New Light on Demeter's Mysteries: The Festival Proerosia

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DEMETER'S "MYSTERIES," festivals conducted mainly by women and in sanctuaries that were suitably withdrawn, were almost universal in Greek cities, like the cereal agriculture they were intended to promote. They were integral to Greek society and are now widely and profitably studied as a social phenomenon. If the general custom is important, so are the many ritual actions that constitute a given festival, through which (according to one's point of view) the women either worship the goddess Demeter, or work directly on the earth, or affirm their sense of the fitness of things. Animal sacrifice plays a large part, as usual, the pig species being favored by Demeter, and there is a peculiar practice of throwing piglets into a pit, which is then closed.

It is a disadvantage that reconstructions of ritual must be sought in older handbooks and special studies. The basic work on Greek festivals was done long ago, and new evidence, though not wholly neglected, has not led to any sustained effort of revision. The festival Proerosia, "Before-ploughing (rites)," is such a case. The Athenian, or Eleusinian, version of this festival once seemed to stand alone, as if it were something secondary and contrived, without much bearing on the larger pattern of Demeter's worship. We can now see that the Proerosia was widespread. It may have been as common as the greatest of Demeter’s festivals, the Thesmophoria: it was a sequel to it, coming later in the autumn season. The ritual of the Thesmophoria, which also included throwing piglets into a pit, cannot be understood without reference to the sequel. It is worth assembling the evidence for the Proerosia in detail.

Our reconstruction must proceed from the better known to the lesser. So the Eleusinian Proerosia come first (I-VIII infra). Much more can be usefully said about it than in the handbooks, mostly in the light of Athenian inscriptions, especially the "sacred calendar" of Eleusis. Then the instances in Attic demes
(IX–XI), vestiges in the city of Athens (XII), and similarly named festivals in other parts of Greece (XIII). After investigating the festival by name, we can recognize a description without the name, in a scholium on Lucian (XIV–XVI). The most important conclusion will be that men as well as women have a share in Demeter’s ritual; the Mysteries of Eleusis are by no means exceptional in this respect (XVII).

I. The Proerosia in Classical Athens

The Eleusinian Proerosia were adopted by Athens at an early date, just like the Mysteries: it too is spoken of in legend as an Athenian festival.¹ The civic celebration was on a considerable scale and took place entirely at Eleusis, except for a proclamation in the city (III infra). Euripides (Supp. 1–4, 28–31) feigns that Aethra, as Athens’ queen mother, was officiating at Eleusis when the mothers of the Seven sought her out. In the Hellenistic period the ephebes hoist sacrificial oxen, as they do also at the Mysteries.² Most impressively, this is the occasion, both in legend and in the undoubted practice of imperial Athens, for garnering aparchai (“first fruits”) from far and wide.

The festival commemorates the very beginning of agriculture. According to the Parian Marble, it was founded when Demeter came to Athens and instructed Triptolemus; it is even prior to the Mysteries (FGrHist 239A12–15).³ The Proerosia were instituted in the autumn, and Triptolemus reaped the first crop the next summer. It was a full ten years later, after Orpheus had expounded the pertinent ritual, that the Mysteries were founded by Eumolpus. Demeter also sent Triptolemus on a mission to the rest of the world, which is depicted in both black-figure and

¹ J. D. Mikalson, The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year (Princeton 1975) 68, argues that it was only a deme festival; D. Whitehead, The Demes of Attica 508/7–ca 250 B.C. (Princeton 1986: hereafter ‘Whitehead’) 197, leaves the question open; R. Smarzyk, Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im delisch-attischen Seebund (Munich 1990: ‘Smarzyk’) 189 n.88, rightly takes exception.

² IG II² 1006.9f, 79; 1028 (SIG³ 717) lines 28f; 1029.16f; 1039.54f.

³ καὶ προσοροσία ἐξράγρη τριπόλεμου κτλ. (A12). “Munro’s fine emendation may be described as absolutely certain”: F. Jacoby, Das Marmor Parium (Berlin 1904) 61. So too ΣΑel. Arist. 3.55 Dindorf.
red-figure painting, and was somehow presented in an early play of Sophocles.4

Triptolemus then is the founding hero of the festival and even its eponym, for his name was thought to signify the threefold ploughing of the formula νεωι ἐνὶ τριπόλωι. The ancient etymology may well be right, whatever the significance of that threefold ploughing—or perhaps rather, that triple furrowing.5 In art Triptolemus is but rarely seen with a literal bag of seed and a literal plough.6 Instead, he holds several ears of grain, or is about

4 G. Schwarz, Triptolemos. Ikonographie einer Agrar- und Mysteriengött­heit (Graz 1987); T. Hayashi, Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.–4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Würzburg 1992); Soph. Triptolemus frs. 596–617a. Schwarz (7–27) sets out the literary sources who refer to Triptolemus’ mission by name. It is also presupposed whenever Athens is said to have imported the gift of grain: in the fourth century, Pl. Men. 237E–238A; Isoc. 4 (Paneg.) 28f; Dem. 60 (Epit.) 5; Demetr. Phal. fr. 185 Wehrli. Smarzycz (supra n.1: 175–78) assembles further indications.

5 According to M. Nilsson (“Die eleusinischen Gottheiten,” ArchRW 32 (1935) 84 [=Opuscula Selecta II (Lund 1952)] 549), folk etymology first associated Τριπόλεμος with τρῖπολος; this was a good heroic name with some other meaning. But linguists do not agree on another meaning: see the etymological dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine s.v. Τριπόλεμος. A. D. Nock, “The Cult of Heroes,” in Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, ed. Z. Stewart (Oxford 1972) II 575–602 at 579 n.21 (=HTHR 37 [1944]), was more likely right to describe him as “a subordinate deity humanized by mythology.” He would not in any case be singled out in Hymn. Hom. Cer., which ignores Demeter’s festivals apart from the Mysteries. The real difficulties seem to be that πολεῖν vis-à-vis ἀρόνω is to till the ground without sowing it, as was done at other times in the year, and that τρί-, which might be intensive rather than specific, points to this extended procedure; a “thrice-tilling” hero is not then apt for the ploughing festival. The difficulties are removed and the name is apt indeed if the autumn ritual called for the ploughing of three furrows by some officiant. So E. A. Armstrong, “The Triple-Furrowed Field,” CR 57 (1943) 4, adducing ceremonies of this kind from India and China. There are supporting indications. The coupling of Demeter and Iasion νεωι ἐνὶ τριπόλωι is generally taken to reflect a fertility ritual; if so, the phrase should designate a spot that has just been prepared. Proclus on Hesiod quotes an Eleusinian song for the sowing that ends τριπόλων δὲ (PMG 877). Though the words will not be quite right as transmitted (τρίς πολέωνιν Bergk, τρῖπολον δὴ οἱ τριπόλειν δὲ Wilamowitz), this is independent evidence for some such term in the proper context.

6 On a red-figure krater Demeter holds a plough as Triptolemus sets off (ARV 1036.12; Schwarz [supra n.4] 48f); on a Boeotian skyphos Triptolemus holds it (Schwarz 55); on the tazza Farnese he has plough-pole, plough-share, and bag of seed (Schwarz 59); on another gem he grasps the plough-handle (Schwarz 60); on the Pietraossa cup he holds two ploughs (Schwarz 62); on a Roman stucco relief he has a plough (Schwarz 69). In many other works he is shown in the act of strewing seed. See Cook, Zeus I 222ff; Nilsson (supra n.5)
to take them from Demeter, and rides in a snake-drawn chariot. This strange vehicle signifies the effort or skill of the ploughman. When Triptolemus on his mission came to Αρόν ("Ploughland") in Achaea, a native youth yoked the snakes and attempted to plough on his own, but was thrown and killed (Paus. 7.18.3).

The Proerosia are further extolled as the remedy for the universal famine that Demeter inflicted in her sorrow; the rest of Greece, and even Barbary, joined in offering aparchai. Lycurgus in his Delian oration told how Apollo prescribed the remedy, so that his servant Abaris, a Hyperborean, was the first to bring aparchai. Apollo’s command was reasserted on one or more occasions by the Delphic oracle. The authority of Delphi is cited, together with ancestral custom, in an Athenian decree of the later fifth century, which makes practical arrangements for collecting the aparchai.

The actual collection of aparchai is known from this decree, another of the mid-fourth century, and the accounts of the Eleusinian epistatai for 329/328; it was somehow revived under Hadrian. The Proerosia are never mentioned by name. But as the aparchai of legend are destined for this festival, so they must be too in real life. The decrees and the accounts refer to a sacri-
office of animals funded from the *aparchai* (II *infra*), the accounts also to much smaller offerings (VI); this is obviously a festival, the Proerosia. Surprisingly, the Proerosia are seldom mentioned by commentators on the fifth-century decree. Instead, we are often told to think of other festivals, whether the Eleusinia of Metageitnion or the Mysteries of Boedromion. Yet the decree plainly shows that the deadline for the *aparchai* is considerably later than the Mysteries, when a call goes out to the whole Greek world.

In the text of the decree the call is inserted half-way through the practical arrangements: κελευντό δὲ καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντες καὶ ὁ δαιδόχος μυστερίως ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν ἡλληνῶν τὸ καρπὸ (IG Π 78.24f: "The Hierophant and the Torch-bearer at the Mysteries shall call upon the Greeks to make offerings of first fruits of the grain"). This will be part of their customary proclamation in Athens on the first day of the Mysteries, 15 Boedromion, for there was no other opportunity to address the Greeks at large. In the late fourth century Eleusis' sacred calendar records a similar call on 5 Pyanopsion, about three weeks later (III *infra*). The call on that date was in fact traditional. While the decree was in force, it was either superseded or supplemented by the call at the Mysteries.

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12 Comment on the decree has not kept pace with our understanding of Athenian festivals. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) 179–204, equated the Proerosia with the agonistic Eleusinia and assigned the composite festival to Boedromion, mainly because of the name "Proarcturia," which he associated with the morning rising of Arcturus in September. (He had once preferred the month Pyanopsion and the evening setting: 194 n.5.) Mommsen's once influential view is still sometimes followed, even by Meiggs and Lewis (from whom we all first imbibe the pure milk of Greek inscriptions), who say (p.221) that the deadline for the *aparchai* is "probably ... during the Eleusinia in the month Boedromion." It is however obsolete: the Eleusinia are now assigned to Metageitnion, and the Proerosia are seen to be quite distinct. A more recent attempt to link the *aparchai* with the Eleusinia of Metageitnion is refuted by A. C. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (New York 1981) 184–88. They are linked with the Mysteries by Smarczyk (184–216). Other objections aside, *IG Π 78.24f* (quoted and translated below) cannot mean that the Hierophant and the Torch-bearer will call on the Greeks at an unspecified time, and that the offerings will be delivered at the Mysteries.
The practical arrangements begin much earlier—in the spring, when the decree was issued—and continue throughout the summer. The decree requires each allied city to appoint collectors locally and ship the grain to Athens and obtain a receipt \( (IG \, I^1 \, 78.14-24, \, 26-30) \). In this first year they will be notified by heralds; a rider to the decree intercalates a second Hecatombaeon so as to give more time (lines 53f). In 329/328 aparchai were collected by Athenian generals from all the Aegean islands that Athens still possessed \( (IG \, I^2 \, 1672.275-79) \). The shipment from Imbros arrived too late for "the sacrifice," \textit{i.e.,} the festival (lines 297ff).

By the mid-fourth century the aparchai were regulated by "the law of Chaeremonides" \( (IG \, I^2 \, 140.8ff, \, 33f) \); it too must have laid down procedure in the manner of the earlier decree. Cleidemus, writing about this time, reports an alternative name for the Proerosia: \( \Pi\rho\omega\alpha\rho\kappa\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\alpha \) ("Before-Arcturus [rites]"). The reference can only be to the morning rising in early or mid-September, not to the evening setting nearly two months later, for that sign was little noticed, compared with the setting of the Pleiades. Early or mid-September is too early even for the call

13 Brumfield \((\text{supra n.12: 185})\) mistakenly says that the aparchai were sold in the tenth prytany (as in the heading of line 216). The collection and sale are not dated by prytany, and doubtless took place in the summer and autumn of 329.

14 The aparchai are also referred to in statutes of this period that were posted in the Eleusinium: A. G. Woodhead, \textit{Inscriptions: The Decrees (Athenian Agora 6 [1977]) nos. 56B a 13, 57.3, both "ante med. saec. IV a."
In the time of the second empire, from the 370s onward, Athens publicized Eleusis' festivals once more, chiefly the Mysteries but also the Proerosia. Triptolemus appears on Panathenaic vases and on a new bronze coinage; on vases and in literature gods and heroes come to Eleusis to be initiated; new laws are posted in Athens' Eleusinium, and new construction is started in the great sanctuary. See K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens," in W. Coulson \textit{et al.}, \textit{The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy} (Oxford 1994) 169.

15 Cleidemus, \textit{FGrHist} 323f23. "Cleidemus" is a likely but not certain emendation. Whoever the authority, it is a name for the civic Proerosia. At \textit{IG} I \textit{P} 232A20f, a 510-480, regulations at Athens' Eleusinium, the supplement \([- - \Pi\rho\alpha\rho\kappa\tau\]\textit{ou}\textit{p}/\textit{oi}([\alpha- - -]) \textit{(Hicks)} is merely one possibility, and there is no context.

16 The morning rising is ancienly assigned to 5, 12, or 15 September: F. Boll and W. Gundel, "Sternbilder," \textit{ML} 6 (1937) 885. Arcturus has not much to do with cereal agriculture. The rising is a sign for ploughing light soil (\textit{Verg. G.} 1.67f), as the setting is for sowing vetch, a counterfoil to cereals (\textit{Plin. HN} 18.137). According to \textit{ΣGerm. Arat.} p.169 Breysig, "Icarus," \textit{i.e.,} Arcturus, is honored at Athens with first fruits of both harvest and vintage, \textit{de frugibus et...}
at the Mysteries, in mid-Boedromion. The term indicates that the *aparchai* from abroad were expected to come in before the perilous sailing of autumn, signalled by Arcturus. "Before-Arcturus (rites)" are not then the festival itself, but the gathering of *aparchai*; this variation of the name is probably sarcastic.

So in Athens' great days the *aparchai* were collected through a prolonged secular effort that did not wait on any ceremony. The date and purpose of the Proerosia festival must be determined from other evidence.

II. The Sacrifices

The festival was especially noted for its sacrifice of animals. The very name is given as both προπόρισια (ἱερὰ) ("Before-ploughing [rites]") and προποροσία (θυσία) ("Before-ploughing [sacrifice]"). 17 Most festival names are neuter plural, referring to the "rites." If our name sometimes refers to the "sacrifice," a more specific element, it is because the sacrifice overshadowed the rest. In the opening scene of *Supplices* Aethra is engaged in sacrificing (29, προθύουσα) and stands beside the altars of Demeter and Kore (33f, cf. 63f, 93, 290). In the fifth and fourth centuries the sacrifice was paid for out of the *aparchai*, and accordingly varied in extent; in 329/328 there were forty-three sheep and goats and three oxen. 18 The *aparchai* decrees give further details. The sacrifice goes to two triads of Eleusinian deities: to

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vindemia, but it is clear that the vintage alone has suggested this. In a catas­terism Arcturus is a son of Demeter, Philomelus, whom she bore to Iasion, her partner in the furrows, and who invented the plough (Hermippus fr. 99 Wehr­li; Petellides, *FGrHist* 464ff). Yet these fancies had little warrant; Gemini can be Iasion and Triptolemus. Cf. Boll and Gundel 887f, 891 on Philomelus (they wrongly infer Egyptian influence), 951 on Iasion and Triptolemus.

17 The ephebic inscriptions have προπόρισια, with the variant προπόρεια by analogy with γενέσια and the like. The lexica (Harpocratation, Hesychius, Photius, Suda, s.vv. "Αβαρίς, εἱρεσιώνῃ, προποροσία, -αί") give both προποροσία and προποροσία. Sauppe and other editors of Lycurgus and Hyperides substitute the neuter plural, but the feminine is confirmed by both the Parian *Marble* and inscriptions in the Attic demes. There too the same equivocation occurs and for the same reason (IX–X *infra*).

18 IG II² 1672.289f. The animal prices were very high, 30 drachmas for a sheep or a goat and 400 drachmas for an ox, and yet were fixed by the Assembly. This remains puzzling; see V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta 1994) 71 n.11, and also SEG XLII 135.
Demeter and Kore and Triptolemus, and again to the god and the goddess and Eubulus; also to Athena, an obvious newcomer (IG I 78.36–40; II 140.17–25). In the late fifth century Demeter and Kore receive a trittota boarchos chrysokeros, i.e., an ox with gilded horns and two lesser animals; each of the others some adult animal; and Athena an ox with gilded horns. The two triads are distinctive of Eleusis and are fairly prominent in Athenian art. It is likely that their respective sacrifices belong to different locations at or near Demeter’s sanctuary. (Athena may be left aside.)

First, the triad Demeter, Kore, Triptolemus. As was said, Aethra in Euripides is near the altars of the two goddesses; in the first two lines she invokes Demeter and oĩ te ναούς ἔμεθε πρόσοποι θεᾶς (“ye who have temples as attendants of the goddess”). Triptolemus if anyone is an “attendant” of Demeter. If the plural is not by way of poetic amplitude, it might indicate Eubulus as well. But we need not suppose that two temples of the two attendants stood close together. On the contrary, there was a single temple right before the eyes of the audience, namely the stage-building. It was done up as a temple front, as often in tragedy, and is referred to repeatedly in the action of the play. Aethra’s invocation informs the audience that it is the well-known temple of Triptolemus.

When Pausanias comes to Eleusis by the Sacred Way, the first monument he points to, before the temple of Artemis propylaia and Poseidon pater and before the Kallichoron well, is the temple of Triptolemus (1.38.6). The temple of Artemis and Poseidon and the Kallichoron well, or at least the well so called by Pausanias, have been securely identified in the outer court of the sanctuary, as it was in Roman times. There is, however, no sign of Triptolemus’ temple; it must have been a little further

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19 See Nilsson (supra n.5) esp. 548–69; K. Clinton, Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Stockholm 1992) esp. 38–84. A vase has lately come to light on which “the god” is identified by name: Clinton (supra n.14) 166f. In one tale of Eleusinian origins Triptolemus and Eubuleus are a primordial pair of brothers (Paus. 1.14.2).

