

ARTEMIS BEAR-LEADER*

Lys. 641–7

ἐπτά μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρουν·
 εἴτ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκέτις οὔσα τὰρχηγέτι·
 καὶ τ' ἔχουσα τὸν κρόκωτον ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους·
 κἀκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ'
 ἰσχάδων ὀρμαθόν.

καὶ τ' ἔχουσα Bentley; κατέχουσα GBC; καταχέουσα R.

Editors of *Lysistrata* have regarded this passage as a kind of *cursus honorum* of a well-brought-up young Athenian lady: the chorine first served at the age of seven as a bearer of the sacred casket (*arrephoros*); then at the age of ten as miller of corn for Athena Archegetis (*aletris*); then followed service as a 'bear' (*arktos*) of Artemis at the Brauronia; finally, she returned to Athens as a basket-bearer (*kanephoros*), holding a string of figs, when a fair young girl. After this, presumably, she married.

There are several difficulties in this interpretation: notably, the intrusion into service apparently wholly devoted to Athena of a spell as one of Artemis' servants at Brauron; moreover, the evidence is that Artemis' 'bears' were pre-pubescent, not young girls on the verge of marriage, as the above interpretation seems to require them to be. Another weakness lies in the period of service as an *arrephoros*: this passage seems to be the only direct evidence that *arrephoroi* might be seven-year-old, rather than adolescent, girls.¹

A more extreme interpretation is that of A. Brelich,² who regarded this passage as proof that there existed in fifth-century Athens a system of universal female initiation, based on four successive grades, *arrephoria*, *aletria*, *arkteia* and *kanephoria*. I do not propose to comment in detail upon Brelich's hypothesis,³ but critics of it might begin by questioning the age and number of the *arrephoroi*, and the function and location of the *kanephoroi*.

* I should like to thank Dr Martin Cropp, who first drew my attention to this problem, and Professor Elizabeth G. Pemberton, who has helped me with advice and comments. I am grateful also for the comments of the anonymous referee for this journal. A version of this paper was delivered in April 1980 at a seminar of the Classics Department of the University of Calgary.

¹ There is some question as to whether the *arrephoroi* discussed in the Etymologicum Magnum (ed. T. Gaisford, 1848) are male or female: 'Ἀρρηφορεῖν: Τὸ χρυσὴν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, καὶ χρυσία· τέσσαρες δὲ παῖδες ἐχειροτονοῦντο κατ' εὐγένειαν ἀρρηφόροι ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρις ἑξέων. Τούτων δὲ δύο διεκρίνοντο, οἱ διὰ τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέπλου ἤρχοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. Λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρουν καὶ χρυσία. The girls who participate in the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon Friezes are all, with one exception, young girls close to adulthood: the exception is the bare-bottomed figure who receives the folded peplos from the Archon Basileus on the East Frieze. I share Martin Robertson's view that this 'child' is more likely a girl than a boy (M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze*, London, 1975, p. 51). However, whatever its sex, this 'child' is only a head shorter than the Archon, and thus is pubescent, rather than pre-pubescent.

² A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome, 1969), pp. 229–311. A less extreme interpretation is that of H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), pp. 139–43. See also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 9–17 (*arrephoria*) and 207 (*Brauronia*), and L. Ghali-Kahil, *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965), 20–33, and 20 (1977), 86–98 ('Bears').

³ See the review of Brelich by C. Sourvinou [-Inwood], *JHS* 91 (1971), 172–7, especially pp. 174 ff.

I believe, too, that it may be wrong to view these four activities as universal female services to different divinities within the Athenian state-cult; rather, as I shall argue, they might all be services performed at Brauron by female votaries of Artemis, more likely quite few in number, rather than by the total, free, female population of Athens.

C. Sourvinou-Inwood⁴ and T. C. W. Stinton⁵ have attempted to resolve some of these difficulties by emending both the text and the punctuation: for this they derive some support from the manuscript tradition, and also from scholia. The effect of Sourvinou-Inwood's changes is to link service as a 'bear' with the age of ten:

εἴτ' ἀλετρὶς ἦ· δεκέτις οὔσα τὰρχηγέτι
καταχέουσα τὸν κρόκωτον ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίους.
'Then I was a miller of corn; and when I was ten
years old I let drop for the Archegetis (Artemis)
my yellow robe as a bear at the Brauronia.'

