

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DEMETER'S "MYSTERIES," festivals conducted mainly by women and in sanctuaries that were suitably withdrawn, were almost universal in Greek cities, like the cereal agriculture they were intended to promote.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. SMARCYK, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im delisch-attischen Seebund* (Munich 1990: 'Smarczyk') 189 n.88, rightly takes exception.

² *IG II*² 1006.9f, 79; 1028 (*SIG*³ 717) lines 28f; 1029.16f; 1039.54f.

³ καὶ πρ[ο]ηροσία ἐπρά[χθη] πρ[ώ]τη, δ[ε]ίξαντος/ Τριπτολέμου κτλ. (A12). "Munro's fine emendation may be described as absolutely certain": F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904) 61. So too ΣAel. 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 *νείωι ἐνὶ τριπόλῳι*. 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 Mysteriengotttheit* (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. Smarczyk (*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 *τριπόλος*; 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 ἀρῶν* is to till the ground without sowing it, as was done at other times in the year, and that *τρι-*, 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 *νείωι ἐνὶ τριπόλῳι* 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 *τριπόλεον δέ (PMG 877)*. Though the words will not be quite right as transmitted (*τρις πολέουσιν* Bergk, *τρίπολον δὴ οἱ τριπολεῖν δεῖ* 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*² 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 'Apón ("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 barbarity, joined in offering *aparchai*.⁷ Lycurgus in his Delian oration told how Apollo prescribed the remedy, so that his servant Abaris, a Hyperborean, was the first to bring *aparchai*.⁸ Apollo's command was reasserted on one or more occasions by the Delphic oracle.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ The decrees and the accounts refer to a sacri-

548f; M. H. Jameson, "The Hero Echetaeus," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 60f. Schwarz (248) rather discounts these attributes, saying that in Attica the plough belongs to Demeter and its use to other heroes; but this is arbitrary.

⁷ Isoc. 4 (*Paneg.*), 31; Lycurg. *Menesaechmus*, *FGrHist* 401cf1-4, 9=frr. 82-85, 90 Conomis; cf. Hyperides, *FGrHist* 401bf9; Hippostratus, *FGrHist* 568f4; Ael. Arist. *Panath.* 1.167f Dindorf; *Eleus.* 1.417.

⁸ So Lycurgus, Hyperides, Hippostratus (*supra* n.7); Crates, *FGrHist* 362f1; etc. In the original conception Abaris as Apollo's servant belongs to the purely mythical past, as do the Hyperborean maidens who served Artemis, and who likewise came with wheat sheaves from their northern home, in Mediterranean eyes the source of all fertilizing moisture (*Hdt.* 4.33.3-35). Subsequently Abaris was associated with Pythagoras and historical places and events, and a controversy arose about his date.

⁹ So Isocrates (*supra* n.7) quite explicitly; *IG* I³ 78.4f, 26, 34; also *IG* II² 5006, *aet. Hadr.*, on which see n.121 *infra*.

¹⁰ *IG* I³ 78, "ca. a. 422?"; *IG* II² 140 (*SIG*³ 300, *LSCG* Suppl. 13), a. 353/352; 1672.263-300, a. 329/328; 2956-57, *aet. Hadr.*

¹¹ J. E. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 295, followed by M. B. Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens. Documents in Finance, Religion and Politics in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Atlanta 1996) 87, postulates two sorts of oracles and two sorts of offerings: supposed ploughtime offerings for "Demeter Proerosia" at Athens, and supposed harvest offerings for Eleusinian de-

fice 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.¹² 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: *κελευέτο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ ὁ δαιδῶχος μυστηρίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς ἑλλήνας τῷ καρπῷ* (IG I³ 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.

ities. This is plainly wrong, but Fontenrose is right to query the term *aparchai* for offerings of grain that are traditionally destined for an autumn festival. We shall come to this below (VIII).

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 I³ 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*³ 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 II*² 1672.275–79).¹³ The shipment from Imbros arrived too late for “the sacrifice,” *i.e.*, the festival (lines 297ff).

By the mid-fourth century the *aparchai* were regulated by “the law of Chaeremonides” (*IG II*² 140.8ff, 33f); it too must have laid down procedure in the manner of the earlier decree.¹⁴ Cleidemus, writing about this time, reports an alternative name for the Proerosia: Προαρκτούρια (“Before-Arcturus [rites]”).¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Early or mid-September is too early even for the call

¹³ Brumfield (*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, *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 *et al.*, edd., *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford 1994) 169.

¹⁵ Cleidemus, *FGrHist* 323F23. “Cleidemus” is a likely but not certain emendation. Whoever the authority, it is a name for the civic Proerosia. At *IG I*³ 232A20f, a. 510–480, regulations at Athens’ Eleusinium, the supplement [- - Προαρκτ]ουρ/ου[σι- -] (Hicks) is merely one possibility, and there is no context.

¹⁶ The morning rising is anciently assigned to 5, 12, or 15 September: F. Boll and W. Gundel, “Sternbilder,” *ML* 6 (1937) 885. Arcturus has not much to do with cereal agriculture. The rising is a sign for ploughing light soil (Verg. *G.* 1.67f), as the setting is for sowing vetch, a counterfoil to cereals (Plin. *HN* 18.137). According to ΣGerm. *Arat.* p.169 Breysig, “Icarus,” *i.e.*, Arcturus, is honored at Athens with first fruits of both harvest and vintage, *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 προηρόσια (ιερά) ("Before-ploughing [rites]") and προηροσία (θύσια) ("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

vindemia, but it is clear that the vintage alone has suggested this. In a catastrophe 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* 464 F1). 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 προηρόσια, with the variant προηρέσια by analogy with γενέσια and the like. The lexica (Harpocration, Hesychius, Photius, Suda, s.vv. "Ἀβαρις, εἰρεσιώνη, προηροσία, -αι) give both προηροσία and προηροσίαι. 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 II*² 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* I³ 78.36–40; II² 140.17–25). In the late fifth century Demeter and Kore receive a *trittoa 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.¹⁹ 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 οἱ τε ναοὺς ἔχετε πρόσπολοι 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.²⁰ 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.²¹ There is, however, no sign of Triptolemus' temple; it must have been a little further

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 ὅδε, indicating the stage-building qua temple: *anaktora* (88), *oikoi* (938), *domoi* (988). There is also *melathra* (982). Adrastus is "at the doors" (*pylai*, 104).

