Choreia and Aesthetics in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo: The Performance of the Delian Maidens (Lines 156–64)

This article focuses on a set of problems involving a controversial portion of the HHA (lines 156-64) that describes the performance of the Delian chorus in a rare instance of early performance criticism. First, the two variants for a key noun in line 162, bambaliastus and krembaliastus, are discussed. Skepticism is expressed about the applicability to this scene of the first variant (favored by numerous scholars). On the contrary, krembaliastus—the suitability of which has not been discussed in detail, even by scholars who seem to have favored it—can make good sense. Literary and iconographic evidence makes it plausible that krembaliastus denotes the act of generating through percussion devices called krembala (similar or identical to krotala) rhythmic patterns meant to govern stylized movement, what the Greeks called schēmata. The marked term krembaliastus was probably employed to evoke a characteristic trait of the highly skilled Deliades. Furthermore, as vocal and kinetic activities were inextricably linked in choral practices, they are ultimately conceptualized as part of the same unified expressive mechanism (here denoted as φθέγγεσθαι164). The author also questions the conventional interpretation of mimeisthai (163) as “mimicking,” instead reading it as “representation,” involving the evocation of the essence of an entity but not necessarily exact reproduction of its formal details. Finally, the essay argues that the Delian chorus’ art of “knowing how to represent the voices and the rhythmic patterns of all people” designates the perfection of choral performance, as an all-inclusive enactment that forms a powerful trans-local bond.

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo (henceforth HHA) has been and is still much debated by classicists for many reasons. This essay focuses on a particular set

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of problems involving a small but enigmatic and remarkably controversial portion of the poem, lines 156–64. The lines are of particular interest mainly because they provide us with a compact and concrete instance of early artistic and performance criticism. They refer to the exceptional nature of the performance by the Delian Maidens, a choral ensemble whose virtuosity is praised through several expressions, among which the introductory mega thauma ("great wonder," 156) stands out. But what adds importance to this early instance of performance criticism is the fact that instead of just praising the Deliades it makes an attempt further to explain the uniqueness of this ensemble through a series of statements that refer to the chorus’ distinctive technique in connection with their audience’s response (162–64). Moreover, the importance of these lines is marked by the presence of the verb mimeisthai (163), a key term in later philosophical discourse about poetry and performance. Altogether the lines present us with a rare opportunity to shed more light on the conceptualization of Greek chorality.

Thematically, the passage under discussion belongs to a broader unit which extends from v. 146 to v. 176. The main narrative development is interrupted in this unit as the narrator shifts to a detailed description and evaluation of musical performances organized on Delos to honor Apollo. First, the audience of the performance is described and praised, with stress placed on the presence of the Ionians (147–55). Second follows the description and evaluation of the Delian Maidens’ chorus (156–64). And finally, the persona of the bard focuses on his own performative artistry, in a quasi-dialogue with the chorus of the Delian Maidens (165 to 176). In other words, it seems that we have inscribed here three concentric circles or half-circles. On the outermost periphery the audience of a performance is described; the chorus is located next; and next the solo performer, a quasi-protagonist. Within the poem’s thematic arrangement, then, the Delian Maidens’ chorus is positioned between audience and bard. Strikingly, this thematic arrangement seems to coincide with the spatial arrangement of ancient theatrical performances as they appear to have been held in classical times: the spectators in the outer periphery, the chorus next, in the orchestra, and finally the actor, on stage. Moreover, the transitions from the external to the middle ring and from this to the center form a remarkable encomiastic crescendo. First, it is the audience that is praised; then, with greater emphasis, the chorus of the Delian maidens; and the final part is the direct attribution of excellence (one could say of an aristeia) to the bard himself.

Unfortunately, though, the exact meaning of the middle ring (156–64), which is occupied by the description and evaluation of the Deliades’ chorus, is obscured by several difficult interpretive problems. The passage runs as follows:

πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαύμα, ὅου κλέος οὔποτ ὀλεῖται, 156
κούραζε Δηλιάδες Ἐκαταβελέταο θεράπναι:
α’ς τ’ ἔπει ᾗρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων’ ὑμνήσωσιν,
αὔτος δ’ αὐ Λητό τε καὶ Ἀρτεμίν νικήσαρον,
Four distinct but interrelated statements are made in these lines: (a) The Delian maidens sing hymns to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis as well as hymns about men and women of older times. With their performance they enchant (θέλγουσι) the races of humans (161). (b) They know how to mimeisthai, krembaliastus, and bambaliastus in l. 162–63. The exact meaning of the terms mimeisthai, krembaliastus, and bambaliastus is in question; an attempt to interpret and translate them will be made in the following parts of this paper. (c) Each one might think he himself were speaking (φθέγγεσθαι, 163–64). (d) So well is their song put together (164). Although the statements are arranged in paratactic structure, an inner logical chain is connecting them. Thus, statement a, regarding the enchanting power of the Deliades, seems to be explained and analyzed in both statements b and c, while c operates as a further explanation or consequence of b. Finally statement d further clarifies statement c. Since main interpretive problems stem from statement b, I will first attempt to illuminate the much-disputed line 162.

**BAMBALIASTUS: INCOMPREHENSIBLE UTTERANCES?**

*Bambaliastus*, a variant adopted by many scholars, including Martin West in his recent edition of the *Homeric Hymns*, derives from the verb *bambaluzein*, considered to be related to the verb *bambainein*. Both verbs are usually treated as onomatopoetic and understood as meaning “to chatter with the teeth” or “to stammer.” The derived noun *bambaliastus* in l. 162 of the *IHA* has thus been

1. Text as in Allen 1912. The variant *κρεμβαλιαστὺν*, the one transmitted by most manuscripts, also appears in the *editio princeps* by Demetrios Chalcondyles. In some manuscripts there is a clear hesitation about the correct formation of the word. Uncertainty about the two variants appears in two manuscripts (L1 and Π) which transmit *κρεμβαλιαστὺν* with superscript -βαμ. For the formation and meaning of nouns with the suffix -τυ, see Risch 1974: 40–41.

2. Apart from the most recent edition of the *Homeric Hymns* by West 2003, several scholars have favored the variant *bambaliastus*. See for instance Cassola 1975: 497, Clay 1989: 50, Colvin 1999: 46–47. See LSJ and Chantraine 1968 s.v. *bambainō*. Besides, this is the variant that several translators of the *IHA* seem to adopt. See for instance Cruden 2001: 28 (“babble”); Athanassakis 2004: 18 (“noisy chatter”). For the relationship between the two verbs (*bambaluzein* and *bambainein*), Chantraine considers *bambaluza* an expressional derivative of *bambainō* and close in meaning.

3. For the primary meaning of the verb as repeated, restless moving and its possible etymology from the verb *bainō* see Lochner-Hüttenbach 1962: 165–68, esp.167.
interpreted as denoting the utterance of foreign speech by the Delian maidens. To a Greek audience, such foreign and thus incomprehensible utterances would sound like babbling or like the meaningless sounds of chattering or stammering. This interpretation, with interesting variations at different times, turns out to be the most prevalent over the last century. Yet the argumentation supporting it since the early twentieth century presents us with significant problems which are worth exploring in detail.

One of the most influential interpretations of line 162 was offered by Wilamowitz’s analysis of the Delian Hymn, published in 1920. Wilamowitz reads the variant krembaliastus, which he initially defines as signifying the beating of castanets. In the subsequent parts of his analysis, however, he does not explore this literal meaning of the term krembaliastus further, while he interprets line 162 as referring to a glossolalia, and more specifically to the language used in the old hymns, which were composed by the Lycian Olen and preserved in the Delian hymnic repertory. Only in one of his footnotes does Wilamowitz indicate a preference for the variant bambaliastus—briefly suggesting that the term probably signifies the babbling or chattering of incomprehensible utterances—but he is reluctant to adopt the variant. Nevertheless his overall interpretation of line 162, namely that the line refers to foreign and old words sung in the context of newer additions, seems to be affected by this assumption. According to him the older cultic words would sound like babble for a large part of the Delian Maidens’ audience, but visitors coming to the Delian festival from Caria, Lycia or Lydia would be able to hear a number of words which they would recognize as belonging to their own native languages.

