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Contents

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The Farewell Dance to the Dead: The Dancers on the Portal of Trysa's Heroon and the Xanthos "Dancers Sarcophagus"

GÜL IŞIN*

Abstract

This article presents new perspectives concerning the dancers featured on the interior of the portal of Trysa's Heroon and on Xanthos's "Dancers Sarcophagus," which became famous at the end of the 19th century. It also focuses on interpreting the visuals that are today widely accepted as having been wrongly identified as "Kalathiskos Dancers" in the literature, in contradiction to Isabella Benda's collective analyses concerning a variety of dance compositions reflected on tomb reliefs. The visuals of dancers discussed in this article are approached with the view that they are replications of a dance template portraying cultic practices related to the god Apollo and portrayed on vases, coins, sculptures, etc. throughout the Aegean world. The attempt is also made to cast some light upon the meaning of this dance template in Lycian necropolises, as this dance template is seemingly unrelated to any necropolis or death cult outside of Lycia. The death cult and the cult of Apollo, together with contemporary and past archaeological, epigraphic and philological data have been brought together to interpret these Lycian artifacts. And in this context, the cultural elites of Trysa and Xanthos are interpreted as heroes, themselves predisposed to the trans-Aegean worship of Apollo.

Keywords: Lycia, dance, dead-cult, Apollo, *kalathiskos*

Öz

Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılın sonundan itibaren çok iyi tanınan Trysa Heroon'u kapı söveleri ve Ksanthos "Dansözler Lahdi"nde görünen dansçıları yeni bakış açılarıyla bilim dünyasına sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Lykia'da mezar kabartmalarına yansımış farklı dans kompozisyonlarını "Lykia'da müzik ve dans" başlığı altında topluca inceleyen Isabella Benda'dan farklı olarak, literatüre "Kalathiskos Dansçıları" gibi hatalı bir terimle girdiği artık kabul edilen görselleri yorumlamaya odaklanmıştır. Makalede ele alınan bu dansçı görsellerinin Ege dünyası genelinde Tanrı Apollon'la ilgili vazo, sikke, heykel gibi kült uygulamaları gösteren dans şablonunun tekrarı olduğu görüşünden hareket edilmiştir. Lykia dışında nekropol ya da ölü kültü ile ilişkisi görülmeyen bu dans şemasının, Lykia nekropollerinde hangi anlamlara geldiği sorusundan yola çıkılarak bu dans şeması aydınlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda makale, ele alınan eserlerin çağdaşı ya da öncülü olan arkeolojik, filolojik ve epigrafik belgeleri bir araya getirerek Apollon ve ölü kültü temalarını bir arada yorumlamakta; Trysa ve Ksanthos'un çok kültürlü elitlerini Ege'nin kapsayıcı Apollon tapınımına yatkın kahramanlar olarak değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lykia, dans, ölü kültü, Apollon, *kalathiskos*

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Introduction and Previous Work

The anthropologic paradigm suggests that music and dance, themselves integral parts of ritual and belief, were born out of the idea that they could override humanity's natural instincts and lead them in a different direction. People have since created ritualistic dance integrating their own basic instruments and voices with the sounds of nature by imitating the movements and rhythm particularly of wild, strong or similarly characterized animals such leopards, eagles, snakes and wolves as well as the sun, moon and stars.

Similar dances imitating wild animals and natural phenomena continue to be a part of traditional rituals of Australian, African, and American indigenous peoples. Music and dance help humans to internalize both the natural and supernatural power to govern over nature. These practices consequently became an indispensable part of nearly all belief systems, including monotheistic religions, for millennia. As stated by Burnett, dance is the quickest and easiest way for humans to lose themselves and reach a state of passion and ecstasy, and therefore necessary.[1]

The first historical traces of dance in Anatolia are found possibly with the crane dance at Göbekli Tepe.[2] This is followed by striking examples of visual and written explanations from the Hittite world.[3] On the other hand, for dance historians, the most plentiful collection of data comes from the ancient Aegean world. This geographical area is set apart from others most notably due to its wealth of visual materials depicting dance on ceramics, figurines and reliefs, and the fact that the ciphers belonging to these images are hidden in literary texts such as hymns, epics, philosophy, tragedies and comedies.

In ancient Greek, words describing dance, which was at the time an important part of daily life and religious belief, often began with ὄρχησις / *orchēsis*. The general definition of *orchesis* is the movement of a body to a rhythm.[4] Homer described the act of dancing by employing the word *orcheomai*.[5] Another word that Homer used to denote dance and the area where dancing took place was χορός / *choros*.[6] The name of the Black Sea folk dance "horon" is derived from this. The word *orchestra* referred to the area set aside for dancing in the Athenian Agora in the fourth century BC.[7] Plato also used the words *choros* and *orchēstra* synonymously.[8] *Orchēstra* refers to the area of focus in classical theater architecture and is thought to be derived from *chorostasi*. This word denotes a flattened, round area traditionally used in feasts and celebrations in honor of weddings, harvests, etc. in addition to its use as a threshing floor.[9] Arion of Lesbos, who lived in the seventh century BC, is credited with first including the rhythmic steps of dance into theater performances.[10] At the end of the century Alkman, the Spartan of Lydian origin known for his parthenia and hymns to Apollo, presented a cosmic cycle or seasonal movement of the gods using metaphoric language. Alkman combined his hymns with

1 Burnett 1985, 6.

2 Schmidt 2006, 157.

3 Ünal 2016, 198-218.

