

XXII.—Choes and Chytroi

HENRY R. IMMERWAHR

BRYN MAWR, PENNA.

The Dionysiac revelries of the Choes, or second day of the Anthesteria, present a striking contrast to the festival of the dead on the third day, the Chytroi. This paper examines the evidence for rites which make a transition from one festival to the other, by discussing two groups of vase paintings which draw their inspiration from such rites: (1) representations of the komos, some of which can be connected with the procession to the Limnaeum at the end of the Choes festival; (2) representations of the Aiora, or swinging ceremony preparatory to the banquet of the Chytroi. Both groups support the claim of some ancient sources that the worship of Dionysus was carried over to the beginning of the Chytroi.

The three-day spring festival of the Athenian Anthesteria reached its height on the second day, the Choes: Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* has left us a vivid picture of the banquet with its competitive drinking parties on that occasion.¹ On the third day, the Chytroi, offerings were made to the dead and to Hermes, and according to Theopompus, Dionysus as well as the other Olympians was no longer worshipped.² Didymus, however, in commenting upon line 1076 of the *Acharnians* (ὕπὸ τοὺς Χοῶς γὰρ καὶ Χύτρον) claimed that both festivals took place on one day and that the offering to the dead was made to Dionysus and to Hermes: 'Ἐν μιᾷ

¹ Ar. *Ach.* 1000 ff. In this paper I have profited by the criticism and corrections of an anonymous referee.

² Theopompus fr. 347a Jacoby (= schol. Ar. *Ach.* 1076): Θεόπομπος τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ ἐψῆσαι φησι χύτραν πανσπερμίας, ὅθεν οὕτω κληθῆναι τὴν ἑορτήν· καὶ θύειν <αὐ> τοῖς <ἔθος ἔ> χουσι 'Ερμῇ Χθονίῳ, κτλ. The scholion reads τοῖς Χουσί, an error caused presumably by the proximity of the passage cited from Didymus on the same line of the *Acharnians* (quoted in the text above). It has been corrected after fr. 347b Jacoby (= schol. Ar. *Frogs* 218): θύειν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἔχουσι τῶν μὲν 'Ολυμπίων θεῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν, 'Ερμῇ δὲ Χθονίῳ, κτλ. For the recension of the scholia, see M. P. Nilsson, *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* (1900) 159 f. The same author (*Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 1 [Munich, 1941] 561, note 4) now offers a different recension of the scholia, which makes Theopompus say (in the version of fr. 347b) that on the Choes no sacrifices of any kind were offered to the Olympians, etc. Such confused terminology, in a passage which deals exclusively with the main rite of the Chytroi, is as hard to accept as the palaeographical argument that τοῖς Χουσί was corrupted to read αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἔχουσι. The reverse, as had been thought previously, still seems the more likely, despite the fact that αὐτοῖς is difficult to justify; it may, however, be explained as an abridgment of a hypothetical τοῖς Χύτρον in the original. The recension given by P. Fouquart, *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (Paris, 1904) 131 ff., results on the whole in a composite version of the original passage, using bits of all its preserved versions, and hence does not yield a logical sequence of the assumed corruptions.

γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ ἄγονται οἱ τε Χύτροι καὶ οἱ Χόες ἐν ᾧ πᾶν σπέρμα εἰς χύτραν ἐψήσαντες θύουσι μόνῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἑρμῇ. Οὕτω Δίδυμος.³ This statement, however, has found so little credence that the mention of Dionysus is usually bracketed.⁴ None the less, Didymus should be considered on his own merits and not necessarily in conjunction with Theopompus: it would seem natural for one who joined, as he did, the Choes and the Chytroi, to fall into the error (for error it must be) of referring the offering at the tomb (πανσπερμία) to Dionysus as well as to Hermes. The question arises whether we are dealing with an autoschediasma, based entirely on the Aristophanic expression which does not require such an interpretation, or whether any existing information could have led Didymus to assume Dionysiac worship on the Chytroi. With it arises the larger question of the transition from Choes to Chytroi and of the rites by which it was accomplished. Erwin Rohde's famous picture of Dionysus as the Lord of Souls is well known, but recent scholarship has emphasized the contrast more than the connection between the two festivals.⁵

It has become increasingly evident in recent years that representations on Athenian wine jugs of the chous shape often refer directly to the Anthesteria, at which festival jugs of this shape were in use as wine measures for the drinking contest, or, in miniature examples, as children's presents. This is particularly true of vases made in certain workshops in the latter part of the fifth century, often for use in Athens as indicated by their provenance.⁶ This shape, however, was not restricted to this festival, nor was the painter bound to choose a significant picture: the pertinence of each representation, or group of representations, must be independently established. In the following discussion, two groups of jugs are considered which in the main can be assigned to the end of the Choes and the beginning of the Chytroi.

³ Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 1076; Suidas, s. v. *Χύτροι*, omits *μόνῳ*.

⁴ Nilsson, *Op. d. Dion.* 131 f. Fouquart, *op. cit.* 135, also argues in favor of retaining *Διονύσῳ*.

⁵ E. Rohde, *Psyche*³ (Leipzig, 1903) 1.236 ff. Nilsson, *Geschichte* 1.561 and note 2; *JDAI* 31 (1916) 335. Hiller v. Gaertringen in *RE* s. v. "Anthesteria."

