when women were instrumental in the spread of Gnosticism, Manichaeism and, in particular, Christianity. Older Athenian women, who actively used their possibilities of wandering more freely in the streets than was allowed to pre-menopause women, propagated cults of Cybele and Sabazios (Ch. VII.2). If these women often give the impression of belonging to the lower social strata, this cannot be said of those women who were interested in Bacchic teachings. It is rather striking that several of the recently published, so-called Orphic gold leaves, which are now increasingly being recognized as deriving from Bacchic groups (Ch. VII.1), have been found in graves of wealthy women in various parts of the Greek world. From a religious point of view, clearly more went on behind the closed doors of Greek women's quarters than was dreamt of in most scholars' philosophies.[13] Yet male Greeks were not prepared to allow women much freedom in religion, and festivals such as the Thesmophoria were closely supervised by males. In the fourth century the Athenians executed at least two women for introducing new cults and would have put to death the courtesan Phryne for the same reason, if in front of the male jury her lawyer had not spectacularly bared her breasts.[14]

2. *Representations and role models*

What images of Greek women were mediated through religion? An answer cannot be exhaustive, but two areas especially deserve our attention. Numerous Attic vases display women practising or participating in various rites, especially wedding rites. They often mark the bride's beauty and thus reflect the Greek view of female adolescents (§ 1). These vases were given as a wedding present to the bride and women may well have internalized this view and appreciated these gifts. Equally popular were paintings of women performing libations for departing warriors or participating in funerals as mourners and, especially after the first half of the fifth century,

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as visitors at a grave. These vases present us with positive roles of women but always being subject to or serving men.[15]

Although positive images of women were not absent, negative representations dominated. Mythology, especially, played an important role in spreading and sustaining negative images of women in all stages of their lives, starting with the myths surrounding the first woman, Pandora, who was credited with bringing evils such as disease and old age to man through her curiosity.[16] As was the case with boys (Ch. IV.3), adolescent girls were seen as 'untamed' fillies and their initiation as a kind of 'domestication', which on vases was often represented as a 'capture' of a fleeing girl by a youth.[17] The metaphor is very clearly expressed in Euripides' *Hippolytus* when the chorus evokes how Aphrodite gave the girl Iole to Heracles, 'a filly, unyoked to the marriage bed, husbandless before' (546f). Moreover, girls were compared to heifers and myth pictured both Io and the daughters of Proitos wandering around as cows.[18] Yet the metaphor of the marriage yoke suggests an important difference from boys' initiation. Despite the similarities, boys became free men on adulthood, but women always remained 'yoked'.

The 'domesticating' function of marriage was also represented on the level of cult and ritual. Spartan girls worshipped certain pre-nuptial heroines, the Leukippides, whose name, 'White Mares', reflected their transitional position between youth and married adulthood, as did their sometime appearance as adolescents and as newlyweds. Myth also related their capture by the Dioscuri, the mythical models of the young Spartan males, whom Alcman significantly calls 'tamers of fast horses' (fr. 2 Calame = 2 Page/Davies). The capture ended in marriage, which was a direct reflection of the Spartan wedding custom of 'kidnapping' the bride. The Thessalians even acted out the equestrian metaphor in their wedding ritual. Here as Aelian (*ca.* A.D. 170–240) relates, 'a man about to marry, when offering the wedding sacrifice, brings in a war-horse bitted and even fully equipped with all its gear; then when he has completed the sacrifice and poured the libation, he leads the horse by the rein and hands it to his bride. The significance of this the Thessalians must explain.' We need not share Aelian's despair, since the meaning of the gesture seems clear: among the horse-loving Thessalians a man expected his wife to act like a completely domesticated and tamed horse.[19]

The recurrent motif of young girls falling in love and betraying their own family presents a more negative portrayal. It is already alluded to in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus sees Ariadne (11.321–5), whose assistance had been decisive in Theseus' conquest of the Minotaur (Ch. V.3). Another

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early example is Medea, who had helped Jason to procure the Golden Fleece. Both girls do not fare well after their betrayal, as was to be expected: Greek myth could hardly have condoned such behaviour. In these and similar cases the ambiguous action of the girls (helping and betraying) reflected the ambiguous position between their own and (future) husbands' families in an early society where the support of the family was all-important (Ch. V.2).[20]

