

Aphrodite and Eros

The Development of Erotic Mythology in
Early Greek Poetry and Cult

Barbara Breitenberger

STUDIES IN
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Preface

This book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation, written at St Hugh's College, Oxford. Naturally the concept has undergone many changes since its initial stages as a DPhil project. Its development into an interdisciplinary study would not have happened without the expert guidance and encouragement of my supervisor Dirk Obbink, who, during many illuminating discussions, taught me to view literature within its contexts. My first thanks must go to him.

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Finally, the book is dedicated to the memory of my mother who was the first to tell me stories about the ancient Greeks.

B. Breitenberger
Cincinnati, Fall 2003

Abbreviations

- Anth. Pal.** *Anthologia Palatina*
ARV Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red Figure Vasepainters*, Oxford ²1963
CEG Hansen, P.A., *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum VIII-V a.Chr.n.*, Berlin 1983
CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828-77
D.-K. Diels, H., Kranz, W., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols., Berlin ⁶1952
DNP Cancik, H., Schneider, H. (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart/Weimar 1996-
ED, EV Peppas-Delmousou, D., Rizza, M.A., (eds.), *M. Segre. Iscrizioni di Cos*, 2 vols., Rome 1993
EGF Davies, M., *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen 1988
FGrH Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin/Leiden 1923-58
G.-P. Gow, A.S.F., Page, D.L., *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1965
IE Engelmann, H., Merkelbach R., *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Bonn 1972-74
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-
LfgrE *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen 1955-
LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich/Munich 1981-99
L.-P. Lobel, E., Page, D.L., *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford 1955
LSAM Sokolowski, F., *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955
LSCG Sokolowski, F., *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques*, Paris 1969
LSJ Liddel, H.G., Scott, R., rev. Jones, H.S., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996 (9th edn. with a rev. Suppl. 1996)
LSS Sokolowski, F., *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques Suppl.*, Paris 1962
M. Maehler, H., *Pindarus*, ii. *Fragmenta, Indices*, Leipzig 1989
ML Roscher, W.H., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884-1937 (repr. Hildesheim 1965-)
M.-W. R. Merkelbach, M.L. West, *Hesiodi Fragmenta Selecta*, Oxford ³1990

- OCD** Hornblower, S., Spawford, A. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford/New York ³1996
- PCG** Kassel, R., Austin C., *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 8 vols., Berlin/New York 1983-95
- PEG** Bernabé, A., *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum. Testimonia et Fragmenta*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1987
- Pf.** Pfeiffer, R., *Callimachus*, 2 vols., Oxford 1949-51
- PGM** Preisendanz, K., Henrichs, A., *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Stuttgart ²1973-74
- PMG** Page, D.L., *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962
- PMGF** Davies, M., *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1, Oxford 1991
- RAC** Klauser T., Dassmann E. (eds.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart 1941-
- RE** Wissowa, G., Kroll, W., Mistelhaus, K. (eds.), *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (RE)*, Stuttgart 1893-1972
- SEG** *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-
- SH** Lloyd-Jones, H., Parsons, P.J., *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin 1983
- SIG** Dittenberger, W., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig ³1915-24
- TGF** Nauck, A., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig ²1889 (Suppl. by B. Snell (1964))
- TrGF** Snell, B., Kannicht, R., Radt, S., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 4 vols., Göttingen 1971-85 (vol. 1: Göttingen ²1986)
- V.** Voigt, E.-M., *Sappho et Alcaeus*, Amsterdam 1971
- W.** West, M.L., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, Oxford ²1989-92

Abbreviations for journals are given as they appear in the list of *L'Année Philologique*.