We shall look into the open questions deriving from Wilamowitz’s approach. But before doing so it is important to examine a similar interpretation, published by Humbert in 1937. Humbert clearly excluded the variant krembaliastus and argued systematically for the variant bambaliastus. Citing Hesychius’ entries on bambainein, bambalyzein, bambalein, and bambazein, he claimed that onomatopoetic formations of this kind, showing reduplication of the first syllable, express a convulsive and involuntary movement, especially of the vocal organs. The combination of their formation and meaning, then, bring these verbs close to the formation and semantics of the Greek word “barbaros,” related (as he believed) to the Latin balbus (stammerer, stutterer) and to the Sanskrit balbalākaroli (stammering). For those who do not understand his language, the foreigner sounds like someone stuttering, or like the incomprehensible chirping of birds. Thus,
in the lines of the *Homeric Hymn* under discussion, *bambaliastus* denotes a kind of stammering or stuttering and, in opposition to *phônas* in the same line (162), which (according to Humbert) refers to the Greek dialects, *bambaliastus* refers to the unintelligible languages of those non-Greeks living in western Asia Minor who were visiting Delos, attracted by its famous *panêguris*.10 What was extraordinary about the Deliades, then, was their ability not only to handle the various Greek dialects but also to give to non-Greek speaking visitors the “impression”—or even “illusion”—that they could “express themselves in their languages.”11 This distinctive ability of the Deliades is related, according to Humbert, to the Delian oracle, which could communicate with its visitors in many different languages, following the model of other oracular sites in Greece.12

There are many unresolved matters arising from Humbert’s argumentation. First, the alleged linguistic charisma he attributes to the Delian Maidens falters between truth and illusion: was their knowledge of foreign languages really practiced and performed or was it, as Humbert himself seems to argue, a mere “impression” or even an “illusion” they could give to their visitors? Second, the lack of evidence regarding the operation of any Delian oracle that may have existed in early times undercuts Humbert’s suggestion regarding the Delian Maidens’ prophetic “glossolalia.”13 Third, the musical performance under discussion in the *HHA* is not associated with any kind of oracular practices. In the poem the Delian maidens are described as a virtuoso choral ensemble whose exceptional performance of hymns is uniquely enjoyed by the large number of people who visit Delos for its famous festival.

Consequently, Humbert’s interpretation is based on several questionable assumptions. But what is even more important is his overall claim that line 162 refers to the uttering of foreign and incomprehensible speech, a recurrent belief that appears even in readings not associating the term with prophetic practices. As we already saw, Wilamowitz had suggested that the line refers to foreign and incomprehensible utterances originating from ancient cultic songs. Since more recent scholarship continues to adopt these views it is important to inspect more closely the two crucial questions emerging from them.14 The first, more specific question only affects a small portion of the above interpretations: what is the

11. For the “impression” the Deliades were giving to foreigners, see Humbert 1937: 227. For the alternation between “impression” and “illusion” in his argument, 225: “La merveille consiste évidemment en ceci que les Déliades savent donner aux assistants l’impression (ou l’illusion) qu’elles possèdent le don des langues. . . .”
13. On the limited information regarding the existence and the function of an oracle on Delos see Allen, Halliday and Sikes 1936: 212 ad loc.; Gallet de Santerre 1958: 249–50; Bruneau and Ducat 1966: 28. See also Parke 1967: 94, whose main reference, however, is the text of the *HHA* itself.
14. Cássola 1975: 497 ad loc., for instance, adopted the variant *bambaliastus* as well as the view that the line refers to Olen’s compositions.
ancient evidence regarding the language in which Olen’s hymns were composed? The second, more general question affects the overall view of the aforementioned interpretations: do the ancient sources allow us to understand *bambaliastus* as possibly signifying foreign, or otherwise not understandable, speech?

A closer examination of the few extant sources referring to Olen’s musical activity in Greece is illuminating. Herodotus (4.35) does refer indeed to the hymns attributed to Olen and performed on Delos. He mentions those specifically related to the cult of Opis and Argē, as well as other hymns the content of which he does not specify. In his report, however, there is no hint that those hymns were composed or performed in a language unfamiliar to the Greeks. On the contrary, Herodotus gives a useful additional piece of information, according to which Olen’s hymns in honor of Opis and Argē spread over a wider population, including the islanders and the Ionians, who learned them from the women of Delos. This is an important detail to which we will return later in this study. For now it is sufficient to state that no linguistic peculiarity seems to have aroused Herodotus’ ethnographic curiosity and that according to him a presumably untrammeled transmission of these cult songs had made them known to a wide range of Greek speaking populations.

A later source referring to Olen is Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos* (vv. 300–306). Although the Alexandrian poet refers to Olen’s “nomoi” as performed on the island, he makes no special reference to their language. As the “nomos,” in its various subtypes, happens to be a well-established musical genre, there is no reason why one should suspect an underlying hint at the strangeness or the foreignness of this practice.15 Finally, Pausanias refers to Olen several times, two of which are of particular interest. In 9.27.2–3 Pausanias mentions Olen as having “composed for the Greeks the most ancient hymns” (Λύκιος δὲ ᾿Ωλῆν, ὃς καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἐποίησεν ᾿Ελλήσιν). It is unlikely that the dative “Helleśin” implies the composition of Olen’s hymns for the Greeks in a non-Greek language. As a matter of fact, in another passage Pausanias mentions a specific Greek word used by Olen in his *Hymn to Eileithyia*, the epithet *eulinos* (spinning well), which he must have attributed to the goddess of birth herself.16

In conclusion, although Olen was considered Lycian, the available ancient evidence does not support the view that the lyrics traditionally attributed to him by the Greeks were composed in a language other than Greek. This is not necessarily surprising. Alcman’s mastering of the Laconian dialect, in which he composed his

15. It is worth noticing that Callimachus seems to imagine a choral version of the *nomos* (*Hymns* IV 304). For the *nomos* in general see Nagy 1990: 87–91. About the choral character of the *nomos* see Smyth 1900: lxxi and n.1.

16. Λύκιος δὲ ᾿Ωλήν ἀρχαιότερος τὴν ἡλικίαν, Δηλίοις ὕμνους καὶ ἄλλους ποιήσας καὶ ἐς Εἰλείθυιαν (τε, εὐλινὸν τα κύτην ἀνακαλεῖ—δήλων ὡς τῇ πεπρωμένῃ τὴν κύτην—καὶ Κρόνου πρεσβύτεραν φησὶν εἶναι (Pausanias 8.21.3–4). “The Lyccian Olen, an earlier poet, who composed for the Delians, among other hymns, one to Eileithyia, styles her ‘the clever spinner,’ clearly identifying her with fate, and making her older than Cronus” (Trans. W.H.S. Jones).
songs for the Spartans, has never been questioned, even by those who attributed to him a Lydian origin.  

The second and more important question emerging from the majority view is whether ancient evidence corroborates at all the meaning of the verbs bambainein and bambalyzein—and consequently of the noun bambaliastus—as ultimately signifying foreign speech. As this interpretation seems to have gained a remarkable number of supporters, a close reading of the relevant sources is required.

The verb bambainein is used once in the Iliad:

"He spoke, and let fly with his spear, but missed, on purpose, his man, as the point of the polished spear went over his right shoulder and stuck fast in the earth. And Dolon stood still in terror gibbering, as through his mouth came the sound of his teeth’s chatter in green fear; and these two, breathing hard, came up to him and caught him by the hands, and he broke into tears and spoke to them."

Trans. R. Lattimore

The lines, which describe Dolon’s reactions to Diomedes’ attack, contain three sets of symptoms. First, fear (turbēsen, 374), directly linked to the participle bambainōn (375); second, chattering of the teeth, for which the word arabos (375) is used; third, paleness, again attributed to fear (hypai deious, 376). The exact meaning of the participle bambainōn in these lines is disputed in the scholia, but the scholiasts’ various attempts to interpret the word shed some more light on its semantics.  

Fear, for instance, turns out to be the invariable and fixed component in the scholiasts’ exploration of the semantics of bambainein. Furthermore, the verb is understood as depicting a physical dysfunction described as inability

17. For this much disputed issue, even in antiquity, see for instance Test. 1, 6, 8, 9 Campbell.

18. βαβαίνων: <ἀξόμακας δέ διὰ στόμα γίνετ’ ὀδόντων> ἄκρως ἔδήλωσε πάθος δυσερήντος, τοῖς δείλοις παρακολουθοῦν, τοῦ ἀράβου Πολύωνος ὑπογράφουν καὶ τοῖς ἐσχήματος ἀνόμοιοι ξέρετελιξ.  

Α(375b.) <βαβαίνων: ὁ τονοματικός τ' ἀποτήριος. Α(375c.) βαβαίνων: τρέμων καὶ μετὰ σφραγῷ τὴν παρείσαν ποιομένων, εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀνάχωρον καινομένων, οἱ δὲ ἐσχήματαν ἀπὸ τοῦ γνωσθήναι κατὰ τοῖς στόμα χφρῷ, συμβαλλόντος καὶ συγκροτοῦν τοῖς ὀδόντισι, ἢ ἡ σφραγὶ καὶ προεξερχομένῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου, βαβαλαίζων, ὅπερ ἡμὲς γαϊμέν ἔστι γὰρ τοῖς κατὰ μέρην ἡ λέξις· οὐ γὰρ ἔγειρεν ταῦτα βαϊνειν. Α (375–6.) εὑρίσκουσαν ἀράβος δέ διὰ στόμα γίνετ’ ὀδόντων: ἡ χλωρός ὑπαί δείους; τὸ ἑξῆς βαβαίνων (375) χλωρός ὑπαί δείους (376). τα δὲ λοιπά διὰ μέσου. Α
to walk steadily and/or to speak. The dysfunction related to the mouth and associated with the emission of inarticulate sounds is considered a synonym for the verb *bambaluzein*, which is the verb from which the noun *bambaliastus* derives. In the *Etymologicum Genuinum* one encounters complementary, but basically convergent, information regarding the meaning of *bambainein:*19 *Bambainein* is understood as referring to a tremor that applies to both the feet and the mouth. The latter is accompanied by rattling of the teeth and nonsense sounds coming from the tongue. Moreover, the relation between feet and mouth in the semantics of the verb is interpreted as one of metaphoric transference. Literally the word applies to unsteady walking but is extended to the mouth. It is worth noting that the rattling of teeth associated with *bambainein* is, once again, explicitly attributed to fear (*hypo tromou*), a factor further analyzed in the entry by a reference to fear as primarily affecting one’s feet and steps, as in N 281. Throughout ancient and Byzantine scholarship one encounters similar interpretive attempts, including Eustathius’ *Commentary on the Iliad.*20

Apart from its use in the *Iliad* there are a few other occurrences of the verb *bambainein,* as well as of the verb *bambaluzein,* which corroborate further the semantics of the verbs as understood so far. The first such instance is a fragment attributed to the iambic poet Hipponax (32 West), where a bodily dysfunction accompanied with tremor is mentioned. The verb *bambaluzo* is semantically associated with shivering, in this case from cold (*rigo*), and most probably means clattering the teeth.