4 Lawler 1964, 11-12; Naerebout 1997, 274-93.

5 Naerebout 1997, 275.

6 Hom. *Il.* 16.180, 18.590; Hom. *Od.* 12.318.

7 Lonsdale 1993, 118-19.

8 Pl. *Ap.* 26 e.

9 Cerutti 2005, 120.

10 Lawler 1964, 79; Sina 2006, 138.

a choreographic dance performance.[11] Soon after, other well-known writers such as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes brought dance performances containing vocals or songs, also called "choral dance," to the stage.[12]

It is not surprising that the act of dancing, which played a very important role in the daily life of the ancient Aegean world, was also depicted. The main problem is the difficulty in understanding the content of those depictions. In spite of the large number of publications on this subject in various disciplines of study such as anthropology, musicology, archaeology and philology, the question of whether or not these depictions of dance are explanations of religious festivals, theater, or daily life remains unclear.[13] Understanding the content of these depictions of dance is only possible by interpreting the artifact within its correct context. Otherwise, multiple interpretations ascribing different meanings to the same artifact will arise.[14]

Some ancient depictions of dance describe daily life, but these depictions are more commonly found on archeological materials of sacral content such as sculpture, relief, ceramics and coins. Lycia differs from other cultural regions in that its depictions of dance are one of the themes featured in a sepulchral context. Some of these reliefs, most of which have been dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BC, contain typical local schema. However, they were generally used within a typological template repeating the subjects widely seen in the monumental architecture of the Aegean world such as hunting, feasts, apobates races, battle scenes, Centauromachy, etc.[15]

The presence of dance scenes in the reliefs of Lycian tombs began to be noticed towards the end of the 19th century when artifacts from the region gained recognition in the academic community. The topic was first seized upon as a whole by Benda-Weber in the work entitled "Music and Dance in Lycia."[16] Only in recent years has research into ancient dance given us the opportunity to reexamine previously recovered artifacts. The aim of this work is to examine the figures from Trysa and Xanthos known as the "Kalathiskos Dancers" in the context of death and the afterlife.[17] Our process consists firstly of interpreting these dancers within the cultural context of similar contemporary examples from the Aegean world, then clarifying whether or not these dance scenes, adapted to Lycian art, retain a similar meaning.

Reputed Kalathiskos Dancers (Dancers with Conical Headdresses)

The word κάλαθος / *kalathos* generally describes a basket in the shape of an inverted cone without the tip, woven from reeds or thin branches, and used as a storage vessel or reservoir.

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11 Ferrari 2008, 108-12. In recent linguistic analyses of Homeric hymns and archaic poems of Lesbos, Luwian-derived, Aegean-Anatolian linguistic elements were identified, and Anatolia-rooted concepts related to the root of the phrase "choral lyric" were revealed. See Teffeteller 2015, 722-28.

12 Lonsdale 1993, 4-7; Sina 2006, 137-40.

13 Lonsdale 1993, 16-20.

14 Naerebout 1995.

15 Childs 1973, 106-10.

16 Isabella Benda's article titled "Musik und Tanz in Lykien," from which examples used in this article were obtained, approached the actions of the dancers in an explanatory manner and worked to correlate the movements of this dance to descriptions of various dances recognized in literature on the subject. See Benda 1996 and Benda-Weber 2005.

17 Numerically, few figures of dancers exist within the rich iconographic tradition of Lycian tombs. See Benda-Weber 2005, 132.

This form is also seen in some ancient ceramic vases. The diminutive of *kalathos*, *kalathiskos,*[18] was used by ancient writers in different expositions regarding ritual and dance.[19] Used across different regions throughout archaeological literature to describe any dancer wearing a short garment and any type of headdress with a conical shape (including polos) regardless of whether or not it was a basket, the term *kalathiskos* dancer or the philologically equivalent Laconian or Athenian Dancer, are terms today thought to be both problematic and misleading.[20]

The defining characteristic of reputed *kalathiskos* dancers common to all archaeological materials is the style of dancing. It is performed by rising onto the tips of their toes, while their signature headdresses actually vary in form. These dancers can be men or women, and the men can be portrayed as clothed or nude (fig. 1). Whether male or female, these dancers generally wore a chiton regardless of their gender. Although the dancers' headdresses were usually shaped like a cone with its tip removed, upon closer examination it is possible that they could be crowns made out of rays, reeds or feathers (*thryeatic / psilinoi*).[21] Throughout ancient iconography, dancers known by this name are found most prominently in pictures on vases, but also in tomb reliefs, coins, gems, wall paintings and in images on many other objects from the fifth century BC through the Roman Imperial period.[22]

Reputed *Kalathiskos* Dancers from Trysa and Xanthos

As previously stated, the inward-facing portal figures on the temenos walls of Trysa's heroon are recognized as the best Lycian examples of these dancers in chiton (figs. 2a, 2b). Positioned in an accentuated location especially important in terms of architectural planning

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[18] There are some other appellations for similar head dressing such as *kanephoros* and *liparokredemnoi* (radiant crown)"; see Hom. *Il.* 18.382.