Adult women also occupied this ambiguous position and they, too, were pictured as betraying their husbands, witness Eriphyle's betrayal of the seer Amphiaraos (Ch. III.3) for a golden necklace. Moreover, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has recently drawn attention to myths of the 'bad mother': in the myths of the Phineids, the sons are being blinded by the mother and sometimes their stepmother, and in the myth of Ino Themisto killed her own children by accident while trying to murder her stepchildren. The collective imagination probably considered a murdering mother too harsh and therefore replaced her by a stepmother, since in some versions of these myths the mother alternates with the stepmother. Yet the message seems clear: Greek males and their offspring were highly vulnerable in the family sphere and the loyalty of their wives was never to be taken for granted. On a subconscious level, women remained frightening to Greek males even after menopause, as can be seen by the number of terrifying females that were represented as old women: Moirai, Empousa, Lamia, Graiai, and Erinyes. From adolescence to old age, then, myth depicted women in more or less negative ways. It is important to note that these mythical representations were not seen as something of a distant past but explicitly connected with the present. When Odysseus meets Agamemnon in the underworld, the latter complains about his murder by his wife Clytaemnestra and comments: 'she has brought shame on herself and future generations of women, even if one of these were to be honest' (*Od.* 11.433f).[21]

Frightening women not only occurred within Greek culture, but myth even located them outside the borders of the Greek world. The *Iliad* only alludes to a tribe of warrior women, the Amazons, 'women equal to men' (3.189, 6.186), but the formula looks old and Homer may not have told everything he knew. Other epics were more informative and the *Aethiopis* related the fight between Achilles and Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons. In the Archaic period Heracles' battle against the Amazons became one of the most popular feats in the visual arts (fig. 12), only to be succeeded by Theseus. The few data which the tradition supplied made the Amazons into a relatively 'empty' myth which could be filled by successive

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periods with their most favourite hero. This 'emptiness' also appears from the widely diverging interpretations of modern scholars: from nineteenth-century matriarchy to the contemporary 'Other'. Every age receives the Amazons it deserves.[22]

12. Battle of Amazons against Heracles, whose head is missing, with his heroic friends

If mythology supplied few females as attractive role-models for Greek women, what about goddesses? Eileithyia, the goddess presiding over the actual birth (Ch. III.2) seems to have played only a functional role in the lives of Greek women, but Demeter, the goddess by whom women swore oaths, must have been more attractive to them, in particular because of her Thesmophoria festivals (§ 3).[23] However, Greek parents never gave their daughters the name Demeter, since the distance between gods and mortals was normally too great to give a child the name of a god (Ch. II.1). The only exceptions to the rule were Artemis and Bendis, a Thracian goddess who was introduced in Athens in the later fifth century and worshipped as a kind of double of Artemis (Ch. VII.2). Their names were regularly given to girls and the reason seems apparent. In the *Odyssey* Nausicaa's pre-eminence among her friends is compared to Artemis' position among her nymphs (6.102–9). By naming their daughter Artemis, parents probably hoped for a similar pre-eminence among her contemporaries.[24]

The reason why goddesses were hardly satisfactory role-models lies in one of the peculiarities of the Greek pantheon which we have not yet mentioned: representations of gods and goddesses in no way directly reflected the common role patterns of the sexes in human life. On the

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the contrary, the Greek pantheon contained a striking asymmetry. Whereas the gods did not play important roles in typically female activities, the reverse was true for goddesses. Admittedly, Athena supervised spinning and weaving, but she was also the goddess of artisans, closely connected with war and always represented in armour (Ch. II.3). Hera and Aphrodite (Ch. IV.3) were also, in varying ways, connected with war,[25] and Artemis was the goddess of the hunt (Ch. II.2). Burkert has pointed out that archaeological findings prove that this prominent position of goddesses in the male world goes back to pre-agricultural hunting cultures, but the darkness of prehistory prevents any further understanding.[26] Greek mythology, then, was not too woman-friendly and this makes the role of female festivals even more important.