Hermes, dear Hermes, son of Maia, Cyllenian, I pray to you, for I am shivering violently and terribly and my teeth are chattering ... Give Hipponax a cloak, tunic, sandals, felt shoes and gold staters on the other side.  

Trans. D. E. Gerber

19. β31(17.8 Berger) ἐρμαίνει· διστάζει, τρέμει τοῖς ποδίς καὶ ὑπὸ τρόμου ἔχει τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ σάββεις φηγεῖται. ἐστὶ δὲ ῥητορική ἡ λέξις ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητική (Κ 374–375); τάρβησέν τε / βαμβάω, ἀράβης δὲ διὰ διὰ στόμα γίνεται ὁδόντας. ἔχρηται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τοιῶν ὑπὸ ῥέμων ὄρασιν ὑπὸ φόβου σώζεται ὁδόντων ἀνάρθρως λέγειν.

20. See for instance Hesychius s.v., *Suda* s.v., and the definition of the meaning of *bambainein* by Eustathius (3.93 van der Valk).
Finally, a fragment by Bion provides a particularly interesting instance in the usage of the term *bambainein*:

Ταὶ Μοίσσαι τὸν Ἐρωτα τὸν ἄγριον ἢ φοβέονται ἢ θυμῶ φιλέοντι, καὶ ἕξ ποδὸς ἀυτῷ ἔπονται. χὴν μὲν ἄφα πυγχάν τις ἔχον ἄνεραστον αἰείδη, τήνων ὑπεκρεύγοντι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι διδάσκειν ἢν δὲ νόον τις Ἐρωτι δονεύμενος ἁθὸ μελίσση, ἢς τήνων μάλα τάσια ἐπειγομέναι προφέροντι. μάρτων ἐγὼν ὅτι μύθος ὃ ἐπέλεξεν πάσιν ἄλλον τινὲς. ἢν μὲν γὰρ βροτὸν ἄλλον ἢ ἀθανάτων τινὲς μέλτω, βημαίνεις μοι γλώσσα καὶ ὡς πάρος οὐκέτ’ ἀείδει. ἢν δ’ αὐτ’ ἐς τὸν Ἐρωτα καὶ ἐς Λυκίδαν μελίσσω, καὶ πόκα μοι χαίρομαι διὰ στόματος ρέει ὑδά.

Bion, fr. 9

The Muses are either intimidated by savage Eros or they love him heartily, and they follow his train. And so if anyone sings with a loveless soul, him they flee and refuse to teach. But if anyone sings sweetly with a mind awhirl with love, to him they hurriedly gravitate all together. I am witness that this saying is true for everyone. For if I sing of any other mortal or immortal, my tongue trembles and no longer sings as before; but if I sing anything about Eros and Lycidas, then the song flows freely through my mouth.

Text and trans. J. D. Reed

Despite the chronological distance separating this poem from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the context within which the verb *bambainein* is used is revealing, as it is associated with the overall performative capacity of the persona of the poet. The verb primarily signifies a speech impediment and therefore the absolute annulling of any ability to compose and utter poetry or song.\(^{21}\)

We have seen, then, that the available sources show that the verbs *bambainein* and *bambalizein* do not involve completed utterance of any kind. One should not overlook this semantic aspect of both verbs, for it seems that, unlike claims to the contrary, this is precisely what differentiates the semantics of these verbs from that of the epithet *barbaros* and the verb *barbarizein* when applied to language. To illustrate this difference we can use the same example from Herodotus that Humbert referred to in order to prove what he thought was a similarity.\(^{22}\) According to Herodotus’ narrative regarding the Egyptian priestesses of Dodona, as long as

\(^{21}\) See also Reed 1997: 162.

\(^{22}\) See the summary of Humbert’s analysis above.
the priestesses were speaking their own, foreign, language (the verb used by Herodotus is the verb barbarizein) they were called pigeons (peleiades), for the Dodonians, not being able to understand it, were considering it to be birdlike sounds. As soon as one priestess finally learned and spoke the local language, she was perceived as speaking “in human voice,” for her language was now understandable by the indigenous people (ἐπείτε συνετά ση καὶ γυνῆ). In other words, in this case where barbaros and barbarizein are used in a linguistic context, what is being described is not the impeded realization of the utterance itself but the potential communicability of the code used by the speakers. This is why barbarian language is depicted, throughout Greek literature, as subject to interpretation and translation. On the contrary, the sonic results of the acts identified as bambainein and bambaluzein are not translatable. For in the sources where the verbs bambainein and bambaluzein are used, even if language exists as an inner intention in the mind of the senders, it is either presented as momentarily impeded or as impossible to be realized at all as speech, that is, as individual utterance.

In conclusion: one should be skeptical about the meaning of the hapax term bambaliastus as speech that is incomprehensible because it is in a foreign language, as this meaning is not attested in the extant sources where the verbs bambaluzein and bambainein are used. According to this evidence, both verbs refer to bodily disturbances caused by unfavorable external factors that can affect the mouth and lead to inarticulate sounds. These sounds are not described as speech either by those who are represented as the external listeners or narrators of relevant scenes or by the bearers of such disturbances. On the basis of this evidence it is not easy to imagine how the noun bambaliastus can fit its context. How can a mimesis of bambaliastus prompt such superlative praise as the one we have in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo?

23. For this established assimilation of the foreign, and thus incomprehensible, language to birdlike sounds see, for instance, Aeschylus Ag. 1050–52, Soph. Ant. 1001–1002, Ar. Frogs 680–84. The passage in Herodotus 2.57.1–3 runs as follows: Πελειάδες δὲ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τούθε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἤσαν, ἐδόκεον δὲ ση καὶ ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα άνθρωπην φωνὴν αἰλάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά ση καὶ γυνῆ έισ ἐξερχαράξαυτε, ἄρνος τρόπον ἐδόκεε ση καὶ φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ θέω τρόπον ἄν πελειάς γε άνθρωπην φωνὴν φθέγγεσαι: “I suppose that these women were called ‘doves’ by the people of Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like cries of birds; presently the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech; as long as she spoke in her foreign language, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men?” (trans. A. D. Godley).


KREMBALIASTUS: RHYTHMIC PATTERNS

An answer may lie with the other hapax term, the term krembaliastus, which represents the variant found in most manuscripts.26 Several scholars have indeed favored the variant krembaliastus.27 To my knowledge, however, a reasoned and detailed defense of the way this variant may fit the context of the lines under discussion is still missing. In what follows I make an extensive argument about the meaning of the term krembaliastus, its suitability and significance for the entire passage under discussion and its relevance to Greek choric practices in general.

The term krembaliastus is etymologically related to the noun krembalon. The examination of the available evidence will further clarify the function of these instruments, but, broadly speaking, krembala were concussion instruments played in the hands of the performers. A precious—but largely neglected—source regarding the use of krembala is Athenaeus, who in turn names three earlier authors as his own sources: Dicaearchus, the pupil of Aristotle, and specifically his Life of Greece, a history of Greek culture; Hermippus, the fifth-century comic poet; and the first-century scholar of the Alexandrian school, Didymus. The passage runs as follows:

"'Ερμιππος δι το τούτοις κρούειν κρεμβαλίζειν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις τὰ κρέμβαλα χαλκοπάρας ἀρχήν ἀλλὰ χρυσοφάεννα κρέμβαλα χαλκοπάρας ἀχ ερσίν.

26. See n.1.

"Artemis! my heart (bids me weave?) a delightful hymn for you; and someone (take in your) hands the (beautiful?) gold-shining bronze-cheeked castanets."

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There were indeed certain other instruments apart from those that are blown into and those that are divided up by strings, namely those that merely produce a noise, krembala for instance. Dicaearchus speaks about them in his History of Greece, saying that certain instruments were once excessively popular with women for the accompaniment of dancing and singing, such that when they were played with the fingers they made a high, clear sound. This, he says, is demonstrated in the song to Artemis that begins: “Artemis, my mind inspires me to weave for you a lovely hymn drawn from the gods . . . with gold-shining krembala, bronze-cheeked, in their hands.” Hermippus in his Gods calls playing on them krembalizein, in these lines: “Knocking limpets off the rocks they krembalise.” And Didymus says that some people hit shells or bits of pot together to make a rhythmical sound for the dancers, instead of using a lyra, as Aristophanes says in the Frogs.

