



Aristophanes' *Adôniazousai*

A scholiast's note on *Lysistrata* mentions that there was an alternative title to the play: *Adôniazousai*. A close reading of the play with this title in mind reveals that Lysistrata and her allies metaphorically hold an Adonis festival atop the Acropolis. The Adonia, a festival that is typically regarded as "marginal" and "private" by modern scholars, thus becomes symbolically central and public as the sex-strike held by the women halts the Peloponnesian war. The public space of the Acropolis becomes, notionally, a private rooftop, and Adonia-like activity proliferates; boars, myrrh, Aphrodite, "gardens of Adonis," and lamentation all play important roles. The notion that the women of *Lysistrata* hold an unexpected Adonis festival on the Acropolis, at the very heart of the Athenian *polis*, provides a more nuanced reading of the play and forces us to rethink the place of the Adonia at Athens as well as, more generally, the distinction between public and private festivals.

A recurrent pattern emerges: the "top" attempts to reject and eliminate the "bottom" for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover, not only that it is in some way frequently dependent upon that low-Other (in the classic way that Hegel describes in the master-slave section of the *Phenomenology*), but also that the top *includes* that low symbolically.... The result is ... a psychological dependence upon precisely those Others which are being rigorously exposed and excluded at the social level. It is for this reason that what is *socially* peripheral is so frequently *symbolically* central (like long hair in the 1960s).

Stallybrass and White¹

What's so funny about Adonis? A young mortal gored by a boar at whose festival Ἀδώνιδος κήποι, "gardens of Adonis," were intentionally destroyed, a

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1. Stallybrass and White 1986: 5.

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figure from the east who was ritually lamented—Adonis and his festival would seem to be more suited for the genre of tragedy.²

Yet Adonis and his festival were not infrequent subjects of fifth- and fourth-century comedy. In fact, Adonis appeared often enough in comedy that discussion developed years later over variants of his name.³ And, although the works are no longer extant, a number of comic poets wrote plays with the title *Adônis*: Araros, Antiphanes, Philiskos, Plato, Nikophon.⁴ As for the festival, it appears as a theme in a number of plays, and at least two poets wrote an *Adôniazousai* (*Women-at-the-Adonis-Festival*)—Philippides and Philetairos.⁵

Unlike larger, state-sanctioned, “public” festivals—the Panathenaia, for example—the Adonia appears at first glance to be a festival on the cultural margins of classical Athens. During the Adonis festival, women planted seeds in pottery vessels known as “gardens of Adonis,” and when the plants sprouted they carried the tender shoots up to the rooftops of their homes. The plants were left to wither in the sun and women lamented over the dead sprouts. Given that the ritual took place on the rooftops of homes and involved plant exposure and lamentation, the Adonis festival has left few traces in the archaeological record. There is no sanctuary complex devoted to Adonis where the rituals were performed, no remains of a temple of Adonis anywhere.⁶ And, in the texts from the fifth and fourth centuries, the Adonia is a festival that is mentioned only in passing, as an aside—for example, in a philosophical dialogue (Plato *Phaedrus* 276b) or a comedy (Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 387–98).

The approach of modern scholars to the Adonis festival is symptomatic of the evidence provided by the ancient texts and monuments, with only a few pages or a footnote here and there devoted to the Athenian festival.⁷ In the

2. We do, in fact, know of two Hellenistic tragedies named *Adônis*, one by Dionysios (*TrGF* 1.76 fr. 1) and one by Ptolemy IV Philopator (*TrGF* 1.119 T 1). “Gardens of Adonis” made some sort of appearance in one of Euripides’ *Melanippe* plays (*TrGF* 5. fr. 514).

3. Photios s.vv. *Adônios*, *Adônia*: Pherekrates *PCG* vii fr. 181, 213; Platon *PCG* vii fr. 4; Kratinos *PCG* iv fr. 404; Aristophanes *PCG* iii 2 fr. 759; (cf. Eur. *TrGF* fr. 514).

4. Antiphanes *PCG* ii fr. 14–16; Araros *PCG* ii fr. 1–3; Nikophon *PCG* vii p. 63; Philiskos *PCG* vii p. 356; Platon *PCG* vii fr. 1–8; Kratinos *PCG* iv fr. 17.

5. Kratinos *PCG* iv fr. 17 and Pherekrates *PCG* vii. fr. 181, Aristophanes *Peace* 416–420. *Women-at-the-Adonis-Festival*: Philippides *PCG* vii F1–4; Philetairos K ii, p. 230.

6. A scholiast reports (*Lys.* 389 Γ Hangard) on Ἀδωνιασμός that women celebrated rites (θυσίαι) that were “not at public expense and irregular” (οὐ δημοτελεῖς οὔδε τεταγμέναις). We have no record that the Adonia took place in a public building at Athens, though when Pausanias discusses Argos and the sanctuary of Zeus *Sôitêr*, he does report a structure (ὄκημα) nearby where the women lamented Adonis (2.20.6). Pausanias also mentions a joint temple (ἱερόν) of Adonis and Aphrodite at Amathus on Cyprus, 9.41.2.

7. In Simon’s *Festivals of Attica*, Adonis receives a one-sentence mention in a list of divinities that were mourned in festivals (1983: 91). Parker 2005 devotes a few pages to the Adonia (283–88). See n.9 below. As for more general books on Greek religion, Adonis tends to receive short shrift. In his *Greek Religion*, Walter Burkert considers Adonis in a section entitled “The Remainder of the Pantheon” under a subheading “Foreign Gods” (1985: 176–79). The Adonia does not appear in the index of Cole’s recent (2004) book on gender and ritual. Bowie 1993 focuses on ritual in

most extensive treatment of the Adonia to date, Marcel Detienne argued that far from being a vegetation god—the Frazerian view of Adonis—Adonis and his festival were concerned with *improper* farming, seduction, and the failure of reproduction.⁸ Detienne found that the Adonis festival was structurally opposed to the Thesmophoria—a festival that centered on marriage and procreation.⁹

However, the restrictiveness of Detienne's picture of the Adonis festival as fundamentally a marginalized and private festival in opposition to the public and central Thesmophoria obscures the wider political implications of the Adonia, the ways in which the festival straddles the private and public spheres, and the fact that "what is *socially* peripheral is so frequently *symbolically* central," as Stallybrass and White put it.¹⁰ It is frequently the case that insofar as a festival is described as "private," as the Adonia is invariably described, it is thereby to some degree dismissed, especially given that Greek "religion" is currently read very much in terms of the *polis*. Greek religion, to be sure, had a center (e.g. Delphi, known as the *omphalos*, or the Acropolis of Athens) and a periphery.¹¹ Given that festivals like the Adonia tend to be situated on the margin in Greek texts, to date, no scholar has produced a systematic study of representations of the Adonia with attention to the Athenian context.¹²

In *Peace*, Aristophanes mentions the Adonis festival in the same breath as the Panathenaia. The Athenians are so desirous of peace that they are prepared to offer Hermes rites normally offered to other gods:

Aristophanes but says little about the Adonia. In Henderson's Loeb (2000) he remarks in a footnote on *Lys.* 389: "Adonis was . . . a Semitic import not recognized by the city." For a detailed treatment of the Hellenistic festival, however, see Reed 2000; see Simms 1985 and 1998 for treatment of the Athenian Adonia. See also *LIMC* Adonis.

8. Detienne 1994 [1972]; Frazer 1906. See Winkler's (1990) response to many of Detienne's claims. While Detienne's work on the Adonia has helped to shape my view of this festival, this reading of *Lysistrata*, like Winkler's chapter on the Adonia, calls into question a number of Detienne's assertions concerning the festival.

9. Indeed, discussion of the Adonia in conjunction with the Thesmophoria has persisted since Detienne's analysis. So Robert Parker's recent discussion of the Adonia appears in a chapter entitled "Women's Festivals: Thesmophoria and Adonia," although there are a variety of other female festivals that the Adonia might be paired with in a chapter entitled "Women's Festivals" (2005: 270–89). See also Winkler 1990, who also discusses the Thesmophoria and the Adonia in the same chapter.

10. Stallybrass and White 1986: 5.

11. See, for example, Cole's chapter "Inventing the Center," for a discussion of some of the rhetoric surrounding Delphi as center (2004: 66–91).

12. My approach here is part of a larger project in which I "center" the Adonia in classical Athens and bring it into sharper focus by examining representations of the festival in texts from the period (vase painting, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, and Plato's *Phaedrus*), with a look also at the Hellenistic Adonia of Alexandria (Theocritus' *Idyll* 15) for comparative purposes. This investigation stems from the belief that we must always read with as full a context as possible. Instead of detaching information about the Adonis festival from the texts in which it is embedded, I situate the evidence within the entire work, paying particular attention to the *medium* in which it is conveyed, an approach which requires sustained attention to the logic of a given work as a whole—be it a comedy, a philosophical dialogue, or a vase painting. See Reitzammer 2006.

καὶ σοὶ τὰ μεγάλ' ἡμεῖς Παναθήναι' ἄξομεν
 πάσας τε τὰς ἄλλας τελετὰς τὰς τῶν θεῶν,
 Μυστήρι' Ἑρμῇ, Διπολείῃ, Ἀδώνια.

Peace 418–20

And in your honor we will celebrate the Great Panathenaia,
 and all the other rites of the gods,
 the Mysteries, the Dipolieia, the Adonia, to Hermes.

The fact that the Adonis festival is juxtaposed with the Panathenaia (and cults of Demeter and Zeus, two other central deities in the Greek pantheon) suggests that the ritual was a well-known component of the religious landscape even if the mention of the Adonia in connection with these other festivals is supposed to be humorous. What if we were to shift the frame and “center” the Adonis festival?

A scholiast on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* mentions that there was an alternative title to the play. On the use of the word *Adôniasmos* by the magistrate character (*Lys.* 389), the scholiast remarks: ἐορτὴν γὰρ ἐπετέλουν τῷ Ἀδώνιδι αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ κήπους τινὰς εἰς τὰ δώματα ἀνέφερον. τινὲς δὲ ἐκ τούτου τὸ δρᾶμα Ἀδωνιαζούσας ἐπιγράφουσιν (“for the women used to celebrate a festival for Adonis and they used to carry garden-things up to their rooftops. And some, for this reason, call (or subtitle) the drama *Adôniazousai*”).¹³ The scholiast goes on to reject this title, with a dismissive οὐ καλῶς (“not correctly”), as have most scholars ever since. What if we chose to listen for *Adôniazousai* in *Lysistrata*? Perhaps a direct look at an activity that has not been the focus of scholarly investigation will change our view of Greek religion.¹⁴

In this paper I discuss the representation of the Adonia in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in order to bring the festival into clear view within the context of the comedy and, more broadly, within the context of Athenian cultural and political life during the classical period. The Adonis festival turns out to have an important *public* and *political* role within *Lysistrata*. In the end, as I argue, the women of the play hold an unexpected Adonia atop the Acropolis—the symbolic center of the city—in order to put a stop to the Peloponnesian war.¹⁵ This is a paradoxical

13. Σ389 Γ Hangard. A scholiast gives another title for *Lysistrata*: *Diallagê* (Σ1114 R Hangard). Concerning ancient titles, Griffith 1977 remarks, “it seems that most ancient works of literature did not bear formal titles such as we are accustomed to; they were generally known either by their subject matter . . . or by their opening words . . . or often by both together. Authors sometimes cited their own or other people's works by different names at different times, and alternative titles seem often to have been equally well established” (242. See also 231; 236–37). On ancient titles see also Nachmansohn 1941; Taplin 1977: 164 n. 1 and 1975.

14. This reading of *Lysistrata* is, then, in line with recent scholarly interest in female religious practices, for example, Dillon 2002; Cole 2004; Goff 2004; Connelly 2007. However, my approach is slightly different in that I am particularly interested in the *context* of the comedy within which the representation of the Adonis festival is embedded, that is, a close reading of this particular text.

15. For the notion that *Lysistrata* is not *simply* a peace play, see Gilhuly 2008. She argues that while the play is superficially concerned with peace, violence and aggression towards the Spartans lurk beneath the surface.

argument since to most who read (or see) *Lysistrata*, the religious heart of the play lies on the Acropolis, with Athena. The focus would seem to be public, official, state-sanctioned religion, centering on the patron deity of Athens. The play appears to have little to do with a peripheral, “foreign” ritual that took place on the roofs of houses, a festival bound up with the goddess Aphrodite. However, as a handful of scholars have pointed out, Aphrodite is as crucial to *Lysistrata* as Athena.¹⁶ The action of *Lysistrata* involves a sex-strike by women who take over the Acropolis in order to put an end to the Peloponnesian war. There is, thus, a denial or a displacement of Aphrodite during the course of the play, which results in a preoccupation with *aphrodisia*, as sexual jokes and innuendo abound.

Such an argument requires us to take the scholiast’s note seriously.¹⁷ Calling the play *Adôniázousai* rather than *Lysistrata*, the name of the action-driving character who is onstage for most of the play, shifts our focus to a group, or an activity, that is to a large degree unspoken and unseen, but that is, nevertheless, always lurking in the background, even if (or especially if) it is denied. *Lysistrata*’s plan calls for a suspension of a particular kind of sex—sex between married men and women. The interruption of normative, marital sexual relations has connections with the Adonia, a festival that, as Detienne has argued, is opposed to reproduction and marriage and instead focuses on seduction. As the play proceeds, the space of the Acropolis becomes, in a sense, a private rooftop, and, strangely, Adonia-like activity proliferates. Boars, Aphrodite, “gardens of Adonis,” and lamentation—all these play important roles in *Lysistrata*. The notion that the Adonia could be so centrally positioned—on the Acropolis, at the very heart of the Athenian *polis*—forces us to rethink the place of the Adonis festival at Athens as well as the too-easy distinction frequently made between public and private festival.¹⁸

My argument is composed of three parts. In the first section, I take a look at the magistrate’s tirade that prompted the scholiast’s note, in order to tease out the specific associations that the Adonis festival carries with it. The magistrate

16. Elderkin 1940; Stroup 2004. Loraux’s (1993) insightful piece has very much influenced my reading of this play, in particular, her attention to the notional space of the Acropolis.

17. Aristophanes’ extant plays, with the exception of *Peace* and *Wealth*, are named after groups and choruses rather than individual characters. The name *Lysistrata* is somewhat anomalous. Foley 1982: 8 remarks, “*Lysistrata* is the only extant Greek comedy named after a single individual, and the play may well have been the first old comedy with a female hero.” The chorus in *Lysistrata* is distinctive; it is split between old men and old women during the run of the play. How can *Adôniázousai* refer to this idiosyncratic chorus? As I will argue, the two choruses merge in the end, becoming a collective with the women dominating, as the men join together with the *Adôniázousai*. For another quirky Aristophanic chorus, compare *Frogs*, where the chorus of *Batrachoi* give their name to the play yet the chorus of initiates play the main role. I do not intend here to argue that the only figures who can be seen to be women-at-the-Adonis festival are the chorus. As will become clear, I believe that *Lysistrata* and the other individually named characters also take on this role.

18. As Parker 1996: 5 points out, the distinction between “public” and “private” cult is untenable: “antitheses of this type sometimes appear in Greek texts, and may have clear meanings in specific contexts; but a general distinction between ‘public’ and ‘private’ in religion cannot be maintained.”

sees a group of rowdy, sexually depraved women—a threat to his *polis*. Having considered the magistrate's view of the women's antics, I turn to Lysistrata's very different presentation of her activity in her opening words, the first lines of the play. Lysistrata clearly states that the gathering she has convened is diametrically opposed to the sort of marginalized shenanigans described by the magistrate. Instead, she positions herself as one who organizes a festival of central and serious import. Yet, as we shall see, Aphrodite and the Adonia take over the Acropolis even as they are negated; the women of the play enact precisely what was disavowed from the start. As Lysistrata and her friends present themselves as performing that-which-is-not-an-Adonia, they paradoxically incorporate the very elements associated with an Adonis festival. In the second section, I examine the particular Adonia trappings that proliferate despite (and because of) their very denial. The Acropolis becomes a sort of rooftop space, and boars and myrrh—two components of the myth of Adonis—make appearances in the play as women play the role of Aphrodite. In relation to the women, the men begin to take on characteristics of powerless Adonis figures. On the level of ritual, they begin to resemble the tender shoots intentionally destroyed by women at an Adonis festival. Finally, in the third section, I return to the magistrate's angry speech and consider the most important aspect of the Adonis festival—lamentation. While the magistrate recalls lamentation by women at an Adonia just before the Sicilian expedition sets sail, the Adonia held by Lysistrata and her allies results in a successful cease-fire.

