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CHARIS IN EARLY GREEK POETRY

© Bonnie MacLachlan

Thesis presented to the University of Toronto  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
April 1987

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Bonnie Carlene MacLachlan

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Charis in Early Greek Poetry

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CHARIS in Early Greek Poetry

Abstract

Charis in Greek literature turns up in a variety of contexts that is startlingly wide. It can denote such things as the sparkle of beautiful women, the partisan activities between allies on the battlefield, the social camaraderie of the feast or civilized behaviour. It has already been established beyond reasonable doubt that the original meaning of the word is 'pleasure', but the way in which the word came to function in a web of moral and aesthetic concepts gave it semantic accretions which often obscure that original core. This thesis is an attempt to sort out those semantic accretions. It examines the social experiences of charis in its aesthetic and ethical guise, with a view to charting its role in the mores of archaic Greece. The results of this inquiry are applied to the texts themselves, in an attempt to offer new possibilities of interpretation or to shed light on some passages which have hitherto been troublesome.

The picture that emerges is this: charis, whether the aesthetic pleasure in physical beauty or the ethical pleasure such as is enjoyed in the exchange of favours, is a social experience. It indicates a softening of the natural barriers between people, hence is often found coupled with aidos.

But charis was not a 'soft' emotional feeling: in its ethical aspect it governed social interchange and amounted to a positive lex talionis, where charis called for an appropriate return-charis, or serious reprisals could be taken. This dike of charis is traced in texts from Homer to Euripides.

The Charites represent charis on the divine level, and the thesis looks at the various cults of the Charites as well as their presentation in the literature, with a view to reaching a better understanding of the charis they distributed. In the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides, where the various threads of charis are woven into a complex and dazzling whole, the Charites are bathed in light. This association of light with charis and its cognates arises from Indo-European religious beliefs, and is interestingly reflected in the etymology of charis.

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## FOREWORD

I owe thanks to many people for encouragement and support in the preparation of this thesis. The first to light up my interest in the concept of charis was my teacher at Ottawa, Willy Borgeaud, and he has continued to prod my work on it with lively discussions.

The seed of the central idea of the thesis was germinated when I accepted the invitation of the Société d'Etudes Anciennes du Québec to address its colloquium on "La Femme Grecque" in the autumn of 1982. I have twice addressed the Classical Association of Canada on subjects which have worked their way into the thesis -- the cult of the Charites and the heroic code of time --, and the Association Canadienne Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences has also heard me on Achilles' sulk. I am grateful to the audiences on these various occasions for their good discussion and encouragement.

I am grateful to the Government of Ontario for financial support in the form of several Ontario Graduate Scholarships, and to the University of Toronto for awarding me its Open Fellowship one year. And I wish to express my very special thanks to the Canadian Federation of University Women for awarding me its Margaret McWilliams Doctoral Fellowship in 1985-6. This last award was a particularly encouraging one since, by its terms, it constituted a strong expression of interest in my subject on the part of strangers to the discipline.

My greatest debt of thanks must go to my thesis supervisor Leonard Woodbury, and I very keenly regret that he did not live to see my thesis completed and to receive these thanks. His great learning, his sharp wit and his friendly but critical encouragement at every turn seem to me the marks of a great teacher. I am grateful also for the generous and efficient way in which Desmond Conacher and Douglas Gerber undertook to be my interim supervisors after my Doktorvater's death. They gently but firmly kept me on my course, and contributed insights and suggestions which have made the thesis very much richer. Finally, on this head, I must thank my new supervisor Emmet Robbins, who, inheriting the role of supervisor when the project was already far advanced, has given it careful attention

during the final stages. I am indebted to him for many important contributions, especially to Chapters Eight and Nine.

This work could not have been completed without the generous support - moral and financial - of my family. Many of the ideas were sharpened in conversations with my husband, and it is to him that I owe the physical production of the text.

My sense of gratitude to all these people for this support and encouragement is a lively one. ἔγω δέ κέ  
 τοι ἰδέω χάριν ἅματα πάντα .

Unless otherwise noted, references in the footnotes are to the edition which I consulted; information about other editions is in the Bibliography. In the matter of transliteration of Greek into Roman characters I have adopted the following convention. An array of terms which are essential strands in the conceptual web of which charis is part have regularly been transliterated: charis, time, dike, arete, aidos, xenia etc. But they have been transliterated only when they occur in isolation from other Greek words and when they refer to e.g. charis the thing, or charis the concept: χάρις the word remains χάρις .

CHAPTER ONE  
INTRODUCTION

Charis is a word that attracts the attention of any serious reader of early Greek poetry, for it enjoys prominence in quite a startling array of contexts. Charis flickers when beautiful women sparkle; soldiers bring charis to their commanders on the battlefield, or expect to win it from them when they have fought well; charis graces appropriate behaviour and speech, and is a distinguishing mark of nobility; it is at the centre of the feast; in the verses of the love-poets it sits upon the hair or the eyes of the beloved; for the epinician poets it crowns that moment of supreme glory, when the athlete wins and is celebrated in song. Indeed, it would seem that for the early Greeks charis was present at all the high moments of life. And at death, one faced the dreary prospect of the disappearance of charis.

What single thread could tie together the disparate instances that are described in the poetry as charis? If we turn to the etymological parent of charis, we find the Indo-European \*ǵher-, from which we derive such Greek cognates of charis as χαίρειν ἁρπά, etc., indicating that the original meaning was 'pleasure'.<sup>1</sup> The etymology of a word must always be tested against current usage, and, judging by the semantic field represented by the use of charis above, 'pleasure' is a necessary but insufficient definition of the word. While there is pleasure involved in all of these instances, it is pleasure of a certain kind: clearly other Greek words for pleasure, such as ἡδονή, cannot be substituted for charis in every instance. The etymological picture is further complicated by the fact that linguistic parallels of charis in other languages appear to have the connotation 'light', an

ingredient that is present in many, but not all, occurrences of charis and its cognates in Greek. This has led scholars such as Usener and Max Müller to identify the Charites, the Greek divinities who dispensed charis, with Indian light divinities.<sup>2</sup> While this has since been discounted as an etymological error,<sup>3</sup> the association of light with charis is so striking in many passages of Greek literature that it cannot be ignored. Acting on the suggestion of Albert Fulda, in his Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Homerische Gedichte (Duisburg 1865) 21ff., that the nature of charis-pleasure is such as to make one 'glow' or 'radiate' one's delight, I attempt in Chapter II to trace the roots of this metaphor (preserved in our own speech) back to the pervasive influence of the notion of a god of the 'bright' sky. This helps to account for such passages in Greek literature as:

Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματα ἔχου  
(Hesiod, fragments 43.4, 70.38, 73.3, 185.20, 196.6 M-W) (having the 'sparkle' of the Charites);

κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβων · θεεῖτο δὲ κούρη  
(Od.6.237)  
(Nausicaa's astonishment at Odysseus, 'sparkling' with charis);

χάρις δ' ἄπε λάμπετο πολλή  
(Il.XIV.183; Od.18.298)  
(Hera's/Penelope's earrings 'radiating' charis).

Recent scholarship has tended to deny any fundamental connection between charis and light in the literary texts, however, and at best accounts for the association by a metaphorical addition on the part of the Greek poets.<sup>4</sup>

In an attempt to get at the distinguishing feature of the pleasure that went by the name of charis in

Greek literature, Otto Löw, in an important study of the word for his dissertation ΧΑΡΙΣ (Diss. Marburg 1908) lff., isolated the primary connotation as 'something that brings joy', factum laetificans. According to Löw, this is to be distinguished from the state of mind, the feeling of pleasure, which would be designated by the word χαρά (2). Charis is not static, but a vis laetificatrix (22). Although the sequence of receiving and returning a charis was acknowledged by Löw, he refused to accept the notion of gratitude or of the impulse to return the charis as arising from the nature of this pleasure, but insisted that, at least prior to Theognis, these notions must be derived solely from the context of a charis-event (11-14).

More recent scholarship has re-introduced 'gratitude' as a designation of charis. J. Franzmann, The Early Development of the Greek Concept of 'Charis' (Diss. University of Wisconsin 1972) 1-2, isolates 'gratitude' as one of the primary aspects of charis as early as Homer. Penelope's complaint that there has been no charis demonstrated by the Ithacans for the good deeds done by Odysseus (Od.4.695) is a protest that there was no gratitude shown for the kindness demonstrated by their king (3). S.M. Abzinger, The Charites and Charis in Early Greek Poetry, (Diss. University of Toronto 1969) 37, isolates several passages in Pindar that mean 'gratitude'. But a recent writer has rejected anew the idea of 'gratitude' in charis, as a modern analytic view. Mary Scott, "Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns," Acta Classica 26 (1983) 2, reflects that whereas we examine any action from the point of view of intention and motive, the Greeks did not, but rather, approached the act with a descriptive assessment in mind. They would judge the effect of a charis-favour by the result upon the recipient, by the pleasure he felt and displayed. The



favour itself, the emotion felt by the recipient and his response would all go by the name of charis, for the Greeks didn't make the nice distinctions we are so fond of, and certainly didn't isolate a state of mind like gratitude as worthy of note.

The phrase χάρις εἰδέναι of course came to be the standard expression in Greek for 'feeling gratitude', and occurs at Il.XIV.235, when Hera asks a favour of Hypnos and promises that she will χάρις ἰσμεύειν if he complies. She makes her promise explicit with the offer of one of the Charites as a bride (267). The passage certainly suggests that Hera is conscious of her state of mind,<sup>5</sup> namely being disposed to reward Hypnos, but she doesn't draw a sharp distinction between this and its concrete manifestation, a Charis. Bruno Snell, The Discovery of the Mind (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) Ch.1, has drawn attention to the fact that in Homer there is a parallel lack of distinction between the way the Greeks described an organ of perception and their description of the thing perceived. It would appear that the fact that charis could designate a favour, and the response in the recipient that issues in a return-charis, points to a similar reluctance to isolate a state of mind. This is true not only of Homer. J.W. Hewitt, writing earlier in this century, argued that the idea of gratitude came late to Greek thinking, that opportunities to indicate gratitude or ingratitude were ignored, in favour of other, higher, priorities. Even the 'thank'-offering was not really an expression of thanks, he argues, but an attempt to propitiate the gods, to avert evil rather than to reciprocate goodness.<sup>6</sup> Assembling evidence from Homer to Thucydides, Hewitt concludes that the whole idea of feeling 'grateful' was but rarely expressed in any form before 400 B.C. Hewitt's isolation of 'gratitude' from the expression of

gratitude is something that even we do not do: what is 'gratitude' apart from the expression of thanks? He is requiring of the Greeks a clarity of personal response that we do not require of ourselves. And the important point, the one that makes an inquiry into charis a fertile study of Greek behaviour, is the social sequence that is often implied by the word. What needs examining is not the clean, original meaning of the word, but the socially complex experience of charis.

The exchange of favours is but one experience that is designated by the word charis. The encounter with beauty, with attractiveness, in men and women or in poetry for example, also went by the name of charis, and permeates the love-poetry of Sappho or the description of the radiant victor in epinician poetry. As with the exchange of favours, charis can designate any of the stages in the event: the attractiveness that stimulates a response in the perceiver, or the response itself.

Charis bound people together in the archaic Greek world, through the experience of pleasure. Before the Greeks became citizens of a polis, when new and more complex levels of loyalty and obligation were imposed, the distribution of favours and good behaviour -- such things as went by the name of charis -- was enforced by the individuals concerned with a vigour that is unknown to us. We are familiar with charity that is voluntary, and giving that is 'selfless'. Charis was never self-denying, nor confined to the self. The exchange of charis-favours was founded upon a very general psychological phenomenon, the disposition to return pleasure to someone who has given it to us. But this pleasure-exchange was accepted as a convention, and like xenia, the requital of favours that protected travellers in the early Greek world, the charis-convention amounted to a positive lex

talionis. A benefaction called for a suitable return and reprisals might be taken when the anticipated reciprocity did not occur. The Greeks nearly lost the Trojan War because Achilles withdrew from the fighting, charging that he had not received the charis that was his due (Il. IX.316).

Any examination of patterns of social interaction in Homer must take into account the work of A.W.H. Adkins. Beginning with Merit and Responsibility (Oxford 1960), Adkins claimed that behaviour in the Homeric world was motivated by two impulses, the competitive and the co-operative. The competitive urge, fuelled by what the leading men in the Greek world recognized as arete, drove men to compete for public praise. Success was all important; failure invited shame. When the competitive urge conflicted with the demands of cooperative virtues (like charis), the latter would lose, as having the weaker claim to praise. Adkins has had a successor in Mary Scott. She refines Adkins' thesis, with the additional claim that the cooperative as well as the competitive virtues are founded upon enlightened self-interest. Charis, she claims, is exercised out of self-interest.<sup>7</sup> The biggest contribution made by Adkins and Scott is their demonstration that there was no such thing as 'selfless', purely co-operative, behaviour in Homeric society. But the world has never known a society that was purely competitive or purely co-operative. All successful social groups function with an awareness of enlightened self-interest, and develop conventions to encourage good, and discourage bad, behaviour. The remarkable thing about Homeric society is not that they were so driven by individual self-interest, but that their collective conventions were so powerful. The compelling urge to attain praise or to avoid shame was a strong admission of their submission to the group.

And this is as true for Pindar's world as for Achilles'. In epinician poetry, victors vie for the charis of praise from their community, as Homeric warriors had fought for the charis of glory from theirs. And these actions served the group as well as they did the individual. The competitive urge cannot be divorced from the cooperative, as A.A. Long argued, in his challenge to Adkins, "Morals and Values in Homer," JHS 90 (1970) 121-139.

An examination of the role played by the Charites in early Greek literature points to a consistency between charis and the goddesses who dispensed it. Löw described them as deas laetificatrices, goddesses who dispensed pleasure (46). But the pleasure is always of a social nature. In distributing beauty, the Charites fostered human interaction through physical allurements. Their blessings were contingent upon the social order's being governed by restraint and mutual respect (e.g., Theognis 1138, Pindar Pyth. 2.42), and in praise-poetry they award the charis of undying fame to a successful athlete, reciprocating the glory he has brought to his community. Apart from their occurrence in the literature, the Charites were associated in antiquity with the good things that benefitted the social group. Two important books have appeared since 1960 which document the evidence for the cult of the Charites. The first of these was O Tema das Graças na Poesia Clássica, by R.M.R. Fernandes (Diss. Lisbon 1962), followed by Die Grazien (Bonn 1966) by E. Schwartzberg. At the earliest stage of the cult in Bronze-Age Boeotia, the Charites dispensed fertility for the crops. Elsewhere, they were venerated as patrons of youth, of marriage, of healing, and later of the benefits conferred by the state. Their social importance was familiar to Aristotle, who advised the erection of a temple to the Charites in a prominent

place in the city, to ensure reciprocal giving, ἀνταπόδοσις, for this, he says, is the distinguishing feature of charis (NE 5.1133a).

This thesis, while it argues strongly for the 'social' nature of charis, is not a sociological study. It is an attempt to grasp how the poets understood the experience of charis, hence how they used it in their poetry. My principal aim is to assemble a more or less complete picture of charis, drawing on evidence from literature, archaeology, ancient science, and so to contribute to the understanding of texts. My starting-point is the designation of charis as 'pleasure', but pleasure of a certain sort, the kind of gratification that provokes a response, that binds people together through the giving and taking of gratifying things. Obviously, what qualifies as a 'gratifying thing' will vary from poet to poet, from age to age and genre to genre, but identifying these charites will, I trust, contribute to my expressed purpose. My inquiry will examine texts from Homer to Bacchylides and Pindar, with a subsequent look at charis in the Oresteia and in three plays of Euripides. The way in which charis was used by the dramatists, when sophistic rhetoric had begun to permeate Greek literature, provides both a confirmation of, and counterpoint to, its seminal role in the earlier poetry. As background to the investigation of the literature, Chapters II and III provide information on the early Greek understanding of 'light', so often associated with charis, and on the cult of the Charites.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Reflected in its being the substantive for the Greek verb χαίρω, 'I rejoice'. J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1.440-441 includes χάρις and χαίρω with derivatives from \*ǵher-1, meaning 'begehren, gern haben' along with such parallel forms as Sanskrit hāryati, 'findet Gefallen, begehrt', or Avestan zara- m. 'Streben, Ziel'. P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, connects χάρις with Old Armenian jir, 'don', 'grâce'. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch s.v. χαίρω, adds the Old High German gern 'begierig, eifrig'. Claude Moussy, Gratia et sa famille (Paris 1966) 411, connects it with the Lat. 'horior, hortor', pointing out that the Latin semantic parallel gratia is not an IE cognate, deriving as it does from \*g<sup>w</sup>er-, 'louange'.

2. Usener, in Götternamen (Frankfurt 1948, first published 1896) and A.Haggerty-Krappe in "Les Charites" REG 45 (1932) 155-162, defend Max Müller's identification of the Charites with the Haritas, the horses of the sun in the Veda: Lectures on the Science of Language (London 1882) 2.408ff.

3. The 'r' of 'Harit' derives from an 'l', and the word belongs to the family that produces the German 'gelb' or our 'yellow' (see "Les Kharites et la lumière," RBPH 63 (1985) 7, by W.A. Borgeaud and B. MacLachlan.)

4. R.M.R. Fernandes, in O Tema das Graças na Poesia Classica (Lisbon 1962) 5-6, separates the derivatives of \*ǵher- 'desire' (Pokorny 1) from \*ǵher- 'shine' (Pokorny 3), and concludes "Deste modo, χαίρω não encerra em si a noção "brilhar". Mary Scott, in "Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns," Acta Classica 26 (1983) 1, agrees that Greek cognates of charis do not intrinsically contain the notion of 'shining'. Her rejection is based on the fact that 'brightness' does not occur in all instances of these words.

5. The expression χάριν εἰδέναι does not imply 'knowing a favour' in the sense of propositional knowledge, but rather describes a feeling, a disposition or sentiment, cf. ἡμῶν εἰδέναι, 'to have kindly feelings'.

6. "The Thank-Offering," TAPA 45 (1914) 77ff.

7. Op. cit. (above n.4) 12: "Charis is one of the major evidences of this need for co-operation in order to secure the survival of the individual. In spite of the general background of the dominant social-code with its emphasis on personal survival, the exchange of charites arises as a consequence of the realization that one cannot survive alone, that one needs others."

CHAPTER TWO

CHARIS AND THE GREEK 'LIGHT-AESTHETIC'



### Argument

Light and illumination occupied a much more prominent place in the Greek world-view than they have in ours, and charis, while not identical with light, partook of many of the same properties as light. The fascination of the Greeks with things radiant, and their understanding of how light functioned in relation to perception, offers an explanation for the frequent association of light with charis, quite apart from a justification on etymological grounds.

Like light, charis radiated from the eyes, reflected emotion and was therefore an important element of love-poetry. Charis, like light, radiated from the body as physical beauty, and dominated the awe-inspiring epiphany of the divine. In mortal approximations of a divine epiphany, the winning of glory or the unveiling of truth, light and charis dominate.

These are the circumstances that enjoyed the highest reputation among the early Greeks, hence charis participates in the highest moments of Greek life. While charis and light are not identical, they function in much the same way. This is because of a common world-view that invited their partnership.

There is incontrovertible evidence that exact linguistic equivalents of charis in other Indo-European languages possess the primary meaning of light, not pleasure.<sup>1</sup> It is also the case that in early Greek poetry light pervaded many of the instances of charis, a few of which were cited in Chapter I, p.3, and many more will be examined in the chapters that follow. The same Indo-European parent, \*ǵher-, appears once to have contained the notions of 'pleasure', of 'scratching', and of 'shining',<sup>2</sup> and these elements appear to have taken a more or less independent course in the linguistic branches of the Indo-European family. The notion of scratching (> χαράσσω) did not appear in the Greek charis, and despite the frequency of the association of light with charis, there are many literary passages where one looks in vain for something radiant. When Penelope upbraids the Ithacans for not demonstrating charis in return for Odysseus' kindly rule (Od.4.695), she is not asking for light.

But there are other grounds for light to permeate charis in Greek. The Greeks possessed a great affinity for light, and would attach it to a notion with as positive a value as charis. Scholars have frequently commented on this Greek 'light-aesthetic'. Max Treu describes the pure joy the Greeks took in the perception of the bright and the shining.<sup>3</sup> C. Mugler, in an important study of the Greek notion of vision and light, begins with the statement that light rather than air was the élément vital for the early Greeks.<sup>4</sup> A recent article makes a case for the Greek passion of sparkling, shimmering light; the writer notes that "archaic lyricists took delight in all that sparkled and gleamed, that shimmered and glowed."<sup>5</sup> Light was of

course essential for vision, and the Greeks have been described as Augenmenschen, with their sensitivity to light and the phenomena made visible by it.<sup>6</sup>

Charis and the light radiating from the eyes

"Come stand by me, friend, and let spread the charis that is on your eyes." So says Sappho, in fr.138V. "Hail, lady," says the humble Metaneira to the goddess Demeter who appears to her. "You are from noble origins, for aidos and charis are conspicuous upon your eyes" (H.Dem. 213-214). The beauty of the Charites was described by Hesiod several times as ἀμαρύγματα, a sparkle that comes from the eyes.<sup>7</sup> Euripides describes death as the disappearance of charis from the eyes (fr.736 Nauck).

According to early Greek theories of perception, the eye, the seat of charis for the poets, was the source for the 'ocular fire' that was necessary for vision. As the sun, moon and stars emitted fiery beams, so shafts of light were sent out from a reservoir of fire inside the eye, illuminating the objects perceived. Alcmaeon of Croton (late 6th cent. B.C.) devised the earliest theory of perception of which a record has survived. Theophrastus records him as saying that the eyes 'see' through the fluid that surrounds them, a liquid that possesses fire; when the liquid is struck (i.e. when the eye is struck) it lights up (i.e. flashes are seen):

ὁφθαλμοὺς δὲ ὁρᾶν διὰ τοῦ περίξ ὕδατος. ὅτι  
δ' ἔχει πῦρ, δῆλον εἶναι· πληγέντος γὰρ ἐκλάμπειν.

(DK 24 A 5)

Further evidence on Alcmaeon's theory comes from Chalcidius' commentary on the Timaeus, although this must be used with caution. Chalcidius says that

Alcmaeon's theory held that two channels filled with 'natural breath' and carrying light, joined the brain to the two eyes (DK 24 A 10). From Empedocles we get the notion of emanations or effluences (ἀπορροαί) coming from objects and entering the eye via tiny passages, while from the eye's fire a ray goes forth towards the object.<sup>8</sup> Not before Plato is there any discussion of just how the two sources of light encounter one another and produce vision,<sup>9</sup> but the language used by the poets to describe things visible suggests that popular belief held that shafts of fiery light were emitted by the sun and the heavenly bodies, the eyes and by bright things. Homer describes light emanating from a helmet (Il.XIX.381), or from bronze (Il.II.458); Pindar asks the beam of the sun, the 'far-seeing' mother of the eyes, what it is devising (Pae.IX.1-2); Theognis says of Typhoeus that a 'wondrous fire' flashed forth from his eyes (826-827), and Pindar describes himself as 'looking brightness with his eye' (ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, Nem.7.66).

The converse of this popular belief, that quenching the fire eliminates vision and life itself, is also found in the poets. As light was the principle of life, leaving life was closing one's eyes to the light. Even the loss of vitality through pain, grief, fear and despair was experienced as darkness, being covered in night. Aeschylus, in the Eumenides, describes the 'living and the dead' as δερκομένους καὶ συδομάτοις (385), 'those who see' and 'the dim-sighted'.

The vocabulary used to describe vision reflects the phenomenon of perception as the early Greeks understood it. The beams of light that were sent out from the eyes, the αὐγαί, gave rise to the verb αὐγάζομαι, 'to see'. Another word meaning 'to see' tells us even more about the experience of perception among the early Greeks. Bruno Snell reminds us of the

connection between δέρκεσθαι and δράκων. δράκων refers to 'the serpent with the uncanny glint in his eye,' and Snell points out that this indicates that " δέρκεσθαι refers not so much to the function of the eye as to its gleam as noticed by someone else." The Gorgon 'looks' fire from her eyes, πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδουρκώς, and the weight borne by the verb is the terror she incites by her glance.<sup>10</sup> The poets were not just registering the physical act of perception, but rather the 'mode' of perceiving. In the case of δέρκεσθαι this is registered by the way the light emitted by the person looking is perceived by someone who watches him. In the case of λεύσσειν, the viewer is registering the fact that he is seeing something bright, λευκός, and this is generally a pleasurable mode of seeing. ὄσσεσθαι, on the other hand, was used when the viewer had a 'threatening impression'.<sup>11</sup>

We too blur the distinction between the subjective and the objective in the act of vision. The 'look' of someone refers both to his act of looking, and to our perception of the mode of his looking (cf. 'he looks angry', 'he is good-looking'). But the Greeks, for whom light bound the viewer and the person or thing viewed together in one experience, simply did not make the distinction. The sun, who sent out the most fiery beams, was the prototype: he was at once seen by all and all-seeing:

οὐδ' ἂν νῦν διαδράκοι Ἥελίος περ,  
οὐ τε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰδερᾶσθαι

(Il.XIV.344-345)

As charis was found on the eyes, we can expect it to be involved with this single act of beaming and seeing, with its immediate effect on the spectator.

Charis and the 'look' of one's character or emotion

As the eye transmitted the vital principle, light, in people, and 'looking' through one's eyes betrayed modes of experience or character, the early Greeks commonly described a person's emotions as their 'looking' in a certain way.<sup>12</sup> The eyes could fill with fire and denote passion or anger, they could 'glow' with beauty or desire, and they could radiate with joy. In most of these modes charis and its cognates participated. χαρσπός denoted someone who had the 'look' of avidity, like the beast contemplating its prey.<sup>13</sup> Like the χαρσπός lion, Menelaos stares at his rival Paris in the duel and ἐχάρη (Il III 23). The θυμός, seat of passions, has been described as 'the fiery power of moving life.'<sup>14</sup> As such, it was the appropriate seat for the joy that went by the name of charis. Albert Fulda examines the common phrase χαῖρε ἐν θυμῷ, and concludes that the early Greeks meant by this expression 'er glänzte im Geiste'. To describe someone as 'radiating light from the θυμός' was a concrete expression for the abstract notion of rejoicing, Fulda argues. He backs up this observation with linguistic evidence for the same notion, that the joy expressed in several Greek words betrayed a fundamental association with light.<sup>15</sup> γηθέω, γηθόσυνος and γάνυμαι were words which Curtius had connected with γάνος, γανάω -- 'gleam'-words.<sup>16</sup> W.B. Stanford has similarly noted that the basic meaning of γελᾶν is 'to be bright' (cf. γαλήνη, of the calm, 'bright' sea).<sup>17</sup> φαιδρός similarly meant 'beaming with joy', i.e. 'sparkling'.<sup>18</sup> We may compare this disposition to convey joy by 'light'-words with our own use of 'glad', whose original meaning was 'bright'. We have also chosen to distort the correct form of 'delite'

(< delectare) to 'delight', inserting the element of illumination with rejoicing.<sup>19</sup>

Charis and the light of love

When the eyes sparkled, the Greeks found them erotically alluring, and charis and the Charites were often identified with this sparkling. Charis and Peitho, says Pindar (fr.123.9), dwelled in Theoxenos, a lad from whose eyes rays of light sparkled, making one 'teem with desire' for him:

τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὄσων  
μαρμαρυζοῦσας δρακίς  
ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται

(fr.123.2-3)

A.C. Pearson, commenting on the lover's glance in Sophocles' fr.474, describes this light-phenomenon as one shed by the two lovers on each other:

The fiery flash is a physical emanation from the eye, which, making its way straight to the eye of the beloved, is met in its course by the responsive glance of mutual love speeding as fast to the eye of the lover.<sup>20</sup>

Pearson cites parallel passages for this experience, suggesting that, like other modes of seeing and emanating ocular fire, the love-sparkle involved both the looker and the one looked at in one common light-experience. The source of the love-light was of course divine. We recall the ἀμαρύγματα of the Charites (above p.15), the goddesses from whose eyes flowed 'limb-loosening love':

τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρως εἴβεται δερκομένων  
 λυσιμελής.

(Theogony, 910-911)

### Charis and the light of physical beauty

The early Greeks seemed particularly attracted to sparkling, dappled light. Barbara Hughes Fowler demonstrates their preference for τὰ ποικίλα in the complete range of aesthetic phenomena.<sup>21</sup> This preference explains how words like λιπαρός, whose basic meaning was 'anointed with oil' came to mean 'sleek' or 'shining', then 'rich' and 'radiant'.<sup>22</sup> Although this same transference took place in the Latin laetus,<sup>23</sup> it is not an aesthetic we have elected to maintain. The Greeks in the Megalithic period were known to have worshipped their gods in the form of oiled stones.<sup>24</sup> Nestor and Alcinous adorned their palaces with oiled, shiny stones (Il.III.408, Od.8.6). At Eleusis, illuminated statues were anointed with oil.<sup>25</sup> Charis was used of things that sparkled or glistened (cf. Hera's /Penelope's earrings, Il.XIV.183/Od.18.298, from which χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπεται πολλή). Odysseus wins his way with Nausicaa only after being anointed with charis by Athene after his bath. He sits on the shore 'glistening' with charis and beauty, overlaid with sparkling radiance like an object gilded by Hephaistus:

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ  
 ἴδρις, ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαιεν καὶ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη  
 γέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει,  
 ὡς ἄρα τῷ κατέχευε χάριν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ὤμοις  
 ἔζεν, ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κίων ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσης.  
 κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβων. Θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη.

(Od.6.232-237)

This radiant charis of Odysseus, that causes Nausicaa



and her handmaidens to gaze in astonishment (θηεῖτο) and then to act on his request to be admitted to the palace, is akin to the beams of erotic allurements,<sup>26</sup> but it is the god-given beauty of Odysseus that dominates the passage. He has been blessed by a god, and as such appears divine to other mortals.

### Charis and the epiphany of the divine

When gods and goddesses appeared to the early Greeks, they often did so bathed in light. One of the most striking theophanies occurs in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 275-280. Demeter sheds her guise as an old woman, and around her 'beauty emanates' (περί γ' ἄμφι γέ κάλλος ἦτο).<sup>27</sup> From her immortal skin a light radiates afar, and golden tresses lushly cover her shoulders. The whole house is filled with 'lightning-brilliance':

γῆλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροῶς ἀθανάτοιο  
λάμπε θεᾶς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὤμους  
αὐχῆς δ' ἐπλήσθη πυκινὸς δόμος ἀστεροπῆς ὤς.

(H. Dem., 278-280)

The light radiating from the immortals, especially from the eyes, is what most often distinguishes them as divine.<sup>28</sup> The gods appear in light (φαίνεσθαι)<sup>29</sup> and this feature of the epiphany becomes the prototype for momentary experiences of the divine among mortals. When the gods act on behalf of a favoured mortal, like Odysseus anointed by Athene the mortals demonstrate their blessedness by being bathed in light,<sup>30</sup> and their fellow mortals are bound up in the light-experience as they react in astonishment. This is clear in the several passages of the Iliad where divinities promote the success of their favourites, appearing in and

shedding over them, light. Pallas Athene appears to Diomedes 'like a burning fire, like a harvest star shining bright above the others' (Il.V.1-8). She kindles a flame from his head and shoulders, and all who see him are stunned. This precedes Diomedes' more-than-mortal aristeia. Achilles, as he prepares to enter the battlefield, is aided by Athene, who sets a thick golden cloud around his head. He appears 'like a beacon-fire shining through the smoke, and a gleam went up from him towards aither' (Il.XVIII.207-214).<sup>32</sup>

Charis behaves in just this way in epinician poetry, bathing a victor in light, illuminating him in his state of blessedness that approximates divinity, a light that evokes reverence from the onlookers. Like the charis that accompanied aidos on the eyes of Demeter (above p.15), epinician charis is αἰδοία. Hence Pindar prays to Zeus on behalf of the boxer Diagoras:

δαῖδα τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν  
καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξεί-  
νων.

(O1.7.89-90)

One of the divine dispensers of charis is called Aglaia, the 'radiant', the 'glorious', and Pindar describes the Charites as 'setting a victor alight':

Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἠύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες.  
(Pyth.5.45)

### Charis and the light of truth and glory

In addition to making their heroes dazzling (and thereby effective), gods and goddesses deprived mortals of light and vision, only to restore it. When it suited them, they shed mist over the eyes of heroes,

and when appropriate they dispelled it. Frequently, this resulted in the mortals' 'seeing' or 'coming to realize' (i.e. 'know') the most important lesson of all, their own mortality. At Il.V.124-128, Athene removes the mist from Diomedes' eyes, so that he will realize whether he is a god or a man :

ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἢ δὲ (καὶ ἄνδρα  
(Il.V.128)

The prototype for 'knowing' was 'seeing', demonstrated in light.<sup>33</sup> To perceive in light was to be a witness of something in its uncoveredness, its aletheia. The capacity to see/know uncovered reality was contingent upon the will of the gods, who provided or withdrew the light for true vision and knowledge. This 'vision' with the gift of divine light allowed mortals to transmit to other mortals knowledge otherwise accessible only to the gods. The divinely-bestowed power to uncover the truth, and to impart it as poet-prophet dominates the charis-experience of epinician poetry, and will be discussed in Chapter IX. Light, glory, truth, immortality-through-song are divine gifts of the highest order. They are celebrated in praise-poetry, where the Charites watch over the resplendent moment and charis permeates the experience.

Pindar describes the Charites as ἐπίδρασι, as 'over-seers' of the rich and resplendent city of Orchomenos (Ol.14.4), and it is the all-seeing divinity that may be the source for the particular configuration of ideas present in instances of charis in early Greek literature, a configuration that is consistent with the etymological coupling of 'pleasure' and 'light' in the etymological parent of charis, the Indo-European \*ǵher. The resplendent god who is by-all-seen and is all-seeing has the power to bless or to burn by his gaze, to see and to punish all acts of injustice.<sup>34</sup> As light was life for the Greeks, the light-god could bestow

flourishing life by his beneficent look. Should he turn his gaze elsewhere, the source of all that is positive and valuable departed. A number of divinities had the capacity to turn a benevolent gaze upon mortals, but the principal candidates were Helios, Apollo and the foremost celestial deity, Zeus. Zeus, whose ὄσσε φαινώ (Il.XIV.236) gaze upon mortal activities, who can bless or curse with his radiant presence, was the Greek incarnation of the Indo-European sky-god, the god of celestial brightness,<sup>34</sup> whence came nourishing rain, sunlight and fertility.<sup>35</sup> All light, hence all good things, come from the heaven-light god, and the best hope for mortals is to find themselves in the divine gaze.<sup>36</sup> The Charites, daughters of Zeus (Theogony,907), are the stewards who distribute these good things, and it is Aglaia, the resplendent Charis who is 'Mistress', Πόρεια, as we learn from Pindar's Fourteenth Olympian (9,13).

The Charites were γαμίαι, stewards, of charis in its various guises in cult throughout the Greek world, and as background to understanding their activity in the poets it will be useful to examine some of the cult-practices associated with these divinities.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. For instance the Albanian word for 'light', *dritë* < \*ǵh<sup>u</sup>r-it-a(m), equivalent to χαίρω < \*ǵh<sup>a</sup>r-it-. Similarly, the Balto-Slavic word *šir-*, 'to shine', 'to see', is equivalent to the Greek χαίρω. See "Les Kharites et la lumière," *RBPH* 63 (1985) 6-7, by W.A. Borgeaud and B. MacLachlan.
2. Pokorny \*ǵher 1: 'begehren', 'gern haben'; \*ǵher 2: 'kratzen', 'ritzen'; \*ǵher 3: 'strahlen', 'glanzen', 'schimmern', *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin and Munich 1959) 1.440-441.
3. "Licht und Leuchtendes in der archaischen Poesie," *Studium Generale* 18 (1965) 83-97.
4. "La lumière et la vision dans la poésie grecque," *REG* 73 (1960) 40.
5. B. Hughes Fowler, "The Archaic Aesthetic," *AJP* 105 (1984) 144.
6. By D. Bremer, *Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Bonn 1976) 49, n.86.
7. The scholiast on Ap. Rhod. III.288 glosses ἀμαρύγματα with τὰς λαμπάδας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Similarly, Hesychius says of ἀμαρύγματα, 'τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς'.
8. DK A 86, 91; B 84. See also Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (New York, 1973), 77.
9. *Theaet.* 156E. Although the notion of an ἀκτινείδωλον that conducts the visual contact between seer and seen is attributed to Empedocles (Diels *Dox Gr.* 403).
10. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 1-3. See also D. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary* (Toronto 1982) 147.
11. Snell, op.cit. (above n.10) 4.
12. See C. Brown, "Seeing Sleep: Heraclitus fr.49 Marcovich (DK.B21)," *AJP* 107, 1986, 243-245. Brown cites a number of passages where the verb of seeing is followed by a noun in the accusative case, and

concludes that the noun "reflects the internal condition of the subject of the verb. These verbs are semantically ambivalent in a fundamental way, signifying both how one perceives and how one is perceived" (244).

13. This epithet was used frequently with the lion. See W.A. Borgeaud and B. MacLachlan, op.cit. (above n.1), 6. The lion sighting its prey is filled with desire, and its passionate greed is demonstrated by the fire that blazes from its eyes. The root  $\chi\alpha\rho$  - denotes both the desire and its presentation as fire. Whether the connotation of 'scratching' present in the IE \* $\tilde{g}h$ er arose from the actions of a greedy, 'fiery' predator cannot of course be determined with certainty, but it is, I think, a plausible hypothesis. Other  $\chi\alpha\sigma$  - words less tranquil than  $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  could be explained by this same passionate greed:  $\chi\alpha\rho\mu\eta$ , 'battle-lust', and  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ , which Hesychius glosses with  $\delta\rho\gamma\eta\ \eta\ \epsilon\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

14. Bremer, op.cit. (above n.6) 38.

15. A. Fulda, Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Homerischen Gedichte (Duisburg 1865) 21-22.

16. G. Curtius, Principles of Greek Etymology (London 1886) 1.200. See also E.R. Dodds (ed.) Bacchae (Oxford 1970) pp.261,383: "The root meaning of  $\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  seems to be brightness, ... used especially to describe the sheen or sparkle of liquids." Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (Paris 1968) s.v.  $\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  gives 'rayonner de joie'.

17. Greek Metaphor (New York, London 1972), 115. But Stanford finds that laughter is an 'incidental meaning,' that the Greeks attached the 'humanistic' notion of gladness to the word. The presentation of the two notions, of brightness and gladness is so widespread in words of Indo-European family that 'gladness' was an addition that cannot have been either exclusively Greek, nor especially 'humanistic'.

18. Chantraine, op.cit. (above n.15) s.v.  $\phi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  : 'brilliant', 'éclatant' 'rayonnant', 'joyeux'. Like  $\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$ , a cognate of  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ ,  $\phi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  refers to the joy taken in calmness and serenity. Hesychius glosses  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  with  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ . The origin of the connection may be the joy and relief experienced at seeing the calm ('bright') sea. With this may be compared the Latin serenus, whose first meaning is 'bright', with the secondary sense of 'calm', 'cheerful'.

19. The insertion of gh dates from the sixteenth century (Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, ed.

- Onians, Oxford 1966). Under 'glad', Onians lists other words with the initial gl, having 'shining', 'bright' as the basic sense (e.g. 'glade', the place in the forest where light can get through; also 'glare', 'glass', 'gleam', 'glimmer', 'glimpse', 'glow' etc.
20. (ed.) The Fragments of Sophocles (Cambridge 1917), 129.
21. Op.cit. (above n.5) 119.
22. See Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language (London 1882) 2.411, who connects charis with this same development.
23. Ernout-Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine (Paris 1967) s.v. laetus: "adjectif de la langue rustique, 'gras'... en passant dans la langue commune, l'adjectif a pris le sens de 'à l'aspect plaisant ou riant, joyeux'". It is perhaps worthwhile to note that Ernout-Meillet give illaetabilis as a "composé poétique traduisant ἀχαρίς."
24. W. Borgeaud, Fasti Umbrici (Ottawa 1982), 181. This was particularly true of stones they considered 'astral', fallen from heaven. The first literary record we have of the cult of the Charites in Greece took place in Orchomenos, Boeotia, where they were worshipped in the form of three stones fallen from heaven (see Chapter III). It is possible that they were anointed, although we have no evidence.
25. C.Ramnoux, La nuit et les enfants de la nuit dans la tradition grecque (Paris 1959) 117.
26. Nausicaa confesses that she would like to find a bride-groom like Odysseus (Od.6.244-245). In another Homeric passage, the notion of 'vision', 'astonishment', is connected with love. Hera promises Hypnos as a bride someone he will 'desire' (ἐέλθεαι) for 'all days', one of the Charites named Pasithea. Her name contains the root -θέη < θαύομαι, 'to be astonished'. She is someone whose beauty causes her beholders to gasp in astonishment and to desire her. See W.A. Borgeaud and B. MacLachlan, op.cit. (above n.1) 9.
27. H.Dem.276. N.Richardson, ed., The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford 1974) ad loc. describes this beauty as a kind of physical emanation. The physicality of beauty is demonstrated in parallel passages cited by Richardson.

28. Achilles recognizes Athene as a goddess because she has sparkling eyes (Il.I.200); his recognition is preceded by awe (θάμβησεν). Helen recognizes Aphrodite by her flashing eyes (Il.III.397), and she too θάμβησεν.

29. Chantraine, op.cit. (above n.15) s.v. 'φαίνω': "cf.skt. bhā-ti (i) il luit, il éclaire, et (ii) expliquer, parler."

30. Pindar uses the phrase ἀκτῖνος ἔλβου in Pyth.4.255, and describes the Elysian fields as bathed in the light of fire or the sun (fr.129 1-7).

31. This image becomes a motif in Classical literature, designating individuals specially marked for glory (cf. Augustus in Aen.VIII.680-681).

32. Od.16.470: οἶσα· τὸ γὰρ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.  
Bremer, op.cit. (above, n.6) pp.46-47, and Snell, op.cit. (above, n.10) p.13, discuss οἶσα, γιγνώσκω etc. and their relationship to vision. To these can be added φαίνω, which is related to φημί (Chantraine, op.cit. (above, n.15) s.v. φαίνω). Hesychius glosses φάντα with λάμποντα. πιφαύσκω is also a light-word, deriving from φαφ - and translated by Chantraine as 'faire luire... expliquer'.

33. For the blessings of the 'look' of a god, the look that bestows beauty, fertility, success, one can cite an array of passages in Greek literature. At Hipp.1278, Aphrodite's power extends to all things nourished by the 'look' of the burning sun. The sun brightens beauty (Hel.636) and is associated with fair fortune (Pindar, Ol.1.5; 13.37). Other divinities bring 'bright' fruitfulness: Demeter is ἀγλαοκάρπος (M.Treu, Von Homer Zur Lyrik (Munich 1968) 249), and Callimachus appeals to the benevolent look of Artemis which makes living things flourish (Hymn to Artemis, 129-131). W. Deonna, Le symbolisme de l'oeil (Paris 1965) 149-150, cites Egyptian parallels for l'oeil créateur that creates light, the world, heaven, earth, vegetation, animals, man. It fertilizes with tears, like the fertilizing rays of the sun. One of the Charites was named Aglaia, the 'radiant one', another Thalia, 'the flourishing one', and the third 'the joyful one'. Together they represented the joy and flourishing life to be experienced in the benevolent gaze, of (their father) the sky-god Zeus, or as they actually reproduced this. Thus Pindar describes them as πίσκοποι (Ol.14.4, cf. Ol.7.11).

Bremer, op.cit. (above n.6) 228, looks at the blinding of the gaze of the light-god, a phenomenon that he explains as understandable although it comes from the same source as blessing; he attributes this



to the archaic 'unity of opposites'.

Deonna, op.cit. (above, this note) 273, cites parallels from Vedic, Egyptian and Hebrew literature for the Greek panoptic light-gods of the sky who, as pan-optic, are the guarantors of truth, justice, laws and contracts. Zeus, the all-seeing, sends out spirits to be observers of men, keeping watch on judgments and ill-doings among mortals (Theogony, 252, 267).

34. A.B. Cook, Zeus, (New York, 1964) 1.1, n.1, demonstrates that "the Greek Zeus and the Old Indian Dyaus represent an Indo-European \*dieus from the root dī: diē: deia, 'to shine'".

35. Deonna, op.cit. (above n.33) 264, n.17: "dans toute cette Asie intérieure... le terme dieu chez les indo-européens, comme chez les Sémites, chez les Sémites comme chez les Sumériens, s'avère d'origine, inséparable des idées de Ciel, de pluie nourricière, de lumière et de fécondité."

36. The most stirring example of this belief to be found in early Greek poetry occurs in Pindar's Eighth Pythian, where he describes the condition of mankind as 'subject to the day', 'a dream of a shadow', unless one receives that αἴγλα δῖοςδοτος, that god-sent gleam of light that makes life gentle (92-97).

This momentary state of blessedness lay behind the epithet δῖος, which originally meant 'of or belonging to Zeus'. Cook, op.cit. (above n.34) 3, points out that the word was probably formed before Zeus became a personality, when he was the Zeus, the radiant sky, with an impersonal life of its own. δῖος first meant 'of or belonging to the bright sky'. In Homer it occurs as an epithet of aether (Il.XVI.365/Od.19.540), of dawn (Il.IX.240,662; XXIV.417) etc. The transition to the meaning 'glorious' is, as Cook points out, not hard to follow. εὐδῖος originally meant 'with a clear sky', and came to mean 'tranquil', as a blessing from the weather-god Zeus (5). This may be compared with γαλήνη (above, n.18), the radiant calm that brings joy and laughter.

This same image is not alien to us, because of its frequent occurrence in the Old and New Testaments. The combination of light, truth, glory, peace, all originating with the look of the benevolent god, was highly developed in Christian theology and iconography: one thinks for example of paintings of the Virgin receiving God's grace as a beam of light. But one of the richest statements occurs in the blessing of the people handed down by Yahweh to Moses. An example of this text, found on silver amulets 2600 years old, gives us the first known reference to God in Biblical writings:

The Lord bless you and keep you,  
the Lord make his face shine upon you,  
and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift up  
His countenance upon you and give you peace.  
(Numbers 6.22-26)

The Hebrew expression for 'make his face shine upon you' is equivalent to 'show you a smiling face'; 'lifting up His countenance upon you' in Hebrew signifies 'looking upon you with kindness and good will'. The word for 'peace' (shalom) includes not just tranquility but 'wholeness' and 'health'. These gifts from the divine are ancient, widespread in Indo-European thought, and, as we shall see, form the nexus of things which can be called charis in early Greek literature.

CHAPTER THREE  
THE CULT OF THE CHARITES

### Argument

An initial look at the way the Charites present themselves in the earliest Greek literature seems to have little in common with the nature of charis that is operative in these same texts. Beautiful women who anoint Aphrodite and dance with her seem far removed from the charis one fought for on the battlefield, or the charis that graced a social gathering. But an examination of the cult-life of the Charites in Greece suggests a link. Chthonic vegetation goddesses at first, the Charites were associated with prosperity that came from a fecund earth, an earth that was well-watered and warmed by the sun. This was reflected in the names first assigned to them, e.g. Thalia and Aglaia, Auxo, Karpo, or Kleta and Phaenna. Their link with a fertile earth was translated to the sphere of human activity, where beauty and attractiveness, like the glistening love-goddess, were essential to human fertility. Dancing was essential to the cult-life of the Charites, in stimulating this fertility. But from the strictly physical side of human prosperity the Charites enlarged their province, and became patrons of healing, of gratitude, of concord and peace; they came to preside over the flourishing of human society, as they had once presided over the flourishing of the earth. The physical connection is never lost, however, and they remain patrons of youth in particular, youth at its physical acme in athletic games or in initiation/marriage rites.

Although incontrovertible evidence is lacking, it is plausible that the Charites originally behaved like other chthonic deities who were intermediaries between the dead and the living, and distributed offerings from the Upper- to the Under-world and vice-versa. If so, this may have informed charis at this early stage with the kind of reciprocity that became a hall-mark of many experiences of charis, such as that exchanged on the battlefield or in the gentler setting of the feast.

The Charites, in their first appearance in Greek literature, bathe, anoint and dance with Aphrodite, and provide charming wives for the gods. But this feminine charm seems to have little to do with the charis that first appears in the literature -- the charis that was exchanged on the battlefield or between parents and children, the charis that graced the feast, or whose demise one regretted at death. Did the goddesses of charis simply lead a poetic and mythical life of their own, stimulated by the imagination of the poets, or can we find some common thread that sustains the life and practice of charis, something in the nature of the Charites that infuses the meaning of charis consistently throughout the archaic period? I believe we can, but this involves laying aside the poets and looking at evidence for the cult of the Charites in Greece, and asking ourselves just what was being honoured in worshipping charis-divinities.<sup>1</sup>

The cult was ancient, and not, it seems, imported from elsewhere (Hdt.II.5). Our earliest literary evidence comes from Boeotia, where the goddesses were nothing like the delicate beauties that attended Aphrodite. They were worshipped as three rocks, aeroliths that fell at the feet of one King Eteocles in about the fourteenth century B.C. Somehow, these three rocks were associated with the fertile prosperity of the city of Orchomenos over which Eteocles reigned, and indeed it was as stones that the Charites were worshipped in this centre until the lifetime of Pausanias, the chronicler who records the arrival of the cult in Greece.<sup>2</sup>

Stones were not uncommonly used in Greece as representations of divinities, even though Greek

religion was anthropomorphic from an early period.<sup>3</sup> Unhewn stones represented gods connected with fertility in centres not far from Orchomenos, like the (phallic) ἀργαῖ λίθοι in Thespias, or the Boeotian Heracles Hyettos.<sup>4</sup> Wrought stone columns represented gods elsewhere: Apollon Agnieus, Artemis Patroa or Argive Hera. It seems that while these stones were identified with a deity, they were not as a rule regarded as the actual divinity, but as the sign of the divine presence.<sup>5</sup> The veneration of sacred stones persisted until quite late. In a striking parallel to Eteocles, the stone image of the mother of the gods apparently fell at Pindar's feet, occasioning his founding a shrine to her at his door (Pyth.3.77, and schol. ad loc.).

Pausanias tells us only that the three stones fell before Eteocles, whereupon he instituted the sacrifice and worship of the Charites. Can we make any suppositions about the content of the cult, based on their divine, lithic parallels? Like Heracles Hyettos they may have been connected with fertilizing water; the lapis manalis provides a parallel in Rome. Like Rhea-Cybele the three divine stones may have supplied to Eteocles the earthly powers of the mother-goddess. Jane Harrison connects the three stones of Orchomenos with the triple pillars worshipped in Crete, probably as the three phases of the moon.<sup>6</sup> From A.B. Cook she received the suggestion that the triple pillars were Cretan Charites worshipped by Minos. The 'Great Mother', or Rhea, was probably also Cretan in origin.<sup>7</sup> A link between the Cretan and Boeotian cults of the Great Mother and of the Charites would support the hypothesis of Fernandes that the Orchomenian Charites were a Minoan import.<sup>8</sup> If Harrison is right, we could expect that the lunar powers of fertility, vegetation-growth etc. informed the cult established by Eteocles.

But such suppositions rest upon tenuous foundations, and more solid evidence for the content of the charis borne by the Orchomenian Chsrites can be gleaned from Boeotian soil itself, or rather from Boeotian waters.

References to water are common in the legendary and historical accounts of Orchomenos. Eteocles, according to one tradition, was himself the son of the river Cephisus, which feeds Lake Copais at Orchomenos.<sup>9</sup> The Charites were linked with Hyades, water-nymphs (Hes., Astron., 291 M-W), and in Hellenistic poetry were described as dwelling by the spring Argaphia.<sup>10</sup> Varying ancient traditions link them with waters bearing names resembling Argaphia.<sup>11</sup> And it was the rivers and springs, the Boeotian waters, that must be linked with the fruitfulness and the proverbial richness of the land at Orchomenos.<sup>12</sup>

With its wealth, proverbial already in Homer, the city acquired power. A successor of Eteocles, Erginus, defeated Thebes and forced it to pay an annual tribute to Orchomenos. The Theban Heracles came to his city's aid.<sup>13</sup> In Strabo's account (IX.2.40) he kills Erginus; in Pausanias' version of the story (IX.37.3) the Orchomenian king makes peace with Heracles and relieves the Thebans of the tribute, losing his former wealth in the process.

Pausanias records the interesting detail of just how Heracles struck at the wealth of the Orchomenian king:

The Thebans declare that the river Cephisus was diverted into the Orchomenian plain by Heracles, and that for a time it passed under the mountain and entered the sea, until Heracles blocked up the chasm through the mountain.

(Paus.IX.38.7)

Pausanias goes on to explain that, since Homer records Orchomenos as a rich city at the time of the Trojan

War, the Orchomenians must have repaired the blocked drainage channels that flooded the plain, and 'restored to the Cephisus its ancient passage.'

The ancient city of Orchomenos occupied the slope of a steep hill (Mt. Hypantheion) that rose from the surrounding plain.<sup>14</sup> The river Cephisus (or Cephissus) wound around the southern base of the mountain in serpentine fashion. At the time a temple to the Charites was erected the city extended almost to the river Cephisus on the east side, but was later forced to retreat by inundations caused by natural flooding from the river (Strabo IX.2.16,18,40). To the east, the Cephisus joined the river Melas and fed Lake Copais.<sup>15</sup>

Archaeological evidence has revealed that during the Bronze Age natural and man-made tunnels drained the waters of Lake Copais,<sup>16</sup> transforming it into a marshy plain, rich with fish and waterfowl. There was a Homeric warrior named Oresbius who lived at Hyle on the slopes above the λίμνη Κηφισίς, and like the Orchomenians was 'strongly intent upon his wealth, in possession of a mighty, rich district' (Il.V.706-710). Even in classical times the mere of Copais furnished wealth for the Orchomenians, as it was filled with large quantities of fish and waterfowl which found a ready market among the Athenians (Acharn. 872ff.). The eels were the most prized in Athenian markets (Pax 1005, Acharn.880), and Pliny describes the admiratio antiqua for the marshy Lake Copais. In his day this furnished the best reeds for weaving, fowling, and particularly for flutes. Reeds washed by the waters of the Cephisus itself were rated as immeasurably superior (Pliny NH XVI.66.168ff.).

The quest for the charis borne by the Charites has shifted from dancing ladies to falling rocks to the swamp-beds of Lake Copais, on the shores of which King



Eteocles first initiated the cult. What could have been in the king's mind as he first offered sacrifice to the three divinities represented by fallen stones? If we can believe Strabo, Eteocles honoured the Charites 'either because he was successful in receiving charites' (i.e. gifts, favours) or in giving them, or both (IX.2.40). Strabo goes on to explain that it was when Eteocles became disposed to good deeds (πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν εὐφωτῆ γενόμενον ) that he began to honour the goddesses. But, Strabo reasons, he had to have his treasury full before he could dispense gifts: he who does not have much cannot give much -- he who does not receive much will not have much to give. But Eteocles was in the position of having received both wealth and power, and had the means to be generous-spirited; he had τὴν ἀκολοβίην , a capacity to give and to receive charites. Although this interpretation of Strabo's is late, coming as it does after the three Charites had been explicitly marked as the embodiment of reciprocal giving and taking, it is worthwhile looking at whether the seeds for this might have been sown by good King Eteocles about 1300 B.C.

In worshipping, sacrificing to, and erecting a temple to the three stone-Charites, Eteocles may well have been paying tribute to the fact that these deities blessed the land of Orchomenos with water. In the legendary tradition they appeared as water-nymphs or perhaps as water-fructifying stones like the nearby Heracles Hyettos. In the historical tradition they would be associated with the bounty of the terrain fertilized by rivers and lakes, drained by natural and man-made dykes and drains.

What happened with the death of Eteocles? Apart from periodic flooding, the land continued to prosper, down through the classical period. The worship of the Charites at Orchomenos continued, too. A tripod was

dedicated by the Boeotian Confederacy for the sanctuary of the Charites in about 245 B.C., in response to the command of an oracle of Apollo.<sup>17</sup> Eustathius describes a celebration called the Charisia, which is usually assumed to have taken place at Orchomenos (ad Il.XVIII.194). This honoured the Charites at a pannychis, an all-night dancing festival, where honey-cakes (πέμματα) were awarded to those able to dance through the long night.<sup>18</sup> An inscription from the first century B.C. lists the winners at a pan-Hellenic musical and dramatic festival held during the Charitesia at Orchomenos.<sup>19</sup> This contest may well have evolved from the pannychis described by Eustathius. It was probably held in the theatre of Dionysos at Orchomenos which was built between the Treasury of Minyas and the temple of the Charites.<sup>20</sup>

The celebration of athletic, musical and dramatic competitions at a festival honouring the Charites was an acknowledgement of life flourishing at its peak of performance. The spectators would have been surrounded by nature thriving under the optimal conditions provided by fertile Orchomenos.<sup>21</sup> We know that a portion of the fruits of the earth was brought to the Charites. Ephoros records that from the abundant richness produced on the plain some was given over by the περίοικοι to honour the Charites (schol.BT Il.IX.381).<sup>22</sup>

The Orchomenian Charites, then, the first Charites to be honoured on the soil of mainland Greece, and doubtless influential in the form of the cult elsewhere,<sup>23</sup> enjoyed a link with their city's water-bound prosperity. This they could do as water-nymphs, or water-bearing stones, as harvest-deities receiving a portion of the land's wealth, and as deities bound up with the joy of youthful vigour when they presided over competitive all-night dancing, or over artistic and

athletic agones. The citizens' enjoyment of their bounty was focussed around events honouring the Charites -- where sacrifices and prayers were offered to them in their sanctuary, and gifts were brought to them at their annual festivals. Evidence for this is found over a period of 1200 years, from the reign of Eteocles until the first century B.C. As the first bearers of charis they may be expected to have injected the word from the start with the association of prosperity, youthful vigour, and the practice of reciprocating the pleasure taken in this by the offering of return-gifts.

Still more may be gleaned from the practices of the Charites-cult at Orchomenos, if we permit ourselves to build upon the suggestion that here, as elsewhere, the Charites had links with the Underworld.