⁶ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932) 96 ff. and 238 ff.; S. Karouzou, *AJA* 50 (1946) 122 note; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1942) 725, 738, 754, 832, 837, etc. (henceforth cited: *Attic R-F Painters*); H. R. W. Smith in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (henceforth: *CVA*), San Francisco, fasc. 1, text on plate 25. The now fragmentary chous *CVA*, Baltimore, fasc. 3, plate 12.3, was a child's present, as shown by the inscription.

I

Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* receives an invitation to the official banquet of the city; the slave is told to bring the chous, he packs and shoulders the wooden chest (κίστη) containing his master's food, for on this day each guest must bring his own, and they start off to participate in the drinking contest.⁷ A young man and his boy companion on a chous in Oxford likewise have been interpreted as hastening to a dinner.⁸ The boy carries the chest on his back, the chous in his right hand, and a torch under his left arm. On the jug in the picture, however, traces of a wreath seem to be visible, and it is not proper to wreath the vessel before the symposium: wreaths are distributed after the meal.⁹ No doubt, the young men are coming from the banquet; they are κωμάζοντες. This is certainly true of the similar scene on a jug in Baltimore, as its editors have rightly surmised.¹⁰ The boy, again shouldering the chest, and swinging torch and chous, precedes his master, a bearded man with a stick. It is quite evident that the gentleman is drunk; and again traces of a wreath are seen on the chous in the picture.

These two scenes, then, originate in the vase painter's interest, not in the deipnon or symposium, but the komos or revelry through the streets after the banquet. It seems significant that representations on choes show the komos more often than the banquet, a phenomenon fully consistent with the prominence of komoi at a Dionysiac festival. The painters, furthermore, like to project the komos onto a mythological level, showing Dionysus the reveler, or satyrs and maenads at a drinking bout. Rarely are such scenes illustrations of a festival act, and more often the inspiration is quite free. A case in point is the picture on an extraordinary jug in New York only recently published;¹¹ in fact, nowhere else can this interest in the komos better be demonstrated.

⁷ Ar. *Ach.* 1085 f. and the following scene.

⁸ Beazley, *CVA*, Oxford, fasc. 1, plate 43.4.

⁹ D. Tolles, *The Banquet Libations of the Greeks* (Bryn Mawr diss. 1943) 28 f.

¹⁰ D. M. Robinson and S. E. Freeman, *CVA*, Baltimore, fasc. 3, plate 10 and comments, p. 18.

¹¹ G. M. A. Richter, *Bull. Metr. Mus. of Art* 34 (1939) 231 f. and fig. 2; *Greek Painting*² (The Metr. Mus. of Art, 1945), photograph on page 15; *Attic Red-figured Vases* (New Haven, 1946) 135. When I first proposed this interpretation to Miss Richter and Miss Milne at the Metropolitan Museum, they informed me that in 1939 F. O. Copley by letter suggested identifying the subject of this vase with the *paraklausithyron*, but that they had raised several objections. In the following remarks, I have tried to take into account their verbal criticism without, however, quoting it specifically.

On this vase, a bearded komast, with wreath and fillet in his hair and with a lyre slung over his arm, is seen knocking violently with his torch at a door to his left. Above the door are shown the roof tiles of a simple private house. On the other side of the door a young woman is advancing stealthily with a burning lamp in one hand, and putting a finger of the other to her mouth, a gesture indicating surprise and fear. This scene has been explained as representing a drunken husband returning to his wife after the banquet of the Choes, but its literary parallels, some of which are nearly contemporary, suggest a different interpretation. In Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* a young man, who has been drinking (πεπωκώς, line 948) and who brandishes a torch, stands before a hetaera's door asking for admittance with a song (lines 960 ff.):

Δεῦρο δῆ, δεῦρο δῆ,
 φίλον <έμόν>, > καὶ σύ μοι
 καταδραμοῦσα τὴν θύραν
 ἄνοιξον [τὴνδ']· εἰ δὲ μή, καταπεσὼν κείσομαι.

After he has finished, the door is not yet opened, and, full of impatience, he proceeds to pound it violently.¹² Elements of a similar situation are parodied in a scene of the *Plutus*: an old woman is complaining to Chremylus that her young man, who used to spend much time at her door asking no more than to hear her voice (lines 1006–9), has now left her. Soon the youth himself appears, and the two remark (lines 1040–1):

Ἦτοι δ' ἐπὶ κῶμον βαδίζειν.
 —Φαίνεται.
 στεφάνους γέ τοι καὶ δᾶδ' ἔχων πορεύεται.