PART ONE

POLIS DISORDERING

The explicit allusion to the Adonia is embedded within a speech that an anonymous magistrate gives:

ἄρ' ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφή
 χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοῖ πυκνοὶ Σαβάζιοι,
 ὃ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,
 οὗ γὰρ ποτ' ὦν ἤκουον ἐν τῇ κλησίᾳ;
 ἔλεγεν ὁ μὴ ὥρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος
 πλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὀρχουμένη
 “αἰαὶ Ἀδωνιν” φησὶν. ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος
 ἔλεγεν ὀπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων
 ἡ δ' ὑποπεπωκυῖ ἡ γυνὴ 'πὶ τοῦ τέγους
 “κόπτεσθ' Ἀδωνιν” φησὶν. ὁ δ' ἐβιάζετο,
 ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μισθρὸς Χολοζύγης.
 τοιαῦτ' ἅπ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀκολαστήματα.
 Lys. 387–98

Has the wantonness of the women caught fire for everyone to see, and all their tumpana-playing and cries of “Sabazios!” and this festival of

Adonis on the rooftops, which once I was hearing when I was in the Ekklesia? Demostratos was saying—may he rot—“Sail to Sicily!” and meanwhile his wife was dancing away and saying “Alas for Adonis!” And Demostratos was saying to levy Zakynthian hoplites and she, rather tipsy, was up there on the roof saying, “Beat your breast for Adonis!” But he was forceful about it, Demostratos was, that man hated by the gods, that polluted Kholozyges. Such are the unruly acts from these women.

The Proboulos, an unnamed representative of a brand new civic office, marches onstage full of bluster, disgusted and disapproving.¹⁹ He, unlike the spectators, is unaware of Lysistrata’s plans. What he sees when he enters is a chorus of old men and a chorus of old women facing off; the women, moments ago, have doused the men with water. He quickly takes stock of the situation: it is just as he thought. *It* has flared up once again (ἐξέλαμψε)²⁰ —he has heard it all before, a few years back.

But what is *it* that has, once again, reared its head at the center of his city? He rattles off a kind of list: *truphê*; *tumpanismos*; *puknoi Sabazioi*; *Adôniasmos*. The Proboulos then reminisces about a time, not too long ago, when the debate over the Sicilian expedition was being held in the assembly. During the debate, an Adonis festival was held by a group of women on a nearby rooftop.²¹ The remainder of the Proboulos’ monologue concerns his perception of the festival and, in a peculiar process of elision, the other three elements—the *truphê*, the *tumpanismos*, and the *puknoi Sabazioi*—are subsumed under the larger rubric of *Adôniasmos*.

What does the Adonis festival signify for the Proboulos? What kinds of associations does it carry? First and foremost, what he disapproves of involves *truphê*, “luxuriousness,” “feminine excess.”²² Indeed, he repeats this notion a bit later, ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ξυμπονηρεύμεθα / ταῖσιν γυναιξὶ καὶ διδάσκωμεν

19. His position was created after the failed Sicilian expedition. Ten older men—we know, for example, that the tragedian Sophocles served as Proboulos—were placed in charge, as a sort of advisory board, a tremendous shift in the mechanics of Athenian democracy. For their age, see Thucydides 8.1.3. For the number of Probouloi, see *Ath. Pol.* 29.2 (cf. *Σ. Lys.* 421 and *Suda* π 2355), Androtion *FGH* 324 F 43 and Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 136. On the office of the Proboulos and the character see Henderson 1987: 117–18. Aristotle, writing years later and speaking of Probouloi generally, and not just the Athenian manifestation, associates the office with oligarchy: *Politics* 6.5.13; *Politics* 4.12.8; see also *Ath. Pol.* 29.1–5.

20. See Henderson 1987: 118. Like a raging fever, or a spark from a flint-stone, which will grow into a roaring fire, the *truphê* of the women has flared up once more. *Eklampein* can be used of a (potentially) powerful force—Aristotle *HA* 516b11 (fire out of flint-stones); Hippocrates *VM* 16 (fever).

21. See Furley 1988 who examines much of the same evidence analyzed here. Furley takes the tirade by the Proboulos as his starting point and argues for the possibility that the Proboulos is referring to an historical Adonis festival that was held in 415 BCE on the eve of the Sicilian expedition. See below in the section entitled “Lamentation Then and Now.”

22. In a lucid discussion on “foreign gods” (a concept which, as he points out, is not terribly helpful, since the distinction is not so much between Greek and non-Greek but rather established and non-established religion), Parker 1996: 162 remarks that “moderns are most struck by the wild

τρυφᾶν, / τοιαῦτ' ἅπ' αὐτῶν βλαστάνει βουλευύματα ("for whenever we ourselves sink to the same level as the women and we teach them to *truphan*, such schemes bloom from them," 404–406). The word *truphê*, by 411 BCE, the year *Lysistrata* was produced, evokes a constellation of connotations—excess (specifically “eastern” excess), luxury, a lack of restraint, as well as a certain effeminacy.²³ By this period, *truphê* may be a characteristic of men or of women, but as far as the Proboulos is concerned, it is specifically *truphê* connected with women—he emphasizes this both times he uses the word—that is at the heart of the trouble in the *polis*.

Secondly, the Proboulos disapproves of *tumpanismos*, those blaring kettle-drums which were used in the worship of a variety of “marginal”—at least from the perspective of this magistrate—deities. In fifth-century Athens, *tumpana* were primarily connected with maenadic worship of Dionysus. In the opening speech of the *Bacchae*, for example, Dionysus orders his *thiasos* to take up their *tumpana* and make a loud noise (*kтуpein*) so that the city of Kadmos may see them.²⁴ It is specifically by means of these instruments that Dionysus' followers will be heard and thus seen.²⁵ Later in the play, Pentheus, speaking to the disguised Dionysus, says that he will either sell the women or “having put a stop to their racket and the din of their hide drums” (χεῖρα δούπου τοῦδε καὶ βύρσης κτύπου / παύσας, *Bacchae* 513–14) he will make them slaves. Much like the character Pentheus in the *Bacchae*, precisely what the swaggering Proboulos finds so appalling is the loud noise that these women produce with their *tumpana*, the rhythmic thumping of crowds of ecstatic women.²⁶

irrationality of ecstatic cults; but in the ancient world the charges characteristically brought against them by outsiders were of frivolity and luxuriousness,” precisely what horrifies the Proboulos here.

23. According to Kurke 1992, *truphê* and its compounds appear in the last third of the fifth century in place of *habros* and its compounds, which were popular during the archaic period. While words like *habrosunê* did not necessarily have a negative valence during the archaic period (cf. Sappho fr. 58. 25–26 Voigt, ἔγω δὲ φίλημι' ἄβροσύναν, “I love *habrosunê*”) and were not bound up with effeminacy, but instead evoked a certain lifestyle and were tied to a specific set of politics, by the end of the fifth century the signification had shifted. For more on *truphê* see Kurke 1992: 105. See also Detienne 1994 [1972]: 66, 119, 123. On the dating of the play see Sommerstein 1977; Westlake 1980; Henderson 1987: xv–xvi; Slater 2002: 294–95n.5.

24. On maenads and *tumpana*, see Dodds 1940. Cf. Henrichs 1978 who argues that there is no unambiguous evidence for historical maenads in fifth-century Athens. Maenads appear regularly with *tumpana* on Athenian vase paintings during the late fifth century, see Frickenhau 1912: 16 and Lawler 1927: 107–108; *LIMC* Dionysus; Jameson 1993: 51, fig. 5. (Cf. Hedreen 1994 who argues that many “maenads” on vases are in fact nymphs who have assumed the characteristics of maenads in the context of satyr play.) For Dionysus and *tumpana* see also Eur. *TrGF* fr. 586. For archaic images of Dionysus, see Isler-Kerényi 2007.

25. Euripides *Bacchae* 59. Here, Dionysus also mentions that the *tumpana* are native to Phrygia and are his invention (as well as Rhea's). See also *Bacchae* 124, where this time the chorus gives the aetiology for the instruments, though now they sing about the invention of the *bursotonon* by the Korybantes.

26. For other parallels between Pentheus and the Proboulos see Henderson 1987: 66, 136, 146–47 and Levine 1987. The language that Pentheus and the Proboulos use to describe the activities of the women is similar. In both cases, according to these characters, the women are overly preoccupied

From his disgust with the *tumpanismos*, the Proboulos moves onto *puknoi Sabazioi*, “lots of Sabazios cries”—*too much* Sabazios as far as he is concerned.²⁷ The *puknoi Sabazioi* are connected with the preceding *tumpanismos*, and not just in the mind of the Proboulos character in *Lysistrata*. For it is not only Dionysus and his followers who are associated with *tumpana*. Kettle-drums were the instruments of choice in the worship of Sabazios and Cybele as well.²⁸ Even though Sabazios is decidedly *not* Adonis—they are, to be sure, distinct deities—it is clear that the Proboulos is associating the two.

To understand the magistrate’s perspective on the Adonia, a brief digression on center and margin in Athenian religion is in order. A similar conflation of foreign, marginal deities, who are in fact distinct, occurs in Demosthenes’ *On the Crown*, a speech written about eighty years after *Lysistrata* was produced, in 330 BCE. Demosthenes wishes to paint a particularly defamatory picture of his opponent. He brings all manner of charges against Aiskhines in order to besmirch his character: his family is poor; his father is a slave; when he was growing up, he spent entirely too much time with his mother. But another way Demosthenes taints the name of his opponent is to connect him with the worship of certain deities from the east, specifically Sabazios and Attis. In a vivid and theatrical description, Demosthenes speaks of Aiskhines racing through the streets with crowds of unbridled women, brandishing snakes, shouting Sabazios cries, and reveling in Attis-devotion. Indeed, later in the speech, he returns to the subject of Aiskhines’ mother, calling her a *tumpanistria* (18.284).²⁹ Demosthenes associates Aiskhines quite explicitly with the worship of very particular marginal deities, treating Sabazios and Attis as nearly one and the same.³⁰

ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνωσκες
καὶ ἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων
καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς
πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν “ἔφυγον
κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτ’ ὀλοῦνται
σεμνυνόμενος καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οὔεσθ’ αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι

with sex, wine, and kettle-drums, the sort of activity that is opposed to the orderly running of the state.

27. For a thorough discussion of the material culture associated with Sabazios see Vermaseren 1983; Lane 1985 and 1989. On Sabazios generally, see Dodds 1940 and Versnel 1990: 114–18; see also Parker’s 1996 chapter on fifth-century new gods, 152–98, and Garland 1992. For Sabazios’ associations with Dionysus see Amphitheos *FGrH* 431 fr. 1, Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 671E–672B.

28. For Sabazios and kettle-drums, see Dodds 1940; Versnel 1990: 114; Demosthenes 18.284; and discussion below. For *tumpana* and the Great Mother see Pindar fr. 70b9 Maehler; *tumpana* and Cybele see Eur. *Hel.* 1340–50; Herodotus 4.76. For Kotyto and *tumpana* see Aesch. *TrGF* fr. 57. There were at least two plays entitled *Tambourine Players*: Autokrates’ play *Tumpanistai* (*PCG* iv test. 1–2; fr. 1–3) and one by Sophocles by the same name (*TrGF* iv fr. 636–45).

29. For other mentions of Aiskhines’ mother see 19.199, 249, 281.

30. For Sabazios’ associations with women and slaves, see Aristophanes *Wasps* 9–10; *Birds* 873; fr. 578 K–A. See also Johnson 1981–1984. Cicero *de Legibus* 2.37 reports that Aristophanes had Sabazios and other gods expelled from Athens in one of his comedies.

μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν “εὐοῖ σαβοῖ,” καὶ ἐπορχούμενος “ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς,” ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λι-κνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ τρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην;

Demosthenes *On the Crown* 259–60³¹

After you became a man, you read the sacred books for your mother while she performed the initiations and you organized the rest of the voodoo. At night, clothing the initiates in fawn-skin and mixing the libations and purifying the initiates and rubbing them with mud and bran and setting them upright after the cleansing ritual, exhorting them to say “I fled the bad, I found the better,” all the while affecting a haughty air since no one ever raised the ritual cry in such a way as you. (And I guess so! For don’t suppose that he gives speeches in such a booming voice, but raises the ritual cry in anything but a strikingly impressive volume.) Meanwhile, during the day you led the glorious *thiasoi* through the streets—they were all crowned with fennel and white poplar—while you grasped fat-cheeked snakes and raised them above your head and shouted “Euoi Saboi!” and danced “Hyes Attes! Attes Hyes!” You were hailed as chief, procession leader, ivy-bearer, winnowing-fan-carrier and other such names by the old hags, while you received payment of sop-cakes, strudel, and flat-cakes. With such rewards who would not truly consider blessed himself and his fortune?

Demosthenes deploys peripheral religious practices in order to denigrate his opponent, disparaging Aiskhines by describing his involvement in marginal activities—worship of Sabazios, Dionysus, Attis—all jumbled together, a hodge-podge of non-mainstream activity. When it comes to Demosthenes’ own attention to divinities, however, he takes an altogether different tack, aligning himself with deities of quite another sort. Earlier in the speech, the orator had paused and lingered, dramatically, to invoke Pythian Apollo along with other gods and goddesses connected with the native soil of Attica (Dem. 18.141). For certain fifth- and fourth-century Athenians like Demosthenes, some divinities are simply more central, more acceptable, more mainstream. During the classical period, orators do not stand up and proclaim publicly that they themselves are devotees of

31. See Lane 1989: 49–60 for the problems associated with the textual evidence for Sabazios. Lane chooses to focus on the archaeological and epigraphical evidence because, as he sees it, the literary evidence is so troublesome. As long as we acknowledge that Demosthenes is hardly writing from a pro-Sabazios position, I see no reason to disregard the passage, and in fact, I believe it sheds important light on the place of Sabazios worship at Athens during the classical period.

cults like that of Sabazios or Attis or Adonis.³² Rather, they choose to associate their *opponents* with such activity.³³

In Athenian religion there is a center and a margin. When it comes to designing his perfect state, Plato does not neglect the religious sphere, although what he does have to say is cursory: he will simply entrust such matters to Apollo at Delphi. He reasons, οὗτος γὰρ δήπου ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πατριος ἐξηγητῆς ([ἐν μέσῳ] τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται (“for this god [Apollo] is the ancestral interpreter for all men concerning such things and, sitting at the center of the earth at the *omphalos*, he pronounces his interpretations”).³⁴ To certain individuals, Apollo is at the center; Sabazios, Attis, Adonis, and the like are peripheral.

Just as Sabazios and Attis have unsavory associations for Demosthenes and are invoked as a strategic way of undermining his opponent, so it is with Adonis for the Proboulos. The Proboulos associates *Adôniastos* with Sabazios worship; *Adôniastos* is seen as a “foreign” element, a boisterous festival involving loud kettle-drums and unbridled, bibulous women.³⁵ What the women of *Lysistrata* are doing is thus fundamentally destructive to the *polis* as far as the Proboulos is concerned. Their actions are seen as a force of disorder in general and are bound up with *Adôniastos* in particular. But the Proboulos is a comic character embedded within the *Lysistrata* and his position within the context of the play must be taken into account. There is a contrary pull to the Proboulos’ version of what the women atop the Acropolis are up to.

POLIS ORDERING

Scholars have remarked upon the prominence of ritual of all stripes in *Lysistrata*.³⁶ After all, it is in this play that the much-discussed roster of elite female ritual practice at different life stages appears (*Lys.* 640–47). The first lines of *Lysistrata* signal the centrality of religious festival in the play as a whole and they warrant careful scrutiny. An irritated Lysistrata appears onstage, muttering under her breath. The women she has convened are late:

32. Mikalson 1983; Versnel 1990: 114–18.

33. Compare Theseus’ insults to his son Hippolytos in Euripides’ *Hippolytos*. Theseus accuses Hippolytos of being an Orphic and engaging in Bacchic rites (952–54). See Barrett 1964: 342–45 on the passage. Lane 1989: 50 suggests that the cult of Sabazios “would seem to have had the same kind of reputation in antiquity that, say, the Scientologists, the Moonies, or the Hare Krishnas enjoy in the United States in the present day.”

34. *Republic* 4.427b–c. Plato often defers to Delphi, cf. 461e, 540b–c. See also *Laws* 759c, 738 b–c, 828a, 856e, 865b, 914a, 947d. On Plato and Greek religion in general see e.g. Morgan 1992. But cf. the mention of Bendis in the opening lines of Plato’s *Republic*.

35. Aristophanes and theater-goers would be particularly interested in the Adonia in a play produced in 411 BCE, given the shifting religious context during the late fifth century and the influx of “new gods,” as described by Versnel 1990. As Versnel argues, the *Bacchae* was modeled on an historical religious phenomenon. I suggest that *Lysistrata* may be seen in this larger context as well. For a somewhat different role of the “new gods” in tragedy, see Allan 2004.

36. Bowie 1993; Loraux 1993; Gilhuly 2008.

ἀλλ' εἴ τις εἰς Βακχεῖον αὐτὰς ἐκάλεσεν,
 ἢ 'ς Πανός, ἢ 'πὶ Κωλιάδ' ἢ 'ς Γενετυλλίδος,
 οὐδ' ἂν διελθεῖν ἦν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τυμπάνων.
 νῦν δ' οὐδεμία πάρεστιν ἐνταυθοῖ γυνή.