20 The following all have the deictic pronoun ὁς, indicating the stage-building qua temple: anaktora (88), oikoi (938), domoi (988). There is also melathra (982). Adrastus is “at the doors” (pylai, 104).

off, where the Sacred Way approaches the outer court. 22 That will satisfy the indications in Supplices. “Kallichoron” is twice referred to, but only as a general landmark (392, 619). Evadne must have leapt from the northeast corner of the acropolis, above the cave, where the rock is steepest; it is in full view from the Sacred Way, and can be said to “overtop” any building there (987f). 23

The two temples and the well are nearly all that Pausanias gives us at Eleusis, for he refuses to describe anything within the sanctuary. Yet between those items and his refusal he mentions the Rarian plain, where grain was first sown, and Triptolemus’ threshing floor and altar (loc.cit.), as if they were close at hand—close to the sanctuary, close to the outer court, close to the temple of Triptolemus. 24 Aethra too, even as she offers

22 J. Travlos, Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika (Tübingen 1988) 95, offers a conjectural location. To say that Pausanias “gives no indication where we should look for it” (Clinton [supra n.19] 49) is hyperbole.

23 Other suggestions for the dramatic setting do not hold up. According to C. Collard (Euripides, Supplices [Groningen 1975] I 15; cf. II 353), the stage building showed the temple “of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis,” which “lay directly beneath a cliff-face of the acropolis.” He means the great hall, but Euripides would not make his persons come and go inside the forbidden sanctuary. The cliff-face is non-existent. K. Clinton, “Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries,” in R. Hägg et al., edd., Early Greek Cult Practice (Stockholm 1988) 71f, puts the action in the outer court, with the Kallichoron well somehow appearing “on stage”; but the building referred to, the presumed backdrop, cannot be either the whole sanctuary of Demeter or the great hall, as Clinton variously proposes. Nor is it easy to believe that the two altars of Demeter and Kore are those that stand right in front of the temple of Artemis and Poseidon. Indeed Clinton elsewhere maintains (supra n.19: 116) that Artemis and Poseidon were honored together from of old; then it is all the harder to dissociate them from the altars in question.

24 “The sacred threshing floor” is mentioned in the accounts of 329/328 right after the sanctuary: IG II 1672.232f. E. Vanderpool, “ΕΠΙ ΠΡΟΥΧΟΝΤΙ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΩ: The Sacred Threshing Floor at Eleusis,” in Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to H. A. Thompson (= Hesperia Suppl. 20 [Princeton 1982]) 173f, followed by Smarczyn (190 n.94), distinguishes two ceremonial threshing floors: that of Triptolemus, which he situates some way off, together with the Rarian field (see n.25 infra), and the sacred threshing floor” within the great sanctuary. The sanctuary, says Vanderpool, originated as a threshing floor, for which this “projecting spur of hill” (Hymn. Hom. Cer. 272, 298) was ideal: it would “catch the breeze so necessary for the winnowing process.” That is not quite true. At the threshing season, late spring or early summer, the prevailing winds are from the west or northwest (Zephyr, Argestes, Sciron, Favonius): [Bacch.] PFE 1; Verg. G. 3.134; Columella Rust. 2.19.2, 20.5; Paus. 1.37.2 (altar of Zephyr at Sciron). At the same season, mariners too rely on the same winds: Ov. Fast. 6.715f (16
sacrifice and stands beside the altars of Demeter and Kore (Suppl. 28f, 33f), speaks of "this precinct where first the fruitful ear above this earth showed bristling" (30f). And it is to like effect that the Parian Marble tells how Triptolemus instituted the festival Proerosia, then sowed and harvested the Rarian plain (FGrHist 239A 12f). The festival setting must have included those other elements: a tract of ploughland, however small, and Triptolemus' threshing floor and altar.25

Thus the first group of sacrifices in the aparchai decrees belong to an area outside the sanctuary that includes altars of Demeter and Kore and a temple and altar of Triptolemus. As to the second group of sacrifices, for the god and the goddess and Eubulus, we know exactly where to look. The cult site is identified by several votive monuments found close together: a large votive relief depicting both triads, set up by the priest Lacrateides who served the god and the goddess and Eubuleus (the commoner form of his name); another relief depicting the divine pairs in both triads; the base for a statue of Eubuleus; and a bust of Eubuleus.26 It is the precinct beside the cave at the

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25 'Papia (γη) or 'Párhoς (πεθίος) is mentioned only for the ritual ploughing and sowing, and as the home of primordial Dysaules (Hippol. Haer. 5.7.4). It is never used as a toponym in any secular account. N. J. Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford 1974) 298 (after Leake), rightly says that "it must have lain very close to the Sanctuary." Those who place it further off (e.g. Mylonas 14; K. Kerenyi, Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter [New York 1967] 5; Vanderpool [supra n.24] 173) are merely swayed by the name.

26 Lacrateides' relief depicting the triads: Eleusis, Arch. Mus. 5079; IG II² 4701; Mylonas fig. 21; Clinton (supra n.19) figg. 5–7. Lysimachides' relief depicting the pairs: Athens, Nat. Mus. sculpture 1519; IG II² 4683; Clinton fig. 8. Statue base: IG I² 4615. Bust: Athens, Nat. Mus. sculpture 181; Mylonas fig. 65. On Lacrateides' relief the figure of Eubuleus can be identified with certainty, though the caption is lost: Nilsson (supra n.5) 557f; Clinton 52f. As to
northwest corner of the sanctuary. Within it is a small temple, obviously that of the triad or of part of it, whether of the god and the goddess alone, or of Eubuleus alone. There is no altar. But just to the south of the precinct is a long rock-hewn terrace that seemingly could have been so used. It faces east and is approached by a flight of steps, and has a catchment pit at the south end.

We cannot avoid noticing another feature of the precinct. Close beside the northeast corner of the temple is a circular pit about a meter across and two meters deep. Like some other
pits in other sanctuaries of Demeter, it is an excellent candidate for a *megaron*, the peculiar destination of certain sacrificial piglets. At Eleusis, moreover, the *megaron* is associated with Eubuleus. In the so-called Orphic version of the rape of Kore, he becomes a legendary swineherd whose animals are swallowed up with Kore in a cleft of the earth. The cleft is a virtual *megaron* and the ritual with the piglets is said to re-enact this event. An *Orphic Hymn* gives a similar indication: Kore is carried down to the underworld at a cave in Eleusis, which can only be the one in Eubuleus' precinct.

The upshot is that our festival sacrifice is conducted both outside and inside the sanctuary. The fullest form of commendation in the ephebic decrees runs as follows: “at the Proerosia they hoisted the oxen at Eleusis and performed their duty in the sanctuary in good order” (*IG* II² 1028.28f; 1029.15f, as restored). The language may intimate, in a vague and sonorous way, that they were active at two stages—in hoisting oxen outside the sanctuary (in the fifth-century decree these animals go to Demeter and Kore and to Athena) and in assisting at another sacrifice inside the sanctuary.

### III. The Proclamation at Athens

Further details of the festival can be elicited from the “sacred calendar” of Eleusis, an inscription of the late fourth cen-

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31 *Orph. H.* 18.14f. Pausanias, however, says that Pluto “descended” with Kore at the place called Erineus beside a crossing of the Eleusinian Cephisus (1.38.5; cf. Pl. *Tht.* 143s).
The inscription appears to be a sacrificial calendar of the deme Eleusis, recording the festival expenses borne by the deme. It has generally been thought that the festivals and the expenses are too restricted to constitute the full range. It depends in part on which festivals we recognize and when we date them; both matters need to be reconsidered. But even if this is not the full range, there is a ready explanation. The hieratic gene of Eleusis had large prerogatives that included other sources of revenue; the deme's mandate may have been correspondingly reduced.

The festival Proerosia was proclaimed (προεροσία) on 5 Pyanopsion by the Hierophant and the Herald, i.e., the sacred herald of Eleusis (lines 3–7). The proclamation of the Mys-

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33 This is the usual view: see e.g. Dow and Healey 43–48; S. Dow, “Six Athenian Sacrificial Calendars,” BCH 92 (1968) 175, 184; Whitehead 188ff. N. J. Richardson, Gnomon 39 (1967) 281, thinks it may not be a calendar at all, but “simply a record of past expenses”; he errs, however, in comparing the regulations at Paeania (cf. IX infra), and it would be hard to find a similar document. K. Clinton, The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Philadelphia 1974) 22 n.82, and “The Thesmophorion in Central Athens and the Celebration of the Thesmophoria in Attica,” in R. Hägg, ed., The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis (Stockholm 1996) 114 n.11, says that the deme Eleusis cannot be concerned with any ritual inside the great sanctuary, so that the calendar must belong either to the hieratic gene or to the city; latterly he regards it as “an Eleusinian ‘edition’ of the state calendar,” i.e., an excerpt thereof. Yet the premise seems unwarranted.

34 Dow and Healey, Dow (supra n.33), and G. Roux, “À propos d’un livre nouveau: le calendrier d’Eleusis et l’offrande pour la table sacrée dans le culte d’Apollon pythien,” AntCl 35 (1966: hereafter ‘Roux’) 562f, hold that the gene are here exempted by the deme from certain expenses, which had become too onerous. This is a gratuitous assumption.

35 The month-name does not survive, only the days for the proclamation and for offerings to Apollo Pythios, “the 5th” and “the 7th” respectively (lines 3, 8). The latter can only be the festival Pyanopsia; see L. Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin 1932: hereafter ‘Deubner’) 199. Plutarch speaks of Pyanopsion as the month for sowing (Mor. 378e), and it is therefore claimed by commentators as the proper month for the Proerosia. But Plutarch is merely canvassing the month-names that in various lands correspond to the setting of the Pleiades, the traditional sign for the farmer’s labors. Despite the sign, the time for sowing varied with the weather, and might be prolonged in any case to improve the chances, and often would not be the same for barley and wheat.
ties (προαιρεύειν, πρόρηψις) by the Hierophant and the Torch-bearer was made on the first day of that festival, 15 Boedromion.36 Accordingly, 5 Pyanopsion has often been taken as the day of the Proerosia.37 But the Mysteries went on for seven or eight days, with various activities at Athens and Eleusis; the crowd of worshippers, including many new initiates, needed some direction, and certain persons were warned away. The proclamation of the Proerosia cannot have been of this kind. Nor should we suppose that the date of the festival was left open from year to year, to be fixed at the last by public notice, according to the prospects for suitable weather.38 Instead, this must have been a call for aparchai.

The priests who proclaim the Proerosia are to receive an allowance for lunch (ariston) of 1 1/2 drachmas, as if they are away from home.39 So the proclamation was made at Athens, like the proclamation of the Mysteries, and doubtless at the same frequented spot, the Stoa Poikile on the north side of the

36 Isoc. 4 (Paneg.) 157; Philostr. V.A. 4.18; Σκ. Ran. 369. Though these sources do not say so, it was very likely the sacred herald who gave voice to the Mysteries proclamation too; Dow and Healey 9; Clinton (supra n.33) 78. The Proerosia proclamation differs in dispensing with the Torch-bearer.


38 So Brumfield (supra n.12: 59) in a valuable discussion of the Proerosia, followed by Smarzycy (188 n.88). The festival is assigned to a given date in the demes (to the day at Myrrhinus, to the month and presumably to the day at Thoricus); a fortiori it will be too at Eleusis, in the great celebration that was professedly on behalf of the whole world. All of Demeter's festivals, not only the Proerosia, are associated with seasonal events that are critically dependent on the weather: both Thesmophoria and Proerosia with the ploughing and sowing, Chloaea with the sprouting, Antheia with the flowering, Calamaea perhaps with the reaping, Scira with the threshing. Hymn. Hom. Cer. 453–56 describes the spring growth at three stages: ταννοίη κόμησειν ἀσταχωσήν ("waving with long ears"), βρισμένει ἀσταχών ("loaded with grain"), and ἕν ἐλλεδανοῖο δέδεσθαι ("bound in sheaves"), which may correspond to the festivals Chloaea, Antheia, and Calamaea. Thus the festival calendar was bound to go its own way. It is also most unlikely that any civic or local authority would venture to predict the ideal time for a seasonal event.

39 At Thoricus, as we shall see (IX infra), lunch is provided for an "attendant" at a sacrifice that brings him to a cult-site some way off. These two lunches are compared by Whitehead (188f, 196), though he has a different notion of the doings at Thoricus.
Agora.40 The next entry in the calendar is on 7 Pyanopsion, when Apollo receives an offering worth 20 drachmas at his festival Pyanopsia (lines 8–13). Legend says that Apollo is honored with the eiresione bough, an old festival custom, because the god in his oracular wisdom issued the call for aparchai.41 It must be in virtue of the proclamation on the 5th that Apollo is associated with the aparchai two days later; the offering in the calendar acknowledges the legend. Our understanding of the proclamation as a call for aparchai is confirmed. Although the legend is not attested until the fourth century, it is likely to be much older; so too will be the proclamation on the 5th. This was soon enough in the days before aparchai were requisitioned from overseas.

IV. The Proclamation at Eleusis

Even so, the festival will not follow closely on the proclamation. It was plainly misguided to fix on 6 Pyanopsion, the next day;42 as the Council sometimes met on this date, it is in fact excluded for any civic festival. Furthermore, Demeter was honored at Athens city for five days running from 9 to 13 Pyanopsion, each day with its own name and activity; the whole

40 The previous entry in the calendar, for an earlier day in the month, ended with "to the Eleusinium" (line 2), which might be the one in Athens, above the southeast corner of the Agora. Before these words, Sokolowski on LSCG 7 offers a supplement spanning lines 1–2: πρηγκο[(ξέχο] [ειρετικόν ἀνὴρ. This is quite impossible. Words are not otherwise divided between lines (except for ὑπομονοφόροι in lines 25–26), and line 1 had ample space for this one, and at the beginning of line 2 the lacuna is of considerably more than two letters.

41 So Lycurg. Menesaechmus, FGrHist 401fr1=fr. 82 Conomis; Crates, FGrHist 362c1.

42 Dow and Healey 6; Roux 563; Richardson (supra n.32) 277; Clinton (supra n.33) 22; Mikalson (supra n.1) 68; Whitehead 196.
series is doubtless the civic Thesmophoria. The Proerosia can be no earlier than the second half of Pyanopsion.

In the sacred calendar the entry for Apollo on the 7th is immediately followed by another, or by a continuation of the same entry: a line between has been erased. After the erasure, the entry runs as follows (lines 15–19). "For the Hierophant and the priestesses ταῖς Ἐλευσίνες in the pannychis to provide libations, cakes, [something more]." The next line is again erased, with the erasure extending into the margin, so that a figure for expenses was also removed; there is no such figure beside lines 15–19.

On the current view, this is a delegation from Eleusis to the Pyanopsia at Athens. The initial erasure is of some detail pertaining to the Pyanopsia; the priestesses are those Ἐλευσίνες; the Eleusinian officiants came to Athens with the Eleusinian offerings of lines 8–13. On the view that prevailed be-

43 Σ. Α., Thesm. 80, 585, 834; Hsch. s.v. Ἐλευσίνες τριτή θεσμοφορίας; Phot. s.v. θεσμοφορίας ἡμέρας 5. Because the ceremony of the opening day, 9 Pyanopsion, called "Stenia," was more public, it is often individually named (Ar. Thesm. 834; Eubulus, FCG V fr. 146; IG II2 674.6; B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, The Athenian Councillors [Princeton 1974] nos. 70.6ff [as restored], 78.6ff, 240.9f). The lexicoc therefore treat it as a separate festival of Demeter (s.v. σήμια, σημάωσα). As a further consequence, Aristophanes’ scholia and related entries in the lexica, all cited above, restrict the general name "Thesmophoria" to the days following the 9th, either 10–13 or 11–13 Pyanopsion, with an ensuing controversy about the proper count of days (Aristophanes obviously counted five, for he says at line 80 that the third day is the middle one; the ancient controversy precludes any modern emendation). All this is reproduced in our handbooks, which further say that the seaside celebration of 10 Pyanopsion at Halimus was once a separate deme festival, adopted by the city as a conciliatory gesture. But the deme Halimus, represented by three Councillors, is no more than a small adjunct to the harbor of Phalerum; it was never an independent community with its own festival calendar. In Philicus’ Hymn to Demeter, as it seems to be, "Attic Iambe" comes from Halimus to cheer Demeter (SH 680 lines 54–62 with n. ad 54). This is to associate Athens’ Thesmophoria with Eleusis’ Mysteries in a common aetiology. Other evidence shows that a seaside ritual was part of the Thesmophoria everywhere. In the early days when Phalerum, not Peiraeus, was a busy port, Cape Colias in Halimus was the nearest suitable shore that was not much frequented. We shall come to the civic Thesmophoria (XII infra) and to the seaside ritual (XVII infra).

44 Dow and Healey 28–31; Roux 564–72; Richardson (supra n.32) 278; Sokolowski on LSCG 7; Clinton (supra n.33) 22, 47.

45 "We should expect to find Eleusinian personnel present along with their offerings," scil. those of lines 8–13, say Dow and Healey (29). But the offerings of lines 8–13 are clearly for Apollo’s daytime festival, and distinct from the materials of the pannychis. Roux (564–72) compares the daytime offerings.
fore Dow and Healey, it is the festival Stenia, when the women are said to have bantered each other “at night.”46 The initial era­sure is of a date, presumably the “9th.” The priestesses were thought to be those “in Eleusis,” but Dow and Healey say that εξ is certain.

It is hard to believe that the Hierophant and the collective priestesses of Eleusis came as guests to Apollo’s festival at Athens. Such a visitation—the priesthood of one cult attending a festival in another cult—would be unparalleled.47 Nor is a pannychis, or any activity of women, otherwise attested for Apollo’s festival. We may also think it strange for the priestesses alone to be designated as coming “from Eleusis.” The restoration εξ Ἐλ[ευ]σ[ινίου is equally possible; the priestesses are then “from the Eleusinum,” i.e., the main walled sanctuary.48

As we saw above, the festival Proerosia is conducted outside the sanctuary as well as inside; so indeed are the Mysteries. “The priestesses from the Eleusinium” might take part in a pannychis outside the sanctuary.