Schwartzenberg makes the claim that the prosperity of the land around Orchomenos was ensured by the good will of King Eteocles and his successors, who were transformed into heroes upon their death. This good will he refers to as the  $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  of the dead kings, distributed by the Charites. As evidence for this, he points to their character as water-nymphs, who would have access to chthonic powers.<sup>24</sup> He also points to the connection between their name and the Underworld ferryman Charon, or with Heracles Charops, the hero with bright eyes who led Cerberus up from the kingdom below.<sup>25</sup> T. Zielinski had earlier developed the idea of the chthonic powers of the Charites and their connection with the  $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  of dead heroes.<sup>26</sup> He argued for an early connection between charis and the '(terrifying) as well as the benevolent aspect' of the nether world, since charis was bound up with the worship of heroes.<sup>27</sup> His evidence for this is post-archaic (and certainly post-Eteoclean), drawn from tragedy. Oedipus, in the Oedipus Coloneus, dies in

Attica, and his death becomes a blessing (κέρση ) for the local inhabitants who had provided him with refuge (91-92). Zielinski examines verses 1751-1753:

παύετε θρῆνον , παῖδες · ἐν οἷς γὰρ  
 χάρις ἢ χθονία ξύν· ἀπόκειται  
 πένθειν οὐ γρή· νέμεσις γάρ.  
 (OC 1751-1753)

From the words of comfort offered by Theseus to the daughters of the dead king, Zielinski concludes that Sophocles is referring to the grave as a sort of store-room (ἀποθήκη , < ἀπόκειται ) for subterranean 'grace or mercy'; this is the *χάρις ἢ χθονία* that lies with the deceased. Commentators are far from unanimous on the interpretation of the passage, but what seems to be implied is that Theseus is making a claim that there is charis stored up in the Underworld which has chthonic power.<sup>28</sup> This charis is associated with the death of a hero-king, and a recognition of its power should curtail his daughters' weeping. It was a standard belief in the archaic Greek world that by honouring the tomb of dead heroes one could expect in return not only bounty for the land but actual assistance with life in the Upper world.<sup>29</sup>

Could the Charites in Orchomenos have dispensed charis between the living and the dead hero-kings, Eteocles and his successors? A possible scenario is this: the Charites received thank-offerings (first fruits from the harvest, for example) offered by the prosperous folk living around Lake Copais. The goddesses carried the gifts to the Underworld, where the gratified wealthy king-heroes and Underworld deities responded by giving of their bounty to those in the Upper world. These recipients in return demonstrated their joy and gratitude at celebrations honouring the Charites.

There is iconographic evidence to suggest that the Charites performed this function elsewhere. It is, admittedly, drawn from the archaic period, not the Bronze Age. A relief from the Lycian Harpy-monument (early fifth-century B.C.) shows three well-dressed maidens, possibly the Charites, solemnly striding towards Persephone, to present her with the chthonic gifts of a pomegranate, a flower and eggs.<sup>30</sup> On a pinax from Locri three maidens bring Persephone articles for her toilet.<sup>31</sup> As attendants of Persephone the Charites were said to accompany the goddess when she left the Underworld.<sup>32</sup> We cannot of course be certain that the three maiden figures on reliefs from the archaic period were Charites. Triads of maidens such as the Moirae, the Horae, the Erinyes and Eumenides were common representations of korai at an early period in Greek religion. Jane Harrison describes these chthonic 'maiden trinities' as korai who emerged from the primitive mother-daughter duo when Underworld powers came to preside over agriculture, at a time when the two seasons of fertile summer (mother) and sterile winter (daughter) expanded to three seasons.<sup>33</sup> Further, the number three, as she reminds us, was a sacred number, associated with the dead and the Underworld, and with the three phases of the moon which brought 'increase and decrease to living things'.<sup>34</sup> The earliest sculptured relief representing the maiden trinity she describes as three austere figures massed closely together. Two carry fruits, one a wreath. The sculptor inscribed on the relief a dedication to the Korai. Harrison says of these korai, "They might be Charites or Eumenides, or merely nymphs," and that "the Charites, the Moirae, the Horae, are all essentially maidens."<sup>35</sup> Farnell adds that "the personalities to whom the name 'Horai' and 'Charites' were attached may be supposed to have arisen originally

from the same source in the popular belief as nymphs." The Horai emerged from *ῥα*, which originally designated time, the year and its periods. Before the age of Homer, Farnell supposes, certain goddesses (already established) took the name Horai.<sup>36</sup> In Athens, according to Pausanias, a mystery-cult was celebrated in honour of the Charites. These he gives at one time as two in number, at another as three, and it is clear that in the early period the Charites overlapped in function (and name) with nymphs and Horai, when 'maiden trinities' arose as personal manifestations of the vegetative powers of the earth.<sup>37</sup>

With these analogies we might suppose that the Orchomenian Charites were at the earliest stage chthonic nymphs, who bound the prosperous citizens to underworld powers. If this supposition is correct, how would this 'maiden trinity' have influenced the later notion of charis that plays such a prominent role in the literature? We should expect an association between charis and vegetative fecundity, and, like the Underworld-exchange, we would expect charis to entail return-favours, the practice of reciprocal gifts.

The Charites were of course worshipped elsewhere at an early period, and in the interests of discerning just how their cult could have influenced or reflected the range of application of the word charis it is important to look at how the Charites were worshipped in other major cult centres. This examination will focus on the earliest cult centres, in Athens, Paros, Naxos, Arcadia and Laconia.

From Pausanias we learn that the Charites were celebrated in a mystery-cult at Athens, prominently located at the gates to the Acropolis (IX.35.2). Images of the Charites were visible to Pausanias, fashioned by one Socrates, son of Sophroniscus.<sup>38</sup> Also at the Propylaea was a representation of Hermes, and

there may have been a cult link.<sup>39</sup> If Hermes was worshipped here as psychopompos, the joint cult may have practised chthonic rites similar to those suggested above for Orchomenos.<sup>40</sup> Although we do not have evidence that the Bronze Age cult at Orchomenos named the Charites, Pindar assigns to them the names given by Hesiod, Thalia, Aglaia, and Euphrosyne (O1.14.13-15). Their names in Athens differed from these: Pausanias' account suggests that they were called Auxo and Hegemone, and possibly Karpo. 'Auxo' and 'Karpo' would reflect a cult that celebrated fruitfulness of the land; 'Hegemone' suggests that this resulted from a 'leading down' or a 'leading up' of good things.<sup>41</sup>

The cult at Paros may have been co-eval with the one at Orchomenos. It dates at least as far back as the thalassocracy of Minos, for the Cretan king changed the tenor of the celebrations of the Charites on Paros during a visit to the island.<sup>42</sup> While sacrificing to the Charites, Minos was said to have received the news of the death of his son Androgeos. He immediately threw away the flowers he was wearing, stopped the flute-playing and initiated a new, sadder tone for subsequent festivals of the Parian Charites. On the island of Thasos, a colony of Paros, bas-reliefs have been found that suggest the Charites may have taken with them to the colony restrictions on otherwise joyful celebrations.<sup>43</sup> A Parian relief from the mid-sixth century B.C. shows them dancing,<sup>44</sup> and Callimachus in referring to the cult doesn't mention a gloomy aspect, only the goddesses' shimmering clothing and delicate hair (fr.7.11-12 Pfeiffer). Schwartzberg links the light/dark feature of the Parian cult with the cult of Ariadne on Naxos.<sup>45</sup> One festival celebrated Ariadne as the triumphant bride of Dionysos. Another recalled her humiliation and death,

the abandoned daughter of King Minos. On Naxos, local genealogy made the Charites daughters of the nymph Coronis, who in some traditions was also the bride of Dionysos, hence a double of Ariadne. Schwartzenberg sees in the alternate forms of worship of the Charites-Ariadne-Coronis on these islands a repetition of the Demeter-Kore alternation of joy and sorrow that was reflected in the seasonal alternation of fecundity and dearth.

The connection with King Minos of Crete, with nymphs, vegetation and dancing, are all elements the Parian-Naxian cults shared with the cult of the Charites in Orchomenos. There was no evidence in Boeotia for a gloomy side to the cult, but perhaps it would have been a natural extension of their chthonic character anywhere, as can be seen from the cult in Arcadia.

Arcadians had settled Paros. In both places the Charites were worshipped in the hills, together with nymphs under the protection of Pan.<sup>46</sup> In Arcadia, however, the chiaroscuro nature of the Charites was in high profile, because of their association with the Erinyes-Eumenides. Pausanias informs us of a sanctuary of 'goddesses' located between Megalopolis and Messene, goddesses called by the inhabitants the 'Maniae' (VIII.34.1-3). In Pausanias' view, this was but an attribute of the Eumenides, for whom there was a sanctuary nearby, at a place called Ake. The name Ἄκη ('Cures'), he explains, was assigned because it was here that Orestes was cured of his blood-guilt. The goddesses first appeared to Orestes in black, but when he had made the appropriate sacrifice of a finger they appeared in white, restoring him to his senses. The hero immediately made a sacrifice to the dead, to avert the wrath of the black goddesses, and to the white goddesses made a sacrificial offering. Pausanias



follows this narrative with the observation that it was the custom to offer sacrifice to the Charites at the same time as to these 'white goddesses'. The Charites at Ake were associated with the bright side of these powers, the Eumenides.<sup>47</sup> Darkness resided in these same powers, however: the Erinyes were the Eumenides, and the same goddesses represented both the wrath and vengeance that the living could expect from angered gods or heroes of the Underworld, and the blessings that were dispensed when these same spirits were appeased. The Charites would have presented the good things that emerged from the Underworld, in response to the offering of appropriate gifts to the chthonic powers. In this case, the charis dispensed in the Upper-world was not the flourishing of the earth, but the healing of a hero.

In nearby Laconia, Pausanias tells us that the Charites were worshipped as two, and designated by the names Kleta and Phaenna (IX.35.1).<sup>48</sup> These names, says Pausanias, are 'appropriate' (ἐπικόγια), referring, one supposes, to the bright side of the gifts they distributed. Their endowment in Sparta appears to have been associated with water in a manner that bears a striking resemblance to their hydraulic connection in Orchomenos. Lacedaimon, the Spartan founder, gave the Charites their names, according to Pausanias, and established their sanctuary by the river Tiasa, a daughter of Eurotas (III.18.6; IX.35.1). The river Eurotas took its name from the father of Lacedaimon, who actually created the river by draining the stagnant water which had accumulated on the plain after a flood. King Eurotas led the water through a trench to the sea (III.1.1).<sup>49</sup> Like the Charites of Eteocles, those worshipped by Lacedaimon were associated with the beneficial effects of draining local water.

The Charites of Lacedaimon seem to have been also associated with youth. Near the sanctuary set up by the Spartan king was a hieron of Artemis Korythalia, where nurses brought young boys during the Titthenidia.<sup>50</sup> Near the Spartan dromos, a place where young men even in Pausanias' day practised running, were sanctuaries of the Charites, of Eileithyia, of Apollo Karneios and of Artemis Hegemone (Paus.III. 14.6). Maria Rocchi has made the point that the proximity of the Charites to an athletic training-ground is evidence that the Charites along with Artemis Hegemone were associated with the life of young men when they were on the threshold of manhood.<sup>51</sup> This Rocchi compares with the fact that the Charites (along with other divinities) were invoked by the young men of Athens when they were admitted as ephebes into the administration of the affairs of the polis. Rocchi suggests that, although the evidence for this is late (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), the oath taken by the ephebes harks back to a much earlier age, when it would have been taken by all young Athenian males, as part of a rite of initiation into adulthood. The Charites invoked are Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone. The names of the first two are of course appropriate to the flourishing of youth as of nature; Hegemone would be appropriate to the ensuring of safe conduct.<sup>52</sup>

The names assigned to the Charites, while consistent with the nature of the benefits they conferred (hence helpful in the quest to identify the good things that went by the name of charis) varied considerably in the early cult-centres.<sup>53</sup> This is easily explained by their overlap with local deities, especially 'maiden trinities', and the blessings they distributed. In general, the names imply that the Charites were vegetation-deities at this stage ('Auxo', 'Thallo' etc.), and were associated with rites of

passage ('Hegemone'), whether of youth or of gifts to and from the Underworld. But in Sparta they received names that carried the connotation of 'light' and 'glory' - Phaenna and Kleta. This was also true of 'Aglaia', which was first assigned to one of the Charites by Hesiod, and later became canonical along with 'Thalia' and 'Euphrosyne' in referring to the Charites in literature. Light and fame are appropriate to sun-borne vegetation which results in great prosperity; they are also appropriate awards for winners in the agones that were held at or near shrines of the Charites. At Athens we do not find the Charites bearing light/fame-names during the early period. But the oath of the ephebes was sworn in the sanctuary of Aglauros, one of the three nymph-daughters of Cecrops,<sup>54</sup> and Fernandes refers to her as a sun-divinity responsible for Attic vegetation.<sup>55</sup> ἀγλαυρος is identical with ἀγλαός (cf. 'Aglaia').<sup>56</sup>

Other connections between light and Charites appear in their genealogy. Antimachus describes the Charites as daughters of Helios and Aigle (Paus.IX.35.5). Elsewhere, Aglaia or Aigle is the bride of Helios.<sup>57</sup> Aglaia was linked with the bright sky, and the all-seeing sun. Her name may have originally meant 'sun-beam',<sup>58</sup>. She was, in one tradition, the daughter of the 'All-seeing', 'Panopeus';<sup>59</sup> at Il.II.672 she is the wife of Χαροπός the 'Bright-seeing'. Aglaia as one of the Charites brings the blessings sent from the bright sky, blessings which were also associated with the patriarchal sky-god of the Indo-Europeans.<sup>60</sup> As Aglauros with Herse and Pandrosus,<sup>61</sup> Aglaia with her sisters Thalia ('Flourishing') and Euphrosyne ('Joy') dispensed the delight that came from sharing the young fruits of a moist, warmed earth.

With this joy went music and the dance, and in this sphere we find the Charites celebrated with Apollo, Apollo who dances in the bright sunlight (Pindar, fr.140). Apollo returns to Delphi after his winter's sojourn with the Hyperboreans. With his epiphany, like the anodos of Persephone, the earth once again teems with the new life that follows wintry darkness and death. In the midst of this youthful renewal,<sup>62</sup> Apollo dances and plays his lyre and the Charites dance around him with the Horai, Harmonia, Hebe and Aphrodite (H.Pyth.Apollo 194-196). The joy in their springtime dance is reflected in the light that beams from Apollo and his entourage: Hermes is Ἀρχεῖφώντης and εὐδκόπος his mother is 'golden-tressed' (χρυσόπλόκαμος); around the god an αἴγλη radiates, as he dances his feet sparkle (μαρμαρυχαί) and his vest gleams.

To Delos, the Hyperboreans sent maidens with offerings to Apollo (Hdt.IV.33). Like the Charites, these maidens are recorded as two, or sometimes as three.<sup>63</sup> Nilsson offers the opinion that the Hyperborean maidens were a later version of the Charites.<sup>64</sup> On Delos was an image of Apollo; in his hand he held the three Charites.<sup>65</sup> Macrobius' interpretation of the statue was that the Charites were held in the god's right hand because Apollo was quicker to do good than harm, for it was in his left hand that he held the bow.<sup>66</sup> As the Charites were identified with the Eumenides in Arcadia, at the point when Orestes was healed, so on Delos they represented the good gifts that were the counterpart of suffering.<sup>67</sup> Apollo himself was a god of composite traditions, but in Greece he presents his double nature as early as Homer and the Homeric Hymns.<sup>68</sup> He inflicts illness, but he heals through music and the dance.<sup>69</sup> At his festivals, choruses of boys and girls sang and danced, and the Pythian festival, like the Charitesia at

Orchomenos, involved a musical agon.<sup>70</sup> Youthfulness, healing, music and the dance bound the Charites to Apollo.

At Epidaurus, the Charites were worshipped in the sanctuary of the healing god, Asclepius.<sup>71</sup> There is also a tradition which links the Epidaurian Charites (Auxesia and Damia) with a renewal of failing crops. Advised by the Delphic oracle to erect olive-wood statues of Auxesia and Damia, the Epidaurians obeyed, and their withering crops recovered (Hdt.V.82). The ability of the Charites to 'make flourish' was readily transferred from the vegetative to the human sphere.<sup>72</sup> Thus it is not surprising to find them with cult-connections to Asclepius and Hygieia.<sup>73</sup> Their healing powers may have been with them from the beginning. Maiden vegetation triads, such as the *κουροτρόφαι* found at Crete, had medical powers.<sup>74</sup>

The dance, performed by the Charites in the entourage of Apollo and associated with them from primitive times to the present, was an essential part of their capacity to make things flourish. Dancing was vital to an early Greek community. Walter Burkert connects the dance with ritual, with belonging to a traditional group, with experiencing the power of a god, or even identifying with a divinity.<sup>75</sup> Above all, the dance was a celebration of 'the short-lived blossom of youth', an expression of the joy that is appropriate to the young.<sup>76</sup> Dance was part of every single ancient initiation-festival.<sup>77</sup> At Naxos the cult of the Charites resembled that of neighbouring Paros. Both may have been originally exported from Crete, during the thalassocracy of Minos. The Naxian Charites, possibly doubling for Ariadne, may have been celebrated in a dance like the Cretan *geranos*-dance, a mimetic dance of birds performed to ensure fertility.<sup>78</sup> A group of clay figures from the temple at Palaikastro,

dating from the Minoan period, shows three female figures dancing around a lyre-player. Fernandes chooses to see here the Charites, not the Muses, for, he argues, the Muses were not fertility-goddesses, nor have we evidence that they were connected with King Minos.<sup>79</sup> The rhythmic gestures of the dance Fernandes sees as expressing a magical force over the earth, from the time when the Charites represented fertile nature, and belonged to that pre-Indo-European (patriarchal) phase of Greek religion.<sup>80</sup> Two of the dancing scenes depicted on the shield of Achilles in Il.XVIII combine the elements of youth, the dance and fertility. In the first of these (490-496), young male dancers whirl around a bridal procession. The second scene (567-572) is the harvest-dance, where young men and girls carry baskets full of grapes, accompanied by dancers leaping and shouting with joy. Lawler points out that the leaping and whirling in the dance are universal fertility-motifs.<sup>81</sup>

Dances frequently took place around sources of water. At Theogony 3ff. we hear of a dance around a spring or well (κρήνη). In the Geoponica (XI.4) the tradition is preserved that the Charites, daughters of Eteocles, were once cypresses who danced, fell and died.<sup>82</sup> Kurt Latte assumes that the Charites referred to are indeed the water-linked divinities who first received the honour of ritual from King Eteocles, a ritual which included the dance.<sup>83</sup> Nilsson assumes that dancing at the Charitesia took place at Orchomenos, based upon the line of Euphorion:

Ὀρχομένον Χαρίτεσσιν ἀφάρεσσιν ὀρχηθέντα.

Pollux (IV.99) also points out the similarity between 'Orchomenos' and ὀρχεῖσθαι, to argue for the prevalence of dance celebrating the Charites in this centre.<sup>84</sup> Latte recalls the tradition that the

Boeotian Charites, fertility goddesses, danced around a spring.<sup>85</sup> Pausanias (IX.38.2), in his account of Orchomenos, mentions a marvellous spring, and Latte connects this with the tradition that the dancing Charites left Orchomenos to bathe in the wonderful spring of Agraphia.<sup>86</sup>

The early Greeks, whether in Crete, Orchomenos, Paros, Naxos or elsewhere, danced to celebrate the Charites. In doing so they were honouring their dancing divinities by imitating them.<sup>87</sup> The dance would have been a form of paideia, informing the young through the ritual of worship. As they awakened to their own fertility, they danced to arouse the fertility of the earth, with leaps, whirling and gestures that signified their own joy. We will not be surprised to discover in the poets that as the Charites distributed the joy of burgeoning youth and springtime, charis itself flourished in the rhythms of epinician poetry that stimulated a dance of celebration.

In cult and literature, the Charites were frequently found not alone, but with other gods, like the dancing Apollo, but also divinities like Hermes, Demeter and Persephone, Hekate, and the Erinyes/ Eumenides, -- gods with Underworld powers, whose bright side derives its significance from the backdrop of their awesome dark side.

As vegetation-goddesses the Charites would be natural associates of Demeter and Persephone, incarnations of the earth in death and rebirth. In an Orphic hymn, the Charites and the Horai conduct the ἀνοδος of Persephone to the Upper world, to her μητέρι καρποδοτείρη.<sup>88</sup> Euripides, in the Helen (1341-1344), assimilating Demeter to the Magna Mater, sends the βερναὶ Χάριτες<sup>89</sup> to the grieving Demeter, to alleviate her mourning. At Eleusis, the great Demeter festival, the Charites received a sacrifice. At the

Thesmophoria the Charites were invoked, along with Demeter and Kore, Ploutos, Kalligeneia, Kourotrophos and Hermes (Thesm. 295-300). At another Demeter festival, the 'Katagoge', men called koragoi led Kore. Walter Burkert describes this festival as an advent, which 'may be both an uncanny opening up of the underworld and also a visitation of favour.' Demeter, Burkert concludes, was 'one who gives like sustenance and to whom the dead belong.'<sup>90</sup> It would be appropriate for the Charites to be part of her entourage, as dispensers of the wealth that originated in the Underworld. Persephone, as queen of the dead, required gifts of appeasement, for it was in her power to give endless punishment to evildoers in the world below. Presenting gifts to Persephone won her favour, as Hades assured his bride:

τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσθεται ἡματα πάντα  
οἳ κεν μὴ θυσίῃσι τεύν μένος ἰλάσκωνται  
εὐαχέως ἔρδοντες, ἐναΐδιμα δῶρα τελούντες  
(H.Dem. 367-369)

This moment, captured on the Harpy-monument and on the Locrian pinax, is the event that may illustrate the original function of the Charites, and inform charis at its earliest phase. Prosperity, deriving from the flourishing of new life in the earth and among mortals, depended upon the gods. Only the gods had the power to withhold this vitality (H.Dem. 351-356). When presented with appropriate rites and fit gifts they were pleased, and responded with the return-gift of fecundity and renewed life. The bringing of gifts to the queen of the dead or to dead heroes, the pleasure these recipients felt, and their demonstration of this pleasure is the social sequence that could have become the prototype for the experience of charis as described by the poets.<sup>91</sup>



The chthonic power which the Charites exerted over vegetation-growth was, as we have seen, associated with the moon, and this may have accounted for their being three in number. An Orphic hymn invokes the triple-faced Selene to come dancing in the form of the three Charites.<sup>92</sup> The Charites were sometimes worshipped in connection with Hekate, for instance in Athens in the cult of Artemis Epipyrgidia (generally identified with Hekate).<sup>93</sup> Hekate was invoked for blessings as a light-bearing goddess, as  $\phi\omega\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ . She was called 'Saviour',<sup>94</sup> and in Euripides' Helen (569) Menelaus calls upon  $\phi\omega\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  'Εκάτη to send him kindly visions. Where a chthonic deity bore kindly gifts, and was associated with vegetation-growth, dancing and light, there one would expect to encounter the Charites.

They were also natural concomitants or doubles of the Erinyes/Eumenides, as their shrine in Arcadia indicates. The double ritual, and the double vestments of the goddesses at Ake represent the natural identity and polarity that co-existed in the archaic Greek mind. As Day was born from Night (Theogony 124), the 'bright' powers on Olympus were the obverse side of the dark powers of the Underworld.<sup>95</sup> Sacrifice to chthonic powers took place beside those to Upper world deities, a division in myth that presupposed an original unity.<sup>96</sup> The Eumenides were necessary complements of the Erinyes. That they were one and the same goddesses is attested by the fact that the Erinyes were called 'Eumenides' at Sicyon (Paus.II.11.4). This identity and ready transformation is picked up by the tragedians (See Ch. X). The triple maidens as Erinyes acted on behalf of the unappeased wrath of the dead hero or god in his chthonic aspect, when his/her honour was affronted.<sup>97</sup> The word  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  was Arcado-Cyprian in origin, and the angry Demeter Erinys was an Arcadian goddess (Paus.VIII.25.6). But in the poets, the

Erinyes were not only the snake-haired avengers we meet in the Oresteia: in Homer they were charged with protecting one's 'due'. At Il.XV.204 they defend the inherited rights of an elder brother. In the Underworld they protected oaths and took vengeance on those who swore falsely.<sup>98</sup> They were defenders of the moral order, executors of nemesis.<sup>99</sup> The Charites, too, were associated with Nemesis. Pausanias tells us that the Charites were sculpted in the temple of Nemesis at Smyrna (IX.35.6). Nemesis (Νέμειν, 'dispense') protected the nomos, dispensing just rewards<sup>100</sup> as well as punishments, and as the Charites appeared in cult with the Erinyes in their gentler aspect as Eumenides, so it would be fitting for them to be found in the temple of Nemesis.

As the Greeks became less dependent upon the soil and its fruits for survival, their notion of the 'flourishing' and the 'fecund' would have evolved. The roles of gods and goddesses would enlarge correspondingly, and we find the Charites venerated not just for their connection with the rhythms of the earth and its gifts but with the fruitfulness and fulfilment of human life.<sup>101</sup> Like Hera and Aphrodite, the Charites were invoked to bless the young at the critical time when they were about to marry. In this capacity, they received the epithet γαμηλῖαι, and they presided over marriages at a festival of the Athenian young, called 'Apatouros'.<sup>102</sup> They may have played a role at the ἱερός γάμος of Zeus and Hera, celebrated on Mount Gamelion,<sup>at</sup> a festival that honoured young bridal couples.<sup>103</sup> We know that the Charites attended the wedding of Pelias and Thetis,<sup>104</sup> and Cadmus and Harmonia (Theognis 15-18). Their presence at weddings was heralded down to Roman times, as abundant literary and archaeological evidence attests.<sup>105</sup> Their blessings at the moment of marriage included not only the prospect of a fertile

union, but a harmonious one.<sup>106</sup> The importance of a harmonious union between couples was later reflected by the association of the Charites not only with Aphrodite and Eros, but with Peitho.<sup>107</sup>

During the Classical period in Greece, the Charites gradually shed their awesome aspect, and were absorbed into the daily life of Greek citizens. This is not to say that they were secularized; they were still venerated, and worshipped conjointly with other divinities, but like the gods with whom they were paredroi, they were celebrated for the benefits they brought to family and civic life. In the Old Market in Athens, they shared cult-honours with Peitho and Aphrodite Pandemos, and were worshipped as over-seers of concord, peace, and happy marriages.<sup>108</sup> When Athens shed the Macedonian yoke towards the end of the third century B.C., and established a free republic, Athenians dedicated a sanctuary of the Demos and the Charites, where the generosity of Athens was celebrated.<sup>109</sup> In the sanctuary was a dedication to Aphrodite Ἡγεμῶν τοῦ Δῆμου and to the Charites. Love and graciousness, along with good deeds of the citizens were honoured in the sanctuary.<sup>110</sup> The flourishing of the city at this time clearly depended on internal concord. Elsewhere in Athens the Charites were still being worshipped as old vegetation-deities, but with the Demos they had come to be associated with the cheerfulness, restraint, gratitude and kindly reciprocity that characterized civilized life. This ideal had clearly operated in the fifth century, and was identified with charis. In the plays of Euripides we encounter frequent protests against the violation of this ideal of civility that went by the name of charis (See Appendix). οἱ χαρίεντες are, for Aristotle, the people of superior refinement whose model of happiness he contrasts with that of οἱ πολλοί. (NE 1095a18ff.)

Benefactions and gratitude became increasingly important in the cult of Demos and the Charites. In 122 B.C. the priest of the cult was also priest of the new benefactor, Roma, and during the Roman Empire the Charites represented the gratitude of the demos to the emperor.<sup>111</sup>

It was gratitude and reciprocity that came to be associated with the Charites in the minds of the philosophers in the fourth and third centuries B.C. In Aristotle we see a clear emphasis on the state of mind of the donor in cases of benefaction, something that was but barely discernible during the archaic period, when the focus was on the gift and its significance. For Aristotle, the pleasure surrounding the benefaction was derived from the pride taken in an action which benefitted the recipient; it was like the pleasure taken in one's handiwork.<sup>112</sup> But the freely-giving spirit was not the only ingredient crucial to social transactions where charis played a part, Aristotle acknowledged. An exchange of good for good bound citizens together in a healthy polis. This was why, said Aristotle, shrines of the Charites should be set up in a conspicuous place in the city -- so that there would be a prompting to return kind deeds (NE 8.1133a).

Epicurus focussed on the reciprocal pleasure gained from a charis-experience.<sup>113</sup> The state of mind, not only of the donor but of the receiver, became important to the Epicureans: an ungrateful recipient lost the pleasure of his gift in inviting the torment of a bad conscience.

For the Stoics, the obligation to return a charis was essential; the cycle of gift-giving was a heritage common to all, and a natural law. Gratitude

distinguished men from beasts (Xen. Cyr.VIII.49). The social context for charis was stressed: whoever disobeyed the law of charis left the circle of society, and lost rapport with others.<sup>114</sup> The Charites dancing in a circle with arms entwined became an allegorical model for Stoic reflections about charis.<sup>115</sup> Their arms entwined represented the unbroken chain of good deeds that return upon the donor. The eldest, most dignified, was the donor; the others represented the grateful recipient and the return-giver. All three were young, since good deeds ever recalled and renewed never grew old. All three were maidens, as gifts must never be spoilt or corrupted. They were unclothed, so as to be uninhibited in their giving and receiving. This dance was the incarnation of beneficia for the Stoics; the goddesses who distributed charis personified good deeds freely given, received and returned.

The dance of the Charites no longer summons up vegetation from the Underworld; it no longer appeases the chthonic powers and elicits the return-gifts of a fertile land and prosperity. The Charites, goddesses once known as 'awesome' (σεμναί), 'Queens' (βασιλείαι) (Pind. Ol.14.1), 'those of great name' (μεγαλόνομοι) (Orphic Hymn 60.1) and 'hallowed' (ἀγναί) (Sappho, frgs.53,103V), are now projected as symbols of a type of behaviour that is wholly human. What of the charis they distribute? In being secularized has charis lost its power, and does it bear any relation to the charis that figured so largely in the verses of the poets?

The answer to the first question is, of course, no. The Stoics, in allegorizing the Charites and their dance, were commemorating and encouraging an important social practice that would produce a healthy, thriving community, much as the dance unified and healed the earlier Greek communities, when they celebrated the

Charites for gifts which made their young flourish and their land prosper and thrive in the light of the sun and of divine favour.

The answer to the second question is vigorously affirmative. The charis sought and celebrated in the poets is often found in contexts where youth and vegetation flourish, bathed in the light of glory. Further, charis, like the gifts and pleasure distributed by the Charites, was often as reciprocal as it was social. The Charites were stewards, dispensing gifts between the dead and the living, between gods and men, or between living members of the same community. So the charis found in the poets often involves a social exchange between man and gods or between men and men. It represents that particular joy in giving which enriches both the donor and the recipient. It denotes a pleasure that is neither self-centred nor altruistic: these are modern distinctions born of a social fabric that is atomistic. In the molecular structure of archaic Greece charis would not be so divided.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The following survey of the Charites-cult is not meant to be exhaustive; it will examine only details that seem to shed light on the use of charis by the poets. For fuller studies of the cult, see E. Schwartzberg, Die Grazien (Bonn 1966), (hereafter: Schwartzberg); R.M.R. Fernandes, O Tema das Graças na Poesia Clássica (Lisbon 1962), (hereafter: Fernandes); and Maria Rocchi, "Contributi Allo Studio Delle Charites," Studi Classici, 18, 1979, 5-6, (hereafter: Rocchi 1979) and 19, 1980, 19-28, (hereafter: Rocchi 1980).
2. Pausanias, IX. 35.1,3; IX.38.1.
3. L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford 1909) 1.14.
4. Schwartzberg, p.10; M.Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion (Munich 1941) 1,186-187; Pausanias XIX.24.3.
5. Farnell, op.cit. (above, n.3) 15.
6. Jane Harrison, Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion (Cleveland 1962) 193.
7. Ibid., n.3.
8. Fernandes, 74-80.
9. Pausanias (IX.34.9) reports this as κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἑήμην. Earlier, he gives the apparently standard account that Eteocles was the son of Andreus (IX.34.9). Andreus, however, was said to be the son of the Thessalian river Peneius (Pausanias IX.34.6, and schol. ad Apoll.Rhod.II.1190).
10. Callimachus, fr.740 (Pfeiffer). Pausanias follows the account of the sanctuary established by Eteocles to honour the Charites with the mention of seeing a marvellous spring (IX.38.1). The Charites are called Θαλάσσιαι (Bergk, Anth.lyr. frg. adesp. 85), and their mother Eurynome is a daughter of Oceanus (Theogony 907).
11. Servius, Aen.I.720: "Acidalia Venus dicitur vel quia inicit curas, quas Graeci dicunt, vel certe a

fonte Acidalio qui est in Orchomeno Boeotiae civitate, in quo se Gratiae lavant, quas Veneri esse constat sacratas." Akidalia is the name of a nymph mentioned by Pindar (fr.244). Plutarch (Mor.301a-c) compares the Charites to the three Παρθέναι worshipped at the spring Akidusa. These maidens were the grand-daughters of King Eleon. This king's son had married a daughter of the Trojan river Scamander, and the pair gave birth to a son named Scamander. This son married Akidusa, named a spring after her, and gave birth to the three Παρθέναι. This looks like a local variant for the three Charites, sometimes given as the daughters of Eteocles, son of the river Cephisus. (Theocr. Id. XVI.10).

12. Homer (Il.IX.381) compares the gold and treasures flowing into the city of Orchomenos with those of Egyptian Thebes. The treasury of King Minyas, excavated by Schliemann (JHS 2 1881 134ff.) was one of the marvels of the world, according to Pausanias: Minyas, born four generations after Eteocles in Pausanias' account (IX.36.1-6), was the son of Chryses, and the grandson of a woman with an equally prosperous-sounding name, Chrysogeneia. Pausanias describes Minyas as having such large revenues that he exceeded in wealth all men before him. Strabo (IX.2.40) concurs that Orchomenos was rich in early times, and wielded great power.

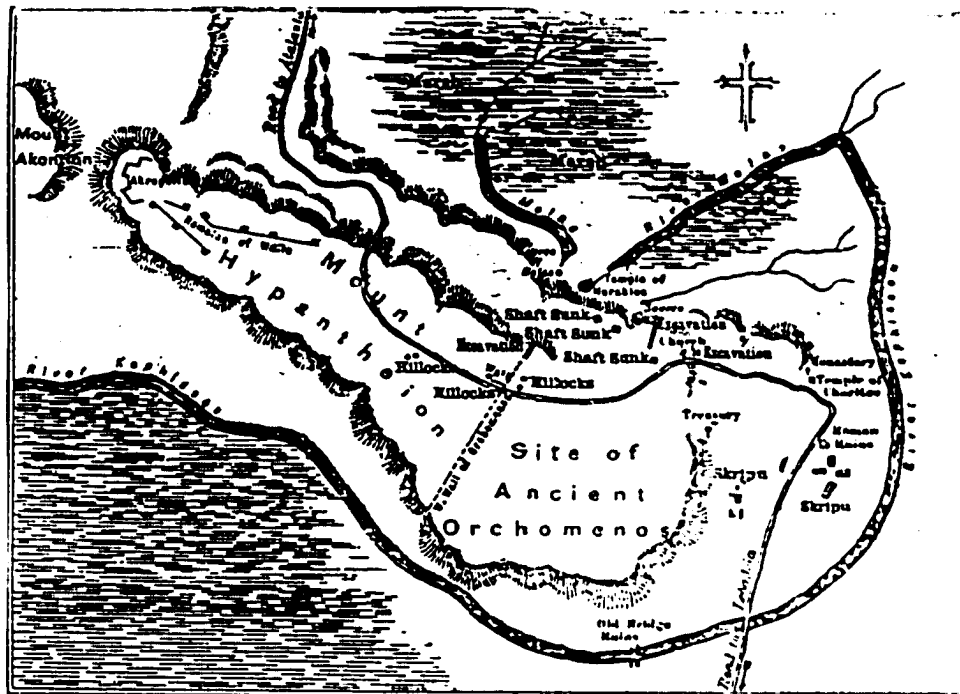
Vian, "La triade des rois d'Orchomène: Etéocles, Phlegyas, Minyas," Coll. Latomus 45, Hommage à Georges Dumézil (Brussels 1960) 221, argues that the succession of Orchomenian kings, Eteocles, Phlegyas (son of Ares and Chryse) and Minyas, was artificially inserted to represent the three Indo-European 'functions' of priest-king, warrior-king, and agricultural-king. He does not, however, doubt their historicity. The point remains that Orchomenos was rich and powerful in Minyan times. Such wealth was consolidated by agricultural prosperity and wars, and no doubt was regarded by the inhabitants as a reflection upon their good relations with the gods, especially the Charites.

13. The story is told in Apollodorus II.4.11.

14. Schliemann, op.cit. (above, n.12) 130.

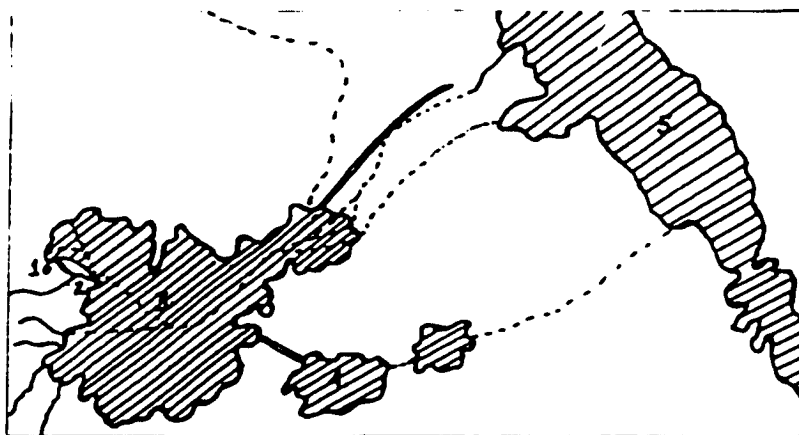


15.



MAP showing Lake Copais and basin, with site of ancient Orchomenos and temple of the Charites. (Taken from H. Schliemann, "Exploration of the Bœotian Orchomenos," *JHS* 2 (1881) p. 131)

16. The most recent bibliography on the dykes and drains managing the waters around Orchomenos is given in Rocchi, op.cit. 1979, 10, nn.58&59. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad (Oxford 1970) 28-39, date the treasury of Minyas and the drainage works to LHIII B, the floruit of Mycenaean Orchomenos corresponding to 'Gla and most Mycenaean centres'. The entry in the Catalogue of Ships they find to be considerably later, when the extensive settlement around Lake Copais has been confined to the northern shores. The terminus post quem they give for the catalogue is 1200 B.C. (165), providing a terminus ante quem for flourishing Mycenaean Orchomenos. The remains of the drainage works are best seen today around Gla, but in the last century the learned traveller W.M. Leake was able to observe the ventilation shafts sunk to the underground tunnels in the area around Orchomenos (Travels in Northern Greece (Amsterdam 1967, first published London 1835) 2.157). The following chart of the channels, natural and man-made, was printed in 1873:



1. Orchomenos
  2. River Cephissus
  3. Lake Copais
  4. Lake Hylia
  5. Strait of Euboea
- Natural channels  
 == Man-made channels

MAP of the Copais Basin, showing drainage channels  
 (taken from Win. Smith ed. Dictionary of Greek and  
 Roman Geography (London 1873) I. 411)

For an account of these underground channels (numbering 50 or more around Lake Copais) see K.D. Müller, Orchomenos und die Minyer (Breslau 1844) 43-66.

17. IG VII.3207. W.H. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (Cambridge 1902) 147-148, connects this tripod with others dedicated in the fourth and third centuries B.C., after ceremonies performed by a board of Boeotian magistrates. The places selected for dedications, he contends, were chosen by the koinon for political reasons. This suggests that the cult of the Charites, far from dying out at Orchomenos, had become politically significant. See also Rocchi, 15, n.102.

18. Nilsson, op.cit. (above n.4) 1.413, argues that the name 'Charisia' comes from dancing to celebrate the Charites, not just from the pleasure ( $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ ) taken in the honey-cakes, and links the Charisia with the dancing at Orchomenos mentioned by Euphorion (Pollux 4.95). Rocchi, 1979, 15, does not identify the Charisia with the agonistic Charitesia of the third century B.C., but includes the earlier festival under the cult at Orchomenos. Fernandes, 35 ff., finds that the evidence from Servius, from Euphorion, and from the general practice of dance in fertility cults, makes it highly likely that dancing was part of the cult at Orchomenos from the beginning, and that it is certainly plausible that the Charisia was held at Orchomenos.

19. IG VII.3195-3197. A. Schachter, The Cults of Boeotia (London 1981) 142, dates the inscription to between 90 and 70 B.C. It was published by M.C. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions at Cairness House," JHS 54 (1954) 159-162. Tod includes a bibliography on the Charitesia (161, n.107); this is updated by Schachter.

20. John Buckler, "The Charitesia at Boeotian Orchomenos," AJP 105 (1984) 49.

21. This Charitesia may have been a spring festival. If Schachter's contention, *op.cit.* (above, n.19) 143, is correct, that it was followed by the Homoloia, restricted games held in May/June the Boeotian month Homoloia, then natural growth around Orchomenos would be displaying itself with the same fresh vigour as the athletes. The Charites were connected with athletic competitions elsewhere; before the games at Eleusis, for example, a sacrifice was held for Hermes Enagonios and the Charites.

22. As Schwartzberg (10, n.28) points out, these gifts which honour the Charites contrast sharply with the tribute exacted from the Thebans by the successor of Eteocles, Erginus.

23. So Farnell, *op.cit.* (above n.5) 5.429: "Now it is likely that this aspect (the chthonic, dark side of the Charites found in Paros, Arcadia, etc.) derives from the original Orchomenian conception of them; for Orchomenos, the Minyan home, was probably the source whence the worship radiated."

24. Schwartzberg, 10, n.20.

25. Zielinski, "Charis and the Charites," CQ 18 (1924) 158, argues for "the incontestable kinship" between Charis and Charon, noting that the ferryman first appeared in the Minyad. The etymological connection is of course between  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  or  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$  and  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\iota$ , and need not support any other connection between Charon and the Charites. The ferryman may indeed have received his name from an antiphrasis of  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$  (Servius, ad Aen.VI.299). Heracles Charops may have had the bright look in his eyes not from his Underworld adventure, but because he resembled the victorious hunter as he led his prey up from below.

26. *Ibid.* 158-163.

27. *Ibid.* 160. The cheerful side of their names he explains as a euphemism, like "Eumenides, Euphrone, Melichios and others" (158). If this is so, the name of Euphrosyne may signal the darkness of her origin.

28. See also 621-622 and 635. It is of course possible that  $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  refers only to the favour of the Athenians who will protect Oedipus' bones (cf. Eurystheus' promise of help to Athens from his bones, if they give him burial, at the end of Eur. Heraclidae).

29. Zielinski cites Od.11.134, where Tiresias predicts that the people will be ἄλβιοι by the death of the hero Odysseus. For a discussion of kings transformed to heroes, and the need to appease them with libations, gifts etc., see Rhode, Psyche (London 1925) 123-124, 134-135. A more recent discussion of cult practices which were based on a belief in the good things offered by the dead heroes is found in W.Burkert, Greek Religion, (Cambridge, Mass. 1985) (hereafter: Burkert) 204-208. Burkert argues that the worship of heroes began in the eighth century, stemming directly from the influence of epic poetry. Failure to appease the dead risked arousing the wrath of the powerful hero, but proper appeasement could expect to produce all good things.

From tragedy, the following passages may be cited, as evidence for the power of dead heroes: Hel.913, 965, 1010, 1013, 1029; Hec. 530ff. (For evidence from the Oresteia see Chapter X, below. Zielinski (op.cit. (above, n.25) 162) adds Sept.702-705:

Θεὸς μὲν ἤδη πως παρημελήμεθα  
 χάρις δ' ἄφ' ἡμῶν ὄλεμένων θαυμάζεται  
 τί οὖν ἔτι ἂν δαίνωμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον;

He chooses to interpret the charis that will emanate from the dead hero, the Theban Eteocles, as a 'wonderful grace' that will compensate for the suffering he and his followers have undergone. Zielinski rejects the standard interpretation that charis here represents simply an offering to the gods who have so far forsaken him, citing Heracl. 1026ff. as parallel.

30. See Schwartzberg, 10,n.19, where he cites, for confirmation of his interpretation, P. Zancani-Montuoro in the Enciclopedia dell'Arte (Rome 1961) 4.675, fig.803. The Charites in the monument are shown in Schwartzberg, Taf.3.

31. Ibid. The Charites on the pinax are shown in Taf.2b.

32. Orphic Hymn, 43.7ff.

33. Jane Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (New York 1955) 288-289.

34. Jane Harrison, op.cit (above n.6) 192. For further discussions of the number of the Charites see Usener, "Dreiheit," Rh.Mus.58 1-47; Usener, Götternamen (Frankfurt 1948) 131, n.24; ed.Dodds, The Bacchae (Oxford 1970) ad v. 680; Fernandes, 15-20; Farnell, op.cit. (above n.3) 5.430.

35. Jane Harrison, *op.cit.* (above n.33) 289.
36. Farnell, *op.cit.* (above n.3) 5.426.
37. The confusion between the number and names of the Charites, the Horai and nymphs in Athens, as elsewhere, testifies to their original association with the same powers. Pausanias (IX.35.2-3) gives the names of the Athenian Charites as Auxo and Hegemone, while Athenians worshipped Karpo and Thallo as Horai. 'Pandrosus', he says, was the name elsewhere for Thallo. At IX.35.3 he says that there were not two but three Charites worshipped at the entrance to the Acropolis in a mystery-cult. Hyginus gives the canonical names for the Horai as Thallo, Auxo and Karpo (*Fabulae* CXXXIII). Pollux gives the names of the three maidens invoked by the Athenian ephebes when they took their oaths as Thallo, Auxo and Hegemone (Pollux 8.106). Because of the overlap in these names with those given by Pausanias as Charites, scholars readily assume that the oath of the ephebes was calling on the Charites (so Schwartzberg, 15, and Rocchi, 19.) Nymphs, Horai and Charites were all 'maiden triads' identified with vegetation-growth in the early phase of Greek religion. Nymphs, like the Charites, had chthonic powers. Fernandes, 85, points out that nymphs were originally 'fertility-demons', often portrayed as serpents.
38. Pausanias I.22.8, IX.35.9. For a full discussion of the debate over whether this was Socrates the philosopher, or another man, see Fernandes 40-41, and Schwartzberg 16-18, with a bibliography given in n.27.
39. Fernandes, 41 and n.42. A bas-relief from the Acropolis dating from the late archaic period shows Hermes leading three dancing maidens, probably the Charites, and a youth, who may represent the donor who set it up. Schwartzberg (18-19, n.45) gives a bibliography on the relief. Whether the small figure represents a single or a communal donor, the important point is that the Charites with Hermes are being commemorated by a gift.
40. Zielinski, *op.cit.* (above n.1) 159, talks about a 'branch establishment' between the two (mystical) cults. He gives no evidence for this, but perhaps he relies on Pausanias' claim that "from Eteocles of Orchomenos...we learned the custom of praying to three Charites" (IX.35.3). Fernandes, 76, suggests that both Athens and Orchomenos inherited a matriarchal chthonic cult of the Charites from Crete.

41. Zielinski, op.cit. (above n.25) 159: "the same divine being that as Hegemone leads the souls of the deceased to their eternal abode, or perhaps to the throne Unutterable, becomes as Auxo the thriving force of the upper-world nature." Mary Scott, in "Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns," Acta Classica 26 (1983) 1-2, writes about the Charites, their names and their connection with Hermes: "These names must, it seems, bear relation to the chthonic functions of the Charites as goddesses of vegetation, Auxo referring to growth, Thaleia to flowering, Karpo to harvesting, and possibly, Hegemone to growth in the sense of 'leading forth' the vegetation into the light of day. However, another possibility exists here. Hegemone may be explained as parallel to Hermes, the psychopompus or diaktoros, the 'leader of souls' with whom the Charites are often associated." But leading souls down and Persephone or vegetation upwards, and even leading young men and women into the full-flowering of adulthood need not be alternative functions. At a time when death and growth were not yet divorced, nor were vegetative and human growth, these powers resided quite comfortably with the same divinity, whether Hermes or maidens, and these would be designated as 'Hegemone'.

42. A bibliography of ancient sources relating the story is given in Schwartzberg, 4, n.3.

43. Ibid., n.4, where Schwartzberg gives a bibliography of modern scholarship on the Thasos-reliefs. See also Rocchi, 1980, 25.

44. This relief is reproduced in Schwartzberg, Taf.1.

45. Ibid., 5.

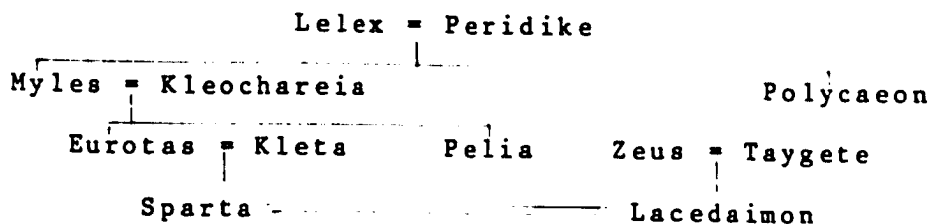
46. Ibid. 7, and n.19. Pindar (fr.95) links the Charites with Pan and the Great Mother.

47. So Rocchi, 1980, 27: "Prima di tutto c'è da dire che le Charites unite qui alle Eumenides con queste si contrappongono all'Erinyes." Rocchi cites for support the connection between the Eumenides and the death of Oedipus, in the OC, whose death will provide chthonic charis.

In this context, Prof. E. Robbins has drawn to my attention the possible linguistic parallel between Euphrosyne (< Εὐφροσύνη ) and the Eumenides (< Εὐ-μενῆς ) In both cases, there is a beneficent aspect cloaking a darker (chthonic) origin or reality. It is the case, however, that -δύνη formations are late, perhaps too late for the darker side to be suggested by a name.

48. See also Alcman, fr.223 (Calame), and Calame's commentary on this fragment, for further references to the Laconian cult.

49. A scholiast on Euripides' Orestes 626 gives us the detail that the plain had been flooded, and formed the stagnant waters that Eurotas drained to create his namesake river. The combined genealogy of Pausanias and the scholiast would be as follows:



Noteworthy is the name of the mother of Eurotas, 'Kleochareia', that shares with the name of her daughter-in-law 'Kleta' the designation of 'fame' ( $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma$ ) that would have been awarded to Eurotas for his engineering feat. It also contains the root char- shared by the Charites, one of whom was awarded the name 'Kleta' by Lacedaimon.

50. Athen.4.139 a-b. At the festival of the Cleaver in Sparta, nurses took young boys into the country, and in front of the image of Artemis Korythalia, whose temple was beside the fountain of Tiassis in the region towards Cleta, they celebrated the Cleaver. (Note the similarity between 'Tiassis' and 'Tiasa', the location of the sanctuary to the Charites; the place-name 'Cleta' was also the name of one of the Charites, and of the wife of Eurotas, n.49 above.)

51. Rocchi, 1979, 16, connects this function of Artemis Hegemone with Artemis Korythalia whose epithet 'Korythalia' referred to the laurel branches hung on the door of boys who were becoming young men, and of young bride-grooms. A connection between the Charites and athletic competitions may have been part of their cult at Amyclae. Pausanias (XVIII.18.6) mentions a pentathlon held at Amyclae, en route to which was the Lacedaimonian sanctuary to the Charites.

52. She would conduct the young through puberty, as she had conducted the good things of nature to and from the Underworld at an earlier stage of cult-celebration. The text of the oath, preserved in an inscription published by L. Robert in Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques (Paris 1939) and quoted by Fernandes, 45,n.61, is as follows:

Ἴστροσεὺς θεοὶ Ἀγλαυροῦς Ἑστία, Ἐνία, Ἐυσάλιος.  
 Ἄρες καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρεία, Ζεὺς Θαλλῶ, Αὐξῶ, Ἥγεμόνη  
 Ἡρακλῆς, ὄροι τῆς πατρίδος, πυροί, κριθαί, ἀμπέλι.  
 ἔλαια, βυκαί

Like the Athenian 'Hegemone', Artemis Hegemone near the Spartan dromos presided over young men as they came of age, proving themselves in physical competition. The Athenian youths prove their coming of age by taking the oath that admitted them to the polis. So, the Spartan Artemis Korythalia (above n.51) had her parallel in one of the Athenian Charites, 'Thallo', both divinities presiding over the coming of age of boys. Young girls were also under the protection of Artemis Hegemone in Sparta. Usener, Götternamen (Frankfurt 1948) 134, n.28, suggests that Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρτυσίας Ἥγεμόνης (Δελφίων ἀρχ. 7, 125) indicates that Artemis also guided young women through their rites of passage. 'Hegemone' calls to mind τὰ ἡγεμόσυνα, the rites of sacrifice offered in gratitude for safe conduct (LSJ s.v. ἡγεμόσυνα). Further, see Burkert, 445, n.12.

53. For fuller discussions of the names of the Charites and their genealogies, see Fernandes, 9-14.

54. Another maiden triad. See n.101, below.

55. Fernandes, 91. He does not however give evidence for Aglauros as a sun-goddess.

56. LSJ, s.v. ἀγλαυροῦς.

57. Hesych., s.v. Ἀίγλης.

58. Schwartzenberg, 59, n.28.

59. Usener, op.cit. (above n.33) 135.

60. Ibid.: "Aglaia, 'die helle' (eigentlich von schimmerndem glanz) war die göttin, die der landmann einstmals um heiteren himmel und sonnenschein anrief."

61. The three Cecropids, Aglauros, Herse and Pandrosus, combined in their names the elements of light and moisture necessary for vegetation-growth. The fertility they represented may have been induced by their dancing. In Euripides' Ion (492-502) these three maidens returned, after committing suicide, to dance on the grass below the Acropolis. The combination of death, light and fertility appears when maiden-triads are connected with Hermes. In some traditions, Aglauros and Herse are each married to Hermes. Pandrosus becomes the mother of Keryx (cf. the staff of Hermes, the kerykeion, a fertility symbol taken over from Near Eastern tradition, (Burkert, 158)). Toepffer



(RE, s.v. 'Aglauros') raises the possibility that the Athenian Cecropids may have been doublets for the Charites. Jane Harrison, op.cit. (above, n.32) 291, makes the identification of the Cecropids and the Charites, and refers to Hermes as 'Charidotes', "whose worship as the young male god of fertility, of flocks and herds, was so closely allied to that of the Charites." Eunapius, The Lives of the Sophists 458, refers to the Charites as Ἑρμῆϊκάαι Χάριτες. The agon at the Demeter-festival at Eleusis was preceded by a joint sacrifice to the Charites and Hermes (see n.21 above).

The connection between the Charites and Hermes was widespread, and can be explained by their joint chthonic powers over fertility. Hermes was worshipped in Elis as a phallos, and cavorted with nymphs on wooded mountains. There were common cults of Hermes and Aphrodite, for example at a shrine beside the temple to Hera on Samos (Burkert, 220, and nn.41-42; 366, n.17). As the representatives of male and female sexuality respectively, they were parents of Hermaphrodites (Mary Scott, op.cit. (above n.41) 12, n.15). Hermes was responsible for the multiplying of herds of sheep and goats (Burkert, 158, and nn.23-24). Whether through natural vitality or thievery, Hermes brought good fortune. He was, like the Charites, a 'giver of the good' (Burkert, 158). On votive-reliefs, Hermes and the Charites seem to have been commemorated for their gifts (see n.39 above). The chthonic function of Hermes is well-known. As psychopompus he led Persephone up from the Underworld (cf. the Charites in the anodos of Persephone, n.88 below), and commonly led souls of the deceased down to the world below. He was worshipped and invoked at libations to the dead, and was placed in charge of graves (Burkert, 158). As a fructifying god, however, Hermes could appear in the bright light of nature flourishing. His frequent epithet 'Argeiphontes' has been interpreted by D. Bremer, Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung (Bonn 1976) 111 and n.10, as 'standing in the light'. At H. Pyth. Apollo, 200, Hermes Argeiphontes is εὐκρονος. His own connection with light helps him to see well. At Od. 5.75 Hermes Argeiphontes stands still in admiration, amidst the lush meadows of Calypso that grew soft with violets and parsley.

The Cecropids, the Charites and Hermes all appear to have participated in that combination of light, moisture, and Underworld power that ensured fertility in early Greece.

62. Apollo represented the vigour and beauty of the young male, and exhibits it in the dance. One of the earliest temples dedicated to him, in Thermos (Anatolia), was the site of an initiation festival for

young epheboi. Apollo akersekomas appears in the Iliad, as the epitome of boy-entering-manhood. (Burkert, 145).

63. Herodotus cites two, either Arge and Opis, or, later, Hyperoche and Laodice. Callimachus, Hymn to Delos 291, adds a third.

64. M. Nilsson, Griechische Feste von Religiöser Bedeutung (Milan, 1975) 207, n.4.

65. Pausanias IX.35.3. R.Pfeiffer, "The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics," JWI 15 (1952) 21, dates this between 650-550 B.C. Ps-Plutarch, De Mus. 1136A adds that each of the Charites was holding a musical instrument -- one a lyre, one a shepherd's pipe, and one a double flute.

66. Ps-Plutarch assigned the bow and the Charites to the reverse hands of Apollo, but Pfeiffer, *ibid.* 21, endorses the Macrobius account as being derived from Greek and Latin scholarly works, while Ps-Plutarch based his account on a third century B.C. compiler.

67. Although the interpretation of Macrobius (I.17.13) is late (ca.400 A.D.), the same view was found in Philo, On the Embassy to the Emperor Gaius, 39-40 A.D. (Pfeiffer, *op. cit.* (above n.65) 21). Pfeiffer also presents fr.114 of Callimachus' Aitia (P.Oxy.2208, fr.3) as evidence for the interpretation of Macrobius as authentic. Supplementing the text from Ps-Plutarch, Macrobius and Philo, Pfeiffer finds in the fragment a dialogue-epigram, where an interlocutor questions Apollo about why he carries his bow in his left hand, but the 'comely' Charites in his right hand. The god answers that it is because he is slower to chastise mortals for their ὑβρις, but is 'always disposed to distribute pleasant things' (Pfeiffer, *ibid.*, 26-27). Callimachus, πολυῖδρεΐη, had access to the treasures of Greek literature in the two great Alexandrian libraries (Pfeiffer, *ibid.*, 25). It may be, then, that this interpretation was an early one, although whether it was intentionally portrayed by the sculptor in the seventh century B.C. is highly unlikely.