3. *Women's festivals*

The most widespread women's festivals were the Thesmophoria festivals.[27] I purposely use the plural because modern research regularly discusses the festival in the singular – as if it was the same all over Greece. For example, when one of the most interesting recent analyses concludes: 'Their [the women's] specific procreative potential is celebrated as essential for the continuity of the community *and* this takes place in the [political] centre of the community: Kalligeneia close to the Pnyx ...', it overlooks the extra-urban nature of most sanctuaries of Demeter (Ch. III.2). We will sketch the festivals in outline and apply a certain 'ritual logic' in our reconstruction of the order of events during the festivals, but we have to take into account that they were old, panhellenic, and displayed local differences.[28]

The festivals generally lasted three days, of which the Athenian names have been preserved, but they were celebrated in Sicily for ten days, since here Demeter and Kore occupied important positions in the local pantheon. In Athens participation was restricted to married women from noble families, but such social differentiation need not have taken place everywhere; in some places girls also seem to have attended.[29] In Athens the first day was known as *Anodos* because it started with the 'Ascent' of the women with their equipment, food, and shrieking piglets to the sanctuaries of Demeter, which were usually situated on hills (Ch. III.2). They built huts in which they stayed during the festivals, and made beds with twigs of withy, flea bane, and certain types of laurel – all antaphrodisiac plants.[30] On the level of myth this absence of sexuality was symbolized in Demeter's gift of the Thesmophoria to an old woman (Corinth) or the maiden daughters of the first king (Paros) – both belonging to categories on either side of

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licit sexuality; in a Peloponnesian version, the Danaids who had murdered their husbands during their wedding night had brought the festival from Egypt: an interesting indication of the festival's perceived 'otherness'.[31] Since the women had temporarily deserted marriage, the absence of sexuality was heavily marked during the seclusion – which may well have reassured the husbands.

The second day was called *Nesteia*, or 'Fasting', which the women spent fasting, sitting on the ground, and without the usual flowery garlands. This is the day on which Aristophanes has situated a meeting of all Athenian women in his *Thesmophoriazusae*, although in reality Athenian women probably never celebrated the festival together but seem to have met only in their own demes.[32] As Versnel suggests, it fits the 'abnormal' character of the day that on this day Athens released its prisoners and suspended court sessions and council meetings: the 'reversals' strongly contrasted the 'Fasting' with the return to 'normality' on the last day when fertility of land and humans became the main focus of activities.[33] And just as the death of Sophocles was located on the most sombre day of the Anthesteria (Ch. IV.3), so Plutarch located the death of Demosthenes on 'the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria' in his *Life of Demosthenes* (30) – typically, if most probably wrongly.

Demeter's fasting during her search for Persephone came to an end when, in one version of the myth, an old lady, Baubo, made her laugh by lifting her skirt. As the Demeter myth was closely connected with the Thesmophoria in various places in Greece, it is attractive to connect the lifting of the ritual fasting with the reports about mocking, sham fights, and indecent speech during the festivals: the return to 'normality' had to be marked by a period of very 'abnormal' female behaviour. Herodotus mentions that not everything about the Thesmophoria could be freely told and these 'secrets' may well relate to this part of the festivals (2.171.2).[34]

On the third day, the Kalligeneia, decayed remains of piglets were fetched up from subterranean pits (*megara* or *magara*), where they had been left to rot for some time, and placed on altars as future manure. In addition to this concern for the fertility of the land, there was also concern for human procreation: Kalligeneia was invoked as goddess of birth in Athens on this day. It is probably these positive aspects of the day which were celebrated with the sacrifice of pigs, the sacrificial victim appropriate to Demeter (Ch. IV.2).[35] In a famous study Marcel Detienne has argued that women themselves were not allowed to sacrifice but that sacrifice was

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strictly male business. Yet literary, epigraphical and archaeological (fig. 13) evidence all attested to the contrary and already in Bronze Age graves women were buried with sacrificial knives.[36]

13. Girl sacrificing at altar

Only a few anecdotes about males spying and Aristophanes' play attest to male curiosity about the Thesmophoria. It was very different with the maenads, the female followers of Dionysus in myth and ritual, whose ecstatic rituals took place every other year on mountains in the winter. Greek myth abounds with startling pictures of their mad behaviour culminating in the description of their murderous ecstasy in Euripides' *Bacchae*: running over mountains, moving like birds, handling fire and snakes, attacking men, and tearing apart animals, children, and even the

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Theban king.[37] Literature and art have provided us with much information about these rituals, which are also reflected in some of the names of maenads on vases, such as the references to the nightly character of the ritual in the names 'Torch' (*Lampas*) and 'All night long' (*Pannychis*): apparently, the rituals could be relatively freely observed or talked about.[38] In recent times much attention has been directed to the disentanglement of myth and ritual in these reports; to distinguishing those images of maenads which matched the visual experience of a contemporary viewer from those which were 'invented' by the painter or copied from other images; to the representation of the maenads in literature and art, and to the origin and function of the ritual. Let us look at a few elements of these discussions.

