

I conclude that, if I am right to hail J.A. Smith as the most likely originator of Burnet's construal, there are two possible routes of transmission. The first possibility is that the construal, together with an explanation of its philosophical significance, passed from Smith to Williamson in an undergraduate tutorial, and then in written form to Burnet, who consulted Williamson's edition of the *Apology* when preparing his own. This would help to explain why Williamson's note on 30b 2-4 conveys the philosophical moral of the passage in fuller and clearer terms than Burnet's note on the same text. Williamson was closer to the source.

But a second possibility is that Smith conceived the idea in his undergraduate days and told Burnet directly, while Williamson got the same message from Smith later. If in their respective editions Williamson expressed it better than Burnet, well, we have it on Smith's authority that as an undergraduate Burnet 'showed no particular interest in philosophy'.¹³ The interest in Plato for which we know him began after graduation when he went to St Andrews to serve as private assistant to Lewis Campbell, to whose Chair he would soon succeed.

On the whole, I favour the second, simpler solution to the mystery.

M.F. BURNYEAT
All Souls College, Oxford

¹³ *DNB* 1922-30, 138.

A HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTA AND THE GARDENS OF ADONIS*

Abstract: A Hellenistic terracotta from Myrina now in the Louvre is interpreted as showing a young woman tending the 'gardens of Adonis' in connection with the rites of the *Adonia*. Further associations are made between the perfume apparently being poured into a planter from an alabastron that the young woman holds, Adonis' mother Myrrha, the provenience of the terracotta (Myrina) and grave rituals.

CONSIDERABLE attention has been paid to the *Adonia* since the 1972 publication of Marcel Detienne's ground-breaking book *Les jardins d'Adonis*, as well as to the Athenian vase-paintings which have been thought to be associated with various aspects of the festival, including the gardens.¹ To these monuments we now would like to add an Early Hellenistic (325-250 BC) terracotta figurine in the Louvre whose subject we believe is connected with the *Adonia* (PLATE 6a-b).²

* We are very grateful to Violaine Jeammet and Michael Maaß for the photographs of the objects in their care and permission to publish them.

¹ M. Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis* (Paris 1972); translated by J. Lloyd and republished as *The Gardens of Adonis. Spices in Greek Mythology* (Hassocks 1977). S. Ribichini, *Adonis. Aspetti 'orientali' di un mito greco* (Rome 1981); B. Servais-Soyez, *LIMC* 1.1 s.v. Adonis 222-9; C. Edwards, 'Aphrodite on a ladder', *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 59-72; G.J. Baudy, *Adonisgärten. Studien zur antiken Samensymbolik (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 176, Frankfurt 1986); H. Tuzet, *Mort et résurrection d'Adonis. Étude de l'évolution d'un mythe* (Paris 1987); W.D. Furley, 'Die Adonis-Feier in Athen, 415 v.Chr.', *Ktema* 13 (1988) 13-19; E. Stehle, 'Sappho's gaze: fantasies of a goddess and a young man', in E. Greene (ed.), *Reading Sappho* (Berkeley 1990) 193-225; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire. The Anthropology*

of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece (New York 1996) 188-209; J. Reed, 'The sexuality of Adonis', *CA* 14 (1995) 317-47; R.R. Simms, 'A date with Adonis', *Antichthon* 31 (1997) 45-53; *eadem*, 'Mourning and community at the Athenian Adonia', *CJ* 93 (1998) 121-41.

² Paris, Louvre Inv. Myr. 233: E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (Paris 1887) 424-30 and 550, no. 233, pls 37-8; F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* 2 (Berlin 1903) 124, no. 6; S. Mollard-Besques, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains* 2: *Myrina* (Paris 1963) 48, pl. 57d; A. Muller, 'Nikô ou les avatars d'une Béotienne à Myrina et Thasos', *REA* 95 (1993) 171-2, fig. 9; V. Jeammet, *Tanagra. Mythe et archéologie* (Paris 2003) 178-9, no. 122. This terracotta figure was found in a grave as part of a group of thirteen female figurines of various heights. Eleven of the figurines are elaborately draped; three are veiled. They appear to