²¹ G. E. MYLONAS, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961: hereafter 'Mylonas') 97ff (well), 167f (temple).

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 II²* 1672.232f. E. Vanderpool, "ΕΠΙ ΠΡΟΥΧΟΝΤΙ ΚΟΛΩΝΩΙ: 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 Smarczyk (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.] *FGE* 1; Verg. *G.* 3.134; Columella *Rust.* 2.19.2, 20.5; Paus. 1.37.2 (altar of Zephyr at Scirum). 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

June). The threshing festival itself is named for them propitiously: Robertson, "Athen's Shrines and Festivals," in J. Neils, ed., *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (Ann Arbor 1996) 52f. If then a threshing floor is placed on sloping ground, the slope will face west to catch the west wind: *prati subiacentem Favonio partem triturae destinant*, says Columella. Though there are gradual west slopes at Eleusis, the sanctuary is on an east slope, and looks north. A north slope, the direction of winter winds and rain, seems to be favored for Demeter's sanctuaries: Athens' Eleusinium and probably Thesmophorium; Corinth; Troezen (G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalauveia* [Berlin 1941] pl. 2); Sparta (Kalyvia Sokhas); Thasos (Evraiokastros); Abdera (*AR* [1988-89] 84f); Cnossus; Cyrene. But the north side of Eleusis' acropolis is too steep.

²⁵ Ῥαρία (ῆ) or Ῥάριον (πεδίον) is mentioned only for the ritual ploughing and sowing, and as the home of primordial Dysaulēs (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. Kerényi, *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* II² 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸

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.²⁹ Like some other

the bust, Clinton (58) favors Eubuleus but will not quite exclude Iacchus. A later dedication by another priest of the god and the goddess and Eubuleus, re-edited by Clinton (56 n.152), has no recorded provenance.

²⁷ The precinct and cave are conventionally known (since Foucart in 1883) as the "Ploutonion," and the temple is assigned to Pluto, who appears on Lacrateides' relief beside our first triad. But it is mainly on the strength of the Eleusian building accounts of 329/328, which refer to work on the doors and the door-frames of "the shrine of Pluto." Clinton (*supra* n.19: 18-21) more convincingly associates these entries with the undoubted shrine of Pluto in Athens, somewhere near the Eleusinium and the Thesmophorium (n.118 *infra*); he also dispels another supposed reference in the accounts of 408/407. For the precinct and cave Clinton (14-18, 21-27) proposes an unexpected name, *agelastos petra*. The discussion is fruitful, but this is hard to accept.

²⁸ Mylonas 99f, 146f (temple) and 143-46, 149 (terrace). He thinks of the terrace as a viewing stand for a certain part of the sacred drama, the rape and return of Kore, which he posits for the Mysteries; the pit he regards as modern. There is also a second, smaller terrace further south, approached from the north by another flight of steps, and on it foundations assigned to a small "treasury." All the installations hereabouts—temple, precinct wall, terraces, "treasury"—are according to Mylonas a unitary project of the late fourth century. Similarly Travlos (*supra* n.22: 96), makes the "treasury" a temple of Hecate and suggests that the initiates were "received" in the "theatre-shaped" area, *i.e.*, at the steps of the terraces. Yet the fourth-century dating seems to depend entirely on the identification of the precinct temple with the shrine of Plato in the building accounts, which must be given up (*supra* n.27). There is in any case an earlier temple of "Peisistratean" times.

²⁹ F. Noack, *Eleusis. Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums* (Berlin 1927) 80; Mylonas 147. A plan of the precinct (Noack pl. 6) and aerial photographs (Mylonas fig. 3; Travlos [*supra* n.22] 105 fig. 106) show that Mylonas has erred in describing the pit as "three meters" from the corner of the temple; it is no more than a meter away. Mylonas disclaims any knowledge of the date or purpose of the pit. For Kerenyi (*supra* n.25: 80) it is an "omphalos" with a vanished superstructure (an "omphalos" is not attested for Eleusis or indeed for Demeter's worship anywhere). O. Rubensohn, "Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes," *Jdl* 55 (1955) 25, and Clinton (*supra* n.23: 73 n.43, 80) expressly discount it as a *megaron*. It can only be a *bothros* or a *favissa*, says Rubensohn. Clinton objects that "it is not built of

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.³⁰ 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.³¹

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-

stone blocks ... and it does not communicate with Demeter's earth" and it "is cut into the bedrock and there wouldn't be adequate drainage for the decaying piglets." Yet these criteria for a *megaron* are far from self-evident. Clinton (*supra* n.23: 73–76, 78, and "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis," in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, ed., *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* [London 1993] 113f) points rather to the five very deep and narrow masonry pits attached to the fourth-century foundations at the front of the great hall. These must be offering pits of some kind, for animal bones and ceramic and metal vessels were found in them. They might be an elaborate foundation offering; the great hall needed and deserved the best auspices. But hardly *megara*: the dimensions make them as unsuited as could be for the subsequent rite of retrieving the pig carrion (*XVI infra*).

³⁰ Clem. Al. *Protr.* 17.1 (*Orph.* fr. 50); Σ Lucian, *Dial. Meret.* 2.1, pp.275f Rabe. Cf. *XIV infra*.

