CHAPTER SEVEN
PERFORMATIVE ASPECTS OF MUSIC
IN SACRED CONTEXTS OF THE WESTERN GREEKS
ANGELA BELLIA

Introduction
This essay is the first survey focused on one of the most important aspects of music and dance in the ancient Greek world. Several elements suggest the occurrence of musical and choral performances in the context of an installation often present in the sanctuaries of the Western Greek poleis, namely the cultic theatre. These buildings belong to an interesting group of theatrical structures found in various regions of the Greek world, including the Peloponnese, Crete, Attica, East Greece, Magna Graecia, and Sicily. These structures were not proper theatres in the modern sense of the word, but, rather, rows of seats (with linear and non-circular theatra and/or orchestra).²

Many of these buildings existed as “a place from where one could watch and listen”, which is in fact the original meaning of the word theatron. The quality of the stones was carefully selected in relation to their placement in the cultic theatres, which was based on structural, aesthetic and, in all likelihood, acoustic considerations. The seats predominantly faced the centre of the sanctuary, as did the temple of the deity, so that both those seated and the ‘deity’ could watch and listen to the proceedings in the orchestra, where the altar was also normally placed.

¹ University of Bologna - New York University.
Musical and choral activities in these theatrical buildings existed in close association with rituals performed in the sanctuaries and *agoras* of Western Greece. Despite their relevance to the field of ancient Greek music, no study has focused on the musical and choral performances staged in these structures.

**Musical and Choral Performances in the Cultic Theatres of Ancient Western Greece**

Cultic theatres are a category of buildings brought to the attention of scholarship on Greek drama by Carlo Anti and Elizabeth Gebhard, but first investigated in relation to religious contexts by Inge Nielsen in her study on cultic theatres and ritual drama in the ancient world; by Clemente Marconi in his study on the theatrical structure in the main urban sanctuary of Selinunte; and by Mary B. Hollinshead in her study on steps as components of monumental construction at Greek sites as early as the 6th century BCE.

In early Greek theatre research, the focus was on the form of the early Greek orchestra, the dancing place of the chorus. The early dithyramb dances were performed in circles, while the dramatic chorus appeared in a square. As Alexander Sokolicek has pointed out, the form of the chorus does not necessarily have anything to do with the form of the orchestra. For many years, Greek drama has been related to round dances performed in round spaces, until Anti and Gebhard stressed the idea of rectilinear orchestras: early theatres had individual solutions, and none of them had a circular orchestra. The earliest Greek theatre buildings that appeared in the late Archaic and Classical world were all more or less rectilinear buildings. These theatres are considered to have been associated with political meetings, dramatic performances, and cult. The rectilinear theatres from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE in particular have been associated mostly with cultic sphere and ritual performances.

At present, we have little information concerning the organisation of musical and choral activities in these cultic theatres: this is in part due to our poor understanding of processional routes and of the rituals associated with individual buildings. However, dance and music, important features of many cults, were part of these celebrations: musical performances

---

3 Anti 1947; Gebhard 1974.
4 Nielsen 2002.
6 Hollinshead 2015.
7 Sokolicek 2015: 97-98.
accompanied the re-enactments of the myths of the gods, as it were, in their presence. Certainly, ritual players memorised songs, accompanied by music and reinforced by dance, that recounted etiological myths about the respective divinity and the origins of local cult practice. At least in certain cults, priests and priestesses seem to have acted out the roles of the deities themselves.8

If we move from Sicily to Italy we find suggestive, though scattered, evidence of a rich song culture. Although many ancient written and figurative sources do not offer solid evidence of how musical and choral activities were performed, they do preserve details of cult from which we might be able to reconstruct plausible performances. In other cases, archaeological evidence allows us to study musical performances in the West as an essential component of worship and ritual.9

As Frederick Naerebout has argued, it is rare that we can point to specific spaces meant for music and dance activities using archaeological evidence. Musical and choral performances were performed in some spaces also used for other sacred activities.10 Marconi has highlighted that these performances took place in purpose-built spaces in the forecourts of the sanctuaries.11 Indeed, the enactments during the ceremonies consisted partly of shorter mythical dramas, often including dances, accompanied by music, in the space around altars from which sounds and rhythms in the open air might be captured, offering enhanced acoustics as well as improved viewing: the implied participation of worshippers included singing, listening, and watching.