Trans. Andrew Barker

The passage provides rich and revealing information. First, we learn that according to Dicaearchus krembala were very popular once (ἐπιχωριάσαι ποτὲ καθ’ ὑπερβολήν), mainly for women. This information fits the earliness of the HHA as well as its specific reference to a female group, that of the Deliades. According to the same source krembala accompanied song and dance (προσορχείσθαι τε καὶ προσάδειν)—namely the two components of Greek choreia—and this fits the depiction of the Delian maidens as a choral ensemble. Furthermore, as specific verses from a prooimion are quoted, this testimony becomes even more important. Although the quotation is extremely corrupt, we can extract from it significant information. For instance, we learn that krembala were used in the performance of a hymn (ὕμνον), the type of song explicitly mentioned in the Hymn to Apollo (v. 161). Moreover, the hymn quoted is clearly addressed to Artemis, who happens to be one of the three divinities mentioned in the passage under discussion in the HHA (158–59). Athenaeus’ other source, Hermippus, provides a useful attestation of the existence and the use of the verb krembalizein which, in this particular case, is further identified as krouein (striking or rattling) the limpets. If Athenaeus’ reference to his source is accurate, then we have a fifth-century attestation of the verb from which the term krembaliastus derives. Lastly, Didymus, commenting on a passage in Aristophanes’ Frogs, further illuminates Dicaearchus’ testimony.

While Dicaearchus states that *krembala* are used as accompaniment to song and dance, Didymus explains that a similar kind of percussion instrument made of shells or bits of pot provided rhythmic patterns for dancers.\(^{30}\)

For all these reasons Athenaeus is a decisive source for our understanding of the variant *krembaliastus* in the *HHA*. It should be noted, however, that according to the information provided by Athenaeus’ sources, instruments identified as—or similar to—*krembala* could have been constructed from a wide range of materials. Those mentioned in the hymn to Artemis are probably metallic ones, possibly pairs of small cymbals played in either hand. Yet, as we already saw, according to Hermippus *krembalizein* can be applied to the clapping of limpets knocked off the rocks. Didymus mentions as alternative materials shells or bits of pot. Despite those partial differences Athenaeus’ sources indicate that there are two firm semantic components for the instruments associated with *krembala*. First, they are played with the fingers; and second, they are associated with rhythmic structures to accompany dance. These semantic components indicate that *krembala* belong to the same broader category as *krotala*, that is, they are concussion idophones consisting of two complementary sounding parts supposed to be held between the fingers and to be struck against each other, like clappers.\(^{31}\) Interestingly, in his *Lexicon* Photius gives the interpretation for the verb *krembaliazein* by way of *krotalizein*, specifying yet another material for them, in this case ivory.\(^{32}\) Given the essential functional similarities (if not the absolute sameness) between *krembala* and *krotala*, as well as the rarity of other documentary or literary evidence naming specifically *krembala*, it is now worth examining several instances in vase painting where *krotala* are held by performers.\(^{33}\)

**ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE: THE USE OF KROTALA**

In vase painting *krotala* are usually associated with the depiction of dance movement. Unlike other percussion instruments as, for instance, the *tympanon*—a small drum or tambourine which appears in scenes representing orgiastic activity—*krotala* are not generically marked.\(^{34}\) Held in the hands of the dancers who play them they function as moderators and regulators of the dancing body. They are depicted in a variety of different performance contexts and they seem to accompany stately or animated, slow or accelerated rhythms. Their presence

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\(^{30}\) See also West 1994: 123 n.207.

\(^{31}\) See Blades and Anderson 2008.

\(^{32}\) Photius *Lexicon s.v.*: Κρεμβαλίαζεν ἐλεφαντίνοις τισὶ κροταλίζειν.

\(^{33}\) For the identification of *krembala* with *krotala* see West 1994: 123.

\(^{34}\) On the orgiastic context in which the *tympanon* is used see West 1994: 124. For *krotala* as associated with the rites of Dionysus and Cybele see Barker 1984: 76 n.89. Although it is true that some literary evidence and a large number of iconographic attestations associate *krotala* with Bacchic rituals, the depiction of *krotala* in a variety of non-ecstatic scenes indicates their generalized and unmarked use. In other words, as a rule *krotala* are signifiers of dance in its totality, one sub-category of which is ecstatic dance.
in several categories of vase painting scenes is revealing. Although this visual
evidence has not been taken into account previously, it can do much to illuminate
the passage of the HHA under discussion.

The moderating function of krotala and their essential role for practicing
rhythmics, the cornerstone of dance education, is shown in numerous vases which
depict the dance training of children and youths, usually girls but also boys.35 One
of the most typical instances in this category is a red-figure phiale dated about
475 to 425 and attributed to the Phiale Painter.36 One of the scenes depicted on
it is a dance-training scene (Fig. 1). A young girl is positioned in the middle,
between two supervisors, a young man and a young woman. The girl, who is
holding krotala in both hands, has her arms raised up in a disciplined rectangular
shape and her feet spread out forming a triangle, while her torso and her head are
twisted round. Her clothes are laid on the chair, which is positioned between her
and the male figure. Both her trainers on her right and on her left have their eyes
fixed on her and their right hand stretched forward, pointing out towards the girl in
a gesture of instruction, while they both lean on a stick held by their left hand. The
stick held by the woman on the left is a narthex, the symbol of the teacher, as has
been shown by Beazley.37 Variations on the same theme can be seen in numerous
vases. For instance, on a Nolan amphora in the Royal Library of Brussels, there is a
very similar scene also attributed to the Phiale Painter. The dance teacher holding
the narthex there is instructing a young girl who is playing krotala but whose
posture is much more restrained compared to the previous one.38 It should be
noted that dance-instruction scenes of this kind, with the student playing krotala
while trying out dancing steps and postures, represent girls and women at an age
ranging from childhood to early adolescence and to marriageable age.39 Moreover,
their postures, which look self-controlled and well disciplined in all cases, range
from more restrained to remarkably intense.40 Finally, in all these depictions the
setting involves one or two persons who seem to be supervising their trainee
and/or a person (most often an adult woman) accompanying the dancing pupil
with the music of an aulos.41 The krotala are always held by the one who dances.

The remarkably frequent depiction of krotala in dance-training scenes shows
that their use is essentially associated with the acquisition of dancing skills in
general. In many vase paintings where adults are dancing to the accompaniment of *krotala* the visual emphasis is put on their temperate, well-disciplined and harmonious postures. One encounters a typical example of this kind on a red-figure stamnos, attributed to the Chicago Painter and dated between 475 and 425 (Fig. 2). It displays a *pas de deux* with a woman and man, the woman wearing a long dress and holding *krotala* while dancing in a relatively restrained posture, whereas the man is naked and his movement looks slightly more animated. The painting is probably supposed to be seen as a festive snapshot and ultimately to be read as a *kômos* scene, but the impressive complementarity of the duo’s postures, their self-controlled movement and the attentiveness to each other’s steps turns it into an illustration of virtuosity in dance.

In the scenes sampled so far *krotala* are held in the hands of one trainee or performer. But when the performance requires the harmonious coordination of more than one participant additional training is probably needed. It is therefore important to explore representations of performing ensembles where *krotala* are played simultaneously by more than one performer, especially since the Delian maidens are represented as a chorus. Such an instance is depicted on a small red-figure pelike in the British Museum, dated 500 to 450 BCE and attributed to the Pan Painter (Fig. 3). Two young women are facing one another and seem to be trying out together their *krotala*. The visual emphasis on the reciprocity of the women’s postures as well as on the pairs of *krotala*, which are held in their hands and are prominently positioned in the center of the entire composition, suggest a specific focus on their coordination.

A more elucidating scene involving animated movement is depicted on a red-figure hydria dated between 475 and 425 BCE (Fig. 4). It contains all the typical traits of a dance-training scene we have seen so far: the dance trainer holds the narthex with the one hand while directing the pupils with the other; a seated woman plays the pipes; the pupils’ clothes seem to be laid on a stool. But what makes this scene different is the depiction not of one but of three young girls in interaction. Two of the girls are represented in almost the same posture with their legs spread apart and slightly bent while they are playing *krotala* with both hands, their right hand held high whereas their left hand is positioned lower, almost at the height of their thighs, but at a distance from their torso. With the *krotala* they seem to be coordinating both their own movement and the movement of a third girl who is performing a spectacular acrobatic trick, her torso leaning toward the back, her hands touching the ground while her entire body almost forms a trapezoid.

Although this scene represents the training of girls and not a performing female chorus, its collective set-up allows us to throw more light on the training background of dancing ensembles. Fortunately, though, there are also available

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42. Cape Town, S. African Museum H 4810.
43. London, British Museum E 357.
44. Attributed to the Painter of Tarquinia 707, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional L 199.
depictions of full-fledged female choral performances with several chorus members performing while playing the *krotala*. Two early fifth-century vases display the Muses performing with Apollo in a remarkably orderly arrangement. The vases are of decisive significance for our reading and interpretation of the Delian maidens’ performance in the *HHA*. The divine chorus of the Muses is generally represented in Greek texts as a musical archetype for the choruses of mortals. This relationship between divine archetype and mortal paradigm is central in the *HHA*, where, through a mechanism of multiple symmetrical reflections between the musical festivities described on Delos and those described on Olympus, the chorus of the Delian maidens is essentially rendered as the paradigmatic earthly instantiation of the Muses’ archetypal chorus.\(^{45}\) In this broader context the two aforementioned vases, which depict the Muses as a choral ensemble in action, provide substantial support for our discussion and are worth a closer examination.

