The original and typical Ionian dance was probably a solemn cult dance, usually of a processional nature, but sometimes with mimetic interludes. It was performed by either men or women. It was characterized in general by a delicate, stylized schema of the holding up of the chiton. There soon developed an Ionian banquet dance, in which entertainers held up the chiton with one or both hands. This dance became more and more wanton, and the dancer lifted the chiton higher and higher. The exposure and indecent posturing of this dance are familiar to us from Roman literature. The Ionian dance to Artemis Chitonea, at Syracuse and elsewhere, seems to have been another in which the chiton was held up; such a gesture appears in dances to fertility and birth divinities in many parts of the world. A dance in which the performer carried a cake in one hand while the other hand held up the chiton is found in Ionian lands. Such dances are common in nocturnal dances to fertility goddesses. The Acropolis korai may represent dancers performing Ionian dances to Artemis or Athena. A bronze figurine in Baltimore probably represents an Ionic dancer who participated, and perhaps was victorious, in a dance competition at Cumae.

Ancient writers on the dance and kindred subjects attest indubitably the existence among the Greeks of an “Ionic” dance. Students of classical antiquity are possessed in the main of a general impression of this dance which derives from the writings of the Romans rather than from those of the Greeks. It is my purpose in this paper to endeavor, if possible, to discover something of the original character of the dance among the Greeks, and to suggest its probable course of development, from earliest times down to the period of the Roman empire.

Among the Romans, the Ionic dance is practically a symbol of lewdness and degeneracy. Most lovers of the classics will recall Horace’s lines:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos} \\
\text{Matura virgo et fingitur artibus} \\
\text{Iam nunc et incestos amores} \\
\text{De tenero meditatur ungui.} \\
\end{align*}
\](Carm. 3.6.21–24)

Similar in tone are *Pseudolus* 1273–1279 and *Stichus* 766–772. In the latter play, line 767, we have the Ionian dancer equated with the *cinaedus*, the professional dancer noted for effeminacy, lascivi-ousness, and wantonness.
That one form, at least, of the Ionic dance was certainly voluptuous and degenerate in the time of Horace, and even of Plautus, cannot be doubted. However, a close scrutiny of Greek literature reveals a somewhat different situation earlier in Greek history, and in Greek lands in particular. Athenaeus (1.22b) lists 'Ἰωνικαὶ among "national" dances—along with Laconian, Troezenian, Epizephyrian, Cretan, and Mantinean dances—with no hint of derogation. On the contrary, he seems to imply that the Ionian dances are to be included among the dances which Aristoxenus, the great writer on music, liked especially because of their "hand movements"; and he adds specifically, "Thus the dance was a thing of high repute and great skill, so that Pindar calls Apollo a dancer." He adds other references to Apollo and Zeus as dancers. The whole connotation here, then, is of dignity and grace.

The Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo naturally comes to mind in this connection. That hymn, and particularly lines 146-164, is the locus classicus for the great Ionian festival of very early times, held apparently each year in honor of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis on the island of Delos, a festival attended by all the "long-robed Ionians" with their modest wives and their children. There is frequent mention in the hymn of graceful dancing at this festival, both on the part of the assembled Ionians (line 162) and on the part of those strange "Delian maidens" who performed some odd vocal feat (probably an imitation with the tongue of the clacking of castanets, together with an imitation of the speech of foreigners). Certainly under no circumstances would these Ionian dances be lascivious or wanton.

Similar are passages in Callimachus' Hymn to Delos. In line 279 of that hymn we find, "To thee all (sc. Ionian) cities lead up choruses"; and in lines 304-306, "the maidens beat the earth with their feet" in time to old songs from Lycia. Next come the famous lines on the γέφαρας (307-315), telling how Theseus, on his way back to Athens with Ariadne after having slain the Minotaur, instituted a choral dance to be performed in the presence of a very ancient "holy image" which he had carried off from Crete. Other writers (Plut. Thes. 21; Pollux 4.101) describe this dance as a "labyrinth dance," and add the information that it was performed by both men and women, together. Finally there is the account of the rough-and-tumble dance of the mariners (lines 315-324), who, with hands bound behind their backs, circle the great altar, bite the trunk of
the sacred olive tree, and are ceremonially whipped. Hesychius (s.v. Δηλιακὸς βομύς) gives a garbled version of this same mariners' dance, evidently confusing it with the γέρανος; and scholiasts on the Hesychius passage have contributed some further speculation upon the dance.