By taking into account distinctions between myth and ritual (Ch. V.3) and comparative evidence we can often reasonably decide in what ways the mythical imagination 'processed' elements of ritual. When in the *Bacchae* maenads are said to eat raw meat, a judicious comparison with the tasting of small portions of meat from domesticated animals in epigraphically attested maenadic ritual shows that the carnivorous women operated only on the level of myth. On the other hand, comparisons with ecstatic rituals from all over the world strongly suggest that elements such as walking barefoot, headshaking, moving to shrill music and clappers, and singing in high-pitched voices were not invented by the ancient sources.[39] Regarding the representations on the vases we can investigate which elements are consistently attested or note the lack of functionality of certain details. For example, long ago it was already convincingly argued that the consistency in the ways the women's poses in maenadic dances were pictured and their absence in other female Dionysiac representations implied that they reflected 'real life' dances. And when for no obvious reasons round cakes (?) appear at the shoulders of the 'idol' of Dionysus on the so-called Lenaean vases, they will hardly have been invented by the painter.[40]

It is clear that poets and painters have been much intrigued by the maenads. Already Homer compares Andromache to a 'maenad', when she in fear for Hector's life rushes through the house (*Il.* 6.389), and tragedy abounds with allusions to maenadism, especially in Euripides. Sometimes maenadism enables the playwright to let a female character move freely outside her house, as in his *Antigone*. In other cases, mythical maenads are used as a point of comparison for the frenzied behaviour of his male protagonists, as in the *Heracles*.[41] Vase-painters also showed great curiosity about the maenads but certainly not at all times. The high points of interest

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seem to have been the end of the sixth century and the fourth century. Moreover, interest was clearly limited to certain contexts. Maenads are absent from white-ground lekythoi and, considering the interest of Bacchic mysteries in afterlife (Ch. VII.1), it is at least noteworthy that maenads also never appear on funerary pots.[42]

There is little known about the origin of maenadism, although a background in initiation is not unlikely.[43] It is clear, though, that maenadic ritual was widespread in the Greek world and locally there must have been all kinds of variants.[44] The ritual must have fulfilled various functions in Greek women's lives – that is, in the lives of 'upper-class' women, since the ritual was probably limited to that class. First, it gave the women the possibility of a genuine religious experience through their identification with Dionysus during the ritual. Second, the rituals provided occasions for leaving the home and staying with other women without the immediate supervision of males. Third, by going into trance the women could perhaps reach a more authentic self-expression than in their normal fixed roles. Yet the limited occurrence of the rituals (only every other year), the restricted participation (above) and the male supervision from a distance should not make us overrate the importance of these rituals for Greek women, however fascinating they were for Greek males (and modern scholars!).

Our last festival is the Adonia, which yearly took place in high summer.[45] During the festival women of all classes mourned the death of the divine youth Adonis with ecstatic, nightly dances and planted quickly germinating green salad stuff on sherds, which at the end of the festival were thrown into the sea. The cult, which served more or less the same functions as maenadic ritual, is attested first in the Eastern part of the Greek Mediterranean.[46] It clearly derives from Syro-Palestine, witness the connection of Adonis' name with the Semitic title *adon*, 'Lord', and testimonies about the offering of incense to Baal on flat roof-tops.[47] The growing of the gardens seems to have originated in the widespread agricultural custom to grow a few plants in order to test the quality of seeds, but it is obscure how or why this custom was incorporated into the Adonis ritual.[48] In myth Adonis is painted in very negative colours. He is the product of incest, a coward who hides himself among lettuce plants, is passive in love affairs and perishes in a hunt: from a male point of view not a very threatening figure. Did the women accept the male negative view or were there female voices whose independent opinion have been lost?

