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THE CULTS  
OF  
THE GREEK STATES

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## P R E F A C E

IN offering to the public two more volumes on the state-religion of the Greek world, I must express my regrets that the interval between their appearance and that of the first two has been so long. I may plead for indulgence on the grounds that multifarious official duties have borne heavily upon me, and that I have devoted what leisure I have had to preparing myself for the completion of my task. I have gained this at least from the long delay, that I have been able to profit by the many works and monographs of Continental and English scholars relating directly or indirectly to the subject, to reconsider many questions and to form more mature opinions on many important points. The results of the researches and discoveries throughout the last decade bearing on the history of religion have given us the opportunity, if we choose to avail ourselves of it, of improving the anthropological method in its application to the problems of comparative religion; and the great discoveries in Crete have thrown new light on certain questions that arise in the study of the classical polytheism. Every year also enriches the record with new material, from newly discovered inscriptions and other monuments. At the same time, therefore, the complete exposition

and the full discussion of the facts becomes increasingly difficult; and it is in fact easier to compose an Encyclopaedia of Greek religion, than to write a continuous literary treatise on even that portion of it to which the history of the public cults of Greece, leaving the private sects and private religious speculation out of account, is properly limited. Lest I should overwhelm myself and my readers with a mass of antiquarian detail, I have tried to keep always in view the relation of the facts to the salient phenomena that interest the comparative student; but I cannot hope to have been uniformly successful in this or to have omitted nothing that may seem to others essential. These volumes will be found to contain more ethnologic discussion than the former; for I found it impossible to assign, for instance, to the cult of Poseidon its proper place in the Hellenic system without raising the ethnologic question of its source and diffusion. I have had occasionally to combat in these chapters certain anthropologic theories which appear to me to have been crudely applied to various phenomena of cult. This does not imply a depreciation of the value of wide anthropological study to the student of Hellenism; on the contrary, I appreciate its importance more highly than ever. But its application to the higher facts of our religious history might be combined with more caution and more special knowledge than has always been shown hitherto.

In spite of the hopes in which many years ago I too light-heartedly embarked on the task, the end of the fourth volume does not see its completion. A fifth volume, which the liberality of the Clarendon Press



has allowed me, will, I trust, be issued next year and will contain an account of the worships of Hermes, Dionysos, and the minor cults. This will end the treatise; but I can scarcely hope that even the five volumes will comprise the full account of all that their title implies. The chapter on hero-worship, one of the most intricate and important in the history of Greek religion, for which I have already collected the material, will probably have to be reserved for a separate work.

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*October, 1906.*



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COIN PLATE.



# THE CULTS OF THE GREEK STATES

## CHAPTER I

### CULT OF GE

(References, p. 307.)

THE higher cults of Greece, so far as they have been examined, present us with divine personalities too complex and concrete to allow us to regard them merely as the personifications of special departments of nature or of human life. And this will be found true also of the greater number that still remain to be studied. Yet the deities, each and all, are closely concerned with the exercise of certain functions which we may call physical as being those upon which the physical life of man and nature depend. Various practices of primitive vegetation-ritual and a medley of vegetation-myths tend to attach themselves to most of the divinities, whether the goddess or god arose in the first instance from the soil, the sea, or the sky. And we have noticed how vividly the traits of an earth-goddess are apt to appear in the features, as presented in cult and legend, of such personages as Artemis, Aphrodite, and even Athena and Hera. In fact, in regard to the two former, the belief is often borne upon us that we are dealing with highly developed and specialized forms of the primitive earth-goddess. And the worship of the earth is a most important fact to bear in mind as forming a background to much of the bright drama of Greek religion. Nevertheless, in the cults just mentioned, the physical germ, if we can successfully discover it, does not by any means wholly explain the spiritual personalities that emerge. Bearing proper concrete names—not mere appellatives—they possess the indefinite expansiveness of ethical individuals.

This judgement applies also to Demeter, the great goddess, whose cult is of the highest importance for the anthropology of Hellenic worship, for the study of primitive ritual and custom as well as of the higher social and religious life. But it applies with a difference, because the physical nature in this case penetrates the divine personality more deeply, the relation of Demeter to the earth-goddess being so close that at times they may appear interchangeable terms.

In fact, the chapter on the cults of Demeter, one of the most difficult in the whole investigation, should be prefaced by an examination of the more transparent cult-figure of Gaia. The records abundantly prove that the worship of the earth, conceived in some way as animate or personal, was an aboriginal possession of all the Hellenic tribes; and the study of other Aryan and non-Aryan races, both ancient and modern, impels us to regard it as a universal fact in human religion in certain stages of human life<sup>a</sup>. Nor is there any of the religious conceptions of primitive man with which we can sympathize so readily as this.

For the latent secretion of this most ancient belief is in our own veins; it is a strong part of the texture of our poetic imagination; it is the source and the measure of the warm affection with which we attach ourselves to external nature. But what is for us often mere metaphor, or at most a semi-conscious instinctive pulsation, was for the period of Homer, and before him and for many centuries after him, a clearly discerned and vital idea around which grew a living religion. In his poems<sup>1-4</sup> the earth is often regarded as animate and divine; the sacrifice of a black lamb is offered to her, and she is thrice invoked in the formula of the oath. Such invocation

<sup>a</sup> For the prevalence of the earth-cult vide Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2. p. 262; Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, p. 454; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 22, 88. Cf. Dorsey, *Study of Sioux Cults* (Annual Report Bureau Ethn. Smithsonian Inst. 1899, p. 476). In Babylonian religion Ishtar exercised many of the functions

of an earth-goddess. Vide summary of the cults of the earth-mother in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*. 1904, p. 10, &c., by Dieterich. My own chapter was written before I had the advantage of reading his monograph, which is the fullest general anthropological account of this worship that has yet appeared.

is very significant, for we may regard it as belonging to the earliest worship of Gaia: nor is it confined to the classical peoples, but modern parallels may be quoted from existing races of more backward development<sup>a</sup>. Given the animistic view of nature, and the belief in the omnipresence of super-human or divine forces, the oath-taker would wish to place himself in contact with one of these, as the pledge of his truth and as the avenger of perjury. Now the earth-spirit or the animate earth would naturally be one of the most frequently invoked of such witnesses, for she is always near at hand and could not be escaped from. With her would be often coupled for the same reasons such powers as the sky and the sun. And, in fact, although on any solemn occasion the Greek could swear by each and any of his divinities, and, in fact, invoke his whole Pantheon for some public and weighty pledge, yet the most current formula of the public oath, when a treaty was to be ratified, or an alliance cemented, was the invocation of Zeus, Helios, and Ge<sup>b</sup>. And doubtless one of the earliest forms of oath-taking was some kind of primitive communion, whereby both parties place themselves in sacred contact with some divine force. Thus, in Mexico, the oath formula invoked the Sun and our 'Lady Earth,' and was accompanied by the form of the sacramental eating of earth<sup>c</sup>. Among the people of the African Gold Coast<sup>d</sup> the person who wishes to swear by a divinity 'usually takes something to eat or drink which appertains to the deity, who is then prepared to visit a breach of faith with punishment': being supposed to be in the food and drink, he will make the man's body swell if he commits perjury<sup>e</sup>. The offer to swear over the Sacrament has occasionally occurred in Christian communities. Or again, there need be no sacramental communion, or the establishment of a human and divine contact, in the

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Anthrop. Journ.* 1902, p. 464.

<sup>b</sup> They are also invoked as witnesses of solemn private transactions, such as emancipation of slaves, R. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Sahagun (Jourdanet et Siméon, p. 195).

<sup>d</sup> Vide Ellis, *Tsi-speaking Peoples of*

*the Gold Coast*, p. 196; for instances of the sacramental form of oath-taking vide Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, I, p. 211.

<sup>e</sup> The same idea is found in LXX, Num. v. 27.

ceremony of the oath, but only a mimetic act of ritual: the formula may be such as 'as I do to this beast or this stone or piece of metal, so may God do to me, if . . .' This is allied to sympathetic magic, but still like the other form implies the presence of some conscious divinity or demoniac power; while there is no such implication in the simplest animistic form of oath-taking which is a kind of ordeal: 'May this crumb choke me if . . .'

This slight digression is relevant to the question we start with: how does Homer conceive of Gaia? The question is not so simple as it seems. It is evident that he sometimes regarded her from the same point of view as the later cultivated Greek or the modern civilized man, as a great physical entity, living in some sense, but not personal nor fraught with such a life as man's. On the other hand, in the ritualistic passages quoted from his poems above, she is evidently a real divine power; and we may doubt whether there underlies them merely the vague and formless conception of the whole earth as animate and conscious. There may have been in Greece, as elsewhere, some period of fluid animism that had not yet deposited those concrete personalities of divinities, to whom the world of nature with its phenomena serves merely as a residence, a shell, or 'environment': the Arcadian worship of thunder, pure and simple, may be an instance of that amorphous form of religious consciousness. But Homer's imagination works in a mould so precise and anthropomorphic that we must believe the Gaia to whom his warriors sacrificed and whom they invoked in their oaths to have been something more than a mere potency, a vague and inchoate perception of early animistic belief. But is she for him the clearly defined and anthropomorphic personality that we find in the beautiful type of the later developed art? He nowhere makes it appear that she was. No doubt the ritual of sacrifice and the ceremony of oath-taking assist the anthropomorphic process, but in themselves they do not reveal it as perfected and complete\*. The

\* Vide Schrader, *Real-Lexikon*, s.v. *Eid*: he does not believe that the invo-

cation of personal deities in the oath-ceremony is Indo-Germanic; but that

Arcadians at Pheneus swore by their Πέτρομα, an erection of stones<sup>a</sup>; and sacrifice existed in Greece, as elsewhere, before the deity assumed clear human shape and character. The ritual, as Homer narrates it, does not decisively answer the important question. The black lamb is promised to Gaia, and she would be supposed to receive its blood that was shed upon the earth; but we are not told what the manner of the sacrifice was, but only that Priam took the bodies of the victims back to Troy. Some kind of sacrament, whereby the warriors are placed in religious rapport with divine powers, is probably implied in the ritualistic act of cutting off the hair from the heads of the animals and giving a lock of it to each of the chiefs to hold<sup>b</sup>. But such an act by no means shows that Gaia was realized by the imagination in form as concrete and personal as Zeus and Athena. In the ceremony of the oath taken by Agamemnon, the boar is the animal sacrificed, and in the later history of Greek ritual we find him the peculiar victim of the earth-deities and the chthonian powers: but here he is not said to have been offered; but when the oath has been sworn over him, he is slain and cast into the sea, perhaps as a mimetic acting of the curse.

In the instances just examined, Gaia is invoked in company with Zeus, Helios, the Rivers, and the Erinyes; and we cannot say that all the figures in this group are palpable and concrete forms of anthropomorphic religion; still less could we say this of the trinity in the Odyssey, Gaia, Ouranos, and Styx, which Calypso invokes in her oath to Odysseus.

Nor does Homer anywhere expressly ascribe to Gaia any kind of personal activity. She must have been supposed to be operative in some way in avenging the broken oath, but

the primitive Aryan oath was taken over some object which we should call inanimate, but was supposed to work out a curse on the perjured, such as the stone in the Roman oath (Polyb. 3. 25, 6), the ring and the ship's board in the Norse oath. The oath administered by the wife of the king-archon to the Gerarai at Athens, ἐν κανοῖς (? = over the sacred bread-baskets), belonged originally per-

haps to the same kind; vide Demeter, R. 205<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 235.

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* 3. 273-275. It is noteworthy that Antilochus is asked by Menelaos to touch his horses and swear by Poseidon that he was innocent of evil intent, *Il.* 23. 584; we may suppose that by touching the horses he puts himself into communion with Poseidon Hippios.

those to whom this function is specially attached—‘the two who punish below the earth the ghosts of the perjured after death’—are Hades and Persephone, forms more concrete than Gaia. And it is these two, not Gaia, whom Altheia calls upon to avenge her against her own son, ‘while many a time she smote the all-nourishing earth with her hands<sup>a</sup>.’

In fact, where Gaia in Homer is animistically conceived, and not purely a material body, we may interpret her rather as the impalpable earth-spirit than as a goddess in the Hellenic sense. She is not a creative principle in his theory of the cosmos, nor a potent agency in human affairs. But Homer cannot always be taken as the exponent of average contemporary religion.

In the Hesiodic poems she has far more vitality and personal character. She assists in the evolution of the divine world and plays a part in the struggles of the divine dynasties. She is even the nurse of Zeus, according to a legend which seems to have reached Hesiod from Crete<sup>5</sup>, and which harmonized with a prevailing popular conception, soon to be examined, of *Ge Κουροτρόφος*.

The conception of her is more glowing and vivid still in the fragment of an Homeric hymn<sup>6</sup>. The rhapsodist sings of her as the spouse of Ouranos, the Mother of the Gods, as the all-nourishing power that supports all life in the air and water and on the earth, the deity through whose bounty men’s homes are blessed with children and rich stock, and at the close he proffers the same prayer to her as the poet made to Demeter at the end of the Demeter-hymn, that in return for his song she will grant him plenteous store to gladden his soul. Part of this may be ‘rhapsodical’ and conventional; but probably he came nearer to the popular feeling than did Homer in this matter: nevertheless the rational materialistic idea glimmers through<sup>b</sup>.

As regards the dramatists<sup>7-9</sup>, there are a few passages in Aeschylus and Euripides that illustrate the popular view of *Ge*<sup>7</sup>: in the *Persae* piacular offerings are recommended to *Ge*

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* 9. 568.

<sup>b</sup> Much the same may be said of the well-known lines of Solon<sup>6a</sup>.

and the spirits of the departed; and Ge, Hermes, and the King of the shades are invoked as holy powers of the world below, and are prayed to send up the spirit of Darius for his people's guidance. In the *Choephoroe* Electra, in her prayer to Agamemnon (l. 148), includes her with other powers as an avenger of wrong. The oath which Medea dictates to Aegeus is in the name of 'the broad floor of earth, and the sun my father's father.' But other passages are, perhaps, of more importance as a clue to the true feelings of the poets. The beautiful fragment of the *Danaïdes*, concerning the sacred marriage of heaven and earth, expresses in figurative phrase what a great modern poet might feel and express: Ouranos and Gaia are not cult-figures here, but names of natural processes and cosmic powers, which the poet exults to contemplate; the divine personage directing the genial processes of creation is not Gaia, but Aphrodite. The striking passage preserved from the *Chrysippus* of Euripides is full of new pantheistic and partly materialistic, partly scientific, conceptions: the divine Aether is addressed as the parent-source of men and gods, 'but the earth receiving the moist drops of warm rain bears the race of mortals, brings forth food and the tribes of beasts: wherefore rightly she has been deemed the All-mother; and the creatures made of earth pass back into earth again.' The well-known lines of Sophocles in the *Antigone*, referring to the tilling of the ground, 'Earth, the supreme divinity, the immortal and unwearied one, he wears away,' reveal a curious mixture of the popular personal religion and the modern materialistic idea. But the latter never wholly triumphed; and in the latter days of paganism Plutarch can still say<sup>11</sup> 'the name of Ge is dear and precious to every Hellene, and it is our tradition to honour her like any other god.' 'The earth,' says Porphyry, 'is the common household hearth of gods and men, and as we recline upon her we should all sing in her praise and love her as our nurse and mother<sup>11</sup>.'

It remains to examine the actual cults, which the literature sometimes follows, sometimes transcends. The catalogue of local worships of which record remains is scanty, and only some of them are worth special comment. The tones of

a very old religion are heard in the Dodonaean liturgy, mentioned in the chapter on Zeus: 'Zeus was and is and will be, hail great Zeus: earth brings forth fruits, wherefore call on mother earth<sup>a</sup>.' We may assume that at Dodona a primitive worship of the earth-goddess was at one time associated with the Aryan sky-god. Whether it survived till the time of Pausanias we cannot say. Elsewhere in North Greece the cult of Gaia has left but very few traces. We hear of her temple on the shore at Byzantium, which suggests that it existed at Megara before the departure of the colonists<sup>12</sup>. In Aetolia an interesting formula has been preserved in an inscription relating to the enfranchisement of a slave: the master takes Zeus, Earth, and the Sun to witness that 'she is made free and equal to the citizens in accordance with the laws of the Aetolians'<sup>10</sup>. At Thebes<sup>15</sup> a fifth-century inscription, according to a convincing restoration, attests the existence of a temple of *Γαῖα Μάκαιρα Τελεσφόρος*, and the titles designate her as the goddess of abundance who ripens the crops<sup>b</sup>. The only other cult-epithet that marked her character as the fruit-bearing goddess is *Καρποφόρος*, by which she was honoured at Cyzicos<sup>27</sup>; although, wherever her cult survived at all, we should expect this aspect of her to have been the most salient. But there were other important ideas that naturally adhered to the earth-power, whether male or female, in Greek imagination. The earth is the abode of the dead, therefore the earth-deity has power over the ghostly world: the shapes of dreams, that often foreshadowed the future, were supposed to ascend from the world below, therefore the earth-deity might acquire an oracular function, especially through the process of incubation, in which the consultant slept in a holy shrine with his ear upon the ground. That such conceptions attached to Gaia is shown by the records of her cults at Delphi, Athens, and Aegae.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Zeus, R. 15<sup>k</sup>: my *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 199: a Lithuanian prayer to God and the earth, followed by a sacrament, recalls the Dodonaean formula, vide Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, p. 319.

<sup>b</sup> This meaning of *τελεσφόρος* is

natural, and could be illustrated by other examples: the instances quoted by Mr. Bayfield, *Class. Rev.* 1901, p. 447, are not sufficient to prove that the word could only mean 'authoritative,' a term too vague and insignificant to be of use as a cult-title.



A recently discovered inscription speaks of a temple of Ge at Delphi<sup>14</sup>; and we are told by Plutarch (Apollo, R. 114) that her temple at Delphi stood on the south of Apollo's near the water of Castalia, and it may be that Mnaseas of Patrae was referring to this, in his collection of Delphic inscriptions, when he mentioned the *ἱερὸν Εὐρυστέρων*<sup>14</sup>. Certainly the 'broad-bosomed one' is a designation most apt for Ge; it had already occurred to Hesiod<sup>a</sup>, or was derived by him from contemporary cult; and it was actually given her in her worship at the Achaean Aegae<sup>21</sup>. These are the only records of the later Delphic cult; but a number of well-attested legends shed a light on the pre-Apolline period in the history of the oracle, when the earth-goddess was in possession of the sacred spot. The priestess in the *Eumenides* proffered her first prayers to 'Gaia the first prophetess,' who was the earliest occupant of the oracle, and who bequeathed her supremacy to her daughter Themis<sup>b</sup>. And Euripides<sup>c</sup> preserves the interesting myth that the earth, jealous for her daughter's sake of Apollo's usurpation, sent up dreams for the guidance of mortal men in their cities, and thus thwarted the Apolline method of divination: whereupon the young god appealed to Zeus, who forbade henceforth the dream-oracle at Delphi. The story illustrates the conflict between two different periods and processes of Delphic *μαντική*, and this point will be noted later in the chapter on Apollo. It accords with the history of the oracle that Pausanias has preserved<sup>d</sup>, which he derived from a poem attributed to Musaeos: the earliest oracular powers at Delphi were Ge and Poseidon, Ge's inheritance afterwards passing to Themis. This account was alluded to by Apollodorus<sup>e</sup> and other writers, and we can regard it as accepted in the main by the Greek world.

As regards Gaia, we also can accept it. It is confirmed by certain features in the ritual of the later Delphic divination, and also by the story of Python. In the account of Apollo's victory given in the Homeric hymn<sup>f</sup>, the Delphian snake is

<sup>a</sup> *Theog.* 117.

<sup>b</sup> Apollo, R. 112.

<sup>c</sup> Apollo, R. 113.

<sup>d</sup> Apollo, R. 118.

<sup>e</sup> Apollo, R. 116.

<sup>f</sup> *Ad Apoll.* 300.

feminine, as we should expect the incarnation of the earth-goddess to be; but it appears that in an early fragment of Delphic oracular verse Python was represented as a robber of Parnassus, slain by Apollo, yet possessing in some sense a sacred character, as the god had to be purified from the stain of his slaughter by 'Cretan men'<sup>a</sup>. Hyginus has preserved the legend that before the days of Apollo, Python was wont to give oracles on Parnassus; we hear also that his bones were placed in a cauldron and guarded in the Pythion<sup>b</sup>, and that some kind of worship or religious drama was performed in his honour down to late times. And Plutarch<sup>c</sup> informs us that a funeral ode, set to the flute, was composed to commemorate him by the younger Olympus. We can understand and interpret these curious records, when we remember that the serpent was the familiar animal, sometimes the actual embodiment, of the earth-deity<sup>d</sup>, and was often regarded as the incarnation of the departed spirit, and as a sacred and mystic animal in Greek religion. It was not only at Delphi that the snake was associated with a chthonian system of prophecy: in the shrine of Trophonios at Lebadea there was a prophetic snake that had to be propitiated with offerings of honey cakes<sup>e</sup>; and it is very probable that Ge herself was one of the aboriginal powers of the Trophonion, and only became supplanted by her young 'double' the nymph Hercyna, whose badge is the snake<sup>f</sup>. A unique system of divination by means of sacred serpents survived in Epirus, if we may trust a narrative in Aelian, which cannot have been wholly baseless<sup>g</sup>. The same animal was found in some of the shrines of Asclepios, where a medical divination was practised by means of incubation, and the tame serpent was supposed to creep by night to the sleeper and whisper remedies into his ear. It seems, then, that Aelian was justified in his statement, ἴδιον ἦν τῶν δρακόντων καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ<sup>h</sup>, and that we may venture to believe that the famous story of Apollo and Python reflects a very important event in

<sup>a</sup> Apollo, R. 111.

<sup>b</sup> Apollo, R. 115.

<sup>c</sup> Apollo, R. 115; cf. ib. 264<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Herod. i. 78 Τελημοσέες . . .

<sup>o</sup> Apollo, R. 115.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 42<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Vide Apollo, R. 190.

<sup>h</sup> Nat. An. II. 16.

λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα.

the religious history of Delphi, and not, as used to be supposed, a meteoric conflict of storm, thunder-cloud, and sunshine.

It was rare to find Gaia prophesying in her own person. There was a tradition, which Pausanias records, that she had once possessed a prophetic seat at Olympia, near her altar of ashes that was called ὁ Γαῖος<sup>20</sup>. No doubt her worship goes back to very primitive times in that region, as the fact of the altar bearing the name of the deity suggests an early stage of religious thought and ritual<sup>a</sup>; and she may have been associated with Zeus at Olympia as at Dodona, for in both places he bore the oracular character that was so rarely attached to him.

The prophetic power belonged also to Ge *Ἐὐρύστρεπος* of Aegae<sup>21</sup>, and the epithet alone would suggest an original affinity between the Delphic and the Achaean cult<sup>14</sup>. From Pausanias and Pliny we gather an interesting record of the method of divination at Aegae: the former does not connect the shrine with prophecy, but declares that the image of the earth-goddess was very ancient, and that the ministration was in the hands of a woman, upon whom a severe rule of chastity was imposed<sup>b</sup>: if there were several candidates for the office, their fitness was tested by a draught of bull's blood. Pliny supplements the account and makes it more intelligible, telling us that the priestess drank a draught of bull's blood before she descended into the cave to prophesy. Now the bull is one of the animals specially sacred to the earth-deity and to the divinities of agriculture; and as ecstatic divination always implied demoniac or divine possession, the aspirant to this supernatural power could attain to the necessary communion with the deity by eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the animal of sacrifice. We have an exact parallel in the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the altar ἀγυῖās, and Apollo Ἄγυεός; this partial identification of the altar and the god may descend from the period of pillar-worship, the pillar being at once the altar and the temporary home of the divinity.

<sup>b</sup> If she was not a maid, she must never have had intercourse with more than one man. We may believe that according to the older rule a virgin was

necessary, and that this was relaxed in favour of elderly married women or widows; we find elsewhere in Greece the same relaxation of an older and more ascetic rule, and for the same motive: it was thought better to ensure chastity after the priestess entered on her office than to demand chastity previous to her investiture.

worship of Apollo Pythios at Argos: the priestess there also was inspired by a drink of bull's blood. We may naturally conjecture that the same ritual was once a part of the worship of the prophetic earth-mother at Delphi, and that it was taken over by Apollo and brought thence to Argos.

But Pausanias' account is probably true as well. The draught may have worked not merely as a means of inspiration, but as a test for deciding between competitors for the priesthood; for the magic liquor might be supposed to produce dangerous or at least tell-tale results in those who in respect of chastity or for some other reason were unfit for the sacred office.

Finally, we may suspect the existence in early times of a Γῆς μαντεῖον at Patrae<sup>22</sup>, where a statue of the earth-goddess stood in the sacred grove of Demeter, by the side of images of the mother and the daughter<sup>a</sup>. Outside was a sacred well where a curious water-divination was practised for the purpose of prognosticating the course of maladies. A mirror was let down until the rim touched the surface of the water: after sacrifice 'to the goddess,' the consultant gazed into the mirror and saw the form of his sick friend as one either dead or living. This ceremony was, no doubt, older than the organized Greek polytheism, and belongs to a water-magic that is connected with sacred wells, and has been universal in Europe. But it seems likely that at Patrae the ritual became consecrated to the earth-goddess or earth-spirit, and may have been afterwards taken over by her younger sister Demeter. Similarly, in the Plutonium at Acharaca, near Tralles, we hear of a system of incubation for the healing of diseases specially connected with the cult of the chthonian powers<sup>b</sup>.

It was through her prophetic character that Ge acquired the cult-appellative Θέμις, which was attached to her at Athens<sup>16 c</sup>, and, unless the old legends deceive us, at Delphi also. That this was intended to designate her as a goddess of righteousness in general is very improbable; for it is not likely that the figure of Gaia, always half materialistic, could be the centre

<sup>a</sup> Demeter, R. 258.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 124.

around which such high ethical ideas could cluster. We know of a more special use of *θέμις*, as applied to the oracular response<sup>a</sup>: and it is in this sense that we should interpret the cult-title of Ge-Themis at Delphi and Athens, and we thus understand why the altar of Themis at Olympia stood near to the 'Γαῖος'<sup>20</sup>.

I have already suggested<sup>b</sup> that Themis, as a personality in Greek religion, was originally an emanation from Ge; and here may be a fitting place to develop and substantiate a theory which does not seem to have been systematically examined, still less definitely accepted or rejected hitherto. One reason for accepting it is the improbability of the only other conceivable theory, that Themis began her religious career as the mere personification of the abstract idea of righteousness. Such personified abstractions are doubtless early in the religious thought of the Greeks as of other races. But the careful study of these in Greek cult and literature leads to the conviction that only those became prominent and of a certain vitality in the popular religion which had emanated originally from concrete personal deities: as Peitho emanated from Aphrodite, Nike from Athena, Nemesis—if the view maintained in a former chapter be correct—from some Attic divinity akin to the earth-goddess. Now Themis, in the earliest literature, is a very concrete figure, a living and active power in the Titanic and Olympian world. In the pre-Homeric days, we may admit, the Hellenes may have been capable of personifying righteousness; but it would be against all analogy that they should attach to her such very palpable and personal myths. And many of these bring her into close connexion with Gaia: thus, according to Hesiod, the infant Zeus was entrusted to the nurture of Gaia, but, according to 'Musaeos,' to Themis<sup>35</sup>, and this affinity between the two goddesses is clearly revealed in the Delphic legend, and was an accepted dogma with Aeschylus<sup>c</sup>. Reference has already been made<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Hom. *Od.* 16. 403 Διὸς μέγαλοιο θέμιστες. Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 394 θέμιστας Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, cf. Apollo, R. 182<sup>a</sup>; Plut. *De Herod. Mal.* p. 860 D τοῦ Θεοῦ μαντείαν . τῆς λεγομένης

συμπροφητεῦν Ἐμίδος ἄξιον.

<sup>b</sup> *Cults*, vol. 2, p. 495 n. b.

<sup>c</sup> *Prom. V.* 209.

<sup>d</sup> *Cults*, ib.

to the local legend of Boucheta in Epirus, which discloses an ancient cult-figure of Themis Tauropolos, the goddess riding on a bull, the sacrificial animal of Gaia, and we are reminded of the bull-riding Europa, who was in all probability a Cretan-Bocotian form of the earth-goddess. Again, the union of Zeus and Ge was an ancient myth that gradually faded, and the name of Ge was displaced by others in the story; the marriage of Zeus and Themis was a living belief perpetuated by Hesiod<sup>a</sup>, and the Thessalian town of Ichnae, whence *Θέμις* derived an ancient cult-title *Ἰχναίη* that occurs in one of the Homeric hymns, explained its own name by the legend of Zeus' amorous pursuit of Themis. We must suppose that the people imagined him pursuing a real corporeal goddess, and not the abstract idea of righteousness<sup>33 a</sup>. The union of Zeus and Themis is probably a later equivalent of the marriage of Zeus and Earth. This explanation of the goddess of Ichnae as a disguised form of the oracular Gaia, the spouse of Zeus, will be further corroborated, if we can trust a doubtful gloss in Hesychius, who speaks of a *μαντεῖον* at Ichnae occupied by Apollo, and can believe on the strength of this that Themis was the original goddess of the oracle there<sup>33 a</sup>. We have other proof of the ancient cult of Themis or 'Themissta' in Thessaly<sup>33 d</sup>, and it is probable that in this region, as in Thebes<sup>33 f</sup>, Tanagra<sup>33 e</sup>, and Athens<sup>16 g</sup>, the worship derived sustenance from some idea more personal and concrete than the bare personification. Finally, the theory that is being maintained may explain the mysterious phrase of Clemens Alexandrinus, who speaks of the 'mystic symbols of Themis, marjoram, the lamp, the sword, the pudenda muliebria<sup>31</sup>.' The passage suggests that there were 'mysteries' or *ἄργυια* somewhere in the worship of Themis, and these might be found, as we shall see, in the Gaia-cults, but could not possibly be attached to Dike, *Ἀδικία*, or other impalpable personifications. And the symbols themselves are significant: the sword, possibly the lamp, might be the badge of the mere goddess of righteousness; but it is only by supposing that the Themis of these unknown mysteries was something more concrete than this, and was allied to an earth-

<sup>a</sup> *Theog.* 901.

divinity of fertilizing function that we could hope to explain the *ὄργανον* and the *κρείς γυναικείος* <sup>a</sup>. I am assuming that the Christian Father is not talking at random.