It is only recently that scholars have observed music, dance, drama, and sport as varieties of ritual action and communication, rather than as simple forms of recreation.12 Once we appreciate music and choral activities in this light, their religious context serves only to enhance their performative quality. Thus, as Catherine Bell has argued, performances communicated on multiple sensory levels, usually involving highly visual imagery, dramatic sounds, and other tactile, olfactory, and gustatory

---

8 Connely 2007: 104.
9 For an overview on the musical performances related to sacred contexts in Magna Graecia and in Sicily, see Bellia 2014: 13-46.
12 Smith 2012: 553-560.
Music and dance, two components inseparable in the sacred sphere, strengthened the power of performances. As a time when individuals with appropriate status acted during events, musical and choral performance in cult could be considered a favourite language of communication with the gods and an offering to the deities completed in the framework of the ritual ceremony. The procession, feasting, animal sacrifices, and competition would have been standard components, with musical and choral activities, prayers, and offerings. Musical and dance performances contributed to the enactment of rituals, which would have included various acts of worship in the sacred space, like processions, performances of hymns, sacrifices, and ritual dramas to induce a sense of the numinous in the participants. According to Nielsen, ritual drama can be defined as a dramatic ritual based on the myth of the god and thus furnished with a plot, performed at the great seasonal feasts. It was enacted as a ritual during the festive liturgy, often with active participation from the worshippers. She has argued that formal dramatic performances evolved from cultic songs that contained a narrative drawn from the vita of the god being honoured. In contrast to literary drama, ritual drama must treat the myth of the god at whose feast it was performed. The reason why ritual drama was so important in ancient religions is that it constituted a good way to learn and understand the contents of the cults in an essentially non-literary society.

In the Western Greek area, there are several testimonies on ritual dramas, some of which are related to musical and choral performances. Furthermore, much information may be gleaned from liturgical hymns, epic poems, and literary drama texts. In addition, masks of a special type from as early as the 7th century BCE have been found in the sanctuaries, and vase paintings and terracottas often show the performances of masked mythical figures, dancers, musicians, and singers (Fig. 7-1). Last, but not least, a permanent setting for these dramas, the cultic theatre, was developed in the sanctuaries of the West at Metaponto, Poseidonia, Taranto, and at Syracuse, Selinunte, Agrigento, Heloros, Morgantina.

13 Bell 1997: 159-164.  
17 Papadopoulou 2004: 330, n. 266.  
18 Bosher 2013: 110-121.  
The cultic theatres in Magna Graecia and in Sicily primarily constituted the setting for ritual dramas, rather than for more well-known rituals such as sacrifices or literary dramas (that is, essentially, tragedy, comedy, and satyr play). Even though an independent dramatic tradition was eventually developed in these areas, the first Greek colonists brought from the homeland their own religious traditions, including ritual drama. We do not know much about the early history of ritual dramas and how musical and choral performances were connected to them in the western Greek poleis, but judging from the colonists’ great inventiveness in this field, such dramas must have constituted an important element in their cults from the beginning of their settlement.21

Fig. 7-1: Agrigento, masked singer. 5th century BCE. (Bernabò Brea 2002: 36, fig. 6).

Given that the placement of the cultic theatres was in close association with sacred spaces, it would seem safe to assume they accommodated audiences during religious celebrations and festivals.22 What is not always

---

21 Will 2012: 56-75. Cultic theatres are certainly documented in Western Greece, and the gods with which they were often associated were often the same as those in the homeland. See Nielsen, 2002: 142-143.
22 Hollinshead 2015: 35-40.
clear is that the spectacle offered to these audiences was specifically a ritual drama, given the scarcity of literary sources attesting to that practice, or archaeological evidence from many sites. But drama of some kind must surely be considered as a possibility, along with the performance of hymns, sacrifices, agones, music and choral dances. In support of this theory, musical instruments have been found among the votive deposits in the temples, bearing close association with these structures in the West. Further reference to such activities in Western Greek poleis may be found on vases and figurines discovered in sacred areas among the votive pottery, which feature musical and dancing figures.

The Cases of Selinunte, Syracuse, and Metaponto

At Selinunte, a polis located on the southwest coast of Sicily, several elements suggest the identification of the South Building, one of the larger structures in the main urban sanctuary on the Acropolis, as an impressive theatrical viewing area (Fig. 7-2). According to Marconi, this structure was built to accommodate spectators of cultic performances associated primarily with Temple R, probably a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros. One of the main striking finds among the votive depositions was the discovery of two parts of a bone aulos, which can be dated to 570 BCE (Fig. 7-3). As a particular votive gift, the aulos from Selinunte would have existed in connection with the cult of Temple R: the practice of either worshippers or musicians dedicating musical instruments to the gods is well attested by numerous sources. This discovery at Selinunte is very significant, particularly with regard to the performance of music and ritual dancing associated with the sacred activity of Temple R. As Clemente Marconi has argued, the performance of choral dancing in this part of Selinunte’s main urban sanctuary is also suggested by another discovery in the area of Temple R: a series of Corinthian vase fragments which feature chains of dancing women or worshippers taking part in a festival that conform to the so-called Frauenfest iconography. These discoveries