The young man enters the stage in a guise which befits a young lover and for which the audience had therefore been prepared; hence, the real reason for his appearance at this point, namely his intention to dedicate his wreaths to the god, is not mentioned till the end of the scene (lines 1088–9). The motive of the solitary komast or lover at the door, which is here adapted to comic use, is well known, particularly from the Hellenistic development of this theme in the paraklausithyron, or lover's lament at the closed door. Significantly, this theme is more often called a komos, for its origin lies in the revelry through the streets, and its basic elements are

¹² Ar. *Ecc.* 976 ff.

always the komast with his wreath, torch, lyre or flute, the girl in the house, and the door, which may either be opened to the lover or stay shut, but which is often made to feel the effects of his ardor.¹³ The girl on our vase, then, is not the man's wife, but his girl friend. While it is perhaps preferable to think of her as a hetaera, she is merely pictured as a young woman, and the ladies to whom such tributes are paid at the door are not always characterized as hetaerae in our literary sources.¹⁴ It may seem surprising that a hetaera is shown frightened, for this in general is not their attitude; such cowardice, however, would be no more appropriate for a wife. *θυροκοπεῖν* traditionally implies rowdiness and often leads to further offences which might well be frightening; in fact, the woman's attitude is a perfect foil for the man's action.¹⁵ The decisive element of the composition, however, is the door, occurring as it does in connection with a komast and a girl: no more than this triple association was needed to evoke in the ancient user of the vase the image of the lover at the door, familiar no doubt from real life as well as from popular literature. This does not mean that the vase illustrates the paraklausithyron proper, for we may doubtless imagine that the girl will open the door: the painter was primarily interested in the element of suspense, which is the central motive underlying all this literature. He has chosen a more masculine theme than the sentimental lay of the spurned lover at the closed door: the pounding of the door is known also as the subject of a type of song, the *θυροκοπικόν*

¹³ W. Headlam and A. D. Knox, *Herodas, the Mimes and Fragments* (Cambridge, 1922) 82–84. The passages collected there show conclusively that the theme is old and has its origin in the komos; that the komast-lover is often alone; and that the door, and the injuries inflicted upon it, are a main element of the situation. See also G. L. Hendrickson, *CPh* 20 (1925) 289–308, especially 296; O. Weinreich in *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid* (Tübinger Beiträge, 5 [Stuttgart, 1929]) 389–390 and notes. Cf. F. Jacobs, *Philostratus Imagines* (Leipzig, 1825) 202 ff.; Lamer in *RE* s. v. "Komos" 1296; Schmidt-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* 1.1 (Munich, 1929) 626, note 5; 2.1.119; and especially F. O. Copley, *TAPhA* 73 (1942) 96 ff., with further bibliography.

¹⁴ The girl is called simply *ἡ ἐρωμένη* in Theoph. *Char.* 12; cf. Ath. 14.621c and also Ar. *Thesm.* 481. But in Isaeus 3.13–14, the komos at the door is mentioned as an indication that the woman in question is a hetaera, and in most cases the "girl friends" are obviously such. It does not follow, however, that this distinction must always be clearly stated, for from the lover's point of view it is quite immaterial.

¹⁵ On *θυροκοπεῖν* see Headlam, *op. cit.* (see note 13) 83. There were good reasons for hetaerae to fear their lovers, if we consider the abduction stories told in the second mime of Herodas, especially lines 34 ff., and in Terence, *Ad.* 88 ff., 155 ff., and 196 ff. See also Demosth. 21.36 ff. and the complaint of a hetaera in Lucian, *Mer.* 15 (cf. 8); further, Headlam, *op. cit.*, 84.

or κρουσίθυρον.¹⁶ This vase, then, is not an illustration of a happening at the Anthesteria, but its subject, apparently unique on a fifth-century Attic vase, is no less appropriate for a festival featuring banquets and komoi.

The inscriptions on these festival jugs likewise testify to an interest in the komos. Thus, satyrs are named *Komos* on choes (as, of course, elsewhere): so, e.g., the satyr leading Dionysus and Hephaestus back to Olympus on a jug in New York is inscribed ΚΟΜΟΣ.¹⁷ More significant are scenes in which children, imitating the drunken revelry of their elders, are named *Komos* on these vases: so one of the two central figures on a children's jug in Berlin.¹⁸ His companion is simply inscribed Νεανίας, probably because the Neanias, or misbehaved young man, is a stock figure of the komos. They are led by a more sober companion with a torch, named Παῖαν after the protective song at the end of the banquet: the boys clearly need protection. The rear is brought up by an anonymous companion inscribed καλός.¹⁹ Several stages of the celebration of the Choes festival are combined on a jug in the British Museum, where the children (not satyrs) are called Κῶμος, Καλλίνικος, Κῶμος, and Χρυσός.²⁰ Such abstractions, used as proper names and applied to children, are, as Deubner has shown, peculiar to the Choes festival in which

¹⁶ Trypho in Ath. 14.618c, mentioned in a list of ἀλῆσεις; but it was a song as well: cf. Hsch. s. v. κρουσίθυρον μέλος τι οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, and see Headlam, *op. cit.* 83 and Hendrickson, *op. cit.* (see note 13) 301 f. Cf. also the fragmentary gloss, Hsch. s. v. θυροκοπιστικόν.

¹⁷ G. M. A. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936) no. 140. Cf. Lamer in *RE* s. v. "Komos" 1298 f. and 1303 f. On satyr names on vases, see Ch. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (Halle, 1912).

¹⁸ A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* 3 (Munich, 1932) 331, fig. 156. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1885), number 2658; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 837, no. 35. A similar scene on a later vase is uninscribed: K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin, 1930) plate 5b.

