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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
AS VOTIVE GIFTS
IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

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TELESTES

STUDI E RICERCHE DI ARCHEOLOGIA MUSICALE NEL MEDITERRANEO

4.

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COLLANA DIRETTA DA ANGELA BELLIA

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★

THE SERIES IS PEER REVIEWED

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
AS VOTIVE GIFTS
IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

EDITED BY

ANGELA BELLIA AND SHERAMY D. BUNDRICK



ISTITUTI EDITORIALI E POLIGRAFICI INTERNAZIONALI

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Acknowledgements

ANGELA BELLIA · SHERAMY D. BUNDRICK

THIS volume started life as the proceedings of the first colloquium of the Archaeomusicology Interest Group (AMIG) within the 119th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) held in Boston, Massachusetts, January 4-7, 2018. Contributors to the colloquium were asked to systematically address how each instrument is not an isolated unit, but a component of musical performance in cult considered as an offering to the divinity within the framework of the ritual ceremony. The aim of the conference and its proceedings was not only to enhance our knowledge of instruments as votive gifts by exploring and discussing the many different motives and often more than one explanation for the dedication of musical instruments to the gods, but also to study musical performances in ancient cultures as an essential component of worship and ritual. The practice of dedicating instruments to the gods in the ancient world – along with figurines of instruments, soundtools, and texts of song – is well attested by a variety of sources, temple-accounts, and the discovery of the instruments themselves during excavations, which often bear votive inscriptions. Worshippers or musicians tried to give a more lasting effect to the musical performance by dedicating instruments in honour of a god or a goddess in the framework of the ritual ceremony.

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ABBREVIATIONS

«AA»	«Archäologischer Anzeiger»
«AntCl»	«L'Antiquité Classique»
«Annuaire EPHE»	«Annales de l'École pratique des hautes études»
«AntK-BH»	«Antike Kunst: Beiheft»
AP	<i>Antologia Palatina</i>
«ArchDelt»	«Archaiologikon Deltion»
«ArchEph»	«Archaiologikē Ephēmeris»
«BAR»	«British Archaeological Reports»
«BCH»	«Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique»
«BEFAR»	«Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome»
«BIAMA»	«Bibliothèque d'archéologie méditerranéenne et africaine»
«BICS»	«Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies»
«BMFA»	«Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston»
«Boreas»	«Boreas: Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie»
«BSA»	«Annual of the British School at Athens»
«BSRAA»	«Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie»
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptiones Latinarum</i>
«ClAnt»	«Classical Antiquity»
«eTopoi»	«Journal for Ancient Studies»
FGrHist	F. JACOBY, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Leiden, 1923
«GaR»	«Greece and Rome»
«GRBS»	«Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies»
«GRMS»	«Greek and Roman Musical Studies»
«Helios»	«Helios: Journal of the Classical Association of the Southwestern United States»
«Hermes»	«Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie»
«Hesperia»	«Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens»
«HTR»	«Harvard Theological Review»
IDélos	<i>Inscriptiones de Délos</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
«JDI»	«Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts»
«JHS»	«Journal of Hellenic Studies»
«JPR»	«Journal of Prehistoric Religion»
«JWCI»	«Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes»
«Kermes»	«Kermes: Restauro, conservazione e tutela del patrimonio culturale»
«Kernos»	«Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique»
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , I-VIII, Zürich-München, Artemis, 1981-1997

Bulletin

LSJ	LIDDELL, H. G., SCOTT, R., JONES, H. S., MCKENZIE, R. <i>et al.</i> , <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 1949°
«MDAI(A)»	«Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung (Berlin)»
«Mètis»	«Mètis: Revue d'anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens»
«MH»	«Museum Helveticum: Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité Classique. Schweizerische «Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft»
«Mythos»	«Mythos: Rivista di storia delle religioni»
«NSc»	«Notizie degli Scavi di antichità»
«Opuscula»	«Opuscula: Annual of the Swedish Institute at Athens and Rome»
«Or»	«Orient-Archäologie»
Orph. fr.	<i>Orphicorum fragmenta</i> , coll. O. Kern, Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1922
PAH	<i>Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia</i> , ed. G. Fiorelli, voll. I-III, Napoli, 1860-1864
«Pallas»	«Pallas. Revue d'études antiques»
«Philologus»	«Philologus: Zeitschrift für die klassische Philologie»
PMGF	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. M. Davies, Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1991
«RA»	«Revue archéologique»
«REA»	«Revue des études anciennes»
«REG»	«Revue des études grecques»
«RGRW»	«Religion in the Greco-Roman World»
«RPh»	«Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes»
«RPhilos»	«Revue de philosophie de la France et de l'étranger»
«Rudiae»	«Rudiae: Ricerche sul mondo classico»
«SMSR»	«Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni»
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004-2012.
«Topoi»	«Topoi: An International Review of Philosophy»
«WorldArch»	«World Archaeology»

vol.

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INTRODUCTION

SHERAMY D. BUNDRICK

IN the religions of the ancient Mediterranean, principles of reciprocity bound deity and worshipper together in symbiotic relationships: to use the Latin expression, *do ut des*, or «I give so that you may give». ¹ For mortals, offerings to sustain and advance these relationships could take the form of ritual actions such as prayers and sacrifices, or physical objects and monuments, including the construction of temples and sanctuaries. To open and foster lines of communication with the divine world was an omnipresent goal in all these efforts. ² The present volume focuses on one particular class of sacred object, votive gifts, and one particular category of dedication, musical instruments. ³ By their nature, considering musical instruments as votive gifts also means considering ritual actions; music, song, and dance were indispensable in worship of the gods and served as offerings in their own right.

Ancient Greek featured many words related to offering and dedications, symptomatic of their significance in Greek religion. ⁴ To give just a few: *anathema* (pl. *anathemata*) is perhaps the most neutral term for a gift to a deity, while an *agalma* (often used for a statue) implies something aesthetically pleasing that will delight him or her and ornament the sacred space. A votive could be described and serve as a *mnema* – a remembrance or commemoration – the memory of the communication between god and mortal essential to the propagation of their relationship. Inscriptions speak of *aparchai* and *dekatai*, often translated into English as first-fruits and tithes respectively (*dekate* literally meaning «a tenth»), offerings that can incorporate feelings of gratitude and thanksgiving. ⁵ The word underlying all these and other dedications, and indeed underlying much of Greek religion, is *charis*, often translated into English as «reciprocity» in this context – attempting to capture the transactional relationship between deity and worshipper – but which also encompasses «elements of voluntariness, pleasure, and delight», as recently described by Theodora Suk Fong Jim. ⁶ Jim adds, «the essence of *charis* lies less in the magnitude of the gift reciprocated than in the emotional charge it carried and the kindly feeling it evoked between its giver and recipient». ⁷ Ultimately, though, the gods had the upper hand: there was no guarantee of reciprocity from the deity when a vow or offering was made. One could only hope for it.

The possible motivations behind the dedication of an offering are legion and often unknowable, unless inscriptions or other texts give the occasion (although inscrip-

¹ Although for the complexities of that particular phrase, see GROTTANELLI 1991. Reciprocity in Greek religion, e.g., BREMER 1998 and PARKER 1998. ² Cf., e.g., MYLONOPOULOS 2006.

³ Votive offerings generally, e.g., VAN STRATEN 1982; VAN STRATEN 2000; BOARDMAN *et al.* 2004; PARKER 2004; MYLONOPOULOS 2006, 84-92; JIM 2014, all with further references.

⁴ For terminology, e.g., BODEL 2009, JIM 2012, and PATERA 2012, 17-51, all with earlier references.

⁵ *Aparchai* and *dekatai*, e.g., JIM 2014.

⁶ *Charis* in Greek religion, e.g., BREMER 1998; PARKER 1998; JIM 2014, 59ff. and *passim*.

⁷ JIM 2014, 67.

tions were not required for their efficacy). Dedications could be made in fulfilment of a vow or prayer; to win the hopeful assistance of a deity; propitiate the deity in some other way; or give thanks for help received. The *boustophedon* inscription on a 6th c. BCE bronze statuette from Thebes explains that the gift was a *dekate* and explicitly requests Apollo's continued support:¹

MANTIKLOS DEDICATED ME TO THE FAR-SHOOTER,
THE SILVER-BOWED ONE, FROM HIS TITHE;
DO YOU, PHOIBOS, GIVE A GRACIOUS RETURN

Moments of life transition provided meaningful catalysts for offering for both men and women, as the god or goddess could aid in these *rites de passage*: coming of age into adulthood, marriage, childbirth, even reaching old age. The form of dedications was as limitless as the reasons for making them, ranging in size from buildings – the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi was a thank-offering to Apollo – to tiny figurines in bronze or terracotta. Anatomical votives embodied the desire for healing or celebrated wellness; textiles, mostly lost today but documented in sanctuary inventories, could mark a girl's passage into womanhood or a successful (or sadly, unsuccessful) childbirth.²

Musical instruments comprised a unique category among votive gifts. Studying this phenomenon, however, brings significant challenges. First, the perishable materials of many instruments (namely, wood) mean most do not survive, whether in a sanctuary or elsewhere. Stringed instruments are particularly vulnerable in this regard. Tortoiseshell soundboxes of *chelys* lyres have been found at the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassae and in what appears to have been a small shrine at Argos; these instruments are thought to date from the late 6th or early 5th c. BCE.³ The exquisitely carved ivory figure of a kneeling youth found at the sanctuary of Hera on Samos (ca. 650-625 BCE) almost certainly formed part of a stringed instrument's soundbox, judging from the attachment holes in his head and back body.⁴ *Auloi* have fared better, with fragmentary examples (mostly in bone) found at many sanctuaries, among them the sanctuaries of Artemis *Orthia* at Sparta, Artemis at Brauron (for which see below), *Aphaia* at Aegina, Hera *Limenia* at Perachora, the *Artemision* at Ephesos, Athenian Acropolis, *Heraion* at Poseidonia, and *Persephoneion* at Locri Epizephyrii.⁵ A significant recent find is the pair of *aulos* fragments from the urban sanctuary of Selinus (Selinunte), discussed by Angela Bellia in the Afterword to this volume.⁶ Percussion instruments, which include *krotala*, *kymbala*, *tympana*, *sistra* (for which see the papers by Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeier and Mirco Mungari), and an instrument known as a *rhoptron* (for which see the paper by Eleonora Colangelo), have also been found in sacred settings. Bronze *kymbala* (cymbals) have been discovered, for instance, in the

¹ Trans. in JIM 2014, 60.

² Anatomical votives, see discussion in, e.g., VAN STRATEN 1982; for textiles and other dedications by girls and women, DILLON 2001, 9-36.

³ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 353, nos. 72-73, with other references.

⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum E88: LAPATIN 2016, 263 and pl. 149 (with earlier references).

⁵ Surviving *auloi*, e.g., PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 354, with other examples given in papers in this volume. For music at Locri Epizephyrii, see also BELLIA 2012.

⁶ MARCONI 2014, plus many references in Bellia's Afterword.

sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros and on the Athenian Acropolis.¹ The former carries an inscription saying it was given to Asklepios by a man named Mikylos, while the inscription on the Acropolis cymbal identifies it as an *aparché* to Athena from a woman named Lysilla.²

Inscriptions and epigrams supply helpful information when the instruments themselves are lost. Sanctuary inventories can record the original presence of musical objects, as for instance in both the *Parthenon* (for which see below) and *Asklepieion* on the Athenian Acropolis. As Erica Angliker discusses in this volume, inventories at the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos document both the payment of male and female *auloi* players participating in ritual and the actual dedication of *auloi* by musicians. One of these now-lost *auloi*, given by Satyros of Samos in 179 BCE, was displayed at the temple's entrance and considered a prestigious object. Among other texts, the rather late *Greek Anthology* lists votive instruments, their dedicators, and in some cases records the reason for their offering. The motivations given echo those known for other types of votives and include some intriguing details. Thus, we learn that a man named Pherenicus «having quitted the wars and the altar, presented to Athena his brazen *salpinx*, erst the spokesman of peace and war, sending forth a barbarous clamour from its mouth».³ In her paper for this volume, Eleonora Colangelo discusses examples in the *Greek Anthology* of musicians dedicating their instruments due to advanced age and/or to signal their transition from one deity's worship to another's.

When inscriptions or other texts do not clarify the motivation behind the deposition of a musical instrument, we risk a second challenge: being certain the instrument was a true dedication, purposely offered and not only the remnants of ritual. Technically, an instrument could be used in ritual first, then given to the deity as a perpetual *mnema* of an ephemeral performance. Textual and iconographic sources attest to the many functions of instruments in a ritual setting, although one must, of course, be aware of the limitations behind visual representation and deliberate compositional choices by artists.⁴ Youthful musicians play *auloi* in sacrifice scenes on Athenian vases and in other media, during the *pompe* (procession) to the altar and other pre- and post-kill moments.⁵ On a painted wooden *pinax* dedicated to the Nymphs from the Pitsa Cave near Sikyon (ca. 540-530 BCE), the *auloi* player in the *pompe* is joined by a youth with *chelys* lyre, an instrument otherwise uncommon in ritual imagery.⁶ Musicians also accompanied male and female choruses, which were essential in the life of a sanctuary and are attested in both literary and iconographic sources. An *auloi* player named by inscription as Amphilochos joins a dithyrambic chorus on an Athenian bell krater by the Kleophon Painter, while a white-ground phiale attributed to the Painter of London D12 – said to have been found in a female grave in Attica – depicts a female *auletris* among a circle of dancing women, flaming

¹ Epidauros: Athens, National Museum 10870; PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 353, no. 70; PERROT 2016, 218–219. Perrot speculates *kymbala* and *krotala* served apotropaic functions.

² Athens, Acropolis Museum 5905; PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 353, no. 69; see also Liveri's and Colangelo's papers in this volume.

³ *Anth. Pal.* 6, 46 (Antipater of Sidon); PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 351, no. 48.

⁴ Cf. GAIFMAN 2015 for methodological issues, and for images of music in Greek cult generally, NORDQUIST 1992; PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 363–365; and BUNDRICK 2005, 150–160.

⁵ See the various representations in VAN STRATEN 1995.

⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464; VAN STRATEN 1995, 57–58, fig. 56.

altar, and *kalathos* (wool basket) heaped with fillets.¹ Jenny Högström Bernston and Erika Lindgren Liljenstolpe highlight the musical activities of choruses in this volume by focusing on terracotta votive groups depicting this subject from a shrine of the Nymphs at Kokkinovrysi in Corinth.

An intriguing example of the challenges posed by musical instruments as votive gifts can be found in the 5th and 4th c. annual inventories of objects originally stored on the Athenian Acropolis.² The 434/433 BCE inventory of goods in the *Parthenon* – with «Parthenon» here seeming to refer to that building's western chamber specifically – includes a gilded lyre, three ivory lyres (ivory recalling the earlier figurine from Samos noted above), and four wooden lyres.³ These were catalogued again in subsequent inventories and were joined by more lyres and *auloi* cases, such as a gilded ivory *sybene* specified as being from Methymna.⁴ At some point, these were moved to a space called the *Hekatompedon* (perhaps the building's main cella), and more instruments appear in the 4th c. inventories, including an ivory lyre with gold overlay, stored in a leather bag.⁵ Three *sybenai* are listed in the *opisthodomos* (whose exact location remains disputed), while another entry from 398/397 BCE is very specific^{6,7}

THESE THINGS THAUMARETE, WIFE OF TIMONIDES, DEDICATED IN A BOX,
AN IVORY LYRE AND AN IVORY PLEKTRON

Among all the instruments, only this latter gift has the name of its dedicant recorded and can conclusively be called a votive gift. A *sybene* listed in the *Hekatompedon* inventory of 371/370 BCE is described as Persian (a *sybene medike*), which may mean it was a victory offering.⁷ The rest could have been votives, but especially without the instruments for examination, we cannot be sure. The inventories call the stringed instruments «lyres», but the interchangeability of terminology in ancient Greek could mean that instead of being *chelys* lyres with tortoiseshell soundboxes, they were concert kitharas such as were played in the musical contests (*mousikoi agones*) of the Panathenaic festival, offered in gratitude. It is possible that at least some of these instruments were not votives but purely ritual equipment. The *Parthenon* frieze features *kithara* and *aulos* players on the north and likely originally the south sides; according to most scholars, the frieze depicts the Panathenaic procession, so that these figures evoke its lively *mousike*.⁸

Even with the ambiguity that often accompanies them, musical instruments discovered in sanctuaries or other settings that can be described as sacred (including domestic shrines) are useful in multiple respects. Most obviously, they – along with examples found in other contexts, such as graves – contribute to our organological understanding of musical instruments generally. Textual and iconographic evidence for the appearance and construction of instruments can only take us so far; as noted

¹ Krater, Copenhagen, National Museum 13817: *BAPD* 215175, PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 364-365, no. 187 with fig. Phiale, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 65.908: *BAPD* 4826, TRUITT 1969. See also the paper by Bernston/Liljenstolpe for this phiale.

² HARRIS 1995 for the inventories generally.

³ HARRIS 1995, 26-27, and for the individual entries, 96-97, no. IV.42/v.192; 97, no. IV.43a/v.195; 97-98, no. IV.44a/v.197.

⁴ HARRIS 1995, 96, no. IV.41/v.191.

⁵ HARRIS 1995, 149, no. V.193.

⁶ HARRIS 1995, 57, no. II.71.

⁷ HARRIS 1995, 149, no. V.190.

⁸ Music on the *Parthenon* frieze, BUNDRICK 2005, 150-152, with further references.

above, one should not expect visual artists to be documentarians.¹ Athenian vase painters, for instance, were consistent in their depiction of instruments to a large degree but nonetheless felt free to alter their size or other details to suit compositional needs and desires. Even when fragmentary, a «real» instrument provides more concrete information, essential for recapturing lost sound.

The materiality of the instrument itself, however, marks only the beginning of a larger field of inquiry that leads to questions of performance, ritual (both the instrument's initial use in, e.g., sacrifice or choral performance, and the subsequent act of dedication), and the role of music in ancient society and religion as a whole. Recent scholarship has stressed sacred space as a liminal zone between the mortal and divine worlds; far from being silent places in this endeavor, sanctuaries would have hummed with the sounds of activity and even the natural landscape.² The evidence of «real» instruments can be paired with archaeological, textual, and iconographic sources in an attempt to reconstruct this soundscape and what it meant for the sanctuary (or other sacred space) and events that took place there. All the papers in this volume aim for such an interdisciplinary «big picture» over a micro-focus on organology.

As an example of how the field of inquiry for musical instruments in sanctuaries continues to evolve, we may consider a fragmentary bone *aulos* from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron outside Athens, remarkable for its degree of preservation (with two large pieces surviving) and its early date, thought to be from the late 6th-early 5th c. BCE.³ Although discovered in 1961, the full archaeological context of the *aulos* and details of any accompanying objects unfortunately remain unpublished, along with most of the finds and inscriptions from the sanctuary, whose excavator died unexpectedly in 1963.⁴ Before his death, Ioannis Papadimitriou had invited musicologist John Landels to examine and publish the *aulos* fragments; typically of the time, and importantly because of the instrument's good preservation and early date, Landels emphasised organological description in his brief article.⁵ With regards to context, Landels says only «it was found in a sacred spring near the north-west corner of the ancient temple, along with a number of objects which are dated by Dr. Papadimitriou to the late 6th or early 5th c. BCE. They were perhaps *in situ*, buried or hidden, when the Persians sacked the site during the Salamis campaign».⁶

The *aulos*, in other words, is likely to have been a votive offering, which leads to more questions. In his own too-brief reports, Papadimitriou mentions thousands of objects discovered in and around the sacred spring, among them «bronze mirrors, rings, gems, scarabs, statuettes, and vases».⁷ Most of these finds remain unpublished (some can be seen in the site museum), but Papadimitriou records a bronze mirror with votive inscription – «Hippylla the daughter of Onetor has dedicated it to Artemis in Brauron» – that makes clear girls or women may have been their primary ded-

¹ Cf. remarks in BUNDRICK 2005, 2-3 and 13.

² Cf. PERROT 2016 on the sounds of the natural landscape at Epidauros, and MARCONI 2013 on the liminality of sacred spaces.

³ See also brief discussion of the Brauron *aulos* in the paper by Angeliki Liveri.

⁴ PAPADIMITRIOU 1963 was the excavator's longest account; see more recently THEMELIS 2002 and NIELSEN 2009 for topography and finds, although both articles are hampered by the continued lack of publication.

⁵ LANDELS 1963.

⁶ LANDELS 1963, 116.

⁷ PAPADIMITRIOU 1963, 113.

icants.¹ This is consistent with the goddess's and sanctuary's association with female worshippers and rituals (see Angeliki Liveri's paper below for music and Artemis), but the particular appearance of an *aulos* merits further exploration. A fragmentary red-figured *pyxis* lid found at Brauron and dating from the 3rd quarter of the 5th c. BCE depicts a seated *auletris* among dancing women with torches; in this period *pyxides* seem to have served primarily as wedding gifts, rendering them appropriate offerings to Artemis.² The scene recalls the white-ground *phiale* described above, which also features an *auletris* with female chorus. Among *krateriskoi* fragments that have been published from the sanctuary (which do not represent the full surviving corpus), many show dancing girls or young women, possibly taking part in the festival of the Arkteia; none preserves an *auletris*, although some feature *krotala* players. However, two black-figured *krateriskos* fragments from the Athenian Acropolis – which come from the shrine of Artemis Brauronia there and may belong to two sides of the same vase – do include standing *auletrides* in scenes of dance/choruses.³ One scene also includes a deer, making the connection with Artemis explicit. These *krateriskos* fragments appear to date from the end of the 6th c. BCE, contemporary with the Brauron *aulos* fragments. Considering the Brauron *aulos* in a larger context strengthens the possibility of its role in ritual and as a votive gift offered by a female dedicant.

Some specific, important themes emerge from in-depth study of musical instruments as votive gifts, many of which are addressed in this volume. First, this category of dedication affirms the agency of girls and women in both religion and musical culture, as seen with the Brauron *aulos* and by coincidence (since this was not a specification in the initial call for papers), in all the essays included here. Moreover, we learn from the archaeological evidence of votive instruments, and depictions of musicians on other objects found in sanctuaries, that music was essential in the worship of many female deities, not only the Olympian goddesses but others such as Nymphs (see especially the papers by Liveri and Berntson/Liljenstolpe and the Afterword by Bellia on this topic). Textual sources tend to be silent about the musical education of girls and women, save for professional *auletrides* and similar entertainers at occasions like *symposia*; other evidence verifies not only the opportunity to receive such training but active performance in ritual settings.⁴

Second, we witness through the phenomenon of votive gifts the diversity of instruments, which must have yielded a delightfully diverse soundscape inside and outside the various sanctuaries. Stringed instruments tend to be given the most attention in much modern scholarship, a result (consciously or not) of the favourable bias given to them in ancient sources. No doubt stringed instruments possessed a privileged status; in the Panathenaic and other *mousikoi agones*, *kitharodes* and *kitharistai* earned more prizes and prestige than players of and singers to the *aulos*, and as noted above, *kithara* players appear on the *Parthenon* frieze. But in the religious sphere the *aulos* reigned

¹ PAPADIMITRIOU 1963, 114.

² Brauron, Archaeological Museum 276 (A50), attributed to the Painter of London D12: BAPD 276053; KAHIL 1963, 24 and pl. 13.6; TRUITT 1969, 90, fig. 23; BUDELMANN and POWER 2015, 266, fig. 2. *Pyxides* as wedding gifts, SCHMIDT 2009. Kahil does not provide the findspot for this lid, although other fragmentary *pyxides* were found in the area of the altar and a shrine thought to be dedicated to Iphigeneia.

³ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 621 a and c: BAPD 32074; KAHIL 1981, 255-257 and pl. 62.1-2.

⁴ *Auletrides* at *symposia*, e.g., GOLDMAN 2015.

supreme in many ways, as seen in iconographic representations of *auloi* in ritual action and numerous votive offerings attested through archaeology and inscriptions. Some ancient authors professed their disdain for the *aulos* (especially in Athens), leading to the impression that this instrument was widely maligned; the true picture, however, is more complicated, including, for instance, the ideological agendas of these writers.¹ In this volume, the papers by Erica Angliker, Angeliki Liveri, and Jenny Högström Berntson and Erika Lindgren Liljenstolpe, as well as the Afterword by Angela Bellia, clarify the significance of *auloi* in Greek religion across time and place.

Percussion instruments, too, have largely remained in the background of modern scholarship – in most books on Greek music, they are discussed last, after stringed and wind instruments – and yet played a critical role in both ritual and votive dedication. Votive *kymbala* at Epidaurus and on the Athenian Acropolis were noted earlier in this essay; elsewhere in this volume, Angeliki Liveri, Eleonora Colangelo, Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeyer, and Mirco Mungari discuss the role of percussion instruments of various kinds in different cults. The case of the *sistrum*, as explored by Saura-Ziegelmeyer and Mungari, is particularly interesting because it involved the appropriation of an Egyptian instrument by Greek and Roman devotees.

Sanctuaries and other sacred places were, above all, places for communication: communication between worshippers as they came together in devotion and confirmation of their collective identity, and most essentially, between mortals and gods as worshippers aimed to establish contact with the divine sphere and promote reciprocal relationships.² Ancient rituals were by extension performative in nature, whether sacrifices, processions, choral dances, or acts of dedication, which may have been accompanied by gestures and prayers. «Sacred ritual», as Clemente Marconi has stated, «bridges the gulf between this world and the world beyond».³ The phenomenon of musical instruments as votive gifts stood at the intersection of these various forms of communication, representing the initial performances at which they had been used (if they had actually been used) as well as the ritual of offering. Votive objects that portrayed musicians operated in a similar fashion. Through all manner of votive offerings, «reference was made to the past, present, and future», as observed by Ioannis Mylonopoulos; musical instruments given to a deity acted in this way by making tangible the fleeting nature of audiovisual experience and offering it in perpetuity.⁴

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¹ Status of *auloi*, e.g., MCKINNON 1984; CSAPO 2004; and LEVEN 2010, all with further references.

² See, e.g., MYLONOPOULOS 2006.

³ MARCONI 2013, 428.