The first vase is a black-figure *skyphos* from the early fifth century, attributed to the Theseus Painter, in the Hermitage (Fig. 5).\(^{46}\) Apollo holds the lyre while five Muses with long robes are facing him. Four of the Muses are playing *krotala* which they hold in both hands, the fifth playing the *aulos*. There is no clear indication of dancing movement. Yet a similar theme appears on a black-figure *lekythos* in the Louvre, showing again Apollo with his *kithara* and four Muses (Fig. 6).\(^{47}\) Two of them are holding *krotala* while the other two are playing the lyre and the *aulos* respectively. A comparison between the posture of the Muses on the *skyphos* and the ones on the *lekythos* is illuminating. In the former the hands of the Muses who are playing the *krotala* are raised slightly upwards while their arms are kept down and almost pressed to their torso. In the latter the arms of the Muses are completely free, lifted high up, while the hands playing the *krotala* are depicted at the height of their head. Their torsos, directed slightly backwards, seem to suggest that the Muses are gaining forward momentum. Furthermore, the legs of the Muses in the former vase are still and straight, the one close to the other, and their feet firmly touch the ground. In the latter vase the Muses’ feet are clearly in motion, at a distance from one another, while the heel of each back foot is lifted up. Obviously, the Muses of the *lekythos* are depicted in an animated dancing posture, while the ones on the *skyphos* are in a stately one. Stateliness in the first case should not be interpreted necessarily as implying absolute lack of dancing. In the repertory of choral performances it is highly likely that intervals between animated postures might have been followed or preceded by stately ones and vice versa.

\(^{45}\) On the interrelation between the Delian and the Olympian performance in the *HHA* see for instance Lonsdale 1993: 51–70. This issue is discussed in detail in Pepoti 2004: 303–21.

\(^{46}\) St. Petersburg, Hermitage 4498.

\(^{47}\) Paris, Louvre MNB 910.
CHOREIA: THE UNITY OF VOICE AND BODY

Before moving on to an attempt to interpret lines 162–63 as a whole, a summary of the findings gathered so far is necessary. Athenaeus provided decisive help for our understanding of the term *krembaliastus*. While naming his sources, he provides attestations for the use and the meaning of the terms *krembalon* and *krembalizein*. Moreover, the information given by his sources, namely that percussion instruments falling under the category *krembala* produce rhythmical sound to accompany dancers, is corroborated by the available iconographic evidence depicting very similar (if not identical) concussion instruments, the *krotala*. In addition, vase painting provides significant evidence for our understanding of the importance of those instruments in the acquisition of dancing skills. Even more importantly, vase painting of the early fifth century represents the archetypal chorus of the Muses performing with Apollo while many of its members play the *krotala*.

It is plausible, then, that the word *krembaliastus* was chosen by the poet of the *HHA* as a marked term, most probably meant to evoke a typical and perhaps once famous trait of this highly skilled female chorus, the Deliades. Although the emphasis on patterned sound, that is on rhythm, could, in some cases, be considered a way to enhance vocal activity, the available evidence clearly shows that it is mainly associated with kinetic activity, that is dance.48 On the basis of all the above evidence I suggest that in line 162 *krembaliastus* denotes the act of generating, through *krembala*, rhythmical patterns that are meant to moderate patterned and stylized bodily movement, what the Greeks called *schêmata*. I therefore deduce that the two terms *φωνάς* and *κρεμβαλίαστυν* in line 162 of the *HHA* are meant to represent the art of choreia in its totality, namely the combination of song *and* dance.49

Among the extant texts, the clearest definition of choreia is given in Plato’s *Laws* (654b): Χορεία γε μὴ ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ῥητο ὑπὸ τὸ σύνολον ἐστιν (“Choreia is the totality of song and dance together”). Plato’s definition is as broad and wide-ranging as possible and one is justified in thinking that its formulation is meant

48. On the conceptually tight relationship between rhythm and dance see Aristotle *Poetics* 1447a26–28.
49. Several scholars have sensed the presence of dance in the description of the Delian maidens’ performance, but, to my knowledge, make no further attempt to prove it. For instance Dornseiff 1933: 8 and Kakridis 1937: 104–105 thought that dance is not explicitly mentioned in this case but should be implied. Other scholars (Webster 1939: 168; Koller 1954: 37) seem to take it for granted but with no explanation or analysis. Forderer 1971: 100 seems to think that both variants (*krembaliastus* or *bambaliastus*) are related to dance-rhythm. Nagy 1996: 56, although not explicitly referring to the dancing activity of the Deliades in the *HHA*, clearly sees them as choral archetypes. On the other hand, contrary to the suggestion made here, several scholars deny the presence of dance in these lines. See for instance Calame 1977: 147 (1997: 76); Clay 1989: 50 n.102. Henrichs, in his influential essay on choral projection in Euripides (1996: 58), maintains that the Delian Maidens of the *HHA* are portrayed “more as archetypal singers who praise both gods and mortals—including the poet himself, the ‘blind man who lives on rugged Chios’ (169–73)—than as full-fledged performers of the dance-song.”
to encompass the various genres and sub-genres of dance-song performances practiced by choruses in earlier times or in his own. Given the lack of sources informing us about the exact genres of song-and-dance included in the Delian maidens’ repertory it is much safer to utilize the concept of *choreia* in this most inclusive meaning in order to interpret the lines of the *HHA* under discussion.

A passage from Euripides’ *Heracles*, however, provides a noteworthy indication of a genre possibly enacted by the Deliades as well as of the way their *choreia* was inscribed into the Athenian imaginary in the last quarter of the fifth century:

\[
\text{παιάνα μὲν Δηλιάδες}
\text{<ναὸν> ὑμνοῦσι ἀμφι πύλας}
\text{τὸν Λατούς εὐπαιδὰ γόνον,}
\text{εἰλίσσουσα χαλλίχοροι:}
\]

687–90

A paean about their temple gates
the Maidens of Delos sing
to the fair son of Leto,
weaving their lovely dance-steps.
   Trans. David Kovacs

The performance of the Deliades is here rendered with the verb *humnein* (688), a term twice used in the *HHA* (158 and 161). The particular genre mentioned is the paean, in celebration of Apollo. As the singing of the hymn is inextricably interwoven with dance (*εἱλίσσουσα χαλλίχοροι, 690*), the choral unity of vocal and kinetic activity is prominent in these lines.\(^{50}\)

The *paian* could thus be considered one of the genres performed by the Delian chorus. It has also been suggested that the lines of the *HHA* could refer to the *hyporche*ˆma, a possibility that cannot be excluded but for which lack of relevant evidence does not allow further discussion.\(^{51}\) At any rate, the repetition of the terms *humnein* and *humnon aeidousin* in the text of the *HHA* gives us a sense at least of their broader ritual character if not of the specific genres involved in those performances. It should be noted, however, that in this case both *humnos*...
and *humnein* have a wide semantic breadth as they apply to songs honoring not only gods but also mortals. In the same poem this is true of the Muses’ performance as well, on Olympus (189–93), where the verb *humnein* (190) is used to depict their singing. Just like the Delian maidens’ hymns, those of the Muses are associated with both gods and mortals (190), the latter described in greater detail (191–93). Thus *humnein* is employed in both cases in its broadest meaning, as the activity of singing in praise and commemoration. As far as dance is concerned, it is noteworthy that in the Olympian musical prototype the Charites, the Horai, Harmony, Hebe, and Aphrodite are depicted as joining the Muses’ hymns through dancing (ὀρχε/upsilonperispomeneντ/quotesnglright, 196) while Artemis is both singing and dancing (µεταµέλε/upsilonπεται, 197). Although it seems that in this particular instance a loose distribution of singing and dancing is implied among different musical agents, the entire divine performance is undoubtedly described in such a way as to be perceived as a choral whole, where vocal and kinetic elements blend.

We could perhaps imagine this type of distribution between vocal and kinetic activity as one possible model among those enacted by the chorus of the Delian maidens. But, to go back to the central point of this inquiry, what is crucial for the understanding of the lines under discussion is the depiction of the Deliades’ performances as typical instances of *choreia* in its most inclusive meaning, where various types and combinations of vocal and kinetic activity create an inseparable whole. This view is based on the evidence that was adduced and analyzed regarding the meaning of *krembaliastus* as rhythmic marking, principally meant to accompany patterned movement. Still, once the enigmatic term *krembaliastus* is explained all the problems emerging from this puzzling passage are not immediately resolved. For there is yet another question to be answered: if the terms φωνάς and κρεβαλιαστύν in line 162 refer respectively to vocal and kinetic activity, as suggested in my reading, then how can one interpret the meaning of the next statement (lines 163–64)? The statement, φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος/quotesnglright/colongreek (“everyone might think that he himself was speaking”), creates an apparent disturbance in the sequence of thought. It would seem to be an anacoluthon if, after referring to both singing and dancing, the poet now returned to the single concept of vocal expression (φθέγγεσθαι).