This festivity is surely at Eleusis, as was formerly assumed. But it will not be the Stenia, a name that is heard of only at Athens. It must be related to the proclamation of the Proerosia shortly before. That proclamation was made at Athens and was

with Delphic ritual as he conceives it; even if the comparison is sound, it does not bear on the pannychis.

46 Ziehen on LGS 2.6, and Ἐπαννυχίς (1),” RE 18.3 (1949) 631; Hiller von Gaertringen, n.7 ad SIG 1038; Deubner 53.

47 The Torch-bearer has an active rôle in the civic Lenaea (ΣΑρ. Ran. 479). At this winter season vine and grain share a common need of rain, which seems to be reflected in the cults of Dionysus and Demeter; cf. Deubner 125f. The Eleusinian priestess of Demeter receives a fee at the Lesser Mysteries of Agrae (IG 13 6c10f). Both cases are altogether different from the supposed visitation.

48 So the text of LSCG 7, though Sokolowski does not offer much explanation (in any case he thinks that the priestesses are bound for the Pyanopsis). The “Eleusinium” of Eleusis is referred to quite off-handedly in the first ἀρχαῖ decree and in Eleusinian accounts: IG 1 78.29; II ἰ 1666a1, 1672.6, 1673.81. It can only be the main sanctuary, more often simply called the hieron. Any sanctuary may have a name of its own, e.g., “Pythium.” The sanctuary at Phalerum is called both hieron and “Eleusinum” within a few lines: IG 1 32.27, 34. L. Deubner, “Zum Weihehaus der eleusinischen Mysterien,” in Kleine Schriften zur klassischen Altertumskunde (Königsberg 1982) 741–45, advocates the right meaning though with dubious arguments. Rubensohn (supra n. 29: 9–34) opposes him but does not succeed in showing that “Eleusinium” can designate the great hall.
further signalized by a tribute to Apollo at the Athenian festival Pyanopsia. Both occasions were added after Athens took control of the original Eleusinian Proerosia.

We should glance at the Mysteries, a similar case. They too, as everyone is aware, were enlarged after Athens took control. There it seems to be a matter of reduplicating at Athens the part of the ritual that takes place outside the Eleusinian sanctuary. On 15 and 16 Boedromion worshippers gather at Athens and operate with their individual piglets.49 As the next two days, the 17th and 18th, are at Athens a complete hiatus, we may infer that the same ritual was now conducted at Eleusis; so it had always been. Thereafter the ritual for all took place within the sanctuary, and the main party of worshippers paraded from Athens to Eleusis. The external rites at Athens and at Eleusis are successive rather than concurrent because the same Eleusinian priests must preside throughout.

So too with the Proerosia. The proclamation at Athens was undoubtedly followed by another at Eleusis, the original proclamation of the local festival. The proclamation itself would not require notice in the calendar. But it was followed by some ritual at night, a pannychis, which required notice to the extent that the deme defrayed expenses. When the calendar was inscribed, the deme was ready to do so. Yet the erasures suggest that this contribution was afterwards withdrawn. The first erasure is surely of the date, the second of priestly emoluments and of the total expenditure.50 The activity described in the inter-

49 The initiates wash their piglets in the sea on 16 Boedromion, and immediately (we may be sure) put them to the use to which this drastic cleansing is preliminary. As the number of initiates and hence of piglets was in the thousands, supply and distribution must have been the business of the day before, under the equivalent names ἄγαρμός (“Round-up,” Hsch. s.v.) and ἱερεῖα δέορα (“Victims hither,” Philostr. V.A. 4.18: the name is conjoined with prorhesis so as to designate the first day). The handbooks assure us that ἄγαρμός denotes the “Assembly” of worshippers, a banal name indeed. But Hesychius, our sole authority, expressly distinguishes the festival name from the meaning “assembly,” and says that it is rather τὸ ἄγαρμον. A principal sense of ἄγαρμον is to “herd” animals, especially swine. The first day of the Anthesteria was devoted likewise to the supply and distribution of the new wine that was handselled on the following days: Robertson, HSCP 95 (1992) 212–18.

50 As to line 14, Dow and Healey (8, 29) hold that the erasure is too long for a date, and that any date would be too essential to remove—which merely begs the question. The erasure is said to be “of at least 15 1/2 spaces.” [ὀγδοει or ἐνάτει ἱστομένου] makes fifteen, [δεκαει ἱστομένου] sixteen, and the left margin is not straight. As this is a local observance of Eleusis, it might perhaps
vening lines, 15-19, was no longer supported by deme funds, but there was no need to erase the whole entry.

V. The *megaron*

After this the stone breaks off. A smaller, non-joining fragment gives another entry in the same left-hand column. It belongs lower down, for there is no right-hand column as there was in the other; that column, and so the calendar year, have ended.

The text presented by Dow and Healey in 1965 is as follows (lines 22-27):

\[
\begin{align*}
&πρὸς τὸ μέγαρον \\
&\Delta εἰς τὰ ἀπὸμέτρα τῇ ιερείᾳ \\
&tῇ τοῦ Πλούτονος ιερείᾳ \\
&eἰς ἔστισάσες τοῦ Θεομο-
\end{align*}
\]

[orraine-

There is mention of the *megaron*, the priestess, the priestess of Pluto, the two Thesmophor goddesses, a basket, the altar. The entry is generally assigned, at least of late, to the Thesmophoria. If it is the civic celebration at Athens, on 9-13 Pyanop-sion, the lower fragment must have followed very close on the upper, so that the right-hand column gave out at once.

coincide with a day of the civic Thesmophoria at Athens. The civic Epidauria on 17 Boedromion, if that was the day, must on any view be presumed to coincide with some part of the original Mysteries.

51 Dow and Healey 32-38; Roux 572f; Richardson (supra n.32) 277-80; Sokolowski on LSCG 7; J. D. Mikalson, "Religion in the Attic Demes," *AJP* 98 (1977) 426f; Whitehead 189f; Clinton (supra n.23) 72f and (supra n.33) 114f.

Earlier commentators do not declare themselves.

52 In the upper fragment the right-hand column survives only in the slightest traces, about 20 letters over 8 lines (34-41). Dow and Healey (39ff), followed by Whitehead (189), assign it all to the festival Scira, but mainly because they already hold that the year is at an end and the month is Scirophorion. Ziehen on LGS 2.6 had suggested Thargelion or Scirophorion; he did not speak of the festival Scira, as Richardson (supra n.32: 278) reports of him. In fact the only remnant that lends itself to any sort of speculation is πος[ at the beginning of line 37, perhaps either the god Poseidon or the month Poseideon. The Eleusinian Haloa, a festival of some consequence, was celebrated in Poseideon and addressed in part to Poseidon; see Robertson, "Poseidon's Festival at the Winter Solstice," *CQ* ns. 34 (1984) 2-6.
Another consequence is that the calendar, or what remains of it, is very much concerned with Athenian events. We recall that current opinion also situates the pannychis at Athens, as part of the Pyanopsia. But in this Eleusinian calendar we expect mostly Eleusinian festivals.\textsuperscript{53}

It has been suggested that the entry refers to a celebration of the Thesmophoria as a local festival of Eleusis (\textit{supra} n.51: Dow and Healey, Sokolowski, Clinton). Yet there is no evidence or likelihood of such a celebration. To be sure, it is said by Aeneas Tacticus and others that in the time of Peisistratus the Megarians attempted a surprise attack as Athenian women conducted the Thesmophoria at Eleusis.\textsuperscript{54} But we see from Plutarch's \textit{Life of Solon} that the Attic chroniclers located the same attack not at Eleusis but at Halimus, the undoubted site of the civic festival on the day, 10 Pyanopison, when the women resorted to the seashore.\textsuperscript{55} Eleusis is merely a narrative variation: the intended victims are again the leading women of Athens, engaged in the civic festival, but Eleusis is a nearer and more strategic target for the Megarians. Furthermore, if the calendar of Eleusis registered a local celebration of the Thesmophoria some time after the announcement of the Proerosia, we would be left to wonder when \textit{that} festival could be accommodated in the busy autumn schedule.

We must consider the possibility that the subject of our entry is the Proerosia. The phrase "to the megaron" (line 22) does not show what was done here, or even what sort of thing the megaron was. But we know that in other sanctuaries of Demeter its use was not restricted to the Thesmophoria. The megaron and "the altars" are mentioned together in a decree of the deme Peiraeus concerning the local "Thesmophorium." To approach them is an act of devotion that like several others is forbidden except at festival time: μηδε προς τους βωμους μηδε το μεγαρον προσιωσιν ονευ της ιερεως (\textit{IG II}² 1177.5ff). The megaron is somehow approached in the Eleusis calendar too. At Peiraeus, however, the time when the act is allowed is the whole series of

\textsuperscript{53} Roux (562f) is undeterred, suggesting that the whole scope of the calendar is "ceremonies celebrated at Athens and requiring as a result a journey by the priests of Eleusis to the asty." Similarly Mikalson (\textit{supra} n.51) 426.

\textsuperscript{54} Aen. Tact. 4.8–11; also Just. 2.8.1–5; Frontin. \textit{Strat.} 2.9.9. Aeneas (and he alone) is given credence by P. Foucart, \textit{Les mystères d'Eleusis} (Paris 1914) 64; Deubner 53 n.5; Travlos (\textit{supra} n.22) 93; Clinton (\textit{supra} n.19) 29 and (\textit{supra} n.33) 114 n.9.

\textsuperscript{55} Plut. \textit{Sol.} 8.4ff, professing to give the usual version; Polyaenus \textit{Strat.} 1.20.2.
Demeter’s festivals: Thesmophoria, “Plerosia” (fem. sing.), Cala-maea, Scira, any other customary day (lines 7-12). The megaron in the Thesmophorium of Delos figures somehow in a festival of the Delian month corresponding to Maemacterion, three months after the the Delian Thesmophoria of Metageitnion.56 So however we interpret the megaron of the calendar, it suits the Proerosia just as well as the Thesmophoria.57

The meaning of the word has been queried: perhaps it is not what one thinks of first, the pit into which piglets were thrown in Demeter’s sanctuaries, but a building above ground.58 Yet the context should dispel any doubts. After the rite that brings us “to the megaron,” emoluments follow “for the priestess” unspecified, scil. of Demeter, then “for the priestess of Pluto” (lines 23f). We have already seen that in the Orphic version of the rape of Kore, which is markedly aetiological, the cleft where Pluto descended is equated with the megaron as a pit for piglets (supra II). “The priestess of Pluto” is unexpected in so far as a cult of Pluto is not attested for Eleusis, only for Athens, where the Hierophant had charge of it (see Clinton [supra n.19] 20).

Yet the titulature of Eleusinian cult is not at all straightforward. As others have said, Pluto and his bride seem to be replaced within the main sanctuary by “the god and the goddess,” who, being unheard of elsewhere, advertise the uniqueness of

56 IG XI.2 199A48f; IDélos 440A.41. For the readings, see P. Bruneau, Recherches sur les cultes de Délos (Paris 1970; hereafter ‘Bruneau’) 270, 273.

57 According to Festus (pp.126, 154 Lindsay), the mundus of agrarian cult is opened on 24 August, 5 October, and 8 November, a range similar to the autumn festivals at Peiraeus and on Delos. Mundus is the Latin for megaron, for it is said to belong to Demeter (Festus loc.cit.) or to Pluto and Kore (Macro. Sat. 1.16.17) and to designate the “cave” where Demeter went below in search of her daughter (Serv. ad Eel. 1.3.105).

58 Dow and Healey (32-35), like some others before them, argue for the pit, but Richardson (supra n.32: 279f) is not persuaded. He notes that only the plural megara is used in descriptions of the rite (such as they are), and that Eust. Od. 1.27 insists on it. Yet this appearance is surely deceptive. Demeter’s excavated sanctuary at Priene seems to have a solitary megaron, and there are epigraphic examples both at Peiraeus and on Delos, and the singular megaron or magaron meaning “pit” (or something like it) occurs elsewhere in inscriptions and antiquarian comment, not only with reference to Demeter. Mythical victims associated with both Demeter and Dionysus are confined in some special underground chamber, always singular. See Robertson, “Melanthus, Codrus, Neleus, Caucon: Ritual Myth as Athenian History,” GRBS 29 (1988) 217-22, and “The Magic Properties of Female Age-Groups in Greek Ritual,” AncW 26 (1995) 197ff.
Eleusis. Perhaps “the priestess of Pluto” keeps her title from a time before this substitution was made.

Conversely, there is no reason to think that anything else but the megaron of Demeter’s ritual might be so called in this sacrificial calendar. It is a term for the great hall (beside anaktoron) only in literary stylists of the Roman period, probably as a reminiscence of Herodotus’ use of the word. Once, however, the word is used with reference to a point of ritual, and it denotes the sacrificial pit. Our source is Aelian, a silly writer to be sure, but here he is irrefutable.

It is a silly story about an intruder on the megaron of Eleusis who was so badly frightened that he died (fr. 10 Hercher). As the silliness is solely warranted by the sanctity of the megaron, the term must be true to life. The intruder, a Torch-bearer unworthy of his office, ὅθει ἐαυτὸν φέρων ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐνθα δῆπο τῶν μεν ἑρωφάντη μόνοι παρελθεῖν θεμιτὸν ἕν κατὰ τὸν τῆς τελετῆς νόμον κτλ. (“goes and thrusts himself on the megaron, where it was lawful for the Hierophant alone to go according to the rule of the ceremony,” etc.). Admittedly, the language does not show that the megaron is a pit; ἐς τὸ μέγαρον might equally mean “into the megaron” as a building. But then it could not be the great hall, which accommodated thousands of ordinary men and women.

Aelian means that the Hierophant was the only male admitted to the megaron. The Torch-bearer, he says, was enervated and feminized by the doctrines of Epicurus. With this new womanish nature (Θῆλυς γενόμενος, γυνανδρος, γυνις) he forgets him-

59 See Nilsson (supra n.5) 555–58; Clinton (supra n.19) 51, 111f, 114f.
60 Plut. Mor. 169e; Hsch. s.v. ἀνάκτορον; Poll. Onom. 9.15. The nuances in Herodotus can be debated, but for the stylists it is simply an imposing word for “temple.” Clinton (supra n.19: 128–32) shows that anaktoron denotes the great hall (rather than some element within it); the same follows for megaron as a later synonym.
61 Aelian’s megaron, like both megaron and anaktoron in other sources, was once thought an element within the great hall, an inner sanctum such as Travlos identified on the ground in 1951: e.g. Mylonas 86f; Clinton (supra n.33) 39, 46. But that meaning has been exploded: supra n.60. Clinton (supra n.19: 127) now tries to fit the passage of Aelian to the great hall, but the difficulty is such that he is half inclined to throw it out the window. Kerenyi (supra n.25: 108–11) thinks of Aelian’s megaron, and the calendar’s too, as some distinctive cult building, and gives a choice of three in or around the sanctuary (including the temple in the northwest precinct!). Rubensohn (supra n.29: 27–33) speculates in a similar vein about the megaron of the calendar.
self (ἐπιλαθόμενος) and rushes impulsively to the megaron, evidently a place for women only, apart from the Hierophant. The transformation and its fatal result are an impressive reason to eschew the doctrines of Epicurus. The rites at Demeter’s megaron, the sacrificial pit, are for women only. It is unlikely that Eleusis had some other kind of megaron with rites for women only. So Aelian confirms this sense of the word for Eleusis and the calendar. The megaron is no doubt the existing pit within the northwest precinct (supra II). The precinct wall hides it from view outside, as the story requires.

VI. The Offering of Grain

Thereafter we have an offering of some kind “for the two Thesmo[phor (goddesses)’ (lines 25f), and also firewood and other vanished items (line 27). Alas, the reading and restoration of line 25 are in disarray.62 Until Dow and Healey, only a few doubtful traces were claimed before ἃς τοῖν Θεσμό-. Even these can hardly be distinguished in the two photographs published in 1965 of squeezes made ca 1933 and in 1963. In elucidating several more letters, Dow and Healey were led to print and expound a vox nihil, reproduced above, that scandalized reviewers. Yet they too were unable to effect any real improvement. Now there is one striking clue, kanoun (“basket”) in the next line. Striking, because baskets go unmentioned in other ritual texts;63 they are mostly unimportant. A basket would of course hold grain.

We are reminded of the custom of bringing aparchai (“first fruits”) of barley and wheat. In the fifth and fourth centuries large quantities were collected and stored at Eleusis in granaries built for the purpose.64 Afterwards it was sold, and part of the

62 The following restorations have been proposed: [βωμόν] στ[ο]Λ[ί]ς (Hiller von Gaertringen); ε[ῖς ἔστιν]ς (Dow and Healey); ἔστιν Θεσμο[φόρον (D. M. Lewis); πρὸς θυσίας ἕς τοῖν Θεσμο[φόρον θύει] κανούν (Sokolowski); ε[ῖς ἔστιν]ς τοῖν Θεσμ[ό-] [φόρον ca 3 letters] κανούν (Clinton).

63 As Ziehen remarks on LGS 2.6. The Athenian decree of 129/128 about the cult of Apollo mentions a very notable basket, τὸ ἱερὸν κανοῦν, in a context that is beyond recovery (LSGC Suppl. 14.46f: Sokolowski restores a procession of maidens, all bearing the one basket).