Lucian's remark (Salt. 16) that all sacrifices at Delos (and, we may assume, offerings as well) were accompanied with dancing around the altar, to the music of the aulos and the cithara, seems to have a bearing on the information given us in the hymns. Lucian adds that frequently this dancing was done by choruses of boys; and that the most skillful of the boys were often chosen to depict "characters" in the dance—i.e., probably to portray mythological persons—while choral lyrics were being sung. This sounds, of course, something like the Graeco-Roman pantomimic dance of Lucian's own day; and Delian inscriptions do not mention boys' choruses before the third century B.C. However, the whole connotation of the passage is of great antiquity; and it may be possible that we have a reference here to something not unlike the primitive dithyramb which gave rise ultimately, under other conditions, to tragedy.

The Delian festival seems from time to time to have fallen into periods of neglect. After one such period the Athenians restored it (in 426 or 425 B.C.) as a penteteric event of great magnificence. Thucydides (3.104) gives us considerable information about the restored festival. He emphasizes that in it were featured contests in music and dancing, and that Ionians from Attica, the islands, and Asia Minor participated in it. It is of this restored festival that Athenaeus probably speaks (10.424f), in a passage stressing the high rank of some of the dancers at Delos.

Professor Irene R. Arnold, of Vassar College, has made a careful study of the local festivals at Delos, using insessional as well as literary evidence. She reiterates the importance and splendor of the Ionic gathering, and notes that it was characterized by a festival procession as well as by numerous singing and dancing contests for which prizes were awarded.

Inscriptions found on Delos repeatedly mention, among things provided for the dancers, torches—an indication that some, at least,

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1 Irene R. Arnold, "Local Festivals at Delos," AJA 37 (1933) 454.
of the dances took place at night (cf. Call. Hymn. Del. 303),—ropes (ῥυοὶ), and wood (κλημαρίδες). The purpose of the two latter items has been hotly debated and has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Since they are renewed for each festival, it would seem that the ropes and wood have something to do with the burning of sacrifices rather than with the dance proper.

It seems fairly clear that there were performed at the great Ionian festival at Delos at least four types of ritual dance. They are:

1. The mariners’ dance. I hope to treat of this dance at some length upon another occasion. It would not necessarily be an Ionian dance, since it seems to have been performed by all mariners who touched at the island.

2. The γέρανος dance. This seems to me to have been originally not Ionic, but Cretan. In its developed form it was probably a fusion of two earlier dances, both Cretan: one, the older, a mimetic bird dance done in honor of the great nature goddess, the other a “labyrinth” dance, of a type common among many different peoples. It seems to have contained movements in some way mimetic of the bird, and at the same time a choreography suggestive of the windings of the labyrinth (or of the wanderings of Leto, according to some writers). Like another Ariadne dance, the one of Iliad 18.590–606, the Delian γέρανος is done by both youths and maidens, an exceptional feature in an early dance, and one further corroborative of the hypothesis of a fusion of a bird dance of women and a labyrinth dance of men.

3. The dance of the “Delian maidens,” who must have been priestesses or semi-professional dancers, trained in the service of the deities of the island. This dance may or may not have been peculiarly Ionic; lines 304-305 of Callimachus’ Hymn to Delos seem to imply for it a Lycian origin.

4. The dances of the Ionian people assembled for the festival. These were probably the Ionian dances par excellence. Performed to the Delian triad of divinities, they were certainly solemn and dignified. Among them must have been included the staid processions of the people, both men and women—evidently the oldest of the dance forms represented; the cyclic dances of the competi-

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tions, which may have been influenced by the cyclic choruses of the Dionysia at Athens; and the mimetic dances of the boys’ choruses mentioned by Lucian.

We have considered but one Ionian festival, albeit the greatest of all. There were, of course, many others—to Artemis at Ephesus, to Hera at Samos, etc. Where we have details of the dances at these other Ionian festivals (cf. Dion. Hal. 4.25, on a festival at Ephesus), they accord with what is known of the Delian dances.