Lys. 1–4

But if someone had called them to a festival of Bacchus,
 or of Pan, or to Kolias or to a festival of Genetyllis,
 it wouldn't even be possible to get through with all the
 kettle-drums.

But as it is, not one single woman is present here.

The play begins in the middle of Lysistrata's train of thought. Her first word is an adversative “but” (ἀλλά). Thus, from the very beginning, an opposition is established. The implication is that Lysistrata has summoned a group of women for some purpose that is diametrically opposed to whatever it is that connects the worship of Bacchus, Pan, Kolias, and Genetyllis. But what connects these deities and to what are they opposed?

Kolias and Genetyllis are more obscure to us than Dionysus and Pan, but they seem to refer to Aphrodite, since at the promontory of Kolias, not very far from the city-center of Athens, Aphrodite had a major sanctuary.³⁷ Pausanias reports that he saw there an *agalma* of Aphrodite Kolias and the “goddesses called Genetyllides.”³⁸ The divinities, then, signal the goddess Aphrodite; but Kolias and Genetyllis also carry with them a more specific set of associations—luxury and sexual indulgence. So, for example, as Strepsiades bemoans his marriage in *Clouds*, he describes how in years past, his was a simple country life, involving simple country things, like bees, flocks of sheep, and olives; then his wife arrived with all of her luxurious trappings (τρυφῶσαν, 48) and, while he climbed into bed smelling of “new wine, figs, wool, abundance” (τρυγός, τρασιᾶς, ἐρίων, περιουσίας, 50), she crawled into bed next to him smelling of “perfume, saffron, French kisses, extravagance, greed, Kolias, and Genetyllis” (μύρου, κρόκου, καταγλωττισμάτων, / δαπάνης, λαφυγμοῦ, Κωλιάδος, Γενετυλλίδος, 51–52). Kolias and Genetyllis are, thus, bound up with the excess embodied by Strepsiades' wife, a woman who has a taste for very specific luxury items, and they represent all that is opposed to a simple and traditional, productive and rustic Greek life. Strepsiades essentially provides here a definition of *truphê*, “extravagance,” or “feminine excess” (we may note in particular his mention

37. The precise relationship between Kolias and Genetyllis, as well as the relationship of the two to Aphrodite, is unclear. While there are some indications that these were female divinities associated with the goddess Aphrodite, some evidence instead connects the Genetyllides with Artemis. See Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 76–78. The location of Kolias seems to be near Phaleron. See Herodotus 8.96.

38. Pausanias 1.1.5. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Κωλιάς) also reports that there was a temple of Aphrodite at Kolias.

of perfumes, μύρον) that includes among other things the deities Kolias and Genetyllis.³⁹

In *Lysistrata*, too, the divinities Kolias and Genetyllis carry similar baggage with them, especially given that they are mentioned in conjunction with Bacchus and Pan.⁴⁰ It is, above all, the erotic that links these four divinities.⁴¹ Dionysiac practices were frequently associated with sex in the Greek imagination. For example, in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Pentheus rails against the Theban women, accusing them of heading to the mountains to worship Aphrodite and not Dionysus.⁴² Pan is linked no less to the erotic sphere, appearing in literature and vase painting with his ever-present entourage of nymphs, playful creatures that are extremely sexually active and very fertile; he is also the father of the satyrs.⁴³ In *Lysistrata*, during the memorable scene in which Myrrhine torments her sexually afflicted husband Kinesias, Kinesias suggests that the pair satisfy their desires in the grotto of Pan. Myrrhine remarks that she will then no longer be "pure" (*hagnos*) when she returns to the Acropolis (*Lys.* 911–12). *Aphrodisia*, then, appears to be permitted in the lower area near Pan's grotto—

39. In *Thesmophoriazousai*, Euripides' kinsman swears by the Genetyllides just after Agathon has presented a stirring rendition of a new song he is working on. As in the above quoted passage from *Clouds*, in *Thesmophoriazousai*, a very specific cluster of words surrounds a figure linked to *truphê*: *krokôtos* (138), *kateglôttismenon* (131), *Genetyllides* (130). Indeed, another figure—like Strepsiades' wife and Agathon—an embodiment of *truphê*, "smells of Kolias": Neaera. In *Against Neaera*, Apollodoros refers to a large party (*kômos*) held at Kolias in 374/73 BCE, after the Pythian victory of Chabrias of Aixione. According to Apollodoros, Neaera attended this party and had sex with many men while she was drunk, including Chabrias's slaves (59.33). Within the context of Apollodoros' speech, Kolias is thus associated with female excess, specifically, unrestrained female sexuality. See Dover 1968: 100; Henderson 1987; Sommerstein 1990: 155. For a different view on the location of the party, see Davies 1971: 560–61; Kapparis 1999: 238. Many centuries later complaints similar to those of Strepsiades are expressed in Alkiphron and [Lucian]. In Alkiphron (2.8), a farmer grumbles about the fact that his wife is hanging out with city people and worshipping Koliades and Genetyllides and other currently fashionable divinities to the neglect of their marriage and children. [Lucian's] *Amores* 42 expresses a similar sentiment. For the intentionally archaizing writers Alkiphron and [Lucian], Genetyllis and Kolias are opposed to marriage, reproduction, and tradition, and are instead linked with *truphê* and "new" (or unestablished) divinities.

40. The scholiast says that Lysistrata refers to *private* gatherings here: καὶ γὰρ πολλὰς ἐορτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες ἔξω τῶν δημοτελῶν ἥγγον ἰδίᾳ συνερχόμεναι, ("for the women used to celebrate many festivals not at public expense, gathering together in private," Σ 1 Γ Hangard). See Seaford 1994: 262–75 on secret Dionysiac festivals at Athens.

41. For Dionysus, Aphrodite, and Pan in visual representations, see Henderson 1987: 67. Pan, Dionysus, Kolias, and the Genetyllides are also linked by their "newness." We saw in the Alkiphron passage the way in which Kolias and Genetyllis appear to be ever "just arrived." As for Pan, Herodotus explains that he was a (relatively) recent arrival to Athens, becoming popular after Marathon (Hdt. 6.105). See Parker 1996: 163–68. And despite evidence that indicates Dionysus may have been worshipped as early as the thirteenth century BCE, he is described in classical texts as a newcomer. On Dionysus' continual "arrival," see Burkert 1985: 112. It would seem that certain divinities have a way of always being "new."

42. *Ba.* 223–25. Connections between Dionysus and Aphrodite abound in the play. For example, Dionysus has the "wine-dark graces of Aphrodite in his eyes," (236). See also 354, 403–408, 459, and 773.

43. On nymphs, see Larson 2001. On Pan, see Borgeaud 1988; Parker 1996: 163–68; *LIMC* Pan.

where, in fact, a precinct to Eros and Aphrodite was located—but not atop the Acropolis.⁴⁴

Lysistrata herself provides a link between the four divinities, a certain musical instrument—the *tumpanon*—precisely what the cranky Proboulos rails against when he makes his entrance. Thus, Bacchus, Pan, Kolias, and Genetyllis are a cluster of deities connected with *tumpana* and a certain kind of female religious festival with erotic associations—the sort of activity that the Proboulos considers detrimental to the health of the *polis*.

Of course, the festival that Lysistrata is convening is opposed to such things. She and her accomplices are not a force of destruction at all; instead they intend to carry out a plan that will save Greece: ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος / ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία (“the preservation of all Hellas is in the hands of women,” *Lys.* 29–30). Lysistrata avows repeatedly that the security and well-being of Greece are at stake and underscores this with the repetition of the verb σώσειν (*Lys.* 41, 46). Lysistrata and her allies are securing the state and acting as a force of order. What the women atop the Acropolis are doing would appear to be opposed to *Adōniasmos*.

MacDowell argues that the deities Lysistrata mentions in the opening lines are newer cults opposed to more established cults, like that of Athena:

Lysistrata and her supporters represent not just a feminine attitude to war and politics but also Athenian religious tradition. This tradition is contrasted with newer religious rituals which had recently become popular. They were mostly of foreign origin, and involved emotional songs or cries and ecstatic dancing to the accompaniment of drums or tambourines ... the women of this play do not in fact indulge in celebrations of Bakchos or Genetyllis, Sabazios or Adonis. Instead they are upholders of the traditional religion of Athens, and in particular Lysistrata may be thought to have the authority of Athena herself.⁴⁵

Lysistrata is indeed closely linked with Athena and many scholars have commented upon the connection between Lysistrata and the similarly named priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache, who held office in 411 BCE when *Lysistrata* was produced.⁴⁶ Lysistrata's name is important to the play. The instigator of the revo-

44. The rape of Kreousa by Apollo (*Ion* 10–13) took place in the grotto of Pan where Kinesias and Myrrhine meet. In *Lysistrata*, once the women begin to feel the effects of Lysistrata's plan, they start sneaking off to reunite with their husbands. One of the defectors overcome by desire tries to dig her way out through the cave of Pan, 721. See also 997 where Kinesias asks the Herald if Pan caused his erection. For the shrine to Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis and for more on the hierarchical arrangement of space, see below.

45. MacDowell 1995: 242–43.

46. For the Lysistrata-Lysimache connections see Lewis 1955; Foley 1982; Henderson 1987; Loraux 1993: 179–81; Connelly 2007; Gilhuly 2008. For a different view, see Dover's (1972: 152n.3) assertion that Aristophanes chose the name Lysistrata in order to *avoid* an identification between the two women, even though he wanted a name meaning “ending war.” Other priestesses with the

lutionary plan to stop the Peloponnesian war is named very quickly, within the first lines (*Lys.* 6), and the rapidity with which the audience learns her name is remarkable because in most of Aristophanes' plays, the naming of the hero or heroine is delayed, often until quite near the end.⁴⁷ Not only is Lysistrata given a name within the first ten lines, her name is repeated.⁴⁸ Its literal meaning is supposed to be noticed.

The priestess of Athena Polias, of course, had a central role in the Athenian *polis*. This was, perhaps, one of the most prominent positions that *anyone*—male or female—could hold during the classical period at Athens.⁴⁹ Both names—Lysistrata and Lysimache—mean essentially the same thing (“army-releaser,” “battle-releaser”). If you did not get the specific meaning the first time it is mentioned, you will have by the sixth or seventh time you hear it. At one point, Lysistrata even spells out for the audience the meaning of the name, as well as her connection with the priestess of Athena Polias, when she pronounces that if their plan works they will all be known all over Greece as Lysimaches:

ἀλλ' ἦνπερ ὁ <τε> γλυκύθυμος Ἔρως χῆ Κυπρογένοι' Ἀφροδίτῃ
ἵμερον ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν καταπνεύσῃ,
κᾶτ' ἐντέξῃ τέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ῥοπαλισμούς,
οἷμαί ποτε Λυσιμάχας ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καλεῖσθαι.

Lys. 551–54

But if sweet-minded Eros and Cyprus-born Aphrodite
breathe desire into our laps and thighs
and then engender delightful tension and priapism for the men,
I think we will then be called Lysimaches among the Hellenes.⁵⁰

In sum, as Lysistrata explains in her first words, she and her allies are up to something serious, something opposed to *tumpana*, *truphê*, and *aphrodisia*.

Given what Lysistrata says in the opening lines of the play, as well as her connections with Athena, the patron deity of Athens, and established religion, how can the Proboulos see *truphê* and hear *tumpanismos*? As we have seen, as far as the Proboulos is concerned, these women *are* indulging in celebrations that

name Lysistrata are known. For a priestess of Demeter ca. 455 see *SEG* 10.321. On Myrrhine's connections with the priestess of Athena Nike who was also named Myrrhine, see Papadimitriou 1948–1949.

47. There are two exceptions—the naming of Lysistrata and the naming of the character Dionysus in *Frogs*. On (not) naming “respectable” women see Schaps 1977; Sommerstein 1980; Olson 1992.

48. In the opening scenes, Lysistrata is named not only at 6, but also at 21, 69, 135, 186, 189, 216. Later her name appears at 746, 1086, 1103, 1147.

49. See Herodotus 5.72 and 8.71 where the priestess of Athena Polias speaks on behalf of the city at moments of crisis—once when Cleomenes tries to take over the Acropolis and, later, during the Persian war. On priestesses in general see Dillon 2002; Goff 2004; Connelly 2007.

50. *Lysistrata* is not the only play by Aristophanes in which a “battle-releaser” appears. In *Peace* (the other play by Aristophanes in which the Adonia is mentioned), Trygaeus prays to Peace: “release the battles and the tumult, so that we may call you *Lysimache*” (991–92).

are connected with Adonis. For the magistrate, what Lysistrata and her allies are doing—like Strepsiades' wife—smells decidedly of Kolias and Genetyllis. The magistrate does not see upholders of traditional religion when he arrives onstage. The situation is more complicated than MacDowell describes.

From one perspective, that of the Proboulos, what the women are doing is a force of destruction. Their actions are linked with excess, with *truphê*, with certain potentially disruptive luxury products—like perfumes and fancy clothing—with all that is opposed to tradition and productivity and the good of the state. Lysistrata, by contrast, represents the women's actions as a force of order, denying their association with such unpalatable practices. Either way you look at it, what the women are doing is bound up with *Adôniasmos*: from the point of view of the Proboulos, because *Adôniasmos* is how he characterizes the women's actions; from Lysistrata's perspective, because she portrays her plan as diametrically opposed to such activity. Lysistrata's opening speech marks a denial of Aphrodite—as the goddess' name is displaced by Kolias and Genetyllis—and a pronouncement that *Adôniasmos*-like activity is not what the women are up to. Yet the fact that Lysistrata sets herself in opposition to religious festivals of a certain character does not mean that she is linked to them any less.

ATHENA (LYSISTRATA) V. APHRODITE (ADÔNIAZOUSAI)

Negation is a way of taking cognizance of what is repressed; indeed, it is already a lifting of repression, though not, of course, an acceptance of what is repressed.

Freud *Negation*⁵¹

If we could dispense with the title *Lysistrata*, imagine it away for a moment, and pretend that we had no idea what the play was called, it would seem that the character Lysistrata is central to this play and the Adonia is not. Lysistrata is the instigator of the action; she is the focus of the play. The Adonia, by contrast, comes up explicitly within the text only once. Similarly, in classical Athens, a priestess of Athena has a central position; participants in an Adonis festival on the rooftops of private houses do not. Yet the Adonia is incorporated into *Lysistrata* through a series of negations and exclusions. At this point, I would like to dwell for a moment on the importance of Aphrodite.

As we have seen, inasmuch as she is an “army disbander,” Lysistrata is linked with Athena. But Lysistrata is also associated with Aphrodite.⁵² Even though in his *Symposium* Plato has Phaedrus argue that we should have armies of lovers (because fighting beside a lover would make it impossible to turn cowardly and

51. Freud 1961 [1925]: 235–36.

52. See Stroup 2004 who argues that the women of *Lysistrata* play *hetairai*, and see below for further discussion of her article.

desert)⁵³ and even though Aphrodite can make armies come together (as a Trojan war fought for the sake of Helen makes clear) Aphrodite can also *disperse* and *release* armies. The goddess herself whisks Paris off the battlefield, and drops him, cleaned up and smelling sweet, into a comfortable room with Helen.⁵⁴ The opposition between sex and war was, of course, fundamental to Greek thought. Indeed, in Book 5 of the *Iliad* Zeus comforts Aphrodite after she is wounded and defines her sphere as not that of war but of marriage: οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμῆϊα ἔργα, / ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο, / ταῦτα δ' Ἄρηϊ θοῶ καὶ Ἀθῆνῃ πάντα μελήσει (“my child, warlike deeds have not been granted to you, but you attend to the lovely deeds of marriage, while all these things will be a concern to swift Ares and Athena,” 5.428–29). Inasmuch as she will disband armies, then, Lysistrata is associated with the goddess Aphrodite, and given that her plan involves a sex strike, it binds her to Aphrodite on the level of her actions, a fact that is nicely confirmed when Lysistrata remarks that the women will be known as “Lysimaches” if *Eros and Aphrodite* breathe desire into the men (*Lys.* 551–54).⁵⁵

In a misguided attempt to make *Lysistrata* obey a strict logic, many scholars have made a distinction between Plan A (the sex strike) and Plan B (the takeover of the Acropolis); the former is associated with Aphrodite, the latter with Athena.⁵⁶ Some scholars argue that the sex strike is then replaced by the Acropolis takeover or that the sex strike is simply forgotten. As for goddesses involved, most have focused on Athena, for reasons we have explored. Yet, the peace is, in the end, referred to as that “which the Cyprian goddess fashioned” (*Lys.* 1289–90). Loraux argues that both Aphrodite and Athena are crucial to the play’s trajectory, remarking: “in fact, Lysistrata’s plan actually involves putting each goddess in the service of the other.”⁵⁷ The action of the play turns on the interpenetration of both plans. In addition, the particularities of the threat posed by the women change depending upon whom you ask. For instance, the chorus of old men is not overly concerned about the sex strike. Instead, what worries them most is the fact that the women have taken over the Acropolis (*Lys.* 480–83). The young men, on the other hand, are most bothered by the sex strike and seem far less interested in the fact that the women’s gathering takes place in a very particular civic space.