The figurine was found in 1883 during the French School's excavations at Myrina in Aiolis on the west coast of Turkey. It depicts a young girl kneeling down on her right knee before a container into which she pours the contents of an alabastron that she holds in her right hand. She is smartly dressed in a high-girded chiton and sandals, her hair fastened at the back to form a long, wavy pony-tail that runs down the back of her neck. On the ground before her is the upper half of an amphora which has been turned upside down to serve as a planter. Remnants of the lower part of the handle on each side remain, and the jagged upper edge further highlights the vessel's fragmentary nature. Inside the amphora are visible the stalks of several plants that appear to have been cut off and surrounded by a ring of seven round objects (PLATE 6b).

This planter is similar to those shown on a vase that all scholars agree is connected with the *Adonia*: a late fifth-century Attic red-figure squat lekythos in Karlsruhe (PLATE 7).³ On the ground in the centre of the picture on this vase is the upside-down upper half of an amphora that has sprigs of plants rendered in white protruding from its top. A second planter with the same form and contents is handed over by a winged male figure, almost certainly Eros, to a female figure, perhaps Aphrodite, who stands on a ladder. Flanking the figures are richly dressed young women who hold their hands up palms forward at waist level. On the ground before the one on the right stands another vessel which contains round objects coloured with gold and white sprigs. It has the form of a shallow basin with handles atop a high pedestal base.

These planters represent the 'gardens of Adonis', which played an important role in the *Adonia*, a festival to Adonis celebrated in Athens by women on the roofs of houses – the ladder on the lekythos is thought to indicate that the planters are being moved up to the roof, although no architectural features are shown on the vase. Several ancient sources tell us that *ostraka*, broken pots such as these amphorae, were used as planters into which quickly germinating seeds were planted.⁴ As to which plants were actually grown in the pots, fifth- and fourth-century writers remain silent, although they do mention that Aphrodite buried Adonis' body in lettuce.⁵ Later lexicographers in an attempt to explain the 'gardens of Adonis' indicate that a variety of plants were used in the ritual. Hesychius and the *Suda* (s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κήποι) mention fennel (μάραθρον) and lettuce (θρίδαξ); a scholiast to Theocritus (15.112) names wheat (πυρός) and barley (κριθή). It is important to note here that the same combination of sprouts and round objects which are shown on the vase are also found in the terracotta's planter, even if we cannot identify what the round objects and plants are. The short-lived nature of the gardens of Adonis became proverbial for things that do not last long enough to produce anything of value.⁶

We believe that the Louvre terracotta represents a young woman pouring a libation into the 'gardens of Adonis'. Her use of an alabastron would be considered very unusual if she were meant to be watering plants, since the alabastron was a vessel normally used for oil and perfumed

be connected as a group, and in fact the excavator suggested that they be arranged in the shape of a pediment, with the taller ones nearer the centre and the shorter ones at the sides. Of the thirteen figurines, one consists of a group of two female figures: a woman who stands and another who kneels and embraces the lower body of the standing one, possibly in a gesture of sorrow. Although nothing directly connects any of them with the *Adonia*, one wonders if they could have been thought of as participating in it, especially as one of the figurines holds a *tympalum*, an instrument associated with female religious ritual.

³ Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 39: *CVA* Karlsruhe 1 Germany 7 pl. 27, nos.1-4; *LIMC* 1.2 pl.169, Adonis 47; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité*

dans le panthéon archaïque et classique (Athens 1994) 21-4; and E. Reeder, *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1995) 236-8, all with earlier bibliography. After noting the relationship of the terracotta to this vase-painting, the excavators dismissed the idea that the terracotta was related to the festival: Pottier and Reinach (n.2) 429-30. For the problem of associating other vase-paintings with the festival, see Edwards (n.1) 62-72; Reed (n.1) 320 n.15; Simms (1997) (n.1) 45-6; Simms (1998) (n.1) 123 n.13.

⁴ Theophrastus, *Hist. pl.* 6.7.3; Hesychius and *Suda*, s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κήποι.