The fact that the cult statue of Apollo was girdled, in a style parallel to Kouroi of the seventh century B.C. leads Pfeiffer to conclude that the Delian statue dates from the seventh or early sixth century B.C. (*ibid.* 29). Pfeiffer feels confident that the three female figures with musical instruments are Charites, not Muses. The Charites are associated with music in the poets, and they seem to have been particularly worshipped at Delos, receiving special offerings (*ibid.* 29, n.2). Apollo and the Charites were

probably linked in cult on Delos, but the allegorical interpretation of the statue likely began only in the Hellenistic period (ibid. 30). Pindar, however, early in the fifth century B.C., has the Orchomenian Charites place their seats beside Apollo of the golden bow ( $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\tau\omicron\zeta\omicron\nu$ ) on Olympos, while they performed as stewards of good things (O.14.16: the schol. ad loc. has the Charites sit on the right hand side of Apollo at Delphi).

The juxtaposition of blessings with pain is found with the Charites from the early archaic period to 400 A.D. The Charites are connected with the powerful radiant god who could also cause suffering (as he does in Il.I), but they represent the distribution of good things. The allegorization that makes the Charites the symbol of a particular disposition of Apollo, namely to "confer charis (favour) to good men" (Pfeiffer, ibid. 30) was but a refinement of the ancient belief in the goddesses as agents for the god of the bright sky, represented by Aglaia.

68. See Burkert, 145-146.

69. The healing music, the paieon, appeases Apollo's wrath. Its origin seems to have been in Crete, whence it was exported to Sparta in the seventh century B.C. (Burkert, 145-146).

70. Burkert, 147, 219.

71. Escher, RE 3.2152.IV.4 'Chariten'.

72. O. Jahn, "Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken," D.A.W. 19 (1870) 38, argues that the Charites represented the force of nature which cured those who had presented ex-votos. Others have claimed that the healing Charites were local goddesses, and represented a force vitale that restored health (Fernandes, 99, n.108; 100, n.111).

73. The votive-reliefs of the Charites and Asclepius are mentioned by Escher, RE 2158.VI.10. At Euboea a funerary inscription, dating from the second century A.D. but whose tradition may be ancient (Rocchi, 1980, 27) implores the protection of 'the Erinyes, Charis and Hygeia' (SIG 3.1240, 21, 26)

74. Ch. Picard, Les religions préhelléniques. (Crète et Mycènes) (Paris 1948) 87. Jane Harrison ("Delphika," JHS 19 (1899) 237) points out that healing was one of the powers attributed to sacred stones. We have no evidence for the association of healing powers with the Orchomenian Charites, however.

75. Burkert, 102: "Rhythmically repeated movement, directed to no end and performed together as a group, is, as it were, ritual crystallized in its purest form." Lillian Lawler, The Dance in Ancient Greece (London 1964) 13: "A large number of the dances of the Greeks can be traced back ultimately to religious rituals. It is highly probable that not only the major deities but almost every local spirit or divinity as well, was on occasion honoured with a ritual dance of some sort."

76. Burkert, 103: "In the groups of Nymphs or Charites, in the bands of Kouretes, and even in the case of the dance-loving satyrs, divine archetype and human reality are often virtually inseparable, except that what for man is the short-lived blossom of youth attains permanence in the mythical-divine archetype." Cf. Plato, Laws 2, 653 D-E; 672 D; 673 D, where he reflects the earlier Greek view that the dance arose from the natural desire of the young of all creatures to move their bodies in a circle, to express their emotions, especially joy.

77. Burkert, 102: "Not a single ancient initiation festival can be found that is without dancing." See also *ibid.* 388, n.30.

78. Fernandes, 59; Burkert, 219. This mimetic magic required the dancers to be young: the crane dance was performed by girls and boys.

79. Fernandes, 59. The Muse: did of course dance, and one was called 'Terpsichore', 'she who takes delight in the dance'. Another Muse was called 'Thalia', as was one of the Charites, suggesting that at an early phase they, like the Charites, combined music and the dance with the flourishing of natural beauty.

80. Fernandes, 89. Lawler, *op. cit.* (above n.75) 32: "The Cretans evidently believed that their great goddess could be induced by prayer, offerings and ritual dances to appear to them."

81. *Ibid.*, 45: "the like of which are found among the wedding dances and agricultural rituals of primitive peoples of all ages."

82. The connection between dancing, death and fertility was a feature of celebrations in Crete during the Minoan period. Paved dancing places were laid out next to tombs, which became cult-centres for the community. Burkert (33) suggests that the upright clay cylinders found there may have been phalloi, and points

out that "Dancing in the precincts of the dead renews the will to life."

83. K. Latte, De Saltationibus Graecorum capita quinque (Giessen 1913) 72. M. Nilsson, *op.cit.* (above n.4) 315, distinguishes Minoan divinities from Greek gods in that the former die.

84. Although the etymology of 'Orchomenos' is not clear. IG VII.3201 refers to the city as 'Erchomenos'.

85. Akidalia/Akidusa etc., above n.11.

86. Latte, *op.cit.* (above n.83) 72.

87. *Ibid.* 73. Cf. Plato, Laws VII.804 A-B: "the heavenly powers will suggest to them all else that governs sacrifice and the dance, -- in honour of what gods and at what seasons respectively they are to play and win their favour, and thus mold their lives according to the shape of their nature, inasmuch as they are puppets for the most part, yet share occasionally in truth." (tr.R.G. Bury).

88. Orphic Hymn 43,7ff (Kern). With this may be compared an anodos of the hero Dionysos, accompanied by the Charites, celebrated in the hymn of the Elian women (Plut. Quaest Gr.36). See Rocchi, 1980, 24-25.

89. The Charites are also called νεμυαί in Pindar (Ol.14.8.fr.95.4). νεμυαί was the traditional epithet of the Erinyes (e.g. Soph. Ajax 837; OC 90, 458).

90. Burkert, 161.

91. This is not meant to suggest that the sequence of favour-exchange between the living and the dead or between men and gods necessarily entailed the presence of Charites, nor the description of the event as charis. Frequently, but by no means always, gifts or thank offerings to the Underworld were called charites (see Ch.X for examples from the Oresteia; also Euripides' Helen 173-179, where Helen sends charites to Persephone in the form of a dirge, and asks for the return-favour of fellow-mourners). I suggest only that this practice may have been enshrined in cult at Orchomenos, and informed the experience of charis later, when it was confined to the exchange of pleasure among the living, when the Charites moved to Olympos, the realm of light, and became the daughters of Zeus.

92. Ἐλθέ μοι, ὦ Δέσποινα φίλη, τριπρόσωπε Σελήνη·

....

ἢ Χαρίτων τριῶν τριῶν μορφαῖσι χορεύεις

(Orphic Hymn VI 6)

93. IG II<sup>2</sup>.5050: Ἴέρως Χαρίτων καὶ Ἀργέμιδος  
Ἐπιπυργιδίας πυρφόρου. J.H. Oliver, Demokratia, the  
Gods and the Free World (Baltimore 1960) 107, dates the  
inscription to 20 B.C. For other inscriptional  
evidence linking the Charites and Hecate in cult see  
Fernandes, 42, n.46. Also T. Kraus, Hekate (Heidelberg  
1960) 85, n.415 and 150-152.

94. At Rhodes and Thera she was invoked as the  
Saviour-Goddess of the Crossroads: Ἐλευσία  
ζώτερα Φύσ|φορε... . See Kraus, *ibid.*, 28, n.108; 78,  
n.383.

95. Burkert, 202: "Most of all, the opposition  
between Olympian and Chthonic constitutes a polarity in  
which one pole cannot exist without the other and in  
which each pole only receives its full meaning from the  
other."

96. Burkert, 204: "Myth has separated into two  
figures what in the sacrificial ritual is present as a  
tension."

97. *Ibid.*, 195 (of the dead): "The anger of the dead  
is particularly feared -- they must be appeased and  
kept in good spirits by continual offerings:  
meilissein, hilaskesthai."

98. Il.XIX.260; III.278. See Burkert, 97, n.31. So,  
Op.803, where the Erinyes assist at the birth of Orcos,  
'Oath'.

99. Cf. Soph. OC 1752-1753 (quoted above p.70), for  
the juxtaposition of nemesis with chthonic charis.

100. For the juxtaposition of νέμειν with charis see  
Soph. Ajax 1371. The Charites are 'dispensers'  
(ταμίαι) of good things on Olympus (Pindar, Ol.14.9).

101. The sequence can be followed in Escher's summary  
in RE (s.v. 'Charites' VII): From the chthonic stage  
they became vegetation goddesses who were responsible  
for the growth of plant-life, particularly through  
their connection with water (2) then patrons of human  
society, in particular of youth and marriage, of  
healing, of gratitude and music/dance (3).

102. Et. Magn. s.v. Γαμηλία . On the third day of this festival (the κουρεῶτις ), boys sacrificed to Artemis κουρότροφος and were presented to their phratrai (LSJ, s.v. κουρεῶτις ). Young girls made the sacrifice (τὰ γαμηλία ) to the divinities presiding over marriage -- Hera, Aphrodite and the Charites γαμηλῖαι . Rocchi, 1980, 20, draws the parallel between this and the oath of the ephebes, who invoked the Charites at the moment of their entry into the citizenry. LSJ assume the youth are children, Rocchi that these are young couples about to marry. Important for this study is the connection between the Charites and the aspirations of the young for a successful marriage. At Hipp. 1147 the Charites are called σὺζύχαι . A scholiast interprets this as equivalent to γαμηλῖαι . Fernandes (97) follows the scholiast, interpreting this as signifying their blessing over the unity and harmony between married couples. E.W. Bushala, " Σὺζύχαι Χάριτες Hippolytus 1147," TAPA 100.(1969) 25ff., disagrees, arguing that σὺζύχαι refers to the ancillary status that the Charites held in their relationship to Aphrodite. Bushala does, however, acknowledge the functions of love and marriage that were identified with the Charites, and the common association of ζυγ - with 'marital or amatory union'.

103. Schwartzberg, 21, n.18, argues that the Charites would be followers of Hera as the goddess of marriage.

104. From the François vase and Quint. Smyrn. IV.140.

105. Schwartzberg, 21, n.17.

106. John Bell in "God, Man and Animal," Greek Poetry and Philosophy, Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury (Chico 1984) 12, says of the presence of the Charites at the weddings of Pelias and Thetis and Cadmus and Harmonia, "by their presence they may be thought to sanction and promise fulfilment to the sexual union of mortal and immortal." Harmony and fruitfulness are both signs of a marriage brought to fulfilment.

107. Fernandes, 97, n.99, who cites Maximus of Tyre, Philos. XIX.1 and Arian, Cyn. 35.2.

108. Pausanias IX.35.6; Nonnus, Dion. XXIV.263ff.; Plut. Mor. 138c; Schol. Ar. Nub. 773a; Schol. Hes. Op. 73. See Schwartzberg, 20 and nn.16-17.

109. See Schwartzberg, 33, n.1. Oliver, op.cit. (above n.93) 106: "as I believe, the Athenian cult of the Demos and Graces stands for various manifestations of the concordia civilis."

110. Here statues of *Πρόξενου* and *εὐέρχεται* were set up (Schwartzzenberg, 33).

111. Ibid., 36 and n.25; 37 and n.29.

112. NE 1168a; cf. Seneca, De Beneficiis IV.152: "love your good deeds like your children."

113. From *Περί Δώρων καὶ Χάριτος* a fragment reads: "in giving is great beauty, but there is also great joy in receiving; nothing brings greater happiness than charis." See Schwartzzenberg, 60.

114. Several ancient authors drew upon Chrysippus' *Περί Κατορθωμάτων* for this. Schwartzzenberg gives a bibliography at 64, n.10.

115. Originating with Chrysippus and largely preserved in Seneca (De Beneficiis, I.3,2-10). Schwartzzenberg (67) suggests that Chrysippus' interpretation may have been a systematic application of Zeno's thought, later developed by Cleanthes. Chrysippus may also have been drawing symbolic inferences from a painting by Polygnotus on the walls of the Stoa (Schwartzzenberg, 69-70).



CHAPTER FOUR  
CHARIS IN HOMER

### Argument

An examination of the earliest Greek texts we possess, the epics of Homer, finds charis-pleasure presenting itself in two guises, as attractiveness or allurement (charm), and as mutual favouring, between mortals and/or gods. The first type is found in the feeling of general well-being that people experienced with each other at a feast, or in the pleasure they took in the charis of youth, of civilized behaviour or speech, or of physical beauty. Like τὸ καλόν, 'Beauty', the early Greeks found charis in both aesthetic and ethical experiences. When charis was added to physical beauty, the effect was immediate and direct: the initial astonishment of the perceiver led to actions that complied with the wishes of the possessor of charis. The charis-exchange, on the other hand, amounted to a kind of positive lex talionis, where the displacing of a social equilibrium by the conferring of charis had to be corrected by a return-charis. In this way, charis participated in the principle of symmetry which pervaded, indeed governed, the archaic world. Restoring the balance involved a careful calculation of the benefits dispensed, hence owed. The exigency of this calculation was due to the importance of obtaining honour, time, in the archaic world, and with publicly-bestowed charis one received time. Hence, Homeric soldiers conferred charis on their commanders and comrades by exemplary fighting, but expected the appropriate charis in return. The same charis-exchange obtained between men and gods, producing a partisan bond that motivated much of the action in the epics.

A close examination of how this reciprocal charis operates in Homer challenges the theories of A.W.H. Adkins and a successor, Mary Scott, who contend that Homeric heroes were driven primarily by the urge to compete with each other for time. While time governed the desire for charis, this must be seen against the backdrop of social, not individual, performance; social constraints were imposed in Homeric society through the awarding of praise and blame, and underscored the interdependence, not the independence, of individuals. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the central conflict of the Iliad, that between Achilles and Agamemnon, who are inextricably bound to each other by the necessity to comply with the social convention of the charis-exchange.

The charis of allurements, and the charis of mutual favours have in common the social effect of this kind of pleasure: a response issues from an experience of charis, whether this involves erotic activity (Zeus and Hera), a demonstration of gratitude (Hera and Hypnos) or a return-charis (Achilles and Agamemnon). Charis 'quickens' people's response to one another; it is, as O. Löw argued, a transitiva vis.

A considerable contribution to the study of charis in Homer was made in 1972, with the submission of a doctoral thesis by J.W. Franzmann, entitled The Early Development of the Greek Concept of Charis (University of Wisconsin). Franzmann demonstrates a close affiliation between charis (and its congeners) and the heroic values of arete and time in Homer, pointing out the fact that there was an implicit understanding of a reciprocal obligation underlying acts of charis between men, and between men and gods. While acknowledging the contribution of Franzmann, I believe that the analysis can be pressed further, to elicit more insight into Homeric society from a study of charis and to resolve some ambiguities in the texts.

As the Charites functioned where human society flourished, so, where the social group in Homer demonstrated its vitality and exuberance, the scene was full of charis, and was χαρίεις. Odysseus joins the Phaeacians, the ideal society in the epics, and sums up a scene of feasting redolent with charis:

A beautiful thing (τόδε καλόν) it is, to listen to such a minstrel as this, with a voice like the gods'. I declare there is no fulfilment more full of charis (οὐ γὰρ ... τέλος χαριέστερον) than when joy (εὐφροσύνη) penetrates everywhere throughout the δῆμος, and banqueters sitting in due order listen to a minstrel. Beside them the tables are laden with food and drink, and the cup-bearer drawing wine from the bowl carries it and pours it into the cups. This seems to me somehow to be the most beautiful thing known in one's understanding (τοῦτο τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι).

(9<sup>1</sup>.3-11)

Listening to music, knowing the joy of being together with plenty of food and drink, is described as the ultimate in complete social gratification (οὐ γὰρ ... τέλος χαριέστερον)<sup>2</sup> Joy, that total delight that gave its name to one of the Charites, (εὐφροσύνη) seized the Phaeacians (ἔχθη κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα). The

whole experience was one which stimulated total enjoyment; it was registered not only in the senses (κάλλιστοι), but in the understanding (φρεσίν).

χαρίεις and καλός are the adjectives most appropriate to encompass both sensory and mental awareness of aesthetic and ethical beauty, something that was of consummate value to the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> The sharing of joy at being together could be complemented by shared contributions to the meal (e.g. 1.226); a recognition of the social bond created by this communal meal caused the word ἔρανος to be used eventually for other forms of social obligation.<sup>4</sup>

Music was as essential to this complete satisfaction as was the physical comfort of generous food and drink. A song should gratify an audience, says Alcinous (8.538); if it cannot bring charis-pleasure (χαρίζομενος) it should be stopped. The ethical content of the song should be appropriate, or it cannot provide the pleasure. Hence a song about Clytemnestra who plotted evil for her husband would be a hateful song (στυχερή ... ἀοιδή), says the ghost of Agamemnon at 24.200. But a song about Penelope, who was faithful and mindful only of good things for her husband, will be a χαρίεσσα ... ἀοιδήν (198) and a song that will join men with the gods (the greatest hope of mortals), for the gods will themselves stimulate this song among men forever. The result will be the immortalizing of Penelope's arete (197). Song as ethically appropriate, immortalizing and able to link men and gods, is an idea developed by the epinician poets, who spoke of songs as charites (see Ch. IX), but was clearly fixed in the Greek mind when this passage was composed.

The Charites represented the flourishing of human society not only at the feast but as it presented itself in the allurements of youth (see above, Ch.III).

Similarly, *χαρίεις* describes the disguise of Hermes when he presents himself on a persuasive mission twice in the epics. He takes on the winsome disguise of a young man just reaching puberty, described as *χαριεστάτη ἥβη*, that moment of youth that is most full of the pleasure the Greeks took in human fulfilment and beauty (10.279; XXIV.348).

Often this beauty that was described as *χάρις*, *χαρίεις* or associated with the Charites, was a beauty that sparkled or glistened, a witness to the Greek fascination with light and things luminous.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Penelope uses *ἀχλαΐη* (which later became the name of one of the Charites) as synonymous with beauty: the gods destroyed all her natural lustre when Odysseus departed, and she rejects the advice of Eurynome to add a surface sheen by washing and anointing her body (18.178-181). When Hera dresses for the seduction of Zeus, she fastens on drop earrings from which much charis gleams:

ἐν δ' ἄρα ἔρματα ἦκεν εὐτρήτοισι λαβοῖσι  
 τρίγλινα μορόεντα · χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πελλή.  
 (XIV.182-183)

The line is repeated at 18.298, to describe the earrings given Penelope by a hopeful suitor. Like the other gifts presented to her by Ithacans aspiring to her hand, such as robes with gold brooches or gold chains with amber beads 'as bright as the sun' (18.293-296), the earrings' principal attraction, which accounted for their beauty, was their sparkle.<sup>6</sup> Sparkling clothing was frequently associated with the robing of a beautiful goddess.<sup>7</sup> The successful attempt at allurement was achieved by beauty whose effect was transmitted by light.

Charis-beauty emanates from men as well as women. Odysseus and Telemachus each receive a kind of divine unction from Athene that is called a charis. With

their consequent attractiveness, Odysseus and Telemachus have an immediate effect on their beholders, not unlike the success of a woman shining with charis. Odysseus, after encountering Nausicaa and her handmaidens on the shores of Scheria, bathes himself and covers himself with oil and clothing that the young princess provides for him (6.224ff.). But the culmination of his effect, like the ἀγλαΐη of Penelope, has a divine origin.<sup>8</sup> Athene magnifies his size and strength, curls his locks, and sheds charis over his head and shoulders (229-235).<sup>9</sup> This Homer compares to the work of a craftsman trained by Hephaistos or Athene, who overlays gold upon silver, producing works that are full of charis: χαρίεντα ... ἔργα (234). Odysseus sets himself apart from the young woman, and 'glistens' with charis and beauty (κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβει, 237). The result of this is that Nausicaa gazes at him in astonishment (ὄηειρο δὲ κόρυρη, 237). This is the implication of the comparison of Odysseus' unction with overlaying gold upon silver: human beauty is crowned by divine. The result is success for Odysseus, like the success accomplished by Hera with her sparkling earrings: Nausicaa is attracted by Odysseus' beauty, wishing she could have such a husband (244-246), and prepares for him what he most desires, food and drink (246) and the means to enter the city and speak to her father. As king of the Phaeacians he can grant the wherewithal for a passage home to Ithaca (289-290).

Athene repeats her transformation of Odysseus just before he is to appear before the assembly of the Phaeacians, where Alcinous will instruct them to prepare a ship for the hero's return to Ithaca. As she 'touched up' Odysseus' beauty to procure what he needed from Nausicaa and her handmaidens, so she made him taller and sturdier (8.19) in the eyes of the

Phaeacians, and covered his head and shoulders with charis, so that he would appear as a φίλος to them (8.21). Her aim was that he should inspire aidos and awe, as δεινός and αἰδέσιος (22), among these strangers, who would test him in contests before they would acquiesce in his requests (22-23). For this he needed to appear not hostile, but strong and set apart as being beyond the pale of ordinary mortals -- awesome.

This same need to appear impressive before a trial confronts Odysseus just before one of the most dramatic moments of the Odyssey, the recognition-scene between Odysseus and Penelope. The long-abandoned and wary Penelope will not concede readily that the slayer of the suitors is her long-absent husband, and she will shortly test his claim to be Odysseus (23.177ff.). To prepare for this, Odysseus is bathed and anointed with oil by the nurse, then Athene pours much beauty down over his head and shoulders (156), increasing his size and stature (157) and bathing him with charis (162). The objective, although not made explicit by Homer, is to 'soften up' Penelope to accept this man as her husband: his heroism in slaying the suitors was not sufficient, and he needed the disarming effect of divinely-instilled beauty.

Telemachus, the young son of Odysseus, also receives a divine unction from Athene. Telemachus called an assembly of Ithacans and the suitors, the first assembly since the departure of Odysseus for the Trojan War. Although Telemachus had not been able to exercise the authority of his father and to oust the suitors from the palace, he is fortified by Athene and urged to shed his childish ways, assuming the role of an adult and rightful heir (1.296-297). He enters the assembly hall bathed in 'wondrous charis' shed over him by Athene (2.12). The immediate effect is that all



those assembled are astonished; like Nausicaa on the beach, they marvel at the sight of him (Θηεῦντο, 2.13). As he sits in his father's seat, the elders give way (14). One of these, Aegyptius, speaks first, preparing for the address by Telemachus, describing him to the assembly as a 'good man' (εὖθλόος) and one who has received (divine) help (ὀνήμενος, 33). He offers the public wish that Zeus may fulfil for him (τελέσειεν) whatever he desires (ὅτι φρεσὶν ἦεν μενοειχῆ, 34). Telemachus, like Odysseus on the shore, disarms his beholders by the divinely-bestowed beauty overlaid upon his natural attractiveness (1.301), the first step towards gaining what he desires.<sup>10</sup>

The effect of the charis of divinely-bestowed beauty is to disarm the beholder. Natural barriers that exist between people are broken down by the powers of charis. This can happen with attractive speech as well as with physical attractiveness. At 8.169ff. the man with effective speech speaks with αἶσσι μελιχίῃ. This is in sharp contrast to the man for whom no charis garlands his words: the second type arouses the hostility of Odysseus (179). The disarming effect of charis, which frequently allies it with aidos, makes it a social, not a private, pleasure.<sup>11</sup>

This same 'social' dimension manifests itself in Homer where charis refers to a 'favouring' or a reciprocal gift exchanged between two mortals or between a mortal and a god.

The heroes in the Iliad performed exemplary acts of courage on behalf of their commanders, and this is described as 'bringing charis' to them.<sup>12</sup> This charis-pleasure was not an emotion in which the commander would simply indulge himself, but it created a bond between him and his subordinates that induced him to lead his troops responsibly in battle, and to reward them with an appropriate share of the spoils. Off the

battlefield, the same sense of reciprocal advantage held between friends, or between children and parents (e.g. I.572, where the phrase ἦρα φέρω is used, equivalent to χάριν φέρω, and IV.477-478, Θρέπτρα ἀπέδωκε).<sup>13</sup> It also held between husband and wife, as we can see from XI.241-242, where a dying young soldier is described as having 'seen no charis' from his bride, although he had 'given much' (see below, p.107, n.14).

Charis-partisanship caused friction among the gods. Ares complains that the favouritism Athene showed Diomedes, 'bringing charis to men' led to the wounding of the war-god (V.874). Athene acknowledges this favouritism with another charis-word at 826-828: because Diomedes brings particular pleasure to her thymos (κεχαριζμένε θυμῷ) she will be his champion. Poseidon rebukes Apollo for favouring the descendants of Laomedon with charis. The two gods had helped in building the walls for Laomedon's Troy and in herding his cattle, but the symmetrical benefits characteristic of a charis-favouring did not accrue from their kindness; instead of the payment they expected, they were threatened and forcefully sent off by the king without pay (XXII.441-60). Similarly, Menelaus charges Zeus with impropriety in rewarding the Trojans' hybris with charis:

οἶον δὴ ἀνδρῶσσι χαρίζεσθαι ὑβριστῆσι  
Τρωσίν, τῶν μένος αἰὲν ἀτάσθαλον

(XIII.633-634)

Zeus can presumably not rely upon return benefits from the Trojans, people who show no restraint, and who act in an uncivilized manner.

The partisanship expressed by the verb χαρίζεσθαι was usually based on the expectation of reciprocal favours. Such a sequence of favours establishes a charis-relationship: an initial charis-action in the past provokes a charis-response and establishes a bond

between two individuals. This was the basis for the expectation of partisan acts of goodwill at any time.<sup>14</sup> Hence it is not surprising to find *χαρίζεσθαι* used in the perfect tense, when this charis-bond has been created.<sup>15</sup> Achilles and Briseis reflect this intimacy with Patroclus with the words *τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ* (XI.608 = XIX.287), and Sthenelaos, Athene and Agamemnon use the same phrase to address Diomedes, in the hope that they can make a claim on the basis of their close relationship with the warrior (V.243 = V.826 = X.234).<sup>16</sup>

The giving of gifts in the ancient world, quite apart from its being obligatory between *ξείνων*, was an admission of the mutual advantage to be gained in the transaction. Mortals offered them to the gods, in the hope of getting support or to make amends for some offence which threatened the relationship between them, and they offered them to each other with the conscious expectation of a return-gift.<sup>17</sup> Gifts possessed charis; *χαρίεντα δῶρα* is a phrase that is almost formulaic in Homer. Sometimes the import of the epithet is the strong obligation to return the pleasure borne by the gift. Hera is outraged at Poseidon's inaction on behalf of the Greeks, and this notwithstanding their having offered him *δῶρα* /... *πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα* (VIII.203-204). But *χαρίεις* is an epithet which, like the noun charis, could also refer to things which, by their very attractiveness, produced a pleasurable response, breaking through any natural resistance between people. "The gods do not give *τὰ χαρίεντα* to all men," says the angry Odysseus in response to the taunts of Euryalus (8.167ff). These *χαρίεντα* he specifies as attractiveness in physique (*φύη*), in one's mind (*φρένες*) or in public-speaking (*ἀγορηγύς*). Odysseus specifies the response which such gifts can evoke. One who receives *τὰ χαρίεντα* in

public-speaking is 'gazed upon as a god'; one whose words are not garlanded with charis provokes displeasure, not pleasure. The ability to command admiration by one's speech would confer power on the speaker, like the unction of charis poured over Odysseus and Telemachus, and this amounts to a generalized 'return' for the charis of attractiveness, for being *χαρίεις*. But this must be distinguished from the almost contractual reciprocity of mutual favours that went by the name of charis. What these two aspects of charis have in common is the power of this kind of pleasure to provoke a social response.

Symmetry and reciprocity pervaded almost every aspect of the archaic Greek world, and it is no surprise that the natural response of pleasure-for-pleasure in charis frequently developed into a conscious practice that could be said to be governed by dike, by the principle of 'exacting one's due'. So important was the phenomenon of reciprocity in the Homeric world that I consider it worth a digression from the uses of charis in Homer to look at this more closely, so that these occurrences of charis may be seen in the wider context of archaic thought.

Walter Donlan, in "Reciprocities in Homer," CW 75 (1982) 137-175, sets the (admittedly hybrid) Homeric society in its sociological context, drawing parallels from similar cultures. Following closely the analysis of the social anthropologist M. Sahlins, Donlan characterizes three types of reciprocity functioning in the Homeric world: (i) generalized reciprocity, i.e. altruistic giving, (ii) balanced reciprocity i.e. a direct exchange, where the equivalent value is carefully calculated, and (iii) negative reciprocity, i.e. getting something for nothing, e.g. raiding. The most common type of reciprocity in Homer by far is 'balanced'. The symmetry of balanced reciprocity took

two forms, distinguished by Donlan: (i) compensatory, i.e. the recompense for excellence or injury which maintained a peaceful equilibrium in the Homeric world, (ii) compactual, e.g. philos- or xenos-relationships, or gift-exchanges, also vital to the maintenance of peace and amity. In both compensatory and compactual reciprocity, material awards were stressed: goods were balanced against deeds (151). Warriors were compensated equally, by their commanders or their comrades, for services rendered on their behalf. They were given a share of the spoils from a raid, with an extra portion, a  $\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , awarded to the leader or to the outstanding warrior (158). In the double distribution system, by the group and by the individual leader, the seeds of strife were sown, compounded by the competing rights to a  $\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$  that could be claimed by a leader and by a superior soldier.<sup>18</sup> This ambiguity in the system of political control in the epics is due, in Donlan's analysis, to the fact that Homeric society was in transition between two political systems, the (egalitarian) tribal and the (hierarchical) chiefdom (161).<sup>19</sup>

Donlan's contribution to the understanding of the central conflict of the Iliad, that between Agamemnon and Achilles, is considerable, for he raises this conflict above the level of the personal, and presents the impasse as inevitable. But whether the ambiguities in the system were the result of two conflicting political models operating simultaneously in the epic, or were tolerated within one political system, we cannot be sure without independent historical evidence. (What political system can claim to operate without internal inconsistencies and ambiguities?) Donlan's illustration of compactual reciprocity is more useful than his hypothesis that it issues from the tensions of a transitional society, but it touches only briefly

upon the complex and most interesting question about the nature of compensation in the archaic world, something that bears heavily upon the central drama of the Iliad.

That the awards for positive compensation were essentially material in nature, as Donlan points out, and were carefully calculated, is correct. But since the publication of E.R. Dodds' The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley 1951), no one looking at the question of compensation in Homer should fail to take into consideration the extent to which this was seriously affected by the fact that the exchange took place in a society that was highly sensitive to praise and blame. An exemplary soldier could expect to be awarded his 'due' proportion of the gold and booty from a raid, but his satisfaction came ultimately from his recognition that this reflected a certain amount of prestige, of public approbation, of time from his comrades.<sup>20</sup>

In fact, time may be linked etymologically with the Greek compensation-word and its congeners, τίσις, τίσειν etc., suggesting that in the Indo-European matrix from which Greek society sprang there was a process common to both. τιμή is usually translated 'honour', 'prestige' etc., but in some passages in Homer and early Greek literature this is clearly not adequate. At H.Dem.130ff., the goddess tells a story in which she escapes from pirates who hoped to get a ransom, a time for her.<sup>21</sup> Here the word clearly means 'price' and not 'honour' (the pirates wouldn't be expecting 'prestige' from her capture). Elsewhere, time approaches the meaning of τίσις, a 'requit-payment'. At III.281-293, Agamemnon sets the limits for a duel between Menelaus and Paris. If Paris is defeated, the Trojans must return Helen and her gifts, and in addition must pay time. They must go beyond

simple restitution and pay a price, a penalty.<sup>22</sup> Time, then, can have the evaluatively neutral sense of 'calculation', 'price', as well as the positive sense of 'honour', or the satisfaction that results from having made a retribution-payment, a tisis.<sup>23</sup> Etymologists are divided on whether τιμή and τίσις are legitimate cognates, but it would seem that if not, at least a false etymology betrayed a will to join the two concepts.<sup>24</sup>

So vital was the notion of 'due recompense' to the functioning of early Greek society, that it could be said to be the defining element in their concept of justice, dike. L.R. Palmer, in "The Indo-European Origins of Justice," TPhS (1950) 149-168, examines the various theories about the meaning of dike. Dike covered the semantic field represented by (i) 'mark', 'indication', 'characteristic'; (ii) 'limit', 'boundary'; and (iii) 'allotted portion'. This range of meanings could have developed at different periods, but co-existed simultaneously (150). The 'allotted portion' was a natural development from the other two meanings (158-163): men and gods behaved in a certain way, their dike (i); they did not step outside their boundary, thus were ἐν δίκῃς (ii); this was perceived as their assigned portion, their dike (iii). In this last sense, the calculation of time and tisis would be essential.

Gregory Vlastos, in "Equality and Justice in Early Greek Cosmologies," CP 42 (1947) 156ff., illustrates the cosmic implications of this fundamental view of dike as 'due portion', with an examination of Greek medical theory and early Greek cosmologies. Dike involved 'respecting the nature of the other' (i.e. its boundary, 156). Cosmic dike involved either (i) repairing the encroachment of one element upon another, to restore the counterpoise of equals, or (ii) the

successive supremacy of the elements. The desire for symmetry lay behind the Greek views of justice, and one or the other of these two models can be traced in all early cosmologies. This feeling for symmetry lay behind some of the epithets and phrases in Homer that are puzzling to our ears, as Vlastos points out (168-175): ships that are well-made are 'equal' (8.43ff.); a wise, balanced mind is also 'equal' (11.337; 14.178); 'getting justice' was 'getting back the equal' (ἴσα ἔδδεται, 2.203). The cosmos, in the natural as in the human sphere, expressed a uniformity that derived from the reciprocity practised by its basic elements.<sup>25</sup>

Underlying this reciprocity was the all-important assumption of an exchange, based on calculated equal value rendered for value taken. (173-174, n.158).

Leonard Woodbury, in "Equinox at Acragas: Pindar O1.2.61-62," TAPA 97 (1966) 597-616, cites other examples where early Greek thinking clearly accepted the balance of opposites as composing the 'lawful regularity' of the visible world. Indeed, perfect equilibrium could represent a mythical ideal, such as equinox in the afterlife for those who had lived a just life (O1.2.16-17), or the utopian life on islands of perfect equality in the Indian Ocean (Iambulus, from Diodorus Siculus 2.55.2; 60.3). Parmenides' proem represents a journey which transcends the visible world regulated by equality, and begins with a passage through gates controlled by Δίκη πολύπαινος "Avenging Justice", who controls 'what is' with fetters (B.8.12-15 VS). The maintenance of cosmic equilibrium has been put in the hands of a mythical force, who exercises her control of opposing forces by means of thought and thinking (ταῦτόν δ' ἔστι νοεῖν τε καὶ οὔνεκεν ἔστι νόημα (B.8.34 VS)).

According to Hugh Lloyd-Jones, dike is in the hands of Zeus in the Homeric epics. Zeus exercises the



function of a judge or king, protecting the customs and principles of justice. This justice, exercised by the supreme god, as e.g. Zeus Horkios, Xenios, or Hikesios, is retributive or reciprocal, meting out the appropriate amount of suffering for an injustice committed.<sup>26</sup> Like Parmenides' Δίκη πολύποινος, Zeus is the avenger, the τιμάρως, the protector of someone's time, his calculated worth.

Without arguing the merits of the various models of dike we can, I think, accept that behind its various manifestations in archaic texts we see a common belief in the pattern of opposition, reciprocity and symmetry. By various means an equilibrium is achieved, by calculating gains and losses and insisting on appropriate rewards or redress. A belief so pervasive could not but affect other words and social concepts like charis that were closely tied to awarding excellence, to a public demonstration of approbation. We can expect the 'worth' or time of the recipient to be carefully calculated, and when the requisite amount of award is paid out, equilibrium to be achieved in the social sphere.

Such a convention was rigidly observed in the practice of gift-exchange in the Homeric world. In addition to establishing an important bond between two individuals, the giving of gifts was carefully reckoned to produce reciprocal satisfaction.<sup>27</sup> Nowhere is this reckoning made more explicit than in the exchange of armour between the guest-friends Glaukos and Diomedes, where Homer makes the comment that "Zeus took away by Glaukos' wits, ... Glaukos who traded gold for bronze, the worth of a hecatomb in exchange for the worth of nine oxen" (VI.234-236).<sup>28</sup> Gift-exchange took place most often between guest and host (ξείνοι), and the social bond created with a calculation of the time runs

parallel to the bestowing of charis-gifts or bringing charis-services.

Gifts and the bestowal of charis could also be powerful implements in an asymmetrical relationship. Instead of demonstrating reciprocal sharing, they conferred power on the giver, a 'potlatch' performance.<sup>29</sup> χαρίζομαι appears occasionally in the Odyssey in contexts that suggest the pleasure it conferred served even more the advantage of the donor, for a display of ample resources was at the same time a demonstration of superior power. Such a display of generosity may lie behind the formulaic εἶδ' αὖτ' ἐπιθεῖδα, χαρίζομένη παρεόντων, that occurs four or five times in the Odyssey, to describe the ample provision of food served by a housekeeper to guests in the palace.<sup>30</sup> In addition to satisfying the needs of the guests, this would demonstrate the prosperity and power of the βασιλεύς.<sup>31</sup> At 17.450ff., a variant of this procedure occurs, one that exposes the gap between giver and recipient. The suitors distribute freely from Odysseus' stock to the beggar (Odysseus in disguise):

οἱ δὲ δίδουσι  
μαψιδίως, ἐπεὶ οὐ τις ἐπιόχεσις οὐδ' ἐλεητὺς  
ἀλλοτρίων χαρίσασθαι, ἐπεὶ πάρα πολλὰ ἐκάστω.  
(17.450-452)

χαρίσασθαι here is an expression of scorn, not generosity. It amounts to no sacrifice on the part of the givers, who show shameless disregard for the property of someone else (ἀλλοτρίων). This is not χαρίζεσθαι with the intent of initiating or sustaining a bond with the recipient; the disrespect for Odysseus-the-beggar is clear from the fact that the donations are cost-free and easy, because they amount to no noticeable loss from the ample store (ἐπεὶ πάρα πολλὰ ἐκάστω). This is not χαρίζεσθαι in its normal application:<sup>32</sup> coupled with ἀλλοτρίων (which we well

know refers to the actual owner of the goods), it is one of the more powerfully ironic passages in the epic. Antinous is damned by the irony in his words: his pomposity in describing the suitors' gesture as *χαρίζεσθαι* prepares us for his fall, in an almost proto-tragic scene.

Since the publication of the work of A.W.H. Adkins, beginning in 1960<sup>33</sup>, scholars have begun to look upon social interaction in the Homeric epics as motivated not primarily by a recognition of interdependence and reciprocity, but by a desire to compete. This would of course account for the suitors' 'potlatch' performance just described. According to this view, co-operation was of course essential among the heroes of the epic, but it exerted a less powerful influence on behaviour than did competition, an agonistic demonstration of arete. The dominant values were those of the *ἀγαθαί*, the heads of *οἴκοι*, who competed with one another for practical ends -- for prestige and for resources for their *οἴκοι*. Their efforts were carefully calculated to succeed at this. Where fairness or friendship and consideration for others was demonstrated, these gestures were fragile, easily overridden by competitive values, and often contaminated with the desire to demonstrate arete.

Mary Scott, in a number of articles published recently,<sup>34</sup> has refined this view of social behaviour in the Homeric world, with a closer inspection of non-competitive behaviour in the epics. She maintains the view that these 'weaker' gestures (the 'quieter virtues' in Adkins' terminology) were not emotionally motivated or altruistic, but were examples of enlightened self-interest, expressed only in protected circumstances where there would be no loss of prestige, time. In other circumstances, they might be expressed as a means of disarming hostility. Scott analyzes

various instances of charis from this perspective:<sup>35</sup> where these received a positive assessment within the Homeric world, this was because the agent had received beneficial results from a charis. The charis of beauty disarmed hostility; the charis of a favour increased one's time, and was evaluated according to the results it brought. In evaluating an instance of charis, no attention was paid to the state of mind of the agent. This leads Scott to conclude that 'gratitude' was not applicable to the recipient of a charis-favour; 'gratitude', she insists, is a term that focuses upon and analyzes the motivation behind a charis-act, a procedure that was not practised in the Homeric world.

The Adkins-view has received its fair share of criticism. K. Dover, in Greek Popular Morality (Berkeley 1974) 44, objects to its over-simplification of the social behaviour of archaic Greece, whose moral code was at times 'inconsistent, incoherent and unsystematic'. The most detailed criticism of the view was levelled by A.A. Long, in "Morals and Values in Homer," JHS 90 (1980) 121-139. Long objects first that there is no independent historical check to the social interaction as described by Homer in the epics. While acknowledging a considerable indebtedness to Adkins' Merit and Responsibility, he points out that Adkins' scheme fails to account for some important characteristics of Homeric ethics. Further, the frequent contamination of the weaker, 'quiet' excellences, by considerations of time and arete and the results achieved by them (qualities assigned to 'competitive' excellences), begins to erode the importance of the distinction, a failure in the scheme made clear by Scott's description of the 'quieter virtues' as exercised with the ultimate objective of gaining time. Finally, as Long points out, the extreme sensitivity to public prestige, to time, in the society

described by Homer, acts not as a private, self-interested check on behaviour, but as a social one.

Lionel Pearson, in Popular Ethics in Ancient Greece (Stanford 1962), has focussed on the importance of social restraints to Homeric man, when human faults were often described by terms suggesting excess (e.g. ὑπερ - compounds). He pointed out that arete and external observable behaviour were not the only focus for public acclaim, but that attention was also paid to the state of mind of an agent, approbation being reserved for a εὐφρων, criticism for one who 'knew' κακά. Homer and his heroes did not fail to distinguish between actions and intentions, and to criticize behaviour that appeared ἰσθλός or ἀγαθός but originated from a mind with evil intent.<sup>36</sup>

The observations of Long, Dover and Pearson provide a valuable corrective to the Adkins-Scott extreme position, for they call attention to the social context within which the competitive tendencies of early Greek poetry were controlled. The Adkins-view, with its emphasis on individual performance, does not recognize the dependence of the Homeric individual, whether in wartime or in peacetime, upon social constraints imposed through the awarding of praise and blame. Within this system there was ample room for competition, for the agonistic demonstration of arete, to earn public approbation and material compensation. This was not the uncivilized existence of ignoble savages like the Cyclopes, but a society with a complex of conventions based on an admission of social interdependence. The competition for awards, for time, far from being a demonstration of excellence that superseded or defied this admission, was a highly efficient means to assure its survival. This finely-tuned social mechanism was governed by the calculating Greek mind, which weighed merits and awards, offenses

and reparations, and insisted on a quantitative parity. Acts of defiance occurred (e.g. the behaviour of the suitors), as in any system; the basic human ambition for power would surface in this, as in every political system, and could be recognized in power-seeking, 'potlatch' actions of generosity. These were 'normal' aberrations or variants that cannot justify the view of this society as fundamentally 'each ἀγαθός for himself'. Even the δῆκος -chief who orders the serving girls to be unstinting at the feast is not without the expectation of eventual reward; the prestige he gains (or a return-feast) will be on a par with his own outlay.

Turning back to the texts of Homer, we can see how this social disposition affected the practice of charis in the epics, particularly where it was used of return-favours or the demonstration of gratitude. Nowhere is the obligation to reciprocate favours better stated than by the aged Laertes at the end of the Odyssey: "If my son were alive and ruling in Ithaca," the old man tells Odysseus (who is concealing his identity), "he would requite those gifts with which you amply favoured him (χαρίζεο), as is right to do to him who began the giving" (ἡ γὰρ θέμις ὅς τις ὑπάρξει, 24.283-286). Laertes' words suggest that the bestowing of a charis-favour initiates a sequence of mutual favouring that will be unbroken, enjoying as it does the protection of themis.

On the battlefield, charis is sometimes used, as we have seen, for the 'service' provided to one's comrades and leader in return for mutual support and leadership in battle. Soldiers further hoped for glory and acclaim as appropriate return for exemplary charis-service, and this glory also went by the name of charis.<sup>37</sup>

Relying on this practice of reciprocity, desperate victims on the battlefield begged for their lives. In return for this favour, they guaranteed that their families would offer bounty unlimited, a charis in return (χαρίσασθε) for the life of their son.<sup>38</sup>

Good works normally received a return-charis. When this did not happen, it was worthy of report. Penelope sharply rebukes the suitors through the herald Medon for their outrageous behaviour (4.681ff.) This she contrasts with the blameless behaviour of Odysseus the king, who consequently enjoyed the love of his subjects (692). The suitors live by different rules: their behaviour is ugly (ἀεικέα ἔργα, 694), and there is no charis shown afterwards, a return for good works (οὐδέ τις ἔστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων, 695)<sup>39</sup>

The recollection of a charis (μετόπισθ', above) was necessary for the gesture of a return-favour,<sup>40</sup> and here we can see in Homer the basis from which charis came to designate 'gratitude'. A striking example of this occurs at XIV.233ff., where Hera asks a favour of Hypnos: if he will lull Zeus to sleep after their love-making, she will 'know the favour for all time' (ἰδέω χάριν ἧματα πάντα, 235). Further, she will present him with tempting gifts (δῶρα, 238): the favour will be requited not only with her recollection of the favour, but with a concrete expression of this. When Hypnos still expresses reluctance to deceive the king of the gods, Hera offers him the gift he cannot refuse, one of the Charites, Pasithea, in whom he can take his pleasure 'for all time'.<sup>41</sup>

At 23.650, Nestor responds to Achilles' gratuitous prize after the funeral-games for Patroclus with recompense that is indirect: σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τῶνδ' ἀντὶ χάριν μενοεικέα δοῖεν. The adjective μενοεικέα suggests that charis here does not bear its usual semantic content of 'pleasure', but in fact represents

simply 'recompense', further specified as being 'heart-warming', i.e. 'pleasurable'. The prize-urn represents Achilles' recognition of Nestor, despite his physical frailty, and it is in response to this social recognition (∴ τῶνδ') that Nestor offers a blessing.

Gifts offered to the gods by mortals are a similar form of recognition. χαρίεντα, they call for a return-favour. This can take the form of support on the battlefield (e.g. VIII.204) or in personal conflict (I.39). Libations are offered to the gods, that in their charis-enjoyment they may be disposed to offer in exchange the fulfilment of human wishes (δίδου χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβήν, 3.58). Those who would carefully ensure that the gods would act on their behalf were careful to sustain this charis-bond with repeated sacrifices. Poseidon helps Aeneas because he always satisfies the gods with his gifts:

ἀλλὰ τί ἦ νῦν οὗτος ἀναίτιος ἄλγεα πάσχει  
 μάψ' ἔνεκ' ἀλλοτρίων ἀχέων, κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ  
 δῶρα θεοῖσι δίδωκε, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν (XX.297-299) 42

When this custom of do ut des was violated, it was cause for comment and concern. Athene upbraids Poseidon for his harsh treatment of Odysseus, when the hero has been generous in his sacrifices while at Troy:

Ἄργείων παρὰ νηυσὶ χαρίζετο ἱερὰ ῥέζων  
 οὐ νύ τ' Ὀδυσσεύς  
 Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ; τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσαο, Ζεῦ; (1.60-62) 43

But the greatest violation of the charis-convention in Homer, the one that almost cost the Greeks their victory at Troy, was Agamemnon's failure to award Achilles the charis that was his due as a superior warrior:

οὐτ' ἐμέ γ' Ἀτρείδην Ἀγαμέμνονα πειδόμεν οἶω  
 οὐτ' ἄλλους Δαναούς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν  
 μάρνασθαι δηΐοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμέσιν αἰεὶ.  
 (IX.315-317)

Achilles staunchly refuses to be persuaded to re-enter



the fighting at Troy. An embassy sent by Agamemnon offers him the restoration of his concubine Briseis and countless gifts, but this does not satisfy Achilles. When Briseis was taken from him at the outset of the epic, Achilles lost his  $\chi\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , the award for his outstanding performance in the raids around Troy. He also suffered from public disgrace when his time was undervalued by Agamemnon, when he took Briseis. Now the offer to restore her with indemnity-gifts still does not bring satisfaction: 'there was no charis-pleasure, and there still is none'(316).<sup>44</sup> Is Achilles rejecting outright the archaic conventions of requital, and acting perversely, outside the heroic code? A number of scholars condemn him for just this.<sup>45</sup> Others see in his rejection of the embassy's offer an inconsistency with his words found in subsequent books of the Iliad, an inconsistency grave enough to justify their argument that Book IX was a late addition to the epic.<sup>46</sup> A few are more sympathetic to the hero's resolute withdrawal from the fighting: some are drawn to him as a proto-tragic figure,<sup>47</sup> still others see this as a mark of his semi-divinity.<sup>48</sup>

In the interests of preserving a consistent picture of charis in Homer, it will be important to examine Achilles' refusal, to see whether the use of charis at IX.316 falls within the range of its designations elsewhere in the epics. Obviously, it is not referring here to the pleasure taken in the feast, or in glistening sparkling beauty, but to the pleasure inherent in 'favouring' or 'requiting the favour', 'gratitude'.

Achilles does not see Agamemnon's actions as productive of charis, either in the past or at present. In the past, the issue was the distribution of the spoils after the raids on Troy: Achilles had borne the brunt of the fighting (I.163ff.), but when it came to

the apportionment of the booty, Agamemnon got the greater prize, while Achilles was expected to be satisfied with something ἄλιγον and φίλον (167). At present the issue is not awards but amends: Agamemnon, aware that he has committed an ἀδικία, offers Achilles a tisis to restore the equilibrium. But he miscalculates the price, the time, and his offer does not produce the charis of satisfaction, the pleasure Achilles might have taken in real requital. At 387, Achilles declares what it is that will bring this satisfaction, the one condition under which he will once again act in solidarity with the Greek forces.

"Agamemnon will not persuade me," he says

πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμολγέα λώβην (IX.389)

"until he has paid back to me in entirety that heart-rending insult." λώβη is a forceful Greek word meaning 'outrage', 'mutilation'.<sup>49</sup> Achilles had felt the original theft of Briseis as a λώβη; as he departed in anger at this humiliation, he vowed that this would be the last λώβη committed against him by Agamemnon (ὄσ' ἄτα λωβήσανο, I.231), and that Agamemnon would 'tear at his θυμός' (243), angry at himself for not recognizing the time (οὐδὲν ἔτιδας, 244) of the best of the Achaeans. The present offer of amends still falls short of this recognition: gifts can be presented in such a way as to confer only greater power on the donor, if offered without humility.<sup>50</sup> Achilles is holding out for condign retribution,<sup>51</sup> humiliation: only when Agamemnon takes back the equivalent amount of humiliation will Achilles feel the charis of satisfaction.<sup>52</sup>

Achilles was indeed rejecting some aspects of the heroic code in refusing to accept Agamemnon's gifts and re-enter the fighting.<sup>53</sup> But he is appealing to the dike of the shame-culture within which these heroic conventions operated. Within this shame-culture the

(precarious) equilibrium between honour and dishonour, between time and tisis, assured a just ordering of the universe. It also assured that the deep gratification that went by the name of charis would be felt when a social imbalance was corrected, when 'dues' were paid.<sup>54</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. In this chapter Books of the Odyssey are denoted by Arabic numbers, Books of the Iliad by Roman numbers.
2. The importance of the social bond established at the feast is described by M. Finley in The World of Odysseus (New York 1954) (hereafter: Finley) 146: "In feasting a bond was instituted or renewed, in ceremonial fashion, tying men and gods, the living and the dead, into an ordered universe of existence. It was as if the constant repetition of the feast was somehow necessary for the preservation of the group, on the *oikos* level or on the larger scale of the class, also for the establishment of peaceful relations across lines, with strangers and guest-friends."
3. W. Jaeger, Paideia (Oxford 1976) 1. 416, n.4, justifies his statement that in the cultural education of the Greeks, which aimed at fulfilling an ideal of man as he ought to be, "the vital factor is τὸ καλόν, the Beautiful as a determinant ideal." See also E.R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley 1973) 26, n.109.
4. See D. Gerber, Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary (Toronto 1982) 74; also J.W. Hewitt, "The Terminology of 'Gratitude' in Greek," CP 22 (1927) 160; and W. Donlan, "Reciprocities in Homer," CW 75 (1982) 164.
5. Exemplified by VI.295, where the robe for Athene has the most beautiful decoration and 'shines like a star'.
6. The adjective *μορόεντα* may itself be a derivative from the *μαρ*-root of *μαρμαίρω* etc. See W. Leaf, The Iliad (Amsterdam 1960) ad loc. for this and other possibilities.
7. And the clothing of divine or semi-divine women was frequently described as *χαρίεις*. Thus Calypso's *θήρες* of gold and silver is *χαρίεις* (5.231 = 10.544), Circe's weaving is *χαρίεις*, and 'radiant work', ἀγλαὰ ἔργα (10.223). Radiant beauty is, not surprisingly, associated with the *charis*-goddesses and Aphrodite in Homer. The Charites add lustre to Aphrodite at 8.364ff., washing, anointing and dressing her. Similarly, when Athene wants to increase the erotic attractiveness of Penelope and weaken the knees of the

suitors, she transforms her with divine gifts (18.190-191) which make her brighter to behold. She covers her face with ambrosial beauty (κάλλει ... ἀμβροσίῳ, 192-193), described as the kind of unguent with which Aphrodite anoints herself as she prepares to join the dance of the Charites. She increases the size and stature of Penelope and makes her 'whiter' (λευκοτέρην, 196) than freshly-worked ivory. This was done so that the Achaeans might 'gaze at her in astonishment' (ἴνα ... Θησαύαρ', 191).

8. M. Scott, "Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns," Acta Classica XXIV (1983) 3, points to the signal effect on the beholder of divinely bestowed beauty, the unmistakable power of the 'numinous' that is irresistible and leaves the beholder gazing in astonishment.

9. The Greeks looked to the head or the face as important sites for charis-beauty. Achilles' helmet protected his god-like and χαρίεις head and face (XVI.798); the head of Hector defiled with dust as it is dragged behind the chariot of Achilles is described as 'formerly χαρίεις' (XXII.403). Both passages refer to beauty in the highest degree, almost divine (θείοιο, XVI.798), presenting a stark contrast with the dust-covered dimness and lack of splendour in the lifeless.

10. Telemachus is not as fortunate as his father, however. The power of his charis is temporary. In the course of his speech he retreats into an adolescent lament that he is not up to the task of filling his father's role. He will be seen to be a coward, knowing nothing of valour (2.61). He tries a weak appeal to the suitors' sense of shame (64ff.), instead of demanding that they leave the palace -- something he felt prepared to do immediately after his conversation with Athene (1.373). The gifts of the gods are not permanent, it seems. They momentarily raise a mortal's stature to figure as one divinely blessed or even godlike, but like the charis-beauty of the young girl at her ὤρα, the divinely dispensed charis from the gods is but a transitory gift.

The young prince, somewhat wiser and more confident after his travels to Pylos and Sparta in search of news of his father, appears once again before the Ithacans, as he strides through the halls of the palace upon his return. Athene once again covers him with a 'wondrous' charis, so that all the people are astonished at him as he walks (17.63). The suitors are only partially impressed: they address him cordially but secretly plot evil against him (66).

11. It is thus that O. Löw, ΧΑΡΙΣ (Diss. Marburg 1908) 2, distinguishes χάρις from χαρά :  
χάρις in universum id est quod laetitiam efficit (transitiva et activa vi), non laetitia ipsa (intransitive). Laetitiam χαρά significat.
12. E.g.: V.211, Pandaros' sacrifice on behalf of Hector; IX.613, of Nestor's siding with Agamemnon against his comrade Achilles; 5.307, of the Greeks in general, who sacrificed their lives for the two leaders of the expedition to Troy. χαρίζεσθαι is used for the same exemplary act of 'favouring' one's comrades and commander in the war, at XV.449 and XVII.291.  
 At XV.744, Ajax attacks whoever of the Trojans makes an attempt to set fire to the Greek ships, ὅς τις χάριν ... φέροίτο... "Ἐκτορος ὀτρύναντος. Here we can see the foundation for the later use of χάριν as a preposition, meaning 'for the sake of'. At this stage it is practically synonymous with χαριζόμενος (cf. φέρων χάριν Ἐκτορι δῖω, 5.211, see Leaf, Iliad ad XV.744). Since Hector's rousing of the troops may have already occurred, the 'pleasure' may belong not only to the chief as he rallies the troops and they respond, but also to the anticipated pleasure of the soldiers when they are later rewarded for their valiant service. In referring to both subjective and objective pleasure, charis here reflects the bond and mutual dependence between the commander and his subordinates.
13. On φιλία see Franzmann, The Early Development of the Greek Concept of Charis (Diss. University of Wisconsin 1972) (hereafter: Franzmann) 70-71, n.54. ἦρα, 'service', 'gratification', was a rare word used interchangeably with χάρις in Greek literature. The importance of returning favours, expressed also by reciprocating verbs like ἀποδίδωμι, clearly had several verbal manifestations.
14. So Aeolus, acting out of friendship for Odysseus (χαριζόμενος φιλότιτε, 10.43) presents him with the guest-gift of a bag containing the winds, and the following West Wind. Similarly, Cinyras sends Agamemnon the gift of a corselet with which to arm himself at Troy. This is a demonstration of his charis-relationship with the king (χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ, 11.23). In both these cases, the gifts presented are ξενηρία, guest-gifts. The practice of xenia, guest-hospitality, exerted the most stringent obligation to reciprocate in the Homeric world, requiring that return-gifts or favours be exchanged even between descendants of the original ξείνοι (e.g. the exchange of armour between Glaucos and Diomedes in VI.211ff.). Given the close association between charis- and xenia-favours, reflected in the description of the giving of

guest-gifts as χαρίζομενος above, the practice of xenia may well have influenced the nature of charis when it implied mutual favouring. For a fuller discussion of xenia see Finley, 115-120, A.J. Podlecki, "Guest-Gifts and Nobodies in Odyssey 9," Phoenix 15 (1961) 125-133, and J.S. Clay, The Wrath of Athena, Gods and Man in the Odyssey (Princeton 1983) 116, 125-133.