If this view is correct, the ancient oracular cult of Ge-Themis acquires a special importance: for it will have given rise to the worship of a higher ethical goddess, who, having broken the shell and escaped the limitations of Gaia, could take on the more universal character of a goddess of righteousness, the common term *θέμις* having always meant more than the mere righteous decision of the oracle.

Returning now to other localities of the Gaia-cult, we can believe that it was aboriginal in Attica <sup>16</sup>. The ritual and popular superstitious practices are sufficient proof. In gathering a certain medicinal herb, a careful Athenian would put into the hole a honeyed cake as an expiatory offering to Ge, a sacrificial gift of common use in her ritual; and in the search for hidden treasure, a man would pray to her as the guardian of wealth. In the private marriage ceremonies she may possibly have once had a place <sup>b</sup>; for Proclus tells us that the ancient Attic *θεσμοί* prescribed a preliminary sacrifice before the wedding to Ouranos and Ge. But as the former figure belongs merely to myth, and neither to Attic or any other Hellenic cult, we may believe that the neo-Platonist, in accordance with a certain characteristic tendency, has misnamed the powers; and that the real sacrifice before marriage, of which we have other evidence <sup>c</sup>, was to Zeus and Hera, whom Greek theory, as we have seen, sometimes identified with Ge.

Nor in the public Attic ritual was Ge forgotten, though nowhere prominent, save in the local cult of Phlye <sup>16 d</sup>, of which

<sup>a</sup> The use of the same symbol in the *Thesmophoria* of Demeter is well attested, p. 89.

<sup>b</sup> In Latin marriage-ritual the recognition of Tellus is attested by Vergil and Servius, *Aen.* 4. 166: 'quidam sane etiam Tellurem praeesse nuptiis tradunt; nam in auspiciis nuptiarum invocatur: cui etiam virgines, vel cum ire ad domum mariti coeperint, vel iam ibi positae, diversis nominibus vel ritu sacrificant.'

In the Vedic marriage-ritual the earth-goddess does not clearly appear, but Varuna, the heaven-god, is among those to whom sacrifice is made: vide Hillebrandt, *Vedische Opfer*, &c., p. 68; but the idea of the marriage of earth and heaven in spring appears in some parts of India, Frazer, *Golden Bough* <sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 223.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Hera, R. 17<sup>1-4</sup>.

we have a very interesting but doubtful record. Pausanias tells us that the men of this deme had raised altars to Dionysos the flower-god, certain nymphs called *Ἴσμηλίδες*, and to Ge, whom they called the 'great goddess.' Nowhere else is this emphatic appellative attached to her, but is the usual designation of the *θεῶν Μήτηρ*, a more developed form of Gaia who, like other kindred goddesses, may have superimposed herself upon the latter's more primitive cult. The Phlyan cult was original in another respect also, if a certain passage in Hippolytus, in which he appears to have drawn from Plutarch, has been rightly interpreted and emended<sup>a</sup>: for it seems to attest that a solemn orgy or mystery existed at Phlye in honour of the great goddess, which claimed to be older than the mysteries of Eleusis<sup>16 d</sup>; and some such primitive fact may have left its impress on the genealogical account that Pausanias gives us of the foundation of the *ἄργια* of the *Μεγάλαι θεαί*, Demeter and Kore, at Andania by Kaukon, the son of Phlyus, who was the son of Ge<sup>b</sup>. All that we can conclude with some security is that there was a very ancient mystery-worship at Phlye consecrated to Ge in her own name; nor need this surprise us, for though we hear of them nowhere else, mysteries in her honour may have been in vogue that were afterwards covered by the name of Demeter. What may be the explanation or the credibility of the concluding statement in Hippolytus, that there was a chamber or colonnade at Phlye, of which the walls were covered with mystic paintings—the pursuit, for instance, of a dog-headed woman by a hoary ithyphallic man with wings—remains an unsolved riddle.

The other district in Attica where we have trace of a Gaia-cult, which we may believe to have been ancient, is the Marathonian Tetrapolis<sup>16 e</sup>. Two inscriptions prove that at some time in the early winter a black he-goat was sacrificed to 'the earth-goddess in the acres,' and again in Elaphebolion a preg-

<sup>a</sup> Vide Welck. *Griech. Götterl.* 1, p. 322, note.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 246. Welcker seems to build too much on the passage in Pausanias, when he concludes from it that there was a mystery-worship of

*Μεγάλαι θεαί* at Phlye as well as Andania, and that these were the earth-goddess *Γῆ* and *Κόρη* her daughter; Ge, under this name, is never the mother of *Κόρη*.



nant cow to 'Ge near the *μαντείον*.' The latter designation is interesting, as suggesting that her ancient association with divination was remembered in this place. In Athens also, amidst the multitude of the stronger and more attractive personalities of religion, her worship was able to survive. The inscription found on the Acropolis, speaking of the institution of some service in honour of Ge Karpophoros<sup>16 k</sup> 'in accordance with the oracle,' appears to point to the time of Hadrian. It has been connected, though on slight evidence, with the monument that Pausanias describes as dedicated there, representing earth imploring Zeus to send rain. We can imagine the beautiful form of the mother-goddess emerging raising her face and her hands to heaven, as we see her on vases in the gigantomachy and on the Tergamene frieze, where she is pleading for her children. The oracle to which the inscription refers is probably Delphi, which, at this late period, still remembered its early affection for the earth-goddess.

In the ancient myth, and probably in ancient religion, she was both a giver of fruits and a nourisher of children. But the only cult-title that attests the latter idea, which springs so naturally from the former<sup>a</sup>, is *Κουροτρόφος*, and there is some doubt and controversy about this designation. Usener and other writers have regarded *Κουροτρόφος*, whom we find on the Athenian Acropolis and on the Tetrapolis<sup>16 a</sup>, at Samos and possibly Eretria, as a personage who was originally *Κουροτρόφος*, 'the nurturer of children' and nothing more, a functional deity known only by an appellative, and not by any proper name, and belonging to an earlier system of 'Sonder-Götter,' who were less anthropomorphic and less individualized than the later evolved deities of the polytheism<sup>b</sup>. The validity of the whole theory will be examined in the concluding chapter of this work. All that need be said here in regard to *Κουροτρόφος* is that certainly in the earlier records of Attic religion she is known by this appellative alone. Her shrine on the Acropolis was the *Κουροτρόφειον*, and in all the known

<sup>a</sup> Instances of association of human fertility and the earth are very numerous : Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 303.

vide Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 109 ; <sup>b</sup> Vide Hero-cults, vol. 5, R. 337.

earlier inscriptions she is simply Ἡ Κουροτρόφος: the one quoted by Rangabé, where she appears as Γῆ Κουροτρόφος, has disappeared, and we cannot check its accuracy or assign its date. The first authority that attests the latter double title is Pausanias, who mentions as on the south-west terrace of the Acropolis the double shrine of Γε Κουροτρόφος and Demeter Χλόη, 'the verdurous' goddess. The later lexicographers and scholiasts, who are fond of such speculations, apply the title to various divine personages; but Suidas<sup>16</sup> pronounces in favour of Γε: and adds that Erichthonios was the first who sacrificed 'to this goddess' on the Acropolis, as a thank-offering for his nurture, and ordained that before every other sacrifice a preliminary offering should always be consecrated to her; only he leaves us in doubt whether by 'this goddess' he means Γε or Γε Κουροτρόφος. We can accept his statement with some reserve concerning the preliminary sacrifice to the earth-goddess on the Acropolis as part of an ancient ritual; but he is no authority for the view that in any ancient liturgy she was explicitly identified with the 'nurturer of children.' In the inscriptions from the Tetrapolis she is explicitly distinguished from the latter; who in two late Athenian records is identified with Demeter, but never with Γε. But all this comes only to prove that the Athenian worshipper, when praying to Kourotrophos, was not necessarily aware that he was praying to the earth-mother; it in no way proves that the two were not originally identical, and that the 'nurturer of children,' regarded as a separate person, was not merely an emanation from Γε, born in consequence of the shedding of an appellative, a most common phenomenon in Greek religion<sup>a</sup>. On this hypothesis we shall best understand the importance of her cult, and why the Athenian ephebi offered sacrifice to her<sup>b</sup>, and why she was afterwards identified with Demeter. Pausanias' statement, then, may only contain the rediscovery of an ancient fact<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A deity that has two epithets, or two descriptive designations, may easily be split into two apparently separate deities in any liturgical formula; for in semi-magical ritual the name is all-important,

and the identity of individuality tends to disappear through variety of names.

<sup>b</sup> Athena, R. 35<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> For further discussion of the subject see chapter on 'Hero-cults,' vol. 5.

Reasons somewhat similar have been given for the interpretation of the personage known in Attic ritual and myth by the name Aglauros as another form of Ge<sup>a</sup>. Her affinity with Pandora, whose real nature is clear, the solemn oath that the ephebi take in her name to guard the boundaries of the land and to cherish agriculture, seem to reveal her as the great earth-goddess rather than as a mere local nymph. And on this supposition, that it was once the national cult of a divinity pre-eminent in the early religion of Attica, it is more natural that her worship should have travelled to Salamis in Cyprus, where the Attic associations are manifest. In her ritual in the latter island, we have important evidence of an early custom of human sacrifice: the victim was brought up by the ephebi, and after he had thrice run round the altar he was speared by the priest; in later days, the rite was consecrated to Diomed, and was finally suppressed in the time of the later Greek kings of Cyprus. The mere fact of human sacrifice throws no light on the personality of Aglauros; for we find traces of it in Greek hero-cult as well as in the higher religion. But believing her to be the earth-goddess, we should expect, on the general analogies of European and non-European custom, to find in legend or ritual a reminiscence that the human victim was once offered to her. A vast accumulation of evidence, too solid in bulk to overthrow *en masse*, collected by Mannhardt and the present generation of anthropological scholars from all quarters of the globe, establishes the prevalent connexion of human sacrifice with harvest-ritual and the worship of vegetation deities<sup>b</sup>. It is sufficient to mention here a few typical instances from various parts of the world to assist our consideration of the Cypriote rite. In Egypt, red-haired men were offered in the dog-days at the grave of Osiris, the earth-deity, their bodies were burned and their ashes scattered to the winds<sup>c</sup>. Among the Tshi-speaking

<sup>a</sup> Vide Athena, R. 2<sup>e-1</sup>, 25; Demeter, R. 109; discussion of the question in vol. 1, pp. 288, 289; further references are given in Hero-cults, R. 30, Dionysos, Geogr. Reg. s.v. Attica.

<sup>b</sup> Vide especially Frazer, *Golden*

*Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, pp. 238-248. Cf. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 358-361.

<sup>c</sup> Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* c. 73, quoting from Manetho, does not mention the red hair, but says that the victims were called Τυφώνιοι: it is Diodorus who

peoples of the Gold Coast a human victim was sacrificed at the yam-harvest, and some of the blood was poured into the hole whence the new yam was taken<sup>a</sup>. The Khonds in India sacrificed a slave to the earth-goddess with mysteries and drunken orgies; it was a good sign of plentiful rain if he wept copiously; his flesh was afterwards torn in pieces and scattered over the fields<sup>b</sup>. Finally, the Mexican custom may be mentioned of calling by names that designated the spirits of vegetation the five human victims who were offered to the mountain-gods and whose flesh was eaten by the worshippers<sup>c</sup>. Now in these and similar ceremonies the moving idea need not, and probably was not, always the same. But whether the human victim is offered to the earth-power by way of expiation<sup>d</sup>, or whether he is regarded as in some sort the incarnation of the deity so that his flesh has a sacred value whether eaten sacramentally or scattered over the land, or whether the horrid rite belongs rather to the domain of savage sympathetic magic, one thing is at least clear: the sacrifice assists the fertility of the land, according to the belief of the worshipper.

But it is important to bear in mind that the Greek record concerning such sacrifices is rarely, if ever, so clear and explicit that we can at once assign them their place in a universal system of vegetation-ritual. The fantastic and often cruel ceremonies connected with ploughing, sowing, and reaping, almost universal in primitive agricultural society, are not often

completes the account, i. 88, stating that red-haired men were once offered by the kings at the grave of Osiris; and both agree that red was the colour of Typhon. Dr. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, 142, 255, interprets these victims as the incarnations of the vegetation-spirit, their red hair symbolizing the ripe corn, but this spirit, on his own theory, was Osiris, and these victims are apparently identified with Typhon; the red hair may as naturally refer to the fiery heat of the sun.

<sup>a</sup> Ellis, *Tshi-speaking peoples of Gold Coast*, p. 230.

<sup>b</sup> Macpherson, *Memorials of service in India*, p. 113; Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 356 note. We find the same idea in Mexico that it was a good omen for rain if the child-victim shed tears abundantly (Sahagun, Jourdan, et Sim. pp. 57, 58).

<sup>c</sup> Sahagun, *op. cit.* p. 71.

<sup>d</sup> For examples of ceremonies that are obviously merely piacular before agricultural operations vide Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 3, pp. 323, 324, and cf. the Attic *ἄρονία* noticed below, p. 42.

presented to us in recognizable simplicity on ancient Greek soil. We have to resort to the constructive interpretation, scientific perhaps, but still conjectural, of incomplete legends and of incompletely recorded ritual that is often overlaid with the deposit of later religious thought. The problem of the Cypriote sacrifice is a case in point. We may agree that Aglauros is the earth-goddess, and we are naturally inclined to suppose that the human victim at Salamis was offered for agrarian purposes. But he was not offered by husbandmen, but escorted by the ephebi, the young warriors of the community; and we are only told that his body was wholly consumed on the pyre. Perhaps his ashes were once strewn over the field, as the ashes of Solon were said to have been scattered over the Attic Salamis, and those of Phalanthos over the forum of Tarentum<sup>a</sup>, to fertilize the land or to plant a guardian-spirit within it. Or in Aglauros' worship an ancient agrarian ceremony may have been transformed into a piacular vicarious offering for the sins of the community. We are thus left to conjecture, and the theory is tentative only.

Similarly, we may venture to explain the legend of the self-sacrifice of the Athenian Aglauros, who casts herself down the precipice of the Acropolis to save her country in time of peril, as the misinterpretation of a primitive custom of casting an effigy of the vegetation-deity down a steep place or into the water. But the only basis for this conjecture is the personality of Aglauros herself and the fact that such things happened elsewhere.

These primitive ceremonies and this barbarous magic that were connected with the life of the soil are rarely presented to us transparently in Greek legend or record, because owing to the tend of Greek imagination and civilization the agrarian ritual tends to become political and civil, the agrarian legend is translated into higher mythology, and takes on a political, often an epic, colouring<sup>b</sup>. Only here and there

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hero-cults, vol. 5, R. 306, and Plut. *Solon*, 32.

<sup>b</sup> Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feld-*

*Kulte*, p. 215 note, marks the same transformation in the agrarian myths of Semitic and Teutonic races.

in such stories as those about Charila, Erigone, Eunostos, the simple life of the peasant and his quaint thought gleam through.

We must be content to say, then, that we may faintly discern an early agricultural significance in the Aglauros-sacrifice at Athens and Salamis. A barbarous practice belonging to the same range of ideas as those with which we have been dealing seems clearly revealed in a story that Pausanias tells us about Haliartos<sup>a</sup>. A leading man of this city consulted the Delphic oracle with the question how he should find water in his land: he was advised to slay the first person he met on his return: he met his own son first and immediately stabbed him: 'the youth ran about still living, and wherever the blood dripped down, the earth sent up water.' Here seems magic and a ritual consecrated to the earth-spirit that strikingly reminds us of the practice recorded of the Khonds. Finally, the legend preserved by Euripides in the *Heracleidae*<sup>b</sup> of Macaria's self-immolation to Kore, the oracle having pronounced that the gods demanded the life of a maiden, may have arisen, as the Aglauros-story, from a real ritual practice in the cult of the earth-goddess. May a similar original fact have engendered the ghastly Argive story, narrated by Parthenios (c. 13) concerning Klymenos—the well-known name of the chthonian god—and his incestuous love for his daughter Harpalyce, who revenged herself by cooking his own son at a sacrifice?

Apart from these indications of half-forgotten savagery, there is nothing specially striking in the Ge-ritual of Greece: animals as well as cereals and fruits were offered to her as to other divinities, the victims being generally of a dark colour, and their blood probably shed into a *βόθρον*, as was the case in the offerings to the dead: wine was doubtless sometimes poured out to her as to the ghosts, sometimes perhaps by special ordinance withheld, as we hear that only *μηφάλια* were consecrated to the daughters of Cecrops, those humanized forms of the earth-goddess<sup>c</sup>.

So far, the cults, legends, and practices we have been con-

<sup>a</sup> Apollo, R. 137.

<sup>b</sup> Demeter, R. 114.

<sup>c</sup> For Ge-ritual vide R. 7, 16<sup>b</sup> e h, 21, 23.

sidering belonged to the Earth of agriculture and vegetation. But Gaia had another and a darker aspect, being worshipped at Athens, Mykonos, and probably once at Delphi in association with the dead and the ghostly realm. The ritual at Mykonos is recorded in an inscription<sup>23</sup>. Seven black lambs were offered to Zeus *Xθόνιος* and *Γῆ Χθονία*, and the epithets allude to the lower regions, and here perhaps to a marital relationship between their male and female deities. The ceremony appears to have been void of any taboo or ghostly terrors, for the worshipper was bidden to feast—probably off the sacrificed animals—at the place of worship; and this implies a religious communion.

Fuller information is given us about the chthonian ritual at Athens. Ge was remembered in two state services that were consecrated to the worship, or to the memory at least, of the dead. The *Γενέσια*, or the solemn ritual of the *γένη* or clans, was an All Souls' festival which took place in early autumn on the fifth of Boedromion, when the clans brought offerings to the graves of their kinsmen, and on the same day a sacrifice was performed to the earth. The celebration, which was naturally mournful, was also called *νεκύσια*, and the offerings may have consisted of *χοαί*, libations, and *ῥαῖα*, fruits and flowers<sup>a</sup>: these may have been intended for the dead primarily, but perhaps for the earth-goddess as well; for Cicero tells us that in the Attic burial ceremonies, the ground, immediately after the inhumation, was 'expiated with fruits that it might be returned to the uses of the living<sup>16</sup>,' or as we might say, that the taboo might be removed from it<sup>b</sup>.

Still more important was the part played by the earth-goddess in the Attic Anthesteria; and the view has been recently taken and skilfully maintained by Miss Harrison, that

<sup>a</sup> R. 7, 16; Hero-cults, R. 21 (Hesych. s. v. *Γενέσια*). The *νεμέσια*—Artemis, R. 137—were probably distinct, a private ritual of the family. The authorities are somewhat vague. Aeschylus' phrase may be derived from the Attic practice at the *Γενέσια*, and the glosses of Hesychius suggest that we should connect the *ῥαῖα* with the

*νεκύσια*.

<sup>b</sup> Dieterich, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft.*, 1904, pp. 40-41, interprets the passage differently, believing that the ground was strewn with seeds so that by this sort of sympathetic magic the return of the departed soul to light in a second birth might be secured.

the Dionysiac character of this celebration was a later usurpation upon an older mournful festival consecrated to Gaia and the ghosts<sup>a</sup>. The whole question of the Anthesteria will be discussed in the chapter on Dionysos. It is enough to note here that Gaia maintained her part in it down to the latest period. For Pausanias tells us<sup>16 b</sup> that the sanctuary of Ge Olympia<sup>b</sup> at Athens, which stood within the *τέμενος* of Zeus Olympios and borrowed its cult-title from the god, stood near a chasm in the earth, which legend connected with the subsidence of Deukalion's deluge; and that every year cakes of barley and honey were thrown down into it; we may conclude that this was an offering to the earth-goddess, for we hear of similar offerings being made to her on other occasions<sup>16 h</sup>. Again, the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* speaks of the Ἰδροφορία as a mournful celebration at Athens held in honour of those who perished in Deukalion's deluge; and Plutarch informs us that such observances took place in Athens in the month of Anthesterion at a date corresponding to the calends of March; finally, the scholiast on Aristophanes, quoting from Theopompos, asserts that the *Χύτροι*, as the last day of the Anthesteria festival was called, took its name from the *χύτραι*, or dishes of *olla podrida* (*πανσπερμία*) that were offered to the victims of the deluge on that day<sup>c</sup>. Putting these indications together we can conclude that the Ἰδροφορία was at least associated with the Anthesteria, when we know that the ghosts were specially entertained, two of the three days of that festival being *ἀποφράδες* or ominous on their account. It is true that in this three days' solemnity, Gaia's recognition is merely that ritualistic act of throwing the barley-cakes into the chasm. But the feeling of her association with it must have been strong; for we can only explain the intrusion of the deluge-story, which half spoils the true sig-

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1900, p. 99.

<sup>b</sup> This epithet is nowhere else found; unless the goddess called ἡ Ὀλυμπία at Syracuse, whose temple was close to the altar whence the sacred cup dedicated to the sea-deities was taken, is to be interpreted as Ge (vide Athen. 462 C, quoting

from Polemon): a connexion between the earth-goddess and Poseidon was fairly common.

<sup>c</sup> For these and other references to the Anthesteria vide Dionysos, R. 124, vol. 5.



nificance of an 'All Souls' celebration intended to commemorate dead kinsmen, if we suppose that the *τέμενος* of Ge Olympia was an ancient central point for the performance of much of the ceremony, and that to the chasm in this place an aetiological myth of the deluge had accidentally attached itself. And it appears that in the chthonian part of the ceremony the nether earth-goddess was connected with *Hermes Chthonios*, the god of the lower world.

We should even have to regard Ge as the dominant goddess of the whole festival, if we accept the theory concerning the *Πιθογία* put forth by Miss Harrison. It rests partly on the identification of Pandora with Ge. And this equation is generally accepted and not open to dispute. The lexicographers were aware of it<sup>16g</sup>: the name itself is transparent, and *Anesidora*, 'she who sends up gifts,' a still more obvious epithet of Earth, appears as a variant form on a well-known vase in the British Museum: the line of Aristophanes prescribing a preliminary sacrifice to Pandora is paralleled by the statement in Suidas that old Attic ritual demanded a preliminary sacrifice to Ge. And even in quite late times the identification was recognized. The man who consulted Apollonius of Tyana concerning the finding of a treasure made prayer to Ge: the philosopher led him out to a lucky spot and prayed himself to Pandora before returning to the city. And early Greek art proved itself half-conscious of the identity of the two figures; a fifth-century vase, recently published by Prof. Gardner<sup>b</sup>, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford shows us the form of Pandora arising from the earth exactly as Ge herself arises in certain mythic representations. And the comparison of the Pandora scenes with that small group of vases which show a large female head emerging from the ground, while male figures, often satyrs, stand over it with hammers in the act of striking, suggests, as Miss Harrison has well pointed out, a primitive ritualistic practice of evoking the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the combination of *Γῆ Κάροχος* 538 (Athens), 539, vide *Hermes*, R. 19—  
and *Hermes Κάροχος* in the formulae of both inscriptions very illiterate.  
the *dirae*, private incantations by which  
<sup>b</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 1, Pl. 1.  
one cursed one's enemy: *C. I. Gr.* 1.

earth-spirit by hammering on the ground<sup>a</sup>. To the evidence she has collected may be added the interesting parallel of a Christian myth preserved in an Armenian MS., in the Bodleian, narrating that Christ descended from heaven with a golden hammer, and smiting on the earth evoked the Virgin Church<sup>b</sup>.

This natural affinity between Ge and the shadowy powers of death and the life after death is further illustrated by an important passage in Pausanias concerning the Areopagus and its vicinity: near the rock stood the temple of the Semnae, whom he identifies with the Erinyes, and in it were dedicated statues of Pluto, Hermes (who was frequently worshipped as the nether god), and Ge<sup>16 b</sup>: he adds that those who were acquitted by the verdict of the court were wont to offer sacrifice in this temple. We may interpret this as a thank-offering or as a piacular service intended to wipe off the miasma of the homicide-trial.

Of other local worships there is nothing clear to record. We may suppose that the cult at the Elean Olympia belongs to an ancient era<sup>20</sup>, and that Ge there also had certain chthonian associations. For Elis in old times was haunted by the presence of Hades, and Κλύμενος, another name for the god of the lower world, was a heroic figure there<sup>c</sup>.

Does all this cult reveal a completely anthropomorphic figure? We cannot affirm this absolutely in all cases. Such epithets as Εὐρύστερνος and Εὐρώπα (if the latter were ever attached to Ge as it was to Demeter) betray the consciousness of the material fact blending with and partly blurring the human conception.

Neither need her oracular<sup>20</sup> and vegetative functions have clearly evoked the full anthropomorphic idea: a better proof is perhaps the institution of games in her honour which we have reason to believe existed in Attica<sup>16 i</sup> if nowhere else. And no doubt her personality would tend to become more

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1900, pp. 106, 107: her view of these vases appears to me more probable than that put forth by Prof. Furtwängler, *Jahrbuch d. d. I.* 1891, p. 116.

<sup>b</sup> Agathangelos Greek Text, ed. Lagarde, from Bodleian Menologion Armen. c. 3, fol. 7<sup>b</sup>: I owe this reference to the kindness of my friend, Mr. Conybeare.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Hades, R. 21.

clearly defined by her frequent association with many of the human-divine personages of Greek polytheism. Moreover, Hellenic art in dealing with the figure of Gaia was naturally obliged to invest her with the full human form: her presence was required for two and only two mythic representations, the birth of Erichthonios and the battle of the giants with the gods, and for these the perfected art invented a type of full matronly form, luxuriant beauty with sometimes the added charm of pathetic expression. There is less reality and no cult-significance in the later Hellenistic personifications of Earth, in the figure on the interesting Carthaginian relief, for instance, where she appears with children on her lap and cattle around her, majestically seated in the midst of figures that personify fire and water<sup>a</sup>. It is impossible to say how early was the first personal representation of Ge. The earliest certain instance that has come down to us is the 'Melian' terracotta relief<sup>b</sup>. The goddess emerging from the earth and the hammerers may be a very old art-type, in fact must be as old as Hesiod's *Theogony*, if it gave rise to his perverted version of the Pandora story; but the rising goddess was probably not called Ge, but Pandora or sometimes Persephone<sup>c</sup>. And we want to know when Gaia was made human and personal under her own name, not under any one of her many doubles and disguises. Again the type of Kourotrophos, the goddess holding children in her arms, goes back to Mycenaean times<sup>d</sup>, but this does not attest the prehistoric personification of Gaia herself, for we do not and can scarcely hope to know the personal name of that prehistoric goddess. No doubt the agency of art did assist the anthropomorphic development, but we cannot date its influence in this process, and the personal godhead of Ge still seems to have remained in the embryonic stage. And the reason of this is that her name was Ge, and it was difficult for the higher mythology and the higher anthropomorphic religion

<sup>a</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Fig. 621.

<sup>b</sup> Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. I, p. 1577, Fig. b.

<sup>c</sup> The long continuance and prevalence of this type of the goddess emerging

from the earth is illustrated by its appearance on a Greco-Buddhist relief, vide *Buddhist Art in India*, Grünwedel, transl. by Gibson, p. 99, Pl. 51.

<sup>d</sup> *Archaeol. Anzeig.* 1901, p. 130.

to attach itself to so materialistic a name. Therefore this cult has scarcely a point of contact with the more advanced life of the race. Her oracles usually pass to another: Themis breaks away from her: the early legal system of trials for homicide, upon which society so much depended, finds its religious support in the cult of the dead or of the Erinyes, Apollo or Athena, while Ge remains far in the background. It seems that she must disguise herself under other names, that did not so immediately betray the material fact, in order to develop into active personality. As Pandora she could become the bright centre of a human myth: as Aglauros she could die for her country: as Themis she could become the goddess of abstract justice: and, though only a half-formed personality herself, she probably gave birth to many of the most robust creations of polytheism. Rhea-Cybele had a great religious career. But the brightest of all Gaia's emanations is Demeter.

## CHAPTER II

### DEMETER AND KORE-PERSEPHONE

(References, p. 311.)

THE worship to which this chapter is devoted is one of the most important and fascinating in the whole Hellenic religion. In the study of it we seem to have a picture revealed to us in outline of the early agrarian life, of the social usages on which the family was based, and also of the highest religious aspirations of the people. The folk-lorist and the student of primitive anthropology can gather much from it; and it also contributes largely to our knowledge of the more advanced religious thought in Europe. The primitive element in it is bright and attractive, there is scarcely a touch of savagery, and it is connected at many points with the higher life of the state. The mythology of the cult enthralled the Hellenic imagination and inspired some of the noblest forms of art, and it appeals to the modern spirit with its unique motives of tenderness and pathos, with the very human type of the loving and bereaved mother.

