

Plato *Laws* 833C–834D and the Bears of Brauron

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ἐπτά μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ'
εὐθύς ἠρρηφόρου·
εἴτ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκέτις
οὔσα τὰρχηγέτι·
κατ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους·
κάκανηφόρου ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ'
ισχάδων ὄρμαθόν.

THESE SEVEN VERSES sung by the chorus of aristocratic Athenian women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (641–47), together with their scholia, constitute the literary evidence for the Arkteia, the festival celebrated by maiden *arktoi* in honor of Artemis at Brauron.¹ Supposed problems with the text of verse 645 and the apparent lack of agreement between what this verse says about the Arkteia and what the scholia add have occasioned debate concerning the celebrants and the celebration.² In particular the age of the *arktoi* and the significance of the *krokotos*, the saffron-colored robe mentioned at 645, have been subjects of dispute. L. Kahil has brought into the discussion the scenes decorating many of the 'festival issue' *krateriskoi* found in abundance at Brauron and in lesser quantities at Artemis' other cult sites in Attica.³ It has nonetheless proved difficult to

¹ For a collection of the literary and epigraphic testimonia see Wernicke, *RE* 2 (1896) 1170–72 s.v. “Ἀρκτηία, ἄρκτοι”; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* II (Oxford 1896) 564–66 n.32; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) 453–55; S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund 1931) 27–29; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 207–08.

² Three scholia survive on the passage, in the Ravenna codex, the Leiden codex, and at Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους. W. Sale, “The Temple-legends of the Arkteia,” *RhM* 118 (1975) 265–84, examines the scholia and reconstructs their stemma.

³ L. Kahil, *AntK* Beih. 1 (1963) 13–14 pl. 6.1–2; *AntK* 8 (1965) 20–33; *CRAI* 1976, 126–30; *AntK* 20 (1977) 86–98; *Greece and Italy in the Classical World* (Acta XI Intern. Congr. Class. Arch. [London 1979]) 73–87; *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 253–63; hereafter ‘Kahil’ with date. Apart from Brauron, *krateriskoi* have been found at Mounichia (Kahil 1965, 23–24; 1977, 87), Halai Araphenides (modern Loutsas) (1977, 88), the Athenian Akropolis (1981), the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule in Melite, the grotto of Pan and the nymphs at Eleusis, and the Athenian agora (1965, 23, 24). On the

construct a portrait consistent with the archaeological and literary evidence, without doing violence to the text of *Lysistrata* 641ff. I will argue that a neglected passage of Plato's *Laws* makes such a portrait possible without rejecting the text of Aristophanes, and that the *arktoi* were between the ages of ten and fourteen or fifteen.

The question of the girls' age has affected scholarly views on the original significance of the Arkteia and its fate in classical times and later.⁴ Our ancient sources tend to hover around the age of ten,⁵ and they seem to agree on one point, that participation in the Arkteia was a prerequisite to marriage.⁶ We can deduce from laws concerning heiresses the youngest age at which a girl could marry. At Gortyn this was the age of twelve.⁷ This extremely tender age probably was necessitated by the system of property and inheritance law at Gortyn, which included legitimate daughters as heiresses regardless of the existence of legitimate sons.⁸ The choice of age twelve may well reflect the facts that the overriding concern of marriage was the procreation of male offspring, citizens and heirs, and that the twelfth year was according to Greek medical writers the earliest age observed for menarche.⁹

connection between Artemis and Pan see Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Rome 1979) 229–31 *et passim*.

⁴ That the festival was originally a *rite de passage* is generally acknowledged. See H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes* (Lille 1939) 260; A. Brelich, *Paidés e parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 273; Kahil 1977, 89; C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque I* (Rome 1977) 187; *cf.* C. Sourvinou, *JHS* 91 (1971) 174–75, and *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971) 339–40, 342.

⁵ Because they may reckon either inclusively or exclusively, the age of ten can mean either the tenth year of life (exclusive: from the ninth to the tenth birthday) or the eleventh (inclusive: from the tenth to the eleventh birthday). *Cf.* C. M. Tazelaar, *Mnemosyne* IV.20 (1967) 127–53, who warns (128), “Consequently one must always choose between two possibilities. This choice even to a Greek might have presented difficulties.”

⁶ τὸ καθιερωθῆναι πρὸ γάμων τὰς παρθένους (Harp., Suda, *Anecd. Bekk.* s.v. Ἄρκεῦσαι). μμησασθαι τὴν ἄρκτον πρὸ γάμου (schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645 Leiden and Ravenna). μὴ πρότερον συνοικίεσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρθένον (schol. Ravenna, Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους). Several of these sources mention an Athenian *psephisma* requiring all Athenian maidens to participate in the Arkteia before marriage (schol. Ravenna and Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος). Harpokration claimed, wrongly, that the *psephisma* was to be found in Krateros' collection of Athenian decrees (fr.21 ed. P. Krech [Berlin 1888]; *cf.* Jacoby *ad FGrHist* 342F9).

⁷ *I.Cret.* IV 72.xii.17–19; *cf.* W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London 1968) 162; R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967) 23.

⁸ *I.Cret.* IV 72.iv.31–43. D. Schapp, “Women in Greek Inheritance Law,” *CQ* n.s. 25 (1975) 53–57, has shown that normally the existence of a legitimate son excluded the legitimate daughter's right to inherit—so at Naupaktos (*IG* IX.1² 609), Tegea (*IG* V.2 159), and perhaps Thermon (*IG* IX.1² 2).

⁹ Oribas. *Ecl. Medic.* 132.1; *cf.* D. Amundsen and C. Diers, “The Age of Menarche in Classical Greece and Rome,” *Human Biology* 41 (1969) 125–32.

Was there a legal provision concerning the marriage age for *epikleroi* at Athens? The age at which *epikleroi* and orphans ceased to be under the care of their guardians was specified but unfortunately is lost in a lacuna at Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.7. 'Fourteen' is restored for want of a better proposal,¹⁰ but the medical writers supply a positive argument in support: they indicate the fourteenth year (exclusive) as the modal age for menarche.¹¹ What evidence we have suggests that Athenian girls married as young as age fourteen, although men of learning agreed that a later age, in accord with Spartan custom, was preferable.¹²

Because the Arkteia at Brauron was a penteteric celebration,¹³ restrictions limiting the participants' age would need to span at least four years in order that every girl have the opportunity to take part before her marriage. Two of the scholia to 645 (Leiden, Suda) support penteteric celebration when they observe that girls participated between their fifth and tenth birthdays—the source of the debate over the age of the *arktoi*.¹⁴ For according to the text of 643–45 which with few exceptions is favored by editors of *Lysistrata*, the *chorine* was an *aletris* at the age of ten, and then at some unspecified date thereafter donned the saffron-colored robe as a bear at the Brauronia. The age indicated here and the ages specified by the scholia do not overlap.