Marriage is another basis for charis-favouring. It is of course also a matrix for the charis of erotic attraction (cf. the charis that sparkled from Hera's earrings as she prepared for the seduction of Zeus), but when this erotic charis is enjoyed in a prolonged relationship such as in marriage, the partners establish a pattern of mutual favouring which extends beyond the satisfaction of desire. The most memorable and poignant expression of this in Greek literature is found in Sophocles' Ajax, with the appeal of Tecmessa to her husband on the grounds of their mutually shared charis not to take his life. Ajax was not considering her needs as he contemplated this action, and on the grounds of charis that begets charis she could expect that he would be mindful of these:

ἀλλ' ἴδχε κάμοῦ μνήστιν· ἀνδρὶ τοι χρεῖων  
μῆμην προσεῖναι, γερπνῶν εἴ τί που πάθει  
χάρις χάριν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἢ τίκτους· ἀεὶ.  
(Ajax 520-522)

In Homer, the wife of Antenor raises his bastard son as her own, χαρίζομένη πῶδει (V.71). Although mutual gratification was clearly possible in marriage or love-relationships in early Greek society, the literary references to charis-favours of love are almost exclusively confined to a woman's complying with a man (see Plut. Erot. 751d, and W.S. Barrett, Hippolytus (Oxford 1974) 433). The contribution of the husband is more likely to be regarded as the initial investment of the bride-price, as at XI.242, where the tragedy of death on the battlefield for the young Iphidamas comes about because he will see no return-pleasure from this investment:

ἦς οὐ τί χάριν ἴδε, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε  
(XI.242)

15. H.W. Smyth, Greek Grammar (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 1945ff.: "The perfect denotes a completed action, the effects of which still continue in the present... true perfects... denote a mental or physical state resulting from the accomplishment of the action."

On the middle voice of χαρίζεσθαι Franzmann, op.cit. (above n.1) 17, says: "The verb corresponding to charis is in the middle voice because reciprocity is at the core of the relation of one noble character to another in Homer's heroic world."

16. Similarly, Athene takes advantage of such a bond between Nausicaa and a close girl-friend, whose disguise the goddess adopts in order to persuade the princess to comply with her plan (6.23).

The charis-bond breaks down natural defences, and renders either partner susceptible to persuasion (πειθῶ) in erotic, military and a variety of personal contexts. It is a bond as close and intimate as between close kinsmen. So Alcinous questions Odysseus about the cause of his weeping (8.581): "Is it because someone close in kin died at Troy... or was it some comrade who shared this charis-bond with you (κεχαρισμένα εἶδός, 584), a comrade who has an intimate understanding (πεπνυμένα εἶδῃ, 586) with you?" For the Greek use of verbs of 'knowing' to designate character or behaviour, see E.R. Dodds, op.cit. (above n.3) 16-17.

17. Finley, 73: "The word 'gift' is not to be misconstrued. It may be stated as a flat rule of both primitive and archaic society that no one ever gave anything, whether goods or services or honours, without proper recompense, real or wishful, immediate or years away, to himself or to his kin. The act of giving was, therefore, in an essential sense always the first half of a reciprocal action, the other half of which was a counter-gift."

18. Reflected in the 'double distribution' system in the Iliad: at times the agent of the 'sharing out' is the group, at other times the chief himself. Textual examples are given by Donlan, "Reciprocities in Homer," CW 75 (1982) (hereafter: Donlan) 158, nn.37, 38. As Donlan points out, where the control of goods was retained by the leader, he retained the 'privilege' of expecting his 'due' from subordinates. Where vestiges of the tribal system of egalitarian sharing persisted, his political control was threatened. This is precisely the crisis precipitated in the Iliad by Agamemnon's treatment of Achilles, a crisis in which a thorough understanding of charis is vital (discussed later in this chapter). The leader's claim to a ῥῆμας, qua leader, could represent either the symmetrical obligation of leadership-service between himself and his soldiers, a long term bond, or it could compete with the rights of a superior soldier on one occasion to such an award.

19. A. Carson Giacomelli points out that until the time of Plato the two tendencies reflected by these political systems, social balance (dike), and the competition for superiority (ἀγών) were perpetually at war (Odi et Amo Ergo Sum (Diss. University of Toronto 1981) 43).



20. Dodds, op.cit. (above n.3) 17: "Homeric man's highest good is not the enjoyment of a quiet conscience, but the enjoyment of time, public esteem."

21. λάθρη δ' ὄρμηθεῖσα δι' ἠπειρώσιο μελαίνης  
 φεύχον ὑπερβιάλους σημάντορας ἔφρα κε μή με  
 ἀπριάτην περᾶσαντες ἐμῆς ὀπνοαίγο τιμῆς  
 (H.Dem.130-132)

22. εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενελάος  
 Τρῶας ἐπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι  
 τιμῆν δ' Ἀργείους ἀποτινέμεν, ἣν τιν' ἔοικεν  
 ἢ τε καὶ ἔδοσμένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.  
 (III.284-287)

Compare:

ἀλλὰ σοί, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές, ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης  
 τιμῆν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάω σοί τε. κυνώπα  
 (I.158-160)

Achilles here is angry at the fact that the entire Greek host had assembled in order to win time for Menelaus and for his shamefaced and greedy brother. 'Honour' may well be present in time in this context, but it is the honour of requital: the Greeks were assembled to avenge the rape of Menelaus' wife, and the time they were after was to come πρὸς Τρώων, from a defeated enemy, not from those who might be expected to confer public acclaim.

23. In the Greek market today, if you ask the price of an item, you ask the τιμή. We preserve the neutral and positive senses in the modern English doublets that incorporate the same root as τιμή: 'estimate' (neutral), and 'esteem' (positive).

24. Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Bern und München 1959) I, 637, links τιμή, τίω and ποινή, deriving them all from \*k<sup>u</sup>ei-: 'respect, 'punishment', 'expiation'. E. Beneviste, Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européens (Paris 1969) II, 51, distinguishes τιμή, τίω (<\*k<sup>u</sup>ēi-) and τίνω, τίσις (<\*k<sup>u</sup>ēi-). LSJ give three distinct meanings for τιμή: (i) honour; (ii) worth, value, price; (iii) compensation, satisfaction, penalty. They suggest that this may be accounted for by a 'contamination' from the similar morphology with τίνω: both τίνω and τίω share the aorist active ἔτιδα. But morphologies are not haphazard, and whether the two word-groups are legitimately or falsely linked, there seems to have been a conscious will at some point to allow the two to reflect the basic notion of a 'due calculation'.

τίσις , the indemnity-payment, involves of course the calculation of the τιμή of the aggrieved party. A βασιλεύς could arrange a τίσις for reparations that almost amounted to a levy or tax throughout the community. Telemachus would have the right to issue such a levy, to replace in toto the contents of his οἶκος devoured by the suitors, if the supplies had disappeared at the hands of Ithacans (2.78: ἕως κ' ἂπὸ πάντα δοθείη ). At 22.55, the suitors, now fearing for their lives at the hands of Odysseus, offer to go throughout the δῆμος and procure a replacement for all that they have eaten and drunk in Odysseus' palace, calculating the 'price' (τιμή ) as the worth of 20 oxen apiece:

ἀγὰρ ἄμμες ὀπίσθεν ἀρεσσάμενοι κατὰ δῆμον  
 ἔσσα τοι ἐκπέποται καὶ ἐδήδοται ἐν μεγάροισι  
 τιμὴν ἀμφὶς ἄχοντες ἑλκοσάβοιον ἕκαστος  
 (22.55-57)

At 13.14-15, Alcinoos describes such a levy, imposed upon the δῆμος , to replace the goods given Odysseus by the Phaeacian counsellors:

ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτε ἀχειρόμενοι κατὰ δῆμον  
 τίσομεθ'· ἀρχαλέον γὰρ ἓνα πρῆκός χαρίσασθαι.  
 (13.14-15)

The all-important calculation figures large when Agamemnon and Achilles haggle over the indemnity-payment for the loss of Chryseis at I.121ff. Achilles offers, on behalf of all the soldiers, to pay back (ἀποτίσομεν , 127) three- and fourfold her worth, when the common stores are ample again. Agamemnon is not satisfied with the offer; he wants immediate recompense. Only this is ἀντάξιον (136).

25. Exhibited perhaps most dramatically in the important single extant fragment of Anaximander, which is interpreted by Vlastos, "Equality and Justice in Early Greek Cosmologies," CP 42 (1947) 172, as a description of the cosmos in a state of dynamic, self-regulating equilibrium. Anaximander's cosmology described the elements as 'making reparation' (δίκη and τίσις ) to one another for injustices (ἀδικία ) they have committed, before they give way to their successor and are reabsorbed into the Boundless. This entails once again a calculation (τάξις) to redress unjust gains and to make up unjust losses. Charles Kahn, in "Anaximander's Fragment: The Universe Governed by Law," The Pre-Socratics (Garden City 1974) 105, pushes the interpretation of Anaximander's 'making reparation' (διδόναί γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ) to mean wholesale retaliation: the 'life' of one element entails the

'death' of its reciprocal. He sees the first law of nature in Ionic thinking as a lex talionis, as geometric equality which operates in the social as well as the natural sphere, argued by Socrates in Gorgias 508a. This may be pressing the text, still problematical despite the restoration of ἀλλήλοισ (see Vlastos, 169-172), but Kahn is simply claiming that a more extreme calculation was envisaged by Anaximander.

26. Lloyd-Jones, The Justice of Zeus Revised edition (Berkeley 1983) 6ff. On p.7, Lloyd-Jones quotes a verse that has survived from a lost epic (Hes. fr. 286 M-W) describing this rough reciprocal justice: "If he suffers as he did, straight justice will be done." Applied to the Iliad, Zeus Xenios punishes the abduction of Helen, and Zeus Horkios the breaking of the truce by Pandarus. Lloyd-Jones traces the punishment of an offender against dike back to the punishment of those who would offend against the particular time of a god. The 'justice of Zeus' in the Iliad amounts to his defence of the established order, dike, by punishing mortals whose injustices disturb it (27).

27. Finley, 77, writes of Homeric exchanges: "Whether in trade or in any other mutual relationship, the abiding principle was equality and mutual benefit. Gain at the expense of another belonged to a different realm, to warfare and raiding."

Athene (l.314ff.) advises Telemachus to hold his proffered gifts until her return, promising that if he chooses a specially beautiful one (μάλα καλή) it will bring him its worth in return (σοὶ δ' ἄξιον ἔσται ἀμειβῆς, 318).

28. For the importance to the individual of the worth of his gifts, see Odysseus' careful counting of his parting-gifts from the Phaeacians (13.215ff). For the expectation of equivalent requital of gifts, see Laertes' words at 24.283ff.

29. But the potlatch was at the same time a 'social' gesture. It bound donor and recipient to a sequence of such gestures. Of the potlatch-style performance in Indo-European societies, E. Benveniste writes: "Le potlatch est une provocation aux autres à dépenser à leur tour; les compétiteurs font une dépense supérieure, d'où un circuit de richesses accumulées et répandues pour le prestige des uns et la jouissance des autres" (op.cit. (above n.24) l. 76). The potlatch-event was also an occasion where a feeling of mutual goodwill united donor and recipients. For an interpretation of the Glaukos-Diomedes exchange as a 'potlatch' event, see W.M. Calder III, "Gold for

Bronze: Iliad 6.232-36," Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday, GRBS Monograph 10 (Durham N.C. 1984).

30. 1.140, 4.56, 7.176, 17.95, and possibly 15.139, although this verse is omitted in most mss.

31. Donlan 156, describes unstinting generosity by the chief of an *κλῆρος* as a fear of Zeus Xenios, but also a 'visible proof of rank and wealth and a source of prestige.'

32. Normally there is some sacrifice involved in the giving of *charis* and this loss is made tolerable by the expectation of restitution or reciprocal benefits. So, Alcinoos at 13.15, ἀρχαλέον γὰρ ἕνα πρῆκός χαρίδας θαί .

33. E.g. "Honour and Punishment in the Homeric Poems," BICS 7 (1960) 23-32; "Friendship and Self-sufficiency in Homer and Aristotle," CQ N.S.13 (1963) 30-45; "Threatening, Abusing and Feeling Angry in the Homeric Poems," JHS 89 (1969) 7-21; "Εὐχῆμαι, Εὐχάωλη, Εὐχῆς in Homer" CQ N.S.63 (1969) 20-23; Merit and Responsibility, a Study in Greek Values (Oxford 1970); "Homeric Values and Homeric Society," JHS 91 (1971) 7-14; "Truth, καὶ μῦθος and ἀρετή in Homer," CQ N.S.22 (1972) 1-18; Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece, from Homer to the end of the fifth century (London 1972).

34. "Pity and Pathos in Homer," Acta Classica 22 (1979) 1-14; "Aidos and Nemesis," Acta Classica 23 (1980) 13-36; "Philos, Philotes and Xenia," Acta Classica 25 (1982) 1-20; "Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns," Acta Classica 26 (1983) 1-13.

35. In "Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns," Acta Classica 26 (1983) 35.

36. Pearson 62, cites 17.66 as an example: ἔσθλ' ἀχρεύντες, κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ βυβροδόμενεν. He could have added IX.312-313:

ἔχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείνους ὁμῶς Ἀΐδας πύλησιν  
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλος δὲ εἶπη

37. So Pandaros is promised *charis* and κῶδός if he will break the truce with the Greeks and let fly an arrow at Menelaos (IV.95). In addition to this acclaim, he will receive material compensation, (97) from Paris, if he kills the Greek king.

At 15.320, Hermes is described as extending charis and κῦδος to the works of men, particularly to those of servile status. Faithful stewards are rewarded for their δρηστροσύνη (321) with gratitude and recognition. Trusting in this, Odysseus disguised as a beggar will perform services for the suitors, and can expect to get a meal.

38. VI.45ff., Adrastus appeals to Menelaus; X.378ff., Dclon appeals to Odysseus and Diomedes; XI.130ff., the twin sons of Antimachus appeal to Agamemnon.

39. The same phrase occurs at 22.319, when the seer Leiodes begs for his life from Odysseus, basing this request on his good behaviour in staying aloof from the wantonness of the other suitors. That behaviour devoid of charis is described as 'ugly' demonstrates the Greek disposition to view ethical experiences as aesthetic events. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Odysseus at one time dazzling a young woman with his charis, and at another owed charis by his subjects.

40. Recollection, a state of mind, must be understood to have played an important part in the calculation and offering of requital gifts and favours. Even if the focus was on the results of the original benefit, mental processes would have been tacitly acknowledged, and where they were not congruent with the results, overtly so. J.W. Hewitt, op.cit. (above n.4) 144-145, cites three passages from Od.22, analyzing the various aspects of gratitude presented by the sequence. These include: (i) a grateful memory, (ii) the notion of benefitting, (iii) a reference to reciprocal payment, ἀποδίνειν, and (iv) the mention of the source of this, εὐεργεσία. The connection between χάρις, and εὐεργεσία is indicated by the entry in the Suda: χάριτας· τιμᾶς, εὐεργεσίας.

41. The conscious repetition of ἡματα πάντα (276, echoing 235) suggests a connection between Hera's gratitude (charis) and the offer of a Charis. It is tempting in this to see a fine Homeric pun, Charis representing personified gratitude as well as youthfulness and beauty. For a discussion of this passage as allegorical, see F. Buffière, Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque (Paris 1956) 338-339.

Hera's promise to ἰδμενάι χάριν ἡματα πάντα is a dynamic, not a static one. It is of no use to Hypnos if it implies the simple acquisition of knowledge. χάριν εἰδέναι implied a certain mode of behaviour (above n.16), and Hypnos would only be impressed by Hera's assurance if it meant that she would be favourably disposed towards him in the future. This 'disposition' differs little from our understanding of

gratitude, except that we would expect it to issue in an expression of thanks; Hypnos can expect something more concrete. This interpretation of Hera's words differs from that of J.W. Hewitt, *op.cit.* (above n.4) who believed that the idea of gratitude came late to the Greek mind, and was only implicit here. Hewitt translates: "I shall know the favour always, I shall always recognize that I have received it" (143).

There are others who object to seeing charis represent 'gratitude' in Homer, e.g. Löw, *op.cit.* (above n. 11) 6,10, and Mary Scott, *op.cit.* (above n. 35) 11, who argues that mental states were not distinguished from actions in the Homeric world. But the distinction was occasionally made (above n.36), and this passage seems to indicate that the (mental) disposition of gratitude was acknowledged, if only to the extent that individuals in Homer would agree with Thomas Hobbes that "gratitude is a lively sense of things to come." In the fourth century the advice of Aristotle to erect a temple to the Charites demonstrates that a return-gift issued immediately from gratitude: ἀνταπόδοσις was intrinsic (ἴδιον) to charis:

διὸ καὶ χαρίτων ἱερὸν ἐμποδῶν ποιοῦνται,  
 ἵνα ἀνταπόδοσις ᾗ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον χάριτος  
 (NE 1133a4)

42. For the significance of the perfect participle see above n.15. Similarly, Autolycus repeatedly burned sacrifices pleasing to Hermes (τῷ γὰρ κεχαρισμένα μηρία καίεν, 19.397). As a result, the god was favourably disposed (πρόφρων, 398), and bestowed on him the talent for thievery and oaths (396).

43. Similarly, Zeus feels pity for Hector because Hector too was generous in sacrificing (XXII.169-172), and deserved a better return than Zeus could give.

44. See Denniston, The Greek Particles (6th edition, Oxford 1970) 36: ἄρα: "With the imperfect especially of εἶμι, denoting that something which has been, and still is, has only just been realized. In such cases Greek tends to stress the past, English the present, existence of the fact."

45. E.g. J.T. Sheppard, The Pattern of the Iliad (London 1922) 69-70; Finley, 126; M. Bowra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad (Oxford, 1963) 193ff.; Lloyd-Jones, *op.cit.*(above n.26) 26; W.T. MacCary, Childlike Achilles: Ontogeny and Phylogeny in the Iliad (New York 1982) 55-56; S.L. Schein, The Mortal Hero, an Introduction to Homer's Iliad (Berkeley 1984) 105ff.

46. E.g. A. Puech, L'Illiade d'Homère: étude et analyse (Paris 1948) 142ff.; P. Mazon, Introduction à l'Illiade (Paris 1959) 176-182; D. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley 1959) 308ff.; W. Sale, "Achilles and Homeric Values," Arion 2.3 (1963) 87-93.

47. E.g. S.E. Bassett, "The Ἀμαρτία of Achilles," TAPA 65 (1934) 62ff.; H.T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad (Cambridge 1952) 44; A. Parry, "The Language of Achilles," TAPA 87 (1956) 1-7.

48. E.g. D. Eichholz, "The Propitiation of Achilles," AJP 74 (1953) 144; A.W.H. Adkins, "Values, Goals and Emotions in the Iliad," CP 77 (1982) 305; W. Jaeger, Paideia 4th ed. (New York 1976) 1.420, n.27; J. Rossner, "The Speech of Phoenix: Il.9. 434-605," Phoenix 30 (1976) 314-327; C. Whitman, Homer and the Heroic Tradition (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 181-220.

49. Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque s.v. λῶβη: "outrage, violence, mutilation, dit d'une personne qui est un sujet de honte". The Indo-European cognates of λῶβη are reserved for heavy stones, weights etc.

50. We are aware that Agamemnon did not offer the gifts out of real contrition: he sends off the embassy with instructions to remind Achilles that he is dealing with one who is βασιλεύτερος, 'more kingly' than he (IX.160). Achilles is aware of this, although Odysseus omits this preface to his appeal: Achilles responds to the offer with the remark that duplicity is more hateful to him than the Gates of Hades (IX.312-313).

51. The insult tore the heart (θυμός) of Achilles (θυμαλγέα, 387), and the commensurate punishment which he must effect upon Agamemnon is the tearing of his θυμός in return. Pain is being exchanged for pain, as charis would in other circumstance have been exchanged for charis (cf. Eur. Medea 395-398: οὐ ... χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦ μὲν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ). (It is worth noting that in this dramatic and climactic moment in the Iliad Achilles is drawing attention to a mental state.)

52. The fact that Achilles and Agamemnon are locked together by the same λῶβη is reflected in the complex and unusual syntax of 387: ἀποδόμεναι, 'to give back', 'to pay back' takes λῶβη as its direct object. Yet Achilles cannot be asking for Agamemnon to 'give back' a λῶβη; the issue at stake is that he has already received this. We must assign to ἀποδόμεναι the meaning 'to pay back for', a meaning not assigned elsewhere. It appears to be assimilated to the verb

τίνειν, which is found with λώβη at XI.142. The giving and taking of λώβη is rooted in one event, and neither Achilles nor Agamemnon will be released from its weight until the injury is paid for in full, by the pulverizing humiliation of Agamemnon. This will only happen when Agamemnon appears to have lost face as a commander, when the Greek forces are pushed back against their ships by the Trojans and face defeat. These were the terms Achilles sought at the outset of the epic (I.409ff.), and this was the situation that softened Achilles' resolve enough to let Patroclus fight in his stead (XVI.126ff.). There had been no sign that Agamemnon or the embassy approached him in humility: the contrast between the appeal of Priam in XXIV and of Agamemnon in IX is striking. In IX, Agamemnon does not suffer the humiliation of a face-to-face encounter; instead, he sends his deputies with instructions to 'bring Achilles to heel' (δηθήρω, IX.158). One can speculate that if Agamemnon had come to Achilles when the fighting had moved back to the ships, Achilles would have experienced the satisfaction he sought, and entered the fray himself, instead of sending Patroclus. The opportunity for satisfaction never occurs, however. The wrath of Achilles that was produced by the affront to his time was displaced by an even greater passion, grief over the death of his beloved comrade (see P. Vivante, The Homeric Imagination (Bloomington 1970) 56. Such grief propels Achilles back into the fray, and motivates the action for the remainder of the epic. (Since Achilles' frenzied actions are engendered by φιλία, we cannot, surely, consider friendship to be always a 'quieter' Homeric virtue, pace Adkins and Scott.)

53. He is ignoring the call of loyalty to his comrades, the opportunity to excel once more on the battlefield, and he is rejecting an offer of generous amends from the one who had offended him.

54. The same drive to obtain time, the honour that matched one's worth, called for tisis when there was an affront to this time. Achilles' behaviour, far from being perverse and in defiance of the mores of the Iliad, was consistent with the performance on Olympus. The gods were no less uncompromising when their time was undervalued. The Trojan War itself was fought to compensate for the shame that two goddesses had received at the hands of a Trojan. Hera and Athene, who were publicly shamed when Paris chose Aphrodite as the most beautiful goddess, make it clear throughout the epic that they will not be satisfied until their shame is paid for in full, until their time is restored with the destruction of Troy. (See Finley, 163).



CHAPTER FIVE

CHARIS IN THE HOMERIC HYMNS

### Argument

The charis of the feast appears in the Hymn to Delian Apollo, where a spectator would experience charis-delight in the sight of young men, beautiful women and the prosperity that was represented at the festival. In the dramatic moment when the goddess Demeter reveals her divinity to the humble Metaneira in the Hymn to Demeter, charis appears with aidos on the eyes of the goddess, as the distinguishing feature of someone well-born and commanding respect. This coupling of the charis of attractiveness with aidos, which occurs elsewhere in Greek texts, underscores the power of charis to command a response, a response which frequently takes the form of a return-charis. This is the case with Hermes and Zeus. The cleverness of the young god impressed the other Olympians, and earned from Zeus the charis of a personal prerogative, the right to descend to the Underworld and to return.

The use of the adjective *χαρίεις* in the Hymns to represent things that possess charis recalls the elements important to the cult of the Charites -- beauty, feasting and celebration, and fertility. The Charites in the Hymns are dancing attendants of Aphrodite, or of the Horai, Harmonia and Hebe, divine representatives of fertility, concord and youth, over which the Charites presided in cult.

In the invocations and addresses to deities that are collected under the name Homeric Hymns we will not be surprised to discover that charis and its cognates cover much of the same semantic field as these pleasure-words denoted in Homer, ranging from the delight experienced at a social gathering or at beauty of a divine nature, to the satisfaction gained when a performance is well rewarded. But there are some important new emphases that can be gleaned from the Hymns, which give us an insight into the values and mores of Greek society of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. and which prefigure the use of these words by the lyric and epinician poets.

In the Hymn to Delian Apollo, charis is the word that describes the famous scene of the Ionians dancing at the festival on Delos: with their children and their respectful wives, the long-robed Ionians honour Apollo, delighting the god with competitions in boxing, dancing and song. One who came across these Ionians in the midst of their celebrations would say that they possessed the divine qualities of immortality and perpetual youth, for, says the hymnist, he could see for himself the charis of them all. And he would be delighted in his θυμός as he looked upon the men, the beautiful women, and the prosperity they represented:

πάντων γὰρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμὸν  
 ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας  
 νῆας τ' ὠκείας ἧδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά.

(H. Delian Apollo III.153-155)

The combination of dancing, agones, youthfulness, a sense of closeness to the divine, and prosperity belonged to those who celebrated the Charites (see Ch. III). The Ionians at the Delian festival enjoyed this

same experience, which went by the name of charis. The effect of observing this was to feel delight in the seat of the passions (τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμόν, 153). The joy of the participants, arising from the particular combination of things that provoked charis-pleasure for the early Greeks, had the capacity to infect others; it had subjective and objective powers.

These same powers resided in another important Greek word, αἰδώς, which is found in close association with charis in the Hymn to Demeter. At 213ff., Metaneira addresses Demeter with respect, recognizing in her things that suggest exceptional status, comparable to that of "kings who administer law and right":

χῶϊρε χύμαι, ἐπεὶ οὐ σε κακῶν ἄπ' ἔσπλα γοκήων  
 ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶν· ἐπὶ τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδῶς  
 καὶ χάρις, ὡς εἴ περ τε θεμιστοπόλων βασιλείων  
 (H. Dem. 213-215)

The ingredients that distinguish the visitor to Metaneira's cottage are charis and aidos, which are conspicuous on the eyes of the goddess. The eyes commonly reflected the 'look' of one's character or emotion in the Greek view (see above, Ch. II) and both the qualities or powers that went by the name of charis or aidos were commonly thought of as residing in the eyes.<sup>1</sup> Like our 'charisma', aidos was a property that could affect all who beheld its possessor: that which was 'reverend' instilled 'reverence'.<sup>2</sup> The 'reverend' king or judge was set apart as being αἰδοῖος (Theogony 82): when he passed through a crowd he was conspicuous and was greeted as a god with aidos (Theogony 92; cf. Pindar's Pyth. 5.15-19). Demeter's aidos was conspicuous in her eyes; Metaneira was affected with aidos when she looked upon the goddess. The beholder and the one beheld were bound together by a single act of perception; where the one beheld was a goddess, this sight commanded attention.

What of charis? Found together with aidos on Demeter's eyes, is it to be sharply distinguished from aidos, or can the two qualities be thought of in this passage as bound together in one all-embracing experience? Charis and aidos share some similar features elsewhere in archaic literature. αἰδώς can be pleasurable, sweet, like charis: αἰδοῖ μελιχίη (Od.θ.172 = Theogony 92) can be compared with the charis that makes everything 'sweet' for mortals (χάρις δ' ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μέλιχα θνατοῖς, Pindar, Ol.1.30). Showing aidos to a god or extraordinary mortal is sweet and pleasurable (Theogony 92), like a charis. Charis can borrow from aidos: in Pindar's Pyth.2.17, Isth.3.5 and Pyth. 4.86, we encounter the charis that is filled with 'reverential dread', ὀπιζομένα -- that fear and reverence which one feels towards the μηῆνις of the gods (Od.14.283, Hes. Sc.21). This reverential charis was experienced between mortals. Theognis linked the granting of charis to the reverence of aidos: αἰδέο μ' , ὦ παῖ <τῆνδε> διδοῦς χάριν , 1331). Pindar asks Zeus to bestow on the victor reverential charis that would come from the townsmen and visitors sharing in the victory-celebration:

δίδοι τε οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν  
καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξείνων .

(Ol.7.89-90; cf. Ol.6.76)

The charis at H.Dem.214, with the aidos, sets Demeter apart from mortals. Metaneira's awe and recognition of the goddess' extraordinary stature began with Demeter's epiphany in the humble cottage doorway, which she filled with her more-than-mortal size, her beauty, her divine scent and radiance (189).<sup>3</sup> The charis observed by Metaneira may well refer to this radiant beauty of the goddess, a pleasure to look upon,

but linked with aidos. As a combination that is found in Θεμιστοπόλαι βασιλεῖς, it must also refer to the kind of pleasure enjoyed by those who are treated with honour and respect. This pleasure is contrasted in the lines that follow with the woes inflicted by the gods on ordinary mortals:

ἀλλὰ θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκη  
τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι

(H. Dem. 216-217)

Charis in this passage, then, may refer to the objective pleasure created by Demeter's divine beauty, but also the subjective pleasure experienced by the goddess as 'reverend'.

In the Hymn to Hermes, charis is found once, where it refers to the 'province' assigned by Zeus to the crafty young god. To the friendship of the (reconciled) Apollo (524, 574), Zeus added charis:

χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων (575). This amounted to the portion of honour, the prerogative or time (516) that Hermes was awarded by his father. It included presiding over ἐπαμοίβια ἔργα, 'barter-exchanges' among men (516), the gift of prophecy divined from birds of omen, and the supervision of such wild animals as lions and boars, and of domestic herds (568-571). Further, Hermes was assigned the privilege of being the official messenger of Hades. From Hermes alone, the King of the Underworld needed no gift of appeasement: although he was unpaid, he would award to the psychopompos the supreme gift (χέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον, 573) of being able to return to the Upper world.<sup>4</sup> In this award of charis, we see the gift bestowed by Zeus as an overlay (ἐπέθηκε, 575) upon another good thing, Apollo's friendship regained; like the beauty-charis bestowed by Athene upon Odysseus or Telemachus, a 'gilding over silver', the charis bestowed by Zeus is a kind of culminating pleasure, the kind to produce real results. It was also based on an assessment of Hermes' worth,

his time (516); the award was appropriate to such a precocious young son. It also, presumably, produced in Hermes the kind of satisfaction that Achilles sought. Having not only impressed his fellow Olympians with his musical gifts and his craftiness, but appeased the anger of Apollo, Hermes was 'due' the rewards of the order of free passage to the Underworld and back.

Things that possess charis and are *χαρίεις* in the Hymns involve beauty, feasting and celebration and vegetative fecundity. A goddess possesses charis-beauty, as she leads the dance of the Charites (H. Artemis XXVII.17). The dazzling beauty of Helios is *χαρίεις*. Bright locks of hair fall from his head and embrace his far-shining face, in a manner that is *χαρίεν* (H. Helios XXXI.12). Once again, charis is found where the Greeks took pleasure in light, in dazzling, radiating things. In the Hymn to Hermes it is the music of the lyre, played during feasting and dancing, that is *χαρίεις* (484). Like the abundant harvests which occasioned festivals to the Charites, ripe fruits of the vine are *χαρίεις*, as they hang down amidst the lush growth of the vine, entwined around the mast of the pirate-ship carrying Dionysos (H. Dion. VII. 41).

The Charites appear in the Hymns as the immortal companions of the Olympians (H. Aphr. V.195). They are particularly prominent as attendants of Aphrodite, when the goddess is enhancing her seductive beauty. They bathe the goddess before her encounter with Anchises, and anoint her with the oil used by the immortals, covering the surface of Aphrodite's skin.<sup>5</sup> The ambrosial oil is full of sweet fragrance (*ἔδανός, τεθυωμένον*, 63). Aphrodite's precinct on Paphos, where she receives the unction of allurements, is redolent of the same sensuality as is aroused by the oil: her temple and her altar are fragrant (*θωύσεια*, 58,

Θουάδης, 59), and her portals are gleaming (φαεινός, 60). These are the ingredients important for erotic success: the Charites use ingredients which are gleaming and sweet-smelling to bring about the fulfilment of erotic desire (ἴμερος, 45, 57). Like the sweet aroma of spring flowers or ripe fruit that betokened gleaming prosperity for the Charites in cult (see Ch. III), the sweet-smelling, glistening oil used by Aphrodite's attendants will produce the 'fruit' of the sexual union between goddess and Anchises, the hero Aeneas (198ff.). In the Hymns as in cult, the Charites dance. On Olympos their dancing companions are the Horai, Harmonia, Hebe and Aphrodite (H.Pyth.Apollo III.194-195), divinities who represent the seasonal flourishing, the concord among citizens, the youthfulness and the sexual union of the young that were the provinces of the Charites in cult.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See N.J. Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford 1974) ad 214. Richardson cites parallel passages where aidos rests on the eyes, e.g. Sappho fr. 137.5, Aesch. fr. 355,21ff., Eur.Hec.970-972 and others. To these may be added Il.I.225, and Sappho 138.3 and Eur. Ba.236. In these last two passages, charis refers to the alluring charm of love, a pleasure that was often experienced as a sparkle from the eyes of the beloved.
2. Richardson, *ibid.*, ad 188-190, cites other examples where "the reactions of onlookers (to a divine epiphany) are commonly amazement and terror." Richardson compares these reactions to those of an initiate during the Mysteries.
3. Cf. the revelation of Aphrodite's size, beauty, light and divine stature which precedes the fearful recognition of the goddess by her mortal lover Anchises (H.Aphrod. 172-174).
4. This is my interpretation of 573, ὅς τ' ἄδοτος περ ἔων δώδει χέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον. I agree with Allen, Halliday and Sikes, The Homeric Hymns (Oxford 1963) ad loc., that the line refers to Hades, although I take ἄδοτος literally here, 'without a gift' (see LSJ s.v. ἄδοτος), not figuratively, 'implacable', as they do. Hermes did not need gifts, standard fare to appease the rulers of the Underworld, as others did. Further, this, the best of his privileges, entitled him not only to encounter Hades without fear of his wrath, but to return freely again and again to the world of the living. Allen, Halliday and Sikes are less specific. They see χέρας as "Hermes' office... presumably in the gift of Zeus along with Hermes' other privileges. Otherwise," they say, "the 'present' must be death." Evelyn-White's translation (Loeb) is weak and unsatisfactory. He renders χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων as "and the Son of Cronos gave him grace besides".
5. ἔνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ  
ἀμβρότῳ οἷα θεοῦς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν εἶόντας  
ἀμβροσίῳ ἔδανῳ, τό ῥά οἱ τεθυσμένον ἦεν.
- (H.Aphr.V.61-63)

ἐπενήνεθεν (62): the point of the verb, as at Od.8.365, seems to be that the oil spreads and clings to the skin of the gods (LSJ, s.v. ἐπινῆνεον). If the verb is related to ἐπανθέω, as LSJ suggest is possible, it may also suggest that the oil is conspicuous and bright on the surface of the skin (LSJ, ἐπανθέω, II.2). See also N.J. Richardson, op.cit. (above n.2) ad 279.

CHAPTER SIX  
CHARIS IN HESIOD

### Argument

The Charites are among the first children born to Zeus, after his defeat of the Titans and his institution of the new Olympian order. Justice and peace, hallmarks of the new order, allow for festivity, and it is 'in festivity' that the Charites live on Olympos, with 'Himeros' and beside the Muses. 'Festivity', *Θαλίη*, is the reward for right-living people on earth, and this name is assigned by Hesiod to one of the Charites. The other two names, Aglaia and Euphrosyne, represent the elements present in social celebration. But the Charites also bring eros and feminine charm into the new order, in particular the erotic attractiveness that is found in the sparkling eyes of young girls. Zeus uses this feminine charm awarded by the Charites, combined with the work of Peitho, to punish men for their hybris.

The charis of good behaviour is also part of the new order. Good is rewarded with good. In the Age of Iron this charis is lost: men are no longer praised for following the dictates of dike, for demonstrating aidos to one another. The charis of restrained behaviour and speech is essential to social health and prosperity: only thus can one hope to live *ἐν Θαλίῃς*.

The Theogony is a tribute to the reign of Zeus, when the powers of disorder have been vanquished. In this celebration of the Olympian order, the Charites are introduced as daughters of Zeus (Theog.907), who live with Himeros, 'Desire', beside the Muses on Olympos, 'amidst festivity', ἐν θαλίῃς (Theog.65). Θαλίη receives a certain emphasis in Hesiod, as the reward for those who honour Dike (Op.231). Zeus rewards right-living people with peace, freedom from care, an earth that teems with plenty, flocks and wives that teem with progeny (Op.228ff.). These fortunate folk go about their work 'with a festive air' (Op.231) Both the Charites and the Muses are associated with this festivity: Hesiod is the first to name one of the Charites 'Thalia' (Theog.909), and one of the Muses he calls 'Thaleia' (Theog.71). The Charites, as Olympian deities, preside not so much over the flourishing growth of the earth as over festivity in the well-ordered life which earned this as its reward. Peace and good order were the hallmarks of the new order, and cause for celebration. At Theog.902, Peace, 'Eirene', is described as τεθαλυῖα. The Muses, too, belong to the new order: they celebrate in song the ordinances of the gods (νόμους), and their irreproachable manners (ἥθεα κέδνα, 67).

Flourishing, whether the result of peace, order and good government, or of fecundity, was linked in the archaic Greek mind with radiant pleasure, which explains the other two names assigned by Hesiod to the Charites, Aglaia and Euphrosyne (Theog.907). The cluster of associations represented by their names is found in the description of a city in the midst of

nuptial merry-making, which occurs in the (Ps-Hesiodic) Shield of Heracles (270ff.). The men 'took delight in the radiance of it all, and in dancing':

τοὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς τε  
τέρψιν ἔχον.

(Shield 272-273)

All the while, wedding-songs rise up and the gleam from torches spreads afar, held aloft by handmaidens who lead the procession 'swelling with joy at the radiance of it all':

τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰθερμένων δαΐδων σέλας εἰλύφαζε  
χερσὶν ἐνὶ δμῶν· ταὶ δ' ἀγλαΐη τε θαυῖαι  
πρὸς θ' ἔκιοι.

(Shield 275-277)

While the young men revel to the tune of the auloi, dancing and laughing in time to the music, the whole town is filled with Θαλίαι and χοροί and ἀγλαΐα, with festive celebration, dancing and radiance (284-285). The Charites are not mentioned here, but their names embody the spirit of the event.<sup>1</sup>

Other daughters born to Zeus immediately after his defeat of the Titans were the Moirai and the Horai. Both of these daughter-triads were charged with establishing the confines within which mortals would work and play. The Moirai of course distributed good and ill, as they determined the fate of men (Theog.906). The Horai, normally associated with the bloom of human beauty (ῥα), or of the seasons of fruitfulness of the earth, are described as 'protecting' (ῥεούουσι) the works of men.<sup>2</sup> Of the blessings allotted to men, the Moirai could be said to determine the due amount, the Horai the appropriate time for them, while bearing the responsibility for their protection.

The blessing explicitly mentioned as belonging to the Charites is the gift of human love. Not only do

they live with Himeros, but from their eyes drips 'limb-loosening love', and 'beautifully do they glance beneath their brows' (Theog.910-911). At Op.73, the Charites with Peitho deck out the newly formed woman, Pandora, with gold necklaces. The temptress of mankind, Pandora is fashioned by Hephaistos, bedecked with finery and instructed in handiwork skills by Athene, who sheds charis over her (Op.59ff.). The object of the enterprise is that men should be swept away by delight at the sight of this creature, and be deceived (Op.58). The Charites provide the gift of attractiveness, and the love-lure: the dangerous potential of this gift is assured by the work of Peitho, who directs the charis-pleasure in beholding beauty to men's self-destruction. This was all according to the will of Zeus, who punished men's insolence with the καλὸν κακόν of Pandora (Theog.585).

In the account of the creation of Pandora in the Theogony (570ff.), Hephaistos makes a headband of gold for the temptress, a 'wonder to behold' (581), from which 'much charis breathed' (583).<sup>3</sup> Gleaming or sparkling adornments of women, gifts from the gods or artifacts of men, accounted for the fascination or charm that went by the name of charis among the Greeks from very early times. Hephaistos, god of the forge and of fine metal handiwork, overlaid gold upon silver (Od.6.234), and at Theog.945 is described as having made Aglaia, the radiant Charis, his wife.<sup>4</sup> Mycenaean tablets at Pylos show an early connection between charis and gleaming metal, bronze.<sup>5</sup> The Charites, who place golden ornaments on Pandora's skin in the account in the Works and Days, followed a tradition of adorning goddesses with bright accoutrements.<sup>6</sup> The luminous charis of beauty was irresistible, even to Zeus.<sup>7</sup>

Five times, in fragments from the Catalogue of Women, women are described as 'having the sparkle of

the Charites' ( Χαρίτων ἀμαρύχματ' ἔχουσα ).<sup>8</sup> A scholiast on Argonautica III.288 describes ἀμαρύχματα as 'torches of the eyes' ( τὰς λαμπάδας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ). Light and movement are essential to the basic meaning of ἀμαρύχματα, and the location is the eyes.<sup>9</sup> It is from the eyes of the Charites that eros drips, loosening the limbs of men (Theog.910), and it is the allurement of this particular sparkle of the eyes that is appropriate to girls at their flourishing prime, at their ὥρα, when the enticement of men will result in the bearing of children.<sup>10</sup> This 'bright beauty' is presumably the import of Hephaistos' taking to wife Aglaia, the 'most youthful' of the Charites. But Thalia, too, contributes to the ὥρα, and to marriage, representing that moist freshness of youth that is akin to the moist, swelling buds or young shoots of plants.<sup>11</sup> Hephaistos makes Aglaia his Θαλερῆν ... ἀκραινῆν .<sup>12</sup>

Eros had its place in the reign of Zeus, represented by the birth of the Charites. But in addition to the charis of love, the charis of civilized behaviour, of requiting good with good, was vital to the new order. This begins with Zeus himself, who is rewarded by his father's brothers for releasing them from the fetters with which they were bound by Cronos. Remembering the charis of his kind deed, they give to Zeus the thunderbolt and lightning:

οἳ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν εὐεργεσιῶν,  
δῶκαν δὲ βροντῆν ἠδ' αἰθαλδέεντα κεραυνὸν  
καὶ στεροπήν.

(Theog.503-505)

This charis is pleasure remembered; the immediate result, as we saw in Homer, is the issuing of a return-favour.

The social exchange of good things is necessary for the flourishing of community, and when the social



order breaks down as it does in Hesiod's Iron Age, this charis disappears. Virtuous conduct gets no reward:

οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσεται οὐδὲ δικάϊου  
 οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτήρα καὶ ὕβριν  
 ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι· δίκη δ' ἐν χερσίν, καὶ αἰδῶς  
 οὐκ ἔσται

(Op.190-193)

The pleasurable reward denied to the good man here is praise (τιμήσουσι, 192). Instead, evil-doers receive honour. Dike and aidos, frequent companions of charis in Greek literature, are perverted or lost, along with charis.

This same respect for others, aidos, should lead men to speak with a sparing tongue, says Hesiod. This is the greatest treasure; the most charis is to be found in a tongue that performs κατὰ μέτρον (Op.720). Those hearing moderate speech will feel the charis-pleasure.<sup>13</sup> The power to please, which resided in the tongue, could be abused. In this same passage on civilized behaviour, Hesiod says one is not to ψεύδεσθαι γλώσσης χάριν (Op.709). The phrase is problematical, but is perhaps best translated "Don't lie, with respect to the pleasure you give with your tongue."<sup>14</sup>

It is the social pleasure of charis to be found at the common meal that occurs at Op.723. The recommendation to create pleasure by a sparing tongue (Op.720) is followed by advice to exercise the same civilized restraint in general (μηδὲ ... δυσπέμφελος εἶναι, 722). This will bring the greatest pleasure (πλείστη δὲ χάρις) with the least outlay (δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη). The setting for this charis is social, and based on a parity of expense and civility. A deceiving or immoderate tongue, or boorish behaviour, destroys the symmetry that makes for the greatest charis-pleasure, like that enjoyed in the mutually shared

give-and-take of a meal. This is the place for  
Hesiod's Thalia to preside; it is the best sign of a  
common weal that is flourishing.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Euphrosyne is the only one not represented linguistically in the passage. One may assume that  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\psi\iota\nu$  (272) would double for her festive joy. Thalia is represented by the 'flourishing' handmaidens ( $\tau\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ , 276) and by the 'festivities' enjoyed by the city ( $\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ , 284). Aglaia lends her name to the radiant joy throughout (271, 276, 285); indeed her name appears to embrace the scene, encompassing the literal and figurative radiance that pervades the celebration. That it was a wedding celebration makes it an appropriate setting for the particular complex of notions represented by the names of the Charites. Weddings were occasions to rejoice at feminine beauty in its flourishing prime, and in youthful vigour, signs of human fertility.

2. LSJ  $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , who suggest that it may be a Doric equivalent of  $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$  (=  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ , Hesych.), to be compared with  $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ , 'to be on guard-duty'. The alternate forms of  $\acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ , 'boundary', ( $\acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  /  $\acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  /  $\acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ ) suggest that boundaries and their protection, vital to human endeavours, received the same Greek name. Cf.  $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ , 'period of time' and  $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$  'care', 'concern'. See M. West, *Theogony* (Oxford 1966) ad 903, and O. Lendle, *Die 'Pandorasage' bei Hesiod* (Würzburg 1957) 42, who points to the late etymologizing that is registered in *Et. Mag.*  $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha < \tau\acute{\omega} \acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ . West feels that the explanation of an etymological innovation is not necessary. As 'seasons' they protected men's cultivated land. The law-and-order side of the Horai, as of the Charites, was a natural outgrowth of their responsibility for the 'flourishing' of human society. In Pindar's *Olympian* 13.6-8, the Horai, daughters of Themis, are linked with the notions of justice and ordered living. In Athens in the fourth century B.C., the citizens expressed their joy and gratitude for the establishment of peace and order by founding the cult of the Charites and the Demos (see above, p.55).

3. West, *ibid.* ad 583, prefers the reading  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\acute{o}$  from the second/third century papyrus 13, over  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma \delta' \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{o} \pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}$  of other mss., on the grounds that the latter reading is probably a reminiscence of *Il.*XIV.183 or *Od.*18.298, and 'unattractive',

since preceded by πολλ' in the same verse. The line is bracketed by Paley.

'Headband' is West's translation of στεφάνη .  
Persephone receives a headband of charis in fr.185 M-W:

Ἀΐδης καὶ Φερσεφόνη  
ἴον· περὶ γὰρ χάριτι στεφάνωσαν (fr. 185.4-5 M-W)

Of 'breathing' charis, cf. the nymph Eurynome (the name given by Hesiod to the mother of the Charites, Theog. 907) who 'breathes' visible beauty out from her eyes: βλεφάρων δ' ἄπ' εἶδες ἄητο , Cat. fr.245.7 M-W), or the beauty that 'breathes around' Demeter bathed in light (περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ τε κάλλος ἄητο, H. Dem. 276). For the synaesthetic importance of breath in archaic poetry see A. Giacomelli, Odi et Amo Ergo Sum (Diss. University of Toronto 1981) 140ff.

4. In the Iliad, XVIII.382, Charis of the 'bright headband' (λίπαρσκηρήδεμνος ) is the wife of Hephaistos.

5. The names of bronze-smiths are assembled in the collection Jn 431 (AES). Transcribed by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (Cambridge 1973) 551, they include ka-ri-se-u: 'Khariseus', which, like ka-ri-si-jo: 'Kharisios', is equivalent to the Greek χαρίσιος , and ka-ro-qo: Kharoq<sup>u</sup>os or Karoq<sup>u</sup>s, an equivalent to the Greek χάρσος or χάρσι. Mycenaean names, like Greek ones, appear to have been significant, denoting qualities like brightness, glory, etc. (See P. Hr. Ilievski, "Some Structural Peculiarities of Mycenaean-Greek Personal Names," in Ventris and Chadwick, 208.) These charis-names would have been appropriate for those working with 'gleaming bronze'. There appears to have been an emergency collection of bronze and bronze-workers at Pylos at the time the tablets were compiled.

6. M. West, Works and Days (Oxford 1978) ad 73-75, cites parallels for the adornment of goddesses, including Aphrodite in Cypria 4, or Eastern parallels such as the Sumerian Inanna who, once bathed, anointed, robed and bejewelled, appears 'like the light of the moon'. The same luminous beauty appears with Aphrodite in the Shield of Heracles. She is πολύχρυσος , 'much golden' (8), and, if West's supplement is right at 74 (fr.43a M-W), a χάρσις light 'breathes' from her form, her skin and her silvery garment.

7. The earrings of Hera, from which χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή (XIV.183), were an indispensable ingredient in the Διὸς ἀνάγη .

8. Fragments 43.4, 70.38, 73.3, 185.20, 196.6 M-W.

9. Sometimes ἀμαρύχματα is used for quick darting glances from the eyes, such as Medea directs at Jason in Arg.III.288. The phrase ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυχαί is used as a simile for the swift thinking carried out by Hermes in H.Hermes 45. From the schol. on Arg.III.1018 we get: ἀμαρυχάς · τὰς οἶον συνεχεῖς κινήσεις. From the Et. Gen.: ἀμαρύττω ... καὶ ἀμάρυγμα καὶ ἀμαρυχάς : τὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκλάμψεις. From Hesych.:

ἀμαρύχματα · λαμπη δόνες  
 ἀμαρύττει · στίλβει, λάμπει  
 ἀμαρύττω · λάμπω, ἀστράπτω  
 ἀμαρύττα · τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

Movement in general was erotically attractive to the Greeks. Sappho describes the allurements of Helen by her ἔρατον βῆμα (fr.16.17V). Even the movement of stepping was sometimes described as a flash of light. See, for example, Pindar's Ol.13.36, αἴγλα ποδῶν, or H.Pyth.Apollo 202-203, αἴγλη δὲ μιν ἀμφίθειναι μαρμαρυχαί τε ποδῶν.

10. C. Brown, in "Anactoria and the Χαρίτων ἀμαρύχματα: Sappho 16.18V," (unpublished) points out that of the five fragments from the Catalogue containing the formula, most can be reconstructed to contain the description of a nubile young woman. Plutarch's gloss on Sappho's ἄχαρις ποῖς (fr.49V) explains ἄχαρις as referring to a girl who has not yet reached the γάμων ἥρα (Amat.751d).

11. For the importance of moisture to growth, see E. Robbins, The Concept of Inspiration in Greek Poetry from Homer to Pindar (Diss. University of Toronto 1968). Robbins describes θαλία and its congeners such as θαλερός, as referring to what 'wells up', 'burgeons', 'grows'. The growth takes place primarily through the movement of liquid, and is therefore particularly applicable to young things. One is reminded of Odysseus' comparing the nubile Nausicaa to a young shoot (θάλος) which he saw growing on Delos (Od.6.157), or of the young Euryalus reared by Aphrodite among the roses, a θάλος of the Charites (Ibycus, 288 PMG). This soft, moist swelling growth dries up with old age:

οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θαλλεῖς ἀπαλὸν χροά· κάρφεται γὰρ ἦδη  
 ἄχμα, κακοῦ δὲ γήραος καθαιρεῖ  
 (Archil. fr.188 W)

It also dries up with sexual wear and tear: the bloom falls off the maiden flower and charis disappears:

ἄνθος δ' ἀπερρύηκε παρθενίον  
 καὶ χάρις ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆν  
 (Pap. Colon. fr.S478P)

The importance of moisture to youth and growth is

reflected in the name of one of the Charites, Thalia. Θαλία appears to be a cognate of θάλασσα, as E. Robbins argues convincingly in the appendix to his dissertation (259ff.). Its suffix -ια is added to the root θαλ -, indicating a feminine creature bearing the qualities of growth, flourishing, etc. Thaleia, as Robbins points out (260), is a Nereid in Homer (Il.XVII.39). Thalia the Charis represents the (moist) growth of youth reaching their fertile prime, as she would have presided over the tender growth of plants as a fertility-goddess.

12. The formula is found elsewhere, e.g. Il.III.53, IX.397, Od.7.66, H.Dem.79, Theog.997. West, op.cit. (above n.2) ad 881-1020, argues on linguistic grounds that the formula was probably inserted by a successor of Hesiod, but the inspiration was alive for the composition of the epic, and remained an archaic view.

13. The scholiast glosses this with the advice to measure out the kairos of the tongue, the appropriate time and place of its utterance. This is a favourite topos of Pindar, who claims for himself just this social and poetic skill. Pindar's concern for the appropriateness of the tongue's expression is found, for example, at Ol.6.82-83, Ol.11.9, and Isth.6.71-73b. Pindar's view of the powers of the tongue exhibit both a consistency with, and development from, Hesiod's conception expressed at Op.709. (See L. Woodbury, "The Tongue and the Whetstone," TAPA 86 (1955) 31-39.)

14. This translation takes χάριν as an accusative of respect. Attempts have been made to take it as a preposition, the first such occurrence in Greek literature. This gives a translation which is not inappropriate ("Don't lie, by the grace of -- i.e. thanks to, i.e. 'with' -- your tongue.") But the prepositional use of χάριν does not occur regularly until later (see M. West, Hesiod, Works and Days (Oxford 1978) ad loc.), and parallel cases of the association of γλώσσα and χάρις cited by H. Fränkel, Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy (Oxford 1975) 128 n.26, account for several possibilities of interpretation. The susceptibility of both γλώσσα and χάρις to πειθῶ, the power of persuasion, makes the association a natural one. In attempting to get at the meaning of the Hesiodic passage, M. West, *ibid.*, points to Il.VII.351-352, ἄρκια πιστά / ψευδάμενοι, where Antenor points out that the Greek warriors have perjured themselves. If this oxymoron is indeed a parallel to Op.709, it suggests that, as one expects ἄρκια to be πιστά, so everyone recognizes that words from the tongue have the capacity to please (∴ χάρις ).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHARIS IN THE THEOGNIDEA

### Argument

Book I of the Theognidean collection contains moral advice based on the principle of 'giving what is due'. When favours are returned between friends, the relationship is described as 'fertile': reciprocating kindness bears fruit and is ultimately in one's best interests. This calls to mind Socrates' description in the Gorgias of a society based on 'geometric equality': due portions of good things are given out between people and are taken back. In a society riven by two groups of people, the ἀγαθοί and the κακοί, the former adhere to this principle, whereas the latter are selfish and cannot return good for good. They have no sense of 'the other', hence cannot express aidos or charis.

In Book II, this same language is used, but the reality is different. No longer do social relations express 'geometric equality', but a shifting pattern of inequality, as lovers and their beloved jostle for superiority in the conventional pursuit that was characteristic of homosexual love. Aidos and charis are asked of the beloved, in return for gifts etc. from the lover, but also out of pity for his wretchedness. When the exchange does take place, a bond is established, similar to that between friends which is characterized by charis. But the bond is frequently broken, and in the pain of unrequited love the lover, paradoxically, experiences charis, a bittersweet pleasure in the game.



In Plato's Gorgias, Socrates objects to the claim of Callicles that intemperance, the pursuing of selfish ends (πλεονεξία) is an appropriate goal. The heavens, the gods, and men, says Socrates, are bound together by the same principles of common fellowship and friendship, by order, temperance and justice. No one can escape the fact that the universe is ordered throughout, and this order is described as 'geometric equality':

φασὶ δ' οἱ σοφοί, ὧ καλλίκλεις, καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν  
καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὴν κοινωνίαν συνέχειν καὶ  
φιλίαν καὶ κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην,  
καὶ τὸ ἅπλυν τοῦτο διὰ τούτων κόσμον καλεῖσθαι, ὧ  
ἑταῖρε, οὐκ ἀκοσμίαν οὐδὲ ἀκολασίαν σὺ δέ μοι  
δοκεῖς οὐ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις, καὶ τὰτα σοφὸς  
ᾧν, ἀλλὰ λέληθέεν σε ὅτι ἡ ἰσότης ἢ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ  
ἐν θεοῖς καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις μέγα δύναται, σὺ δὲ  
πλεονεξίαν οἶε δέειν ἀσκεῖν· γεωμετρίας γὰρ ἀμελεῖς  
(Gorgias 508A)

What the nature of this 'geometric equality' is, which governs the cosmos in all its parts, Plato doesn't specify, but it would be consistent with the model of dike that is based on the distribution of 'due portions'. In social behaviour, this dictates that one must pay to others the portion that is their 'due'. This saves the social order from anarchy.

Book I: Charis between friends: paying what is due

In the first book of the Theognidean corpus, we encounter the repeated warning against making friends with those people the poet calls δειλοί or κακοί. These people like Callicles, are selfish: they do not reciprocate kindnesses, and ignore the principle of paying what is due.<sup>1</sup> One of the most thoroughgoing defences of mutual benefits occurs in Theognis' address to Cyrnus at 101ff. The poet warns Cyrnus of such relationships that demonstrate the 'least charis':

μηδεις δ' ἀνθρώπων πείσῃ κακὸν ἄνδρα φιλήσαι  
 κῦρρε· τί δ' ἐστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὢν;  
 οὔτ' ἂν σ' ἐκ χαλεποῖο πένου ῥύσαστο καὶ ἄτης.  
 οὔτε κεν ἐσθλὸν ἔχων τοῦ μεταδεῦν ἐθέλοι.  
 δειλοῦς δ' εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτῃ χάρις ἐδὶν.  
 ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πάντων ἄλως πολιῆς.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πάντων σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶις  
 οὔτε κακοῦς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις  
 ἀπληστον γὰρ ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον· ἦν δ' ἐν ἀμάρτηις  
 τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχυται φιλέτης.  
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπαυρίσκουσι παθόντες  
 μῆμα δ' ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ χάριν ἐξεπίσω.  
 (101-112)

Theognis has in mind a continuing chain of benefactions, which he would expect to find in a friendship with the ἀγαθοί. But offering favours to the greedy δειλοί carries no advantage: such actions are sterile, they will bear no fruit, no recompense (χάρις, 105). The better sort of people, the ἀγαθοί, who know how to reciprocate favours, unlike their base counterparts, turn a blind eye to the gravest of faults in a friend. This is because they can recall the services they had received from the friendship, and the gratification (χάριν, 112) they felt from this.<sup>2</sup> This is enlightened self-

interest: it entails returning to the benefactor his 'due', realizing that one's own portion of good is assured by this. This is reciprocal charis, fertile, like the natural fecundity which was guaranteed by the Charites as vegetation-goddesses.

In other elegies (not addressed to Cynus), the poet describes his reactions to unreciprocated favour, when such charis is not forthcoming. As the angry Achilles demonstrated in the Iliad, this provokes the disposition to calculate gains and losses:

δειλοῦς εὖ ἔρδεντι δύνω κακὰ · τῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
ληρώσει πολλῶν , καὶ χάρις οὐδεμία .

