

## DID PARTHENOI ATTEND THE OLYMPIC GAMES? GIRLS AND WOMEN COMPETING, SPECTATING, AND CARRYING OUT CULT ROLES AT GREEK RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that panhellenic festivals were the major social and religious events of the Greek world, the evidence as to whether women actually attended these is surprisingly inconclusive. In fact, it is quite clear that women (*gynaikes*) were explicitly prohibited from attending and watching the Olympic festival, which was celebrated every four years, and lasted for a period of five days. According to Pausanias, women (*gynaikes*) were debarred from Olympia during the time when the Olympic festival was being held, though at other times both maidens (*parthenoi*) and women (*gynaikes*) were admitted to the *prothesis* (base) of the altar of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.13.10). By Eleian law any woman (*gyne*) detected at an Olympic gathering, or who was even found to have crossed the river *Alpheios*, was to be hurled from Mount *Typaion* (Paus. 5.6.7). *Parthenoi*, however, were not prohibited from watching the contests (Paus. 6.20.9). The only exception to this regulation was the priestess of Demeter *Chamyne*, a *gyne* rather than a *parthenos*, who during the celebration of the Olympic festival sat on an altar opposite the *hellanodikai*, the umpires (Paus. 6.20.9). Pausanias seems to state quite clearly in these passages that only the priestess of Demeter *Chamyne* and *parthenoi* could attend and watch the Olympic contests. HARRIS, however, thinks that Paus. 6.20.9 (*παρθένους δὲ οὐκ εἴργουσι θεᾶσθαι*) is a corrupt passage and that the negative should be dropped, meaning that *parthenoi* would also have been excluded from the festival.<sup>2</sup> This, however, is not a necessary emendation.

It might seem strange that *parthenoi* were allowed to attend the Olympic festival when there were so many men competing naked in a wide variety of competitions.<sup>3</sup> Males competed naked, however, at a great many athletic festivals,

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in this article:

HARRIS = H. A. H., *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, Connecticut, 1964;

MORETTI = L. M., *Iscrizione agonistiche greche*, Rome 1953;

RASCHKE = W. J. R. (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics. The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity*, Wisconsin 1988.

<sup>2</sup> HARRIS 183; some are inclined to follow HARRIS' view: see N. J. RICHARDSON, *Panhellenic Cults and Panhellenic Poets*, in *C.A.H. V<sup>2</sup>*, Cambridge 1992, 236. There are, however, no variant readings in the text at this point; see the app. crit. of M. H. ROCHA-PEREIRA, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, II, Leipzig 1977, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 1.44.1–2 (cf. Thuc. 1.6.5–6, Plat. Rep. 452 cd) states that a naked man runs more swiftly than one who is clothed, contested by J. A. ARIETI, *Nudity in Greek athletics*, *C.W.* 68, 1975, 431–36. For nudity in Greek athletics, see also N. B. CROWTHER, *Athletic dress and nudity*

such as the Isthmian, Nemean, Pythian and Panathenaic contests, and there is no specific evidence that women were excluded from watching these. In fact, some evidence suggests that women did indeed attend festivals involving nude athletic contests, and were allowed to watch the competitions. For example, the Homeric Hymn to Apollo which Thucydides (Thuc. 3.104.4–5) quotes (lines 146–50, 165–72) in his description of the Athenian revival of the Delian festival describes the Ionians gathering on the island of Delos, together with their wives and children to attend the festival there in honour of Apollo; these wives and children presumably witnessed the athletic contests:

‘But it was on Delos, Phoibos, that your heart especially took delight,  
Where the long-robed Ionians gather together  
With their children and wives on your sacred street;  
There in boxing and dancing and singing  
They think of you and rejoice, when they hold your games’ (146–50).

The Hymn also addresses the Delian girls (*kourai*) who honoured the god with a *choros*, dancing and singing in his honour (157–64). The festival on Delos was an ancient four-yearly festival which later lost its contests and most of its programme, but was revived by the Athenians in 426 (when they added horse-racing). Thucydides points out that each of the Ionian cities had in the past produced its own *choros*, the men attending with their wives and children, and in this context he also mentions the Ionian festival at Ephesos, implying that women and children in the fifth century attended this festival as well (Thuc. 3.104.3; cf. Plut. Nik. 3.4–6). Pindar too, in an ode for Telesikrates of Cyrene who was victorious in the race in full armour in the Pythian contests at Delphi in 474 B.C., describes how, at the local games held at Cyrene, Telesikrates was admired after his victory by the local girls (*parthenoi*) who prayed that they might have a husband or son like him (Pind. Pyth. 9.97–103). The fifth-century Syracusan mime writer Sophron had women spectators at Isthmia in one of his mimes, which must indicate that women were spectators at this panhellenic competition,<sup>4</sup> and presumably they could also be present at the Pythian and Nemean festivals, at well as less important festivals with contests.

in Greek athletics, *Eranos* 80, 1982, 163–68; J. C. MANN, *Gymnazō* in Thuc. 1.6.5–6, *Cl.Rev.* 24, 1974, 177–78; E. H. STURTEVANT, *Gymnos and Nudus*, *A.J.Ph.* 33, 1912, 324–29; M. McDONNELL, The introduction of athletic nudity: Thucydides, Plato and the vases, *J.H.St.* 111, 1991, 182–93; J. THUILLIER, *La nudité athlétique* (Grèce, Étrurie, Rome), *Nikephoros* 1, 1988, 29–48; cf. further for Italy, N. B. CROWTHER, *Nudity and morality: athletics in Italy*, *Cl.J.* 76, 1980–81, 119–23; J. THUILLIER, *Denis d’Halicarnasse et les jeux romains* (*Antiquités romaines* 7, 72–73), *M.E.F.R.* 87, 1975, 563–581; T. F. SCANLON, *Virgineum Gymnasium: Spartan Females and early Greek athletics*, in RASCHKE 189–90.

<sup>4</sup> G. KAIBEL, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, Berlin S.155 (10), 1898. The title of the play is uncertain.

Male nudity in athletic competitions was probably therefore not regarded as offensive to girls and women. But in fact at Athens, it was probably a matter of custom that respectable citizen women did not attend athletic festivals, not because of the naked athletes, but because of the desire to limit the public appearances of citizen wives; for example, the more opportunities wives had for contact with men other than their husbands, the more likely to the Athenian male mind became the possibility of seduction (the most famous case involves Lysias 1: On the Murder of Eratosthenes). Nevertheless, despite this conventional ideology of the seclusion of women at Athens, clearly many Athenian citizen women did have not only to go outside for daily chores such as collecting water, but also from economic necessity many had to work outside the home.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, although it appears that there was no actual prohibition on women attending the theatre at Athens, citizen women in general probably did not attend.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the torch-race at the Panathenaia in which the competitors went naked took place through the streets of Athens (the route was from the Academy's entrance to below the acropolis), and it is unlikely that women as a whole could have been prevented from watching this. The modern tendency to assume that women would not have seen men other than their husbands naked need not have been the case, and in the world of athletics male nudity occurred in a socially controlled environment, the athletic contest. Inappropriate male nudity was, of course, censured: in Theophrastos' Characters, it is the boorish man who hitches up his cloak and reveals his nudity (4.7), while it is the obnoxious man who, when meeting free women, lifts up his clothes and reveals his 'shamefulness' (11.2). This indicates the possibility that women who left their homes could encounter male indecency in the streets in the course of their normal activities.

Pausanias seems to be quite specific at 6.20.9, that parthenoi could attend the Olympic festival, and further evidence also supports the reliability of the three passages in Pausanias about girls and women at the Olympics (Paus. 5.6.7; 5.13.10; 6.20.9), which clearly state that parthenoi could attend the games as spectators but gynaikes could not. In an anecdote, Pausanias states that no woman (gyne) had ever been caught attending the Olympic festival, except Kallipateira (also known as Pherenike) in the fifth century.<sup>7</sup> Her husband had died and so she undertook to travel to Olympia, disguised as a trainer, with her son Peisirodos, who won his boxing contest. Kallipateira, in her excitement, jumped over the fence separating the trainers from the competitors and revealed that she was a woman. Despite the fact that she had broken the law, she was spared the penalty of

<sup>5</sup> See the bibliography at M. P. J. DILLON and L. GARLAND, *Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Socrates*, London 1994, 402.

<sup>6</sup> See Dillon and Garland (above n. 5) 408–09.

<sup>7</sup> Her father was Diagoras of Rhodes (Paus. 6.7.2), whose boxing victory of 464 was celebrated by Pind. Ol. 7 (with schol.); for Peisirodos, see I. RUTGERS, *Sextus Africanus' List of Olympian Victors*, Leiden 1862, 135–36; for the athletic victories of this family, see HARRIS 123.

being thrown from Mount Tropaion out of respect for the fact that her father (the well-known Diagoras of Rhodes) and brothers, and now her son, were Olympic victors, but a law was then passed about trainers, that in future they, like the competitors, were to go naked, so that a similar incident might not happen again (Paus. 5.6.7–8; 6.7.2; Philostr. *Gymn.* 17; Paus. 5.6.8: τὸ ἔρμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημμένους, τοῦτο ὑπερπηδῶσα ἡ Καλλιπάτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. φωραθείσης δὲ ὅτι εἶη γυνή). This is probably an aetiological myth explaining why the trainers were naked, but it was a credible story to Pausanias, Aelian and presumably others, underlining the prohibition on women attending the Olympic festival. Aelian (*Varia Historia* 10.1) preserves an interesting version of the incident: Pherenike (alias Kallipateira) brought her son to compete at the Olympic games, but the hellanodikai refused to let her watch him compete; disregarding this she pleaded for permission on the grounds that her father, three brothers and her son were Olympic competitors, and she was granted a dispensation from the law which prohibited women (*gynaikes*) from watching the contests.