Various theories have been advanced to reconcile the text with its scholia. Brelich suggested that the discrepancy reflected a change in cult practice which saw the lowering of the age group—this on the principle that as initiation rites lose their original significance the age

¹⁰ The choice is limited by the surviving final *alpha* of the cardinal: [ἐπτ]ακαιδεκέτις and [ἐννε]ακαιδεκέτις would also be possible.

¹¹ Arist. *HA* 581a; Hippoc. 30.502; Soranus *Gynae.* 1.20; Ruf. *In Oribas.* 18; Gal. *De sanit. tuen.* 6.2.16; Oribas. *Ecl. Medic.* 132.1. Cf. Amundsen and Diers (*supra* n.9) 127.

¹² Demosthenes' sister, betrothed at five, was to be married when she should come of age in ten years (Dem. 27.4, 28.15, 29.43), while Ischomachos married a girl who was as yet unprepared to manage a home because of her youth—she was not yet fifteen (Xen. *Oec.* 7.5–6). Hesiod (*Op.* 698) cautioned that girls should wed in the fifth year after puberty. Plato (*Leg.* 785B, 833D, *Resp.* 460E) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1335a28–32) proposed that girls should marry between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Spartan custom preferred mature brides (Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ἄωρους πρὸς γάμον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους). Hippokrates (*Virg.* 1.16) and Aristophanes (*Lys.* 595–97) advised, for different reasons (health and fleeting beauty respectively), that girls wed as young as possible.

¹³ If the penteteric sacrifice at Brauron presided over by the *hieropoioi* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7, Poll. 8.107) and Aristophanes' *πρωκτοπεντετηρὶς θεωρία* (*Pax* 872–76, but cf. schol.) belong to the Arkteia and not some other festival at Brauron.

¹⁴ Leiden: ἐπιλεγόμεναι παρθένοι οὔτε πρῶτον δέκα ἐτῶν οὔτε ἐλάττους πέντε. Suda: οὔτε πρῶτον οὔτε ἐλάττους ἐ'. Tazelaar (*supra* n.5) 129 has shown that the construction ἀπὸ . . . ἐτῶν μέχρι . . . , a construction very similar to that used in the scholia, should be interpreted as from birthday to birthday.

of the participants tends to drop.¹⁵ Sourvinou observed that the solution may rest in the Ravenna codex reading *καταχέουσα* at 645 (rather than *κατέχουσα* ΓΒC, *κᾶτ' ἔχουσα* Bentley). The following text could result:¹⁶

εἶτ' ἀλετρις ἦ· δεκέτις οὔσα τὰρχηγέτι
καταχέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίους.

Then I was an *aletris*; at the age of ten, for the Archegetis [*i.e.* Artemis], I was a bear, shedding the saffron robe at the Brauronia.

The *chorine* was a bear at the age of ten, rather than older than ten, and she took off, rather than wore, the *krokotos*.

Sourvinou offered four observations in support of the Ravenna reading. (1) The Ravenna codex is superior and its reading is the *lectio difficilior*.¹⁷ (2) Aeschylus' description of Iphigeneia as she is raised above the altar (*Ag.* 239, *κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἔς πέδον χέουσα*) is very close to the Ravenna text, while Iphigeneia's connections with Artemis' cult at Brauron are well known if not completely understood.¹⁸ (3) The ritual *krateriskoi* decorated with figures of young girls, nude or dressed in a short chiton, executing stately dances or competing in foot races, could illustrate the literary references to the ritual act of letting the robe fall, those wearing the short chiton not yet having done so.¹⁹ (4) The *arktoi*, now aged ten, at least overlap with the upper limit of the age group reported in the scholia.

Sourvinou's text, however, presents difficulties. It suffers from severe asyndeton; it employs two present participles (*οὔσα* and *κατα-*

¹⁵ Brelich (*supra* n.4) 273. Sourvinou, *CQ* (*supra* n.4) 339–40, argues that “in order to accept such a change, we would have to suppose that the *arkteia* still had, at the end of the fifth century in Athens, a vital social function as an initiation rite,” a supposition she is unwilling to accept. In this she appears to miss the point. Cf. G. Thompson, *Aeschylus and Athens*³ (London 1966) 94; Jeanmaire (*supra* n.4) 381.

¹⁶ Sourvinou, *CQ* (*supra* n.4) 340–41.

¹⁷ The danger of appeals to the ‘best manuscript’ or to ‘rules’ in editing was underlined by A. E. Housman in the preface to his *Juvenal* (Cambridge 1905) xi–xxxvi.

¹⁸ It remains ambiguous, perhaps intentionally, whether Iphigeneia took off her saffron-colored robe (Headlam, followed by Fraenkel) or it hung from her body in great folds as she was lifted (H. Lloyd-Jones, *CR* 66 [1952] 134–35). Cf. Sourvinou, *CQ* (*supra* n.4) 340, and T. C. Stinton, *CQ* n.s. 26 (1976) 11–12. A. Lebeck, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 35–41, seemed to follow Lloyd-Jones, but warned that “Ambiguity in Aeschylus is not obfuscation of the ‘real’ meaning, but multiplication of the meanings possible.”

¹⁹ Sourvinou, *CQ* (*supra* n.4) 341, suggested that as symbol of their office the *arktoi* shed the *krokotos* upon successful completion of their service at Brauron. This contradicts Aristophanes. Either the *arktoi* wore the *krokotos* as a condition of their service (codices Γ, Β, C) or they took it off as a condition of their service (R). Neither text suggests that the *krokotos*, on or off, marked the completion of service. The scholia indicate that the *krokotos* was worn: *κροκωτὸν ἡμφιέννυντο* Leiden, *κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον φοροῦσαν* Ravenna, *κροκωτὸν ἡμφιεσμένοι* Suda. If the Ravenna scholium is correct in calling it a himation, then the girls on the *krateriskoi* are not wearing the *krokotos*.