Sourvinou-Inwood admitted that her version was stylistically awkward, but felt that this awkwardness was justified, in that it emphasized the precise age at which each ritual was carried out.

Stinton, however, doubted whether 'Aristophanes would have put rhetorical balance before ritual correctness', and he was disturbed, too, by the conferral of Athena's title Ἀρχηγέτις upon Artemis: the scholiast, it is true, glosses: τῇ δεσποίνῃ Ἀρτέμιδι ἢ Δήμητρι; but Stinton believed that here the scholiast was 'clearly guessing, since Demeter is out of the question, while Artemis is indicated by the text he read'.

Accordingly, Stinton repunctuated these lines and made a simple change in line 645:

εἴτ' ἀλετρὶς ἦ δεκέτις οὔσα τὰρχηγέτι,
καὶ χέουσα τὸν κρόκωτον ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίους.

'Athena then has her own title, balancing Βραυρωνίους; the lines run smoothly; and the "bears" are still the right age, ten years old.'

I wonder, in fact, whether any other goddess than Artemis is indicated here, and I wonder, too, whether ἡρρηφόρου is the correct reading in line 641.

The scholiasts suggest that the ritual was not ἀρρηφορία, but ἐρσιφορία or ἐρσεφορία, that is, 'dew-bearing', as in the example of the *Hersephoroi*, who, on the night before the Bouphonia, took water to the olive-tree in the Pandroseion on the Akropolis;⁶ or else ἐρρηφορία may be intended, as in the example of the *Errephoroi*, maidens who carried dew to Herse on the Akropolis.⁷ The meaning of ἀρρηφόρος is uncertain, and arguments about it tend to be circular and to stem from the passage in the *Lysistrate* here discussed.⁸ However, apart from this passage, all references to *Arrephoria*, whether in literature or in inscriptions, seem to be late. The major source is Pausanias:⁹ παρθέναι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους. These girls, Pausanias reports, at the time of the Panathenaia, set on their heads objects of mysterious nature, given them by the

⁴ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971), 339–42.

⁵ T. C. W. Stinton, *CQ* n.s. 26 (1976), 11–13.

⁶ A. Mommsen, *Heortologie* (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 7 and 13; Deubner (*supra*, n. 2), p. 14.

⁷ Moeris, p. 130 (ed. Koch), s.v. ἐρρηφόροι.

⁸ The entries under Ἀρρηφόροι, Ἀρρηφορία and Ἀρρηφορεῖν in the *Etymologicum Magnum* seem to conflate several quite different rituals: Ἀρρηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφορία: Ἑορτὴ ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐν Σκιρροφοριῶνι μηνί. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ε, ἐρρηφορία. Παρὰ τὸ ἀρρηφα καὶ μυστήρια φέρειν. Ἡ ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ Ε, παρὰ τὴν Ἑρσην τὴν Κέκροπος θυγατέρα, ἐρρηφορία. Ταύτη γὰρ ἦγον τὴν ἑορτήν. For Ἀρρηφορεῖν, see *supra*, n. 1.

⁹ 1. 27. 3–4.

priestess of Athena, which they then carried to the precinct of Aphrodite in the Gardens: there they deposited them in an underground chamber, receiving in their place other objects which they carried back to the Akropolis; having done this, they were discharged, and their place was taken by two new girls. The scholiast to Lucian, *Dialogues with Prostitutes*,¹⁰ reports a similar ritual in connection with Demeter at the Thesmophoria. Inscriptions, dating from the late third century until well into the Roman era, attest, not to *arrephoria*, but to *errephoria*, in connection with the worship of Athena Polias and, in three instances, of Athena Polias and Pandrosos.¹¹ A scholiast to *Lysistrate* 641 remarks of the *Errephoroi*: τῇ γὰρ Ἑρσῇ πομπέουσι, τῇ Κεκρόπος θυγατρί: perhaps from the same source as Moeris.¹² Inscriptions of the Roman era from the Theatre of Dionysus set aside seats in the Theatre for *Ersephoroi* of Chloe Themis and of Eileithyia in Agrai, two in each case.¹³ Eileithyia was identified with Artemis in Boiotia, and Farnell took Pausanias' failure to mention any other deity than Artemis Agrotera in Agrai to mean that here Artemis and Eileithyia were identified as the same goddess.¹⁴ Finally, Suidas (s.v. ἀρρηφόροι) says: ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι ἃ τινες Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν Χαλκεία... ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἰέρειαι μετὰ τῶν ἀρρηφόρων τὸν πέπλον διάζονται.