³¹ *Orph. H.* 18.14f. Pausanias, however, says that Pluto "descended" with Kore at the place called Erineus beside a crossing of the Eleusinian Cephissus (1.38.5; cf. *Pl. Thet.* 143B).

tury, which we must examine at length.³² The inscription appears to be a sacrificial calendar of the deme Eleusis, recording the festival expenses borne by the deme.³³ 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.³⁴

The festival Proerosia was proclaimed (προαγορεύειν) on 5 Pyanopsion by the Hierophant and the Herald, *i.e.*, the sacred herald of Eleusis (lines 3–7).³⁵ The proclamation of the Mys-

³² S. Dow and R. F. HEALEY, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1965: hereafter 'Dow and Healey'); *LSCG* 7. Earlier editions are superseded, but problems remain with the reading of several lines.

³³ This is the usual view: see *e.g.* Dow and Healey 45–48; 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.

teries (προαγορεύειν, πρόρρησις) by the Hierophant and the Torch-bearer was made on the first day of that festival, 15 Boe-dromion.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; ΣAr. *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.

³⁷ L. Ziehen *ad LGS* II 6; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, n.2 *ad SIG*³ 1038; Deubner 68; Jameson (*supra* n.6) 55; H. von Geisau, "Proerosia (2)," *RE* 32.1 (1957) 108; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 74f.

³⁸ So Brumfield (*supra* n.12: 59) in a valuable discussion of the Proerosia, followed by Smarczyk (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: ταναοῖσι κομήσειν ἄσταχύεσσιν ("waving with long ears"), βρισέμεν ἄσταχύων ("loaded with grain"), and ἐν ἔλλεδανοῖσι 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: $\pi\rho\eta\rho\iota\sigma\{\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}[\delta\alpha]\ \omicron\iota\nu$. This is quite impossible. Words are not otherwise divided between lines (except for $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\text{-}\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota\nu$ 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. *Menaeachmus*, *FGrHist* 401cF1=fr. 82 Conomis; Crates, *FGrHist* 362F1.

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.⁴³ 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 ἐξ Ἑλ[ε]υσι[-/ 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.⁴⁴ The initial erasure is of some detail pertaining to the Pyanopsia; the priestesses are those ἐξ Ἑλευσῖνος; the Eleusinian officials came to Athens with the Eleusinian offerings of lines 8–13.⁴⁵ On the view that prevailed be-

⁴³ ΣAr. *Thesm.* 80, 585, 834; Hsch. *s.v.* ἄνοδος, τρίτη Θεσμοφορίων; Phot. *s.v.* Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραι δ'. 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 lexica therefore treat it as a separate festival of Demeter (*s.v.* στήνια, στηνῶσαι). 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 ἐξ 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 ἐξ Ἐλευσίνου is equally possible; the priestesses are then "from the Eleusinium," *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 "Παννυχίς (1)," *RE* 18.3 (1949) 631; Hiller von Gaertringen, n.7 *ad SIG*³ 1038; Deubner 53.

⁴⁷ The Torch-bearer has an active rôle in the civic Lenaea (*ΣAr. 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* I³ 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 Pyanopsia). The "Eleusinium" of Eleusis is referred to quite off-handedly in the first *aparchai* decree and in Eleusinian accounts: *IG* I³ 78.29; II² 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 "Eleusinium" within a few lines: *IG* I³ 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 signaled 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 ἀγυρμός ("Round-up," Hsch. *s.v.*) and ἱερεῖα δεῦρο ("Victims hither," Philostr. *V.A.* 4.18: the name is conjoined with *pror-rhesis* so as to designate the first day). The handbooks assure us that ἀγυρμός 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 ἀγείρομενον. A principal sense of ἀγείρειν 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." [ὀγδόει or ἐνάτει ἰσταμένου] makes fifteen, [δεκάτει ἰσταμένου] 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):

πρὸς τὸ μέγαρον
 Δ εἰς τὰ ἀπόμετρα τῆι ἱερείαι
 τῆι τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερείαι
 εἰς ἐστιάσας τοῖν Θεσμο-
 [φόρῳν- -]·ι κανοῦν
 [- - - - - οἰ?]ς ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ εἰς τ' ἄλλα?]

There is mention of the *megaron*, the priestess, the priestess of Pluto, the two Thesmo[phor goddesses, a basket, the altar.

The entry is generally assigned, at least of late, to the Thesmophoria.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

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.⁵³

It has been suggested that the entry refers to a celebration of the Thesmophoria as a local festival of Eleusis (*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.⁵⁴ But we see from Plutarch's *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 Pyanopsion, when the women resorted to the seashore.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 *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: μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν ἄνευ τῆς ἱερέας (*IG* II² 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

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 (*supra* n.51) 426.

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

⁵⁵ Plut. *Sol.* 8.4ff, professing to give the usual version; Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.20.2.

Demeter's festivals: Thesmophoria, "Plerosia" (fem. sing.), Calamaea, 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 (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.16.17) and to designate the "cave" where Demeter went below in search of her daughter (Serv. *ad Ecl.* 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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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, ὠθεῖ ἑαυτὸν φέρων ἐς τὸ μέγαρον· ἔνθα δῆπου τῶι μὲν ἱεροφάντῃ μόνωι παρελθεῖν θεμιτὸν ἦν 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.⁶¹

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 (θηλὺς γενόμενος, γύνανδρος, γύννις) 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]σας τοῖν Θεσμο-. 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 nihili*, 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: [βωμὸν] στ[ο]λ[ι]σας (Hilfer von Gaertringen); εἰς ἐστίασας (Dow and Healey); ἐ[φε]στίασασι or ἐ[φε]στίασα[ι]ς (J. H. Oliver); ἄστοιν Θεσμο-[φόρον] (D. M. Lewis); πρὸς θυσιᾶς ἄς τοῖν Θεσμο-[φόρον θύε]ι κανοῦν (Sokolowski); εἰς ἐστίασ(ας) τοῖν Θεσμο-[?]-[φόρον *ca* 3 letters] | κανοῦν (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 (*LSCG* Suppl. 14.46f: Sokolowski restores a procession of maidens, all bearing the one basket).