(955-956)

Good deeds to the δειλοί do not proceed from the easy flow of benefits between friends, but are assessed like an investment. With the δειλοί one is bound to sustain a loss. The abused benefactor will wish for retaliation-in-kind, the reverse of the charis-exchange:

εἴ τι παθῶν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ ἀγαθὸν μέγα μὴ χάριν οἶδας  
λοηίζων ἡμετέρους αὐθις ἴκοιο<sup>3</sup> δόμοις

(957-958)

If the self-seeking recipient asks for more favours, he is likely to meet with a stubborn refusal:

οκέπτει δὴ νῦν ἄλλον · ἐμοί γε μὲν οὐτις ἀνάγκη  
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν · τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεισθ .

(1095-1096)

The donor feels justified in his refusal of additional kindness because he has not yet received a service-in-return (χάριν),<sup>4</sup> proof positive of the gratification and gratitude of the recipient.

In a healthy relationship between friends, the gratification which a benefactor receives is instantaneous -- there is no need for words:

εὖ ἔρδων εὖ πάσχε τί κ' ἄγγελον ἄλλον ἰάλλοις,  
τῆς εὐεργεσίης ῥηϊδίη ἀγγελίη.

(573-574)

The ability of good deeds to arouse pleasure consists in the sense that one has been singled out for honour: the poet is composing his verse from a social milieu that is sensitive to praise and blame. Sometimes the trust that is built up in a relationship of mutual respect is broken, when one is deceived by a lie. Assuming that the respect one is accustomed to receive is still operative, one feels an initial sense of pleasure, however small, but the betrayal makes the false favour an evil thing. The anticipated gain becomes a source of shame:

ἀρχῆι ἐπι ψεύδους μικρὰ χάρις · εἰς δὲ τελευτῆν  
αἰσχρὸν δὴ κέρδος καὶ κακόν, ἀμφοτέρων

(607-608)

In this last distich, charis bears the sense of 'gratification', not 'gratitude' or the expression thereof. But all three senses of the word are found in the Theognidea: 'gratitude' is the principal sense of 112 and 957; return-favours are indicated by the charis of 105 and 1096.

The Charites occur twice in Book I. The corpus is introduced by a set of four short poems addressed to gods and goddesses. The Charites occur in a quatrain with the Muses, and the two groups of goddesses are featured as singing a καλὸν ... ἔπος at the wedding of Cadmos and Harmonia. This is followed by the proverbial sentiment<sup>5</sup> that 'what is beautiful is beloved':

ὅτι καλὸν φίλον ἐστὶ, γὰρ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον ἐστὶ  
(17)

Van Groningen points out the valeur esthétique of the quatrain, but detaches it from the other addresses to deities in the proem and conjectures that it was drawn

from a symposium where there was a discussion of art. Whatever its initial occasion may have been,<sup>6</sup> it was at some point added to the corpus to offer aesthetic praise of the collection. It is followed in the next poem by Theognis' contention that his elegies contain good moral advice, for which no one would substitute something worse:

οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιστον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος  
(21)

The quality of his work, guaranteed by his seal (σφραγίς, 19) is unimpeachable, on aesthetic and moral grounds.<sup>7</sup> As the presence of the Charites assured the attractiveness of the poet's words (ὅτι καλὸν φίλον ἐστί), so they could preside over the beauty of good behaviour.<sup>8</sup>

In the lengthy elegy beginning at 1135 (not addressed to Cyrnus), the poet laments the loss of good conduct. The Charites leave human company for Olympos, along with Pistis and Sophrosyne. When Pistis goes, contracts between men are no longer kept (ὄρκου δ' οὐκέτι πιστοῦ, 1139). This elegy may have been added to the collection considerably later than the contributions of Theognis,<sup>9</sup> but the content is consistent with the thought of earlier poems. The companionship of Sophrosyne with the Charites is significant. This may be the earliest occasion on which sophrosyne adopted moral and social implications. Prior to this, the word referred to 'sound-mindedness', a quality which benefitted its possessor, without particular regard for others.<sup>10</sup> At 1138, sophrosyne is found in a definite social context, and is similar in meaning to aidos: it represents a respect for others, for the social group, qualities that are regularly found in social interactions which express charis. Like charis and aidos, sophrosyne is the opposite of hybris<sup>11</sup>: it is essential to the cosmic order based on

the fair distribution of portions that was argued by Socrates in the Gorgias.

Social sensitivity, aidos, is perhaps the fundamental quality missing in the δειλοί: lacking this sensitivity, they cannot express charis. "No better treasury," says Theognis to Cyrnus, "will you put aside for your children, than aidos, which follows ἀγαθεί" (409-410).<sup>12</sup> Cyrnus, the addressee of the elegies composed by Theognis, appears to need the corrective advice to demonstrate aidos, to act with the social awareness that is a hallmark of the ἀγαθεί. The poet has given him the greatest gift of all, he reminds Cyrnus in the elegy of 237ff., but has not received the aidos which was due him in return. Instead of receiving honour, he is deceived, as if he were a small child:

αὐτὰρ ἔχων ὀλίγησ παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδούς  
 ἄλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγους μ' ἀπατᾶς

(253-254)

Hope of honour world-wide motivated the poetry of Theognis ("Θεύχνηδός ἐστιν ἔπη / τοῦ Μεγαρέως", πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐνομαστός 22-23), but the lack of honour received from contemporaries, and the lack of charis that would reflect this, informed the elegies of Book I. From the δειλοί, the poet expects no better treatment; hybris is just part of their nature. From Cyrnus he hopes for better.

### Book II: Charis and the Love-chase

In the second book of the Theognidea (probably not composed by the poet Theognis) we again encounter a protest against the fall from good behaviour, but while the charge resembles that levelled against the uncivilized κακί of Book I, it must be seen against

the backdrop of the game of love, in which the poet (or poets) of the second book are very much engaged. The rules of this game involved a certain amount of posturing: the lover was expected to pursue the beloved like a hunter his quarry, and the beloved was expected to make at least the gesture of refusal of the gifts and favours offered by the lover.<sup>13</sup> This refusal would provoke an outcry from the lover, that the latter was behaving unjustly, not showing charis etc. The language used is the same as that governing the would-be symmetrical friendship-relationships of Book I, but conventional homosexual male liaisons in early and Classical Greece were by nature asymmetrical. The beloved, the quarry of the amorous hunter was, on the one hand, regarded as the inferior of his lover. He was called παῖς or παιδικά, and was the passive member of the couple (ἐρώμενος), as opposed to the 'active' lover (ἐραστής). But the pattern of the asymmetry was not stable: inasmuch as the beloved refused to reciprocate the gifts etc. of the lover, he had the power to hold his lover at bay, to reduce him to a state of (willing) slavery.<sup>14</sup> From Plato's Symposium we learn that lovers in such a state were both praised and censured (183B, 183D). The vows taken by lovers were commonly forsworn, but this was pardoned by the gods (183B). Elsewhere in the Theognidea (1139) and in Hesiod (Op.190), the breaking of vows indicated the breakdown of moral behaviour, of the control of dike. However, when we encounter the charge of the erotic poet of Book II that his beloved is not observing dike, not demonstrating aidos and charis, we must not assign to it the same historical force we concede to the protests against the δειλοί in Book I. The protests were a convention of the love-game.<sup>15</sup>

Hence we find the lover demanding aidos and charis of the beloved. "Show respect for me and give me

charis," the poet demands, "if you ever expect to be the pursuer in love one day":

αἰδέο' μ' ὦ παῖ < > Σιδεὺς χάριν, εἴ ποτε καὶ σὺ  
 ἔξεις Κυπρογενεὺς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου  
 χρηίζων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον ἐλεύθεαι

(1331-1333)

The lover is making a plea for the aidos and reciprocity he feels he is due, much as the poet of Book I asks of an ungrateful recipient of benefits τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσσι (1096). But here the lover bases his plea on the assurance of long-term, not immediate, gratification, and the beloved is not being promised a return-favour but success in the pursuit of a beloved at some future date.<sup>16</sup>

In the elegy beginning at 1263, the poet blames the beloved for requiting good with evil, for not showing him the charis that is his due:

ὦ παῖ, ὅς εὖ ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν  
 οὐδέ τις ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ χάρις παρὰ σοί,  
 οὐδέν πώ μ' ὠνήσας· ἐγὼ δέ σε πολλάκις ἤδη  
 εὖ ἔρδων αἰδέοις οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.

(1263-1266)

In response to ἀγαθά, the παῖς owes charis, no doubt in the form of erotic favours.<sup>17</sup> A benefactor-lover should 'profit from' (ὠνήσας) his investment of ἀγαθά, getting sexual satisfaction and respect. Aidos, like charis, has been translated from the general social sphere into the specific context of love-affairs.<sup>18</sup>

At 1319ff., the poet puns on the word charis, making a double appeal to the beloved. He uses it first to flatter the ἐρώμενος, trying to entice a favour from him by pleasing him with a reference to his beauty, described as a ἡμερόεσσαν χάριν. He uses charis a second time to beg a favour from the beloved, hoping to elicit this favour (ἐμήν χάριν) out of pity for his wretched condition:



Ὡ παῖ , ἐπεὶ τοι δῶκε θεὰ χάριν ἡμερόεσσαν  
 Κύπρις , σὺν δ' εἶδος πᾶσι νέοισι μέλει.  
 γῶνδ' ἐπάκουσον ἑπῶν καὶ ἑμὴν χάριν ἔνθεο θυμῶι  
 γινῶς ἔρος ὡς χαλεπὸν γίνεταλ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.  
 (1319-1322)

Charis and its cognates were no strangers to the game of love, and the erotic connotations in this elegy are strong. As the Charites, companions of Aphrodite, have eyes that 'drip eros' and dwell beside 'Ἴμερος on Olympos (Theog.910,64), so Aphrodite has given the beloved a χάριν ἡμερόεσσαν , an irresistibly desirable beauty.<sup>19</sup> Asking the beloved to perform a service, described as ἑμὴν χάριν ἔνθεο θυμῶι , is an unmistakable request for an erotic favour, not in requital for a gift, but out of pity. Now the poet avoids the language of justice in favour of other conventions recognized in the game of love, and charis is a key word in the vocabulary. In this elegy, the evocative power of charis is heightened by its allusiveness, and its repetition in the same metrical position in both hexameters. Referring at first to the boy's beauty, then to the gratification that would be gained by the boy's compliance, the 'pleasure' requested (χάριν , 1321) is, in fact, the possession of the boy's body (χάριν , 1319).

In the elegy beginning at 1299, the poet again implores a beloved to give him the charis of erotic pleasure. The poem contains a love-pursuit, and the unyielding beloved is accused of being greedy and headstrong, like a kite:

ὦ παῖ, μέχρι τίνος με προφρεύξαι; ὡς σε Διῶκω;  
 δίξην· ἀλλὰ τί μοι τέρμα γένεται κιχῆν  
 τσησαιχη· σὺ δὲ μάρχον ἔχων καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμὸν  
 φεύξεις ἰκτίνου σχέλιον ἤθους ἔχων·  
 ἀλλ' ἐπίμεινον, ἐμοὶ δὲ δίδου χάριν· οὐκέτι Σηρὸν  
 ἔξεις Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου.

(1299-1304)

"Stay," he pleads, "give me charis, because the gift of love is not within your reach for long." The grounds for granting the charis recall those behind the request of 1311ff. The beloved is advised to take a long view of things: at 1331ff., his compliance is connected with success in future love-pursuits of his own; at 1303ff., he is asked to grant his charis out of a consideration that his beauty will soon be gone, and he had better enjoy pursuers while he can. While the former argument relies upon faith in an extended reward-for-services, in the latter elegy the poet bases his argument on fear, the fear that there will soon be no more opportunity for such pleasure. In the earlier poem he utilizes the generally accepted principles of justice; in the latter he is the wheedling lover. His accusation, that the beloved is 'greedy' (μάρχον, 1301), recalls the language used for the *δειλοῖ* in Book I. When he calls the beloved 'headstrong' and 'cruel' (1301-1302) he switches to the language of the imploring lover.

At 1337ff., the poet-lover rejects the beloved:

οὐκέτ' ἐρῶ παιδός, χαλεπᾶς δ' ἀπελάκτις· ἀνίας,  
 μόχθους ἰ' ἀρχαλέους ἀσμενος ἐξέφυχον.  
 ἐκλέλυμαι δὲ πόθου πρὸς εὐστεφάνου κυθερείης  
 σοὶ δ' ὦ παῖ χάρις ἔστ' οὐδεμία πρὸς ἐμοῦ.

(1337-1340)<sup>20</sup>

Having suffered enough, the lover is freed from desire for the παῖς. This deliverance is achieved at the hands of Aphrodite. The consequence for the παῖς is

that there will be no more charis issuing from the lover. From the love-goddess (πρός, 1339) comes the pleasure of liberation; from the lover (πρός, 1340) comes no pleasure for the παῖς. Whereas the elegies of Book II considered so far have been pleas for charis from the beloved, at 1340 the poet refers to the charis a lover can offer to the beloved. The latter charis likely consisted of the enjoyment of gifts from the lover, paideia etc., standard offerings from an ἐραστής.<sup>21</sup>

Although the complaint of a lack of return-pleasure is a constant refrain in these love-elegies, in the distich of 1367-1368 this charis is admittedly more reliable than that offered by a ἑταίρη :

παῖδες τοῦ χάρις ἐστί· γυναικὶ δὲ πιστὸς ἑταῖρος  
οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ.  
(1367-1368)

From a boy, a lover can hope for a charis-bond based upon favours/gratitude/return-favours. This is sharply distinguished from the kind of relationship one expects to have with a woman.<sup>22</sup> The latter type is characterized by 'one night stands', with no bonds of affection established. The woman enjoys and provides only the momentary gratification of sex. This is not charis: while charis often includes the pleasure of sex it embraces much more.

This same fickleness, however, is attributed to a παῖς in this elegy:

οὐδαμὰ πω κατέμεινας ἐμὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πᾶσαν  
αἰεὶ σπουδαίην ἔρχεται ἀγγελίην.  
(1373-1374)

The boy will not linger, for his lover's sake.<sup>23</sup> Like the fickle woman, he is unwilling to sustain a relationship bred from charis. He will not stay beyond the moment: when he gains immediate satisfaction, he is not prompted to reciprocate, to keep in mind the

continuing gratification of his lover, but is off elsewhere for another fling.

Once in the Theognidean collection, charis refers to a private, not a social, pleasure -- one that does not immediately involve a partner, whether friend or lover. At 1369ff., the poet admits that in the very poignancy of a love-relationship with a παῖς, when one is torn between pleasure and pain, gain and loss, there is a certain charis:

Παιδὸς ἔρως καλὸς μὲν ἔχειν, καλὸς δ' ἀποθέσθαι  
πολλὸν δ' εὐρέσθαι ῥηίτερον ἢ τελέσαι.  
μυρία δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ κρέματα κακὰ, μυρία δ' εὐθλά.  
ἄλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ τις ἔνεστι χάρις  
(1369-1372)

As love is spoken of as καλός, 'beautiful', both in the holding and in the letting go, so in the tension between the good and evil that it brings there is a certain aesthetic/emotional pleasure. Charis, often associated with beauty and the pleasure of beholding it, refers here to the pleasurable feeling of the poet, as he savours the bittersweet intensity of the experience. The same feeling was expressed by other Greek love-poets, who engaged in the frustrations of the chase for a love-quarry, and enjoyed the whetting of their agonistic appetite. A. Carson Giacomelli studied this critical moment of a love-affair, before the quarry is caught, when the lover "can feel both desire for the beloved as an object to be pursued and respect for him as an equal who refuses to be subdued."<sup>24</sup> She derives the paradox from a conflict of values already apparent in Homer, the cooperative, demonstrated by such conventions as xenia, and the competitive, familiar from the ἀριστεία of warriors intent upon gaining the largest share of public acclaim and booty. In the piquancy of the moment, when love's passion is rebuffed, the most deeply-rooted Greek

values are exposed in all their intensity. The poet of the Theognidean elegy finds a pleasure that is correspondingly intense, a pleasure that partakes of the beautiful and the erotic, appropriately called charis.

In the lover's struggle which reveals basic values in conflict, the inconsistencies of the claims made in the love-elegies discussed above make sense. On the model of cooperation, the lover argues for reciprocal charis, shared by equals. He accuses the beloved of requiting good with evil (1263ff.). He promises the reward of future success as a lover to the beloved who shows him charis and aidos (1332ff.). But as the loser in the contest, the rejected and servile lover begs for charis bred of pity (1319) or of the fear that the opportunity will be lost (1299). In the rejection of the beloved, the lover is once again ahead in the game, and threatens to withdraw his charis (1337). Charis, the gratification that only the partner-elect can supply, is buffeted about with the inconsistent and inconstant demands of love. At times echoing the symmetrical gratification of friendship demanded in Book I, at times referring to the satisfaction of a (postured) inferior, it retains throughout that all-important sense of pleasure at receiving one's 'due portion'.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The κακοί / δειλοί are probably to be identified with a populist movement threatening the aristocratic control of Megara in the mid/late sixth century B.C. Theognis belonged to the class of aristocrats (ἀγαθοί), in whose hands fell the administration of justice. The poet himself was called upon to judge a case (543-546), where he stresses the necessity for absolute fairness, and it is the hybris of the δειλοί that he accounts responsible for the crisis that has befallen the city.

2. This same sequence is found in Homer and Hesiod (Il.XIV.235, Theog.503-505). In both cases the gratification issues in a return-favour. The sequence of feelings and actions is done a disservice by being translated into English as 'gratitude'. Edmonds' translation of Theognis 112, "whereas they keep remembrance afterward of good that is done them and abide grateful for it" suggests a static rather than a dynamic response to the services of a friend. The latter is clearly indicated by the reference earlier in the elegy to return-benefits.

That this response is not characteristic of the δειλοί is also maintained in the elegy of 853-854 (not addressed to Cyrnus):

ἦ ἴδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λῶιον ἤδη  
οὐνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις (853-854)

3. Van Groningen, Theognis, le premier livre (Amsterdam 1966) (hereafter: Van Groningen) ad loc., points out that this is an 'optatif pur', and translates with "je souhaite que tu viennes encore une fois", sous-entendu "et tu verras comment tu seras reçu." The wish is for the law of dike to be called into play, to produce an equilibrium in the tally of goods and services.

Assuming that there has been a reversal in circumstances in Megara, that Theognis with the ἀγαθοί suffers from loss of wealth and prestige (341-350, 351-354), while the δειλοί enjoy new wealth and power, the poet has additional reason for wishing to see them come begging to his door.

4. The phrase χάριν τίθεσθαι indicates that here an action of some kind is required. Van Groningen gives as the normal translation of the phrase "rendre

service". He gives parallel passages in the dramatists, pointing out that the phrase *χαρὶν κατατίθεσθαι* as found in Herodotus, indicates "celui qui rend un service et s'assure, de la sorte, de la reconnaissance de l'autre." In Theognis, as he points out, the combination with *τῶν πρέσβε* argues for *charis*' bearing the sense not only of gratitude but of a demonstration of this.

The distich occurs in an altered form at 1160a-b, where the mss. give the confusing *ὦ νέεο οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες* in place of *σκέπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον*. West substitutes *ὠνέο σοι νῦν ἄλλον* at 1160a, giving the sense that material goods will not be provided until some return-benefit is provided by the recipient.

5. Plato (*Lys.*216C) refers to the expression *τὸ καλὸν φίλον* as an *ἀρχαία παροιμία*. Van Groningen cites the parallel expression in Eur. *Bacchae* 881,901. To this may be added Sappho's priamel of fr.16V, where she reverses this popular sentiment by contending not that the beautiful is lovable, but that loving something makes it beautiful: what is *κάλλιστον* is *ὅτι τῷ τις ἐραται*.

6. He offers two alternatives, a marriage or a symposium, and rejects the first on the (debatable) grounds that emphasis on marriage is rare in Greek literature, and that it would be difficult to see at what point the poem could have been inserted into the Greek wedding ritual. One can legitimately raise the question why these two alternatives need to be raised. The poem could have been composed simply as a poem for this collection of elegies, along the lines of the addresses to gods and goddesses which constitute the Homeric Hymns. Like the Charites, Apollo Mousagetes is appropriately invoked in the first of these four preliminary poems.

7. For this interpretation of the seal, see L. Woodbury, "The Seal of Theognis," *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto 1952) 20-41. For the application of the word *καλός* to both aesthetic and ethical achievements, see W. Jaeger, *Paideia* (New York 1976) 35.

8. Cf. the *δοῦσῆν* ... *χαρίεσσα* which will be composed about the good behaviour of Penelope (*Od.*24.197-198).

9. The abstraction and allegorization of qualities like *ἐλπίς*, *πίστις* and *σωφροσύνη* led Carrière to propose that the elegy contained thought that was even post-Socratic (*Theognis de Mégare: Etude sur le recueil élégiaque attribué à ce poète*, (Paris 1948) 130-131).

10. Helen North, Sophrosyne (Ithaca 1966) 16ff.
11. In the first fragment of Alcman (1PMG, 16-21) the Spartan poet denounces the hybristic aspirations of men to enter heaven or to wed Aphrodite. The Charites, however, enter the house of Zeus (it appears so, at any rate, -- the text is fragmentary) and associate with Aphrodite (their eyes are described as ἐραγλεφάρου). Further, the departure of the Charites for the house of Zeus takes place in a mythological passage describing social disharmony in Sparta, the rivalry between the Tyndarids and the Hippocoontids.
12. The line is repeated (and adapted) at 1161-1162, with a change in the pentameter to ἦν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι Κύρνα δίδωσι. Whether this is a parody of the earlier verse (so taken by Welcker) or a simple misreading/mis-hearing of the text as Van Groningen suggests, the idea of reciprocity is preserved.
13. For a careful elaboration of this point, see A. Carson Giacomelli, Odi et Amo ergo Sum (Diss. University of Toronto 1981) 47ff. She illustrates this posturing with the scene familiar from vase-painting where "a man touching a boy on chin and genitals was the customary gesture of courting and ... the boy was intended to retaliate with the equally customary gesture of defence (right arm turning away man's hand from chin)".
14. As described by Pausanias in Plato's Symposium 183A: καὶ ἐβέλοντες δουλείας δουλεύειν οἷός τις εὐδ' ἀνδρῶν δουλῶν. The type of sacrifices undergone by lovers is described in the speech of Lysias quoted by Phaedrus in Phaedrus 231A.
15. M. Vetta, in the introduction to his commentary on Book II, Theognis Elegiarum Liber Secundus (Rome 1980) (hereafter referred to as Vetta) xxxvii, distinguishes the elegiac tradition deriving from Mimnermus and that from Solon. The lover's dike would not necessarily be Solon's.
16. A. Giacomelli, in "The Justice of Aphrodite in Sappho Fr.1," TAPA 110 (1980) 135-142, points out that Greek love-poetry frequently considered a form of attenuated justice in love affairs. Often this takes the form of a rejected lover's anticipating revenge when his/her unresponsive beloved one day becomes a lover and is similarly rejected. Sappho uses the language of justice in fr.1, when Aphrodite (her supposed advocate) asks τίς δ' ᾧ / Ψάπφ', ἀδικήεις; (19-20).



17. Vetta, 68, points out that pederastic charis "è sempre della sfera d'attività dell' eromenos," and cites 1303, 1331, 1340, 1373 as examples. Further, he says, "ma sarebbe semplicistico ridurre tutto soltanto a disponibilità sessuale," and gives several parodies of this from comedy.

18. Vetta, 67: "È chiara invece la piena interferenza del codice erotico e del codice sociopolitico. L'  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\ \epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$  che obbliga alla  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  nel rapporto erotico (reciprocità e fedeltà) è calco dell' obbligo alla  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  del codice elitario politico."

19. This recalls the unction of charis poured over Odysseus by Athena in Od.6.235, which made him irresistible to Nausicaa, although he was a stranger. It also recalls the Hesiodic account of the creation of Pandora (Op.65ff.), where Aphrodite sheds charis over the young woman who will lead men to 'embrace their own ruin' (Op.58).

20. This is divided into two distichs by Vetta.

21. Vetta, 67, quotes Plato (Phaedrus 232C), where the  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$  which an  $\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  can offer to an  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  consist in  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  and  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ .

22. Vetta, 138, points out that the (anti-feminine) contrast between pederasty and heterosexuality, found in Plut. (Amat.750dff.) became a literary topos in Hellenistic literature.

23.  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  functions here as an accusative in apposition, exerting prepositional force. Its meaning, as Hudson-Williams points out, Elegies of Theognis (London 1910) ad loc., is close to the  $\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\iota\sigma\kappa\omega\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  of 1303.

24. Giacomelli, op.cit. (above n.13) 52, cites for comparison A.P.12-203 and 12.153, and quotes K. Dover, "Eros and Nomos," B.I.C.S.44 (1964) 38: "Those who hunt as a recreation and not for a living have a poor opinion of a quarry which waits to be caught, and it was precisely the difficulty of seducing boys that fed the Greek appetite for emulation and enhanced the glamour of success."

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHARIS: SAPPHO, THE MELIC, ELEGIAC AND IAMBIC POETS

### Argument

Charm and seduction are central to much of Sappho's poetry, and charis or the Charites enrich her poetic landscape which is filled with sensual desire. Drawing upon the easy association between human and natural lushness and beauty, Sappho describes as full of charis the most appealing sensuality of nature or of human beauty. She introduces the Charites in their role as promoters of human fertility, describing them as ἀβραῖ , fresh and tender as new growth in nature. As ἀχναῖ the Charites are potent divinities. Perhaps, like Aphrodite with her smile, they are regarded by Sappho as actually stimulating new growth in nature, particularly the most attractive growth, flowers. The 'flowering' of young women, women at their ῥοα , receives the attention of the Charites; such a woman has charis. In the Sapphic ambience the luminous power of the eyes, or of the moon or sun, together with the moist tenderness of the young or of flowers and verdant growth in nature, is released for the pleasure of human love.

The lyric, iambic and elegiac poets celebrated the connection between charis and love. They praised the χαρίεις body, the charis from the eyes or from adornment that lured a lover. On occasion, the poets saw virtue emanating like the charis of beauty. Attraction, allurement, was possible because experiencing beauty (physical or moral) was pleasure-giving. Just so was the charis of reciprocal favours. When such charis was not forthcoming, the poets advised ignoring the offenders or exacting retribution. The Charites, through their association with the Muses and poetry, and with the joys of a social gathering where songs were sung, became identified with poetry itself. Sometimes this was expressed through the metaphor of the mixing-bowl of wine, sometimes through witty double- and triple-entendres. But the circuit within which the charis of love or the exchange of pleasures could flourish was a social one, confined to living mortals (and the gods). To be separated from one's friends by death was to lose esteem and the chance to enjoy beauty. It amounted to being deprived of charis, the worst of all possible circumstances.

Max Treu, in Von Homer zur Lyrik,<sup>1</sup> focuses on the importance of a 'sympathy' with nature that can be felt in the verses of the early Greek poets. Beginning with Odysseus' likening of Nausicaa to a tender sapling, poets made an easy association between humans and plants/flowers. So Sappho likens a bridegroom to a tender sapling (fr.112)<sup>2</sup>, and a young girl to a sweet red apple (fr.105a) or to a hyacinth (fr.105b). Wolfgang Schadewalt, in Sappho (Potsdam 1950) 15, refers to this continuum as an unbroken line between the inner and the outer expression of an elemental power felt by the lyric poets, an elemental power that ultimately included the divine.<sup>3</sup> In the *ιερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera (Il.XIV.347ff.) the beauty of Hera awakens nature as it does love and pleasure.<sup>4</sup> Sappho, whose poetry is pervaded by eros, human passion, fuses the elements of this passion with the sights, scents and sounds of nature in its most sensuous and flourishing moments. The Charites, handmaidens of Aphrodite in the fostering of beauty and the pleasures of love, are described by Sappho in terms redolent of the tender and appealing beauty of nature.

The Charites are invoked in fr.128 as *ἄβραι*, 'delicate', 'tender', qualities equally appropriate to youths and maidens or to vegetation.<sup>5</sup> Sappho confesses to loving *ἀβροσύνα*, 'delicacy', 'lushness', in lines that have been variously interpreted:<sup>6</sup>

ἔχω δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν, ] | τοῦτο καὶ μὲν  
τὸ λάμπρον ἔρως ἀελίῳ καὶ τὸ κάλλον λέλειχε  
(58.25-26)

Whatever the exact translation would be (impossible to determine with confidence because of the lacuna), it is clear that Sappho is associating with eros the sun, the

beautiful, and the luxuriant.<sup>7</sup> Love opens her up to the sensuality of young growth, in nature and in human beings. The fragmentary lines earlier in the poem make reference to aging, and to Tithonus' lost youth. Sappho may be making the claim that eros and its power of responding to ἀβροσύνα are vital signs of life richly lived at any age. Even death holds out the promise for Sappho of Acheron's moist and flower-covered river-bank (fr.95.11-13).

Sappho's predilection for moist, tender growth can be seen in her frequent use of the word ἀπαλός -- 'soft', 'tender', applied variously to hands binding garlands (fr.81.5), to the young Gyrinno (fr.82a), to a companion on whose breast one might lie (fr.126), to a neck encircled with flowery garlands (fr.94.16), to a soft young παῖς picking flowers (fr.122) or to the tender young growth stimulated by dew in the moonlight of Sardis (fr.96.13).

Although the word charis occurs but three times in the extant fragments of Sappho, the Charites are found more frequently, in contexts rich with Sappho's sympathetic response to the moist, tender growth of nature. The Charites were of course venerated in cult by the early Greeks for just those qualities that were most important to Sappho. Their province included natural and human fertility, flowers, light, and love, and it was the young who performed in the celebrations that belonged to their cult.<sup>8</sup> Beauty, loveliness, attraction, vital signs of natural as of human flourishing, were essential to the Charites.<sup>9</sup>

It was in the springtime that, for the early Greeks as for us, love and young growth flourished;<sup>10</sup> this was the season to invoke Aphrodite and the Charites.<sup>11</sup> So we find Stesichorus in his Oresteia composing a hymn to the Charites, when spring arrives with the delicacy of new growth, ἀβρῶς:<sup>12</sup>

τοιάδε χρῆ χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικέμων  
 ὕμνεϊν φρέσχιον μέλος ἐξευρόντας ἀβρῶς<sup>12</sup>  
 ἦρος ἐπερχομένου

(Stesichorus, 212, PMG)

Similarly, Aphrodite is invited by Sappho to pour nectar ἀβρῶς, as the poet basks in the images of spring growth<sup>13</sup> and sensuality (fr.2.14). In this ode we find the Sapphic combination of moisture (ὕδωρ ψῦχρον, 5), light (αἰθυσομένων ... φύλλων, 7) and flowers (ἀρόδοισι, 6, and (.)ριν|νοισι † ἄνθεσιν, 8). This is the grove described by Sappho as χαρίεν, full of charis. The application of this adjective to a grove was first made by Sappho, as Max Treu pointed out.<sup>14</sup> Such intimate familiarity with, and delight in, the beauty of nature was a departure from the more objective Homeric description of an ἄλσος as ἀχλαδόν, κλυτάν, δεινῶρηεν, κυκλοτερές or σκιερών. The closest Homer gets to Sappho's χαρίεις is ἄλσεα καλά (Il.XX.8). The ultimate in personal rapture takes place in this χαριεν ἄλσος, with the arrival of Aphrodite. Sappho's easy familiarity with the divine, as with nature, brings lyric awareness of beauty and pleasure to heights never reached in her epic predecessors. Elsewhere Sappho describes as χαρίεις a beautiful young bride (fr.108) and a handsome bridegroom (fr.112.3). Charis for Sappho, like the milieu within which the Charites circulate, refers to the pleasure enjoyed when there is a fusion of beauty, youth, tenderness and erotic desire.

From Himerius (Or.9.4, fr.194) we get a description of Sappho conducting the rituals of a bridal chamber, decorating the room with garlands, leading Aphrodite to the scene on the chariot of the Charites. Hyacinth flowers for Aphrodite, golden wings and golden hair for Eros and blazing torches complete the scene. Flowers, love and light are the backdrop

for festivities where the Charites perform with Aphrodite. These are Sappho's *Θαλίαι*, rites of heightened desire.<sup>15</sup>

Aphrodite, who rides the chariot of the Charites, and who is summoned to a *χαρίεν* grove, is described by Sappho in fr.1 as 'smiling' (*μειδιαιΐσαιδ'*, 14).<sup>16</sup> This has been variously interpreted. Bowra attributes it to Aphrodite's "affectionate understanding" of Sappho's predicament.<sup>17</sup> Page's reading a tone of "reproof" or "amusement" into the epithet is not justified by the text.<sup>18</sup> The Homeric and Hesiodic precedents suggest that smiling was an attribute generally assigned to Aphrodite, and not a feature peculiar to the love-goddess in fr.1. Smiles would naturally be associated with the pleasures and fun involved in the game of love. But Aphrodite was linked with the fruits of love as well as with love itself, with fertility -- particularly in nature. She was worshipped as 'Antheia' on Crete, and elsewhere in cult presided over the growth of gardens, meadows, roses, apples and field flowers.<sup>19</sup> Her smile could hark back to the early understanding of the divine beneficent gaze that fostered growth and prosperity. This would mean that when Aphrodite smiles in fr.1 of Sappho, the rejected lover is assured that she will 'succeed'; she will get satisfaction.<sup>20</sup>

Alcaeus' fr.384 is accepted by some scholars as containing an address to Sappho:<sup>21</sup>

*ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμεϊδε Σάπφου*

If this is so, Sappho is being greeted by terms appropriate to divinity.<sup>22</sup> Her smile, like that coming from an awesome but well-disposed goddess, is a sign of good things in store.

The Charites are invoked as *ἄγναι* at fr.53:<sup>23</sup>

*Ἔροδοπάχες ἄγναι Χάριτες, δεῦτε Δίος κόραι*

The epithet *Ἔροδοπάχες* is also used of *Αὔως*, Dawn, in

fr.58.19. The ancient interpreters explained its application to the Charites as originating with Sappho's love of roses (Philostr.Ep.51. 481H, Eust.1429.54ff.). D. Campbell, in Greek Lyric Poetry (London 1976) 280 n.8, suggests that Sappho is praising the Charites as 'fair-armed' (= λευκόπηγος), for she has in mind white roses. But, as Dawn could not only claim the epithet ῥοδοπήχες on the ground of colour (rose-coloured or white), but because she brought the day with its growth, so the word may not refer to the colour of the Charites' arms, but to their power (thus ἄχνα) over the beauty of natural growth, symbolized by roses. Their arms are no more rosy than the moon of fr.96 is rosy-fingered. Like the beauty of the woman in Sardis who longs for Atthis, the moon overhead sheds dewy moisture over fields which bloom with roses and tender, flowery-growth. The moon's 'rosy' fingers denote not colour but beauty, which stimulates growth in nature and arouses desire in lovers. Like the moon, the Charites stimulate new life. In the Anacreonta (55.21), nymphs are described as ῥοδοπήχες. Nymphs, like the Charites and Aphrodite, were associated with nurturing and preparing the young for the rites of love, often in a garden.<sup>24</sup>

It is not surprising, in the light of the foregoing, to hear Sappho advising the young Dica<sup>25</sup> to wear garlands:

σὺ δὲ στεφάνεις, ὦ Δίκα, πέρθεσθ' ἐράτοισι φόβαισιν  
 ὄρπακας ἀνήτω συναχέρρῃσιν ἢ ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν  
 εὐάνθεα † γὰρ πέλεται † καὶ Χάριτες μάκαρασι  
 μᾶλλον † προτερῆν †, ἀστεφανώτισσι δ' ἀποστρέφονται  
 (fr.81.4-7)

If Dica wants to render herself eligible for the gifts of love, and to receive the attention of the Charites who will ensure her attractiveness,<sup>26</sup> she must appear



with hands as delicate as new growth, plaiting flowery stems of anise in her hair.<sup>27</sup>

The Charites do their work amidst the young and the flowering. Ibycus describes the young Euryalus as a 'nursling of the Charites', whom Aphrodite and Peitho nurtured in a garden of roses (fr.288 PMG). Aphrodite, Peitho and the Charites render Pandora irresistible to men, but essential to their task is the garland of spring flowers placed on the girl's hair by the Horai (Op.73-75). When girls like Dica reached their ῥα, the flowering of their youth was crowned by the flowers of nature, rendering them beautiful<sup>28</sup> and presenting an invitation to eros. Girls who were beautiful and who were at their ῥα were described as picking flowers, or as flowers themselves.<sup>29</sup> Youth was spoken of as having a 'flowering', ἡβης ἄνθος.<sup>30</sup> Youth was also described as 'full of charis': χαριεστάρη ἡβη (Od.10.279, Il.XXIV.348), χαρίεσσα ἡβη (Anacreon 395.3 PMG). In the Cologne Epode of Archilochus (fr.S478P), Neobule is described as having lost the 'flower' of her maidenhood, the παρθενήϊον ἄνθος, and thereby the χάρις ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆν. This charis was connected in the poet's mind with the moist freshness of youth, which dried up with old age or with sexual excess.<sup>31</sup>

Charis was not appropriate to women past their prime, nor to children. In fr.49 Sappho confesses that she loved Atthis in the past, when she was but a small child and still without charis:

Ἡράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν, Ἄτθι, πάλοι ποτά  
σμίκρα μοι παῖς ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις  
(fr.49)

If the two verses are consecutive, Sappho loved Atthis before the young girl reached maturity and acquired the charis that was identified with the παρθενήϊον ἄνθος, the ῥα.<sup>32</sup> The charis of the ῥα would provoke erotic

love: Eros and Aphrodite work hand in hand with the Charites and the Horai.<sup>33</sup>

It is impossible to surmise just what was that special quality the Greeks recognized as charis in a young woman. Even in our own culture we acknowledge that as the young reach maturity and lose the ungainliness of adolescence, they display a certain quality which is greater than the sum of its parts, a quality that attracts the attention. The Greeks found in this something pleasurable (sc.charis), something that they were careful to distinguish from beauty.<sup>34</sup> Like the charis poured over Odysseus by Athena, which was compared with gold overlaid upon silver (Od.6.232-237), this pleasure-of-allurement was an overlay upon beauty. Neobule's charis 'lay upon' (ἐπήν) her παρθενήϊον ἄνθος (Col.Ep.28).

Sappho asks a φίλος, who is much admired for his beauty,<sup>35</sup> to stand and face her, spreading out the charis that is on (ἐπ') his eyes:

στᾶθι † κἀντα † φίλος  
καὶ γὰν ἐπ' ὄσσοις ὀμπέτασον χάριν  
(fr.138)

Sappho is asking the fellow to ὀμπέτασαι (= ἀναπεράννυμι) this charis. If the verb is to be understood as 'unfolding' or 'unfurling' (cf.Il.I.480, Eur.Hipp.202), Sappho is thinking of charis here as erotic attractiveness, and something corporeal and visible, a sort of love-canopy that could be draped over the two of them.<sup>36</sup> But ἀναπεράννυμι can also be used with light, in the sense of 'emanate' or 'radiate' (Eur.IA34, λαμπτήρας φάος ἀμπετάσας), and elsewhere Sappho associates light with the face, with beauty and with eros.<sup>37</sup> Charis and the Charites are frequently connected with light, and with the illumination originating from the face or eyes. In fr.138 Sappho could have been extending an invitation to the handsome

fellow to try to charm her with the love-light of his gaze, but one cannot of course be sure of this, since the invitation occurs virtually without context.<sup>38</sup> If she intended ὀμπέτασον to signify 'radiate' or 'emanate', the fragment may be compared with Anacreon's greeting:

χαῖρε φίλον φῶς χαρίεντι μειδῶν προσώπω

(Anacreon, 380 PMG)

In Anacreon's verse the source of light is the smile, not the look from the eyes, but the two can act in concert when it is a question of charm or seduction.

This pleasure of being attracted to beauty, or of attracting others through one's beauty, is found in the other melic, iambic and elegiac poets. It is described variously as charis, the work of the Charites, or as a χαρίεις face or body. Tyrtaeus rejects a χαρίεσσα φύη in favour of arete, spurning one who is 'fairer in physique than Tithonus' (οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φύην χαριέστερος εἶη, 12.5W). Alcaeus refers to 'handsome Menon' (χαρίεντα Μένωνα, 368 L-P), in a symposiastic context. Anacreon calls the smiling face χαρίεν (380 PMG), and laments the passing of the attractiveness of youth (χαρίεσσα ... ἥβη, 395 PMG). Alcman calls perfume, with its powers of allurements, the 'moist charis of Cinyras' (3.71.PMG). He describes the Charites as ἐροχλέγαροι (1.20 PMG), 'love-eyed', reminiscent of Hesiod's Theog.910, both poets acknowledging the power of the eyes to attract. The young beloved is under the special protection of the Charites. Like Ibycus' Euryalus, 'nursling of these Charites' (288.1 PMG), a pretty girl is φίλα to the goddesses (Lycophronides, 844.4 PMG). In Fr. Adesp. 1013PMG the Charites are mentioned with the love-goddess, Aphrodite.

The Charites appear with the Muses in Anacreon 346.11 PMG, in a context that is probably erotic

(ἐρόεντα| / δῶρα , 7-8), perhaps with reference to a love-poem. Alcman invokes the Muse Calliope to begin such a love-song, making the dance one that is full of charis, χαρίεις (27 PMG). Anacreon boasts of his poetic skills: like the beauty of a beloved is the charm he exercises in song, singing and speaking χαρίεντα (402C PMG). In Ariphron's paeon to Hygieia, the poet refers to actual songs of the Charites: on account of Health, he says, all things flourish and shine in these songs:

μετὰ σεῖο, μάκαρ Ἰγίεια, τέβαλε  
πάντα καὶ λάμπει χαρίτων ὄψοις.

(Ariphron, 813.8-9 PMG)

The Charites provide the music, and the potential for all things to flourish and radiate. This much is found in Pindar's O1.14, where, as lovers of music and dance they hand out τερπνά for mortals, under the special patronage of Thalia and Aglaia. But Ariphron adds the reflection that health is indispensable for the effects of the Charites to succeed.<sup>39</sup> His paeon also makes an important distinction, vital to an understanding of charis: "If there is any charis," he says, "in wealth, or in children or in the rule of kings or in love pursuits ... or if there is any other delight (τέρψις) ...." Charis, like τέρψις, is a pleasure aroused by good things, not identical with those good things, but provoked by them.

For Semonides, the virtuous wife is a good thing. Faithful and hardworking, she is pre-eminent among women, and a 'wondrous charis surrounds her' (Θείη δ' ἀμφιδέδρομεν χάρις ,7.89). Like the flames 'licking around' the pyre-bound Coronis in Pindar's Pyth.3 (σεῖας δ' ἀμφέδρομεν, 39), Semonides' ἀμφιδέδρομεν suggests that the poet has in mind the image of charis as a flickering light.<sup>40</sup> The moral beauty of the good wife radiates as a physical beauty, capturing the attention

of the onlookers. They are drawn to her, allured by this divine-like quality, much as would-be lovers are drawn by the charis of a handsome young boy or girl.

In these poets we also find the charis of the social exchange, the pleasure generated when individuals do good things for one another, and are rewarded. Solon visits Cyprus, and after making considerable improvements for the inhabitants, feels justified in asking its patron goddess to award him  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$  καὶ κῶδος ... ἐσθλόν (19.5 W). An epitaph ascribed to Simonides honours the man who, as a ghost, saved the life of the poet by warning him not to set sail on a doomed boat. This act is described as a charis in the inscription:

Οὕτως ἔ τοῦ Κείσοιο Σιμωνίδου ἐστὶ σωτήρ,  
 ὅς καὶ τεθνηὺς ζῶντι' ἀπέδωκε <sup>41</sup> χάριν  
 (AP 7.77)

Praxilla voices the proverbial complaint, described as 'the advice of Admetus', that such requital of good-for-good is unheard-of among the scum of the populace:

Ἄσμητόν ἄχρον ἔ ἐταῖρε μάθων τοὺς ἀχαθοὺς φίλων  
 τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου γνοὺς ὅτι δειλῶν ὀλίγα χάρις.  
 (Praxilla 749 PMG = Scolion 897 PMG)

In Alcaeus' fr.117b.24 V, probably a hate-poem addressed to the wife of Pittacus, there is a fragmentary mention of πόλλα χάρις], followed by the charge that 'what one gives to a whore one might as well throw in the sea'.<sup>42</sup> Whatever pleasure (sc.  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  in some form) has been offered to the woman brought no returns, hence is requited with the public insult of this poem. Similarly, Archilochus 'favours' his enemy with death:

ξείνια δός μενέσιν λυγρὰ χαρίζομενοι  
 (Archilochus 6 W)

This ironic use of *χαρίζεσθαι* foreshadows the *χάρις* *χάρις* found in tragedy (discussed in Chapter X and the Appendix below). In light of Archilochus' view that there is no charis after death (fr. 133W), giving the charis of death, thus no charis, is an appropriate xenia-gift to exchange for the 'favours' brought by an enemy.

A right relationship with the gods can assure genuine charis-favouring. Zeus favours a few select men with wise, good wives like the bee woman (*χαρίζεται*, Semonides 7.92W). Anacreon, in a prayer to Dionysos, asks for the god's benign presence, in answer to a *κεχαρισμένη εύχολή*, a prayer that expresses their relationship of mutual favouring:

χουνοῦμαί σε, σὺ δ' εὐμένης  
 ἔλθ' ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης  
 δ' εύχολῆς ἑπακούειν

(Anacreon 357,<sup>6-8</sup> PMG)

This prayer is proleptic, a charis to the god who will be repaid for listening favourably. This charis-reciprocity between man and gods is like a military alliance, as Archilochus reminds Hephaistos:

κλυθ' ἄναξ Ἑφαιστε, καὶ μοι σύμμαχος χουνοῦμένω  
 ἴλαος γενέο, χαρίζεο δ' εἰά περ χαρίζεαι  
 (108W)<sup>43</sup>

The pleasure the Greeks took in song, and in social occasions where music was present, led them to use the word charis in poetry to refer to songs themselves. Dionysius Chalcus describes a symposium where he passes a poem to another guest, an act that he calls 'mixing the charites of the Chariteo.' The recipient of the poem is expected to respond with a song:

δέχου τήνδε προπινομένην  
 τῆι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπιδέξια πέμπω  
 σοὶ πρώτῳ, Χαρίτων ἔγκεράσας χάριτας  
 καὶ σὺ λαβὼν τόδε δῶρον ἀοιδᾶς ἀντιπρόπιθε  
 συμπόδιον κοσμῶν καὶ τὸ δὸν εὖ θέμενος

(Dion. Chalc. 1W)

The image manipulated by the poet is that of wine, mixed or used for greeting in a toast. The Charites have favoured him with their inspiration, and the poet has assembled ('mixed') their favours into a poem. In return for this gift, the guest will 'toast' him (ἀντιπρόπιθε) with a song. The Charites were also linked with wine and song in a scolion (917b PMG), where they preside over a crater which is garlanded, and in which wine/words are mixed, in order for a toast to be raised:

ἐν κέρασον Χαρίτων κρατήρῃ ἐπιστέλ'-  
 γέα κρ[... πρόπινε ἄλγαν

(Carm.Conv.917b PMG)

Both the symposiastic elegy and the popular song recall the opening of Pindar's Seventh Olympian where the toast over the wine-bowl at the wedding feast, a charis of a symposium (5), represents the poem, a 'gift of the Muses' (7), and the whole is overseen by Χάρις Ζωθάλμιος (11).

The sixteenth Idyll of Theocritus, inspired by the epinicians of Pindar and Simonides, is called Χάριτες. The goddesses, who accompany Pindar in his poetic composition, become in Theocritus the personified poems themselves. They are woven into an elaborate but transparent appeal to the tyrant Hieron to remunerate the poet for his poems, Charites. "Who," he asks, "of as many as dwell under the bright dawn, will open his doors and gladly welcome home our Charites, and not send them away again unrewarded?" (5-7). The Charites-poems become the Charites-goddesses, who return from

the quest barefoot and starved, reproaching the poet for a fruitless journey (8-12). This prosopopoeia, similar to those found in Pherecrates and Horace,<sup>44</sup> represents a triple-entendre on the word charites. It represents the poetry, and the goddesses who preside over it.<sup>45</sup> But in addition, by performing the function of seeking payment for the poems they embody, the Charites represent reciprocal charis, the pleasure generated by praise-poetry, where the honouring of a patron is rewarded with money.<sup>46</sup>

The whole is a clever reworking of the poet's dilemma described by Simonides, and preserved in Stob.10.39:

Σιμωνίδην παρακαλοῦντος τινας ἐγκώμιον ποιῆσαι  
καὶ χάριν ἔξειν λέγοντος, ἀργύριον δὲ μὴ δίδόντος  
ἴδους· εἶπεν οὗτος ἔχω κιβωτίους, τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν  
τῆν δὲ ἀργυρίου· καὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τῆν γὰρ τῶν  
χαρίτων κενὴν εὕρισκω, ὅταν ἀνάξω, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιμον μοῦν.

Someone asked Simonides to compose a praise-song for him, and said that he would give him charis. But when he didn't give him any silver, Simonides said, "I have two containers, one for charites, the other for silver. And in time of need, I find the container of charites empty when I open it, and the other is the only one of any use."

The would-be client promises the charis of gratitude, but does not follow it up with the concrete charis, silver. Simonides' complaint of his empty money-box is consistent with the other anecdotes about the poet which stressed his acquisitiveness.<sup>47</sup> The point of this story hinges upon the interpretation of charites. Most commentators read 'gratitude' or 'thanks' for charites throughout, and understand Simonides as grumbling because 'thanks' bear no purchasing power: what one really needs is money.<sup>48</sup> N. Austin credits Simonides with a double reference in charites to (i) thanks and (ii) reward, i.e. money: Simonides "is promised charis, i.e. money, in return for a poem, and



he replies that he has plenty of charis already, i.e. thanks, but no money."<sup>49</sup> But the Greek reads differently. When Simonides opens the charites-coffer he does not find 'plenty of charis', but he always finds the container empty (κένη). The container of the charites is contrasted with (δέ), not identified with, payment, so charis cannot refer to the money. But Simonides could still be making a double reference with his charites. Like the Theocritean word-play he inspired, Simonides could be using charites to refer to poems, in this case all sold; the <sup>container</sup> is also κένη, 'useless', because the promise of charis is useless unless converted to cash.<sup>50</sup> Simonides' tight-fisted client receives a double rebuke: such charis as he offers is rejected as useless: likewise, poems (charites) are not forthcoming unless paid for, and the client hasn't a hope of getting one for nothing. Simonides is sold out.

Charites, then, in Theocritus as in Simonides, referred to praise-poems, tributes that were much sought after in Greece, particularly in the archaic period. This is because public acclaim and respect were two of the deepest pleasures enjoyed inside that culture which was acutely sensitive to praise and blame. Archilochus refers to such praise as charis, lamenting that human mortality confined this pleasure to the world of the living:

οὐτις αἰδέσιος μετ' ἀστῶν οὐδὲ περίφημος θανῶν  
 γίνεται· χάριν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ζῶοντι δῶκομεν  
 <οἱ> ζῶοντι, κάκιστα δ' αἰεὶ τῶν θανόντων γίνεται

(Archilochus 133W)

Once dead (θανῶν), one is not αἰδέσιος nor περίφημος; one neither commands aidos, nor is well spoken of in public. The living 'pursue' the charis of the living (2). There is an ambiguity in this verse that is telling. τοῦ ζῶοντι after χάρις can be either a

subjective or an objective genitive: χάριν Σε μῦλλον τοῦ ζῶντος διώκομεν can mean 'We, the living, pursue the (pleasure of) popular acclaim from the living' or 'for the living'. Either is possible because of the symmetry inherent in the charis of such reciprocal pleasure. Within the circle of the chase after such charis, the living reward one another with aidos and pheme for approvable behaviour. And only living participants qualify: the dead neither give nor receive charis.<sup>51</sup> For them, living without this charis is κακίστα (3).

An expression of the same sentiment is found in Stesichorus:

θανόντος ἀνδρὸς πᾶσα ἑπολιὰ τ' περ' ἀνθρώπων χάρις  
(Stesichorus 245 PMG)

It is also found in the Ajax of Sophocles, where Teucer blames Agamemnon for not reciprocating the favour of (the now dead) Ajax. Ajax had performed a multitude of services to the Greek army, but now the king refuses him burial. Charis evaporates:

φῆυ, τοῦ θανόντος ὡς ταχεῖά τις βροτοῖς  
χάρις διαρρεῖ καὶ προσοῦς ἄλίσκεται

(Ajax 1266-1267)

Death normally meant that one was no longer able to enhance the reputation of one's peers, to reciprocate favours. It also meant that one was no longer attractive to friends. In a fragment of Euripides this is expressed as the loss of charis on one's eyes:

σπάνιον ἄρ' ἦν θανούσιν ἀσφαλεῖς φίλοι  
... ἢ δ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς χάρις  
ἀπώλωλ', ὅταν τις ἐκ δόμων ἀνήρ θάνῃ

(Euripides fr.736)

Charis, which could generate joy when people took pleasure in, or gave it to, each other, was a transient quality, and for that reason, highly prized.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Second edition (Munich, 1968) 203ff.
2. The numbering of fragments in this chapter follows that of E. Voigt, Sappho et Alcaeus (Amsterdam 1971).
3. "Doch ist da im Grunde kein Aussen und kein Innen. Da ist nur ein Sein, das uns umgibt und trägt, in uns hineinragt, uns durchformt, durchstimmt, und dieses uns lebendig und übermächtig Bestimmende, Durchstimmende ist Gott -- ein Gott, wenn es in einer besondern Hinsicht, einem besonderen Bezirk des Seienden begegnet."
4. In response to their love-making, the earth sends up fresh (νεοθηλία) grass, dewy lotus flowers and an abundance of soft crocuses and hyacinths. At this moment the 'elemental power' flourishes (θάλλει) in nature as between the divine couple. See Treu, op.cit. (above n.1) 101.
5. δεῦτε νῦν ἄβραι χάριτες καλλίκομμί τε Μοῖσαι ἄβρος  
is not applied directly to nature in Sappho or elsewhere in Greek lyric; its application is confined to the Charites and maidens. The image of luxuriant nature seems to lie behind most applications of the word, however. LSJ give 'graceful', 'delicate', 'pretty' for ἄβρος, citing its use with παρθένος (Hes.fr.218), and with πᾶσις and Ἔρως in Anacr.17.65. Pindar uses the word to describe a garland (Isth.8.65), κῦδος (Ol.5.7) and πλοῦτος (Pyth.3.110). LSJ translate ἄβρος as 'splendid' in these contexts, but Nisetich's 'luxuriant' or 'abundant' is preferable. There is no element of light or glory in other applications of the word. LSJ allow 'in the freshness of youth' to translate ἄβροσύνη (Pindar Pyth.8.89), which retains the original association with the tenderness seen in the young growth of nature.
6. See A.P. Burnett, Three Archaic Poets (Cambridge Mass. 1983) 228 and n.46, for a summary of the various views. One difficulty seems to be whether to read ethical content into τὸ καλόν. The introduction by Athenaeus (φανερὸν πεισῦδα πᾶσιν ὡς ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ 15.687b) does not oblige us to do this, although Ms Burnett concludes

"the lines are cited by Athenaeus ... as showing that Sappho does not separate delight in life from virtue". In fr.50, Sappho distinguishes between two kinds of κάλος, superficial beauty and that which is the consequence of an inner goodness:

ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ἔσθρον ἴδην πέλεται <κάλος>  
ὁ δὲ κάλαθος αὐτίκα καὶ κάλος ἔσθεται

But there is no suggestion of 'goodness' in fr.58; τὸ λαμπρὸν, and ἀελίω ... τὸ κάλον suggest visible beauty. Perhaps the most successful translation is that of M. West, "Burning Sappho," Maia 22 (1976) 330: "My liking is for what is graceful; (because of) this it is love that shows me even the brightness of the sun, and what to hold fair." This preserves the ambiguity of τὸ κάλον.

7. It is just this 'soft living', ἀβροσύνη, for which the austere Xenophanes criticizes the Colophonians, once they are tainted by the indulgence of the Lydians (fr.3.1 W).

8. See Chapter II above.

9. Schadewaldt, Sappho (Potsdam 1950) 16, makes the same association account for the power of the love-goddess Aphrodite: "Es ist Aphrodite, Göttin des Lebendig-Schönen, das aus dem Quellgrund der Natur heraufdringt, und so entzündet sie durch die besondere Macht ihres Begleiters Eros in den Wesen die Lust sich zu vereinigen und in einander fortzupflanzen, über alles Süßigkeit und Holdheit aus."

10. See M. West, op.cit. (above n.6) 317, n.28, for textual examples where love and springtime are linked.

11. Aphrodite clothes herself in robes made for her by the Charites and the Horai, robes dyed and scented with spring flowers -- crocus, hyacinth, violets, roses, narcissus and lily (Cypr.fr.6).

12. Spring arrives with the same delicacy ascribed to maidens and the Charites (see above, n.5). For the connection between ἀβρῶς and movement (ἐπερχομένου) cf. Bacchylides 3.48 (ἀβροβάταν) and Eur. Medea 1164. E. Robbins has pointed to the analogous connection between the Latin flos and the German Blatt from the root that produced the Greek βλώσκω, ἔμολον. In his dissertation, The Concept of Inspiration in Greek Poetry from Homer to Pindar (University of Toronto 1968), he traces the Greek perception of movement as characteristic of growth, and points to the belief that this was rooted in the movement of liquid. See especially his Chapter 2, 195ff.