Arrephoroi and *Errephoroi*, therefore, are identified with the rituals of Athena and of Pandrosos; *Ersephoroi* serve Chloe Themis and Eileithyia (= Artemis?); *Hersephoroi* (= *Errephoroi*?) carry dew, either to Herse or to the sacred olive in the Pandroseion. Nothing in the foregoing, I believe, excludes *Hersephoroi* in the service of Artemis at Brauron, particularly if it be borne in mind that these are seven-year-old girls, not maidens on the threshold of marriage, as most of these others, whether *Arrephoroi*, *Errephoroi* or *Ersephoroi*-*Hersephoroi*, seem to be.¹⁵

Aletrides are not specifically associated with any cult, though one might expect them to be found, if anywhere, at Eleusis: in fact, the only evidence for them in connection with a cult at Athens is to be found in the passage here discussed.¹⁶ I see no reason why they should be Athena's, rather than Artemis', millers, whether or not they were nobly born, as the scholiast asserts: γίνονται τινες τῶν εὖ γεγοννιῶν ἀλετρίδες τῇ θεῷ παρθένῳ, αὐτίνες τὰ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν πόπανα ἀλοῦσι. *Archegetis*, it is true, is one of Athena's titles: however, here again, the firm evidence seems to be rather late.¹⁷

¹⁰ 2. 1.

¹¹ *IG*² ii. 3465, 3470, 3471, 3473, 3482, 3486, 3496, 3497, 3516, 3555, 3556, all Athena or Athena Polias; 3472, 3488, 3515, all Athena Polias and Pandrosos; 3461, 3466, 3634, unattributed, but probably all Athena. *IG*² ii. 3528 is also unattributed; here, alone, the girl is called an ἀρρηφόρος.

¹² *Supra*, n. 7.

¹³ *IG*² ii. 5098 and 5099.

¹⁴ For Boiotia see, for example, *SEG* xviii. 343, line 17; however, Boiotian practices ought to be viewed as distinct from Attic. For Agrai, see Pausanias 1. 19, and L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* II (London, 1895), p. 609. New evidence suggests that Farnell's hypothesis may be wrong: an unpublished inscription of the mid-fourth century B.C. (from the Athenian Agora: to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Hesperia*) mentions an Ileithyeion in Kollytos. The deme of Kollytos lay to the south of the Akropolis, very close to, or even including, the site of Agrai: it is worth mentioning that the inscription is concerned with property belonging to Artemis Agrotera, and that the Ileithyeion is the neighbour of this property, so that it might still be possible to argue that Eileithyia's sanctuary was within the temenos of Artemis Agrotera. However, it is questionable whether Artemis Agrotera and Artemis Brauronia should be used as evidence for each other's cult-practices. In any case, elsewhere in Attica Eileithyia seems to have had her own temple: see Pausanias 1. 18. 4-5. J. Travlos (*Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971, p. 28) places it near the Agora of Caesar and Augustus, that is, to the north-east of the Akropolis.

¹⁵ Except, that is, for the male (or female) *arrephoroi* discussed *supra*, n. 1.

¹⁶ From this passage derives the discussion of *aletrides* in Eustathios, 1885. 9.