---

25 Marconi / Scahill 2015: 281-294, fig. 11.
26 Marconi 2013: 263-271; Bellia 2015a: 91-118.
27 Marconi 2014: 105-116, fig. 8; Bellia 2015b: 46-59.
29 Marconi 2015: 263-271, fig. 5-8.
show the importance of music and dance in a sacred context at Selinunte that already existed in the Early Archaic period, that is, since its foundation.

Fig. 7-2: Selinunte, South Building and Temple R. Digital model by Massimo Limoncelli and drawing by David Seahill. © Institute of Fine Arts, NYU (Marconi / Seahill 2015: 289 and 291, figs. 8 and 11).

Fig. 7-3: Selinunte, Temple R: Aulos fragments 570 BCE. Drawing by Filippo Pisciotta. © Institute of Fine Arts, NYU (Marconi 2014: 116: fig. 8).
Taking into consideration the South Building as a ritual stop or a stopping place for procession, including a dramatised ritual related to the demetriac myth, it is worth remembering that at Megara Nisea, the motherland of Selinunte, a kind of sacred drama was performed in honour of Demeter and her daughter. Pausanias\textsuperscript{30} cited that the dramatic performance took place with active participation from female worshippers who performed lamentations. The women celebrated Demeter during a festival, holding a performance that was a mimetic representation of her myth, probably across the connecting route between the megaron on the Carian acropolis and the Tesmophorion on the acropolis. We cannot be sure if a similar sacred drama was enacted at Selinunte and if musical activities were performed. However, we can take in consideration that some form of music might be performed: in this case, the aulos was the instrument best suited for the female lamentation. Indeed, the aulos gave a characteristic intonation to the lament and was omnipresent in rituals and processions because the performers, often non-professionals, were able to bring it to the celebrations easily.\textsuperscript{31}

Elsewhere, in the Corinthian colony of Syracuse, an early theatron, dated to the late 4\textsuperscript{th}-early 5\textsuperscript{th} century BCE, has been preserved in the Archaic sanctuary of Apollo Temenitis, a chthonic god related to Demeter and Kore (Fig. 7-4).\textsuperscript{32} According to Carlo Anti and Luigi Polacco,\textsuperscript{33} two phases were revealed during their thorough investigations of the building. The first phase proposed by these scholars, dating to the middle of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century BCE, is documented only by post-holes indicating a wooden structure. The second phase is that of a trapezoid theatron of a similar date in mainland Greece. In this space, music and dance were likely to have been performed, as well as ritual dramas. Polacco has suggested that from the beginning of its establishment, this theatre was connected with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. This theory, mainly based on the physical proximity of cult sites to Demeter and theatres, is documented at Heloros and Morgantina,\textsuperscript{34} and postulated for Agrigento.\textsuperscript{35} In relation to Sicily, it becomes particularly interesting from a cultural-historical perspective. Indeed, according to Polacco’s theory, supported more recently by Barbara Kowalzig,\textsuperscript{36} the origins of drama in Sicily are closely associated with the

\textsuperscript{30} 1.42.
\textsuperscript{31} Papadopoulou 2004: 347.
\textsuperscript{32} Nielsen 2002: 146, fig. 68.
\textsuperscript{33} Anti / Polacco 1981.
\textsuperscript{34} Marconi / Seahill 2015: 292; Stilwell 1959: 879-888.
\textsuperscript{35} Polacco 1988: 59-62.
\textsuperscript{36} Kowalzig 2008: 128-157.
cult of Demeter, rather than Dionysos, as is the case in Athens. Kowalzig argues that, judging from archaeological evidence, the performance of drama in Sicily was tied to Demeter. Indeed, it is a striking fact that many theatrical structures in Sicily are found in close proximity to sanctuaries associated with chthonic cults. The political importance of the cult of these deities in Sicily was enormous and long-standing. The theatrical connection with Demeter and Kore was strong during the reign of the Deinomenids, particularly during that of Hieron I (478–467 BCE): at his court, prominent figures such as Aeschylus were hosted following his invitation to Syracuse in 476 BCE. The tyrants apparently claimed the hierophancy of the cult by hereditary title, a claim that was used to legitimate the maintenance of their power.