⁴ «...past, present, and future», MYLONOPOULOS 2006, 85.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
AND THE FESTIVALS OF APOLLO:
A STUDY OF THE *AULOI* DEDICATIONS
IN THE SANCTUARY OF DELOS

ERICA ANGLIKER

INTRODUCTION

IN ancient Greece, music accompanied many activities and was played in the private and public spheres. A great deal is known about ancient music thanks to the work of poets, playwrights, and philosophers who refer to the different types of music played on various occasions.¹ In addition, surviving fragments of musical compositions reveal something about ancient systems of notation.² Vases depicting scenes of people playing musical instruments and figurines of people holding musical instruments that have been found in tombs, houses, and sanctuaries also cast light on the musical culture of Ancient Greece.³

Despite some wonderful contributions by various scholars to our understanding of music in ancient Greece, the art's social and cultural importance to Greek society needs further study. Within this context the study of musical instruments as votives has proven a promising area for exploring the aforementioned topics. This paper examines the function of music within the religious environment of the festivals of Apollo held on the island of Delos by exploring the context in which *auloi* were dedicated as votives at the god's sanctuary. It discusses the status, conditions and origin of the donors of the *auloi*, and the importance of these instruments within such festivals. In doing so, it examines the unique evidence provided by *auloi* deposits and the way in which the votives were used at the sanctuary of Apollo. It also takes into consideration epigraphic sources from Delos that mention the dedication of *auloi*. Although not numerous, such inscriptions help us reconstruct the situations in which the objects were dedicated. Data drawn from inventories are then integrated with information on two *auloi* workshops on Delos, where several of these instruments have been found. Iconographic motifs depicting musical instruments on vases, coins, and statues dedicated at the sanctuary are carefully analysed to assess their use during rituals with the help of ancient texts⁴ that contain crucial information on music festivals. Finally, all this evidence is compared to what is known about an *aulos* on the neighbouring island of Paros, where it was found amongst votives at a sanctuary of Apollo Delion, whose festivals were connected to those on Delos. By bringing

¹ BÉLIS 1995; CASTALDO 1999; BÉLIS 1999; BUNDRICK 2005, 1-12.

² WINNINGTON-INGRAM 1978; BARKER 2010; ALEXOPOULOU 2014.

³ The literature on music and vase painting and on music and figurines is vast, here I quote some relevant works. On vases: PAQUETTE 1984; DI GIULIO 1988; CASTALDO 1993; BUNDRICK 2005; BELLIA 2010. On figurines with musical instruments see: BELLIA 2009; BELLIA and MARCONI 2016.

⁴ E.g., *Homeric Hymn of Apollo*, 1-175.

together diverse data, this paper hopes to reconstruct not only the role of *auloi* at festivals of Apollo but also the context of their dedication.

MUSIC AND THE FESTIVALS OF APOLLO ON DELOS

Given the importance of the sanctuary on Delos as well as Apollo's links to music in both iconography and the music and dance festivals held on the island in his honour, any dedication of a musical instrument as a votive on Delos must have held special meaning. However, before delving into the peculiarities of Delos and discussing the dedication of the actual *auloi*, we need to take a general look at the sanctuary and its festivals.

The island of Delos became an important cult centre in the early Iron Age (around the 8th c. BCE), when long-distance trade and communication intensified in the Aegean Sea. Due to its privileged position as a nautical waypoint along east-west trading routes in the Cyclades as well as its favourable natural resources (particularly an abundance of fresh water and a sheltered harbour in which ships were safe from strong winds), Delos became an ideal place for a nascent *polis* to hold competitions and display wealth.¹ The cults of Apollo and other Delian deities enabled individual groups to strengthen social bonds, and, at the same time, provided an ideal forum in which the *élite* could compete, gain prestige, and form alliances – activities critical to the development of complex societies (whenever pre-existing laws or policies do not govern social interactions).² The *oikos* of the Naxians, with its giant *kouros* representing Apollo, along with the enigmatic corridor of the lions are among the most impressive Archaic dedications on the island.³

On Delos, worshippers expressed their devotion to Apollo and Artemis not only by dedicating magnificent architectural monuments, but also through musical and dance performances.⁴ Traditions record the participation of visitors from various places in these activities. Pausanias,⁵ for example, mentions a song composed by Olen, a Lycian, and refers elsewhere to Kyme from Melampos⁶ and Eumelos, a Corinthian poet and nobleman.⁷ Moreover, neighbouring islands frequently sent choruses (particularly of young girls) to participate in Delian festivals.⁸ Ancient texts also provide us with a fairly good idea of the importance and magnitude of the festivals of Apollo on Delos.⁹ These sources include the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*¹⁰ and the *Hymn to Delos* by Callimachus.¹¹ Strabon¹² notes that Simonides composed a dithyramb (Memnon) that belonged to a collection known as Delica. Processional chants, of which Pindar is a

¹ ANGLIKER 2017; PROST 2014.

² JOCKEY 1996; EARLE 2010; ANGLIKER 2017.

³ For the corridor of the lions, see KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS 1993; ÉTIENNE 2002; BRUNEAU and DUCAT 2005, 225-227; ÉTIENNE 2008; BARLOU 2014. COURBIN 1980. For the *oikos* of the Naxians, see LAMBRINOUDAKIS 2005.

⁴ LAIDLAW 1933, 28-45; BRUNEAU 1970; CALAME 2001, 104-110; CHANKOWSKI 2008.

⁵ 10. 5. 7-8.

⁷ 4. 4. 1 and 4. 33. 2.

⁹ The ancient texts referring to the festivals of Apollo on Delos is a topic extensively discussed by scholars. Here I mention merely a few, most relevant items in the literature: SALE 1961; KOWALZIG 2007, 56-128; PAPADOPOULOU 2014.

¹¹ 278-290.

⁶ 5. 7. 78.

⁸ Strab. 10, 5. 2.

¹⁰ 1-175.

¹² 15. 3. 2.

notable author, were also part of these Apollonian festivals.¹ Finally, later prose and lyric sources refer to various *theoriai*, their arrival on the island and rituals, and to the contests of athletes and melic performers.²

These ancient texts show that these delegations participated in extensive rituals, processions, choruses, and musical contests.³ Music and dance were actually important forms of dedicated ritual, crucial to ancient religious life as they fostered cohesion and communication (among men and between men and gods).⁴ Indeed, scholars have argued that the spectacle of beauty and wealth generated by musical performances and contests may have prompted communication among the various communities reuniting on Delos by enabling a common means of communication.⁵ Ultimately, music and dance fostered the image of Delos as a widely renowned sanctuary, a meeting point for the Hellenikon.⁶

On Delos, however, music and dance not only served as means of efficient ritual communication between different peoples, but also helped establish a dialogue with the god and were marvellous forms of dedication to the divinity. The beauty of rituals featuring dance, music, and singing is confirmed by ancient texts in which the sublimity of the chorus is captured in a vocabulary used to describe divine or heroic acts. The chorus of the Delian maidens (*kourai deliades*) is referred to as a “great wonder” – *mega thauma* – a term with visual and sensory implications.⁷

Material evidence from Delos corroborates the testimony of ancient authors who wrote about the magnitude and importance of music and dance at the festivals of Apollo. According to the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, the Delians inscribed the verses of choral songs over the *λεύκωμα* and housed copies of the poems in the sanctuary of Artemis.⁸ Such privilege was probably awarded to the victorious songs celebrated during the festivals. In addition, figurines with musical instruments and vases depicting dancers and musicians certainly refer to the performances held during the festivals. One such case lies in two Geometric amphorae from the sanctuary of Artemis that depict on their lower register a scene in which several women holding hands perform a dance.⁹ The scene may be related to the groups of worshippers who dedicated songs and dances to the god. Music at the festivals of Apollo on Delos may have gained further significance on this island thanks to myths that linked the god’s birth to the art. Unlike the mythical stories recounted at Delphi in which Apollo’s arrival was marked by some kind of violent event, those on Delos paired his birth with the emergence of light and music.¹⁰

¹ Pind. *Prosodion*, 78 Bowra (= Hymne 33c-d).

² Thuk. 3, 104; Xen. *mem.*, 3. 3. 12; Call. *Del.*, 278-314; Strab. 8, 48. 3; Plut. *Thes.*, 21. ROTSTEIN 2012.

³ For *theoria* see RUTHERFORD 2013.

⁴ For a good example of an impressive *theoria* is provided by the one sent by Nikias in 426/5 BCE; see Plut. *Nic.*, 3.

⁵ On choral performances: JEBB 1905, 27-45; BOWRA 1961, 1-15; BURNETT 1985, 1-14; STEHLE 1997, 15off.; LANDELS 1999, 1-23; BURKERT 1994, 102-103; KOWALZIG 2007; ROTSTEIN 2012.

⁶ On the centrality of Delos to the Cyclades: Strab. 10, 5.1ff. BURKERT 1994, 144-145. On ethnic and social identity: HALL 1997, 51; CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2010; VLASSOPOULOS 2007, 186-181; CRIERLAARD 2009; CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2015; HALL 2015.

⁷ Bakchyl. 17, 105-110; Soph. *Aias*, 700-706; Call. *Del.*, 306-313; Plut. *Thes.*, 21; Eur. *Herc.*, 689f. See also BEEKS 2016, 535 and OLIVERI 2018.

⁸ Hes., 303 Rzach.

⁹ DUGAS and RHOMAIOS 1934, no. 6, 87, figs. 43 and 56. LAMPRIPOUDAKES 1983, 167, fig. 21.

¹⁰ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 1-175.

Finally, the image of Apollo on Delos itself evoked music as one of the god's attributes: the cultic statue of the Delian Apollo, whose precise appearance is known from ancient insignia, depicted a god holding a bow in his left hand and the Three Graces, the patronesses of music, in his right (his active hand).¹ Although today the colossal statue of Apollo (7th c. BCE) placed next to the Naxian *oikos* by the island's people is only partly preserved, reconstructions give us a fair idea of what this image looked like. Over 6m tall, the colossal statue would have gazed over the other statues at the sanctuary and been seen by pilgrims approaching the sanctuary, who would thus have been immediately reminded of the god's attributes.² The importance of music to the cult of Delian Apollo is also confirmed by the iconography of various objects found on the island. Last but not least, coins minted in the mid-6th c. BCE depict a *kithara*, one of Apollo's symbols.³

AULOI PLAYERS AND AULOI DEDICATIONS ON DELOS

Despite the various levels of music's importance at the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, its ephemeral nature makes it difficult to define how ancient people practiced it at cultic sites. It is possible, however, to study the social and cultural importance of music within the sacred sphere of the sanctuary through epigraphic and archaeological remains. Given the limitations of space, we will here examine only the case of the *auloi*. Delos has, in fact, yielded unique and varied evidence related to *auloi* and *auloi* players, including ancient song lyrics, iconographical material, and inscriptions. Furthermore, two *auloi* workshops have been preserved on the island.

The songs chanted during the festivals of Apollo (as was typical of all Ancient Greek music in general) consisted principally of vocalization accompanied by musical instruments.⁴ *Auloi*, musical instruments often played in pairs, were a standard feature in the performance of such festive songs.⁵ This is not surprising as *auloi* were played in nearly every Greek cult and ceremony. They accompanied the procession to the shrine and the different stages of the sacrificial ritual, as well as dances and performances at the sanctuary. They also took part in musical contests.⁶ Their historical omnipresence can be explained by their capacity to evoke a range of emotions.⁷ Choirs composed of citizens often sang the choral songs performed at Delos.⁸ The fact that regular citizens participated in the choirs is not surprising, as the educated classes generally did receive some musical education. However, it was not uncommon for contract professional musicians to take part in the group as well.⁹

Although not extensive and dating mainly to the Late Hellenistic period (the time of the Second Athenian domination), epigraphic evidence from Delian inventories offers some information on the status of *auloi* players. Their inscriptions are summary, but nonetheless make clear that several *auloi* players were professional; a few even

¹ For general studies on this statue, see: PFEIFFER 1952; BRUNEAU 1970, 54-59; PROST 1999; GIULIANI 2005.

² HERMARY 1993; BRUNEAU 1995; PROST 1999; HOLTZMANN 1996; GRUBEN 1997, 267-287; BRUNEAU and DUCAT 2005, 177-181.

³ BRUNEAU and DUCAT 2005, 144, fig. 37.

⁴ BÉLIS 1999, 1-9.

⁵ For the use of *auloi*, see: NORDQUIST 1992; PAPADOPOULOU 2004b; PAPADOPOULOU and DELFORGE 2005.

⁶ PAPADOPOULOU 2004b.

⁷ PAPADOPOULOU and DELFORGE 2005, 37.

⁸ PAPADOPOULOU and BELMEHDI 2002.

⁹ BÉLIS 1999, 15-37.



note the amount of money paid them. The inventories also reveal that *auloi* players could be both men and women. Besides holding such general information on *auloi* players, the inventories also mention the dedication of musical instruments. One of the most important aspects of the relationship between instrument and cult is the musical instrument's function as a gift. The practice of dedicating musical instruments is a confirmed historical occurrence in certain parts of Greece.¹ Beyond Delos, a number of epigrams, a handful of instruments with votive inscriptions, and temple accounts from Attica offer information on reasons for dedicating an instrument: to celebrate the end of a career, substantiate a worshipper's piety or self-glorification, or accompany a prayer (seeking protection, health, tranquillity, or successful participation in a particular social context).²

Unfortunately, no musical instrument has been found in the votive deposits of the sanctuary on Delos. However, the inventories of the sanctuary do illuminate both the status of the *auloi* players and the context in which their instruments were offered. Several inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic period, for example, mention payment of professional female *auloi* players (known as ἀύλητριδι).³ Such payments frequently appear alongside payments to other people serving the sanctuary (e.g. fountain guards) or for materials used in the cult.⁴ In many cases, ἀύλητριδι played *auloi* during a dance performed by women. Some were rewarded for their services to Apollo and even participated in the cults of Asklepios and Dionysos. Certain inscriptions state the first name of an *auletris*, revealing her importance and prestige.⁵

The inventories of the sanctuary of Delos also reveal that professional musicians dedicated *auloi* to prolong the effect of their musical performances. Two Late Hellenistic inscriptions refer to the dedication of *auloi*.⁶ The dedicator in this case – Satyros of Samos – was a musician from the Eastern Aegean. He offered the instrument to the god Apollo at his sanctuary. According to the inscription *IDélos* 442 (179 BCE), the gift was counted among the sanctuary's prestigious offerings, which included the golden crown of King Attalos. The inscription also indicates the location of the instrument: at the entrance of the temple of Apollo. Also mentioned are a *phiale* and a dedication by Poplios. The offering of *auloi* amongst valuable objects is a phenomenon that occurs at other Greek sanctuaries as well.⁷ A study of the inventories of the Acropolis in Athens with a focus on the objects dedicated to Athena reveals that musical instruments were deposited together with valuable objects of various kinds. Turning back to the inscription from Delos, inscription *IDélos* 461 (169 BCE), whose content is similar to that of *IDélos* 442, states that Satyros played in Delos on at least two separate occasions within the space of a decade. On both occasions he dedicated his instrument to Apollo. Satyros may have also participated in other festivals; an inscription found in the area of the theatre indicates that the musician was received honours from the Delians.⁸ Although the inscriptions from Delos do not say much about the features of the *auloi* that were offered as votives, the instrument was pre-

¹ PAPAPOPOULOU 2004b.

² For the reasons for dedicating *auloi* see, PAPAPOPOULOU 2004b. For the accounts of Attica, see HARRIS 1995, 201-222.

⁴ *IG* XI 2, 158; *IG* XI 2, 159; *IG* XI 2, 161; *IG* XI 2, 162; *IDélos* 372.

⁵ *IG* XI 4, 1060.

⁷ HARRIS 1995, 201-222.

³ BÉLIS 1988; BÉLIS 1992; BÉLIS 1999, 37-61.

⁶ *IDélos* 442; *IDélos* 461.

⁸ *IG* XI 4, 1079.

sumably a personal object that had once belonged to a musician. Comparisons with objects dedicated by dancers – another group closely linked with the musical festivals – point to the personal quality of some of these objects (see discussion below).¹

One may also conjecture whether the *aulos* dedicated by Satyros was acquired on Delos itself. The many professional and non-professional musicians circulating through Delos turned the island, which became a key commercial centre during the Hellenistic period, into an excellent place for the production and trade of musical instruments. Indeed, an assortment of shops and workshops on the island aimed to supply travellers with all the essentials; musicians, who came to perform at the festival of Apollo, would certainly have been among these. The discovery of two *auloi* workshops on Delos testifies to the commerce of musical instruments on the island (FIG. 1).² Two such structures have been discovered, but temporary installations would also have been arranged on occasion. The *auloi* workshops were located in areas favourable to commercial activities, namely, around the harbour and along broad streets. The discovery of installations with a variety of finished and unfinished products enabled the identification of workshops. One such workshop lay to the east of the sanctuary of Apollo. Found therein was an assortment of unfinished *auloi* (FIG. 2). The other workshop, which occupied one of the rooms on the ground floor of the Monument of Granite, revealed several finished and unfinished *auloi* (FIG. 3).³

Auloi workshops engaged in a singular type of production.⁴ Studies on *auloi* indicate that the production of these instruments was not standardized. Each instrument was individually crafted and therefore unique; all seem to have been privately commissioned to suit the needs of particular musicians. A passage from the *Republic* of Plato confirms this.⁵ Given the uniqueness of their craftsmanship and the high cost of the materials used in their production, it not surprising that *auloi* were deemed gifts worthy of the god Apollo and that their dedications were noted in inscriptions alongside those of precious objects.

Dedications of *auloi* to Apollo can also be found on the neighbouring island of Paros, where an extra-urban sanctuary was erected on top of a hill with direct views of Delos.⁶ Inscriptions indicate that the sanctuary was a Delion and therefore linked to cult activity on the island of Delos. For centuries, the focal point of Parian cult activities was a natural altar-rock – at one time decorated with marble slabs – located inside a simple *temenos*. According to Otto Rubensohn, the altar served as the site of a cult dedicated to Apollo, for whom a temple or cult statue was never erected at this location.⁷ Indeed, the sanctuary was granted a temple only in 490-480 BCE, when a small building (9.83 x 5.95m) – the most ancient, canonical Doric temple in the Cyclades – was dedicated to Artemis in order to house a colossal statue of her likeness in its cella.⁸

A vast votive deposit was uncovered under the cella of the temple of Artemis. It included a table for offerings, clay statues (mostly of female or seated-goddess type figurines), items believed to be apotropaic (such as seals and clay body parts), female

¹ DELAUAUD-ROUX and BÉLIS-2011; BÉLIS 2011.

² See also PSAROUDAKĒS 2010-2011, 551-554, figs. 40-47.

³ 10, 601d-e. See BÉLIS 1998.

⁴ RUBENSOHN 1962.

⁵ KARVONIS 2008.

⁶ *Ibidem*, 176-177.

⁷ ZAPHEIROPOULOU 1960.

⁸ GRUBEN 1982; SCHULLER 1991.

statuettes, jewellery, fibulas, protomes, and grotesque masks.¹ The votives also included items linked to music and dance (some probably personal objects). One such personal object was a pendant from the Geometric period that seems to have belonged to a dancer (FIG. 4).² Depicted on one side of the pendant are two nude male figures advancing towards the right with their arms raised. Their movement indicates that they are dancing. Next to one of them are a fish and a bird. This is a highly unusual scene for the Geometric era, when most dance scenes depicted women. On the reverse side of the pendant is a circular Knossian labyrinth with seven corridors. It clearly recalls the dance of the cranes on Delos, as first described by Callimachus. The dance allegedly mimicked the steps made by Theseus to escape the labyrinth and was accompanied by a song dedicated to Apollo.³

Another item among the votives was an *aulos*. Nikos Zapheiroupolou discovered it in an inner area of the sanctuary, and although it was not among the Archaic votive offerings that were found beneath the cella of the temple of Artemis, it certainly was a votive as well.⁴ Made of bone, it is well preserved in part, and still contains a single finger-hole. The absence of any inscription makes it difficult to ascertain the reason behind its dedication, but given the Parian sanctuary's connection with Delos, it is conceivable that this musical instrument was dedicated by an *aulos* player. One may also speculate whether or not this *aulos* was produced on Delos, which was home to two workshops specializing in the production of this kind of instrument. Future comparisons between the item discovered on Paros and those found on Delos may shed further light on its origins.

Also within the area of Paros and Delos, the sanctuary of Despotiko has yielded two seals that offer indirect information on dedications made by dancers and musicians (FIG. 5). This sanctuary, which is not mentioned in any written document from antiquity, was established and protected by the Parian *polis*.⁵ Although it is still being excavated, the site has revealed over twenty buildings that contain evidence of a cult dating back to the Geometric period and pointing to a female deity. The cult assumed its final form and flourished in the Archaic period, when Apollo was introduced as the primary deity. It is highly likely that Artemis was co-worshipped at the site. In any case, the sanctuary was also a Delion; given its links to the sacred island of Apollo, one may expect that songs and dances were performed there as offerings to the god. Of particular interest to the present discussion is Building A (on the sanctuary's *temenos*). This 'temple' was constructed in around the mid-6th c. BCE, and was followed by the *hestiatorion* in around 540-530 BCE. The temple consists of two rooms, A1 and A2, with a common forecourt that bears a monumental marble colonnade on its façade. Rooms A3-A5 were also part of the building. It was in Room A1, in fact, that a deposit of multiple, varied, and rich objects was found. This is important as the entire assemblage indicates a collective deposition of objects crafted primarily in the 7th-6th c. BCE. All the objects are of a votive nature and were found carefully positioned, tucked into each other. The deposit obviously occurred around 550 BCE, after construction on the temple had begun, but before the floor slabs were set in place. In terms of both type and material, this is a rich and varied collection, comprising

¹ RUBENSOHN 1962, 53-173.

² PAPADOPOULOU 2004a.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ ZAPHEIROPOULOU 1960.

⁵ KOURAYOS, DAIFA, and PAPAJANNI 2012.

both local and imported objects from mainland Greece, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, Asia Minor, and even more distant places like the Baltic Sea, Syria, Egypt, and Phoenicia.¹

The two aforementioned seals depict scenes of dancing groups with figures outlined much like those depicted on the amphora dedicated at the *Artemision* on Delos. Although it is impossible to tell whether these seals belonged to dancers (professional or not), it is very likely that the dancing scene is a reference to music and dances held at the sanctuary. The seals, made of stone, contain some signs of use before being deposited at the sanctuary. Interesting too is that much like the Geometric pendant and *aulos* from the Delion on Paros, these seals seem to have been personal objects. The *auloi* mentioned in the inventories of Delos are also personal objects dedicated at the sanctuary. From this we may conclude that people who took part in musical and dance performances customarily dedicated personal objects to divinities.²

CONCLUSION

In the Iron Age, Delos became a meeting place and site of competition for diverse populations of the Aegean. Their gifts to Apollo included not only splendid monuments, but also performances of music and dance. These two arts were actually amongst the most impressive forms of honouring the god. Such an environment would certainly have made the practice of dedicating musical instruments – a recurrent practice in several parts of Ancient Greece – even more important. The island of Delos is a privileged place for the study of the dedication of musical instruments. The importance of music and dance is clearly manifest in the array of songs chanted on the island, vases depicting instruments, myriad inscriptions, and the presence of two workshops. Analyses of inscriptions have revealed that *auloi* were exhibited in privileged areas of the temple of Apollo together with other prestigious items. Dedicators could be laymen, professional musicians, or even famous players traveling across the Aegean. Given that ancient *auloi* were produced according to the specific needs of their users, it is very likely that the items mentioned in the Delian inventories were personal ones. Indeed, the two *auloi* workshops produced instruments that were uniquely adapted to the requirements of each of their particular clients. On the island of Paros, an *aulos* found at the sanctuary was clearly related to the worship of Apollo on Delos. The deposit at the Parian sanctuary has also yielded a Geometric pendant depicting a dance scene. Signs of the object's use likewise indicate that this was a personal item. Archaic seals found on the nearby island of Despotiko also show traces of use and may have belonged to people who partook in the performances held at this sanctuary. It therefore seems that it was customary for the people participating in performances of music and dance to dedicate personal items. This study sheds light on the character of the dedicator of musical instruments at sanctuaries by focusing on the evidence related to *auloi* on the island of Delos. Our analysis of the broad context in which these objects were dedicated leads us to conclude that *auloi* were objects of a personal nature that were dedicated side by side with other prestigious items.

¹ *Ibidem.*

² *Ibidem.*

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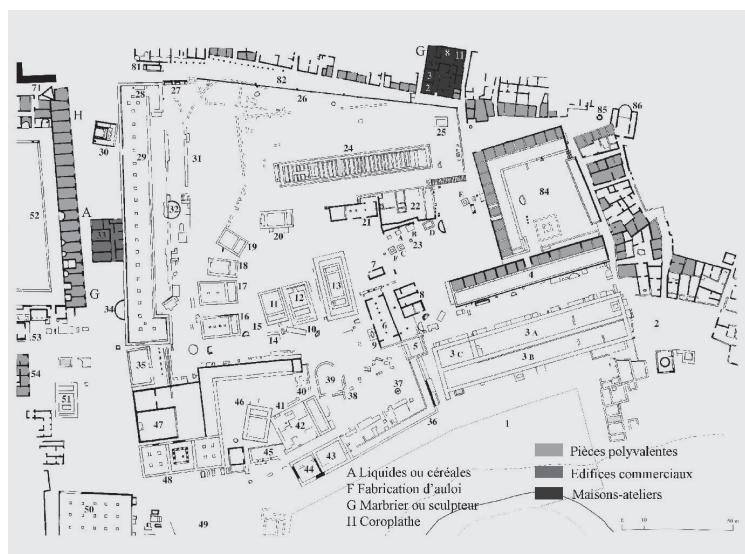


FIG. 1. Plan of the commercial areas on Delos showing the *auloi* workshops. F: Workshop located on the east of the sanctuary of Apollo. Nos. 54: Workshop that occupied one of the rooms on the ground floor of the Monument of Granite. After Karvonis 2008, 161, fig. 1.

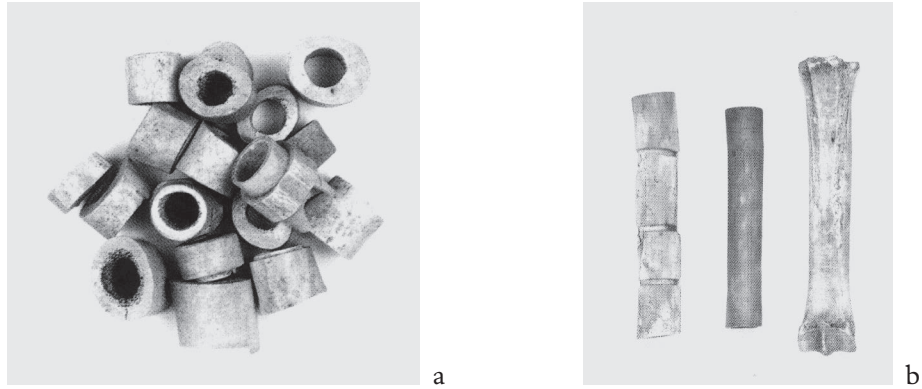


FIG. 2a-b. Unfinished pieces of *auloi* found on workshop located on the east of the sanctuary of Apollo. After Andrikou 2003, 172, fig. 62.