Introduction

FACTORS HELPING TO DEFINE A DEITY: CULTS AND MYTHS

There are several ways to experience deity. Among the most important, one would certainly count the cults and rituals in which gods and goddesses are venerated and receive sacrifices from their worshippers. Since the Greeks were not a homogeneous cultural unit, the range of regional (and temporal) variation has to be borne in mind: different regions have different preferences for different gods. Men would address them on various occasions, depending on which specific aspect of a deity's capacities was required at public festivals and sacrifices, or they would do so privately, as many preserved dedications indicate. In many cases one would also experience deity through a cult image which represented or was even considered to be identical with the actual god in question. Another criterion would have to be the myths which define a divine personality by illustrating genealogy, province, exploits and possibly also relationships with other gods. It is these myths which make deities like Aphrodite the protagonists of their particular stories. Artists seem to have been particularly inspired by such myths when they chose gods as the subject of their art. If we consult modern dictionaries of Greek mythology, first of all we will find a portrait based on an account of these stories and their illustrations in ancient or even modern art. Myth and art exert a particular influence on our conception of the Greek gods, but a deity was always first and foremost an object of cultic veneration. Moreover, there are deities who, unlike Aphrodite or Apollo, are not surrounded by stories as these are, but nonetheless enjoy cultic veneration as, for example, cult personifications such as Peitho and the Charites, which occupy a particular place in the Greek pantheon. Finally there is Eros who is undeniably a god even without cult and specific story. It will be one of the main objectives of this book to explore the role and relationship of some of these personified deities with the Olympian deities against the background of myth and cult.

APHRODITE AND EROS: TWO DISTINCT DIVINE CONCEPTS

It seems to be a unique phenomenon in mythology that, for the Greeks, the province of love is represented not just by one deity, but by two: Aphrodite and Eros. Modern mythological dictionaries refer to them as forming a whole, implying that they have always been related to each other. However, they do not seem to have featured as equally established figures in a myth before the 3rd century BC. The popular image of the mother Aphrodite and her little son Eros, which has inspired artists and poets, particularly in Rome, for centuries, does not occur before the Hellenistic period, being first presented in Apollonius Rhodius' version of Medea's love for Jason in *Argonautica* book 3. That they were not related to each other from the very beginning is all the more surprising because both have their roots in Eastern cult and myth, although here they were never related to each other. Could this be because Aphrodite was perceived as a goddess in cult and also on account of her particular stories, whereas Eros, it seems, had no cult and was not featured in myths like other Olympian deities? Eros can be grasped only if one considers his origins in cosmogonic tradition, his identity as an erotic personification, and his links to a specific phenomenon of Greek society. These components seem to have prepared the ground for Eros' mythologisation by the poets.

This book examines the different features of Aphrodite and her entourage in myth and cult, and analyses the different origins and nature of Aphrodite and her personified companions, Eros in particular. It will explore why and how they finally became related to each other as a pair, as mother and son. The other members in Aphrodite's train—the Charites and Peitho in particular—will also be examined. Their role in myth will be considered as to how it reflects their relationship to Aphrodite as cult-personifications, i.e. personified deities with a cult. This characteristic is common to the Charites and Peitho, and distinguishes them from Eros, whose peculiar character seems to emerge even more sharply by this juxtaposition.

A NEW APPROACH

In classical scholarship no attempts have been made so far to analyse the interactions between Aphrodite and her train, specifically Eros. Normally, scholars have treated each deity separately under a specific aspect or within a certain discipline. Aphrodite's early mythical representations in Hesiod and Homer have been examined against the background of her origins, for example, by D. Boedeker, who in *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic* (1974) infers the goddess's Indo-European origins from the formulaic epic language. P. Friedrich (*The Meaning of Aphrodite*, 1978) analyses Aphrodite's literary representation from Homer to Sappho and, in a structuralistic approach, interprets Aphrodite as a female symbol of love. He identifies her as an Indo-European sky goddess. V. Pirenne-Delforge's monograph

(*L' Aphrodite Grecque*, 1994) consolidates the literary and epigraphical sources related to Aphrodite's cults throughout Greece, but does not give a comprehensive interpretation of cultic, epigraphical and literary evidence. A more universal approach to personified deities with a cult has recently been undertaken by R.G.A. Buxton in *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy* (1982) and B. MacLachlan in *The Age of Grace* (1993). The goddesses Peitho and the Charites are examined in their varying erotic, social and political contexts, but are virtually ignored in their function as goddesses of cult and in their relationship with Aphrodite. In the monograph *Eros. La Figura e il Culto* (1977), S. Fasce combines the examination of Pausanias' references to cultic evidence with Eros' literary representation, whereas other scholars have directed their interest specifically towards Eros' conception in poetry. This is also the case in the first extensive monograph on Eros, F. Lasserre's dissertation *La Figure d' Eros dans la Poésie Grecque* (1946). H.M. Müller's mainly philological study *Erotische Motive in der griechischen Dichtung bis auf Euripides* (1981) examines the implications of the pre-personified Eros, without taking into account mythical and cultic contexts. C. Calame's monograph *L' Eros dans la Grèce Antique* (1996) focuses on the literary features of Eros. Some recent publications, *Eros the Bittersweet* by A. Carson (1986) and *Eros. The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* by B.S. Thornton (1997), are contributions not specifically to the divinity or mythical figure Eros, but rather to Eros as a concept of Greek love in a broader and more general context.