The attempt to explain the name Demeter has been only partly successful: there can be little doubt but that the latter part of the word means 'mother,' and this is a fact of some importance, for it shows that the name and the worship is a heritage of the Aryan population, and its universality in Greece gives evidence against the theory that the presence of the female divinity betrays the non-Aryan stock. The Greek cult may be regarded as merely a local development of the European worship of the corn-mother or earth-mother. The meaning of the prefix Δη is uncertain: the old view that it was a dialect-variant for earth, so that the compound signified earth-mother, is etymologically unsound and improbable. Perhaps Mannhardt's theory<sup>a</sup>, that the first part of the word

<sup>a</sup> *Myth. Forschung*, p. 292; vide *Mag. s.v. Δηώ* Δηάι προσαγορεύονται ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν αἱ κριθαί. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, p. 169; cf. *Et.*

is akin to the Cretan *Δηαί* = barley, a word formed from the same stem as that which appears in *ζέα* and *ζειά*, deserves more consideration.

At all events, either term, 'earth-mother' or 'corn-mother' sums up most of the myth and most of the cult of Demeter. And the evidence makes it clear that her individuality was rooted in the primitive and less developed personality of Gaia; the ancients themselves discovered the fact or had remembered it<sup>1</sup>. And some of the titles of the two divinities, both in poetic parlance and in actual cult, coincide, or reveal the identity of nature. Demeter was worshipped as *Χαμύνη*<sup>2</sup> at Olympia, and the name was associated with the legend of the descent of Hades; we can scarcely doubt that it is a derivative from the stem that appears in *χαμαί*, and designates the goddess of the ground. The cult must have been ancient and of high prestige, for the priestess who administered it was given special precedence at the Olympian games, and viewed them seated on an altar as a semi-divine personage: the ministrant here doubtless embodied the deity, a conception of the sacerdotal office which we can trace in the earlier days of Hellas, but which tended to fade in the later period. The name *Εύρώπα*, better known as the name of the Cretan form of the earth-goddess, was applied to Demeter at Lebadea<sup>3</sup>, where Pausanias records the temple of Demeter *Εύρώπη* in the grove of Trophonios, and informs us that those who wished to descend into his grave and consult his oracle must offer a preliminary sacrifice to her and other divinities, and that the local legend regarded her as the nurse of Trophonios. The spot was full of chthonian associations, a great centre of the worship of the nether powers, and the legend throws a sidelight upon the belief—which we must regard as very early—in some relation between an earth-goddess and an earth-god, for as such Trophonios must be interpreted. With such an epithet of the earth as the 'broad-faced' one we may compare the Sanskrit name *Ṗṛthivi*, 'the broad one,' of the earth-goddess<sup>a</sup>. Another illustration from Boeotia of the affinity between Demeter and Europa is the worship of Demeter *Ταυροπόλος* at Copae<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88.

The same original nature of Demeter appears again in the transparent epithet 'Εὐρύδεια,' which was attached to her, according to Hesychius, in her cult at Skarpheia<sup>3</sup>. And the epithets which have been noted as occurring in the cult or legend of Gaia, Ἀησιδώρα, Καρποφόρος, Κουροτρόφος, Χθονία, will be found to be appellatives of Demeter also.

Of the juxtaposition of the two divinities in actual worship we have only two recorded instances, at Athens<sup>5</sup> and Patrae<sup>6</sup>, but the brighter and more developed cult may often have suppressed the simpler and allowed no memory of it to survive.

We may note also, in this connexion, the occasional identification of Demeter with the earth-goddess of Crete and Asia Minor, Rhea-Cybele, the divinity of orgiastic and violent rites, whose character stood in marked contrast to that of her Hellenic counterpart<sup>7</sup>. Melanippides may have been thinking of Rhea when he called Demeter the 'mother of the gods.' But most explicit on this point is Euripides in the *Helena*: 'the mountain-ranging mother of the gods with fleet limb sped o'er the wooded brakes, the flow of river waters and loud-resounding sea-wave, in yearning for her vanished daughter of name unspoken.' And the poet goes on to tell us that the tympanum, the badge of the Asiatic worship, was used to console Demeter in her bereavement. That Euripides should have identified two divinities, whose ritual and legend were so widely different, need not surprise us. He was rather given to such θεοκρασία; he had a conviction that Demeter was the earth-goddess, and presumably he, like others, held the same opinion about Rhea: and in both cases he was probably right. And there seems to have been some brazen musical instrument used in the mysteries of Demeter, of which the ritualistic function was to summon back Persephone, and perhaps at the same time to give warning to the uninitiated<sup>a</sup>, and the sound may have seemed to Euripides something like the wilder minstrelsy of the Cybele rites. This may be the explanation of Pindar's epithet χαλκόκροτος for the 'brazen-sounding

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Cook, in *Hell. Journ.* 1902, 'the gong was sounded to ward off p. 15, accepts O. Gruppe's view that chthonian powers.'

Demeter.' One or two illustrations from actual cult-records can be offered of this religious synthesis. In the Despoina-worship at Akakesion in Arcadia, the *Μεγάλη Μήτηρ* appears in some association with Despoina and Demeter. And the worship at Mykalessos, where the temple of Demeter *Μυκαλησσία* was supposed to be closed every night and opened by the Idaean Heracles, one of the Dactyli, may point to some popular correlation of Demeter to Rhea. Similarly, we hear of the statue of Heracles, diminutive as the Idaean Dactyli were imagined to be, placed near her statue at Megalopolis. Finally, we have a fifth-century inscription from Amorgos, in which Demeter is styled 'ὄρέη,' the mountain-goddess, an epithet which we must suppose she has borrowed from Rhea-Cybele<sup>7</sup>.

As earth-goddess, Demeter has functions that range beyond the corn-field. She could be worshipped as the giver of all vegetation and fruits, to whom the myrtle, the briony, the narcissus were sacred<sup>35</sup>; and thus we find such titles as *Ἀνησιδώρα* at Phlye<sup>26</sup>, *Καρποφόρος* in many places<sup>30</sup>, *Μαλοφόρος* at the Megarian Nisaea<sup>13</sup>. The last appellative is explained by Pausanias as designating the goddess of sheep, but we must interpret it rather in relation to the apple-orchard<sup>a</sup>, and in the same way must translate the invocation in Callimachus' hymn<sup>14</sup>, 'Feed our cattle, bring us apples, the corn-stalk, and the harvest.' For it is worth observing that Demeter has far less to do with the pastoral life than with the cultivation of the soil: none of her appellatives suggest the former, except perhaps *ἐύβοσία*<sup>10</sup>, and it is not certain that she was ever styled thus; and though she might be worshipped here and there, in Attica and Laconia, as the goddess of wells and springs<sup>11</sup>, they concern the tiller as much as the shepherd. Her usual sacrificial animals are the bull and cow and the pig: the former kind belong as much to agriculture as to pasturage, and Demeter, like other divinities that had relations with the earth, was worshipped as *Ταυροπόλος*: the pig is the victim specially consecrated to the powers of the lower world. On

<sup>a</sup> Ahrens has shown that *μᾶλον* is Doric for apple, never for sheep, *Dor. Dial.* 145, 153.



the other hand, the goat<sup>a</sup> is not mentioned among her sacrificial animals, and very rarely a sheep or ram<sup>b</sup>.

An important cult was that of Demeter *Χλόη* or *Εὔχλοος*, whose shrine on the south-west terrace on the Athenian Acropolis was for long the only habitation of the goddess in the original city<sup>9</sup>. And this, too, she had to share with *Κουροτρόφος*. Therefore, though we may believe that the worship of the earth-mother was primæval in Athens and its vicinity, it is probable that Demeter herself did not belong to the primary stratum of Athenian religion. The ancient goddess of the Polis was Athena; and, as we have seen<sup>c</sup>, much of the agricultural myth and ritual, which elsewhere in Attica and generally in Greece was associated with Demeter, was in Athens consecrated to her. The cult of *Χλόη*, as other Demeter cults, may have come to Athens after the incorporation of Eleusis in the Athenian state. We have proof of it at Colonus, in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, where the appellative occurs without the proper name—a common phenomenon—at Mykonos, and finally at Eleusis<sup>18</sup>, perhaps the parent city of the worship. Its chief claim on our attention is that it seems to reveal a glimpse of the pre-anthropomorphic period when the natural object itself might be conceived as animate and divine, and the personal deity had not yet clearly emerged; thus such religious perceptions as 'Demeter the Verdure' or 'Zeus the Thunder' on the one hand, and Demeter the Verdure-giver or Zeus the Thunderer on the other, may be the products of widely different strata of religion. Again, the title *Χλόη* or *Εὔχλοος* might designate the goddess of young vegetation in general or specially of corn; the scholiast on Sophocles refers it to the verdure of the gardens, but probably it generally

<sup>a</sup> But a dough effigy of a goat appears to have been offered at Delos in the Thesmophoria<sup>21</sup>, and Prof. Newton found the bones of goats among relics of other animals in a deposit below the ground of the Cnidian temenos, *Travels in the Levant*, 2. p. 183; and the *τριτητρία Βόαρχος χρυσόκερως* ordered by an Athenian decree to the two Eleusinian goddesses<sup>180</sup> must include the

goat, unless we take *χρυσόκερως* to apply to the ox only: this latter view, which is Mommsen's, appears to me more probable, though the grammar is faulty. So far as I am aware there is only one monument showing a goat-sacrifice (vide *Monuments of Demeter*, p. 220).

<sup>b</sup> R. 9, 21, 60; Geogr. Reg. s.v. Kalymnos.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. 1. pp. 290, 291.

signified the first growth of the crops, cereals being more important than flowers or fruits to the early society. Thus a late oracle delivered from Delphi to Athens speaks of the shrine of Demeter *Χλόη* and Kore on the Acropolis as the place where the first corn-stalk grew. And the festival of the *Χλοῖα* at Eleusis<sup>18</sup>, coming in the Attic year after the 'threshing-festival,' the *Ἀλωα*, and the 'straw-festival,' the *Καλαμαῖα*, was certainly a cereal celebration. At Athens the service of Demeter Chloë was held in early spring, when they first saw the green corn sprouting, and was accompanied 'with mirth and gladness': at Eleusis the date was probably the same. At Mykonos we hear of her sacrifice occurring on the twelfth of Poseidon, and if this month was here, as in the Attic calendar, a winter month, we must regard the ritual as of the nature of an evocation, to summon the spring and to persuade the winter to go, just as we may explain much of the winter service to Dionysos. The Athenian spring-sacrifice must be distinguished, as Mommsen<sup>a</sup> has pointed out, from that later service of Demeter Chloë, which, according to Philochorus, took place on the sixth of Thargelion. This month was never spring in Attica, the crops were ripening by this date, and the harvest was near. Moreover, the sixth of Thargelion was a day of purification and of mortification at Athens. This sacrifice, therefore, unlike the former joyous festival of early spring, was probably one of atonement, a propitiation of the goddess whose fruits were about to be gathered. We have now evidence from all parts of the world, and other evidence from Attica itself, of the harvest-process being regarded as a dangerous act, which must be rigidly guarded by many prior piacular ceremonies.

Whatever may have been the exact connotation of *Χλόη* when it was first applied to her, there is no doubt that the idea of the corn-mother belonged to the earliest conception of Demeter, and was always by far the most prominent and important in myth and cult. We may believe, in fact, that it was specially to fulfil this function that she was originally differentiated from the less cultured form of Gaia. The earliest

<sup>a</sup> *Heortologie*, pp. 9, 36, 54.

literary records, the Homeric and Hesiodic poems<sup>15</sup>, only recognize her as the corn-goddess. The only myth that Hesiod narrates about her, besides her marriage with Zeus, is the story of her loving intercourse with Iasion in the Cretan corn-field, of which Ploutos is the fruit; and Dr. Frazer<sup>a</sup> aptly compares the German belief concerning the child born on the harvest-field. In the *Works and Days*, the two deities to whom the husbandman is advised to pray, when he first begins the ploughing, are Zeus *Xθόνιος*, the god of the soil and the nether world, and 'Holy Demeter' 'in order that Demeter's holy grain when ripe may yield a heavy crop.' In other parts of the world the corn-sheaf itself appears almost identified with the goddess of corn, the last sheaf for instance being sometimes called 'the mother,' 'the grandmother,' or 'the maiden,' and being dressed up and worshipped as such. A trace of this animistic conception, which probably in many places preceded the anthropomorphic, has been supposed to be discernible in ancient Greece. It may be lurking in the Tanagran story of Eunostos, which will be examined in a later chapter<sup>b</sup>, but as regards Demeter the evidence is lacking. The phrase *Δημήτερος ἀκτῆ* is quite consistent with the anthropomorphic point of view. The line quoted by Plutarch from the harvest poem 'of a certain poet' speaks of the reapers 'cutting the limbs of Demeter'; but the verse has not the ring of antiquity, and it is more likely that the phrase is conscious metaphor, like Homer's impersonal use of Ares and Hephaestos, than that it is the survival of a materialistic-religious concept in which the deity and the thing were confused. Again, the word *ἴουλος* has been taken by Usener<sup>c</sup> as proving that the primitive Greek, like his Aryan kinsfolk in early and late times, regarded the last sheaf of corn as animate with a corn-spirit, and his theory points to the development of Demeter *Ἰουλώ* from the animate corn-sheaf, *ἴουλος*. But the careful examination of the texts does not establish this: *ἴουλος* or *οὔλος* seems originally to have been a common noun, meaning not the last sheaf, but the sheafs

<sup>a</sup> *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 217, 218.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Hero-cults, vol. 5, R. 328.

<sup>c</sup> *Götternamen*, pp. 282, 283.

bound together, the corn-stack ; then to have been applied to the song which the reapers sang over the stacks ; finally, if we can trust Apollodorus, to a fictitious being, a hero, who was evolved not from the corn-stack but from the song, as Ialemos and possibly Linos were evolved from the dirge<sup>a</sup>. There were certainly corn-heroes or corn-spirits in early Greece, and the myth about them, as for instance about Eunostos, is natural harvest-folklore ; but none of them reveal themselves as animate corn-sheafs. Still less does Demeter. The difference between a Demeter Ἰουλος—who is nowhere heard of—and a Demeter Ἰουλῶ is the difference between a lower and a higher stratum of religion separated by a period which we cannot measure. Athenaeus<sup>9</sup> informs us that according to Semos of Delos, on his treatise on paeans, ‘ the separate sheafs used to be called ἀμάλαι, but when stacked together the whole stack was called οὔλος or ἴουλος, and Demeter was styled at one time Χλόη, at another Ἰουλῶ . . . and they call both the fruit and the reapers’ songs in honour of the goddess by the same name οὔλοι, ἴουλοι (also Δημήτροοι, harvest-songs in honour of Demeter).’ Then follows what seems like a refrain of some such song ‘ bring forth plenteous stacks, plenteous stacks.’ The harvest song and the stack, then, were called sometimes by the same name, and Demeter the stack-goddess was called Ἰουλῶ ; but Demeter is not called ‘ the stack ’ nor identified with it. No doubt, as the husbandmen of nearly all parts of the world have been in the habit, at some time or other in the history of their race, of regarding the last sheaf at the reaping as in some way divine, of addressing it in personal terms, and perhaps giving it some touch of human form, we can believe that the custom existed among ancestors of the historic Greeks. And what people’s ancestors were in the habit of doing, it is always likely that some late descendant will be found doing in some hole or corner. Still it is strange that there is no record left us in Greece of these fetiches of the

<sup>a</sup> Suidas, *Et. Mag. Phot. s. v.* Ἰουλος : Apollod. *περὶ Θεῶν*, Müller, *F. H. G.* 1. p. 434. (Καθάπερ ἐν μὲν θρήνοις ἰάλεμος, ἐν δὲ ὕμνοις Ἰουλος, ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ

τὰς ψῆδὰς αὐτὰς καλοῦσιν, ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τῶν θεμιστῶν ψῆδὴ Λυτιέριση.) The reapers’ song in Theocritus may be intended as a cultivated form of an Ἰουλος<sup>15</sup>.

harvest-field, these 'corn-grandmothers, or corn<sup>m</sup>-mothers or corn-maidens.' Nor is Dr. Frazer's explanation<sup>a</sup> that classical writers ignored the uncouth habits of the country quite sufficient to disarm the force of the argument from silence in this case. For no one knows better than he the enthusiasm with which Pausanias collected the strangest relics of savagery from the Greek country side. Therefore Dr. Frazer's suggestion put forward in a striking passage that Demeter and Proserpine, those stately and beautiful figures of Greek mythology<sup>b</sup>, were probably evolved from the primitive corn-fetiches of the field, lacks the one crucial point of evidence. Nor does he seem sufficiently to realize that Demeter's whole character in worship cannot be entirely explained as developed from a primitive cult of a corn-mother. There is the shadowy personality of an earth-goddess in the background, of larger dimensions than a corn-sheaf, which lends magnitude and grandeur to the Demeter-religion.

The titles that are broadcast in the records of the Greek cults are sufficient testimony of the cereal functions of Demeter. The field, the grain, and the farming operations are alike under her surveillance, and she assumed appellatives from them all: she was invoked as the goddess of the young corn and the ripe, *Χλόη*, *᾽Ορία*<sup>33</sup>: *᾽Αζησία*, the goddess of spelt<sup>23</sup>: as *Σιτώ*, *᾽Αδηφαγία*, *Εὐετηρία*<sup>34</sup>, *Ἰμαλίσ*<sup>22</sup>, 'she who surfeits men with abundance of food.' There is a boorish frankness in the epithets *᾽Αδηφαγία*, *Μεγάλαρτος*, *Μεγαλόμαζος*<sup>22</sup>, 'she of the big loaf and the big cake,' that tells us what the worship meant for the Sicilian and Boeotian rustic. The reapers hailed her as *᾽Αμαία*<sup>24</sup>, *᾽Αμαλλοφόρος*<sup>25</sup>, *Ἰουλώ*. She stood by the threshing-floor as *᾽Αλωάς*<sup>23</sup><sup>a</sup> or *Εὐαλωσία*<sup>28</sup>; perhaps she was supposed to lock the door of the granary in her festival of *᾽Επικλείδια*<sup>18</sup><sup>b</sup>; and possibly that mill-goddess who was called *Εὐνοστος*, the goddess who 'gives a good yield' to the flour, and who watched the miller's dealings with the measure, was a faded Demeter whose proper name was lost<sup>c</sup>. Some of her appellatives, that probably alluded to the corn-field, savour of great antiquity,

<sup>a</sup> *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2. p. 217.

<sup>b</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 216.

<sup>c</sup> *Hero-cults*, vol. 5, R. 328.

preserving obsolete words of which the meaning was lost or obscured. We can understand the Attic cult of Ὀμπνία<sup>31</sup>; we gather from Suidas that the goddess was so-called because the word denoted 'meadow,' or 'food,' or 'Demeter's fruits'; of more use is the statement by the scholiast on Nikander that Callimachos employed the word ὄμπναι for sacrificial cakes burned on the altars as offerings to the gods, especially to Demeter.

But what does Παμπανώ<sup>32</sup> mean, or Ἀχειρώ or Ἑλήγηρις<sup>27</sup>? The ancients explained the last term as alluding to the summer-heat which dries the corn; and for the same reason she was called Καῦστις, perhaps at Athens<sup>a</sup> and Θερμασία, both in the neighbourhood and the city of Hermione<sup>29</sup>.

The corn-myth supports the corn-cult; and the Attic-Eleusinian dogma that Demeter had taught mankind the priceless arts of agriculture, chiefly through her apostle Triptolemos, became generally accepted in later Greece, suppressing other myths that attributed the progress to other local divinities or heroes. Only, as beans were tabooed at Eleusis, a separate hero had to be invented as patron of the bean-field, and we hear of a Κναμίτης ἥρωσ who is allowed no connexion with Demeter<sup>b</sup>.

For Demeter-worship in general we must again and again turn to Attic records; and it is the Attic agrarian feasts which give us the most detailed and vivid picture of this side of her character. Nearly all the more important of these are associated with Eleusis rather than Athens, for in the capital itself it was not Demeter but Athena and Apollo, as has been partly shown in a former chapter, to whom the agrarian liturgy of the year was mainly consecrated.

In arranging the Attic corn-festivals of Demeter, it is more convenient to follow the months in their sequence in our year rather than the Athenian. The advent of spring was marked by the Χλόεια, or Χλοῖα, a feast perhaps of Eleusinian origin, which has been described above. There is no sure ground for identifying this with the Προχαριστήρια<sup>c</sup>, which was another

<sup>a</sup> Hesych. s. v. καῦστις.

<sup>b</sup> Hero-cults, R. 338.

<sup>c</sup> As has been done by Bloch, Roscher's *Lex.* 2. p. 1325, whose statement of the

early spring-ritual probably consecrated to Kore. At some time after the *Χλόεια* we may place the *Καλαμαία*, as we have the right to suppose that the order in which the festivals are mentioned in the Eleusinian inscription is chronological<sup>18</sup>: the name suggests a religious ceremony for the strengthening of the stalks to produce a good yield of straw. At Eleusis it was conducted by the demarch, and the ritual included a procession, probably round the fields. That it was specially consecrated to Demeter is proved by the inscription from the Peiræus<sup>750</sup>, which connects it with the Thesmophorion there, and makes it appear that, like the Haloa and Thesmophoria, it was specially a women's festival. There is no special festival mentioned in the Attic calendar in honour of the corn-goddess occurring just before the harvest, such as was perhaps the *Προλόγια* in Laconia<sup>a</sup>; but the offering to Demeter *Χλόη* on the sixth of Thargelion answered the same purpose<sup>9</sup>. It is somewhat surprising to find no mention of Demeter at all in the record of the *Θαργήλια*, the Athenian feast of the early harvest: it belongs to Apollo, and secondarily to Artemis.

The part that was assigned to Demeter and Kore in the Skira or Skirophoria is one of the most intricate questions of Attic festival-lore. It has been partly discussed in the chapter on Athena<sup>b</sup>, and far more fully than would be here relevant in A. Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen*<sup>c</sup>. That the summer Skirophoria took place on the twelfth of Skirophorion is well attested by the records: and the inscriptions published by Prott and Ziehen in their *Leges Sacrae*<sup>d</sup> and one found at the Peiræus<sup>759</sup> show that a festival was held in this same month in the Tetrapolis and probably in the Peiræus.

The explanation offered of the word by Mommsen, that it means the ceremonious carrying of the *σκίρρα*, 'white earth,' or offerings laid in white earth, to be strewn over the land as manure just after the harvest, appears probable<sup>e</sup>: and he rightly rejects the scholiast's suggestion of 'the white um-

*Προχαριστήρια* is misleading: vide infra, p. 115.

<sup>a</sup> But vide infra, p. 48.

<sup>b</sup> Vide I. p. 292, with references.

<sup>c</sup> pp. 310, 313, 504-511.

<sup>d</sup> p. 49, no. 26<sup>b</sup>, ll. 30, 31.

<sup>e</sup> Op. cit. p. 315. We may accept this suggestion without admitting the other

brella.' The agrarian intention of the whole ceremony seems clear from the fact that the procession moved from the city to a place called Skiron, where one of the three *ἱεροὶ ἄροτοι*, the annual ceremonious acts of ploughing, took place<sup>17</sup>. But there was a diversity of opinion among the ancient authorities as to the divinity to whom primarily the rite was consecrated. Opinions wavered between Athena Skiras on the one hand and Demeter with her daughter on the other. Mommsen inclines to the view that the festival came to Athens from Megara as a Demeter-feast<sup>a</sup>. But he gives no convincing reason. That the procession moved to Skiron is evidence against it, for this place is much nearer to Athens than to Eleusis, and the sacred ploughing which took place there and which was regarded as the most ancient institution of the three had no association with Eleusis or Demeter. And on the other hand, we know that the Athenians claimed priority for Athena as their own agrarian goddess. It was she who had taught them the use of the plough, and the *ἱερὸς ἄροτος* that was performed 'ὑπὸ πόλει,' or beneath the old city was probably consecrated to her, in company perhaps with Zeus<sup>17</sup>. She would then have a prior right to the Athenian Skirophoria, and as we find that it was her priestess who with the priests of Poseidon-Erechtheus and Helios (or rather Apollo) escorted the *Σκίρρα* that were carried by the Eteobutadae, we may naturally regard her as the aboriginal divinity of the rite<sup>b</sup>. Nevertheless, perhaps owing to the growing influence of Eleusinian worship, the mother and daughter won their place in this festival, and at last the claim was advanced that it really belonged to them. Thus Clemens of Alexandria groups the Thesmophoria and the Skirophoria together, as religious plays representing the myth of the Rape of Proserpine<sup>c</sup>. And the scholiast on Lucian goes so far as to declare that the two were identical<sup>75i</sup>. The inscription from the Peiraeus

part of his theory that these were the objects which were brought up out of the subterranean adyton by the women at the Thesmophoria, and that the *Σκίροφόρια* = *Θεσμοφόρια*.

<sup>a</sup> The fact that it came from Megara

(which is not certain) he considers as proving that it was originally Demeter's. I do not see the cogency of this reason.

<sup>b</sup> Athena, R. 27<sup>a 2</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Athena, R. 27<sup>a 3</sup>.



shows that here at least the *Σκίρρα*, which we gather were here also a summer festival, belonged entirely to the *θεαὶ θεσμοφόροι*; for its performance took place in or in connexion with the *θεσμοφόριον* of the Peiraeus, women were the chief performers, and no doubt they enacted the story of the mother's loss. Moreover, we are given to understand that the *Σκίρρα* imposed certain rules of purification and chastity upon the women<sup>a</sup> who took part in it, and that 'the Fleece of God' was carried in the procession. This was a most potent purification-charm, and was used for this purpose at Eleusis, being there placed by the *δαδοῦχος* under the feet of those who desired purification from guilt<sup>b</sup>. The special rule of temporary chastity is found again in the Thesmophoria, and such rules are not infrequent in ancient agrarian and harvest-ritual elsewhere<sup>c</sup>. Mommsen is inclined to refer those passages that point to the presence of Demeter and Kore in the festival rather to an autumn *Σκιροφόρια* in Pyanepsion than to the summer *Σκιροφόρια* in Skirophorion. But it is hard to believe in the existence of the former at all, in spite of the authority quoted by Athenaeus<sup>d</sup>, and in spite of the scholiast on Lucian. The latter gives us some very valuable information about the Thesmophoria (which were held in Pyanepsion) and is evidently drawing from a good source. But his opening statement that the Thesmophoria were actually the Skirophoria may be due merely to a confused conclusion of his own drawn from such passages as that in Clemens, where they are vaguely collocated but clearly not identified. The reason for being sceptical is a strong one. We can find no instance of the same festival, designated by a special name such as Skirophoria and giving its name to one of the months, occurring twice

<sup>a</sup> Phot. *s. v.* *Τροπηλῖς* . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς *Σκίροις τῇ ἑορτῇ ἡσθιον σκόροδα* ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι Ἀφροδισίων . . . ὡς Φιλόχορος.

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. 1, Zeus, R. 138.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2. pp. 209-211.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀριστόδημος ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Πινδάρου, vide Athena, R. 27<sup>b1</sup>: he speaks of the Ἰσχοφόρια—evidently an autumn fes-

tival—being performed at the time of the *Σκίρα*, but the Ἰσχοφόρια was a ritual conducted by the ephēbi, the *Σκίρρα* were a women's service: nowhere else are the two connected at all. Aristodemus' error can be easily explained by the fact that the race of the Ephēbi in the Ἰσχοφόρια was to the temple of Athena Skiras at Phaleron.

over in the calendar year. We may find of course many Dionysia, but each has its own special ritualistic name. We do not find two Thargelia or two Anthesteria. And it is hard to believe in two Skirophoria, undifferentiated by any distinguishing term, in two months removed by such an interval as June and October. The weight of the evidence, including that of the inscriptions, the weightiest of all, obliges us to place the Σκιροφόρια in summer. None of the ancient authorities agree with Lucian's scholiast—whose statement has something of a haphazard and parenthetical character—in connecting them with the Θεσμοφόρια.

We should naturally expect that the great Attic festival of Demeter would be in honour of harvest, and none of those examined hitherto appear to have had this purpose. Harvest thanksgivings may have occurred in each Attic village, perhaps at slightly varying times, and the record may have been lost. The national harvest festival may have come to be considered identical with the Demeter-mystery of Eleusis; but as its agrarian character was overlaid with a profounder religious thought and faith, it will be reserved for discussion till the end of this chapter.

Among the autumn ceremonies connected with this worship in Attica the one that we can feel the most confidence about is the προηρόσια<sup>16</sup>. The meaning of the name is apparent: it points to a ritual or sacrifice that preceded the ploughing, performed in accordance with a natural primitive thought partly to appease the goddess—for ploughing might be regarded as a dangerous and violent intrusion into the domain of the earth-deity—partly to secure her favour for the coming harvest year. The ceremony then preceded the ploughing-season: it also preceded the rising of Arcturos<sup>a</sup>, if Hesychius' gloss be rightly read, which tells us that the προηρόσια was also called προαρκτούρια—a citation possibly from Clitodemus. These indications then suggest a date in September, somewhere before the middle. And this accords with other evidence. The great mysteries that began

<sup>a</sup> The morning rising of Arcturos was in early Greece. Vide Hes. *Op.* 556, an important date for autumn field-work 609.

on the fifteenth of Boedromion are chronologically connected with the *προηρόσια* in the Ephebi-inscriptions<sup>16, 186</sup>, only not in such a way as to prove which preceded and which followed. Some connexion was probable for other reasons. The scene of the *προηρόσια* was Eleusis, probably the precincts of the temple of the two goddesses. We gather this from one of the inscriptions, and from the passage at the beginning of Euripides' *Supplikes*, where the scene is laid at Eleusis, and the Athenian queen, Aithra, speaks: 'To sacrifice in behalf of the land's sowing, I chance to have left my palace and to have come to this shrine, where first the fruit of the corn was seen bristling above the earth. And . . . I abide here by the holy altars of the two goddesses Kore and Demeter.' Demeter was the chief goddess in this service, and she seems to have derived from it an appellative *προηρόσια*. We further learn from an Eleusinian inscription that notice of 'the Feast of the *προηρόσια*' was given—probably throughout the various demes of Attica—by the Hierophantes and the Kerux, two of the leading officials of the Eleusinian mysteries. And there is reason for believing that it preceded the latter and by a short interval only. For the *ἀπαρχαί* or first-fruits of corn which were sent to the Athenian state by its own citizens and colonists and other Greek communities, were probably delivered at the time of the Great Mysteries. This indeed is not told us in so many words. But they must surely have been delivered at some great harvest festival of Demeter, occurring at a date which would give time to any Greek state in the Mediterranean world to send its quota after its harvest was in. And if many states obeyed the call, as for a time they may well have done, there would be a large concourse of strangers in Attica. All this points to the Great Mysteries, the only festival of Demeter occurring at a convenient time and attracting a vast number of visitors. Now the legend about these *ἀπαρχαί* was that in some time of drought the Delphic oracle had bidden the Athenians sacrifice *προηρόσια* to Deo in behalf of the whole of Greece: the ritual proved effective, and in gratitude the other Greek states sent their offerings of first-fruits. The story, which

afforded fertile soil for Athenian vanity to work on, and on which Isocrates preaches with much unction, may have been suggested by a misunderstanding of the word *προηρόσια* as if it meant 'ploughing-sacrifice in behalf of somebody.' But it could have had no *vraisemblance* unless the *προηρόσια*, the Panhellenic benefit for which those *ἀπαρχαί* were supposed to be tokens of gratitude, had preceded the Great Mysteries, where we have reason to believe they were delivered <sup>a</sup>.