Pausanias provides further explicit information regarding *parthenoi* at Olympia. While the Olympic competitions were exclusively for males, girls could compete in races at Olympia, but at a festival quite separate from the contests involving men.<sup>8</sup> Pausanias writes that the sixteen women who every fourth year wove a robe for the goddess Hera at Olympia were also responsible for conducting contests, the *Heraia*, for virgins, in Hera's honour which dated back to ancient times (ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα); the sixteen women and the *Heraia* were supposedly instituted by Hippodameia, out of gratitude for her marriage to Pelops (for the sixteen women, see Paus. 5.16.5–6). This probably means that the races were puberty rituals of some kind, but not pre-nuptial ceremonies given that there were three different age categories (the youngest of the virgins, those next in age, and the oldest of the virgins) involved: *parthenoi* could participate, but married women could not. Races were open to virgins, classified according to their age categories, who competed with their hair let down, with skirts just above the knees, and the right shoulder bare to the breast (Paus. 5.16.3); this mode of dress seems remarkably like that illustrated in bronzes of female athletes dressed for competition, generally considered to be of Spartan manufacture, dating mainly from the sixth century.<sup>9</sup> Their short chitons meant that Spartan females clearly deserved their

<sup>8</sup> For women in Greek athletics generally, see HARRIS 179–86; R. B. KEBRIC, *Greek People*, California 1989, 60–61; SCANLON (above n. 3) 185–216 (with bibliography at 206 n. 1); C. SELTMAN, *Atalanta*, The Cornhill 164, 1950, 296–305; H. BUHMANN, *Frauensport im alten Griechenland*, *Anregung* 35, 1989, 107–14; W. E. SWEET *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece: a Sourcebook with Translations*, Oxford 1987, 134–44; and the bibliography collected by N. CROWTHER, *Studies in Greek Athletics*, Part 2, *Cl. World* 79, 1985–86, 124–25. For the *Heraia*, see also M. P. NILSSON, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Stuttgart 1957, 62; C. CALAME, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en grèce archaïque*, Rome 1977, I, 67, 211–14; T. F. SCANLON, *The footrace of the Heraia at Olympia*, *Anc. World* 8, 1984, 77–90.

<sup>9</sup> For bronze statuettes of females in short split chitons (*chitoniskoi*) running, see P. A.

reputations as “thigh-showers” (φαινομηρίδες; Ibycus fr. 58 PAGE).<sup>10</sup>

The races of the Heraia were conducted every four years at the Olympic stadium, but with its length reduced by one-sixth, and it has been suggested that this length was related to the Temple of Hera, with the same foot used to measure the girls' stade as was used for the measurement of the temple of Hera, with the parthenoi running 200 'Temple-of-Hera feet' (just as the male athletes ran the equivalent of 200 'Temple-of-Zeus feet').<sup>11</sup> There were rewards and privileges for the successful: a crown of olive and a portion of a cow sacrificed to Hera were awarded to the victors. In addition they were entitled to dedicate statues inscribed with their names (Paus. 5.16.2–4). While it is not known whether these contests took place at about the same time as the Olympics, it is possible that they were held either immediately before or directly after them,<sup>12</sup> as this would have been the best arrangement for encouraging attendance. How well frequented the Heraia were is unknown, but it would have been convenient for spectators of the Olympics, and possibly the fathers of male competitors, to bring daughters with them in order to take part in these games at the same time. It is possible to go further and suggest that in some cases they could have been the sisters of male competitors. Fathers accompanied boy competitors to Olympia (Paus. 5.24.9), and athletic daughters could well have come to Olympia with them. The fact that parthenoi were allowed to attend the Olympic festival naturally points to their presence in Olympia at that time, and it is surely unreasonable to suppose that Pausanias is referring to local parthenoi only in his statement that parthenoi attended the games. It would make sense if at least some of the parthenoi who attended the male competitions had come to Olympia to compete in the Heraia, and that the Heraia were held either directly before or after the Olympic festival (probably not at the same time due to the need to make use of the stadium); if this were the case, permitting parthenoi to watch the Olympic contests would have allowed their

CARTLEDGE, *Spartan Wives: Liberation or Licence?*, Cl.Qu. 31, 1981, 91 n. 45, 92 n. 47; V. OLIVOVÁ, *Sports and Games in the Ancient World*, London 1984, 99. Many bronzes also depict women in diazoma (trunks, not quite bikini briefs), with naked breasts, and Scanlon argues that these all represent athletes, particularly since many of these statuettes are probably of Lakonian origin: SCANLON (above n. 3) 191–204, esp. 203–04; 200 fig. 12.5 is a nude female with diazoma holding aloft a strigil; cf. McDONNELL (above n. 3) 185. These bronzes were votive statuettes and mirror handles. For maidens, both naked and in short chitons, as depicted on vases at Brauron, see below, n. 28; for the short chiton, see Pollux 7.54.

<sup>10</sup> For other references, see SCANLON (above n. 3) 208 n. 21, who notes the suggestion that 'thighs' were a euphemism for female pudenda and therefore a reference to naked females.

<sup>11</sup> D. ROMANO, *The ancient stadium: athletes and arete*, *Anc. World* 7, 1983, 12–14; H. M. LEE, *The 'First' Olympic Games of 776 B.C.*, in RASCHKE 113.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. F. M. CORNFORD, *The Origin of the Olympic Games*, in: J. E. HARRISON (ed.), *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1912, 229–31. Contra W. BURKERT, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, tr. P. BING, Berkeley 1983, 102, it is not known that the Heraia took place after the Olympic festival.

fathers to chaperone them while they themselves watched the contests. However, it is also completely possible that the Heraia were not held in conjunction with the Olympic festival, and that they attracted only local parthenoi competitors.

No statue base for the female victors at the Heraia survive.<sup>13</sup> But there is evidence from other festival sites for parthenoi who competed successfully in athletic competitions, though not from the classical period. One inscription dates to the second half of the first century A.D., and records victories for several parthenoi, the sisters Tryphosa, Hedeia, and Dionysia, daughters of Hermesianax (son of Dionysios), who won victories in competitions at the Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean, Sikyonian, Athenian (Sebasteia) and Epidaurian festivals. Tryphosa was victorious in the stade (foot-race) at both the Pythian and Isthmian games (held at Delphi and Corinth respectively); Hedeia was victorious in the chariot race in armour at the Isthmian games, the stade both at the Nemean games and at Sikyon, and kithara-singing at the Sebasteia in Athens; Dionysia won the stade at the Asklepieia at Epidauros, and another victory in an event and festival unknown because of the damaged state of the stone.<sup>14</sup> The Olympic contests are not mentioned and it is therefore almost certain that female competitors were not admitted to this festival even in the first century A.D., as distinct from the Heraia (which were separate from the Olympic contests proper).<sup>15</sup> But it is interesting that although both Tryphosa at the Isthmia and Hedeia at the Nemea won victories in the stade, and the victories were spread over at least a five year period, the commemorative base does not mention victories in the Heraia at Olympia, perhaps indicating that the Heraia did not have the prestige of the other festivals, and that it attracted mainly, or even only, local competitors.

It is inconceivable that these three parthenoi competed against males in the athletic contests, and they must have been victors in events specifically for female competitors,<sup>16</sup> except in the case of Hedeia, whose victory in the kithara-singing

<sup>13</sup> HARRIS 180.

<sup>14</sup> S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802 (Fouilles de Delphes I, 534; MORETTINO. 63; H. W. PLEKET, *Epigraphica*, II, Leiden, 1969, no. 9); sometime after A.D. 45 or 47. There is no reason to assume that these competitions were classical, and they may even have been recent innovations. The inscription is discussed by H. M. LEE, S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802: did women compete against men in Greek athletic festivals?, *Nikephoros* 1, 1988, 103–17; and A. B. WEST, Notes on Achaean prosopography and chronology, *Cl.Ph.* 23, 1928, 258–69. S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802 translated by HARRIS 180; S. G. MILLER, *Arete*, Chicago 1979, 57–58, no. 39; M. R. LEFKOWITZ and M. B. FANT, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*, London 1982, 160 no. 169; LEE 103–04.

<sup>15</sup> KEBRIC (above n. 8) 60 states the probability as fact. Malalas 12.288 has women competing at the Olympic contests in Antioch in the second century A.D.; cf. LEE (above n. 14) 109, 116 n. 28.

<sup>16</sup> The suggestion of MORETTI, no. 63, and J. FONTENROSE, *The cult of Apollo and the games at Delphi*, in RASCHKE 136, that the females mentioned competed against and therefore defeated males has no evidence to support it, and seems unlikely; see the detailed arguments of LEE (above n. 14) 103–17. The phrase 'first of the girls' in S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802.7–8 (cf. 16–17) which might be taken to mean that Tryphosa was the first girl to win the stade against boys at the Pythian and Isthmian

was in the *paides* (boys) category (S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802.14). The lack of contests between males and females in the physical arena need not have extended into the artistic field, where the chances of females defeating males will have been greater (and perhaps the number of potential female competitors higher), and where no physical contact between contestants occurred. The victory in both the athletic and the musical competitions by Hedeia is an indication that some females were encouraged to develop versatility in athletic and musical skills, and points to a system of upbringing emphasising both of these spheres of education.<sup>17</sup> An inscription from Corinth (A.D. 25) records a contest (of unknown identity) for girls instituted at the Isthmian Games,<sup>18</sup> which indicates that there were female competitions of some nature at the Isthmian competitions a few decades before Tryphosa was victorious in the stade and Hedeia in the chariot race in armour at these contests. Why these contests for parthenoi at the other panhellenic festivals were instituted is unknown, but it could well be that the establishment of female competitions at the panhellenic games mentioned in the inscription was a feature of the first century. However, in the non-athletic arena, Aristomache of Erythrai had been twice victorious in epic poetry at the Isthmia in the third century B.C. (Plut. Mor. 675 b), and it might be possible, on analogy with Hedeia's victory against boys, that she had competed against men rather than in a specifically female competition.<sup>19</sup>

There is other evidence for parthenoi participating in contests at important festivals. Seia Spes in A.D. 154 was victorious in the stade competition for the daughters of officials at the Sebasta at Naples.<sup>20</sup> One other race, at Patras, was important enough to warrant a dedication, but this could have been for an important local festival, since no specific reference is given to a panhellenic event and in addition the dedication was discovered at Patras, which suggests a local

contests, rather means first in the girls' competitions. It can be noted that mixed competitions are still non-existent at the modern Olympic Games.