⁶⁴ *IG* I³ 78.10ff (*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 I² 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 *προκώνια*, 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 401cF9=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 *τάλαρους γονόεντας ... Μετανείρης* ("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), ἄλφιτα προκώνια 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 *prokonion* and Proarcturia are the same. We must leave the name unexplained, like many of the innumerable names for cereal confections. Demon (περὶ θυσιών, *FGrHist 327F3*) describes the ritual item as barley parched and ground up with herbs. Crates (*FGrHist 362F3*), doubtless from περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι θυσιών, 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.* προκώνια. 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 Ἐξηγητικά (*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 *προσηρόσοι* ("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 (*LSCG 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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

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

[ἀ]π[ἀρχας ἴ]σας τοῖν Θεσμο-
[φόρου ἐκατέρα]ι κανοῦν⁷⁰

The accusative, with εἰς understood, denotes another object of expenditure.⁷¹ A similar style is used for the two goddesses in the other inscriptions. The animal sacrifice funded from the *ap-archai* is for τοῖν θεοῖν *ἑκατέραι* (*IG I³ 78.37f*). In the accounts of 329/328 the two *medimnoi* of grain, *prokonion* and *pelanos* 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 ca 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 [ἀ]π[ἀρχας].

⁷¹ Constructions are loose throughout the calendar. Objects of expenditure are governed by εἰς 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' *Supplikes*, 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.⁷⁴ 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 γεωργός ("farmer") is honored on 20 Maemacterion in a private calendar of Roman date and literary bent.⁷⁵ 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 Elaphebolion, a cake for Cronus, with the Galaxia (Cronus standing in for the Mother of the Gods).⁷⁶ 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).⁷⁷ Seven Pyanopsion and 8 Poseideon are the very days of the civic celebration; 19 Gamelion and 15

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 ἰστανμένου 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.⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹ 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 *πρηροσι-* (Paeania, Thoricus) or *πληροσι-* (Peiraeus, Myrrhinus). The former is shortened from *προηροσι-*, and the latter is by dissimilation.⁸⁰ 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, *πληροσία* (*θυσία*), Calamaea, Scira, and any other customary day for a gathering of women (*IG II² 1177 [LSCG 36]* lines 7–12,

⁸⁰ So L. Ziehen, "Πληροσία," *RE* 21.1 (1951) 233f; R. Parker, "Festivals of the Attic Demes," *Boreas* 15 (1987) 141 n.39. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin 1980) I 479f, refuses to equate *πληροσία* and *προηροσία*, but the different calendar dates are no sufficient reason. The intermediate form was attested even before the epigraphic instances in Hsch. s.v. *πρηροσίαν·θυσίαν τινὰ Ἀθήνησιν*. The *πληροσι-* form may also have been influenced by the root *πλη-* ("fill") and, if it existed, by the word *πλειών* ("seed"), for which see M. L. West *ad Hes. Op.* 617: as if these were "fill-furrow rites." The compound *πρηρό-αρχος* 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 *megaron*. At Myrrhinus, the demarch is to sacrifice the *πληροσία* (θυσία) to Zeus at a cost of 500 drachmas.⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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.⁸³ In Hecatombaeon, in a context that has mostly disappeared, we have]αι τήν πρηρο[- - -], denoting some female victim (lines 5f). Now there are two similar entries elsewhere in the calendar. In Elaphebolion, Δήμητρι τήν χλο[αίαν ὕν *vel* οἶν κρ]/ιτήν κυδσσαν (lines 38f).⁸⁴ In Munichion, Δή]/μητρι οἶν κυδσσαν ἀνθειαν (lines 43f). Female victims, gravid sow and gravid sheep, are offered to Demeter with epithets that are otherwise the names of her festivals, Chloaea and Antheia.⁸⁵ The epithet in Hecatombaeon

⁸¹ *IG* II² 1183.32–36, *post* 340). Note that the bracket is misplaced near the end of line 33. The numeral survives on the stone and only “drachmas” is restored.

⁸² 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.

⁸³ G. Daux, “Le calendrier de Thorikos au musée J. Paul Getty,” *AntCl* 52 (1983) 152ff (*SEG* XXXIII 147), now registered as *IG* I³ 256 *bis* (add., p.958) and dated *ca* 440–430 (Lewis) or *ca* 420 (Mattingly).

⁸⁴ Daux (*supra* n.83) restores χλο[αίαν οἶν κρ]/ιτήν. But although the festival name takes the form Χλοίοις at *IG* II² 946 (*SIG*³ 661) line 7, the adjective formed from χλωή is otherwise χλοαῖος. Either χλο[αίαν ὕν or χλο[αίαν οἶν is preferable; with the latter, one of the *iotas* will share a letter space, as it may in this stoichedon inscription. The former would match the gravid sow, ὕς κυδσσα, that is offered to the goddess “Eleusinia” at Marathon (*IG* II² 1358 B 48) and to some vanished deity in the Tetrapolis (A43); the respective months are Anthesterion and Gamelion, close enough to Elaphebolion.

⁸⁵ Daux (*supra* n.83: 162f, 167) propounds a strange “hypothesis.” The noun he understands with both πρηροσίαν and χλο[αίαν is ἡμέραν (despite the undoubted animal victim in the latter case); each year, he says, the days so called were fixed by the authorities as harbingers of autumn and of spring. Of ἀνθειαν he says that it must be a way of decking out the victim, *l'attifage de la victime*. This is arbitrary and uncalled for.

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 Δαίρ]αι. 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: ἀμνὲ πρερόαρχος. We must hesitate accordingly over the restoration here. Perhaps it should be τὴν πρηρο[σ/ίαν---], like τὴν χλο[αίαν and ἄνθειαν. Or perhaps τὴν πρηρό[α/ρχον---] or τὴν πρηρο[σ/ίαρχον- - -], 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 Πρηρόσια (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: π[6 litt. max.]. 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 εἰπαντομενας 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 ἐπ’ 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: ἐπί is especially used of motion upward,⁸⁹ and the name looks like the passive participle of a verb cognate with ἄημι ("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 ἐπὶ Μυκηνον ("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. ἀνήτω· ἔπνεον 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[ρόκρηδι with Parker (*supra* n.80: 147), instead of Π[οσειδῶνι 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 Proerosia, as a purely local development. The rest of the offerings in this month are unrelated.