[19] Stephani 1866, 23-24, 27-34; Naerebout 1997, 287; Ferrari 2008, 139. For use of the word *kalathiskos* (diminutive form of *kalathos*), see Ath. 11.467 f, 14.629 f and Poll. *Onom.* 4.105.

[20] The term "*kalathiskos* dancers" was first used in archaeological literature by Ludolf Stephani in 1866 to describe images of dancers sporting inverted, conical headdresses; see Stephani 1866, 65-66. In 1893 Furtwängler introduced the depictions of dancing women found in Neo-Attic reliefs and on Arretine vases as "Laconian Dancers" (*Saltantae Lacaenae*) (Furtwängler 1893, 202). Pliny mentioned these as having been created by Callimachus, a famous sculptor of the fifth century BC (Plin. *HN.* 34, 92). In the "Floating Islands" section of his 1940 collection of writings on Zeus, Cook brought together many examples that fit the description of *kalathiskos* dancers by combining all the philological and archeological data available at that time; see Cook 1940, 984-1006. For a discussion of etymology see Cook 1940, 995-97; Contoléon 1947; Brommer 1989, 485-86. With the identification of a depiction of Athena on the clothing motif of a fifth century BC Panathenaea amphora, one of the earliest dancers identified as Laconian, Tiverios confuted the identification of Laconian and gave rise to the possibility of the dancers being Athenian; see Tiverios 1981, 29-30. The Athenian identification has gained importance after inscriptions of Athenians' devotions came to light in recent years, defining Delphi's famous Corinth Column and the similar dancers that it features; see Ridgway 1990, 2; Duguet et al. 2004.

Researchers have often stated that the *kalathiskos* identification of archeological images is problematic. Many researchers, including Benda (Benda 1996, 105, fig. 7b; Benda-Weber 2005) who used the Delphic girls in comparison to Lycian dancers, continued to use the identifier *kalathiskos* dancers when describing the Delphic girls and Lycian examples (Bruns-Özgan 1987, 68-69). In 2008 Ferrari once again approached the subject with all its iconographic problems (Ferrari 2008, 135-50). In 2014 Papadopulos completed a detailed analysis of the famous Motya dancer and warned, as had other researchers, that the term *kalathiskos* / kalathos dancer needed to be used with caution. However, he also made it known that he continued to use this term due to the traditional paradigm (Papadopoulos 2014, 404). In the same way, Landskron, who analyzed the Heroon of Trysa in its entirety, would in 2015 agree that the term *kalathiskos* dancer led to misleading interpretations (Landskron 2015, 1:64-66).

[21] The five Bes figures wearing *psilinoi* are identified as the *kalathiskos* dancers of Trysa in the work of Benda. In this work, however, since the contextual story of these Bes figures must be seen in the Egyptian-originated art of Cyprus and Phoenicia, they will not be examined together with the main interior portal figures. See Abdi 1999, 121-22; Landskron 2015, 1:64-66; Ferrari 2008, 135-37; Kennel 2010, 626.

[22] Ferrari 2008, 137.

and portrayed in a single, life-sized composition on the monument, these male dancers have today been interpreted in a variety of contexts. But many questions and a lack of information concerning the owner of the tomb still remain.[23]

Similar dancers are also featured on the short side of the upper sarcophagus base on the monumental tomb with a *hyposorion* located in the middle of the heroon in Trysa. The feet raised onto their toes visible on the preserved pieces of this relief help us to identify the entire picture as a dancing couple standing back-to-back.[24] Together with the dancers on the inner surface of the door to the heroon, this example supports the idea that they were trying to convey a clearer message relating dance and the identity of the tomb's owner (fig. 3).

A third example is the well-known Dancer's Sarcophagus of Xanthos published by Demargne[25] (fig. 4a, b, c). The sarcophagus features a lid, richly crafted when compared to its bare, undecorated base. Featuring themes of war and hunting, the lid's lateral faces placed an emphasis on heroism and valor. However, the sarcophagus gets its name from the antithetical dancers placed on its smaller faces. Researchers have struggled to combine the presence of the dancers with a heroic theme.[26] The dancers on both sides were generally identified as women.[27] While this finding is indisputably true for the north side, the flat chest of the southern figure leaves room for doubt. However, researchers have failed to touch on the possibility that these two similar and repetitive figures could possibly be of opposite genders. But the gender of these dancers does not present a factor that would change their ultimate interpretation.