¹⁹ Old Philocleon is called σφόδρα . . . νεανίας by his fellow komasts in Ar. V. 1333; cf. 1307. Such nameless youths are also the komasts in the *Plutus* (1042 ff.) and *Ecclesiazusae* (938 ff.) who are rightly referred to as νεανίας and νεός respectively. Νεανίας appears also on a fourth-century Bacchic stele after the lost name of one of the dedicants (?); see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 176, no. 23. For Paian, see Deubner, *Att. F.* 244, note 5, and Tolles, *Banquet Libations* 32 f. Kalos, no longer common on vases of this period, is often applied to children on choes: see, e.g., *AJA* 50 (1946) 125, figs. 2-4; M. Collignon and L. Couve, *Catalogue . . . du Musée Nat. d'Athènes* (Paris, 1902) no. 1881. So also on two miniature jugs in Boston featuring children: Acc. Nos. 95.54 and 02.40 (κα <λός>: the vase is only 0.035 m. tall).

²⁰ *British Museum Quarterly* 4 (1929) 71, no. 49; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 837, no. 40; Deubner, *Att. F.* 98 f. (Kallinikos, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 1227) and 243 f. (Chrysos).

children figured prominently: they are partly good-luck names, and partly they indicate that the children have already grown up and will soon participate in manly pursuits. They are chosen from significant parts of the festivities, and are personifications of a primitive kind.

It is especially a late stage of the komos and its consequences which capture the imagination of the vase painters. Another komos of boys in Boston shows the central figure in such a sad state of drunkenness that the large stick, which he has taken, no doubt, from his big brother, hardly suffices to help him along.²¹ Likewise, on a chous in Copenhagen the boy in the center of the komos group seems almost to let his lyre slip: the strong new wine of the Anthesteria has taken hold.²² In even worse shape is Dionysus himself on two jugs in Athens, both by the same hand. On one of them, the god, no longer able to swing his thyrsus, puts his arm around a satyr who drags himself along with his eyes fixed on the ground, and a lyre in his left hand.²³ The leader, a small boy satyr, tips his torch to the ground and proceeds slowly. On the other jug, Dionysus turns his head full face toward the onlooker with a fearful expression.²⁴ He is about to fall backward, and a small satyr uses all his strength to hold him up.²⁵ A boy satyr who follows with torch and chous has not yet been affected, but the leader, a young woman, is putting down her flutes, for the god can no longer dance in step.

It is in this context that the picture on a jug in Boston, published by Hartwig in 1900 and connected by Deubner with the end of the Choes festival, finds its proper place.²⁶ In the center, a young woman, seated and with a thyrsus, holds up a kantharos, asking a satyr at her left to pour her a drink. The satyr has let his thyrsus slide and holds a jug in his right hand, but he does not oblige her.

²¹ Furtwängler-Reichhold, plate 171, 4; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 837, no. 34. For the stick, cf. a remark by H. R. W. Smith, *AJA* 41 (1937) 342.

²² *CVA*, Copenhagen, fasc. 4, III I, plate 157, fig. 6.

²³ Deubner, *Att. F.*, plate 33, 1; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 757, no. 1.

²⁴ Deubner, *Att. F.*, plate 8, 3; *JDAI* 42 (1927) 192; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 757, no. 2.

²⁵ For the motive, cf. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 300, no. 198.

²⁶ P. Hartwig, "Eine antike Darstellung des Katzenjammers," *Strena Helbigiana* (Leipzig, 1900) 111-114 and plate 3; Richter, *Attic Red-fig.* (1946) fig. 105; Deubner, *Att. F.* 247; R. Wünsch, *PhW* 20 (1900) 912; Höfer in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* s. v. "Sikinnos"; E. Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts*, 25th Annual Report (1900) 60 ff.; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918) 177. For different interpretations, see S. Eitrem, *Opferitus und Voropfer* (Oslo, 1915) 227 f. and Ch. Fränkel, *op. cit.* (see note 17) 60 f.

Instead, another young woman advances from the right with a steaming cup, which is no doubt intended for her companion. The figures are inscribed: over the satyr's head is ΣΙΚΙΝΝΟΣ, over the seated woman ΚΡΑΙΓΑΛΗ (all letters are certain). The inscription over the head of the woman with the cup, once read as ◊VMH with no letters missing at the end, but now generally read 'Εφυνμ[ία], is in fact ◊VMH followed by a break of 3-4 letters, as a reëxamination of the vase has shown.²⁷ The name must be incomplete, and after the analogy of Kraipale a feminine abstract noun is to be expected. ◊VMH[ΔΙΑ], a suggestion made long ago by R. Wünsch, but never accepted, therefore turns out to be correct.²⁸ Kraipale is usually translated "hangover," but one need not think of it as the feeling of the "day after," for a banquet or komos may last till dawn, as did the Platonic symposium, and here Kraipale is evidently at the last stage of the drinking bout. Hence, the best parallel to our vase is afforded by lines 276 ff. of the *Acharnians*, already adduced by Wünsch:

Φαλῆς Φαλῆς,
ἐὰν μεθ' ἡμῶν ξυμπίῃς, ἐκ κραιπάλης
ἔωθεν εἰρήνης ροφήσεις τρύβλιον.²⁹

Ἔωθεν here suggests a situation similar to that on our vase. The procession which the god is asked to join, in Dicaeopolis' song, is thought of as a komos, for the god is addressed as ξύγκωμε and νυκτοπεριπλάνητε (line 264), and he is invited as συμπότης, but not at a banquet. The Kraipale vase, which shows the very end of a drinking party of satyrs and maenads (the mythological counterpart of the revel of humans), likewise appears to be related to the komos, an impression which will be corroborated below. On the vase, as in Aristophanes, a hot cup is the remedy for drunkenness: πτισάνης,

²⁷ As the photograph published by Miss Richter shows, the drawing used by Hartwig is at fault in placing the woman with the cup, and the inscription ◊VMH above her, too close to the right margin. Hartwig suggested [Εὐ]θυμ[ι]η, while Robinson read 'Εφυνμ[ία].