⁹² IG I³ 250, "a. 450–430," a notable improvement on earlier editions. Prerosia: A8, 18; *cf.* B21 adn. Chloaea: A26f, B31; *cf.* B12f adn.. Antheia: A7f, 29; *cf.* B26–30 adn.. Scira: A6. The festival "Hephaestia," which Peek restored at A6f (and elsewhere) still appears in the text, but is happily abolished by Jameson's καὶ βεφ/[σανὰ καὶ ὀ]πανὰ, mentioned in the note. The restoration is certain, for the meat "both boiled and roasted" at the Scira matches "spits, cauldron" at the Antheia and the Prerosia (A7ff).

⁹³ Tetrapolis of Marathon: IG II² 1358 (LSCG 20) A17 ("at the Eleusinium"), B43f ("Eleusinia" and Kore), B48f ("Eleusinia" and Chloe), B12 (Daira); Brauron: *Anecd. Bekk. s.v.* Διάκρια, 1.242 ("Eleusinium": L. Deubner, "Zum Weihehaus der eleusinischen Mysterien," in *Kleine Schriften zur klassischen*

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 Δαίραι ἄμνὲ πρε/ρόαρχος ("for Daira a ewe-lamb *preoarchos*," A15ff).⁹⁴ The last word is a *hapax* and the form is strange; we expect *πρηροσί-αρχος. This truncated form may be due to the analogy of βόαρχος 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

Altertumskunde [Königsberg 1982] 3 n.9, is merely wishful in excising part of the gloss as intrusive). The Eleusinium of Phalerum is mentioned as a responsibility of the Eleusinian *epistatai* (*IG I³* 32.27f, 33f); it must have been used when the initiates washed their piglets in the sea. Other demes worship at Athens' Eleusinium. At Erchia, we hear of "the Eleusi(nium) in town": G. DAUX, "La grande démarchie: un nouveau calendrier sacrificiel d'attique (Erchia)," *BCH* 87 (1963: hereafter 'Daux') 606–10 (*LSCG* 18) B3f. At Phrearrhioi, of "the altar in the Eleusinium" and also of "the court of the Eleusinium": E. Vanderpool, "A *lex sacra* of the Attic Deme Phrearrhioi," *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 48 lines 9, 18, 23, who, followed by all subsequent commentators, takes this as another local shrine: see G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (Rome 1986) 94 with bibliography. But the mention of Iacchus in line 26 is decisive for Athens' Eleusinium. The un-Eleusinian nature of the Eleusinium shrines at Paeania and Marathon has been remarked by Nilsson, "Die eleusinischen Kulte der attischen Demen und das neue Sakralgesetz aus Paiania," in *Opuscula Selecta* (Lund 1960) III 92–98 (= *Eranos* 42 [1944] 70–76), and *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund 1951) 38 n.45.

⁹⁴ Just before this, at the very beginning of the list, are the words τῆδε χοῖρος ("here a piglet"). Thereafter τῆδε 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.⁹⁵ The τρίττοια βόαρχος of the civic Proerosia is “the threefold sacrifice that begins with an ox” (βο- is instrumental). The ἀμνὲ πρερόαρχος of Paeania is “the ewe-lamb that begins the *prerosia* rites” (πρερο- is object, as e.g. σπονδ- in σπονδαρχία). As an observance related to the festival but distinctly prior, this is just like Thoricus’ entry for the month Hecatombaeον, Δαίρ]αι τὴν πρηρο[σίαν or πρηρό[α/ρχον or πρηρο[σ/ίαρχον ?*agnam*].

Next comes another entry beginning “to the Eleusinium,” with more about the Prerosia (A 17–25).⁹⁶ It runs for nine lines down to the next entry so beginning, which is for the festival Chloaea.⁹⁷ The Prerosia entry consists of two items, each followed by emoluments for unnamed priesthoods. The first is πρεροσίον τέλεον/ θέλυ χοῖρος ἄρρεν (“of Prerosia rites, an adult victim female, a piglet male”). The second is πρεροσ- /ιάδον χριθὼν ἕνε 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 (A8f).

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 βόαρχος and its synonym βούπρωρος, 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, προηγείσθαι 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 πρερόαρχος, 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 ἐς Ἄνθεια (“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.⁹⁸ 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 Dair]a 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;⁹⁹ 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; Rinck'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 Peiraeus, 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");¹⁰⁰ outside Attica the same kind of sacrifice is addressed to Demeter or Demeter Chloe or Ge.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰²

Literary sources for Daira/Daeira transport us to the lofty realm of theological interpretation in the mythical and physical modes.¹⁰³ 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 intrigu-

¹⁰⁰ The following are in calendar order: on 27 Boedromion, on the Pagos of Erchia, a gravid sheep for Ge: Daux Ε16-21 (in Α-D, on this date at this site, there are ordinary sheep for other deities); in Poseideon, at Marathon, a gravid cow for Ge ἐν γύαις: *IG II² 1358 (LSCG 20) B9*; in Anthesterion, at Marathon, a gravid sow for Chloe: *IG II² 1358 (LSCG 20) B49f*; in Elaphebolion, at Thoricus, a gravid sow for Demeter: see above; in Munichion, at Thoricus, a gravid sheep for Demeter: see above.