Now, the characteristic dress of the Ionian men was from earliest times the long, ungirt linen chiton (ultimately of Carian origin). In the Iliad (13.685) the Ionians are pictured as ἀλεξιτώνες, “trailing their long chitons”; and the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo echoes the words of the epic (147). At some time subsequent to the epic age, the chiton was adopted by Ionian women (Herod. 5.88). No Ionian in such a garb could possibly dance with any dignity at all without holding up the long, wide chiton; and a characteristic feature of a typical Ionian dance would probably be a graceful manipulation of that chiton so as to render it an artistic asset, rather than a liability, not to say an actual hazard! In this connection an apparent digression in the text of Athenaeus seems to be of great significance. In the epitome of the first book, as we have it (1.21b), in the midst of a discussion of forms of the dance, and specifically of schemata, there is an abrupt shift to the subject of garments, and how to gather them up (ἀναλαμβάνειν) decently and gracefully. Men of olden times are praised as the prime examples of persons who knew how to gather their chitons up properly and to walk in seemly manner. Then, with equal suddenness, there is a return to the subject of the dance. If a carefully stylized gesture of holding up the chiton was a part of the important ritual dance of the Ionians from early times, this portion of the text is seen to be not a digression at all, but rather an integral part of the discussion of the dance. It is in the next section (1.22b) that the Ionic dance is specifically mentioned. If Aristoxenus really did favor Ionian dances, as Athenaeus seems to imply, then the “movements of the hands” which he liked so well would probably include skilful manipulation of the long chiton.

As all of us know, Ionic art frequently portrays figures in cult contexts, holding the chiton up from the feet with one hand, in a graceful, almost conventionalized gesture. In many cases, the other hand holds an attribute or an offering. Some of the figures
are indisputably those of dancers—e.g., the dancing women on a relief from the Branchidae and on one from Gjölbaschi.\(^5\) Others represent participants in rhythmic processions, which the Greeks regarded as dances (cf. Athenaeus 1.20f; Dion. Hal. 7.68.3–6; 69.1–2; 72.10). Typical of these are figures on the Thasos relief and on the west side of the Harpy tomb.\(^6\)

I should like to suggest, then, that the original and typical Ionian dance was a solemn cult dance, usually of a processional nature, but sometimes with mimetic interludes; that it was performed by either men or women (but not by both together); and that it was characterized in general by a delicate, conscious, stylized schema of the holding up of the chiton. Frequently the dancer carried an offering in the other hand; this feature of the dance would, of course, be particularly appropriate in festivals where first-fruits were offered to a divinity. The rhythm of the dance may have been that of the dignified Ionic foot. Accompanying music was furnished by the aulos or the cithara, and was probably in the Ionic mode. Here it is interesting to recall the words of Athenaeus on the Ionic mode. The mode was originally, he says (14.625b) neither bright nor cheerful, but austere and hard (\(\alpha\nu\sigma\tau\eta\rho\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\)), having a solemnity (\(\delta\gamma\kappa\omicron\nu\)) which was not ignoble, so that it was well adapted to tragedy. However, he explains (14.624d) that the Ionic mode, like the Ionians themselves, had, even as early as the time of Pratinas, felt the influence of the neighboring Asiatic peoples. In Athenaeus’ own day it had become voluptuous (14.625c) and lax (14.624f), so that the whole character of the mode, as he says specifically, was different from what it had been originally.

In the seventh and sixth centuries, the use of the Ionic chiton spread from Asia Minor to the Ionian Greeks of Greece proper, and thence to other Greeks as well. It was worn, in fact, even in Sparta. As the use of the Ionic chiton was extended to other peoples, I believe that the Ionic dance must have spread also. As a result we are not surprised to find in a late inscription of Acraephia, a Boeotian town near the oracle of Apollo on Mt. Ptoön, a reference to a very old dance done in a long, trailing garment—

\(^5\) The Branchidae and Gjölbaschi reliefs are shown in Figures 466 and 516, respectively, of Gisela Richter’s Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks (Yale University Press, 1930).