<sup>17</sup> S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802.3–14: Τρυφῶσαν νεικήσασαν Πύθια ... καὶ Ἰσθμία ... στάδιον κατα τὸ ἐξῆς, πρώτη παρθένων! Ἡδέαν νεικήσασαν Ἰσθμία ... ἐνόπλι/ον ἄρματι, καὶ Νέμεα στάδιον ... καὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι ... ἐνεῖκα δὲ καὶ / παῖδας κιθαρωδούς Ἀθήνησι Σεβάστεια. H. LANGENFELD, Griechische Athletinnen in der römischen Kaiserzeit, in R. RENSON (ed.), *The History, the Evolution and Diffusion of Sports and Games in Different Cultures*, Brussels 1976, 116–25 (German translation at 116) suggests that S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> 802 can be explained as a case of wealthy fathers organising competitions for girls in order to satisfy their ambitions for their daughters, while M. LÄMMER, *Women and sport in ancient Greece*, in J. BORMS, M. HEBBELINK, A. VENERANDO (eds), *Women and Sport*, Basel 1981, 20 suggests that Hermesianax organised the races for girls so that his daughters could compete, or arranged that they compete in male events (the second is extremely unlikely, see above n. 16).

<sup>18</sup> J. H. KENT, *Corinth: Results of the Excavations*, VIII, part 3, *The Inscriptions*, 1926–50, Princeton 1966, no. 153, S.28–29, 70–73; KENT 29 makes the probable suggestion that the competition would have been a stade.

<sup>19</sup> LEE (above n. 14) 109; cf. S. POMEROY, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, New York 1975, 55. Fouilles de Delphes III.3, 249 and I.G. IV 682 also record female musical victories.

<sup>20</sup> S.E.G. 14.602; MORETTI, S.169; PLEKET (above n. 14), no. 17.

festival there: Νικηγόραν Νικόφιλος νικήσασαν δρόμω τὸν τῶν παρθένων δρόμον τῆδ' ἀνέθηκα λίθου Παρίου τὴν γλυκυτάτην ἀδελφὴν ("Nikegora dedicated this stone of Parian marble for Nikegora, winner in the maidens' race, his dearest sister"). This clearly belongs to a competition for parthenoi, but no other details are known.<sup>21</sup> It appears that competitions for parthenoi were not originally held at these other festivals, but seem to have developed in the imperial period. It is possible that these competitions were in imitation of the Olympian Heraia.

The evidence suggests that although females could compete at other festivals in the first century A.D., this was never allowed at the Olympic festival proper. While actual participation in the Olympics was forbidden for them, women could however sponsor chariots at Olympia. Kyniska, daughter of Archidamos of Sparta, who won victories in 396 and 392 was, according to Pausanias, the first woman to own and breed race-horses and to win an Olympic chariot racing event.<sup>22</sup> After her, many women (such as Belistiche of Macedon; Paus. 5.8.11), won Olympic victories,<sup>23</sup> particularly Lakonian women, but Kyniska was the most famous woman chariot sponsor.<sup>24</sup> At Olympia there was a statue group of a chariot team and driver, with a portrait of Kyniska, by Apelles (Paus. 3.8.1; 5.12.5; 6.1.6).<sup>25</sup> On Rhodes, a woman (Pedias) was awarded a crown for a victory in a chariot race.<sup>26</sup> Berenice II participated in Greek games, sponsoring chariots in the Olympic

<sup>21</sup> MORETTI, S.168 (the inscription has no separate number).

<sup>22</sup> Chariot racing was one of the few forms which conspicuous consumption and the conspicuous display of wealth could take at Sparta: J. REDFIELD, *The women of Sparta*, *Cl. Journal* 73, 1977–78, 158. Note C. D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, second edition, no. 71, 268–270 (IG V, 1, 213) = MORETTI no. 16, the victories of the Spartan Damonon and his son, as an example of the emphasis placed on sporting victories (lines 3–5: νικάσας ἑ ταυτὰ ἡἄρ' οὐδέξ | πῆποκα τῶν νῦν. 'Having won victories in such a manner as never any one of those living'; BUCK's translation).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. S. HODKINSON, *Land tenure and inheritance in classical Sparta*, *Cl. Qu.* 36, 1986, 402.

<sup>24</sup> Paus. 3.8.1; 3.15.1; a shrine was erected at Sparta in her honour: 3.15.1; Xen. *Ages.* 9.9; cf. *Plut. Ages.* 20.1.

<sup>25</sup> She is praised in the *Palatine Anthology* 13.16; cf. IG V, 1, 1564a, a Doric capital with Kyniska's name = W. DITTENBERGER und K. PURGOLD, *Olympia V: Die Inschriften*, Amsterdam, 1966 repr., 160. She was encouraged to finance chariot-racing by her brother, Agesilaos: Xen. *Ages.* 9.6, *Plut. Ages.* 20.1. For Kyniska, see P. PORALLA & A. S. BRADFORD, *Prosopography of the Lacedaemonians*, Chicago, 1985, second edition, 79; see MORETTI no. 17, and S.42 for other female victors in equestrian contests (cf. L. MORETTI, *Olympianikai i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*, Rome, 1957, nos 373, 381); HARRIS 180; P. A. CARTLEDGE, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*, London, 1987, 29, 115, cf. 145, 149, 260; HODKINSON (above n. 23) 401–02; *idem*, *Inheritance, marriage and demography: perspectives upon the success and decline of classical Sparta*, in A. POWELL (ed.), *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success*, London, 1989, 97, 99. It can be noted, however, that at Sparta women were allowed to drive two-horse chariots in races at the Hyakinthia festival (*Athen. Deip.* 139 f).

<sup>26</sup> 40, 1936, 436.

chariot races, and winning a victory at the Isthmia (perhaps also with chariots, though the competition is not known); Callimachus in the third century B.C. sang her praises.<sup>27</sup> But Kyniska and Berenice II could not watch their chariots compete, if Pausanias' comments that *gynaikes* could not go to Olympia while the festival was being celebrated are to be accepted.

Clearly in order to participate in athletic festivals, parthenoi had to undergo training. Spartan females, according to Xenophon, followed an institutionalised physical training programme, but they were not unique in this. Other Greek girls engaged in running (Sappho fr. 73, EDMONDS), but apparently such races were not institutionalised to the same extent as at Sparta. Girls ran at Brauron as part of the rituals there, probably but not necessarily in races.<sup>28</sup> Eleven parthenoi called the *Dionysiades* ran a race at Sparta in honour of Dionysos; Pausanias has them taking the custom from Delphi, pointing to similar races there.<sup>29</sup> Parthenoi on Keos performed sports and dances with their suitors watching (Plut. Mor. 249 d; nudity is not mentioned). At Sparta, according to tradition, Lykourgos instituted races and trials of strength for women so that they would produce stronger offspring (Kritias fr. 32; Xen. Lak. Pol. 1.4), and Spartan parthenoi were encouraged to exercise (Plut. Lyk. 14.3–4, 7, 15.1); Euripides has Spartan girls wrestling naked with boys,<sup>30</sup> but it is possible that this information from an Athenian source is not reliable. Spartan parthenoi competed in races, wrestling, and throwing the discus and the javelin (Plut. Lyk. 14.1–15.1, Mor. 227 d; cf. Paus. 3.13.7).<sup>31</sup> Complementing this emphasis on physical well-being was the full nudity of the parthenoi in public processions (Plut. Lyk. 14.4, 15.1, Mor. 227 e), and their competing naked within the view of young men (Plut. Lyk. 15.1). The Spartan emphasis on athletics

<sup>27</sup> J. PARSONS, Callimachus: Victoria Berenices, Z.P.E. 25, 1977, 44–46.

<sup>28</sup> The girls are depicted running on vases discovered at Brauron; some of the vases show girls naked and some vases do not, the girls are either naked or not regardless of their age, and the determining principle must be the nature of the ritual activity involved: see C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *Studies in Girls' Transitions. Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens 1988, 119; eadem, *Ancient rites and modern constructs: on the Braurionian bears again*, B.I.C.I.St. 37, 1990, 3–4; SCANLON (above n. 3) 186, 207 n. 7; cf. P. PERLMAN, *Plato Laws 833C–834D and the bears of Brauron*, G.R.B.St. 24, 1983, 123 n. 42; R. HAMILTON, *Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia*, *Hesperia* 58, 1989, 459, cf. 449, 454 (Table 1), 456 (Table 2), 457 (Table 3), and for running scenes, 467–68 (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1988, 1990, criticises both HAMILTON and PERLMAN).

<sup>29</sup> Paus. 3.13.7, 3.16.1; Hesychius s.v. *Dionysiades*.