53. *Symposium* 178d–179a.

54. *Iliad* 3.380–82. For Ares disarmed by Aphrodite, see Leonidas 103 (Page).

55. Given that Aphrodite is “laughter loving,” φιλομυειδής, she is the perfect star for a comedy. (The epithet is frequent in *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, as well as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.) And as φιλομυηδής (Hesiod *Theogony* 200), Aphrodite fits right into a comedy that has to do with a sex strike.

56. Many articles on *Lysistrata* begin with an attempt to deal with what is seen as an inherent contradiction throughout the play. See Martin 1987: 83n.19 for a survey of this tendency, and see Hulton 1972 for the formulation of the two plans as “A” and “B.”

57. Loraux 1993: 151. Elderkin 1940 also pointed out the ways in which the two goddesses were important to the play. He did not, however, explain *why* the play would foreground these two goddesses.

Though the division throughout the play appears to be simply men vs. women, there are two distinct age groups within that opposition—young and old—each with their own concerns.

It is significant that Lysistrata delays making her plan known. For more than the first hundred lines, neither the audience nor the women she has gathered together know precisely what Lysistrata has in mind. Instead, a pile-up of adjectives describes her scheme obliquely. Soon after she comes onstage, Kalonike asks what it is that Lysistrata is devising:

Κα. τί δ' ἐστίν, ὦ φίλη Λυσιστράτη,
 ἐφ' ὅ τι ποθ' ἡμᾶς τὰς γυναῖκας ξυγκαλεῖς;
 τί τὸ πρᾶγμα; πηλίκον τι;
 Λυ. μέγα.
 Κα. μὲν καὶ παχύ;
 Λυ. νῆ τὸν Δία παχύ.
 Κα. κατὰ πῶς οὐχ ἤκομεν;
 Λυ. οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· ταχὺ γὰρ ἂν ξυνήλθομεν.
Lys. 21–25

Kalonike: What is it, Lysistrata my dear, why are you calling us women together? What is your plan? Is it a big one?

Lysistrata: It *is* a big one.

Kalonike: Surely it is not also . . . meaty?

Lysistrata: By Zeus, it *is* . . . meaty.

Kalonike: Then how come we haven't all arrived already?

Lysistrata: That's not what I meant!⁵⁸ In that case, we would certainly have all gotten here quickly.

Instead of immediately revealing the plan for the sex-strike and the Acropolis takeover, Lysistrata employs descriptive adjectives. The words *pêlikos*, *mega*, *pachu* take on, specifically, their sexual connotations in the opening banter with Kalonike. The adjectives, of course, relate to Lysistrata's plan to hold a sex-strike, a denial of *aphrodisia*, and yet the adjectives insistently take on an *erotic* valence, a signification that squelches any other meaning they might have had. Even though there has been no mention of the goddess yet—indeed, perhaps precisely because there is no mention of her—Aphrodite is saturating this play. This particular goddess is taking over on the level of language, even as Lysistrata denies this fact (“that’s not what I meant!”). Lysistrata repeats here the sentiment expressed in her opening speech: if I was convening that sort of festival, the women would be here already.

One of the ways Lysistrata describes her revolutionary idea at the beginning of the play is to say that what she is proposing is “no small matter” (*ou . . . phaulos*,

58. Henderson's translation (1987: 70). See his note on the line.

14). What she means, of course, is that her scheme is not trivial and insignificant but is, rather, weighty and important. Later, however, Lysistrata describes stopping the war as altogether “simple” (*phaulos*, 566). At this moment, she is talking to the Proboulos, and she means that her solution is simple and straightforward. Is Lysistrata’s plan *phaulos* or not?⁵⁹ Lysistrata denies that it is at first only to assert that it is later. Lysistrata’s disavowal and avowal of her plan as *phaulos* parallels her avowal and disavowal of her plan as having to do with the similarly sounding *phallos* (770–73). Lysistrata’s plan is predicated on that which she denies, literally, because she is calling for a sex strike, but also, as we have seen, because she asserts that she is not holding a private religious festival. The Adonia is not going away.

As we have seen, Aphrodite’s place in *Lysistrata* is not the same as Athena’s, but she has a place nonetheless. Athena’s place is central, avowed; Aphrodite’s is denied. As the play unfolds, and the sex strike takes its toll on the men, Aphrodite takes up more and more space verbally as sexual innuendo and jokes multiply, even as the sex-strike plan is “forgotten” or “replaced” by the Acropolis take-over. Having considered the centrality of Aphrodite to the play (even as she is negated), I now turn to part two of my argument and look at the specific ways in which Adonis festival elements creep into *Lysistrata*. In this section we must first come to terms with the manipulation of space in *Lysistrata*, both the notional space of the play and the real space at the base of and atop the Acropolis. Then, we will take a look at the accoutrements the women make use of to stop the war, specifically boars and myrrh—two items that are closely linked to Adonis. Finally, we will examine the effects of the women’s actions on the men and the ways in which the women can be seen to be cultivating gardens of Adonis.

PART TWO

ACROPOLIS AS ROOFTOP

In the world of the play, the women take over the Acropolis, a space situated up high. Indeed, the notional space of the Acropolis becomes a crucial character, as important as a Lysistrata or a Proboulos.⁶⁰ Reconstructing the staging of ancient plays is notoriously difficult, but it is reasonable to assume that for portions of *Lysistrata*, two stage levels were employed: a lower area as well as a higher level that indicated the Acropolis.⁶¹ By the end of the fifth century, a single

59. Lysistrata herself is enjoined to be *phaulos*, among other things, at the end of the play, 1109.

60. Loraux 1993: 148 calls the Acropolis an *opérateur*: “what, then, is the secret portion of the play that has too often been ignored? In a word—the Acropolis. . . . The *Lysistrata* is not a play about the Acropolis, but the Acropolis functions as something like an essential comic *opérateur* within the work.”

61. Revermann’s 2006 recent work on Aristophanes and staging does not consider this particular aspect, though he does examine other performative concerns in *Lysistrata*.

story *skênê* with a flat roof was in use in the Theater of Dionysus.⁶² If there was a Lenaion theater and if this play was performed at it, as seems to be the case, the scenic accoutrements would have most likely been similar.⁶³ In many of Aristophanes' plays, this structure is referred to as τέγος.⁶⁴ The text of *Lysistrata* repeatedly indicates such a low/high spatial arrangement, especially in the seduction scene between Myrrhine and Kinesias where the verb *katabainein* is used by both characters. Kinesias calls out to Myrrhine "come down here!" (873) and eventually she agrees to descend ("I must go down," 883).⁶⁵

In terms of the real space of the Acropolis and the lower area surrounding it, during the fifth century Aphrodite had a place down low and Athena had a place at the top.⁶⁶ On the north slope of the Acropolis, situated among a series of caves, was a precinct of Eros and Aphrodite.⁶⁷ Aphrodite's space at the base of the Acropolis is not a central space—at least not when compared to the vast area devoted to Athena on the top. The precinct of Eros and Aphrodite is a small grotto on the periphery, not a monumental and centrally located temple like the Parthenon.

Allusions to this "real" division of space abound in the world of the play. The women move, symbolically, from low to high, from the marginalized space of Aphrodite—the area of the north slope, with its slippery rocks, caves, and grottoes—up to the central space of Athena, the religious heart or crown of the city, where the patron deity is worshipped, and where one can walk among the towering columns of the Parthenon. As the women take over the Acropolis, intent upon a plan that involves a sex strike, there is a concomitant movement of *aphrodisia* from low to high, up into the space of Athena.

Still the denial persists. Just before the seduction scene between Myrrhine and Kinesias begins, Lysistrata calls out to her comrades from her lookout spot and reports that she sees a man, maddened, in the grip of the *orgia* of Aphrodite. Of course, what Lysistrata means is that Kinesias is in the grip of

62. Mastronarde 1990.

63. Sommerstein 1977; Henderson 1987.

64. Mastronarde 1990: 259. He provides a thorough discussion of the probable staging of tragic and comic plays. For *Lysistrata* see 261–2 and 282.

65. See also 864, 873, 874, 883, 912. For the women's shift in position, see also Lysistrata's pronouncement of the "oracle" (770–73). And see Henderson 1987: xli and 1980: 159 for more on staging.

66. See Loraux 1993 for a discussion of the relationship between the real space of the Acropolis to the space of the play. Cole 2004: 17 has referred to Athena as "goddess of the secured height," remarking, "some of the earliest epigraphical evidence for political unity is associated with an *akropolis*. The earliest fortified communities identified the security of these heights with Athena, called Polias not because she was goddess of the city but because she was goddess of the secured height. Her title had a strictly spatial reference that defined her as guardian of the πόλις in its original meaning as *akropolis*."

67. Pausanias 1.27.3; Broneer 1932: 39–55; Langlotz 1954: 28–29; Simon 1983. And near the Nike temple on the southwest slope was the shrine to Peitho and Aphrodite Pandêmos. Pausanias 1.22.3; Beschi 1967–1968: 517–25; Simon 1983. On Aphrodite Pandêmos see further below.

sexual desire. But she is also separating the activities of the women atop the Acropolis from his activities, saying in effect “we aren’t performing the *orgia* of Aphrodite up here, but look, he *is* down there.”⁶⁸ His location and spatial separation from the women is emphasized.⁶⁹ At the same time, while Lysistrata is up high in Athena’s space, peering down on Kinesias who is overcome down below by the *orgia* of Aphrodite, she invokes Aphrodite with great attention, naming the goddess elaborately (ὦ πότνια, Κύπρου καὶ Κυθήρων καὶ Πάφου / μεδέουσ’, “Mistress Aphrodite, of Cyprus and Cythera and Paphos,” 833–34) by mentioning three places that the divinity frequents. *Aphrodisia*, *truphê*, female sexuality, private religious festival—all of this was disavowed from the beginning. Yet, Lysistrata’s plan depends on precisely what it excludes. In this case, her plan depends upon the exclusion and arousal of Kinesias (as well as the exclusion and arousal of all of the other men). Kinesias must be there, overcome by the *orgia* of Aphrodite, for the plan to have its effect. In fact, the men are assimilated to the position of participants in peripheral female festival when Lysistrata describes the war-mongering men shopping in the *agora* as Korybantes:

Λυ. ἥν παύσωμεν πρώτιστον μὲν ξὺν ὅπλοισιν
ἀγοράζοντας καὶ μαινομένους.
Γρ. νῆ τὴν Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην.
Λυ. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταῖσι χύτραις καὶ τοῖς λαχάνοισιν ὁμοίως
περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὅπλοις ὥσπερ Κορύβαντες.
Lys. 555–58

Lys. If first of all we stop men armed for battle
going shopping in a frenzy.
Woman By Paphian Aphrodite!
Lys. For right now in the pottery markets and in the vegetable markets,
they are going round all through the agora with their weapons
like Korybantes.

Lysistrata’s description is punctuated with a “by Paphian Aphrodite” as a kind of “amen.” As she defines the men’s actions, Lysistrata repeatedly proclaims, we are not *that*. Lysistrata never asserts *we are holding an Adonis festival*. Yet as she and her comrades occupy the Acropolis, the space is transformed. Foley remarks that “as the play proceeds the distinction between Acropolis and home collapses; the action in the public and private worlds becomes one. Myrrhine, as she tortures her aroused husband, turns the acropolis into a bedroom

68. Compare Kinesias’ remark to Myrrhine “it’s been so long since you celebrated the rites of Aphrodite” (τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱέρ’ ἀνοργιάστὰ σοι / χρόνον τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, 898–99).

69. Lysistrata notes Kinesias’ location at 835 when she remarks that Kinesias is by Chloe’s shrine. Pausanias mentions this shrine in his approach to the Propylaea, coming from the southwest (1.22.3).

replete with blankets, pillows, and perfume.”⁷⁰ Looked at another way, the Acropolis becomes not an *oikos* or bedroom, but, rather, a sort of rooftop, a *tegos*.

At Athens during the classical period, a rooftop is a peculiar space, neither an extremely likely place to be, nor entirely out of the ordinary. *Agamemnon* begins with the watchman on the roof, and *Wasps* opens with Bdelykleon similarly positioned. A rooftop is, obviously, part of an *oikos*, yet it is outside the *oikos*. As such it is neither wholly public nor wholly private. It is not a central space where most daily activities are performed, nor is it entirely peripheral, given the vantage (and the visibility to others) one has when one is up there.⁷¹ Of course, a fifth-century Athenian woman who is married should spend most of her time acting appropriately *underneath* her husband's roof and not atop her husband's roof, as Andromache explains in Euripides' *Trojan Women*: ἄ γὰρ γυναιξὶ σώφρων' ἔσθ' ἡύρημένα, / ταῦτ' ἐξεμόχθουν Ἑκτορος κατὰ στέγας (“that which has been found to be prudent for women, these things I achieved beneath Hector's roof,” 645–46). At an Adonis festival, however, women take to the rooftops.⁷² Indeed, vase paintings associated with the festival depict women on ladders, and it is the shift in position, their movement from low to high, that is emphasized as women climb to the roofs carrying gardens of Adonis.⁷³

If there is one thing that the Proboulos emphasizes, it is that the *Adôniasmos* he remembers so vividly at the time of the Sicilian expedition took place on the *rooftop* (ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν; *Lys.* 389, 395).⁷⁴ His words mark the actions of the women he sees as an Adonia and the space atop the Acropolis as a rooftop, “this Adonia-activity on the roof” (ὁ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν, 389). In *Lysistrata*, the Acropolis has metamorphosed into a strange sort of in-between space associated with both Aphrodite and Athena. A group of women has taken it over and excluded men, and, in this sense, it is not quite private and not quite public. The Acropolis is at the center of the *polis*, yet men have been excluded from it and individuals who are not fully enfranchised citizens and who are more strongly associated with the *oikos* occupy it. All of this is temporary, of course: the women never say they will stay there. They will descend and return to their homes, just as the watchman and Bdelykleon come down in *Agamemnon*

70. Foley 1982: 7.

71. For the rooftop as an advantageous location given the perspective it affords one who looks down from it, see Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 3–4 where the uninitiated are not permitted to look down from above on the procession. They would then be able to see the sacred objects carried in the basket (κάλαθος). See also Aristophanes *Acharnians* where Dikaiopolis celebrates the rural Dionysia and tells his wife to watch him from the roof (262).

72. For critiques of Detienne's 1994 [1972] claim that the Adonia was attended primarily by prostitutes, see Winkler 1990. Note, for example, that it is Demonstratos' *wife*, according to the Proboulos, who is atop the roof.

73. On the vases, see Weill 1966, Edwards 1984, Reitzammer 2006.

74. See also Menander's *Samia* 38–49.

and *Wasps*.⁷⁵ As a kind of rooftop, the Acropolis provides a vantage point from which the women can look down upon the men—men like Myrrhine’s husband Kinesias.

The spatial movement of the women in the play and the transformation of the Acropolis into a sort of rooftop space correspond to the action involved in an Adonis festival. Having planted the “seeds” of her plan, Lysistrata and the women, like women at an Adonis festival, climb atop the Acropolis/rooftop and begin to enact an Adonia. Lysistrata and her accomplices, then, are performing precisely what they set out to avoid, and indeed the play contains still more parallels with the Adonia, beginning with the oath scene and ending with the cessation of hostilities at the close of the play.

BOARS, COSMETICS, AND MYRRH

In order to bring her revolutionary idea to fruition, Lysistrata stages an extended formal oath—the most elaborate of all those found in Aristophanes’ plays.⁷⁶ After some discussion, Lysistrata recommends that they “sacrifice” a large jug of wine.⁷⁷ Just before the oath is taken, Lysistrata remarks:

Λυ. . . . προσλαβοῦ μοι τοῦ κάπρου.
δέσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία,
τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναῖξιν εὐμενής.
Lys. 202–204

Lysistrata: Seize this boar with me.
Mistress Persuasion and cup of friendship,
kindly receive this sacrifice from the women.

Lysistrata calls the large jug of Thasian wine a *kapros*, a “boar,” the very animal that killed Adonis.⁷⁸ It is appropriate that she do so, as she and her allies are staging

75. And just as Medea flies off to Athens. The *skênê* roof seems particularly associated with temporary occupation.

76. For oaths and Aristophanes see Dillon 1995. In general, Aristophanes is self-conscious about oaths, even about the more informal kind with *nê* or *ma* (like “by Zeus!”). In Aristophanes’ plays, the casual use of an oath may be taken literally; see *Clouds* 817ff.