χέουσα) where one might expect a present participle followed by an aorist, and it does so without a connective (τάρχηγέτι must be crasis for τῆ/τᾶ ἀρχηγέτι); the unbalanced juxtaposition of short and long sentences is extremely awkward; and καταχέω is used of disrobing, a sense not otherwise attested in Aristophanes (although it occurs in Homer, *Il.* 5.734), who commonly employs ἐκδύω for the removal of clothing (including four instances in *Lys.*, 662, 686, 920, 925).

Moreover, would the Athenian audience have associated the title ἀρχηγέτις with any goddess but Athena? Epigraphic and literary evidence suggests not,²⁰ and we now know that ἡ Ἀρχηγέτις could designate Athena Polias in official usage.²¹ In fact Athena's rôle in the play as an *agent provocateur* of marital abstinence seems as compelling as Artemis' if we keep in mind who the Athenian ringleaders are.²² For as Lewis persuasively argued, Lysistrata was modeled after the contemporary priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache,²³ thus adding weight to Papademetriou's suggestion that Myrrhine too can be identified with a real Myrrhine, the first priestess of Athena Nike.²⁴ These two 'portrait' characters would have served to remind the audience, if such a reminder was necessary, of this virgin goddess' importance to the Athenian *polis*. Stinton recognized that the attribution of the epithet to Artemis was problematic, despite the scholium gloss τῆ δεσποίνῃ Ἀρτέμδι ἢ Δήμητρι, and proposed at 645 an emendation for which there is no manuscript support (καὶ for κατ') and a different punctuation:²⁵

εἶτ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι
καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους.

Then at the age of ten I was an *aletris* for the Archegetis (Athena),
and [at age ten] shedding the saffron I was a bear at the Brauronia.

²⁰ See Stinton (*supra* n.18) 12.

²¹ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Suppl. 17 (1978) 3 line 65 with p.36; cf. John H. Kroll, *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982) 69.

²² I should like to thank the anonymous reader of *GRBS* for bringing this important point to my attention. On Artemis' rôle as exemplary virgin in *Lys.* see M. B. Walbank, *CQ* n.s. 31 (1981) 281.

²³ D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 50 (1955) 1-12.

²⁴ Known to us from a funerary inscription from Zographos, *SEG* XII 80; J. Papademetriou, *ArchEph* 1948-49, 146-53. C. W. Clairmont, "The Lekythos of Myrrhine," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: Festschrift P. H. von Blankenhagen* (Locust Valley 1979) 103-10, argues that *IG* II² 12196 (most recently *SEG* XXIX 262), a grave lekythos found near Syntagma Square in Athens, belongs to the grave of this same Myrrhine.

²⁵ Stinton (*supra* n.18) 13. Walbank (*supra* n.22) 277, 279, adopted Sourvinou's text and extended Brauronian Artemis' patronage to each of the four titles (*arrephoros*, *aletris*, *arktos*, and *kanephoros*), without successfully defending the association of the epithet ἀρχηγέτις with Artemis.

There is, however, another solution, which does not require that we tamper with the generally preferred text of *Lysistrata* 641–47.

Brauron was not the only sanctuary where Athenian girls acted the she-bear in service to Artemis before their marriage. A festival similar to the Brauronian Arkteia was celebrated in honor of Artemis at her sanctuary overlooking Mounichia harbor.²⁶ The foundation legends for the two festivals are strikingly similar in outline:²⁷

BRAURON: A she-bear comes to Brauron and is tamed. One day, the bear scratches a maiden with whom she is playing. The maiden's brother(s) becomes incensed and kills the bear. A plague falls upon Athens. The oracle at Delphi is consulted and Apollo orders that Athenian maidens must henceforth act the she-bear. And so they do.

MOUNICHIA: A she-bear appears in the Peiraieus and harms many people. Certain Athenians kill the bear. A plague falls upon Athens. The oracle at Delphi is consulted and Apollo replies that an Athenian maiden must be sacrificed by her father to Artemis. An Athenian, Embaros, consents and appears to do so, but instead sacrifices a goat. Athenian maidens thereafter act the she-bear in honor of Artemis Mounichia.

In detail the two accounts differ as to location (Brauron, Peiraieus) and bear-killer (brother, Athenians). Furthermore, the Mounichian legend clearly seeks to explain the origin of the *dictum* Ἐμβαρός εἰμι (probably tracing the genealogy of Artemis Mounichia's priesthood)²⁸ and of the sacrifice of a goat dressed in girl's clothing.

Sale examined the foundation legends of the Arkteia, Brauronian and Mounichian, and determined that the scholia for the Brauronian Arkteia are an amalgamation of legends belonging to several traditions, including the local cult at Brauron, the Arkteia at Mounichia, and the Iphigeneia legend (and cult at Aulis?).²⁹ He noted that the

²⁶ Harp. s.v. Ἀρκεῦσαι, schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645 (Leiden). For excavations at the suspected location of the sanctuary see J. Threpsiades, *Praktika* 1935, 159–95; H. Megaw, *JHS* 56 (1936) 142. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.11, Paus. 1.1.4. *Krateriskoi* have been found in the vicinity (*supra* n.3).

²⁷ Brauron: schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645 (see *supra* n.2). Mounichia: Leutsch/Schneidewin, *Paroem.Gr.* I 402 s.v. Ἐμβαρός εἰμι; *Suda* s.v. Ἐμβαρός εἰμι; Eust. *Il.* 2.732; Apostol. 8.19 s.v. Ἐμβαρός εἰμι; *Anecd.Bekk.* I 444–45 s.v. Ἀρκεῦσαι.

²⁸ *Paroem.Gr.* I 402, ὁ Ἐμβαρος τοῖνυν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν τῆν ἱερωσύνην τῆς θεοῦ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνους; cf. Eust. and Apostol. (*supra* n.27).

²⁹ Sale (*supra* n.2). P. Clement, *AntCl* 3 (1934) 393–409, suggested that the legend of Iphigeneia might have grown out of a ritual *nebreia* in the cult of Artemis at Aulis. Cf. A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion," in *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité* (Entr.Hardt 27 [Geneva 1981]) 198–208, on the sacrifice of *parthenoi* to Artemis in myth (esp. Iphigeneia and Kallisto) and on the Brauron/Mounichia legends.