<sup>30</sup> Eur. And. 597–599; see also Prop. 3.14.1–4; see CARTLEDGE (above n. 9) 91–92, who is inclined to reject Euripides, while SCANLON (above n. 3) 189 accepts his evidence; it can be noted that on Chios, young men and girls wrestled against each other, and could be watched doing so (Athen. Deip. 566 e, cf. Ovid. Her. 151–152); this and the report of the stripping of Spartan parthenoi before *xenoi* (guests or strangers) can, however, probably be discounted (Athen. Deip. 566 e).

<sup>31</sup> See SCANLON (above n. 3) 205, where the sources, and the athletic activities Spartan females are said to have participated in, are tabulated.

influenced Plato's conception of his ideal state, where females exercised naked alongside males (Plat. Rep. 452 a–b, 458 d, cf. Laws 804 e, 806 a), or competed naked (until they were 18 or 20 years old) against other females (Laws 833 c–d). Spartan women were renowned for their physical strength; in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, Lampito is admired by Lysistrata for her physical vigour: she kept in training and practised her buttock jumps (Ar. Lys. 78–82; cf. Poll. 4.102).<sup>32</sup> Theokritos writes of Spartan girls racing, and oiling themselves by the Eurotas like men (18.22–23); there was apparently a special race track for parthenoi at Sparta.<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere in Greece, there was clear disapproval of males seeing females naked: the Spartan Antalkidas is reported as replying to criticisms that the Spartan parthenoi went naked in processions seen by males (Plut. Mor. 227 e). The evidence concerning Keos, the Heraia at Olympia, the various bronzes from the Peloponnese, and Spartan practices, suggests that female athletics were a Dorian feature.<sup>34</sup> Athenian citizen women and girls, of course, would never have been seen even scantily dressed in public, but this need not imply that there was disapproval of females seeing naked males, especially in the context of athletic competitions, as would have been the case if women and girls were spectators at panhellenic and local festivals.

Dorian girls clearly did compete in races, and this is reflected in Pausanias' account of Olympia, in which as noted he draws a clear distinction in the three passages in question between gynaikes and parthenoi. At Paus. 5.6.7, gynaikes caught at Olympia during the Olympics were to be hurled from Tropaion; 5.13.10 states that parthenoi and gynaikes could ascend the prothesis, but not the latter when they were excluded from Olympia (at the time of the Olympic festival); while at 6.20.9, a gyne, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, played a ceremonial role at the Olympics, sitting on the altar opposite the hellanodikai, strongly implying that she was the only woman (gyne) present. This is followed by the statement that parthenoi were not excluded from watching.<sup>35</sup> HARRIS is incorrect in arguing that Pausanias' statement that parthenoi could attend the festival (Paus. 6.20.9) contradicts the passage in which he states that no women could attend (Paus. 5.6.7), for he fails to note that Pausanias chooses his vocabulary carefully, referring to either parthenoi or gynaikes (similarly, as discussed above, Aelian *Varia Historia* 10.1 refers to a law against gynaikes watching the contests). HARRIS also cites Suetonius' evidence that Nero invited the Vestal Virgins to attend athletic contests, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres (i.e., Demeter) were allowed to watch (*ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit et virgines*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. REDFIELD (above n. 22) 148.

<sup>33</sup> Hesych. ἐν Δριῶνας: δρόμος παρθένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι; cf. Paus. 3.13.6–7 for the running track for young men.

<sup>34</sup> As MORETTI S.167 suggests.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. H. KEMPE, *Hatten Jungfrauen Zutritt zu den olympischen Spielen?*, L.K.E. 55, 1936, 281–82.

Vestales, quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur; Suet. Nero 12.4), and that this 'would have been meaningless if all virgins had been admitted at Olympia'.<sup>36</sup> However, the analogy was not one of virginity, for virginity was not a qualification of office for the priestess of Demeter; clearly the analogy was one of religious and social standing, with the Vestals being the most important priestesses at Rome.

HARRIS also fails to distinguish between Greek and Roman attitudes towards females in public. Roman and Greek attitudes were not necessarily the same, particularly since athletic competitions along Greek lines were an innovation at Rome. Augustus, for example, excluded women as spectators at athletic competitions, and on one occasion when a boxing contest was to take place, he postponed it until the following morning, making a proclamation that women were not to come to the theatre before the fifth hour, that is, not until the boxing had finished (Suet. Aug. 44.3).<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, he permitted women to watch the gladiatorial competitions only from the upper seats, whereas previously men and women had sat together to watch the competitions (Suet. Aug. 44.2).

Aelian (Nat. An. 5.17) notes that the flies of Pisa disappear from Olympia during the time of the Olympic festival (cf. Paus. 5.14.1) and that in this respect the flies and the local women are similar; the local women were excluded, and could not cross the Alpheios, because of the rule of training and the sexual abstinence observed at this time by the athletes (τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν σωφροσύνης νόμος ἐλαύνει τὰς γυναικας). There was, in fact, a belief that athletes should practice sexual abstinence in order to preserve their 'energies'.<sup>38</sup> But Aelian gives the wrong reason for the disappearance of the local women: it was not because of the sexual abstinence required of the athletes, but because of the official injunction that women were not to be present in Olympia for the festival, and it is inconceivable that the husbands of Elis would have trusted their wives so little that they sent them away in order to avoid sexual liaisons with the incoming athletes. Surely parthenoi would have been at risk as well in this scenario. It was not a fear that women would have sexual relations with the athletes to the latter's detriment that led to the exclusion of women from the Olympics. Because they were excluded, women from elsewhere did not travel to Olympia to view the competitions, and the local women 'disappeared' because they could not be in the area at the time of the festival; the only females present were the parthenoi and the priestess of Demeter Chamyne. When Aelian refers to

<sup>36</sup> HARRIS 183.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. CROWTHER, *Athletic dress and nudity* (above n. 3), 122.

<sup>38</sup> Philostr. *Gymn.* 22, 45, 48, 52 (wet-dreams as harmful at 49, 52); Plato *Laws* 839 e–840 a; cf. Diog. Laert. 8.9 (sexual intercourse injurious to health); BURKERT (above n. 12) 61 n. 13, 102 n. 43; R. PARKER, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 84. Scholars (e.g. S. G. COLE, *Women, dogs and flies*, *Anc. World* 26, 1995, 182) tend to accept Aelian's explanation.

local women, this does not mean that he is excluding non-local women from the prohibition; rather, the point is that he is comparing the local flies and the local women who were both absent from Olympia during the festival there.

Pausanias provides the evidence that only one woman (as opposed to parthenoi), the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, was allowed to attend the Olympics. Kallipateira was the only woman ever detected attending the contests, and a special case was made for her. The parthenoi who competed in the Heraia at Olympia did so in their short chitons, and could also watch the male competitions. But the Olympic festival always debarred female competitors. While there is evidence to suggest that other panhellenic games provided competitions between parthenoi after the classical period, this evidence also strongly suggests that this was not the case at the Olympic festival itself. Pausanias' statement can stand without the emendation of the negative at 6.20.9: apart from parthenoi and the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, women were banned from the Olympic competitions throughout its history, as both competitors and spectators.

Pausanias records that the virgins' races at the Heraia were of ancient origin. It is important to note that whereas the traditional foundation date for the Olympics was 776, the majority of the competitors in the first centuries of the Olympics were Peloponnesians, that is, Dorians.<sup>39</sup> As has been seen in the evidence dealt with above, while at Athens there was no athletic training for girls, this was not the case for Dorian states, and the Spartans in particular made provision for girls to exercise before marriage. The first event at the Olympia was the stade (Paus. 5.8.6–7). Given the emphasis on athletic training for girls in Dorian states, it is quite possible that when Pausanias writes that the races in honour of Hera had been held from an early date that this means that they were in fact held from the very earliest times and that the stade for virgins was inaugurated at about the same time as the stade competition for males at the Olympics. Just as virgins engaged in running as part of their upbringing in Dorian states, they could compete at the Heraia at Olympia, not as part of the Olympic festival itself, but perhaps (but not necessarily) at about the same time and making use of the Olympic stadium.

If this was so, then it is not the absence of women which is noteworthy, rather it is a case of noting that the parthenoi attended the Heraia by virtue of the Dorian emphasis on training for girls. Given this, it is possible to reject BURKERT's notion that the Heraia occurred immediately after the Olympia, and his notion that the exclusion of women functioned as a means of highlighting the relationships within the family need not be accepted. BURKERT notes that on an evening before the Olympia, the women of Elis gathered in the gymnasium around the cenotaph of Achilles and honoured him, especially by beating their breasts. He places the Heraia after the Olympia, arguing that the time in between, the Olympic festival, was forbidden to women: and hence the festival 'divided the family in order to

<sup>39</sup> RUTGERS (above, n. 7) 3–16.

illuminate its relationships'.<sup>40</sup> But what this fails to note is that it was not the participants of the Heraia who were excluded from the Olympic festival, but rather the participants were in fact the very parthenoi who could attend the festival, and who participated in the Heraia. The women, as opposed to the parthenoi, did not attend the Olympia and did not participate in the Heraia. Consequently, the prohibition of the attendance of women (*gynaikes*) at the Olympia was not an inversion of ordinary life which aimed to underline normality.

The women were allowed, once a year only, into the Hippodameion at Olympia in order to honour Hippodameia, the wife of Pelops (Paus. 6.20.7). A myth connected with Hippodameia probably provides an aetiology for the exclusion of women at the Olympic contests. Pelops was angry with Hippodameia at the death of Chrysis, and she left Elis and settled in Midea, in Argos. Here she died, and later because of an oracle the Eleians brought her bones back to Olympia (Paus. 6.20.7). The withdrawing of women from Elis at the time of the Olympic festival, which centred so significantly on Pelops, found expression in the mythical withdrawal of Hippodameia from Olympia. This explains why the women withdrew from Olympia during the festival.