In modern rural Greece women seem to have internalized the male negative views about them,[49] and there are really no indications that

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ancient Greek women had developed an alternative ideology.[50] One thing seems sure. As our discussion of the rituals, myths, and festivals has shown, cult provided only limited possibilities to Greek women for support and self-expression, and lower-class women may have fared even worse than aristocratic females. Moreover, mythology produced and maintained a stream of negative images about women. In the end Greek religion was not that different from the women-unfriendly spirit of Greek culture at large.

NOTES

1. J. Scott, 'Women's History', in P. Burke (ed), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 42–66; D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven and London, 1990).

2. No modern history of Greek religion has a separate chapter on gender.

3. Ephippus fr. 3; Nonnus, *Dion.* 25. 220; Hesch, s.v. *stephanon ekpherein*. We do not know how widespread this custom was.

4. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles* (seminal); Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*; more elementary, E. Specht, *Schön zu sein und gut zu sein. Mädchenbilding und Frauensozialisation im antiken Griechenland* (Vienna, 1989).

5. Most recently, S. G. Cole, 'The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 233–44; Brulé, *Fille d'Athènes*, pp. 179–283; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (Athens, 1988); Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 9–47; Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play*, pp. 169–93. Our knowledge has greatly increased by L. Kahil's publications of goblets with representations of the rituals: most recently, *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Inscr.* 1988, 799–813 (with bibliography).

6. Corinth: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, pp. 220–3. Ilion: Graf, 'Die lokrischen Mädchen', *Studi Storico-Rel.* 2 (1978), 61–79. Keos: Plut. *Mor.* 249.

7. Sparta: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, *passim*. 'Lesbian' love: Calame, ibid., pp. 433–6; 2, 86–97; A. Lardinois, 'Lesbian Sappho and Sappho of Lesbos', in Bremmer, *From Sappho to De Sade*, pp. 15–35.

8. Chios: Athen. 13.566E. Elis: Paus. 5.16, cf. C. Calame, 'Pausanias le périégète en ethnographie', in J.-M. Adam et al. (eds), *Le discours anthropologique* (Paris, 1990), pp. 227–50; N. Serwint, 'The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites', *Am. J. Arch.* 97 (1993), 403–22.

9. Helen: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, 333–50; *SEG* 26.457f, 35.320 (?); L. Kahil, *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), s.v. *Kanephoros*: Brulé, *Fille d'Athènes*, pp. 301–8. Kallisto: A. Henrichs, in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 254–67; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 182–91; I. McPhee, *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v. Contests: Graf, *NK*, 275.

10. On the ritual and myth see now Brulé, *Fille d'Athènes*, pp. 79–123; Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', pp. 195f (whom I closely follow); U. Kron, *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), s.v. Erechtheus; G. J. Baudy, 'Der Heros in der Kiste. Der Erichthoniosmythos als Aition athenischer Erntefeste', *Antike & Abendland* 38 (1992), 1–47.

11. R. Ross Holloway, 'Why Korai?', *Oxford J. Arch.* 11 (1992), 267–74; H. Rühfel, 'Ein frühklassisches Knabenköpfchen', in Froning, *Kotinos*, pp. 175–80, notes that girls' marble statues were often smaller than those of boys. See in general also the observations of R. Osborne, 'Looking on – Greek style. Does the sculptured girl speak to women too?', in I. Morris (ed), *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 81–96.

12. Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 84f; S. G. Cole, '*Gynaiki ou Themis*: Gender Difference in the Greek *Leges Sacrae*', *Helios* 19 (1992), 104–22; H. von Staden, 'Women and Dirt', ibid., 7–30.

13. Bremmer, 'Why did Early Christianity attract Upper-Class Women?', in A. Bastiaensen et al. (eds), *Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink* . . . (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989), pp. 37–47 (Late Antiquity); id., 'Old Women', pp. 193f; add Theophr. fr. 486. F. Graf, 'Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology', in Carpenter/Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 239–58 (graves).

14. Supervision: Cole, '*Gynaiki ou Themis*', 113f. Executions: Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 115–19.

15. Cf. C. Bérard, 'L'ordre des femmes', in id. et al., *La cité des images* (Lausanne, 1984), pp. 85–104; F. Lissarrague, 'Femmes au figuré', in P. Schmitt Pantel (ed), *Histoire des femmes en Occident I.*

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L'antiquité (Paris, 1990), pp. 159–251; H. Shapiro, 'The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art', *Am. J. Arch.* 95 (1991), 629–56.