As briefly mentioned above, in the context of Lycia this dance scene, which dates from the fourth century BC and was repeated eight times, displays clear similarities with depictions of dancers tied to different cultic centers of Apollo found across the Aegean. Benda described the dancing (upper body, leg movements, etc.) of the figures in the Lycian samples with drawings.[28] However, she did not include a lengthy discussion of cultic practices, instead preferring to provide a general assessment of the topic and briefly mentioning a possible connection to the widespread worship of Apollo and Artemis in the region. Like Demargne,[29] Landskron correlated the dancing to ceremonies carried out in honor of the dead but did not go into detail on its cultic content.[30]

While it is accepted that the dancers of Trysa and Xanthos are performing a dance in honor of the dead, here onwards, we clarify the dance's relation to the god Apollo and the different dimension bestowed upon it within the cult of the dead.

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23 In 1926 Weege linked the Trysa example to the cult of Artemis Caryatis. Weege 1926, 44-61, fig. 80; Papadopoulos 2014, 404-9; Landskron 2015, 1:65-66.

24 Landskron 2015, 1:35, I585c-I585b, pl. 14.1-3.

25 Demargne 1966. The dancing figures drawn by Demargne seemed problematic, for the feet of the dancers were flat on the ground. So we tried redrawing the posture of the feet and showed them on their toes as in the original. See Demargne 1966, 359.

26 Contoléon 1947; Demargne 1966; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 68.

27 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 285-86, cat. no. S26.

28 Benda 1996, 109; Benda-Weber 2005, 134-35. Benda-Weber mentions Trysa and Xanthos dancers under the "Schilfblätterkrone" dance, which was part of the cultic costume of the Laconian dancers in order to worship Apollo and Artemis.

29 Demargne 1966, 362-63.

30 Landskron 2015, 1:64-66.

In the context of Lycia, most of the roots and cultic rituals of Apollo remain obscure. Claims that the god finds his roots in Anatolia point mainly to the Hittite / Luwian god of the gate, Apaliunas / Apulunas,[31] and the Luwian god Natri of Lycia. On the other hand, efforts to link the hymns and epics of Apollo to the northern region of Eurasia continue.[32] Another explanation linking the cult of Apollo to Lycia is the idea that he had been accepted as a version of Helios from the sixth century BC[33] onwards. However, this work focuses more on the cult and cultic practices than on the origin of the god Apollo. On that note, the most concrete proof of the presence of dance within the cult of Apollo in ancient literature is found in the literary texts of Delos that relate to Apollo.

Dance Images in the Rituals of the Cult of Apollo

Images of Apollo-related dance found on archaeological materials are seen in the cultic rituals of the Apollo of Delphi from Delphi (fig. 5) and the Apollo Karneios[34] from Sparta (fig. 6). There are also additional materials from Abdera concerning the Apollo Derenos. All philological and archaeological data regarding dance in rituals of the rebirth of nature practiced in the cult of Apollo are discussed in sequence below.

Clues reflecting the importance of dance in the rituals of the cult of Apollo are found in many sources, the most prominent being the Homeric hymns accredited to Homer (dated to the seventh-sixth centuries BC). An authentic hymn recited to praise, invoke and honor Apollo was the

Hymn to Apollon of Delos.[35]

145 …of lofty mountains and rivers flowing to the sea are dear to you, Phoebus, yet in Delos do you most delight your heart; for there the long-robed Ionians gather in your honor with their children and shy wives: with boxing and dancing and song,

157 …the girls of Delos, handmaidens of the Far-shooter; for when they have praised Apollo first, and also Leto and Artemis who delights in arrows...

Although it is difficult to picture in our minds the dance described as a *chorus* (with its choreography, movement, costume, etc.) in texts, the presence of dance as a tangible part of ritual is undeniable. Researchers wishing to validate their discussions with the help of archaeological materials generally have wanted to correlate such descriptions of dance in the Delos-related text found below with the "reputed *kalathiskos* dancers."[36]

Herodotus also presents some details regarding the Delian girls mentioned in the hymn to Apollo of Delos.[37] According to Herodotus, they were two girls that came from Hyperborea, the Land "Beyond the Northern Wind," Arge and Opis. These girls came to Delos at the same time as Leto and Eileithyia and presented Eileithyia with gifts to ease her childbirth. After the

31 Nilsson 1998, 79.

32 Eliade 2012, 1:328; Üblagger 2012, 117-28; Bilić 2016, 458-60.

33 Brown 2004.

34 Ferrari 2008, 136.

35 Hom. *Hymn to Apollo* 145-55, 157-59.

36 Lawler 1964, 111.

37 Hdt. 4.32-36.

death of these two girls in Delos, five more men and two maidens named Hyperokhe and Laodike came from Hyperborea. The newcomers to Delos tied stalks of wheat, the clearest symbol of the fertility cult, to their holy offerings before presenting them. But none of them could return to their homeland. Given the epithet Περφερέες / *Perphereës* / "Bearers," Hyperokhe and Laodike were granted divinity in Delos. Young men and women wishing to present their respects to Hyperokhe and Laodike, who years later were considered Delian natives, developed the practice of using a stick to leave locks of their hair on the pair's tomb. According to Herodotus, Delian women and young girls would form a line and read the hymns prepared by Lycian Olen to play a role in honoring Hyperokhe and Laodike. Coming to Delos, Callimachus[38] mentioned the ritual dance of virgin χορός / *choros* girls performed in honor of the girls of Hyperborea who were present at Apollo's birth.[39]