¹⁷ The restoration [*Ἀθενᾶι τῇ*] Ἀρχεγέρ[ιδι--] in line 4 of *IG*² i. 38 (late fifth century B.C.) has never been questioned (see, most recently, Stinton's acceptance of it, *op. cit.*, p. 12), but is

The earliest literary reference to Athena as *Archegetis* is Plutarch:¹⁸ ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς οἱ πατέρες λέγουσιν, ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθῆνα καὶ πατρῶος Ἀπόλλων ἐστίν. This might be an indication of such a cult-title in the fifth century, but it could also be taken in a more general sense, as I believe both terms should be here. In any case, Athena is not the only divinity to bear the title *Archegetis* in Attica: there was a hero *Archegetis* at Rhamnous in the sixth century;¹⁹ Zeus was honoured as *Archegetis* at Sounion, also in the sixth century;²⁰ in the late fifth century there may have been a hero *Archegetis* at Marathon, though this reading is doubtful: the *Archegetis* in this case might be a mortal, the leader of a group of colonists at Chalkis, or of some other group at Marathon.²¹ Also in Attica, in the fourth century, Menelaos and Herakles bear this title at Phegai.²²

Sourvinou-Inwood has, I believe, made an excellent case for identifying Artemis as *Archegetis* in the passage here discussed: I believe that Stinton is too cavalier in his dismissal of the scholiast's gloss as 'clearly guessing': what the scholiast may actually have written is τῇ Δεσποίνῃ, <ῇ> Ἀρτέμειδι, ἣ Δήμητρι; nowhere does Artemis have the title *Despoina*,²³ but at Lykosoura, in the Sanctuary of the Mistress (*Despoina*), Artemis, the Mistress and Demeter are expressly associated. It may have been in reference to this sanctuary that the scholiast wrote his gloss, which later became compressed to what is preserved in the manuscripts today.²⁴

However, it must be admitted that in none of the surviving inscriptions from Lykosoura is the title *Archegetis* found.²⁵

There is no question but that the 'bears' of line 643 are devotees of Artemis. Sourvinou-Inwood's emendation of the text, in light of the evidence from pottery at Brauron that 'bears' were very young girls who shed their saffron robes, the mark of their office, at the age of ten,²⁶ seems eminently correct.

Kanephoroi figure in the ritual of several cults at Athens: at the festival of τὰ κανᾶ in honour of Demeter;²⁷ at the Dionysia²⁸ (in one instance a girl is recorded as carrying by no means certain. *IG*² ii. 674, line 17 (ὁπως ἂν... θύσωσιν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τεῖ Ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως) seems to be the earliest undoubted reference and is dated in 277/6 B.C. The next reference is in the middle of the second century B.C. (*IG*² ii. 3474), and the Gate of Athena Archegetis, in the Agora of Caesar and Augustus, was dedicated in 11/10 or 10/9 B.C. (*IG*² ii. 3175).

¹⁸ *Alcibiades* 2. 5. The phrase is put into the mouth of Alcibiades.

¹⁹ *SEG* xiii. 26.

²⁰ *SEG* xxii. 60.

²¹ *IG*² i. 190B, lines 7–8.

²² *IG*² ii. 1932, lines 13 and 14.

²³ The title is restored in *SEG* xvi. 787, line 2, but this is a very late inscription from Palestine, hardly relevant to the issue here.

²⁴ For the inscriptions from Lykosoura, see *IG* v. 2. 514–47.

²⁵ It would be a comparatively simple emendation to change τὰρχηγέτι to τὰρκτηγέτι in line 642 (for a similar epithet applied to Artemis, *Κυνηγέτις*, see Cornutus, *ND* 34; note that in line 1270 of this play, too, Artemis may be addressed as *Hegetis*: see note 38, *infra*). There is no known instance of this title, however. The scholiast evidently read τὰρχηγέτι in the text before him.

²⁶ Ghali-Kahil (*supra*, n. 2) publishes several *krateriskoi*, found mostly at Brauron, but also at other Attic sites connected with Artemis; young girls are shown running or dancing, sometimes holding torches or wreaths, in a sanctuary identified as that of Artemis by the presence of a palm-tree. In the Brauron fragments, at least, these girls are sometimes shown naked, sometimes clothed in a short chiton. In her 1977 article she publishes two fragments of a *krateriskos*, of which one depicts a real bear (drawing, fig. 4, p. 91), and the other depicts young, naked girls running away (drawing, fig. 3, p. 91). A fragment of another such vase (drawing, fig. 7, p. 93) shows a priestess wearing a bear-mask. That these vases depict the ritual of the *arkteia* I have no doubt.