As regards details of the ritual we can gather but little: we hear of the offering of oxen, and there were probably cereal offerings as well. And I would suggest that the passage of the *Supplices* gives us a clue leading to the belief that the chief ministration of the *προηρόσια*, as of the *Σκίρρα* and other agrarian services, was in the hands of women. The significance of this will be noted later <sup>b</sup>.

At some time after the *προηρόσια* must have followed the 'sacred ploughing' of the Eleusinian holy field, the Rarian plain <sup>17</sup>. This was the specially Eleusinian ritual, hallowed

<sup>a</sup> Dittenberger, in his new edition of the *Sylloge*, n. 628, p. 424, argues from the Eleusinian inscription (R. 16, Apollo, R. 157), that the *προηρόσια* must have fallen in Pyanepsion: after the inscription has referred to the *προηρόσια* on the fifth, it then mentions, without any large lacuna, a sacrifice to Apollo Pythios of a goat on the seventh: this, he maintains, must be the seventh of Pyanepsion, when the festival of the Pyanepsia took place. But as the seventh day of each month was sacred to Apollo, a sacrifice 'on the seventh' need not be a sacrifice on the seventh of Pyanepsion. And we have reason to doubt whether an animal-sacrifice was permissible at the Pyanepsia, nor has the latter any clear connexion with Eleusis. The calendar dates of line 2 and line 7 in this mutilated inscription probably refer to the same month: but fragment B, which gives us the expenses of a Pyanepsion festival—the Thesmophoria—need not refer to the same month as fragment A.

<sup>b</sup> The accounts of the *προηρόσια* have

been sometimes vitiated by the scholiasts having blunderingly connected it with the *εἰπεσιώνη*, with which neither it nor Demeter has anything to do. Manhardt's account of it, *Antike Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, p. 239, is confused and misleading. The view I have taken of it agrees in the main with Mommsen's in his *Feste d. Stadt Athen*, 192-196: but he starts with the wrong assumption that the *προηρόσια* were a bloodless sacrifice—and that in spite of the inscription *C. I. A. ii. 467* (vide R. 16)—which he quotes, but to which he gives less weight than to a vague passage in Max. Tyr. c. 30, where I venture to think he has missed the true meaning: the rhetorician is only contrasting the harmless life of the husbandman with the blood-stained career of the soldier—he is not referring to the difference between a blood-offering and a cereal sacrifice. Mommsen is wrong also in his statement that the *προηρόσια* was never called an *εὐορή*, vide R. 16 (*Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 99).

by local legend, and distinct from the corresponding and in some sense rival ceremony *ὑπὸ πόλιν*, the Athenian *ἱερὸς ἄροτος*. The antiquity of Demeter's worship on this small tract of Eleusinian tillage is shown by the record of her idol there, which according to Tertullian was a mere 'informe lignum,' an agalma of the pre-Ionic, Mycenaean, or pre-Mycenaean days.

All the produce was consecrated entirely to divine worship; the corn was no doubt threshed on the 'sacred threshing-floor of Triptolemos,' that was adjacent and near an altar of the hero.

Nothing unclean might defile the field. In the accounts of the stewards of the Eleusinian goddess we find the quaint entry of the price paid for a pig that was offered by way of purification after a corpse had been found there, and of the fee paid to the man who removed the corpse.

We should naturally suppose the Haloa to have been an autumn festival; as the name obviously refers to the threshing of the corn, and we might believe that the sacred *ἄλωσ* of Triptolemos was the scene of some of the ceremonies. But the records of this as of other Attic festivals are somewhat perplexing<sup>18</sup>. What is clear is that the chief deities of the Haloa were Demeter and Kore, though apparently Dionysos and Poseidon came to have their part in it. The central place of the festival was Eleusis, and the great Eleusinian family of the Eumolpidae together with the Lykomidae may have taken part in the organization of it<sup>a</sup>. The demarch of Eleusis assisted, and sacrificed and proffered prayers 'for the safety of the Boulé and Demos, for the children and wives, the friends and allies of Athens'; but no doubt Eleusis was responsible to the central city for this as for all the other more important liturgies, as we find the Athenian strategos commended for offering the same sacrifices and making the same prayer. Yet apparently no male official, whether Eleusinian or Athenian, was allowed to perform the chief and essential sacrifice; as we learn from Demosthenes that the hierophant on one occasion was punished for doing so and thus usurping the privilege of the priestess of Demeter. Here again we are struck with the predominance of women in the

<sup>a</sup> Vide Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 368; the evidence is doubtful.

agrarian ritual of Attica. The scholiast on Lucian informs us that in this festival there was a *τελετή*, a secret initiation of women, at Eleusis: the archons led them into the initiation-room, and having set them down at tables retired and waited without. The meal was probably some kind of sacrament, at which certain foods, such as pomegranates, apples, domestic fowl, sea-urchins, were tabooed, and a certain licentiousness prevailed: we hear of *πέμματα* in the form of phalli, and the women indulged in ribaldry that may have been more or less ceremonious. It appears from the speech against Neaera that no animal-sacrifice was allowed at this feast. The offerings then were cereals and fruits. As regards the time of the year, we should hardly believe that originally the *Haloa* could have fallen later than October: the merry-making, the license, the games which we find associated with it were natural indulgences at the threshing-time; and certainly primitive people cannot afford to wait over the autumn before they thresh. Yet the evidence is clear that the *Haloa* were held in the month of Poseideon, that is, in mid-winter. We have a definite statement to that effect from Philochorus, and the evidence of the Eleusinian inscriptions shows that it fell between the fifth and sixth prytany of the year. This might agree with the words of Lucian's scholiast, who sets it down to the time when men prune the vines and taste their stored-up wine for the first time; but it belies Eustathios' account of it, who calls it a harvest festival and who identifies it with the *θαλύσια* which we hear of in Kos<sup>20</sup> as a summer thanksgiving feast for the corn. We may conclude that the *Haloa* at Eleusis had for certain reasons been dislodged from its proper place in the year, perhaps as Mommsen suggests after the intrusion of Dionysos, to bring it into line with the winter *Dionysia*. Whether there was a mystery play performed by the women and what its content was are matters on which we have no real evidence. We may of course suppose that the *τελετή* contained allusions to the myth of Proserpine and her under-world sojourn<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Mommsen's account of the *Haloa*, *op. cit.* p. 359, &c., appears to me in certain important respects erroneous: he believes that the *Haloa* was the festival at

Another Attic Demeter-festival is recorded, called 'the feast of baskets,' τὰ κανᾶ<sup>18a</sup>: the scholiast on Aeschines who preserves the record explains the name from the part played by the *κανηφόροι* in the rite, the maidens who carried on their heads certain offerings dedicated to the goddess. Such baskets usually contained fruits and flowers, and the ritual may have been part of a harvest thanksgiving. It is possible also that the name did not really designate a distinct festival but a special act in the drama of the *θεσμοφόρια*, of which a prominent feature was the procession of women bearing sacred objects on their heads.

We hear of *κανηφόροι* in various worships, in the service of Dionysos, Artemis, and Athena for instance; as the *κανᾶ* were used in very ancient Greek ritual for carrying the barley-meal necessary for the animal-sacrifice<sup>a</sup>, this may have been their original function, and they need not have been specially attached to the agricultural cults. Another Attic festival of the same kind as the *κανᾶ*, but apparently distinct, was the *κάλαθος* rite, which is described by the scholiast on Callimachus<sup>236</sup>, the *κάλαθος*, or basket of Demeter, being drawn in a car through the streets. Callimachus gives us an account

which the Hellenic *ἀπαρχαί* were threshed and used in Eleusinian ritual. This view rests on the statement of Eustathius<sup>18</sup>, which is in some points foolish and confused; nor is it clear that the bishop was thinking of the Panhellenic *ἀπαρχαί* at all. Again, we are certain that the sacrifice at the Halos was bloodless: but we are bound, I think, to believe that the ceremonies with which the *ἀπαρχαί* were consecrated included animal-sacrifice; for the famous inscription<sup>189</sup> speaks of the *τριπτόαν βόσρχον χρυσόκερων* and four *ἱερέια τέλεια*, and I prefer Foucart's and Dittenberger's interpretation of these phrases as denoting living animals (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 4. 240 and 8. 204) to Mommsen's suggestion (p. 361) that they only refer to dough effigies of animals. Was a

dough effigy ever of the size of the full-grown beast, and would the Athenian state have decreed that the dough effigy of ox or ram should be given golden horns? And Mommsen's interpretation, apart from its intrinsic improbabilities, appears to ignore the important contrast between *ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πελάνου* and *τριπτόαν δέ*; for on his view all the sacrifices are *πέλανοι*. We may also observe that *ἀπό* is not the preposition used as a rule in Attic to denote the material out of which a thing is made: though we find *πλάττειν ἀπὸ σίτου* in Appian in the story about the Cyzicene sacrifices (Demeter, R. 128), which seems to show that the dough effigy would only be resorted to as a *pis-aller* by the state in a time of difficulty.

<sup>a</sup> Hom. *Od.* 3. 442.

of the same celebration in Alexandria, introduced according to the scholiast by Ptolemy from Athens, but here apparently of a mystic character, the uninitiated being forbidden to raise their eyes from the ground as the sacred emblem was drawn by four horses through the city.

Very few festivals outside Attica, besides those mentioned, can be associated with any particular period in the agricultural character. The Arcadian feast<sup>19</sup>, of which the national importance is attested by the name τὰ Ἀρκάδια, was held 'after the first sowing': we may regard it, then, as an autumn ritual, instituted to secure the favour of the corn-goddess for the new agricultural year. It is more difficult to find the exact interpretation of the Laconian προλόγια<sup>21</sup>. If the word is rightly recorded by Hesychius, we may suppose it to allude to the culling of the first-fruits as a preliminary harvest-sacrifice; but the ordinary usage of the verbal stem from which the word is formed does not bear this meaning out.

We have now to deal with another group of Demeter-cults, those namely in which she figures less prominently as a corn-mother, but rather as the great goddess of the lower world and the shadowy realm of the dead, betraying thus her original identity with Gaia. The appellative Χθονία should be noted in this connexion<sup>37</sup>. It may occasionally have been attached to Demeter with no more effect than to signify the goddess of the fertile ground; as we find an epigram in the Anthology grouping Pan and Dionysos with Δηὸ Χθονίη, and the petition follows praying that these deities may give fair fleeces, good wine, and an abundant crop<sup>33</sup>. But in the celebrated and certainly ancient religion of Hermione, where Demeter was specially worshipped as Χθονία<sup>37</sup>, it appears to have had gloomier associations, though an agricultural significance was not lacking to the cult. The legend of the lower world and the worship of the powers of the dead were rife in Hermione. Here was the descent into Hades, by which the souls could pass so easily, that there was no need to place the passage-money for the ferryman in the mouth of the corpse; and here Hades carried off Proserpine. His euphemistic and prevalent name in the locality was Κλύμενος, the 'god of renown,' and



both in inscriptions and legend we find Demeter associated with him. The native poet Lasos sung of 'Demeter and Kore the spouse of Klymenos'; he must have been aware that Klymenos was Pluto himself. But in the legend which Pausanias heard the god had been transformed here, as at Elis, into a local and ancestral hero; for the story which he gives concerning the foundation of the temple of Demeter Chthonia was to the effect that Klymenos, the son of Phoroneus, and his sister Chthonia were its founders. We can discern the real personalities through this thin disguise. Certain details of the ritual are recorded that are of some interest. The festival of the *Xθovía* was held yearly in the summer; the procession was conducted by the priests of the other divinities and all the state-officials of the year, and was accompanied by men and women in white robes wearing crowns of hyacinth. The victim, which was a full-grown cow, and which according to belief always voluntarily presented itself for sacrifice, was led by the officials into the sacred building, but was there left to be immolated by three old women, all the men retiring and shutting them in alone; and these three were the only persons privileged to see the image.

This summer festival may have been partly a harvest celebration. But the hyacinth-crowns, as well as the mystery which shrouded the image, seem to point to the lower world, and the legends that grew up about the temple and were rife in the locality had the same associations. Finally, we notice again the prominent and privileged part played by the women in this worship.

Demeter *Xθovía* figures also in Spartan religion<sup>38</sup>, borrowed, as Pausanias believed, from Hermione. We need not accept his opinion, for this aspect of the goddess may have been as indigenous in Laconia as in Hermione. The chthonian inheritance that came to Demeter from Gaia explains the Spartan ordinance, attributed to Lycurgus, that on the twelfth day after a death the mourning should end with a sacrifice to Demeter<sup>43</sup>: an inscription from Messoa groups the goddess with Plouton and Persephone<sup>44</sup>. In the region of Tainaron we hear of a Megaron of Demeter in the town of Kainepolis<sup>45</sup>;

the district is haunted by legends of the lower world<sup>a</sup>, and perhaps the word *μέγαρον* itself marks a chthonian cult, a question that will be discussed below.

No local cult of Demeter is of more interest, both for Greek ethnology and for the history of primitive religion, than those of Demeter the black at Phigaleia<sup>40</sup>, and Demeter *Ἐπιώως*, the angry one, at Thelpusa in Arcadia<sup>41</sup>. These are sister-worships; the appellatives are connected in meaning, and the legends explaining them are identical in both the Arcadian towns. During her wanderings in search of her daughter, the goddess had changed herself into a mare to avoid the pursuit of Poseidon; but the god assumed the form of a stallion and begat upon her the famous horse Areion and a daughter whose name might not be told to the uninitiated, but who was generally known in Arcadia, and especially at Lykosura, as Despoina. Equally striking is the legend of a primitive cult-type that Pausanias gathered on his Arcadian travel: the Phigaleians professed to remember that once upon a time their temple-image was the statue of a goddess seated on a rock, having in other respects the form of a woman, but the head of a horse, with the forms of snake and other wild animals 'attached to her head.' This sounds rather vague, but the description continues in very precise terms: 'She was wearing a chiton that reached to her feet; in one hand was a dolphin, in the other a dove: . . . they say she was called "the black," because the raiment that the goddess assumed was black.' The Phigaleians explained the sombre colour and title as alluding both to the loss of her daughter and to her anger at Poseidon's violence. The statue belonged, according to the Phigaleians, to the very earliest period of Demeter's worship: it was afterwards lost—no one knew when—and for a long time the cult was neglected altogether, till the people were punished by dearth and warned by a Delphic oracle to re-establish it. They thereupon applied to Onatas of Aegina to carve them a statue, and he made them one of bronze, guided by some drawing or imitation of the old xoanon, but 'for the most part, as they say, inspired by a dream.' But even this

<sup>a</sup> Vide Poseidon, vol. 4: cf. relief from Gythion, *Demeter-monuments*, p. 226.

statue itself had disappeared before the time of Pausanias, and some of the Phigaleians were uncertain whether it had ever belonged to them.

As these excerpts show, the whole account is exasperatingly vague, and at the same time curiously precise. The Phigaleians of the second century A. D. could give the traveller the minutest details of a statue that had disappeared hundreds of years before, that after a long interval was replaced by the work of a great sculptor, this in its turn having disappeared and been almost forgotten! We could only trust the account if we could believe that there really was some record or copy of the theriomorphic xoanon surviving down to late times, or that Onatas' statue was an accurate reproduction of it and was well remembered. There are difficulties in the way of either belief. The chapter of Pausanias contains much that is doubtful; but when interpreted in the light of other and more secure evidence, we can glean from it facts of great importance for the study of primitive Greek ethnology and religion.

Whatever else is doubtful, we have clear traces here of a very ancient cult of Demeter as an earth-goddess of the dark underworld. Her temple was a cavern, and the appellative *Μέλαινα* alludes to the gloom of her abode<sup>a</sup>, having the same cult-significance as *Μελανίς* or *Μυχία* applied to Aphrodite or Leto<sup>b</sup>. The mystic allusion of the name is certainly not the original, though it was inevitable that the story of the loss of Proserpine should be used to explain it, and this explanation would seem as natural as it was for the author of the Homeric hymn to say that Demeter put a dark mourning robe around her shoulders as a sign of her bereavement. Both *Μέλαινα* and *Ἐρινός* mark standing phases of the aboriginal character of Demeter as an earth-goddess, and although the Hellenic mythopoeic faculty was sure to fasten upon them they are probably pre-mythic, or at least independent of any myth. The significance of the Thelpusan cult is to be considered in

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Frazer's different explanation of *Μέλαινα* (*Golden Bough*, 2. p. 257) as alluding to the blackness of the withered corn does not strike one as happy. In

the Phigaleian and Thelpusan cults Demeter belongs to a gloomier region than the corn-field.

<sup>b</sup> Aphrodite, R. 110 f.

relation to the legend of Tilphossa in the territory of the Boeotian Haliartos. For here, too, the same strange story is told with scarcely a variation in the name: here, too, Poseidon assumes the form of a horse, and having intercourse with the Tilphossan Erinys, who must have been imagined in the shape of a mare, begat the horse Areion. The ethnographic importance of this coincidence of myth has long been recognized. The older mythologic etymologists have found in it a brilliant proof of the Vedic origins of Hellenic religion or religious legend, pointing to a similar love-story of Vivasvat and Saranyu who, in equine shape, produced the Asvins, and insisting on the literal equivalence of the names Saranyu and Ἐρινύς. According to more recent principles of etymology the equivalence is impossible, though it is still accepted by sundry archaeologists. At least we need not now be seduced by it into believing that the figure Saranyu, whether storm-cloud or dawn-goddess, in any way explains Erinys or Demeter Ἐρινύς. K. O. Müller's investigations, who was the first scientific writer on mythology to point out the Boeotian origin of the Arcadian cult<sup>a</sup>, are of more importance for the present purpose. His ethnographical theory has been accepted, with modifications, and further developed by Immerwahr in his *Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*<sup>b</sup>. Further occasion will be found in dealing with the cults of Poseidon<sup>c</sup> for tracing out the threads that bind Arcadia with Boeotia and Thessaly. In the case of Tilphossa and Thelpusa<sup>d</sup> we can scarcely doubt but that identity of cult, legend, and name proves identity, whole or partial, of race. It is possible, also, as K. O. Müller supposed, that the same tribal migration that brought the worship to Thelpusa, planted the worship of Poseidon Ἰππιός and Demeter, together with the Semnae and the legend of Oedipus, at the Attic Colonus<sup>e</sup>. And Immerwahr goes further<sup>f</sup> and would bring Delphi into contact with this special stream of cult, where in a very early period Poseidon was joined in religious union with the earth-

<sup>a</sup> Eumenides<sup>2</sup> (Engl. trans.), pp. 191, 195.

<sup>b</sup> pp. 114, 115.

<sup>c</sup> Poseidon, vol. 4.

<sup>d</sup> It is to be noted that the Arcadian

town appears as Τέλφουσα in Polybius, e. g. 4. 77.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Demeter, Geogr. Reg. s. v. Attica.

<sup>f</sup> *Kulte und Myth. Arkad.* p. 195.

goddess whose local form was the snake. We may multiply the instances of this association of the water-god with the goddess of earth, an association based on an idea so natural that it may have arisen independently in many places, as indeed we are told in the Oxyrhynchos papyrus that many people who sacrificed to Demeter made a preliminary offering to Acheloos, the representative river-god<sup>42 a</sup>. It appears, however, that the Arcadian differed from the main Hellenic legend in joining Poseidon rather than Zeus with Demeter<sup>a</sup>.

What is certainly peculiar to the Tilphossan and Thelpusan cult and legend is the union of the horse-god and an equine goddess, called Erinyes or Demeter-Erinyes, and the birth of the mysterious horse Areion. And the religious problem that confronts us here is to explain the goddess. The difficulties do not seem to have been always satisfactorily stated, still less solved<sup>b</sup>. How and in what sense did Demeter come to be called *Ἐρινύς*? Was it due to some accidental 'contaminatio' of cults—a common occurrence among the shifting tribes of Greece—a Boeotian tribe bringing to Arcadia a home-cult and legend of Erinyes and Poseidon and attaching it in their new settlement to a Demeter-cult of prior establishment, just as Poseidon himself in Athens may have been conjoined with Erechtheus? At first sight this might appear the natural suggestion, as it is well to bear in mind that a Demeter-Erinyes is actually recorded of no other place save Thelpusa, not of Tilphossa, nor of any other Boeotian or Attic settlement, though Müller has no difficulty in discovering her in these. Furthermore, where we have proof of a Demeter-cult in Boeotia, we have no trace of the presence of Erinyes, and on Mount Tilphossion and in its neighbourhood, the special haunt of the latter, we find no mention at all of Demeter. Nevertheless, even if the Tilphossan goddess only

<sup>a</sup> Vide R. 40, 41, 42<sup>b</sup>, 119<sup>b</sup>; Geogr. Reg. Demeter-cults, *s.v.* Arcadia; Geogr. Reg. Poseidon-cults, *s.v.* Mantinea.

<sup>b</sup> Miss Harrison's long article, 'Delphika,' in the *Hell. Journ.* 1899, with much of which I agree, only touches slightly on the Thelpusan-Tilphossan

cult. Immerwahr only concerns himself with the ethnographic question. K. O. Müller's dissertation on the Eumenides is full of assumptions about cults too faintly recorded to build much theory upon, e. g. p. 195.

acquired the name Demeter when she reached Arcadia, the conjunction of the two names was more than a local accident, and was based on a community of divine nature. We shall not perceive this, if so long as we are possessed merely with the later literary idea of the *'Epinúes*, the Furies of the Stage, powers of the moral retribution who pursued the guilty with fire and scourge. Demeter was certainly never one of these. We must revert in this question to the aboriginal conception of *'Epinús*, and it is K. O. Müller's merit to have first realized that she was not originally conceived as a shadowy and impalpable moral power, but was by the closest kinship related to concrete and real earth-goddesses, such as Demeter and Kore. We may go a step further than Müller and regard *'Epinús* as we have regarded Demeter, as a specialized form of Gaia, but developed on different lines<sup>a</sup>. And many legends and cults attest her early association with Gaia and Demeter. When Althaea smites on the earth, in the Meleager story of the Iliad, it is the Erinyes that hear; according to the Attic legend, as given by Sophocles, the aged Oedipus passed under the protection of the Erinyes, but Androtion followed another version that spoke of him as the suppliant of Demeter at Colonus<sup>b</sup>, and this is more in accord with a Boeotian legend that placed his grave in the temple of the latter goddess at Eteonos<sup>c</sup>. If we can trust a phrase in Aeschylus, they fulfilled in Attic religion the function of deities of marriage and child-birth even as Demeter did<sup>d</sup>. And, to return for a moment to Arcadia, we find in the neighbourhood of Megalopolis, where the Eumenides were distinguished in cult and legend as the black goddesses and white goddesses, a parallel to the Phigaleian cult of the Black Demeter<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> It need hardly be pointed out that the statement in Pausanias—intended to explain Demeter *'Epinús*—that the Arcadians used the verb *ἐρινύειν* as = 'to be angry,' in no way explains the original sense of *'Epinús*, and is a very shallow instance of a *ὑστερον πρότερον* in etymologizing: *ἐρινύειν* being a morphologically later form derived from *ἐρινύς*.

<sup>b</sup> Demeter, Geogr. Reg. s. v. Attica.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Boeotia.

<sup>d</sup> Eum. 835: but it is possible that Aeschylus is speaking of the Athenian Semnai, who may have been a different group from the Erinyes, vide infra, p. 113, note c.

<sup>e</sup> Paus. 8. 34, 3.

These facts have been often noted and sometimes appreciated. But there are one or two others of which the significance does not seem to have been equally recognized, pointing to the same conclusion: a gloss in Hesychius suggests that Aphrodite also, who had many of the attributes of an earth-goddess and a marked chthonian character in certain cults and legends, was known by the appellative Ἐρινύς<sup>a</sup>; and another very interesting gloss in Photius and Hesychius concerning the Πραξιδικαί, who, as we know from Pausanias, were worshipped on the same mountain in Boeotia, leads us to suspect that they sprang from the same source as their Tilphossan sister Erinys, that they also were moralized and shadowy forms of an aboriginal earth-spirit. The lexicographers inform us that the images of Πραξιδική represented only the head of the goddess, and that her agalmata were therefore called κεφαλαί: it is possible that we have here an allusion to the well-known type of the earth-goddess whose head is seen emerging from the ground<sup>b</sup>. Finally, the fashion of excluding wine from the oblations of the Erinyes finds its parallel in the frequent local rule prescribing *νηφάλια* or 'sober' offerings to Demeter and other kindred earth-powers<sup>106 a, 107, 118</sup>.

It is clear, then, that the Tilphossan Ἐρινύς, of whom a myth so grotesque and palpable was told, was no mere shadowy figure of a world of moral half-abstractions, but a veritable Ge-Erinys, or a Demeter-Erinys, and may have actually borne this as her orthodox cult-title on Tilphossium. In that case the worshippers will have carried the legend and the cult and the title *en bloc* to their new home in Arcadia. Or there may have been a slight 'contaminatio,' but it was a 'contaminatio' of two goddesses recognized as most closely akin.

Later, when the developed conception of the Erinyes as the avengers of crime had become popular, the Arcadians would naturally be tempted to interpret their Demeter Ἐρινύς as the angry or vindictive goddess. But that this was the original significance is most improbable<sup>c</sup>; for it is entirely alien to the

<sup>a</sup> Aphrodite, R. 110<sup>1</sup>, vol. 2. p. 651.

<sup>b</sup> It is possible also to interpret the gloss in Hesychius as meaning that the name Πραξιδική in Boeotia was associated

with 'apotropaic' heads of demoniac type like the Gorgoneium.

<sup>c</sup> Vide note a, p. 54.

spirit of the old Demeter-worship that she should have been stereotyped under this aspect in a special cult; and the forms of her image in the shrine of Thelpusa, the emblems in the hands being nothing more than the torch and a mystic casket, only suggest the very prevalent conception of Demeter as a goddess of mystic worship and of the nether world. It is only if we regard the Tilphossan and the Thelpusan divinities as originally identical, or at least of the closest kinship, that we can understand the same very peculiar legend attaching to both.

We must now consider the question of the horse-headed Demeter, of which the legend preserves a reminiscence in Arcadia and probably in Boeotia. The vagueness and uncertainty of the Phigaleian tradition concerning the very ancient and vanished image has been noted above and is sufficiently obvious. Yet that some such type of the goddess once existed in Arcadia is probable enough on *a priori* grounds; the early theriomorphic character of Arcadian religion has been noted by more than one writer, nor need we resort, as does M. Bérard, to the hypothesis of Oriental influences to explain it<sup>a</sup>. The legends of Artemis-Callisto and Zeus-Lykaïos are shadowed by it; the human figures with animal heads carved in relief on the marble peplos of Demeter of Lycosura, whether we explain them as divine or as men masquerading in the animal forms of divinities, bear testimony to it<sup>b</sup>; and that it survived till the later Roman times has been recently shown by the discovery of some small terracotta figurines on the site of Lycosura, representing goddesses with the heads of cows or sheep<sup>c</sup>. Also, as regards the special type of the horse-headed Demeter,

<sup>a</sup> *L'Origine des cultes arcadiens*, p. 120. His explanation that the horse was Demeter's sacred animal, whose head she was accustomed to wear as a sort of mask, until her human face gradually disappeared, leaves the main question unexplained. Why should she wear the horse's head?

<sup>b</sup> Among others the forms of the horse and ass appear: cf. the two figures with human arms, horse's skins, and

bird-legs, on the prehistoric gem of Phigaleia (Cook, *Hell. Journ.* 1894, p. 138, Fig. 18).

<sup>c</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899, p. 635: the writer there remarks that they disprove Mr. Cook's theory of the figures on the peplos: this is, by no means obvious, for the latter may still be interpreted, as Mr. Cook suggests, as the forms of worshippers dancing certain animal dances in honour of an animal-divinity.



we have some further indirect evidence. A faint reminiscence of it may be preserved by the Phigaleian coin that shows a horse's head wrought as an ornament at the end on Demeter's necklace<sup>a</sup>: and somewhat stronger corroboration is afforded by the legend and representations of Medusa. There can be little doubt that this personage, who, by a degeneracy similar to that which Erinys suffered, became a mere goblin-form of terror, was originally one of the many forms of the earth-goddess herself, not distinguishable from Ge-Demeter or Ge-Erinys. For the history of religion, which never touched Medusa, she is unimportant: but she has her place in myth and art; and, strange to say, at one point her place is by Demeter. For while in the Boeotian-Arcadian legend it is Demeter-Erinys who is the mother by the horse-god of the famous horse Areion, in Hesiod<sup>b</sup> it is Medusa from whom the same deity begets Pegasus: and in some of the very archaic vase-representations of the story of Perseus we find the dying Gorgon represented apparently with a horse's head<sup>c</sup>, and the representation of Pegasus springing up out of the severed neck of Medusa<sup>d</sup> might conceivably have arisen from the misunderstanding of a scene in which the horse-head of the monster was seen above the blade<sup>e</sup>. And in connexion with this it is well to remember that there was a vague record of snakes attached to the head of the Phigaleian Demeter.