13. Reading  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$  in the text. See A.P. Burnett, op.cit. (above n.6) 263, n.<sup>o</sup> for a discussion of the likelihood of this reading.
14. Op.cit. (above n.1) 212. Introducing the ostrakon fragment, Treu writes: "Sappho ist die erste Dichterin, die ausgesprochen hat, was unbewusst in religiösen Empfinden der Vorzeit immer lebendig geblieben was und bei unzähligen Tempelgründungen sich bewiesen hatte: dass erst die Götter durch ihr Kommen der schönen Landschaft die wahre Weihe geben, wahre Schönheit und Freude den Menschen" (210).
15. In fr.2, Aphrodite pours nectar into golden cups ( $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ , 15). M. West, op.cit. (above n.6) 317, writes: "The  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$  are at hand; cups are being filled with wine. But these  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$  are as water that needs the admixture of Aphrodite's nectar. The cups into which she pours that divine mixture will be cups of gold; the spirit of love when it comes transfigures everything with heightened sensation."
16. Cf. the Homeric  $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  : III.424; IV.10; V.375; XIV.211; XX.40; 8.362; also H.Aphr. 17,49,56, 65,155, and Hesiod, Theog.200.
17. Greek Lyric Poetry Second edition (Oxford 1961) 204.
18. Sappho and Alcaeus (Oxford 1970) 14: "There is now no longer any doubt that Aphrodite smiles for a most obvious reason: because she is amused. A little impatient, but tolerant, as a mother with a troublesome child." Page claims that Sappho participates in Aphrodite's amusement, viewing her own emotions with 'a remarkable detachment'. For a view critical of Page's interpretation see A. Giacomelli, "The Justice of Aphrodite in Sappho Fr.1," TAPA 110 (1980) 140.
19. Hesychius, s.v.  $\text{Ἀνθεία}$  :  $\text{Ἀφροδίτη, παρὰ Κνωσίων}$ . This gives added significance to Sappho's call to Aphrodite in fr.2 to come from Crete (1) to the  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon$  grove shaded by roses (6-7).
20. For an important contribution to the terms of this satisfaction, see A. Giacomelli, op.cit. (above n.18) 135-142.
21. Lobel and Page, Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta (Oxford 1968), and D. Campbell, Greek Lyric I (Cambridge Mass. 1982). E. Voigt, Sappho et Alcaeus (Amsterdam 1971), assigns the  $\xi$  to  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  (following codd. C.P.), noting that elsewhere Sappho is referred to in the collection of her work as  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\pi\phi$ .

ἀπφοῖ would represent an address of endearment. ἀπφός is used within a family, by children to a father (LSJ) or siblings to a sister (Eust.565, 23ff., Suda A 3724 ἀπφά). The former is obviously ruled out here; the latter with ἀφνα would be an unusually grandiose way for siblings to greet one another (see below).

22. ἰόπλοκος is applied elsewhere to the Muses (e.g. Pindar Pyth.1.1, Isth.7.23), and to the (divine) Peleïades (Alcman 555 PMG). ἀφνα (ἀφνός) is a powerful epithet, associated with divine majesty. "Ἀφνός signifie la majesté des dieux, ce qui les élève au-dessus de l'humanité et commande aux hommes une vénération quelque peu craintive", J. Rudhardt, Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse (Genève 1958) 40. ἀφνὰ δῶρα were gifts that inspired awe, and could have dire consequences; see D. Gerber, "The Gifts of Aphrodite," Phoenix 19 (1965) 212-213. See also D. Page, op.cit. (above n.18) 108, n.1, who contends that before the fifth century ἀφνός was applied exclusively to divine persons and objects.

23. Cf. fr.103.5: ἀφνα Χάριτες Πιέριδες τει Μοῖσαι, or Alcaeus, fr.386: κόλπῳ σ' ἐδέξαντ' ἀφνα Χάριτες Κρόνωι. Elsewhere the Charites are called σεμναί, a term with similar overtones of awe (Pindar Ol.14.8, Fr. Adesp. 937.7 PMG).

24. Burnett, op.cit. (above n.6) 269 n.109, cites ancient sources linking Aphrodite, Peitho, the Charites and Eros with the nurturing characteristics of nymphs, a nurturing that bestowed fertility.

25. Her hands are those of a young woman, ἄπλαι (5).

26. Perhaps by a 'benign look'. Seidler restores προδέρην (accepted by Campbell), Ahrens προσδέρην, in 7.

27. ἐράτοις, like the provocative step of Anactoria (ἐρατὸν τε βᾶμα, fr.16,17, probably indicating erotic, rather than general attractiveness, given the context); tender hands and tender garlands were provocative.

28. C. Brown, "Anactoria and the Χαρίτων ἱμαρύγματα: Sappho fr.16.18 Voigt," n.14 (as yet unpublished) cites the following ancient sources which make it clear that ῥα and its cognates imply beauty in both sexes: Soph. Tr.547-549; Mirn.fr.3W; Pindar Ol.9.94, 10.104; Ar. Arch.272, 1148; Ay.1724; Ra.291, 514; Crates fr.43 PCG; Thuc.VI.54.2; Aeschin.1.134; Plut. Mor.2.128d.

29. Athen.12.554b: φυσικὸν γὰρ δὴ τι τὸ τοῦς αἰσμέτους εἶναι καλοῦς καὶ ῥαίους ἀνθολογεῖν;

Galen 8.16: ἀμεινον οὖν ἔστιν ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν τῶν κειρακίων ὥραν τοῖς ἡρινῶσι ἀνθεσίν ἐοικυῖαν ὀλιγοχρόνιον τε τὴν τέρψιν ἔχουσαν.  
Sappho compares the beauty of her daughter Cleis to 'golden flowers' (fr.132).

30. E.g. Il.XIII.484, where the ἡβης ἀνθος is accompanied (in a warrior) by ὁ ... κράτος ... μέγιστον. Four young sisters, 'in the flower of their maidenhood', are compared in their beauty to goddesses, in H.Dem. 108: τέσσερες, ὥστε θεαί, κυρήϊον ἀνθος ἔχουσαι.

31. Like the delicate spring flowers that fade, or the hyacinth that is trampled upon, the charis of erotic allurements is a transient quality (see Galen, above n.29), rendering it poignant potential in the lyric poets. For the charis at the ὥρα see C. Brown, "Ruined by Lust: Anacreon, Fr.44 Gentili (432 PMG)," CQ 34 (1984) 41, n.32. The attractiveness of tenderness and delicacy in young girls is preserved in the Cologne Epode, with the offer of the girl to provide a τέρσινα παρθένος for her lusty suitor (6). τέρην, like ἀπαλος, is used of the soft growth in nature, as well as of youth, or the young. It is applied to tears, blood and skin, indicating that moisture was associated with this tenderness (LSJ s.v. τέρην). See above, 137, n.11.

32. As cited by Terentianus Maurus (6.390, 4ff.K), the verses would appear to be consecutive:

cordi quando fuisse sibi canit Atthida  
parvam. florea virginitatis sua cum foret.

Plutarch gives only the second verse, glossing it with the explanation that ἄχαρις indicated the young girl was not yet nubile: χαρις γὰρ οὖν... ἡ τοῦ θήλεος ὑπειξις τῷ ἀρρενε κέκληται πρὸς τῶν παλαίων... καὶ τὴν εὐπω χαμῶν ἔχουσαν ὥραν. (Amat.751d) Similarly, a scholiast on Pindar Pyth.2.78a gives the second verse with the gloss χαρίζεσθαι γὰρ κυρίως λέγεται τὸ συνουδιάζειν.

33. Both the Charites and Aphrodite received the title χαμηλῖαι in cult. C. Calame, Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque (Rome 1977) 1.401, compares the effect of the charis of young girls with the cult activities of the young devotees of Helen at Therapne, women who were signalling that they were ready for marriage.

Sappho's attraction to the παῖς Atthis (before her ὥρα) may be maternal, not erotic. ἐράω / ἔραμαι can mean simply 'love warmly' (LSJ I.2), and Sappho could have felt the same devotion to Atthis as she felt for her daughter Cleis (παῖς ... ἀγαπάτα, fr.132,1-2).

34. See O. Löw, ΧΑΡΙΣ (Diss. Marburg 1908) 21ff. Löw compares the distinction made by Goethe in Faust II:

Die Schöne bleibt sich selber selig,  
Die Anmut macht unwiderstehlich.

35. Athenaeus introduces his citation with καὶ ἡ Σαπφῶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμαζόμενον τὴν μορφὴν καὶ καλλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενόν φησι. (13.564d).

36. So Treu, op.cit. (above n.1) 173, sees this as a lyric development of the divinely bestowed charis-overlay from epic:

Wohl ist in dem Ausdruck ... noch ein Rest von einer quasi-materiellen Vorstellung, der Vorstellung einer Gewandung, enthalten ... aber der Mensch selbst vermag nun -- und bedarf dazu keiner göttlichen Hilfe -- die Charis seines Blicks "auszubreiten" und sich dem nahen Betrachter (vgl. ἄντα) zu erschliessen, die Charis ihm sichtbar werden zu lassen.

LSJ translate ὀμπέρασεν in fr.138 as 'unfold', 'display'.

37. E.g. fr.38.26, where the light is a mark of eros. In fr.16.18 (κάμαρχμα λάμπρον ἴδην πρὸς ὄψω) the light of the face denotes beauty, beauty that stimulates desire, like the beauty of Arignota compared to the moon outshining the stars (fr.96.6).

38. The context may well be a wedding, the only occasion in Sappho when we find men and women together. In her hymeneal poetry, charis and its cognates abound: in fr.108 the bride is κάλη and χαρίεσσα; in fr.112 the groom has a χάρην εἶδος, as ἔρω is poured over his beautiful face (3-4); in fr.116-117 the parting words for the bride and groom, λαῖρε, χαίρει acquire more significance than simply 'farewell'.

39. The paean may in fact be a reworking of Pindar's praise of the Charites in Ol.14: μετὰ σεῖς of Ariphron recalls δὴν ... ὑμῖν and σεῦ ἕκαστ of Ol.14.5,20. Ariphron's words recall the sentiment of Simonides preserved in Sextus Empiricus:

Ζιμωνίδης μὲν χάρ ὁ μελοποιὸς φησι, μὴ δὲ καλῶς σοφίας εἶναι χάριν εἰ μὴ τις ἔχει σεμνήν ὑψείαν.

(604 PMG)

40. Cf. charis that 'lights up' good fortune by shining around her (λάμπει περι) in Fr. Adesp. 1019.4 PMG.



41. The verb ἀπέδωκε is significant in the context. It suggests that the dead man was 'repaying' the living Simonides (LSJ ἀποδίδωμι). The verb is found elsewhere with χάρις, in contexts that indicate a reciprocal award (e.g. Thuc.II.40, Lys.31.24, Isoc.6.73), and generally includes the notion of 'payment due'. In the Simonides inscription the dead man appears to be expressing gratitude to the living, by repaying favours he received when alive, or possibly obsequies at his tomb.

42. Cf. Theognis 106-107, where he warns Cyrnus that doing favours for the δειλό brings the least charis, for it is as sterile a gesture as sowing seeds in the briny ocean.

43. A similar request may lie behind the fragmentary poem of Simonides (519, fr.35b PMG), where there is mention of Ἄπολλον εὐμενεῖ φρενὶ and χάριν.

44. Pherecrates reacted to the New Music of Timotheus by presenting the Muse as a violated virgin in his Cheiron, and Horace in Epistle 1.20 compares his book to a young slave desiring to go out in public.

45. A. Rist, in The Poems of Theocritus (Chapel Hill 1978) 146: "In Theocritus' poem (the Graces) are characteristically demythologized ... so that they become personifications of his poetic inspiration, or even ... of his separate poems. Yet that they are not simply to be equated with 'my poems' appears in the concluding lines. They are still personifications of that grace which supervenes upon mortal events, and which may attain immortal stature by the creation (poesis) of poets, which is the gift of the Muses."

46. The triple reference was praised by N. Austin, "Idyll 16: Theocritus and Simonides," TAPA 98 (1967) 11 n.19: "Theocritus' masterful stroke of making a triple pun on charites as poems, thanks, and rewards almost defies explication in any other language. Theocritus sends his charites out in search of reciprocal charites (rewards) from others: ... the personification of the Graces who are prevented from being Graces expresses the complex interplay of all three meanings of the word far more effectively than any prosaic analysis can do."

47. E.g. Xenophanes, fr.21f, Aristophanes Pax 698-699, Aves 904ff., Aelian Var.Hist.8.2. The accusation of greed may have arisen from the fact that Simonides was reputed to be the first epinician poet to accept money. (schol. Ol.2.157a, Ol.9.74b, Nem.4.60b, Isth.2.9).

48. A. Rist, op.cit. (above n.38): "the charites in the chest are quite simply 'thanks'".

49. Op.cit. (above n.46).

50. The use of the plural χάριτες in the Simonides story to refer to 'gratitude' would be unprecedented in Greek, and difficult to understand unless it refers to the various assurances the poet has received that he would get some concrete expression of that gratitude. The real need for the plural was probably to accommodate χάριτες = 'poems'. This would explain why Theocritus was motivated to expand the designations of the word to make his complex triple reference. Elevating the poems and payment to the status of goddesses would make a deeper impression on his patron Hiero: the despot can be made 'lovable' (ἀγαπητόν, 108) by poems associated with the Charites. The poet, too, stands to gain acclaim and reward if Hiero is persuaded by the charis and the Charites of Idyll XVI: he will no longer be ἀκλήτος (106).

51. This sentiment, not confined to Archilochus, differs from the belief in the charis-exchange between the living and the dead experienced through ritual (see p. 40 above, and Chapter X).

CHAPTER NINE

EPINICIAN CHARIS: BACCHYLIDES AND PINDAR

### Argument

The study of charis in archaic Greek poetry culminates with epinician poetry. In the poems of Bacchylides and Pindar, charis describes every important aspect of the epinician experience. The victor's pleasure in winning, his enjoyment of the ensuing fame, is a charis; the joy he confers on kin and city is a charis; the victory ode that commemorates this event is a charis; and the poet's relationship with his patron who commissioned the ode is a mutually beneficial bond that goes by the name of charis. The characteristics represented by the names of the Charites appear full-blown in Pindar and Bacchylides. Euphrosyne signals the joy of the public celebration of the victory. Thalia endorses the 'flourishing' of a community in celebration over the high achievement of one of its young, vigorous athletes. And Aglaia sets alight the entire scene, with the dazzling radiance of public admiration. Together, the Charites provide the poet with the kind of inspiration that will make his verses alluring, irresistible even; this makes the poet a victor too, in his combat with the eventual oblivion that is part of being mortal, for poetry which is irresistible will keep alive the name and fame of the poet as well as the reputation of the athlete he celebrates in verse. We will find in epinician poetry a complex tapestry woven from the variegated strands associated with charis in the poetry that preceded it. The glory, the time that charis represented for the Homeric warrior is translated into the awards that requite the effort expended by a winning athlete. The seductive beauty of Pandora becomes the transfigured beauty of the victor as he reaches the finish-line ahead of his competitors; it also becomes the seductive and persuasive power of well-composed praise-poetry. The social charis experienced at the feast of Alcinous has a direct descendant in the victory-feast of celebration. Charis in the lover's glance becomes the illuminating gaze of admirers. The reciprocal benefits enjoyed by partners in a friendship or love-relationship which is characterized by charis operate vigorously between poet and patron. The informal law of requital or dike operates on all levels in the epinician sphere; charis here as elsewhere exerts a civilizing influence, and in the world of kings, nobles and legendary heroes who inform the verses of Bacchylides and Pindar, behaving without reciprocal charis and the mutual respect and kindness it requires is intolerable. The alliance of charis and

the Charites with light produces a dazzling epiphany in epinician verse. The poets drink deeply of the association between joy or glory and illumination, and charis or the Charites not only 'light up' their chosen celebrant, they set him on fire. The cult of the Charites is a particularly rich store for associative language, particularly in Pindar, to whom the Orchomenian cult would be intimately known. Indeed, the resonances of charis and the Charites in epinician verse are so extensive that they cannot be definitively captured in an enterprise of this sort; at best one can hope to penetrate the associative language found with these all-important components of praise-poetry, equipped with a consciousness of their occurrence in cult or in earlier poetry, unravelling a few puzzling metaphors or images, but ever deepening our aidos when confronted by verse that has so deservedly enjoyed the 'god-given gleam' of immortality.

### Bacchylides

In the process of composing a praise-song, Bacchylides describes himself as following certain procedures, and charis recurs in his poetry in contexts with dike or alatheia, words that describe the stages the poet considered necessary preliminaries to mounting authentic praise of a victorious athlete. Praising with δίκη (13.202) entails giving the laudandus his due portion of honour. In traditional fashion, Bacchylides seeks inspiration from the Muses, to obtain true, accurate detail of the event he will commemorate. This allows him to speak ἐτόμως, 'truthfully', provided he is free of envy; φθόνος would distort his report. To praise ἄνδρα δίκαιον, to give the victor his due, a poet must have δίκαιος φρένας (11.123).

But there is another kind of truthfulness that is essential to the poetic activity of Bacchylides, one that he links closely on a number of occasions with charis. This is alatheia, a truthfulness that entails a revelation or disclosure.<sup>1</sup> The etymology of the word gives us 'un-forgetting', 'un-veiling', and this sense was clearly operative in alatheia in archaic literature.<sup>2</sup> Bacchylides uses alatheia in various contexts in his odes, but a pattern emerges, of an unveiling that occurs on two levels. First, the victory itself 'reveals' the prowess of the victor. This in turn calls for a revelation of the achievement in a praise-song. On both levels, the alatheia is described as rescuing the victor from darkness, from silence or oblivion, and in so doing does more than simply 'uncover' his areta: alatheia illuminates.<sup>3</sup>

The necessary connection between a victorious performance and its celebration in song is made clear in 9.82ff. The Nemean victory is described as a καλὸν ἔργον, and 'wins songs engendered of itself' (γνησίων ὕμνων τυχόν, 83).<sup>4</sup> In the fifth ode, praising a victor is described as necessary (χρή)<sup>5</sup> χάριν ἀλαθείας):

χρή! δ' ἀλαθείας χάριν  
 αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀμφ' ἑτέροις  
 χερσὶν ἀπώσαμενον  
 εἰ τις εὖ πράσσει βροτῶν

(5.187-190)

The necessary praise is a 'service of alatheia', a benefit provided to the victor by the poet's unveiling. Hence the phrase χάριν ἀλαθείας can stand in apposition to αἰνεῖν, although the phrase is usually taken as prepositional.<sup>6</sup>

The adverbial interpretation of χάριν in 5.187 has influenced the reading of the closing verses of the third ode, a difficult passage. This poem was commissioned by Hieron to celebrate his victory in the chariot race at Olympia in 468, the culmination of his racing career. It was no less a triumph for Bacchylides, who received the commission in preference to Pindar. This double distinction for patron and poet is alluded to with dextrous ambiguity in the closing epode. The poet addresses Hieron, who in his victory has demonstrated to the rest of mankind supreme bliss, the 'fairest bouquet of happiness' that can be enjoyed by mortals. He follows his address with a reflection upon the obligation to commemorate such a performance, and concludes with a sphragis that links himself to the alatheia of Hieron's prowess:

Ἰέρων, σὺ δ' ὄλβον  
 κάλλιστ' ἐπέδειξας θνατοῖς  
 ἄνθεα. πράξα' ἄντι δ' εὖ  
 οὐ φέρεται κόσμον δῖον -  
 πά· σὺν δ' ἀλάθειαι καλῶν  
 καὶ μελιγγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν  
 Κηρίας ἀηδόνος.

(3.92-98)

χάριν of 97 has most often been taken as a noun meaning variously 'charm' of the poet,<sup>7</sup> song,<sup>8</sup> the 'charm' or 'beauty' of the song,<sup>9</sup> or a complex including all of these.<sup>10</sup> If χάριν is object of ὑμνήσει, and represents self-praise by the poet, we get such translations as:

And along with thy genuine glories men shall  
 praise also the charm of the sweet singer, the  
 nightingale of Ceos. (Jebb)

But this interpretation is out of character for Bacchylides, always sotto voce in his self-reference compared with Pindar.<sup>11</sup> Here, as elsewhere in Bacchylides, we find the alatheia of the victor's exploits (καλῶν, 96, cf. τὸ καλῶς ἐρχόμενον, 13.206-207<sup>12</sup>) being followed by a reference to the obligatory praise-song which preserves the glory of the performance and rescues it from silence and darkness, lifting from it the cover of mortality and allowing the light of areta to be perpetually nurtured by the Muse. Although the χάριν of 97 has been interpreted as a preposition, along the lines of 5.187, it is more likely a noun, representing the pleasure granted by the poet through his song and the powers it confers.<sup>13</sup> In English, however, we can scarcely do better than to translate χάριν by 'praise-song', giving us:

Along<sup>14</sup> with the unveiling of his glories, men will sing the praise-song of the honey-tongued nightingale of Ceos.



The rich array of syntactic and semantic possibilities for charis in epinician poetry often makes it difficult to single out one meaning for the word. When it occurs in the accusative case, we must decide whether it is (i) object of a verb (so taken at 3.97), (ii) accusative in apposition to another noun in the accusative case which precedes it, or (iii) a preposition introducing an adverbial phrase, meaning 'for the pleasure of' and then 'for the sake of'.

Options (i) and (ii) preserve the potential of the word to convey a range of meanings -- 'favour', 'glory', 'gratitude', etc., whereas the content in option (iii) has been considerably diluted. Caution must be exercised in claiming sense (iii) for χάριν during the archaic period.

In the fourteenth ode of Bacchylides, χάριν is best taken as an appositive:

Κλεοπτολέμῳ δὲ χάριν  
 νῦν χρῆ Ποσειδάωνός τε Πετραίων  
 οὐ τέμενος, κελασῆσαι  
 Πυρρίχου τ' εὐδοξόν ἱππόνικόν υἷόν

(14.19-21)

Jebb gives the following translation:

Now, in tribute to Cleoptolemus, 'tis meet to celebrate the sacred domain of Poseidon Petraios, and the glorious son of Pyrrichus, victor in the chariot race.

The coupling of τέμενος and υἷόν with τε ... τε makes it clear that these, and not χάριν, are the objects of κελασῆσαι, ruling out option (i) above. Maehler translates χάριν 'als Dankesgabe',<sup>15</sup> and D. Gerber, Lexicon in Bacchylidem, similarly gives 'as a thank-offering'. Jebb prefers to elicit the epinician powers of glorification implicit in charis, with his 'in

tribute to Cleoptolemus', citing the parallel of O1.10.78ff.:

καὶ νῦν ἐπ'ωνυμίαν χάριν  
 νίκας ἀγερῶχου κελαδησόμεθα βρεντιᾶν  
 καὶ πυρπάλαμον βέλος

(O1.10.78-80)

Pindar goes on to say, as if explaining the apposition, that the fiery thunderbolt is a fitting emblem for the victory (82-83). The syntactic parallels are striking: both passages are introduced by the *νῦν* of transition between proem and theme.<sup>16</sup> In the Pindaric passage, singing is a *χάριν* for the victor's city and for the victory, hence Jebb's 'poetic tribute' is a suitable translation. Slater, Lexicon to Pindar (Berlin 1969), takes *χάριν* here adverbially, and translates 'for the glory of', 'for the sake of'. Its close similarity to Bacchylides' 14.19-21 obliges us to make the same choice in both passages. Both the appositional interpretation, 'a poetic tribute to...' and the prepositional one, 'for the glory of...' are possible, differing only minutely in sense. But the noun-in-apposition retains more of the concreteness of *charis*. Given the rich associations of the word ('gratitude', 'repayment', 'glorification', etc.) in epinician contexts, I prefer to opt for the noun-in-apposition wherever possible, so as not to exclude any of these associations. But making the choice can be as difficult as deciding that a colourful phrase in contemporary use has become a dead metaphor.<sup>17</sup>

In fr.11 Bacchylides speaks of 'wounding one's heart day and night, μελλόντων χάριν :

τὸ δὲ παρ' ἄμαρ τε <καὶ> νύκτα μελλόντων  
 χάριν αἰὲν ἰαπτεται  
 κέαρ, ἄκαρπον ἔχει πόνον

(fr.11.5-7)

The same sentiment is found in Pindar's Tenth Pythian, where one is urged to seize the things at hand, for the future is inscrutable:

τύχων κεν ἀρπαλέαν σχέθει φροντίδα  
 τὰν παρ ποδός·  
 γὰ δ· εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀτεκμαρτον προνοῆσαι

(Pyth.10.62-63)

Elsewhere, Pindar emphasizes that one should concentrate on the things at hand, things that are good, manageable (παράμερον ἐσλόν, O1.1.99, ἐμπρακτον ... μαχανάν, Pyth.3.62). This suggests that, although χάριν in fr.11 functions syntactically as a preposition, (it cannot be the object of the verb λάττεται, nor in apposition to the accusative κῆαρ), it probably retains some of the usual semantic content of charis, 'goodness', 'blessing', etc. The usual translation 'for the sake of (the future)' does not do justice to the proverbial nature of the sentiment found here. Bacchylides is advising that one should not worry about the charis of the future.

An important instance of the charis of reciprocity occurs at the dramatic centre of Bacchylides' third ode, when Croesus cries out from his pyre, πρὸ θεῶν ἐστὶν χάρις; (38). The Lydian king, legendary for his generosity, looks to the gods in his final hour and cries out for reciprocal kindness.<sup>18</sup> The contingency of this charis is poignantly revealed in Anne Carson's treatment of this ode.<sup>19</sup> Croesus, she points out, cannot abide the mortal necessity of waiting for the (inevitable) return of charis, and calls for it as he takes his own fate in hand and commands his death. His translation from the pyre to the land of the Hyperboreans is a statement of the ultimate return of charis. Carson writes, "That which travels in a ring eventually comes back to the place where it began, just as the charis of gratitude and recompense returns to

the giver of a gift in the end. The principle of charis furnishes epinician ethics with a rationale for expenditure: what is spent will return" (114). The bond between men and gods established by reciprocal favours, favours that bestowed honour, is described as a charis-bond, by the verb *χαρίζεσθαι*.<sup>20</sup> In Bacchylides' third ode, the parallel give-and-take of Croesus and Hieron provides the structure for the entire song: Croesus' outlay earns him salvation; Hieron's earns him immortality through the charis (97) of the victory-ode. The charis-echo (38,97) may well be deliberate.

In commemorating Hieron's first victory at Olympia (476B.C.), Bacchylides describes his task as 'weaving a song with the Charites':

ἢ σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας  
 ὕμνον ἀπὸ Ζαθέας  
 νάσου γένος ὑμετέραν  
 εἰς κλυτὰν πέμπει πόλιν.

(5.9-12)

In what way can the Charites help to 'weave' a song? By describing them as *βαθυζώνοις*, Bacchylides is adapting their feminine beauty to poetic beauty, but there is more to their involvement than this. To get a clearer picture one must examine some passages in Pindar where we find the same metaphor of weaving songs. The metaphorical potential of weaving was explored as early as Homer,<sup>21</sup> but in Pindar the activity of weaving songs has certain definite associations. Occasionally the context suggests that the poet has in mind the weaving of garments; he weaves variegated material into one complex and beautiful whole (e.g. *πλέκων / ποικίλον ὕμνον*, Ol.6.86-87). More frequently, however, the song-weaving takes place with some reference to garlands. Garlands, tokens of festivity in the ancient world, were of particular significance in the epinician context. A

young athlete was proclaimed winner at the moment when he was presented with a leafy garland. This signalling of the victor by crowning him with lush greenery takes its roots in the *φύλλοβελία*, the custom of casting leaves around someone who was enjoying good fortune.<sup>22</sup> When Pindar refers to weaving songs as garlands, he sometimes seems to have the *φύλλορόλια* in mind, and sometimes the proclamation at the games. The *φύλλορόλια* would explain why Pindar describes himself as 'covering Alcmaeon with garlands and sprinkling him with song' in the Eighth Pythian (57). More frequently, it is the actual presentation or dedication of the victory-wreath that lies behind Pindar's choice of wreath-imagery to describe his praise-poetry. When he asks Persephone in the Twelfth Pythian (6ff.) to receive the garland from the Pythian games on behalf of the flute-player Midas, the poet blends his song with the actual victory-wreath being dedicated to the goddess.<sup>23</sup> In the Seventh Nemean (70ff.) Pindar formulates a series of metaphors drawn from activities in the pentathlon to describe his own activities in composing the ode, then claims to be making a wreath.<sup>24</sup>

From Pindar's wreath metaphors the same pattern emerges as with Bacchylides' *alatheia*. A historical event takes place in the games, and is duplicated in poetry. One word, one image makes the claim that in composing a song the poet is 'doing' what was done at the climactic moment in the games.<sup>25</sup>

Like Bacchylides, Pindar describes himself as 'weaving a song with the Charites'. One passage is reminiscent of Bacchylides' description at 5.9ff. (above), where the Charites are *ῥαθύζωναι*:

σὺν βαθυζώνοισι ἀγγέλων  
 Ἰλαιοκράτῃ Χαρίτεσσι χειρωνεῖν  
 ὄλβιον ἄνδρα Διοξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας  
 (Pyth.9.2-4)

Jebb points out (ad 5.9ff.) that this ode was probably written just two years after Bacchylides' composition, and may be a deliberate echo.<sup>26</sup> The Charites by their beauty adorn the song that 'crowns the crowning' of the victor. But there is more.

In his dithyramb for Athens, Bacchylides develops the idea, borrowing for praise of Athens' epinician language. The 'dark-eyed' Charites carry garlands, and 'crown songs with time':

ἰοβλέφαροι τε κόραι  
 φερεστέφανοι Χάριτες  
 θάλωσιν ἀμφὶ τιμᾶν  
 ὕμνοισιν· ὕφαινε νῦν ἐν  
 ταῖς πολυηράτοις τε καινῶν  
 ὀλβίαις· Ἀθήναις,  
 εὐδαίνετε Κηῖα μέριμνα

(19.5-11)

The Charites are called upon not only for their beauty (ἰοβλέφαροι) but also as wreath bearers (φερεστέφανοι). With their cult-roots in flourishing nature, they are appropriately described amidst the lush greenery of garlands.<sup>27</sup> But, wreaths in hand, they actually confer honour on the poet's verses, just as officials at the games honour a victor with a crown of leaves.<sup>28</sup> This activity of the Charites actually increases the skill of the poet: consciousness of the time he receives from the goddesses inspires him with 'countless paths of immortal verse' (1-2) from which to choose words of praise that are fitting for those already marked out for honour.<sup>29</sup> Garlanded by the Charites, honoured and

inspired, he is moved to garland his patron with praise (ὕφαινε' νῦν, 8).

Receiving time from the Charites makes one δοφός, as if one were privy to an oracle:

ἦ γὰρ δοφός<sup>30</sup> ἢ Χαρίτων τιμὰν λελογχώς  
 ἐλπίδι χρυσεῖαι τέθαιεν  
 ἢ τινα θευπροπίαν  
 εἰδώς

(10.39-42)

The particular insight that one has as a poet comes as if by lot (λελογχώς, 39); the Charites, like other divinities, bestow their favour on those whom they choose, and mortals can but acknowledge their good fortune. When one is a victor, being so favoured results in the enjoyment of public acclaim:<sup>31</sup>

εὖ δὲ λαχὼν | Χαρίτων  
 πολλεῖς τε θαύμας θεῖς βροτῶν

(1.151-152)

Part of the skill that makes a beneficiary of the Charites δοφός is the ability to use persuasive speech. Menelaos, says Bacchylides, 'spoke with winning words after communing with the Charites':

Πλεῖς θενίδας Μενέλαος χάρι' ἠελξέεπεῖ  
 φθέγγατ', εὐπέπλοις κεινώδας χάρισσιν  
 (15.48-49)

The beauty of the goddesses (εὐπέπλοις) is translated into an ability to charm with speech (cf. βαθύζωναι, ἰοβλέφαρρι, above p.194). Bacchylides invokes this power at the opening of his ninth ode, when he calls on the Charites 'with golden distaff' to make his δόξα 'succeed by persuading mortals,' πειδίμβροτον.

To sum up, the Charites in Bacchylides participate in both the poetic and the epinician experience. Indeed, both experiences are fused, as the poet borrows epinician imagery to describe his poetic art. The Charites inspire Bacchylides to enable him to charm his

audience by lending beauty to his words, and in so doing award him the tima of public approval as he awards it to the victorious athlete. He joins the Charites in weaving a garland for the athlete, but the goddesses cast leaves of tima over him as well as the victor, in a (metaphorical) gesture that dates back to the old custom of the *φύλλοσκαλία*. In the epinician milieu as elsewhere, to be so favoured by the Charites is to be blessed with the gift of good fortune, to flourish in the enjoyment of public admiration. This is the domain of Thalia, Euphrosyne and Aglaia.<sup>32</sup>

The double function of the Charites in praise-poetry is reflected in the extension of epinician charis, which covers both the winning performance in the games, and the poetic tribute that commemorates it. The close association between these two charites is described as a 'necessity' (*χρή*). This obligatory praise-song that is a charis is described as an alatheia, an 'unveiling' of the victor's success, a lasting tribute to the alatheia that took place in the competition. The supreme gift of the praise-poet, which rescues the victor from the darkness and silence of the mortal condition, is an abiding light which immortalizes the passing flash of areta demonstrated in the games. This is Bacchylides' charis. It is presented to the victor 'with dika', and when it renders the 'due' portion of reward for a great victory, as it does for Hieron's Olympic success in 468 B.C., the poet can anticipate its becoming a charis for him also.



### Pindar

That 'necessary' connection between victory and song which is reflected by the acts of unveiling or garlanding in the poetry of Bacchylides belongs to a complex system of requital that governs the conventions of epinician verse. This system, in which charis plays a major part, becomes clear when we look at the poems of Pindar. The athlete's victory 'requites' his expenditure of effort and, in some cases, considerable financial outlay, by awarding him the pleasure of winning, and of the ensuing fame he receives from his townspeople and relatives. These people in turn enjoy the glory that is reflected back on themselves, even as they direct it towards their victor. Events, too, requite one another, as we saw in the poetry of Bacchylides. The victory demands further satisfaction in a praise-song. As the poet produces this, enlarging the scope of the fame enjoyed by the victor and his people, and awarding them a kind of immortality (through song), he too is requited for his efforts. Like the victor, his toil is rewarded, with the immortalizing praise that links his name with the successful song. Any of these reciprocal benefits can be referred to by Pindar as instances of charis: this epinician charis, the pleasure conferred in these various ways, binds together athlete and his community, victory and the victory-ode, and poet and patron in communal give-and-take, in *κοινωνία*.

The victory celebration was the occasion when this charis was expressed on its various levels, as the victor and his community basked in their shared glory, when the song was performed which demonstrated the

attainment of the greatest of human desires. The celebration was a direct descendant of the charis of Alcinous' feast (Od.9.3-11). The fulfilment of desire expressed the vitality of the group, and could have been described as a χαρίεν τέλος, as Odysseus described the festive occasion of the Phaeacians:

οὐ γὰρ ἔχω γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι  
ἢ ὅτ' εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχη κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα  
(Od.9.5-6)

The first component of this charis-complex was, of course, the victory. Pindar speaks directly of the victory as a charis (e.g. Ol.8.57, Isth.2.19), and makes it clear that this was the goal and the requital of the athlete's efforts. The physical exertion, πόνος, and the financial outlay, δαπάνα, find recompense in the victory, expressed by such words as 'sweet requital' (γλυκεῖαν ... μόχθων ἀμειβάν, Nem.5.48), or a 'breathing space' (τῶν δὲ μόχθων ἀμπνοάν, Ol.8.7).<sup>33</sup> The charis of victory was not just a mortal achievement; divine help was an important element in the athlete's success. Victory was awarded not just by the officials at the games, but by the Charites, and was the reward for an athlete's piety, as well as for his prowess. "By the prayers of men (victory) is accomplished," says Pindar, "in return for the favour of their piety":

ἀνεται δὲ πρὸς χάριν εὐσεβίας ἀνδρῶν λιπαῖς  
(Ol.8.8)

The next level of satisfaction obtained by the athlete is the glory that comes with victory. The public acclaim he enjoys is an αἰδεῖα χάρις, a charis that confers aidos and itself commands respect. This charis is described as a physical transformation, and with the divine participation, is described by Pindar in terms redolent of a beatification as well as a beautification:

αἰδοῖα ποτιστά-  
ξη χάρις εὐκλέα μορφάν (01.6.75-76)

As charis is itself a divine power, it commands aidos; when it is conferred upon a successful athlete, it brings with it the power to inspire the same reverence from those who witness the event:<sup>34</sup>

δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοῖαν χάριν  
καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ γαί-  
νων

(01.7.89-90)

When the victor receives this divine touch, like Odysseus on the shore after his unction of charis (Od.6.237), he receives the immediate attention of maidens, who long to have such a man for a husband or a son (Pyth.9.98-99).

This acclaim the victor reciprocates, by awarding the charis of glory and celebration to his city, his kinsmen, his trainer,<sup>35</sup> even his deceased ancestors. His city shares his thirst for glory, which is satisfied by victory (Nem.5.47), and the townspeople are full participants in the charis-joy of the celebration whenever one of theirs was successful:

Ἐρατιδᾶν τοι σὺν χαρίτεσσιν<sup>36</sup> ἔχει  
θαλίᾳ καὶ πόλιν

(01.7.93-94)

Like funerary rites of libation, the victory celebrations sprinkle the earth with the dew of festivity, binding together the living and the dead with communal charis.<sup>37</sup> This enables the dead to 'hear' the exploits of the living and to share the ὄλβος:

μεγαλᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν  
 δρόσῳ μαλθακᾶ  
 ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων {θ' ὑπὸ χεύμασιν  
 ἀκούοντι ποίηθονία φρενί  
 σφόν ἄλβον υἱῶ τε κοινᾶν χάριν  
 ἐνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλα·

(Pyth.5.99-104)

Charis is κοινᾶ (103): the son and his ancestors are bound in κοινωνία through charis, the joy felt when prowess is rewarded with the freshening sounds of a komos singing the victor's praise. Elsewhere, Pindar speaks of this link between the dead and their successful kinsmen, established by charis, charis that is κεδνᾶ, 'valued', 'cherished':

ἔστι δὲ καὶ τι θανόντεσσιν μέρος  
 κἂν νόμον ἐρδόμενων·  
 κατακρύπτει δ' οὐ κόνις  
 συγχόνων κεδνᾶν χάριν.

(O1.8.77-80)

The words of this passage include the language of ritual, like the imagery of Pyth.5.98ff., above.<sup>38</sup> The unbroken bond between the young and their ancestors beneath the earth was possible because the young were 'performing a nomos'. Like paying the rites due to the dead, winning in the games was a goal that was deep-rooted in the community, a common aspiration and an exercise that belonged to all; it refreshed the bond between all its members, with its account of living glory, much as recounting the great deeds of heroes and ancestors now dead would revive the awareness of κοινωνία.<sup>39</sup> The praise-song, represented by the komos, is no more a private event than the victory in the games. The poet speaks on behalf of the community, awarding the praise that is also part of the communal nomos. Pindar speaks of himself as 'dispatched, an individual on behalf of the koinos': ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιος

ἐν κοινῷ σταλαίς(01.13.49);<sup>40</sup> he exerts himself on behalf of ξυνὰ ἀρεταί (Pyth.11.54). His message is ξυνός; it touches everyone: ξυνὸν ἀγγέλλων ... λόχον (01.7.21). As a κοινὸς λόγος, it repays the athlete and brings charis-joy to all: κοινὸν λόχον / φίλαν τεύομεν εἰς χάριν (01.10.11).<sup>41</sup>

As the community in celebration is fused by the giving and taking of charis during a victory-celebration, so the victory itself demands requital in song, and once it obtains this is fused with the song itself, in Pindaric language. The interrelation between song and victory is described in several ways, reflecting the need of one for the other. The victory 'urges on', 'stirs up' a song to celebrate it, a charis (Nem.1.7), and provides the content for the song (ὄθεν, 01.1.8). The song rescues the victory from the curtain of oblivion that otherwise falls on a mortal's achievement, and the song is 'obliged' by virtue of the event alone (Nem.9.6-7); it is a 'fitting payment' for the ἀγαθὸί (πατίβορος ... μισθός, Nem.7.63, cf. πρόσθερον Nem.8.48, 9.7).<sup>42</sup> The relationship between song and victory is so close that the song 'takes its name' from the victory: it is an ἐπινομία χάρις (01.10.78). And both song and victory are referred to as simply charites.<sup>43</sup>

Like the victor and his community, or the victory and its song, praise-poet and patron are linked by a bond of mutual gratification in the epinician experience. Charis is one of the words Pindar uses to express this gratification. His patron Thorax 'labours for' Pindar's charis: ἐμὰν ποιπνύων χάριν (Pyth.10.64). This charis no doubt took the visible form of financial remuneration,<sup>44</sup> but reflected the more complete satisfaction to be gained from repeated instances of mutual favouring. This was characteristic of relationships designated as xenia or philia, as well

as of charis. Hence Pindar speaks of his patrons as ξείνοι, or of himself as their φίλος.<sup>45</sup> The praise-poet, abiding by the reciprocal laws of ξενία, returned the kindness of his patron; he too was a ξείνος, bringing 'true glory' in his praise, to a φίλον ... άνδρ' (Nem.7.61-64). In 'labouring for' the poet's charis, Thorax entered into a relationship where distinctions between donor and recipient were dissolved: Pindar describes this as φιλέων φιλέοντι, άχων άχοντα προφρόνως (Pyth.10.65). Even when using the language of a debtor, he describes the debt as a φίλα χάρις (Ol.10.12): its payment brings pleasure, not pain, and is not handed over to an exacting creditor, but brings mutual satisfaction to φίλοι. When Pindar described his songs as charites, implicit was the notion that these were pleasurable tasks for the poet. When he begins the First Isthmian ode with a promise to Thebes and to Delos to 'yoke together the fulfilment of two charites, a paean to Apollo and an epinician for an athlete from Thebes, he is assuring Delos that his delay with the paean is not due to a lack of willingness on his part.<sup>46</sup> Not only was the production of the odes a pleasure for him, earning him a rightful place among the nobility in his world,<sup>47</sup> but he stood to gain admiration for his work. This, in a society motivated by praise and blame, was the thing most desired, no less for Pindar in his world than for Achilles in his. Sometimes, the praise-poet stood to gain the goodwill and admiration of an entire state, by the praise it conferred. This Pindar calls μισθός, when he claims that he will win the charis of the Athenians by praising Salamis, of Sparta by praising Plataea, or of Syracuse by mentioning Himera (Pyth.1.75-79).<sup>48</sup>

'The charis of a good name is the mightiest of possessions,' says Pindar, and a man readily goes to

his death if he can bequeath this to his offspring:

καλλίονα Θανάτου <στείχαι> γλυκυτάτη γενεᾷ  
εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίστην χάριν πορών.

(Pyth.11.57-58)

This charis provided the paradigm for epinician poetry: it was this χάρις εὐώνυμος, the acquisition of fame, that propagated the fame of heroes in song (60ff.), and was the ultimate aspiration of the young athletes and their families in Pindar's milieu. The degree to which the desire for fame dominated this world is nowhere more transparent than in Pindar's description of the pain of defeat, when unsuccessful athletes slink home through the back streets. Reaching their mothers, they cannot indulge in the laughter that would be encircling the victors and their families with charis-joy:

οὐδὲ κλώντων<sup>49</sup> παρ' ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλωσ γλυκός  
ᾤρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάρσει  
πτώσδοντε, συμφορᾷ δεδαχμένει.

(Pyth.8.85-89)

The joy at winning public approval, the χάρις εὐώνυμος, is not an automatic consequence of one's natural ability, nor is it awarded by chance. Like wealth, charis is a gift; it is added to (ἐπι-) inborn aretai, as Pindar reminds Theron, the successful ruler of Acragas and winner in the chariot-race at Olympia in 476 B.C.:

αἰὼν δ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος  
πλοῦτόν τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων  
γνησίαις ἐπι<sup>50</sup> ἀρεταῖς

(Ol.2.10-11)

χάρις εὐώνυμος comes from without, from fate or from the gods, the culminating adornment of human effort and skill.<sup>51</sup> The wrestler Theaeus of Argos prays to Zeus for this divine favour, charis, and not in vain, for he contributes his own courageous spirit:

οὐδ' ἀμόχθω καρδίᾳ  
προσφέρωι τέλμαν παραγείται χάριν.

(Nem.10.30-31)

The coronation of victors 'sprinkled' them with the leafy crowns of success. Similarly, Pindar speaks of the lyre and aulos as 'sprinkling charis' on Hagesidamus,<sup>52</sup> while the Muses nourish his fame:

ἴν δ' ἀδουεπῆς τε λύρα  
γλυκὺς γ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν  
τρέφοντε δ' εὐρὺ κλέος  
κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.

(O1.10.93-96)

Elsewhere, he 'sheds the charis of delight' over a victor and his trainer:

σὺν Ἐρσέᾳ δέ νιν  
κωμάξομαι τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζωι<sup>53</sup> χάριν

(Isth.3/4.90-90b)

This second coronation in song has the effect of prolonging the instantaneous fame of victory. Pindar speaks of it as a 'nurturing' of fame by the Muse,<sup>54</sup> or of adding radiance to the crowns of victory:

τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας  
εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἀγωνίᾳ χρυσεάν  
κῶμόν γ' ἀέθλων Πυθίων ἀίχλαν στεφάνοις

(Pyth.3.72-73)

Pindar is here addressing the ailing Hieron, wishing that he could add to the charis of the komos that of 'golden health'. The radiance added to the garlands of victory (αἰχλαν στεφάνοις, 73) is on a par with restoring the health of a very sick man.<sup>55</sup> Gold gleams brighter than all other possessions (O1.1.1-2), and 'golden health' represents Hieron's most immediate desire: suffering from acute pain, he was confronted with his own mortality. Pindar's wish is closely paralleled in the myth that follows. The royal house of Thebes, having suffered great adversity, change



their condition and 'set their hearts aright'. The whole transformation is a charis of Zeus:<sup>56</sup>

Διὸς δὲ χάριν  
ἐκ προτέρων μεταμειψάμενοι καμάτων  
ἔσταθαι ὀρθὰν καρδίαν .

(Pyth.3.95-96)

The charis that Pindar can offer to Hieron transcends this mortality: although not 'golden health' it is the 'gleam' of immortality, attached to his crown of victory. The living fame and name of the Homeric heroes, preserved in song, was the αἴγλα that was within Pindar's power to confer. 'You know of the blood-stained valorous body of Ajax,' says Pindar, a hero favoured because Homer told of his areta in epic, for others to refashion in song (Isth.3/4.35ff.) 'When someone says something well, the gleam of his beautiful deeds travels ever unquenchable over the fruitful earth and across the sea' (41-42). The same claim made on behalf of good poetry had been made by other archaic poets. The grievance of Archilochus, that the charis of aidos and pheme is obliterated at death, 'the worst condition of all' (fr.133W), is surmounted by the poetic claims of Theognis, Sappho and Ibycus, and later by the epinician poets, who recognized that the ultimate act of poetic charis was to rescue a mortal from his own mortality.<sup>57</sup> Without poetry, the charis-joy that comes from the fame of the moment will soon fade: when men cannot recall it in fine verse, when it is not 'yoked to famous streams of words', their memory of this charis will fade:

ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ  
εὐδελὲ χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί  
ὅτι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον  
κλυταῖς ἐπέων βοαῖσιν ἐξίκτηται ζυγόν·

(Isth.7.16-19)

The attainment of immortality was of course the exclusive preserve of the gods; it was a feature of the bliss they enjoyed as divine beings. As a mortal, one could at best approximate this bliss, when one was ὄλβιος.<sup>58</sup> Heroes were described as ἐλβιος when they spent time with the gods (Ol.1.56, Pyth.3.89); mortals were ὄλβιος when the gods apportioned them 'conspicuous honour and wealth'. So writes Bacchylides, giving us in a gnomic passage of his fifth ode a definition of ὄλβος:

ὄλβιος ὤτινι θεός  
μοῖρᾶν γε καλῶν ἔπορεν  
σὺν τ' ἐπιζήλωι τύχῃ  
ἀφνεὸν βιοτᾶν διαχεῖν. οὐ  
χάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων  
πάντα γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφου.

(5.50-55)

Bacchylides finishes his gnome with a reminder of the contingency of ὄλβος, the happiness one experiences in being so blessed. No mortal is by nature happy in all respects (54-55). Peleus and Cadmus, who earned the greatest ὄλβος among mortals, suffered their reverses (Pyth.3.86-88), and Pindar reflects that ὄλβος does not attend mortals for long, especially when it comes in great and weighty measure (105-106).<sup>59</sup> Hieron, whose wealth and fame made him ὄλβιος,<sup>60</sup> would have been all the more receptive to the promise of Pindar that through song the poet could prolong the fame the despot enjoyed (e.g. Pyth.1.92-94). Hieron's greater dose of good fortune made it all the more precarious, hence the gleam that Pindar could add to his crown, the prolongation of his greatness beyond the grave, would fulfill his highest hopes.

High achievement and songs to commemorate them were also the highest goals for the young athletes (Isth.5.11-12, Nem.1.10-12). These were on a par with

the desire at one time for wind, or at another for rain (O1.11.1-6). Charis is a word which Pindar uses for the gratification of one's greatest hope. The sailor hopes for a following wind, the 'first charis' (Pyth.1.33-34). Zeus sends to Heracles an eagle, the token of his goodwill, and 'sweet charis' touches him as he realizes his prayers on behalf of Telamon will be answered (Isth.6.49ff.). For Arcesilas, king of politically troubled Cyrene, a restoration of concord would come as his greatest desire, and Pindar prophesies to the king that the charis of healing and restoration were being 'woven out' for him (Pyth.4.275). Praise-songs, the final gratification for the young victors as well as for the ailing Hieron, are appropriately called charites. They 'lift aloft' the victor, who has attained this acme of his aspirations. 'One must,' says Pindar, 'exalt the celebrant with gentle songs, charites':

χρῆ δὲ κωμάζουσι ἄγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βουτάσαι  
(Isth.3.8)

Indeed, as Gildersleeve notes, Pindar may be reinforcing the idea of the heights of gratification the athlete has attained, with the picture of the 'gentle' Charites actually holding him in the air.<sup>61</sup>

The Charites are more prominent in the odes of Pindar than in the surviving work of any other archaic poet. Like Bacchylides, Pindar speaks of the importance of these divinities not only for the poetic process, in which they lend their beauty, translated into lyrical charm, but in the actual victory itself, when they give their blessing to the victor. But Pindar's treatment is more extensive, and their presence more keenly felt in his poetry than in that of Bacchylides, and this is perhaps an effect of the Orchomenian cult on the Boeotian poet.

The study of this and other cults of the Charites in Chapter III uncovered certain features which justify their importance to Pindar. Presiding over the flourishing of natural and human growth or being celebrated in the dance at Orchomenos made them natural divinities for epinician verse, and from elsewhere their connections with healing, with beauty and fertility account for their prominence in the odes considered below.

The Fourteenth Olympian, celebrating an Orchomenian victor, provides Pindar with the opportunity to cull from the oldest religious associations of the Charites their essential qualities in order to enrich his poetry. The ode itself was probably sung in front of their sanctuary, by the shore of the Cephisus,<sup>62</sup> and paid tribute to the young victor not with the usual fervour of a victory-celebration but with the solemnity appropriate to a hymn, which indeed the ode resembles. The dancers move *κοῦφα β.β.ῶντα* in their *komos* (16), striding lightly and gracefully; the mode is Lydian, whose pitch-range was considered mournful by the ancients.<sup>63</sup> Two-thirds of the short song consists of a solemn invocation of the Charites, 'queens' of wealthy Orchomenos (3) whose portion is the (fertilizing) waters of the Cephisus (1), and who are 'over-seers' of the ancient Minyans (4).<sup>64</sup> This appeal to a collectivity of powers which guarantee fruitfulness on earth makes it tempting to consider that this may be an adaptation of an actual ancient hymn. In the contemporary setting Pindar credits them with accomplishing 'all things delightful and sweet for mortals' (5-6), if one is marked out as *δοφός*, *καλός* or *ἀχλαός* (7). Among the Olympians, they are *ταμίαι*, 'dispensers' of all achievements (*παντῶν ... ἔργων*), as the gods enjoy feasting and dancing (9-10). Enthroned beside Apollo, the youthful god of song and dance, they

revere the 'ever-flowing tima' of Zeus, tima which possesses echoes of the old cult-attachment to water.<sup>65</sup> In the antistrophe, the Charites are named. Thalia is asked to look with particular favour on the procession, her name importing associations of abundance, youth and feasting/festivity, appropriate to a boy-winner in Orchomenos.<sup>66</sup> Aglaia is addressed as πότις (13), which may have been an old cult-title, but which gives prominence to the glorification-process of the komos, and Euphrosyne, like Thalia, is described as having a passion for the dance.<sup>67</sup> After the introduction of the victor, there is a departure from the realms of dancing and feasting to the 'black-walled' house of Persephone, with instructions to Echo to take the 'glorious news' of the boy's victory to his father in the Underworld. That the dead could partake of the glory of living kinsmen by hearing song and sound is a recurring idea in Pindar (Ol.8.77ff., Pyth.5.101-102, Nem.4.85), but it takes on added significance here, if indeed the Charites were ritual intermediaries between the well-blessed Orchomenians and the Minyans in the Underworld.

For present purposes it is important to extract from the Fourteenth Olympian just what this tribute to the Charites implies about Pindar's view of charis. As stewards, Charites distributed charis, divine favour.<sup>68</sup> Prominence is given in the ode to the 'glorious' dimension of charis, represented by Aglaia,<sup>69</sup> and to the 'flourishing' dimension represented by Thalia, but these can never be separated from the joy incarnate in Euphrosyne and expressed in the social celebration of feasting and dancing, the province of the Charites on Olympos. The poem moves in time from the distant past to the present moment, from the archetypal functions of the Charites to their specifically epinician task, from the generally accepted scope of charis-pleasure, to its specific application in the current victory celebra-

tion. The general application is described as the Charites' 'bringing to fulfilment all things that delight and are sweet, if one is skilled,<sup>70</sup> beautiful, or glorified':

δὺν χάρ ὑμῖν γὰ <τε> γερπύνα καί  
 γὰ χλυκέ' ἀνεγαί πάντα βροτοῖς  
 εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀχλαδὸς ἀνήρ.

(O1.14.5-7)

The sweetness and delight come from possession of such qualities as were venerated in Pindar's world. The blessing of the Charites, the addition of charis, represented the culmination of the praise that an individual would receive if gifted in these ways. The epinician application of these words begins in the antistrophe with the naming of the Charites, their dance-epithets and the reference to the komos. 'On account of Thalia,' Pindar says, he has composed the praise-song (20). As the victor and his city 'flourish' under the patronage of the Charites, Thalia represents the power of the song to make their life continue to bloom and prosper.

In the Ninth Nemean, Pindar describes the victor's fame as 'flourishing anew', γεοθαλής, with his song (48). In the Seventh Olympian, Charis is described by one of the most pregnant epithets of all in Pindar, ζωθάλμιος. Like the τις of O1.14, who may be ἀχλαδός, one can be ὄλβιος, and enjoy a good reputation, but beyond this χάρις ζωθάλμιος 'looks upon' such an individual with favour, celebrating him with the lyre and the aulos:

δ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν φᾶμαι κατέχωντ' ἀγαθαί.  
 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἐποπτεύ-  
 εἰ χάρις ζωθάλμιος ἄδυμελεῖ  
 θαμὰ μὲν φόρμιγγι παμφώλοισί τ' ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν

(O1.7.10-12)

The powers of Thalia infuse the entire poem. The birth

and sprouting of an island Rhodes ( ῥάσσε μὲν ἐξ  
 ἀλὸς ὑγρᾶς/νᾶσος, 69-70) underscores the unity of nature,  
 which is a leitmotif of the ode. The nuptial wine-bowl  
 (lff.), with its symbolic powers to perpetuate new  
 growth through a marriage, runs parallel to the  
 fecundating powers of the poet, who sends the victor  
 'liquid nectar', the 'sweet fruit' of his φρένες (7-8).  
 Such unity, expressed as the growth of nature or of  
 human creation, is not uncommon in Pindar.<sup>71</sup> The power  
 of praise-poetry to make a victor's fame νεοθαλής is  
 represented in the Seventh Olympian by the benevolent  
 look of Charis, who casts her regard vivifiant<sup>72</sup> upon  
 one or another as they succeed at different times. The  
 fragility of the blessing of Charis is represented by  
 the phrase ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἐποπτεύει (11). A reference  
 to charis is again followed by this sobering message at  
 the end of the ode, when the celebrated clan is  
 described as enjoying their charites, while the city  
 joins in the festivities (Θαλῖαι), but their joy is  
 subject to the momentary changes of the winds, which  
 blow now in one direction, now in another (95). The  
 effect of being celebrated in song is to make one  
 ὀλβίος (10), like the bridegroom who is envied  
 (ζαλωτόν, 6) when he receives the prized wine-bowl, or  
 the symposium, the gathering of friends and kin at the  
 ἐγγύη who are also 'honoured' by this gesture, and  
 enjoy the charis of the festive event.<sup>73</sup> But the state  
 of such blessedness is never permanent.

Thalia's work among the Charites is also reflected  
 in the way the goddesses are said to affect Pindar's  
 powers of composition. He describes himself as their  
 gardener, 'tilling the choicest garden of the  
 Charites', for they distribute 'things delightful':

ἔξαιρέτων Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον.  
 κείναι γὰρ ὕπασαν τὰ τερπν'.

(O1.9.26-27)

This is followed by the claim that men become ἀγαθοὶ and σοφοί because of divine influence (κατὰ δαίμον', 28). The passage is reminiscent of O1.14.5-7, which describes the Charites as dispensing τὰ τερπνά, which include σοφία. This helps to clarify the role of the goddesses in his work: once he acquires his poetic skill, the Charites make his work alluring, attractive, irresistible even, a choice flower (Χαρίτων ἄωτον, Isth.8.17) from a choice garden (O1.9.27).<sup>74</sup> The Muses, also providing him with fertile fields to till (Nem.6.32), would presumably give him his material, which the Charites help him to adorn and make attractive enough to endure.<sup>75</sup> The blessing of the Charites ensures that the poetic record, drawn from the depths of the φρήν by the tongue, will outlive the deeds it commemorates:

ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει  
 ὅτι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχα  
 γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας

(Nem.4.6-8)

Aphrodite too receives the attention of the gardener-poet. Pindar begins the Sixth Pythian with the claim to be 'turning over once again' the field of Aphrodite or the Charites. The reference to the love-goddess may be personal, because of a special relationship between the poet and the victor's son,<sup>76</sup> but it may also be conventional, describing the potential of his work to exercise irresistible charm, like a beloved.

The fructifying work of love, accomplished through charis and its persuasive powers is expressed by Pindar as 'culling the fruits of ἔρωτες', as he composes an encomium for Theoxenus of Tenedos, in whom dwell Peitho and Charis (fr.123.1, 11-12). This persuasive power of charis, which can make a lover 'melt' like wax growing soft in the sun (8-9), is no less powerful when it operates in song. Like a craftsman, charis adorns the



material of song, making it *μείλιχα*, 'soft', and, like the beloved, has a softening effect on the audience,<sup>77</sup> who give credence even to a false tale:

Χάρις δ' ἄπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς  
ἐπιφέρουσα τιμὰν καὶ ἀπίστον ἐμήσατο πιστόν  
έμμεναι τὸ πολλάκις

(O1.1.30-32)

This, the only negative reference to *charis* in all of Pindar, underscores its power,<sup>78</sup> which is used for nobler ends in the hands of the epinician poet. The process is the same in its misuse as in its benefits recounted in praise-poetry, where it 'brings to', 'adds', *tima*, (*ἐπιφέρουσα*, 31), when the Charites adorn the work of the Muses, bringing *tima* to a victor.