77. Burkert 1985 explains that *sphagia*, the shedding of blood not necessarily within the context of a meal, often occurs before a battle (as in *Septem*, to which Lysistrata alludes): “the libation consequently stands in a certain polarity to the blood sacrifice which precedes it. The *sphagia* open hostilities, the *spondai* end hostilities” (71). This is particularly germane as the women of *Lysistrata* will wage a battle (though a battle for *peace*). The paradoxical nature of their plan is emphasized when Kalonike remarks upon the inappropriate nature of the use of a *shield* in the sacrifice, given that they are interested in peace. For a recent interpretation of this scene, see Gilhuly 2008. On the scene as a disruption of a normative sacrifice, see Fletcher 1999; as a disruption of a normative symposium, see Pütz 2003. The jug (*stamnion*) is simultaneously diminutive and super-sized, as Revermann 2006 points out.

78. Elderkin 1940 is one of the few to comment on the fact that the *stamnion* is called a “boar.” On Adonis and the boar, see Baudissin 1911: 142–60; Atallah 1966: 63–91. Note that in some later accounts (Servius *Buc* 10.18) a boar assisted in Adonis’ birth by breaking the bark of the myrrh tree after his pregnant mother had been transformed. On Adonis’ relation to myrrh, see below.

an oath-taking ceremony that involves a sacrifice, and boars were certainly among possible sacrificial animals.⁷⁹ But many animals were used in such ceremonies—goats, bulls, etc.⁸⁰ It is significant that she grasps a *kapros* and not a goat or a bull or even a piglet.

In Greek literature, a *kapros* is, most often, a *wild* boar, a fierce and formidable animal, the likes of which left Odysseus with a scar and terrorized the Calydonians and Erymanthians.⁸¹ The ability to vanquish a boar, to be a kind of Herakles, reveals one to be a force to be reckoned with. By “seizing the boar,” the women of *Lysistrata* assert control over a force of potential destruction—they are, after all, trying to halt a war. As they lay hands upon the boar, they repeat the oath after Lysistrata, swearing off sexual relations with their husbands.

Overcoming their desire for marital sex proves to be quite a challenge, as formidable an enterprise as subduing a wild beast. Lysistrata soon realizes this as the defectors begin sneaking off, employing a variety of creative approaches—digging through Pan’s grotto, flying off on a sparrow, feigning pregnancy (717–61). When Adonis meets up with the boar in myth, he is destroyed in the face of such ferocity. Unlike Adonis, however, Lysistrata and her allies are successful in what is for them a feat of Heraklean proportions.

As they seize the “boar” the young women, to some degree, become assimilated to its power (as we will see, they manage to defeat the men who become Adonis figures). The chorus of old women, too, is also associated with wild pigs. They retort to the old men, εἰ νῆ τῷ θεῷ με ζωπυρήσεις, / λύσω τὴν ἐμαυτῆς ὣν ἐγὼ δῆ, καὶ ποιήσω / τήμερον τοὺς δημότας βωστρεῖν σ’ ἐγὼ πεκτούμενον (“by the two goddesses, if you fire me up I will let loose my sow and today I’ll

79. Boars were used in oath-sacrifice ceremonies (*Iliad* 19.251, and see Lupu 2005: 188 for a handful of other references). Individuals who took the oath of the Areopagus stood over the severed pieces of a boar, ram, and bull and invoked destruction on themselves and their households if they perjured themselves (Dem. 23.67–69; on the oath see Antiphon 1.8, 1.28, 5.12, 6.16; Lys. 10.11; Isok. 18.56; Aiskhines 2.87; [Dem] 59.10 and see Sommerstein 1989: 15–16). In general, a *kapros* appears as a sacrificial animal far less frequently than a domesticated pig (*hus*, *khoiros*). Though note Artemis’ epithet at Samos, *kaprophagos*. Jameson 1988 remarks that pigs can be useful but “can be dangerous to more intensive agriculture if not closely controlled. The damage done by wild boars to ‘the works of men’ reaches mythical proportions (e.g., *Il.* 9.538–42, Hdt. 1.36). But pigs are potentially the best suited of all sacrificial animals to intensive rearing since they thrive on household and garden waste and are easily kept penned” (99). Pigs, then, have to be controlled in a way that sheep and goats do not. You just don’t hear about wild sheep ravaging the countryside.

80. For an analysis of visual representations of animal sacrifice in archaic and classical Greece, see van Straten 1995. Boars appear infrequently in his discussion (though see 54, 76, 201, 216, 218, 288). Note that a useful table (176) “Prices of Victims in Attic Sacrificial Calendars” shows entries for ὕς, ὕς κυοῦσα, χοῖρος but not *kapros*. As van Straten points out, it is at times difficult to identify an animal from a vase painting. See for example fig. 110 (V147; Paris Louvre G 112) which van Straten identifies as a pig, but which appears to have the bristles of a boar. Apparently, owing to the existence of the “Greek hairy pig” it is difficult to distinguish between a boar and a pig. (On this, see Durand 1989: 94. I thank David Jacobson for this reference.) In visual representations, we lack labels identifying the animals as *kapros*, *sus*, or *khoiros*. But even if we did have such labels, see Lupu 2005: 188 on the possibility that *kapros* may occasionally refer to a domesticated pig.

81. On the boar hunt in Greek myth, see Felson 1983; Felson and Sale 1984; Davies 2001.

make you go beg for help from your demes-men, with your hair fully shorn,” 682–85). The chorus of old women threaten to become terrifying swine.⁸²

In fact, the play begins and ends with boars. In the closing lines of *Lysistrata*, the Spartan men compare themselves to boars during the battle of Thermopylae (1254–56). We are to understand that the Spartans were “like boars” because of their valor and courage in their opposition to the Persians. While the play begins with a group of women laying hands on and thus taking control of the “boar,” by the end of *Lysistrata*, the Spartan men describe themselves as boars and normative sexual relations are well on their way to being re-established. At the same time, the end of the play marks a return to more “typical” sacrifice, with mention of domesticated, rather than wild, pigs. As soon as the two choruses (divided through nearly the entire play) join together, they sing of a piglet (δελφάκιον, 1061/2) that they have sacrificed. And shortly after this, the Spartans are described as “having a pig-pen around their thighs” (ὥσπερ χοιροκομεῖον περὶ τοῖς μηροῖσιν ἔχοντες, 1073), a joke that, regardless of its specific meaning (their erections cause their clothing to stick out and thereby resemble a pig-pen?) is another mention of domesticated swine.⁸³

We have seen the way that “boars” and sacrifice bracket the play. But what exactly happens to the women as they climb up to the top of the Acropolis? Not only does their symbolic movement from the “low” space of Aphrodite to the “high” space of the Acropolis signal an Adonia, but, like women mourning the dead sprouts of the gardens of Adonis, the women of *Lysistrata* play the role of Aphrodite in order to stop the war.

Stopping the war necessitates making use of certain stereotypes. At the start of the play, Kalonike wonders how women, who do nothing but sit around adorned in fancy finery, could possibly do anything worthwhile. Lysistrata responds that that is precisely how they will put a stop to the fighting, by means of their adornment:

Κα. τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίαιτο
ἢ λαμπρόν, αἶ καθήμεθ' ἐξηνθισμέναι
κροκωτοφοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι,
καὶ Κιμβερίκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας;
Λυ. ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κᾶσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ,
τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαῖ περιβαρίδες
χῆγχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτῶνια.

Lys. 42–48

82. While the women do not refer to themselves specifically as *boars*, they can be seen here to be wild pigs (*hus agrios*) which, according to Hesychius are equivalent to the *kapros* (Hesychius s.v. κάπρος: σύαγρος, ὥς ἄγριος). Note that ancient Greek has at least two verbs for the condition in which sows desire sex: *καπρίζειν* and *καπρᾶν*. See e.g., Aristotle *HA* 572b23–26. Thus, when the old women in *Lysistrata* are described as sows—notoriously sex-crazed creatures—the sexual connotations are further underscored. Cf. the love charm, *kapria*, which Aristotle reports was used to stimulate desire, Aristotle *HA* 572a21. On this, see Clark 2003 who explores the connections between the adjective *καπρομανής* and the figure of Tyro. See Henderson 1991: 131–33 on pig-related terms for female genitalia.

83. See Henderson 1987: 192 on the remark.

Kalonike: What could we women possibly do that is prudent
or brilliant, we who sit idly, decked out with flowers,
wearing our saffron robes, and adorned
with Kimberik gowns and fancy shoes?

Lysistrata: These are the very same things which, I think,
will save us,
namely, our saffron robes and myrrh and fancy shoes
and red cosmetics and diaphanous chitons.

The mission is to save Greece and in order to do so Lysistrata and her cohorts will employ Kimberik gowns, myrrh, special slippers, sexy outfits. How can these items save the city? These adornments are precisely the same “weapons” that Aphrodite herself uses to wield her power when she sets out to seduce Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn*. After Zeus casts desire (*himeros*) for Anchises into Aphrodite’s heart, she heads straight for her temple at Paphos on Cyprus, to get dressed up (*kosmêtheisa*, 65). The *kosmos*—the perfume and jewelry and fine clothes that she chooses to wear—recurs like a refrain throughout the *Hymn*. After she is adorned (58–67), she comes to Anchises and he marvels (*thaumazein*) at her shining garments, her bracelets and her necklaces (84–90). Then, after a brief discussion, he removes the *kosmos* (161–66) and they sleep together.

In the other, short *Hymn* to Aphrodite, the *Horai* adorn (ἐκόσμεον, 11) Aphrodite with fancy clothing and gleaming jewelry, the kind they themselves like to sport (κοσμείσθηγν, 12), and when they are finished showering her with adornment (κόσμον, 14) they lead her into a gathering of immortals. When Aphrodite arrives, the gods are wonderstruck (θαυμάζοντες, 18) and find her extremely alluring. Every last one of them wants to take her home specifically to become his *wife* (κουριδίην ἄλοχον, 17).⁸⁴

This is, more or less, the trajectory of *Lysistrata* where the focus is similarly on adornment. The comedy plays on the manner in which women can use their trappings to bring war to an end. The words *krokôtophorousa* and *kekallôpismenê* (“wearing saffron gowns and all made up”) appear not only in the opening exchange between Lysistrata and Kalonike, but again in the oath ceremony. As Lysistrata’s allies dutifully swear after her, Kalonike’s line is repeated exactly as before, not once, but twice (*Lys.* 219–20). Lysistrata takes Kalonike’s words and, very shrewdly, employs them for her own purposes. The accoutrements of femininity are emphasized as a source of power. Just as Aphrodite makes use of her *kosmos* in the *Homeric Hymns* to attract Anchises and all of the assembled immortals, the women of *Lysistrata* use their *kosmos* to arouse the desire of their husbands; the men are wonderstruck, and every last one of them desperately wants

84. Compare Pandora’s adornment scene (Hesiod *W&D* 69–82; *Theogony* 571–84). See West 1978; Zeitlin 1996: 53–86. See also Hera’s “arming”/preparation in *Iliad* 14 in which she makes use of the *kestos* of Aphrodite.

to take his wife back home.⁸⁵ In the process, the men agree to stop a war. The women have employed *kosmos* in an attempt to set in order (*kosmein*) the *polis*—putting themselves and the city (indeed, all of Hellas) in order, by playing the role of the goddess Aphrodite.⁸⁶ Indeed, we may even imagine that the women “play Aphrodite” specifically in her guise as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* if we take *Pandêmos* to signify a force for civic harmony as many scholars have argued.⁸⁷

When Lysistrata seizes the “boar,” she invokes Peitho, who is frequently linked with Aphrodite in literature.⁸⁸ Archaeologically, too, there were associations between the two deities: the sanctuary of Peitho and Aphrodite *Pandêmos* was situated on the southwest slope of the Acropolis.⁸⁹ Aphrodite’s defining action is to persuade (*peithein*); however, the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* notes the limits of Aphrodite’s powers vis-à-vis three divinities—Artemis, Hestia, and Athena.⁹⁰ Although in the *Hymn*, Aphrodite cannot “persuade” Athena (πεπιθεῖν, 7), Lysistrata and her friends, who are closely associated with Aphrodite, take over the warrior goddess Athena’s space and persuade the men of Greece to stop the Peloponnesian war.⁹¹ Given that Aphrodite is, in some sense, invading the

85. While *kosmos/kosmein* and the like do not appear in the play, similar language is employed, as in the language discussed above connected with “saving” Greece. In addition, the women hope to ward off war and madness from Greece (ἀλλὰ πολέμου καὶ μανιῶν ῥυσαμένους Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολίτας, 343); they hope to “straighten” the men out (ἐπανορθώσοιμεν ἄν ὕμᾱς, 528); they are described as patriotic (φιλόπολις, 546); they plan to join together diverse elements (ζυνάγειν καὶ ζυναθροίξειν, 585); their goal is peace, (Ἡσυχίας, 1289). On their interest in the politics of harmony, *eunoia*, see Reckford 1987. For a discussion of *kosmos* from a variety of perspectives, see Cartledge 1998. Elsewhere, Aristophanes provides a lengthy list of female *kosmos*, 320 K = 332 PCG iii 2.

86. Compare Taaffe 1993, who argues that Lysistrata and her allies play the role of “women”—hypostasized versions of femininity.

87. For this interpretation of Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, see Halperin 1990: 104–106. Pausanias 1.22.3 reports that Theseus established the cult when he brought the Athenians together. See also Apollodorus *FGrHist* 244 fr. 113. For a similar argument connecting Aphrodite *Pandêmos* with civic harmony see Petre 1992–1994 and Rosenzweig 2004 (Rosenzweig’s focus is representations of Aphrodite in vase painting). See also Simon 1983; Pirenne-Delforge 1988; Frost 2002.

88. Sappho, for instance, has Peitho as the daughter of Aphrodite (Sappho 90a col. II 7–8 Voigt; 96.26–29 and test. 200). Even when the familial relationship between Aphrodite and Peitho is not emphasized, the two tend to be mentioned in the same breath (Ibycus 288.3 PMG, where Euryalus is nursed by Kupris and Peitho). On Peitho in Greek tragedy, see Buxton 1982.

89. Mentioned by Pausanias (1.22.3) and securely identified, *IG* I², 700 (=I³, 832); II², 659 (*SIG* 3 375), 4596, 4862; for excavations, see Dontas 1960: 4–9; Beschi 1967–1968: 520ff. Cf. Aeschylus *Suppl.* 1034ff.; *Eum.* 885ff., 970ff. As Halperin 1990 points out, while the cult seems to have been active during the fifth century, literary attestations do not appear until the mid-fourth century and it is impossible to connect mention in the literature with the archaeological remains until the third century. See Plato *Symp.* 180d–82a; Xen. *Symp.* 8.9–10; Menander *Kolax* fr. 1 (Sandbach = 292K).

90. *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 7ff. On Aphrodite and persuasion, see, for example, Sappho 1.18 Voigt. Pindar refers to *hetairai* as *amphipoloi Peithous* and speaks of them flitting up to the heavens to Aphrodite (fr. 122 Maehler; see also fr. 123).

91. See Sokolowski 1969: 39 for a procession to wash what is possibly the image of Peitho in the Klepsydra. Note that a quick rinse in the Klepsydra is exactly what Kinesias suggests that Myrrhine do if she wishes to be pure upon her return to the Acropolis. This is apt, since surely at this moment Myrrhine embodies “persuasion.”

space of Athena, Aphrodite can be seen to have some degree of power over the goddess who is normally immune to her persuasive abilities.⁹²

In *Lysistrata*, in addition to alluring garments, the women employ μύρον, “perfume,” to persuade the men (ταῦτ’ αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κἄσθ’ ὃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ, / τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα καὶ περιβαρίδες / χῆγγουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτῶνια, *Lys.* 46–48). The use of *muron* provides still another connection to Adonis and his festival, both in myth and ritual. In myth, Adonis’ mother, Myrrha, while pregnant with Adonis (the product of an incestuous relationship with her father), was turned into a myrrh tree—a tree that is essential for the production of certain perfumes and incense.⁹³ It is from this tree nine months later that Adonis emerged.⁹⁴ As for myrrh in the ritual, a few of the vases associated with the festival depict the use of incense, and Detienne has carefully explored the links between the Adonia and myrrh.⁹⁵

In *Lysistrata*, Myrrhine, “Myrtle,” who is at one point called Μύρριον, “Little Myrrh” (906), plays a decisive role in the resolution of the play,⁹⁶ even employing perfume as she torments Kinesias.⁹⁷ A lengthy deferral of satisfaction ensues as Myrrhine runs off to fetch bedding, a pillow, a blanket, and finally some perfume (μύρον, 938). She returns clutching an *alabastos* (947), or *alabastron*, a container that was commonly used to hold perfumes.⁹⁸ The phallic aspect of the vessel is fully exploited as Myrrhine commands, “Take this *alabastos*,” and the distraught Kinesias replies, “I have one!” (947). Myrrhine, in her role as Adonis festival participant, clutching an *alabastos* (and as we shall see, metaphorically cultivating an Adonis garden), bears a striking resemblance to a terracotta figurine that has recently been identified as a young woman tending to a garden of Adonis.⁹⁹ The female figure holds an *alabastos*, and in fact, the terracotta is from Myrina, on the west coast of Turkey, another connection with myrrh and the character Myrrhine.