64 IG I2 78-101ff (siroi), on which see Mylonas 125ff and Travlos (supra n.22) 95; IG II2 1672.292 (pyrgos).
money was allocated for sacrifice in two separate funds, one general and another called by the traditional name *pelanos*, which the Eumolpidae administered. These substantial matters are set forth in the decrees about the *aparchai*. The exhaustive records of 329/328 mention a much smaller item, an offering to Demeter and Kore, “the two goddesses,” of a single medimnos of barley and another of wheat (*IG* Ι2 1672.279f, 284). The wheat is a *pelanos* in the original sense, some age-old way of dressing grain, semiliquid but uncooked; the barley is *prokōννα*, said to be the first and finest from the threshing.65 This special offering of barley figured somehow, with the other lore of the *aparchai*, in Lycurgus’ Delian oration (*FGrHist* 401c9=fr. 90 Conomis). Pausanias says that the barley of the Rarian plain went into offering cakes (1.38.6).66

Baskets of grain seem to be associated with our festival in myth and art. Nonnus twice mentions baskets together with Triptolemus and his mission; once they are ταλάρονσι γονόντας … Μετανείρες (“the fruitful baskets of Metaneira”), as if they held grain, or even seed grain.67 Long before, in a

65 According to Galen (19.95 Kühn), ἀλήτια προκόννα is the barley threshed before the sheaves are stacked in “cone” shapes on the threshing floor. If this sounds fanciful, it is far surpassed by Mommsen (*supra* n.12: 192 n.3), who suggests that the constellation Arcturus was seen as a spinning top, *konos*, so that *prokonia* and Proarcturia are the same. We must leave the name unexplained, like many of the innumerable names for cereal confections. Demon (περὶ θυσίων, *FGrHist* 327f3) describes the ritual item as barley parched and ground up with herbs. Crates (*FGrHist* 362f3), doubtless from περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησιθύσιων, makes it “unparched barley,” and Erotian (p.57 Klein) calls this Attic usage; similarly Aristoph. Gramm. p.223 Nauck; Poll. *Onom.* 6.77; Hsch. s.v. προκόννα. Either of these would do for the Proerosia offering. Didymus (p.40 Schmidt) gave the meaning for Lycurgus as “wheat kneaded with honey”; but the Eleusinian accounts prove him wrong. It may be either wheat or barley, says Autocleides in his Ἑξηγητικά (*FGrHist* 353f4).

66 Maximus of Tyre (p.292 Hobein) attests the offering of grain or cakes at the Proerosia. He extols the simple “farmer” (γεωργός), who makes bloodless offerings to the gods προηθόντων (“before-ploughing”), as also to those of the harvest and the vintage and the threshing. Such offerings, though varied by a few cocks and a piglet, are conspicuous in an Athenian private calendar of Roman date largely devoted to agrarian deities (*LSAC* 52: see below). Yet the fullest array of cakes and grain are for “farmer” Zeus on 20 Maemacterion. Maemacterion, as we shall soon see, is the likely month for the Eleusinian Proerosia, and Zeus is a favorite deity in the deme festivals, represented at Eleusis by Eubuleus.

67 *Dion.* 13.188–92: the people of Eleusis are grandly described as “initiates of the basket and of the fair-fruited goddess, sprung from the blood of Triptolemus,” who once carried ears of grain in his snake-drawn chariot; 27.285f:
rendering of Triptolemus’ departure on a red-figure hydria, the Eleusinian goddesses who stand beside him are joined at the last moment by a woman who runs up with a high round basket in her hand. In two black-figure scenes, where Triptolemus prominently holds his ears of grain, there are women beside him who examine certain small and precious objects in their hands, probably kernels of grain.

Lines 25f can be restored to this effect, as an offering of grain:

\[\text{απάξεις ἰςας τοῖν Ἐθσμο-}
\[\text{φόροιν ἀκατέρας κανοῦν}\]

The accusative, with \(\epsilon\iota\)ς understood, denotes another object of expenditure. A similar style is used for the two goddesses in the other inscriptions. The animal sacrifice funded from the archai is for \(τοῖν θεοῖν ἥκατέραι\) (IG 13 78.37f). In the accounts of 329/328 the two \(μεδίμναι\) of grain, \(προκωνία\) and \(πελάνος\) respectively, are each for \(τοῖν θεοῖν\) (loc.cit.).

The last preserved line (27) includes the words “wood for the altar.” The rites take place successively at “the megaron” and at “the altar”; the basket will go with the latter. In the clause quoted from the decree of Peiraeus the priestess officiates, during the several festivals of Demeter, at both “the altars” and “the megaron.” Beside the northwest precinct with its megaron

*remember Triptolemus and fair-furrowed Celeus; do not scorn the fruitful baskets of Metaneira.* At 31.69 it is merely an emblematic “basket of Demeter.”

68 ARV² 1119.1; Schwarz (supra n.4) 51; Clinton (supra n.14) 167 fig. 6, who (166) thinks that the basket may contain “sacred compost,” his term for the pig remains from the megaron. Deubner (51, 250) so interprets the basket-bearer on the calendar frieze of Ayios Eleftherios, who represents the Thesmophoria.

69 Black-figure amphora in Göttingen: ABV 309.83; Schwarz (supra n.4) 29; Clinton (supra n.14) 165 fig. 2; another in Würzburg: Schwarz 30; Clinton 165 fig. 3.

70 “equal (offerings of) first-fruits for each of the two Thesmophor goddesses, a basket (thereof).” In line 25 “the first letter shows a right angle, as if for the upper part of an epsilon”: Dow and Healey 9. It is clearly visible in pl. I, the squeeze of \(cba\) 1933. The letter might equally be \(pi\). Furthermore, in lines 22–25 “the margin was not kept even” (Dow and Healey 8), and there seems room for another letter before this one. Hence \(\text{διϊρας}\).

71 Constructions are loose throughout the calendar. Objects of expenditure are governed by \(\epsilon\iota\)ς at lines 5 and 23; there is a series of nominatives at lines 9–11; and explanatory infinitives at lines 12 and 18.
is the long stepped terrace that looks rather like an altar (supra II).

If the entry concerns the Proerosia, it is the sequel we expect after the proclamation of 5 Pyanopsion. Yet the date remains uncertain. The interval between the two fragments cannot be determined, though it saw the end of the year in the right-hand column. The month need not still be Pyanopsion.

VII. The Festival Date

Eleusis' calendar aside, there are three reasons for assigning the Proerosia to Maemacterion rather than Pyanopsion. First, Euripides' *Supplices*, which opens with the Proerosia, is for the rest a tribute to the proud Athenian custom of burying fallen soldiers with a state funeral. The play is but another version of a favorite legend about the righteous war that Athens undertook to recover the bodies of the Seven. The legend in some form was rehearsed each year in the funeral oration. 72 The funeral, together with the agonistic festival Epitaphia, "Graveside (rites)," was conducted at a given date in early winter, when all regular campaigning was over. 73 The month was almost certainly Maemacterion. The festival Proerosia in the opening scene serves not only to produce an encounter at Eleusis, but also to indicate the season.

72 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.17.4; cf. Plut. *Thes.* 29.4f (Aesch. *Eleusinii*, TrGF III pp.175f). It has often been remarked that the themes of the funeral oration, including the war for the bodies of the Seven, are broadcast to a larger audience in the purported Athenian speech at Plataea (Hdt. 9.27.2-5). Plutarch is therefore wrong, tendentiously so, in saying that Euripides alone departed from a more pacific version in which the bodies were freely ceded by Thebes.

73 Thucydides (2.34.1, 47.1) assigns the funeral to the "winter" season. Winter on the usual reckoning begins in Maemacterion (in the calendar frieze of Ayios Eleftherios the figure of Winter stands beside the figure of the month). The surviving casualty lists point to early winter, insofar as battles before and after this terminus can be recognized: D. W. Bradeen, "The Athenian Casualty Lists," *CQ* N.S. 19 (1969) 155f. There has been a persistent inclination to date the Epitaphia to the month Pyanopsion and to associate it closely with the Theseia, simply because the two festivals are sometimes named together in decrees commending the ephebes. The correct inference is rather that they are wholly distinct; for it is in the manner of these decrees not to proceed chronologically, but to separate the different kinds of ephebic activity (in this case, foot-races), adding in illustration the festivals where each kind took place, often two or three at a time.
Second, the calendar frieze of Ayios Eleftherios depicts two emblematic figures for the month Maemacterion: a man ploughing with a team of oxen, and another sowing. The sower is unremarkable, but the ploughman, despite his strenuous task, wears a priestly garment and headdress. It has always been granted that this is a ritual ploughing and sowing, such as Plutarch attributes to three sites round Athens, including the Rarian plain at Eleusis (Conj. Praec. 42, 144A, discussed in XII infra). That name was seen to be attached to some ground beside the temple and altar of Triptolemus; the whole complex belongs to the Proerosia (supra II). And indeed a festival, rather than some lesser rite, is presupposed by the two figures, as by the corresponding illustrations for other months. Otherwise Maemacterion alone will lack a festival.

Third, Zeus ἔωργος ("farmer") is honored on 20 Maemacterion in a private calendar of Roman date and literary bent. The calendar prescribes offerings mostly of moulded cakes for picturesque, mainly agrarian, deities in the months Metageitnion to Munichion, i.e., throughout the whole growing season but not in the hot summer. Nearly all the entries can be closely matched with civic festivals, as follows: 17 Boedromion, a piglet for Demeter and Kore, with the Mysteries; 7 Pyanopsion, cakes for Apollo and Artemis, with the Pyanopsia; 8 Poseideon, a cake for Poseidon, with the Poseidea; 19 Gamelion, ivy wreaths for Dionysus’ images, with the Lenaea; 15 Elaphelion, a cake for Cronus, with the Galaxia (Cronus standing in for the Mother of the Gods). Seventeen Boedromion, the only real animal sacrifice, is intermediate between the corresponding sacrifices at Athens and Eleusis, on 16 and 18 Boedromion respectively (supra IV). Seven Pyanopsion and 8 Poseideon are the very days of the civic celebration; 19 Gamelion and 15

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74 Deubner pl. 36 nos. 8–9; cf. pp.158, 250; E. Simon, Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary (Madison 1983) pl. 3, fig. 2; cf. p.21.
75 LGS 1.3 with add., IG II2 1367; LSCG 52, "fin. s. i p.Chr.?" (IG), lines 12–15 ("20" is wrongly omitted in IG). Sokolowski compares the Orphic Hymns.
76 29 Munichion, cocks and cakes for Heracles and "uncle" (it should be "nephew," scil. Iolaus) is probably related to a civic festival of Heracles, for the Salaminians of Sunium held festival for Heracles in this month, though not on this day: LSCG Suppl. 19.84–87.
77 The date for the piglet is decisive against the view of M. N. Tod, "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica," BSA 45 (1950) 129 n.2, 132, adopted by Sokolowski, LSCG 52, that the letter iota following a lower numeral (once it precedes, as it should) is ιοταμένον rather than "10," so that the date here would be 7 Boedromion.
Elaphebolion may or may not be exactly right for some element of the Lenaea and for the Galaxia. It is therefore likely that the sacrifice to "farmer" Zeus corresponds to the Proerosia, perhaps to the very day. Although Zeus does not appear in the Eleusinian festival, he is about the commonest deity in the demes (IX–XI infra).

VIII. The aparchai

Thus far the evidence for the Proerosia of Eleusis. We are left with a question: what is the significance of the aparchai at this autumn festival? Legend says that the aparchai were called for by Apollo as the remedy for universal famine. Athens as a great power harped upon the legend and enforced the collection. This is hugely inflated, but the inflation is of an authentic and acknowledged custom. Even in the days when the Proerosia were a local festival of Eleusis, worshippers must have brought aparchai.

The aparchai ("first fruits") of any crop are by definition gathered and offered when it is ripe and ready for use—those of grain, in spring or summer. Yet the aparchai of the Proerosia have nothing to do with harvest-time; the call went out long after. The grain that is needed for the autumn sowing is seed. Such then are the aparchai of our festival. Triptolemus, the festival hero, holds fresh-cut ears, aparchai, as if this were the seed that he will sow. To be sure, the ears can be regarded as an imaginary token of the future crop. But they were also physically equated with the seed. The seed goes into the earth in autumn and emerges in spring as the kernels in the ear. The correlation of the sowing and the earing of the grain is fundamental to the worship of Demeter. Kore goes into the earth

78 At Olympia the sacrifice to Cronus, again standing in for the Mother, comes in the corresponding month, Elaphius, but is also linked with a solar event, the spring equinox (Paus. 6.20.4); i.e., it goes with the brightening sky of springtime, which will be mid-month in a lunar calendar. On these festivals of Cronus and the Mother, see Robertson, "The Ancient Mother of the Gods: A Missing Chapter in the History of Greek Religion," in E. Lane, ed., Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren (Leiden 1996) 241–45.

79 In some Eleusinian scenes fresh-cut ears are held by Plutus, the personification of the new crop (on this figure see Clinton [supra n.19] 39–41, 49–55). According to Hippolytus (Haer. 5.8.39) "a cut ear" was the culminating spectacle of the Mysteries.
like the seed and returns like the laden ear four months later, when the Lesser Mysteries are celebrated. To describe the seed grain of autumn as the *aparchai* of spring is auspicious, or more truly, magical. To say it is to make it happen.

So the custom is to bring seed grain to the ploughing festival. A small part was offered to Demeter and Kore. That can hardly be the reason why every worshipper brought his own so-called *aparchai*. The ploughing festival somehow served to bless the seed.

The other main element of the festival is the sacrifice. Among the recipients, though this is a festival of Demeter, male deities are to the fore. In the first triad, Triptolemus; in the second, both “the god” and Eubuleus. And they are potent males. Triptolemus is the archetypal ploughman; “the god” is Kore’s mate below the earth; Eubuleus is otherwise an epithet of Zeus. There must be a connexion between the males and the seed.

IX. Peiraeus, Paeania, Myrrhinus, Thoricus

Our festival has come to light in four Attic demes: Peiraeus, Paeania, Myrrhinus, and Thoricus. The name is either πρησοσι-, (Paeania, Thoricus) or πληροσι- (Peiraeus, Myrrhinus). The former is shortened from πρησοσι-, and the latter is by dissimilation. The variant forms show that the festival was deeply imbedded in these local traditions. The evidence in each case is a deme inscription, and we shall take them in order of difficulty: decrees of Peiraeus and Myrrhinus, the sacrificial calendar of Thoricus, regulations for the cult of Demeter at Paeania.

At Peiraeus, the demarch and the priestess of Demeter are to restrict the use of Demeter’s sanctuary, the Thesmophorium, to festival times, which are listed as follows: Thesmophoria, παίποτα (παίτα), Calamaea, Scira, and any other customary day for a gathering of women.

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80 So L. Ziehen, “Πληροσία,” *RE* 21.1 (1951) 233f; R. Parker, “Festivals of the Attic Demes,” *Boreas* 15 (1987) 141 n.39. L. Thretreat, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin 1980) I 479f, refuses to equate πληροσία and πρησοσία, but the different calendar dates are no sufficient reason. The intermediate form was attested even before the epigraphic instances in Hsch. s.v. πρησοσίων-θυσίαν τινά Ἀθηναῖον. The πληροσί- form may also have been influenced by the root πλη- (“fill”) and, if it existed, by the word πλείων (“seed”), for which see M. L. West ad *Hes. Op.* 617: as if these were “fill-furrow rites.” The compound πρησο-αρχός at Paeania, discussed below, is a different kind of aberration.
mid-4th c.). Only at these times is worship permitted at the altars and the mégaron. At Myrrhinus, the demarch is to sacrifice the πνημοσία (θυσία) to Zeus at a cost of 500 drachmas. The sacrifice takes place on the 5th of an unnamed month, and on the 7th there is a distribution of meat to certain parties. The month will be earlier than Poseideon, as a date in that month is given for the next item of business, the festival Dionysia. So we only know that it is one of the first five months of the year.

The calendar of Thoricus has two relevant entries two months apart, in Hecatombaeon and in Boedromion. In Hecatombaeon, the Δήμαρχος is to sacrifice the ιτάλλοπόρα (Sacrific.) to Zeus at a cost of 500 drachmas. The sacrifice takes place on the 5th of an unnamed month, and on the 7th there is a distribution of meat to certain parties. The month will be earlier than Poseideon, as a date in that month is given for the next item of business, the festival Dionysia. Such is the usual understanding of these dates. Deubner (68) and Whitehead (197) hold that the unnamed month is in fact Poseideon. Yet if the decree gives three dates in the same month, but only names it at the last, the inconsequence is worse than ever. Ziehen (supra n.80: 234) thought that the month, which he wishfully took to be Pyanopsion, must have been named in the lost beginning of the decree, and he restored it almost in vacuo. But the surviving lines (8–32) deal with various matters before coming to the Proerosia sacrifice, and no backward reference can be intended.

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matches another festival name, Prerosia. Here too the animal species was doubtless given—after the epithet, as in Elaphebolion. The recipient, in the dative, was named just before. It was not Demeter but the lesser goddess Δαιμον. At Paeania, as we shall see in a moment, Daira is honored in advance of the main Prerosia offerings. Her victim at Paeania is a lamb and has an epithet: ἄμφες πρεσβύριος. We must hesitate accordingly over the restoration here. Perhaps it should be τὴν πηροταῖαν..., like τὴν χλοαίαν and ἄνθεταν. Or perhaps τὴν πηροταῖαν... or τὴν πηροταῖαν..., as at Paeania (the form of the word is discussed below). It is no doubt a young animal, as at Paeania, whether lamb or piglet. The gravid sow and sheep are for later in the year, to match the ripening crops as offspring of the earth.

Under Boedromion the first word is the festival Πηροστία (line 13). Then comes a long series of offerings; Boedromion is about the busiest month in the year. We expect the first of these to pertain to the Prerosia. Admittedly, the month Poseideon has only the single word “Dionysia,” and no offerings at all (line 31); but this is a special case, however it arose.86 The other named festivals in the calendar, Pyanopsia and hieros gamos and Diasia and Plynteria, all have offerings of some sort (lines 28, 32, 34f, 52f).87

After the festival name “Prerosia” the very first offerings are for Zeus, and the next one is probably his as well. First, “to Zeus Polieus a selected sheep, a selected piglet” (lines 13f). Next, “ἐπ’ Αὐτομενας, up to Automenae, a purchased piglet, to be burnt whole; the priest to provide lunch for the attendant” (lines 14ff).88 The phrase “up to Automenae” occurs again in the

86 It is true that “Prerosia” and “Dionysia” are both nominative, whereas the other festival names are dative. Yet even if “Dionysia” stands as a reference to a full treatment elsewhere, the same need not follow for “Prerosia,” as maintained by Daux (supra n.83: 161, 164). The calendar cannot be credited with such stylistic precision.

87 There is clearly an offering to Hera at the hieros gamos, to Zeus milichios at the Diasia, to Athena and Aglauros at the Plynteria. It is probable that the Pyanopsia offering occupied the rest of line 28: πυνφαί...]. Parker (supra n.80: 146) argues a different view of the Pyanopsia entry, but still with an offering.