In fact, though, the interpretation of the term *krembaliastus* as rhythmic patterns moderating stylized movement in line 162 does not contradict the use of the verb φθέγγεσθαι in line 164. In the complex act and art of *choreia*, comprising both vocal and kinetic activity, bodily movement is essentially conceived as

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52. For the archaic use of the term *hymn* as a synonym for “any song, whether secular or sacred” see Smyth 1900: xxvii. See also Calame 1977: 146–47 (1997: 75).

53. Kakridis 1937: 105 actually thinks that in the Olympian performance there is no real separation between singing and dancing activities. But even if one pays more attention to what looks like a distribution of activities in this case, there is a clear complementarity of the two activities in the description of the performance. On several types of hymns being accompanied by dance see Athenaeus 14.631d. Although the passage is damaged, the partial information it provides is useful.
the physical projection of the voice itself. A comic version displaying this (most probably traditional) principle of Greek chorality is found in Aristophanes’ Frogs. In responding to Dionysus’ plea to stop their performance the frogs-chorus describe their “choreia” in the following way:

Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν
ψηεγξόμεσθι, εἰ δὴ ποτ’ εὐ-
ήλιοις ἐν ἄμεραισιν
ηλάμεσθι διὰ κυπείρου
καὶ φιέω, χαίροντες ψηθὲς
πολυκολύμβοιοι μέλεσιν
ἡ δίδος φεύγοντες ὀμβρον
ἐνυδρον ἐν βυθῷ χορείαν
αἰώλαν ἐφθέγξιά 
μούρου 
καὶ 
πολυκολύμβοιοι 
μέλεσιν

241–249

No, all the more
will we sing, if ever
on a sunshiny day,
we leaped through the weeds
and the rushes, rejoicing in the song’s
diving melodies,
or fleeing Zeus’ rain
at the bottom our watery dance-
song we sang
with bubbles and splashes.

Trans. Matthew Dillon

The frogs-chorus’ response that, contrary to Dionysus’ request, they will keep making their utterances (ψηεγξόμεσθι, 241) is further described in the following lines as a mingling of leaping (ήλάμεσθα, 243) and singing (ψηθές, 244), while in the phrase πολυκολύμβοιοι μέλεσιν (245) the ups and downs of vocal movement seem to be following, and ultimately mixed with, the bodily ones. Even more revealing, in lines 247–49 choreia, that is the combination of song and dance, is conceptualized as being uttered, that is vocally emitted, by the verb ἐφθέγξια (248), which is used for the second time in the same passage. In other words in these cases ψηεγξόμεσθι denotes the choral act as a unified whole where voice and body create together an all-embracing musical “language.”

What we see in the Frogs is a comic version of a concept that is rationalized and explained in Plato’s Laws. In a passage where Plato discusses the expressive power of dance, bodily movement is explicated as a supplement to the voice (815d-816a). The passage is relevant to the present inquiry for the additional reason that it refers to choral performances that pay tribute to the gods, a ritual
practice that is also described in the *HHA* as a significant part of the Deliades’ repertory.

 Plato Laws 815d–816a

With regard, then, to what belongs to the unwarlike Muse who is manifested in the dances where men honor the gods and the children of the gods, one whole kind of dance would be that which portrays an opinion of prosperity. This in its turn we would subdivide: one sort, involving more pleasures, would represent people fleeing from certain toils and risks, into good things; the other sort would represent the preservation and augmentation of the aforementioned good things, involving pleasures gentler than those of the others. In such circumstances every human being presumably moves his body more when the pleasures are greater, and less when they are lesser; moreover, the human being who is more orderly and who has a better gymnastic training in courage moves his body less, while the coward and the one who lacks gymnastic training in moderation presents greater and more violent changes in his motion. In general, no one who is using his voice—whether in songs or in speeches—can remain very calm in his body. That is why, as the imitation through gestures of what is being said came into being, it gave rise to the whole art of dancing.

Trans. Thomas L. Pangle

Plato’s specifics regarding dance decorum might sound typically ideologized and perhaps controversial, but the general view formulated in this passage about the relationship between vocal and kinetic activity seems to reflect a pervasive conception of Greek chorality: that the movement of the body is the natural consequence of the mobilized voice. In other words, dance is the body’s language accompanying and complementing the spoken one. One practicing *choreia* is principally involved in vocal activity (φθεγγόμενος), while kinetic acts visually codify the attitudes and emotions expressed through the uttered words. Body is thus thought of as an extension to voice.
This means that gestures and postures (schêmata) are not autonomous with reference to the content of the song. On the contrary, they serve the content of the song in order to represent its meaning. Therefore the verb ϕθέγγεσθαι in line 164 of the HHA should not be regarded as an obstacle for our understanding of krembaliastus as patterned movement through the medium of rhythm. For the verb does not contradict but instead develops the underlying chain of thought. That is, in the complex choral act dancing is so inextricably connected to vocal activity that it is ultimately considered part of the same expressive mechanism. Consequently, “everybody feels that he himself is speaking” in lines 163–64, ultimately means: everybody feels that he himself is joining the Deliades’ choreia.

THE AESTHETICS OF EMPATHY

According to the reading suggested so far, lines 162–63 of the HHA refer to both the vocal and the kinetic activity of choreia as an inseparable whole. Moreover, once ϕθέγγεσθαι in line 164 is understood as having the potential to signify choral expression in its totality, the logical flow between statements b (lines 162–63) and c (163–64) becomes clearer. But the full meaning of statement c, φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος / ϕθέγγεσθ, is still to be explored. By those scholars who had adopted the variant bambaliastus in line 162, the phrase φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος / ϕθέγγεσθ has been interpreted as referring to a spectator’s impression that oneself is speaking because one hears his/her own local linguistic idiom performed by the Delian chorus.54 In fact, however, even if one would like to adopt this rationale, the problematic variant bambaliastus is not necessary. That is, one could claim that, in this context, the term ϕόνας alone would suffice to indicate local linguistic idiom.55 Furthermore, the variant krembaliastus could potentially enrich this interpretation by adding to the local linguistic idiom the rhythmical and kinetic one.56 In other words, the statement made in lines 163–64 could be understood as referring to the reproduction, on the part of the Deliades, of traditional local idioms in both linguistic and musical/dancing terms. Yet, although this interpretation of lines 163–64 cannot be excluded, I am hesitant to adopt it for the following reasons.

First, this interpretation generates a series of more difficult questions. For instance, how are we to imagine the specifics of the reproduction of all different local linguistic idioms by one chorus? How do the conventional Greek practices linking dialect and style to poetic genre in general and to the choral genre in

54. For the lines of the HHA as referring to various local linguistic idioms reproduced by the Delian maidens see discussion of Wilamowitz 1920 and Humbert 1937 in the first part of this study. See also Else 1958: 77–78; Clay 1989: 50 n.102; Halliwell 2002: 18.
55. On the word phonê used with the semantic nuance of language and dialect see for instance Munson 2005: 2 n.6, 19, 24 n.24, 82–83.
particular apply in this case? Besides, since the text itself focuses meaningfully on the presence of the audience of the Ionians in particular—in one of the most extensive descriptions of an audience one encounters in Greek texts (146–55)—how wide are we to imagine the range of those local idioms? In addition, would the various people on pilgrimages visiting Delos expect to listen to the Deliades perform what they considered their own linguistic and musical tradition? In any case a need for local representation was already fulfilled, as different communities were sending their own theoric choruses to perform during the Delian festival. This practice is well known from several sources including the HHA itself (149), where one finds a clear reference to the dancing and singing performances of the Ionians who visit the island.57 Furthermore, by considering the Deliades a chorus that performs in other peoples’ idioms, this view tends to overlook the Deliades’ own local tradition that marks their choral identity. On the contrary, the ancient sources seem to attribute to the Delian traditions a distinct character, usually associated with the local rituals involving the re-performance of Olen’s compositions, especially those related to the birth of Apollo and to the worship of the Hyperborean maidens.58 A relevant illuminating piece of information comes from Herodotus.59 According to his narrative it was a custom for the Delian women to collect offerings while singing the hymn that Olen had composed for Opis and Arge. According to the same narrative, the islanders and the Ionians learned from the Delian women how to sing this hymn and to perform the same ritual. Although Herodotus does not explicitly mention the chorus of the Delian maidens, his reference to the women of Delos in relation to their hymns brings us very close to the Deliades’ repertory as described in the HHA. It is therefore crucial to notice that, in fact, this narrative gives us the exactly opposite perspective from the one commonly suggested for the HHA. In other words, it is the Delian women who are represented as the ones whose hymns, distinct and deeply rooted in their own local tradition, spread to the islanders and the Ionians.60 This is a revealing testimony of the way some epichoric traditions acquire the potential to express

57. See also Thucydides 3.104.
58. Pausanias 1.18.5; 5.7.8; 8.21.3; 9.27.2.
59. Herodotus 4.35: Λέγουσι καί σφι τιμᾶς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων καὶ γάρ ἄγετεν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπονομαζόμενας τὰ αὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὤνῳ τὸν σφι Ωλὴν ἀνής Λύκίως ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νηματότες τε καὶ Ίωνας υμνέειν Ὑπᾶν τε καὶ Ἀργην ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγέροντας (οὕτως δὲ ὁ Ωλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὑμνοὺς ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐθέλον τοὺς ἀειδόνους ἐν ∆ήλῳ). “But Arge and Opis received honors of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen, a man from Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). . . .” (trans. A. D. Godley).
60. Interestingly, Kowalzig’s recently published analysis of the politics of the Delian rituals brings up more historical and archaeological evidence that leads to a very similar approach. See for instance 71–80. Her discussion of a later differentiation between the islanders and the Ionians in regards to their relationship with Delos (Kowalzig 2007: 102–10) does not apply to the earlier period which is reflected in the HHA.
a much larger community than the one from which they originally sprang. One has to take into account this model of propagation and universalization of the local in order to interpret the exceptional power attributed to the Deliades in making their audiences feel they themselves were speaking through their exceptional choral performances. In addition, this is an excellent testimony which shows that one of the routes of Panhellenization can be the diffusion of what is perceived as distinctively epichoric.