Leiden scholium for 643–45 opens with a self-contained *aition* which “may show signs of Munychian influence, for it attributes the Arkteia to Munychia as well as Brauron, and we shall see that one of our sources for Munychian legend agrees . . . in making the Athenians the killers of the bear.”³⁰ It is within this *aition* that we find the troublesome age limits (“not older than ten years or younger than five”).³¹ The Suda scholium gives an abbreviated version of the Leiden Mounichian *aition*, including the age limits for the *arktoi*.³² The Ravenna scholium preserves neither any elements which Sale could attribute to Mounichian tradition nor the age limits. Can it be that the age limits preserved in the scholia for Aristophanes’ Brauronia belong rather to the Mounichian rites?

That the other sources for the Mounichian Arkteia do not include mention of the age limits is admittedly an objection. There is, however, evidence thus far overlooked in discussions of the problem which suggests that Brauron hosted an older group of *arktoi*. In Plato’s *Laws*, when the discussion of how the new polis might best educate its youth begins to consider the celebration of festivals, the Athenian suggests that girls, who have since the age of seven (μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἑξέτην) received training in gymnastics, horsemanship, archery, javelin and discus throwing, and slinging,³³ take part also in contests in the foot race, fencing, and, if they so desire, as jockeys in the horse races (833c–834d). The Athenian goes into some detail concerning the girls’ footraces (στάδιον, δίαυλος, ἐφίππιος, δόλιχος). Two age groups are distinguished: prepubescent girls are to compete in the nude, while girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty (or the time of their marriage) compete dressed in proper attire (πρεπούση στολή). Although Plato may not always have been echoing actual practices in his *Laws*, it has been taken for granted that he here followed Spartan custom, both as to the training of the girls and as to their attire or lack of it.³⁴

³⁰ Sale (*supra* n.2) 271 and n.8.

³¹ ἄρκτον μμούμεναι τὸ μυστήριον ἐξετέλουν. αἱ ἀρκευόμεναι δὲ τῇ θεῷ κροκωτὸν ἡμφιέννυντο καὶ συνετέλουν τὴν θυσίαν τῇ Βραυρωνίᾳ Ἀρτέμει καὶ τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ, ἐπιλεγόμεναι παρθένοι οὔτε πρεσβύτεραι δέκα ἐτῶν οὔτε ἐλάττους πέντε. ἐπετέλουν δὲ τὴν θυσίαν αἱ κόραι ἐκμειλισσόμεναι τὴν θεόν, ἐπειδὴ λιμῶ περιπεπτώκασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρκτον ἡμέραν ἀνηρηκότες τῇ θεῷ.

³² S.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις· ἀρκευόμεναι γυναῖκες τῇ Ἀρτέμει ἑορτὴν ἐτέλουν, κροκωτὸν ἡμφιεσμένοι, οὔτε πρεσβύτερες ἢ ἐτῶν οὔτε ἐλάττους ἢ, ἀπομειλισσόμεναι τὴν θεόν.

³³ *Leg.* 794c, 804d–805a, 813d–814c; cf. *Resp.* 452a–d.

³⁴ G. R. Morrow, *Plato’s Cretan City* (Princeton 1960) 382–83. We have evidence of two sorts for the athletic training and competition of Spartan girls: somewhat programmatic accounts of the Lykourgan legislation emphasizing the eugenic concerns of physi-

Before the excavations at Brauron and Kahil's publication of the *krateriskoi*, evidence for girls' athletic training and competition in Attica was meager. Plutarch mentions a 'ball-court of the *arrephoroi*' on the Akropolis; here presumably girls took their exercise while serving Athena and Aphrodite.³⁵ Ball-playing seems to have had a particular (ritual?) association, at times erotic, with youths and maidens. As early as the *Odyssey* (6.99–109) we find Nausikaa, the *parthenos par excellence*, playing ball with her attendants. South Italian vases depict young women playing ball with winged Erotes.³⁶ Balls were among the emblems of youth dedicated by maidens to Artemis on the eve of marriage (*Anth.Pal.* 6.280) and by young men to Hermes apparently upon graduation from the ephebic corps (*Anth.Pal.* 6.282). At Sparta the term *σφαιρεῖς* was applied to males who had just made the transition *ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας*, the title probably deriving from some competitive ball game that formed an important element of their training.³⁷ More to the point is an Attic black-figure lekythos found on Salamis, dated *ca* 490–470 and attributed by Haspels to the Beldam painter's workshop.³⁸ The lekythos depicts three girls, dressed in short chitons, racing around (or away from?) a volute altar. The scene is clearly modeled after a race similar or identical to that on the *krateriskoi*.³⁹

With the evidence provided by the *krateriskoi*, it is now reasonable to consider that Plato's thoughts on girls' athletics may not have been without Attic precedent, at least for the foot races and perhaps

cal conditioning (Pl. *Leg.* 805E–806A; Plut. *Mor.* 227D–E, *Lyc.* 14.2, 15.1; Xen. *Lac.* 1.4; *Suda* s.v. *Λυκοῦργος*); and occasional references to athletic activities, mostly races run in a religious context (jumping exercise or *bibasis*, Ar. *Lys.* 82–83 and schol., Poll. 4.102; running, *Lys.* 1303–21, Theoc. 18.22–25, Hesych. s.vv. *Διονυσιάδες* and *ἐν δροῶνας*, Paus. 3.13.7). It is possible that Alkman's *Partheneion* (esp. 45–51 and 58–59) alludes to girls' races; cf. D. L. Page, *Alkman, The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951) 55–57. Spartan women may have driven horses on occasion (Xen. *Ages.* 8.7, Ath. 139F), but only the Roman poets attest to their riding horses (Prop. 3.14.10–11, Verg. *Aen.* 1.314–20). That Spartan girls appeared scantily clad or nude in public was a topic of great interest in antiquity: P. Cartledge, *CQ* n.s. 31 (1981) 91–92; but cf. G. M. A. Richter, *AJA* 42 (1938) 342–43, arguing that they appeared scantily clad but not totally nude, and Eur. *Andr.* 595–601.

³⁵ Plut. *Mor.* 839C, cf. Paus. 1.27.3–4. Whether these *arrephoroi* should be identified with those of Ar. *Lys.* 642 has been questioned by Walbank (*supra* n.22) 276–78.

³⁶ E.g. *Altenburg CVA* 12 *Germany* 19 pp.24–25 pl. 104.1–3 (red-figure Apulian oinochoe of the mid-fourth century B.C.). Cf. Anac. 13 Page.

³⁷ *IG* V.1 674–88, Paus. 3.14.6, and M. N. Tod, "Teams of Ball-players at Sparta," *BSA* 10 (1903/4) 63–77.