Fig. 7-4: Syracuse, general plan of the monumental complex of the Temenitis. Bottom left, the sanctuary of Apollo Temenites with temenos (B) and cultic theatre (A) (Nielsen 2002: 146, fig. 68).

The performances might be connected to the written sources, including the relevant characteristics of the noise festivals of the chthonic goddesses at Syracuse.\(^{38}\) An example is offered by the ten-day *Thesmophoria*, during which the participants “imitated the ancient way of life” and indulged in *aischrologia* with each other: \(^{39}\) this emulated the kind of coarse language that had amused Demeter when Persephone was lost. In the ritual of the *aischrologia*, obscenities were hurled from participant to participant as a way for women to experience Demeter’s ordeal and bring them closer to the experience of the goddess. According to MacLachlan, the ritual and choral performances of the Aeginetans cited by Herodotus,\(^{40}\) which honoured the fertility divinities Damia and Auxesia with jeering and abuse of the female chorus, offer the best parallel for these rituals.\(^{41}\) Moreover, the central theme of her rape and the consequent search for Persephone incorporates a number of singular details which turn out to reflect the ritual of *Thesmophoria*, at which it was customary to enact the story of the rape in the form of a sacred drama. We do not know if music and dance were performed in sacred drama related to *Thesmophoria* in Syracuse, but judging from archaeological evidence, it is very likely. Indeed, musical instruments, some of which are miniaturised,\(^{42}\) and figurines of female *auloi* players (Fig. 7-5)\(^{43}\) and dancers (Fig. 7-6)\(^{44}\) have been discovered around Sicily in many shrines in which the *Thesmophoria* were celebrated.\(^{45}\)

\(^{38}\) De Miro 2008: 47-92.
\(^{39}\) Diod. 5.4.7.
\(^{40}\) 5.83.
\(^{41}\) See MacLachlan 2012: 343-344.
\(^{44}\) Cottonaro 2010: 139, fig. 8b; Bellia 2014: 24.
\(^{45}\) Bellia 2015a.
A more recent analysis of the literary and monumental evidence by Kathryn Bosher argues for a more nuanced approach to the problem of the origins of drama in Sicily, pointing to its association with a range of gods, including Demeter and Dionysos, but also Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis.\textsuperscript{46} As Kathryn A. Morgan has argued, several other festivals connected with Demeter and Kore took place at Syracuse, as well as festivals dedicated to Artemis Lyaia and Chitonia, and to the Nymphs. To these festivals we can add a Hermeia and, in all likelihood, a Karneia. Many of these characterised what we might call ‘pre-dramatic’ performances. The Syracusan cult of Artemis Lyaia is related to the time before the Deinomenids conquered the polis when the cattle were perishing under a plague. Artemis was placated by a ritual in which inhabitants of the countryside moved in procession through the town, entered the ‘theatre’, and sang a song of victory, likely accompanied by an aulos,\textsuperscript{47} and over time this became a tradition. There was a kind of ritual drama between the revellers; the defeated went around the villages to collect

\textsuperscript{46} Bosher 2013: 118-120. See also Marconi / Scahill 2015: 292.

\textsuperscript{47} Bellia 2009: 162.
food, singing jocular songs, and ending in good wishes. Moreover, Atheneus informs us that Artemis Chitonia was honoured with aulos-playing and a dance called ‘ionic’; Pollux adds that the Sicilians danced an ‘ionic’ dance for this goddess.

Further evidence of musical performances in the sacred places related to Artemis at Syracuse is the archaeological finds of votive gifts in the form of terracotta figurines representing female musicians and dancers, discovered in the theatron of the Artemision in the north gate of the city. The figurines of musicians and dancers seem to recall the noisy performance of ritual re-enactments in a sacred setting: the dedication of a musical image to the goddess was thought to bring the worshiper into her presence. These depictions may have been conceived as souvenirs related to particular moments in a given ritual performed in this shrine, which would have involved not only priests, priestesses, and/or cult personnel, but also singers, dancers, and musicians. We might imagine a festival or cult activity, where dancers and musicians acting the part of the goddess played a leading role.

Fig. 7-7: Syracuse, female figurine playing tympanon. From the Artemision. 4th century BCE (Bellia 2009: 142, n. 352).