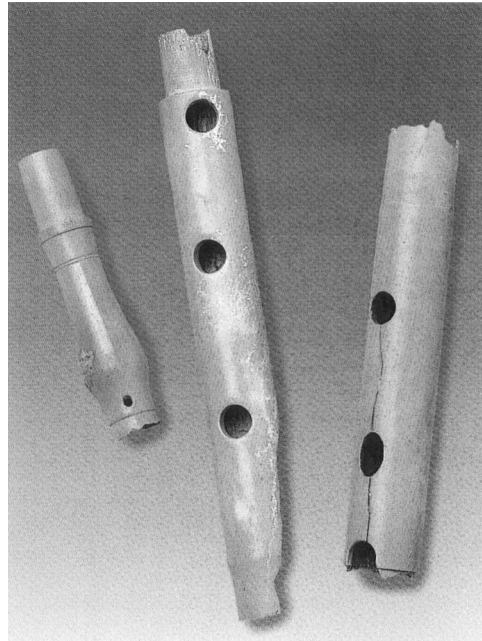


FIG. 3. Finished pieces of *auloi* found on workshop that occupied one of the rooms on the ground floor of the Monument of Granite. After Zapheirpoulou 1998, 205.



FIG. 4. Pendant from the Delion in Paros with dancing figures in one side and the labyrinth on the other side (the other side, not shown here). After Andrikou 2003, 232, fig. 110.



FIG. 5. Seal from Despotiko showing scenes of dancing. Courtesy Yannis Kourayos.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
AND THEIR MINIATURE MODELS
AS VOTIVE OFFERINGS TO FEMALE DEITIES
IN SANCTUARIES IN ANCIENT GREECE

ANGELIKI LIVERI

IN this paper I will summarize evidence from sanctuaries of female deities in Metropolitan Greece, in which musical instruments or their miniature models were dedicated. I focused primarily on sanctuaries of Athena, Artemis, Demeter and Kore, and Hera, combining written sources and archaeological finds.

Among these goddesses, Athena is the one most linked with music. According to written sources, she played the *aulos*, *kithara* and *salpinx*, and this is confirmed by her representations, mainly in vase paintings such as on the Apulian red-figured crater, where the seated Athena plays a double *aulos*;¹ on the red-figured amphora from Nola where Athena plays the *kithara*,² and on the red-figured *lekythos* from Athens with the goddess playing a *salpinx*.³ Additionally, Athena was the inventor of the *aulos* and *krotala*. However, a representation of her playing *krotala* is not preserved.⁴

Artemis is more linked with dance and songs than with music. However, there are some representations of Artemis in vase paintings or on reliefs depicting her holding or playing a lyra, *kithara* and *krotala*. For example, she plays staying a *kithara* or lyre on a black-figured *hydria*,⁵ on a red-figured *lekythos*,⁶ and on three terracotta relief plates from her sanctuary in Brauron;⁷ she is represented playing *krotala* in a procession with Apollo, Aphrodite and Hermes on an Attic plastic vase (*rhyton*).⁸

Demeter's connection with music is limited. According to the written sources,⁹ she played the *aulos* in one case, when she was looking for her daughter, whilst the

¹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 00.348. End of the 5th c. BCE. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1961, 261, no. 48. CASTALDO 2000, 56, pl. 25. This is the only preserved example of Athena playing *aulos* in the contest with Marsyas. Athena as inventor of the *aulos* and other examples, see 54-59, pl. 26. Zschätsch 2002, 3; Athena and *aulos* in 1-14, pl. 1a-b. DEMARGNE 1984, 1014-1015, no. 620; compare no. 617.

² Berlin, Antikensammlung, no. 2169. 500-480 BCE. DEMARGNE 1984, 1011, no. 585; Castaldo 2000, 59, pl. 27 and 59-60, pl. 28 (Athena *Kitharodos*); ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 16, pl. 2b and 15-16, pl. 2a (Athena and stringed instruments).

³ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 2568. First half of 5th c. BCE. DEMARGNE 1984, 1012, no. 600; CASTALDO 2000, 51-54, pl. 23 (this is the only preserved representation of the goddess playing a *salpinx*); ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 16-17; NORDQUIST 1996, 246.

⁴ CASTALDO 2000, 54; LIVERI 2013, 1106.

⁵ Paris, Louvre, no. F 297. End of the 6th c. BCE.

⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 1626. CC 1362. 470-460 BCE.

⁷ Brauron Museum, no. K2078, K2619, K2808 and 2771. Ca. 500 BCE. KAHIL and ICARD 1984, 675-676, 717, nos. 716-718 (reliefs), nos. 714-715, 1233 (vase paintings); CASTALDO 2000, 41, pls. 18-19 (41-43, pls. 20-21: more examples for Artemis *Kitharodos* or lyra player); ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 64-66, nos. 2, 14 (more examples: nos. 1-17, pl. 6a, b); VIVLIODETIS 2006, 234-235, no. 122.

⁸ London, British Museum, no. E 785. Ca. 500-490 BCE. KAHIL and ICARD 1984, 711, no. 1165; CASTALDO 2000, 43, pl. 22 (Artemis with *krotala* and cymbals: 43-50); ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 66, no. 1; KOHEN 2006, 264-265, no. 77.

⁹ BELLIA 2015, 91-118.

other participants looking for her daughter Kore (Persephone) were playing cymbals, *krotala* and *tympana*; Aphrodite was playing a *tympanon* and the Muses sang.¹ However, there are no representations of Demeter or Kore playing a musical instrument. Hera did not play a musical instrument; she only liked to hear music or to sing with others.² The musical instruments played by the goddesses and other ones were also used in their cult practices, at processions, sacrifices, and feasts; some of the feasts also included musical games, dance, songs and mimic performances: e.g. the *Panathenaia*, *Pamboiotoia*, *Amarynthia* in Euboia, *Heraia* in Argos and Samos. Some names or invocations/*epikleseis* to Athena and Artemis are also related to music: e.g. Athena Nightingale (*Ἀηδών*), *Salpinx* (*Σάλπιγξ*), *Vomvylia* (*Βομβυλιά* or *Βομβυλεία*) and Artemis *Hymnia* (*Ἵμνία*), *Chelytis* (*Χελύτις*).³

Now we will see the musical instruments that have been found in the sanctuaries of these goddesses, beginning with the sanctuaries of Athena in Attica, the Peloponnese, and Rhodes. On the Acropolis of Athens only one bronze cymbal has been unearthed (FIG. 1), dedicated to Athena by Lysilla, according to the votive inscription ΛΥΣΙΛΛΑ ΑΠΑΡΧΕΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙ.⁴ It is also worth noting that the use of the term *aparché* at the dedication of a musical instrument to a deity is rare or unique;⁵ in this case its meaning is difficult to explain. Perhaps the dedicant wants to offer the patron goddess of the city the best of her possessions.

However, the votive inscriptions of other *anathemata* to Athena on the Akropolis of Athens and Lindos include also the word *aparché*; for example, on the base of a small kore statue on the Akropolis of Athens, dated in the 6th c. BCE, is written that Lysias dedicated to Athena an *aparché* (ΛΥΣΙΑΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙ ΑΠΑΡΧΕΝ).⁶ A monumental kore statue, dated c. 520 BCE, was also dedicated to Athena as *aparché* by the kerameus Nearchos; it is made by the sculptor Antenor according to the votive inscription (ΝΕΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ[Ν Η Ο ΚΕΡΑΜΕ/ΥΣ ΕΡΤΟΝ ΑΠΑΡΧΕΝ ΤΑΘ' [ΕΝΑΙΑΙ] ΑΝΤΕΝΟΡ ΕΠ[ΟΙΕΣΕΝ Η/Ο ΕΥΜΑΡΟΣ Τ[Ο ΑΓΑΛΜΑ /]).⁷ The terms *aparché* and *dekate* were also used simultaneously on a *phiale* offered by Soloians/Soleis to Athena Lindia and on a fragmentary votive inscription on the Akropolis of Athens.⁸ On the Akropolis of Athens were also found figurines of musicians, e.g. a terracotta male *aulos* player (8th century BCE) and a bronze *syrix* player (525-500 BCE).⁹

Our knowledge of musical findings in Athena sanctuaries on the Athenian Akropolis is enriched by references in written sources (inscriptions, inventories and Treasurers of the Gods), which mention as offerings in the Parthenon two *aulos*-cases, one of them made of ivory overlaid with gold-leaf (a. 422-421, b. 398-397 BCE), a wooden

¹ Eur. *Hel.*, 1340-1353. ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 111-112; PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 351.

² ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 116-117.

³ CASTALDO 2000, 39-40; 48-49 (Artemis); 53, 56-57 (Athena). CALAME 2001, 142, 149-156; 169-174 (Artemis); ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 1 (Athena); 63 (Artemis).

⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. X17525, 500-475 (?) BCE. KERAMOPOULOS 1915, 34, fig. 40ζ; DILLON 2002, 17; PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 353, no. 69; PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 378, no. 1420; ZAFEIROPOULOU 2008, 53, no. 12 (the author makes the hypothesis that perhaps the dedicant Lysilla used this cymbal during the *Lenaiia*, a feast in Athens in honor of Dionysos); LIVERI 2013, 1107; SUK FONG JIM 2014, 158-159, fig. 4.

⁵ On *aparché* and related terms see: PARKER 2004, 275-278. See also DILLON 2002, 14-19; PATERA 2012, 17-51; SUK FONG JIM 2014, 1-5, 36-38, 53-54.

⁶ SUK FONG JIM 2014, 53.

⁷ Athens, New Acropolis Museum, no. 681. TRIANTI 1998, 94, 118-119; TSAKOS 2014, 105, fig. 83.

⁸ SUK FONG JIM 2014, 53-54.

⁹ ANDRIKOU *et al.* 2003, 194, 197-198, nos. 84, 87; PAPADOPOULOU 2004b, 363-364, nos. 163, 175, pls. 82-83, figs. Gr. 163, Gr. 176.

rhombos (341-340 BCE) and a lyre also covered with gold-leaf, four ivory lyres and eight lyres of other materials (434-433 BCE).¹ The Hekatompodon-list mentions an ivory *lyrion* and *plektron* (398-397 BCE) as votive offerings.²

From the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea in Arcadia originate two partially preserved thin bronze plaques (FIGS. 2a-b, 3a-b) in the shape of stylized miniature *phorminges* or lyres (late Geometric-early Archaic period).³ They are very similar to one another. One of them can be compared with another miniature bronze votive lyre – originally with eight strings, now with six – which was found in Amyklaion, a sanctuary near Sparta in honor of Apollo *Amyklaios* and *Hyakinthos*, as dedication to Apollo, dated also in the Geometric period.⁴

In the sanctuary of Athena Lindia at Lindos on Rhodes are preserved two archaic cymbals, *auloi* fragments, and a bronze rectangular plaque, probably part of a *platagê*.⁵ The Rhodian *kymbala* show similarities in shape and in decoration with *kymbala* of the sixth century found in Greek sanctuaries of Sicily (Akragas and region of Gela, a Rhodian settlement).⁶ It is worth noting that in the same sanctuary numerous terracotta or faience statuettes representing musicians were found: lyra, double *aulos* and *tympanon* players;⁷ the last instrument is played by women, whereas among the *aulos* players is one with a hippopotamus head, probably indicating a dedication from an Egyptian worshipper. Many musicians' figurines come from Cyprian dedicators that also show the popularity of Athena Lindia outside Rhodes and Greece.

The *Anthologia Palatina*⁸ includes two dedications to Athena: a bronze *salpinx* mentioning only the dedicant Pherenicus, who must be a *salpinx* player.⁹ The second *anathema* names the goddess Tritogeneia. The dedicatory inscription in which the anonymous worshipper prays to the goddess for protection is interesting:¹⁰

Preserve, Tritonian goddess, the offerings and the offerer.

Artemis, as «the dance Goddess», has the most musical dedications by worshippers in her sanctuaries in Attica and Peloponnese. A bone *aulos* (late 6th-early 5th c. BCE) was found near the ancient temple of Artemis Brauronia at Brauron.¹¹ However, it is not certain whether it was a dedication or an instrument used for rites in the sanctuary. The accounts of the *epistatai* of *Braurionion*, a shrine located just south of the Propylaia inside the sacred enclosure of the Acropolis of Athens, mention a lyre and a *rhombos* as votive gifts to the goddess Artemis, who was the protector of women about to give birth and those who had just given birth.¹²

¹ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 352, nos. 61-62, 65.

² PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 352, no. 64.

³ DUGAS 1921, 394, no. 210, figs. 39, 47; VOYATZIS 1990, 201-202, 264, 338-339, nos. B200 (210), B201 (210), pls. 143 below, 144 upper; PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 354-355, no. 78. On the sanctuary of Athena Alea, see: JOST 1985, 151-154, 164-165.

⁴ DEMAKOPOULOU 1982, 76-77, no. 121, pl. 53; Voyatzis 1990, 202.

⁵ BLINKENBERG 1931, 153-156, nos. 448-459, fig. 17, pl. 16: the no. 457 is similar to a cymbal and no. 458 is not sure that is a cymbal. For the cymbals from Lindos, see also LIVERI 2013, 1107.

⁶ BELLIA 2012, 3-10; LIVERI 2013, 1107.

⁷ See some selected examples in BLINKENBERG 1931, 347, 351-353, 425-427, nos. 1252, 1259a, b, 1270, 1271, 1279, 1703-1704, 1707, 1709-1710, pls. 55-56, 69-70 (double *aulos* players); 427-428, nos. 1712, 1716-1717, pl. 70 (lyra players); 350-351, 428, nos. 1253, 1260, 1719-1720, pls. 55, 70 (*tympanon* players); PAPADOPOULOU 2004b, 364, no. 170.

⁸ AP, 6, 46, 194.

⁹ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 351, no. 48.

¹⁰ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 351, no. 49.

¹¹ LANDELS 1963, 116-119, figs. 1-2; PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 354, no. 77.

¹² PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 352, nos. 63, 65.

More musical instruments as votive offerings were found in the Peloponnesian, especially Laconian, sanctuaries of the goddess. In the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* near Sparta have been unearthed *plektra* (from the 8th to the 6th century BCE)¹ (FIG. 4a-d) and *aulos*' fragments (end of the 7th c. BCE),² two of which bear votive inscriptions: a) ΤΑΙ ΦΟΡΘΑ[ΙΑΙ (?) (to *Orthia*) (FIG. 5) and b) ΑΧΡΑΔΑΤΟΣ (*Achradatos*) (FIG. 6): the first refers to the goddess, the second to the dedicator. Discovered in the same site were five lead miniature cymbals³ and a miniature seven-string *chelys*-lyre figurine⁴ also made of lead (7th c. BCE or second half of 6th c. BCE). Three bronze figurines of female cymbal players⁵ and numerous lead figurines representing musicians,⁶ mainly *aulos* and lyra players, from both genders are also found among the offered gifts to *Orthia*.

Worshippers offered percussion instruments to Artemis *Limnatis*. However, it is not certain in which Peloponnesian sanctuary of the goddess these were dedicated, because there is more than one sanctuary with this name;⁷ also unknown are the place and the circumstances of the objects' discovery. It seems that they originate either from the sanctuary of Artemis in the Lakes near Sparta or from the one on the borders of Laconia and Messenia.⁸ So *Hoporis* and *Prianthis* dedicated their bronze cymbals – one each – according to the votive inscriptions (ΗΟΠΙΟΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙ, ΠΡΙΑΝΘΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙ) (6th c. BCE).⁹ Another bronze cymbal from the same sanctuary is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Kalamata (8th-6th c. BCE). At the same cult site, Timarete dedicated to Artemis, among other objects (her ball, the net that held back her hair and her dolls), her bronze *tympana*,¹⁰ according to an epigram:¹¹

Timarete, the daughter of Timaretos, before her wedding, has dedicated her tambourine, her pretty ball, the net that shielded her hair and her girls' dresses to Artemis of the Lake, a girl to a girl (or – according to another translation – a virgin to a virgin), as is fit. You Daughter of Leto, hold your hand over the child Timarete, and protect the pure girl in a pure way.

According to Calame «all the objects dedicated by Timarete are thus associated with adolescence. Their dedication to Artemis signifies for the young girl the end of the period that they symbolize and at the same time probably the transition to adulthood through marriage».¹²

¹ DAWKINS 1929, 239, pls. CLXVI, 5, CLXVII, A; Papadopoulou 2004a, 354, no. 75, fig. 75.

² DAWKINS 1929, 236-237, pls. CLXI, 1-6, CLXII, 1-8; WOODWARD 1929, 370, pls. CLXI, CLXII; BRULOTTE 1994, 215; PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 354, no. 76, fig. 76.

³ WACE 1929, 279, 282, pl. CC/24-28; BOSS 2000, 139-140, 174, fig. 106; LIVERI 2013, 1101-1102.

⁴ WACE 1929, 258, pl. CLXXX/19.

⁵ LIVERI 2013, 1100-1101, figs. 7-8.

⁶ WACE 1929, 269, 276, 280-281, fig. 120c, pls. CLXXXIII, 18-20, CLXXXIX, 7, 10-11, CXCv, 42 (lyra players); fig. 126j, pls. CLXXXIII, 21-22, 24, 27-28; CLXXXIX, 6, 8-9, 13-15, CXCv, 43, 45, CXCvi, 19, 20-22, 24 (*aulos* players); pl. CXCv, 44 (a female cymbal player); BOSS 2000, 72-75, pls. 61, 62 and musicians, 75-78, pls. 63-64; PAPADOPOULOU 2004b, 363, nos. 165-167; LIVERI 2013, 1101-1102. For the worship of *Orthia*, see CALAME 2001, 156-169.

⁷ BRULOTTE 1994, 29, 132, 144-145, 149-152, 185-187, 234-239; CALAME 2001, 142-145.

⁸ BRULOTTE 1994, 234-239; CALAME 2001, 149.

⁹ BRULOTTE 1994, 185-187, no. 158; he mentions the sanctuary of Artemis *Issoria/Limnaia/Limnatis* near Sparta, the cymbal of *Prianthis* and another with the dedication *Limnatis*; Brulotte (234-239) mentions the sanctuary of Artemis *Limnatis* at the border of Messenia and Laconia and in (238) the cymbal with the dedication of *Oporis*. See LIVERI 2013, 1099-1100, fig. 6 with more details. According to recent information by Dr. Norbert Franken, whom I would like to thank, these cymbals are in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and they never kept in the Antikensammlung in Berlin.

¹⁰ CALAME 2001, 145, 148-149; ZSCHÄTZSCH 2002, 66; PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 377-378, no. 1415.

¹¹ AP, 6, 280. Oakley-Sinos 1993, 14. See other prenuptial dedications in LIVERI 2014, 195-197.

¹² CALAME 2001, 145.

In the rural sanctuary of Artemis at Aigies of Laconia, near Gytheion, another bronze cymbal in the shape of a small shield and two lead miniature models of cymbals were found (after 6th c. BCE).¹ With the sanctuary of Artemis *Knakeatis* south of Tegea, is linked a bronze *phorminx*-shaped plaque (FIG. 7), similar to the Alea ones mentioned above and dated in the Geometric period, but fully preserved and larger than the Tegeatic dedications.²

The two following examples are linked with the cult of Demeter and Kore. A bronze cymbal found in ancient Melpia, in Arcadia, is linked to Kore because of its dedicatory inscription: «KAMO ANEΘEΣE TAI KOPAI (Kamo dedicated it to Kore)» (500-480 BCE).³ However, it is not certain whether it was found in a sanctuary or in a grave. We cannot identify the sanctuary either. In the region of Thelpousa in Arcadia there were two sanctuaries of Demeter: one honoring Demeter *Erinyis* and Demeter *Lousia* and one honoring Demeter Eleusinia, Kore, and Dionysos.⁴ Maybe we can link the dedication with the sanctuary of *Despoina* at Lycosoura,⁵ the most important sanctuary dedicated to *Despoina*, who was identified with Kore, near the location where this cymbal was found. In Lycosoura Demeter and Kore were worshipped as the main goddesses; Artemis and Anytos were also celebrated. In the sanctuary mysteries including *dromena*, cult rites with music and dances with masks, also took place, as suggested by figurines and representations of similar figures on the fragmentary garments of the goddess' marble statue, dating from the early 2nd c. BCE.⁶

The second example comes from the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos on Crete, where have been excavated some copper discs that Coldstream identified as miniature cymbals or tambourines, similar to the real instruments used during the feasts (*pannychides*) in honor of the goddesses (4th-3rd c. BCE / late Hellenistic period).⁷ However, this interpretation is not certain, because these finds could also be belt or amulet accessories.

Musical dedications to Hera have been found only in *Heraia* in the Peloponnese and on Delos. From the *Heraion* at Perachora in Corinth originate ivory pegs (probably end of 6th c. BCE) and a very important group of *auloi* fragments (probably before 480 BCE).⁸ In the Argive *Heraion* were found bronze cymbals without inscriptions and part of an ivory peg (later 5th c. BCE).⁹ In the Delian *Heraion* were found three terracot-

¹ BONIAS 1998, 99, 110-114, 211-212, 217, no. 547. ΜΓ 695 (a bronze cymbal), 581-582 (miniature lead cymbals), pls. 62-63; PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 378, no. 1423; LIVERI 2013, 1100.

² ROMAÏOS 1952, 26, fig. 20A; VOYATZIS 1990, 201-202, 339, no. B 202(M), pl. 144; PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 354-355, no. 78. Compare a small bronze lyre found in Amyklaion as dedication to Apollo: here n. 20. Scholars disagree about the identification of the site: «Jost and Pritchett suggested the existence of two Artemisia, one of which is omitted in Pausanias' description». See JOST 1985, 159-164; BRULOTTE 1994, 66-69.

³ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 353, no. 68, fig. Gr. 68 in 81; PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 378, no. 1421; LIVERI 2013, 1095, fig. 4. ⁴ JOST 1985, 301-312.

⁵ JOST 1985, 326-337. Compare dedications to *Despoina* at Lycosoura in PATERA 2012, 156-162.

⁶ JOST 1984, 331-333; KALTSAS 2007, 365, no. 1737.

⁷ COLDSTREAM 1973, 143-145, nos. 98-114, pl. 89; PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 377; LIVERI 2013, 1095-1096.

⁸ DUNBABIN 1962, 445-451, nos. A 357-373 (pegs), nos. A 387-A 393 (perhaps *auloi* fragments), nos. A 394-A 432 (*auloi* fragments), fig. 29, pls. 189-190; BAUMBACH 2004, 29, fig. 2.37 (for the worship of Hera in Perachora and the dedications, see 17-49; PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 353-354, nos. 74, 76. Compare pegs in ANDRIKOU *et al.* 2003, 164-165, nos. 54-55.

⁹ WALDSTEIN 1905, 299, nos. 2258-2261 (cymbals), 2264 (a peg?), pls. CXXVI-CXXVII; Papadopoulou 2004a, 353, no. 74 (fragment of a peg?). LIVERI 2013, 1097 (cymbals). For the cult of Hera and the votive offerings to Argive *Heraion*, compare BAUMBACH 2004, 79-104. For the cult of Hera and the dedications to her generally, see BAUMBACH 2009, 205-220.

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ta vases in the form of pomegranates with painted decoration, which could be identified as rattles (Geometric period/end of the 8th c. BCE) (FIG. 8).¹ It is worth noting that the pomegranate tree and fruit were also linked with Hera, the «tutelary goddess of marriage», as symbols of fertility. For example, her cult statue in Argos, made by Polykleitos, held a scepter in one hand ~~the~~ and a pomegranate in the other; the reliefs plates of small fibulae from *Heraia* in Perachora and Argos represent a couple identified as Hera and Zeus, where the goddess holds a pomegranate in her left hand.² We could agree with Baumann's interpretation that probably this representation of the *Hieros Gamos* (sacred wedding) served as a model for human marriages and expressed a couple's wish for numerous offspring. Plastic vases shaped like pomegranates were also found in other sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of Athena Lindia. However, the identification is not certain, since they could also be rattles.³ Additionally, in the sanctuaries of Athena Alea at Tegea, Artemis in Lousoi, Mavriki and other sites outside of Arcadia bronze pendants shaped as pomegranates were found as votive offerings, indicating that these goddesses were also worshipped as fertility and vegetation deities; this aspect is reflected in numerous other early votives as well.⁴

Musical instruments and their miniature models as dedications were not found in sanctuaries of other main female deities, as far as I know.

Additionally, the *Anthologia Palatina*⁵ mentions that two sisters, Melo and Satyra, daughters of Antigeneides, dedicated their musical instruments to the Pimpleian Muses, as thank offerings for their advanced age: Melo dedicated her *auloi* and her wooden *aulos*-case, Satyra her wax-joined pipe. Pausanias⁶ informs us that an anonymous shepherd dedicated the *auloi* of Marsyas in the sanctuary of *Peitho* at Corinth.⁷

Other great goddesses of the Greek religious pantheon such as Rhea, the Great Mother, the Mother of the Gods or Cybele, Aphrodite, and later, in the Hellenistic period, Isis were associated with music. The *Anthologia Palatina*⁸ also mentions the dedicant Alexis, but not the location of Rhea's sanctuary, where he offered his cymbals, his *auloi*, and his *tympana* and prayed to her to be wealthy for the rest of his life:⁹

Be kind, O Queen, and give rest in his old age from his former wildness to him who went mad in his youth.

The same literary source¹⁰ mentions the dedicant Klytosthenes and his dedications to Rhea, *tympana* and cymbals (κοιλοχέλεια).¹¹ However, although there are depictions that associated the above mentioned goddesses with music, dedications of musical instruments or their miniature models were not found in their sanctuaries in Ancient Greece. Aphrodite is represented with *tympanon*, *kithara*, or 'Apulian sistrum' mostly on south Italian vase paintings and probably on a terracotta altar in J. Paul Getty Mu-

¹ Museum of Delos, nos. B6049, B6050, B6051. DUGAS 1928, 16, 25, 59, nos. 9 (B 6.051), 10 (B 6.052), 40 (B 6.049), 126 (B 6.050), pls. VII.C, XXXVII C; PLASSART 1928, 168, fig. 128; ZAPHEIROPOULOU 1998, 30, 33, 243, no. 9; CHATZIDAKIS 2004, 346, 439, pl. 672.