\(^6\) The Thasos relief is Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 61; the west side of the Harpy tomb may be seen in H. N. Fowler and J. R. Wheeler’s Handbook of Greek Archaeology (American Book Co., 1909), Figure 158.
The συρτός or σύρτης mentioned here is probably similar to the χιτών ὀρθοστάδιος, retained as a professional dress by musicians long after the Ionic chiton had ceased to be a garment of everyday life (cf. schol. Aristoph. Lys. 451). The word συρτός, σύρτης is, of course, related to σύρμα, which designates the long, flowing robe of tragedy. It is interesting to note that a dance called the συρτός is performed over a large part of modern Greece. It shows the familiar pattern of a line of dancers of both sexes, holding hands, and led by a male dancer of great versatility. It contains no gesture of the chiton today; but there are so many Albanian and Turkish elements in modern Greek dances of ancient name, and the dances have been so changed and so leveled, that that fact would be of little significance.

As early as the seventh century B.C., the rich Ionians of Asia Minor, probably imitating their Asiatic neighbors, began to indulge in luxurious banquets and symposia, with entertainment furnished by professional musicians, singers, and dancers. The luxury and wantonness of these gatherings increased as time passed; and Ionian Greeks in Greece proper and in Magna Graecia were swift to follow their Asiatic kinsmen in so pleasant a form of diversion (cf. Athenaeus 12.525–527). The Etruscans, too, adopted the custom—even, apparently, for their funerary feasts. Tomb paintings of Etruria show dancers garbed in Ionic chitons, and musicians as well, performing at such feasts.

Athenaeus, after speaking of a Syracusan dance to Artemis, says (14.629e): ἢν δὲ τὶς καὶ Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις παροίμως. This I believe should be translated "And there was also an Ionian dance that was performed at drinking parties," not "There was also a drunken dance called Ionic," as Gulick renders it in the Loeb edition. Lucian (Salt. 34) speaks of a παροίμων and συμποσικῶν dance that was originally Phrygian; this was probably the direct antecedent of the Ionian banquet dance.

If we have been correct in our hypothesis that a characteristic

7 I have discussed the modern συρτός with Miss Marjorie Milne, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York City. Miss Milne agrees with me that the ancient name may have been transferred to an entirely different dance in post-classical times. The referee to whom this paper was submitted makes a pertinent suggestion, viz., "The συρτός today is certainly connected with the 'trailing' line of hand-holding dancers."

feature of the Ionian dance was the holding up of the chiton, we should expect to find that feature present in the dance of the symposium; and that is exactly what we do find. On vase paintings, dancers at banquets usually wear the Ionic chiton and usually hold it up, now with one hand, now with both hands. An excellent example is furnished by a cylix of Brygos now in the British Museum.9 Here a professional dancer, wearing the Ionic chiton, holds up the garment with both hands, as she steps daintily in a dance measure before an admiring guest. The customary musical instrument for these dances is the aulos.

As Greek civilization declined, the symposia became more wanton, particularly in the cities of Sicily and Southern Italy—Sybaris, Croton, etc. The courtesan-dancers evidently lifted the chiton higher and higher as they performed, until the general effect was similar to that of the French can-can, or even of the modern "strip-tease." (Cf. Lucian, Dial. Meretr. 3.) 10 The motif of the Venus Kallipyge recurs persistently, in literature and in art. Nor, apparently, was the chiton motif confined to female dancers; in the Pseudolus, 1274, in an account of a dance performed by a man at a particularly jolly convivium, there is significant mention of the dancer’s garment. It is this late and decadent phase of the Ionic dance, with its exposure and indecent posturing, which is attacked by Roman writers.

There is still another aspect of the Ionian dance which has given rise to much speculation. Pollux (4.103) tells us: τὸ δ' Ἰωνικὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ύρχοντο Σικελίωται μάλιστα. This recalls the statement of Athenaeus (1.22c), on the authority of Theophrastus, that Andron, the flute-player of the Chalcidian (Ionian) city of Catana, was the first to add rhythmical motions of the body to the playing of the flute; and that as a result σικελίζων meant "to dance" among men of old. The Pollux passage is supplemented by one in Athenaeus (14.629e): παρά δὲ Συρακοσίων καὶ Χιτωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος δραχμῆς τίς ἐστιν ἰδιος καὶ αὐλῆσις. (Cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Χιτώνης.) Evidently the two references are to the same thing, as Pollux and Athenaeus, when they treat of the dance, stem in the main from the same sources.