²⁸ *PhW* 20.912. Cf. Eupolis fr. 161 Kock.

²⁹ For kraipale as the drowsiness at the end of a prolonged drinking party, see also schol. Ar. *Ach.* 276 ff.: 'Η ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ μέθη κραιπάλη καλεῖται. ἡ ἀπὸ χθιζῆς οἰνοποσίας. In Menander's *Colax* 46 f. the mere fact that a man is accompanied by his slave carrying wine jars arouses the suspicion of κραιπάλη, i.e. that he is surly and boisterous because he has been drinking. Such close associations of πόσις and κραιπάλη may well lead to a definition like that given in Bekker *Anecd.* 1.45, lines 13 ff.: Κραιπάλη ἡ ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἄχρι εἰς ὄρθρον πόσις καὶ παραφορά τῆς διανοίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶλλειν . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν.

barley gruel, was in the poet's mind when he wrote *εἰρήνης*.³⁰ This, or the like, is the relief, *θυμηδία*, brought to Kraipale. It is true that the usual remedy for a hangover is cooked cabbage, while gruel is more often spoken of in connection with fevers. Wine, however, though a "hot" substance itself, has a chilling effect upon the body, and the remedies used should restore the body heat.³¹ The satyr's name, Sikinnos, which occurs also, with kalos, on another chous as the name of a boy satyr riding a fawn,³² is not, of course, an abstract; but the satyr dance sikinnis, from which this name is derived, might well exemplify the merrymaking associated with the komos, for it was danced at festivals as well as in the satyr play.³³ This vase, then, seems to be inspired by the komos which, in the quasi-allegorical way already discussed, is illustrated in its three parts: revelry, drowsiness, and relief.

This interpretation finds further confirmation in the literary tradition concerning the Anthesteria, which enables us to see in these pictures more than the personal whims of individual painters and to point to a more specific source of inspiration for some of them. As early as the fifth century an aetiological story had connected the festival of the Choes with Orestes' visit to Athens: in order to feast him without danger of pollution, each guest had to have his own table, food, and drink. At the end of the dinner, everybody slung his wreath around his jug and went to sacrifice the remainder of his wine to Dionysus in the sanctuary in the Marshes.³⁴ That this procession was thought of as a komos is indicated by a passage in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, lines 211 ff., where the frogs nostalgically recall their song in honor of Dionysus in the Limnaeum,

³⁰ Not *φακῆ* as Starkie thinks in his commentary; cf. the scholion on Ar. V. 814, and Hp. *Acut.* 16.

³¹ On the chilling effect of wine, see Arist. *Probl.* 871A.39 ff., 871B.32 ff., 874B.35 ff., etc.; Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 3.652E. An acorn drink is proposed in Nicochares fr. 15 Kock, while in Arist. *Probl.* 873A.37 ff. the virtues of cabbage as a remedy are said to be contained in its (cold) juice. Cf. also, Hartwig, *op. cit.* (see note 26) 112; Ath. 1.34c-e.

³² In Berlin, inv. no. 3242; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 940. *Sikinos kalos* is written in two lines directly above the boy satyr. It should be compared with the inscription, *Ganymedes kalos*, discussed below.

³³ V. Festa, "Sikinnis — Storia di un'antica danza," *Società di Napoli, Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeol., Lettere, e Belle Arti* 3 (1918) part 2, 64 f., 68, and 72. Eur. *Cycl.* 37 ff., speaking of satyrs, connects komos and sikinnis. Dances at the Limnaeum: Callimachus fr. 37 Pfeiffer; Ath. 11.465A (Phanodemus).

³⁴ Eur. *Iph. T.* 947 ff.; Ath. 10.437c (Phanodemus). Cf. Deubner, *Att. F.* 99 f.

ἡνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος
 τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι
 χωρεῖ κατ' ἔμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.