<sup>a</sup> Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. T. xxii. (vide Coin Pl.).

<sup>b</sup> *Theog.* 278-281.

<sup>c</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1884, Pl. xliii. 'Chalcidic' vase in the British Museum found in Rhodes. Perseus in flight pursued by two Gorgons, behind them a horse-headed figure apparently falling to the ground: Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, ii. and iii, flight of Perseus, fallen Medusa, with blood streaming out of her neck and horse's head above it: cf. the horse-headed man in the Perseus scene on an Etruscan vase, Müller-Wieseler, i. 280.

<sup>d</sup> e. g. vase in Brit. Mus., *Mon. d. Inst.* 1855, ii; *Hell. Journ.* 1884, p. 240.

<sup>e</sup> This suggestion need not imply that the story of Medusa producing Pegasus

arose wholly from such a misunderstanding, but only the peculiar version that appears in the *Theogony*; it does imply that the art-type as represented by those vases was known in the Hesiodic period; and we can suppose that it was, for though those particular vases are later, yet the death of Medusa was a theme of 'Hesiodic' art. It is just possible that the vase-painters are attempting—helplessly enough—to reproduce Hesiod's story, and if so the vases are not evidence for a primitive equine Medusa; but it remains *a priori* probable that Medusa, the mother of the horse, the spouse of the horse-god, had something of this shape.

Assuming the reality of the type, we have now to consider what the horse would mean in this particular theriomorphic cult. Have we sufficient evidence for the assumption of a zoolatry pure and simple as a religion once active on Greek soil that has left its traces in the later reverential treatment of certain animals? Many interesting facts have been gathered together by Mr. Cook in his article on 'Animal worship in the Mycenaean age'<sup>a</sup> that seem to him to point to the prevalence of such a phase of belief in Mycenaean times. At the close of this whole investigation into the Greek cults we may be able to form a judgement on the main question, after the particular facts have been estimated each in its proper place. Here it is only the special question that must arise, whether and in what degree the horse was ever regarded as a sacred animal on Greek soil, and if so what was the probable reason. That the horse or any other animal *qua* species was ever actually worshipped by the Hellenes or the predecessors in the land, we have, on the evidence, no right to maintain or reason to suspect. But a particular animal might become temporarily sacred as being the temporary incarnation of the deity, or for some occasion through some special act of ritual. As regards incarnation, the only two divinities of the Hellenic Pantheon that are thus associated with the horse are Poseidon, whose cult as Hippios will be one of the chief themes of a later chapter, and Demeter at Thelpusa and possibly Tilphossa<sup>b</sup>. And the equine form or affinity of the goddess appears in no other legend or cult. It is, then, an isolated and sporadic fact, and therefore it is all the harder to explain securely. Following the lines of Mannhardt and Dr. Frazer<sup>c</sup>, we might be tempted to regard the animal as the embodiment of the corn-spirit, and therefore as the occasional incarnation of Demeter the corn-goddess. This character may have attached to him in other

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1894.

<sup>b</sup> I consider the cults of Athena 'Ἰππία and Hera 'Ἰππία, quoted by Mr. Cook, loc. cit. p. 145, in order to support a theory of incarnation, and by M. de Visser, *De Graecorum Deis non referentibus speciem humanam*, pp. 160, 161, as a proof of

totemism, to be of no value for such hypotheses. They may well be late, quasi-epic, epithets, arising from the secular use of the horse for the purposes of war.

<sup>c</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, 2. 281.

parts of Europe, and the strange ritual connected with 'the October horse' at Rome may be satisfactorily explained on this hypothesis<sup>a</sup>. But the horse in Greece, being probably never very common, was never used at all for agricultural purposes, and the corn-spirit, who certainly haunted the fields of Greece, would most probably assume other forms than this. And, what is more important to bear in mind, he was never sacrificially offered to any of the recognized divinities of vegetation, whether of the wild or the tilth, but only to such powers as Poseidon, the winds, possibly to Helios as the charioteer, possibly to the departed hero<sup>b</sup>; and such sacrifices were by no means common and are not all well-attested. In the Phigaleian sacrifice, which seems from the account in Pausanias to have been bloodless, the horse played no part at all; and, as has been noted, Demeter in this special Arcadian cult does not figure so clearly as a corn-deity, but appears rather as the great earth-goddess, giver of life and fruits, but giver also of death and the ruler of the shadowy world, a double conception which we find again in the characters of Artemis and Aphrodite, Astarte and Isis. In fact corn-legend and corn-ritual seem to have left the horse altogether alone in Greece, though among other European nations he had his part in them. Another explanation is that which is favoured by Mr. Cook<sup>c</sup>; the horse was a chthonian beast and therefore devoted to the chthonian goddess. But the evidence appears too slight for the theory. The Hellenic imagination, at one time or another, may have found something uncanny about the animal, and other Aryans may have felt the same; for Tacitus informs us that the ancient Germans regarded him as a prophetic beast, and specially familiar with the divine world; we gather from the Herodotean story about Darius that the Persians divined the future from his neighing, and Mr. Cook, quoting from the dubious authority *De Gubernatis*, asserts that 'in Hindoo mythology the mouth of hell is represented as a horse's head'<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, pp. 241-250.

<sup>b</sup> Vide p. 60, note c, and vol. 4 (Poseidon-chapter).

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>d</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1894, p. 143: this is not confirmed by those more expert in Sanskrit mythology.

The primitive Greek then may have conceived of his demons and goblins as having horse's tail, hoofs, or head; such monstrous figures appear on the Mycenaean gems that Milchöfer has called attention to, and may belong to a fantastic system of teratology rather than to cult<sup>a</sup>. But so far there is nothing to show that the horse was regarded in Hellas as a symbol of the under-world; and such mythic creations as the harpies, seileni, satyrs that borrowed, or may once have borrowed, the equine forms, have no obvious chthonian connexions. The crucial test is sacrifice and consecration; and it is a significant fact against this theory that this animal was never consecrated, as far as we know, to the powers of the lower world. Hades may be called *κλυτόπωλος* by Homer as the lord of famous horses; but most of the Olympians could claim the title equally well, and neither myth nor cult can be quoted to illustrate the Homeric epithet<sup>b</sup>. It has been supposed that the hero-reliefs, in which the horse appears in proximity to the illustrious or glorified dead, afford a proof of the animal's chthonian character. But such reliefs do not date from any time earlier than the sixth century, and do not help us to explain such a prehistoric conundrum as the Phigaleian Demeter: and, moreover, there are other and easier explanations of the presence of the horse on the funeral reliefs: he may be a badge of rank, or his presence may be merely due to a reminiscence of a primitive fashion of burying his favourite charger with the warrior<sup>c</sup>. But the animate or inanimate objects that may have been buried with the dead would not necessarily be 'chthonian' in their own right, but would be offered simply as useful property required equally by the spirit as by the living man. It is of course possible, in this particular case, that the common representation of the horse on these funeral reliefs might have come

<sup>a</sup> *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 55: cf. Cook, op. cit. p. 138; the evidence collected by Mr. Hogarth (*Hell. Journ.* 1902, p. 76, 'The Zakro Sealings') makes strongly against the religious explanation of the fantastic demons of Mycenaean art.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Verrall suggests a very different interpretation of the epithet in an in-

genious but unconvincing article in *Hell. Journ.* 1898, p. 1, 'Death and the Horse,' vide Hades-cults, p. 283.

<sup>c</sup> We have only very faint indication of a custom of horse-sacrifice to the departed hero in Greece, vide Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 295 (Kayser 2, p. 150) and Plut. *Vit. Pelop.* 21.

to invest the whole breed with a sort of funereal significance ; but there is no proof at all that this ever happened, and, if it had, it would have been a later development, and useless for the solution of the problem we are discussing.

There is, perhaps, only one passage in Greek literature that could be fairly quoted in favour of the view that the horse might have once been regarded in Greece as an incarnation of the vegetation-spirit or of the earth deity: Pausanias<sup>a</sup> mentions a spot near Sparta called 'the grave-monument of the Horse,' and gives us the local legend that Tyndareus here stood over the severed limbs of a horse, and, having made the suitors of Helen take the famous oath, buried the relics thus consecrated by the oath-ritual in the earth. Is this tale, one may ask, a misunderstanding of such a rite as Mannhardt<sup>b</sup> records of Germany, namely, the burying of the 'vegetation-horse' to secure fertility? Or was the horse here consecrated as a specially appropriate animal to the powers of the lower world? Unfortunately the fact is given us without setting or context, and these explanations do not find Greek analogies. We have other instances of the oath-taking over horses<sup>c</sup>; and it may be that the burying of the remains was only resorted to as a mode of disposing of dangerous and tabooed flesh. However, in a similar ritual described by Homer, the sacred animal is thrown into the sea; and the name and the tale of the 'Grave of the Horse' at Sparta remains still a somewhat mysterious fact.

As regards the totemistic hypothesis, which has been applied to the solution of the problem<sup>d</sup>, we must be very cautious in admitting its value, where the only datum is an isolated instance of zoolatry. The latter practice may be perfectly distinct from totemism. It is sufficient to remark here that none of the salient and distinctive features of totemism are to be found at Phigaleia: we hear nothing of a tribe who claimed affinity with the horse, who named themselves after

<sup>a</sup> 3. 20, 9: the passage has not been noticed in Mr. Cook's article, and Dr. Frazer's commentary only remarks on the ritual of the oath-taking.

<sup>b</sup> *Baumkultus*, p. 411.

<sup>c</sup> Vide note in Poseidon-chapter, vol. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *Hell. Journ.* 1894, op. cit. ad fin.

him, or adopted the horse-crest as a badge or as a basis for the organization of marriage, or who reverentially abstained from killing the horse or eating its flesh: the Phigaleian sacrifice was bloodless, it is neither specifically totemistic nor non-totemistic.

We have then to confess that the dimly remembered horse-headed Demeter at Phigaleia is a type that is not naturally explained by totemism nor by any known Greek symbolism of the under-world or of vegetation. We may then venture to believe that the explanation must be sought elsewhere. We can trace the Arcadian cult and legend to Boeotia and the North; and in Northern Hellas, Poseidon the Horse-God is specially prominent<sup>b</sup>, and was occasionally united with the earth-goddess. It may be that Demeter, Erinys, or Medusa merely took over an equine form temporarily from him in certain local legends and cults, this form being necessary so that they might become the mothers of his horse-progeny. Possibly Hesiod was aware of a horse-headed Medusa, and this type may have inspired his account of the birth of Pegasus; and from Boeotia the type may have made its way into Chalcidic vase-painting. This hypothetical explanation of the Phigaleian cult as due to the accidental influence of a cult-combination seems to accord with the unique character of the fact that Pausanias records<sup>a</sup>.

It has been supposed that in the cults we have been examining, the gloomier and even the vindictive character of the goddess was expressly recognized, and that, on the other hand, the Demeter Λουσία<sup>41</sup>, who was worshipped at Thelpusa by the side of Demeter Ἐρινύς, was the pacified and reconciled goddess. The reasons for this view are that Μέλαινα is an

<sup>a</sup> A late inscription (R. 148<sup>d</sup>) shows that at Amyclae the priestess τοῖν ἀγιωτάτου θεοῖν was called their πῶλος: De Visser, *De Graecorum Deis non referentibus speciem, humanam* p. 221, explains the name as if the goddess were there also conceived to have the shape of a horse, and their attendant partook or their nature, just as at Ephesus the ministers in the feast of Poseidon were

called bulls. But there is no other trace of an equine Demeter in Laconia, and Hesychius interprets πῶλος as ἐταῖρα, speaking of the πῶλοι Ἀφροδίτης: a poetical use of πῶλος as παρθένος appears in Greek tragedy, e. g. Eur. *Hipp.* 546: there may have been a similar use of the word in Laconian dialect for the maiden priestess.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Poseidon-chapter.

epithet certainly connoting darkness and gloom, and that Pausanias must be supposed to have been correct in his interpretation of Ἐρινός and Λουσία. We have seen reasons for distrusting his etymological explanation of Ἐρινός, and his opinion about Λουσία is equally lax: the epithet was attached to her, in his opinion, because, after Poseidon's violence, she purified herself and recovered peace of mind by bathing in the river Ladon: and this popular etymology has been accepted without criticism by modern archaeologists, who have regarded Δημήτηρ Λουσία and Μέλαινα as representing two opposite ideas<sup>a</sup>. But the word may be more naturally explained as an ordinary local adjective, designating Demeter of Λουσοί, a place where a city of some importance seems once to have stood in the vicinity of Kleitor in the north-east of Arcadia. The mythopoeic trend of the Greek temperament made it inevitable that Lousoi, 'the Baths,' the river Lousios, and the goddess Lousia, should all be explained by some religious story of purification; and it is very possible that the waters at Lousoi were once used for ceremonies of lustration. But from the mere epithet Λουσία, we can conjecture very little concerning early Arcadian religious thought: the story told to Pausanias may, however, justify the surmise that at some yearly celebration the statue was washed in the river Ladon, or with water from the river; for the ceremonious washing of the images, to remove any pollution they might incur in the course of the year, is a well-known habit of Greek ritual<sup>b</sup>. Similarly the Phigaleian story, explaining the appellation Μέλαινα, that the goddess clad herself in black as a token of sorrow for her daughter's loss and of anger at the outrage of Poseidon<sup>c</sup>, a story that is partly reflected in the Homeric hymn, may point to a custom, prevalent at Phigaleia and perhaps elsewhere, of draping the image of the goddess in black raiment at certain seasons.

Although Hades-Plouton and Persephone are more promi-

<sup>a</sup> e. g. Milchöfer, *Anfänge*, p. 59; Miss Harrison, *Hell. Journ.* 1899, p. 211: cf. Immerwahr, *Kulte und Myth. Arkad.* p. 221: cf. Paus. 8. 18, 7. Steph. Byz.

s. v. Λουσοί gives Λούσιος as the adjective.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the Plynteria at Athens, vol. 1. p. 261; Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1040, 1041.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. 8. 42. 2: cf. R. 40.

nently the deities of the world of death, yet the chthonian character of Demeter was recognized probably in most Greek communities, partly as an aboriginal aspect of her, partly from her close union with her daughter. Besides the evidence from Arcadia already examined, we have proof of her association with Hades and Persephone at Tegea<sup>119</sup> e. In Elis the three are united in a common cult on the Acheron, 'the river of sorrow,' a branch of the Alpheus, and on Mount Minthe near Pylos a grove of Demeter overhung a *τέμενος* of Hades<sup>47</sup>: the Despoinae, 'the mistresses' at Olympia<sup>118</sup> upon whose altar (as upon that of the Eumenides at Colonus) no wine might be poured, are rightly interpreted by Pausanias as the mother and the daughter, each bearing the name that designated at Lykosura and Megalopolis<sup>119</sup> the queen of the lower world. We find her in Argolis united with Plouton and Kore under the title of Demeter *Μυσία*, which is probably derived from a mystic ritual<sup>253</sup>. At Potniae, in Boeotia, we hear of an underground megaron into which a sucking-pig was thrown as an offering to Demeter and Kore; to miraculously reappear at a certain season of the year at Dodona; and a Potnian inscription speaks of 'a priest of Demeter and Persephone,' the latter being the special name of the chthonian goddess<sup>113</sup>. In all probability the nymph Herkuna, who belonged to the Lebadean cult of Trophonius; with its dark and mysterious ritual, was a special form of Demeter-Persephone<sup>42b, 111</sup>. In Attica this aspect of Demeter is sufficiently salient in the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinian mysteries, and the curious statement of Plutarch that at one time the buried dead in Attica were called *Δημήτριοι*<sup>43</sup> shows, if we can trust it, a reminiscence of an earlier period when she was recognized as one with the earth-goddess, and as the Power that ruled over the departed<sup>a</sup>.

Pursuing this cult across the sea, we find it at Paros, where the state-religion included Demeter Thesmophoros among the

<sup>a</sup> On the other hand it is significant that in Attica Demeter does not appear to have had any such part in the ritual consecrated to the dead as she had at

Sparta. May we suppose that Plutarch's statement only referred to those who had been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries?



Θεοὶ Χθόνιοι<sup>50</sup>; and in the private temenos excavated by Newton at Cnidos<sup>a</sup>, there is unmistakable testimony that the cult was chthonian rather than agrarian<sup>52</sup>. And the same character must have attached to the national cult that had from ancient days established itself on the Cnidian promontory and was associated with the name of the mythical founder Triops. The 'Triopia sacra' were carried thence to Gela by its founder, who came from the island of Telos that lies off the Triopian district of Cnidus, and his descendants retained down to the time of Herodotus their position as the *ιεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν*; and a late offshoot of the worship was engrafted by Herodes Atticus at his Triopian farm on the Appian Way, where an inscription has been found mentioning 'the pillars dedicated to Demeter and Kore and the chthonian gods<sup>52, 130</sup>.' At Kyzikos<sup>128</sup> we have an ancient testimony to the worship of the Despoinae, the name no doubt possessing here the same connotation as it had at Elis and in Arcadia; for Kore the chief divinity of this state was not merely the bright corn-maiden, but Queen Persephone herself, to whom the black cow was offered as a victim. Finally, at Syracuse, the worship of Demeter was interwoven with a ritual of the *καταγώγια*, or the descent of her daughter, and with the legend of Hades<sup>129</sup>.

We see then that the public cults of Greece agree with that popular conception of Demeter which appears in many a magic formula of execration whereby the wrong-doer or the enemy is devoted to the infernal deities: and her power might be invoked to protect a tomb, in such words as 'I commit this tomb to the guardianship of the nether divinities, to Plouton, Demeter, Persephone, and the Erinyes<sup>52</sup>.'

Before leaving the present subject, the question must here be considered whether the term *μέγαρον*, which is frequently applied to the shrines of Demeter, always signifies a subterranean chamber, and therefore attests the chthonian nature of her worship. The record of the use of the word is rather perplexing. Homer and the Ionic epic, including the Homeric hymns, employ the word in one sense only, a purely secular

<sup>a</sup> *Travels in the Levant*, 2. p. 199.

sense: μέγαρον with them is the great hall of the palace, or any large chamber, whether a living-room or a sleeping-room. It seems that Herodotus was the first author who gave the word a religious significance, and he appears to apply it indifferently to any temple, as a term quite synonymous with νεώς: the shrine at Delphi is a μέγαρον, the temples in Egypt are μέγαρα: there is no hint that Herodotus was conscious of any limitation of the word to a subterranean shrine. In later Greek the religious significance is the only one that survived; and we find a special application of it to an underground sanctuary: the earliest authority being Menander, who, according to the gloss in Photius, called the place 'into which they deposited the sacred things of the mysteries' a μάγαρον<sup>a</sup>. He is probably alluding to the Attic Thesmophoria, in which pigs were thrown down as offerings into the secret chambers of the goddesses that were called μέγαρα<sup>751</sup>. And thus Hesychius includes 'underground dwellings' among the many meanings of the word<sup>b</sup>; while Porphyry expressly distinguishes between the temples and altars of the Olympians and the βόθροι and μέγαρα of the θεοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι<sup>c</sup>. Now we hear of several μέγαρα of Demeter in the Greek world: on the Acropolis of Megara, where the legend connected the building with the ancient King Kar, Pausanias emphasizing the point that the temple was specially called τὸ Μέγαρον<sup>49</sup>: at Kainepolis near Tainaron<sup>43</sup>: at Mantinea<sup>249</sup>. Pausanias is our authority for these, and, had these shrines been subterranean caverns, we might have expected that the traveller with an eye so observant of any salient religious fact would not have passed this over. Yet the word is probably not an indifferent synonym of 'temple' in his vocabulary: he probably reproduces a special local designation, and it sometimes seems as if he applied it to a specially sacred enclosure, the shrine of a mystic cult. Thus the megaron of Despoina at Lykosura<sup>119</sup>, of Demeter at Mantinea<sup>249</sup>, were devoted to the performance

<sup>a</sup> Phot. *s. v.* Μάγαρον· οὐ μέγαρον, εἰς οἰκήσεις καὶ βάραθρα. οἰκία καὶ θεῶν  
 δὲ τὰ μυστικά ἱερὰ κατατίθενται· οὕτως οἰκημα.  
 Μένανδρος.

<sup>b</sup> Hesych. *s. v.* οἱ μὲν τὰς κατωγείους

<sup>c</sup> *Antr. Nymph.* 6.

of mysteries or to some ceremony of initiation; and Pausanias mentions a megaron of Dionysos at Melangeia in Arcadia where certain *ἄργια* were celebrated<sup>a</sup>; we gather also from Aelian that the Holy of Holies in the Eleusinian temple, the chamber which none but the Hierophant might enter, was called *μέγαρον*<sup>202m</sup>. The only passage where Pausanias is clearly using the word in the special sense that Porphyry attaches to it is in his description of the strange rite at Potniai<sup>113</sup>, and perhaps the *Κουρήτων μέγαρον* which he mentions in his account of Messene<sup>b</sup> was one of this kind; for the victims sacrificed to them are spoken of as *καθαγίσματα*, a word peculiar to chthonian ritual.

At least then we cannot be sure that when the word is found applied to a shrine of Demeter a subterranean chamber is intended: the only certain instances are the Attic and the Boeotian; the former alone would have been sufficient to explain the special interpretation given by the lexicographer and Porphyry.

To sum up the etymological facts, we may assume that the Homeric use is the earliest: the *μέγαρον* was a secular hall or dwelling-place; then, when temples were first erected, it was natural that they should sometimes be designated by the same word that was used for the chieftain's palace, just as in many early inscriptions the shrine is called *οἶκος*. But the words *ἱερόν* and *νεώς* came into vogue in place of *μέγαρον*, and the latter survived in certain localities in the specialized sense of mystic shrine, and underground sanctuaries would be the most mystic of all from their associations with the ghostly world, the world of taboo. Or it may have been that these few mystic or chthonian shrines happened to belong to a very old stratum of religion, and that *μέγαρον* in these localities happened to be the earliest word for temple, and survived with the cult down to later days. It is only by some such natural evolution or accident that a word that originally designated the civilized Aryan house or the most important part of it should come to denote a sacred hole in the earth.

If the original sense of *μέγαρον* is fixed, we have some

<sup>a</sup> Dionysos, Geogr. Reg. s. v. *Μελάγγεια*.

<sup>b</sup> 4. 31, 9.

material for dealing with the important question as to the origin of the ancient city of Megara. We have noticed the record of the shrine of Demeter called *Μέγαρον*, on the Acropolis, and the myth that associates its foundation with the oldest days of the settlement. Did the city then spring up around the temple, and did the temple give its name to the whole city? Such was the origin of many of the Greek states, as is shown in many cases by the religious significance of their names. But the theory is here of doubtful propriety.

Megara goes back to Mycenaean days: and the evidence, so far as it goes, is in favour of believing that in the Mycenaean era *μέγαρον* was a secular name for the hall or palace. And if a Mycenaean palace stood on this Acropolis, this may well have been the origin of the city's name.

But if we are not able to affirm that it was Demeter's cult that founded Megara, her civic interest and the value of her worship for Hellenic institutions, social and political, is sufficiently attested. Ethnic and local titles are attached to her as to all Hellenic divinities, and some are of historic or of political importance<sup>53-62a</sup>. One that might seem of great value for ethnographic purposes is *Πελασγίς* which she enjoyed in Argos<sup>53</sup>, where her temple was said to have been founded by Pelasgos. But to conclude from this that her worship was therefore autochthonous in this district, or to build upon it any theories concerning the Aryan or pre-Aryan origin of her cult would be probably fallacious. As Argolis was especially the land of Pelasgos, she might naturally acquire the title in any temple which was considered by the inhabitants as the oldest. And the legend itself, curiously enough, regards the goddess as having come to Argolis from without: and the value of the epithet for the question of antiquity or origin is depreciated by the obvious partisanship in some of the details of the myth which reveals a desire to rival Eleusis<sup>232</sup>. Similarly, the Herodotean version of the Thesmophoria legend, that this rite was introduced into Greece by the daughters of Danaos, which might seem to point to Argolis as one of the earliest centres of the worship, loses its importance from the obvious Egyptizing fallacy in the historian's statement. In fact the

great national and political divinity of ancient Argolis was Hera, who may have herself been styled Πελασγίς there<sup>a</sup>; that Demeter was of far less importance would be a justifiable conclusion from the Homeric poems, and this opinion would be confirmed by the local tradition which associated the introduction of corn with the former and not with the latter goddess<sup>b</sup>. It is interesting in regard to this point to observe that in Argive cult Demeter was recognized as the corn-goddess only under the title of Λιβύσσα<sup>c</sup>, an alien name which is evidence of the importation of corn from Libya. Again, the absence of any proof of the existence in Argolis of the Thesmophoria, the most ancient mystery of her worship, may be accidental, or may have significance. We cannot then safely conclude from the isolated mention of a Demeter Πελασγίς that her cult belonged to the primitive religion which held together the earliest Argive political community.

Her only other ethnic titles of interest are Παναχαΐδ<sup>d</sup> and Ἀμφικτυονίς. The former is obviously of late formation, and marks the union of the Achaean league; her temple at Aegium stood next to that of Zeus Ὀμαγύριος, which commemorated the mustering of the Greeks against Troy. In what way Demeter Παναχαΐδ was concerned with the consolidation or the administration of the Confederacy, we do not know. She may have owed her imposing title to some almost accidental cause; for she was not really one of the prominent divinities of the league. The oath was not taken in her temple or in her name; nor does her form appear recognizably on its coins<sup>e</sup>. Nor, finally, have we any right to identify her with the Σωτηρία, who is mentioned by Pausanias in the same context, the 'goddess of salvation,' whose temples were found at Aegium and Patrae, and in whose legend and ritual there is nothing that points to Demeter<sup>d</sup>.

The epithet Ἀχαΐδ (or Ἀχαΐα) which belonged to her in

<sup>a</sup> Hera, R. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. vol. 1. p. 181; Hera, R. 13<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> See Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, *Numm. Comm. Paus.* p. 86, and Zeus, R. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. R. 59 with Pans. 7. 21, 7; Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythol.* 2. p. 750, note 4 interpret Σωτηρία as Demeter without criticism.

Boeotia—probably in vogue throughout the whole country or at least at Thespiæ and Tanagra—in Athens, and in the Attic tetrapolis<sup>60</sup>, would be of greater historic significance if we could be sure it was to be interpreted as ‘the Achæan goddess.’ For we might then regard the name as carrying us back to the Thessalian home of the Achæans and to the pre-Homeric period. We have clear evidence of the importance of Demeter’s worship in Thessaly at a very early date in the Hellenic era; Callimachus preserves a legend of a Pelasgic cult in the Dotian plain; and the place Πύρασος, mentioned in Homer and in Strabo’s geographical record, derived its name from a shrine and an epithet of Demeter<sup>a</sup>. And the cult of Demeter Amphictyonis, which will be noticed directly, is the weightiest of all proofs. No doubt, then, Demeter was an Achæan divinity, but that she was ever their paramount national goddess, the ‘Achæan’ divinity *par excellence*, is opposed to all the evidence. And it is a suspicious fact that we do not find this title Ἀχαιά in the districts that were known to have been settled by the Achæans, but just in places where we have no reason to assume such a settlement. We may also object that Ἀχαιά is not the normal feminine of the ethnic adjective. It may be, then, that the lexicographers were right in interpreting it as ‘the sorrowing one,’ and this is really borne out by Plutarch’s account of the Boeotian cult, which, as he tells us, was an ἐορτὴ ἐπαχθίης, a festival of gloom held in the month that corresponded to the Attic Pyanepsion; and he himself compares it—no doubt rightly—to the Attic Thesmophoria, a ritual which had no political significance, but which commemorated the tale of the Madre Dolorosa. It seems possible that the true form of the adjective is preserved in a Thespian inscription (of the early Roman period), where it appears as Ἀχέα, and that this, the original word, was changed by obvious false analogy to Ἀχαιά: and the uncertainty about the accent would be thus accounted for. The cult was brought into Attica partly by the Gephyraioi of Tanagra<sup>b</sup>, who,

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Thessaly.

a special mystery service of Demeter, is

<sup>b</sup> The locality of this settlement of the Gephyraioi, who long maintained

a doubtful question, but the discovery of a small altar with a dedication to

according to Herodotus, long maintained at Athens their special religious services; and it is interesting to note that 'Αχαιά became identified in their new home with Demeter Κουροτρόφος, as though there still lingered a consciousness that the former name alluded to her love of the child.

And again, the false etymology which derived the title from ἤχῳ and interpreted it as 'the loud-sounding,' in allusion to the use of gongs and cymbals in the mimetic ritual representing the search for Kore<sup>7</sup>, suggests that the worship of Demeter 'Αχαιά was intimately associated with the legend of the daughter's abduction, and had no specially political character.

On the other hand, the presence of the name in the Tetrapolis may be due to the Ionic migration, and may be regarded as another link in the chain which attaches the Ionians to Boeotia as their original home<sup>a</sup>.