On the Athenian vases associated with the Adonis festival, scantily clad and bejeweled female figures move gardens of Adonis up ladders while winged figures hover nearby. Although scholars frequently identify the figures on the ladders as Aphrodite, we cannot tell for certain whether they are Aphrodite or mortal women. Likewise, as Aristophanes’ play progresses it becomes more and more difficult

92. See Elderkin 1941: 122.

93. In some accounts, she is named Smyrna (e.g. Apollodorus 3.14.3–4). According to Athenaeus Σμύρνα is the Aeolian form of Μύρρα (15.688c).

94. For a discussion of various accounts of Adonis’ mother and his birth, see Atallah 1966: 23–47. On myrrh, see Atallah 1966.

95. On the general importance of myrrh to Adonis and his festival, see Detienne 1994 [1972] (especially 62–64 on this scene). On the vases associated with the Adonia, see Weill 1966; Edwards 1984; Simms 1985; Reitzammer 2006.

96. See Henderson 1987: 174 on the common use of “myrtle” to mean female genitalia. See Detienne 1994 [1972] on the connections between myrtle and myrrh.

97. For a recent interpretation of this scene, see Gilhuly 2008.

98. See Henderson 1987: 182 on the variants *alabastos/alabastron* and on the uses of *alabastra*.

99. Louvre Inv. Myr. 233. Oakley and Reitzammer 2005.

to distinguish Lysistrata and her friends from the goddess Aphrodite as the women employ boars, cosmetics, and myrrh to persuade the men.

ASTUTOI

Then, then, from utter gloom stood out the breasts,
The breasts of Helen, and hoveringly a sword
Now over and now under, now direct,
Pointed itself to pierce, but sank down shamed
At all that beauty.

Tennyson *Lucretius*

The transformation of the Acropolis into a space rather like the rooftop of an *oikos*, the appearance of the “boar” and myrrh, women playing the role of Aphrodite—this looks to be distinctively Adonia-like behavior. So far, I have focused on the women of the play. At this point we must see what happens to the men in relation to women playing the role of goddesses.

By the end of the play, the young men are in such a state of arousal that they appear to be nothing but their erections. This is made clear near the end, when a Spartan herald comes onstage and has a long exchange with Kinesias:

Kin. σὺ δ' εἶ τί; πότερ' ἄνθρωπος ἢ Κονίσσαλος;
K. κᾶρυξ ἐγών, ὦ κυρσάνιε, ναὶ τῷ σιῷ,
ἔμολον ἀπὸ Σπάρτας περὶ τᾶν διαλλαγᾶν.
Kin. κάπειτα δόρυ δῆθ' ὑπὸ μάλης ἤκεις ἔχων;
K. οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγών γα.
Kin. ποῖ μεταστρέφει;
τί δὴ προβάλλει τὴν χλαμύδ'; ἢ βουβωνιᾶς
ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ;
K. ἄλέος γὰρ ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα
ἄνθρωπος.
Kin. ἀλλ' ἔστυχας, ὦ μιαιώτατε.
K. οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγών γα· μηδ' αὖ πλαδδίη.
Kin. τί δ' ἐστὶ σοι τοδί;
K. σκυτάλα Λακωνικά.
Kin. εἴπερ γε, χαῦτη 'στὶ σκυτάλη Λακωνική.

Lys. 982–92

Kin. You there, what are you? A man or a Konisalos?
Herald By the twin gods, young man, I'm a herald.
I have come from Sparta about reconciliation.
Kin. So you have come hiding a spear in your cloak?
Herald No by Zeus!
Kin. Why are you twisting free?
Why are you holding your mantle out? Is your groin
swollen
from the journey?

apparent in the remark made by Kinesias is the utter ineffectiveness of the men's devices. At this point in the play, the men are powerless inasmuch as they are unable to wield their members in the way that they want. The men of *Lysistrata* all have Spartan walking sticks. In fact the two equivalent *skutalai* ("then this too is a Lakonian *skutalê*!" 992) suggest the equivalence of Spartan and Athenian men, but the instruments have become decidedly ineffective as they are powerless to use them "properly," that is, in sexual relations with their wives. One would think that in their Priapic state, the men of the play would be powerful, potent figures. Instead, despite the proliferation of the verb *stuein* in the play and the attention to the men's erections, the young men of *Lysistrata* can be seen to be figuratively impotent.

In Greek myth, when a goddess has a tryst with a mortal man, the man becomes literally or figuratively impotent.¹⁰² At the very least he becomes a passive *erômenos* to the goddess-*erastes*.¹⁰³ Eva Stehle argues that this was a way of negotiating the competing hierarchies, immortal/mortal and male/female.¹⁰⁴ A mortal man paired with a goddess experiences a kind of death, even if it is only to the world of mortals. In general, when goddesses snatch up mortals, *erôs* and *thanatos* intersect—especially if Aphrodite is the goddess involved. And when a goddess takes possession of a mortal man, it is usually not a success story for the man. One has only to think of Tithonus' woeful end, Odysseus' concern that the divine Calypso will unman him, and Anchises' horror after Aphrodite has revealed her true identity.¹⁰⁵

102. For a discussion of goddesses and mortal men in Sappho's poetry, see Stehle 1996. See also Boedeker 1974: 64–84; see Giacomelli 1980 and Clay 1989: 182–83 on the loss of *menos* that Anchises fears in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. In later accounts Anchises boasted that he slept with Aphrodite and was struck by lightning and became blinded (Servius on *Aen* 1.617) or somehow paralyzed (Servius on *Aen*. 2.649). For Anchises' impotence see Rose 1924; Clay 1989. Against this argument, see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes 1963.

103. The relationship between Adonis and Aphrodite may be compared to that between Ismenodora and Bacchon in the *Dialogue on Love* attributed to Plutarch in which an inversion of a "normal" wedding takes place between Ismenodora, a rich widow about thirty years old, and Bacchon, a younger fellow in his early twenties. She abducts him and marries him. In this tale Bacchon, an *erômenos*, plays essentially the same role as Adonis, while Ismenodora is a female *erastês* playing the role of Aphrodite. Ismenodora is at one point explicitly aligned with the figure of the *erastês*, 755cd. See also Machon 264 (Gow 1965) for another female *erastês* (Gnathaina) to a male *erômenos* (Diphilos).

104. Stehle 1996.

105. The iconography associated with Eos and Tithonus is eerily repetitive (as is the iconography of erotic pursuit in general). Tithonus runs off to the right in sheer terror, his right arm trailing behind him; or he seems poised to defend himself by clobbering Eos with his lyre or his spear. These representations indicate the terrible and terrifying aspects associated with being taken by a goddess. A few representations of Eos and her mortal lover appear, however, to indicate a more reciprocal relationship; see Stehle 1996 for a discussion. For extensive bibliography on pursuit scenes and specifically scenes depicting goddesses and mortal men, see Keuls 1985; Zeitlin 1986; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991; Stewart 1995; Osborne 1996; Lefkowitz 2002. See also Vermeule 1979.

As early as Sappho, the story is told that Aphrodite placed Adonis in a bed of lettuce as he was dying.¹⁰⁶ The connection between Adonis and that particular vegetable persisted, and Athenaios reports:¹⁰⁷

Nicander of Colophon, in the second book of his *Dialect Lexicon*, explains the word *brenthis* as the Cyprian term for lettuce; in this Adonis sought refuge from the wild boar which killed him. And so Amphis in the *Lamentation* says: "It was among the lettuce-plants, plague take them! Why, if a man not yet sixty should eat them when he desires commerce with a woman, he might twist and turn the whole night long without once accomplishing his desires, wringing his hands against stern fate instead of acting like a man." Callimachus, too, says that Aphrodite hid Adonis in a lettuce-bed, since the poets mean by this allegory that constant eating of lettuce produces impotence. . . . And Cratinus says that Aphrodite, when she fell in love with Phaon, hid him away in "fair lettuce-beds". . . . Lycus the Pythagorean says that the naturally flat-leaved lettuce, smooth and stalkless, is called "eunuch" by Pythagoreans, but "impotent" by women; for it causes urination and relaxes desire; but it is the best to eat.

Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 2.69 (Gulick trans.)

Lettuce already has anti-aphrodisiac connotations during the archaic and classical period.¹⁰⁸ A fragment of the comic poet Euboulos, cited again by Athenaios, reads:

μὴ παρατίθει μοι θριδακίνας, ὦ γύναι,
ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἣ σεαυτὴν αἰτιῶ.
ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ τούτῳ γάρ, ὥς λόγος, ποτὲ
τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀποθανόντα προϋθῆκεν Κύπρις·
ὥστ' ἐστὶ νεκύων βρῶμα.

Euboulos *PCG* v fr. 13

Do not put lettuce on the table for me woman, or you will reproach yourself. For in this vegetable, the story goes, once Cypris laid Adonis, when he had died. So it came to be food for corpses.

Here the speaker from a play entitled, significantly, *Astutoi* (*Impotent Men*) conflates Adonis, lettuce, and corpses and tells a woman that if she serves him lettuce, she will have only herself to blame.¹⁰⁹ The speaker describes lettuce as food for corpses, and, indeed, in classical texts old men who are sexually decrepit are frequently referred to as "dead," a "corpse," a "tomb."¹¹⁰

106. Test. 211c Voigt.

107. See Detienne 1994 [1972]: 67–71.

108. See also Hipp. *Vict.* 2.54.20 (explanation: coolness of the lettuce).

109. See Hunter 1983, Fr. 14.4.

110. For other examples of this epithet for old men, see Henderson 1987: 115. Cf. the use of *σορός*, "coffin," (e.g. Machon 300–301 [Gow 1965] to describe an old woman).

In *Lysistrata*, the chorus of old men is called *tumbos*, “tomb,” (372) and the magistrate, also an older man, is told to buy a *soros*, “coffin” (*Lys.* 600). *Tumbos* and *soros* are generic epithets used of old men, but in *Lysistrata* the terms also speak to the men’s diminished sexual capacity, a fact that becomes apparent in the scene between Lysistrata and the magistrate when he remarks, “well, anyone who can still get an erection . . .” (ἀλλ’ ὅστις ἔτι στῦσαι δυνατὸς—, 598). Lysistrata’s response is to cut him off mid-sentence and retort, “Why on earth don’t you die already! Here is a plot. Go buy a coffin (*soros*)!” (σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθὼν οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις; / χωρίον ἐστίν· σορὸν ὠνήσει, 599–600). We will explore this scene in detail below, but here we may note that Lysistrata silences the Proboulos, metaphorically killing him. Like the figure of Aphrodite in stories told about Adonis, Lysistrata (forcibly) lays this “Adonis” in a bed of lettuce.

In Euripides *Andromache*, Peleus upbraids Menelaus for his conduct after the war: “you didn’t kill your wife after you had her in your control, but when you saw her breast, throwing away your sword, you received her kiss, fawning over that treacherous bitch, you wretch, weaker than Aphrodite” (οὐκ ἔκτανες γυναῖκα χειρίαν λαβὼν, / ἀλλ’, ὥς ἐσεῖδες μαστόν, ἐχβαλὼν ξίφος / φίλημ’ ἐδέξω, προδότιν αἰκάλλων κύνα, / ἥσσω πεφυκὼς Κύπριδος, ὃ κάκιστε σύ, 628–31). The sword and the phallus are both symbols of male aggression and power. Menelaus famously throws the former away in order to focus on the latter. Yet Menelaus is clearly not in a position of power despite his enflamed desire. A similar movement is at work in *Lysistrata* as Lampito remarks just after Lysistrata describes her sex-strike plan for the first time, ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τᾶς Ἑλένας τὰ μάλα πα / γυμναῖς παραυιδῶν ἐξέβαλ’ , οἶῶ, τὸ ξίφος (“Menelaus, for example, when he saw Helen’s bare ‘apples,’ he threw away, I think, his sword,” 155–56). The men of *Lysistrata* find themselves enflamed with desire, and, weaker than Aphrodite, they throw away their swords and agree to stop the war.

In *Lysistrata*, as the women play the role of Aphrodite, all of the men— young and old—exhibit characteristics of powerlessness vis-à-vis the women. As we have seen, the young men are metaphorically impotent as a result of their erections, which, despite all appearances, render them weak and ineffective. The old men are repeatedly referred to as “corpses,” an appellation that connotes an inability to exhibit arousal. The men, then, take on characteristics of mortal men in goddess/mortal pairings, as the women play the role of Aphrodite.¹¹¹ Thus far I have looked at a number of ways in which *Lysistrata* evokes an Adonia, however it remains to be seen what role the ritual cultivation of gardens of Adonis plays in *Lysistrata*.

111. Kinesias, who is erect but “impotent,” may be compared to satyrs, who never seem to succeed in sex. On satyrs and the ways in which they are continuously thwarted, see Griffith 2002; Hedreen 2006.

GARDENS OF ADONIS

One of the more puzzling aspects of this play is the fact that Lysistrata's plan to deny sex to the men *works*. There are, certainly, many other options open to the men for relieving their plight—sex with boys, slaves, prostitutes, masturbation. The very fact that Lysistrata's scheme is successful underscores the notion that this play focuses on the denial of a specific kind of sex—sex between men and women within the confines of marriage.¹¹² It is for this reason that the play contains the drawn-out scene between the married couple Myrrhine and Kinesias rather than a scene between, say, two lovers.

Gods descend to earth all the time, disguise themselves as animals or humans, rape or seduce mortal women, and have children. It is not quite the same for goddesses when they are attracted to mortal men. In Book 5 of the *Odyssey*, Calypso articulates this double standard (116–29). More often than not, these unions do not produce offspring.¹¹³ In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Aphrodite boasts that “she coupled gods with mortal women and they bore mortal sons to immortals, and she coupled goddesses and mortal men,” (50–52). It is notable that the offspring of the gods/mortal women relationship are explicitly mentioned while the products of the goddess/mortal men relationship are elided.

The relationship between Aphrodite and Adonis is not concerned with “proper” marriage and reproduction, but is, rather, focused on seduction.¹¹⁴ This particular aspect of their union is played out in the ritual of the Adonis festival, with the gardens of Adonis, broken pottery vessels, *ostraka*, in which were planted quickly-germinating seeds.¹¹⁵ When the seeds sprouted, the vessels were carried up to the rooftops where the tender shoots withered and died in the powerful sun. The gardens became proverbial for that which came to no issue: “more fruitless than the gardens of Adonis.”¹¹⁶

Indeed, the Socrates of Plato's *Phaedrus* describes the planting involved in the Adonis festival as the antithesis of “proper” farming:

Σω. τότε δὴ μοι εἰπέ· ὁ νοῦν ἔχων γεωργός, ὦν σπερμάτων κήδοιτο καὶ ἔγκαρπα βούλοιτο γενέσθαι, πότῃρα σπουδῇ ἂν θέρους εἰς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ἄρων χαίροι θεωρῶν καλοῦς ἐν ἡμέραισιν ὀκτὼ γιγνομένους, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παιδιᾶς τε καὶ ἐορτῆς χάριν δρῶν ἄν, ὅτε

112. See Henderson 1987: 80. Only at 1092 is intercourse with Kleisthenes suggested. See also Dover 1972: 150 and 160–61; Loraux 1993: 124.

113. And, even if the unions do result in an Aeneas, they frequently lead to some sort of complication, as we saw above.

114. This is one of Detienne's (1994 [1972]) fundamental assumptions. In the *Iliad*, Helen may be seen as a substitute for Aphrodite, in that the union of Helen and Paris produces no children (cf. Helen and Menelaus).

115. Simms 1998 argues that the gardens were used as funeral biers for the *eidōla* of Adonis. On the *eidōla*, see below. On the gardens see also Baudy 1986; Reed 1995.

116. On the proverb see Reed 1995: 324n.30. See also Rochette 1851.

καὶ ποιοῖ· ἐφ' οἷς δὲ ἐσπούδακε, τῇ γεωργικῇ χρώμενος ἂν τέχνη,
σπεύρας εἰς τὸ προσῆκον, ἀγαπῶν ἂν ἐν ὀγδόῳ μηνὶ ὅσα ἔσπειρεν
τέλος λαβόντα;

Phaedr. 276b

Socrates: Tell me this, would a farmer who had sense, if he had seeds that he cared about and wanted them to bear fruit, would he in all seriousness, during the summertime, sow them in gardens of Adonis and rejoice seeing them becoming beautiful in eight days? Or would he rather do these things for the sake of amusement and festivity, when he would do so at all? The seeds he was seriously concerned about, would he not, employing his farming skill, having sown them in a fitting place, would he not be well pleased with as many things as he planted coming to fruition in the eighth month?

As Socrates represents it here, the Adonia is associated with improper farming, and we may note the opposition between serious farming and playful, frivolous Adonis gardening.¹¹⁷ Translated into sexual terms, we may concur that the Adonia involves a suspension of marital, reproductive sex. And indeed, that is precisely what Detienne saw when he looked at the Adonia—improper farming, seduction, and a failure of reproduction.