Κραιπαλόκωμος has been taken to refer to the blissful crowds of Athenians, but, as the vases suggest, this rather misses the point.³⁵ Since Aristophanes refers this Dionysiac procession to the Chytroi, while it obviously pertains to the Choes, it has rightly been concluded that it took place in the evening of the Choes and thus ran over into the Chytroi, since, officially at least, festivals must be reckoned from evening to evening.³⁶ In the evening, Aristophanes means to say, the raucous voices of revelers, exhausted from the protracted festivities of the Choes, mix well with the unmelodious chorus of the permanent inhabitants of the Limnaeum. Dionysus, the *κραιπαλόκωμος θεός*, as represented on the two jugs in Athens referred to above, provides us with a vivid parallel to this evening procession, by which these two paintings may have been inspired. The Kraipale vase which, on an ideal plane, emphasizes the moment when the reveler must put away the wine, likewise seems related to the very end of the Choes, as Deubner has seen. Its inspiration lies in the procession or komos of revelers to the Limnaeum, rather than in the private revelries which followed the banquet of the Choes and to which more ordinary komos scenes on our jugs may be referred. The jugs of the Choes festival, it would thus appear, were still in use at a rite which actually took place at the beginning of the Chytroi, and some of the pictures on them are inspired by this very rite. As in the Didymus passage, Dionysus is still present at the Chytroi.³⁷

II

To the same point in time, it may be suggested, should be assigned the private swinging rite of the Aiora. Our sources, most of which are late, speak of a custom of girls swinging themselves on ropes tied to trees, a rite which started in Athens as an atonement, when the death of Erigone caused Athenian girls to follow her by

³⁵ See Van Leeuwen's comments.

³⁶ On this principle, see Deubner, *Att. F.* 93 and note 3; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie* 2 (Leipzig, 1911) 297 ff. For the placing of the ceremony described by Aristophanes, see Deubner, *Att. F.* 100; Nilsson, *Studia de Dion.* 123-4.

³⁷ L. Talcott has identified the sacrifice at the Limnaeum on a fragmentary chous from the Athenian Agora: see *AJA* 50 (1946) 526 f.

hanging themselves. In one tradition, Erigone is the daughter of Icarius, who committed suicide out of grief over her father's death at the hands of drunken shepherds who thought he had poisoned them with the newly discovered wine. According to another version, she was the daughter of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra who, having come to Athens to accuse Orestes, hanged herself when he was freed. These accounts are preserved because of an interest of Roman writers in the parallel rite of swinging *oscilla*: for the details of the Athenian Aiora they are not reliable.³⁸ More can be gained from a fragment of the *Aitia* of Callimachus:

'Ἡὼς οὐδὲ πιθοιγῖς ἐλάνθανεν οὔτ' ὅτε δούλοις
 ἡμαρ 'Ορέστειοι λευκὸν ἄγουσι χόες·
 'Ἰκαρίου καὶ παιδὸς ἄγων ἐπέτειον ἀγιστύν,
 'Αθλίσιν οἰκτίστη, σὸν φάος, 'Ηριγόνη,
 ἐς δαίτην ἐκάλεσσαν ὁμήθεας, κτλ.³⁹

The situation is this: the Athenian Pollis (his name is known from Ath. 11.477c), who lives in Egypt, still clings to his native festivals. Of these, the last two are preserved, Pithoigia and Choes, but others may have preceded, for the beginning of the passage is not extant. Pollis also gives a banquet on the day dedicated to Erigone, as part of a yearly atonement, and on this occasion, Callimachus, who was among those invited, questions a Greek from a small island concerning the rites accorded the hero Peleus in his native state. The feast of Erigone is the Aiora, but it will be observed that the mention of it after the Pithoigia and Choes does not necessarily imply a chronological sequence, for the first two are mentioned as examples of Pollis' piety, while the Aiora introduces a banquet which forms the setting for Callimachus' inquiry. Hence some have thought that no connection existed between Aiora and Anthesteria, but most scholars, noting the aetiological association of Erigone with Orestes' visit to Athens (the aition of the rites of the Choes festival), have maintained such a connection, placing the Aiora either at the Choes or at the Chytroi.⁴⁰

³⁸ M. P. Nilsson, *Eranos* (1915) 189. The sources are collected in E. Maass, *Analecta Eratosthenica* (Philologische Untersuchungen, fasc. 6, 1883) 70 ff. and E. Maass, *Philologus* 77 (1921) 1 ff.

³⁹ Callim. fr. 8, lines 1 ff. Pfeiffer.

⁴⁰ No connection was assumed by Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.*, vol. 11, page 88. On the Choes: A. Koerte, *RhM* 71 (1916) 575-579 (but cf. *APF* 7 [1924] 120 note 1); Nilsson, *SBAW* 1930, Heft 4, 11-13. On the Chytroi: E. Maass, *Philologus* 77 (1921) 3; Deubner, *Att. F.* 118.

A number of vases show girls swinging on a stool which is tied to the ceiling by ropes, a kind of home-made swing; so, on a hydria in the Louvre a girl is being swung by Eros, on another, in Berlin, by a girl companion.⁴¹ Neither the action (the girls do not swing themselves on ropes), nor the shape of the vases makes it necessary to assume in these cases any connection with the Anthesteria, or the Aiora. On the other hand, the storage jars dug into the ground just below the swing on both pictures are puzzling, and the taeniae suspended from the ceiling in both scenes may actually suggest a festive occasion.⁴² A skyphos in Berlin, however, has often been referred to the Aiora: a satyr wearing an unusual headdress, perhaps suggestive of a festival, swings a girl. The inscriptions, which have not been well read, have given rise to much speculation. In Reichhold's drawing we have: over the satyr EI A.OEIA and a break; over the girl .AAH.⁴³ This has been read by Hauser: $\epsilon\iota$ "A[v]θεια [κ]αλή; preferable would be, I think, $\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$ [v]θεια [κ]αλή, because $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$ is an epithet applied to Dionysus at the Anthesteria, the festival of flowers.⁴⁴ Again, if this suggestion can be verified, we have a significant name, this time applied to a girl. It cannot, however, be the proper name of an Athenian girl; surely, she is thought of as a maenad.