³⁸ National Museum 548; C. H. E. Haspels, *Athenian Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 179 pl. 54.1a–b.

³⁹ Plutarch (*Sol.* 10.2) provides a mythological link between Salamis and Brauron. For the worship of Artemis on Salamis see Paus. 1.36.1.

training in gymnastics. Many *krateriskoi* depict girls engaged either in stately, rhythmic dances or in foot races. They are either nude or dressed in a short, mid-thigh length chiton. The setting for these performances has been identified as one of Artemis' sanctuaries (probably Brauron) by the presence of Artemis' tree, the palm, in conjunction with a volute altar.⁴⁰ Their ritual use (as libation vessels, *thymiasteria*, or merely commemoratives) and their connection with the celebration of the Arkteia at Brauron have not been disputed.⁴¹ The girls are *arktoi* and the dances and foot races were performed during the celebration of the Arkteia.

Plato's recommendations in the *Laws* suggest that we might recognize two age groups in the vase paintings. If the parallel with Plato may be followed precisely, we see on the *krateriskoi arktoi* below the age of thirteen competing nude while those older than thirteen are 'properly dressed' in short chitons.⁴² An age group for the *arktoi* which includes thirteen-year-olds is thus indicated.⁴³ Can we determine the upper and lower age limits of the group?

Lysistrata 643–45 indicates that the approximate age of ten, either the tenth year of life or from the tenth birthday, should be regarded as one of the termini.⁴⁴ If, to pursue the parallel in the *Laws*, our *arktoi* now include thirteen-year-olds, we may identify ten as the

⁴⁰ Kahil 1977, 87. For the distribution of *krateriskoi* see *supra* n.3.

⁴¹ Cf. Kahil 1965, 24–25; 1977, 88. Analysis of the clay will be necessary before the production centers of these vessels can be identified.

⁴² Kahil 1977, 86 proposed that the girls on the *krateriskoi* appeared to be between eight and thirteen years old. Two fragmentary red-figure kraters of the same shape as those from Brauron but of Athenian workmanship (special commissions?), dating *ca* 425 B.C., have been connected with the Arkteia. One shows girls racing in the nude (Kahil 1977 fig. B, pl. 19), the other girls racing dressed in short chitons (fig. A, pl. 18). Although Kahil (1976, 128) noted that the nude girls appear to be older than the clothed on the red-figure vases, it is at best difficult to determine the ages of children in Greek art with any degree of accuracy beyond the broad categories of infant, child, and adolescent. It is at least certain that the nude girls on the red-figure vase are not all of the same age. Of the eight surviving figures seven are of the same height (and presumably the same approximate age) while one is substantially shorter (and last in the race, as might be expected of the youngest in the group). Enough survives of six of the older girls to show that they have three distinct hair styles, while the shortest/youngest seems to have a fourth. I suggest that the artist was attempting to depict *arktoi* of age ten to thirteen—a time of rapid development for girls: while a ten-year-old might still appear a child, a thirteen-year-old can look very grown-up indeed.

⁴³ That is, the fourteenth year of life, commonly reckoned as the time of menarche: Tazelaar (*supra* n.5) 129 n.5.

⁴⁴ The verb *δεκατεύειν* was applied to the Arkteia. The lexicographers explained this: (1) the *arktoi* were ten years old (Harp. and Hesych. *s.v.* *δεκατεύειν*; *Anecd. Bekk.* I 234 *s.v.* *δεκατεύοντες*) or (2) Greeks customarily dedicated to the gods a tithe of what was most excellent (Harp., *Anecd. Bekk.*). The first usage (to indicate age) is otherwise unattested and probably derives from Ar. *Lys.* 645. On the second usage *cf. infra* 128.

lower age limit. Although I think we should reckon from the tenth birthday (*i.e.*, “from my ninth to my tenth birthday I was an *aletris*, from my tenth birthday I was an *arktos*”), I do not believe the evidence allows us to determine the matter so finely.

Plato advised that the girls compete up to the age of twenty or until their marriage at no younger than eighteen. The *arktoi* are to celebrate the Arkteia before their marriage. As we have seen, there is reason to think that Athenian law allowed *epikleroi* to marry at age fourteen, and we know of Athenian girls who married at that age. An upper age limit for the *arktoi* of fourteen or fifteen seems likely. Plato’s more advanced upper age limit was perhaps occasioned by his opinions concerning the ideal marriage age for girls. We should note finally that while a four-year age span would allow every girl one opportunity to participate in the penteteric Arkteia, a five-year span (such as that reported by the scholia for Mounichian Artemis) would give every girl a second chance should she be unable to participate at her first opportunity.

If the *arktoi* were between the ages of ten and fourteen or fifteen, Aristophanes sacrificed neither rhetorical balance nor ritual correctness in his composition of verses 641ff.⁴⁵ Their organization is straightforward. At the age of seven the *chorine* was an *arrephoros*; then (*εἶτα*) at ten she was an *aletris*; thereafter (*εἶτα*) she was an *arktos*. Aristophanes did not fix the age of the *arktos* more precisely because the *chorine* could have served at any time between the ages of ten and fourteen or fifteen. The age and ritual service of the *kanephoros* are problematic.⁴⁶ That Aristophanes did have a specific ritual in mind is indicated by *ισχάδων ὄρμαθός*.⁴⁷ What it was remains uncertain, but it seems likely that the service took place between acting the bear at the Brauronian Arkteia and the girl’s marriage.⁴⁸

Recognition of two age groups in the nude and clothed figures on the *krateriskoi* accords well with known Greek practice, for athletic and choral competition was frequently by age group. At the Heraia at Olympia, our closest parallel for the competitions at Brauron, the celebrants were divided into three age groups: *αἱ νεώταται*, *αἱ τῆ*

⁴⁵ Stinton (*supra* n.18) 12.

⁴⁶ Cf. Brelich (*supra* n.4) 279–90; Sourvinou, *CQ* (*supra* n.4) 342; Walbank (*supra* n.22) 279–80.

⁴⁷ Walbank’s suggestion (*supra* n.22) 279–80 that the *kanephoroi* depicted on fourth-century reliefs from Brauron are to be identified with Aristophanes’ *kanephoroi* seems to me unlikely: the *kanephoroi* in the reliefs are clearly adults. For these see J. D. Kondis, *Deltion* 22 (1967) pl. 104a, b, 105a; cf. I. Krauskopf, *AA* 1977, 13–37 (cylindrical bridal trousseau baskets).