The women of *Lysistrata* are certainly not ensconced in the *oikos* producing more children, or taking care of the ones that they already have, but are rather up on top of the Acropolis, decked out in finery and looking very seductive, and as I have argued they are playing the role of Aphrodite. In her consideration of *Lysistrata*, Loraux argues that the women become *parthenoi*: “the women of Athens make themselves into young girls once again—on the Acropolis, and to serve the needs of Aphrodite’s cause.”¹¹⁸ Each woman undergoes this metamorphosis “to recover all the seductive allure of a young girl and thus entice her husband.”¹¹⁹ Sarah Stroup, by contrast, argues that the women of *Lysistrata* are “comically ‘hetairized’ —recreated as pseudo-*hetairai*.”¹²⁰ How is it that two readings of *Lysistrata* reach such opposite conclusions? To be sure, Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* presents a puzzling situation. The women refuse sex with men. But, rather than wander the hills like Artemis, the quintessential *parthenos*, the women of the play are decidedly urban. They align themselves with a different *parthenos*, the patron deity of Athens—Athena. On the other hand, while *Lysistrata* and her allies embody an excessive seductiveness and commitment to *aphrodisia*, they are engaged in a rejection of men—not the approach of the average fifth-century

117. This is a very complicated dialogue and Socrates’ relation to gardens of Adonis is far more ambivalent than it appears. See Reitzammer 2006 for the argument that, paradoxically, Socrates plays the role of a cultivator of gardens of Adonis. The fact that gardens of Adonis here are aligned with the deficient system of writing recalls the dysfunctional *skutalai* in *Lysistrata* discussed above.

118. Loraux 1993: 162.

119. Loraux 1993: 166.

120. Stroup 2004: 41.

hetaira. The fact that Loraux associates the women of the play with *parthenoi* while Stroup is able to see them as “hetairized” underscores the fact that it is their status as *non-reproductive* women that is important. The scene with Myrrhine and Kinesias makes this clear. A vast gulf exists between the sphere which Kinesias inhabits and the space atop the Acropolis. It is the presence of her child, in the end, that convinces Myrrhine to descend. When Myrrhine says οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν. καταβατέον (884) the obligation expressed in the verbal adjective is operating on several levels. The space where the women are located is non-reproductive space.

As we have seen, the Proboulos equates what the women are doing with *truphê* and *Adôniasmos*—elements that he considers destructive to the *polis*. But the Proboulos also uses a specific metaphor to describe what the women are doing when he remarks, ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ξυμπονηρεώμεθα / ταῖσιν γυναιξὶ καὶ διδάσκωμεν τρυφᾶν, / τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλαστάνει βουλεύματα (“when we ourselves sink to their level and teach the women to *truphên*, such schemes bloom from them,” 404–406). The Proboulos employs the word *blastanein*, “to bloom,” an action that is, of course, what plants do. As far as the Proboulos is concerned, the women connected with Lysistrata are growing terrible plots. To him, the women atop the Acropolis are cultivating “gardens of Adonis,” putting the *polis* in a state of disorder.¹²¹

But as we have seen, this is only one view of the women's actions. The Proboulos' use of the verb *blastanein* echoes the use of the same word by the old women in the battle between the two choruses, an elemental battle in which the women are armed with water and the men are armed with fire. The old men, horrified that they have been doused and that their weapon—fire—has become unusable, ask the women what they mean by their action. The women respond that they are watering the old men so that they will grow back up again, *anablastanein* (383–85). The men retort that they are already “dried up/dead” (αἴθος, 385). Like gardens of Adonis, withered from the scorching heat of the sun, the women cause the male “plants” to burn up, wither, and die.¹²² Yet at the same time, the women

121. Given that Aristophanes has Lysistrata quote directly from Euripides' *Melanippe the Wise* (ἐγὼ γυνὴ μὲν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι, “I am a woman but I have intelligence,” *Lys.* 1124; Eur. *TrGF* fr. 514), it should be noted that Euripides is said to have mentioned gardens of Adonis in *Melanippe* (Σ Plato's *Phaedrus* 276b3 T [Greene p. 88]). It would be useful to know which *Melanippe*, but it has been suggested that the line is from *Melanippe the Wise* as Melanippe grapples with the impending death of her children (Webster 1967: 147).

122. The women of *Lysistrata* are “fiery,” to be sure. Recall that from the start Lysistrata is asked, “what could women do that is prudent and *lampron*?” (42–43). By the end of the play, Lysistrata and her allies have truly achieved something brilliant (*lampron*), as bright as the sun that destroys gardens of Adonis in the ritual. Indeed, Lampito's very name connotes bright torches and lamps, and we may recall that she is the most eager for Lysistrata's plan, the very first to agree to it. Lysistrata herself is ablaze in the opening lines (“my heart burns,” 9) and repeatedly the women are described as “fiery” (e.g. 1015). As we saw, the chorus of old women remark, “if you fire me up I'll release the sow of myself” (682), threatening to turn into wild pigs if incensed. In addition, the young women swear to abstain from sex, “so that my husband may be enflamed” (221, also 1079). And of course, as we have seen, the Proboulos complains about the fact that the women have flared up

are watering the men to quench their fiery desire for war so that civic order can be *re-established* and restored (thus the prefix *ana-*), and so that proper farming can begin again.¹²³ The women want to grow a healthy *polis*. This political maneuver can only be accomplished by “destroying” the men.¹²⁴

While Aristophanes rarely underscores the passage of time in his plays, he seems to emphasize this in *Lysistrata*.¹²⁵ As we have seen, Plato’s Socrates asserts that a garden of Adonis takes *eight* days to grow. When Kinesias remarks οὐδ’ ἐλεεῖς τὸ παιδίον / ἄλουτον ὃν κᾶθηλον ἔκτην ἡμέραν; (“do you not pity your child, unwashed and unfed for the sixth day now?” 880–81), it is tempting to conclude that the women of *Lysistrata* are atop the Acropolis for approximately the amount of time that is needed to cultivate an Adonis garden.¹²⁶ In the end, what appears merely to be frivolous gardening-for-fun is, instead, productive and serious, as the women “roast” the men.¹²⁷ The very women who point out that they are qualified to give advice to the *polis* because they provide Athens with children who are sent off to war (589–90, 651) suspend normative (but irregular, unsatisfactory, war-time) sexual relations with their husbands during the run of the play in order to return to them on a permanent and more uninterrupted basis after a cease-fire has been established—a very fruitful plan. As I have argued, the Adonis festival is incorporated into *Lysistrata* despite its denial and disavowal. In the third part of my argument, I would like to take a look at one final element of the Adonia—lamentation—while returning once more to the Proboulos’ tirade to explore his association of the Adonia with the Sicilian expedition.

PART THREE

LAMENTATION THEN AND NOW

What the Proboulos remembers so vividly when he recalls the Adonia are the lamentations of Demostratos’ wife on the rooftop, so audible to him during his

again (*exelampse*). Out-of-control female ritual tends to be described as a “flare-up.” As Henderson 1987 points out, in Euripides *Bacchae* the *hubrisma* in the *polis* associated with the bacchantes is “like fire,” 778. On fire imagery in *Lysistrata*, see Martin 1987.

123. War devastates crops and is in this way fundamentally incompatible with proper farming.

124. In the exchange between Myrrhine and Kinesias, Kinesias complains that she has destroyed him (ἀπολώλεκέν με, 952). Humans are associated with plants throughout Greek literature. A child is a *thalos*, a youth an *ernos*, the race of humans are leaves on trees. When Odysseus spots Nausikaa, after wondering how best to describe her, he fastens on the palm he once saw on the island of Delos. Humans occasionally turn into plants—like Daphne, like Myrrha, Adonis’ mother. For more associations between humans and plants, see Aubriot 2001. On agricultural language and human reproduction see e.g. Edmonds 1981: 221–38; DuBois 1988. See Cole 2004: 146–77 on embryos as plants in the earth. Cole points out that apparently bodies were so conceived of as *land* that certain techniques involving feces were used to promote fertility, in the same way that manure was employed to encourage growth of crops (169–70).

125. See Henderson 1987: 163.

126. Henderson notes this is an “unusually specific allusion to the passage of time” (1987: 177).

127. Myrrhine’s mission as described by Lysistrata is to “roast” (ὀπτᾶν, 839) Kinesias.

meeting in the Assembly. The recollection is unsurprising given that the Adonis festival involves an imitation of a funeral.¹²⁸ At the Adonia, the women who intentionally cultivate and then destroy and mourn the tender shoots atop their rooftops—a power over life and death that is similar to that of the immortal gods and goddesses—are playing the role of Aphrodite lamenting Adonis.¹²⁹

Just as it may not be useful to think of the Adonis festival as *simply* a private or marginal festival, since this tends to diminish its role in the public sphere, recent work on lamentation and burial practices makes clear that it is not accurate to think of rituals surrounding death during the classical period as *simply* private events. Evidence of legislation passed as early as the sixth century to restrict funeral rituals confirms the fact that funeral rituals were very public;¹³⁰ the singing of dirges was in fact political.¹³¹ Lamentation performed by women might rouse male family members—and women, if no men were around—to action and revenge.¹³² Religious ritual was decidedly political, it was “of the *polis*,” and, in this way, what we tend to think of as private was, in fact, public.¹³³ Indeed, given that typical lamentation at Athens did not take place on a rooftop, the dirges performed by women at an Adonia would have been still more visible and audible than normative funeral *thrênos*, as the Proboulos’ words emphasize.

The Adonis festival that the Proboulos recalls took place at a deeply significant moment; it transpired at the time of the debate over the Sicilian expedition. By 411 when *Lysistrata* was produced, the Athenians had had a year or two to attempt to come to terms with the devastating and traumatic events in Sicily. As it turns out, the Proboulos of *Lysistrata* is not the only one who associates a “marginalized,” “private” festival with the momentous events in Sicily. In his *Life of Alkibiades*, Plutarch relates:

ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ γενομένων ἐτοιμῶν πάντων πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν, οὐ χρηστὰ παρῆν οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς. Ἀδωνίων γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηχόντων, εἴδωλά τε πολλαχοῦ νεκροῖς

128. For lamentation and the Adonia, see e.g. Pherekrates (Ἀδώνι ἄγομεν καὶ τὸν Ἀδωνν κλάομεν, “we are celebrating the Adonia and we weep for Adonis,” *PCG* vii fr. 181); Sappho fr. 140 Voigt and see below. We may note, however, that lamentation is not emphasized in Socrates’ mention of the festival in Plato’s *Phaedrus* (276b); and for a similar view of the festival as *fun* see Menander’s *Samia* 38–49, where a sexual encounter takes place that actually results in pregnancy.

129. While in the myth the boar kills Adonis, leaving Aphrodite bereft and powerless, in the ritual, the women intentionally destroy the plants. Similarly, the agency and intention of Lysistrata and her allies are underscored as the women cultivate and destroy metaphorical gardens of Adonis.

130. The very fact that Plato felt it necessary to deal with *thrênos* in his “political” works is evidence that *thrênos* was a public, choral event in ancient Athens.

131. On the legislation see Humphreys 1983; Garland 1989: 1–15; Holst-Warhaft 1992: 114–19; Foley 2001; Alexiou 2002 [1974]: 14–23. Of course, regarding the legislation attributed to Solon, it is always difficult, if not impossible, to judge what the historical Solon did, because of the tendency for later Athenians to attribute all manner of laws and reforms to this figure. See e.g. Frost 2002: 41.

132. See Holst-Warhaft 1992 who supplements ancient evidence with anthropological studies of modern Greece.

133. Foley 2001: 3–18.

ἐκκομιζομένοις ὅμοια προύκειντο ταῖς γυναῖξί, καὶ ταφὰς ἐμιμοῦντο κοπτόμεναι καὶ θρήνους ᾄδον.

Plutarch *Alk.* 18.2 (Perrin trans)

After the people had adopted this motion and all things were made ready for the departure of the fleet, there were some unpropitious signs and portents, especially in connection with the festival, namely, the Adonia. This fell at that time, and little images like dead folk carried forth to burial were in many places exposed to view by the women, who mimicked burial rites, beat their breasts, and sang dirges.

And in his *Life of Nikias* he describes the Adonia again:

Ἀδώνια γὰρ εἶχον αἱ γυναῖκες τότε, καὶ προύκειτο πολλαχόθι τῆς πόλεως εἰδῶλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ᾄσαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιουμένους τινὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ λαμπρότητα καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην σχοῦσα ταχέως μαρανθῇ.

Plutarch *Nik.* 13.7 (Perrin trans.)

The women were celebrating at that time the festival of Adonis, and in many places throughout the city little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites were held about them, with wailing cries of women, so that those who cared anything for such matters were distressed, and feared lest that powerful armament, with all the splendor and vigor which were so manifest in it, should speedily wither away and come to naught.

In both *Lives*, the fleet sets sail amid ominous portents.¹³⁴ The lamenting women atop their roofs make everyone wonder if heading to Sicily is such a good idea after all.¹³⁵ In his *Life of Nikias* Plutarch describes the *eidōla* of Adonis, the

134. Note that Plutarch reports that the Adonia took place as the fleet was departing (which was summer, according to Thucydides), while Aristophanes' Proboulos describes the women's racket atop the roofs as the debate was held in the Assembly (most likely during the spring). On the chronological discrepancy, see Furley 1988, who discusses the Proboulos' tirade in *Lysistrata* and argues that a historical Adonis festival must have been held in 415 BCE, not during the normal time of the Adonia (summer), but as an improvised war protest during the *spring* while the Sicilian expedition was being debated. For the debate over the season in which the Adonia was held, see Furley's discussion. See also Keuls' 1985 discussion of the Adonia. Of course there is a certain circularity in marshalling Plutarch as evidence because he was writing so much later and because we are unsure about his sources. It is certainly possible that Plutarch drew upon Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* for this narrative. He surely was not drawing on Thucydides as the historian makes no mention of an Adonis festival on the eve of the Sicilian expedition, nor does he mention Demostratos. (Though the fact that Thucydides has nothing to say about the Adonia is not conclusive evidence that this festival was not being held as the fleet departed. After all, Thucydides tends to have little interest in women or women's ritual and tends to minimize religious explanations and events. Instead, he fittingly dwells on the mutilation of the Herms, an incident that is mentioned in *Lysistrata* 1093–94.)

135. On the Adonis festival as grim backdrop to political events, see also Ammianus Marcellinus 22.9.14–15 where the mournful cries of the Adonia again make for an ominous setting as the emperor Julian enters the city.

wailing women, and funeral rites, with no explicit reference to the “gardens of Adonis.” Instead, the mention of the withering plants that, like Adonis, die without issue is displaced onto the Athenian fleet that, despite its splendor and excellence (λαμπρότητα), many fear will wither away. As both the Proboulos and Plutarch make clear, what a group of women do on their rooftops during a “private” festival is not so peripheral in the end. In retrospect, the lamenting women that the Proboulos and Plutarch describe appear to have been *predicting* the death and destruction that would come about, rehearsing for the lamentation that would occur if the Athenians sailed to Sicily. The young shoots destroyed by the women in the heat of the summer are implicitly likened to the young sons who would be sent off to war and who would, like Adonis, die an untimely death.¹³⁶

The fact that the Adonia in the magistrate’s account is associated with the Sicilian expedition and that the gardens of Adonis are connected with the Athenian fleet in Plutarch’s *Life* necessitates a reconsideration of Detienne’s portrayal of the Adonia. He remarks that the Proboulos’ view was:

probably widely accepted by the Athenians: we are told of a noisy festival of ill-repute in which the indecent behaviour of the women at their antics on the rooftops scandalizes many citizens although the city does not allow the agitation of a handful of private individuals of the female sex, who do not, after all, enjoy any political rights, to distract it from carrying on public life.¹³⁷

In fact, when the Proboulos describes the Adonia of yore in the *Lysistrata*, it is clear that what is ostensibly *only* a private festival, a marginal festival, confined to the *oikos*, has already crept into the very public realm of the *ekklesia*. The private and the public are not so separate if the voices of women lamenting can be heard in the central, male space of debate. On the eve of the expedition, the public arena does, in fact, seem to be distracted and troubled by the lamenting women.

The Proboulos’ own words undercut the notion that the Adonis festival is *just* a “private” festival. When the Proboulos says, “when we teach the women to *truphan* such schemes bloom from them” (404–407), he means schemes the likes of which he sees when he blunders onstage. But what exactly does he see? The Proboulos sees a group of women together and out of place,

136. As Thucydides’ Pericles explains, once a year in the Kerameikos, Athenians mourned their war-dead with a state-sanctioned funeral oration. Meanwhile, across town and at a different time of year—in the midst of war season, when the weather was warm and the seas were traversable—participants in the Adonis festival lamented the death of young plants that, like the young soldiers, died prematurely, too young to bear fruit. I argue that the Adonia is in dialogue with the war-ethic affirming funeral oration, as a ritual central for the self-fashioning of the Athenian *polis*, in a book (in progress) on representations of the Adonia.