²⁷ Schol. Aeschines, *Ctes.* 120 (p. 90, ed. Dindorf): ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν ἣ αἱ παρθέναι ἱερὰ τινα Δήμητρος ἐν κανοῖς ἐβάσταζον ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς· ὅθεν κανηφόροι κέκληνται.

²⁸ Schol. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 242: κατὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἱ εὐγενεῖς παρθέναι ἐκανηφόρουν; see also *IG*² ii. 3489 (Dionysos); 3220 (Mother of the Gods, Asklepios and Aphrodite); and 4456 and 4480 (Asklepios).

a basket both at the Dionysia and in honour of the Mother of the Gods: the date of this is soon after 86 B.C.). Again, there are examples of *kanephoria* in the service of Zeus *Soter* and Athena *Soteira*,²⁹ and of Apollo at the Pythia.³⁰ There is no inscriptional evidence for *kanephoria* in the rituals of Artemis' festivals, but there is compelling evidence in the form of votive stelai that it was, in fact, a constant feature of rituals in honour of Artemis at Brauron. These stelai, now in the Museum at Brauron, some of them formerly displayed in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, are dedications made by women during the fourth century B.C., before the sanctuary fell into dilapidation after disastrous floods.³¹ In each of them Artemis is depicted greeting a group of devotees. These devotees consist of men, women and young children, evidently family groups. At the rear of the group in each case stands a young woman or girl who bears on her head a large cylindrical object, about twenty inches in diameter, and of about the same height. This I believe to be a *kaneon*. She who bears it is a *kanephoros*. In one instance, the object is garlanded with several strands of cord, on which are oval lumps. It is just possible that these represent the strings of figs (presumably dried figs) that the chorine of the *Lysistrata* refers to in line 647.³²

Figs do not seem to be mentioned in any other passage that deals with Artemis. Once again, the ancient sources have led scholars to associate them with the worship of Athena. During the festival of the Plynteria it was the custom to carry baskets of sweetmeats made with figs through the streets.³³ The Plynteria was a festival in honour of Aglauros, the daughter of Kekrops,³⁴ at which 'mysteries' were celebrated for Aglauros and her sister Pandrosos,³⁵ who have been identified with Athena, but might more appropriately be regarded as avatars of Artemis.³⁶

In my opinion, then, this passage refers entirely to services rendered to the goddess Artemis at Brauron. The chorine spent her life, until marriage, in the sanctuary, performing various ritual tasks appropriate to her age.

Is there any evidence elsewhere in the play that the women are devotees of Artemis? I believe that there is, and that, in fact, this play as a whole is very strongly connected with Artemis.

Lines 435–48 contain four invocations by Lysistrata and her followers to various divinities. The first is to Artemis herself (435); the others, Pandrosos (439), Phosphoros (443), and Tauropolos (447), are surely Artemis under other names. Admittedly, Pandrosos could be merely one of Kekrops' daughters, but her name as an epithet could also be applied to Artemis, and its meaning, 'all-bedewer', should recall to mind the scholiast's suggestion of *Hersephoria* or *Ersiphoria* for line 641.³⁷ One might even

²⁹ IG² ii. 3483.

³⁰ IG² ii. 3477.

³¹ For the archaeological history of the sanctuary, see J. Papadimitriou, *Scientific American* (June 1963), pp. 111–20: the death of the excavator has delayed publication of the site, and this 1963 article remains the most accessible, as well as most extensive, account in print. For the cult in light of the archaeological finds, see I. Kontis, *ADelt* 22 (1967), 156–207.

³² These votive stelai have not received formal publication, but photographs and slides of them have been on sale for some years at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and, more recently, at Brauron. At least three stelai are involved, all of the first half of the fourth century, B.C., to judge from their sculptural style and the inscriptions. A photograph of one is published by A. Alavanou, *Brauron and Halai Araphenides* (Athens, 1972), p. 31. A similar ritual may be involved in the worship of Zeus Meilichios, to judge from a votive stela of the mid-fourth century B.C. (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. ΓΑ 1408); for a drawing of this see M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, i³ (München, 1967), tafel 28. 1.

³³ Hesychios, s.v. 'Ἠγητηρία: παλάθη σύκων· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑορτῇ [παρὰ] πλυντηρίων, φέρουσι παλάθην συγκεκλιμένην ἐξ ἰσχυάδων.