Recently two pictures on choes have come to light, which not only prove that the method of swinging shown on the other vases was that used at the Aiora, but also greatly strengthen the belief that Callimachus in referring to the feast of Erigone was speaking of a rite at the Anthesteria. A jug in New York has been known for some time, but only recently several new features discovered in republishing the vase have altered its interpretation.⁴⁵ In the center, a stool is suspended from the ceiling by ropes. Beneath it burns a fire, into which a girl on the left pours something from a narrow-necked jug. On the right, another woman has just finished putting a complete outfit of women's festive clothes on the swing.

⁴¹ Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 746, nos. 77 and 78. Couches hung by ropes from the ceiling are mentioned as swings in some medical texts: see Aet. 3.6 (*CMG* 8.1.263).

⁴² Similarly, festive fillets are tied to the swings on the two vases discussed below, notes 45 and 46; see Richter-Hall, *op. cit.* (see note 17) vol. 1, p. 200.

⁴³ Furtwängler-Reichhold, plate 125; vol. 3, 29 ff.; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 721, no. 7.

⁴⁴ Ath. 11.465A (Phanodemus). Cf., however, P. Wolters, *RhM* 71 (1916) 283.

⁴⁵ Richter-Hall, *op. cit.*, no. 159, where older interpretations are cited; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 832, no. 7.

Behind her is a chair with another such outfit. On the extreme left, a little boy, wreathed, watches. Below the top margin of the whole scene is written: Γανυμή[δης] καλός. The other chous, in Athens, and known only from Miss Richter's description and a partial sketch, shows a man putting a little boy into a similar swing, while two bigger boys watch from the left.⁴⁶ Under the swing are said to be sprigs. No women are present, but on the right is a chair with women's clothes, corresponding exactly to that on the New York jug. Beside it is a table with loaves of bread and a phiale, indicating preparations for an offering.

The picture on the New York vase has been explained as showing women perfuming their clothes in preparation for the Choes, following a suggestion by Deubner. That the clothes are being perfumed is made likely not only by a passage in Dioscurides, but also by the similarity of certain Greek medical recipes for fumigations to be applied to women afflicted with diseases of the uterus: such recipes often prescribe shavings, or saw dust, of sweet-smelling woods which are drenched with perfume before being lit.⁴⁷ But this does not explain the swing: surely there was a simpler way of perfuming clothes than by tying a swing to the ceiling. The Athens vase justifies the assumption that the perfuming of clothes is only a part of the swinging ceremony of the Aiora: children and young girls were placed on such swings as a purificatory rite.⁴⁸ The presence of the little boy on the New York vase may in part be explained by this connection, for we may think that soon he too will be put on the swing. The artist, however, has hinted at another of his functions by calling him the fair Ganymede, for there is the possibility that this name may refer to him. Although proper names with *kalos* generally have no reference to the figures depicted in the scenes in which they are inscribed, there are exceptions⁴⁹ and, furthermore,

⁴⁶ Richter-Hall, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 200; *AJA* 50 (1946) 134 fig. 11; Beazley, *Attic R-F Painters* 725, no. 11.

⁴⁷ On the perfuming of clothes, see Deubner quoted in Richter-Hall, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 200 note 16; Pfister in *RE* s. v. "Rauchopfer," 268 and 278. For fumigations, see *Hp. Mul.* 1.34 (ed. Littré, vol. 7, 372): Πανάκειος καὶ κυπαρίσσου πρίσματα δεύσας μύρω Αἰγυπτίῳ λευκῷ θυμῶν, and many other examples.

⁴⁸ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, part III (London, 1914) 282 f.; Deubner, *Att. F.* 120 f. Cf. Karouzou, *AJA* 50 (1946) 122.

⁴⁹ E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik* (Leipzig, 1920) 45 f. For a later example, see Greifenhagen in *CVA*, Braunschweig, text to plates 23 ff.

the name here is a mythological rather than a historical one.⁵⁰ Since this name suggests a cup-bearer, it seems plausible to refer it to the little boy on our vase and to think that he has just performed such a service by bringing the jug from which the woman is pouring. Comparing this name with the fashion, noted above, of applying good-luck names to children, it seems likely that the name (which is, of course, a nickname) contains the wish that the boy may be as beautiful and fortunate as Ganymede, as much as a statement of fact about his beauty. In any case, his office as cup-bearer, as well as the wreath he is wearing, suggest a banquet; and it is noteworthy that the Aiora is connected with a banquet in our sources, not only by Callimachus, but also in the lexicographic tradition, where it is called *εὐδαιπνος*.⁵¹ Boys and women participate in family banquets, although it is proper for the women to eat by themselves, separately from the men.⁵² Thus, on a chous in London, a woman is seen eating alone at her dinner table and being served by a boy.⁵³