This act of glorification is dramatically represented in several passages of Pindar as 'setting alight' a victor. The Fifth Pythian provides one example:

Ἀλεξιβιάδα, δὲ δ' ἠΰκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες

(Pyth.5.45)

The verb *φλέγω* used transitively<sup>79</sup> is a strong word, with overtones more intense than of simple illumination. Even when used metaphorically it retains a close association with fire, predicated of torches, Zeus' thunderbolt etc.<sup>80</sup> Alexibiades in *Pyth.5* is not simply radiant in the light of the attention of the Charites, he is set ablaze. In a remarkable passage Pindar describes himself as lighting up the Locrian city of Opus with 'fierce, fiery songs':

ἐγὼ δέ τοι φίλαν πόλιν  
μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων ᾠδαῖς

(O1.9.21-22)

The songs are *μαλεραί*, 'blazing', like raging fire. The image appears to be one of destruction, not too appropriate for the process of glorification. But a burning, devouring passion was characteristic of

charis-cognates when they described 'hot' desire,<sup>81</sup> and this same source of heat can explain the fiery work of the Charites. A victor and his city, when celebrated in song, are made passionately happy: they greet the praise like a lion its prey. Their desire for it is fittingly described as 'fiery', 'blazing'; they are simultaneously set alight by the Charites and by the intensely admiring gaze of onlookers. The fire is at once subjective and objective. As 'bright', they would be attractive to Greek eyes (see Chapter II); songs set them on fire, rendering them desirable, as they were desirous of, this honour. The source of the light of glory is ultimately divine. The collective longing for this light of admiration is nowhere more eloquently expressed than in the opening of the Fifth Isthmian ode. Here Pindar praises Theia, mother of Helios, for on her account men prize gold above all else and strive for tima in such mortal pursuits as seafaring and the athletic games (1-11). Theia, mother of the sun (and of the moon and dawn, Theog.371), was a light-divinity, and as the sun was 'mother of the eyes' for Pindar (Pae.9.2), Theia's regency over tima can be explained by her presiding over the 'onlooking', the 'beholding' of men and gods, when a mortal achieves outstanding success.<sup>82</sup>

Pindar, as praise-poet, works closely with the divine Charites<sup>83</sup> when he sets about his luminous task of glorifying a successful athlete. 'Never let the pure light of the singing Charites leave me', he says (Pyth.9.89-90). This is the light that rescues mortals from their shadowy existence, from the vicissitudes and harshness of fate; experiences of pleasure are brief, and are succeeded by stumbles and reversals of fortune (Pyth.8.92-95). Man's best hope is to be the recipient of that divine gleam of light, that makes one visible to all, and makes life gentle:

ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν  
 τὸ τερπνὸν αὔξεται· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίπτει χαμαί,  
 ἀποτρόπῳ χνώμα δεσεσμένον.  
 ἐπάμεροι· τί δε τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιάς ὄναρ  
 ἄνθρωπος· ἄλλ' ἔταν αἴχλα Διόςδετος ἔλθη  
 λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μέλιχος αἰῶν

(Pyth.8.92-97)

Gentleness, as much as the searing light of desire, could come from the hands of the Charites. Pindar's Eighth Pythian describes the island of Aegina as having 'fallen near the Charites' (21). In contrast to the hybris of such monsters as Porphyriion, who indulged in excesses of violence and war, Aegina was a 'city of justice' (δικαιοπόλις, 22), which had enjoyed an unblemished reputation from the beginning (24-25). The ode begins with an invocation to Hesychia, 'Tranquility', 'daughter of Dika', who 'makes cities great' (1-2). Hesychia, harsh at times, is φιλόφρων, 'kindly disposed'; similarly Apollo greets the Aeginetan victor εὐμενεῖ νόφ (18), in contrast to the anger he demonstrated with his avenging bow against the monsters of hybris.<sup>84</sup> The favourable disposition of the gods is to be cultivated, for it brings the greatest gains, says Pindar (13-14), and Aegina's history of justice and moderation earned her divine blessing, which is expressed as a lucky throw of the dice, that gave her the blessing of the Charites (ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἑκάς, 21). This blessing made her 'conspicuous among men', for the heroes and the athletic victors she nurtured (25-27); her reputation was 'brought to perfection' (τελέαν δ' ἔχει δόξαν, 24-25) when these heroes and men were celebrated in song. Pindar continues the theme of gentleness with his wish to give a full account of her heroes with the 'gentle voice of song'. It is the peacefulness of song that makes a victory μαλθακά (Nem.9.49), and it is at the symposium which is 'loved

by peace' (48) that Pindar will sing of a victor's fame 'with the Charites' (54). From Xenophanes' fr.1W we are familiar with advice to exercise restraint and civility at the symposium, and although 'wine be potent and the voice be emboldened' (Nem.9.51,49), singing with the Charites ensures that the song will soften brutish instincts.

In the Second Pythian, Ixion's brutish instincts are not softened by the Charites. His hybris in attempting to seduce Hera is punished by the withdrawal of the Charites, and hence the withdrawal of honour from gods and men. The child of his union with the wraith-Hera, a monster, is born *ἄνευ ... χαρίτων*, and loses his rights to a *χέρως*, a portion of honour:

*ἄνευ οἱ χαρίτων τέκεν χόνον ὑπερφίαλον  
μόνα καὶ μόνον οὐτ' ἐν ἀν-  
δράσι χερσφόρον οὐτ' ἐν θεῶν νόμοις*

(Pyth.2.42-43)

The child, like its cloud mother, is *μόνος*, an isolated specimen. The centaur child is reared apart from human society with the Magnesian mares, on Mount Pelion (45-46); the cloud-goddess was simply a device for ensnaring Ixion in his unlawful passion, and her enticing him resulted in his banishment from the society of the gods. The departure of the Charites, then, is associated with a fracture within society, human or divine. We are reminded of the withdrawal of charis during Hesiod's Iron Age, when men would no longer keep oaths and could not be relied upon for moderate, loyal behaviour, but indulged in hybris (Op.190-192).<sup>85</sup>

Ixion broke the rules that governed a healthy society: he was not able to bear the responsibility for his great privilege, the *μακρὸς ὄλβος* of enjoying consort with the gods (26). Instead, his hybris, great as his honour had been, led him to blind infatuation (28), and he lusted after Hera, ignoring the boundary established

between mortals and immortals. Ixion's action transgressed the 'measure' appropriate to his position (34); further, he didn't reciprocate the kindness of his hosts Zeus and Hera εὐμενέσδω ... παρὰ Κρονίδαις (25), who had offered him a 'sweet life' among the gods (26). His punishment in the first instance was to find emptiness instead of fulfilment: the woman to whom he made love was 'empty', a cloud, and the sweetness he pursued was an illusion (Ψεῦδος γλυκύ 37). The empty choice isolated him and his offspring from society, from the Charites.<sup>86</sup> As his final punishment he was yoked to the iunx, and obliged to teach the rest of mankind the lesson that is vital to all society, a πολύκοινον ... ἀγγελίαν (41), that one must pay back a benefactor with 'gentle returns', over and over again:

τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς  
ἀμοιβαῖς ἐπολιχομένους τίνεσθαι

(Pyth. 2.24)

Like the wheel of punishment that is ever whirling round and round (23-24), the cyclical, reciprocal acts of kindness are freshly renewed as people respond with gentleness to each other.<sup>87</sup> Repaying kindness is expected in a healthy society, as much as is the discharge of a debt (τίνεσθαι); gratitude is not enough, but actions are called for (ἀμοιβαῖς), and the cycle never stops, but fresh favours are proffered and requited (ἐπολιχομένους). This is the domain of the Charites; this is the place of charis in society.

Favours that a king bestows on his people call for the reciprocal action of praise from his grateful subjects, as Penelope reminds the suitors, with the words χάρις ... εὐεργέων (Od. 4.695). Pindar precedes the story of Ixion in the Second Pythian with the example of Cinyras, the mythical king of Cyprus who brought divine ὕλβος to his island in the form of wealth (Nem. 8.17-18). His subjects, unlike Ixion, knew

how to handle their *óλβος*, and respected the rule that praise is the compensation due a king for his areta:

ἀλλοῖς δέ τις ἐτέλεσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ  
 εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον ἄποιν' ἀρετᾶς.  
 κελαδέουσι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πολλάκις  
 φᾶμαι Κυπρίων

(Pyth.2.13-15)

The fact that the Cypriots' praise is enshrined in 'melodious song' (εὐαχέα ... ὕμνον) means that, like well-composed poetry, their praise ensures the continuation of the king's name and fame down through the generations.<sup>88</sup> This is charis, emerging spontaneously in response to acts of kindness; it is 'filled with awe', and 'takes the lead' in requiting the benefits conferred:

ἀγχι δὲ χάρις  
 φίλων ποί τινος ἀντὶ ἔργων ὀπιζομένα  
 (Pyth.2.17)

Pindar follows the mythical example of Cinyras with a brief contemporary reference to a Locrian maiden, who shouts the praise of Hieron in front of her door (19-20). The Syracusan despot, whose victory is celebrated in the ode, had intervened to prevent an attack on Locri by Anaxilas, the tyrant of Messina and Rhegium.<sup>89</sup> The maiden 'shouts aloud' (ἀπύει, 19) in gratitude for the security Hieron has brought to her and to the rest of Locri (20).<sup>90</sup>

The three exemplars, Cinyras, Hieron and Ixion, underscore the strong obligation (ἄποιν', 14; τίνεσθαί, 24) to render praise that is due. The epinician poet, like the Locrian maiden, gives his voice to the gratitude and awe of the people. This is epinician charis, sharply contrasted with calumny (87), which was characteristic of the poetry of Archilochus (54-56). The poet, like the Locrian maiden or the Cypriots, gives loud unequivocal voice to the praise of a βασιλεύς

(63, 67, 86). Unlike Ixion who would dishonour his patron and lose the blessing of the Charites, Pindar wishes to stay on the inside of his society by honouring his patron. His closing words in the Second Pythian express the wish that he will continue to consort with the ἀγαθαί by pleasing them.

The Charites in Pindar give their blessing to a society governed by social charis, by the rendering of favours or praise that is due. The lesson of Ixion describes the obligation to do this as akin to the need to discharge a debt, to abide by the laws of charis. Failure to do so can result in abandonment by the Charites. This abandonment signals a fracture in social relationships, a lack of fulfilment of one's desires, in sum, emptiness and isolation. The Charites' blessing, on the other hand, confers peace, gentleness and the sweet enjoyment of accomplishment. In the epinician context, this means glorification for the victor. A winning athlete is beautified by them as he is beatified, singled out for divine benevolence which is recognized as a radiant gleam or even as a passionate blaze. For the poet, association with the Charites empowers him to write persuasive verse, to compose immortalizing song in their light, making the victor and the victory flourish anew. This is the epinician version of the prosperity enjoyed by the early inhabitants of Orchomenos, the first recipients of the blessings of the Charites, whose life and whose land flourished under their patronage.

Receiving the gift of the Charites, charis, provided the highest form of gratification that could be experienced in Pindar's world. When an individual was awarded the charis of wealth or fame, he became εὐλαβίος, and enjoyed the mortal state of bliss that most closely approximated the divine. Of these two aspirations, the desire for fame was the greater, the

'crown of possessions', and it was to this desire that epinician poetry responded. It assured the victorious athlete that the momentary flash of glory would endure, in that his name and achievements would be commemorated long after his death. The praise-song, then, was the answer to the precariousness of the mortal condition, in which joy was ever short-lived.

Epinician charis was not awarded by chance: it was a culminating adornment upon something good, acquired by human effort and skill. Hence the poet 'shed' or 'sprinkled' his charis, as the officials in the games had crowned the victor's success. It created a bond between the poet and his victor or patron, as both stood to gain from the production of the song. The mutual gratification of poet and patron, of victor and his community and kin, and (by poetic convention) of victory and song, reflected that complex system of requital which operated in the epinician experience, and charis, with its potential to exact reciprocal pleasure, was the one word best suited to encapsulate the experience in any of its phases.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. This is found in five of the odes: 3.96, 5.187, 8.20, 9.85 and 13.204.

2. ἀ-λανθάνω, -λήθη . H. Maehler, Die Lieder des Bakchylides (Leiden 1982) (hereafter: Maehler), ad 3.96, points to the living awareness of the etymological significance in the word since Hesiod's Theog.233-236, which describes Nereus as ἀληθέα, explaining that he did not forget (λήθεσθαι) the themistes. Maehler cites examples from Pindar that demonstrate his retention of the sense of Nicht-ausserachtlassen in the word. In Bacchylides, this 'non-overlooking' is the function of the poet, who overcomes the silence which would otherwise shroud the victor's success.

For a bibliography on the subject of ἀλήθεια in early Greek thought, see L. Woodbury, "Truth and the Song: Bacchylides 3.96-98," Phoenix 23 (1969) 333, n.10. To this must now be added the discussion of ἀληθείη in Charles Kahn, Part 6 of The Verb 'Be' and its Synonyms, Philosophical and Grammatical Studies, ed. J.W.M. Verhaar, (Dordrecht 1973), 363-366, and J.P. Levet, Le vrai et le faux dans la pensée grecque archaïque (Paris 1976) 78-105.

3. In the eighth ode (20) Bacchylides begins his praise under oath, and affirms:

κομπάσομαι· σὺν ἀλαθείᾳ δὲ πᾶν λάμπει χρέος  
He will proclaim the victory loud and clear, and the whole affair can shine in the light of public disclosure. The content of the revelation follows: the boy has surpassed all others in scoring such a number of victories in a short time (22-25). He has unveiled his potential, proven in victory and proclaimed in song.

The illumination which accompanies an unveiling reaches a culmination in Bacchylides' grandest epinician, the third. The polarity of darkness and brightness forms a leitmotif in the ode, initiated by the 'unveiling' of Hieron's wealth in his gift to the god: he 'kept his towered wealth unhidden in the black mantle of darkness' (13); 'the tripods flashed gold in front of the temple' (17); the blaze of Croesus' funeral pyre is quenched by a black veil of cloud (55-56). Hieron's gift of gold (65), gold that represents joy, εὐφροσύνη (87), earns him the immortalizing light

of praise, praise that 'unveils' his beautiful deeds instead of condemning him to oblivion:

ἀρετᾶς ἅς μιν εὖ μινύθει  
 βρατῶν ἅμα σῶματι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ  
 Μοῦσα νιν τρέφει]

(3.90-92)

For the association of light and ἀληθείη see Levet, op.cit. (above n.2) 100.

4. χνήσιος means 'lawfully born', 'born of wedlock'. The feat of the victory performance becomes the legitimate parent of the song that continues to sing its praise long after the parent is dead.

5. The supplement χρή of Kenyon is generally accepted. This word introduces one version of the 'χρέος -motive', a convention in epinician poetry which was isolated and discussed by E.L. Bundy, in Studia Pindarica (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962) 1 & 2, esp.1.10-12, 21-22, 2.57, 67, 85. What is of interest in Bundy's account for purposes of this study is not the structural contribution of the χρέος -motive, but the social practices which gave rise to the use of such words as χρή, or χρέος, πρέπει etc., to describe the role of praise-poetry. Bundy characterizes this "necessity or propriety that determines the relationship between song and merit" (1.10-11) as the fulfilment of desire: words like μισθός and χρήσιος "express the natural yearnings and fulfillments of the activities in question" (10), and "song sets a permanent seal on high deeds" (11).

The passage under consideration bears a striking resemblance to Pindar's Isth.1.43-45, as was observed by Maehler:

χρή νιν εὐρόντεσσιν ἀγάνορα κόμπου  
 μὴ φθονεραῖδε φέρειν  
 γνώμας

6. So R.C. Jebb, Bacchylides (Hildesheim 1967) (hereafter: Jebb), 'for truth's sake', and D. Gerber, Lexicon in Bacchylidem, (Hildesheim 1984) 'acc.sing. pro prep.c.gen.'. But H. Fränkel, Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy (Oxford 1975) 128 n.26, accepts it as appositional, with the opposite meaning from the γλώσσης χάριν of Hesiod's Op.709. See below n.17.

7. So taken by Kenyon, and followed by Jebb, Wilamowitz, Gentili and others (see Maehler ad loc.).

8. H. Fränkel, op.cit. (above n.6) 464, translates as "men will also perform the friendship-gift of the sweet-singing nightingale of Ceos". In n.44 he rejects the reference of χάρις to the poet's charm, citing

Pindaric parallels to argue that " *χάρις* is much more likely to signify the ode itself as a pleasure and a gift of friendship".

9. D. Gerber, op.cit. (above n.6) s.v. *χάρις*, ad loc.: 'the charm, beauty (of song)'.  
 10. Anne P. Burnett, The Art of Bacchylides (Cambridge Mass. 1985) 76: "Bacchylides' unforgetting song - a repayment, a gesture of gratitude and a graceful act all in one."

11. E.g. in comparison with Pindar's self-description as *σοφός* in nature, knowing many things, an eagle of Zeus compared to others (i.e. poets, probably Bacchylides and his uncle Simonides), whom he calls 'crows' chattering away in vain. With this self-inflation may be compared Ol.1.115, where Pindar wishes his skill to be recognized as foremost in the Greek world.

A reference to Bacchylides' powers in 3.97 is not untoward, however, given the occasion of the poem and its significance for the poet. The description of himself as a 'honey-throated nightingale from Ceos' is appropriately discreet self-praise.

12. or 1.146: οὐκ ἄνεκκλαρος κηλῶν , or 9.82:  
 τὸ... καλόν

13. Maehler (ad 96-98) quotes Fränkel (above n.10), and adds: "Nach den Versen 92-95 kann der 'laudandus' nur Hieron sein, nicht B.; die Gedankenreihe 'Hieron ist gesegnet -- den Erfolgreichen muss man preisen' kulminiert in dem Satz 'Man wird das Lied singen'." Maehler points out that the gesture of the poet (i.e. the *charis*, his song), following up Hieron's successes, is analogous to the thought contained in the first part of the conclusion, where the Muse nurtures success (92). In his comments on 97 ( *τις ὑμνήσει χάριν* ) Maehler points out another structural advantage of this interpretation: *ὑμνήσει* recalls the *ὑμνεῖ* of the proem (3) and *μελίγλωσσος* together with *χάρις* (the poet's gift) picks up the reference to the Muse-with-sweet-gift, *γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ* , also from 3. In a kind of ring-composition, the ode opens and closes with the idea of singing the sweet gifts of poetry.

The case for taking *χάρι* as a preposition in this passage was made by L. Woodbury in "Truth and the Song: Bacchylides 3.96-98," Phoenix 23 (1969) 331-335.

*καὶ μελίγλωσσοις τις ὑμνήσει χάριν / κηῖας ἀηδόνος* becomes "there shall be a song of praise ... and by grace also of the honey-voiced nightingale of Ceos". This interpretation leaves *ὑμνήσει* (normally transitive) without an expressed object (although see Woodbury's

n.12, 334); it loses the structural virtues elicited by Maehler and leaves us with a syntactic inconcinnity in English.

14. The use of the future tense (indicative), particularly in the first person, occurs frequently in Bacchylides and Pindar, with reference to the performance of the victory-ode. E.L. Bundy, op.cit. (above n.5) 1.21, has isolated this as another "conventional element of the enkomiastc style", which "never points beyond the ode itself, and its promise is often fulfilled by the mere pronunciation of the word". The same case was made for the imperative-future statements in Pindar, in W.J. Slater, "Futures in Pindar," CQ NS19 63 (1969) 86-94. While it is important not to place a great deal of confidence in the biographical reference to the phrase *τις ὑμνήσει*, which follows a familiar pattern in epinician poetry, it is important to note the familiar claim in this (substantiated by the Muse's nurturing of the light of areta, 91-92) that the ode confers immortality upon the victor, and this can only happen through the (actual, not conventional) repetition of the ode in the future.

15. Explaining the *χάριν* as an appositive, 'zur Freude' or 'als Dankesgabe für Kleoptolemos'.

16. E.L. Bundy, op.cit. (above n.5) 1.5 n.18. Another close Pindaric parallel is found at Pyth.11.9ff., where *κελαδήσει* again takes a double object and the whole is represented by *χάριν*. Like the Bacchylides passage, a shrine is being celebrated in song, and *χάριν* is followed by the dative case:

ὄφρα θέμιν ἱερὰν Πυθῶνα τε καὶ ἑρθεδίκαν  
 χάς ὀμφαλὸν κελαδήσει ἄκρα σὺν ἑσπέρα  
 ἐπταπύλοισι Θήβαις  
 χάριν ἀχῶνί τε Κίρρας

(Pyth.11.9-12)

17. A candidate for the first use of *χάριν* as a preposition in Greek literature occurs in Hesiod's

μηδὲ ψεύδεσθαὶ γλώσσης χάριν

(Op.709)

Most scholars agree with M. West, ed., Hesiod, Works and Days (Oxford 1975) 128 n.26, who translates *χάριν* as 'a grace consisting of mere words' (i.e. an appositive).

Prepositional candidates occur in the lyric poets preceding Pindar and Bacchylides. Semonides provides one:

ἀνὴρ δ' ὅταν μάλιστα θυμηθεῖν δοκῆι  
κατ' οἶκον, ἢ θεῶν μοῖραν ἢ ἀνθρώπου χάριν  
εὐροῦσα μῶμον ἐς μάχην κερύσσειται

(7.103-105 W)

Semonides here accounts for a man's short-lived equanimity in his own house either by fate sent by the gods or by the favour of mortals. Given that μοῖρα does not evolve into a preposition, and that both μοῖραν and χάριν occur here in the same syntactic position, both are likely appositive explaining θυμηθεῖν.

Sappho, giving voice to Artemis in her plea to Zeus for virginity, says ἄχι καὶ τάδε νεῦσον ἔμην χάριν (fr.44a). χάριν here is the object of νεῦσον, 'nod my pleasure', 'grant my desire' (cf. Soph. OC 248 νεύδατε / γὰν ἀδόκητον χάριν).

In the second book of the Theognidea we find another instance of ἔμην χάριν, but it follows an intransitive verb:

οὐδ' αὖ μ' ἄνω κατέμεινας ἔμην χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάσῃ  
αἰεὶ σπουδαίην ἔρχεται ἀγγελίην

(1373-4W)

In this (more difficult) case χάριν is probably an appositive standing for an internal accusative in the verb, 'you never wait a waiting that is my pleasure'. The construction is beginning to detach itself from the verb and this instance is a clear foreshadowing of the adverbial accusative χάριν which exerts prepositional force.

18. Herodotus 1.90 provides a gloss on this charis of reciprocity. Croesus, he says, after his fall, asks whether such thanklessness is customary for the Greeks (εἰ ἀχαριστοὶδε νόμος εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι cf. 1.87, εἰ γὰρ οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἰδωρήθη).

19. "The Burners: A Reading of Bacchylides' Third Epinician Ode," Phoenix 38 (1984) 111-119.

20. Divine favour, like epinician favour, bestows tima, honour. In the ninth ode, Bacchylides praises Phlius, the victor's city. The text is lacunose, but it would appear that dwelling in Phlius is a divinely-bestowed favour, a charis (97). The favour demonstrates the gods' tima, for the city is θεοτίματην (98).

21. Who combines it with e.g. δόλος, μήτις, μῦθος. See Maehler ad loc. Maehler raises the question whether Bacchylides might be playing on an etymological connection between ὑφαίνω and ὕμνος here. The association of the two is perfectly natural on other grounds. See the text following. For epinician song-weaving, see J.M. Snyder, "The Web of Song: Weaving

Imagery in Homer and the Lyric Poets," CJ 76 (1980-1981) 193-196.

22. Jebb, ad Bacch. 10.17-20, and F.J. Nisetich, "Olympian 1.8-11: an Epinician Metaphor," HSCP 79 (1975) 59, n.17. Pindar gives a prototype for athletic contexts in a Cyrenean bride-race. The winner in the race to touch the robes of the Libyan princess secured his bride and was showered with garlands and leaves (Pyth. 9, 123-125). With this may be compared the wedding procession of Helen and Menelaos, described by Stesichorus (187 PMG). The bride is showered with quinces, myrtle leaves, garlands of roses and violets.

23. So B.L. Gildersleeve, Pindar, Olympian and Pythian Odes (Amsterdam 1965) (hereafter: Gildersleeve) on Pyth. 12.5, στεφάνωμα, 'the song as well as the wreath'.

24. εἶρειν στεφάνους ἰλαφρὸν (Nem.7.77) This is followed by a rich and delicate periphrasis for the Muses' threading coral and ivory to fashion a crown for the victor.

25. As the crowning of the victor was accompanied by the public proclamation of the victor's name, family, city etc., so Pindar with his wreath-imagery is (metaphorically) taking upon himself the role of herald/proclaimer. So argues F.J. Nisetich, op.cit. (above n.22) 55-68, in an attempt to explain O1.1.8-9, ὄθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται / σοφῶι μητίεσσι. While the song/wreath metaphor occurs sometimes in context with the victor's name, it frequently (as here) does not, and the metaphorical associations are not apt to be limited to this. At times, as we have seen, the allusion appears to be to the φύλλο βελία of a fortunate individual, or even to fabric-weaving. For a critical appraisal of Nisetich's success with O1.1.8-9, see D. Gerber, Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary (Toronto 1982) 27.

26. Although the same combination of garlands/poem and Charites occurs at the end of the Ninth Nemean (53-54), an ode likely composed much earlier than the Fifth Pythian or Bacch.5.

27. The combination of violets, glory, moist fresh growth, garlands and springtime -- the particular configuration that was important to the Charites in cult and literature -- occurs in a Pindaric dithyramb for Athens. At the spring festival in Athens the procession makes its way to the glorious (εὐκλέ') agora, where they receive garlands of violets. The poet is ushered in, σὺν ἀγλάα from Zeus. The rites

enjoy 'bright' symbols (ἐναργέα); spring brings with it 'nectary growth' (Dithyramb 75 (45) 5-15).

28. The identification of poet with victor is probably metaphorical (cf. the identification of the poet with those who would 'garland' the victor), although Jebb sees in *ῥερεδτέφανοι* a reference to victory in poetical contests, citing as evidence epigr. 1.2ff., *πολέας δ' ἐν ἀθύρμα Μουσῶν / Κηΐψ ἀμφιτίθει Βακχυλίδη στεφάνους*

29. *ἄλβιας*, 10. Garlands, like *charis*, are added to something already set apart as beautiful, honoured, blessed etc. They are the culmination of, they bring perfection to, something already good.

30. Becoming *σοφός* implies increasing one's skill as a poet. For the connection between *σοφία*, *σοφίζεσθαι* and skill in poetry, see L. Woodbury, "Ibycus and Polycrates," *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 200-201. Snell altered ἦ to ἧ, following Solon's 1.51ff., which identifies both poet and prophet as *σοφός*. Jebb, retaining ἦ, is obliged to contrast *σοφός* with one who is honoured by the Charites. Of the latter, he says, "Here, probably, it is the successful athlete of whom the author is chiefly thinking," and cites Pindar's *Nem.* 10.38, *εὐάχων τιμὰ* as a parallel. But Bacchylides is demonstrating the affinity between poet and prophet, and this through receiving *tima* from the Charites. On Jebb's 'misunderstanding' of the passage, see Maehler ad loc.

31. This dimension of *charis* is not less vital in epinician poetry than it was to Achilles and to the other Homeric warriors who fought for their portion of *time*. In a shame culture, being publicly honoured makes one 'flourish' (*τέθαιεν*, B.10.40). Bacchylides is, however, conscious of the contingency of such *tima*; it is ultimately a gift from the gods, hence one obtains *tima* from the Charites 'by lot'.

32. Aglaia was specifically mentioned as the companion of the richly blessed Hieron in his great victory at Olympia in 468 (3.6). But the favouring by this Charis obliged him to glorify Delphi with gifts, an action that was highlighted by the poet with verbal and metrical responson. Hieron's victory *ὄνι Ἀγλαΐαι* (6) is answered by the command of 22, *ἀγλαΐζέσθω*. See A. Carson, op.cit. (above n.19) 113.

33. These are, of course, variations on the *χρέος* - motive discussed by E.L. Bundy, op.cit. (above n.5) especially 1.10-11, 2.5,67. Of the connection between *χάρις* and such words as *λύτρον* or *ἄποινα*, W. Schade-waldt, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle

1928) (hereafter: Schadewaldt) 277, writes: "Die schuldrechtlichen Begriffe λύτρον , ἄποινα , deren er sich dabei bedient, gehören zu jener bei Pindar so bedeutsamen Vorstellung, nach der zwischen Sieg und Lied ein reziprokes Verhältnis besteht: griechisch heisst es mit einem Worte χάρις ." On the occurrence of the 'χρέος -Komplex' in Pindar, see Schadewaldt, 278 n.1. As examples with χάρις he includes Pyth.2.17, O1.10.17, O1.1.18, Pyth.10.64, and Pyth.1.75.

H. Gundert, in Pindar und sein Dichterberuf (Utrecht 1978) (hereafter: Gundert), adds as examples of the motive, Pindaric passages with πρόσφορος , ἐαικώς , πρέπει , ἤρη (125 nn.195-196), and ἀφείλειν , πράσσειν , τινεῖν , τελεῖν , τέλος , κατατιθέναι (n.201). For the victor, Gundert writes, the charis of the song is compensation or reward for his output, expenditure (43). For examples of the song as ἀντί , ἄποινα , ἀμοιβή , μισθός , λύτρον , a reward for μόχθοι , πόνοι , δαπάνη , see nn.205-207.

34. Gundert, 31, writes of αἰδοῖα χάρις : "Solche Charis ist, vom Empfangenden aus gesehen, Bewunderung, Verehrung, Dank, vom Gebenden aus das Gewinnende, Verehrungsheischende; objectiv gesehen ist sie die Einheit dieses gegenseitigen Verhältnisses." With the impressive 'visibility' of the athlete Gundert (40) compares the fallen soldier in the martial poetry of Tyrtaeus (fr.10W 29), who is θηητός ἰδεῖν , as he was ἐρατός and καλός to women while alive. In epinician poetry it is the victor who is θαητός (n.174). For the subjective/objective power of aidos in divinity, cf. Metaneira's vision of the goddess Demeter (H.Dem.214).

35. E.g. O1.10.17, where Hagesidamus is obliged to 'bring charis', i.e. to thank, his trainer. But charis in Pindar never implies simply 'thanks', without the associated benefits of 'glorifying', 'praising' etc. Cf. O1.8.54,65, where κῦδος and γέρας come to the trainer. Hagesidamus is asked to bring charis to his trainer 'as Patroclus did to Achilles' (18-19). Pindar seems to be drawing from the same tradition which inspired O1.9.70ff., where Patroclus offers abiding support on the battlefield to Achilles when all the Greeks flee. If this is the incident the poet has in mind for O1.10, then Hagesidamus is advised to stand beside his trainer in his moment of glory, bringing him the charis that is his due.

36. Could the poet have in mind here the patronage of the Charites over the city and victor as they celebrate success? Not only does he use the phrase σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν elsewhere of the goddesses (Pyth.9.3, Nem.5.54, Nem.9.54, Nem.10.38, and Isth.5.21), but he includes the name of one of them, Thalia. O1.7 begins with a



reference to the *δουποδίου χάριν* (5) and to *λίριος ζωθάλμιος* (10), and ends with manifestations of this *χάρις* (*θαλία*). The same ring-composition is used by Pindar in the First Pythian, where the *Φέρμιχς* at the beginning is answered by *φόρμιχχες* at the end (97), with parallel movement from the divine to a demonstration thereof in celebration.

37. Cf. the *αίμακούρια* offered to Pelops in Ol.1.90. Blood offered to dead heroes gave them life: the dead ancestors of the victor share living *όλβες* through sprinkles of song.

38. Gildersleeve points out that the phrase *κατὰ νόμον ἔρδειν* is sacrificial (cf. Theog.416).

39. Cf. Pyth.9.93, where winning the games is described as *ἐν ζυγῶνι πεπονναμένον εὖ*. For the importance of the athletic events as *paideia* see Gundert, 32 n.1.

40. On the bonding between members of the community established by *charis* that is at once a 'free' and an 'obligatory' service, Schadewaldt, 277, n.2, and Gundert, 32, quote Stenzel, GGA (1926) 203, who says of *χάρις*: "wie so viele griechische Worte schillert es für den, der seinen Gehalt durchaus mit einem deutschen Worte einfangen will, zwischen ganz verschiedenen Bedeutungen hin und her, solange man es für ein Moment an einem Individuum ansieht; es bezeichnet vielmehr ein bestimmtes Verhältnis von Menschen zueinander, und zwar einen idealen Mittelzustand von Freiheit und Gebundenheit, von Selbständigkeit und Zugehörigkeit, eine auf irgendwelcher Gegenseitigkeit beruhende freie Leistung..." Franz Dornseiff, Pindars Stil (Berlin 1921) 4, 117, adds to this interpretation of *ἐν κοίνῳ σταλαίς* the view of poet as prophetic voice of the community.

41. Cf. Ol.4.4-5, where 'ξείνοι' succeed, and 'ἔδλοί' rejoice at the news:

*ξείνωι δ' εὖ πρῶσσόντων  
ἔσαναν αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ χλυκεῖαν ἔδλοί*

In this, Pindar is probably referring to the relationship between himself and the victor, using *ξείνοι* and *ἔδλοί* as generalizing plurals to refer to Psauis and himself, respectively. Pindar, the *ἔδλοός* (cf. Isth.8.69, *ἀγαθῶ*), takes pleasure in the success of 'friends' like Psauis.

42. What begins as a social convention between people (i.e. the interrelationships among poet/community/patron) becomes a poetic convention. For the description of the song as 'fitting', see Gundert, 125, n.195, where he cites Pindaric examples. For citations

of the victory and song expressing an 'inner connection' see Schadewaldt, 277 n.1.

43. For Pindaric examples of the victory as charis see Gundert, op.cit. (above n.1) 123, n.173. The song is described as a charis in Isth.1.6-7, Isth.3.8, and Pyth.3.72-73.

44. See L. Woodbury, "Pindar and the Mercenary Muse: Isthm.2.1-13," TAPA 99 (1968) 527-542.

45. For a discussion of the φιλία of composing praise-poetry, see M. Bowra, Pindar (Oxford 1971) 387.

46. At O1.1.18-19, Pindar describes the impulse to compose the epinician as beginning with 'thoughts most sweet', and the victory as a charis:

εἰ γὰρ τοὶ Πίσας τε καὶ Δερωνίου χάρις  
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίδιν.

See D. Gerber, op.cit. (above n.25) 45, for a discussion of the influence of the victory on Pindar's poetic imagination. The song becomes a 'necessary companion of the victory' (46). Charis-pleasure stimulates a response.

47. He acknowledges his aspiration at the end of the first Olympian ode to 'consort with victors all his life', and to remain the most far-famed poet in the Greek world (115-116). Cf. Pyth.2.96: ἀδοντα δ' εἶη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὀμιλεῖν.

48. This use of the word μισθός, like χρέος (both financial terms) is proof that Pindar's pleasure came from rewards that were not exclusively mercenary.

49. I take μολόντων as genitive absolute, and ἀμφί with ῶρσεν (as Gildersleeve). This gives the picture of an emanation of charis encircling the family group, bonded by their joy, and does not restrict the charis simply to the returning victors as would be the case if μολόντων depended on ἀμφί. This more generalized charis fits well with the following picture of the widespread ἐχθρά that greets losers.

50. Similarly, in Pindar's dithyramb for Athens (fr.75.2), the Olympians are asked to send κλυτὰν χάριν upon (ἐπι) the festivities. Divine favour is by nature glorifying, and in the dithyramb is adds to the already glorious assembly (εὐκλέ· ἀγοράν, 5).

51. παράμερον ἐσλόν / ὕπτατον (O1.1.99-100). The divine origin of the charis of song is captured in fr.141:

Θεὸς ὁ πάντα τεύχων βροτοῖς  
καὶ χάριν ἀοιδᾶ φυτεύει

52. Pindar borrows this epinician language to describe his encounter with the hero Alcmaeon: he rejoices, then casts garlands over him and sprinkles him with song (Pyth.8.57).

53. Charis is pictured here as drops of delight distilled over the victor by the poet and the komos. In the Sixth Olympian, Charis itself effects a physical transformation of the victor's body by distilling glorified beauty over him (εὐκλέα μορφάν).

54. O1.10,95-96, O1.1.112, cf. Bacch.3.91-92.

55. Hieron suffered from the stone and had to be carried to the battlefield on a litter. See L.R. Farnell, Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar (Amsterdam 1965) ad Pyth.1.47-57.

56. This reading takes χάριν as an appositive, the blessing of Zeus representing what follows -- the transformation of Theban fortunes. A more interesting interpretation has been suggested to me by E. Robbins, namely that χάριν could be the direct object of μεταμειψάμενοι. This gives an even more precise parallel with Pindar's wish: he would 'give' the charis of health (from illness) as Peleus and Cadmus 'changed to' the charis of Zeus (from suffering). It also anticipates the repetition of this same pattern: three daughters bring Cadmus hardship (Autonoe, Ino, Agave), but Zeus comes to the bed of Semele (97-99). The problem with this interpretation is in accepting χάριν as the direct object of μεταμειψάμενοι. The verb occurs transitively elsewhere: Eur. Phoen.832-833, ἑτέρας ἑτέροις μεταμειβομένα (where the sense of the passage is reminiscent of Pyth.3) and O1.12.12a, ἑσλὸν βαθὺ πήματος ἐν μικρῷ πετάμειψαν χρόνῳ. The two parallels are not exact, however. In the earlier example, the condition changed for is in the dative case, while that changed from is in the accusative case. In Pyth.3.95-96, the accusative χάριν is the condition changed for. In the passage from O1.12, the condition changed for (ἑσλόν, cf. χάριν) is in the accusative case, but the verb is not in the middle voice. This may not be a serious objection, since μεταμειψάμενοι of Pyth.3.96 could simply be a more personal construction. μεταμειβόμενοι is found at Nem.10.55 used intransitively, but the construction there is quite different from Pyth.3.95-96, and requires no direct object. Another objection to reading χάριν as the direct object in Pyth.3 is the word order, the fact that χάριν is separated from the participle by ἐκ προτέρων. But καμάτων is also separated (by the participle) from ἐκ προτέρων, and the whole passage would represent a good example of

interlocking word order: Διὸς χάριν ἐκ προτέρω: μεταμειψόμενοι καμάτω.

Maehler takes χάριν in this passage as an adverbial accusative, J.B. Bury, The Nemean Odes of Pindar (Amsterdam 1965) p. 10, as an appositive. As an appositive it has a parallel in the First Nemean:

ὕμνος ὄρματα θέμεν  
 αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων  
 μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰγναίου χάριν  
 (Nem.1.4-7)

The praise-song comes from Ortygia to Aetna to render praise of Chromius' horses which won the chariot race at Nemea. This is a charis for Zeus of Aetna, an honouring of the patron god of the city. The genitive Ζηνός is objective; Διός of Pyth.3.95 is subjective.

57. Theognis can assure Cynrus that, preserved by the glorious gift of poetry, his memory will be kept alive as long as the sun shines over the earth (247-257). Ibycus can make a similar promise to Polycrates (fr.1.46-48, 282 PMG). The poet, too, is rescued from oblivion: Sappho claims that she will live on as her poetry -- of high quality and divinely inspired -- will continue to be recited and praised, whereas an inferior poet will disappear into the obscurity of ordinary mortals at death (fr.55, fr.193). Pindar holds out the same hope for himself (Ol.1.115-116), and Bacchylides with quiet confidence links his own name with the immortalizing praise of Hieron at the end of his third epinician (95-97).

58. High achievements and songs to commemorate them are inseparable as the highest goals of human life at its youthful prime: together they mark one as truly blessed, ὄλβιος (Isth.5.12, cf. Nem.1.10-12, Ol.1.11.1-6).

59. This calls to mind the advice of Solon (Hdt.1.32) that no man should be called ὄλβιος before his death. At the opening of Pyth.10, Pindar describes Lacedaimon as ὀλβία and Thessaly as μάκαρα, but feels obliged to explain this boast that is παρά καιρόν by the fact that he is summoned as poet by the victory and by his patrons.

60. Bacch.3.22; 5.50; Pyth.3.106.

61. The image of the victor 'aloft' is conveyed by Pindar's describing him as 'winged' (Ol.14.24) or 'flying' (Pyth.8.90). Cf. n.36.

62. I.e. on the fertile plain, in full view of the river (see the map, Chapter III above p.61). Some

commentators argue for its being a processional hymn, but as W.J. Verdenius points out, "Pindar's Fourteenth Olympian Ode," Mnemosyne 32 Fasc.1-2 (1979) (hereafter: Verdenius) 29, it would then be difficult for the public to understand and appreciate it. He cites the parallel of Pyth.11, performed in the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes.

63. Curt Sachs, The Rise of Music in the Ancient World (New York 1943) 248. Verdenius, 30 adds the account of Aristotle (Pol.1342b30-33) that the Lydian harmony was considered most suited to the age of boyhood.

64. Orchomenos is λιπαρά, 'sleek', 'fat', 'prosperous'. The Charites as overseers could make Orchomenos prosper. The notion of the 'benevolent look' of the divine occurs in the poem not only with Μινύαι, but with κῶμος (16,22). Verdenius, 29, suggests that ἰδοῖς is to be translated not 'who sees', but 'by looking with favour at'.

65. Most commentators prefer to keep the literal meaning of αἰέναιος, 'ever-flowing', although Verdenius, 24, argues for the generalized 'everlasting' (see also LSJ αἰεταῖος). But in the only other Pindaric passage where the word occurs it is used of fire (Pyth.1.6), indicating continuous movement, and assuming that the singers were performing beside the ever-flowing Cephisus, the word here would most likely preserve some of its literal meaning.

66. Verdenius, 28: "It is especially Thalia who will be able to make the song a truly festive song, because she is the personification of festivity (Θαλία)." In n.40 he traces the association of the Charites and feasts back to Hes. Theog.64-65. Andrew M. Miller, "Thalia erasimolpos: Consolation in Pindar's Fourteenth Olympian," TAPA 107 (1977) 226ff. rejects the explanation of the particular prominence given to Thalia given by Wilamowitz, Pindaros (Berlin 1922) 151-152, namely that she was most appropriately singled out for a young victor. Miller points out that the common noun θαλία during the archaic period commonly meant "nothing other than 'festivity' or 'feasting'" (227-228), hence she would be singled out to look with favour on the komos. Miller stresses the physicality of the θαλ-cognates, suggesting that Thalia imports to the present context the notion of material abundance. On the use of θαλία in Pindar, J. Duchemin, Pindare poète et prophète (Paris 1955) 240 describes "l'emploi fréquent du mot θαλία pour désigner la fête et son allégresse, dans la soudaine et triomphale explosion des forces de vie."

It is impossible to rule out the factor of the youthfulness of the victor to account for Thalia's prominence, but to this must be added her appropriateness as representative of the Charites in Orchomenos, whose vegetative cult-powers Pindar can easily convert to epinician. G. Kirkwood writes, Selections from Pindar (Chico California 1982) 120:

There is, of course, a constant connection between the vegetational and the abstract, and the Orchomenian goddesses have their vegetational function, which is embraced by the name Thalia, broadened by P. to embrace the glow (Aglaia) of victory and its reward of song, the community spirit of festivity (Euphrosyne) and gratification, forming, along with imagery of light and gold, one of P.'s principal ways of expressing the delight and excellence of victory and its celebration.

67. The song/dance epithets reinforce the shift from the encomium of the Charites to the moment at hand, a victory-celebration with its dancing chorus. For the appropriateness of the Charites as patronesses of the dance (and a discussion of the possible etymological connection between χορός and χάρα) see Duchemin, op.cit. (above n.66) 89.

68. On the universal validity of the Charites in Pindar, on the particular importance of their divine gifts to Pindar's milieu, Gundert writes (30 n.1):

Alles Erfreunde, Liebliche, Schöne -- sagt Pindar auch sonst -- kommt von den Chariten .... Charis ist der gotthafte Zauber, der von allem Schönen, Köstlichen und Edlen ausstrahlt und χάριτες sind diese Gaben der Götter selbst, die Gunst, die sie gewähren, Erfolg, Glück und überhaupt alle Kala, auch Fähigkeiten, ähnlich wie Timai.

Wilamowitz, Pindaros (Berlin 1922) 152, applies Pindar's description of the Charites' dispensation of things χαρίεντα on Olympus to the poet's wish that in the interrelation of men charis would rule.

69. ἀγλαός, 7; πορνί: Ἀγλαία, 13; and the 'glorious' references κλυτὰν ἀγγελίαν (21) and κόλποις εὐδέξοις (23).

70. I.e. in poetry (ῥομικά).

71. Of this unity as expressed in Q1.7, see D. Young, Three Odes of Pindar (Leiden 1968) 97 and 101:

Through a variety, then, of expressions and ideas associated with the natural increase of living things, Pindar indicates a variety of complex relationships between such things as his own function as poet, Diagoras' glorious victory, his family, his city, its history, and prosperity itself.

Duchemin, op. cit. (above n.66) 240 n.26, remarks of Pindar's poetry in general:

Ce n'est sûrement pas l'effet d'une coïncidence si l'effet bienfaisant de la poésie revêt l'aspect de la puissance vivifiant que les hommes ont de si bonne heure adorée dans la résurrection annuelle de la nature, et dont l'importance en Grèce même, à l'époque la plus classique, nous est de plus en plus manifeste; nous en avons la trace indubitable dans les poèmes de Pindare, ne fût-ce que par l'emploi fréquent du mot *θάλία* pour désigner la fête et son allégresse, dans la soudaine et triomphale explosion des forces de vie.

72. Duchemin's translation of *ἔποπτεύει χάρις ζωθάλμιος* (65). Eustathius, Life of Pindar 12.10, glosses this hapax with *καθ' ἣν ζῶν τις θάλλει*

73. *συμποδίου τε χάριν κᾶδος τε γιμάδαίς [νέον] (5)*. Although many commentators have opted for taking *χάριν* here as a preposition or as an appositive, it is best taken as (joint) object of *γιμάδαίς*, linked with *κᾶδος* by *τε ... τε*. Gildersleeve derives from the scholiast's *ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποδίου* (Drachmann 8a) 'for the sake of them that sat at drink with him'. There is, of course, no need to assume a prepositional use of *χάριν* because of the genitive that precedes it. There are two other instances in Pindar where *χάριν* is normally taken as a preposition. For Pyth.3.95 (*Διὸς δὲ χάριν*) see above p.205 and n.56. The other reads:

*τὸ καστόρειον δ' ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς θέλων  
ἄθρησον χάριν ἑπτακτύπου  
φόρμιγγος ἀντόμενος*

(Pyth.2.69-71)

In a poem dominated by the idea of charis (see below, in the text), Pindar is asking Hieron to look upon his praise-song, greeting the Castorion as a charis of the seven-stringed lyre. The song is Pindar's gift, and *χάριν* is better taken as an appositive than as a preposition: Hieron's looking on the song 'because of', 'by grace of' the lyre ignores the important implications of charis in the ode, and makes little sense.

C.M. Bowra, Pindar (Oxford 1964) 25, takes the *χάριν* of Ol.7.5 in apposition to the wine bowl of 1, and

translates it as 'joy of the revel'. Metzger, quoted by Verdenius, Pindar's Seventh Olympian Ode: A Commentary (Amsterdam 1972) ad loc., also takes it as an appositive, 'Zur Freude des Mahles'. Verdenius notes that it could be taken as an apposition to the (unexpressed) inner object of δωρήσεται, but points out that the double seems to show that χάριν depends on τιμάσθαι. Respecting the double τε in this way has the added advantage of seeing a structural parallel in 9ff., where ἰλάσκεσθαι could be understood as taking two (unexpressed) objects, χάρις (ll. in metrical responson to χάριν, 5) and the recipient of the toast. This was pointed out by E. Robbins in his dissertation The Concept of Inspiration in Greek Poetry from Homer to Pindar (University of Toronto 1968) 243ff.

74. Cf. Nem.5.54, where Pindar speaks of his task as 'bringing grassy garlands to the portals of Aeacus' (reading Wilamowitz' φέρε for φέρειν in the mss.).

75. Verdenius, op.cit. (above n.62) 13: (Pindar) "feels inspired by the Muses, who as daughters of Mnemosyne determine the factual contents of a poem (cf. Pae.6.51-52), and the Charites, who determine the effect on the audience." (For Pindaric passages where there is a close connection between the Muses and the Charites, see his n.6.) Similarly, Bowra, op.cit. (above n.73) 31, writes, "If Pindar gets his strength from the Muses and is set to work by them, the Graces give him his more winning and more alluring qualities." See also Duchemin, op.cit. (above n.66) 60.

76. The Second Isthmian ode, also addressed to Thrasyboulos, refers to Aphrodite and describes the composition of love-songs, and fr.124 is a symposiastic song sent to Thrasyboulos.

77. The 'softening effect' of love accounts for the exchange of favours between lovers. This is expressed in the First Olympian as ἐς χάριν τέλλεται, where Pelops prevails upon the 'gifts of Aphrodite' he exchanged with Poseidon, to claim the god's favour in his quest for Hippodamia:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Φιλία δῶρα Κυπρίας} \\ \text{ἀχ' εἰ τι, Ποσειδάων, ἐς χάριν} \\ \text{τέλλεται} \end{array}$$

(O1.1.75-76)

For a discussion of charis as the gratification in love that leads to acts of gratitude, see D. Gerber, op.cit. (above n.25) 119-120.

78. Cf. the power of the Muses, guarantors of truth, to tell lies (Theog.27) and the ability of Hesychia to be τραχεῖα as well as φιλόφρων (Pyth.8.10,1).



79. The verb is used intransitively, of εὐφροσύνα and δόξα at Pyth.11.45 (ἐπιφλέχει), and of the city of Thebes, who φλέγεται δ' ἀρεταῖς / μυρίαῖς (Nem.10.2-3).

80. LSJ, s.v. φλέγω.

81. E.g. χαροπός and χαίρειν (See Chapter II, 18).

82. H. Fränkel, Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy (Oxford 1975) 486, commenting on the passage, identifies Theia with the 'very idea of value ... the power which in every field creates and establishes value as something valued and binding'. But this is possible because, as progenitor of illumination, hence vision, 'all admirable works on earth are visible' (M. Treu, "Licht und Leuchtendes in der archaischen griechischen Poesie," Studium Generale (1965) 90), and as visible can cause wonder and admiration. Theia is etymologically connected with θεᾶσθαι, 'to behold'. This was pointed out by F. Dornseiff, Die archaische Mythen-erzählung (Berlin 1933) 80, and demonstrated by W. Borgeaud, "Le vigneron diluvial et le chasseur auroral -- étude onomastique," RBPH (1972) 41, who clears up the mistaken association of the name of Theia with θεά, 'goddess'. The approbation that underlay time and doxa came about through beholding, seeing something illuminated by light that traced its origin to the divine; as beholding, it also entailed shedding light on the activity that earned this approbation (Chapter II). The desire to experience this light of approval was the source of ambition in the archaic Greek world; avoiding the darkness and shadows of ignominy and oblivion was the spur to such mortal pursuits as are listed in the Fifth Isthmian. Theia, shedding the divine light that makes these activities both visible and valuable, is praised for just this.

Good discussions of Theia and her importance in the Fifth Isthmian are to be found in D. Bremer, Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung (Bonn 1976), 167ff. and 252ff., in Dornseiff (above, this note) 79ff., Gundert, 11ff., H. Fränkel, "Pindars Religion," Antike (1927) 63, and Wilamowitz, Pindaros (Berlin 1922) 200-205.

83. He describes himself as working with the Charites at Pyth.9.3, Nem.5.54, Nem.9.54 and Isth.5.21.

84. For the 'two aspects' of Apollo, the avenging and the kindly, represented on the Delian statue with the Charites, see Chapter III, p.70, n.67.

85. The incident of Ixion's act of hybris contains some striking resemblances to another Hesiodic passage, namely the creation of Pandora. The device of the

cloud-Hera is a καλὸν πῆμα (40), Pandora a καλὸν κακόν (Theog.585). They are both irresistible works of guile; each is a δέλος (Pyth.2.39, Theog.589).

86. For a good discussion of the 'isolation' of Ixion and his progeny, see John Bell, "God, Man and Animal," Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury (Chico 1984) 12. For the opposition of the Charites to hybris, see his n.37. In Alcman (fr.1 PMG) the separation of mortals from the Charites because of overweening desire seems to be implied by the admonition against mortals' ascending to heaven or trying to wed Aphrodite, an admonition that is followed by a (fragmentary) reference to the Charites' entering the house of Zeus.

87. The 'requitil' implicit in the phrase leaves the question of 'who pays whom' as ambiguous as the ἀπό... δόμενα of Il.IX.389 (Chapter IV, p.102, and n.52). τίνεσθαί (middle voice) usually refers to 'exacting one's due'. This would give the following reading: "One must exact one's due from one's benefactor, repeatedly offered with gentle requital" (ἐποιχομένους an internal accusative). The active form of the verb τίνειν, 'to pay recompense', would oblige the recipient to offer returns to the benefactor: "One must pay back one's benefactor for repeated favours with gentle returns" (ἐποιχομένους the accusative of the thing paid for). Given the context, one would have expected τίνειν but τίνεσθαί underscores the continuity of the exchange.

88. κελαδέοντι ... κινύραν πολλάκις (15-16) implies that the Cypriots are still spreading the word of his benefits in Pindar's day. (See J. Bell, op.cit. (above n.86) 6. The good reputation of Cinyras was reported in Homer (Il.XI.20), and was kept alive down to Roman times (Farnell, op.cit. (above n.55) 121, ad vv.15-18).

89. L. Woodbury, in "The Gratitude of the Locrian Maiden: Pindar, Pyth.2.18-20," TAPA 109 (1978) 287-291 discusses this historical reference.

90. John Bell, op.cit. (above n.86) 6, connects the grateful praise shouted by the Locrian maiden and the charis that binds individual and community:

Between the community and the individual who has deserved well of it there subsists a relationship of charis expressed actually by, and mythically and fictively in, praise, whether the praise be uttered in song or in some more artless form.

CHAPTER TEN

CHARIS IN THE ORESTEIA

### Argument

Dike and charis are closely related in the Oresteia. In the archaic Greek world these two forces often behaved as contraries, the one (dike) inflicting pain, and the other (charis) bestowing pleasure, as requital for a wrong-doing or for a favour, respectively. As such contraries they are frequently found in the Oresteia. But the very act of getting satisfaction, imposing dike with its punishing pain, brings pleasure, and we find (for the first time in Greek literature) Aeschylus exploiting the paradox that one and the same act can be an instance of both dike and of charis. The dike that is given to the offender offers charis to the victim or spectator.

When dike moves out of the archaic arena of vengeance/requital in the Eumenides, it becomes an unequivocal charis. The more modern version of dike can exonerate as well as punish, and becomes a blessing. This gets divine endorsement when the deities of vengeance, the Erinyes, are transformed at the end of the trilogy. Instead of dispensing the chthonic dike of blood-vengeance, they distribute charis.

Agamemnon

The Agamemnon is a play about retribution. The Greeks had brought retribution to Troy for the rape of Helen by Paris (381-384); Clytemnestra felt justified in exacting retribution from Agamemnon for the sacrifice of their daughter Iphigeneia (1431-1433). But the chorus of elders warn Clytemnestra to expect retribution, 'blow for blow', for the murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra (1429-1430). Simple retribution, while correcting one imbalance, sets up another, initiating a cycle of vengeance that appears impossible to stop. In a system where justice consists of 'blow for blow', the last blow can always justify a further one, and this is the dilemma that lies at the heart of the Oresteia trilogy.

The chorus in the parodos chronicle the sequence of wrong-doing and violence that have preceded the (imminent) return of Agamemnon and the surviving Greeks from Troy. This is followed in the first stasimon by a refrain that mixes pain with hope: "Cry anguish! anguish! but may the best prevail":

αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ , τό δ' εὖ νικάτω  
(121,138,159)

Their mood is mixed, for the prophetic utterances which they have heard contained good with the evil (156). The burden of their awareness would be too heavy to bear alone, and, full of foreboding for the future, they take refuge in the thought that Zeus, guarantor of order in the cosmos, imposes coercion, often in order to teach mortals a lesson. Learning, they realize, takes place through suffering. Their anguish over the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is mitigated by the reflection

that πάθει μάθος is an ordinance that comes from Zeus, and bears the full weight of his authority:

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοῦς ὀδῶ-  
σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος  
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.

(176-178)

Zeus operates through Dika, who redresses an imbalance, and the sequence of suffering-learning takes place (250-251). Despite the pain of the lesson, which lives on in reflection about the event afterward, the chorus accepts it as not only inevitable but as a blessing:

στάζει δ' ἐν γ' ὕπνω πρὸ καρδίας  
μνησιπήμων πόνος καὶ παρ' ἄ-  
κοντίας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν·  
δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος  
βέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

(179-183)

Charis is the word used to describe this blessing, and the harshness of its context has troubled textual critics and commentators for some time, who make various claims about the degree to which 'intelligence' is involved in the learning process.<sup>1</sup> What cannot be disputed is that the pattern of suffering and learning gets divine endorsement: the sequence of violent events is not meaningless. It is a gift from the gods and, as was the case in earlier Greek literature, this can appropriately be called charis.

An even more dramatic oxymoron than χάρις βίαιος is found later in the Agamemnon, where Aeschylus couples charis with bloody slaughter. As the chorus reflect upon the effects on Troy of the rape of Helen, they compare Troy's destruction to the charis-favour bestowed by a lion-cub on the family that reared it. In exchange for its nurture it returned the 'charis' of

slaughtering the family flock:

χάριν  
 γὰρ τροφεῦσιν ἀμείβων  
 μηλοφόνειδε σὺν ἄταις

(728-730)

The 'lion-whelp' is Helen, at first a pet then a source of destruction. Instead of reciprocating the normal 'returns' to the family who embraced her,<sup>2</sup> she requited pleasure with pain.<sup>3</sup> The punishment that was delivered to Troy for dishonouring Zeus Xenios is a *χάρις δαίμων* in a more explicitly violent degree than was foreseen by the chorus at 182-183. The whelp that slaughters the family which reared it is acting in accord with its own nature.<sup>4</sup> As a 'priest of ruin sent from god' (735-736), it is acting in accord with a divine plan, a plan that must be acknowledged as a charis.