88 Commentators are puzzled by the letters επαυτομενας in lines 14 and 47 (Daux has established the reading beyond any doubt). The usual notion is of women “howling” or “chanting,” and is reaffirmed by Daux (supra n.83: 171–74); yet grammar and meaning are both unsatisfactory. Daux also records, in order to dismiss it, the suggested articulation επ’ Αὐτομενας, “which could be a place-name.” Parker (supra n.80: 145) adopts the place-name without ado.
month Thargelion, where the offering is expressly "to Zeus" (lines 47f). Automenae must be an elevated place: ἐνὶ is especially used of motion upward,⁸⁹ and the name looks like the passive participle of a verb cognate with ζημι (“blow”), perhaps applied to wind-blown rocks (πέτραι).⁹⁰ Zeus is a suitable denizen. So he will be the recipient in Boedromion too. He is left unnamed because he goes with the cult-site and because the first offerings are expressly "to Zeus Polieus." These several offerings to Zeus, though at two different places, belong together, and so to the festival Prerosia.⁹¹

The fifth-century regulations at Paeania mention four of Demeter’s seasonal festivals: Prerosia, Chloaea, Antheia, and Scira.⁹² The list of offerings appears to follow the calendar, at least where it is best preserved, on the front of the stone. Prerosia, Chloaea, and Antheia are named in succession (A18, 26f, 29). Some entries are clearly marked off by the direction “to the Eleusinium" (A15f, 17f, 26). This is not a filial shrine of Eleusis, as at Athens and Phalerum, but the center of local agrarian cult, as in the Tetrapolis of Marathon and probably also at Brauron.⁹³

⁸⁹ LSJ s.v. C.I.1a. For a sacrifice to Dionysus in Munichion we go ἐνὶ Μυκηνῶν (“up to Mykenos,” line 45), which might be among the vineyards in the hills.

⁹⁰ The stem -α(ε)- often has a -τ- suffix; Hsch. αὐττητο: ἄνευον is a form close to ours. This etymology is implied by Daux (supra n.83: 173 n.20) when he imagines, but rejects, “a place on the coast, where the wind would make a great uproar.”

⁹¹ Next after these come offerings to two pairs of local heroes and heroines (lines 16–19). The first pair, Cephalus and Procris, are honored again in Scirophorion, and with larger offerings (lines 53–57). In line 56, read Π[ρόκριδα with Parker (supra n.80: 147), instead of Π[πέκτωνθεν with Daux; the latter would fit if an iota shared a letter-space, but is less suitable. The second pair, Thoricus and the heroines of Thoricus, are honored again in Maemacterion, likewise with larger offerings (lines 28ff). It is conceivable that in Boedromion the two pairs are associated with the Prerosia, as a purely local development. The rest of the offerings in this month are unrelated.


At Marathon there is likewise a goddess "Eleusinia," a name rather than an epithet, and either Kore or Chloe is beside her; she is the local counterpart of Demeter, who is not named at all. Among several lesser agrarian deities Marathon has Daira. Paeania too has Daira and also Hecate, with her own priestess (A15f, B33f). No other name survives at Paeania; we do not know whether the principal goddess was called "Eleusinia" or Demeter.

The first entry in the list beginning "to the Eleusinium" is Δαί­ρα τῇ ἀργυρῇ πρεισπώρῳχος ("for Daira a ewe-lamb preroarchos," A15ff).94 The last word is a hapax and the form is strange; we expect *πρηρόσιαρχος. This truncated form may be due to the analogy of βοῦρχος as applied to the premier sacrifice in the civic Proerosia, for the term was doubtless current at the time of the Paeania inscription, even if the aparchai decree is a little later. But it is not that the ewe-lamb and the ox somehow presented the same appearance; it is not that they both led off a

94 Just before this, at the very beginning of the list, are the words τῇ ἄριφῃ ("here a piglet"). Thereafter τῇ occurs repeatedly before emoluments that are half of those previously mentioned. As it goes first with an offering and then with emoluments, it cannot designate a female recipient, "for this one": as if a goddess and her priestess were interchangeable. The larger emoluments are to be associated with the Eleusinium, the smaller with the place "here," where the regulations are posted. As the inaugural piglet is the only sign of any ritual "here" (and might be either a sacrificial victim or a purifying agent), this must be the deme center, and the emoluments must be for a secular official or officials responsible for the cult of Demeter.
procession. The τρίττοια βόσκος of the civic Proerosia is “the threefold sacrifice that begins with an ox” (βο- is instrumental). The ἄμυνε πρερόσκος of Paeania is “the ewe-lamb that begins the prerosia rites” (πρερ- is object, as e.g. σπονδ- in σπονδάρχια). As an observance related to the festival but distinctly prior, this is just like Thoricus’ entry for the month Hectombaeon, Δαιρὰ τὴν πρήσος/των ορ πρήσου [α/ρχον or πρήσος/των ορ λαγνα].

Next comes another entry beginning “to the Eleusinium,” with more about the Prerosia (A17-25). It runs for nine lines down to the next entry so beginning, which is for the festival Chloaea. The Prerosia entry consists of two items, each followed by emoluments for unnamed priesthoods. The first is πρεροσιόν τέλεον/θέλεν χόρος ἄρρεν (“of Prerosia rites, an adult victim female, a piglet male”). The second is πρεροσιόν/νάδον χρυσόν βύε δύο ἄρρεν καὶ θέλεια (“of Prerosiad barley grains, two pigs male and female”). Here is a larger sacrifice of animals, with two defining genitives that give the occasion: for Prerosia rites in general and for Prerosiad barley grains in particular. The sacrifice is at altars and is followed by a banquet: for in the deme decree that heads the regulations a priestess is to furnish spits and a cauldron at the Prerosia, i.e., for roasting and boiling the meat from the victims (A81).

X. The Demes vis-à-vis Eleusis

Such is the evidence from the demes. How well do these four instances agree with each other and with Eleusis? At Thoricus

95 “The lamb to be offered to Daira goes at the head of the procession of sacrificial animals”: Nilsson (“Eleus. Kulte” [supra n.93] 95). But Eust. Od. 11.130f, the principal authority on βοσκός and its synonym βουρσός, does not quite say that the ox goes at the head of a procession, only that it is at the head of the threefold sacrifice, προγέμισθαν αὐτῆς, as the “prow” is at the head of a ship. Even if it did go at the head of a procession, the same does not follow for the ewe-lamb πρερόσκος, as the compound is of a different type. Furthermore, Daira’s victim is not accompanied by any others; the ensuing Prerosia offerings are introduced by new directions “to the Eleusinium.”

96 At least part of it, A21-25, is repeated on the back of the stone, B4-8. Other parts are repeated too, and the list is longer on the back; it is unfortunately much more effaced. The relationship between the two sides has not been convincingly explained.

97 The entry for the next festival after this, the Antheia, does not begin “to the Eleusinium,” but ἢς Ἀνθέεια (“to the Antheia”), an abbreviated expression (A29).
the festival comes in Boedromion, distinctly earlier than at Eleusis, where it probably comes in Maemacterion, otherwise in the second half of Pyanopsion. Perhaps we should not be too surprised. Although Demeter’s festivals follow the grain cycle and the farmer’s labors, they do seem to vary widely in their calendar dates. The Thesmophoria come in the month Metageitnion at Thebes and on Delos and probably on Thasos, in Pyanopsion at Athens, a span as wide as with the Proerosia. And the Thesmophoria are the nearest festival to ours in time and purpose. It cannot be that the grain cycle actually differed to this extent in different parts of Greece. Instead, we must suppose that other local conditions determined when, within a given season, a given festival should be celebrated. As cereal agriculture was always the staple livelihood, the festivals of Demeter as those of no other deity engaged the whole community. The timing will therefore take account of many other community concerns, which will vary from place to place.

Thoricus supplies another date, two months earlier. In Hecatombaeon Daira receives an animal victim named for the Prero[sia. Paeania too registers a victim for Daira that is prior to other Prerosia offerings; those offerings consist of four more animal victims. Daira’s victim is “the ewe-lamb that begins the prerosia rites.” So at Thoricus and Paeania we have both a preliminary observance and after an interval the festival proper. The goddess Daira is otherwise known for offerings at a later season. At Marathon she receives a gravid sheep in the month Gamelion (IG II² 1358 [LSCG 20] B 12). She is also named, with the variant form “Daeira,” in the Lycurgan hide-moneys for 333/332, it is the same season, and probably the very month Gamelion, as the next entry is for the Lenaea. This civic sacrifice must have taken place at Eleusis, where Daira/Daeira is located by literary sources.

98 For the instances in Metageitnion, see Bruneau 285f.
99 IG II² 1492.103, in a fragmentary context. The sacrifice was substantial, yielding 229 drachmas, 5 obols. It was probably addressed to another deity as well, or even two; Rineck’s “Hermes,” a guess prompted by Paus. 1.38.7, is only one possibility. As a corresponding sacrifice does not appear in other years, this was a special event. Or else, as suggested by Rosivach (supra n.18) 52 n.108), it was usually combined with the preceding entry in Poseideon, the Dionysia in Peiraecus, or with the following one in Gamelion, the Lenaea. As the Eleusinian Torch-bearer had a rôle at the Lenaea, the latter alternative could well be right; cf. supra n.47.
Daira then, in virtue of appearances at Paeania, Thoricus, Marathon, and Eleusis, is firmly established as a minor agrarian goddess. The sacrifice of a gravid animal aligns her with other agrarian goddesses in Attica, mostly Demeter but also Chloe ("Sprout") and Ge ("Earth"); outside Attica the same kind of sacrifice is addressed to Demeter or Demeter Chloe or Ge. The favorite time for these sacrifices is from mid-winter to mid-spring, from Poseideon to Munichion, when a gravid animal might be thought to match the burgeoning fields.

Literary sources for Daira/Daeira transport us to the lofty realm of theological interpretation in the mythical and physical modes. On the commonest view, going back to Aeschylus, she is equated with Persephone; on another view, Pluto appointed her to guard Persephone; she has several other intriguing associations. To Hera, Athena, Artemis, Rhea on Cos, Pelarge at the Cabeirium of Thebes, the Eumenides at Sicyon.

Gravid sows are sacrificed quite fittingly to Demeter to represent the fecund and receptive and procreative principle: Cornutus, *Theol. Graec. 28*, p.56 Lang. Agrarian magic and Stoic sympathy are here at one.

For references, see Nilsson (*supra* n.5) 545ff; P. Moraux, *Une imprecation funéraire à Néocésarée* (Paris 1959) 30–38. Nilsson is sure that the name means "sister-in-law," because such descriptive names are characteristic of the Eleusinian gods. But now we see that the name does not originate at Eleusis; it is used throughout Attica. So this meaning is likely to be secondary; it certainly inspires the equation with Hera, which cannot have much to do with the cult. Linguists favor a connexion with δαιρα and a meaning such as "the cunning one" or "the wonder-worker": Frisk and Chantraine s.v. Moraux comments on an inscription of eastern Anatolia that testifies remarkably to Daeira's literary celebrity: she is one of a congeries of deities who guard a tomb and punish violators.
ing identities. Much of the detail will be inspired in some way by the realities of cult, but it would be perilous to conjecture how. There is nonetheless the literal statement that her ritual and Demeter’s were mutually exclusive: when sacrifice was offered to the one, the temple of the other was closed, and the other’s priesthood did not join the sacrifice. 104 And when Apollonius describes how Medea prepared Jason for his tremendous ploughing, he imagines for a moment a ritual involving Daira. Medea’s magic ointment would make anyone invulnerable who should apply it νυκίωσιν ἄρεσαμενος θεός/ Δαιραν μουνυγένετον (“after conciliating sole-begotten Daira with nocturnal sacrifice,” Argon. 3.846f). When Daira is honored at Paeania and Thoricus, she is entirely by herself.

Eleusis likewise has a preliminary observance, a proclamation followed by a pannychis, which is perhaps a month before the festival. Daira is very much at home at Eleusis and fancies a nocturnal sacrifice. After such a sacrifice the worshippers of Daira might be joined in a pannychis by the Hierophant and the priestesses from the main sanctuary. If this analogy is right, the demes too may have called for aparchai in advance of the festival.

In the demes as at Eleusis the festival includes a considerable sacrifice of animals. At Peiraeus and Myrrhinus the very name, παναγια (θαοία), denotes the sacrifice. At Thoricus the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus with both sheep and piglet happens to be the only occasion in the calendar where a given deity receives more than a single victim—except for a τριτοι offered to Apollo (lines 41f). And there is also a piglet for Zeus at Automenae. At Paeania the two pairs of victims, of Prerosia rites and of Prerosiak barley grains, are double the victims at either the Chloaea or the Antheia. At Myrrhinus the sum of 500 drachmas is impressive. At normal prices, about 10 or 12 drachmas for sheep or goat and 50 for an ox, it would buy almost as many victims as were offered at the civic Proerosia of 329/328. 105

At Paeania the two pairs of victims, male and female in each case, are evidently meant for two pairs of male and female

104 Eust. Il. 6.378; Serv. ad Aen. 4.58. I say "priesthood" because it is unclear whether Daira had a priestess or a priest. Eustathius mentions only the priestess of Demeter, and Servius’ sacerdoxium is ambiguous. Pollux (1.35) gives δαιρίτης as an "Attic" title, but Clinton (supra n.33: 98) is reluctant to accept it for Eleusis.

105 IG Il2 1672.289f. Forty-three sheep or goats and 3 oxen are purchased at the outrageous price of 1,290 and 1,200 drachmas respectively: cf supra n.18.
deities, who are honored in succession. At Eleusis, we recall, the two triads receive sacrifice in different locations, outside and inside the sanctuary. At Myrrhinus the sacrifice is for Zeus, at Thoriclus for Zeus Polieus and for Zeus at Automene. Zeus Polieus is well known as an agrarian deity. At Eleusis Zeus is not to be found under this name. But he has a doppelgänger in the hero Eubulus or Eubuleus of the second triad. As others have remarked, the hero is peculiar to Eleusis—not surprisingly, for in the form “Eubulus” this is an ordinary name of universal occurrence. Elsewhere we find Zeus Eubuleus, another agrarian deity (see Clinton [supra n.19] 60). It is simply that at Eleusis priests and worshippers are on more intimate terms with their gods, as when they speak so knowingly of “the god and the goddess.” Once again, we are struck by the importance of male deities in this festival of Demeter.

There are other notable points of agreement. At Paeania the second pair of victims are “of Prerosiad barley grains,” i.e., on their behalf. The barley grains receive some benefit from this sacrifice. They can hardly be anything but the seed, of which we hear so much at Eleusis. The megaron is mentioned at Peiraeus, though only in a general way, together with the altars. Of course it could not appear in a deme calendar unless it were the object of some expenditure. At Eleusis it happens to confront us in the northwest precinct (supra II); in Eleusis’ calendar it happens to entail emoluments for the priestesses (supra V). We shall meet it again on Delos (XIII infra). In sum, it is recognizably the same festival in the several demes and at Eleusis.

XI. Other Demes

We should ask whether it can also be recognized, without the name, in the calendars of other demes. It is natural to put the question, as the calendars in listing sacrifices do not for the most part give festival names. The calendar of Thoriclus gives more names than usual, and “Prerosia” is one of them.

The month Boedromion, when Thoriclus celebrates the Prerosia, is well represented in the calendars of Teithras and Er-

106 At Athens’ Dipolieia he receives a plough-ox after the harvest, and on Cos an ox is sacrificed to Zeus Polieus, at Magnesia to Zeus Sosipolis, with similar ritual and perhaps at the same season. S. Scullion, “Olympian and Chthonian,” ClAnt 13 (1994) 81–89, emphasizes the agrarian character of these rites (as against structuralist interpretations) and also points to Thoriclus.
It is striking that both demes worship on the same two days in this month, the 4th and the 27th. At Teithras they are the only days of worship in the month and almost so at Erchia. At Teithras Zeus is honored on both days; Athena joins him on the 27th, when there may have been further offerings, for the stone breaks off here. On the 4th Zeus receives a "male sheep," a ram rather than a wether to judge from the price; on the 27th it is only a suckling piglet. At Erchia there is no visible relation between the rites of the 4th and the 27th. On the 4th Basile ("Queen") receives a ewe-lamb, Daira's victim at Paeania (Daux B14-20). On the 27th a company of deities are worshipped on the Pagos of the deme. Yet only Ge and her victim, a gravid sheep, have an agrarian aspect; the other deities—the Nymphs, Achelous, Alochus "Wife," Hermes—may be called rustic but not agrarian.

There are similarities here. On the 4th Basile might be Daira under another name, and sacrifice is plentiful on the 27th (at Erchia we can observe that it is almost the largest of the year). Zeus is prominent at Teithras, and at Erchia we find potent males, Hermes and Achelous, beside compliant females, the Nymphs and Alochos. But the differences are also pronounced. If either of these is the Proerosia with its preliminary observance, the pattern has been relaxed.

107 No trace of the Proerosia is discernible in the calendar of the Tetrapolis of Marathon, unless it is in the entries for Pyanopsion in the left-hand column, sacrifices of a gravid sheep and an ox: IG II 1358 (LSCG 20) A27f, 40f. Pyanopsion would be a reasonable time for the local Proerosia, as the deme Marathon sacrifices "before the Mysteries" in Boedromion (B5f), doubtless the local Thesmophoria. The deme also sacrifices "before" another local festival, the Scira of Scirophorion (b30-33, 51ff). The festivals proper must have been treated in the extensive regulations of the Tetrapolis on the other side of the stone, on which see W. Peek, "Attische Inschriften," AthMitt 67 (1942) 12f.

108 The hero Epops is honored on 5 Boedromion: Daux B18-23, E9-15 (the two entries are virtually identical, and we must assume that some distinction as to site or officiants has been omitted). His congener Zeus epopetes is honored on 25 Metageitnion: B19-25. "Watchful" Zeus (the epithet is more commonly epopsios, and the hero Epopeus) raises the storms of autumn when he is not placated; see Ap. Rhod. Argon. 2.1123, 1133, 1179.

109 J. J. Pollitt, "Fragment of a Sacred Calendar and Other Inscriptions from the Attic Deme of Teithras," Hesperia 30 (1961) 293f (LSCG Suppl 132) A.