From the Tetrapolis it may have reached Delos, for in the account given by Semos of the Delian Thesmophoria, the worshippers are said to have carried the dough-effigy of a goat<sup>b</sup> which was called 'Αχαίτη<sup>91</sup>, a name that certainly seems to point to Demeter 'Αχαιά as the goddess to whom the offering was consecrated; and the Delian ritual of the Thesmophoria probably contained, like the Attic, an element of sorrow. The title seems to have travelled across to the Asiatic shore, for at Iconium we have traces of Achaia Δεκάμαζος, 'the goddess with ten breasts,' obviously a fusion of the Ephesian Artemis and Demeter<sup>c</sup>.

Finally, this evidence concerning Demeter 'Αχέα-'Αχαίτη leads us to suspect that the mysterious Achaia<sup>60</sup>, who was celebrated in a Delian hymn attributed to Olen as having come to Delos from the 'country of the Hyperboreans,' was another form of the same personage; according to another hymn, composed

Apollo Gephyraios in the vicinity of Agrai, the home of many alien cults, suggests that they had settled near here, vide Apollo, Geogr. Reg. s. v. Athens; Svoronos in *Journ. Internation. Archéol. Numism.* 1901.

<sup>a</sup> This theory is developed in the

chapter on Poseidon.

<sup>b</sup> The word *πάγος* in this context cannot denote spelt or pottage as in later authors.

<sup>c</sup> This is Prof. Ramsay's explanation, *Hell. Journ.* 4. 64.

by Melanopos of Cumae, she arrived relatively late 'after Opis and Hekaerge,' that is after the Delian establishment of the cult of Apollo-Artemis; and if she came from the Tetrapolis and the Boeotian region, ultimately she might be well said to have come 'from the Hyperboreans,' for these countries lay along the route of the Hyperborean offerings<sup>a</sup>.

So far, the titles examined do not seem to reveal a cult of primary importance for a wide political communion. It is otherwise with Demeter *Ἀμφικτυονίς*, whose temple at Anthela near Thermopylae was the meeting-place of the North Greek Amphictyony that became famous in later history as the administrators of the Delphic temple. The constitution of that religious confederacy, which throws so much light on early Greek ethnology and the diffusion of tribes, need not be minutely discussed in a work on Greek religion. It is sufficient for the present purpose to observe the great importance of the Demeter-religion that it attests for the early tribes of North Greece, and next, to mark the evidence that shows the maintenance of that cult at Thermopylae to have been the prior object of that union before it acquired its Delphic functions. For the two yearly meetings, in the spring and in the autumn, were always called *Πυλαίαι*, the representatives on each occasion meeting, as it seems, both at the Gates and at Delphi: one cannot doubt, then, that Thermopylae was the original gathering-place; and this is further attested by the shrine of Amphictyon, the fictitious eponymous hero of the Amphictyony, which stood not at Delphi but Thermopylae<sup>62</sup>. In spite of Homer's silence, which really proves nothing, we have strong reason for believing that the organization was of very great antiquity; the religious membership being based on the tribal rather than the civic principle. The first object of the union was no doubt religious; its political influence was a later and secondary result. The latter may only have come to be of importance after the league had taken the Delphic temple under its administration. Yet from

<sup>a</sup> Vide Apollo-chapter, this suggestion of the identification of Demeter *Ἀχάα* and the Achaiia of Delos has been

thrown out by Schroeder in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1904, p. 74, but without argument.



the very first the Amphictyony may have contained the germ of the conception of international law, and have worked some amelioration in intertribal relations. What we can gather of its actual procedure belongs to the Delphic period and does not concern the present chapter. But we are arrested by a fact of primary political and religious importance, that a number of tribes, not all closely related within the Hellenic stock, should have been able to organize a common worship at a time certainly earlier than the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese. Already before the dawn of Greek history proper, Greek religion is no longer purely tribal, as is often maintained: at the earliest Hellenic period to which our knowledge can mount, the tribes have already certain deities in common; and the barriers of a religion based on tribal kinship are broken down, or at least the idea of kinship has acquired a wider connotation. It would be open to a theorist to suggest that in the worship of the agrarian goddess there was the latent germ that could evolve a higher and milder political concept. But the fact that this very early Amphictyony gathered around this particular temple of Demeter at Anthela, may have been merely due to some local accident, to the chance, for instance, that the temple happened to exist at a spot specially convenient for the border market-meetings.

The interest of the league in Demeter had evidently declined before the close of their history. We have one fourth-century inscription, found at Delphi, containing an Amphictyonic decree concerning repairs of a temple of Kore at the gates<sup>136 a</sup>, another of the time of Alexander, mentioning certain work done to the temple of Demeter ἐμ Πυλαίᾳ<sup>162, 136 c</sup>; and the head of Demeter appears on the obverse of the beautiful Amphictyonic coins that date from near the middle of the fourth century B. C.<sup>a</sup> But her name is not mentioned in the oath of the Amphictyones, dated 380–379 B. C.<sup>b</sup>; and the curse invoked on transgressors appealed to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena Pronaia, the Delphic divinities, but not to Demeter; and Strabo seems to speak as if her worship at Anthela was no longer observed in his time by the league. It is possible

<sup>a</sup> Coin Pl. no. 13 (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 289).

<sup>b</sup> Vide Apollo, vol. 4, R. 126.

that the Aetolian supremacy may have helped to bring about the gradual limitation of their activity to Delphi<sup>a</sup>.

Demeter's political importance naturally depended on the position that her cult had won within any particular state. That the priestess of Demeter and Kore at Halikarnassos in the second century B. C. also held the priesthood of the personified Demos may have been due either to an accident or to some political-religious concept<sup>65</sup>. At Athens the goddess was prominent in the state church, the brilliant prestige of the Eleusinian cult being reflected upon the metropolis. Thus she appears among the θεοὶ ὄρκοι, by the side of Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon, as one of the deities invoked in the public oath sworn by dikast and councillor; and the feast of Ἐλευθέρια, instituted to commemorate one of the many deliverances of Athens, was once at least consecrated to Demeter. Fines inflicted on Eleusinian officials for neglect of official duty were paid over to the Mother and Daughter<sup>66</sup>.

At Syracuse 'the great oath,' ὁ μέγας ὄρκος, was taken in the name of the two θεοὶ θεσμοφόροι, whether as the chief deities of the state—a position which we are not sure belonged to them—or as forms of the great earth-spirit, the primitive tutelary genius of the oath<sup>68</sup>. The latter seems the more probable view, for the oath-taker arrayed himself in the dark purple robe of the deities and took a lighted torch in his hand, and this ritual is clearly chthonian. In a late record, the whole city of Sardis is spoken of as the inheritance and possession of Demeter<sup>70</sup>. But that the goddess was anywhere actually regarded as the ancestress of the community does not appear, unless we could draw this conclusion from the epithet Ἐπωπίς<sup>70</sup>, which was attached to her by the Sicyonians, possibly as the consort of their ancestor Ἐπωπεύς<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> There is nothing pointing to a prominent worship of Demeter at Delphi itself; but her temple has recently been discovered there by the French (Geogr. Reg. s. v. Delphi).

<sup>b</sup> I merely give this explanation for what it is worth: others refer it to the mysteries: Rubensohn (*Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 364) to the light of Demeter's

eyes, she being regarded as a health-goddess: I cannot find this interpretation reasonable. It may also have arisen from some association of a Demeter-cult and a hero-cult of Epopeus; cf. Athena Aiantis, Apollo Sarpedonios; but the goddess specially associated with Epopeus in legend is not Demeter but Athena.

Among the titles that express this interest of hers in the city community there are two or three that are doubtful. She enjoyed the title of *Βουλαία* at Athens, if a tempting emendation of a text of Aelian were indubitable<sup>205 c</sup>; yet we know that the official worship of the *Boulé* was devoted to Zeus, Athena, and Artemis, and Demeter is only mentioned in their oath<sup>a</sup>. The *Εἰνομία* on the fourth-century coins of Gela may possibly be one of her designations<sup>63</sup>. The title *Ὁμολωία*, which belonged to Zeus in Boeotia, was also attached to Demeter<sup>61</sup>, and was explained by the lexicographer as expressing the political concord of which these divinities were the guardians; if this interpretation were certain<sup>b</sup>, we might compare the Demeter *Ὁμόνοια τοῦ κοινοῦ* of a thiasos that held its meetings in the Peiraeus<sup>63</sup> in the fourth century B. C.; only, we may suppose that any divinity that held a private society together would be regarded and might be addressed as the 'divine bond of its concord.'

But the epithet which has been regarded both in ancient and modern times as expressing the pre-eminent interest of Demeter in political order and the law-abiding life is *θεσμοφόρος*<sup>64, 74-107</sup>. It is important to ascertain, if possible, the original meaning of this title. Unfortunately the earliest authors who refer or allude to it, Herodotus and Aristophanes<sup>74, 75 a</sup>, give us no clue to the explanation. The first passage which allusively interprets the name is one in Callimachus' hymn to Demeter<sup>64</sup>, where she is spoken of as one 'who gave pleasing ordinances to cities'; and this meaning of *θεσμοφόρος* is accepted by the Latin poets and the later Greek writers. We have the Vergilian 'Ceres Legifera,' one of the deities to whom Dido offers sacrifice before her union with Aeneas, and Servius preserves for us some interesting lines of Calvus: 'She taught men holy laws, and joined loving bodies in wedlock, and founded great cities<sup>74</sup>.' And in the same strain Diodorus Siculus writes 'that it was Demeter who introduced laws which habituated men to just action, for which

<sup>a</sup> Zeus, R. 110<sup>a</sup>; Athena, R. 72; but Ahrens maintains that the Aeolic Artemis, R. 81. form of *ὀμαλός* would be *ὕμολος*: see

<sup>b</sup> It rests on the authority of Istros; Ahrens-Meister, p. 51, but cf. p. 53.

reason she was called *θεσμοφόρος*<sup>64</sup>. Cicero also associates the goddess with Liber as the deities 'by whom the elements of life, the ideals of law and morality, a gentler civilization and culture, were given and diffused among men and states<sup>105 a</sup>'. That these ideas are not merely the literary and artificial product of later writers, philosophizing on the connexion between agriculture and the higher political life, might appear to be proved by the very wide diffusion of the cult of Thesmophoros, or of the Mother and Daughter as the *θεοὶ θεσμοφόροι*. For what else, one might ask, could the divine epithet express except the conception of the deity as a 'dispenser of *θεσμοί* or laws'? If any doubt arises from the examination of the cult-facts, we might hope it could be settled by the history of the usage of the latter word. In the sense of 'law' it may well be older than Homer, who however prefers to use *θέμις*, *θέμιστες*, or *δίκη*, to express the same or similar conceptions. We find it in one phrase only<sup>a</sup>, *λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἔκοντο*, where we can interpret it as the 'ordinance' of the marriage-bed: and probably like *θέμις* it possessed a faint religious connotation. The next example of it in literature is in the Homeric hymn to Ares<sup>b</sup>, where the poet prays that he and his people may abide under the '*θεσμοὶ εἰρήνης*,' the ordinances of peace: then in the fifth-century literature the word is in common use in the sense of divine or civil law. And such official titles as *θεσμοθέται* at Athens and *θεσμοφύλακες* at Elis prove the original use of the word in the earliest Greek communities when first public life began to be governed by certain settled ordinances. It seems at first sight, then, against probability, that *θεσμός* in the compounds *θεσμοφόρος*, *θεσμοφόρια*, and *θέσμιος*, all of them having a religious association, could mean anything except law or ordinance, whether law in the widest sense, or in the narrower conception of the law of marriage or the law of a certain ritual, just as Pindar applies *θεσμός* to the ritual of the games<sup>c</sup>. The explanation of *θεσμοφόρος* should also agree with that of *θέσμιος*, an epithet attached to Demeter in a cult at Pheneus in Arcadia<sup>83</sup>, which the legend regarded as most ancient, and which Pausanias connects with a *τελετή* that was probably none other

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* 23. 296.<sup>b</sup> 8. 16.<sup>c</sup> e. g. *Λέμ.* 10. 61.

than the Thesmophoria. Now *θέσμιος* might be an epithet naturally designating the divinity of law, and we might accept this as the meaning of 'Thesmophoros,' unless another interpretation is possible and more congruent with the facts of ritual and the legendary character of the goddess. As regards other suggestions, I cannot accept Dr. Frazer's<sup>a</sup> that the word in the compound *θεσμοφόρια* might refer to the 'sacred objects,' dead and decaying pigs for instance, carried on the heads of the women and 'laid down' on the altar, as a valuable or scientific conjecture, especially as it takes no notice of '*θέσμιος*.' If the natural sense of *θεσμοφόρος* is confronted with very great difficulty, we may have recourse to other attested meanings of *θεσμός*, if there are any, but not to unattested<sup>b</sup>. Now a difficulty may arise according to the view we may take of the relation between the goddess designated by this special epithet and the festival of similar name. Are we sure that *θεσμοφόρια* means the festival of Demeter *Θεσμοφόρος*? Dr. Frazer, in the article to which reference has just been made, objects to this account of the former word on the ground that the other festival-terms of similar formation, such as *ἀρρηφόρια* (or *ἀρρητοφόρια*) and *Σκιροφόρια*, refer to the 'carrying' of something in the sacred procession, and that on this analogy *θεσμοφόρια* ought to mean 'the carrying in Demeter's procession of certain things called *θεσμοί*': Demeter *Θεσμοφόρος*, then, is a name derived from the *θεσμοφόρια*, not the latter from the former. If this view were correct, it would still be very important to discover what those *θεσμοί* were and why they were consecrated to Demeter especially. But, on the other hand, by far the greater number of Hellenic festivals are called after the name or epithet of the divinity to whom they are consecrated; and analogy is strongly in favour of the old interpretation of *θεσμοφόρια* as the mystery of Demeter *θεσμοφόρος*; while on the whole it is against Dr. Frazer's suggestion that the epithet of the divinity arose

<sup>a</sup> *Encycl. Britann.* (new ed.) *s.v.* Thesmophoria: he does not approach the real difficulties involved in the usual explanation of *θεσμοφόρος*.

<sup>b</sup> It is said (on late authority) that

Anacreon used *θεσμός* in the sense of *θησαυρός* (Fr. 58), and Hesychius, *s.v.* *θεσμός* mentions another sense *αἱ συνθέσεις τῶν ξύλων*.

at some later period out of the festival itself<sup>a</sup>. Assuming then that Demeter Thesmophoros was always implied by the Thesmophoria, the cult-title must have been of very great antiquity. For the legends of the festival, the wide diffusion of it through most parts of the Greek world, as well as the very archaic character of the ritual, indicate a very early period in the national religion. Therefore, if we accept the ordinary interpretation of *θεσμοφόρος*, we must say that in the earliest epoch of Hellenic society the settled institutions on which the civilized household and state depended were associated with the name and the cult of the corn-goddess. Now there is no strong *a priori* obstacle to our believing this. The advance to the higher and settled agricultural state has always been marked by the higher organization of family life, and indirectly of the whole social framework: to it we may owe great developments in the sphere of law, such as the conception of the rights of land-ownership, in the sphere of ethics the ideal of the industrious and peaceful life, and in the sphere of religion the organization of ancestor-worship. The *βουζύγης* at Athens, when performing the 'sacred ploughing,' conducted a commination service at the same time, cursing those 'who refused to share with others water and fire, those who refused to direct wanderers on their way'<sup>17</sup>, as though agriculture was in some way associated with the higher social instinct<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> As examples of this process we may quote the cult of the *Θεὰ Προελεία* mentioned by Pausanias (Eust. *Il.* 881. 31, if the passage is sound): of Demeter *Προηροσία*, an epithet derived from the festival of the *Προηρόσια*: but the only evidence for such a cult-designation is a vague passage in Plutarch<sup>16</sup>: Apollo may have come to be styled *Ἐβδόμηιος* (Apollo-cults, Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica) from the sacrifices offered him on the seventh day of the month; but this is not an exact illustration. Dionysos *Ἀνθιστήρ* need not have arisen from the *Ἀνθιστήρια*, but the title could be directly attached to him as 'causing the flowers to grow.' *Ἀμφίδρομος*, the fictitious hero who emerged from the *Ἀμφι-*

*δρόμια* (Hesych. *s. v.*), is a creation that illustrates the tendency to invent a divine personage where one was lacking in the rite. But Demeter, so far as we can gather from the evidence, was in the Thesmophoria from the beginning: in nearly all the cases where *θεσμοφόρια* are recorded Demeter is mentioned also, and they are never associated as otherwise we might have expected with any other goddess save the mother and daughter.

<sup>b</sup> An interesting example of a high religion and ethic based on agriculture is the Zarathustrian system, in which the 'Holy Kine' are the symbol of the moral and religious life of the Mazdean.

Therefore the earth-goddess, who gave corn, might naturally be regarded as the dispenser of the higher civilization, and the *θεσμοί* of settled life. This may have been the case in the worship of Isis, who was undoubtedly an earth-goddess—whatever else she was—for the ancient Egyptians, and whom they regarded, according to Diodorus Siculus<sup>a</sup>, as the first law-giver, 'just as the ancient Greeks called Demeter Thesmophoros.' In fact any pre-eminent deity of a community, simply on account of this pre-eminence and not necessarily through any inherent and germinating idea, tends to be regarded as the source of its higher life and to be accredited with its advances in culture. We may then think it quite natural that the early pre-Homeric Greeks should have attributed to this goddess all that is implied in the title *θεσμοφόρος* as interpreted above. But if so, then they placed her on a higher level as a political divinity than even Apollo or Athena, and she would have taken rank by the side of Zeus as the divine guardian of the commonwealth. And this is the first difficulty that confronts us. The facts concerning Demeter's political position, examined a few pages back, in no way reveal such a height of political supremacy: and her association with the state-life is by no means more intimate than that of most other personages of the polytheism. She is not the president of the assembly, nor the law-courts, nor an oracular deity who guided the fortunes of the people. Even within the polis, her more ancient ritual, her *Χλόεια*, *Καλαμαῖα*, and *Ἄλωα* seem to preserve a smack of the country air and to smell of the soil. The formula of the state-oath itself, in which, as we have seen, she was given so prominent a place, probably included her rather as the earth-goddess than as the guardian of the political community. Again, the Hellenic political deities were usually constrained to be also deities of war. But the military character is scarcely discerned in the goddess of the peaceful cultivation, though her favour might sometimes be believed to lend victory to her worshippers<sup>71</sup>. In fact, except in respect of the tilth and the fruitful plot, her kingdom was not of this world, and her mystic worship was shadowed by the life beyond or below the tomb,

<sup>a</sup> I. 14.

and did not reflect so immediately as others the daily secular and civic life. If, then, we maintain the political sense of *θεσμοφόρος*, we must say that in a period older than that to which our records go back she was more intimately connected with national law and institutions than in the periods that we know. But this assertion would be a rather hazardous paradox; probably, the further we could penetrate into the past, the more rustic and agricultural and the less political we should find her character and cult to have been. Finally, what gives the *coup de grâce* to the usual theory of *θεσμοφόρος* is that the ritual of the *θεσμοφόρια*, which will be examined immediately, does not reveal a single glimpse of her as a political goddess, and is in fact irreconcilable with that interpretation of the appellation.

It has sometimes been supposed that the sense of *θεσμός* in the compound must be limited to the marriage ordinance alone, of which Demeter might have been believed to be especially the originator and protector. And marriage appears to be called a *θεσμός* by Homer. We may imagine that the monogamic marriage and the Aryan household were partly based on the higher agricultural system. We know also that among many ancient peoples human fertility and the fertility of the earth and the vegetable world were closely related as reciprocal causes and effects; and the idea survives among backward races<sup>a</sup>. To it we may trace the curious ceremony of tree marriage in India<sup>b</sup>; the custom in New California of burying a young girl at puberty in the earth<sup>c</sup>; probably the solemn Roman *confarreatio*, the sacramental eating of meal together by the bride and bridegroom. With this latter we may compare the marriage-ritual at Athens, in which a boy whose parents were both alive carried round a basket full of

<sup>a</sup> For Teutonic and other parallels cf. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- u. Feld-Kulte*, p. 289; Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, p. 109; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Opfer u. Zauber*, p. 64, the bride offers a sacrifice of roasted corn, after which the bridegroom leads her round the fire: sometimes as in the Iroquois marriage-

ceremonies the exchange of bread and meat between the two families is a mere secular token of hospitality, though it constitutes a legal bond: see Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 317.

<sup>b</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, 1, 195.

<sup>c</sup> Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 303.



loaves, reciting a formula that was part of the litany of certain mysteries, 'I have fled from evil, I have found a better thing'<sup>72</sup>. And it is likely that the marriage-cake mentioned by Hesychius had a sacramental character<sup>72</sup>. Nevertheless, neither in the Roman nor the Attic ceremony is any function attributed to Ceres or Demeter; she is not mentioned by Plutarch among the five divinities needful for the marriage-ceremony<sup>a</sup>, nor do we hear of her as one to whom the *προτέλεια* or the offerings before the wedding were offered<sup>b</sup>, and it was not her priestess but the priestess of Athena who visited the newly-married to promote their fertility<sup>c</sup>.

Nor, apart from *θεσμοφόρος* which we are considering, does a single cult-title reveal her interest in marriage; for 'Demeter *ἐποικιδιή*'<sup>108</sup>, as she may have been worshipped at Corinth, is a designation too uncertain to build any marriage-theory upon; Artemis was 'by the house' more frequently than Demeter, but Artemis, as we have seen, was distinctly not a goddess of monogamic marriage.

It is not hard, however, to find in the cult of Demeter, as in those of most Greek goddesses, allusions to her interest in child-birth; for this was the natural concern of the earth-mother and her kindred. Therefore Demeter was 'the cherisher of children' at Athens<sup>109</sup> and named Eleutho—perhaps a variant form of Eileithyia—at Tarentum and Syracuse<sup>108</sup>; and it has been supposed that the appellatives *Ἐπιλυσαμένη* and *Ἐπίασσα*<sup>108</sup> have the same connotation, but this is very doubtful. Moreover, the goddesses of Aegina and Epidauros, Damia and Auxesia, whose names and cult will be examined in more detail below, and who may have been local variants of Demeter and Persephone, were certainly deities of child-birth as well as vegetation; and a very archaic cult-inscription from Thera gives the name *Λοχαία*, 'the travail-goddess,' to the associate of Damia, while Photius preserves the curious gloss that *Λοχαίος* was also applied to the corn-field<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Zeus, R. 96<sup>a</sup>, vol. I, p. 157.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. I, p. 246; Hera, R. 17<sup>a</sup>,<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Athena, R. 63, p. 403.

<sup>c</sup> Athena, R. 67.

<sup>d</sup> *s. v.* *Λοχαίος σίτος, ὁ βαθύς*: probably in a merely poetical sense, cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1392 *σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχέμασιν*.

But the child-birth goddess—there was a multitude of this type in Greece—is by no means necessarily the same as the divinity who instituted marriage; and if θεσμοφόρος really attributed this high function to Demeter, we have yet to find the ritual that clearly illustrates this. The only evidence is a citation from Plutarch<sup>72</sup> and an inscription from Kos<sup>73</sup>: the writer speaks of the ‘ancient ordinance which the priestess of Demeter applied to you—the husband and wife—when you were being shut in the bridal-chamber together,’ and the inscription contains a decree forbidding the priestesses of Demeter under certain circumstances to raise the fees paid by women at their second marriage, implying clearly that such persons had to perform a certain ritual in honour of Demeter and to pay certain fees for the ministrations. As far as I can discover, this is the only record left of this exercise of function on Demeter’s part in historical times; and if all prehistoric Greece had revered Thesmophoros as the marriage-goddess, and had dedicated a special mystery to her in commemoration of the greatest of human social institutions, we should have surely expected that a clearer imprint of this primaeval character of hers would have been left upon the cults, cult-titles, and cult-literature of later Greece<sup>a</sup>: that she would not have been omitted from the list of deities to whom the προτέλεια were offered; that her name would frequently at least appear in passages of literature that group together the marriage-divinities: that Servius would not have been able to affirm that according to some people marriage was altogether repugnant to Demeter owing to her loss of her daughter<sup>109a</sup>; and finally, that at least the ritual

<sup>a</sup> Much interest attaches to a statement in the *De Re Rustica* of Varro, 2. 4, 9: ‘Nuptiarum initio antiqui reges ac sublimes viri in Etruria in coniunctione nuptiali nova nupta et novus maritus primum porcum immolant. Prisci quoque Latini etiam Graeci in Italia idem factitasse videntur’; but this does not traverse the statement in the text: the pig was the usual sacrificial animal of the earth-goddess in Greece, and of the

chthonian powers, but it was offered also to Aphrodite, whose connexion with marriage is better attested than Demeter’s: the Italian practice would prove nothing for the Hellenic: the pig was offered in Italy to other deities than Ceres (W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 105, who regards it, however, as specially appropriate ‘to deities of the earth and of women’).

of the Thesmophoria would in some way have corroborated this interpretation of Thesmophoros.

But neither this nor the former interpretation is at all supported by the ritual, which is that which now remains to be examined.

As usual we are best informed concerning the Attic service. But there is one detail which occurs in many of the records and which points to a universal custom, namely, the exclusion of men. This is implied by the legend in Herodotus<sup>74</sup>, that the Thesmophoria were brought from Egypt by the Danaides and taught to the Pelasgic women. As far as Attica is concerned the evidence is absolutely clear; the play of Aristophanes is in itself sufficient testimony, and the various detailed statements concerning the different parts of the ceremony show that the whole ministration was in the hands of women: the women elected their own representatives and officials, and from at least the essential part of the mystery, the solemnity in the Thesmophorion, the men were rigidly excluded. We have noticed already the predominance of women in the Kalamaia Haloa and Skira<sup>75 a</sup>; but the Thesmophoria appears to have been the only Attic state-festival that belonged to them entirely. The men seem to have played no part at all except the burdensome one of occasionally providing a feast for the Thesmophoriazusae of their respective demes<sup>75 a</sup>, if their wives happened to be leading officials<sup>a</sup>. We may believe that the same exclusive rule everywhere prevailed. If the records speak at all of the *personnel* of the ritual in other localities, it is always and only women who are mentioned, for instance, at Eretria<sup>76</sup>, Megara<sup>77</sup>, Thebes and Coronea<sup>86, 86 a</sup>, Abdera<sup>80</sup>, Pantikapaion<sup>90</sup>, Erythrae<sup>97</sup>, Ephesus<sup>98</sup>, Miletos<sup>100</sup>, Syracuse<sup>103</sup>, and Cyrene<sup>102</sup>. In connexion with the latter city, a story was told concerning the founder Battos, who came near to paying

<sup>a</sup> Isaeus 3. 80: the passage has a very simple meaning; the husband owning the property has of course to pay in his wife's behalf all the religious expenses that devolved upon her in her

turn; it has clearly nothing to do with any primitive usage of buying one's wife from the community, as is strangely imagined by Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena*, p. 131.

a heavy price for the inquisitiveness that prompted him to violate the women's mystery. An anecdote of similar colour concerning the priestess of Demeter at Epidaurus<sup>81</sup>, who, by some freak of nature, changed her sex and was then prosecuted for having seen mysteries which it was impious for any man to be cognisant of, seems to point to the existence of the festival at this city also.

In the next place we gather that at Athens at least it was married women and not maidens who administered the rite: this is made clear throughout the whole comedy of Aristophanes, and by the citations from Isaeus<sup>75 a</sup>: the only evidence to the contrary, namely the statement by the scholiast on Theocritus concerning the *σεμναὶ παρθένοι* and their part in the procession<sup>75 e</sup>, being usually discredited; and even if it were true, we should still believe that all the chief ceremonies of the festival were in the hands of married women<sup>a</sup>. And there is some reason for thinking that this was the rule elsewhere. For Ovid, in describing what is evidently the Cypriote Thesmophoria<sup>75 c</sup>, clearly regards it as a feast of the married women: he probably was not specially cognisant of the local ritual of Cyprus, but was aware that this was a common trait of the Thesmophoria in general. Finally, Servius speaks of certain ceremonious cries which matrons raised at cross-roads in honour of Demeter, and it is almost certain that it is the Thesmophoria to which he is referring<sup>107 a</sup>.

Now the exclusion of men in this ritual is a fact that may be of anthropological importance, and demands consideration. But before attempting to explain it we may draw this conclusion from the facts already presented, that the *Θεσμοφόρια* was not a festival intended to commemorate the institution of law, and that if it reflected—as is reasonable to suppose—the character of Thesmophoros, the latter title had no political or legal connotation at all. The exclusive ministrations of the women is utterly irreconcilable with such a theory or such an

<sup>a</sup> The narrative in Lucian's *Dial. Meretr.* 2 speaks of a girl being seen with her mother at the Thesmophoria; this may show that girls were not ex-

cluded as the men were, but it does not prove that they played any official part in the ceremony.

interpretation. If an absolute gynæcocracy had ever prevailed on Greek soil, so that the women might claim to be the founders of religious and political life—a supposition which is sometimes put forward on very hazardous evidence—it could not have maintained such a tenacious hold on this particular cult for ages after it had been displaced in the world of politics and elsewhere in political religion. Or again, if the Thesmophoria were founded in honour of the marriage-goddess and to commemorate the institution of some higher form of marriage, it is equally difficult to explain the exclusion of men. Grant that the women might desire and claim a certain secrecy for their share in the mystery; yet we must surely look for the men or the male priest to come in somewhere to play the male part in such a function. The only ritual in Greece which was brought into any association with human marriage, and which we may regard in some sense as the divine counterpart to it, was the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and Hera, and this was naturally performed by both sexes. Finally, the argument *ex silentio* is of special weight here; for the Thesmophoriazuse of Aristophanes, when they come to celebrate the praises of various divinities in their choral hymn, invoke Hera *Τελεία*, not Demeter, as the goddess who ‘guards the keys of marriage<sup>a</sup>.’ Neither the ritual then nor the records bear out this second interpretation of Thesmophoros, which even on linguistic grounds is extremely improbable<sup>b</sup>.