⁴⁸ Cf. Theoc. 2.66–67 with schol.

ἡλικία δεύτεραι, αἱ πρεσβύταται τῶν παρθένων. Clad in knee-revealing chitons, the girls competed within their groups.⁴⁹ Nudity, which was the law for both athletes and their trainers at the Olympic games, seems not to have been a feature of the Heraia.⁵⁰ Why did the *arktoi* of age ten to thirteen compete nude?⁵¹

That menarche was felt likely to occur in the fourteenth year of life suggests that nudity was ritually preferable but for reasons of modesty girls who had reached that age covered up. Two factors may lie behind the nude competition. Before marriage Greek girls seem customarily to have dedicated childhood clothing and toys to the goddesses of marriage and childbirth.⁵² The thinking may have been ‘off with the old, on with the new’ at Brauron.⁵³ This might help explain why at Mounichia the sacrificial goat was dressed in girl’s clothing. Perhaps the *krokotos* was mentioned by Aristophanes because it marked for his audience the fact that the *arktoi* were marriageable and had exchanged their girlish garb for that of an adult. Pollux (7.55–56) records that *parthenoi* wore short chitons (χιτωνίσκοι) while married women wore the κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον. That the saffron-colored ἔνδυμα or ἱμάτιον was typical of Athenian matrons is made clear in Aristophanes where the *krokotos* is donned or doffed accordingly as the actor wants to be taken for a woman or not.⁵⁴ Our *krokotos*-clad bride of legend, Iphigeneia, illustrates that the color had hymenaeal associa-

⁴⁹ Paus. 5.16.2–8. Hera may have been associated with the race also at Sikyon (Paus. 2.11.2, Hera Prodromia) and at Thera (*IG* XII.3 513, dedication to Hera Dromia, time of Augustus or Tiberius). Calame (*supra* n.4) 213–20 compared Hera’s and Artemis’ interest in girls on the verge of marriage.

⁵⁰ Paus. 5.6.7–8. J. A. Arieti’s suggestion, “Nudity in Greek Athletics,” *CW* 68 (1975) 431–36, that nudity was the rule for male competitors in order to expose their sexual *sophrosyne* is probably inapplicable to girls.

⁵¹ Kahil 1965, 30 and n.80 (but *cf.* 1977, 97), stressed the possible funereal connection with the worship of Iphigeneia at Brauron, since depictions of nude women in a ritual context are rare apart from the nude mourners on geometric funerary vases and the tradition of honoring the dead with funeral games often appears in the foundation legends of public games. *Cf.* I. Chirassi, *Miti e culti arcaici di Artemis nel Peloponneso e Grecia centrale* (Trieste 1964) 28 n.75.

⁵² *Anth.Pal.* 6.280, snood, maiden’s clothing (or doll’s clothing?), ball, and cymbal to Artemis Limnatis *πρὸ γάμοιο*; *IG* V.1 225–26, bronze cymbals to (Artemis) Limnatis at Sparta; Archil. fr.18 Bergk, veil to Hera; *Anth.Pal.* 6.276, snood to Artemis; Paus. 2.33.1, girdles of Troizenian maidens to Athena Apatouria *πρὸ γάμου*.

⁵³ P. Vidal-Naquet, *PCPhS* n.s. 14 (1968) 59, has suggested that, “In Crete ceremonies of initiation to the virile class appear to have been held at both Malla and Dreros, including nudity rites which preceded the conferring of hoplite arms,” invoking *I.Cret.* I ix 1.11f *πανάζωστοι*, 99f *ἐγδυόμενοι*; I xix 1.18 *ἐσδυόμεναν*; Hesych. s.v. *ἄζωστος*. *Cf.* H. van Effenterre, *BCH* 61 (1937) 327–32; R. F. Willetts, *Cretean Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) 175–78.

⁵⁴ *Thesm.* 939–42, 945–46, *Eccl.* 331–32.

tions.⁵⁵ Indeed, saffron-colored fabrics are still frequently used in traditional Greek bridal costumes.⁵⁶ Finally, in the fourth century Athenian wives dedicated the *krokotos* to Artemis Brauronia.⁵⁷

Second, there may have been an element of exhibitionism in the ritual nudity of the *arktoi*. Apart from their participation in public religious celebrations, Greek girls seldom had the opportunity to see and be seen by prospective suitors.⁵⁸ Plato envisioned public dances for the youths and maidens of his new city so that they could view one another “each of them naked, within the limits of sober modesty” (*Leg.* 771E–772A). This custom seems to have belonged to the traditions of Chios and Sparta, where girls are said to have undertaken athletic training unattired.⁵⁹ If we are to believe Xenophon of Ephesos, matches were commonly made during the procession and festival in honor of Artemis Daitis at Ephesos.⁶⁰ Girls in myth were frequently raped (‘married’) while celebrating festivals of Artemis, the mythological topos perhaps arising from the custom of initiating matches during public festivals.⁶¹ The literary testimonia suggest that part, probably the central part, of the Arkteia was participation in a mystery rite of initiatory character.⁶² Nonetheless, the possibility that while parts of the Arkteia perhaps were to be seen by initiates alone, other parts, as at Eleusis, were less restricted is indicated by the

⁵⁵ Cf. L. Bodson, *Ἴερά Ζώια, Contribution à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Brussels 1975) 133. J. Peradotto, *Phoenix* 23 (1969) 245–46, has suggested that Iphigeneia's sacrifice, as recounted by Aeschylus, is the ritual reversal of the sacrifice at the Mounichian Arkteia. Iphigeneia, who has worn the *krokotos* on her supposed wedding day (a conflation of wearing the *krokotos* = service as an *arktos* which in turn anticipated marriage), is compared to a she-goat as she is raised above the altar (*Ag.* 232). However we interpret *Ag.* 239, mention of the *krokotos* would remind the mostly Athenian audience that fate did not hold marriage in store for this *arktos*.

⁵⁶ Benaki Museum nos. 95 and 96 (Astypalaia), 112 (Nisyros).

⁵⁷ *IG* II² 1514.60–62, 1516.35–38. At 1514.58–59, *κροκ[ωτὸν χιτωνίσκ]ο[ν] παιδίου ἄ[γγρα]φον*, T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia* (SkrSvensk InstAth 4.19 [1972]) 19–20, suggests *κροκ[ωτὸν. ταραντῖν]ο[ν] παιδίου ἄ[γγρα]φον* on the basis of a (duplicate?) stele from Brauron; cf. *infra*.