> 300 Asteria, island of incense, around and about thee the isles have made a circle and set themselves about thee as a choir. Not silent art thou nor noiseless when Hesperus of the curling locks looks down on thee but ringing evermore with sound. The men sing the song of the old man of Lycia – the very song which the seer Olen brought thee from Xanthos: the maidens of the choir beat with their feet the steadfast ground. Then, too, is the holy image laden with garlands, the famous image of ancient Cypris whom of old Theseus with the youths established when he was sailing back from Crete. Having escaped the cruel bellowing and the wild son of Pasiphaë and the coiled habitation of the crooked labyrinth, about thine altar, O lady, they raised the music of the lute and danced the round dance, and Theseus led the choir. Hence the ever-living offerings of the Pilgrim Ship do the sons of Cecrops send to Phoebus, the gear of that vessel.

Strabo identified Delos as the place where Artemis and Apollo were brought into the world, and wrote that the island was known everywhere including in the neighboring Cyclades.[40] Delos had gained its reputation from the offerings sent to the island, and troupes of singing dancers made up of young maidens celebrated at its large festivals.

In the writings of both Herodotus and Callimachus regarding Delos, they describe a death-themed cultic ritual symbolizing Apollo. The god ended winter by bestowing nature with new life and fertility in which dances accompanied by the hymns of the Lycian seer Olen were carried out in honor of two girls named Hyperokhe and Laodike.

At Delphi, the annual Thargelia celebration is notable in that it celebrates the formation of the cult with dance performances belonging to the cult of Apollo.[41] The Thargelia celebrates the experience of nature waking up from winter's lethal sleep with Apollo's arrival from

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38 Callim. *Hymn* 4.300-16; Shapiro 2004, 323-24.

39 Lawler emphasize the Lycian origin of this dance; see Lawler 1943, 63.

40 Strabo 10.5.2.

41 We learn of the cult of Apollo and the oracle of Delphi from Pausanias (Paus. 10.5.7), who notes that the formation of the cult took place after Apollo's defeat of the monster Python. In his notes on the history of the oracle of Delphi, he also mentions a hymn that the priestess and hymnist Boeo composed for Apollo. In this hymn, she professed that Lycian Olen was Apollo's first seer and messenger in Delphi. According to Pausanias, Olen established the teachings of the oracle of Delphi together with the Hyperboreans. Pausanias later mentions Pegasus and divine Agyieus, the son of the Hyperboreans (Paus. 10.5.8-9). While Pegasus is a reference to the Pegasus temple on the sacred way, Agyieus is another name used to denote Apollo. In addition, Pausanias records that Mnaseas of Patara provided him with the information that the residents of Delphi were of Hyperborean ancestry. Boeo's hymn, except for these small fragments, has been lost.

Hyperborea on a carriage pulled by swans. One of the most striking works portraying the elegance of these celebrations of the reawakening of nature is the "Dancing Girls" monument at Delphi which is attributed in an inscription to the sculptor Praxiteles (fig. 5).[42] On this monument, dedicated by the citizens of Athens, the dancers celebrate the return of spring and the rebirth of vegetation. In accordance with Athens' creation myth, it is generally accepted that these girls are the three daughters of Cecrops - Herse, Pandrosus, and Aglaurus.[43] Another monumental account celebrating "Apollo's return from Hyperborea" or the "good news of nature's reawakening" in dance is found on the metopes on the northern pronaos of the Temple of Apollo in Bassai. Here the gods themselves are dancing.[44]

Other data placing great importance on dance in ritual practices related to the change of the seasons and the fertility of the soil is correlated with the strong cult of Apollo *Karneios*. He lent his name to the name of a month and was featured in the calendars of all the Doric cities in Sicily, Rhodes, Crete and most prominently Sparta. *Karnos* means "ram" in the Dorian dialect.[45] With his multifaceted identity, Apollo Karneios served as both the god of the herd and shepherd and of the harvest.[46] While the revival of nature was celebrated in Delphi, the harvest festival of Karneia was sanctified with dances representing the newfound life of grapes and wheat as they matured, died and became the holy products of wine and flour.[47] The ceremonies of Karneia were essentially a dramatization of death and revival. The best-known artifact related to the rituals of *Karneia* and the cult of Apollo Karneios is the Karneian Painter's red figure volute krater dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC today in the Tarent Museum (fig. 6).[48] The narrative featured on the krater is a scene found in *gymnopaideia* of young nude men in the Karneia festival.[49] Pausanius (3.11.9) mentions that three different ages groups of male dancers participated. The only, richly clothed, feminine-looking figure is largely thought to also represent a young man.[50]

Using the Karneia vase as a starting point, the view proposed by Papadapoulos in recent years regarding the "Motya Youth" is quite noteworthy (fig. 7). This unique artifact made of Paros marble is dated to 480-450 BC. It has been subjected to multiple interpretations since its discovery in 1979. Papadapoulos likens it to the composition of the nude dancer with a large headdress seen on the Karneia vase and asserts that the dancer has donned a gigantic crown and is performing a cult dance linked to Apollo Karneia.[51]

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42 Vatin 1983; for the recent digital documentation of the monument, see Liritzis et al. 2017, 156, fig. 4.