² BAUMBACH 2004, 31, fig. 2.42 (Perachora); 87, fig. 4.32 (Argos).

³ BLINKENBERG 1931, 587-588, nos. 2441-2443, pl. 114.

⁴ VOYATZIS 1990, 177, 184-187, nos. B126-B146, pls. 110-114.

⁵ AP, 5, 206. PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 351, no. 47.

⁷ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 351, no. 50; compare no. 40.

⁹ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 352, no. 51.

¹¹ PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 377, no. 1412.

⁶ 2. 7. 9.

⁸ AP, 6 51.

¹⁰ AP, 6 94, 1-2; 6-7.

seum.¹ According to the *Homeric Hymn*² and to Euripides,³ the cult of Great Mother, Mother of Gods and mortals, or Cybele, included orgiastic rituals with sounds of *auloi*, *krotala*, *tympana*, and *kymbala*.⁴ The goddess is represented in various artistic works, mostly on reliefs, either alone holding a *tympanon* or with her consort Attis, her companions the Corybantes, or with other deities.⁵ Attis is dancing or playing music with a *tympanon*, *syrix*, pipes or another musical instrument; the Corybantes are playing *tympana* or cymbals. According to *Anthologia Palatina*⁶ the priest of Cybele dedicated her *tympana* and cymbals.⁷ Similar dedications are mentioned by Ovid.⁸ The worshippers dedicated numerous dancer figurines to Cybele, and to the Nymphs and Charites as well.

Isis was an Egyptian goddess, adopted by the Greeks in the Hellenistic period; especially from the beginning of the 3rd c. BCE her cult and her sanctuaries, *Iseia*, had spread all over the Greek world. Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis and Tyche were the primary deities, with whom Isis was identified in Greece. She was also assimilated with Cybele. Isis is associated with the *sistrum*; the goddess holds this percussion instrument in many representations alone or with other companions (e.g. in statues, reliefs and coins).⁹ However, as far as I know, *sistra* were not found in Isis' sanctuaries in Greece, but in worshippers' graves.¹⁰

The objects mentioned above are certainly identified as votive offerings, whether they are accompanied by a votive inscription or represent miniature models of musical instruments. In other cases, we can interpret them as cultic equipment or as objects used by worshippers during feasts or rituals for the honored deity. Despite the numerous sanctuaries of all the above mentioned goddesses in Metropolitan Greece, only a small number of musical instruments as votive offerings are preserved. The larger group, in terms of numbers and variety, is that found in the sanctuaries of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens, followed by those in the sanctuaries of Artemis *Orthia* and *Limnatis* in the Peloponnese. The Athenian dedications are the most elaborate and expensive, made of ivory and, occasionally overlaid with gold-leaf; the instruments are mostly made of bronze, wood, or lead.

We can only hypothesise about the social and economic status of the dedicants. These offerings are not expensive (except those made of precious materials) compared with other votive offerings to the deities, such as statues, altars, or temples, that also show perhaps a change in the worship practices and in the anathetes' aesthetics

aesthetics

¹ SALAPATA 2002, 415-421, figs. 2, 7-8 (proposing an identification of the dancing women with nymphs or women who celebrated the Adonia); ZSCHÄTSCH 2002, 73-77 (this latter author is more for Aphrodite).

² *HH*, 14.

³ *Hel.*, 1308; 1339-1352.

⁴ PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 351, no. 37.

⁵ ROLLER 1994, pl. 56b; MITROPOULOU 1996, 139-142, 149, 151-155, figs. 3-4; ANDRIKOU *et al.* 2003, 214-215, nos. 99-100. See e.g. VERMASEREN and DE BOER 1986, 39-43; LINDNER 1997, 737-738, nos. 5-12; SIMON 1997, 750, 752-753, 763-766, nos. 17-20, 22, 24, 32, 33, 35, 37-38, 41, 128-131.

⁶ *AP*, 6 234, 3-5.

⁷ PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 378, no. 1414.

⁸ *Fast.*, 4, 211-214. PALAIOKRASSA 2005, 378, no. 1416.

⁹ For the cult of Isis in Greece, see DUNAND 1973; DUNAND 2000. Isis with *sistrum* or other attributes: DUNAND 1973, pls. III-VIII; TINH 1990, 766-767, 791-796, nos. 27-43.

¹⁰ ANDRIKOU *et al.* 2003, 183-185, nos. 74-75; KALTSAS 2007, 437, no. X7480. On *sistra* as dedications, see the contribution of Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeyer in the present volume.

in their dialogue with the goddess.¹ They are private dedications, made by both genders. However, during the Archaic period female dedicators were more numerous than men. An individual, usually a woman, and not a group, a family, or a *polis* dedicated musical instruments and their miniature models to the deities. In the case of an inscription, the dedicants use the same stereotypical dedication formulae, giving their name and the name of the deity. We do not know the purposes and the rites of the dedication; we can only make suggestions, according to the cult's aspects and features: e.g. the goddess as protectress of marriage, fertility, pregnancy, childhood, and growing up (*kourotrophos*). Some of these features are common for all goddesses. Musical instruments are also used in the cult. For example, they accompanied sacrifices, religious songs, and dances; some of them are linked with rites of passage, including musical contests as part of the girls' and boys' education. Such musical dedications maybe expressed the transition from childhood to adulthood, or they were prenuptial gifts to the goddess. Thus, the worshippers demonstratively recognised their own weakness and the power of the goddess; they made a dedication to express their faith or gratitude for something that happened or to ask for protection.

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FIG. 1. Bronze cymbal with inscription from the Akropolis of Athens.
(National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. X 17525, by F. Falalis.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund).

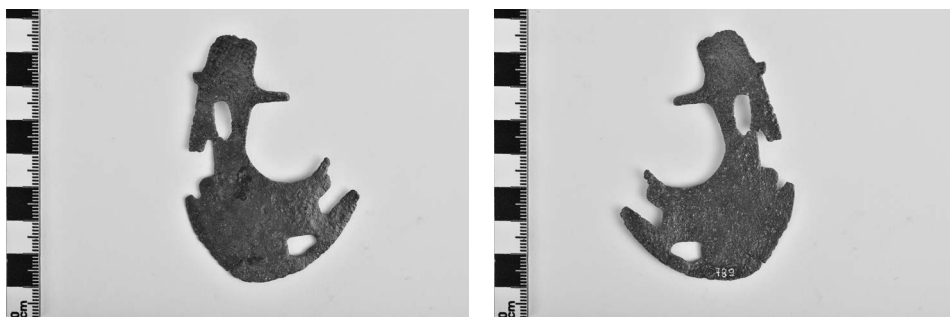


FIG. 2a-b. A thin bronze plaque in the shape of stylized miniature *phorminx* or lyre from the sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea: surface and backside
(Archaeological Museum of Tegea, no. 789.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia).



FIG. 3a-b. A thin bronze plaque in the shape of stylized miniature *phorminx* or lyre from the sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea: surface and backside (Archaeological Museum of Tegea, no. 790.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia).



FIG. 4a-d. Plektra from the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* in Sparta (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, nos. A15808, A 15806, A 15805, A15807, by Eι. Miari.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund).



FIG. 5. Fragment of an *aulos* with the inscription TAI FOPΘA[IAI] (?) (to *Orthia*) (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. A 15343, by Eι. Galanopoulos
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund).



FIG. 6. Fragment of an *aulos* with the inscription ΑΧΡΑΔΑΤΟΣ (*Achradatos*) (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. A 15342, by El. Galanopoulos © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund).



FIG. 7. A thin bronze plaque in the shape of stylized miniature *phorminx* or lyre from the sanctuary of Artemis *Knakeatis* in Mavriki, south of Tegea (Archaeological Museum of Tegea, no. 788. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia).



FIG. 8. A terracotta pomegranate from Delian *Heraion*. Archaeological Museum of Delos, no. B06051. (from Chatzidakis 2004, pl. 672. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Kyklades).

ON THE EFFICACY OF *AULOS*
PLAYING IN GREEK CULT:
HIGHLIGHTING THE KOKKINOVRYSI
VOTIVE GROUPS

JENNY HÖGSTRÖM BERNTSON
ERIKA LINDGREN LILJENSTOLPE

INTRODUCTION

THIS article draws attention to *auloi* playing in a ritual setting as viewed through the lens of votive gifts. The material in focus is the terracotta figurine groups from the small shrine at Kokkinovrysi in Corinth, portraying dance groups that include *auloi* players. Studies on attitudes towards music playing in ancient societies have shown that a variety of ideas existed on how women and men should and should not play music. Diverse ideas could exist side by side and differed due to time and context, often with a strong connection to aspects of gender and status.¹ In cultic contexts *auloi* playing appears in several forms in visual media, often in group scenes where the *aulos* is played by the *choregos* leading a group of dancers.²

Both men and women could function as cult musicians (but probably not in the same cult).³ However, different opinions regarding women's *aulos* playing existed side by side, and women musicians, in particular during the 4th c. BCE, were in the few literary sources sometimes associated with prostitutes entertaining at symposia.⁴ This partly had to do with the form and constitution of the instrument itself, with reference to its phallic symbolism.⁵ In ancient Greece, the erotic associations of *auloi* are found in Dionysian contexts. It has been suggested that, in Greek vase-paintings in particular, the painters drew parallels between the *aulos* and the male erect penis. Satyrs were often depicted as playing *auloi*, and a common motif is the *auloi* playing satyr, sometimes with the instrument-case hanging from its phallus.⁶ From Delos, however, beginning in 250 BCE, we have lists of female *auletrides*, the musicians of the dancing choir,⁷ while the iconographic and figurative examples

¹ FLEURY 2014; NORDQUIST 2014; LINDGREN LILJENSTOLPE 2015.

² See for example the Attic white ground *phiale* attributed to the Painter of London D12 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 65.908, Edwin E. Jack Fund). That *aulos* playing was treated differently due to the nature of the ritual it was part of has also been highlighted recently, see for example FLEURY 2014.

³ NORDQUIST 1992, 162, looking at offering scenes in particular.

⁴ Aristoph. *Vesp.*, 1345-1365; *Men. Pk.* That the *aulos* is portrayed in a more complex way in iconography than in some literary texts has been noticed for example in MARTIN 2003; BUNDRICK 2005, 13, 35-42.

⁵ Further reading about *auletrides* and their roles both as musicians during dinner parties and as offering sexual services is to be found in ROCCONI 2006; MOORE 2012, 31-32. Regarding women's associations with certain instruments in relation to sex-symbolism, see DOUBLEDAY 2008.

⁶ LISSARRAGUE 2013, 150.

⁷ NORDQUIST 1994, 88. Female *auletrides* were to be found in the temple of Athena Nikephoros in Pergamon and at the mystery cult in Phanagoria. However, it seems as if women not only played the

of female *auletrides* are many and come from several religious contexts and time periods.¹

The aim in this article is to problematize aspects of gender and ritual performance displayed in the votive gifts. Additionally, the objective is to focus on the importance of music in cult and its impact in a specific ritual setting. With attention to the seemingly ‘non-gendered’ iconography of these specific votive groups from the Kokkinovrysi shrine, it is here suggested that gender in this case was of subordinate function in the iconographic language of these figurines. Instead the music and the communal act of dancing, as a means to please the gods and strengthen fellowship, seems to have had an enhanced function.

CONTEXTUALISING THE VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The Kokkinovrysi shrine is located outside the city walls of ancient Corinth. It is a small shrine, resting on a terrace, with a spring on the hillside 70 m to the east of the site.² The site has been defined by Theodora Kopestonsky as a stele shrine dedicated to the Nymphs due to both archaeological and literary evidence, with its most active period from the end of the 5th to the 4th c. BCE.³ The votive offerings have been found in two major deposits, most of the votives in a primary deposit around the stele. Additionally, some stray figurines were retrieved from mixed layers north of the stele. The deposits contained mainly hand-made circle dancers with *aulos* players, mould-made standing female figurines and zoomorphic figurines (birds and dogs). Of all votive types, the dancing groups were the most common (FIG. 1), and based on the number of *aulos* players, at least 127 groups have been identified.⁴

Kopestonsky suggests that the figures of the dancing groups are female, indicated by the combination of the *polos* and the cylindrical standing body.⁵ However, the interpretation of the headdress as a *polos* could be questioned, and the cylindrical body does not have to be indicative of female figures.⁶ This does not, however, mean that the groups cannot be interpreted as women. Given that the full votive material from the site indicates a strong preference for female figures and ‘feminine’ cult parapher-

aulos in relation to their cult musicianship: in a law from the 3rd c. BCE from Dyme in Achaia, we are told that women at the Demeter festival were forbidden to play the *aulos*, probably more in general terms, and here it is an activity listed among luxury items that women were not allowed to wear, such as gilded clothes. To what kind of women this is directed – cult musicians or visiting women – is not specified (SOKOLOWSKI 1962, 71-72, no. 33; BELLIA 2009, 161; GOLDMAN 2015, 5).

¹ BUNDRICK 2005, 34-42, 150-160. About *aulos* playing in the Hera cult (literary evidence), see Haldane 1996, 99. See also the contribution of Angeliki Liveri on the present volume.

² KOPESTONSKY 2016, 722.

³ KOPESTONSKY 2009, 6, 60-61; KOPESTONSKY 2016. The shrine had its active period from ca. 700 BCE, and pottery attests to activity in the area to ca. 300 BCE when the shrine was closed down (KOPESTONSKY 2009, 25-35). The site saw some activity during the Roman period, but no specific cult activity can be detected (KOPESTONSKY 2009, 35-40).

⁴ If the total is counted according to the number of dancers found, it could have been as many groups as 179, if each group consisted of 4 dancers. If counted with 5 dancers per group, the number of groups would be 143. See KOPESTONSKY 2009, 80-82.

⁵ KOPESTONSKY 2009, 85.

⁶ For examples of male cylindrical bodies, see the figurine groups with dancers from Ayia Irini (inv.no. A.I. 1693+2083), where all the figurines are roughly shaped, with solid cylindrical bodies, the female figurines with breasts and the male with turban-shaped headdresses: KARAGEORGHIS 1995, 132, pl. LXXVIII, 1. See also: <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3204869>.



nalìa,¹ and due to the many other known forms of female cultic dance performances,² the interpretation is valid. The dancing groups have been interpreted as representing worshippers and/or nymphs, and the abundant number of votive offerings regarded as demonstrating the importance of cyclical dance at the shrine.³

The gender indicators in the Kokkinovrysi votive groups can be described as discreet, and the groups even as 'non-gendered'. Compared to the other figurine material from the votive deposits, these groups lack iconographic gender indicators like breasts, female clothing and jewelry. The standing female figurines from the same site show instead clear gendered iconography in clothing, all figurines wearing the high *polos* and *chiton*, and portrayed with visible breasts.⁴ Even compared to other votive dancing groups from other sites, the Kokkinovrysi examples can be perceived as 'non-gendered' in their iconography.⁵

How is it that the dancing groups from the Kokkinovrysi shrine strike viewers as 'non-gendered' in their iconographic language compared to other figurines from the site and other examples of dancing groups? Was the interpretation of the figures so obvious to viewers and visitors to the site in the Classical period that this was unnecessary? Was the setting of the figurines in this specific cult place self-explanatory, so to speak?⁶ Or was it perhaps rather the ritual itself that was of interest and not the specific gender of the figurines? Alternatively, could the visual impact of unity and fellowship displayed in the votive groups with women dancing close together, surrounded by *aulos* music, be the key to understanding the efficacy these votive groups display? We shall return to these questions below.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE *AULOS* IN ITS SITUATIONAL SETTING

Musical performance can be described as a cultural phenomenon and musical topoi as comprising cultural associations. Many of these topoi carry emotional connec-

¹ Kopestonsky (2009, 121, nos. 205-207) argues that there are only three examples of male figurines in the whole of the votive material from the site. Also, male figurines are rare among the votive offerings from the sanctuary to Demeter and Kore at Corinth, where fewer than fifty figurines dating from Classical to Hellenistic periods were found among the thousands of figurines excavated at the site (MERKER 2000, 334. See also, KOPESTONSKY 2009, 121, n. 346).

² SOAR 2010.

³ KOPESTONSKY 2009, 228. We do not raise the question about the receiving deity here, but focus instead on issues of the function, attitudes to, and role of the *aulos* in these votive offerings. The nymphs were also followers of Dionysos. An interesting aspect, which will be developed elsewhere, is that Solon, Pindar and Aristotle all write about the well-known composer and *kithara* player Arion from Lesbos (Hdt., 1, 23-24, 1), who lived in the 7th c. BCE. It is said that he spent most of his life in Corinth, where he invented and taught the dithyramb to the choruses, the choral hymns with their circular dances performed in honor of Dionysos (ANDERSSON 1994, 71). For Arion, see also WEST 1992, 339.

⁴ KOPESTONSKY 2009, 100-106, nos. 103-141.

⁵ PASQUIER 1977, 371, fig. 8; PEDLEY 1990, 72, fig. 42.

⁶ See BELLIA 2016, 193. The actual shape and manufacture of these specific votive gifts are very interesting. How is it that they were produced and chosen, when the other votive gifts show another level of 'beauty' and a 'better-formed' mould produced gifts with clearer gender iconography? In a similar manner to the way music, movements, and smells can remind you of a ritual performance, the material and form of the votive offering itself – how it is shaped, of what material, how it feels, can be of importance in several ways and on different levels; partly tactile experience, appearance, partly ritual/cultural ideas on how (and why) the votive offering would be made in a special way. It may be related to the design, manufacture and appearance in an old tradition and may be part of the explanation for the choice of dance groups as worshippers given other, 'more beautiful' figurines.

tions, for example military music that is often associated with glory, honour, and patriotism, or melodic, slow-tempo music in the minor that could be associated with perhaps broken love and sadness or other emotional states.¹ Music has a capacity to evoke associations of both musical and social nature. Music also has an ability to raise emotions, conjure up feelings of communality and give a certain amount of ‘we-sense’.² The music thus enhances the iconographic language in these votive groups, lifting the perception of we-sense displayed in the dance groups.

Factors that influence musical emotions can be many; musical factors, individual factors and situational factors.³ Several situational factors for music can be observed in our material and its context: physical, social, performance conditions, special occasions and circumstances. It is here suggested that the ritual can be interpreted as its own ‘situational setting’ – a situational setting where physical action and closeness are important and have an impact on the social group(s) involved, all enhanced by the special occasion and ritual enacted.

We suggest that since the ritual can be interpreted as its own situational setting, it would partly explain why the *aulos* could be perceived in as many ways as it was, due to its use in different situational and ritual settings. Even if *aulos* playing could sometimes have negative connotations (with regards to female entertainers), the ritual setting laid the foundation for other connotations, like severity and honour.

ON THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS OF *AULOI* IN RITUAL CONTEXTS

The functions of *aulos*-music in ritual contexts can be many. Music playing in cultic settings often had positive connotations and was a common ingredient of the ritual. The actual role of music-playing in a ritual setting was of importance for leading the dance performance,⁴ setting the mood for the participants and audience by the sound, and as part of the ritual enactment aiming at good relations with the divinities. The impact of the ritual performance was expected to have bearing on the participants, the participants’ families and the community as a whole. Ritual enactment and its paraphernalia can be seen as a ‘cultural actor’.⁵ The material remains, like votive gifts, can also be regarded as visual manifestations of dance performance, revealing symbolic implications while conveying knowledge of social relations and cultural values, as well as gender structures.⁶

Aulos-music in itself could be seen as a stimulus to emotions, mood, and physical responses, since music can make your heart beat faster, make people hold their ears, run away, and rejoice.⁷ Music can also have a therapeutic power and effects on human

¹ According to Aristotle, *auloi* were immoral just because they aroused the emotions, and should therefore preferably be used in emotional contexts such as tragic drama, but never within education, see Plat. *Rep.*, 399 c-d. BARKER 1989a, 50 and 132; BARKER 1989b, 488. ² LONG 2013, 21-40.

³ For a discussion on a theoretical framework for music and emotions, see JUSLIN 2008 (with references).

⁴ BUNDRICK 2005, 150-160.

⁵ CLARK 2009, 6-7; LONG 2013.

⁶ SOAR 2010, 149. Votive gifts can be interpreted as active objects in their function as gifts to the gods, also with the ability to reflect, form, and negotiate visual and bodily identities. On objects as secondary agents, see GELL 1998, 16.21; on religious objects as agents, see DROOGAN 2013; on objects and negotiation on identities, see MESKELL 2007. On theories that materiality and gender emphasize material remains, for example figurines, and their active role in the constitution of society, see Overholzer 2012. See also BELLIA 2016, 192.

⁷ For a discussion on emotional responses to music, see JUSLIN 2008; LÓPEZ-BERTRAN and GARCIA-VENTURA 2012, 401, for a discussion about the *aulos* as a stimulus; on the *aulos* and connections to rhythm in ritual contexts, see PAPADOPOULOU 2004.

well-being.¹ From literary sources we know that different types of *auloi* displayed variations in sound, form, and material. This led to their being used for different musical contexts. The music played on the *aulos* was often dramatic and emotional in character, the instrument and sounds known for their ability to bring forth both exaltation and lamentation.² We also find distinctions regarding gender. Athenaeus (quoting Aristoxenus, an ancient musicologist of the 4th c. BCE) distinguishes five classes of *auloi* divided into two groups of instruments, one for children and young women (maidens), the other for men.³ This points towards existing ideas regarding the sound itself as better suited to either sex. Athenaeus does not, however, seem to have looked upon the instrument as immoral, or have preferred the male sound before the female.

When studying the dancing groups today it cannot be determined what kind of *aulos* was played. Consequently, it is impossible to say anything about the sound itself in a particular context and how it affected the ritual participants. What we can say, however, is that the music that was part of the ritual – its importance proved by the numerous dancing groups – was of the kind that in its special ritual, i.e. ‘situational setting’, could affect the participants and viewers, and possibly set them in a kind of ‘ritual’ mood.

The ritual dance and music-making in honour of the gods displayed in the votive groups discussed here represent a form of organized, communal dance performance led by the *choregos*.⁴ The Kokkinovrysi dance groups themselves display a closeness of the dancers, joined by clasping arms and all facing the central *auletris*. The unity of the group is enhanced by the dancers being close together as ‘one body’, their common movement, connected in breathing and rhythm. In the centre of this is the *auletris*, leading them onwards and being the cohesive link for the whole ritual action. Inevitably, as noticed before, even if *aulos* playing could have negative connotations in certain settings it might have completely different connotations in others due to ‘situational factors’, such as the ritual and its forms. The multitude of dance groups from the Kokkinovrysi shrine seem to indicate a strong importance of communal ritual acts, remembered in these votive gifts (FIG. 2).

¹ KRAUSE, DAVIDSON, and NORTH 2018.

² See Plat. *Rep.*, 399 c-d; Arist. *pol.*, 1341a; Aristid. *Quint.*, 2, 16 regarding the character of the instrument. BARKER 1989b, 15; WEST 1992, 81-85; HAGEL 2010, who offer substantial analyses and discussions on the *auloi*.

³ Athen., 4, 176e-182e. According to Julius Pollux (2nd c. BCE), the «maiden-pipes» accompanied the choral songs of maidens, and the «child-pipes» songs of boys. The «extra-complete» *auloi* accompanied choruses of men, while the ‘complete’ were used for soloists and to accompany *paean*s (ritual songs addressed above all to Apollo) (Athen., 14, 634e-f; Pollux, 4, 81). Aristides Quintilianus (*De musica*, 2, 16), writing in the 3rd c. or later, categorizes the Phrygian *aulos* as feminine, due to its mournful and threnodic sound; the choric *aulos* was also feminine since it easily reached a high pitch, and the Pythian *aulos* was considered a masculine instrument due to its [deep?] sound. The Pythian *aulos* was used to accompany Pythian *nomoi*, i.e. traditional melodic settings of epic texts, and *paean*s, hymns of gratitude or victory, often addressed to Apollo. The choric *aulos* accompanied dithyrambs, songs connected with the cult of Dionysos but also with Apollo, performed in a circle and sometimes danced (BARKER 1989b, 59). However, it is important to remember that these theorists are writing during the Roman period and might not be representative of attitudes towards *aulos* playing in the 4th c. BCE, even if the authors base their theories on earlier writers.

⁴ We are aware that iconographic representations of dance cannot show the actual movements and forms of the dance (NAEREBOUT 1997), but the phenomenon of ritual group dances and similarities in the iconographic language of their representations is still palpable (SOAR 2010).

THE EFFICACY OF RITUAL PERFORMANCE

The Kokkinovrysi votive gifts are intriguing when it comes to their 'asexual' iconography. Yet, the non-gendered iconography may, as proposed here, be indicative of another important aspect displayed in these votive groups: the communal act of ritual music-playing and dancing. The large number of votive offerings can be interpreted as a reflection of an important ritual taking place at the site, while the visual representation of the ritual actors shows that *aulos* playing, with the musician centrally positioned in the ritual formation, was of utmost importance in this context.

It can be concluded that even though the sex of the performers, as far as the iconography is concerned, is in this case more gender neutral, the setting and the cultic paraphernalia are indicative of female dance and *aulos* playing. Music played a key role in this ritual context, as a natural and supposedly even necessary part of people's attempt to reach the divine sphere to ensure blessings. In this ritual context, the female *auletris* had a vital role with positive connotations. The votive groups with dancers and *auletrides* only hint at the social, musical and ritual entanglements of which these votive gifts were a part. Some of the possible effects connected to the votive gifts are shown in Fig. 3.

The objects themselves and the efficacy of giving were an important part of religious performance at the shrine. The music and dance performance, and the gift reflecting this performance, affected both the cult participants and presumably – the receiving gods, all having bearing on the society as a whole.¹ The votive objects are also imperative for us today, when we try to examine and understand the ancient religious rituals. As the objects can be studied as reflections of gendered action and culturally formed ideas and expressions, these material remains of devotion are still powerful meaning-bearers.

CONCLUSION

It has been highlighted here that music and dance functioned as a cultural expression and an emotional trigger in its situational setting. The power of music is reflected in the actual material objects left for the divinities at the shrine and in the long run viewed and studied by museum visitors and scholars, echoing music and dance from ancient times. As has been shown, music in ritual should not be dismissed as something peripheral or unimportant; it has a significant function in leading the ritual, keeping the right pace and setting the participants in the proper mood (or emotion) for a successful ritual enactment. In these votive groups the iconographic language enhances the central position of the *auletris* and implies that she holds a core role in the ritual act. This suggests that due to the specific situational factors, in this cultic context, *aulos* playing constituted an imperative part of people's ritual enactment, experience and personal life.