¹⁰¹ These too are in calendar order: in Metageitnion ("month 11"), at Andania, a gravid sow for Demeter: *IG V.1 1390 (LSCG 65) lines 35, 68*; on 12 Poseideon, on Mykonos, two fine sows, one gravid, for Demeter Chloe: *SIG³ 1024 (LSCG 96) lines 11f*; on 11 Gamelion ("Lenaeon"), on Mykonos, a sow carrying its first farrow for Demeter: *SIG³ 1024 (LSCG 96) lines 15f* (at the same time, a boar for Kore, and a piglet for Zeus Buleus); at an uncertain season ("Badromios"), on Cos, a male sheep and a gravid female for Demeter: *LSCG 151A59f*; also at an uncertain season ("Sminthios"), at Cameirus, a gravid sheep for "Demeters" plural: *LSCG 95*. Less often, gravid animals are offered to goddesses who are not agrarian, or not quite so overtly: to Hera, Athena, Artemis, Rhea on Cos, Pelarge at the Cabeirium of Thebes, the Eumenides at Sicyon.

¹⁰² "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.

¹⁰³ 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 δαῖναι 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 Medeia prepared Jason for his tremendous ploughing, he imagines for a moment a ritual involving Daira. Medeia's magic ointment would make anyone invulnerable who should apply it *νυχίοισιν ἀρεσσάμενος θυέεσσιν/ Δαίραν μουννογένειαν* ("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, *πληροσία* (*θυσία*), 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 *trit[toa]* 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 Prerosiad 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' *sacerdoti Iunonis* is ambiguous. Pollux (1.35) gives *δαειπίτης* as an "Attic" title, but Clinton (*supra* n.33: 98) is reluctant to accept it for Eleusis.

¹⁰⁵ *IG II²* 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 Thoricus for Zeus Polieus and for Zeus at Automenae. Zeus Polieus is well known as an agrarian deity.¹⁰⁶ 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 Thoricus gives more names than usual, and “Prerosia” is one of them.

The month Boedromion, when Thoricus 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 Thoricus.

chia.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ 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 Paecania (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, Alochos "Wife," Hermes—may be called rustic but not agrarian.¹¹⁰

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).¹¹¹ 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 II² 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," *Ath Mitt* 67 (1942) 12f.

¹⁰⁸ The hero Epops is honored on 5 Boedromion: Daux D18-23, 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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ Demeter with all her festivals is absent. Instead, Erchia sends her a sheep at Athens' Eleusinium, though only on a day, 12 Metageitnion, when the demesmen were in Athens anyway and gave the same attention to other civic deities.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ The deme Phrearrhioi resorted to the city Eleusinium, 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 undestandable 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 (*JG II*² 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 Chologos and Pithos and one other, unknown (*JG II*² 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 6.49f is decisive. The disreputable woman Alce 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 Alce 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.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ 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.]; Broneer [*supra* n.115] 265= *SEG* XLII 116.5f [ca 180]; *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* 366F3, 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.¹²⁰ Demeter's epithet implies another procession from the Acropolis to Scirum at the time of the sprouting.¹²¹

The Scira are not among the festivals of Demeter celebrated at Eleusis, even by the deme.¹²² The Scirum site, on the road to Eleusis and in the middle of the Cephissus valley, is perhaps by way of mediating between the city and Eleusis.¹²³ Or else it was chosen even earlier, when the Cephissus valley alone was the center of Athenian agriculture. The festival aetiology 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 Scirum 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 Cephissus, as Deubner also holds.

The third of Plutarch's ritual ploughings, after those at Scirum and in the Rarian field, is ὑπὸ 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.¹²⁴ 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 ὑπὸ πόλιν is undoubtedly used to denote the oldest part of Athens, as at Thuc. 2.15.3: τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ ὑπ' 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.¹²⁵ The area "below" the Acropolis, in Thucydides and Plutarch, is the southeast sector sloping down to the Ilissus.

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*.¹²⁶ As we have seen, Zeus has a large rôle in the Proerosia, and this is a suitable epithet, otherwise applied to him as

¹²⁴ "Near the base of the Acropolis": Cook, *Zeus* III 606; "below the Acropolis near the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe": Jameson (*supra* n.6) 54. The first plough as an Acropolis dedication (ΣAeschin. 2.78) does not bear on the site of the ritual. The other two ploughings, near the Cephissus and near the sanctuary at Eleusis (*cf. supra* II), appear to be conducted on ground that is suited to the purpose and is also close to actual farmland. One expects as much, for the ritual must produce a token crop and is meant to be auspicious for the community. The Buzyges as he ploughed uttered the proverbial curses that warn the community to share its resources as needed. It is unlikely then that this ploughing, in contrast to the others, made do with some inferior and isolated patch of soil.

¹²⁵ He points to landmarks in the southeast sector that antedate the synoecism (*Thes.* 12.6); on the synoecism he echoes Thucydides and adds a contemporary note about the Prytaneium, "where the city remains seated" (24.3). The statements of Thucydides, Plutarch, and others about early Athens as a physical entity are often regarded as hypothetical or even fanciful. They are not. The early centers of *e.g.* London or Paris are apparent to anyone who looks for them. *Cf.* Robertson, "Phratries and *Trittyes*: The Early Organization of Attica," in R. Kearsley *et al.*, *edd.*, *Ancient History in a Modern University* (Grand Rapids 1997) I 119–20.

¹²⁶ Buzyges inventor of ploughing: *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.228, *etc.*; *cf. AR V*² 1115.30, arguably our hero, though Beazley does not think so. Priest of Zeus at the Palladium: *SEG XXX* 85.10f, 18f; *IG II*² 3177, 5055; priest of Zeus *teleios*: *IG II*² 5075.

the patron of procreative marriage. The cult was beside the Palladium shrine of Athena, just beyond an Ilissus crossing.¹²⁷ 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 Πραράτιος is the third of the year, corresponding to Boedromion.¹²⁸ The festival name *Πραράτια is formed from πρό and *ἄρατος, as Προηρόσια (or Πρηρόσια) is from πρό and ἄροτος. The stem ἄρα- alternates widely with ἄρο-. So the name is indeed the very same.

At Physcus the month Ἀράτιος comes fourth, corresponding to Maemacterion.¹²⁹ The festival name *Ἀράτια is formed from *ἄρατύς ("ploughing"), another α-stem noun.