This study takes an approach that is new in comparison with the works of these scholars in two main respects. Firstly, it investigates not only one god, but the Olympian Aphrodite and her train of erotic personifications, with a special focus on the love-goddess herself and Eros, who emerges as her most prominent and individualized companion. Secondly, a more interdisciplinary approach than has so far been used is called for in order to elucidate the different nature and specific character of these deities and the way they interact with each other. This approach takes into account the deities' representation in their literary and mythological features, their functions as cult deities, and also their iconographical representation. It will emerge that for Eros the poetry in which he is represented as well as the social background from which the poetry emerged has been crucial. While Aphrodite's identity as a cult goddess manifests itself in many myths depicted in various literary genres and remains fairly consistent throughout the centuries, Eros is not a cult god, but a myth created by the poets. His nature and image vary according to different genres and contexts, and his complex identity is also reflected in different parentages.

OBJECTIVES

On a more general level this book also examines the relationship between myth and cult and considers how poets combined these in creating their mythological figures. It hopes to contribute to the discussion of whether the representa-

tion of deities in myth and cult practice are related to each other and if so, how. While they have been considered as two separate incompatible units, the discussion of Aphrodite's different appearances will show that mythical representation can never be entirely separated from cultic experience. On the other hand, cult realities usually find their explanation in mythical features.

A further objective of this book is to illuminate the complex structure of what we call Greek mythology today by distinguishing between myth and poetic invention. It will be shown that Greek mythology is not simply a collection of stories of the same kind, but a conglomerate of various elements: of myths in the original sense, i.e. which define the roles and functions of deities (in Burkert's terminology "traditional tales"), of cosmic myths, and also of literary mythical figures and their stories, which subsequent poets created by imitating the structure of deities and their "traditional tales". The emergence of the male love-god will demonstrate that the poets' artistic innovation as well as their social and historical background played an important role in creating Greek mythology.

SCOPE AND SOURCES

Since the evidence relevant to the topic ranges widely, the framework of this book has to be limited. It will therefore focus on the early, i.e. Archaic period. Of course, the absence of a satisfactory account of religion in Athenian tragedy and its implications for the conception of Aphrodite and Eros is particularly regrettable. But a satisfactory treatment would overreach the compass of this book. I will, however, include the choral lyric of the poet who wrote on the threshold to the Classical period and whom most scholars count among the early poets: Pindar (see e.g. H. Fränkel, *Poetry and Philosophy. From Homer to Pindar*). He is the poet considered to have perfected the art of choral lyric and therefore marks the peak of the genre whose main representatives thrived in the Archaic period. Although occasions for the performance of choral lyric did not diminish in the 5th century BC, the genre had certainly lost its former significance as poetry of praise with the downfall of aristocratic or tyrannical structures, at least within this particular environment. Pindar is not discussed here in order to throw light on earlier attitudes, since in some cases he is actually the earliest preserved source for erotic lyric motifs relevant to our topic (the role of Peitho, for instance). For this reason he is part of the subject. Although Pindar sets the final point of the period under discussion, this study cannot dispense altogether with works of Classical and Hellenistic poets. They are cited only where they show earlier Archaic features and help to illuminate them (as, for example, the image of the winged Eros appears in Anacreon and then again in Euripides and Aristophanes—in different contexts which are relevant to our topic).