---

48 The revel (komos) of boukoliastai which took place in connection with the festival of Artemis Lyaa at Syracuse (Schol. ad Theoc., ed. Wendel, p. 2).
49 14.629e.
50 4.103.
51 Bellia 2009: 162.
Along with these two examples in Sicily, we can add one of the most fascinating theatrical structures found in Magna Graecia: the so-called 

167 ekkelesiasterion (550-540 BCE) in the Achaenan colony of Metaponto, the remains of which run through the entire gamut of development from wooden ikria to canonical stone theatre. This ekkelesiasterion in the agora of Metaponto was a wide amphitheater-like structure built on top of an earlier wooden structure. The first building, dating to the 7th century BCE, consisted merely of a rectangular area with wooden ikria on one side, of which charred traces have been found. As it has been observed by Marconi, the ekkelesiasterion accommodates some 7500 people, and taking into consideration its location facing the urban sanctuary, it may have served not only for political assemblies but also for spectacles related to sacred festivals.

According to Nielsen, the regularity of the lines (grammai), some of which were designed in connection with choral dance, might indicate that they were meant to guide the movements of people performing rituals there. Moreover, Luigi Todisco has highlighted that these lines might be related to the tetragonoi choroi, the most ancient of dramatic choruses. The very size of these buildings makes it clear that they were doubtless used for choral dances, most likely accompanied by music, as well as for ritual drama.

**Concluding Remarks**

Although this evidence shows the importance of musical and choral performances related to cult ceremonies, and public dramatisation of the myths of the gods in theatrical structures in close association with the sanctuaries and agoras since the Early Archaic period, there have been no studies focused on the organisation of the sacred space for choral and musical practices, as well as for ritual performances.

It is worth remembering that, as Marconi has argued, dramatic performances do not seem to have been the only reason for the spread of

---

54 Todisco 2002: 149-156.
55 Marconi 2012b: 376.
56 Nielsen 2002: 147.
57 Todisco 2002: 18.
58 Nielsen 2002: 146-148. For other examples of musical and choral performances in a sacred setting at Metaponto, see Ammerman 2016.
59 Ampolo 2009.
these theatres.\textsuperscript{61} Another important aspect must have been the political and social function of these buildings for gatherings and assemblies. Written sources expressly mention the public character of theatrical performances in Western Greece,\textsuperscript{62} and we cannot dismiss the fact that such performances played a major social and political role in strengthening the cultural and social identity of the population.\textsuperscript{63} This is because these activities, which had taken place since the time of the societies’ earliest foundations, facilitated interaction between Greek and non-Greek communities. For this reason, the role of musical and choral performances in the process of creating and reinforcing social cohesion among Greeks and non-Greeks needs to be taken into consideration. The performances prompted a process of acculturation of the local populations, particularly their elites, which brought about the adoption of Greek social institutions: music and choral performances might have produced a sense of belonging to society thanks to their privileged function in communicating messages to worshippers about the social order and the values of the community.\textsuperscript{64} Moreover, music, dance and theatre were a sort of common language to most Greeks of different provenance, or who belonged to opposing political factions.

These connections, in comparison with other sites in Southern Italy, Sicily, as well as Mainland Greece, are still in need of investigation through a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary study that would bring together archaeology, history of art and architecture, and scholarship on musical and choral activities.

References


\textsuperscript{61} Marconi 2012: 184-185.

\textsuperscript{62} Hesychius, π 1408; Plato, \textit{Laws}, 659b-c. Todisco (2002) offers a good synthetic discussion of the current state of evidence for theatrical and other performances in Magna Graecia and in Sicily.


\textsuperscript{64} Tambiah 1985: 123-131.


—. (1990), Il teatro di Dioniso Eleuterio ad Atene, L’Erma di Bretschneider, Roma.
The Iberians developed an Iron Age culture which flourished in the Iberian Peninsula between the 6th century BCE and the Roman Conquest. A non Indo-European people, they occupied the central and Eastern parts of modern Andalusia, and the Levantine quarter of the Iberian Peninsula. They show a complex social organization, alphabet and intense influences and cultural exchanges with other Mediterranean cultures such as the Phoenicians and Greeks in earlier periods, and Punics and Romans later on, and also the Celtiberian and other Iberian Celts in the West.

Despite the impossibility, due to the lack of organological remains, of reconstructing their musical instruments or of delving more-deeply into the sound world of the Iberians, the music iconography is, nonetheless, abundant and rich in information, and can tell us many things about the cultural function of music in Iberian societies, and, furthermore, about some symbolic concepts and cultural behaviours (Merriam 1964). It can also provide some clues which enable us to interpret how music may have been historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied (Rice 1987: 469-488) as well as inform about the performance of the genders in Iberian culture and their roles.

1 The use of the terms “trumpet” and “horn” in this paper are used descriptively in this paper and not intended to carry any organological significance, such as whether their tubing is cylindrical or conical.
2 Universidad de Valladolid.
3 Middlesex University.