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¹ OSBORNE 2004, 2, 5; VAN STRATEN 1981; VAN STRATEN 1995, 173-188, 192.

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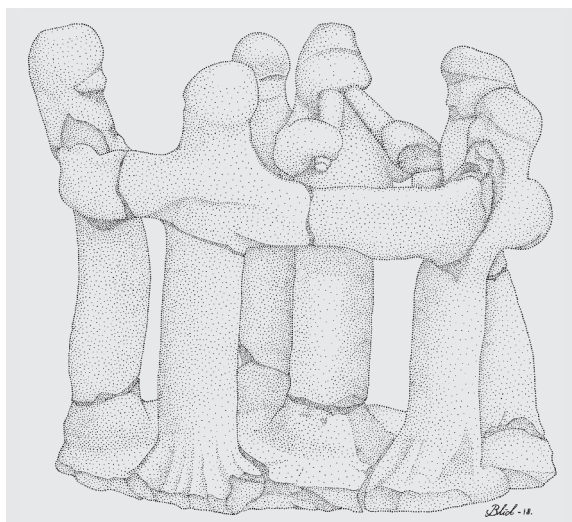


FIG. 1. Drawing of votive group from Kokkinovrysi shrine by Jesper Blid (from Kopestonsky 2016, 726).



FIG. 2. Terracotta figurines of female dancers from the Kokkinovrysi shrine

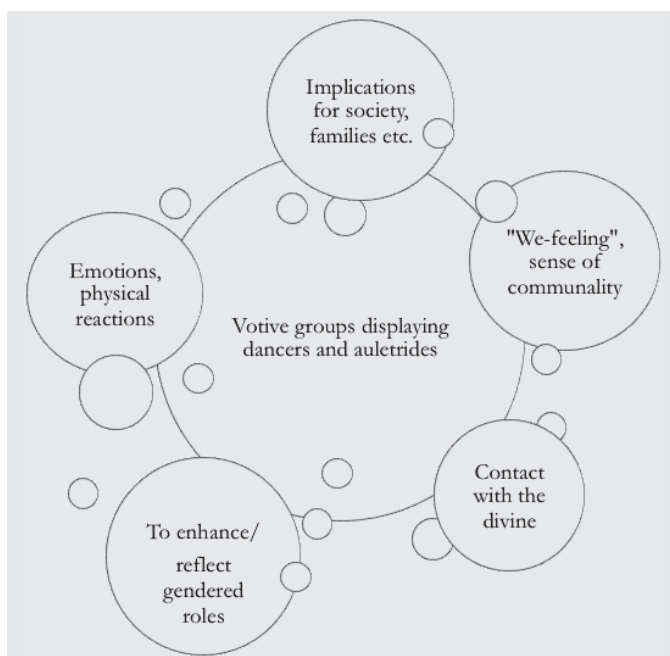


FIG. 3. Figure exploring the efficacy of the votive groups. Different effects of the votive gifts are highlighted in the large circles. The smaller circles are un-defined but imply other effects and possible sub-effects of the votive gifts. The figure is meant to denote movement and variations depending on, for example, situational factors.

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«THIS RHOPTRON I WILL NEVER TOUCH AGAIN»,
OR WHEN WOMEN IN TRANSITION CONSECRATED
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

ELEONORA COLANGELO

IN an early *Life* of Pindar, it is said that ^{when} the poet was questioned at Delphi about what he was bringing for the sacrifice, he answered «a paeon», or «offerings without smoke signals» according to Eustathius' commentary on the text.¹ This anecdote dramatises a cultural phenomenon that characterises the ritual ceremony as «symbolically regulated performance»,² i.e. the status of the musical piece as a votive offering for the gods. Several epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, as well as sacral inventories and archaeological finds, reveal that consecrated instruments need to be interpreted as a peculiar manifestation of this *modus sacrificandi*.

If literary and material culture preserve the memory of such a votive practice, it is still arduous to decode the logic behind of this kind of consecration. One may interpret it as a symbolic attempt by worshippers «to give a more lasting effect to their musical performance»,³ thus reducing the whole *quaestio* to a musico-centric perspective at the expense of the subjective one. At the same time, it would be quietly syllogistic to analyse such a devotional practice through the *clivage* determined by a gendered axis.⁴ In this respect, Harris' model of an Athenian 'gender distinction', in which women consecrated mirrors whereas men dedicated weapons,⁵ can be considered as largely outdated,⁶ as well as Dillon's dichotomy between an 'interior' and 'exterior' female piety after 450 BCE.⁷ Contrarily, the vertical theory of 'emanation' advanced by Prêtre could be extremely pertinent to our enquiry. In fact, a great part of the texts show that votive practices were activated firstly by a personal relationship between the object and the donor, and secondly by their double effects on the exchange between the deity and the woman.⁸

That said, the first part of the paper will discuss the presence of votive musical instruments in non-epigrammatic texts. The second part will approach several cases of the female consecration of musical instruments in the epigrams and in some inscriptions from Athens and Delos, occasionally comparing these with archaeolog-

¹ *Sch.* ad Pind., 1, 3, 18-19 and 3, 302, 13-16 Drachmann (= Eust. *Preludium to Pindar's Works*, 31, 5). Similarly, Herod. *Mim.*, 4 describes how two women entered a temple of Asklepios bringing their dedication, namely Kynno's oral performance in front of the statues of the gods at ll.18-113. For a cursory comparison between this text and the Archelaos relief in the British Museum, see CHANIOTIS 2009; cf. also NEWBY 2006.

² WHITEHOUSE 1996, 930.

³ *Sic* in PAPADOPOULOU 2004a, 349. Cf. also the first remarks in PARKER 1998 about the votive exchange in the literary sources.

⁴ See PRÊTRE 2009, 27 in particular.

⁵ E.g. the male *περισκελίδες* of the sacred inventories in Delos, attributed erroneously to women following Plut. *Coniugalia Precepta*, 142.

⁶ HARRIS 1995, 236-237.

⁷ DILLON 2002, 18-19. Cf. KRON 1996, 140. *Contra*, NATSINA 2012, 249 for the votive epigrams.

⁸ Cf. AP, 6 165, 3 as an excellent example of this triadic sociogram. See PRÊTRE 2009, 16 with further theoretical *caveat*.



ical finds. The same section will focus on the ῥόπτρον as an instrument fluctuating between Dionysus' and Aphrodite's realms. The third part of the paper will finally move to the vocabulary used to designate musical instruments as special ἀναθήματα, acting as competitors of the κόσμος in cultural contexts. This last section will finally allow us to draw some conclusions on: a) the female consecration of musical instruments as a transitional act; b) the peculiar status of female consecration from a lexical point of view; and c) the symbolic interferences between musical instruments and other votive gifts.

PRESERVING THE OFFERINGS AND THE OFFERER:
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AS PERSONAL PROSTHESIS

Several personal issues intervened in consecrating musical instruments, such as the end of career because of age, a wish to preserve and protect, a request for health and tranquillity,¹ transition or the ambition to participate successfully in a contest.² Musical instruments as votive gifts can equally act as a sort of substitution of the rite in the transactional communication between men and gods.³ Ibycus exalted his music by dedicating his lyre to Apollo, as did Anacreon with his lyre and Stesichorus with his *phorminx* after illness and mishap.⁴ In Himerius' account, Ibycus' lyre represents a full means of self-glorification, a sort of *Doppelgänger* of his own body traversed by χάρις. A further interesting example is given by Juba's account of Alexander of Cithera, who used a large number of strings to perfect the *psalterion* and dedicated his ingenious invention in the Ephesian temple of Artemis.⁵ In that case, the *psalterion* performed its role of votive offering not because of its direct connection with poetry and inspiration, but for its scientific status of ingenious product. In several other epigrams as well, musical instrument features as the worshipper's attributive πρόσθεσις, which epitomises the donor's genius or a detached element of his *persona* to inaugurate in praxis a transitional phase. Such is the case with several epigrams dealing with female consecrations in the *Greek Anthology*.

a musical instrument

«DIONYSUS, DON'T BE ANGRY!»:

DO QUIA MUTAVI IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY EVIDENCE

Despite the silence of modern studies, the offering of musical instruments *can*, but must not, represent a pivotal fragment of the female biotic life. A large number of passages from the *Greek Anthology* show the peculiar nature of this kind of consecration when compared with its male counterpart.⁶ This complementarity is well expressed in *AP*, 6 118, where it is said that Sosis, Phila and Polycrates (one woman, two men) dedicate their instruments to Pheobus. More precisely, the archer dedicates the horn bow, the hunter his nets, *but she*, the lyrode (ἃ δὲ λυρωδός, l. 3), dedicates her

¹ Just like in the votive inscription found on a salpinx in *AP*, 6 194. Should we define this dedication as a 'retirement offering' just like the old cloak and shoes of an aged blind man in *Arist. Pl.*, 842-849?

² *AP*, 6 118.

³ Cf. GAIFMAN 2008, 86-87, who reconstructs the occasion on which the dedicated object was produced.

⁴ Ibyc. *PMGF* fr. 343 (= *Him. Or.* 69, 35-38, 244 Colonna).

⁵ Juba *FGrHist* 275 F 83 (= *Athen.* 4 183c).

⁶ The text of all selected epigrams is that of GOW and PAGE 1968, or BECKBY 1966² and PAGE 1981.

tortoise-shell lyre (τὸν χέλυον), which would have enabled her to be a supreme player (ll. 5-6).

The archaeological evidence shows that many engraved cymbals from the Archaic period were consecrated in Hera's sanctuary at Argos, in Athena's and Artemis' temples at Lindos and Lousoi.¹ Many figurines of cymbal-equipped maidens have likewise been recovered in the Laconian sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia*.² Three *realia* in particular deserve to be mentioned, since they witness the female consecration of votive instruments:³ a) two bronze cymbals from Dimitsana, now in Athens, dating from the first years of the 5th c. BCE and dedicated by Kamo to Kore;⁴ b) a bronze cymbal from 500-475 BCE offered by Lysilla to Athena, as stated by the engraved formula ΛΥΣΙΛΛΑ ΑΠΑΡΚΕΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙ;⁵ and c) some bronze cymbals from the 6th c. BCE dedicated by Prianthis to Artemis *Limnatis*,⁶ including some exemplars now in Berlin, dating from 550-525 BCE, and enshrined to the same goddess by Hoporis (ΑΙΜΝΑΤΙΣ; ΗΟΠΟΡΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΑΙΜΝΑΤΙ).⁷ In addition, a bronze mirror from the first half of the 5th c. BCE has been found in Volimos, together with other bronze accessories probably manufactured in a local atelier. Among them is the handle of a 6th c. BCE bronze mirror bearing the incised depiction of a young woman dressed in a peplos.⁸

In short, a first link between musical instruments and κομμωτικοί objects emerges in the proto-classical period, corroborated at a later stage by its fine intertextual reworking in the *Greek Anthology*. The closest example of this is given in *AP* 6 280, which quotes the practice of consecrating to Artemis *Limnatis* τὰ τύμπανα with a ball (σφαῖρα) and a hair net (κεκρύφαλος)⁹ before the marriage. This votive gift comes from Timareta, still παῖς.¹⁰ In both archaeological and literary evidence, the musical instruments are therefore viewed as particular devices which, whether in fictitious votive contexts or not, were associated with the feminine κόσμος made up of mirrors and hair nets. Informed by Pausanias of the presence of young boys dressed up as women with clothes and jewellery in the *Limnatis* sanctuary,¹¹ one might well wonder what functions musical ὄργανα and cosmetic accessories played in the same context.

To answer this question, we should now consider the concurrent element of transition. Transition can be a synonym of a professional term, as *AP*, 5 206 reveals through

¹ PAPAPOPOULOU 2004a, 353, no. 70. It seems that euergetism did not interested the phenomenon of consecration of musical instruments. On the female liberality in the votive system, see more generally SALVIAT 1959; RIGSBY 2003; SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2003; DIGNAS 2006. See also the paper of Angeliki Liveri in this volume.

² HERFORT-KOCH 1986, K 34, pl. 4, 9; K 56, pl. 7, 5-6. Cf. also ROLLEY 1984, 99, fig. 81.

³ See KOURSOUIMS 2014 for a recent survey on the sanctuary of Artemis *Limnatis*.

⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7959. Cf. JEFFERY 1990, 210, 215, no. 12, pl. 41.

⁵ Athens, Acropolis Museum 5905 (cf. *IG* I² 425 = *IG* I³ 547).

⁶ Berlin, Antikensammlung (= *IG* V 1, 226, 66. = PAPAPOPOULOU 2004b, 326, no. 234b). Cf. JEFFERY 1990, 200 no. 39.

⁷ Berlin, Antikensammlung 7458 (= *IG* V 1, 1497, PAPAPOPOULOU 2004b, 326, no. 234c). Cf. ROBERT 1969, 1682-1683; FRASER and MATTHEWS 1997, 345; GENGLER 2009, 55, fig. 2.

⁸ Archaeological Museum of Messenia M32. Many dolls holding cymbals or *krotala* have been interpreted as chorus dancers, reflecting possibly human choruses of young women. See PILZ 2009 for the hypothesis that plaques showing naked and dressed female figures might have been precursors of these later dolls.

⁹ A κεκρύφαλος is also dedicated in *AP*, 6 206-207. See KORRE-ZOGRAFOU 1991, 70-74; LLEWELLYN-JONES 2003, 30-31. On the literary technique of these epigrams, GUTZWILLER 1998, 83-84.

¹⁰ See CALAME 2001, 106; 145; DILLON 2002, 215; BRULÉ 2007, 71.

¹¹ Paus. 4. 4. 3: ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ.

the figures of Melo and Satyra, daughters of Antigeneides and Μουσῶν ἐργάτιδες. They dedicate their musical instruments to the Pimpleian Muses because of their advanced age: Melo her *auloi* and box-wood *aulos*-case, and Satyra her wax-joined pipe. Transition can also be a synonym of passage from one divine sphere to another. This is the case with Eurynome, ready to join in the revels of Kypris and to abandon Dionysus' dances in *AP*, 6 74. «Forgive me, Dionysus, if I turn away from your choral dances, more attracted / by the bacchanals of Aphrodite»: with these words and by consecrating her ῥόπτρον the ex-bacchant makes her status of cultural and/or biological transition explicit.¹ «To you, god of the Bacchae, I dedicate this tambourine / that I will never touch again», says the *persona loquens*, whilst employing an expressive module which also occurs in *AP*, 6 83 when Eumolpus states: «May I never touch a lyre again (μὴ ψάύσαιμι λύρης ἔτι)».² By employing a peculiar ritual type of reciprocity («I give because I have changed»), Eurynome wants to detach herself from the ῥόπτρον, so as to deliver all her previous life to the deity (Aphrodite, or Dionysus?), the new owner of her menadic past. But – one could inquire suspiciously – was the ῥόπτρον Dionysian enough to mark a female transition from the ecstatic to the reproductive sphere in other contexts as well? As suggested by Stesileos' sanctuary in Delos, the hypothesis that the ῥόπτρον may have reified the Aphrodite's competitive relationship with Dionysus in this epigram is not to be excluded.

THE RHOPTRON RECOVERED:
CREPITACULA³ IN STESILEOS' APHRODISION?

Almost totally neglected in modern studies on ancient musical instruments, the ῥόπτρον seems to evade the tripartite division of percussion instruments into *tympana*, *krotala* and *kymbala*.⁴

According to West, the ῥόπτρον was a cymbal – clapper associated with the Korybantes and mystic contexts –⁵ hence the erroneous meaning given by *LSJ* as «a musical instrument of the Korybantes, tambourine or kettledrum». *Souda* makes the nexus between the ῥόπτρον and the *λαχήματα χάλκεια* explicit, explaining these as ὠδαὶ Διονυσοικαί.⁶ Nonnus, the first to allude frequently to Dionysus' control of that instrument, says that Mystis, one of Dionysus' nurses, taught the god the nocturnal mystic rites, prepared the worship of Lyaïos, and first shook the ῥόπτρον.⁷ Despite that, there is no reason why this 'musical instrument' should be attributed chiefly to the Korybantes and Dionysus' realm, since Parthians could also use it in martial excitation.⁸ Rather, we can argue that *LSJ*'s first intention was to emphasise a technical meaning of the lemma that was somehow different from the others, i.e. «part of a

¹ Aphrodite is the recipient of women's offerings in seventeen epigrams of the sixth book, and in general she is honored in thirty-four epigrams of *AP*, which makes her one of the most worshipped deities of the *Greek Anthology*, along with Pan and Athena. See NATSINA 2012 for a broad analysis of the female poetic *personae* in these texts. For Aphrodite as the main recipient of female consecration of mirrors and clothing, see PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 378-379.

² This parallel is sufficient to exclude a γυναικεῖον πάθος in Eurynome's stitch. See CHANIOTIS 2009, 6 about the *cliché* of a 'womanly emotion' or 'behavior' with religion.

³ In allusion to the austere expression of LAMPE 1703, 91-92.

⁴ See BUNDRICK 2005, 46-48.

⁵ Suid. s.v. *λαχήματα*. Cf. *AP*, 6 165, 3.

⁶ Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 14 348; 17 344; 20 302; 28 42.

⁷ WEST 1992, 125-126.

⁸ E.g. Plut. *Crass.* 23.

falling trap» and «knocker on a door». ¹ As Bushala pointed out, ² it cannot be excluded that these last two meanings of ῥόπτρον might have suggested the possible form of the instrument itself. Consequently, I propose to interpret the ῥόπτρον as somewhat similar to the κρόταλον, hence «noise maker, striker, or clapper».

Yet, the ῥόπτρον ἐπίσπαστρον as a hanging or roped noise maker ³ is a fundamental 'instrument' of the votive apparatus in Stesileos' Aphrodision, as listed meticulously in the Delian inventories. Specifically intended to adorn the doors of the Aphrodision probably as part of the sanctuary κόσμος, ⁴ this instrument is mentioned on several occasions together with Stesileos' famous ἀναθήματα, ⁵ wooden tablets (πίνακα ξύλινον, l. 18), two bronze shield-like figurines (ἀσπιδίσκας χαλκᾶς δύο, l. 18) and another female figurine (ἄλλον γυναικεῖον, l. 19). ⁶ Another list from Delos quotes a ῥόπτρον ἐπίσπαστρον together with other votive objects offered by Exenikes, Stesileos and Eudora in the Aphrodision pronaos and in the Asklepieion. Once again, these comprise wooden tablets (πίνακα [ξύλινον]), two bronze shield-like figurines (ἀσπιδίσκας [δύο]), and a white woollen chiton, the latter being personal property of the priestess Eudora. ⁷ Ergo, we can infer that ῥόπτρον did not act as an exclusively corybantic instrument in Delos. Contrarily, it appears most often as noise maker *embellishing* the outside of the new Delian Aphrodision, together with πίνακες, ἀσπιδίσκοι, γυναικεῖα, and chitons inside. Furthermore, the connection comes spontaneously between these ῥόπτρα at the entrance of the sanctuary and the χάλκεια ones which sound in front of the cave of Night to inspire respect for the law of Adrasteia. ⁸

To sum up, several epigrams, as well as Hoporis' cymbals for Artemis *Limnatis* and epigraphical records, invite us to consider the consecration of musical instruments from the perspective of female agency. Chairestrates offers a χιτώνιον, ἡμιφυῆς and

¹ The other meaning of 'club' and 'hammer' used in Eur. *Hipp.*, 1172; Arist., fr. 103; [Lys.] c. *Andoc.*; Harpocrat. s.v., is ignored by LSJ. Cf. BARRETT 1964 a. l.

² BUSHALA 1969, 169-172 with previous bibliography.

³ See Phot. ε1711: ἐπίσπαστρον · τὸν βρόχον, 'noose'. The two terms are separated in Poll. 10, 22 (καὶ ἐπίσπαστρον καὶ ῥόπτρον).

⁴ DURVEY 2009, 150 classifies them as 'éléments de mobilier' of the pronaos without considering the Greek lemma. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that the sanctuary itself could be subject to κόσμησις just like the statues, and that in this sense ῥόπτρα acted as decorative elements.

⁵ For the two sanctuaries of Aphrodite in Delos, one of which was founded by Stesileos: BRUNEAU 1970, 331-348; DURVEY 2006. On the votive gifts to Stesileos' Aphrodite, see DURVEY 2009, 166-167 with related bibliography. For the genealogical stemma of Stesileos' family, VIAL 1984, 75.

⁶ *IDélos* 1426 (156/5-145/4 BCE). Concerning the ἀσπιδίσκοι, it is here proposed the secondary sense of 'shield-like figurines', since the suffix -ίσκος might have designated, through its hypocoristic value, the resemblance of those objects to the ἀσπίδες more than their little size. See in this respect, PRÊTRE 1997, 678. For the dedication of armor and weapons in sanctuaries, see SIMON 1986; GABALDÓN MARTÍNEZ 2005; LARSON 2009. For miniature shields, see BOEHRINGER 2001, 52. 98-99. Cf. BAUMBACH 2004, 41-42 for the kourotrophic role of goddesses who received arms in the sanctuaries.

⁷ *IDélos* 1414, fig. a. col. II.1, l. 13 (166-157/156 BCE). Cf. *IDélos* 1426, B, ii, ll. 2-5, 13 where Pleistarche is mentioned as «the ancient priestess» and Eudora «priestess». Should we interpret Eudora's consecration of the lyre as an act referring to her professional duties or rather motivated by private issues? The inscription does not give any other contextual information about her status. What is sure is that the presence of ἀνάθημα plus the genitive allow us to identify Eudora as the donor, and not the recipient of the chiton. This second meaning is contrarily attributable to the πίνακα εἰκονικὸν ἱερείας in *IDélos* 1443, l. 101. See PRÊTRE 2009, 46 about the priestess gifts in Delos. On the ambiguous function of the priestess offering, KRON 1996, 166-168.

⁸ *Orph. fr.* 105, 152.

ῥάκος, to Artemis for a particular concern linked to her status of maiden.¹ In the same way, Ias delivers her *aulos* in the Athenian Asklepieion, as we shall see. Both literary and epigraphical sources display evidence of biotic regulated performances, in which the votive instrument is strictly associated with the transitional steps and biological rhythms of a woman's life (e.g. marriage as metaphorical passage from Dionysus to Aphrodite, the abandoning of a poetic career because of age, and probably the investiture as priestess). What is more, semantic aspects of female agency and the versatile ethos of the instrument itself could be closely interlaced in consecration, as shown by the ambiguous case of the ῥόπτρα between texts and archaeological context.

BETWEEN ATTRIBUTIVE AND AGALMATIC SPHERE:
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS VS. *KOSMOS*

The transfer of musical instruments elsewhere was not always charged with cultural meanings. In Athens, for example, these devices were involved in institutional circuits as τιμήματα or as social markers of the worshipper.² An inscription from 434/433 BCE lists all of the objects that the four magistrates speaking at the Panathenaia (ἡ τετέταρτες ἀρχαί) had to leave to the Athenian treasury. Among them, there were a λύρα κατάχρυσος and some λύρα[ι ἐλεφάντιναι (l. 14)].³ What emerges from this stele, and from many other inscriptions from Attica, is a lexical technicality concerning the decorum of the votive musical instrument.⁴ It is curious that this very trait connotes equally the Delian corpus regarding the κόσμος and κοσμήματα, specifically for the votive jewels used to adorn gods' ἀγάλματα. Yet, in IG I³ 343 we first find the compound κατάχρυσος, which is the most recurrent adjective in the Attic corpus to designate both the συβήνη⁵ and the lyre, otherwise defined as ἐλεφάντιν[αι or ξύλιναι].⁶ How should we translate the χρυσός-adjective referring to the lyre surface? How and for whom did the artisan make a lyre shine?⁷ How did the administrators of the sanctuary name what they saw in describing this kind of lyre? The semantic history of the attribute κατάχρυσος helps us to answer this question. One may argue that the adjective κατάχρυσος occurs here as a synonym of ὑπόχρυσος (litt. «uncovered with gold-leaf»)⁸. Hesychius explains the verb καταχρυσῶσαι by καταλιθῶσαι, «to stone» or, according to LSJ, «to stone for death»,⁹ whereas κατάπαστον, «bespattered with», is annotated as κατάχρυσος synonym by the scholiast of Aristophanes' *Knights*, l. 968. Despite these late glosses, another meaning for this hypostatic compound should

¹ IG II², 1514, l. 59: her status of νύμφη is conjectured because of her simple name. Cf. Alc. *Parth.* 1, 60 in which a chorus of young girls presents a φᾶρος to Orthia in Sparta. For a commentary on clothing consecration in the sanctuaries, see STAVRIANOPOULOU 2006, 75-77. For passing references to the Greek textiles as votive gifts, see FORSÉN 2004, 296-298; NEILS 2009; BRØNS 2016; BRØNS and NOSCH 2017 with further bibliography. For votive clothing and transition, FOXHALL and STEARS 2000.

² On several occasions, the lyre is defined τίμημα: e.g. «MDAI(A)», 85 (1970) 210, 114, ca. 260-240 BCE.

³ IG I³ 343.

⁴ PRÊTRE 2017, 16 in relation only to jewellery in the Delian corpus.

⁵ For the συβήνη, cf. IG I³ 350 (427/426 BCE).

⁶ As in IG II² 1434, (c. 367/366 BCE).

⁷ Cf. the figurative sense of λάμπω in the funerary inscriptions such as IG IX I² 2, 408. For a deeper analysis of this topic, see PRÊTRE 2017.

⁸ Sic in LSJ s.v.