16. Mythology: J. Gould, 'Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens', *JHS* 100 (1980), 38–59, esp. 52–8. Pandora: J. Rudhardt, 'Pandora: Hésiode et les femmes', *Mus. Helv.* 43 (1986), 237–9; N. Loraux, *Les enfants d'Athéna* (Paris, 1990²), pp. 261f.

17. Vases: Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture*, pp. 58–98. 'Taming': Calame, *Choeurs* 1, pp. 411–20; R. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 77–93; P. Ghiron-Bistagne, 'Le cheval et la jeune fille ou de la virginité chez les anciens Grecs', *Pallas* 32 (1985), 105–21.

18. Io: N. Yalouris, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v. Io I. Proitos: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 168–73; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 70–95.

19. Leukippides: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, pp. 323–33; M. Prange, 'Der Raub der Leukippiden auf einer Vase des Achillesmalers', *Antike Kunst* 35 (1992), 3–18. 'Kidnapping': Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, p. 110 (Bremmer). Thessaly: Aelian, *Nat. An.* 12. 34 (tr. A. F. Scholfield, Loeb).

20. Cf. M.-L. Bernhard and W. Daszewski, *LIMC* III.1 (1986), s.v. Ariadne; s.v. Ariatha (F. Jurgeit); J. Neils, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v. Iason (Medea). Betrayal: Bremmer, 'Old Women', p. 204.

21. Eriphyle: R. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 37. Sourvinou-Inwood: 'The Fourth Stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone*', *BICS* 36 (1989), 141–65; 'Myths in Images: Theseus and Medea as a Case Study', in Edmunds, *Approaches to Greek Myth*, pp. 395–445; 'Sophocles' Antigone as a "Bad Woman"', in F. Dieteren and E. Kloek (eds), *Writing Women into History* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 11–38. Old women: Bremmer, 'Old Women', p. 203.

22. See now the innovative approach of J. Blok, *The Early Amazons* (Leiden, 1994).

23. E. Degani, in J. M. Bremer and E. W. Handley (eds), *Aristophane = Entretiens Hardt* 38 (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1993), p. 42.

24. O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca selecta* 2 (Paris, 1990), pp. 543–7 (= *ZPE* 66, 1986, 126–30: Artemis), 605–11 (= *Mus. Helv.* 45, 1988, 6–12: Bendis).

25. Argive initiates received a shield during the Heraia, cf. Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 163f; L. Moretti, 'Dagli *Heraia* all' *Aspis* di Argo', *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 16 (Rome, 1991), 179–89.

26. Burkert, 'Weibliche und männliche Gottheiten in antiken Kulturen ...', in J. Martin and R. Zoepffel (eds), *Aufgaben, Rollen und Räume von Frau und Mann* (Freiburg and Munich, 1989), pp. 157–79; N. Loraux, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une déesse?', in Schmitt Pantel, *Histoire des femmes* 1, pp. 31–62.

27. See most recently Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 81–3; Burkert, *GR*, pp. 242–6; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (London, 1990), pp. 188–209 (also on Adonia); U. Kron, 'Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi', *Arch. Anz.* 1992, 611–50; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, 228–88. I refer to these studies for the sources.

28. *Contra* Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, p. 275.

29. This is problematic, but passages, such as Strabo 1.3.20 (the death of 25 maidens during the Thesm.); Cicero, *Verr.* 4.99 (women and maidens perform sacrifices for Demeter in Sicilian Catane); Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* 2.1 (courtesan and virgin attending); Schol. Theocr. 4.25c (maidens and women participating, if in garbled and clearly late [books mentioned!] text), suggest the possibility of local varieties or later developments.

30. On huts and beds see now U. Kron, 'Kultmahle im Heraion von Samos archaicher Zeit', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 135–47 and 'Frauenfeste', 620–3; D. Baudy, 'Das Keuschlamm-Wunder des Hermes ...', *Grazer Beitr.* 16 (1989), 1–28. I am not sure whether the hiding of a pine-twig under the withy in Miletos was meant to suggest 'fertility ... not accorded consummation, as Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, p. 248 states, since the text (Didymus, *Symp.* fr. 6, ed. Schmidt, pp. 374f: with thanks to D. Holwerda and St. Radt) is hopelessly corrupt.

31. Cf. Servius, *Aen.* 1 (Corinth); Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 89 (Paros); Hdt. 2.171 (Danaids).