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

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

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 ἄρο-, E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich 1939) I 362, 683. Brumfield (*supra* n.12: 91) thinks of Πραράτιος 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”).¹³⁰ As this is a festival of Demeter and, moreover, the only event in the month, it is likely to be the *’Αρήσια 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.¹³¹ The event is described as ἡ φυλακὴ ἐν τῷ ἱερῶνι (“the watch in the sanctuary,” *IG XI.2* 142.61). Once the sanctuary is purified with a piglet (*IDélos* 440.48).

The *megaron* came into use, and once its “fastenings” seem to be mentioned: [δε]σμῶν? εἰς τὸ μέγαρον (*IDélos* 440A41). Year by year a workman or workmen are paid for “lifting” (ἄρασιν) or “forcing open” (διελούσι, διαλέξαντι) a “door” or “door panels” (θύρετρον, θύρια, θύραι) and for replacing it: e.g. τῷ διαλέξαντι τὸ θύρετρον καὶ ἐνοικοδομήσαντι τ τ τ (“for the man who forced open the little door and set it in again, 3 drachmas,” *IDélos* 372A94). It was suggested long ago that this perpetually recalcitrant door is the cap or cover of the *megaron*.¹³² It had been securely closed at an earlier time,

¹³⁰ See F. Sokolowski, “Note sur les Νυκτοφυλάξια à Délos,” *BCH* 59 (1935) 382–90; Bruneau 269–73, 290–93. Sokolowski showed that the entries certainly refer to a festival of Demeter and probably to a rite at the *megaron*. On the location of the Thesmophorium, see J. Tréheux, “Un document nouveau sur le Néôrion et le Thesmophorion de Délos,” *REG* 99 (1986) 309–17.

¹³¹ As to the εὐναί (“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, *Thymélé. Recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecture 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 καταπακτὴ (“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 Maemacterion 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 Prorosia, 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 ἑορτὴ Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια περιέχουσα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Σκιρροφορία καλεῖται. ἤγετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν μυθωδέστερον λόγον, ὅτι, (ὅτε) ἀνθολογοῦσα ἠρπάζετο ἡ Κόρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, τότε κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον Εὐβουλεύς τις συμβάτης ἔνεμεν ὕς καὶ συγκατεπόθησαν τῷ χάσματι τῆς Κόρης· εἰς οὖν τιμὴν τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ῥιπτεῖσθαι τοὺς χοίρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης, τὰ δὲ σαπέντα τῶν ἐμβληθέντων εἰς τὰ μέγαρα κάτω ἀναφέρουσιν ἀντλήτρια καλούμεναι γυναῖκες, καθαρεῦσαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰ ἄδυστα καὶ ἀνεγκασαὶ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν· ὧν νομίζουσι τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ τῷ σπόρῳ συγκαταβάλλοντα εὐφορίαν ἔξειν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ δράκοντας κάτω εἶναι περὶ τὰ χάσματα, οὓς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βληθέντων κατεσθίειν· διὸ καὶ κρότον γίνεσθαι ὅταν ἀντλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ὅταν ἀποτιθῶνται πάλιν τὰ πλάσματα ἐκεῖνα, ἵνα ἀναχωρήσωσιν οἱ δράκοντες, οὓς νομίζουσι φρουροὺς τῶν ἀδύτων. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀρρητοφορία καλεῖται· καὶ ἄγεται τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σποράς. ἀναφέρονται δὲ κάνταῦθα ἄρρητα ἱερά ἐκ στέατος τοῦ σίτου κατεσκευασμένα, μιμήματα δρακόντων καὶ ἀνδρείων σχημάτων. λαμβάνουσι δὲ κώνου θαλλοὺς διὰ τὸ πολύγονον τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἐμβάλλονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μέγαρα οὕτω καλοῦμενα ἄδυστα ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ χοῖροι, ὡς ἦδη ἔφαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ πολυτόκον εἰς σύνθημα τῆς γενέσεως τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἶον χαριστήρια τῇ Δήμητρι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Δημητρίους καρποὺς περιέχουσα ἐποίησεν ἡμερον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τῆς ἑορτῆς λόγος ὁ μυθικός, ὁ δὲ προκείμενος φυσικός. Θεσμοφορία δὲ καλεῖται, καθότι θεσμοφόρος ἡ Δημήτηρ κατονομάζεται τιθεῖσα νόμους ἤτοι θεσμούς, καθ' οὓς τὴν τροφήν πορίζεσθαι τε καὶ κατεργάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπους δέον.

¹³³ *Palatinus* 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 "Arrhetophoria" 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* I² [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 juxtaposes the three festivals; this too must be quoted:

βούλει καὶ τὰ Φερεφάττης ἀνθολόγια διηγήσωμαί σοι καὶ τὸν κάλαθον καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀιδωνέως καὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς ὕς τὰς Εὐβουλέως τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖν θεαῖν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐμβάλλουσιν; ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πόλιν ἑορτάζουσι, Θεσμοφορία, Σκιροφόρια, Ἀρρητοφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγωδοῦσαι ἀρπαγὴν.

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.¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵ 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-

¹³⁴ C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin 1987) 117–23, gives a helpful analysis of Clement, partly followed here.

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 *χειρὶ τέ μιν ῥίπτασκε* as *cava succutiens Bacchi manus* (Auratus: *Baubo 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;¹³⁶ much is Athenian. Such a glossary will be quite late.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 scholium on Lucian is a last gleaning.

Kore's adventure is referred to dismissively by Clement as "the flower-picking (ἀνθολόγια) ... 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).¹³⁸ Then comes a piece of commemorative ritual: "for which reason at the Thesmophoria they employ the *megara* and throw in piglets."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

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.

¹³⁷ The only useful discussion of the source is by E. Rohde, "Unedirte 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* 328FF14–16 n.77 [IIb, Suppl. II 204]). Neither went in for extensive description of ritual.