9 See Hartwig, Meisterschalen, Taf. 35. Fritz Weege, Der Tanz in der Antike (Halle/Saale, Niemeyer, 1926), illustrates and discusses this and other examples, on pp. 118–121.
10 Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, Horace, Odes and Epodes (Sanborn, 1916) 345, have an apt note on Carm. 3.6.21, the passage on the Ionic dance: “‘Skirt-dances’ will serve.”
Just what is the implication of Xitwókia in this connection? Some writers explain the epithet as designating Artemis the huntress, clad in the short chiton.11 The cult of Artemis Chitonea, however, seems to be rather that of a goddess of childbirth than of one of the hunt.12 It is found in Attica, in Miletus, in Segesta, and elsewhere in the Greek world. To the divinity the chitons of women who had died in childbirth were dedicated (Eur. Iph. Taur. 1450). Regardless of the precise meaning of Chitonea, it is quite evident that in the cult of Artemis in general the chiton is of peculiar significance, in one way or another (cf. the Dorian maidens who danced to Artemis "with only one chiton"—schol. Eur. Hec. 934). It would not seem unlikely that in the worship of such a divinity a chiton dance, a dance in which the chiton was held in the hand, should be featured. Furthermore, we have noted that the Ionian dances on Delos were performed for Artemis. In many parts of the world, among peoples ancient and modern, the lifting of the dress is a common motif in dances to a fertility or a childbirth divinity.13

But why should an Ionian dance be characteristic of Syracuse, a Dorian city? Syracuse may well have derived this particular Ionian feature from one of the Ionian cities of the island. Sicilian civilization is noted for its admixture of Dorian and Ionian elements,14 and Himera, not too far from Syracuse, was founded by colonists of both races. Furthermore, there have been found at Grammichele, the ancient Echetla, an Ionian town twenty-five miles from Syracuse, Ionic terra cotta figurines showing the very chiton gesture which we have been considering.15 Interestingly enough, these terra cottas are now in the museum at Syracuse.

There is another dance mentioned in ancient literature as having been performed by Ionians; but there is no specific information to the effect that it was exclusively or even typically Ionian. This is a dance in which the performer carries a small cake in one hand. One of the most interesting references to such a dance is in Herodo-
There we are told that on one occasion Periander, tyrant of Corinth, seized three hundred high-born Corcyraean boys, and sent them by ship to the ruler of Sardis, to be made eunuchs. On the way the Corinthian ship called at Samos (an Ionian island). The Samians became righteously indignant when they learned of the prospective fate of the boys, and they assisted them to the temple of Artemis, where the Corinthians could not harm them. The Corinthians tried to starve the boys out; whereupon the Samians began a series of nightly dances to Artemis, in which youths and maidens carried cakes of sesame seed and honey “so that the Corcyraean boys might seize these from them, and so be fed.” They kept this up until the Corinthians departed in disgust; they then sent the boys back to Corcyra. (Cf. also Pliny, Nat. Hist. 9.25.41; Plutarch, De Herod. Malig. 859e, f.) What probably happened on this occasion was that an old cult dance, a nocturnal cake-dance to Artemis, was put to a new use.

The compiler of the Etymologicum Magnum, Hesychius, Athenaeus (in books 14 and 15), and other writers mention several kinds of cake which were carried in processions and dances in honor of Artemis, Apollo, Hecate, Athena, and other divinities. Among these are the amphiphon, the myllos, the phthois, the charision pemma or charisios, the sesamis, the basynia, and particularly the choirina, the pyramous, and the pemmation. We are told (Athenaeus 14.647c; 15.668c, d) that these latter were given at nocturnal festivals to worshippers who danced to keep themselves from going to sleep, and thus succeeded in staying awake all night. We are reminded, of course, of the “cake walk” of the turn of our own century; and our expression, “You take the cake!” is paralleled in Greek literature (Aristoph. Knights, 277; Thesmo. 94). The cakes are sometimes called νιετήρα, “victory cakes” (Athenaeus 15.668d; Plutarch, Conv. Probl. 9.747a). Demostenes (Crown, 18.260) attests the giving of various cakes as a reward (μοσθν) to participants in orgiastic processions which took place in the daytime. Practically all of the cakes carried by dancers were made of sesame seed and honey, and were shaped in small balls.