Perhaps the more minute examination of the Attic service may reveal its true meaning, though the records are fragmentary, and any attempt to reconstruct the whole ceremony in a lucid order must remain hypothetical. The festival occupied three, four, or five days, the varying statements corresponding, perhaps, to the varying practice of different periods<sup>75 a, b</sup>; we may be fairly certain that it began on the ninth or tenth of Pyanepsion and lasted till the thirteenth or fourteenth<sup>c</sup>. On the ninth day of the month was the ritual

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hera, R. 17<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> That *θεσμός* might in one or two contexts have been applied to marriage does not justify the belief that the word absolutely and without context could be

used for the marriage ordinance: vide note a, p. 105.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch<sup>75 b</sup> who places the middle ceremony of it, the ‘*νηστεία*,’ ‘the day of fasting,’ as late as the sixteenth,

called the Stenia, which the scholiast on Aristophanes regards as distinct from the Thesmophoria, but may once have formed a substantive part of it, as Photius connects the 'Ascent' of Demeter and the mutual reviling of the women with the Stenia, and both these appear again in some of the records of the Thesmophoria. This 'Ascent'—whatever it means—cannot be interpreted as Demeter's ascent from Hell, for if we suppose such a myth that might be embodied in some mimetic representation to have actually existed, it would imply the previous loss of her daughter and a sort of reconciliation between mother and son-in-law. And as the *Νηστεία* or day of mourning was to follow, this would be inconsistent with the order of the festival. The tenth day was the *θεσμοφορία* or *θεσμοφόρια par excellence*<sup>75<sup>a</sup></sup>: if the first accentuation is correct, which is vouched for by the MSS. of Photius<sup>75<sup>b</sup></sup> and the scholiast on Lucian<sup>a</sup>, it may seem to make somewhat for the first part of Dr. Frazer's view concerning the origin of the name, and we might suppose that this day was so called from the practice of carrying certain things called *θεσμοί* in solemn procession, just as two of the following days acquired special names from certain acts of ritual performed upon them. Is it possible that these *θεσμοί* were the *νόμιμοι βίβλοι καὶ ἱερά*, 'the lawful and sacred books' which the scholiast on Theocritus<sup>75<sup>c</sup></sup> declares were carried on the heads of 'chaste and reverent maidens,' on 'the day of the mystery when as if in prayer they departed to Eleusis'? The whole statement has been discredited by certain writers<sup>b</sup> because we have strong reasons for supposing that the whole ministration was in the hands of matrons, and because it has been maintained that Eleusis had nothing to do with the Thesmophoria<sup>c</sup>. The scholiast was probably wrong about the 'chaste maidens'; but on the latter

is opposed by the consistent statements of the lexicographers and scholiasts; and among the latter the scholiast on Lucian draws from a very good source.

<sup>a</sup> Rohde—who published the Scholion—lays great stress on this fact, but does not draw any special corollary as re-

gards the meaning of the name.

<sup>b</sup> Preller, *Demeter-Persephone*, p. 343, Anm. 30; Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.* 2, p. 460.

<sup>c</sup> See Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 300, who thinks that the scholiast confused Eleusis with the Elensinion in Athens.

ground we have no right to gainsay him, for we have at least one positive testimony to Eleusinian *θεσμοφόρια*<sup>75 r</sup>, and two of the ritualistic legends, one explaining the chthonian sacrifice of the pigs<sup>75 i</sup>, the other the licentious language of the women, are of Eleusinian origin<sup>75 g, 103</sup>. We may believe, then, that certain sacred books were carried in procession at some time or other during the festival; we must regard them not as quasi-biblical treatises on law or morality, but as ritualistic books containing directions for regulating the *τελετή*. Most mysteries in Greece possessed such books<sup>a</sup>; but we do not know that these collections of written ritual were specially called *θεσμοί*, and the theory that they were so called at Athens rests partly on a point of accent; nor if we admit the accent, does the conclusion follow<sup>b</sup>. And if the first day was called *θεσμοφορία*, because its chief service was the carrying of *θεσμοί*, then the scholiast is wrong about the procession to Eleusis, for we are told that on the first day the women were at Halimus, where there was a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros<sup>75 a, o</sup>, on the sea-coast south-east of Phaleron, far too distant from Eleusis for the women to journey thither in a day. We may leave the question for the present with the observation that it is *a priori* very unlikely that such a comparatively trivial and unessential act as the carrying of ritualistic books in procession should have given a name to a festival of great compass which was celebrated at a time when probably no books were in existence among most of the communities of the Hellenic stock.

The first day being spent at Halimus, we must suppose that the women's dances at Kolias which was in the vicinity also took place on the first day<sup>75 o</sup>. Such dances were certainly mimetic, and as we are told that the Thesmophoria included a representation of the Rape of Proserpine<sup>c</sup>, this may have been the theme of the chorus at Kolias<sup>75 i</sup>. The women

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Demeter, R. 255; Dionysos, R. 62<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The day may have been called *θεσμοφορία* (*ἡμέρα*), simply because it was the first day of the whole festival *θεσμοφόρια*.

<sup>c</sup> The Orphic poet of the Argonautica claims as one of his proper themes 'the wanderings of Demeter, the grief of Persephone, and the holy ritual of Thesmophoros,' ll. 26, 27 (reading *θεσμοφόρον θ' δάσιν* for *θεσμοφόρος θ' ὡς ἦν*).

then left the sea-coast, and on the second day proceeded to Athens. And this day was called the ἄνοδος, the name being explained as alluding to the procession of the women up to the Thesmophorion in Athens<sup>75a</sup>, a building that probably lay near the Pnyx. In endeavouring to fix the meaning of the term, we must take note of the fact that the same day, according to the scholiast on Aristophanes, was also called *κάθοδος*; and that an ἄνοδος Δήμητρος was, as we have seen, associated with the Stenia on the ninth of Pyanepsion. The difficulties of interpreting ἄνοδος in reference to the lower world have partly been shown above. It did not appear natural to apply it in this sense to Demeter; and as regards Kore it is out of the question, for the eleventh of Pyanepsion would be of all times of the year unsuitable for her return to the upper world. Nor could *κάθοδος* logically refer to the passing away or descent of Proserpine; for this belongs to harvest-time<sup>a</sup>, and the period of the Attic harvest was long passed. Again, if ἄνοδος and *κάθοδος* had signified the resurrection of the divinity and her descent into Hades, it is extraordinary that two such opposite views should have been taken of the same ritual. We may suppose, then, either that the 'Ascent of the Goddess' was nothing more than the bringing up of her image from the sea-coast to Athens—and this as in some sense a return from exile might be called *κάθοδος*—and that Photius confuses the Stenia with the second day of the Thesmophoria; or that the ἄνοδος was simply the carrying of images of mother and daughter up to the temple on the high ground from the lower city; as we gather from Aristophanes<sup>b</sup> that there were two wooden idols in the Thesmophorion when the women met there on the third day: only this suggestion fails to explain the *κάθοδος*. We must also take into consideration the very different interpretation offered by Mr. Frazer that ἄνοδος and *κάθοδος* do not refer to the goddesses at all, but to the women who went down into the subterranean chamber and returned, in performance of an important ritual described partly by Clemens and more

<sup>a</sup> The feast of Kore called *καταγωγή* at Syracuse was held when the corn was

mature (R. 129).

<sup>b</sup> Thesmoph. 773.



fully by Lucian's scholiast<sup>75i</sup>: 'At the Thesmophoria it is the fashion to throw living pigs into the underground sanctuaries . . . and certain women called ἀντλητρίαι descend and bring up the decaying remnants and place them on the altars: and people believe that the man who takes (part of them) and mixes them up with his grain for sowing will have abundant harvest. And they say that there are serpents down below about the vaults, which eat the greater part of the food thrown down. . . . And the same festival is also called Ἄρρητοφόρια, and it is celebrated from the same point of view concerning the growth of fruits and human generation. And they also dedicate here (?) certain unmentionable holy objects made of dough, imitations of serpents and shapes of men (? leg. ἀνδρικῶν σχημάτων, a euphemism for the φαλλός). They also take pine-boughs on account of the fertility of the tree. And all these objects are thrown into the so-called Megara together with the pigs . . . as a symbol of the generation of fruits and men.' This important passage has received much notice and some criticism that has not been always satisfactory<sup>a</sup>. In spite of some corruption of the text and some difficulties of translation, certain important features of the whole ritual emerge. The offering of the mimic serpents, which were of course not intended for food, show the semi-divine character of the animal. The ritual is intended to promote the crops and human generation, but there is no ceremonious allusion to the ordinance of marriage: whether it contained a phallic element is doubtful<sup>b</sup>, we shall be inclined to believe it did if we believe the statement of Theodoretus that a representation of the female sexual organ was honoured by the women in the Thesmophoria<sup>75g</sup>. On minor points the record is vague: we are not told where this ceremony was

<sup>a</sup> Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vol. 2, 299, and article on 'Thesmophoria' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2. 269 (giving certain savage parallels); Robert in Preller, *Griech. Mythol.* 2. 779, Anm. 1. 780, Anm. 3; Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* 1870, p. 548; Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, &c., pp. 120-131.

<sup>b</sup> Rohde, loc. cit., believes that a phallic element is attested of Demeter's ritual at Halimus, where he would locate the whole of this ceremony described by the scholiast: but the authorities he cites are referring to a Dionysiac not a Demeter-cult at Halimus, vide Dionysos, R. 129<sup>o</sup>.

performed, whether at Athens or at some country locality that was included in the route followed by the women in their procession<sup>a</sup>; the explanatory legend, that the sacrifice of pigs was to commemorate Eubouleus and his herd of swine that were swallowed up with him, when the earth opened to receive Pluto and Kore, might suggest Eleusis for the scene of the rite, and at all events is of some value as attesting the strong Eleusinian colour that has spread over part of the Thesmophoria.

Neither does it appear quite evident at what point of time in the long festival the swine-sacrifice occurred. There is much to be said for Dr. Frazer's view that the throwing the live pigs into the vault and the fetching up the remnants of the last year's sacrifice were two parts of the same ceremony occurring on the same day. Only if we conscientiously abide by the evidence of the accent, and ascribe all the ritual mentioned by Lucian's scholiast to the day called *θεσμοφορία*, this we know to have been the tenth day, and therefore we cannot, on this hypothesis, accept Dr. Frazer's explanation of *κάθοδος* and *ἀνοδος*, for these latter rituals fell on the eleventh of the month<sup>75 b</sup>. More important still is the question as to the earlier or later significance of the swine-sacrifice. Were the animals thrown in merely as gifts to the earth-goddesses, or as incarnations of the divinities themselves? The latter is Dr. Frazer's view, but the evidence is not sufficient to establish it. The pig is, no doubt, their sacred animal here and elsewhere in the Greek world; no doubt it was to them as well probably as to Plouton-Eubouleus that the Athenians of the later period believed it was offered in this Thesmophorian ritual, just as at Potniae we hear of two sucking-pigs being thrown down into a hole as a sacrifice to Demeter and Kore<sup>113</sup>. And the eating of swine's flesh which is attested of the worshippers in the Attic Thesmophoria may be connected with this ritual at the Megaron, and very probably may have been a sacramental meal<sup>76 a</sup>. But sacramental union with the divinity does not demand the belief that the divinity is incarnate in the

<sup>a</sup> Rohde, loc. cit., relying on the accentuation *θεσμοφορία* (Photius and Lucian's scholiast), places it at Hall-

mos<sup>76a</sup>. This evidence, which is all that he can urge, is slight, but of some value.

animal<sup>a</sup>, though this belief may be traced in other Hellenic cults; if the deity and the worshippers partake of the same food, the sacramental bond is sufficiently strong. Therefore sacramental eating of animal food ought not to be always taken as proof of a direct theriomorphic conception. The flesh thrown into the vault was supposed to be devoured by the snakes that were kept there, and the women made a loud clapping to drive away the snakes before they ventured down. Now, though Demeter and Kore are nowhere identified with the snake, having become detached from the earth-goddess after the anthropomorphic conception of the latter had come to prevail, yet this animal that was once the incarnation of the earth-spirit remains the familiar representative of the chthonian goddesses of the Olympian period. Therefore, as these goddesses may in some sense have been supposed to have partaken of the swine's flesh that was thrown down to them, the remnants would be regarded as charged with part of their divinity, and would be valuable objects to show over the fields. But no Greek legend or ritual reveals any sense of the identity between Demeter and the pig.

The ceremony just examined shows us this at least, that the main purpose of the Thesmophoria was to secure the fertility of the field, and probably also to promote human fecundity; and that the divinities to whom it was consecrated, being earth-deities, possessed both a chthonian and an agricultural character, and could bless their worshippers both with the fruits of the field and the fruit of the womb. And it shows us that by no means the whole of the Thesmophoria was *μίμησις*<sup>b</sup>; for the service in connexion with the vaults contains no allusion to the famous myth, but is pure ritual, not arising from but itself generating the myth of Eubouleus. The women who ascend and descend are obviously not embodiments of Kore and Demeter; they dance no dance, but perform litur-

<sup>a</sup> Vide my article on 'Sacrificial Communion' in Greek religion, *Hibbert Journal*, 1904, pp. 319-321.

<sup>b</sup> This element in the Thesmophoria has been exaggerated by Rohde in his criticism of the scholiast, loc. cit.: but

it is altogether ignored by Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 121-131; the Rape of Persephone was merely a story arising, she thinks, from the ritual, but she does not explain this.

gical functions and minister to certain altars. But their service was probably in its origin no mere gift-sacrifice, and perhaps was never regarded as wholly this and nothing more. We have no hint that in any Hellenic ritual the serpent was ever offered to any divinity as food or as a gift-offering; we must suppose, therefore, that the mimic serpents were consecrated to the sacred vault, because they were the animals specially charged with the power of the nether earth-spirit; the pig was regarded in the same light, and therefore the same significance probably attached at one time to the act of throwing in the swine; for the same reason sucking-pigs were chosen at Potniae as more likely to refresh and rejuvenate the energies of the earth. We may regard then this part of the Thesmophorian ritual at Athens as a survival of ancient magic, used to stimulate the fertilizing powers of the soil. Yet in the earliest period it might be accompanied by prayers, and by real gift-offerings to the goddesses. For prayers, spells, and gift-offerings are religious acts which, though arising from two different views of the divine nature, are often of simultaneous occurrence in very early phases of religion<sup>a</sup>. The women in the Attic ritual certainly prayed<sup>b</sup>; and cereal offerings, as thank-offerings for crops, probably formed part of the Thesmophoria sacrifice<sup>75c</sup>: but it is clear also that some form of animal-oblation was essential, not only at Athens, but at Eretria and Cyrene<sup>76, 102</sup>. Some such ritual, possibly the swine-offering just considered, was probably associated with the ceremony known as the *δίωγμα* or *ἀποδίωγμα*<sup>751</sup>, which Hesychius informs us was the name of a sacrifice at the Thesmophoria. His statement, which lacks all context or setting, is one more of the *disiecta membra*, out of which we have to piece together an organic whole, if possible. Could this 'pursuit' be the chasing of the bridegroom and ravisher by the women, as Pallas and Artemis tried to chase Pluto in the poetical versions of the story<sup>c</sup>. The name *θυσία* makes against this

<sup>a</sup> I have endeavoured to show this at some length in *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 168, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 295 (quoted *Artemis*, R. 73).

<sup>c</sup> This is Gerhard's view, *Akad. Abhandl.* 2, p. 340: one of the objections to it is that it supposes naturally a male participant in the ritual.

view, and it would be a mistake to suppose that every part of the varied ceremony was the mimetic representation of the myth. Pursuit at sacrifice was, as Dr. Frazer remarks, common; but there are two kinds of pursuit: the priest may have to fly because he has slain a sacred animal; or he himself may pursue one of those who are present at the altar with simulated intent to kill; and this is a relic of a prior human sacrifice. Now, as the above writer has abundantly shown, such sacrifices have been fairly common in the worship of the earth-spirit among different races, and the primitive agricultural ritual all over the world, as we have seen, is darkened by the frequent suggestion of human bloodshed.

Some such pretence of what was once a reality may explain the *δίωγμα* in the Thesmophoria; and that this is not an idle conjecture seems to appear from the Corinthian legend referring to the institution of a Demeter-cult there which was doubtless the Thesmophoria<sup>77a</sup>: the first priestess to whom Demeter revealed her secret mysteries was an old woman called Melissa (a name of sacerdotal significance in Demeter's and other cults<sup>160</sup>): the other women came and surrounded her, coaxing and imploring her to communicate them; at last, wroth at her stubborn refusal, they tore her to pieces. The story was by no means *ben trovato*; but interpreted backwards it may yield this possible sense—the Thesmophoria at Corinth, as elsewhere, were in the hands of married women, who cherished a secret ritual, and retained, perhaps in some simulated ceremony, a faint reminiscence of the sacrificial death of their priestess, and who invented, as usual, a single and special incident to account for it. We shall find similar myths of importance in the cults of Dionysos. The legend of the *λιθοβόλια*, the festival of Troezen<sup>36 b</sup> in honour of Damia and Auxesia, other names for the two earth-goddesses of vegetation, is of great interest as probably belonging to the same group of religious phenomena: two maidens came there from Crete and lost their life by stoning in a civic tumult, and the 'festival of the stone-throwing' was instituted in their honour. We seem to trace here the effects of the world-wide savage dogma that 'blood must water the earth to make things grow,'

the worshippers in the vegetation-ritual drawing blood from each other with stones, and inventing a myth that probably embalms a tradition of the death of the vegetation-deity. May we also explain those mysterious lines (165-167) that seem like an interpolation in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, part of the prophecy of the goddess about her fosterling Demiphon, 'And over him (or in his honour) at certain seasons of the revolving years all day long the sons of the Eleusinians ever mingle the fell battle-shout and join in war,' as an allusion to combats half real, half mimic, waged over the corn-field to sprinkle the earth with blood? Combats, either sham or serious, seem not infrequently to have formed the finale of vegetation-ceremonies, and one such may have been the Eleusinian βαλλήτης, or ritualistic stone-throwing, with which the functionary known as ἱερεὺς λιθοφόρος may have been connected<sup>a</sup>.

This gloss of Hesychius then has some value, but his other on the word ζήμια, the name of another sacrificial act in the Attic Thesmophoria<sup>75m</sup>, has none; for the text is partly corrupt, and all that might be said about it would be useless conjecture.

Coming now to the third day of the festival we find better information at this point: the day was called νηστεία, the day of fasting and mortification, when the officiating women had apparently little in the way of ritual to perform, and when the public business of the community was suspended<sup>75 a, b, k</sup>. We are not told that the rule of abstinence applied to the men; it is only the women who are said to have fasted 'seated on the ground<sup>75 k</sup>.' Of course they said that they did so because Demeter in her sorrow had done the same, just as they said that they indulged in ribaldry because Iambe had done so.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the beating and stone-throwing in the Feriae Ancillarum on the Nonae Caprotinae, probably a harvest-festival in honour of Jnno, Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 29: for the σκόμματα on that occasion vide *Vit. Camill.* 33; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 175, 176: for the Eleusinian βαλλήτης vide Athenae. 406 D (Herocults, R. 54): cf. legend of stoning in the vegetation-ritual of Artemis at Ka-

phya, *Cults*, vol. 2, p. 428. Usener in *Archiv f. Religionswissensch* 1904, pp. 297-313, examines a number of ceremonious combats of this type, and explains them as cathartic ritual, descending probably from a mimetic combat of the persons representing Summer and Winter. It is doubtful if all the cases can be explained by any single theory.

Similarly, the rule that the women must not eat the seeds of the pomegranate in the Thesmophoria<sup>75 f</sup>, was naturally explained by the story of Persephone, and the spell which bound her to the lower world through her imprudent eating of this fruit; but we may suspect that the taboo was independent of the myth, for we find it again in the ritual at Lykosura of Despoina, whose legend by no means coincides at all points with Persephone's<sup>119</sup>; the reason for this avoidance of the pomegranate may have been the blood-red colour which made it ominous, while in other cults a brighter symbolism may have attached to it<sup>a</sup>. At least, as regards the women's fast in general, we need not suppose that it was mimetic or dramatic at all, though this is usually the view of the moderns who often commit the same error of *ὑστερον πρότερον* as the ancients. In most religions, our own included, the fasts are explained by holy legends. Here at least there is no need for one. Fasting and other rules of abstinence have in the liturgies of ancient cults a distinct agrarian value, and will be resorted to at critical periods of the agrarian year, such as the period of sowing. Besides fasting, the women were supposed to abstain from sexual intercourse, according to Ovid for nine days<sup>75 e</sup>. The women who went down into the vault had to observe ritualistic purity for three days<sup>b</sup>, and certain herbs that were supposed to exercise a chastening effect on the temperament were strewn under the beds of the matrons<sup>75 i, h</sup>.

The day after the *Νηστεία*, the closing day of the whole festival, was the *Καλλιγένεια*. Probably, from the name of the religious celebration, there emerged a female personality, ἡ *Καλλιγένεια*, sometimes identified with Demeter, sometimes with Ge, or regarded as a subordinate divinity closely associated with the former<sup>c</sup>. It is most improbable that the word in this precise form should originally have had the value of a feminine divine name, for no festival was ever directly

<sup>a</sup> Vide Aphrodite, vol. 2, p. 696, note c.

<sup>b</sup> Theano, the Pythagorean woman-philosopher, on being consulted by a woman how soon it was permissible to enter the Thesmophorion after sexual

intercourse, replied 'after lawful intercourse at once, after adulterous, never'<sup>75 d, 7</sup>. This is the modern and ethical as distinct from the ritualistic view.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Hero-cults, R. 335.

called by the simple personal name of a divinity. It is likely that the earliest form was the neuter plural, the most frequent form of festival-names, and Alkiphron<sup>75 b</sup>, and probably a Sicilian inscription give us τὰ Καλλιγένεια<sup>a</sup>: and this may be interpreted as the feast of Καλλιγενής, a natural appellative of Demeter or Kore, to whom alone all throughout the Greek world the Thesmophoria were consecrated. It is probable that the fictitious personal Kalligeneia was commonly invoked in later times, for Plutarch seems to regard the Eretrian festival as a noteworthy exception, in that the women did not 'invoke Kalligeneia' in its celebration<sup>76</sup>. Now Καλλιγενής designates 'the goddess of fair offspring,' or the goddess 'who gives fair offspring,' or rather both meanings could combine in the word. We may suppose then that the women's festival appropriately closed with the old-time prayer of the women for beautiful children. And if the prayer was accompanied by the belief that on this day the mother regained her fair daughter, we should recognize a stratum of religious thought concerning Demeter that is older than and alien to the 'classical' legend. For Demeter must be supposed, on this hypothesis, to be living below the earth as an ancient earth-goddess reunited with her corn-daughter: we cannot imagine that Kore was thought to return to the earth to gladden her mother above in late October<sup>b</sup>.

There is only one more fact recorded of the Attic Thesmophoria that may prove to be of importance, namely, the release of prisoners during the festival<sup>75 n</sup>. The same indulgence prevailed, apparently, at the Dionysia and Panathenaica<sup>c</sup>, and it may have been a common practice at many state-festivals in Greece. The original idea which suggested it may have been that law and order could be sus-

<sup>a</sup> *C. I. Gr. Sic. It.* 205. Vide Demeter, R. 104.

<sup>b</sup> Usener's view that Kalligeneia is a mere 'sonder-gottheit,' a primitive functional daimon, appears to me very improbable, *Götternamen*, p. 122: vide discussion in chapter on Hero-cults. It is possible that τὰ καλλιγένεια was originally an impersonal word = 'the

ritual to procure fair offspring,' and that the Eretrians were merely singular in not having evolved the personal καλλιγένεια from it: but this view need not mean that τὰ καλλιγένεια was originally a 'godless' ritual, without reference to Demeter or her myth.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 5, Dionysos R. 127<sup>m</sup>.



pended during a short period of licence which was especially common at ceremonies connected with the crops. When once the release of prisoners became an established rule at these most ancient festivals, mere civic sympathy and kindness might lead to the introduction of it at later feasts of a different character. Part of the Thesmophoria was joyous, and we hear of feasting; it is only the third day that was sorrowful. If this was the day on which the prisoners were released, we may explain the custom by means of the same explanation as I have suggested for the curious law that no one might lay a suppliant bough on the altar during the Eleusinia<sup>a</sup>; whatever is associated with enmity or strife must be rigidly tabooed during a piacular and sorrowful ritual.

Before endeavouring to sum up the results of this survey of Attic ritual, we must see if the records of the Thesmophoria in other parts of Greece can add any further fact of importance to the general account, beyond that which has been already noted, the universal exclusion of men. Of the Eretrian rite one other detail is known of some anthropological interest; the women did not use fire, but the sun's heat, for cooking their meat. We may gather from this that the more ancient culinary process of drying meat in the sun survived for sacrificial purposes<sup>b</sup>. But probably the Eretrian custom has more significance than this; the women must maintain a high degree of ritualistic purity, and the sun's fire was purer than that of the domestic hearth<sup>c</sup>. It is also possible that in the ancient period of the Eretrian calendar the sowing-time was regarded as the beginning of the new year, and that the domestic fire was extinguished in obedience to a rule of purification that was commonly observed at this period. Something too may be gathered from Pausanias' record of a Megarian ritual<sup>77</sup>. Near their Prytaneum was a rock called *Ἀνακλήθρα*, 'the rock of invocation,' so named, as they said, because here in her wandering search Demeter called out the name of her lost daughter, 'and the Megarian women still do to this day in accordance

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 114.

act of drying meat in the sun.

<sup>b</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 339, gives other instances of the ritualistic

<sup>c</sup> Cf. another example of this idea in Apollo-cult, R. 128<sup>o</sup>.

with the myth.' We can scarcely doubt but that this was part of the Megarian Thesmophoria, especially as he mentions a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros not far from the Prytaneum; and that the ritual here, as at Athens, contained a mimetic element<sup>a</sup>. We know nothing more of the Laconian Thesmophoria<sup>82</sup> except that it lasted three days, which perhaps was the rule in the later period at Athens as we may gather from Alkiphron. And of the ritual in other places, where Thesmophoria are definitely attested, it remains to notice only the following facts: at Delos the festival appears to have been consecrated in part to the 'goddess of sorrow<sup>b</sup>,' and to have possessed an agrarian character, for certain loaves baked for a celebration called Μεγαλάρτια were consecrated to αἱ θεσμοφόροι (θεαί), and the Delian offering to Demeter of the pregnant sow suggests that the object of the festival was the same here as at Athens, to secure the fertility of the human family, of the flocks and of the crops<sup>91</sup>: at Rhodes we hear the 'purifications before the Thesmophoria,' and doubtless these were of the same kind and of the same ritualistic value as at Athens<sup>96</sup>: at Miletos a doubtful citation in Stephanus seems to point to a local practice of placing the pine-bough under the beds of the Thesmophoriazusae, we should suppose for the same purifying purpose as that for

<sup>a</sup> The sacred character of the stone itself may be a relic of Mycenaean stone-worship when the deity was invoked to come to the stone; but the mimetic fashion of aiding Demeter in the search by calling out the name of her daughter may have been a real feature of the Thesmophoria: cf. the citations from Servius about the ritual of the matrons at the cross-roads (R. 107<sup>a</sup>): the first points to meetings of married women with torches in their hands at the cross-roads calling on Kore, and this suggests a Thesmophorian rite: the second citation is confused—*rustici* who have no place in the Thesmophoria take the place of *matronae*—and Artemis (= Hekate) is joined with Demeter.

But the latter point is not difficult to explain: the matrons with torches meet at the cross-roads before they start on their ceremonious march over the fields; but the cross-roads, where the way was doubtful, would be the natural place for Demeter in her search to call aloud the name of her daughter: the cross-roads also were sacred to Hekate Τρίδος, who also carried torches—hence Hekate comes into the 'Homeric' story of the quest. The matrons' ritual may have originated in pure religious magic; it would become *μίμωσις* as the myth grew and absorbed it: but it is hazardous to assume a period of the Thesmophoria so called when Demeter was not in it.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 71.

which the willow was used at Athens, only that, according to Lucian's scholiast, the pine-bough was a symbol of generation rather than a help to chastity<sup>100</sup>: at Ephesos an inscription of the Roman period speaks of a yearly sacrifice offered by the associates of a mystery to Demeter Thesmophoros and Karpophoros, suggesting that here also the goddess under the former title was worshipped as the divinity of the fruits of the earth<sup>98</sup>. Finally, certain details are given us of the Syracusan Thesmophoria<sup>103</sup>, from which we gather that part of the ritual at least closely resembled the Athenian: the feast was a ten days' celebration, during which the women seem to have retired to a house on the Acropolis<sup>a</sup>. Again, we hear of the *αἰσχρολογία*, the ceremonious ribaldry, and of certain indecencies of ritual, cakes moulded to resemble the *puenda muliebria* being carried prominently in the procession; the *αἰσχρολογία* was here also explained by reference to the story of Iambe, and the festival fell about the time of the autumn sowing; according to Diodorus, an ancient fashion of dress prevailed during the period.

In the catalogue of Greek Thesmophoria I have ventured to include certain local ceremonies where there is no explicit record of the festival-name, but the details recounted make for believing that it was that with which we are dealing. For instance, Pausanias gives us a singular account of the ritual in the temple of Demeter *Μυσία* at Pellene<sup>85</sup>, a name that may designate the goddess of 'mystic' cult; on the third day of a nine-days' celebration<sup>b</sup> the men retired from the temple, leaving the women alone, who then performed certain religious functions by night; the exclusion of males was so absolute that even the male dog was tabooed, as in the palace of Tennyson's 'Princess'; 'on the next day the men returned,

<sup>a</sup> Diodorus, if his rather vague words are to be pressed, implies that the whole city (and the male sex) took part in it: this would be quite possible, and may have often happened without infringing the principle that the inner mystery of the Thesmophoria was exclusively the privilege of the women.