But this exclusion from Olympia was clearly unusual, and the presence of women spectators at Isthmia<sup>41</sup> presumably indicates that they could also be present at the Pythian and Nemean festivals, as well as less important festivals with contests. In fact, it is almost certain that Pausanias mentions the prohibition at Olympia precisely because it was so unusual.

Finally, it can be noted that the exclusion of women at Olympia is paralleled to an extent in some of the cult regulations found throughout the Greek world. The Olympic festival, despite its frequent description by modern scholars as the 'Olympic Games', was a panhellenic festival devoted to the worship of the god Zeus. Just as women were excluded from this religious celebration, there were cults which excluded men, and women-only cults were widespread in the Greek world. In fact, there were several cults in which only women could participate.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> BURKERT (above n. 12) 102; F. GRAF, *Women, war, and warlike divinities*, Z.P.E. 55, 1984, 253, follows BURKERT, but it is important to note that the Heraia, whenever they occurred, did not mark the return of women to Olympia, as suggested by GRAF ("After the [Olympic] games the women again achieved prominence when they performed their own games, the Heraia"), as the Heraia consisted of races run by parthenoi, and not women.

<sup>41</sup> G. KAIBEL, *Comitorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, Berlin S.155 (10), 1898.

<sup>42</sup> For the topic women-only cults, see in general: M. DETIENNE, *The Gardens of Adonis*, New Jersey 1977; idem, *The violence of well-born ladies: women in the Thesmophoria*, in M. DETIENNE et J.-P. VERNANT (eds), *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989, 129–47; S. G. COLE, *Gynaiki ou Themis: Gender difference in the Greek leges sacrae*, *Helios* 19, 1991, 104–22, and eadem, *Women, dogs and flies* (above n. 38) 183–84; R. OSBORNE, *Women and Sacrifice*, *Cl.Qu.* 43, 1993, 397–98; M. P. J. DILLON, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*, London / New York 1997, 186–87.

Thesmophoria celebrations are the best known of these. Miltiades committed impiety by entering the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros, and attempting to gain entrance to the shrine itself, on the island of Paros. Coming to the doors he was overcome by terror, and he sprained his thigh or struck his knee in fleeing over the sanctuary wall. Back at Athens he died of gangrene from the injury.<sup>43</sup> At Athens, in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai*, the chorus of women comment that the rites of the Thesmophoria were for women only: it was 'not lawful for men' to see them (Ar. *Thesm.* 1150). Here the expression 'not lawful' (οὐ θέμις) mirrors male exclusion of women from certain of their cults.<sup>44</sup> In addition, when Kleisthenes is present at the Thesmophoria, and reports to the women about the presence of a male spy (Mnesilochos) in their midst, this underlines the exclusion of men, as Kleisthenes is not a 'man' but one of them; however (and this is often overlooked by scholars<sup>45</sup>), even he cannot be present while Mnesilochos is questioned about what happened in the Thesmophoria (Ar. *Thes.* 574–628, esp. 574–576, 628). Plutarch refers to a celebration at Cape Colias on *Pyanopsion* 10 in honour of Demeter held by the leading women of Athens, whom the Megarians specifically wanted to capture.<sup>46</sup>

A didactic story from Aelian about the women's Thesmophoria involves Battos, the first king of Cyrene: he was curious about the mysteries of the Thesmophoria and what happened there. He forced his way into a celebration and the priestesses could not stop him; they allowed him to watch the first part of the ceremonies: this part had 'nothing out of the ordinary'. But then, at a premeditated signal, the women all jumped on Battos, and cut off 'the part of him that made him a man.'<sup>47</sup> This myth is didactic in that it warns men to stay away, and of the high price of curiosity, underlining that this is a female event. Similarly, according to Pausanias, when Aristomenes in Messenia came too close to a celebration of the Thesmophoria, the women captured him, but he escaped.<sup>48</sup>

Other women only festivals were celebrated in Attica, including the *Skira*, *Stenia*, and *Holoa*.<sup>49</sup> Women also celebrated the *Adonia* at Athens, but while men do not seem to have been involved, there is nothing to suggest that their exclusion was of as rigorous a nature as for the Thesmophoria.<sup>50</sup> Women at Sparta, like

<sup>43</sup> See esp. *Hdt.* 6.134–135 (Miltiades on Paros); note too *Hdt.* 2.171.

<sup>44</sup> COLE, *Women, dogs and flies* (above n. 37) 184.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. J. J. WINKLER, *The Constraints of Desire: the Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*, London 1990, 193–94.

<sup>46</sup> A similar but not identical story is found in other sources (*Aen. Tact.* 4.8; *Just.* 2.8; *Polyaen.* 1.20.2; *Front. Strat.* 2.9.9).

<sup>47</sup> Aelian *F* 44 (see *DETIENNE*, *The violence of well-born ladies* (above n. 42), 129 with n. 3).

<sup>48</sup> *Paus.* 4.17.1.

<sup>49</sup> I discuss these festivals in my forthcoming, *Girls, Women and Cult in Classical Greece*, Routledge, London / New York.

<sup>50</sup> WINKLER (above n. 45) 190–94; *Men. Samia* 38–50 suggests that there was not strict exclusion of men; cf. *Ar. Lys.* 387–398. For the *Adonia*, see R. SIMMS, *Mourning and community at the Athenian Adonia*, *Cl.J.* 93, 1998, 121–41.

those of Athens, had their own festivals.<sup>51</sup> A male supervisor of the women (a *gynaikonomos*) is found in the well-known decree of Methymna concerning Bacchic rites; all other men were excluded and the *gynaikonomos* was apparently debarred from the Dionysiac rites themselves.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, in maenadic rituals, men were excluded, as the fate of Pentheus in the *Bacchae* indicates. In addition, HENRICHS has conclusively shown that the idea that maenads were accompanied into the countryside by a sole male-celebrant can be rejected: maenadism involved all-female groups heading off into the mountains.<sup>53</sup> Women and girls also performed ritual roles as washers of the statues of goddesses; men were not allowed to participate in or view the proceedings. At Argos, women bathed the statue of Athena.<sup>54</sup> At Athens, the *Praxiergidai* *genos* was responsible for the undressing and washing of the archaic statue of Athena *Polias*: *parthenoi* undressed it, a woman (the *kataniptes*) washed her *peplos*, and the statue was re-dressed by the women of the *genos*; the day when all this happened, the *Plynteria*, was one of ill omen, and the temples were closed.<sup>55</sup>

The chorus of women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* sing of several religious duties which they performed as young girls before marriage. They mention being an *arrephoros*, an *aletris*, acting the bear for Artemis, and being a *kanephoros*.<sup>56</sup> There were four *arrephoroi* each year, seven year old girls of aristocratic families, who participated in the beginning of the weaving of Athena's *peplos*; two of them also took part in an annual nocturnal rite, carrying secret items in covered baskets on their heads.<sup>57</sup> In the late second century BC, *ergastinai* (literally 'female workers'), who on the basis of the evidence of their names and families are clearly daughters of aristocratic families, are first honoured for their role as weavers of Athena's *peplos*. This duty might be classical in origin, or perhaps even hellenistic as MIKALSON suggests,<sup>58</sup> but as girls are not honoured or named in the classical period for religious roles, such as being a *parthenos*, it is perhaps the case that the duty did always exist, but that they are first honoured for this, like *parthenoi* or *arrephoroi*, in the hellenistic period.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Alkman P.M.G. 94.

<sup>52</sup> LSCG 127, fourth-century BC (see A. HENRICHS, *Male intruders among the maenads: the so-called male celebrant*, in: H. D. EVJEN (ed.) *Mnemei: Classical Studies in Memory of K. K. HULLEY*, Chico 1984, 81).

<sup>53</sup> HENRICHS (above n. 52), 69–91, esp. 71–80, for the discussion of Eur. *Bacchae* 115.

<sup>54</sup> Argos: Callimachos *Fifth Hymn*; BEKKER s.v. *Gerades*.

<sup>55</sup> Hesych., *Phot. s.v. Ioutrides*; I.G. I<sup>3</sup> 7 (L.S.C.G. 15; I.G. I<sup>2</sup> 80); Xen. *Hell.* 1.14.12; Plut. *Alk.* 34.1; Hesych. s.v. *Praxiergidai*; *Phot. s.v. Kallynteria kai Plynteria*; *Poll.* 8.141; EM, BEKKER s.v. *Kataniptes*.

<sup>56</sup> *Ar. Lys.* 641–46.

<sup>57</sup> See *Ar. Lys.* 641 (with schol.); *Lys.* 21.5; *Paus.* 1.27.3; *Plut. Mor.* 839 c; *Harp.* (citing *Deinarchos*), EM, *Suid. s.v. arrephorein*; BEKKER I.202.3; *Suid. s.v. Chalkeia, epiopsato*; see esp. N. ROBERTSON, *The Riddle of the Arrhephoria at Athens*, H.S.C.Ph. 87, 1983, 241–88.

<sup>58</sup> J. D. MIKALSON, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*, Berkeley 1998, 257.