43 The inscription reads: "Under the archonship of Leochares in Delphi and Hippodamas in Athens, this tripod and young girls presented offerings to Apollo Pythias from the treasures recovered from the Lacedaemonians and their ally, the Athenians"; see Vatin 1983. In variations of this generally accepted version, the girls are the daughters of Triopas whose name is featured in the secret traditions linking Orpheus and Pythagoras. See Elderkin 1941.

44 Madigan 1992, 21-28.

45 For the coins of the Spartan colony of Metapontum featuring Apollo with the horns of a ram, see Graf 2009, 94.

46 Graf 2009, 94-97.

47 Shapiro 2004, 322-24.

48 Trendall 1967, 54-55, fig. 24; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 108-10. It was found in a tomb in Ceglie del Campo, Italy, next to another fifth-century vase belonging to the painter Meidias. Various views have continued to be propounded by experts such as Beazley and Trendall regarding the Attic descent of the painter of this vase, on which a detailed place was reserved for Karneia festival rituals, so the debate continues.

49 Shapiro 2004, 323.

50 Ferrari 2008, 136. Although the headdresses donned by these figures were previously recognized as *kalathiskos*, they are not baskets. As Ferrari identified, it is obvious that they are radiant crowns with pointed ends positioned into a headband with an arc shape.

51 Papadopoulos 2014.

Another example remarkably similar and somewhat contemporary to the images of dancers found on the Lycian reliefs is seen in Abdera. The establishment of the cult of Apollo in Abdera is attributed to immigrants from Teos where Apollo Derenos was respected as the chief god.[52] The Abdera coins were minted by the magistrate Molpagores and dated to 395-360 BC. They feature a griffon turned to the left, referring to Hyperborean Apollo on their obverse,[53] and a right-turned *chitoniskos* dancing girl on her toes, recognizable from Trysa and Xanthos, inside an incuse square (fig. 8).[54]

Dance and Death in the Cult of Apollo through Philological and Epigraphic Sources

Just like Apollo journeying from far-off lands to restore life to nature, another common theme in the myths of Apollo tells of him causing the death of young men before reviving them through metamorphosis. Dance and music once again play an indispensable role in the ritualistic practices centered on this theme. Encountered in a large number of stories featuring Apollo, an example of the metaphor of early death and rebirth can be found in the personification of Hyacinthus, Linus and Hymenaeus.[55] While the rediscovery of life and immortality through metamorphosis can materialize in the transformation of a flower blooming each spring, it can also be found in an eternal lamentation or in a note in a melody.

Euripides[56] and Athenaios[57] produced the most prominent surviving records of Hyacinthus and concern the Hyacinthus festival in Laconia. The story goes that the first day of the festival was for mourning Hyacinthus, who was accidently killed by Apollo.[58] The second day was dedicated to Apollo and full of vibrant celebration in which participants would enter into a trance with the help of local songs and fast-paced dance. In its essence this festival was an allegory for the green and flowering nature of spring's early death under the summer sun, and Hyacinthus represented the new life of spring's blooms.

Another Apollo myth centered in Argos concerns Linus who tasted an untimely death. Apollo's son Linus was born to one of the muses.[59] Mythographers tell the story of Linus's death differently, but they all agree as to his presence in melodies of eternal lamentations. Since the time of Homer, the name Linus has been used to describe a kind of lamentation termed "Linus Lamentations" which, according to Homer,[60] is more of a dance than a song.[61] The dances performed with Linus lamentations not only honored the timely death of nature during the harvest season but also related to the mating-themed choral dances that laid the foundation for new sexual unions.[62] In his work "Other Customs of the Egyptians," Herodotus

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52 Stehle 1997, 128-29.

53 For the relationship between Griffon and Apollo in Lycia, see Üblagger 2012, 147-50.

54 Babelon 1932, cat. no. 1366; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 123.

55 Similar themes are found in the myths of Adonis, Narcissus and Maneros.

56 Eur. *Hel.* 1465.

57 Ath. 139 d-f.

58 Grimal 1997, 300-1.

59 In one of the variations of the story of Linus, Apollo is jealous of his son Linus's talent and burns his lamentation before killing him. The different renderings of this story all agree that Linus died while still young.

60 Hom. *Il.* 18.567-72.

61 Lonsdale 1993, 236.

62 Benesova 2012, 17.

mentioned his fondness for Linus lamentations while referencing similarities with the Greeks.[63] He also explains that the Egyptians sang this song / lamentation (which they called Maneros) at their death ceremonies, and that the same song was sung by the Phoenicians and the Cretans but known by different names.