⁵⁸ Lacey (*supra* n.7) 158–63; J. P. Gould, *JHS* 100 (1980) 46–51.

⁵⁹ Ath. 566E, Plut. *Mor.* 249D–E (Chios); Plut. *Lyc.* 14.2–15.1 (Sparta).

⁶⁰ 1.2.2; cf. Calame (*supra* n.4) 181–82.

⁶¹ *E.g.* Plut. *Thes.* 31.2 (Helen, dancing at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia); Hom. *Il.* 16.179–83 (Polymela, dancing in honor of Artemis); Pl. *Phdr.* 229B–C, Ap. Rhod. 1.211–15 (Orythia, celebrating Artemis' rites); Hdt. 4.145, 6.138, Philoch. *FGrHist* 328F100–01 (*kanephoroi parthenoi* or *gynaikes* at Brauron). That the girls' families were not present to protect them might foreshadow the marriage situation. Cf. Calame (*supra* n.4) 261–62.

⁶² Hesych. s.v. Ἄρκτηία· ἢ τῶν ἀρκτηομένων παρθένων τελετή; schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645 (Leiden), ὄθεν μυστήριον ἀγούσιν [the *arktoi*] αὐτῇ [Iphigeneia]; schol. Theoc. 2.66–67, τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι πολιτεύονται.

depiction of scenes from the festival on the widely distributed *krateriskoi*. Aristophanes (*Pax* 872–76) implies that men were present at one penteteric procession from Athens to Brauron, although we cannot be sure whether the participants were *arktoi* on their way to celebrate the Arkteia.⁶³ Finally, Pamphila's troubles in Menander's *Epitrepontes* began at the festival of Artemis Tauropolos at nearby Halai Araphenides.⁶⁴

The question remains whether Plato could have modeled his program on a contemporary ritual practice at Brauron, or had he to resurrect a tradition from the past? The kraters range from the late sixth century to possibly as late as the late fifth,⁶⁵ at best nearly half a century before Plato wrote the *Laws*. There is evidence that the sanctuary at Brauron suffered serious flood damage at some time during the fourth century B.C.⁶⁶ Exactly when this occurred and whether the damage proved to be the deathblow to the sanctuary are unclear. The inventories of Artemis Brauronia found on the Akropolis date from 353/2 to 334/3 and record, as Linders has shown, offerings dedicated and stored at Brauron; this suggests that the temple was at least staffed with annual boards of *epistatai* and was open for dedications in the middle of the fourth century.⁶⁷ The mud left by the receding waters was never removed from the great stoa. An unpublished law of the *nomothetai*, dated by letter forms to the third century B.C., orders an inspection and inventory of the sanctuary so that necessary repairs can be made. Papademetriou concluded that this law addressed the flood damage.⁶⁸ Edmonson has suggested that the earliest phase of the Brauronion on the Akropolis dates to the fourth century and was intended as a replacement for the temple

⁶³ See *supra* n.13. The scholiast associated the procession with a festival of Dionysos. On the value of this gloss see B. B. Rogers, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* III (London 1913) 108–09.

⁶⁴ 451–53, 517–19 Sandbach. This sanctuary at Loutsia was closely connected with that at Brauron; cf. Eur. *IT* 1449–57. J. Travlos in *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976) 197–205, argues that Artemis' association with a chthonic Iphigeneia at Aulis, Halai, and Brauron explains the *adyta*, associated with chthonic ritual, at the three temples; followed by Kahil 1977, 95–97. See *contra* M. B. B. Hollinshead, *Legend, Cult and Architecture at Three Sanctuaries of Artemis* (Diss. Bryn Mawr 1979), arguing that a cult of Iphigeneia at Aulis and Halai is not certain and that the *adyta* were not related to cult but were used for storage.

⁶⁵ Fragments found in a well of the late fifth century in the agora: Kahil 1965, 22–23; R. Holloway, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 83 pls. 27f.

⁶⁶ J. Papademetriou, *Ergon* 1957, 38; *CJ* 58 (1962/3) 70–71; *Scientific American* 208.6 (1963) 120; cf. *BCH* 83 (1959) 596; 84 (1960) 669.

⁶⁷ *IG* II² 1514–25, 1528–31; *SEG* XXI 553–57; Linders (*supra* n.57) 70–73.

⁶⁸ Papademetriou, *Scientific American* (*supra* n.66) 118, 120; cf. *Ergon* 1961, 25; J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1963, 91.

at Brauron.⁶⁹ This need not mean, of course, that Artemis did not occupy that land on the Akropolis before then, merely that the architectural improvements date to the fourth century.⁷⁰ Athena Nike's history on the Akropolis would have been somewhat similar. In short, we cannot say with certainty whether the temple at Brauron was functioning as a ritual center throughout the fourth century, although private dedications, most notably votive portrait statues of boys and girls, continued to be offered there down into the third century B.C.⁷¹

Didymos' commentary on Demosthenes preserves what may be considered the latest reference to the Arkteia by a classical author. According to the grammarian, what Demosthenes called *δεκατεῦσαι* in his speech against Medon was the same as what Lysias called *ἀρκτηῦσαι* in his speech on behalf of Phrynichos' daughter.⁷² If Didymos' equation is correct, Demosthenes' reference to *δεκατεῦσαι* implies that an Arkteia (Mounichian or Brauronian?) was celebrated in the first half of the fourth century.⁷³ If not, Lysias is our last classical author to mention the festival. There are passages in Plato which suggest that a contemporary Athenian model was lacking.⁷⁴

Apart from the mention of *ἐπιλεγόμεναι παρθένοι* in the Leiden scholium, the testimonia for the Arkteia are unanimous that participation was required of every Athenian maiden.⁷⁵ A penteteric festival celebrated by all girls before their marriage suggests the possibility

⁶⁹ C. N. Edmonson, *AJA* 72 (1968) 164–65.

⁷⁰ Cf. Kahil 1981; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 459–70; R. F. Rhodes and J. J. Dobbins, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 325–41.

⁷¹ Kondis (*supra* n.47) 190, 203.

⁷² Harp. s.v. *δεκατεύειν*: Δημοσθένους δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μέδοντος περί τινος παρθένου λέγοντος οὕτως “οὐ δεκατεύσαι ταύτην οὐδὲ μνήσαι,” Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς περὶ τούτου βιβλίον γράψας φησὶν ὅτι τὸ δεκατεύσαι Λυσίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Φρυνίχου θυγατρὸς ἀρκτηῦσαι εἴρηκεν. We learn from Poll. 8.53 that Demosthenes' speech involved a marriageable *epikleros*. Was *δεκατεῦσαι* raised in connection with her marriageability?