What is the banquet for which the Aiora is a preparation? It should first be noted how close is the connection of the Aiora with Dionysus and the Choes. The satyr on the Berlin skyphos can hardly be disposed of as a general reference to the Anthesteria. The chous shape, the wreathed Ganymede and the children on the Athens vase also suggest the Choes, for it was on this day that children played a prominent part. The aetiological accounts seem to point in the same direction: the Icarius version is obviously connected with a Dionysiac festival, and the Orestes version is directly linked with the aition of the Choes. This was also felt by those who compared the Aiora with the swinging of *oscilla*: according to Servius, the Aiora was a Dionysiac rite of purification by air.⁵⁴ It seems difficult to reconcile these facts with Theopompus' statement that the Olympians were absent from the offerings to the dead on the Chytroi.⁵⁵ Yet it seems hardly possible to identify the banquet

⁵⁰ It is also true that the letters are not written near the boy on the vase, but at the top of the scene. But the Meidias Painter likes his inscriptions to be horizontal and, when possible, above the heads of his figures, and for this arrangement, there was little space above the boy. The position of the inscription may therefore be due to a desire for neatness.

⁵¹ Hsch. s. v. *εὐδαιπνος*; *Et. M.* s. v. *αἰώρα*; Hunziker in *DS* s. v. "Aiora," 172 (but *Plut. Quaest. Gr.* 12 is misquoted there; the passage does not refer to the Aiora).

⁵² Ch. Lécrivain in *DS* s. v. "Thiasos," 262; Mau in *RE* s. v. "Convivium," 1202; Tolles, *Banquet Libations* 20 note 49.

⁵³ G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926) fig. 196.

⁵⁴ Servius on *Aen.* 6.741, and on *Georg.* 2.389.

⁵⁵ See above, note 2.

of the Aiora with the drinking bouts of the Choes. The banquet described by Callimachus contrasts strongly with that of the *Acharnians*; and the story of Erigone's death, as well as Callimachus' emphasis on the character of the feast as an atonement (*ἀγισμός*), points to the more sober nature of this banquet and suggests the festival of the dead. It may be recalled that *εὐδειπνος* is said of the dead by Aeschylus in a famous passage, comments on which may possibly be the source of the glosses of the lexicographers.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the text of Callimachus doubtless appears more logical, if we assume that the sequence — Pithoigia, Choes, and Erigone banquet — is somehow chronological. We may, therefore, with Deubner, place the Aiora at the Chytroi; but in taking account of its Dionysiac associations we are faced with two alternatives: either Dionysus was still worshipped on the day of the Chytroi, or the banquet of the Chytroi, for which the Aiora is a preparation, falls on the transition from Choes to Chytroi, i.e. on the same evening on which the procession to the Limnaeum took place. The second of these alternatives is surely preferable, if it is recalled that the festival day must be reckoned from evening to evening,⁵⁷ for a banquet on the evening of the third day of the Anthesteria would continue the festivities into a fourth day. Hence the Erigone banquet should be placed at the beginning of the Chytroi, i.e. on the evening of the second day of the Anthesteria, and the earlier banquet of the Choes presumably on the preceding evening, i.e. at the end of the Pithoigia or first day of the Anthesteria. The banquet of the Chytroi may be compared with the *perideipnon* of ordinary funerals, just as the *panspermia* of the Chytroi corresponds to the offerings at the tomb of any deceased individual. It was fitting, then, that Callimachus chose this banquet as a setting for his inquiry into the honors accorded the *hero* Peleus. And it is natural that the rite of Erigone came to be thought of as an alternative name for a whole day of the festival, the day of the Chytroi.⁵⁸

Whichever of these alternatives is accepted, it is clear, I think, that the vases show us a persistence of Dionysiac elements on the

⁵⁶ Wilamowitz, *Aischylos Orestie* (Berlin, 1896) 205; withdrawn, however, in the 1914 edition of Aeschylus (see on line 484 of the *Choeph.*). Cf. Maass, *Philologus* 77 (1921) 21 ff.

⁵⁷ See above, note 36.

⁵⁸ Hsch. s. v. 'Αλήγρις (Plato Com.). Hence Callimachus speaks of *σὸν φάος*. Cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 130.5: diem festum . . . instituerunt. The *panspermia* is likely to have taken place on the same night: see Nilsson, *Geschichte* 561 note 4. For the banquet of the Chytroi, see also Nilsson, *Studia de Dion.* 134.

Chytroi, similar to that which made Didymus speak of Dionysus and Hermes as recipients of sacrifices on the Chytroi. The error of the scholion is only that it refers the chthonic *panspermia* to Dionysus, a statement contrary to the explicit testimony of Theopompus. Surely, however, Dionysus was not absent from the banquet. By postulating a funeral banquet on the second evening of the Anthesteria, i.e. at the end of the Choes festival, we have found a better justification for Didymus' statement that Choes and Chytroi took place on one day. It follows, from what we have said, that choes jugs were probably still in use at the banquet of the Chytroi: thus the occasional appearance of grave stelae and other funeral subjects on vases of this shape becomes more intelligible, and the fact that a marble chous representing a funeral banquet once decorated an Attic grave finds a simple explanation.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Deubner, *Att. F.* plate 15 and p. 112, cf. Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.* 60/61 (1935/6) 254–5, plate 92; S. Karouzou, *AJA* 50 (1946) 124 f. On the funeral use of children's choes, see also H. R. W. Smith in *CVA* (above, note 6).