<sup>59</sup> I.G. II<sup>2</sup> 1034 (103/2 B.C.; the evidence of this inscription, with 11 girls listed under the

Amongst the duties of the women of the chorus of the *Lysistrata* when they were girls was that of being an *aletris* (plural: *aletrides*) when they were ten years' old. Hesychius explains the duty as being an honour, commenting that the *aletrides* ground the corn for the cakes used at sacrifices; the scholiast explains that the *aletrides* were 'well-born', grinding the grain used in sacrificial cakes, and that they had sacred molones ('mills' or 'querns') for this purpose. Presumably this was for a goddess, but which one? If the epithet *archegetis* belongs to this duty, and not to the *arktoi* that are next in the list of four duties, then the candidates of the scholiast are *Despoina*, *Artemis*, or *Demeter*, with modern scholars generally preferring *Artemis*.<sup>60</sup> Rites for virgins only were common in *Artemis* cults, such as the *Brauronia* at *Brauron*, in *Attica*, which is mentioned by the chorus in the *Lysistrata*, in which young girls 'acted the bear' for the goddess.<sup>61</sup>

One of the important religious duties of a girl before marriage might be to act as a basket-bearer, a *kanephoros*, at a religious festival, or at a sacrifice not taking place at a festival. The chorus of women in *Aristophanes' Lysistrata* sing that among other religious duties which they have performed as girls – and this is the last one that they give – was being a basket-bearer, but they do not name a specific festival.<sup>62</sup> The *Panathenaia* (Great and Annual) would have been the most important festival at which girls carried the baskets, but they did so not only at the *Panathenaia* but also at other festivals.<sup>63</sup> In these baskets they carried 'the things for the sacrifice',<sup>64</sup> and these were in particular the sacrificial knife, which the *kanephoros* carried but did not wield in the sacrificial act, as well as the barley which was needed for dousing the victim's head, to make it nod, yielding to its

*Akamantis* tribe suggests that there c. 100–120 *ergastinai* at work), 1036, 1942–43; Hesych. s.v. *ergastinai*; Suid. s.v. *Chalkeia*; see H. W. PARKE, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, 38, 43; E. SIMON, *Festivals of Attica: an Archaeological Commentary*, Wisconsin 1983, 39; J. A. TURNER, *Heireiai: Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece*, University of California, unpublished PhD, 1983, 193–94; MIKALSON (above n. 58) 256–58.

<sup>60</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 643, with schol.; Hesych. s.v. *aletrides*.

<sup>61</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 645–46. There is no need to emend the age of ten mentioned in this passage for the girls participating in the *Brauronia*: see DILLON (above n. 42) 273 n. 75). At 645, read *κατέχουσα* (ΓΒC), rather than *καταχέουσα* (R), or emendation (BENTLEY), *κᾶτ' ἔχουσα*). For *Brauron*, see DILLON (above n. 42) 201–03.

<sup>62</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 641–46. For *kanephoroi* at Athens, see F. JACOBY, *F.G.H.* 3b I, S.275; L. J. ROCCO, *The kanephoros and her festival mantle in Greek art*, *A.J.A.* 99, 1995, 641–66; M. R. LEFKOWITZ, *Women in the Panathenaic and other festivals*, in J. NEILS (ed.), *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*, Wisconsin 1996, 79–80; Athens and elsewhere: J. SCHELP, *Das Kanoun: Der griechische Opferkorb*, Würzburg 1975; P. BRULÉ, *La fille d'Athènes: la religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique – mythes, cultes et société*, Paris, 1987, 287–324; F.T. van STRATEN, *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden 1995, 10–12, 14–24, 31–43.

<sup>63</sup> *F.G.H.* 328 *Philochoros* F8 (Harp. s.v. *kanephoroi*); note *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup> 668.

<sup>64</sup> *F.G.H.* 328 *Philochoros* F8 (Harp. s.v. *kanephoroi*).

own destruction voluntarily, and the fillet with which to adorn the beast.<sup>65</sup> The evidence of Attic vases also indicates that male youths were basket bearers at what appear to be small private sacrifices,<sup>66</sup> but at public sacrifices it was the virgin, the parthenos, who carried out this important ritual duty.

The parthenoi who were kanephoroi were eugeneis, the well-born,<sup>67</sup> and this is made clear by the well-known example of the sister of the aristocrat Harmodios; the latter refused the Athenian tyrant Hipparchos' advances and so Hipparchos countered by turning Harmodios' sister away as a kanephoros for the Great Panathenaia of 514 BC.<sup>68</sup> A kanephoros was a girl not yet wedded but on the point of being so. The insult to Harmodios' sister (who is significantly not named) was presumably not simply that of turning her away and so affronting the dignity of the family, but it also implied that the would be kanephoros was not a parthenos; that is, it was a slight on her virginity and so an insult to her brother and the rest of her family.

The enigmatic maidens (korai) of the Erechtheion porch and Parthenon frieze also are clearly parthenoi performing ritual roles, but the precise nature of these roles is unclear. That the korai of the Erechtheion held phialai (libation bowls) in their right hands is clear from Roman copies. Four caryatids which are clear copies of the Erechtheion ones lined the Canopus pool at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli; the four in a line mirror the four at the front of the porch of the Erechtheion. Two of the Tivoli korai have phialai in their right hands, the other two have damaged hands but probably would have carried phialai as well. These Roman copies of the Erechtheion korai allow it to be said with confidence that the Erechtheion caryatids also carried phialai.<sup>69</sup> The two caryatid korai from the Forum of Augustus

<sup>65</sup> Ar. Peace 948.

<sup>66</sup> C. SCHEFER, Boeotian festival scenes. Competition, consumption and cult in the archaic and classical periods, in R. HAGG (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Athens 1992: 118 table 1 lists seven examples on archaic Athenian vases. Note also A.R.V.<sup>2</sup> 553.37, a red-figure vase by the Pan Painter, which shows a youth roasting entrails over a low altar, while another youth holds a basket.

<sup>67</sup> Schol. Ar. Ach. 242a; Hesych. s.v. kanephoros notes that not all girls were permitted to be kanephoroi.

<sup>68</sup> Thuc. 6.56.1 (cf. 1.20.2), [Arist.] Ath. Pol. 18.2; Arist. Pol. 1311a36–39 (mentions only an insult to the sister but not the Panathenaia or basket bearing); Ael. Var. Hist. 11.8; Max. Tyr. 18.2 d (G. L. KONIARIS, *Maximus Tyrius*, Berlin 1995, S.219); cf. Plat. Symp. 182. Harmodios and his lover Aristogeiton were of the aristocratic Gephyraioi genos (see Hdt. 5.57).

<sup>69</sup> Kore Hadrian's Villa nos 2233 & 2238 hold a phiale in their right hands and have a basket on their heads, while Kore Hadrian's Villa nos 2236 & 2239 have damaged hands and a basket on their heads; c. 125 AD. There are plates of all four at: E. E. SCHMIDT, *Antike Plastik 13: Die Kopien der Erechtheionkoren*, Berlin 1973, S.24+ figs 23–44, S.52+ pls 1–32; for the phialai held by 2233 and 2238, see esp. S.24+ figs 25–6, S.52+ pls 19–21, 26, 28; see also H. LAUTER, *Antike Plastik 16: Die Koren des Erechtheion*, Berlin 1976, S.52 figs 1–9; G. M. A. HANFMANN, *Classical Sculpture*, London 1967, pl. 148; C. C. VERMEULE, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor 1977, fig. 4; M. BIBER, *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and*

have baskets on their heads, and are also clearly based on the Erechtheion prototype. While their hands are badly damaged, fragments of the phialai which they held survive.<sup>70</sup> Other Roman statues clearly copied the Erechtheion korai, but did not include the phiale, such as the Vatican Kore, which has a basket on its head but an empty right hand.<sup>71</sup>

While there is a great deal of evidence for the kanephoroi at Athens, there is less from elsewhere. From Boeotia there is the well-known black-figure cup from the mid-sixth century which shows a series of figures approaching an altar behind which stands an armed goddess (she holds shield and spear); presumably she is Athena Promachos.<sup>72</sup> The kanephoros leads a procession: she is immediately followed by a man leading a bull (another man holds straps attached to its hind legs), and then by musicians and knife-wielders; a cart with three seated figures and a driver follows.<sup>73</sup> The earliest representations of the kanephoros in Greek art come from Corinth: a middle-Corinthian (600–575) amphora shows, though the depiction is badly damaged, a kanephoros carrying a huge basket on her head.<sup>74</sup> There are other examples from Corinth of a similar nature.

There are also several terracotta statuettes of the fourth century of females with elaborate dress and baskets from Melos and Rhodes. The Melian kanephoros has a mantle (himation) over her back which stands out from either side, and she uses both her hands to hold the kanoun. Three fourth-century terracotta kanephoroi are from Lindos, on Rhodes. The best preserved example wears a himation and has both hands holding the kanoun on her head, and is very similar to the example from Melos.<sup>75</sup> These statuettes will have been votive in nature.

Roman Art, New York 1977, pl. 8 figs 43–6. For photographs of the four reconstructed by the pool, see SCHMIDT, *Antike Plastik* 13, S.24+ figs. 23–34; VERMEULE fig. 63.

<sup>70</sup> SCHMIDT, *Antike Plastik* 13 (above n. 69), S.24+ figs 1–20, S.52+ pls 1–5; phialai fragments: S.24+ figs 7–8; reconstruction of caryatids: S.52+ pls 1–2; VERMEULE (above n. 69) fig. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Vatican Kore (Braccio Nuovo): SCHMIDT, *Antike Plastik* 13 (above n. 69), S.52+ pls 42–5 (no inv. no.); BIEBER (above n. 69) pl. 8 figs 41–2; in caryatid style with the top of the basket flat but not a true architectural caryatid, like Hadrian's which simply flank the pool as statues and which were not architectural supports.

<sup>72</sup> British Museum B80; C.V.A. London 2, pl. 7, 4b; A. D. URE, *J.H.St.* 49, 1929, 169; B. A. SPARKES, *J.H.St.* 87, 1967, 121, pl. 17a; SCHELP (above n. 62) 87 K26; J.-J. MAFFRE, *B.C.H.* 99, 1975, 432 no. 1; L.I.M.C. II.1 Athena 586 p. 1011 (no pl.); SCHEFFER (above n. 64) 127–30, figs 7–8; van STRATEN (above n. 62) 21–22, 212–13 V107, pl. 14; ROCCOS (above n. 62) 651 fig. 7.