A homogeneous corpus of contemporary literary, iconographical and epigraphical documents is not available for the Archaic period. Whereas literary and iconographical evidence from the Archaic age is comparatively abundant, epigraphical evidence from this period is not sufficiently dense. Problems particularly arise in defining Aphrodite as a cult goddess—the role that is highly relevant for our argument since it marks a distinctive feature in the demarcation from Eros, who had no cults at that time. It would be impossible to produce an account of Aphrodite's cultic role in Archaic religion based solely on contemporaneous documents. Wherever possible, the earliest inscriptions are adduced. When later sources are cited, they appear for purposes of comparison only, not as a claim for continuity. Such later evidence has to be handled with care. Continuity of practice cannot be projected back into the Archaic age, and there are certainly typical Classical and Hellenistic phenomena which cannot simply be postulated for the preceding periods. In some particular cases, however, it seems helpful to refer to and interpret inscriptions of a later date as parallels, since sometimes they are apt to illuminate earlier stages. This is especially the case when inscriptions are related to a cult which is attested to have been established in the Archaic period. Although new gods were introduced in the 5th century BC and changes in practices occurred, the stability of the cultic and religious system from the Archaic down to the Classical and Hellenistic periods seems to have been the norm in several respects. This has been pointed out recently by modern scholars (see e.g. Price (1999), 7; Mikalson (1998), 4).

The popularity of foundation myths, which is well documented in so many genres in Greek literature, may indicate a conservative Greek attitude in matters of religion. So, for example, the cult of Aphrodite Πάνδημος at Athens, together with its political implications, is already attested by traces of an Archaic sanctuary and also by myths going back to this period (see ch. 2). Therefore Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions indicating those functions are considered here as parallels for earlier cult phenomena. Renewed interest in Aphrodite Πάνδημος is documented by an increasing number of dedicatory inscriptions made by magistrates after Athens' liberation and the restoration of democracy in the 3rd century BC. This, however, does not simply mean that the cult of Aphrodite Πάνδημος at Athens experienced a revival, but corroborates that a particular function which already existed in an earlier period gains importance again at a given moment in Greek history. Thus a few epigraphical documents, even if they represent developments peculiar to a later period, may provide some insight into earlier stages of the original cult even though the nature and the degree of importance among existing cults change over centuries. Later inscriptions from colonies can also sometimes throw light on the earlier stages of the cults in the mother city. Even though they perhaps developed their own idiosyncrasies, it was the cults and religious activities which shaped the basic ties between the new colonies and the cities of mainland Greece. What supports the idea of a certain conservatism is the fact that,

for the colonies, an important means of self-definition and confirmation of origin was to preserve the traditional cults of their homeland. This does not mean that individual practices relating to cults remained static. Thus we cannot take for granted that a phrase such as *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* (“in the ancestral way”) attests an ancient tradition, but it shows a positive attitude towards religious conservatism: in religion, ancient ways are best. This formula occurs for example in an inscription (dated to 287/86 BC) indicating civic practices (i.e. the bathing of a statue) in the cult of Aphrodite Πάνδημος, which may go back to an earlier period. Although we know that the cult did exist at that time, we cannot conclude that the formula proves the existence of a ceremony of a cultic bath already in the Archaic period.

Our literary sources include not only poetic texts, but also, where appropriate, the geographical writings of Strabo and, in particular, Pausanias’ travel guide through Greece. In his *Description of Greece* Pausanias describes the cults and sanctuaries still in existence in his own day, together with their historical background, festivals and local stories about the gods worshipped. Although himself a traveller during the Roman epoch, he depicts the religious culture as central to Greek cultural identity. We cannot take for granted that a cult is as ancient as Pausanias claims it is (see, e.g., ch. 7 for the allegedly Archaic cult of Eros at Thespieae), but in those cases where he adduces a mythological tradition or where he is corroborated by non-literary evidence, his testimony can certainly illuminate phenomena of previous epochs. It was much earlier in the 5th century BC that the investigation and collection of tradition became a literary genre. Our oldest surviving historical source, however, Herodotus’ *Historiae*, has to be handled with caution, since the historicity of Herodotus’ source citations has been questioned (Fehling (1989)). In his view, they are attached to Herodotus’ own free literary creations, a product of Greek thought bearing the spirit of Ionian historiography and geography, and do not represent genuine local tradition. Therefore passages relevant to our topic will be reconsidered in the light of other literary, archaeological and epigraphical evidence, and will be reexamined in view of their possible fictional character role.

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