¹³⁸ Kore's *calathi* are also mentioned by Ovid (*Met.* 5.393) and Claudian (*De raptu Pros.* 2.138f).

¹³⁹ *μεγαρίζοντες* Mss.: *μεγάροις ζῶντας* Lobeck ("they throw into the *megara* 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 *μεγαρίζειν* 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" (*ἀνθολογοῦσα*) 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 ἀρρητοφόρια 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 *megara* like the piglets, and with a precautionary noise-making, as when the piglets are removed. Now the first element should not surprise us.

Although ἀρρητοφόρια as a festival name occurs nowhere but in the scholium and in Clement, a few lexica and scholia offer a festival ἀρρηφόρια and define it as a carrying of ἄρρητα.¹⁴⁰ This is simply a bogus explanation of ἀρρηφόροι and ἀρρηφορεῖν, terms used in several Athenian cults and doubtless elsewhere too, for Dionysius of Halicarnassus designates the whole class of Greek basket-bearers as αἱ κανηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφόροι λεγόμεναι (*Ant. Rom.* 2.22.2).¹⁴¹ *ἀρρε-ον (*cf.* ἄρριχος) was obviously the generic word for round baskets, as κανοῦν for square-cornered ones; once we are told that the ἀρρητα were carried in *kistai*, another word for round containers (*Σ Ar. Lys.* 642).¹⁴² 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

¹⁴⁰ *Etym. Gen., Etym. Magn. s.v.* ἀρρηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφόρια; *Suda s.v.* ἀρρηφόρια; *Σ Ar. Lys.* 642.

¹⁴¹ At Athens the ἀρρηφόροι of the Panathenaea are by far the best-known, like the κανηφόροι 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 ἀρρηφόροι 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 (ἔρσηφόροι, a tendentious antiquarian form, also noted in the lexica); *cf.* Robertson, "The Riddle of the Arrhethoria at Athens," *HSCP* 87 (1983) 242f.

¹⁴² For the round baskets of Athena's ἀρρηφόροι, 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 (*Dial. 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 Icarus 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. 15.647A (ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσμοῶν Ms.: *fort.* περὶ Ἐδεσμάτων Kaibel). The female genitalia are represented in cakes called μύλλοι, 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.¹⁴⁴ The awkward language and arrangement further show that it is he who now coordinates the phallic cakes with the piglets as offerings in the *megara*.

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. Μίλητος: οἱ γὰρ (lacuna) ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις πίτυος κλάδον ὑπὸ τὴν στιβάδα (lacuna) καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὰ κλώνον πίτυος τίθεσθαι (lacuna) διὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς γενέσεως. "A pine bough" is used "because of the ancients (i.e. universality) of procreation." οἱ γὰρ (ἐν Μιλήτῳ οἰκοῦντες) Berkellius, (Ἴωνες) vel (Ἀθηναῖοι) Holstenius, (Μιλήσιοι) Meineke. Or perhaps οἱ γὰρ (ὑπομνηματισταί), another reference to Didymus, named just before as the source.

below,¹⁴⁵ 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.¹⁴⁶

This clashing sound, κρότος, recalls a ceremony described by Apollodorus: τὸν ἱεροφάντην τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλουμένης ἐπικρούειν τὸ καλούμενον ἠχεῖον ("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.¹⁴⁷ 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.¹⁴⁸ On Delos the sanctuary was once purified with a piglet, and there the women

¹⁴⁵ Rohde (*supra* n.137: 356) suggests τὰ (μὴ) 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 ὅταν 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) 461f; Kerényi (*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.¹⁴⁹ 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 Proerosiad 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.

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.

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.¹⁵⁰ If it is the same *aition*, it will be in effect the same ritual.¹⁵¹

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 gelded by blood-smeared knife-wielding women called σφακτρία: 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.v.* Αἰγυλία), 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 δημῶδη τῶν λεγομένων). 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.v.* ζημία, δίωγμα; cf. *Suda s.v.* Χαλκιδικὸν δίωγμα, citing either ?Semus, *FGrHist* 396F21 or ?Cleidemus 323F30 *bis* [III B 757, add.]). This sacrifice was also known by the expressive names δίωγμα, ἀποδίωγμα, Χαλκιδικὸν δίωγμα. 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 ξιφοκτόνον δίωγμα λαιμορρότου σφαγᾶς αὐτοσίδαρον; it will be a θῦμα to hostile powers (Eur. *Hel.* 354-59). "Chalcidic 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. *Acb.* 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* 85F6, 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 παρθενικαῖς ... Ἀκτιάσιν ("maiden Actiads"). As the name Ἀκτὴ properly denotes the Attic peninsula and the adjective forms can mean παραθαλάσσιος (*Etym. Gud. s.v.* Ἀκταῖη), it is probably the seashore ritual, as performed by matron Actiads. Line 11, πρὶν] πόσιν ἐλθεμέναι, πρὶν νόμια λέκτρα τελέσσαι, has proved intractable: Pfeiffer *ad loc.*, 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; πόσιν was then accented to give a suitable meaning. *Lege* ἢ ποσὶν ἐλθεμέναι, coordinate with ἐπ' ὄμμασιν οἷσιν ιδέσθαι 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: λούοντα χοιρίδιον, not λουόμενον σὺν χοιριδίῳ, says Plutarch (*Phoc.* 28.6). The initiates go down to the sea ἐπὶ τὸ καθαρθῆναι, 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.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹

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.¹⁶⁰ To be sure, the other sex may still be somewhere in the background, beyond the purview of our very fragmentary evidence. Yet it is

¹⁵⁸ The Dorian evidence is wholly irreconcilable with Eleusis and its Mysteries (Ionia and Arcadia can be debated). It includes the month-name "Eleusinius" 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. *Geog.* 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 Hägg *et al.* (*supra* n.23) 101ff.

¹⁵⁹ 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.

¹⁶⁰ 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.

clear that the rôle of one sex can be emphasized. At the Proerosia 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

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