Another story of early death popularized by Sappho and Pindar in the sixth and fifth centuries BC tells of the young, untimely death of Apollo's son Hymenaeus "as beautiful as a young girl," whom he fathered with yet another muse.[64] Hymenaeus's immortality is summoned in an unforgettable melody of instruments, singing and dance accompanied by the flute at wedding ceremonies, as he later transformed into the god of marriage.[65] As a true rite of passage, marriage was the death of a young girl's childhood and her rebirth into her husband's house. For this reason, the melody of "Hymenaeus" contains both a somber and a cheerful tune.[66]

We also come across the privileged status of members of the cult of Apollo in the dance applications in their burial traditions in the writings of Plato.[67] Plato records the prohibition of lamentations and clamor in relation to the limitations imposed on burial rituals. We can thereby gather that some limitations were also imposed on choral rituals. Death is a personal experience for each family, so lamentations and mourning should be carried out inside the home. However, the *euthynoi* - clerics of Apollo and Helios[68] - were given privilege outside of the law. Plato[69] describes the ritual used by the clerics of Apollo in this way:

> Threnoi (lamentations) and clamor have no place here; a choros (performance artists able to perform poetry, dance, and music as a whole) made up of 15 girls and 15 boys should surround the funeral and both groups should sing hymns, the image of the dead should be celebrated all day. As the sun sets, the dead should be accompanied to their grave by 100 youth.

More information regarding the burial tradition of honoring a corpse with dance is found in Cyprus. An explanation of an application dating from the first quarter of the fourth century BC, and considered contemporary to the Lycian reliefs, is found in Isocrates's eulogy written to the Salamis King Evagoras.[70]

> When I saw you, Nicocles, honoring the tomb of your father; not only with numerous and beautiful offerings, but also with dances, music, and athletic contests and furthermore, with races of horses and triremes and leaving to the others no possibility of surpassing you another in such celebrations.

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63 Hdt. 2.79.

64 Grimal 1997, 303-4.

65 Although there are endless mythographic variations describing the life of Hymenaeus, his identity as a beautiful musician and his untimely death are consistently featured. In Orphic mythology, after his death Hymenaeus is frozen back to life by Asclepius. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.

66 Seaford 1987.

67 Based on the inscriptions in the hands of Lulis and Keos in Delphi, we should imagine that Plato was informed of the application of modern laws; see Garland 1989, 7.

68 Lonsdale 1993, 234-35.

69 Pl. *Leg.* 2.653 d, 12.947 b-d.

70 Isoc. 9.1.

Concluding Remarks

The importance of dance in the rituals of the cult of Apollo is easily observed from the sixth century to the middle of the fourth century BC across the Aegean world in both archaeological artifacts and philological documents. It is apparent that the Trysa and Xanthos[71] examples, dated to the first half of the fourth century BC, did not derive from another cultic center of Apollo. This means that nearly all the scenes of hunting, chariot racing, apobates, caryatids, Centauromachy, Amazonomachy and symposium featured on both monumental and simple tombs in Lycia were replicates of recognized themes from Aegean examples such as temple friezes, vase paintings, reliefs and sculpture. This is once again confirmed by the dance compositions.[72]

As massive and ecumenical cultic centers were built one after another in the Aegean during the fifth century BC, the Lycians, under the control of the Persians and the Athenians, were only able to build modest sanctuaries at Letoon and Xanthos with their limited economic resources. The striking thing is that the true Lycian region placed much more importance on the afterlife than the regions of Ionia, Attica or the Peloponnese. The tombs of Lycia's cosmopolitan elite in particular physically confirmed this idea. When compared to other contemporary regions, the individuality and creativity exhibited in Lycian artifacts is best displayed in the architecture of their tombs. However, the sculpture and relief designs found in this architecture relied upon the experience and knowledge of the masters and apprentices of Ionia, Attica and the Peloponnese. Even the patterns found in Lycia were reproductions of Aegean themes.[73]

Chronologically, the Lycian cult of Apollo began to clearly reveal itself between the end of the fifth century and the start of the fourth century BC.[74] However, Herodotus mentioned a prophecy center at Patara in the middle of the fifth century BC, so vibrant dances began to be performed with the hymns of the "Lycian seer Olen" in the rituals of the cultic center of Delian Apollo. A similar message is emphasized as "Olen of Xanthos" in the hymn of the Hellenistic poet Callimachus. The legendary identity of Olen implies that the connection of the Lycians to the god Apollo extends much further back. This clarifies the affinity of the Lycian elites for the ritualistic dances practiced in the cult of Apollo. On the other hand, the use of these practices in a context related to the funeral rites in Lycia is linked to the content of the cultic practices and different mythos surrounding Apollo that we have attempted to explicate above. Despite restrictions placed on excessive funeral rituals, the fact that the clerics of Apollo were given special privileges is noted in the writing of Plato. This reminds us that dance could play a role in funerals. In this sense, just as untimely death and new revival were dramatized in the fertility-themed celebrations of Apollo in Delphi, Delos, and Karneaia, the elite of Trysa and Xanthos, already fond of worshipping Apollo, must have used the dance-themed templates reflected on their tombs as a metaphorical message of heroes facing death. As stated by Eliade, they were buried into the womb of the earth like seeds, waiting for the moment when they would be reborn in a new bodily form.[75]

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71 Val. Max. (2.6.13) is of the belief that the traditions of Lycian men using women's wares to grieve, and the practice of exaggerated lamenting reserved for women, was used to protect themselves.