110 Daux A12-16 (Nymphs), B21-25 (Achelous), C26-30 (Alochos), D24-27 (Hermes), E16-21 (Ge).

111 It is equalled or exceeded only on 4 Thargelion and 3 Scirophorion, dates that likewise appear in all five columns.
We should be aware of a general tendency in deme religion, as illustrated by many decrees and dedications. Compared with Dionysus, the other great agrarian deity, Demeter makes a poor showing. At Erchia, where the whole schedule of sacrifice survives, Ge and her victim, and possibly Basile, are in truth the only vestige of any agrarian rite in the whole year, except for rites of Dionysus in the spring. Demeter with all her festivals is absent. Instead, Erchia sends her a sheep at Athens’ Eleusinum, though only on a day, 12 Metageitnion, when the demesmen were in Athens anyway and gave the same attention to other civic deities. It seems likely that, beyond the scope of this calendar, Erchia took part in the civic worship of Demeter—in the Thesmophoria at Athens, in the several Eleusinian festivals. The deme Phrearrhioi resorted to the city Eleusinum, as we know from a deme decree regulating the worship in detail (Vanderpool [supra n.93] 48. As Eleusis was renowned through the world, it would be understandable if some demes discontinued their own festivals and joined the general conflux.

XII. Early Athens

Athens too in early days had its own round of seasonal festivals of Demeter. But adjustments were made, or evolutionary changes ensued, as Athens grew and became the acknowledged

112 This is not remarked in recent studies on deme religion. But S. Solders, Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas (Lund 1931), gives an indication: eight full pages on Dionysus (37-45), four on Demeter (45-50).
113 Daux c42-47 (2 Anthesterion), A44-51, D33-40 (16 Elaphebolion).
114 Daux b1-5. On the same date A, C, and D direct us to the civic cults of Apollo Lykeios, Zeus Polieus, and Athena Polias. We know from SEG XXVIII 103.26ff, a decree of the deme Eleusis, that demesmen gathered in Athens during Metageitnion for certain elections.
115 Clinton (supra n.33) holds that the civic Thesmophoria are illusory, and that this festival was celebrated exclusively in the demes. The civic celebration is, however, quite beyond dispute (XII infra). As for the demes, the only certain instance is at Peiraeus (IG II² 1177; 2498.12), and Peiraeus is exceptional in every way. Eleusis can be discounted, and Halimus lends its shore to the civic festival (supra V); the Thesmophor goddesses served by a priestess of Melite are not to be dissociated from the civic sanctuary in or near Melite: O. Broneer, "The Thesmophorion in Athens," Hesperia 11 (1942) 250-74. There remain the separate festival arrangements attested for the smallish demes Cholargos and Pithos and one other, unknown (IG II² 1184; Isaeus 8.19f; 3.80). It is perfectly reasonable to ascribe these arrangements to the civic festival, as may be seen from Deubner’s reconstruction: 57; cf. Broneer 271ff.
capital of Attica. She adopted both of Eleusis' autumn festivals, the Mysteries and the Proerosia, and turned them into major civic celebrations; the Haloa of mid-winter also became a civic festival; and by Hellenistic times the city took some part in the other two that are attested, the “Chloia” and the Calamaea.\(^{116}\)

The original community of Athens, as Thucydides tells us (2.115.3–6), grew up in the southeast sector beside the Ilissus. Whereas many of the oldest shrines, including several mentioned by Thucydides, are in this sector, Demeter’s sanctuary was on the opposite Ilissus bank, in Agrae, the once rural area that adjoined the early settlement. The only festival we hear of is the Lesser Mysteries of the month Anthesterion. It survived and flourished through being linked with the Mysteries of Eleusis. Here as at Eleusis the generic term “Mysteries” will be secondary; the name it supplanted was perhaps Antheia, as at Paeania, for this is the season of the earing and flowering of the grain. Two other Athenian festivals of Demeter, the Thesmophoria and the Scira, were already being celebrated elsewhere when our record begins. Their respective settings are suited to wider interests than those of the original community.

Athens' Thesmophoria took place in a Thesmophorium precinct that accommodated a very large number of women, some from outside the city, a virtual Assembly in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*.\(^{117}\) It must have been marked out on open

\(^{116}\) In *IG II² 949 (SIG³ 661*) lines 6–9, a demarch of Eleusis is commended by the Assembly and the deme for conducting the “Chloia” and the Calamaea as well as the Haloa.

\(^{117}\) Clinton (*supra* n.33) denies that the Thesmophoria were ever celebrated at Athens as a civic, or “state” or “national,” festival. This is very much against appearances. Aristophanes depicts, and his scholia report, a general celebration; Callimachus (n.156 *infra*) and Philicus (*supra* n.43) offer aetiologies as if for a general celebration; in a popular story the Megarians target all of Athens' “leading women” as they conduct the seaside ritual, whether at Halimus or at Eleusis (*supra* V, XVII *infra*). Among many offhand references in Athenian literature, *Isaeus 6.49* is decisive. The disreputable woman Alee joined the procession of the Thesmophoria and entered the sanctuary and observed the secret rites. This sounds like a civic celebration (otherwise the setting would be mentioned to establish that the incident occurred), and the speaker quotes two civic documents, omitted from our text of *Isaeus*, that prove it to be so: a law of Athens excluding disreputable women from the festival, and a resolution of the Council citing Alee for her trespass. It may be added that *Lys. 1.20*, which Clinton (*supra* n.33: 118, 120, 122) adduces as evidence for a shrine and festival in the deme Oe, shows rather that different demes joined in a general celebration in the city. For the speaker’s wife “went off to the shrine” in company with the mother of her seducer, who belonged to the deme Oe. The
ground when the number of women required it in the sixth or fifth century. The evidence points to the slopes somewhere north of the Acropolis or the Areopagus, the newest part of Athens in the sixth century. The Thesmophoria, being reserved for women, did not compete with the Mysteries.

The festival Scira of early summer was conducted at an eponymous tract of ploughland, “Scirum,” on the left bank of the Cephissus. The sanctuary associates Demeter with Athena and Poseidon, the tutelary deities of the Acropolis; their priests paraded from the Acropolis to Scirum. As the seasonal purpose of the Scira is to inaugurate the threshing, it was necessary to sow a token crop at the site. Plutarch points to three ritual ploughings, at Scirum, in the Rarian field, and below the Acropolis (Conj. Praec. 42, 144A). Though the second is the Eleusin-

speaker, however, and hence his wife undoubtedly belonged to some other deme (Lys. 1.16, 43f). Furthermore, it was the speaker’s absence from the city that prompted this indiscretion.

118 See Robertson, “Some Recent Work in Greek Religion,” EchCl 9 (1990) 422; Festivals and Legends. The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual (Toronto 1992) 18f; and “Magid Properties” (supra n.58) 194. The partly excavated Eleusinium was nearby; it goes back to the late sixth century or before, so that the two shrines may be coeval. Clinton (supra n.33: 119f, 123ff) now equates the Eleusinium and the Thesmophorium (or rather the Thesmophorium that he assigns to the deme Melite), as Broneer (supra n.115: 263f, 273f) had thought of doing when the Eleusinium was less definitely situated. It seems more feasible to suppose that the Thesmophorium precinct, which must have been very large, was mostly given up when the festival attendance declined (the one in Peiraeus later rented land: IG II² 2498.12), and survived only as the shrine of Pluto, which we hear of in this area from the later fourth century down to perhaps the first Christian century (IG II² 1672.168–88 [a. 329/328], 1933 [ca 330–320], 1934+Hesperia 15 [1946] 158 no. 15+Hesperia 28 [1959] 284 no. 12 [fin. 4th c.]; IG II² 1231.5f [fin. 4th c.]; IG II² 1935 [post a. 50]; cf. 4751 [A.D. 1st/2nd c.]). This too disappeared before the time of Pausanias, who saw statues of Pluto and kindred deities clustered in the sanctuary of the Semnai (1.28.6); the Eleusinium, however, was still intact (1.14.1–4). One of Broneer’s arguments must be set aside. The elaborate brick-lined shafts and galleries that were excavated near the Eleusinium in 1938 (supra n.115: 264) are not megara but a secular drainage system. Nor can Demosthenes’ Pherrephattium be associated with the Eleusinium (H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center [Princeton 1972] 167f); it finds a perfect match in the excavated chthonian shrine at the northwest corner of the Agora (Robertson, Festivals 101).

119 Sanctuary: Plut. Symp. 9.6.1, 741A–B; Paus. 1.37.2; procession: Lysimachides, FGrHist 366ff3, etc.; cf. Jacoby ad Philochorus, FGrHist 328ff14–16.
ian Proerosia, the one at Scirum was reputed the most ancient of all. The sprouting of the crop was marked by another ceremony. On the rock terrace below the Nike bastion of the Acropolis is a shrine of Demeter Chloe ("Sprout"). The terrace, crowded with old shrines, is at the foot of the original ascent and entrance to the Acropolis, which was used for long ages before a ramp was built in the later sixth century. Demeter's epithet implies another procession from the Acropolis to Scirum at the time of the sprouting.

The Scira are not among the festivals of Demeter celebrated at Eleusis, even by the deme. The Scirum site, on the road to Eleusis and in the middle of the Cephisus valley, is perhaps by way of mediating between the city and Eleusis. Or else it was chosen even earlier, when the Cephisus valley alone was the center of Athenian agriculture. The festival etiology is the war between Erechtheus of Athens and Eumolpus of Eleusis, but that might go with either explanation.

At Athens then the only seasonal festivals that lasted into historical times were, in calendar order, the Thesmophoria, the Lesser Mysteries, and the Scira. All changed greatly, as Athens did; Demeter's festivals (to repeat) engaged the whole community. Yet a few persons were always intent on maintaining the old ways: the hieratic gene who go back to the beginning of Athenian public religion. It is likely that a relic of the Proerosia survived among the genos Buzygae.

120 For the shrines on the terrace, see L. Beschi, "Contributi di topografia Ateniese," ASAtene 45-46 (1967-68) 517f (for Demeter's, 526); for the Acropolis ascent: J. C. Wright, "The Mycenaean Entrance System at the West End of the Akropolis of Athens," Hesperia 63 (1994) 325ff, 335ff.

121 If the Scira ploughing is older even than the Rarian, it must be acknowledged in the famous Delphic oracle that hails Athens as the cradle of agriculture. This will be the gist of IG II² 5006 (aet. Hadr.), one of the inscriptions from the shrine of Demeter Chloe. The fragmentary lines 4f appear to say that the shrine is the very spot "where first an ear grew up." The rock terrace is ill-suited to the distinction: it may be that Demeter Chloe was then the only survivor of the Scirum ceremonies.

122 It is absent from the series in IG II² 949 (supra n.116). The Assembly acted near the end of the year on 16 Scirophorion, after the civic Scira of 12 Scirophorion. Although the deme decree is not complete, the festival series appears to be so when the stone breaks off.

123 Deubner (47f), after C. Robert, argues that the Scira are meant to reconcile the rival agrarian cults of Athena at Athens and of Demeter at Eleusis. This view of Athena is untenable; nor can there ever have been a time when Athenian territory was bounded by the Cephisus, as Deubner also holds.
The third of Plutarch’s ritual ploughings, after those at Scirum and in the Rarian field, is υπὸ πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον βουζύγιον (“below the polis [i.e., Acropolis], the so-called bouzygios,” *Conj. Praec.* 42, 144A). This is often taken to mean the very foot of the Acropolis, though it is not the best terrain for ploughing and sowing. But Plutarch writes in a historical vein, as we see from the archaic term πόλις; he insists, apropos of marriage, on the sanctity of tradition. The phrase υπὸ πόλιν is undoubtedly used to denote the oldest part of Athens, as at Thuc. 2.15.3: τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἵ ἄκροπολις ἢ νῦν όσσα πόλις ἢν, καὶ ἕπ’ αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον (“what is now the Acropolis was the polis, and also the area below it, extending mainly to the south”). Plutarch knew this passage well and was also aware of the location and extent of early Athens, before and after the legendary synoecism. The area “below” the Acropolis, in Thucydides and Plutarch, is the southeast sector sloping down to the Iliissus.

The eponym Buzyges first yoked oxen and ploughed the earth and made it fit for agriculture: he was Triptolemus’ double. The *genos* served Zeus, in one inscription with the epithet *teleios*. As we have seen, Zeus has a large rôle in the Proerosia, and this is a suitable epithet, otherwise applied to him as...
the patron of procreative marriage. The cult was beside the Pal-ladium shrine of Athena, just beyond an Ilissus crossing. The site is conformable with Plutarch’s directions for the ritual ploughing and will also be very near Demeter’s original sanctu­ary, the one in Agrae. It is reassuring to find at least this much trace of the Athenian Proerosia.

XIII. Epidaurus, Physcus, Delos

Although the festival name is not directly attested outside Attica, it can be deduced from month names at Epidaurus and Locrian Physcus and on Delos. At Epidaurus it is “Before-ploughing (rites)” but at Physcus and on Delos “Ploughing (rites),” which are obviously equivalent.

At Epidaurus the month Πραράττως is the third of the year, corresponding to Boedromion. The festival name *Πραράττω is formed from πρό and ἄρατος, as Προμόρσις (or Προμόρσις) is from πρό and ἄρατος. The stem ἄρα- alternates widely with ἀρο-. So the name is indeed the very same.

At Physcus the month Ἀράτως comes fourth, correspond­ing to Maemacterion. The festival name *Ἀράτω is formed from *ἀρατός (“ploughing”), another α-stem noun.

On Delos the month Ἀπατων likewise corresponds to Maemacterion (Samuel 99). The festival name *Ἀπατω is again formed from *ἀρατος with the usual lengthening of one vowel in a longer sequence (so too Προμόρσις).

Three instances may not look like much. But for festival cus­tom the rules of evidence are different. Though festivals were a

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127 The Palladium shrine is the Stuart and Revett temple on a spur of Wind­mill Hill: see Robertson, “Athena and Early Greek Society: Palladium Shrines and Promontory Shrines,” in M. Dillon, ed., Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches (Amsterdam 1996) 392–98. This was the court for involuntary homicide, and the procedure probably required the Buzyges’ assistance in removing pollution: ibid. 400.

128 A. E. Samuel, Greek and Roman Chronology (Munich 1972: hereafter ‘Samuel’) 91; Frisk and Chantraine s.v. For the alternation of ἄρα- and ἀρο-, E. Schwyzzer, Griechische Grammatik (Munich 1939) I 362, 683. Brumfield (supra n.12: 91) thinks of πραράτως as a month named for the season (so too Frisk and Chantraine). But all the *“seasonal month names” that she cites can just as well be formed from festival names in the usual way; indeed one of her examples, the month name Megalartios, matches the undoubted festival Megalartia.

129 Samuel 77; Frisk and Chantraine s.v.
large part of life in every ancient community, we seldom hear of them in literature or even documents. Names of months are a principal source, and yet the months in any calendar are named for just a few festivals out of many. When autumn months are so named at three places in quite different regions, it becomes probable that the ploughing, or before-ploughing, festival was of general occurrence.

Something more can be learned from the inscribed accounts on Delos, which refer to a festival in the month Aresion with the descriptive name Νυκτοφυλάξια ("[Rites of] the night-watch"). As this is a festival of Demeter and, moreover, the only event in the month, it is likely to be the *'Αρησια under another name. Priestesses and women spend the night in the Thesmophorium, and beds and perhaps refreshments are supplied, and also a talent weight of wood, which must be firewood for warmth and illumination, for there is no mention of sacrifice. The event is described as η φυλάξια ἐν τῷ ίερῷ ("the watch in the sanctuary," IG XI.2 142.61). Once the sanctuary is purified with a piglet (IDélós 440.48).

The megaron came into use, and once its "fastenings" seem to be mentioned: [δε]σμῶν; εἰς τὸ μέγαρον (IDélós 440.41). Year by year a workman or workmen are paid for "lifting" (ἀρασιν) or "forcing open" (διελούσι, διαλέξαντι) a "door" or "door panels" (θύρετρον, θύρω, θύραι) and for replacing it: e.g. τῷ διαλέξαντι τὸ θύρετρον καὶ εὐοικοδομήσαντι τῇ τῇ ("for the man who forced open the little door and set it in again, 3 drachmas," IDélós 372.94). It was suggested long ago that this perpetually recalcitrant door is the cap or cover of the megaron. It had been securely closed at an earlier time,


131 As to the ένοικα ("beds"), Sokolowski (supra n.130: 386; cf. 389) suggested a "rite of theogamia between Kore and Pluto," but a practical use is more likely: Bruneau 293. Other small expenses are for "olive oil" or "towards the customary things."

132 Sokolowski (supra n.130) 386ff, followed by Bruneau 291, 293. F. Robert, Thymélè. Recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecturerie religieuse de la Grèce (Paris 1939) 226, objects to θύρα as a horizontal cover. Herodotus, however, describes a trap-door in the floor of a lake-dwelling as θύρη καταπακτή ("a door shutting downward," 5.16.3f). According to Robert, every true sacrificial megaron, even in the cult of
doubtless at the Thesmophoria in Metageitnion, and is now opened, and then closed again, with some effort and expense. We may assume that these practical tasks are carried out before and after the women's vigil. It was the custom for the women to wait and watch during the night as the *megaron* lay open, and as something was done with it.

The omission of any sacrifice contrasts with other instances of our festival. So it does again with the Delian Thesmophoria, at which pigs are regularly offered to Demeter and Kore and also to Zeus Eubuleus (see Bruneau 285–90). The festival of Maemacteron was, at least in Hellenistic times, no more than a nocturnal gathering of women. The firewood is paralleled at the Eleusinian Haloa of the following month, Poseideon; 67 talents weight were needed for this civic festival in 329/328 (IG II² 1672.124f). Here too it was presumably used in the women's *pannychis*. These winter bonfires may have been relished for their own sake.

**XIV. Lucian's Scholiast and His Source**

Some salient points about our festival are these. It came late in the season, following the Thesmophoria by an interval of months; the *megaron*, as we have just learned, was laboriously opened and closed; a number of animals were sacrificed at altars; the seed grain received attention.

Such an occasion is described, though without the name Proerosia, in a much-debated scholium to Lucian (*Dial. Meret. 2.1*), apropos of the Thesmophoria. Whereas piglets were thrown into the *megara* at the Thesmophoria, their decayed remains were afterwards removed with anxious ceremony, and placed on altars, and mixed with the seed grain. The scholium, while preserving these and other curious ritual details, is visibly confused. The Thesmophoria are equated with two other festivals, Scirophoria and "Arrhetophoria," and something is said about the Arrhetophoria ritual. We cannot use the scholium with any confidence until the confusion is delimited and explained. This will detain us somewhat, but is essential.