⁵ Eubulus *fr.* 13 K-A; cf. Callimachus *fr.* 478 Pf.

⁶ See Reed (n.1) 324 n.30 and 338 for the proverb, and 323-46 and Simms (1998) (n.1) 128-33 for various interpretations of the meaning and use of the garden.

liquids. But one of Detienne's contributions was to demonstrate Adonis' close associations with perfumes, specifically myrrh, which is connected with his mother Myrrha's name. While pregnant with Adonis, she was changed into a myrrh tree from which he was born. Certain perfumes are products of the myrrh tree, and the association of the alabastron and of perfume with Adonis and his festival is corroborated by the dirge singer at the *Adonia* described in Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 who says that Arsinoe had placed golden alabastera with Syrian perfume next to Adonis (15.114).

Alabastera were also popular funerary vases, and we see them being brought to the grave by women on many Athenian vases.⁷ Our figurine holds an alabastron – an object that can be located within a funerary context – and pours the contents into a 'garden of Adonis'. This is an appropriate gesture, given that the Adonis festival was in large part a mimesis of a funeral: the activity at the *Adonia* centred on lamenting the dead, short-lived Adonis. Thus, while the Karlsruhe lekythos provides us with a representation of the festival at the moment in which the 'gardens of Adonis' are transferred to the rooftops, the terracotta figurine provides us with a view of the festival at a different moment, when attention is focused on tending the 'gardens of Adonis'.

R. Simms recently suggested that the gardens served as the funerary bier for the small idols of Adonis at which he was mourned as if at the *prothesis*, the ancient Greek equivalent of the wake.⁸ At least in the case of our terracotta there is no sign of an idol. Might the gardens instead have served as the grave where Adonis was lamented, for just as Adonis was short-lived, so too were the gardens?⁹ Since we know that women made libations of oil and perfume from alabastera at real graves, our girl could then be understood as pouring libations to the dead Adonis at his grave. If so, the girl's use of the alabastron on the Louvre terracotta would make sense on several levels in an Adonian milieu.

Finally, let us not forget that our terracotta comes from and was made in Myrina, which is not only the city's name, but a word that is reminiscent of Myrrhine, a diminutive of Myrrha (little Myrrha), Adonis' mother.¹⁰ It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that thanks to the Louvre terracotta we can now say that the cult of Adonis was known in a city to the east of mainland Greece whose name can be associated with one of the mythological figures related to that cult. This city lay across the water from Lesbos, where Sappho lived and where the *Adonia* was presumably celebrated as early as the sixth century BC. Adonis was one of Sappho's favourite subjects, and a great many of her poems are connected with Aphrodite.¹¹ In fact, fragment 140, which may have been meant for choral production, has a chorus of young women and Aphrodite mourn the death of Adonis.¹²

JOHN H. OAKLEY

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

LAURIALAN REITZAMMER

University of California at Berkeley

⁷ H.E. Angermeier, *Das Alabastron* (Giessen 1936) and H. Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin 1970) 72-5.

⁸ Simms (1997) (n.1) 48 n.17; Simms (1998) (n.1) 129-37.

⁹ In Bion's *Epitaphius Adonidis* 77 the dead Adonis is to be sprinkled with Syrian unguents and perfumes.

¹⁰ Myrrhine in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (940-9) makes use of perfumes in the seduction scene with Kinesias.

¹¹ For Adonis, see *fr.* 140, *fr.* 168, *fr.* 211b.iii (Loeb) = 211c Voigt.

¹² Lesbos has been suggested as one of the conduits for the importation of the cult from the east where it originated: Simms (1998) (n.1) 124. M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 55 argues that *fr.* 140 was meant for choral performance.



(a) Terracotta figurine from Myrina
Paris, Louvre Inv. Myr. 233
(photograph: P. Lebaube)



(b) Terracotta figurine: detail
(photograph: A. Chauvet)



(a) Attic red-figure squat lekythos, Gardens of Adonis
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum Inv. B 39
(photograph: Badisches Landesmuseum)