⁹ Hesychius' equivalence is probably influenced by the hendiadys διάλιθα καὶ κατάχρυσσα in App. *Mith.* 17, 115. The adjective is first attested as Euripides' attribute in Diphilus, fr. 60 Kock, (fourth BCE) *ap.* Ath. 10, 19, 10, and the respective verb in Hdt. 3, 56, 6.

be considered, due to the semantic erosion of the prefix *κατά*·: «poor in gold» or «with a little bit of gold». This meaning could mark a deficit of the metal on the whole surface of the lyre rather than a gilded aspect underneath.¹ Furthermore, such an interpretation solves the paradox created by the unlikely sense of «having gold beneath it», which would have gone against all the known techniques of ancient gold-smithing. The possibility that this kind of lyre was evidence of aesthetic innovation, just like the *αἰετὸς ἐπίχρυσος*, «over-gilded eagle», in Delos,² and an answer to promotional concerns is not out of the question. Behind this unobvious compound, can anyone expect to glimpse a peculiar technique of gilding which pertained to a local register of consecration? Although sources do not answer this question, this possibility cannot be excluded. Be that as it may, many other *κομμωτικοί* accessories seem to be mentioned in *IG* I³ 343 along with musical instruments, such as a *στέφα[νος χρυσῶς]*, «gold crown», and a *πρόσοπ]ον ὑπάργυρο*, «effigy poor in silver». Such an association is not surprising inasmuch as musical instruments are often registered in Athens with female *κομμωτικοί* devices. In a stele dating before 329/8, the *αὐλός* consecrated with a small *κυλιχίς* by Ias appears in a longer list of *ἀναθήματα* in which *δακτύλιοι σιδηροὶ* («iron rings», l. 27), *στέφανοι ὑπόχραλοι* («crowns poor in silver», l. 28), and *ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπίχρυσοι* («overgilded eyes», l. 30) are equally cited.³ We can imagine that the lyre, as well as rings and crowns, manifest the economic status of Ias' father or husband in the stele.⁴ We know that all these objects in the Asklepieion come from other two women, Clerete and Phanis, but no other information about the offering modalities and the social status of the donors can be deduced. In any case, the contextual proximity stressed in all of these sources reinforces the idea that a musical instrument could be a sort of carrying gift whose places, anatomies, and connexions with other *agalmatic*⁵ objects deserve to be elucidated quantitatively in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

Trying in the first instance to fill in a historiographical gap, this paper aimed to examine, via the peculiar perspective of female agents, the consecration of musical instruments as «a gift of a very special type, one from which the giver benefited as much as the recipient». ⁶ In Maussian terms,⁷ through this special act of offering, women could enable what Brulé defines as the «pivotement du sacré»,⁸ alternatively induced by dedications of textiles or jewels. As we have seen, these musical instruments were mostly charged with an emotional rather than a commercial value, standing as a redistributive medium of the worshipper's *super-personnalisation*⁹ and social *position-*

¹ Cf. KÖRTE 1929, 267-270 in relation to Men. *Epit.* l. 170. Cf. BLANC 2002, 20-21; PRÊTRE 2007, 14 who refers to a sort of ingenuity of the compilers in using the hypostatic compound *ὑπόχρυσος*, «a term not easy to interpret».

² E.g. *IG* 11, 2, 203 (269 BCE).

³ *IG* II² 1533 [329/328?]. Cf. also *IG* I³ 345, l. 48 (432/431 BCE) and three other inventories mentioning all these devices in the same order: *IG* I³ 353 (420/419 BCE); *IG* I³ 354 (419/418 BCE); *IG* I³ 355 (414/413 BCE).

⁴ Cf. the earrings of Polemarchus' wife in Lys. *Contra Eratosthenem* 19.

⁵ On this definition, see LANÉRÈS 2012, 162.

⁶ *ThesCRA*, I, 2d, 270.

⁷ MAUSS 2001 [1923-1924]. Cf. GREGORY 1982; DE POLIGNAC 2009, 4 fig. 1 for a triangular representation of all the circuits between worshipper, recipient and *ἄγαλμα*.

⁸ BRULÉ 1996.

⁹ PRÊTRE 2009, 14.

nement.¹ As prosthetic devices, musical instruments were a sort of artificial extension of the donor *persona*. Except for Phila's *do-ut-des* in *AP* VI 118, we can affirm that most of the selected cases of consecration were motivated by the hybrid pattern of *do quia mutavi*. Epigrams and Attic inventories have helped us to detect a certain number of analogies between musical instruments and jewels as votive gifts. The offering of musical devices in view of an imminent marriage, as in Timareta's epigram, cannot fail to evoke the cases in which *euergetai* women consecrated necklaces for the same purpose in the Hellenistic period.² Just like votive jewels, musical instruments seem to have been treated as privileged objects, finely described as part of a votive apparatus and as social attributes of women (*sc.* the owners of the Asklepieion lyres in Athens) and institutional groups (*sc.* the magistrates at the Panathenaia). Plus, musical instruments could sometimes also function as a sort of decorum of the sanctuary, such as the resonating ῥόπτρα of Aphrodite's pronaos in Delos. The formular diction of the Attic steles seeks sometimes a sort of adjectival valorisation of the instrument (the lyre in particular).³ Around this device, vertical alliances were formed between gods and worshippers, as well as horizontal links between worshippers and sanctuary administrators (*hieropes* in the case of Delos). Unlike jewels, conventionally related to the feminine world, musical instruments stand as special personal attributes by which female agency could set itself apart from male, as signalled by the contrastive δὲ in Phila's epigram. In consecrating musical instruments as personal τιμήματα and a prosthesis of their past and/or talents, women could therefore express specific instances or wishes linked to their own professional career or biological maturity.

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¹ See de POLIGNAC 2009, 5 about the auto-positioning of the worshiper.

² E.g. Stratonice's καθετήρ χρυσούς offered at Delos to Leto before her marriage in 250 BCE: *IDélos* 380 [4-5] ~ *IDélos* 439 [2-3].

³ In adopting the strong term of dramatisation, we refer mainly to CHANIOTIS 2007-2008, 173 and to the parallel definition for votive jewels in PRÊTRE 2012, 17-27.

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INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE TOMB: THE ISIAC *SISTRUM* AS TESTIMONY OF WORSHIPPERS' BELIEFS

ARNAUD SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER

S*ISTRUM* is a general term used to refer to a small percussion instrument, most of the time an idiophone, in the past as well as in the present. During the Greco-Roman period, the Greek word *seistron* (from the verb *seio* : 'to shake, to move' and the neutral suffix *-tron* which indicates an instrument) and the Latin *sistrum* referred to a specific sound instrument used in the cult of Isis and found in many places around the Mediterranean Sea, especially in continental Greece and in Italy. This instrument originally came from Egypt and derived from a Pharaonic prototype.¹ The first archaeological arched *sistra*, dating from the Egyptian New Kingdom, were deeply linked to shrines and their surroundings. The best examples come from the tomb of the famous king Tutankhamun, who was buried with two well-crafted *sistra*² and placed under the protection of Osiris according to the quote of the Book of the Dead mentioned on the golden mask. Transformed in Alexandria from an old pharaonic item linked to the goddess Hathor, the *sistrum* was also used in the cult of Isis under the first Ptolemy. The instrument spread around the Mediterranean Sea in two main steps: the first, during the Hellenistic period in continental Greece, Magna Graecia, Pompeii and Rome; the second, from the Italian peninsula to the rest of the Roman Empire. We will focus on the first one in this paper and try to develop the funerary uses and meanings of the *sistrum*. Indeed, most of the time, when we know the archaeological context of discovery, *sistra* can be found in tombs. A great number of textual and literary sources seem to indicate that this object, in addition to a various number of functions, played a funerary role that we will try to present.

THE ISIAC *SISTRUM* IN ANCIENT GREECE: EXCLUSIVE FUNERARY DISCOVERIES?

All instruments found in the Greek area, when the context is known, have been discovered inside tombs: they come from Rhenea in the Cyclades islands,³ Megara in Attica (FIG. 1a),⁴ Thisvi in Boeotia,⁵ and a double deposit in Ambracia,⁶ future city of Epirus. At least two examples from Patrae⁷ belong to the Roman period. Other

¹ For examples of pharaonic idiophones, see HICKMANN 1949, 76-77.

² Egyptian Museum, Cairo, inv. 69317a and b (HICKMANN 1949, 81-82, pl. LIII A, B et C; MANNICHE 1976, 5, no. 75, pl. III; VOSBURG 2011, 17, fig. 5, p. 82). See inv. 60672 for the mask.

³ Archaeological Museum, Mykonos, inv. 92 (see HADJIDAKIS 2003, 333, no. 640).

⁴ National Museum, Athens, inv. x 7841 (mentioned briefly in DE RIDDER 1894, no. 663).

⁵ National Museum, Athens, inv. x 7840 (KALTSAS 2007, 437).

⁶ Archaeological Museum, Arta, inv. AE 5642 and AE 5643 (ANDRIKOU 2003, 185-187, nos. 75-76; GOULAKI-VOUTYRA 2012, 193, fig. XIII.34).

⁷ These two items are not published yet.

places offer discoveries of *sistra*, but without a detailed archaeological context, such as Corinth¹ and Sparta² in the Peloponnese, and Chaeronea in Boeotia.³ One object might also come from Crete.⁴ A large majority of these objects belong to Hellenistic types. Some were imported from Alexandria, and others were created locally. This Greek corpus with known location is very small (11 objects) but extends chronologically from the 2nd c. BCE to the 2nd c. CE, and is typical of the period if we compare it with the global corpus of *sistra*.⁵ What can we learn from these objects, mostly found inside tombs?

Construction and Ornamentation

The change between the Egyptian traditional environment and the cult of Isis outside Egypt is visible on the instrument in two respects: its construction and its ornamentation. A number of modifications already appear in Alexandria. If the loss of the metal disks used on the pharaonic versions to make noise is older than the Hellenistic period, the importance of the moving rods in the sound mechanism is acquired. The Isiac instrument made in Alexandria is also casted in one piece, and its size decreases.⁶ This phenomenon persists during the *sistrum*'s spread around the Mediterranean Sea.⁷ It's also in Alexandria that we can notice the first aesthetic change with the appearance of Bes (FIG. 1a-b) on the middle of the handle, a divinity linked in particular to music and dance.⁸ This new pattern is subject to variation, among others for example a duplication of Bes with Beset or a feminine figure,⁹ but it become one of the ornamental characteristics of *sistra* during the Hellenistic period.

Immediately after leaving Egypt, the *sistrum* changes. The main modification is the quick deformation and disappearance of the Hathoric figure. The facial characteristics of the cow-goddess, giving a zoomorphic aspect, seem to be outdated.

¹ Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, inv. A909a (SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER forecoming, fig. 10).

² Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, inv. 9710 (SACHS 1921, 54; VEYMIERS 2014a, fig. 1).

³ Archaeological Museum, Chaeronea, inv. 770/1712 (PALMA VENETUCCI 2008, 247, fig. 7-9).

⁴ Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, inv. 7340 (SACHS 1921, 55).

⁵ The total number of instruments known globally (but mostly without provenance) is around 85.

⁶ Complete pharaonic examples are very rare but some examples from the British Museum, London, inv. 38172, 36310 or from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, inv. 55-33-5 show items respectively 41.7 cm, 39.911 cm and 37.546 cm high. An Alexandrian example (von BISSING 1937, 220-221, fig. 12; Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. 2799) from the Hellenistic period is 27 cm high. The traditional types maintained into the Egyptian area also have a tendency to be smaller during the Hellenistic and Roman times. The 11 objects found in the Greek area, when they are completed, are from 27.897 cm (National Museum, Athens, inv. X 7841) to 18.496 cm (National Museum, Athens, inv. x 7840).

⁷ During Roman times, especially in the western Mediterranean, the Isiac *sistrum* is not higher than 20-23 cm and the smallest items discovered are around 13.284 cm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 97.22.2). A specificity of this last period is the development of amulet-*sistrum*, made as real objects, but sound-wise inefficient. These measure from 13.284 cm to 3.8 cm (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. B 1870).

⁸ For one of the types with Bes: British Museum, London, inv. 38177; Egyptian Center, Canolfan Eiffittaidd, Swansea, inv. w553; Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Stockholm, inv. IUE134 F; IUE134 E; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. F 1953/10.1; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. 54.493; Sydney University Museum, Nicholson Museums, inv. NM94.34.

⁹ Some examples in Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Stockholm, inv. IUE 134 A; Museo Nazionale, Rome, inv. 5149; Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. E 8076; E 11158; Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, inv. 29729. See ZIEGLER 1979, 36-37, 60, no. 78.

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The wig, the *menat* necklace,¹ the cow ears, and the triangular face characteristic of traditional representations (FIG. 2a-c) are abandoned. We can see on Greek artefacts an anthropomorphic² profile of the goddess (FIG. 2d-f), which shows the transition from Hathor to Isis. In a few cases, this central ornament is completely abandoned.³ As this item is much adorned, this observation can be made for each pattern. The lateral symbols are also reflecting the changes between Egyptian and Greek context. On pharaonic *sistra*, the two lateral *uraei* usually framing the Hathoric figure lie down their crown on the sides or the arch. Most of the time these crowns are the solar disk worn by the two *uraei* or the *hedjet* and *descheret* laid out in an asymmetrical dynamic. The arrival of the *sistrum* in the Greek area shows new compositions with some representations of the *naïskos* and inside the Hathoric crown, the Isiac node or the *atef* (FIG. 3a-b), the combination of the *atef* and the *basileion* (FIG. 3c-d),⁴ or the appearance of floral patterns more or less derived from the *basileion* (FIG. 3e-f). The pattern of the crown is maintained even when the *uraei* disappear. One last example of ornament modifications is the figure on the top of the instrument. Hellenistic Isiac *sistra* from Egypt show a composition with several animals, mostly cats but also birds attacked by feline figures. Sometimes the cat is nursing a few kittens. These scenes are reproduced in continental Greece, especially the nursing one which will be very wide spread in Roman times. But in some local creations, in Ambracia or Pompei,⁵ the cat is replaced by a dog, nursing or alone: if the schema is preserved, it nevertheless adapts to the local culture. Broader analysis of the ornamentation of *sistra* demonstrates a widespread break with the pharaonic past of the object, and only contemporary codes and signs of the Greco-Roman Isis, used on other supports as statues or terracotta figurines are maintained (*basileion*, *hedjet* and *descheret*, etc.).

Widespread

Life and Death of an Instrument

The case of the double deposit of Ambracia is interesting because these two objects cannot produce sound. These two *sistra* are not traditionally cast but made with recovered material. The bronze arch is applied on two mirrors or other handles from various objects, and the stamping does not match. The rods are not mobile, and the two *sistra* have been made over the same period and by the same hand especially for burials. However, this is an isolated example. Most of the time *sistra* show typical signs of wear with a circular mark on the external face of the arch.⁶ They have been used before being placed inside a tomb, probably for decades. So what is inspiring individuals or their families to place the *sistrum* with the body?

¹ See CHATELET 2015 on this symbol and its links with the *sistrum* in pharaonic context.

² Most of Hellenistic types outside of Egypt present this modification (Thisvi, Corinth, Megara, Sparta, Chaeronea, the *sistrum* from Crete, but also in Pompeii or Rome).

³ In Rhenea and Ambracia. The two items from Patrae, which are clearly Roman Imperial types from Italy are also not adorned on the handle.

⁴ About the *basileion*, Richard Veymiers (2014b) explains that it was first worn by the Ptolemaic queens, then by Isis. Later, it was adopted by human holders in some rare examples (HAGENDORN 1996, 570, fig. 6).

⁵ For a general presentation of the *sistra* found in Pompei and the identification of their types (local and Italian), see Saura-Ziegelmeier forthcoming a. See also the contribution of Mirco Mungari on the present volume.

⁶ SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER, forthcoming b.

The Question of the Deceased's Social and Religious Status

Unfortunately, we do not possess any detailed archaeological reports that would help us to establish a link with other items present with the body. In Ambracia, the deceased was identified as a priest of Isis because of the double deposit.¹ In literature, especially by Apuleius,² a man holding a *sistrum* is systematically a priest, with a shaved head and linen clothing. In the case of Ambracia, we can be skeptical because the two instruments are simulacrum that have never been previously used as ceremonial instruments. Moreover, in the majority of cases, the instrument accompanied a young individual woman inside the tomb. In this case, archaeologists consider the *sistrum* as an additional protection to a non-accomplished life, with an apotropaic function. There is no evidence in Ancient Greece about the positions of the musical instruments inside the tombs, but the Italian excavators of Roman Imperial tombs tell us the *sistrum* is placed on the right side of the deceased (Pula), or held by them in the right hand laid over the chest (Gubbio). These few clues are important, and as we will see later, they can be found in the iconography.

OUTSIDE OF THE TOMB:

THE *SISTRUM* AS A PART OF THE DECEASED'S IMAGE

We saw an interior, individual point of view by examining the instrument inside the tomb with the deceased. But the *sistrum* also appears on a large series of marble objects during the Roman Imperial period. All these items are linked to funerary contexts.

Specificities

Attic graves stelae show a great number of women wearing the Isiac node and holding the *sistrum* in the right hand and the situla in the left. These reliefs are traditionally described as 'Isiac deceased'.³ A few monuments also show the *sistrum* not held but combined with an inscription and the situla or the patera (FIG. 4).⁴ These representations are remarkable because, while they simplify the image of the instrument, they reproduce the exact proportion and size of each instrument on the grave stele.⁵ These images complete our knowledge about the funerary aspect of the *sistrum* and the data derived from *realia*.

Explanations

Quantitative analysis shows that the presence of female figures on the Attic stelae have at least two origins. This phenomenon, specific to the Roman period in Athens,

¹ The only other known example of a double deposit and a man's body come from Roman Imperial times, in Nemesus, Narbonensis (see ZIEGLER 1979, 35, fig. 82).

² Apul. *met.*, 11, 5-6; 11, 12. See also Persius (5, 184-188).

³ On this subject, see MATRICON-THOMAS 2011; MARTZAVOU 2011.

⁴ This example found in Rome is listed in BRICAULT 2005, 557, no. 501/0195. The inscription reads: *Dii Manib(us) / Claudiae / Isiadi / contubernali / carissimae / bene merenti / Hermodicus Caes(aris) / servus fecit*. The *sistrum* with four rods is on the right side, a patera is on the left side.

⁵ As defined in SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER, forthcoming c.

can demonstrate a particular devotion of women to Isis, with a more important liturgical role than men, or simply more important than in the other cults. Maybe it can come from a progressive individualization and social affirmation of women in Greek society under Roman rule. Despite these concerns, some general conclusions about the musical use of the *sistrum* and about their owners can be drawn. No matter what type of source and whether the owner possessed a divine or human nature, the *sistrum* is always held in the right hand. According to an autopsical analysis of the object, this phenomenon does not result from an organological cause (the *sistrum* can be played by either hand) but rather from symbolic use or practice.¹ The *sistrum* can also be associated with the *aulos* in a few sources on music.² In literary sources, verbs used in Latin indicate the instrument is shaken to produce its sound, not played (like an *aulos/ auleo*). Concerning the person using the *sistrum*: the expression *sistrum*-holder/-carrier seems to be the most appropriate according to the Latin word used in ancient literature (*fero* and its compounds). The greatest difficulty is understanding the gendered nature of the *sistrum*-holder's status. When the holder is male, he is always described as a priest in ancient literature as well as in modern descriptions, and for the great majority, the iconographical representations also indicate his priestly status (white linen clothes, shaved head). However, the male holder represents a very small percentage of representations showing the *sistrum* held by a human individual, and the rarest are male holders not specified as priests.³ When the holder is a female, she is not mentioned as a *sistrum* holder in the literature, even though she is in the majority of iconographical representations. Sometimes she is acknowledged as a priestess, but more often as a simple devotee. The status of female holders is therefore more complicated to determine. In any case, whatever the gender, these individuals are not presented as musicians; however this does not imply that the *sistrum* was not a musical instrument (as seen in a few examples and according to the archaeological data). Perhaps the term 'sound object' is more effective as a general description of this item. In iconographical representations, the way the object was used and its ritual aspects are clearly dominant, much more so than the sound dimension of the *sistrum*. According to Elodie Matricon-Thomas, «Athenians women were not particularly more engaged than citizens into Isiac cults, but they could openly and publicly declare their faith using plainly understandable funerary marks, maybe because they did not benefit throughout their lives from the ways to express their beliefs men had».⁴

ISIS' MOURNING AND THE AFTERLIFE

The presence of the *sistrum* ⁱⁿ funerary context ^s is now understood as a religious mark of identity. In this particular context the deceased expresses their particular affiliation to the cults of Isis and Sarapis. But we can find a deeper link between the funerary context and this instrument. Since the New Kingdom, the Osirian myth played an important role in mortuary practices, with the possibility for everyone to

¹ The simple explanation of the predominance of the right-hander is also not enough to explain this; see HERTZ 1909, 553-580.

² SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER 2015.

³ For an example, see BRICAULT 2005, 34, no. 101/0902.

⁴ MATRICON-THOMAS 2011, 49.

have access to the afterlife.¹ This theological concept lasts during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The Sistrum as a Component of the Story of Isis

According to Lucanus,² the instrument is directly linked to the Osirian myth and Isiac ceremonies. The *sistrum* takes action specifically during the mourning of Isis and could similarly be held by individuals playing the role of mourners. Its funerary use joins the mythological discourse and another aspect of the instrument: its apotropaic function. Indeed, Plutarch indicates in his description of the object the utility of the *sistrum* as a repellent of negative influences, such as those of Set (Seth) the brother (and killer) of Osiris.³ The *sistrum* symbolically enables the rejection of Set and allows the resurrection of Osiris and the continuity of the family. There is therefore a logical connection between mourning, the afterlife, the myth and archaeological practices with this aspect. Curiously, the apotropaic aspect of the *sistrum* does not come from its sound but from its mechanism, from the idea of movement as opposed to a still chaos. According to Martialis,⁴ Julius Pollux,⁵ John Chrysostom⁶ and his disciple Nilus of Ancyra,⁷ we can see that the *sistrum* is used as additional protection for young adults or children, just like many other percussion instruments. It is therefore no surprise to find the instrument inside the graves of young individuals.

Divine and Human Images

Inside and outside the tomb, we can find the same connections between the iconography of the goddess Isis and the deceased. This phenomenon can be linked to the *consecratio in formam deorum* process,⁸ which means a global tendency of the individuals from this period to represent themselves with divine attributes for personal ends

¹ DUNAND 2000, 69.

² Lucan., 8, 828 (*sistra iubentia luctus*).

³ Plut., *de Is. et Os.*, 63, 376c-b: «The *sistrum* also indicates that the things which exist should be shaken and should never stop moving, but should be awaked and disturbed, as it were, when they are sleepy and sluggish. For they say that with the *sistrum* they repel and ward off Typhon, meaning that when decay confines and restricts nature, the power of creation sets her free and restores her by means of movement. The top of the *sistrum* is rounded and the curve embraces the four objects that are shaken. For the part of the world that is created and decays is embraced by the globe of the moon, and everything in it is moved and changed through the four elements, fire, earth, water and air. On the top of the *sistrum*'s curve they engrave the figure of a cat with a human face, and below, under the rods that are shaken, the face of Isis on one side and that of Nephthys on the other. With the faces they symbolize creation and death (for these are the changes and movements of the elements)».

⁴ Martialis., 14. The epigram indicates to a master receiving a young slave suffering to suggest him the use of the *sistrum*.

⁵ Pollux, 9, 127: «It is thus called the *krotala* and the *sistrum* which are used by the nursemaids – who catch the spirits – made those children who doesn't find sleep fell asleep with songs».

⁶ John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Corinthians*, 4, 6: «If a child sees a robber coming in and taking away what is at home, far from repelling it, he smiles at the wrongdoer; but if you take him his little basket, his *sistrum*, or any other toy, he is deeply affected, he becomes angry, he tears himself, and strikes the ground with his foot. Likewise, when the Greeks see the demon pillaging their heritage, the goods necessary for their livelihood, they smile and run to meet him as a friend».

⁷ Nilus of Ancyra, *Letters*, 3, 30: «If you like circumcision, in the same way that, among the children, the most accomplished and indelicate love knucklebones, *sistra*, a ball, nuts, then you clearly recognize that you're not with the Christ, you untie the will of the Christ». In this case, I'm not sure if Nilus does not identify metaphorically the children to the polytheists.

⁸ See LAUBRY 2015 on this concept and Bricault and Veymiers, forthcoming.

(the afterlife in the case of the Isiac cults), but also in a memorial goal. This process is not specific to Isiac cults but shows a particular popularity for women in Ancient Greece for the reasons we mentioned just before. In this regard, the *sistrum* takes part in a global process and can be seen as a votive offering or, at least, a link between the human devotee and the goddess.

The iconographic presence of the *sistrum* on grave stelae is linked to the archaeological object. The other way around also exists, and we can find on a few archaeological Greek *sistra* the representation of the *naïskos*, the traditional form of the Greek graves. Funerary use can also be seen with other ornaments on the object, like the image of Osiris-Canope. Added to the imitation of the goddess' image by the deceased, all these visual games have little to do with music. The main goal is more about the question of identity, individual or collective, the question of protection of the deceased on his travels, and the question of the memory of an Egyptian past than an attempt to reproduce a sound or musical practice. Nevertheless, it's of interest to see how a single instrument can crystallize the changes between cultural areas, with regards to its manufacture, its ornamentation or its functions. If the use of the *sistrum* as a votive offering or funerary deposit is common with other idiophones or even other types of musical instruments, we can see specific reasons through mythological discourse and ritual practices. A comparative study of idiophones presented in a similar context could be useful to discern an anthropological continuum or differences on various parameters, such the gender or the status of the deceased.

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FIG. 1. a) *Sistrum* from Megara. National Museum, Athens, inv. X 7841; b) *sistrum* without provenance (Egyptian Center, Canolfan Eifftaid, Swansea, inv. W553). Photograph by the author.

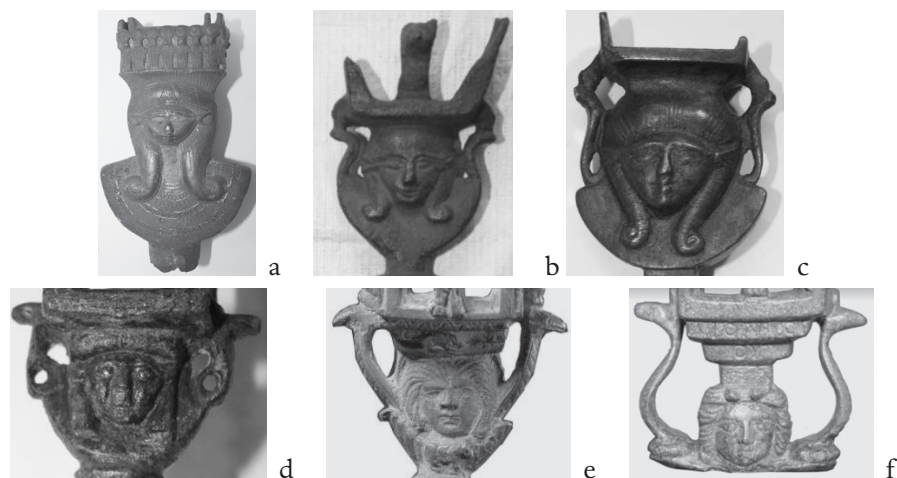


FIG. 2. Central ornament details: a) Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff, Leipzig, inv. 5288; b) British Museum, London, inv. 38175; c) Museo Egizio, Turin, inv. 6255; d) National Museum, Athens, inv. X 7840 (Thisvi); e) Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, inv. 9710 (Sparta); f) Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. A909a (Corinth). Photograph by the author.