³⁴ Hesychios, s.v. Πλυντήρια.

³⁵ Athenagoras, *Leg.* 1.

³⁶ See *infra*.

³⁷ See B. B. Rogers, *The Lysistrata of Aristophanes* (London, 1911), pp. 54–5, where the same suggestion is made. For Artemis Phosphoros, see IG² ii. 902 line 8, 977 line 8, and 4659 line 1.

argue that the four women who come forward in this passage, each invoking Artemis, are to be thought of as Amazons, and thus followers of Artemis, in suitable opposition to the four Scythian archers whom the Proboulos sends to arrest them. Indeed, the men's chorus imply this at lines 675–8, where they compare the women to the Karian Queen Artemisia (a significant choice of names), or to Amazons.

In the opening scenes of the play (1–430) the deities invoked by the women are those found elsewhere in women's scenes in Aristophanes: the Dioskouroi, Peitho, Kastor, Aphrodite, Zeus, Athena Tritogeneia. However, once they have confronted the Proboulos and his Scythians and established their control of the Akropolis, the tenor of their oaths changes. Except for those passages in which various women attempt, or feign attempting, to escape from the Akropolis, the women, from line 560 to line 1042, invoke Zeus, whom the men previously have several times invoked to help them against the women. Roles have changed. The women are acting like men in defence of the Akropolis. Myrrhine's seduction and rejection of her husband Kinesias (830–1014) opens with an invocation by the chorus to Aphrodite (831–4), and ends with two significant invocations: to Aphrodite (939), when Myrrhine appears to be yielding to Kinesias' entreaties, and to Artemis (949), when she dashes his hopes by her final rejection of him. The final scene of reconciliation and the women's triumphal march begins (1279) with the chorus' invocation to Artemis to lead off the dance, followed by invocations to Dionysos, Zeus and Hera; the Spartans respond by calling on *Λήδας παῖς*, Helen, to act as *ἡγέτις* (1314). Some editors, I believe correctly,³⁸ emend this to *Λατοῦς παῖς*, that is, Artemis: the Spartans have more cause than any other of the men to recognize the hand of Artemis in all that has transpired. Previously, too, they have referred (1247–72) to Artemis and to the battle of Artemision, 'as a compliment to the women'.³⁹ This is one more way in which the women's actions are linked to the Persian wars (see also the women's reference at 1033 to Marathon and to the Trikorousian gnat, which may also be a covert reference to Artemis, who was one of those deities believed responsible for the victory at Marathon). One other reference may be intended to remind the audience of Artemis' guiding hand. This is the twice-repeated mention of the Karystians (1059 and 1181). The city of Karystos in Euboeia was directly over the Straits from Halai Araphenides and Brauron, the sites of Artemis' two major sanctuaries. Moreover, in 490 it had been the first to resist the Persians and had suffered for it. It is thus one more link to the Battle of Marathon.

To sum up: I believe that *Lysistrata* 641–7 contain no references to the rituals of Athena, but are entirely concerned with the chorine's past services to Artemis. Indeed, the whole play is infused with the spirit of Artemis, whom both the men and the women regard as the deity most appropriate to the activities of Amazons, to whom the women are likened.⁴⁰ The conflict between the men and the women is also likened, at least by the women, to the battles between the Greeks and the Persians, with specific references to the Athenian exploits at Artemision and Salamis (where the most impressive of the Persian troops was the Karian Queen Artemisia, whom Xerxes regarded as the most manlike of his troops), and at Marathon, where the goddess Artemis was one of the Athenians' major allies.

*The Calgary Institute for the Humanities,
The University of Calgary*

MICHAEL B. WALBANK

³⁸ Bisetius, followed by Bergler, Bothe and Blaydes; rejected by Van Leeuwen (1903).

³⁹ Rogers (*supra*, n. 36), p. 146.

⁴⁰ Indeed, as the referee for this journal has pointed out to me, Artemis Brauronia seems to have had the same functions, as the women's goddess in Attica, that Persephone may have had in Lokroi. For full discussion of Persephone in Lokroi see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *JHS* 98 (1978), 101–21.