But a stronger objection to the most popular interpretation of lines 163–64 comes from the syntactical, and thus notional, structure of the lines under discussion. In other words, scholars who claim that the Delian Maidens were reproducing in their repertory the various different local idioms usually make sense of the first two statements contained in lines 162–64, leaving out the last one. But this means neglecting the significance of the fourth and conclusive statement, which rounds off the entire passage. Thus, in the actual flow of reasoning, the final statement οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή serves as the explanation of the previous one: “everyone would think that it is he himself who were speaking; so beautifully is their song fitted together.” Consequently, it is the beauty (notice the word “καλὴ”) deriving from the skillfully joined together choral song (“συνάρηρεν”)—and not some linguistic trait—that makes one feel one is speaking his or her own voice in or through the Delian ensemble’s performance. In other words, the concept connecting the last statement introduced with οὕτω to the previous one combines transgression and the sublime: perfection and pre-eminence in performance (statement d) generates a powerful magnetic field between performers and audience. The power of this magnetic attraction is so strong that the audience almost identify themselves with the performers, ultimately feeling that they themselves are speaking (statement e).

A fuller understanding of these lines, however, requires yet another question to be addressed. As the flow of reasoning moves from each statement to the next it becomes clear that statement e, regarding the audience’s sense that each one is speaking through the Deliades’ performance, is dependent on the qualification attributed to this exceptional ensemble in the previous statement, to which I now return: the ensemble’s knowledge (ἴσασιν) of how to imitate (µιµεῖσθαι) all people’s voices and rhythmic patterns. So far this study has attempted to explain this line, in part, by illuminating the meaning of the obscure term krembaliastus. But how are we to understand the specificity which is attributed to the Delian maidens through the phrase µιµεῖσθαι ἴσασιν? Since most interpretations claim that the passage refers to the reproduction, on the part of the Deliades, of the various local idioms, the verb µιµεῖσθαι has been accordingly understood as denoting the faithful and accurate copying of such idioms. Therefore it is

61. Cf. West 2003: 83: “so well is their singing constructed.”
62. For a brief and attractive suggestion about interpreting µιµεῖσθαι see Calame 1977: 195 (1997: 104) and a similar one by Burkert 1987: 54 who thinks that the term might refer to a
usually translated as “mimicking.” Yet, although μιμεῖσθαι could be considered to have the semantic overtone of “mimicking” in some cases, interpreting it this way in all its occurrences is not a satisfactory choice. An extensive analysis of the complex notion of mimesis in archaic and, in general, pre-Platonic poetic texts would be a long deviation from the focus of the present study. It is worth noting, however, that in the few surviving (yet revealing) cases where the concept is used in earlier texts, its semantic spectrum extends from the simplest notion of mimicking or imitating to that of impersonating, re-enacting, enacting and, finally, representing. I suggest that what differentiates the first from the last semantic nuance is the degree to which accuracy and exact likeness to an alleged “original” is expected. Whereas “mimicking” requires all attention drawn to the factual and formal details of an “original,” by representation I here mean the recreation or evocation of the essence of an entity, not necessarily involving the reproduction

“Stesichorean” type of performance, namely a dramatic enactment of characters within the narratives that the Deliades perform. This suggestion, however, presupposes that the line refers only to vocal activity. Besides, the presence of the term αὐθρόπων in the text (HHA 162) reduces the potential of this interpretation, as it would indicate that the characters dramatized in the Deliades’ repertory would only be humans. Yet, although hymns about men and women of old are mentioned in the text (HHA 160) it is important to note that a large part of first-person utterances within hymns comes from gods—sometimes interacting with humans—and not only from humans. Besides, the Deliades’ hymns are explicitly said to honor gods as well (HHA 158–59). But apart from these small—yet noteworthy—details, it should be noted that choral dramatization goes beyond the strictly first-person utterances of fictive characters in a given narrative; it extends to the enactment of the poem as a whole, including both third-person narrative and first-person utterances. This is, I believe, the mode of choral enactment addressed in the lines under discussion. For a slightly divergent interpretation of the content of μιμεῖσθαι in these lines see also Papadopoulou-Belmehdi and Papadopoulou 2002: 174–75, who suggest that the content of mimesis here does not refer to the Deliades’ multilingualism but to their performances of songs coming from different regions and reflecting local linguistic and musical particularities. Still, the authors understand μιμεῖσθαι as the perfect reproduction of a prototype (“la parfaite reproduction d’un prototype,” 174), while also stressing the importance of the variety and richness of melodic and rhythmical forms attributed to the Delian chorus (175).


64 In earlier poetry, apart from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, there is one use of the verb μιμεῖσθαι by Theognis (367–70), for which see Nagy 1989: 48 and 1990: 374–75. There are also three particularly interesting and conceptually rich uses of the verb in Pindar (Pythian 12.21, fr. 94b.15, fr. 107a.3), to which I intend to dedicate a separate study. In pre-Platonic poetry the only obvious case where the verb has a semantic nuance that brings it closer to the concept of mimicking is in Aeschylus’ Choephoroi (563–64); άειμο ὑπὲρ γυνὴν ἔρισμεν Παρνήσιδα γύλωσσαι οὐκείν Φωκίδος μιμομένω. The apparent similarity of this Aeschylean line with the HHA might have contributed to the most popular interpretation of the HHA passage. Interestingly, Aeschylus is linking μιμομένω neither with γυνὴν nor directly with γύλωσσαι but with οὐκείν. That is, Orestes and Pylades are said to “mimic” specifically the accent of the people of Phocis. More importantly, what differentiates the two texts is the context within which the concept of mimesis is used. In the HHA it is the rare context of archaic performance criticism that should make one rethink and reevaluate the semantic potential of the verb mimeisthai. This unique context should also make one skeptical about the apparent similarity between the artistic virtuosity attributed to the Delian Maidens and the deceptive skill attributed to Helen in the Odyssey 4.276–79 (for which see for instance Allen, Halliday and Sikes 1936: 225). The exact meaning of the line referring to Helen’s trick in mimicking the voices of
of its formal details. In different approaches to the notion of mimesis in Greek texts, the semantic nuances I located between the two ends of the spectrum tend to gravitate towards one or the other end.

In line with the rest of my approach so far, I hesitate to accept the interpretation of mimeisthai as "mimicking"—that is, "copying"—the many different local idioms. I suggest that in this case µιµεῖσθαι denotes "representation," while voice (φωνάς) and rhythmical pattern (κρεμβαλαστύν) should not be understood as the end but as the means of choral enactment. Choral rituals were a key institution for the communal expression of attitude and emotion. Thus the Deliades' choral ensemble is praised as the one that has the unique potential to represent, embody and convey the shared ritual stance that is otherwise portrayed in various vocal and kinetic modes, in the different choral acts performed by diverse communities (τάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων). The political and cultural centrality of Delos would be prone to proclaiming the Delian rituals and, consequently, the Deliades' performances as possessing an extraordinary power to communicate with the large numbers of visitors from all over the—mainly Ionian—world. Yet I claim that in the lines under discussion of the HHA this powerful communication is not perceived as taking place on the level of linguistic identity but on the level of shared sensibility. In other words, the local chorus acts as the centripetal ritual force capable of creating a common responsiveness for all the different visitors.

In the passage already quoted from Plato's Laws (815d-816a) one encounters a...
good example of the kind of attitude and emotion one would expect to be chorally enacted in religious festivals. In that passage Plato refers to the honoring of the gods and of the children of the gods by means of expression of pleasure, which is described as more enhanced in cases where people have fled from certain toils and dangers, and as milder in cases associated with the preservation and augmentation of good things. This example might not cover the entire spectrum of attitude and emotion enacted in a Greek festival, but it is a good instance of an overall sense of devotion, gratitude and communal joy.