32. For the connection of the play with the festival see F. Zeitlin, 'Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazousae', in H. Foley (ed), '*Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York, 1981), pp. 169–217; Bowie, *Aristophanes*, pp. 205–27. For the celebration of the Athenian Thesmophoria only in demes we may expect a study by Kevin Clinton.

33. Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 242–4.

34. Baubo: F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1974), pp. 170f. Secrecy: C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin and New York, 1986), p. 11.

35. Our main source, Schol. Luc. 275.23–76.28 Rabe, probably describes the Athenian festival but

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the ritual also occurred in other places, cf. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie*, pp. 119f. *Megara/magara*: L. Robert, *Opera omnia selecta* 2 (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 1005–7 and *Opera* 5, pp. 289f; K. Clinton, 'Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 69–80. For the connection with fertility of the land note also the dedications of ploughs and hoes in the Thesmophoreion of Gela: Kron, 'Frauenfeste', 636–9.

36. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant (eds), *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grecque* (Paris, 1979), pp. 183–214. *Contra*: Kron, 'Frauenfeste', 640–3, 650; R. Osborne, 'Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece', *CQ* 43 (1993), 392–405.

37. For the *Bacchae* see now J. March, 'Euripides' *Bakchai*: A Reconsideration in the light of Vase Paintings', *BICS* 36 (1989), 33–66; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 131–205, *passim*.

38. Cf. A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern . . .', in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (Malibu, 1991), 131–99, esp. 175–92.

39. Cf. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism reconsidered)', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 267–86; A. Bélis, 'Musique et transe dans le cortège dionysiaque', in P. Chiron-Bistagne (ed), *Transe et théâtre = Cahiers du GITA* 4 (Montpellier, 1988), 9–29.

40. I take these examples from R. Osborne, 'The ecstasy and the tragedy: varieties of religious experience in art, drama and society' in C. Pelling and C. Sourvinou-Inwood (eds), *Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford, 1995: interesting methodological reflections). Dance: see now M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, 'Danse et transe. La dance au service du culte de Dionysos . . .', in Ghiron-Bistagne, *Transe et théâtre*, 31–53.

41. Cf. R. Kannicht, 'Antigone bacchans', in Froning, *Kotinos*, pp. 252–5; R. Schlesier, 'Mixtures of Masks; Maenads as Tragic Models', and R. Seaford, 'Dionysus as Destroyer of the Household: Homer, Tragedy, and the Polis', in Carpenter/Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 89–114, 115–46.

42. I owe these data to Osborne, 'The ecstasy'; for representations on the so-called Lenaean vases see now F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masque: une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes* (Paris, 1991).

43. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism', 282–4; but see also R. Seaford, 'The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides: Hera, Artemis, and the Absence of Dionysos', *JHS* 108 (1988), 118–36.

44. See the survey by Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 134–50.

45. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 176f; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 103–5; add to Versnel's full bibliographies Bremmer, 'Onder de parfum, in de sla, tussen de vrouwen: Adonis en de Adonia', *Hermeneus* 59 (1987), 181–7.

46. Hes. fr. 139; Sappho fr. 140a, 168; A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 92–4 (Epimenides); Panyassis fr. 22b Davies.

47. See for one more possible example of Semitic influence M. Stol, 'Greek *Deikterion*: the Lying-in-State of Adonis', in J. H. Kamstra et al. (eds), *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 127f.

48. G. J. Baudy, *Adonisgärten. Studien zur antiken Samensymbolik* (Frankfurt, 1986), whose initiatory interpretations are not convincing; see also G. Pilitsis, 'The Gardens of Adonis in Seres Today', *J. Mod. Greek Stud.* 3 (1985), 145–66; A. Hiltebeitel, 'South Indian Gardens of Adonis Revisited', in Blondeau/Schipper, *Essais sur le rituel* 2, 65–91; F. Heinimann, *Mus. Helv.* 49 (1992), 81f (new testimony).

49. Cf. J. du Boulay, 'Women – Images of Their Nature and Destiny in Rural Greece', in J. Dubisch (ed), *Gender & Power in Rural Greece* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 139–68.

50. *Contra* Winkler, *Constraints of Desire*, pp. 188–209, who draws his modern parallels not from rural areas but from circles which have already come into contact with Western ideas.

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