Demeter, is a hearth-altar—which might be approached through a regular door. But then it is hard to see why the door should always be forced and replaced. He argues further that the firewood of our festival was destined for a hearth-altar. But there are no animal victims.
The scholium runs as follows:133

Θεσμοφορία ἑορτή Ἐλλήνων μυστήρια περιέχουσα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Σκιρροφόρια καλεῖται. ἢγετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν μυθωδέστερον λόγον, ὡς, (ὡς) ἀνδρολογύσα ἥρπαξετο ἡ Κόρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλοῦτονος, τότε κατ᾽ ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον Εὐβουλέως τις συμβότης ἐνεμέν ὡς καὶ συγκατεπόθηκαν τὸ χάσμα τῆς Κόρης· εἰς ὅν γὰρ τοῦ Ἐυβουλέως ἤπειροσθάηνος χοίρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης, τὰ δὲ σαπέντα τῶν ἐμβληθέντων εἰς τὰ μέγαρα κάτω ἀναφέροντο ἀντλητρια καλούμεναι γυναίκες, καθαρεύσασα τριῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ καταβαίνοντιν εἰς τὰ ἄνωτα καὶ ἀνενέκασα ἐπιτεθέασιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν· ὥς νομίζουσι τῶν λαμβάνοντα καὶ τὸ σώφρον συγκαταβάλλοντα εὐφορίαν ἔζευς, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ δράκοντας κάτω εἴναι περὶ τὰ χάσματα, οὕς τὰ πολλά τῶν βληθέντων κατεσθείνει· διὸ καὶ κρότον γινεσθῇ ὡς ἄντλωσιν αὐτὶ γυναίκες καὶ ἤταν ἀποτυποῦσα πάλιν τὰ πλάσματα ἑκείνα, ἵνα ἀναλυθήσοναι οἱ δράκοντες, οὕς νομίζουσι φοροῦσιν τῶν ἄδικων, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀρρητοφορία καλεῖται· καὶ ἄγεται τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων σπορᾶς, ἀναφέρονται δὲ κάνταθδα ἄρρητα ἢ ἐκ στέατος τοῦ σίτου κατασκευασμένα, μιμήματα δρακόντων καὶ ἀνδρέων σχημάτων. λαμβάνοντο δὲ κῶνον θαλλοῦς διὰ τὸ πάληγον τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἐμβάλλονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μέγαρα υἱὸν καλούμενα ἄνωτα ἔκεινα τε καὶ χοίροι, ὡς ἤδη ἔφομεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ πολύτοκον εἰς σύνθημα τῆς γενέσεως τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπων οἷον χαριστήρια τῇ Δήμητρι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Δημητρίους καρπούς περιέχουσα ἐποίησεν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον γένος, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἄνω τῆς ἑορτῆς λόγος ὁ μυθικός, ὁ δὲ προκειμένους φυσικός. Θεσμοφορία δὲ καλεῖται, καθὸ τὰ θεσμοφόρος τῇ Δημήτηρ κατονομᾶζεται τιθεῖται νόμως ἦτοι θεμοῦ, καθ᾽ οὓς τὴν τροφὴν πορίζονται τα καὶ καταργαζοῦσαν ἄνθρωπος δένων.

133 Palatins gr. 73, saec. xiii, fol. 205b, ed. Rabe, pp.275f. It plays some part in almost every discussion of the Thesmophoria and of the Scira; the Proerosia have not hitherto been mentioned. E. Gjerstad ("Das attische Feste der Skira," ArchRW 27 [1929] 230-37) holds that the scholium concerns the Thesmophoria alone, the piglets being thrown in and mucked out at the successive celebrations; the names "Scirophoria" and "Ar rhetophoria" are mere interpolations. Deubner (40-43) sufficiently refutes this, arguing instead (43ff, 50f, 59; and "Zu den Thesmophoria und anderen attischen Feste," AttMitt 61 [1936] 563) that the piglets were thrown in at the Scira and mucked out at the Thesmophoria; Nilsson (Geschichte der griechischen Religion I [Munich 1955] 119) is inclined to agree. But the parallel passage of Clement, as we shall see, makes it plain that the pigs were thrown in at the Thesmophoria. Recent studies include Brumfield (supra n.12) 73-79, 96-99; Sfameni Gasparro (supra n.93) 259-77.
As Rohde pointed out in publishing the scholium, it agrees strikingly with a passage in Clement’s *Protrepticus* (17.1) that also justaposes the three festivals; this too must be quoted:

"βούλει καὶ τὰ Φερεφάττης ἀνθολόγια διηγήσωμαί σοι καὶ τὸν κάλαβον καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγήν τὴν ὑπὸ 'Αιδονέας καὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ Εὐβούλεως τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖν θεαίν, δι' ἧν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Θεσσαλοποίοις μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐμβάλλουσιν; ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πόλιν ἐφοτάζουσι, Θεσσαλοῖς, Ἀρρητοφόρα, Πολυτρόπος τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγεδούσαι ἀρπαγήν."

Clement says much less than the scholium about the ritual. But as he sedulously follows the same source throughout much of his review of pagan mysteries (12–23.1)—adding little of his own except a few exclamations—the nature of the work is fairly clear. It was a large glossary that treated the “mysteries” of several deities in alphabetic order: Aphrodite, Demeter, Dionysus, Korybantes, Kore (or maybe “Pherephatta”). The mysteries of each commemorate some strange violent adventure, which is recounted first. Then it is shown how the adventure is enacted in ritual, in ostensible “mysteries.” The choice of actual cults or festivals as commemorative mysteries is wide-


135 Riedweg (*supra* n.134: 117f) rightly observes that whereas Clement mentions Kore’s adventure and its commemoration in two stages, first the rape (17.1) and then Demeter’s search (20–21.2), the source must have treated both under “Kore” or “Pherephatta.” In Clement the first stage is subjoined instead to the adventure of “Demeter” or “Deo,” *i.e.*, her intercourse with Zeus, itself commemorated by the mysteries of Phrygian Cybele and of Sabazius. Perhaps the glossary reserved the name “Deo” for the story of Kore’s rape, and “Demeter” for the other, or contrariwise; it would be unlikely to use them interchangeably, as Clement does. Yet Riedweg is wrong to suppose that Arnobius (Adv. nat. 5.24ff) testifies to the order of the source, and doubly wrong to cite as authority an adventurous and inconsequent discussion of Baubo in a recent book. Arnobius relies entirely on Clement and merely recombines the rape and the search as anyone might do. As for Baubo, Arnobius has expanded Clement’s Orphic poem from five lines to eight, but without material change. He renders *χερί τε μιν ἰπτάσας καὶ καὐσα succitens Bacchi manus* (Auratus: *Bubo manu P*). Auratus’ splendid correction, with *manus* scanned *manu*’ as an archaism, restores both sense and meter. Though commended by Meursius and Foerster, it has since been overlooked, and interpretation flounders. Baubo’s belly is fondled by the child Iacchus or Bacchus, whom Demeter brought with her to Eleusis as an *aition* of the Iacchus procession. Arnobius differs from Clement only in saying that Baubo manicures her parts before exposing them; a difference that we can safely credit to Arnobius’ invention.
ranging and also overlapping as between different deities;\textsuperscript{136} much is Athenian. Such a glossary will be quite late.\textsuperscript{137} It most likely draws on Didymus’ vast collections of illustrative material for Attic literature. Before Didymus there had been many specialist works on Athenian and other festivals. Of their rich harvest the scholion on Lucian is a last gleaning.

Kore’s adventure is referred to dismissively by Clement as “the flower-picking (άνθολογία) ... and the basket (κάλαθον) and the abduction by Aidoneus and the parting of the earth and the pigs of Eubuleus that were swallowed up with the two deities” (17.1).\textsuperscript{138} Then comes a piece of commemorative ritual: “for which reason at the Thesmophoria they employ the megaras and throw in piglets.”\textsuperscript{139} The rite commemorates the parting of the earth and the swallowing of the pigs, but not of course the flower-picking and the basket. Clement goes on, “This is the tale that the women picturesquely celebrate

\textsuperscript{136} E.g. Dionysus’ dismemberment is commemorated by a custom of the Thesmophoria and by a rite of the Cabeiri: Clem. Al. Protr. 19.3f.

\textsuperscript{137} The only useful discussion of the source is by E. Rohde, “Unerdite Lucianscholien, die attischen Thesmophorien und Haloen betreffend,” in Kleine Schriften (Tübingen 1901) II 361 n.1 (RbM 25 [1870]), who envisaged a glossary even without perceiving the alphabetic order in Clement (but nothing points to Aelius Dionysius, whom he suggested as author). Others confuse the immediate with the remoter sources: e.g. Riedweg (supra n.134: 119) says that the work must be earlier than the Roman period, because there is nothing about the Oriental cults then fashionable, and that the author is probably Athenian, because he has much about Athenian festivals, and uses Athenian names. But Oriental cults are not to the purpose, to enlighten readers of Classical literature; Athenian ritual is favored, though not exclusively, for the same reason, and as readily available. Riedweg also thinks of it as a work On Mysteries and refers to Athenian and other writers on Eleusis and the like; yet their manner and range were completely different. Jacoby’s usual acuteness deserted him when he gave us “the choice between Poseidonios and Apollodoros Περὶ θεῶν, the only ancient authors who wrote real history of religion” (ad FGrHist 328ff.14–16 n.77 [IIIb, Suppl. II 204]). Neither went in for extensive description of ritual.

\textsuperscript{138} Kore’s calathi are also mentioned by Ovid (Met. 5.393) and Claudian (De raptu Pros. 2.138f).

\textsuperscript{139} Μηγαρίζοντες Μss: μεγάροις ζώντας Lobeck (“they throw into the megaras living piglets”). Lobeck’s emendation has been widely adopted, mainly because the masculine participle is thought to be unsuited to a festival of women; Clement describes the festival as such in the next sentence. Yet he might still use the more general masculine disdainfully, in an offhand or cursory fashion; the unwonted term μηγαρίζοντες perhaps contributes to this effect. The emendation gives a more studious view of the rite, unless it is thought that ancient readers would have been either shocked or amused by mention of “living” piglets. Whether that detail is true we do not know.
throughout the city, as Thesmophoria, Scirophoria, Arrhetophoria, dramatizing the rape of Pherephatta in many different ways." We should not assume that Scirophoria and Arrhetophoria likewise commemorate the parting of the earth and the swallowing of the pigs. The earlier stage of the adventure must also be commemorated. In Clement's list of three festivals the Thesmophoria come first as resumptive of what has just been said. And he has singled out the Thesmophoria, with the megara and the piglets, only because they are grotesque.

The scholium addresses the Thesmophoria as mentioned by Lucian (Dial. Meret. 2.1). The adventure is given first, as "the rather mythical reason," to distinguish it from the "natural" (φυσικός) reason given at the end, the reason favored for ritual items in Lucian's scholia, but extraneous to our common source. As in Clement the adventure begins with "flower-picking" (άνθολογονύσο) and continues with Eubuleus and the pigs that are swallowed up in the parting of the earth. Down to this point the verbal correspondence between Clement and the scholium is so close that the source, the glossary, must be very largely reproduced. If so, it did not relate the mythical adventures at any length, though this is the part that attracted Clement throughout his review.

But the glossary was full of ritual detail that Clement mostly ignores. The scholium now proceeds to the manner of removing the decayed remains. Though not separately named, it must be a different occasion from the Thesmophoria, in view of the decay. The removal is a "bailing" performed by women called "bailers," and there is a precautionary noise-making to scare away the snakes that are thought to have been eating the remains underground. This much seems to describe a festival of Demeter subsequent to the Thesmophoria, namely the Proerosia. It is still germane to a note on the Thesmophoria.

XV. The "Arrhetophoria"

The glossary, however, contained much more, the Scirophoria and the "Arrhetophoria" as other commemorations of Kore's adventure. These two festivals are respectively mentioned at the beginning of the scholium and in the middle, after the ritual we have just noted. At the beginning, "The Thesmophoria is a festival of the pagans including mysteries, and the same (mysteries) are also called Scirophoria." In the middle, "The same [mysteries] are also called Arrhetophoria." It must
be that in the glossary the Scirophoria ritual preceded that of the Thesmophoria; the scholium takes only passing notice. But after citing the name Arrhetophoria, the scholium plunges into the ritual; indeed something was said of it in the sentence before. It is in the treatment of the Arrhetophoria that confusion appears.

Two elements can be distinguished: the explanation of the festival name and the assimilation of the ritual to the Thesmophoria. As to the first, the ἄρρητοφορία are a carrying of “holy unspeakables (ἄρρητα) fashioned from dough of grain, representations of snakes and men’s parts.” As to the second, the cake-shapes are thrown into the megarai like the piglets, and with a precautionary noise-making, as when the piglets are removed. Now the first element should not surprise us.

Although ἄρρητοφορία as a festival name occurs nowhere but in the scholium and in Clement, a few lexica and scholia offer a festival ἄρρητοφωρία and define it as a carrying of ἄρρητα. This is simply a bogus explanation of ἄρρητοφωρία and ἄρρητοφωρεῖν, terms used in several Athenian cults and doubtless elsewhere too, for Dionysius of Halicarnassus designates the whole class of Greek basket-bearers as άλ καννηφόροι καί ἄρρητοφόροι λεγόμεναι (Ant.Rom. 2.22.2). *ἄρρε-ον (cf. ἄρρεχος) was obviously the generic word for round baskets, as κανοῦν for square-cornered ones; once we are told that the ἄρρητα were carried in κισταί, another word for round containers (Σ.Α.Σ. Λύσ. 642). But when that word had been long forgotten, and when too some basket-bearing ceremonies had come to be mysterious (as at Paus. 1.27.3), the latest commentators on Attic literature improvised as usual and invented a carrying of ἄρρητα. Their intuition will have also told them—though this detail happens not to survive in the lexica and scholia, which are very

142 Etym. Gen., Etym. Magn. s.v. ἄρρητοφωρία καὶ ἄρρητοφωρεῖν; Suda s.v. ἄρρητοφωρία; Σ.Α.Σ. Λύσ. 642.

141 At Athens the ἄρρητοφωρία of the Panathenaea are by far the best-known, like the καννηφόροι of the same festival; the former are honored with statues on the Acropolis. They have a separate and sound tradition in the lexica (Harp., Lex. Rhet. ed. Bekker), in virtue of their appearance in the orators and in comedy. Other ἄρρητοφωρία are attested for the following cults: Asclepius: IG II² 974.18f; Demeter and Kore: IG II² 3729; Ge Themis, Eileithyia in Agrae: IG II² 5098–99 (ἄρρητοφωρία, a tendentious antiquarian form, also noted in the lexica); cf. Robertson, “The Riddle of the Arrhephoria at Athens,” HSCP 87 (1983) 242ff.

142 For the round baskets of Athena’s ἄρρητοφωρία, see Robertson (supra n.141) 248ff, and (supra n.24) 60ff.
brief and derivative—that the unspeakables that girls carried in baskets were cakes shaped like phalli.

The glossary thus incorporated the Arrhetophoria of the commentators beside two authentic festivals, Thesmophoria and Scirophoria. It was a fit commemoration of Kore’s adventure for a girl to carry a phallus in a basket, for Kore was gathering flowers into a basket at the moment of the rape. In the glossary, the Arrhetophoria like the Scirophoria must have come before the Thesmophoria. The scholium ought to say no more than that it is another name for the same mysteries. But this Byzantine was hypnotized by phallic shapes.

Just five pages later, where Lucian mentions the Haloa (Dialect. Meret. 7.4), he adds another long note about this festival, in which obscene shapes are the leitmotiv (Palatinus gr. 73, fol. 210b, pp. 279ff Rabe). At the beginning, the Haloa are a festival “in which there are set out things resembling male pudenda.” In the middle, the women jest “while holding up indecent body forms both male and female.” At the end, “there are also laid upon the tables genitals of both sexes fashioned out of cake.” The obscene shapes are thus attributed, at the Haloa, to both the women’s aischrologia and their feasting at well-furnished tables. As both the aischrologia and the feasting are described in the scholium with other and more distinct details, it seems quite probable that the obscene shapes have been foisted on us by the Byzantine.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ The initial mention of male pudenda leads him on to discourse of wine and of its priapic effect in the story of Icarius and of votive phalli in the cult of Dionysus. Modern scholars have been very ready to classify Demeter’s cakes as a related phenomenon (oddly, one of the first to do so was not a bearded professor but Jane Harrison). Yet we must wonder whether ancient worshippers would have bothered with such effortless analogizing. If the two scholia are set aside, the only testimony to this effect seems to be that of Heracleides of Syracuse, a writer on gastronomy: Ath. 15.647α (ἐν τοι τερπ Θεσμών Ms.: fort. περὶ Ἐσθραμάτων Kaibel). The female genitalia are represented in cakes called μυλλαίοι, of sesame and honey, which are carried around in Sicily at the Thesmophoria. The name is a form of the words for the nether millstone and its use, to which the female genitalia and the sexual act are often likened. A millstone cake would, however, be appropriate for Demeter even if it were not equated with the female genitalia; so it may be that this notion is secondary. Frisk s.v. μύλη remarks that the sexual meanings come to predominate in this family of words. The cake-shapes reproduced in terracotta at Demeter’s sanctuary in Corinth are round, oblong, and spherical, and much variegated with knobs, holes, and grooves, but do not extend to any recognizable genitalia: A. C. Brumfield, “Cakes in the Liknon. Votives from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth,” Hesperia 66 (1997) 157.
When he wrote on the Thesmophoria just before, he found the phallic cakes in the glossary, as the unspeakables of the Arrhetophoria. Even while describing the sequel to the Thesmophoria, the removal of the decayed piglets, he thought of them, for he thus concludes, apropos of the snakes that are thought to inhabit the *megara*: "accordingly, they say, a clashing sound is made whenever the women bail—and whenever they put away again those moulded shapes." Yet those moulded shapes are now first mentioned! He goes on to cite the Arrhetophoria by name and to explain it as the carrying of cakes shaped like phalli and also (perhaps his own idea) like snakes. Afterwards he sums up: "There are thrown into the secret chambers called *megara* both those things and the piglets, as we have already said, and they too for the sake of prolific offspring," etc. Both Arrhetophoria and Thesmophoria, both the phallic cakes and the piglets, are said to embody the same 'natural' principle, the generative principle common to all life, that is cherished by the Byzantine, equally so in the scholium about the Haloa.  