FIG. 3. Left and right lateral ornaments details a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, without inventory (before inv. 2391, then inv. 234936); b) National Museum, Athens, inv. X 7841; c) inv. X 7840; d) Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, inv. 7340; e) inv. 9710; f) Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, inv. A909a. Photograph by the author.



FIG. 4. Front side and right side of a funeral altar, Galleria lapidaria, Vatican, inv. 9345.
Photograph by the author.

ISIAC SISTRA IN POMPEII: RITUAL OBJECTS, STATUS MARKERS, SOUNDTOOLS?

MIRCO MUNGARI

THE aim of this article is to sketch out a first, preliminary research regarding the presence of the Isiac *sistrum* in Pompeii and the Vesuvian area, establishing, as far as possible, its use within the context of the urban cult of Isis.¹ In a general view, this can be defined as an attempt to describe some aspects of the Isiac soundscape in the Pompeian community;² however, the study of a whole soundscape involves a deep analysis of many different sources (literary, iconographic, archaeological, archeometric), and would go far beyond the range of the present article. My research is therefore focused on the presence of the Isiac *sistrum* in Pompeii, paying particular attention to find contexts and presenting a hypothesis about its use in private and public worship.

A precious starting point for this research is the definition given by Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeier in his essay about the polysemic dimension of the Isiac *sistrum*.³ Saura-Ziegelmeier observes that the *sistrum*, as well as any other soundtool, can be studied from a social perspective through three levels of analysis: first, as a soundtool itself, for its sound potential, its capacity of making organised sounds within a musical or non-musical context; second, focusing on its contextualization in a social frame, on the situations in which the object is used as a soundtool or as a gift or ritual object; last, considering the value of the tool as a symbol, with a precise hermeneutic content beyond its musical function.⁴ The second and third points can be analysed based on the find contexts of Pompeian *sistra*, considering the Vesuvian city as a well preserved and articulated context in which the use of the *sistrum* can be examined and studied *in situ*.

SISTRA IN POMPEII: FIND CONTEXTS, SPACES AND CLUES FROM THE HISTORY OF EXCAVATIONS

Pompeii and its surrounding neighbourhood yielded 28 *sistra* over approximately 250 years of excavations. This *corpus* appears to be precious not only for its amount, but

¹ The bibliography about the cult of Isis in the Greek and Roman world is copious. An overview can be found in WITT 1971; SOLMSEN 1979; MERKELBACH 1995; TAKÁCS 1995; DUNAND 2000; SCARPI 2002; DONALDSON 2003.

² The first definition of soundscape is in MURRAY SCHAEFER 1985, 13-24. An in-depth analysis about the soundscape of the city of Pompeii itself has been done by Roberto Melini (2008, 5-6; 2012, 361-372).

³ SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER 2013, 380-381. On *sistra* as dedications, see the contribution of Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeier in the present volume.

⁴ The first point has been fully analysed in Saura-Ziegelmeier 2013 (386-389) and SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER 2015, 222-226. A distinction must be made between the Egyptian and the Graeco-Roman *sistrum*. The two instruments are quite different in their shape and sound potential. A deep analysis of the Egyptian Pharaonic *sistrum* would stray beyond the boundaries of this article; a synthesis is in HICKMANN 1949, 76-77.

also due to the possibility of studying the find contexts of several objects; the relationship of discovered objects with domestic space and other kinds of related sources (depictions, statues, literary texts); and, finally, because of the coexistence of the objects themselves, their find contexts, and their use contexts (the temple of Isis and, broadly, the public and private spaces of the city implied in the Isiac cults).

The temple of Isis, located in the most ancient public area of the Oscan city (the zone of the Theatres in *regio VIII*), was probably built in its first form in the 2nd c. BCE, when the cult of Isis was embraced in Campania.¹ The sanctuary was completely rebuilt after the earthquake of 62 CE on the initiative of *Numerius Popidius Celsinus*, a six-year old child. With this donation, his father assured the son a place in the *ordo decurionum*, as attested by the inscription near the entrance of the sanctuary.²

The area of the sanctuary, unearthed from 1764 to 1766, was enclosed by a wall and included the temple itself (on a high podium), an *aedicula* for the sacred water of the Nile, the altar, a large *ekklēsiasterion* for assembly of the worshippers, and a *pastophorion* to host the priests and visitors (FIG. 1).³

A first inventory of the *sistra* found in Pompeii was made by Tran Tam Tinh,⁴ who listed 21 objects, based on a survey of the storage rooms of the Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN). Four decades later, a second inventory was made by Roberto Melini in his dissertation.⁵ Basing his research on an extensive survey of the storage rooms themselves, cross-referenced with an overview analysis of catalogues, Melini tallied 29 *sistra* found in Pompeii and its neighbourhood.⁶ However, both Tran Tam Tinh and Melini noticed that in several cases it was impossible to reconstruct the exact find contexts, and a group of *sistra* (about ten) actually have no certain provenance within the Vesuvian area.⁷ In this preliminary research, I have taken into account all the *sistra* for typological analysis, and those whose find context is certain for my considerations about the social functions and uses of *sistra* in Pompeian society.

As stressed above, the Vesuvian sites offer an exceptional situation for archaeologists. Even though with different situations, in Pompeii and Herculaneum⁸ it is possible to analyse with a certain rigour the relationship between finds and their use contexts; public (streets, squares, sanctuaries, markets, theatres) and private spaces (houses, shops, workshops) can be perceived within their urban framework; and (almost) every object can be contextualised, if the find context is known and certain.⁹ In terms of the *sistra*, it is possible to reconstruct a precise find context for about ten of them, and, in a few cases, we can also develop valid hypotheses about their use contexts.

According to the excavation diary written by Francesco La Vega, two *sistra* were found in the temple of Isis in Pompeii during the first months of 1766 while exploring

¹ About the reception of the Isiac cult in Campania, see TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 22-29. See also DUNAND 2000, 72-73, 102.

² CIL X, 846.

³ SAMPALO 2006, 87-120, with related bibliography.

⁴ TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 181-185.

⁵ MELINI 2002, 28-29 appendix.

⁶ Five of them probably come from Herculaneum.

⁷ In a few cases, the excavation diaries give us clues about precise find contexts of some objects, but it is actually impossible to identify the named objects because of the lack of inventory data: for example, the *sistrum* found near the porch of the Great Theatre on April 17, 1815 (PAH I, 172).

⁸ See MUNGARI 2018.

⁹ Even if with less accuracy than in Herculaneum, because of the different means of destruction of the two sites: see MUNGARI 2018.



the rear of the sanctuary. One instrument was made of bronze¹ and was decorated with a cat on its upper arched edge, had four jingling bars, and two lotus-shaped appliquéés; the very simple handle had eight sides.² This object is certainly the one stored in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN) and catalogued as n. 2392. This refined instrument, about 18 cm long, lay on the floor of a small room in the back of the temple, together with other scattered objects (a small clay pot, a bolt, a coin). The other bronze *sistrum*, smaller than the first one, was found two months later in the courtyard of the temple, held in the hand of a marble statue; it is the one stored in the MANN under catalogue number 1535.³ The presence of two *sistra* within a sanctuary consecrated to Isis could seemingly be interpreted as a beautiful example of objects strongly linked to their use context, but in fact, this connection is quite weak. Excluding the second one – surely part of a statue and not really played – the first *sistrum* (MANN 2392) appears to be a decontextualised object, dragged by one of the volcanic surges that destroyed Pompeii. We have no way to be sure whether the *sistrum* belonged to the equipment of the temple or if it was accidentally brought there.

Different find contexts are related to other Pompeian *sistra*. During the excavations undertaken in 1821 in *regio VII*, a group of four *sistra* were found in a (supposed) workshop in *insula 4*.⁴ These four objects are stored in the MANN, under the catalogue numbers 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389. MANN 2386 is a very refined instrument, about 18.5 cm long, with four bars; the handle is shaped as a small representation of Bes crouched or dancing, holding on his head a female mask, probably of Hathor. On the struts of the upper part there are two appliquéés in the form of standing cats, and on the arched part there is an attached cat lying down. MANN 2387, on the contrary, is a quite simple instrument, 22 cm long, with four bars; its handle is simple and column-shaped, and the only decoration is an attached cat lying down on the arched top. MANN 2388 is a 21.5 cm long *sistrum* with four bars; the handle is shaped in the form of two coiled snakes, and a recumbent cat with a modius on her head is attached to the arched top. Finally, MANN 2389 is a smaller instrument, 18 cm long with three bars; the handle is simple and not decorated, and only a small cat head is attached to the arched top.

Forty-seven years later, the excavation of *regio VII* proceeded to *insula 2*. During the exploration of the *domus* of *Caius Vibius Italus* (*vii, 2, 18*) in January 1868, two beautiful *sistra* were found.⁵ The first one (MANN 76947) is a 20.5 cm long instrument with four bars; its handle is shaped according to the Bes-mask type (like MANN 2386); a four-legged animal, probably a cat, is attached on the side of the upper part, while a cat nursing two kittens is attached to the arched top. The second one (MANN 111770) is fragmentary, but it is one of two silver *sistra* found in Pompeii (see below). Both *sistra* were found in a small open room beside the *tablinum*, whose entrance was in the *peristylum* (the inner, private part of the house), as part of a group of metallic objects gathered together (bronze pots, iron objects, candle holders).

Two *sistra*, almost identical, were found in 1872 during the excavation of the *domus* of *Volusius Faustus*, in *regio I, insula 2, 26* (MANN 10669, 10670).⁶ Both *sistra* are about 22

¹ If not otherwise indicated, all the *sistra* mentioned below are made of bronze.

² PAH I, 183; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 182, no. 173; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

³ PAH I, 186; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 182, no. 174; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

⁴ PAH II, 26; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 182, nos. 173-176; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

⁵ FIORELLI 1868, 16; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 181, nos. 171-172; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

⁶ FIORELLI 1875, 38-39; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 181, nos. 168-169; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

cm long, with four bars; each has a simple handle, without decoration, and a small cat with two kittens attached to the arched top. The instruments were found in a *cubiculum* open to the *atrium*, carefully stored in a wooden cabinet and hung by two iron nails.

In 1880 a *sistrum* (MANN 118250) was found in the *domus* del Centenario (IX, 8, 6), while excavating a *cubiculum* open to the *atrium* and decorated with Egyptianising paintings.¹ This large instrument is about 25 cm long, with four bars; its handle is simple, and the only decoration is a cat with two kittens attached to the arched top.

The most peculiar find context probably belongs to the *sistrum* MANN 76949, found in 1902 in a *domus* in *regio* I, 3, 11.² This instrument is certainly a votive object, due to its miniature dimensions (3,5 cm long), but it is very interesting because it was found with a collection of Egyptian objects (two bronze statuettes of Harpocrates, a pasta vitrea statuette of Bes) and female cosmetic instruments (tweezers, glasses, little spatulas).

A large number of *sistra* (at least 16) are stored and catalogued at the MANN, but their find contexts are unfortunately lost. However, a brief review of them can be useful to establish some comparisons:

MANN 2391 is a large instrument, about 27 cm long, with four bars; the handle is shaped according to the Bes-mask type; a small cat is attached to the arched top.

MANN 2395 is 19 cm long, with four bars; the handle is simple; a small cat is attached to the arched top.

MANN 2396 is about 18 cm long, with three bars; the handle is simple; a small cat is attached to the arched top.

MANN 25722 is a remarkable instrument, 22 cm long, with four bars; it is made of silver, but it was heavily restored in the 19th c., and currently it seems to have no decorations.

MANN 76944 is a 21.5 cm long instrument with three bars; it has a simple handle and a small cat attached to the arched top.

MANN 76945 is 21.5 cm long, with four bars; the handle is shaped in the form of two coiled snakes, and a small cat is attached to the arched top.

MANN 76948 is fragmentary; currently it is 11 cm long, with four bars, but its undecorated handle is broken; a small cat is attached to the arched top.

MANN 118250 is a large instrument, 25 cm long, with four bars; its handle is simple, and a small cat is attached to the arched top.

MANN 264936 is 27 cm long, with four bars; its handle is shaped according to the Bes-mask type, and a cat is attached to the arched top.³

MANN 2390, 2393, 2394, 8774, 8776, and 76857 are registered in the catalogue but not described, and it was impossible to examine them during the present research.

It is easy to recognize some recurring models in the above-described *corpus*. In addition to simple instruments without decoration, the type with the nursing cat on the top (with variants) is the most common; less common, but peculiar, is the coiled snakes shaped handle type. The richest type is the Bes-mask handle type (FIG. 2). It seems evident that worshippers could choose among different models of *sistra*, probably with different price ranges. The production of *sistra* in the Roman world

¹ SOGLIANO 1880, 100; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 183, n. 180; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

² PARIBENI 1902, 71; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 181, n. 170; MELINI 2002, 28 appendix.

³ MELINI 2002, 28-29 appendix.

was surely a semi-industrial process: this can be clearly asserted when comparing the Pompeian *corpus* with the only other coherent group of *sistra* known in the Italic peninsula, the six *sistra* found in Rome in the Tiber river.¹ These *sistra*, together with several statue fragments and other objects, were thrown in the water after the destruction of the *Iseum Campense* ordered by Tiberius in 32 CE. They can be considered almost contemporary with the Pompeian *sistra* (probably ten or twenty years older), attesting to the existence of some 'standard' models diffused in Campania from Rome; the three 'standard' models (cat on the arched top, Bes-mask, coiled snakes) are precisely present among these six *sistra*.

CEREMONIAL INSTRUMENTS, RITUAL OBJECTS, SOUNDTOOLS?

All the known find contexts of *sistra* in Pompeii show a common fact: excepting the two found in the *eklesiasterion* of the temple (MANN 2392 and 1535, which, however, belonged to a statue of Isis and was not really used as a soundtool), all the other *sistra* whose find context is certain were found in *cubicula*, very private and intimate spaces. In at least two cases (MANN 10669-10670, *domus* of *Volusius Faustus*, and MANN 76949) the objects were carefully stored in small wooden cabinets and hung from metal nails. The *sistrum* MANN 76949, even though a votive object, surely belonged to a female worshipper, who kept it together with Isiac statuettes and other precious cosmetic objects.

Iconographic sources always show the *sistrum* as an attribute of priests and priestesses, or of Isis herself; the association of the *sistrum* with ordinary worshippers is more typical of funerary contexts, for example in the famous group of female grave-stones from Athens.² For example, a priestess is depicted holding the *sistrum* in her right hand, upright and frontally, in a fresco on the wall of the southern porch of the *Iseum* in Pompeii.³ The goddess herself often holds the *sistrum*: one of the two *sistra* found in the temple was held by a statue of Isis, as mentioned above, and the fresco in the *lararium* of house IX, 3, 15 depicts the goddess (identified as *Isis-Fortuna*) wielding the *sistrum* in her raised right hand in front of the worshipper.⁴ The fact that almost no *sistra* were found within the temple and its environs indicates that this object was strictly linked to the personal belongings of each worshipper.⁵ In fact, several objects were found in the rooms of the sanctuary that are surely related to the collective ceremonies that took place there, such as a conspicuous number of lamps, used for nocturnal ceremonies and vigils of the devotees.⁶

Precise indications about the employment of the *sistrum* in Isiac ceremonies come from our most precious literary source about the cult of Isis in the Roman world, Ap-

¹ It's not certain when this group of *sistra* was recovered from the riverbed. The first study about them was published by Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing in 1937 (221-224). Von Bissing identified a group of six *sistra* stored in Rome and first ascertained their provenance from the ritual destruction of the *Iseum Campense*; he also recognized other instruments, stored in Berlin and Paris, as probably coming from the same context. The whole group of *sistra* has been republished in 1997 (ARSLAN 1997, 160-170).

² SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER 2013, 390.

³ Currently exhibited at MANN, cat. 8923; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 137, no. 36, pl. IV, 4.

⁴ Bragantini and SAMPAOLO 2009, 434-435; TRAN TAM TINH 1964, 148, no. 59, pl. XVII.

⁵ It seems quite certain that none of the *sistra* without certain find contexts can be related to the *Iseum*, because the only instruments mentioned in the accurate excavation diary written by Francesco La Vega are the two mentioned above (see PAH I, 155-200).

⁶ PAH I, 193.

uleius. In book XI of *Metamorphoseon libri XI*,¹ Lucius, initially in the form of a donkey, joins a merry procession in which priests, masked devotees, sacred musicians, and ordinary worshippers accompany the simulacrum of Isis during the celebration of the *Navigium Isidis*, a spring feast in which Isis was celebrated after her sailing to find the pieces of Osiris' body, and identified and worshipped as patron of navigation. Even if it is not certain that the *Navigium Isidis* was actually celebrated in Pompeii (because it becomes common in the Roman world in the mid-2nd c. CE),² the description made by Apuleius (who was a sincere devotee of the goddess and surely joined her cult) gives precious clues about the soundscape of an Isiac ceremony, and in particular about the role played by the *sistrum*. Despite the chronological incongruity (Apuleius wrote almost a century after the destruction of the Pompeian *Iseum*), the description surely reflects a traditional way of celebrating which also took place, on a smaller scale, among the community of Pompeian worshippers during the Flavian period.

After the first, colourful parade of masked characters³ followed by the first *pompa* of devotees, the music suddenly appears in the procession:⁴ a singing choir, modulating prayers, is accompanied by flutes and double pipes playing together («*Symphoniae dehinc suaves, fistulae tibiaeque modulis dulcissimis personabant. [...] sequebatur chorus, carmen venustus iterantes*»), then appears a group of musicians, worshippers of Serapis, playing sacred melodies on the «*oblicum calamum* (transverse flute)» («*Ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines, qui per oblicum calamum [...] familiarem templi dei que modulum frequentabant*»). Only at this point,⁵ the *turba* of initiates joins the procession, with their bronze and silver and also golden *sistra*, generating a unique soundcloud («*aereis et argenteis immo vero aureis etiam sistris argutum tinnitum constrepentes*»). The procession is closed by the priests, the sacred objects, and the masks of the related divinities.⁶

The *argutum tinnitum*, 'sharp jingling sound', is characteristic of the *sistrum*, which *constrepi*, 'makes a loud noise'.⁷ Its function within the procession is to generate a strong soundcloud, able to overwhelm the loud music of a choir and two groups of *fistulae* and *tibiae*. In fact, the procession as described by Apuleius can be represented as a sequence of different soundscapes (as well as human landscapes); the *argutum tinnitum* of *sistra* is one of these elements, although not the first and not the most important, and it describes a precise category of persons: the initiates, the worshippers who followed the secret rituals of Isis, who are allowed to wear their typical dress (a white linen tunic, shaved hair, *sistra*). The only function of the *sistrum* is to connote the status of initiate of its owner, and to define and announce the presence of the initiate himself.

These clues lead to a general consideration: within the Isiac community in Pompeii the *sistrum* seems to have been considered as a very personal object, part of the personal belongings of every worshipper. In this sense, the *sistrum* appears different from other objects typical of the cult of Isis, such as the *situla* and other ritual tools.

¹ Apul. met., 11, 8-17.

² TRAN TAM TINH (1964, 89-103) considers Apuleius a real source to reconstruct the cult of Isis in Pompeii, and finds correspondence between the Latin text and depictions of cult scenes in the *Iseum*.

³ Apul. met., 11, 8.

⁴ Apul. met., 11, 9.

⁵ Apul. met., 11, 10.

⁶ Apul. met., 11, 11-12.

⁷ A deeper analysis is in SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER 2015, 227-229.

Furthermore, as Saura-Ziegelmeyer pointed out,¹ the *sistrum* is first of all a marker of membership: its presence, its usage, and the effect of its use (the jingling sound obtained by shaking it) indicate its owner as a devotee and perhaps an initiate of Isis. Its role in the making of an Isiac soundscape was probably not pre-eminent, but fundamental in the public dimension. In the secret of the house, on the other hand, it possessed all the symbolic and representative power of a worship marker, even if silenced and scrupulously stored.

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¹ SAURA-ZIEGELMEYER 2015, 230-231.

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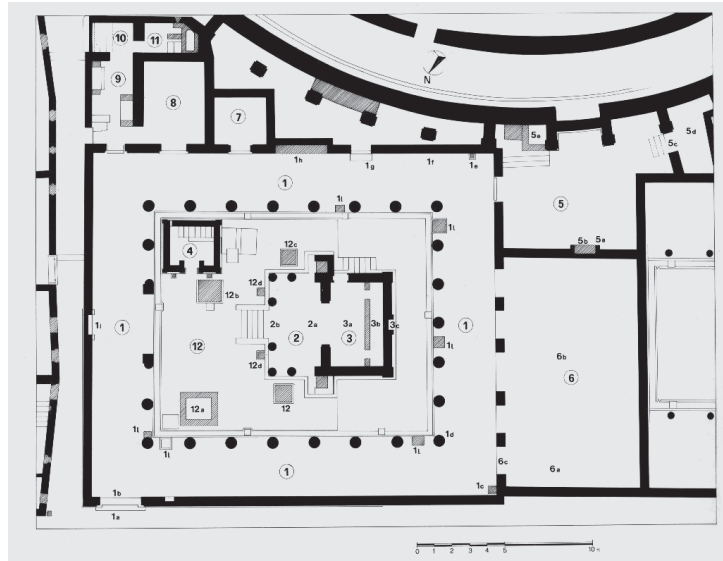


FIG. 1. Pompeii, plan of the temple of Isis
 (Roberto Melini's Archive. Courtesy of Nives Mazzoldi Melini).



FIG. 2. Replica of a bronze *sistrum* from Pompeii (MANN 2386; courtesy of Emiliano Li Castro).

AFTERWORD
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AS VOTIVE GIFTS:
TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY
OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCES

ANGELA BELLIA

THE importance of music in worship concerns both the function of sound in a ritual context and the role played by musical and choral performances as a means of communication.¹ As Catherine Bell has argued, performance communicates on multiple sensory levels, usually involving highly visual imagery, dramatic sounds, and other tactile, olfactory, and gustatory stimuli:² thanks to its privileged function in communicating messages to worshippers about the social order and the values of the community, performance might have inspired a sense of belonging in the social context.³ As two inseparable components in the sacred sphere, music and dance strengthen the power of ritual performances.⁴ Given that musical and choral performances provided opportunities for appropriate individuals to act during events, performance could be considered a favourite language of communication with the gods.⁵

While music in the cultural sphere should be considered part of the actions that contribute to the effectiveness of the rite, it is also necessary to consider it as more than a mere accompaniment or means of filling various phases of the ceremony with sound: it was instead a necessary aspect of ritual practice and an indispensable element to the set of acts aimed at expressing sacredness and creating – or co-creating – the context suitable for ritual actions.⁶

For this reason, it is not possible to understand the development of ancient music (and dance) without taking into account the fact that it was heavily influenced by religion, and that all forms of musical performances were closely related to social life and festive and religious manifestations.⁷ No celebration took place without music and dance: libations, fumigations, sacrifices, and processions were performed with the accompaniment of instruments and ritualised movements.⁸ It is worth remembering that there are actually no known examples of dance performance without music in cult. As Frederick Naerebout highlights, dance performances were always accompanied by song, sounds, and musical accompaniment.⁹ They contributed to the enactment of rituals, which would have included various acts of worship in the sacred space, such as processional routes, performances of hymns, ritual dramas, and sacrifices to induce a sense of the numinous in the participants.¹⁰

¹ FURLAY 2010, 117-119.

³ TAMBIAH 1985, 123-131.

⁴ NAEREBOUT 2015, 107-109. See also SOAR and AAMODT 2014.

⁵ TAPLIN 1999, 33. See also MYLONOPOULOS 2006, 69-71.

⁷ PASALODOS, TILL, and HOWELL 2013, 17-23.

⁸ NAEREBOUT 2006.

¹⁰ Cfr. MARCONI 2007, 28.

² BELL 1997, 159-164.

⁶ LIND 2009, 203-204.

⁹ NAEREBOUT 2010, 108.

Music and sound may have had various roles: firstly, to please the gods themselves so that they were favourably disposed towards the worshippers' requests, therefore increasing the efficacy of the epiclesis.¹ Furthermore, music and sound in cult could be considered an offering to the deities and a prayer or votive act unto itself. Worshipers or musicians tried to produce a more lasting effect to the musical performance by dedicating not only the text of a song itself,² but also musical instruments or their miniaturised models in honour of a god or a goddess.³

As the papers in this volume have showed, the practice of dedicating musical instruments and sound tools to the deities of the ancient world – along with figurines of instruments – is well attested by a variety of sources, including a number of epigrams in the *Greek Anthology*, temple-accounts, and the discovery of the instruments themselves during excavations, some of which bear votive inscriptions.

As Sheramy Bundrick highlights,⁴ all together, these sources point to many different motives and often more than one explanation for the dedication of musical instruments to the gods: a prayer for protection, the retirement from religious life and from professional musical life, health, or to celebrate a victory (including participation in a music contest) and thanksgiving for a fulfilled vow. The dedicatory act of these special offerings conveys the implied exchange that is embedded in the act of giving gifts to divinities: it emphasises not only the aesthetic character of the musical instruments as votive objects – in many cases luxury items – but also their meaning as a form of a *sema* of the giver,⁵ which in turn functions as a material musical testimony of the dedicators' devotion. Thus, the dedication was employed as an instrument of ritual communication. Its full significance is articulated in the specific context of an attempt to communicate with the divine through ritual.⁶

A single instrument or single sound tool cannot tell us much about rituals linked to their dedication unless we view it against a broad social and archaeological context. Each instrument is not an isolated unit, but a component of ritual activity considered as an offering to the divinity within the framework of the ceremony. The dedication of musical instruments and sound objects acquires further specificity when it was set up at a particular location. Therefore, an ideal interpretation would consider the relationship between musical offerings and their setting. Obviously, the difficulty in treating the question of location arises from the fact that in many cases it is complicated to establish the precise location of instruments as votive gifts in a given space and this specific location's particular meaning. However, when musical instruments or sound tools survive in an archaeological context along with images, inscriptions, and possibly written sources, it is possible to outline the aspects of the occasion for which they were offered in the context of a ritual performance; they serve as valuable pieces of evidence not only for reconstruction of their function in religious practices, but also for enriching our understanding of visual images of performances in ancient world.⁷

An example of this approach to the study of musical instruments as votive gifts is offered by the *aulos*, a common find among votives. This instrument was almost al-

shown

¹ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 347.