137. Detienne 1994 [1972]: 99–100.

civic disruption, rampant female sexuality, and *Adōniasmos*.¹³⁸ According to the magistrate, teaching the women to *truphan* involves being less than vigilant regarding their sexuality. He gives two examples, two husbands who unwittingly invite their wives' lovers—a goldsmith and a shoemaker—into their own homes. The Proboulos moves effortlessly from inattention to one's wife's extra-marital affairs to civic ills. He slips from a certain laxity in the private realm to disorder and chaos in the public realm. In the end, he concludes that the neglect of control over female sexuality is "the kind of thing that results in me coming up here [to the Acropolis] to get money for the oars and I am locked out by a bunch of women" (420–23). The Proboulos himself makes clear the connection between control of female sexuality and civic order, as well as the converse, lack of control and civic disorder.

The Proboulos has come onstage to get money for oars to equip the fleet, of course, *post*-Sicilian expedition. He finds himself surrounded by women who, in his view, are up to no good at all. But these women are not, in fact, a force of destruction. They are, rather, like Demonstratos' wife at the Adonia that the Proboulos remembers from a few years past, foretelling destruction if war is *not* stopped. However, unlike the women described by Plutarch, and unlike Demonstratos' lamenting wife whom the Proboulos recalls, these lamenters manage successfully to achieve a cease-fire.

Ancient Greek lamentation was a choral performance involving a leader and respondents.¹³⁹ Homer and Sappho provide us with early examples of what this might have looked and sounded like. Sappho (fr. 140 Voigt) records our earliest evidence for choral performance at the Adonia:

κατθνάσκει, Κυθήρη, ἄβρος Ἀδωνις· τί κε θεῖμεν;
καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείχεσθε κίθωνας.

He is dying, Cytherea, delicate Adonis is dying. What shall we do?
Beat your breasts, maidens, and rend your garments.

Here the chorus (*korai*) report the death of Adonis and ask Aphrodite what to do. We might imagine that they respond to Aphrodite's exhortation that they rend their garments with an "Alas for Adonis" similar to the one that survives in Sappho's meager fragment which contains only an expression of woe and Adonis in the accusative (ὦ τὸν Ἀδώνιν, fr. 168 Voigt).¹⁴⁰

138. But the women who confront the magistrate when he arrives onstage are not marriageable young women; they are older matrons, well past their prime. Why is the Proboulos worried about female sexuality getting out of control? The Proboulos, again, sees what he wants to see.

139. On lamentation generally, see Alexiou 2002 [1974]; for political aspects of lamentation, Foley 2001.

140. See also fr. 117B Voigt (ὦ τὸν Ἀδώνιον) and West's suggestion for fr. 96.23 (West 1970: 328). Later writers attest to Sappho's interest in Adonis. According to Comes Natalis, Sappho told the story of Adonis and his associations with lettuce (*scriptum reliquit Sappho Adonim mortuum fuisse a Venere inter lectucas depositum* [*Myth.* 5.16 (p. 531 ed. Francof. 1581)] = fr. 211c Voigt). And

In many representations of the Adonia, it is the choral lament that is emphasized. For example, a fragment of Kratinos preserved by Athenaios (disparagingly) mentions this aspect of the Adonia. A certain Gnesippos son of Kleomakhos is mocked with the following words: ὃς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν, / τῷ Κλεομάχου δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἤξιουν ἐγὼ / ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια, “who assigned a chorus not to Sophocles when he was asking for one, but to the son of Kleomakhos, whom I would not deem worthy to produce a choral performance for me, not even for the Adonia” (*PCG* iv fr. 17). In this passage, the Adonis festival is written off as a second-rate performance venue, yet the choral aspects of the ritual (though dismissed as inferior) are still underscored.

In *Lysistrata*, too, it is the choral element of the Adonia that is the focus. The Proboulos' description of the Adonia from a few years past parallels the recent interaction between the chorus of old men and women; it is structured like the amoebean exchange of a leader and choral respondents. Let's look at it again.

Πρ. ἄρ' ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφή
 χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοὶ πυκνοὶ Σαβάζιοι,
 ὃ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,
 οὗ γὰρ ποτ' ὦν ἤκουον ἐν τῇ κλησίᾳ;
 ἔλεγεν ὁ μὴ ὥρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος
 πλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὀρχουμένη
 “αἰαὶ Ἀδωνιν” φησὶν. ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος
 ἔλεγεν ὀπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων
 ἡ δ' ὑποπεπωκυῖ' ἡ γυνὴ πὶ τοῦ τέγους
 “κόπτεσθ' Ἀδωνιν” φησὶν. ὁ δ' ἐβιάζετο,
 ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μιὰρὸς Χολοζύγης.
 τοιαῦτ' ἅπ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀκολαστήματα.

Lys. 387–98

Magistrate: Has the wantonness of the women caught fire for everyone to see, and all their tumpans-playing and cries of “Sabazios!” and this festival of Adonis on the rooftops, which once I was hearing when I was in the Ekklesia? Demonstratos was saying—may he rot—“Sail to Sicily!” and meanwhile his wife was dancing away and saying “Alas for Adonis!” And Demonstratos was saying to levy Zakynthian hoplites and she, rather tipsy, was up there on the roof saying, “Beat your breast for Adonis!” But he was forceful about it, Demonstratos was, that man hated by the gods, that polluted Kholozyges. Such are the unruly acts from these women.

The Proboulos' description of the Adonis festival clearly lacks the component that is so prominent in other representations, namely, the chorus of responding women. Instead of the group of *korai* respondents seen in the Sappho fragment, it is only one *gunê*, Demonstratos' wife, dancing alone (ὀρχουμένη, 392) atop the

Pausanias reports that Sappho sang of Adonis, 9.29.8. For Sappho and the Adonia, see Reitzammer 2006.

roof. Demonstratos can thus be seen as a kind of lament-leader, battling it out with his wife. He urges, “Sail to Sicily!” and his nameless wife calls back, “Alas for Adonis!” He shouts, “Marshal Zakynthian troops!” and she responds, “Beat your breasts for Adonis!” Unfortunately for the fleet and the city of Athens, as the Proboulos points out, Demonstratos’ words had force, *bia*.

While the Proboulos and Plutarch describe *women* lamenting at an Adonis festival as decisions are made regarding Sicily, it is the *men* of *Lysistrata* and not the women who are doing the lamenting. Lysistrata and her allies have *bia* within the context of the play. While the aptly named Demonstratos turns the unfortunate *dêmos* into a *stratos*, Lysistrata, working in solidarity with a group of women, manages to dissolve (*luein*) the *stratos*. The choral nature of the Proboulos’ description of the Adonia parallels the most recent action of the play—the battle between the chorus of old men armed with fire and the chorus of old women armed with water. In this case, it is the group of men who are defeated and are thus the ones doing the lamenting: they are the ones who cry out *oimoi talas!* (382).¹⁴¹

The Proboulos as a representative of a newly created civic office embodies broad powers. He could, as Demonstratos did years ago, levy troops, allot funds. But the women of the play are the ones with *bia*. This is most apparent when the women dress him first as a woman and then as a corpse. Lysistrata has just made a lengthy speech, a speech provoked by the Proboulos (σὺ δέ μοι λέγε, 506). Women, she says, have held their tongues long enough. The exchange between the Proboulos and Lysistrata grows fierce and Lysistrata retorts:

- Λ. σιώπα.
 Πρ. σοί γ', ὦ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ 'γώ, καὶ ταῦτα
 κάλυμμα φορούσῃ
 περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; μὴ νυν ζώῃν.
 Λ. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐμπόδιόν σοι,
 παρ' ἑμοῦ τοῦτὶ τὸ κάλυμμα λαβὼν
 ἔχε καὶ περίθου περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
 κᾶτα σιώπα.
 Γ. καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν καλαθίσκον
 Λ. κᾶτα ξαίνειν ξυζωσάμενος
 κνήμευς τρώγων·
 πόλεμος δὲ γυναιξὶ μελήσει.

Lys. 529–38

- Lys. Shut up!
 Pro. Am I to shut up for you? A cursed woman,
 wearing a veil on your head no less.
 I'd rather die.
 Lys. Well if this is the trouble,

141. Other examples: Kinesias laments at 954 (οἷμοι τί πάθω); the chorus of old men even let out an *aiai* in solidarity with Kinesias' plight (κᾶτω γ' οἰκτίρω σ'. Αἰαῖ, 961). See also 1034, 1097.

take this veil, put it on your head,
and shut up!
Woman And, here, take this sewing basket.
Lys. And girding up your garments, sew away!
While chewing beans!
War will be a concern for women!

The Proboulos is given a veil and a sewing basket, the accoutrements of a woman. He is repeatedly told to “shut up!” (σιώπα), and with the concluding remark that “war will be a concern for women” the Proboulos is, essentially, turned into Demostratos’ wife.

A bit later, the sputtering Proboulos is dressed as a corpse. Lysistrata has just remarked that, while men who return from war can find a wife even if they are a little grey around the temples, during war women grow past their prime and miss out on marriage. The Proboulos responds, “well, whoever can still get an erection (*stuein*). . . .”¹⁴² But the Proboulos is unable to finish his sentence. Lysistrata interrupts and silences him again, just as he was silenced in the earlier scene. It is the verb *stuein* that sends Lysistrata into a frenzy. We recall what happens when goddesses are paired with mortals. As soon as the word is out of his mouth, she retorts in choppy, curt phrases:

σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθὼν οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις;
χωρίον ἐστίν· σορὸν ὠνήσει·
μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάξω.
λαβὲ ταυτὶ καὶ στεφάνωσαι.

Lys. 599–602

Why on earth don’t you die already!
Here is a plot. Go buy a coffin.
I’ll make you a honey-cake.
And here, take this and crown yourself.

... τοῦ δεῖ; τί ποθεῖς; χώρει ’ς τὴν ναῦν·
ὁ Χάρων σε καλεῖ,
σὺ δὲ κωλύεις ἀνάγεσθαι.

Lys. 605–607

What are you waiting for? What more do you
need? Get in the boat already!
Charon is calling you
and you are delaying him!

142. Van Leeuwen 1903 believes the Proboulos’ remark is a call to arms (cf. ἀλλ’ ἀμυντέον τὸ πρᾶγμ’ ὅστις γ’ ἐνόρχης ἔστ’ ἀνήρ, Lys. 661). For a different view see Henderson 1987 and Rogers 1911.

The speech given earlier by Lysistrata described women keeping silent. But now Lysistrata and her friends let loose their tongues and dress the Proboulos as a corpse.

CONCLUSION

As I have argued, despite (and because of) Lysistrata's initial denial that she and her friends have anything to do with an Adonis festival, despite all attempts to define the activities atop the acropolis as diametrically opposed to such "frivolous" undertakings, the Adonia is incorporated into *Lysistrata* and the action of the play is bound up with the ritual. The end of the play enacts an end to the Peloponnesian war, a return to proper farming, a return to marriage, and a conclusion to *Women-at-the-Adonis-Festival*. This is signaled when an Athenian remarks: "now I want to get naked and farm (*geôrgein*)!" (1173). The Athenian's words emphasize the fact that, as the play draws to a close, there will be no more fruitless gardens of Adonis. These remarks occur as the body of *Diallagê* is divided up.¹⁴³ If we recall that at the beginning of the play women's bodies are described in sexualized, geographical terms (87–88; 91–92), it becomes clear that what frames the action of the play is the division of bodies, specifically *female* bodies.¹⁴⁴ However, if at the start of the play *women* divide up women's bodies, by the end, it is clear that it is the men who are doing the division and that the normative situation has been reinstated.¹⁴⁵ The Adonis festival is over.

Yet it is, after all, an Adonis festival that led to the cease-fire, an Adonis festival that led to a return to "proper" farming and "proper" intercourse between married men and women (ἀνὴρ δὲ παρὰ γυναῖκα καὶ γυνή / στήτω παρ' ἄνδρα, "let husband stand beside wife and wife beside husband," 1275–76). The peace is, in the end, that which Aphrodite, the Cyprian goddess, made (Ἡσυχίας πέρι τῆς ἀγανόφρονος, ἣν ἐποίησε θεὰ Κύπρις, 1289–90). This reading of *Lysistrata* with an attention to the Adonia—the oath-taking ceremony in which women seize the "boar," the way in which Lysistrata and her allies play the role of Aphrodite, the use of myrrh/perfumes to stop the war, and the manner in which the men of the play are turned into Adonis figures (or on the level of ritual, withered plants)—calls into question frequent assertions that the Adonia was frivolous and peripheral, and that gardens of Adonis were *simply* fruitless and inconsequential, given that the ritual proves to be a serious and productive undertaking within the confines of the play.

As the play ends, the two choruses join together. The women clearly dominate and the men join up reluctantly, all the while muttering and complaining.¹⁴⁶

143. On this scene see Zweig 1992.

144. Konstan 1995.

145. Konstan 1995. On Lysistrata's disappearance as the play draws to a close, see Henderson 1987.

146. As the divided choruses unify, the men remark, μὴ ὥρασ' ἔχουσθ', which means literally, "may you not come in season," 1037. This phrase echoes the Proboulos' earlier curse of Demostrotos

The defeated men are subsumed into *Adôniázousai* (even Lysistrata disappears eventually) leaving a unified collective that sings of abundance and plenty, dangling delights before the audience, while each time denying their presence or in some way hindering access to the treats.¹⁴⁷ The generous offering (and simultaneous assertions that what is offered does not really exist or that attempts to obtain it will be thwarted) parallels the tension between the fruitfulness and sterility of an Adonis garden.¹⁴⁸

As for the place of the Adonia at Athens during the classical period, this play suggests that what is marginal can, in fact, become central. What is *socially* peripheral is, in the end, *symbolically* central in *Lysistrata*, as the Adonis festival takes center stage in unexpected ways on the Acropolis, at the heart of the Athenian *polis*, and even as a focus for the whole of Hellas. Even the Proboulos, a figure who embodies such a prominent political position of central import, takes part in the “marginal” ritual of the Adonia. The Adonia is not simply opposed to marriage and reproduction but in *Lysistrata* at least the festival leads to a return to proper intercourse between men and women.

A consideration of *Lysistrata* as *Adôniázousai* not only complicates our view of the Adonis festival while providing a new interpretation of the play, but also prompts us to question the too-easy distinction between public and private cult. Earlier, we explored the way in which Lysistrata’s plan may be seen to be both *phaulos*, “trivial,” “simple,” as well as not-*phaulos*. If the Adonia is “trivial,” *just* a private cult, it may be written off as such, disregarded, shunted to the margin. If, however, the Adonia is seen as somehow *serious*, the festival, then, does some sort of “work” in the *polis*, a fact that is, perhaps, troubling to some individuals, like the Proboulos character, who may wish to minimize the ritual as frivolous and peripheral, as “private,” to contain its threat, its unsettling function. Thus Socrates in *Phaedrus* describes planting gardens of Adonis as something one merely does for “fun” (*paidia*, 276b). Likewise, Moschion in Menander’s *Samia* characterizes the Adonia that he witnesses as “a good time” (*paidia*, 38–49). Yet as we have seen, within the context of *Lysistrata*, Adonis and his festival are not simply “fun” or “funny.” Instead, the Adonia takes on a serious and political role.

the warmonger during the debate over the Sicilian expedition (μη ὥρασι, “may he rot,” 391), a phrase that perhaps invokes once more the gardens of Adonis that are not grown at the proper time (not “in season”) but are instead quickly germinated and killed off during the hottest time of the year. See Rogers 1911 on the phrase.

147. This teasing occurs on three separate occasions—*come on over and enjoy some food . . . but the door will be locked* (1058–1071) and a bit later, *help yourself to all the tapestries and finery in my house . . . though there is nothing there!* and finally, *come help yourself to flour, but beware the watchdog* (1188–1215). Although Henderson 1987: 190 remarks that this tactic is a typical comic ending, the taunting seems more pronounced at the end of *Lysistrata* than in Aristophanes’ other plays.

148. On the one hand the gardens produce no fruit since they are prematurely killed; on the other hand, the process of cultivating the *kêpoi* is certainly a “productive” activity for the women involved (Winkler 1990). See Reed 2005 on the Suda’s “fruits of Adonis” and Reckford 1987 on the fruitfulness of the *communitas* that this play evokes.

In *Lysistrata*, the Acropolis becomes a new, in-between, hybrid space and forces us to consider definitions. While the earlier solo performance by Demostros' wife, though unsettling to the Assembly, failed to halt the expedition, the Adonia that Lysistrata convenes puts an end to the Peloponnesian War. In the end, this reading of *Lysistrata* joins recent work on women's ritual and performance to alter our view of Greek religion. Through their involvement in the Adonia, not only are these women being seen but, in the performance of their lamentations on the rooftops, they are being heard and are even altering the political landscape.

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