XVI. The Magic Treatment of the Seed Grain

The passage about removing the pig remains is accordingly vindicated as an authentic rite that forms a sequel to the Thesmophoria and has nothing to do with the other festivals cited in the scholium.

Women called bailers, after keeping pure for three days, bring up the decayed remains of what was thrown into the *megara*.

144 In illustration of this principle, in the middle of his account of the Arrhetophoria, he suddenly says, "And they take shoots of pine because of the fertility of the plant." This detail is irrelevant to the Arrhetophoria, and has been added by Lucian's scholiast from other lore about the Thesmophoria. It recurs in Steph. Byz. s.v. Μήλης: οἱ γάρ (lacuna) ἐν τοῖς θεσμοφορίοις πίτους κλάδουν ὑπὸ τὴν στειβόδα (lacuna) καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ιερὰ κλάδων πίτους τίθεσθαι (lacuna) διὰ τὸ ἄρχατον τῆς γενέσεως. "A pine bough" is used "because of the ancientry (i.e. universality) of procreation." οἱ γάρ (ἐν Μήλητρ οἰκόντες) Berkelius, (<i>Ἰωνετές</i> <i>vei</i> <i>Ἀθηναίου</i> Holstenius, (Μιλήσιοι) Meineke. Or perhaps οἱ γάρ (ὕπομνημαστικαί), another reference to Didymus, named just before as the source.
below, and go down into the secret chambers and after bringing them up place them on the altars. They believe that one who takes of them and mixes them together with the seed will have a bountiful harvest. They say too that there are snakes below round the chasms, which eat most of what was thrown. Accordingly, they say, a clashing sound is made whenever the women bail ... so that the snakes, which they consider to be guardians of the secret chambers, will withdraw.

This clashing sound, κρότος, recalls a ceremony described by Apollodorus: τὸν ἱεροφάντην τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλομένης ἐπικροφείν τὸ καλούμενον ἱσχεῖν ("the Hierophant, while Kore is called upon, beats the so-called sounder," FGrHist 244F110b, a scholium on Theocritus). The Hierophant, as we know from Aelian, attended at the megaron (supra V). It may be thought that the time to call upon Kore is either at the Greater Mysteries of autumn, when she goes below the earth, or at the Lesser Mysteries of spring, when she returns. But perhaps she was remembered during her sojourn below. The piglets had followed her into the megaron. Some months later, as the pig remains were removed, it might be appropriate to call upon her to witness the rite and its fertilizing effect. Furthermore, a parallel citation of Apollodorus shows that he also assigned a more general purpose to such noise-making as the Hierophant's, similar to the purpose in our passage: πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀφοσίωσιν καὶ κάθαρσιν ("for every expiation and purification," F110a, a second scholium).

In any case, opening the megaron is a solemn procedure. The bailers observe a rule of purity for three days before; when the moment comes there is a clashing sound. On Delos the sanctuary was once purified with a piglet, and there the women

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145 Rohde (supra n.137: 356) suggests τὰ (ὑἱ) σαπέντα: they "bring up the undecayed remains," etc. It is only another way of viewing the same material. The term ἀντλεῖν shows that no effort was made to extract a part of it, such as the bones.

146 I omit the καὶ ὅστις clause about "those moulded shapes."

147 The usual notion is of a sort of drum-roll announcing a spectacle or a drama at the Greater Mysteries: Foucart (supra n.54) 461; Kerenyi (supra n.25) 84, 94, 162; Clinton (supra n.33) 47 and (supra n.19) 86. Foucart further holds that Kore is not "called upon" (passive) but "calls for help" (middle); yet even a scholiast would say that more clearly.

148 As to the snakes, Demeter's cult is sometimes illustrated by a door, of necessity a vertical one, with both torches and snakes in front: Sokolowski (supra n.130) 388 (relief from Samothrace, coins of Cyzicus).
kept watch during the night. The contents of the *megaron* are scooped out as completely as possible. This is the connotation of ἀντλεῖν, properly to “bail out” a ship, figuratively to “drain to the dregs.”

The pig remains are placed “on the altars.” Our festival is noted for its sacrifice of animals; the “before-ploughing” name often refers to the sacrifice alone, προηροσία (θυσία). We now see that the sacrifice, or a significant part of it, was offered at “the altars” of the scholium.

Ordinary persons each get something of the remains and mix it with their own seed grain. We saw before that the seed grain is all-important at the festival. At Eleusis, this is the *ap-archai* of individual worshippers; at Paeania, the Prerosiad barley grains. Eleusis’ sacred calendar refers successively to a token basket of grain and to the altar; at Paeania the chief animal victims are offered for the barley grains.

How does this help the seed grain? Agrarian ritual commonly employs the magic analogy of human sexuality and reproduction. Piglets are women’s genitalia, a Greek figure of speech that will have much to do with their use here. At the Thesmophoria they are placed in the genitalia of the earth, the *megaron*. At the Proerosia animal victims are offered to the male powers of nature, sometimes to their female partners as well. The burning of the victims on the altars invigorates these powers; the residue on the altars can invigorate too. The piglets from the *megaron* are brought into magic contact with the residue of sacrifice; female powers are joined with male, and both are applied to the seed grain.

XVII. Women and Men in Demeter’s Ritual

The ritual of the Thesmophoria, the chief autumn festival, is thus completed at the later and lesser Proerosia. Throwing piglets into the *megaron* was probably a part of the Thesmophoria everywhere.

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149 A crowd of ordinary persons would not be allowed to approach the altars; their portions were delivered to them somehow outside the sanctuary. So it is that on Delos the opening of the *megaron* had come to be dissociated from the sacrifice (supra XIII). As the Delian Thesmophoria included a sacrifice to Zeus Eubuleus, it may be that the residue was preserved for use at the *Aresia*. 

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The story of swineherd Eubuleus shows that it was also part of the Mysteries. Pluto and Kore descend through a cleft, at a cave. These are the pit and the cave in the northwest precinct of the Eleusinian sanctuary, the precinct that belongs to Pluto and Kore, alias the god and the goddess, and to Eubuleus as well. Eubuleus' pigs are swallowed up with Pluto and Kore, and ever after piglets are thrown into the pit, i.e., at the Mysteries, which commemorate the rape. Clement and the scholium, and so the glossary that stands behind them, tell the story of Eubuleus while citing the festival Thesmophoria as a commemoration. The Thesmophoria and the Mysteries are thus regarded as equivalent, as the same "mysteries."

Eubuleus aside, the rape of Kore and Demeter's search are recounted with various detail as the aition now of the Mysteries of Eleusis, now of the Thesmophoria as celebrated in many cities throughout the Greek world. If it is the same aition, it will be in effect the same ritual.

A resemblance between them, in broad external features, is unmistakable. Athens’ Thesmophoria runs for five days. On the second day the women go down to the seashore at Halimus, more precisely at Cape Colias; on the third day they go in procession to the sanctuary, where the rest of the festival takes place. The Mysteries take longer than five days, but were somehow extended when Athens took control. On the second day the initiates go down to the seashore at Phalerum or Peiraeus with their piglets; it is arguable that this Athenian rite is copied

150 Richardson (supra n.25: 149f) lists the places, upwards of a dozen, where the rape was situated. But we should add still other places where Demeter came in her search. For at each cult-site the story was originally told from beginning to end, with an eye on the ritual; at all of them the correspondence between myth and ritual was complete. If a discrete episode is elaborated here or there at the expense of the rest, this is clearly secondary, an effort to gain a place in the connected story as celebrated by the poets. Even Eleusis could be spliced with Argos or Sicily.

151 Yet any literary aetiology, whether of the Mysteries or of the Thesmophoria, will be highly selective. Clinton ("The Author of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter," OpAth 16 [1986] 43–49, and supra n.19: 28–37, 60–63) argues that the Homeric Hymn to Demeter displays ignorance or unconcern about basic elements of the Mysteries—about sacred landmarks, the priesthood, even points of ritual. Paradoxical conclusions follow, in 1986 that the author and his audience were remote from Eleusis and Athens, in 1992 that the subject was not the Mysteries but the Thesmophoria as a more ancient festival of Eleusis. Clinton expects too much of the Hymn as a guide to the realities (and Richardson [supra n.25: 6], whom Clinton opposes, seems to claim too much).
from one at Eleusis, on the second day of the original festival (supra IV). Thereafter the worshippers go in procession to the sanctuary at Eleusis, where the rest of the festival takes place.

The ritual of the second day shows a further correspondence. With the Thesmophoria, the women’s activity on the seashore gives rise quite insistently to stories of horrible bloodshed, after the fashion of sacrificial aetiologies. Those Megarian attackers were slaughtered to a man, whether at Halimus or at Eleusis (supra V); so were the Chians who intruded at Ephesus (Hdt. 6.16.2).152 In the fullest account of the Megarian raid at Halimus, Plutarch reports a literal sacrifice and describes a virtual one (Sol. 8.4ff).153 “All the women,” he says, “were performing their traditional sacrifice to Demeter.”154 The Megarians attacked from the sea, and each Megarian tried to seize a woman (it was

152 There are still other stories of women dealing death or hurt at a festival of Demeter, but the seashore is not mentioned. When Aristomenes and his band attempted a surprise attack at Aegila in Laconia, they were overcome by knife-wielding women, and only Aristomenes seems to have been taken alive: Paus. 4.17.1. At Cyrene Battus persisted in prying and was gilded by blood-smearred knife-wielding women called φακτρία: AeL. fr. 44 Hercher. At the Isthmus the priestess Melissa was dismembered by other women from whom she withheld Demeter’s secrets: Serv. Aen. 1.430. Battus and Melissa as single victims assailed by the group may pertain to a different stage of the festival. As for Aegila, although the cult was distinguished (IG V.1 1390.31, the priestess joins the procession at Andania; 599.21f, a priest of the Roman period), its location is unknown (the place is named again by ΣTheoc. Id. 1.147). It is often thought of as an inland site somewhere near the border of Messenia and Laconia. But the only similar names are those of a deme on the south coast of Attica and of small islands off Euboea and Cythera (for the fluctuating forms, see Meineke on Steph. Byz. S.’ ΑΥ.ΑΙΑΠΑΙΑ), and the circumstances in the story are very like those in our sea-borne raids.

153 Plutarch found the details in more than one Attic chronicler, for he professes to give “the usual version” (τὰ μὲν οὖν δημιώθη τῶν λειψάνων). He may also intend to discount the version given by Aeneas Tacticus and others, in which the Megarians are duped by Peisistratus rather than Solon, and at Eleusis rather than Halimus (supra n.54).

154 Plutarch’s sacrifice may well be the one that Hesychius describes as an expiation and as performed in secret (s.υν. ξημία, διώγμα; cf. Suda s.v. Χαλκιδικόν διώγμα, citing citing either ?Semus, FGrHist 396e21 or ?Cleidemus 323e30 bis [ΠΠα 757, add.]). This sacrifice was also known by the expressive names δίωγμα, ἀπόδιωγμα, Χαλκιδικόν διώγμα. Now the seaside ritual was as secret as could be on the open shore (n.156 infra). The term δίωγμα (“chasing”) probably denotes a violent sacrifice. When Helen contemplates suicide, one means is ξυφότον διώγμα λαμπρότου φραγμῶς αὐτούσιδορον; it will be a θῶμα to hostile powers (Eur. Hel. 354–59). “Chalcidian chasing” sounds like a phrase from comedy, perhaps meaning a cheap one—a sacrifice of piglets? A story was of course invented of a rout of Chalcidians for which the women had prayed; this too suits the seaside ritual.
in truth a female impersonator), and the seeming woman butchered her individual Megarian with a knife.\(^{155}\) Athenians readily equate a Megarian with a piglet (Ar. Ach. 738–835). Thus we see that at the Thesmophoria women slaughtered piglets, each her own.\(^{156}\) No doubt they washed them first, as the initiates did. The initiates too will have slaughtered their piglets straightway; otherwise the purpose of the washing would be defeated.\(^{157}\)

These are prima facie similarities between the two festivals, the Mysteries of Eleusis and the widespread Thesmophoria. There were doubtless other similarities in the secret ritual that took place at both festivals within Demeter’s sanctuary.

The obvious difference is that the Mysteries admitted men as well as women. It is likely that at some other places too men were admitted to the larger autumn festival. Their admission may be indicated by the “Eleusinian” nomenclature, which—as

\(^{155}\) “The Megarians were enticed by the sight and came up close and leapt out as if vying with each other for women <lacuna> so that not one escaped.” Each female impersonator had a concealed knife. At Ephesus it was thought that the intruders “were thieves and were going after the women” (Hdt. 6.16.2); here too the fuller story may have matched the women and the victims.

\(^{156}\) The women’s ritual had such a fascination for the girls of Alponus near Thermopylae that a group of twenty-five ran up a tower to get a view: Demetrius of Callatis, FGrHist 85 ε, reporting a great earthquake in which the tower was thrown down. Callimachus told a story to explain why girls in Athens or Attica are forbidden to see, or even to approach, a rite of the Thesmophoria (Aet. 3, fr. 63). In the concluding lines (10, 12) the girls are called παρθενοικαῖς ... Ἀκτίασιν (“maiden Actiads”). As the name Ἀκτή properly denotes the Attic peninsula and the adjective forms can mean παρθενολάξεσις (Etym. Gud. s.v. Ἀκτία), it is probably the seashore ritual, as performed by matron Actiads. Line 11, πρὶν θάρσει, πρὶν νύμφια λέκτρα τελέσσαι, has proved intractable: Pfeiffer ad lac., with two sets of addenda; A. S. Hollis, “Attica in Hellenistic Poetry,” ZPE 93 (1992) 13 n.61. The whole sentence (9–12) founders on the double πρὶν construction. The first πρὶν, though restored, is dictated by the spacing and the following words. Surely it is a scribal error, anticipating the second πρὶν; πάθος was then accentuated to give a suitable meaning. Lege ἡ πρόσεις ἐλθεμέναι, coordinate with ἐπὶ δίδυμοις οἴσειν ἱδέσθαι in line 9. The girls are forbidden to see with their eyes ... or [even] to go with their feet.” The second prohibition is apt for the ritual on the open shore; it would be pointless for the business in the sanctuary.

\(^{157}\) The initiate washes the piglet but does not bathe himself: λούոντα χοριδίον, not λουόμενον σὺν χοριδίῳ, says Plutarch (Phoc. 28.6). The initiates go down to the sea ἐκ τοῦ κοθυμαθῆναι, says Aeschines’ scholiast (In Ctes. 130); if this language is accurate, it refers not to the sea-bath but to the ensuing sacrifice, for the piglet was an expiatory offering on behalf of the initiate, as several sources indicate (e.g. Pl. Resp. 2.378a). The piglet needs this drastic cleansing only to be fit for sacrifice.
in the Attic examples noticed above (IX), but also in Ionia and Arcadia and even in Dorian lands—often owes nothing to the town Eleusis.\footnote{The Dorian evidence is wholly irreconcilable with Eleusis and its Mysteries (Ionia and Arcadia can be debated). It includes the month-name “Eleusinios” at Biannus and Olus and on Thera (Samuel s.v.), the personal name “Eleusias” at Ialysus (LGPN I s.v.), the place-name “Eleusin” on Thera (Ptol. Geogr. 3.15.26), and the important shrine and festival “Eleusinium,” “Eleusinia” at Kalyvia Sokhas south of Sparta, on which see R. Parker, “Demeter, Dionysus and the Spartan Pantheon,” in Hagg et al. (supra n.23) 101H.} Herodotus gives a clue (2.171.2f). He first pays a remarkable tribute to the Thesmophoria as women’s mysteries: like the chief deities of the Greek pantheon, they came to Greece from Egypt, being communicated by the daughters of Danaus to the rude Pelasgian womenfolk. But then he says that as a result of the Dorian migration the Thesmophoria had disappeared from the Peloponnesus, except among the aboriginal Arcadians. The facts have doubtless been rounded off to fit Herodotus’ quite elaborate theory of migrations; yet there must be something to this. Herodotus knew of some Dorian worship of Demeter that differed from the Thesmophoria as women’s mysteries. Now Sparta’s civic cult differed from it, and was surely known to Herodotus. The sanctuary was not a Thesmophorium but an Eleusinium with a festival Eleusinia; men were admitted to the cult.\footnote{The contests of the Eleusinia, athletic and musical, were for men (references in Parker [supra n.158] 101 nn.24, 26), and men were certainly included in the great procession from Helos on the south coast (Paus. 3.20.7). Here as with the Dorian month-names the eponymous Eleusinia are surely the premier autumn festival. Eleusis’ greatest festival must once have been so called (as again in the Roman period) until it became “the mysteries,” and the name Eleusinia was left to the agonistic festival of summer as a local designation.}

At our festival too men are sometimes in evidence, sometimes not. There is no sign of them at Peiraeus and on Delos; at Myrrhinus and Thoricus there is no sign of women.\footnote{At Myrrhinus sacrifice is at the hands of the demarch, as it sometimes is in other demes on large public occasions (these are listed by Whitehead 128). At Thoricus Zeus is served at the second cult-site, perhaps at both, by a priest and a male attendant. If the deity and the officiants are male, it is likely that the festival attendance was partly so. At Eleusis the only officiants we hear of are Aethra and the priestesses of the sacred calendar, at Peiraeus the priestess of the Thesmophorium. The corresponding festival on Delos is for women only. The difference then is whether men are admitted or not; if they are, they may take charge.} To be sure, the other sex may still be somewhere in the background, beyond the purview of our very fragmentary evidence. Yet it is
clear that the rôle of one sex can be emphasized. At the Pro­
erosia of Eleusis, the best known instance, women are greatly
favored over men—as they are not at the Mysteries.
Both men and women owe their rôles in the Proerosia to the
magic ritual that summons the male and female powers of
nature to make the grain grow. And so it must have been at the
earlier festivals of autumn that are far more complex and
important, the Thesmophoria and the Mysteries.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ I thank Michael Jameson for his kindness in reading this article and
suggesting improvements.