<sup>73</sup> URE (above n. 70) 169; SPARKES (above n. 72) 121.

<sup>74</sup> Philadelphia University Museum MS 552 (SCHELP (above n. 62) 87 K 24; L.I.M.C. 1.1 545 no. 3, 1.2 pl. 409, 4.1 883 no. 469; 6.1 640 no. 10; D. A. AMYX, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period, II: Commentary: The Study of Corinthian Vases*, Berkeley 1988, 311–12 no. A2, 494–95, 654; ROCCOS (above n. 62) 650 fig. 5, 651; van STRATEN (above n. 62) 22–23, 254 V329; E. H. DOHAN, Some unpublished vases in the University Museum, Philadelphia, *A.J.A.* 38, 1934, 523 fig. 1 with line drawing, pl. 32).

<sup>75</sup> Melos: R. A. HIGGINS, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and*

The ritual role which the young girls (clearly parthenoi on the verge of marriage) are performing in the east Parthenon frieze is unclear. A lengthy treatment of these is beyond the scope of this discussion.<sup>76</sup> There are sixteen parthenoi on the left side of the frieze (figures 2–17) and thirteen on the right (figures 50–51, 53–63). In addition, there are two young girls (figures 31–32) in the middle of the frieze, holding something on their heads; in front of them is an older woman (figure 33).<sup>77</sup> These two girls are probably arrophoroi, though they are sometimes incorrectly identified as the diphrophoroi (stool carriers) attested in the sources, and modern scholars assume that it was the daughters of metics who carried diphroi (stools) for the Athenian daughters in the procession.

At Athens, the daughters of the metics carried hydriai (urns of water) and skiadia (sun-shades) in processions, the latter to provide shade for the citizen daughters in the Panathenaic procession.<sup>78</sup> MILLER has collected several depictions of the parasol, mainly on Attic vases, and discusses several references to them in Greek literature.<sup>79</sup> In the Birds, Prometheus to deceive Zeus follows

Roman Antiquities, British Museum, I (Text, Plates): Greek: 730–330 BC, London 1954, I, Text: 195 no. 729, I, Plates: pl. 95.729; Lindos, Rhodes: C. S. BLINKENBERG, Lindos I, Berlin 1931, 706-07, nos 3014–16; pl. 140 (plates vol.); 3016 = Copenhagen, National Museum 10780: R. A. HIGGINS, Greek Terracottas, London 1967, 62 pl. 25B, & SCHELP (above n. 62) 89 K74 pl. 3.1; and ROCCOS (above n. 62) 649 fig. 4, 650. There is a possible mid-fourth century example from Halikarnassos, but the object on the woman's head might be a small kiste rather than a kanoun (basket): HIGGINS, I: 138–39, no. 505, II: 68.505 (Higgins interprets the figure as a kanephoros). Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts T51 (see ROCCOS 660 fig. 19), is another good example of a terracotta statuette.

<sup>76</sup> I hope to take up in detail elsewhere the identity and nature of the young women in the frieze, and interpretations of what religious duties they are performing.

<sup>77</sup> For plates of the east frieze, see the standard M. ROBERTSON and A. FRANTZ, *The Parthenon Frieze*, London 1975, plates at East V; but also now the much superior, E. BERGER, and M. GISLER-HUWILER, *Der Parthenon I* Basel: Dokumentation zum Fries. Teil 1: Tafelband, Teil 2: Textband, Mainz 1996; see also F. BROMMER, *Der Parthenonfries*. Teil 1: Text, Teil 2: Tafeln, Mainz 1977; idem 1979, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London; I. JENKINS, *The Parthenon Frieze*, Austin 1994. The numbering for the figures on the east frieze is standard, except that BERGER and GISLER-HUWILER leave blank the spaces for figures 62–63, while JENKINS 82 includes STUART's drawings of these two.

<sup>78</sup> F.G.H. 228 Demetrios F5 (Harp. s.v. skaphephoroi); Ael. Var. Hist. 6.1; schol. Ar. Birds 1551a (P.C.G. V, Hermippos F25, S.572–3 and P.C.G. VII Nikophon F7, S.66); Pollux 3.55. For the metics in the Panathenaic procession, see D. WHITEHEAD, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, 87; S. I. ROTROFF, *The Parthenon Frieze and the Sacrifice to Athena*, A.J.A. 81, 1977, 380–82; SIMON (above n. 59) 63, 65; M.R. LEFKOWITZ, *Women in the Panathenaic and other festivals*, in: J. NEILS (ed.), *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*, Wisconsin, 1996, 80. The sources on the hydrophoroi, skiadephoroi, skaphephoroi and diphrophoroi are all lexicographical, but they mention as their own sources Deinarchos, Demetrios of Phaleron, Theophrastos, and the playwrights Hermippos, Nikophon and Menander, which give their statements some authority.

<sup>79</sup> M. C. MILLER, *The parasol: an oriental status-symbol in late archaic and classical Athens*, J.H.S. 112, 1992, 91–105.

behind the kanephoros with a parasol, and Pisthetairos suggests that he take a chair, and act the diphrophoros as well.<sup>80</sup> Chairs, or more correctly stools, were carried for the kanephoroi,<sup>81</sup> and as the metic daughters carried the skiadia for the kanephoroi, it is perhaps possible that the diphrophoroi (stool-bearers) were also metic daughters.

The two girls on the frieze clearly carry baskets with tightly wrapped covers on their heads, and one of them carries a torch, clearly suitable for a nocturnal rite; the older woman is presumably the priestess of Athena Polias, who gave them the secret items to carry. There are two figures next to them; one is a man (figure 34), usually interpreted as the basileus archon, and with him a child (figure 35), smaller than the two girls; between them they are holding a piece of cloth, probably Athena's peplos. While there is much argument about the identity of this figure, it seems to be a small boy rather than a girl; he is presumably a boy somehow involved in Athena's service.<sup>82</sup>

The other female figures on the Parthenon frieze are damaged; they carry nothing on their heads, and so do not appear to be kanephoroi. Many of the hands are damaged, and while several of the figures clearly carried nothing on their hands, others do: some carry incense burners, phialai,<sup>83</sup> oinochoai; others whose hands are preserved have yet to receive anything. They are clearly taking part in some stage of a procession, and while the role which they are filling must remain enigmatic, clearly some are filling the standard roles of parthenoi in processions.

Parthenoi also filled various other ritual roles in Greek religion. They could carry in their hands trays with sacrificial items on them;<sup>84</sup> on their heads they could carry kistai (chests),<sup>85</sup> liknoi (baskets in the shape of scoops).<sup>86</sup> Maidens could also be hydrophoroi, water-carriers, carrying the water for sacrifices in

<sup>80</sup> Ar. Birds 1550–52.

<sup>81</sup> Schol. Ar. Birds 1551a (P.C.G. V, Hermippos F25, S.572–73; P.C.G. VII, Nikophon F7, S.66); Hesych. s.v. diphrophoroi.

<sup>82</sup> On the identity of this figure, see M. ROBERTSON, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1975, 308; ROBERTSON and FRANTZ (above n. 77), note to figure 35; C. W. CLAIRMONT, A.A., 1989, 495–96; J. BOARDMAN, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, 1991, 119–21; note SIMON (above n. 59) 67.

<sup>83</sup> One of the figures (number 5 on the left hand side) clearly carries a phiale, and it is possible that figures 2–4 (their hands are damaged) did so also. Figure 55 on the right hand side appears to be carrying a phiale; the male figure 49 is holding a flat object sometimes described as a kanoun, basket, and two female figures stand before him; he is possibly about to hand the object to one of them. There are certainly flat baskets, but this particular object looks much more like a shallow phiale.

<sup>84</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.668 (M. COMSTOCK and C. VERMEULE, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston 1971, 54–55, no. 55); the 'Anzio Girl': Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 596, with Pliny NH 34.80 (ROBERTSON, *A History of Greek Art* (above n. 82) pl. 150 d).

<sup>85</sup> Two statues of kistaphoroi were incorporated into the Lesser Propylaion at Eleusis.

<sup>86</sup> Callimachos Hymn to Demeter.

hydriai.<sup>87</sup> A grave-stele shows a young girl with her left hand raised in adoration, and a small hydria in her right, with a fillet binding her hair. She is probably a hydrophoros, depicted in this role as the most important she had fulfilled in life.<sup>88</sup> Young women are shown wreathing the sacrificial bull; perhaps they are parthenoi.<sup>89</sup> Throughout ancient Greece, parthenoi in choirs sang the praises of the gods, especially at Sparta, where Alkman composed songs for parthenoi;<sup>90</sup> other poets also wrote such songs.<sup>91</sup> Parthenoi danced in honour of the gods, such as the Spartan karyatides at Artemis' sanctuary at Karyai, in Lakedaimonia.<sup>92</sup> Parthenoi also served as priestesses,<sup>93</sup> the most famous example being the two virgins sent from mainland Lokris to Troy to serve as Athena's priestesses, the so-called 'Lokrian maidens'.<sup>94</sup> A parthenos served as a phialophoros at Italian Lokris; the chief deity there was Persephone; she had an important sanctuary outside the city, which Diodoros said was the most famous temple in Italy, and quantities of phialai have in fact been discovered there.<sup>95</sup> Anaxandrides wrote a comedy, the phialophoros, probably about a maiden at Athens fulfilling a ritual role in this capacity.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to such ritual roles, rites for virgins only were common in Artemis cults, such as the previously mentioned Brauronia at Brauron, in Attica.<sup>97</sup> Each year a seven day festival was celebrated at the Mysaion, a sanctuary of Demeter Mysia, in Pellene, and men participated but left the sanctuary on the third day and returned the next (Paus. 7.27.9–10). At Olympia, where there were, as discussed above, injunctions against women, there was a place where only they could go:

<sup>87</sup> Hesychius s.v. lykiades korai (thirty korai responsible for carrying water to the Lykeion); Porph. Abst. 2.30.1 (for the Dipolieia).