72 Işın 2017, 135.

73 Bruns-Özgan 2016, 487-91.

74 Işık 2020, 52; Bryce 1983, 11.

75 Eliade 2014, 339-40.

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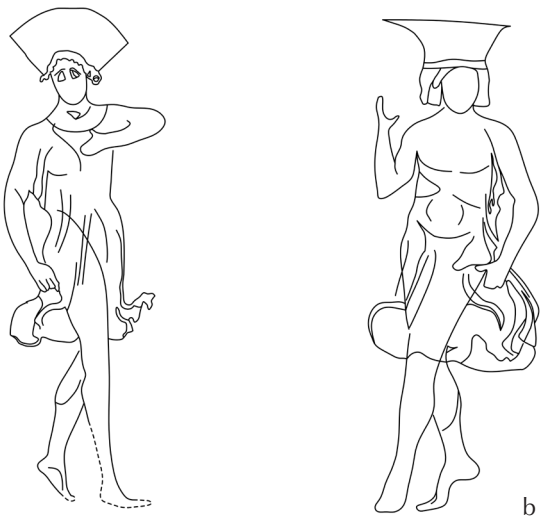
FIG. 1
Detail of the Lucanian bell krater. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden RSx4 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

a



b

FIG. 2
a) Interior of the portal, Trysa heroon; Landskron 2015, pl. 25.1 ©KHM Vienna. Photographed by Wilhelm Burger.
b) Interior of the portal, Trysa heroon; drawing by G. Acar.

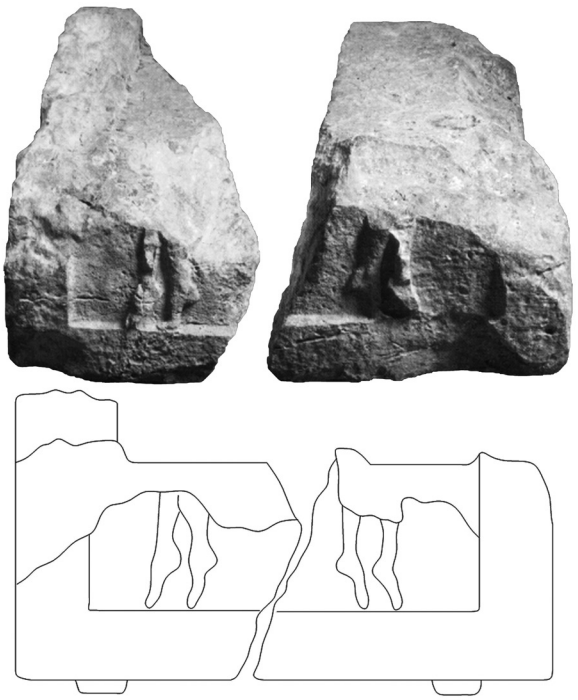


FIG. 3
Fragmented pieces from the short side of the monumental sarcophagus in the middle of the Trysa heroon; Landskron 2015, pl. 14, 194.1, cat. nos. I585c, I585b. Photographed by Alexander Rosoli. ©KHM Vienna. Reconstructed and drawing by Franz Fichtinger.

a

b

c

FIG. 4
a) "Dancers Sarcophagus," Xanthos. Drawing by P. Demargne 1966, 359 modified by G. Acar.
b) "Dancers Sarcophagus," Xanthos. Photographed by T. Yücel-Bahçetepe.
c) "Dancers Sarcophagus," Xanthos. Demargne 1966, 359.

FIG. 5 Dancers of the Delphi "Acanthus Column". 3D model from the Delphi Archaeological Museum: the high-resolution and accuracy geometry (gray level) and the textured model of the column with the dancers (Liritzis et al. 2017, 156, fig. 4).

FIG. 6 Detail of the volute krater of Karneia Painter showing the fourth and fifth figures. Museo Nazionale, Taranto, I. G. 8263 artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Trendall Archive, La Trobe University, Victoria, Australia, courtesy Soprintendenza per I Beni Archeologici della Puglia, Taranto.

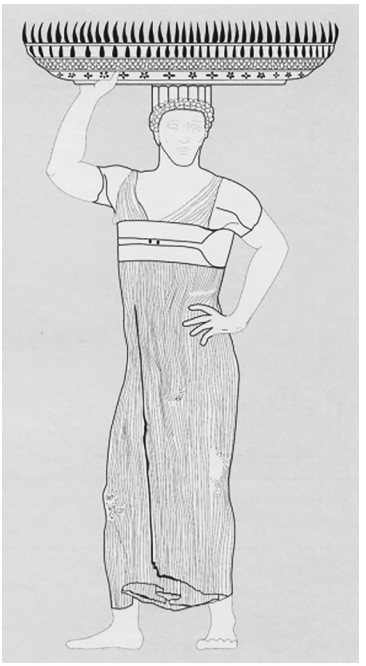


FIG. 7
Reconstruction of the Motya Youth drawing by Anne Hooton; see Papadopoulos 2014, 409, fig. 25.

FIG. 8 Abdera coin. CN 21159 in Corpus Nummorum Online.
https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/coins?id=21159