Consequently I suggest that the expertise attributed to the local chorus is the extraordinary choral enactment of the disposition and mind-set predominant in the religious festivals on Delos and most probably elicited in the choric practices of all different communities visiting the island and performing on it. That is, a large portion of the visitors the Deliades allured with their virtuosity were not only well versed in their own choric cultures but, even more significantly, active performers on Delos. As we already saw, this well-attested fact is also mentioned in the HHA, in relative proximity with the lines under discussion (147–50): ἔνθα τοι ἐκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται / αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδεσσι καὶ αἰδοὶς ἄλχοσιν. / οἱ δὲ σε πυμαχίη τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀληθῇ / μνησάμενοι τέρπουσαν ὅταν στήσωνται ἄγώνα (“For Ionians with trailing garments gather there / in your honor together with their children and modest wives. / And with boxing matches, dancing, and song, / they delight you and remember you whenever they hold the contests”). Thus, in the lines under discussion (162–64) the emphasis on the choral medium, voice (φωνάς) and rhythm/movement (κρεμβαλιστήν), serves a twofold purpose. On the one hand it underscores choreia as the common code of expression that visiting choruses and local chorus share; on the other hand, it singles out the local chorus’ predominance: it is this chorus that possesses the all-embracing authority to virtually represent all other choral enactments. In this homage to the Delian chorus, the art of “knowing how to represent the voices and the rhythmic patterns of all people” (πάντων δ’ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιστήν / μιμεῖσθ’ ἵσασιν) refers to a shared, convergent and inclusive choral enactment which manages to operate as a trans-local choric bond of emotion and attitude by way of a performance that reaches perfection.

Undoubtedly, this exceptional quality of the Delian maidens’ mousiké is idealized and deliberately depicted as an achievement beyond normal expectation. After all, the Delian Maidens are first introduced as “a great wonder” (µέγα θαύμα, 156). It is indeed possible that this emphasis on the chorus’ wondrous perfection may reflect a certain degree of professionalization that distinguished

68. For issues relevant to Greek chorality and ritualization see more recently Kurke 2005 and 2007.
the Deliades from the many theoret choruses performing on the island.  

But, apart from their possible professionalization, the stress on the wondrous perfection of the local chorus is meant to elevate them to the level of an archetypal chorus. By archetypal I mean paradigmatic choruses that are usually represented as performance models and are occasionally evoked by ordinary choruses as their legendary or mythical counterparts. It so happens that in the Greek conceptualization of mousikê such archetypal choruses are usually divine female choruses. The Muses are such a chorus par excellence, perceived and represented as an all-embracing musical model beyond genre, gender or any other circumstantial categorization. That the Deliades held a similar paradigmatic place in the Greek conceptualization of chorality becomes most clear in the Euripidean lines from Heracles, where the chorus of the elders projects their own choral performance into that of the Deliades.  

One wonders whether in the HHA this archetypal role of the Deliades is taken one step further. That is, archetypal choruses are usually presented with a remarkable stress on their all-encompassing authority. For instance, in the famous lines of the second book of the Iliad the Muses are presented as the all-knowing divinities: ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεοὶ ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα (2.485). This formulation is clearly evoked in the Odyssey by another musical archetype, the Sirens: ὃμεν γὰρ τοι πάνθ', ὡς ἐν Τροίῃ ὑψίτηῃ / Αργεῖοι Τρῳδὲς τε θεῶν ἴστητι μύγγησαν (12.189–90). One is perhaps allowed to ponder whether the Deliades' unique knowledge of representing all peoples' voices and rhythmical movements (πάντων δ'' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεβατίαστύν / μμεσθ' ἱσσασω) can be interpreted as an adaptation of the same concept, now applied to a mortal—yet still archetypal—musical ensemble and transferred from the realm of divine universal knowledge to the realm of human artistry that can reach universality with its exceptional virtuosity.

At any rate, it is worth noting that a variation of yet another phrase that qualifies the Delian maidens, the phrase θέλγουσι δὲ φ(υσι)λ(ογοι) ἀνθρώπων (they enchant the races of humans, 161) is encountered in an Odyssey passage about the Sirens: αἵ ῥά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλγουσιν (39–40). Like the Sirens (also on

70. Calame 1997: 107 and 110 refers to “several Delian accounts dating from the beginning of the third century” that confirm the Deliades’ professionalism. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact character of professionalism for a sixth-century chorus, it is likely that the virtuosity attributed to the Delian chorus in the HHA is suggestive of such a process. On the possible professionalization of choruses in the sixth century see Burkert 1987: 51–52.

71. On the “paradigmatic” function of the Delian festival in general see Lonsdale 1993: 65–69. In using the term “archetypal,” my reading—although taking a different and, to some extent, divergent interpretive route—converges with Nagy 1996: 56–57 who has suggested that the Deliades function as choral archetypes. My preference for the term “archetypal” is dictated by the powerful idealization of the Deliades’ chorus. As will be shown in the last part of this study, although the Deliades are a chorus of mortal women, they are essentially described in terms that are usually attributed to divine choral prototypes.


73. I owe the remarks concerning the diction used in the second book of the Iliad for the description of the Muses and in the HHA for the Deliades to Mark Griffith’s insights.
a spot in the midst of the sea) that enchant “all humans,” far beyond any particular musical or linguistic idiom, the maidens of Delos are here praised as representing a trans-local, universally appreciated beauty and magic that has the power to enchant all audiences. Ultimately, this enchantment should be understood as a deep immersion into an ideal world of mousikê, where the line separating the act of performing from the act of attending tends to disappear. What we have here, then, is a system of intense reciprocity, where choral performance, on the one hand, and spectatorship, on the other, are conceptualized not only as interactive but as essentially mutually empathetic: through their excellence the choral performers achieve a holistic representation of the audience; in turn, the enchanted audience empathizes to such a degree that they attend as virtual performers (φαίη δὲ κεν ἀυτὸς ἐξαστος / φθέγγεσθ, 163–64).

An essential part of the Delian Maidens’ enchantment is to make you feel that in their voice you can hear your own, that in their performance you can see yourself. This moment is, I think, meant to be praised as a moment where not only the local becomes universal, but, also, where the personal transcends its borders and approaches the sublime. A passage from Lucian’s treatise On the Dance, although written so many centuries later and reflecting a different social and cultural dynamic, still echoes in the most elegant and articulate fashion the essential principle underlying the enigmatic lines of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo:

In fact, the praise that he [the dancer] receives from the spectators will be consummate when each of those who behold him recognizes his own traits, or rather sees in the dancer as in a mirror his very self, with his customary feelings and actions. Then people cannot contain themselves

74. On the basis of my entire reading I can now provide a translation of this much-disputed passage only for purposes of clarification. Except for the problematic terms I have been discussing in this study, several other choices in diction clearly echo West’s and Athanassakis’ translations.

There is also a great wonder, the fame of which will never perish,
The Delian maidens, the servants of the far-shooter.
Who, after first hymning Apollo
And then in turn Leto and arrow-pouring Artemis,
Commemorating men and women of old
Sing a hymn and enchant the races of humans.
The voices and the rhythmic patterns of all humans
They know how to represent; each one might think
That he himself is speaking, so beautifully is their song fitted together.
for pleasure, and with one accord they burst into applause, each seeing
the reflection of his own soul and recognizing himself.

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75. That this passage of Lucian’s *On the Dance* seems to echo an aesthetic principle that displays surprising affinities with the passage of the *HHA* has been my firm belief since the delivery of the first version of this paper in 1997. I am happy to see that in her study on the Lucianic metaphor of the mirror Ismene Lada-Richards in her brief reference to the *HHA* has come independently to a similar conclusion (2005: 345). Whether Lucian could have had in mind some form of commentary on the *HHA* or a treatise referring to the lines of the *HHA* under discussion is impossible to explore. Yet, as Mark Griffith suggests to me, one cannot but see that the compound term *pantomime*, which is the main subject of Lucian’s *On the Dance*, contains both words “pantôn” and “mimeisthai” used in *HHA* 162–63.


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Fig. 1: Detail of red-figure libation bowl (phiale mesomphalos) depicting a dance lesson, attributed to the Phiale Painter. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 97.371. Photograph © 2009 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Fig. 2: Adults dancing to the accompaniment of *krotala*. Red-figure stamnos by the Chicago Painter (c. 475–425 BCE). Iziko Museums of Cape Town, inv. no. SACHM H4810. Photographer: Cecil Kortjie.

Fig. 3: Small red-figure *pelike* depicting performing duo with *krotala*. Pan Painter, c. 500–450 BCE London, British Museum, inv. no. E 357. Photograph © Trustees of the British Museum.
Fig. 4: Dance trainer holding narthex, with pupils. Red-figure hydria, c. 475–425 BCE, attributed to Painter of Tarquinia 707. Archivo Fotográfico, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. no. L 199, Madrid.
Fig. 5: Apollo with five Muses, four playing *krotala*, the fifth an *aulos*. Black-figure *skyphos*. Theseus Painter, c. 500 BCE The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. B-4498. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

Fig. 6: Apollo and Muses playing lyre, *krotala*, and *aulos*. Composite image of Attic lekythos, black-figure on white ground, attributed to Sappho Painter, c. 500 BCE Louvre, Paris, France, inv. no. MNB 910. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York.