<sup>88</sup> Kerameikos P1131 (C. W. CLAIRMONT, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Kilchberg 1993, I, S.319–20, no. 1.334, pl. 1.334).

<sup>89</sup> E.g.: BM E284; rf amphora, 450–25 B.C. (C.V.A. BM 3, pl. 17.3a, 3b; A.R.V.<sup>2</sup> 1107.7; L.I.M.C. 4.1335 (no pl.); van STRATEN (above n. 62) V87 fig. 45).

<sup>90</sup> Alcman P.M.G. 1, 3, 10 (a), 13(a), 26, 94.

<sup>91</sup> Plut. Mor.1136f.

<sup>92</sup> Paus. 3.10.7, cf. 4.16.9–10; Lucian Dance 10; Plut. Artaxerxes 18.2 (Klearchos' ring; F.G.H. 688 Ktesias F28); Diomedes Grammaticus III, S.486 (quoted by C. WENDEL, *Scholia in Theocritum vetera*, Leipzig, 1966, S.14); Poll. 4.104; Statius Thebaid 4.225; Servius commentary to Virgil Eclogues 8.30; cf. Vitruvius 1.1.5. See also Ar. Lys. 1305–20.

<sup>93</sup> See TURNER (above n. 59) passim; S. J. SIMON, *The function of priestesses in Greek society*, Cl.Bulletin 67, 1991, 9–13; M. P. J. DILLON, *Marriage ceremonies on Kos, nuptial ceremonies, and women in Greek cult* (Segre, E.D. 178), forthcoming Z.P.E. 1999.

<sup>94</sup> See esp. P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *The Black Hunter. Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, tr. A. SZEGEDY-MASZAK, Baltimore 1986, 189–204; D. D. HUGHES, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London, 1991, 166–84.

<sup>95</sup> Polybios 12.5.9–11; Diod. 27.4.2; Livy 29.18; F. W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, II, Oxford 1967, 336.

<sup>96</sup> P.C.G. II, Anaxandrides F52 S.268.

<sup>97</sup> Ar. Lys. 636–46 (there is no need to emend the age of ten mentioned in this passage for the girls participating in the Brauronia: see DILLON (above n. 42) 273 n. 75; at 645, read κατέχουσα (TBC), rather than καταχέουσα (R), or emendation (BENTLEY), κᾶτ' ἔχουσα.

only the priestess could enter the inner part of the sanctuary of Eileithyia and (Zeus) Sosipolis, while the women worshippers waited in the outer part (Paus. 6.20.2–3). Similarly, at Aigion only the priestess could look at the statue of Hera (Paus. 7.23.9). Plutarch mentions a case at Rome, where only women could enter into a temple of Diana there (Plut. Mor. 264 c). An inscription from Mylasa, Asia Minor, has been restored to include a provision against the entry of men into a sanctuary of Demeter (L.S.A.M. 61.8, 3rd cent.).

Women would also travel as part of women-only religious ceremonies: Athenian women (the *Thyiades*) were involved in a procession to Delphi, where they were joined by Delphic women.<sup>98</sup> In an incident reported by Plutarch and which might be historical, when during the Third Sacred War the *Thyiades* from Delphi in the course of their ritual wandering arrived at Amphissa and slept the night there, the local women in the morning looked after them, and then having asked the permission of their husbands accompanied the *Thyiades* to the border (Plut. Mor. 249 ef). Within the female gender there were also exclusions: only women initiated into the cult of Demeter participated in the sacrifice to her on Mykonos (L.S.C.G. 96.15–22, esp. 22).

There were also male-only cults, and these probably approximate most closely with the prohibition of women, but not virgins, at Olympia. Strangely perhaps, at Akraia (Cyprus) women were forbidden entry to the temple of Aphrodite (Strabo 14.6.3). On Delos a sanctuary, possibly devoted to Egyptian gods, prohibited the entry of women (L.S.C.G. Suppl. 56, 2nd cent.). It was not lawful (οὐ θέμις) for women and the uninitiated to enter the sanctuary of (Zeus) Hypatos on Paros (L.S.C.G. 109; 5th cent.). Women, except for the priestess and the prophetess, were not to enter the temple of a prophetic cult on Eresos (L.S.C.G. 124, 2nd cent.). Herakles' cult at Miletos seems to include a provision against women (L.S.A.M. 42a (c. 500), and women were not allowed to participate in his cult on Thasos (L.S.C.G. Suppl. 63; c. 440; cf. L.S.C.G. Suppl. 66, where a reference to exclusion of women is restored). The priest of Herakles *Misogynist* in Phokis had to have no relations with women in the first year of his appointment (Plut. Mor. 403 f–404 a). At Geronthrai in Lakonia there was a temple and grove of Ares; every year a festival was celebrated there from which women were excluded (Paus. 3.22.7). Ethnicity was the ground for excluding women in one case: it was 'not lawful' for Dorian women to participate in a cult of Kore on Paros (L.S.C.G. 110, 5th cent.). All women except Thracian women were excluded from the sanctuary of Herakles at Erythrai (Paus. 7.5.8). No woman could enter the grove of the hero Eunostos in Tanagra (Plut. Mor. 300 d), that of Orpheus in Thrace

<sup>98</sup> Paus. 10.4.3; Plut. Mor. 364 e, 365 a; cf. Paus. 10.6.3–4, 10.19.4, 10.32.7; Hom. Od. 11.581; cf. I.G. II<sup>2</sup> 1136); A. HENRICHS, *Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina*, H.S.C.Ph. 82, 1978, 137, 152–53; BURKERT (above n. 12) 124–25; L. B. ZAIDMAN, *Pandora's Daughters and Rituals in Grecian Cities*, in: P. S. PANTEL (ed.) *A History of Women in the West, I*, Cambridge MA 1992, 358–59 (a general survey of women's religious role in ancient Greece).

(CONON F.G.H. 26 F1), or the sanctuary of Hermotimos at Klazomenai (Apoll. Hist. Mir. 3.4). Religious ceremonies served to accept boys into the adult world: at Athens, on the third day of the Apatouria, the koureion took place, a sacrifice made by the father with the enrolment of his son into the phratry.<sup>99</sup>

A sanctuary of Kronos warned off women, and dogs and flies as well (Phylarchos F.G.H. 81 F33), while at Lindos (where there are several references to prohibitions on women) a man was not to have contact with a woman, dog or a donkey (L.S.C.G. Suppl. 91.11). Other references on Lindos were prohibitions excluding women from sacrifices (L.S.C.G. Suppl. 88 a and b (a: 4th cent., b: 2nd cent.), 89 (4th cent.)). Similarly, according to the sacred calendar of Mykonos, women could not take part in the sacrifice to Poseidon Phykios, but were not debarred from that to Poseidon Temenites or from other sacrifices (L.S.C.G. 96.9, c. 200 BC). At Elateia, women could not sacrifice to Anakes (L.S.C.G. 82, end of the 5th cent.), nor participate in the sacrifice for the Agamemnonidai at Taras ([Arist.] Mir. 840 a3). Women were not excluded from the Delphic oracle, as Euripides makes clear, despite what Plutarch says on the subject, and an inscription records a fourth-century BC consultation by a woman concerning her childlessness; perhaps consultations by women had ceased by Plutarch's time.<sup>95</sup> Exclusion of individuals on a gender basis was clearly relatively common in Greek cults. A religious rite – the Heraia – which was only for parthenoi is not unusual, nor is the Olympic festival with its prohibition on women.

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion. Clearly, married women (gynaikes) could not attend the Olympic festival as spectators but they could act as the financial sponsors of chariot races. However, it seems that they could and did attend other panhellenic festivals apart from the Olympic festival, as the specific prohibition of gynaikes from Olympia suggests that there was not a similar prohibition at other panhellenic events. Male athletic nudity was therefore not viewed as a social 'problem', as it occurred in a specific controlled context. The Olympic festival seems to have been unique in this regard, and this is why Pausanias specifically mentions the Olympic ban on women, which did not derive from an aversion to permitting women see nude males competing; rather, the prohibition seems to have been ritual in nature. The restriction was unusual, but is explained by Hippodameia's withdrawal from Elis. While according to Pausanias the Heraia dated back to 'ancient times', athletic events at panhellenic festivals specifically for girls seem to have been a late development, but by the first century A.D. they seem to have been a common feature of panhellenic events. And the existence of competitions for parthenoi at the Heraia at Olympia, and later

<sup>99</sup> See Hdt. 1.147.2; Andok. 1.127; I.G. II<sup>2</sup> 1237, translated in DILLON and GARLAND (above n. 4) 303–04, with bibliography; see also S. G. COLE, The social function of rituals of maturation: the Koureion and the Arkteia, Z.P.E. 55, 1984, 233–38.

<sup>100</sup> 220–229, 299, 303, cf. 335–335; Plut. Mor. 385 d; inscription: Fouilles de Delphes 3.1.560 (end of the 4th cent. B.C.).

at other panhellenic festivals, indicates that competitions for parthenoi were not only a feature of the Spartan system (and other Dorian societies), but that athletic training was part of girls' education elsewhere in Greece at least later, though probably only in aristocratic circles. Pausanias, in giving the details of the Olympic ban, is stressing the unique nature of the prohibition against women, for parthenoi were permitted as spectators at Olympia, and elsewhere in Greece it seems more than probable that women were allowed to attend panhellenic and local festivals as a matter of course.

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