⁷³ Elsewhere Demosthenes employs the verb to mean a tithe (22.77, 24.185); cf. *supra* n.44.

⁷⁴ *Leg.* 794D, 805D–E; *Resp.* 451E–452B.

⁷⁵ Variousy *πάσα παρθένος, αἱ κόραι, αἱ ἐαντῶν παρθένοι*. Kondis (*supra* n.47) 182–83 believed that the Leiden statement reflected a gradual change in cult practice whereby participation came to be restricted to girls of aristocratic or religiously conservative families. Cf. Jeanmaire (*supra* n.4) 259–60 and Walbank (*supra* n.22) 277. The restriction, however, probably belongs to the Mounichian festival. Certainly participants had to be children of citizens, as did ephebes (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 42). *δεκατεύειν* applied to the *arktoi* need not mean a tithe of maidens in the strict sense of one in ten (cf. Kondis 183 n.90): they were selected to the extent that they had to meet certain requirements (age and citizenship) and the celebrants were dedicated or regarded as sacred to the goddess. Cf. C. Montepaone, *SSR* 3 (1979) 356.

that a system of age grades for girls may once have been operative in Attica. Could *Lysistrata* 641ff reflect an Attic age grade, outlining the ritual possibilities for girls belonging to a group aged seven to fourteen or fifteen?⁷⁶ In a treatise of Hippokrates or rather of his school, human physical development is organized into periods of seven years; the second group, aged seven to fourteen, are called *παῖδες*.⁷⁷ Aristophanes began his strophe with a seven-year-old *arrephoros* and closed with a *kanephoros* who describes herself as a *παῖς καλή*.

Tazelaar identified two age-grouping classifications for boys at Sparta. One, clearly 'hebdomadic' (ages 0–7, 7–14, 14–20), reflected physical development while the other (0–7, 7–12, 12–18, 18–20) followed legal lines, state education beginning at the age of seven.⁷⁸ The literary testimonia suggest that some type of organization, possibly by age grades, functioned for Spartan girls as well. Alkman's *chorinai* describe themselves as *ἀνεψιαί* (52), mirroring the term applied to members of a Spartan *agela*.⁷⁹ Pindar referred to a choir of Spartan maidens as an *agela*.⁸⁰ The *chorinai* of Theokritos 18, twelve Spartan maidens, characterize themselves as Helen's age-mates (*συννομάλικες*, 22), four-times-sixty maidens, a female corps of youth (*τετράκις ἐξήκοντα κόραι, θήλυς νεολαία*, 24). If, as has been proposed,⁸¹ a course of training parallel to that of Spartan boys was provided girls, we might suggest that girls, like boys, were organized into 'hebdomadic' age grades.⁸²

Plato advised that formal education should begin for boys and girls after the age of six (*Leg.* 793E–794C) and that pupils of *grammatistai* and *paidotribai* should begin their studies at the age of seven (*Ax.* 366D). Aristotle (*Pol.* 1336a23–b36) would begin a child's education at home at age five and send him away to school at age seven. Xenophon observed that in contrast to most cities, where a boy was no

⁷⁶ I do not mean to suggest that the four functions represent the four age grades of an Attic system of initiation for girls, as Brelich (*supra* n.4) 229–311 thought. Rather, as a member of the group aged seven to fourteen, an Athenian girl could, provided she met all the other qualifications, serve as *arrephoros*, *aletris*, *arktos*, and *kanephoros*.

⁷⁷ *Περὶ ἐβδομάδων* 5.1–35.

⁷⁸ Tazelaar (*supra* n.5) 146–47.

⁷⁹ Hesych. s.v. *κάσιον* οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγέλης ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί. καὶ ἐπὶ θηλειῶν οὕτως ἔλεγον Λάκωνες.

⁸⁰ Fr.112. Cf. Page (*supra* n.34) 67–68; Calame (*supra* n.4) II 84–85.

⁸¹ H. Jeanmaire, *REG* 26 (1913) 134–35; M. P. Nilsson, *Opuscula Selecta* II (Lund 1952) 848; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Faire de l'histoire* III (Paris 1974) 160; Cartledge (*supra* n.34) 91–93.

⁸² Calame (*supra* n.4) 350–57 sought to explain the organization of Spartan girls in terms of a complex *rite de passage* consisting of several ritual celebrations which advanced the girl from childhood through adolescence and on to marriage.

longer obliged to attend school when he ceased to be a *παῖς*, in Sparta under the Lykourgan system youths were subjected to a continuous course of work (*Lac.* 3.1). Plato confirms this, applying the term *μειράκιον* to the age group exempt from school attendance (*Lach.* 179A). The pseudo-Hippocratic treatise *On Sevens* uses *μειράκιον* of a group aged fifteen to twenty-one. Apparently at both Sparta and Athens a boy's formal education traditionally began at the age of seven and, at least in Athens, ended at the age of fifteen.⁸³

Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 641ff may well preserve for us the traces of a tradition which substituted ritual participation for the formal education of Attic girls aged seven to fourteen. In turn, the rhetorical balance and symmetry of this passage are clarified by what Plato adds to our understanding and interpretation of the scenes on the *krateriskoi*. We see the *arktoi*, Athenian girls aged ten to fourteen or fifteen, as they perform one part of the celebration of the Arkteia at Brauron. Divided into two age groups, they compete in foot races and in choral performances, garbed as befits their age. Their wedding day looms before them, their marriageable status perhaps marked by the assumption of the *krokotos*.⁸⁴

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⁸³ Cf. F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education, 450–350 B.C.* (London 1964) 94–95. The age at which a boy completed his education should not be confused with the age of majority. On the latter at Athens see M. Golden, *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 25–38.

⁸⁴ I should like to thank R. S. Stroud, J. K. Anderson, and M. Griffith for their valuable suggestions during the preparation of this paper, and H. Lloyd-Jones for his helpful comments on my M.A. thesis, from which the paper derives, and for his kindness in sharing with me his as yet unpublished article on Artemis and Iphigeneia. I have also benefited greatly from the very helpful comments of the anonymous reader for *GRBS*. Their assistance, for which I am greatly indebted, in no way implies responsibility for the defects that remain.