But the charis of Zeus' ordinance which brings pain to Troy brings pleasure to the Greeks in the form of victory, with the honour and esteem that this bestows:

χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἰργασταί πόνων

(354)

The gratification the Greeks feel will result in some action expressing this, an act of gratitude, returning thanks to the gods for the gift of victory. The word used by Aeschylus to refer to these thank-offerings is charis.

Clytemnestra anticipates the return of Agamemnon with thank-offerings, and is criticized by the chorus for 'joining in praise of the charis before the true facts are known':

πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν θυναινεῖσαι

(484)

The chorus are critical of her female impulsiveness; charging her with praising the charis of Agamemnon's return, they are doubtless making a shorthand reference

to her issuing orders for return-thanks to the gods in the form of thank-offerings (87), precipitate because Agamemnon had not yet appeared. Charis refers both to the (supposed) pleasure of Clytemnestra and to the consequence of this, a thank-offering.

Such offerings returned the pleasure of charis to the gods. A herald confirms the rumour of the victory of the Greeks over the Trojans, and announces that the charis of Zeus will be duly honoured:

καὶ χάρις τιμῆσεται  
Διὸς γὰρ ἐκπράξασα

(581-582)

Just as winning the war brought time to the Greeks (354), a charis, so the gods who awarded this will receive their charis in the form of time. Agamemnon returns, acknowledging that payment has been exacted from the Trojans for their robbery. 'Much-remembering charis' must be repaid to the gods:

τούτων Θεοῖσι χρεὶ πολύμνηστον χάριν  
τίθειν, ἐπεὶ περ χάραχας ὑπερκόπους  
ἐπραξάμεσθα

(821-823)

This is in requital for (τίθειν), the punishment (τὰ δίκαια, 812) exacted from Priam. The language once again highlights the requital-performance of charis and reflects its close association with dike. What was dike for the Trojans was charis for the Greeks, and will be repaid with charis for the gods.

Animal-victims are never brought for the thank-offering to the gods: the murder of Agamemnon intervenes. But Clytemnestra the murderess exults in the possibility that her victim can be a stand-in sacrifice for μῆλα in front of the hearth, a sacrifice that is a charis 'beyond expectation':



τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου  
 ἔδτηκεν ἤδη μῆλα τ' πρὸς σφαγῆς τ' πυρὸς  
 ὡς οὐποτ' ἐλπίδαυ τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν

(1056-1058)

Despite the textual difficulties,<sup>5</sup> it is possible to see in 1058 a double, if not triple, entendre, as Aeschylus takes advantage of the various stages of favour/requital that can go by the name of charis. Ostensibly, Clytemnestra is urging Cassandra to hurry in with Agamemnon to participate in the charis that consists of a gift to the gods. This is of course a lie, and Cassandra is being invited to join in the charis which obliges her to sacrifice her own body with Agamemnon's. The horror in the ambiguity of ὡς οὐποτ' ἐλπίδαυ τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν derives from a thinly disguised reference to a joint sacrifice that will be a charis for Clytemnestra. That others are assumed to share in the unexpected pleasure is either a cover-up (presenting to Cassandra the picture of a group of thankful citizens around the altar), or if it belongs to Clytemnestra's 'private' set of assumptions, could refer to her joint unexpected pleasure with Aegisthus. The double human sacrifice, Clytemnestra's personal charis, is the sense that dominates the passage. Although this bloody charis is not far removed from the charis exchanged for μηλοφόναισιν ἄταις in 728, many scholars have excised the line,<sup>6</sup> perhaps as much on the grounds that it seemed to exceed the bounds of Aeschylean decorum as because it contained words too reminiscent of the neighbouring verse, 1044. I prefer to keep the line for its dramatic power, despite the textual difficulties, and see it as a strong statement of the sentiment of 821-823, a payment of charis to the gods for ensnaring the prey of Troy. The same act brings pain to the victim and pleasure to the executioner.

The same gruesome juxtaposition of pain and pleasure occurs a little later, when Clytemnestra is revealed standing over the bodies of her two victims (1372ff.). She describes the killing of Agamemnon, when the first two blows only maimed him, but the third and mortal blow was a *εὐκταία χάρις* for Zeus of the Underworld:

καὶ πεπτωκότι  
 τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, γού κατα χθονός  
 Διὸς νεκρῶν σωτήρος εὐκταίαν χάριν  
 (1385-1387)

Clytemnestra is adding a third stroke to the fallen victim, a 'welcome prayer-offering to the Zeus beneath the earth, the saviour of the dead' (Fränkel's translation). *Charis*, a word that suits a ritual context, is applied here to a situation that resembles a religious rite but in actuality refers to a hidden agenda that is one of the most brutal forms of sacrilege. The ironic use of the vocabulary is heightened by Clytemnestra's describing the mortal blow she gave to Agamemnon as *τρίτην*, 'the third one'. For the audience who saw Clytemnestra astride the body in a pool of blood (1309), this would call to mind the 'third libation', wine poured into the ground like blood but normally a cheerful libation to Zeus Soter (245-246). The 'votive offering' which Clytemnestra chooses to call the body of her husband is the culmination of three murders in the House of Atreus: the children of Thyestes, Iphigeneia, then Agamemnon. This is the climactic moment when the thank-offering actually occurs, the realization of the abortive *charis*-offering of 484, the *charis* for Zeus announced by the herald (581-582), promised by Agamemnon (821-823), ominously hinted at by Clytemnestra (1058), and

now with the beast fallen, triumphantly announced by her (1187).

The chorus at 1545 expose this travesty by referring to her substitutions for ritual offerings as charites which are not charites. They ask Clytemnestra whether she dares to carry out the normal rites of burial for her murdered husband. Performing death-dirges for Agamemnon whom she had slain with her own hands would be an ἄχαρις χάρις, they pronounce, formally carried out as fulfilment (requital) for the great accomplishments of Agamemnon (ἔργων μεγάλων), but in effect no requital, because not an instance of dike (ἀδίκως):

ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔργαι πλήρη, κτείνασ'  
 ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκκῶσαι  
 ψυχῆ γ' ἄχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων  
 μεγάλων ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι;

(1542-1545)

The close relation between dike and charis is particularly apparent in this passage, where a charis is not a charis because it is not an instance of dike. The obsequies would in no way satisfy the shade of Agamemnon, because they are a hollow deed,<sup>7</sup> an ungrateful response from a wife and queen who had taken pleasure in her king's great efforts at Troy.

There are a few instances of charis in the Agamemnon where the pleasure of charis is not expressed as a response to a favour, a gratification-gift, but is used for something that brings pleasure, pure and simple. At 550 the chorus, filled with foreboding, declare that even death would be πολλή χάρις; at 1043 Clytemnestra holds that there is πολλή χάρις in serving masters with established wealth, rather than the nouveaux riches, who are cruel to their slaves. In addition, a glorious death can be a charis for mortals, as the chorus assure Cassandra at 1304.

In some cases charis describes pleasure that has erotic overtones. Like the hollow obsequies of 1544, an ἄχαρις χάρις, the dream-fantasies of Menelaus bring him hollow, futile pleasure, χάριν καταίαν. Helen is gone, and images of her, while they may bring him momentary pleasure, are no more capable of arousing desire than were Clytemnestra's funeral-gifts capable of providing the pleasure due to the shade of Agamemnon. Since his wife is gone, Menelaus is only frustrated by the charis-attraction of beautiful statues. The eyes, source of the love-gance, are in need (ἐν ἀχηνίαις), all erotic pleasure has left (ἔρρει), and Menelaus is angry:

εὐμόρφων δὲ κλοσσῶν  
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρῶν,  
 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις  
 ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα

(415-418)

Anger is the result of frustrated desire in the gods, too. Apollo who, like a wrestler, breathed charis upon Cassandra (1206), is deceived by her and his passion turns to κῶτος (1211).

There is a veiled reference to the erotic overtones of charis in the second stasimon of the play. The chorus reflect upon the rape of Helen avenged by Zeus: "Men say that the gods don't concern themselves about mortals who trample upon the charis of things that are not to be touched. But such men lack piety":

οὐκ ἔφατις  
 θεοῦς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν  
 ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις  
 πατοῖθ' . δ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής

(369-372)

Helen, judged the most beautiful female among mortals and gods, faithful wife of Menelaus, was an ἄθικτος χάρις. But she was physically violated by Paris

(παρῖθ'), and this called for the stroke of Zeus (367).<sup>8</sup> This may be an ominous foreshadowing of the punishment of Agamemnon for physically violating the chaste body of his daughter, by sacrificing it.<sup>9</sup>

Not only religious but erotic overtones are heard from the mouth of Clytemnestra as she stands astride her bloody husband whom she refers to as a charis, and the effect is electrifying. Her pleasure is not only the pleasure of pure satisfaction, but has an appetitive and gruesome sexual colour. She describes his body as striking her 'with a darksome shadow of gory dew' (Fränkel's translation), she rejoices -- χαίρουσαν (1391) -- like grain in the sheath receiving the drops of rain coming from Zeus. This gruesome pleasure is enhanced by the additional death of Cassandra, and mingles with the greedy pleasure of the feast: Cassandra's body is an added relish (παροψώνημα) for her banquet of passion:

κεῖται φιλήτωρ τοῦδ' ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν  
 εὐνήσ παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς

(1446-1447)<sup>10</sup>

### Choephoroi

Dike, the power that punishes wrongdoing, struck at Troy and at Agamemnon in the first play of the Oresteia trilogy, -- against Troy for the rape of Helen, against Agamemnon for the sacrifice of his daughter. In the Choephoroi, the call for vengeance-in-kind, blood for blood, is aimed at Agamemnon's murderer, Clytemnestra. When the avenger Orestes appears, the chorus of libation bearers presses upon him the dike of requital, justifying and motivating the murder of his own mother: "Dike shouts aloud, exacting

her due!" they urge upon him, at the beginning of the great kommos of lamentation:

τούφειλόμενον  
πράσσοῦσα Δίκη μέγ' αὐτεῖ

(310-311)

When the dues are paid to dike, the murderer suffers and the avenger rejoices. The same act of requital awards suffering and favour. The chorus add a new twist to the adage that one can expect 'good' in return for funeral-gifts. In this case the 'gift' will be a match for the evils done:

ἢ τοῦτο φάσκω τοῦπος, ὡς νόμος βροταῖς  
ἴσ' ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖσι πέμπουσιν τὰδε  
στέφην, ἔσσι γε τῶν κακῶν ἐπαξίαν;

(93-95)

The δύσις -favour is of course success in murdering Clytemnestra. Like Agamemnon's murdered body, which was both a charis -- awarding pleasure to the avenger of Iphigeneia, Clytemnestra (Ag.1058) - and dike, bringing suffering and death to her victim (Ag.1432, 1527, 1530), it is the double-edged gift of requital.

Orestes as the avenger of his father becomes the bearer of dike, a δικηφόρος.<sup>11</sup> This dike is regularly couched in the language of requital: Orestes exacts his due, killing in return (ἀνταποκτενεῖ, 120), requiting evil for evil (ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς, 123), slaying the slayers with dike (τοὺς κτανόντας ἀντικαθάραι δίκη, 144). As the chorus in the Agamemnon had warned Clytemnestra that blow would answer blow (Ag.1430), so the chorus of libation bearers warns that 'bloody stroke will be paid for by bloody stroke' (312-313).

The parity between crime and punishment demands a new round of bloody requital. Even dike is seen as

contending with dike in an agon of vengeance:12

Ἄρης Ἄρει ξυμβαλεῖ, Δίκαι Δίκα (461)

If Agamemnon is to get the pleasure of winning this round, punishing his murderer, he must send dike to his children as an ally, dike who returns like for like. The dead king is pictured by Orestes as lying on the ground like a defeated wrestler, but he has the power to release vengeance, to release dike who will act through his children, getting the 'grip' on his opponent, as he had been in her 'grip'; this will give to Agamemnon the pleasure of victory:

ἦτοι Δίκην ἴαλλε σύμμαχον φίλῃς  
ἢ τὰς ὀμείας ἀντίδωκε λαβᾶς λαβεῖν  
εἴπερ κρατῆθεῖς γ' ἀντινικήσαι θέλεις.

(497-499)

Dike employs anger, in exacting satisfaction for a wrongdoing. It 'breathes the wrath of death' (ὀλέθρου ... κότυν 13) on its enemies, when vengeance is wanted (949-951). Vengeance, driven by anger, can bring the charis of satisfaction to the dead and to the living:

τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς φίλῃς  
τοῖς ἰ' ἀνωθεν πρόπρασσ' ὦν χάρις (833-834)

Another kind of charis awarded to the dead is the charis of funeral-gifts. In the Agamemnon, the chorus referred to any such gifts put forth by Clytemnestra as an ἀχάρις χάρις for the shade of her murdered husband, a return-favour for his great deeds which was no real reciprocal favour (Ag.1542). The chorus of the second play, women delegated by Clytemnestra to perform these obsequies, similarly describe their duties as a χάρις ἀχάριτος, a charis that is incapable of performing as a charis. In this case, the function they cannot perform is slightly different from the one that disqualified

the obsequies of the Agamemnon from being called a charis. In the earlier play they were not able to repay favours to the dead king; in the Choephoroi, the funeral-gifts will not elicit a return-favour from the king. Because Agamemnon was not pleased, funeral-gifts cannot deter his spirit from venting wrath or resentment on the crimes committed by the living:

τοιάνδε χάριν ἀχάριστον ἀπότροπον κακῶν (44)

Obsequies which are pleasing to the dead perform an apotropaic function.<sup>14</sup> When they are successful charites they ward off evil as a reciprocal benefit for the living. Clytemnestra's gifts failed; they were a χάρις ἀχάριστος .

On the other hand, Orestes' performance at the tomb of his father is a genuine charis. His sister recognizes the lock of hair he has left on the grave as a charis for his father:

ἔπεμψε χαίτην κούριμην χάριν πατρός (180)

The shade of his murdered father is wretched, and Orestes is anxious to find an effective means of pleasing him, saying or doing something over the grave in which his father is held, something that will bring light to his darkness:

ὦ πάτερ αἰνόπατερ, τί σε  
φάμενος ἢ τί ρέξας  
τύχοιμ' ἀγκαῖεν οὐρέσας  
ἐνθα σ' ἔχουσιν εὐναί;  
σκότῳ φάος ἀντίμου  
ρσν

(315-320)

His funeral-cry is equal to (ἀντιμικρον) light in the midst of darkness, and as such is a genuine charis, bringing pleasure to his dead father because with it Orestes glorifies the royal house of Atreus:



χάριτες δ' ἑμοίως  
κέκληνται γῶς εὐκλεῆς  
πρὸς θεοδέμοις Ἄτρείδης

(320-323)

Clytemnestra's obsequies in no way glorified the dead king; they were false, and brought no honour to the house. Like the gifts offered to Achilles in II.IX, they were no charis. Orestes calls them a δειλαία χάρις, a 'sorry favour' for the unconscious dead. They do not measure up to a true charis because they fall short of paying for the offence. Clytemnestra is making a feeble attempt to requite a deed that has no remedy but her own death:

Θανόντι δ' οὐ φρονεῦντι Δειλαία χάρις  
ἐπέμπειτ'· οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰκάσαι τόδε  
τὰ δῶρα μείω δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας.  
(517-519)

Charis, to be properly a charis, must have the power to perform as a charis. This amounts to having the power to award pleasure, very often in the form of a return-favour. When it succeeds in awarding pleasure, its power can extend to eliciting yet another return-favour, from the recipient. The funeral-offerings for Agamemnon provide a useful example of this potential of charis. At Ag.1545 they are deprived of this power because they are no reciprocal gift for Agamemnon's great deeds as a king. At Cho.43-46 they have no power to deter the king's shade from venting wrath and resentment on those he left behind. They cannot perform this apotropaic function because they bring no pleasure to the dead king. At Cho.517 they attempt the impossible: gifts can never atone for murder -- this kind of reciprocity is simply unthinkable. On the other hand, a single lock of hair or a glorifying lament from his son pleases the shade

of Agamemnon. It is true requital for his great deeds as a king, and ensures that the δόσις of revenge will be released.

### Eumenides

In the final play of the trilogy we encounter dike in a new guise. The new dike confronts the old, and argues for an appeal to the soft hand of persuasion in cases of injustice, rather than the brutal hand of force, for the power of reason over passionate revenge.<sup>15</sup> This pits the ministers of the old dike, the Erinyes, against the divine advocates of the new dike, Apollo and Athene. In the bursts of outrage that issue from the old chthonic defenders of vengeance, when they feel their powers being challenged, we get impassioned statements of the earlier system of justice, the dike of requital, of 'satisfaction'.

The Erinyes charge the new gods with destroying the old system of apportionments, the system that defined the spheres of influence, moirai, among the divinities (171-172). The moira assigned to the Erinyes was to pursue those who had shed kindred blood, hence chasing Orestes as a mother-slayer was an ordained right (210), an honour (227, 393-395), a responsibility that had been 'laid down' (391-393). Their mother Night had borne them to bring retribution, poinei, to the dead and to the living (321-323). They saw themselves as the rightful executors of dike, and were not prepared to share their lot with god or mortal; the new gods were trying to rule outside the confines of dike, δίκας πλέον (162-163).

We meet them in the play as they demand from Orestes the same payment as he had asked of Clytemnestra in the Choephoroi, to pay back (ἀντιδοῦναι, 264) with his blood, paying back the price in full of

his murdered mother's agony:

ἀντίποινα ὡς γίνης ματροφόνου δύας

(268)

Orestes appeals to Athene, on the grounds that killing his mother was justified, because it requited the murder of his father:

ἔκτεινα τὴν τεκῶσαν. οὐκ ἀρηΐσμαι  
ἀντικρόνου ποναῖσι φιλάτου πατρὸς

(463-464)

But he asks Athene to pass judgment on his act of revenge, and to determine whether it was done *δικαίως*:

οὐδ' εἰ δικάως εἴτε μὴ κρῖνον δίκην

(468)

At this point we know that he must be appealing to his own assessment of *dike*, for Clytemnestra had felt that *she* had acted in accordance with *dike* in slaying her husband, as killer of their daughter (*Ag.*1431-1433), but her case was not defended by anyone, and she met justice on the old terms, with her death.

As defenders of the old *dike*, the Erinyes are filled with anger. This anger is not only the wrath appropriate to their function of delivering *dike* and redressing the wrong, but it is increased with their fear and dismay that this very function was being undermined. Their ordained right was not only a responsibility but an honour, a *time* (227).<sup>16</sup> In the archaic Greek world, where praise and blame were powerful forces motivating social conduct, to be deprived of honour was cause for the most serious anger. The doubled force behind the wrath of the Erinyes in this play makes the prospect of their venting this ire terrifying indeed. They vow to discharge venom, and blight the land of Athens, the ground where their rights are being undermined. This blight, which will slay leaf and child, is defilement that they will cast upon the ground for mortals' ruin,

and is poison commensurate with their grief(ἀντιπενθή):

ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἠ γάλαινα βαρύνετος  
 ἐν γὰρ γὰρδε, φεῦ,  
 ἴδον ἴδον ἀντιπενθή  
 μεθεῖσα καρδίας, σταλαχμῶν χθονὶ  
 ἄφορον ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
 λειχῆν ἄφυλλος, ἄτεκνος.  
 ἰὼ δίκαι, πέδον ἐπισόμενος  
 βροτοφθόρου κηλίδας ἐν χώρᾳ βαλεῖ.

(780-787)

Athene recognizes that cases of kin-murder are such as to arouse quick and dangerous anger; they are ὄξυμηνίται (472). The seriousness of this is her justification for establishing a court of justice, as she tells Orestes. No single mortal nor even god is right in making pronouncement upon such cases:

τὸ πρᾶγμα μεῖζον, εἴ τις οἴεται τόδε  
 βροτὸς δικάζειν οὐδὲ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις  
 φόνου διαβεῖν ὄξυμηνίτου δίκας

(470-472)

Athene also recognizes the second cause of the Erinyes' ire, their loss of honour. She goes to considerable length to assure them that they will not be dishonoured under the new system of dike (854-857), that they will retain power (896) and reverence (897). Once these rights are guaranteed by Athene's pledge (898), the anger of the Erinyes departs (900), and is converted to the disposition to confer favours. The vengeance of dike is converted to the gratitude-requital of charis. They ask Athene what blessings she would instruct them to bestow, and receive directions from her. They follow suit, and announce that their charis will include special protection for the trees, the vegetation that was nearly withered by their venom:

δενδρσπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέου βλάβα  
τὰν ἐμὰν χάριν λέχῳ

(938-939)

They enlarge the scope of their charis to include the health and fertility of all crops and herds, and a blessing on marriage among the young. They conclude their list with a prayer for the best form of conduct among the citizens.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly, their advice is framed by words urging reciprocity, not blow for blow but blessing for blessing. Athenians are to 'pay back' joy in return for joy, *χάρματα* (cf. *χάρις*) *ἀντιδιδόειν* (984). The blessings promised by the converted Erinyes are called *ἀγαθὰ* by Athene; because they are blessings dispensed as a charis, they call for kindly returns, an *ἀγαθὴ δίανοια* from the recipients:

εἴη δ' ἀγαθῶν  
ἀγαθὴ δίανοια πολίταις

(1012-1013)

The notion that prosperity can come from justice was not a radical innovation with the Court of the Areopagus. The old rule of dike had also awarded just behaviour with prosperity (Ag.761-762). The advantages of suffering, and of the fear it engenders, are still argued by the (unconverted) Erinyes at the trial of Orestes, much as they had been put forth by the chorus in the Agamemnon, in their reflections on *πάθει μάθος* (Ag.176-183). Fear, they contend, is a good thing, and should watch over the doings of the *κρένες*. There is profit to be gained from the moderate behaviour which results from groaning:

ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὖ  
 καὶ φρονῶν ἐπίσκοπον  
 δεῖ μένειν καθήμενον  
 ξυμφέρει  
 σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ δέει. 18

(517-521)

Athene gives assurances that under the jurisdiction of the new tribunal this sequence will continue. Fear will continue to induce restraint (476, 690ff.), and murder cases will be tried by a court that is 'capable of sharp anger' (ὀξύθυμον, 705), just as cases of kin-murder had aroused 'sharp wrath' (ὀξύμηνίτου, 472) under the old order

Despite this careful preservation of the old vocabulary, there is a conversion of poine into charis, of divine forces of vengeance into divine dispensers of blessings. A change has occurred: blood-vengeance has been replaced. The wrath of the Erinyes is cooled by the promise of honour. They are invited to do good and receive good in return (868), to enjoy the power of being indispensable to every Athenian household (895). Accepting a home in the cave beneath the Areopagus, the Erinyes relinquish their anger (900), and offer a prayer for the sun's bounty to make Athens prosper (925-926). They are vested in bright robes and conducted to their cave with the expectation that their goodwill will issue in prosperity (1028-1031). Aeschylus' portrayal of the conversion of the Erinyes has been described as a burlesque (Rosenmeyer),<sup>19</sup> a standard mythical metamorphosis (Reinhardt),<sup>20</sup> and 'a religious idea, awful, dark and intensely satisfying' (Verrall).<sup>21</sup> Verrall attributes this transformation of Vengeance into Grace to an innovation of Aeschylus himself,<sup>22</sup> but the sequence of fear-followed by actions of appeasement-followed by blessings underlay chthonic rituals which were practised in Greece from primitive

times. Vengeance (poine) was the religious antithesis of Grace (charis), but one had no meaning without the other.<sup>23</sup> This was expressed in Greek religion by contrary deities emerging from the same source, or receiving the same sacrificial rituals.<sup>24</sup> We are reminded of the Arcadian version of the healing of Orestes from the madness with which he was afflicted after killing his mother. Goddesses appeared to him in black, but after propitiatory offerings he was cured and the goddesses appeared in white. Although the goddesses were known locally as 'Maniai', Pausanias identifies them as Eumenides, and mentions that at this place the Charites received a sacrifice (Paus.VIII.34. 1-3; Ch.III, pp.44-45).

Aeschylus may have been indulging in some religious syncretism at the end of the Oresteia, which led to the identification of the converted Erinyes with the Eumenides or the Semnai Theai, an identification which would suit his dramatic (and possibly political<sup>25</sup>) purposes. But such syncretism was common with chthonic powers.<sup>26</sup> The Erinyes may never have actually become Eumenides in the play that bears the latter name,<sup>27</sup> but they display the contrasting powers common to Underworld deities, who are alternately angered and appeased. Karl Reinhardt points to the antithesis that dominates the Oresteia: Day and Night, new and old, destructive gods and vampire-guardians; all these contraries, he says, spring from one fundamental antithesis, the antithesis represented by the Erinyes before and after their conversion,<sup>28</sup> the Erinyes and the 'Eumenides'. The bloodthirsty quest at the beginning of the Eumenides is balanced by gentleness and fructifying peace at the end of the play, but the polarity does not pull apart at the middle: fear, which dominates the dark side of chthonic chiaroscuro remains -- the converted goddesses still abide under

the earth. But the dark side of chthonic dike is potentially white, and when dike is brought into the light of reason and persuasion, something new has happened. Old dike was the negative correlate of charis: under the new order it has become a charis. This event is of course answered by a corresponding event on the divine level: the goddesses inhabit Athenian soil: their power is no longer 'other', but absorbed by Athenian citizens, who are now expected to exercise self-restraint. While the goddesses are not called Charites, they confer charis on Athens, and leave for their new dwelling calling out the significant words  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  ,  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  (1014).



## NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

1. Maurice Pope, "Merciful Heavens? A Question in Aeschylus' Agamemnon," JHS 94 (1974) 100-113, argues that Zeus is not leading men down the road to 'wisdom' with  $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  (176), but that  $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  in Aeschylus means at most 'using one's faculties as a grown-up human being' (108), i.e. 'consciousness' of the kind that separates men from animals, the dead, infants or the state of dreaming. Pope describes the 'lesson' as learned by a conscious awareness that violence is simply the way the cosmos works: by violence the chief Olympians succeeded one another (171-176), and by violence the gods teach men to 'heel' ( $\delta\omega\psi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ , 181). He does not discuss the reason why the chorus would refer to this as a charis.

Desmond Conacher, "Comments on an Interpretation of Aeschylus, Agamemnon 182-183," Phoenix 30 (1976) 328-337, argues that the law of Zeus appeals to men's reasoning (331); he sees the chorus distinguishing Zeus in the 'Hymn' from his predecessors, in that he "has led men to use their reason, laying it down that learning by suffering is the rule" (331). Conacher admits that  $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  can mean 'conscious awareness' in some contexts, but cites other examples where it can carry "a clear suggestion of a specific use of the mind, often to some particular (sometimes 'moral') purpose" (333). He sees the dawning awareness in the chorus that the learning of this ordinance of Zeus has a moral end, that the chorus is becoming 'wise' in however rudimentary a way, and that this foreshadows the conversion of the Erinyes at the end of the trilogy, where "the wisdom reaped by the polis and its citizens is presented as the result of the long pathos of individuals and family in the house of Atreus" (336). This of course preserves the force of the meaning of charis in 182: the lesson of Zeus is a blessing for human society; once one sees the moral purpose of the lesson, the restraining of unjust behaviour for the social good, one can accept the restraints, however violent, and adapt one's behaviour in accordance with this 'wisdom' gained.

Hugh Lloyd-Jones, The Justice of Zeus (Revised edition [Berkeley 1983]) 85ff., is not prepared to grant this much sophistication to the chorus at Ag.176ff. The chorus in the invocation of the 'Hymn to Zeus',

according to Lloyd-Jones, are acknowledging the inscrutability of the god (85). They are speaking from a relatively primitive religious stance, calling on Zeus as the supreme god of the universe, who is the 'champion of Dike, the order of the universe', punishing men who challenge his ordinances. His χάρις βίαιος, his 'grace that comes by violence' consists in his punishment of men's injustices to one another (87). Lloyd-Jones interprets σωφρονεῖν in this context as 'thinking safely', and φρονεῖν as simply 'thinking'. The charis of Zeus on this interpretation amounts to the blessing of preserving men from destroying one another, and the lesson 'learned' by the chorus is to 'think safely' (and presumably behave accordingly), for the law of retribution is both inevitable and for the good of men.

It is impossible to determine from the texts presented in the Agamemnon just how 'wise' the chorus are claiming to be, having observed the pattern of avenging dike in the House of Atreus. If this has led them to φρονεῖν that 'bad behaviour will be punished', it is hard to see in what ways they have 'learned' more than a tamed animal. If they are claiming that they are now 'wise' in that they see the purpose of avenging dike, one would expect them to lay greater stress on the advantages of choosing moderate behaviour. Instead, they speak of the σωφρονεῖν as coming παρ' ἰκονεργας, whether one wills it or not (180). After their proclamation of the lesson learned, they describe Agamemnon putting on the yoke of Necessity (217), knowing it would be 'grievously heavy' to refuse to obey the ordinance to sacrifice his daughter, and sacrificing her with the uncertain hope that 'all may turn out well' (216). It is clear that Agamemnon is not acting out of the 'wisdom' that his suffering by killing his daughter is all for the moral good (i.e. as necessary for the execution of dike against the Trojans), but that he is responding to the ordinance reluctantly, out of fear of disobeying. If the chorus has 'wisdom' in the broader sense, knowing that coercion is demonstrably good for society, then it is odd that they follow their proclamation with the example of Agamemnon. It would, by the same token, be doing the chorus (and Agamemnon) an injustice to say that they were incapable of deducing from the pattern of retribution in the universe that it would be better to behave prudently. (The chorus are nothing if not 'prudent' throughout the play -- beginning with their decision to be circumspect about those with whom they will discuss the affairs of the house (36-39).) Still, they have a dramatic role to play, and in the 'Hymn to Zeus' they are not being called to be moral philosophers. They are relating the sequence of events to

date, and observing that these follow a pattern of retribution which began with the offence of the rape of Helen. They save themselves from despair by seeking (and finding) religious endorsement for this pattern. In getting divine endorsement, the sequence of violent events is not meaningless. It is a gift from the gods, a charis. The accent is not on morality, but on divinity.

2. Normally called the *ἑρέπια* or *ἑρεπήρια*, another 'reciprocal' word, indicating the 'return' made to those responsible for rearing a child.
3. Similarly, Aeschylus exploits the double meaning of *κῆδος* (699), a 'marriage' that is 'cause for grief'.
4. I.e. according to its dike, the 'mark' or 'characteristic' that distinguished its species, a secondary meaning of *δική* which survived in Greek in the adverbial accusative.
5. *πρὸς σφάγας πυρῆς*, of course, makes little sense. See the discussion in E. Fränkel, ed. Aeschylus Agamemnon (Oxford 1950) (hereafter: Fränkel) for various conjectures. Denniston and Page include more recent suggestions, but conclude "all is darkness here". Nonetheless, the general idea is clear: sacrificial victims are standing in front of the altar, ready to be slaughtered and roasted, as a thank-offering which those standing around had never expected to be able to offer.
6. Wilamowitz, 1885, followed by Mazon, Murray, A.Y. Campbell, and most recently by Fränkel, who says: "The addition of an emotional flourish is intolerable; Clytemnestra has no reason for making any display of gratitude or pleasure for the benefit of Cassandra or the Chorus." He concurs with Wilamowitz in the unlikelihood of *οὐποτ' ἐλπίδαδε* appearing so soon after *οὐποτ' ἐλπίδαντες* of 1094, but admits that he has "not however succeeded in discovering the purpose for which 1058 has been botched together".
7. Outwardly a favour, they are no real favour, and are not able to perform the function of obsequies. Virtually the same words are used by the libation-bearers at Cho.42 to describe the same 'unsatisfying' phony funeral gifts of Clytemnestra; there they are called a *χάρις ἀχάριτος*.

In the Prometheus Bound we meet another charis that does not function as a charis. The chorus asks

the hero whether his gift of fire to mortals was truly a favour: *ἔπειτα πῶς χάρις ἢ χάρις;* (545). (see D. Conacher, Prometheus Bound (Toronto 1980) 55-56, and M. Griffith, ed., Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound (Cambridge 1983) 186, for justification of Headlam's correction to the text). The charis of the gift of fire is no real charis, the chorus goes on to explain, for mankind is too weak to reciprocate the favour:

*εἰπέ, ποῦ τις ἄλκᾳ;  
τις ἐφαμερίων ἄρηξις;*  
(P.B.546-547)

Griffith comments on the passage (186): "the essence of charis is that it is reciprocal...; but in this case, mortals can do nothing in return for Prometheus' benefactions." (Griffith discusses the importance of reciprocating gifts elsewhere in the Prometheus Bound, 204 nn.631-634).

Conacher (56) gives other parallels in tragedy for the "reciprocity so often involved in charis", e.g. the *χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος* of Eur. Helen 1234, and the *χάρις χάριν φέρει* of Sophocles' O.C.779. To these may be added the *χάρις χάριν γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ τίκτους' ἀεί,* of Soph. Ajax 522.

8. It is important to see the implications of the attraction of feminine beauty represented by charis in this passage. Fränkel is content to extract only 'thankfulness', 'piety' and 'delight' from the word here. Denniston and Page go farther in saying that "there is grace, almost charm or beauty, in the sanctities on which the sinner tramples". But there is more here than almost-beauty; there is the beauty of Helen which was violated, and will not go unpunished by Zeus Xenios, as the chorus have just pronounced (362-369). (I am grateful to Professor Conacher for suggesting the specific reference to Helen's beauty lying behind charis in this passage.)

9. The violation of Helen and its repercussions in the 'Hymn to Zeus' were a thinly veiled prediction of the next *πλῆξή* of Zeus, the one that will fell Agamemnon for killing his daughter Iphigeneia. The two beautiful women, Helen and Iphigeneia, are locked together in the chain of revenge. The mortal blow for Agamemnon is described as just revenge for Iphigeneia's death by Clytemnestra at 1525.

10. Fränkel follows Casaubon, Hermann, Wilamowitz and others in daggering *ἐὐνής*, arguing that "the lust which wholly possesses the soul of this demonic woman at the great climax of her life is not sexual, but the

lust of revenge --", refusing to see the sexual overtones in 1391. He is loath to have Clytemnestra make public reference to her adulterous behaviour with Aegisthus, insisting that "even in her taunts ... she remains a queen". But just a few lines before (1435-1436) she made reference to the 'fire of her hearth' being 'set alight' by Aegisthus. However, even without Aegisthus, *ἐὺνης* here can introduce sexual overtones, and remain quite consistent with the passionate outburst of Clytemnestra's speech. The speech itself merits close study as an example of a poetic treatment of emotional vituperation at such a pitch that several emotions are fused into one moment of intense desire and triumphant satisfaction. In using the phrase 'lust of revenge', Fränkel demonstrates the overlap of anger and sexual ardour when one is at the height of passion. Greed for food likewise becomes indistinguishable from the other extreme desires. At the peak of passion, objects of desire or sources of satisfaction are indistinguishable. This is reflected in the vocabulary we use for all three of these desires: we speak not only of the 'lust for revenge', but of an 'appetite for revenge' as of a 'sexual appetite'.

11. Like Zeus, the supreme wielder of justice, the *δικηφόρος* who brings dike to punish Troy (Ag.525).

12. The final performance of this agon takes place in the Eumenides, where a new concept of dike wrestles with the old, and where new gods overthrow the old (Eum.162-165). This one vigorous line looks like a deliberate foreshadowing of the conclusion to the trilogy.

13. Compare Cho.33-34, where the prophetic power in the house 'breathes *κόρος*' on Clytemnestra in her sleep. This is interpreted (40-41) as the anger of murdered victims beneath the earth.

14. W. Burkert, Greek Religion (Cambridge, Mass. 1985), 195: "The anger of the dead is particularly feared -- they must be appeased and kept in good spirits by continual offering: meilissein, hilaskesthai."

15. The antithesis between peitho and bia was much discussed by Greek thinkers who succeeded Aeschylus, but it lies at the heart of the confrontation between the old and the new dike in the Eumenides. The new dike, which responds to peitho, is a development of dike which meant 'what is shown' about the *βέμβρες* of the gods, i.e. 'what is right', but it lays the responsibility for determining what this is upon human resources, on the faculty of reasoning. The role of

peitho will be to argue all sides of a case persuasively before the court, in order that this power of reasoning may be stimulated to make a balanced assessment of the case. Dike is the name given to such cases, and is found at Eum.467 and 581, with reference to cases of murder. Dike as 'avenger' and dike as 'what is right' co-existed happily in Greek thought. In the proem of Parmenides, the poet passes through the gates whose keys are kept by 'much-avenging' Dike (Δίκη πολυπαινος), but the poet is then launched on a journey whose 'rightness' is assured by Dike (see L. Woodbury, "Equinox at Acragas," TAPA 97 (1966) 610). With this broadening of the range of meanings for dike, the relationship between dike and charis becomes less clear, hence it may be more helpful to consider the contraries of poine and charis.

16. Poseidon makes an angry charge in the Iliad, alleging that the tri-partite division of the world among the sons of Cronos had been violated by Zeus. "Let him stick to his own moira," he retorts, "and not try to override me, for I am ὀμότιμος" (Il.XV.185-195).

17. F. Solmsen, in Hesiod and Aeschylus (Ithaca 1949) 210-215, raises the possibility that the list of blessings to be conferred here, and the prayer for peaceful conduct among the citizens, like a corresponding prayer in Aeschylus' Suppliants (630-709), may derive from ritualized prayers or hymns for the gods' blessings on a city.

18. Compare the reflections of the chorus just before the trial, that "whoever is just, willingly and without necessity, will not be unblessed" (550-551). For the advantages to be gained from the βία of dike, compare Solon, fr.13 W, 16ff.

19. T.G. Rosenmeyer, The Art of Aeschylus (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982) 365-366: "The conversion of the Furies is a piece of inventive theatricality that crowns the persuasive contrivance of the drama... the festive comedy at the end of the trilogy lifts what happens to the Furies, to Orestes, and to all who cooperate in the masque, well above the level of intent with which the earlier drama had acquainted us."

20. K. Reinhardt, Aeschylus als Regisseur und Theologe (Bern 1949) 156: "Die mythische Form des ganzen Spiels ist die einer Metamorphose, wie sie in so viele Kultlegenden zumal regionaler Gottheiten begegnet."

21. A.W. Verrall, The Eumenides of Aeschylus (London 1908) xliii.

22. Ibid.: "It has the stamp of Aeschylus, perhaps the only Greek who shows a strong genius for religious invention, not metaphysical, or moral, or artistic, or imaginative, or ritual, or anything else but religious."

23. W. Burkert, op.cit. (above n.14) 202, describes this antithesis as the opposition between Olympian and Chthonic which "constitutes a polarity in which one pole cannot exist without the other, and in which each pole only receives its full meaning from the other".

24. Ibid. Burkert describes, for example, a bronze image of Apollo standing on a pedestal shaped like an altar which is said to be the grave of Hyakinthos. Before the sacrifice to Apollo, funerary offerings are made to Hyakinthos.

25. At the time the Oresteia was produced, the Areopagus was the centre of controversy in Athens, having recently been stripped of its special powers. Commentators differ on the extent to which Aeschylus was joining one side or the other of the political issue by his account of the foundation of the court in the play. See A. Podlecki, The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy (Ann Arbor 1966) 80ff.

26. Cf. the chthonic maiden triads discussed above (Ch.III, p.41ff.), fertility-goddesses, to whom the names 'Moirai', 'Horai', 'Charites' etc. could equally apply. For the title Γεμναί assigned to the Charites, see above p.51, and p.73 n.89.

27. The name 'Eumenides' does not occur in the play as it stands, but at some point was adopted as the title. For a thorough discussion of how this may have happened, see A.L. Brown, "Eumenides in Greek Tragedy," CQ 34.2 (1984) 260-281. Brown is skeptical of the authenticity of the claim made in the play's hypothesis that Athene renamed the Erinyes 'Eumenides' after their conversion, an action Hermann assigned to a passage which dropped out after 1027. A much more likely identification in Aeschylus' mind was with the Semnai Theai, primitive earth-deities who inhabited a cave near the Areopagus. The converted Erinyes are addressed as Σεμναί at the end of the play (1041). Later tradition associated them with oaths, prayers on behalf of Athens and the judgments handed down by the Areopagus. For a fuller discussion of the Semnai Theai, see Brown, 262-263.

28. Reinhardt draws a sharp distinction between the Erinyes and the Eumenides, noting that the former were associated with curses and the latter with blessings,

but makes it clear that the duality is rooted in a unity: "Diese Einheit in der Zweiheit, als etwas Verborgenes in dem Offenbaren, macht die Eumeniden und Erinyen erst zu einer und derselben Gottheit. Wie "Gewalt" "Gnade" in Wesen des Zeus so auseinander treten können, dass zum Beispiel im "Prometheus" sich von beiden nur das eine zeigt, so können Unsegen und Segen in demselben tieferen Grund des Göttlichen zu einer solchen Einheit werden, dass das Wunder der Verwandlung zwei konträre Gottheiten zu einer und derselben macht. (op.cit. (above n.20) 159).



APPENDIX: SOPHISTIC CHARIS  
CHARIS IN EURIPIDES' ALCESTIS, HELEN AND HECUBA

When we read Pericles' account of Athenian charis recorded by Thucydides in the great funeral oration of 431, we realize that there has been a dramatic change from the social conventions which prevailed in the archaic period. "The one who confers a charis," says Pericles, "is more secure because he profits from the good-will of the recipient. But the one who owes the return-favour is less keen, knowing as he does that it will not count as a charis but as a debt owed in return for arete" (Thucydides II.40.4).<sup>1</sup> This is potlatch-charis laid bare: the obligation to reciprocate benefits for the well-being of both parties involved in an exchange has been manipulated for political gain.

Pericles' claim was possible because of the altered social conditions in Greece in the mid-fifth century B.C. Not only was the political sphere changed by the imperial designs imposed upon smaller states by larger ones, but an intellectual movement was afoot which called into question the very foundations upon which the commonest social conventions had rested. The sophists challenged the absolutism of these conventions, arguing that the nomos was a human construct which varied with time and place; it was neither divinely ordained nor unalterable. The charis-exchange, then, was a strictly human practice, and was no longer an external force that would preserve the symmetry of the exchange. The sharpening of the rhetorical skills of those individuals who fell under the influence of the sophistic movement allowed them to argue for the 'justice' of their personal claims for private advantage, with recourse to principles that could be verbally manipulated for personal gain. A semblance of justice could supplant real justice by the

art of persuasion: logos reigned, and in itself was morally unaligned to any absolute principles.

The rhetorical potential of Greek tragedy to display the moral complexity of the new order was not lost on the tragedians. Agones between protagonists exploited the new moral relativism for dramatic effect. In the Oresteia the baldness of the pain suffered by the House of Atreus is exposed by Clytemnestra's claim on behalf of charis, and the chorus' counter-claim that her charis is ἀχαρίς. In the plays of Euripides, sophistic debate achieves a greater degree of subtlety, hence the 'morality' of competing charis-claims becomes more difficult to assess. The following sample of such claims, from the Alcestis, the Helen and the Hecuba is by no means intended as an exhaustive treatment of the subject,<sup>2</sup> but is a useful glimpse at the 'Nachleben' of charis. The reciprocity inherent in the charis of mutual favouring becomes, along with the obligations of dike, philia or xenia, a useful weapon in rhetorical debate, and, once privatized, an important technique for the dramatists to use in character-portrayal.

In the Alcestis, the principal characters all perform acts intended to generate charis but which produce more pain than pleasure. Similarly, the one great act of charis in the play, the rescuing of Alcestis from the Underworld, is the result of behaviour that can only be described as ἀχαρίς. In the opening dialogue between Apollo and Thanatos, Apollo asks the Death-god for the charis of sparing Alcestis' life (60). When his request is refused, Apollo prophesies that there will be no charis of good-feeling extended from him to Thanatos, but that the Death-god will have to perform the favour in any case, an act that will arouse his ire:

καὶ ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν σοὶ γενήσεται χάρις  
 δράστεισ' ἢ ὀκείωσ' ταῦτ', ἀπεχθήσει τ' ἐμοί.  
 (70-71)

The favour of rescuing Alcestis is refused, but will happen anyway, as a non-favour. Gone is the reciprocal advantage between men and gods, the easy flow of goodwill that went by the name of charis.

Alcestis had offered her own death as a supreme sacrifice for her husband. This was a charis which Admetus' parents had refused him. They were unwilling to exchange this favour for the aidos that their son had shown them (659-661). But the favour presented by Alcestis to Admetus is no favour: indeed, despite appearances, her fate in dying is more fortunate than that of her husband who was saved, spared as she is his bitter days of solitude (935ff.). Her charis for him was more apparent than real. But she had considered it a favour greater than could ever be reciprocated (299-300), asking only one thing in return -- that Admetus not supplant her with a new wife (304ff.). Admetus readily complies with her request, adding to this the promise that he will keep the house free from revelry of any sort (343ff.). This last promise he breaks immediately after her death, when he admits Heracles into the house. Unwilling to turn the hero away, Admetus refuses Heracles' request for the charis of lodging elsewhere when the royal house is in mourning (544). Admetus disguises the fact that it is Alcestis' death which has caused the grief, so Heracles proceeds to outdo all guests before him in the degree of his merry-making (747ff.). This breaching of the agreement reciprocating Alcestis' supreme charis (that wasn't a charis) leads to the ultimate charis, that requested by Apollo and refused by Thanatos, the final rescuing of Alcestis from death. Heracles, repentant when he learns the truth about the death in the house, undertakes the charis of restoring Alcestis (842, 1074).

But just as Admetus disguised the real loss of his wife, so Heracles disguises her real return, and presents the king with a woman fully veiled, whose identity he conceals. The woman appears to present an actual violation of the charis-contract with Alcestis: she will be a replacement-wife (1087). Heracles presses her into the personal keeping of Admetus, asking his trust, for soon the charis might just become something 'needful':

πιθοῦ· τάχ' ἂν γὰρ εἰς δέον πέσοι χάρις  
(1101)

The charis of receiving the woman, a favour to Heracles, intended as pleasure for Admetus but experienced as pain (1108), will become the ultimate charis for the king. This final charis is as ironic as it is inevitable: Admetus is the one who has consistently denied charis to his wife.

The Helen includes a dialectic on the charis between husband and wife with a slightly different emphasis. From the sophistic discourse Euripides borrows the debate on the nature of dike, and on the extent to which illusion differs from reality. Charis provides some striking examples of the new relativity of justice, and creates some splendid ironic passages in a play riddled with confusion over what is false or only apparent, and what is real.

In a rhetorical agon that is crucial for her survival, Helen in Egypt tries to persuade Theonoe, the daughter of Helen's (now deceased) guardian, King Proteus, to conceal from her brother the fact of Menelaus' arrival from Troy. The brother, Theoclymenus, is anticipating marriage to Helen, and would quickly dispatch the shipwrecked and weary former husband. Theonoe is faced with a difficult choice.

Being honest with her brother is doing him a favour but, as Helen reminds her, this charis of truthfulness does not follow the dictates of dike: it undermines the 'just' intent of her father who sheltered Helen, and would be awarded to an 'unjust' brother:

τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφθερεῖς  
 γὰρ τοῦ δ' οὐ δικάϊω συγγόνῳ δώσεις χάριν

(920-921)

It amounts to 'buying charites' (gratitude, return-favours) which are base and unjust ( χάριτας πονηρὰς κἀδίκους ,902). "Rather give me the charis," pleads Helen, "following the pattern of your just father" (940). Charis is by nature partisan, when it involves a favouring of one party over another. Dike too has become partisan. As Helen argued on the grounds of the 'justice' of her interests, so Theoclymenus could presumably have demanded charis from Theonoe on the grounds of his interests, described as the dike of honesty and kin-loyalty. The fact that one can 'buy base and unjust charites' makes it clear just how secularized dike and charis have become; they are no longer grounded in a divine order.

Theonoe, a seer with a high regard for piety (901,998), is won over by the appeals of Helen and Menelaus, and agrees not to give charis to her brother, charis from which infamy would issue:

οὐκ ἂν μιάναιμι, οὐδὲ συγγόνῳ χάριν  
 δοίην ἂν ἐξ ἧς δυσκλεῆς φανήσεται

(1000-1001)

Charis is no longer tied to fame and glorification: wrongly applied it can bring pollution and shame. The withholding of the favour from her brother is itself a favour: by remaining silent about Menelaus' arrival, Theonoe is doing her brother good, even though it does not appear so: indeed it is trading impiety for piety:

σιγήσεμαι

...  
 εὐεργετῶ γὰρ κείνῳ, οὐ δοκοῦσ' ὁμῶς,  
 ἔκ δουραβετίας ἔσιδον εἰ τίθημί νιν  
 (1017, 1020-1021)

The antithesis between fact and illusion was common in rhetorical speech, and it occurs elsewhere in the Helen (e.g. 1134, 1137). It provides a great opportunity for dramatic irony, and nowhere more successfully than in the scene where Theoclymenus is presented with the news of the 'death' of Menelaus, and with the request for a cenotaph-burial at sea. In response to the news, Theoclymenus claims to take no charis-pleasure in the report, yet to be blessed:

οὐδέν τι χαίρω σῶς λόχοις, τὰ δ' εὐτυχῶ  
 (1197)

His own pretence is but a shadow of the real deception being carried out by Helen. She invites him to prepare their wedding-rites while she carries out the funerary ritual for Menelaus. Delighted, he asks her what terms she requires, what charis he can provide in return for the charis of enjoying her as his wife:

ἐπὶ τῷ ; χάρις γὰρ ἀντὶ χάριτος ἐλθέτω  
 (1234)

The reciprocal charis enjoyed in marriage, which was mentioned as early as Homer (Il.XI.243), and was so memorably expressed by Tecmessa (Ajax 522), has grimmer overtones here, when we realize that the real marriage-charis is being reserved for Menelaus, disguised as a funerary-charis (1273, 1378). The irony intensifies as Theoclymenus promises to reward Menelaus for his charis to Helen in helping her to carry out the death-rites, but, in effect, to leave (1281). Theoclymenus becomes nervous when he realizes that the charis of Helen's feelings for her 'dead' husband may incline her to drown herself and join him (1397), but Helen ignores

the reference to the charis of love and assures him that it is no charis-favour to the dead to join them in death (1402). She shifts the charis to Theoclymenus, asking for the ship so that she may 'take a full measure of his charis':

πρόσταξεν, ὡς ἂν τὴν χάριν πλήρη λάβω  
(1411)

We realize, of course, that she will take away all his charis with the ship -- not just his generosity but his anticipated pleasure in her. With this play on the word we see what has become of the abiding potential of charis to refer to both subjective and objective pleasure.

Theoclymenus' charis-pleasure in Helen is the charis she promised him in marriage, her charis which, she says, 'this day will reveal':

ἦδ' ἡμέρα σε τὴν ἐμὴν δείξει χάριν  
(1420)

But of course the wedding is as hollow as the burial, and the charis is as empty as it promised to be full (1411). The real charis belongs to Menelaus, the uninterrupted enjoyment of Helen, for which he prays to Zeus as he leaves the stage:

μίαν δ' ἐμοὶ χάριν  
δόντες τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχῆ με θήσετε  
(1449-1450)

This is piety rewarded, the charis of good fortune denied his rival (εὐτυχῆ, cf. εὐτυχῶ, 1197). Menelaus and Helen are the winners in the sophistic agon of the play: their adroitness in manipulating the logos has earned them traditional charis, ultimately a gift from the gods.

The power of peitho is relentlessly exercised in the Hecuba, where the object is not salvation but death



and revenge. A remnant of Greek heroes from the Trojan War are detained in Thrace with their Trojan captives, their ships halted by lack of winds. The ghost of Achilles has stilled the winds, demanding the sacrifice of the Trojan princess Polyxena as a grave-offering, his final *χέρας* (114). The smooth-talking Odysseus, 'honey-tongued, charis-pleaser of the demos' (*δημοχαριστήρ*, 132) persuades his reluctant comrades to comply. Otherwise, he says, they will be charged with lack of charis-gratitude (*ἀχαριστοί*, 138) by the Greek soldiers who, like Achilles, fought and died in the war (138-140). When Odysseus confronts the mother of the proposed victim, Queen Hecuba, he encounters a counter-claim for the charis of gratitude. Anxious to save her daughter, Hecuba assails demagogues like Odysseus, 'thankless race in pursuit of time' (254-255). On the grounds that she had saved his life while in Troy (249-250), she asks for a return-charis, she a suppliant now as he had been then (272-276). Odysseus interprets his return-obligation as quid pro quo, promising only to spare her life; Polyxena, he says, must die because of the higher claim of Achilles to charis, the charis of time (309, 320). He adds the vaunt that this type of charis is the mark of superior civilization: the (Trojan) barbarians don't bear as high a respect for the heroic dead (328-330). In the argument of Odysseus we can see charis being used as a political expedient: showing charis to the honourable dead, over the charis due to individual benefactors, is a mechanism for keeping men dying nobly for the state.

Hecuba has lost round one of the agon. Polyxena dies, and the queen's anguish is doubled when news reaches her of the death of her son Polydorus, who had been sent to the Thracian king Polymestor with some Trojan gold, for safekeeping during the war. Desperate, she appeals to Agamemnon to seek revenge for

this murder, a favour he owes her for the charis of sexual favours he has enjoyed with her daughter Cassandra. This is recourse to a baser form of charis, the 'bought favours' or calculated returns of concubines. "What charis shall my child have, or I for her?" she asks. "For from the darkness and the night's love-charms comes the greatest charis for mortals":

χάριν τίν' ἔξει παῖς ἐμή, κείνης δ' ἐχώ;  
ἐκ τοῦ σκοτοῦ γὰρ τῶν τε νυκτερησίων  
φίλτρων μεγίστη γίγνεται βροτοῖς χάρις

(830-833)

Agamemnon is sympathetic to her call for revenge, on the grounds of Polymestor's violation of the laws of xenia, but is loath to be a visible accomplice in the act on the grounds of his sexual enjoyment:

μη δέξαιμι Κασάνδρας χάριν  
Θρήκης ἀνακτι τόνδε βουλεύσαι φόνον

(855-856)

Although χάριν functions in 855 as a preposition ('for the sake of Cassandra'), the erotic undercurrent is unmistakable. With Agamemnon's concern for his public image, sexual charis has taken on political power. Hecuba laments his base political sensitivity (864-867); her reference-points are sustained by personal allegiance, and by punishing evil (845). But she complies with this "more civilized" behaviour of the Greek king, and decides to take revenge alone, asking Agamemnon only to check his troops if they attempt to rescue Polymestor. Agamemnon is free to keep up the pretence of having no charis-partisan-ship for the mother of Cassandra:

εἶργε μη δοκῶν ἐμῆν χάριν

(874, cf.899)

The irony intensifies, as it did in the Helen, when the central deed of deception occurs. Polymestor,

lured by Hecuba to her tents with his two young sons, addresses her and the deceased Priam as φίλατος, 'dearest' (952), and sympathizes with the sudden reversals of Trojan fortune, reversals which anyone could suffer (953-961). After this ominous preamble, he asks what need she has of him (976), what help he can offer to a friend (984-986). Hecuba asks of this 'friend', 'befriended by her as she is by him' (1000), to keep the gold and jewels which she has brought from Troy (1012), which are now secreted in the women's tents. Hecuba and the Trojan women execute the revenge, killing the king's sons and stabbing out his eyes with their brooch-pins. Polymestor gives an account of this to Agamemnon, justifying himself by saying that his murder of Polydorus was a charis for the Greeks. He had destroyed their enemy:

τοιᾶδε σπείδων χάριν  
πέπειθα τὴν δὴν πολέμιόν τε σὺν κτανῶν  
(1175-1176)

Hecuba answers with a verbal riposte that assails him with his own words: "What was the charis you were in eager haste to deliver?":

τίνα δὲ καὶ σπείδων χάριν  
πρόθυμος ἦσθα;  
(1202-1203)

Adapting the rhetorical tools of Odysseus, she argues that Polymestor, of a barbarian race, could never be seen to be a friend of the Greeks (1200-1201). His real intent was not other-directed but base and personal. Otherwise, why would he not have killed her son when Troy had the upper hand, and was a threat to the Greeks? Only then would killing or betraying the young prince in his care have been a legitimate charis for Agamemnon and earned his gratitude:

τί δ' οὐ τότε, εἶπερ τῶς ἐβουλήθη χάριν  
 θέσθαι, τρέφων τὸν παῖδα κἄν δόμοις ἔχων  
 ἔκτεινας, ἢ ζῶντ' ἦλθες Ἀρχείοις ἄγων;  
 (1211-1213)

The actions of Polymestor carry more weight than his rhetoric, says Hecuba: rhetoric must never make base actions appear good (1188-1192). To be persuaded by his speech is to favour the impious, unjust ξένος; it is to take charis-pleasure in the wicked:

αὐτὸν δὲ χαίρειν τοῖς κακοῖς ἢ φήσομεν  
 ταυῦτον ὄντα  
 (1236-1237)

With these words, Hecuba wins the rhetorical agōn, persuading Agamemnon of the baseness of Polymestor, not only because he murdered her son, but because he violated the laws of xenia. Hecuba may have learned some rhetorical tricks from Odysseus, and applied them to her personal agenda, but this agenda, unlike that of her honey-tongued mentor, is wedded to the traditional pattern of the requital of good for good that expresses itself in dike, in xenia and in charis.

## NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

1. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην  
 δι' εὐνοίας, ᾧ δέδωκε σῶζειν. ὁ δὲ ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος.  
 εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδύσων.

(Thucyd. II.40.4)

For this same claim made on behalf of charis, cf. Plut. Mor.778 D.

2. More complete discussions can be found in the following works: D.J. Conacher, Euripidean Drama (Toronto 1967); "Rhetoric and Relevance in Euripidean Drama," AJP 102 (1981) 9ff.; "Structural Aspects of Euripides' Alcestis," Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury (Chico 1984) 73-78; Alcestis, (forthcoming); S.E. Scully, Philia and Charis in Euripidean Tragedy (Diss. University of Toronto, 1973); G. Zuntz, The Political Plays of Euripides (Manchester 1955), esp. 81ff.; J.H. Oliver, Demokratia, the Gods and the Free World (Baltimore 1960) 100ff.

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