In some cases the cakes carried by dancers are offerings for a divinity; but it seems abundantly clear that in many other cases the cake is definitely for the dancer. Dübner thinks that this is particularly true of nativity dances, done to Artemis as birth-goddess
by women on the tenth day of a child’s life. 16 This, of course, brings us back to the Ionic dances to Artemis Chitonea.

It will be recalled that in seeking for art representations of Ionic dances we have considered only figures indisputably those of dancers, or of participants in rhythmic processions, and deliberately excluded free-standing figures with no such associations. I believe, however, that many of the innumerable statues, statuettes, mirror handles, etc., which portray women in rich Ionic or Ioniaizing garb, holding the chiton up from the feet exactly as do the figures considered, actually were inspired by, or are intended to represent, participants in an Ionic dance. Some of them seem to stand, rather than to march or to dance; but it would be characteristic of a Greek artist, particularly of the archaic period, to permit a distinctive pose, in static form, to typify a whole dance. Certainly many of the figures do step forward, in a dignified walk or march.

Many such figures hold an object in an extended hand. In numerous cases the object is definitely an offering to a divinity—a bird, a flower, a fruit, etc. In other cases the object depicted might well be a dancer’s cake.

In particular, I believe that many or all of the famous statues known as the Acropolis maidens or korai, 17 the purpose and significance of which have not yet been determined to the satisfaction of most scholars, may represent dancers. Similar figures found on the island of Delos were immediately associated with the Delian maidens who danced there to Artemis. 18 Although they were found on the Acropolis, the Athenian maidens are not necessarily dedicated to Athena. There was on the Acropolis a sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, who was very like Artemis Chitonea: she was a birth goddess, there were nocturnal dances in her honor, and the garments of dead mothers were offered to her. It is interesting that Schrader 19 specifically calls one of the Acropolis korai (though not one which shows our chiton gesture, as it happens) a statue of Artemis Brauronia. In any case, Artemis and Athena have much in common; they have common Cretan (Cario-Cretan?) back-

16 Cf. Athenaeus 15.668d. Latte, op. cit. (see note 3) 73–75, summarizes well the literature on the subject.
18 BCH 3 (1879), Plate xiv; 13 (1889) 217–225 and Plate vii.
BRONZE FIGURINE, FIFTH CENTURY B.C.
ground, both received offerings of first-fruits, and both were honored with nocturnal dances.

If the Acropolis maidens are dancing figures, it may be interesting to speculate further on their significance. They may represent victors in dancing competitions; or, in lasting marble, they may commemorate the dancers who “succeeded in staying awake all night”; or they may serve as substitutes for devotees who wished to take part in the nocturnal ceremonies, but were incapacitated in some way, and therefore unable to participate in person.

In the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, there is a small bronze figure of the late archaic period (490–480 B.C.), portraying a young woman in an ankle-length Ionic chiton, advancing spiritedly. With the thumb and forefinger of the right hand she holds a small ball-like object; with the thumb and forefinger of the left hand she pinches, as it were, a bit of her chiton, and draws it away from her thigh. Valentin Müller, publishing the figure, pronounced it of the Chalcidian school, and found parallels to it in the Chalcidian colonies of Southern Italy—Cumae, among others. He believed that the object in the right hand was an egg, and therefore suggested that the statue had chthonic associations, and was probably from a tomb. I believe, however, that the object is probably a small, ball-like sesame cake; and that the pinching of the chiton with the left hand is a stylized degradation of the older gesture of lifting a longer garment.

Lucian (Salt. 32) tells us that there were dancing competitions in at least one Ionic city of Italy, “the greatest of the Chalcidian name,” as he puts it. This would, of course, be Cumae, a city in which the influence of Asia Minor was strong, and in which Apollo and Artemis were especially honored.

I believe, then, that the Walters bronze may come from Cumae, or may record a victory at Cumae; and I believe that it represents a dancer engaged in an Ionic dance to Artemis Chitonea, goddess of childbirth and fertility.