³ Cf. BELLIA 2012a, 121-123.

⁵ RAPPAPORT 1999, 141-144.

⁷ See GAIFMAN 2008.

² PARKER 2004, 309.

⁴ See her introduction in this volume.

⁶ Cf. FORSÉN 2004, 309-310.

ways present in ceremonies:¹ despite the *aulos* being criticised in the Greek world,² it was considered an irreplaceable element of the rite. Its sound evoked the festivity itself and was seen as crucial in bringing vitality to the ceremony.³ Since its first appearance, which dates back to the end of 8th c. BCE, the *aulos* was the protagonist not only of the processions that were directed towards the shrines and at different moments of sacrificial rites, but also in dances performed in the sacred context. Whether used in solo pieces or to accompany songs, the *aulos* was the most played instrument either because it was easily portable, or because it required a relatively low level of technical skill and could be played by non-professional musicians.⁴

Several *auloi* have been discovered in the sanctuaries of the Greek world since 1900.⁵ These finds not only show how this instrument had a function in sacred places, but also how its presence in particular contexts recurs. At least until the 5th c. BCE, findings point the instruments in relation to shrines devoted mostly to female deities: this circumstance raises the issue of the function of the *auloi* in ritual activities related to the respective cults, and on the deposition of these instruments as votive offerings in these contexts. With regard to the present state of the studies,⁶ bone *auloi*, or their fragments, have been found in sacred areas that reference Hera (Samo,⁷ Chios,⁸ Perachora,⁹ Poseidonia-Paestum,¹⁰ Elea-Velia (in bronze) (FIG. 1)¹¹), Artemis (Sparta,¹² Ephesus,¹³ Brauron,¹⁴ Aegina¹⁵), Athena (Lindos,¹⁶ Ialysos¹⁷) and Persephone (Locri Epizefiri¹⁸). Now, we can add to the list of instruments found in sacred contexts two other examples found in Selinunte, one of which is a fragment of an *aulos* found in the sanctuary of *Malophoros*,¹⁹ and the other concerning the two sections of *aulos* discovered under Temple R,²⁰ probably dedicated to Demeter *Tesmophoros*. The inscribed *aulos* from Locri and the two examples from Selinunte can help us in reconstructing the ritual occasion and the meaning of the dedication related to these instruments.

As the papers of this volume highlight, few inscribed *auloi* have been found in the excavation of sanctuaries. These instruments give us some information about the dedicator and the deity the instrument was dedicated to. In the case of the *aulos* from Locri (FIG. 2),²¹ the inscription $\lambda\eta$, could be read as an invocation of the divinities

¹ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 347-348.

² WEST 2007, 129-167.

³ Cfr. HALDANE 1966, 106.

⁴ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 347; BUNDRICK 2005, 34-42.

⁵ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 353-354.

⁶ PERROT 2012; BELLIA 2017.

⁷ MOUSTAKA 2001, fig. 1, pl. 13, 1.

⁸ BOARDMAN 1967, 242, n. 598.

⁹ DUNBABIN 1962, 448-451, pl. 115; PSAROUDAKĒS 2013, 109-112, pls. 5 3c-e; 5 4c-d.

¹⁰ GRECO 1998, 56-57; GRECO 1999, 237.

¹¹ NEUTSCH 1980, 354, pl. 19, 2; CICALA and VECCHIO 2008, 164, n. 20.

¹² DAWKINS 1939, 236-237, 56-57.

¹³ HOGARTH 1908, 194, pl. 37, 12. PSAROUDAKĒS 2002, 362, pl. 22.

¹⁴ LANDELS 1963, 116-119; LANDELS 1999, 271-275.

¹⁵ FURTWÄNGLER 1906, 429, n. 7, fig. 337.

¹⁶ BLINKENBERG 1931, 153-155, nn. 448-454, pl. 16. Cfr. PSAROUDAKĒS 2008, 210, fig. 12.

¹⁷ PSAROUDAKĒS 2002, 356, pl. 18; PSAROUDAKĒS 2013, 110, pl. 5 3f.

¹⁸ Superintendency for Archaeological Heritage of Calabria, no. RC, n. inv. 5818. LEPORE 2010, 430, pls. 30.9 and 30.10; BELLIA 2012a, 93, fig. 91; BELLIA 2012b, 46-47, fig. 12.

¹⁹ Palermo, Regional Archaeological Museum, no. N.I. 23218. For its organological features, see BELLIA 2017b. See also GASPARRI 2014.

²⁰ MARCONI 2014, 108, figg. 7-8.

²¹ Lepore (2010) reads this as I and N. She proposed that this is the inscription of two notes, on the basis of an uncertain date of the instrument (3th c. BCE), but there is no reason to explain this interpretation and neither a musical nor a technical function related especially to a wind instrument. In addition, thanks

worshipped in the sanctuary in order to reinforce the dedication of the votive gift, and could be related to the rituals that marked the passage from child to adult female performed in the *Persephoneion*.¹ Taking into account that on the *pinakes*² found in the same sanctuary, scenes of procession are depicted which represent the presentation of the gifts to Persephone by the Locrian maidens before their marriage (FIG. 3),³ it is not surprising that a fragment of an *aulos* has been found in the *Persephoneion*, where the processional route could be accompanied by music: as a musical dedication, this *aulos* could have been related to this moment in which songs, music and dance were performed, and the goddess (or the other divinities worshipped in the sanctuary) could be invoked in order to protect the new lives of the girls as wives and mothers.⁴ In addition, it is worth remembering that amongst the sanctuary findings were some *pinakes* representing a scene in which a goddess or a priestess and a female *aulos* player are depicted celebrating a ritual, perhaps a bloodless sacrifice before marriage, inside a sanctuary around an altar (FIG. 4).⁵

The *aulos* from the Locrian *Persephoneion* can be considered not only as an offering related to the power of music and sound to imbue the ritual performances with a more lasting effect, but also as an effort to communicate with divinities through the inscribed invocation, consecrating the musical instrument to the related deities, most likely, the goddess Persephone.⁶

Similarly to the Locrian *aulos*, the fragment of the instrument from Selinunte displays the characteristics of the so-called “early type” *auloi*, characterised by the absence of mechanisms of action on the holes for sound production.⁷ On the basis of its features and upon comparison with the sections from Temple R, this *aulos* can also be dated to the 6th-5th c. BCE.

The discovery of an *aulos* in the sanctuary of *Malophoros* is of great interest, especially if it is considered in the context of this shrine. We do not know where exactly within the sacred area the section of the instrument was found. We do not even know what function its sound had during the celebrations at the sanctuary of *Malophoros*. However, some significant finds, dating from a period between the 7th and the 5th c. BCE, suggest that musical activities were performed in the sanctuary as early as the the Early Archaic period: in addition to Corinthian potteries with *Frauenfest* scenes⁸ and Attic vases featuring representations of dancers and instrument players (including players of the *aulos*,⁹ bronze¹⁰ and terracotta bells (FIG. 7)¹¹ used in the rituals as a signal and as the recall of the worshippers), an *aulos* player in *faïence*

pottery

to the comparison to other similar instruments found in Magna Grecia and in Sicily (BELLIA 2012a, 91-109), and on the basis of archaeological evidence of musical interest in Locri Epizefirii, the instrument could be dated to the 6th-5th c. BCE.

¹ BELLIA 2012b; MARRONI and TORELLI 2016.

² For the *pinakes* as votive objects, see FORSÉN 2004, 293.

³ BELLIA 2012b, 41, fig. 9.

⁴ Cfr. BURKERT 2003, 176-177.

⁵ MARRONI and TORELLI 2016, 53; Bellia 2017a.

⁶ Cfr. LAMBRINOUDAKIS 2004, 303-305.

⁷ Cfr. PSAROUDAKĒS 2002, 335-366. Cfr. WEST 2007, 129-158.

⁸ MARCONI 2013a, 264.

⁹ BELLIA 2009b, 49-65. See also Gasparri 2014.

¹⁰ BELLIA 2012a, 13 and 39.

¹¹ Castelvetrano (Trapani), Civic Museum. Unpublished. For clay and bronze bells as votive gifts, VIL-LING 2006.

was found,¹ as well as terracotta figurines of male and female players connected to the sacred sphere.²

Along with these pieces of evidence, the analysis of sacred spaces also adds to our knowledge base. We must not forget that, as Clemente Marconi suggests,³ the height difference between the sanctuary structures, from which one entrance was accessed on the east side of the sacred area and through a five-step staircase, was used as a form of scenery and backdrop for the dramatic re-enactments connected to the cult and practiced at the sanctuary of *Malophoros*. Thus, one cannot ignore some function of music and dance in the “sacred drama”, the plot of which can be traced to the epigraphic text dated to the 4th c. BCE and housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum, which is considered to be of Selinuntian origin.⁴

In addition, we also have to take in account that the spaces around the circular structure located outside the propylaea could be considered as a place suitable for dances around the altar⁵ or around the well, if the hypothesis that it is a replica of *Kallichoron* or *Kallichoros* of Eleusis is accepted.⁶ It is interesting to note that placed next to the propylaea, namely at the entrance to the sanctuary of *Malophoros*, was the sacred enclosure of Hecate, whose cultural connection with Demeter in her role as a messenger is attested by several written and epigraphic sources⁷ uncovered during the research on the goddess Kore. It should be considered that in Selinunte, Hecate was honoured with *Angelos* epiclesis, which is documented by the dedication found in the sanctuary near the propylaea.⁸ The epiclesis recalls the *aggheliké* dance practiced in Syracuse for Artemis as a messenger and, according to Pollux, imitated the “posture of the messengers”.⁹ As with Hecate at Selinunte, Artemis at Syracuse was also connected to Demeter and this name could be connected to the seasonal festival that announced the return of Kore after her rape carried out by Hades:¹⁰ it is very likely that this feast included processions and dance accompanied by music performed with the *aulos*.¹¹ Taking into consideration the *aulos* from the sanctuary of *Malophoros* as a votive gift, it cannot be refuted that its dedication could be related to its function as the musical instrument par excellence to delight deities, and to celebrate the rebirth of human and chthonic nature, marking the festival spirit.¹² Despite the fact that musical instruments were not generally used in the cult of chthonian deities,¹³ the use of the *aulos* in this sacred place may be an exception, as archaeological evidence and written sources have attested for other contexts.¹⁴

As a means to please the divinities, the dedication of musical instruments could also have been used as a way of commemorating the completion of a building or in the process of consecration. Prayer, sacrifice, and deposits seem to have been indis-

¹ BELLIA 2017b, 20, fig. 4.

² MARCONI 2018.

³ FARAONE and OBBINK 2013; ANTONETTI 2018, forthcoming.

⁴ See JAMESON, JORDAN, and KOTANSKY 1993, 43; ZACCARINI 2015, 300-305.

⁵ TORELLI 1984, 99. A different interpretation is in ZOPPI 2015, 32.

⁶ SERAFINI 2015, 413-425. See also ANTONETTI 2006, 154-156.

⁷ POLLUX, 4, 103.

⁸ SERAFINI 2015, 423, fig. 39.

⁹ They may have wound across from the inhabited area of Selinunte to the temple of Triolo Nord (perhaps dedicated to Hera) on the western hill, then to the sanctuary of *Malophoros* and its adjacent space, including the area where the so-called temple of Zeus *Meilichios* was built, and temple M (or most probably a fountain used as a shrine for the sacralisation of the procession), and then towards the necropolis.

¹⁰ ATHANASSAKIS 1976, 102-103. For music and dance performed on the occasion of the *Koreia* and *Kalligeneia*, see BELLIA 2012b, 32; BELLIA 2014, 25-26; BELLIA 2015, 101-102.

¹¹ BURKERT 2003, 444-450.

¹² HALDANE 1966.

¹³ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 349, n. 10; BELLIA 2009a; MARCONI 2014, 109; BELLIA 2015.

¹⁴ BELLIA 2009a, 134-137.

pensable in this procedure. According to Vassilis Lambrinoudakis,¹ consecration and foundation rites took place some time before the process of building, immediately before or during the process or after the building was completed, as thanksgiving to divinities for the success of the enterprise. Implements for sacrifice or for the parallel consumption of food by participants were deposited in the foundations. As one of the most important parts of this process, the sacrifice was always accompanied by processions, ritual dances and music.²

Regarding the bone *aulos* fragments discovered under Temple R in Selinunte, Marconi has argued that these two sections were found against the south wall of Temple R.³ A significant number of objects including vases, weapons, terracotta figurines, elements of personal ornament, and a significant amount of animal bones (identified as belonging to small piglets, goats and sheep, and fish) were also found. According to Marconi, it cannot be excluded that the two fragments, probably belonging to the same wind instrument,⁴ were dedicated together after the construction of Temple R. It seems likely that this offering was related to a sacrifice and ritual performances which could have taken place in the open space between Temple R and the South Building: it was an impressive theatral area which, since to the end of the 6th c. BCE, would have served as a viewing point for any sort of ritual performances in the open space.⁵

Given the various occasions for which the *aulos* was used (mentioned by Marconi),⁶ the possibility that the instrument was a special offering consecrated under the temple, where there were also irreversibly deposited implements of cult or votive offerings, could be considered: in this case, the dedication of the instrument was not only a form of sacrifice to the divinity in order to guarantee protection for the sacred place and for the future of the building itself,⁷ but also a dedicatory act to remember important events and rituals performed in the temple, involving performances of music and dance associated with the cult's activity.⁸

As a ritual offering that brought pleasure to the gods, instruments as votive gifts could also be conceived as souvenirs of special moments in a given ritual that involved not only singers, dancers, and musicians, but also priests, priestesses, and/or cult personnel.⁹ The desire to retain a tangible memento of a musical performance in a sacred place¹⁰ could have brought worshippers or musicians to offer these particular dedications, which survived long after their presentation to the gods as a physical perceptible and tangible object in the sanctuary.¹¹

As special votive gifts which contributed to the effort of ritual performance, musical instruments and sound objects deposited in shrines and sacred places could have contributed to evoking the presence of the gods in the worshippers, recalling sounds related to their epiphany and their soundscape in a sacred setting (as in the case of models

¹ LAMBRINOUDAKIS 2004, 337-338.

² For music and dance during sacrifice, cfr. Nordquist 1992; Vergara Cerqueira 2014; Kubatzki 2016.

³ MARCONI 2014, 107-108, fig. 5-6.

⁴ BELLIA 2018a.

⁵ MARCONI and SCAHILL 2015.

⁶ MARCONI 2014. See also BELLIA 2017.

⁷ BURKERT 2003, 202. It is worth remembering that the foundation myth of the mother city of Selinunte, Megara, is related to music. According to Pausania (the main source for this myth), after its invasion and the destruction of its walls, Megara was reconstructed at the location where Apollo laid his musical instrument. See MARCONI 2007, 197-199.

⁸ For music and dance associated with cult activity in Selinunte, see BELLIA 2018b. See also BELLIA 2018c.

⁹ NORDQUIST 1994.

¹⁰ Cfr. MARCONI 2013b.

¹¹ PARKER 2004.

of percussion instruments found in sanctuaries dedicated to the chthonic divinities near the altar),¹ or of rattles in the form of fruits and pomegranates, most of which have been found in sanctuaries dedicated to female divinities of fertility and safety.²

Keeping this perspective in mind, these dedications could commemorate the devotion of worshippers and musicians: their dedicatory act was associated not only with a specific idea of ritual and musical performances, but also to an explicit preservation of their memory.³

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¹ DE MIRO 2008; BELLIA 2014, 25, fig. 13.

² BELLIA 2012a, fig. 13.

³ For the memory of ritual performance and shared experience, see CHANIOTIS 2016; CONNELLY 2011.

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FIG. 1. Velia, "holy well" area: Bronze instrument (from Neusch 1980, pl. 19, 2).

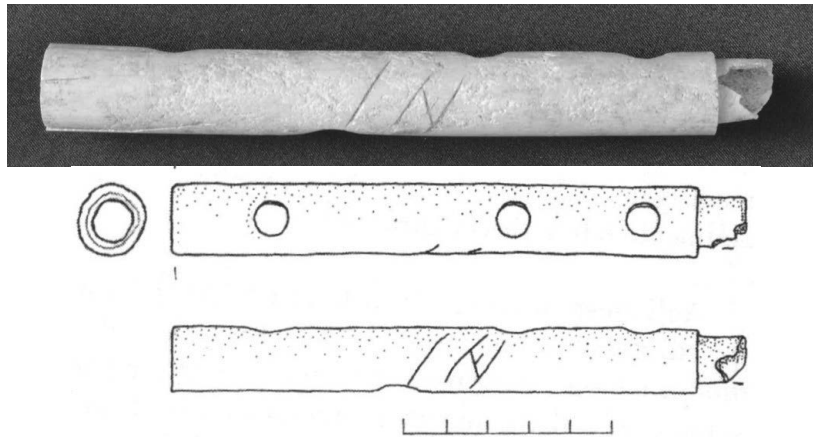


FIG. 2. Locri Epizefiri, *Persephoneion*: Inscribed *aulos* fragment [Drawing from Lepore 2010, pl. 30.9]. (© Superintendency for Archaeological Heritage of Calabria, no. RC, n. inv. 5818).

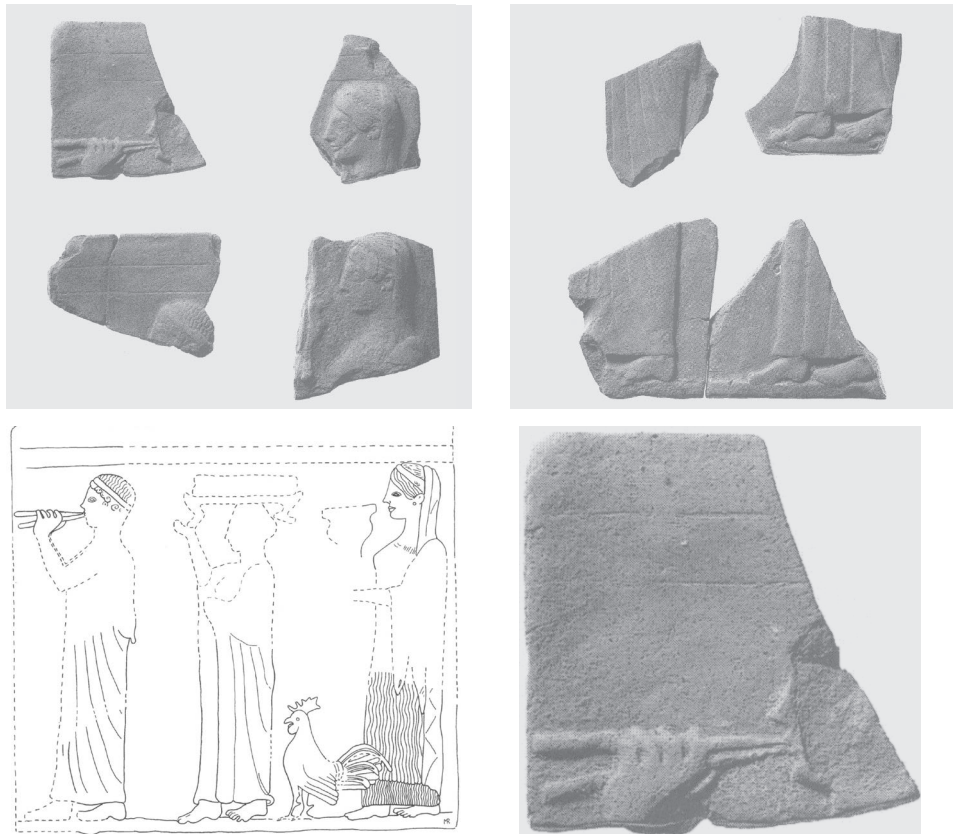
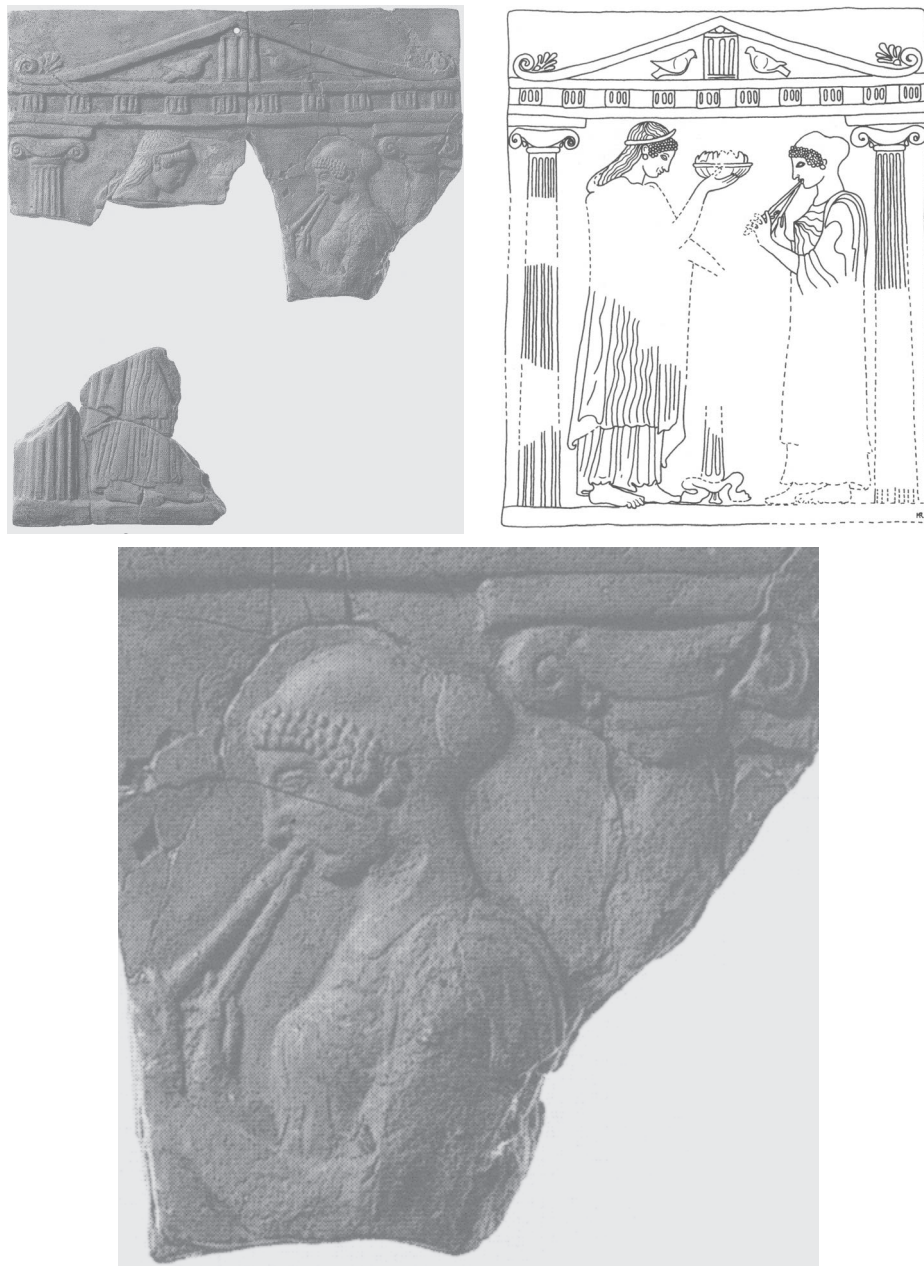


FIG. 3. Locri Epizefiri, *Persephoneion*: pinakes representing a procession with a male *aulos* player (from *I pinakes di Locri 2000-2003*, s. IV, II, 5, pls. 84-84, fig. 35).



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FIG. 4. Locri Epizefiri, *Persephoneion*: pinakes representing a female *aulos* player inside a temple (from *I pinakes di Locri* 2000-2003, s. IV, II, 5, pl. 16 a,b, fig. 5).



FIG. 5. Selinunte, Sanctuary of *Malophoros*: Bone *aulos* fragment
(© Palermo, Regional Archaeological Museum, no. N.I. 23218)

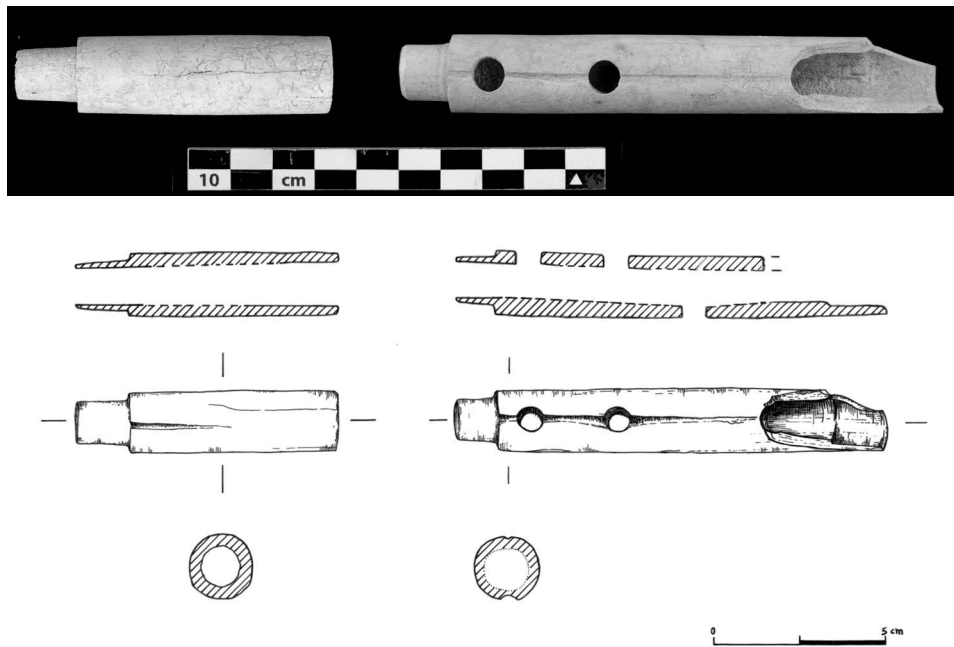


FIG. 6. Selinunte, Temple R: Bone *auloi* fragments. Drawing by Filippo Pisciotta
(from Marconi 2014, 116, figs. 7-8. © Institute of Fine Arts - NYU).



FIG. 7. Selinunte, Sanctuary of *Malophoros*: Clay bell
(© Castelvetro (Trapani), Civic Museum).

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