<sup>b</sup> The number nine points to Thesmophoria: in Ovid's account of the Cypriote Thesmophoria the period of purity lasts nine days; and in the Homeric Hymn, which reflects certain features of the Thesmophoria, Demeter's search lasts nine days.

and both sexes indulged in ridicule and ribaldry in turn, the one against the other.' We cannot be quite sure that this was the Thesmophoria, for partial exclusion of men and a ceremonious kind of ribaldry we have found in the Attic Haloa also, but the nightly performance of the nine-days' rites at Pellene somewhat justifies the belief. Again, the ritual that Pausanias describes as performed in a grove called Πυραία (perhaps a name of the wheat-goddess), and the temple of Demeter Προστασία<sup>a</sup> and Kore on the road to Phlius near Sicyon, may possibly have been a local form of the Thesmophoria<sup>78b</sup>: the men held a feast in this temple, but another sacred building was given up to an exclusive festival of the women, and there stood in it statues of Demeter, Kore, and Dionysos, all of which were muffled except the faces. If this ritual were the Thesmophoria, which is of course uncertain, those who hold that the name designates the goddess of marriage might quote this record as countenancing their theory, for the place where the women's ceremony occurred was called the Νυμφών: but this should not be interpreted as the 'house of the goddess of marriage,' but merely as the 'house of the bride,' just as 'Parthenon' is the 'house of the maid.' This interesting fact is surely better interpreted by the supposition that the bride was Persephone, who was united in this building to Dionysos in a *ἱερὸς γάμος*, though it must remain uncertain whether it was this sacred marriage that the women acted on that night of their mystery.

For nowhere in the accounts of the Thesmophoria is there any express statement found concerning any dramatic representation of a marriage. Theogamiaie, or rituals commemorating the union of Persephone and the god of the lower world, certainly occurred in the Greek states: and are especially attested for Sicily and the neighbourhood of Tralles<sup>124, 162</sup>; and from Greece it penetrated Roman ritual in the form of the marriage of Orcus and Ceres, a ceremony in which wine was rigorously excluded, and which may have been associated

<sup>a</sup> The goddess who 'stands before' the granary or corn-field, and therefore the goddess who 'protects from harm': cf. the two meanings, local and quasi-immaterial, of Apollo Προστατήριος.

with the Ludi Tarentini mentioned by Varro as instituted in accordance with a Sibylline oracle in honour of Dis Pater and Proserpine<sup>106a</sup>. The latter lasted three nights, and dark-coloured victims were offered. Now much of the ritual in honour of Flora and Bona Dea reminds us vividly of the Thesmophoria, the exclusion of men, the sexual licence, the beating with rods, and yet may be old Italian<sup>a</sup>. Nevertheless, we are expressly told that the whole service of Ceres in Rome was Greek, administered by Greek priestesses and in the Greek language<sup>107</sup>. Dionysius of Halikarnassos, under the influence of the legend of Pallas and Pallantion, traces the Roman Ceres-cult back to Arcadia, mentioning that in Rome, as in Greece, the administration was in the hands of women, and that the ritual excluded wine: but Cicero with more caution and truth connects it with Naples—where we find mention of a priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros—or Velia<sup>107</sup>, and another record affirms its association in the times of the Gracchi with the cult of Henna, in which the same exclusion of the male sex was the rule<sup>105b</sup>. And the Bona Dea herself borrowed—probably through Tarentum—part at least of her ritual directly from a Greek cult-centre, for the name ‘Damium’ applied to her sacrifice, ‘Damia’ to the goddess, ‘Damiatrix’ to the priestess<sup>b</sup>, point surely to the Epidaurian-Aeginetan worship<sup>36a</sup>. With these proofs of strong Greek influence, we cannot avoid the belief that the Thesmophoria itself, the oldest and most universal of the Greek Demeter-feasts, was introduced into the Roman state; and though the name does not occur in the calendar of the Roman religion, we have sufficient proof of the rite as a Roman ordinance in the celebration of the ‘Ieiunium Cereris,’ the fast of Ceres, falling on the fourth of October, and corresponding in name and more or less in time to the Attic *Νηρηλα*<sup>c</sup>. Nevertheless, the marriage of Orcus and Ceres could have been no part of a Roman Thesmophoria, for this was celebrated by the Pontifices, and

<sup>a</sup> Vide W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 102-106.

<sup>b</sup> Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 106, suggests as possible ‘an Italian origin for the whole group of names.’ I do not

feel that this hypothesis so naturally applies to the facts as the theory of importation from Greece.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, p. 863; Livy 36. 37: it lasted nine days.

the Romans would hardly have been likely to abandon the rigid Thesmophorian rule of the exclusion of men.

There is one last question about the ritual of the Thesmophoria, to which a certain answer would contribute something to our knowledge of the goddess; were the offerings always *νηφάλια*, that is to say, was wine always excluded? We should believe this to have been the rule if we believed Dionysius' statement, who speaks as if the sober sacrifice was the rule of all the Demeter cults whether in Italy or Greece<sup>107</sup>. That he was wrong about Italy we have Vergil's testimony, aided by Servius<sup>a</sup>; and he was wrong about Greece: for wine is explicitly mentioned among the offerings to Demeter at Cos<sup>b</sup>, it was used in ceremonies connected with her feasts; as at the Haloa<sup>18</sup> and in the mystery-rites at Andania<sup>246</sup>. The jest in Aristophanes about the flagon of wine dressed up as a baby, smuggled in by one of the Thesmophoriazusae at the *Νηστεία*, only suggests that it was tabooed on this particular day, but not necessarily throughout the whole festival: on the other hand, it was specially excluded from the rites of the Despoinae at Olympia<sup>118</sup>. The point is of some interest because the ordinance against wine was fairly common in the primitive ritual of the earth-goddess and of deities akin to her<sup>c</sup>.

We may now endeavour to gather certain results of value from this tangle of detail. The festival bears about it the signs of extreme antiquity, while the name 'Demeter,' and the rule which excluded slaves from any participation in it<sup>76a</sup>, may deter us from regarding it as the heritage of a pre-Hellenic population in Greece. At no point does it reflect the higher life of the Greek Polis, or the institution of 'Aryan' monogamic marriage. It has been supposed, for reasons that will be considered below, to show the imprint of a 'matriarchal' type of society<sup>d</sup>; but if we confine the question here to its significance as a marriage festival, it is difficult to see how either the

<sup>a</sup> *Georg.* i. 344 with Servius' comment.

<sup>b</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

<sup>c</sup> Vide p. 55; vol. i, pp. 88-89; vol. 2, p. 664, note a.

<sup>d</sup> The 'matriarchal' theory might

seem to explain the Roman rule, R. 109<sup>a</sup>, that in the *Sacra Cereris* the name of father must never be mentioned: but Servius adds that the daughter's name was tabooed also, and here the theory at once breaks down.

patriarchal or matriarchal theory can draw any support from the ritual of a festival that does not seem to have concerned itself with any form of marriage whatever. It is obviously concerned solely with the fertility of the field and the fertility of the womb. The women ceremoniously marching over the land with torches are figures of a world-wide agricultural ritual, intended to evoke the fructifying warmth of the earth or the personal agency of the earth-spirit<sup>a</sup>; it was usual to kill some one or shed blood on such occasion, and somebody probably once was killed or blood was shed in the Thesmophoria; it was usual to strew sacred flesh as religious manure over the land, and this purpose was served by the decaying pigs and the functions of the ἀντλητήρια: the rules of sexual abstinence and ritualistic purity enforced upon the Thesmophoriazusae may be explained by the widespread belief that the ministers of an agrarian ritual should discipline their bodies beforehand, in order that virtue may the better come out of them when it is needed. On the other hand, cereal ceremonies at certain times of the year have been often marked by wild sexual licence and indulgence, either because by the logic of sympathetic magic such practices are supposed to increase the fertilizing strength of the earth, or because a period of fasting and mortification has preceded, and, the devil having been thus cast out, the human temperament feels it may risk a carnival<sup>b</sup>. Now there was no sexual indulgence at the Thesmophoria, for the men were rigorously excluded, and the Christian fathers would not perhaps have been so severe in their moral censures, had their knowledge of other pagan ritual, that Christianity was obliged for a very long

<sup>a</sup> With a like purpose, namely to increase the fertilizing warmth of the earth, lighted torches were flung into a pit as offerings to Kore at Argos<sup>115a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The rule of chastity prevailed at the Skirra, another agricultural festival, see p. 40, note c; cf. *Anthrop. Journ.* 1901, p. 307, among the native tribes of Manipur sometimes sexual licence and drunken debauchery prevail at

harvest-festivals, sometimes chastity is required: cf. the idea that 'the breach of sexual laws might be punished by sterility of the land,' Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, p. 212. The instances of sexual indulgence, probably for a ceremonial purpose originally, in agrarian festivals are too numerous to need quoting.

time to tolerate, been wider: but there was *αἰσχρολογία*<sup>a</sup>, badinage of an undoubtedly indecent kind, usually among the women themselves, but sometimes between both sexes; and this was no mere casual and licentious *jeu d'esprit*, the coarseness of a crowd of vulgar revellers, but a ceremonious duty steadily performed by matrons whose standard of chastity was probably as high as ours and ideas of refinement in other respects very like our own: the object of this, as of all the rest of the ritual, being to stimulate the fertilizing powers of the earth and the human frame<sup>b</sup>. Again, the practice of beating the bodies of the worshippers with wands of some sacred wood has been often in vogue as a fertilizing charm which quickens the generative powers for the purposes both of vegetation-magic and of human productiveness: a salient instance is the ceremony of the Lupercalia, though there the beating was with thongs of hide, probably cut from some sacred animal; it occurred also in the Greek ritual of Demeter, probably the Thesmophoria, according to a gloss of Hesychius who speaks of the rods of plaited bark with which they beat each other in the Demeter-feast<sup>36</sup>.

The divinity or divinities then of the Thesmophoria were worshipped not as political powers or marriage-goddesses, but as powers of fertility and vegetation, and—we must also add—of the lower world. For it is the chthonian idea and its ghostly associations that explain why so much of the ritual was performed at night, why one at least of the days was *ἀποφράς* or *μαρά* so that no public business<sup>c</sup> could be done<sup>75a</sup>, probably why no crowns of flowers<sup>d</sup> could be worn by the Thesmophoriazusae<sup>35</sup>, and finally why the ceremonial vestments of the goddesses—at least at Syracuse<sup>68</sup>—were purple, a colour proper also to the Eumenides.

The above analysis of the festival seems finally to rule out

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 75<sup>f</sup>, 85, 103: also at the Haloa<sup>18</sup>, and in the worship of Damia and Auxesia<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> We must distinguish ritualistic *αἰσχρολογία* from the ritual of cursing, which has also its place in Greek religion and which will be examined in

another context.

<sup>c</sup> Public business was not suspended on every festival day, cf. Dionysos, R. 127<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the similar prohibition in the worship of the Charites at Paros, Apoll. *Bibl.* 3. 15, 7.



the two usual explanations of Thesmophoros, which refer the word to the ordinances of the state or of human marriage; and the other explanations hitherto noticed do not appear satisfactory. The most sensible proposed by antiquity is that given by the unknown scholiast on Lucian or by the excellent authority whom he reproduces: that she was called *θεσμοφόρος* because she taught men the *θεσμοί* of agriculture: at least this interpretation of the word is not in violent conflict with the ritual of the Thesmophoria, as the others are. Still it is linguistically most improbable that a deity who taught the rules of agriculture should have acquired at a very early period of the language the name of the 'Law-Bringer,' simply from her agrarian teaching. For *θεσμός* in the meaning of 'ordinance' or 'rule' is never found in any specialized sense, whether religious, social, or utilitarian <sup>a</sup>.

The appellative is very old, and in the pre-Homeric period the word *θεσμός* may have borne different meanings, logically derivable from its root-significance, but afterwards lost. An archaic inscription of Olympia <sup>b</sup> presents us with the word in a peculiar dialect-form, and probably in the signification of *κτῆμα* or 'landed property'; and in a Boeotian inscription of the latter part of the third century B. C. we find *τέθμιος* used of money placed out on loan <sup>c</sup>. Somewhat akin to these is the meaning for which Anacreon is quoted as an authority <sup>d</sup>, who used *θεσμός* as equivalent to *θησαυρός*, that which one 'lays down' or 'piles up.' It is natural to suppose that the poet preserved an obsolete Ionic usage; and the ethnography

<sup>a</sup> The statement that Homer uses the word as specialized to mean the marriage-law, occasionally made in careless accounts of the Thesmophoria, is an inexcusable error. Besides the passage in the Odyssey quoted above there are, so far as I am aware, only two instances of its association with marriage or the marriage-bed in Greek literature, Plut. p. 138 A (quoted R. 72), and Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12. 47 (the others quoted by Bloch, Roscher's *Lex.* 2, p. 1329 are not to the point). But English would supply us with endless instances of

'Law' or 'Ordinance' applied explicitly to the marriage-rite, yet neither word is an equivalent for marriage.

<sup>b</sup> Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* (Blass) 1154; *Hell. Journ.* 2, p. 365 (Comparetti); Meister, *Die griech. Dial.* 2, p. 21: Blass's interpretation of the word as = *κτῆμα* seems to me more probable than Meister's, who explains it as 'sacrifice,' for the obscure inscription seems certainly to refer to property rather than to ritual.

<sup>c</sup> Cauer, *Delect.* 3, 295, l. 65.

<sup>d</sup> Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Frag.* 68.

of the Thesmophoria is predominantly Ionic<sup>a</sup>. Being well aware of the danger of etymologizing on the prehistoric meanings of words, I venture the suggestion that *θεσμοφόρος* originally bore the simple and material sense of 'the bringer of treasure or riches,' a meaning which is appropriate to the goddess of corn and the lower world, which accords with a ritual that obviously aimed at purely material blessings, and which explains the occasional association of Demeter *Θεσμοφόρος* and *Καρποφόρος*.

There is one last question to consider, and to solve if possible, concerning the Thesmophoria. Why were the men excluded, and the mystery-play and the agrarian ritual wholly or almost wholly in the hands of women? In considering it we must also ask why female ministration was predominant in other Attic Demeter-festivals of an agrarian character, such as the Skirra, Haloa, and Kalamaia? The problem is more important than may at first sight appear to the student of Greek religion, for it is part of a larger one that continually confronts him, the relations of the sexes in classical ritual and their historical significance. Without raising the larger question for the moment, we may feel inclined to accept the solution that Dr. Jevons offers in his *Introduction to the Study of Religion*: the invention of agriculture and the cultivation of cereals, whereby society advanced beyond the hunting-stage, was the achievement of women; they discovered the value of wild oats, they first broke the ground, and still among modern savage tribes as, to some extent, according to Tacitus among the ancient Germans, the warrior despises the tilling of the soil and leaves this hard and important occupation in the hands of the women: therefore even under a more advanced system of civilization the women still retain their privilege of administering the agrarian ritual<sup>b</sup>. It is an

<sup>a</sup> There is reason for believing that the Dorians were expressly excluded at Paros from the ritual of Demeter and Kore, vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Paros.

<sup>b</sup> The theory gains in plausibility if we leave the totemistic hypothesis, on which Dr. Jevons bases it, severely

alone: according to this writer, some kind of cereal plant happened to become the women's totem: hence, he supposes, the origin of agriculture and the women's worship of an agrarian divinity: this part of his theory is one of the many instances among modern students of

attractive view for students of Hellenic religion, because it seems to explain the Demeter-legend and the phenomenon of the Thesmophoria, Skirra, and similar festivals.

But it cannot claim to be more than an *a priori* hypothesis, because in regard to the civilizations of the past the beginnings of agriculture lie remotely beyond our ken; and as regards our contemporary wild races, we have not as far as I am aware detected any in the actual process of inventing agriculture, and we have only a few legends for our evidence<sup>a</sup>. For the fact that lazy and demoralized men in any stage of society have been prone to leave the hard work in the fields to the women can hardly help us to prove the actual origins of all tillage. Nor is it hard to find *a priori* reasons against the assumption: it seems scarcely credible that in every part of the globe the unaided strength of women was able successfully to battle with the immense difficulties in the way of converting swamp and forest into tilth-land: or that the importance of the new food-supply would not soon have been so obvious that male industry would have been attracted to the work before a religious taboo could have had time to arise. Again, Greek religious legend has preserved no remembrance of women as the apostles of the new agriculture: it was natural to believe that the earth-goddess had revealed it, and the pious myth concerning Demeter was accepted in most parts of Greece, though Hera's claim to the honour was preferred in Argolis<sup>b</sup>, and perhaps Athena's at Athens; but it was to men not women that the mystery was first shown, to Triptolemos at Eleusis or to the hero Argos in the Argolid. And Greece and the adjacent lands have many other heroes

Comparative Religion of inordinate totemistic bias: as regards Greece there is not the shadow of any evidence for a corn-totem.

<sup>a</sup> It is supposed that the cultivation of maize among the Iroquois was only begun a short time before the arrival of the Europeans, and the art was apparently entirely in the hands of the women: and the women claimed to own the land, a kind of gynaeocracy with descent

through the female generally prevailing according to *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. 3, p. 207. We note also the curious story told by the Basutos that corn-cultivation was discovered through the jealousy of a woman who gave some ears of wild corn to a rival supposing them to be poison, but found to her disappointment that they were very nutritious, Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, p. 255.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Hera, R. 13<sup>a</sup>.

of agriculture and horticulture, Eunostos, Kyamites, Aristaeus, Lityerses, the robust pair of the Aloadae, perhaps Linos, Skephros, Leimon, and Hyacinthos, and some of these were inventors in their special domains; here and there we find one or two vegetation-heroines, a Charila or Erigone, that may assist growth but are not said to have invented anything at all. Finally the legends concerning the propagation of the vine recognize only men as the apostles of the new science. It seems then that Greek folk-lore is against Dr. Jevons' hypothesis; and this negative evidence is important because in the fact which he assumes to explain this important feature of the Thesmophoria, if it were a fact, would be just one of those which would imprint itself upon legend. Those who favour the hypothesis can say that the legends have been tampered with and retold by a patriarchal society, in which woman has lost her rights. But this at least is to confess that the hypothesis draws no support from Greek legend; meantime no historical record is likely to come to its aid. As regards the legends of other countries<sup>a</sup> and the primitive races of our own time, I can find none that favours it, while the culture-myths of the Iroquois and the Zunis mentioned by Mr. Lang<sup>b</sup> are decidedly against it. In fact the male contempt for agriculture, which has been used as an argument bearing on this question of origins, though doubtfully attested by Tacitus of the ancient Germans<sup>c</sup>, cannot be taken as characteristic of the primitive Aryan society in general; at least it does not appear in the earliest literature that may be supposed to reflect something of early Aryan feeling, for instance, in the Icelandic, Homeric, and Vedic sagas. And if many modern savages are glad enough to make the women work, yet others

<sup>a</sup> The pathetic legend of Bormos among the Maryandyni seems to be a harvest-story of the vegetation-youth who dies like Attis and Linos: women are not mentioned in the Bormos-ritual, nor are they so prominent as the men in that of Attis.

<sup>b</sup> *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. 2, pp. 54 and 63; the Maori myths concerning the introduction of the potato

do not point to women, *Anthrop. Journ.* 1902, p. 183.

<sup>c</sup> *Germania*, 15. The passage proves nothing about the exclusive prerogatives of the women: it merely says that the most warlike men despised peaceful pursuits, and that the care of the houses and fields was delegated to women, old men, and the weakest members of the family.

are quoted <sup>a</sup> who will not allow them to touch the cattle, and who therefore keep the ploughing to themselves.

The hypothesis does not seem then entitled to rank as a *vera causa* explaining the problem of the Thesmophoria.

Another explanation which touches the one just examined at certain points is supplied by a somewhat popular theory that has been already incidentally mentioned, and has been elaborated in one of Mr. Karl Pearson's essays <sup>b</sup>. It may be briefly stated thus: the matriarchal period—believed by some anthropologists to have everywhere preceded the patriarchal—implies descent through the female and the supremacy of women; these had the whole of the religion in their hands, and were specially devoted to the worship of a goddess who—in Europe at least—was usually an earth-goddess, and whose rites were orgiastic and marked with sexual licence, of which the object was to promote the fertility of the fields and the human mother-family; this system was gradually displaced by the patriarchal with its male deity, but the women still retained certain prerogatives in religion, especially in the worship of the earth-goddess; fossilized relics of the matriarchal society in fact still survive in the exclusion of men from certain ceremonies, in the occasional predominance of a goddess over a god, in the antipathy that certain female divinities still retained to marriage, and in the gross sexual freedom of certain religious carnivals.

Now the theory is very attractive, and, if it were sound, the sociological results of the study of ancient religions would not only be of the highest importance—as they are—but would also be fairly easy to collect: for the mother-goddess is nearly always a prominent figure in the worship, female ministrations are tolerably frequent, and the apparent proofs of the matriarchate are here ready to hand. But the theory

<sup>a</sup> Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 49 (Bechuanaland).

<sup>b</sup> *Chances of Death and other Studies in Evolution*, vol. 2, pp. 1-50, 'Woman as Witch': that his theory is intended to apply to the Thesmophoria and other Demeter-ritual appears on pp. 150,

170-171: the matriarchal hypothesis is advocated most enthusiastically by Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena* in respect both of the Thesmophoria and most other phenomena of early Greek religion.

does not stand the test, when examined in the light of evidence which may be gleaned from the study of ancient and primitive religions, and ancient and contemporary records of 'matriarchal' societies<sup>a</sup>.

The discussion of the matriarchate question, even when confined to the evidence from Greek religion, yet extends far beyond our present limits; and it is connected with many special questions of ritual, as, for instance, the reason for the custom, found in different parts of the world, of the interchange of garments between the sexes in certain ceremonies, the reason for the self-mutilation of the priest in Anatolian worships. For the present it is enough to mention certain results which a more comprehensive inquiry will be found to yield, and which decidedly weaken the force of the theory. It is not true, in the first place, that the male imagination and the male supremacy tend always to engender the god and the female the goddess; on the contrary, the religious-psychological bias of the female is sometimes towards the male divinity, and even under the 'matriarchal' system the god is often more frequent than the goddess<sup>b</sup>. In the next place the 'matriarchal' system by no means appears to carry with it of necessity the religious supremacy of the woman; on the contrary, it is quite usual to find among modern savages, whose social system is based on descent through the female, that women are excluded under pain of death from the important tribal mysteries. Again, the sexual distinction of divinities, when anthropomorphism had made such a distinction possible and necessary, might often be worked out under the pressure of ideas that have nothing to do with the social organization of the worshippers; for instance, the earth would be naturally regarded as a goddess both by the patriarchal and the 'matriarchal' society, and the religious imagination under either system might conceive that the goddess required a male partner. Finally,

<sup>a</sup> The objections urged against it in the text are the *résumé* of my article in *Archiv Religionswissenschaft*. 1904, p. 70, on 'Sociological hypotheses concerning

the position of women in ancient religion.'

<sup>b</sup> This seems true generally speaking of Africa, Australia, and North America.

the fully developed 'Aryan' system might still require, or at least admit, the priestess<sup>a</sup>, and may relegate certain important religious ministrations to women: and other causes than the surviving instinct of a vanished social organization may have been at work in this. For in certain departments of the religious activity of the old world, and in certain realms of the religious consciousness, the female organism may have been regarded with psychological truth as more efficacious and more sensitive than the male. Many ancient observers noted that women (and effeminate men) were especially prone to orgiastic religious seizure, and such moods were of particular value for prophecy and for the production of important results in nature by means of sympathetic magic. The Shamaness is often thought more powerful than the Shaman, and therefore the latter will sometimes wear her dress, in order that literally 'her mantle may fall on him.' Hence in the Apolline divination, where it worked through frenzy, the woman was often regarded as the better medium for the divine afflatus. And, to apply these reflections to the problem of the Thesmophoria, we may believe that the psychological explanation is more probable than the sociological: that the women were allowed exclusive ministration because they held the stronger magic, because they could put themselves more easily into sympathetic rapport with the earth-goddess, because the generative powers of the latter, which the ritual desired to maintain and to quicken, resembled more nearly their own<sup>b</sup>. And those who may think that the Thesmophoria can be better explained as the survival of a licentious worship of the earth-goddess, practised by a polyandrian society in which women were the dominant sex, are confronted by two facts that make against their theory: the Thesmophoria was no 'Walpurgisnacht'; for in spite of the *αισχρολογία* chastity was

<sup>a</sup> It is a very noteworthy fact that she is absolutely unknown in Vedic ritual: in certain cases the husband might depute his wife to sacrifice for him, but according to one text 'the gods despise the offering of a woman,' vide Hillebrandt, *Vedische Opfer und*

*Zauber*, p. 70.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Roscoe, 'Manners and Customs of the Baganda,' *Anthrop. Journ.* 1902, p. 56, 'The work of cultivating these (banana) trees is entirely done by women . . . a sterile wife is said to be injurious to a garden.'

strictly enforced both before and during the festival ; secondly, the Thesmophoria was performed by married women only, and is thus markedly distinguished from those sex-carnivals that are regarded by Mr. Karl Pearson as the heritage of a matriarchy.

The cults of Artemis appear at certain points to reflect the social phenomenon known as 'Amazonism,' which may be, but is not necessarily, a concomitant of the 'matriarchal' organization ; but we cannot discern the impress of either of these phenomena in the Demeter-worship.

Outside the Thesmophoria there was nowhere any rigid exclusion of men from the ritual of the goddess. Only at Megalopolis in the worship of Despoina, the temple to which women had always access, was open to men not more than once a year<sup>163</sup>. On the other hand, in the record of the Great Mystery of Demeter at the Arcadian town of Pheneus, no priestess is mentioned : it is the priest who by assimilation assumes the powers of the goddess, and works the magic ; who wears the mask of Demeter *Kιδαρία*, and smites the ground with rods to evoke the divine earth-powers<sup>235</sup>. And in the cult of greatest prestige, the Eleusinian, the male ministrant predominates over the female. No doubt the later prejudices of the patriarchal monogamic system, accompanied by a cooler and saner temper in matters of ritual, generally hampered the woman in the free exercise of her natural religious gifts and in the province of ecstatic magic : we shall see the austere domestic rule taming and conventionalizing the Bacchae. In such matters much must be attributed to the agency of social causes.

A more difficult and still more important part of the whole study is the examination of the Eleusinian mysteries. But before approaching that investigation, we must look more closely at the figure of Kore-Persephone, and pass her various cults and cult-characteristics in rapid review.

The polytheistic imagination of the Greeks tended inevitably towards the multiplication of forms. And this tendency was most certain to operate in the development of the personality of Gaia, a deity so manifold in attributes and works. Thus



a plurality of divine beings arises, as we have already seen, of whom the mutual relations are not always clear. It is possible that the divine pair worshipped in Epidaurus, Troezen, Aegina, Laconia, Tarentum, and Thera <sup>36</sup>, who were usually known as Damia and Auxesia, arose merely as vaguely conceived duplicates of the earth-goddess, whose mutual affinity the primitive worshipper did not care to define; and we might compare the mysterious and nameless Cretan *Μητῆρες*, whose worship was powerful in Sicily, an undifferentiated group of beings worshipped in one temple <sup>a</sup>. On this view the identification of Damia and Auxesia with Demeter and Kore, which was of course certain to come, was an afterthought of the Greeks. Certainly the functions of the two pairs are closely allied. They are goddesses of the corn-field, for as Demeter and Kore are *Ἀζησίαι* <sup>23, 24</sup> so the Aeginetan-Epidaurian divinities are styled *θεαὶ Ἀζεσίαι*, an epithet which probably alludes to the dry grain <sup>36a</sup>: they are deities of child-birth, being themselves represented, like *Ἀΰγη ἐν γόνασιν*, as on their knees in the act of bringing forth; we hear of ribald choruses of women in their service, which remind us of the Attic Thesmophoria, only that the women have men leaders; and the significance of the *λιθοβόλια* in the Troezenian ritual has already been pointed out <sup>b</sup>. It is reasonable therefore to regard Damia and Auxesia as originally mere appellatives of Demeter and Kore themselves, and this opinion seems to draw support from the apparent affinity of the names Damia and Demeter. But this linguistic evidence may be deceptive, for the proper form of the first name seems rendered doubtful since the discovery of a fifth-century (B. C.) inscription in Aegina, in which we find *Μυία* instead of *Δαμία* <sup>36a</sup>. The explanation, therefore, of the origin of the Epidaurian-Aeginetan pair, who belonged no doubt to pre-Dorian cult, must remain doubtful <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Rhea-Cybele, R. 38<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, pp. 93-94.

<sup>c</sup> What has been here suggested about the original nature of Damia and Auxesia might conceivably be true about that of the Athenian Semnae: there is sufficient resemblance between the rituals

of αἱ Σεμναὶ θεαὶ on the Areopagus and of Demeter-Kore to point to an original identity; but there are also important differences between the conception of the former and the latter group, and there are no real grounds for believing that the Semnae were ever

But there is no vagueness about Demeter and Kore. In them the single personality of the earth-goddess is dualized into two distinct and clearly correlated personalities. We must try to trace the origin and growth of the belief in the daughter; and the inquiry is of some interest even for the history of Christianity, for she may be believed to have bequeathed, if not her name, yet much of her prestige to the Virgin Mary. It has been supposed that the corn-field sufficiently explains the cult-figures Demeter and her Kore; for peasants in different parts of the world speak of the corn-mother<sup>a</sup>, and sometimes the last sheaf that is carried is called the 'maiden,' or grains from it are made into the form of a little girl and eaten as a sacrament<sup>b</sup>. And, though Demeter is far the more prominent as a corn-goddess, being frequently worshipped without her daughter in this character, yet Greek ritual literature and art sufficiently attest Kore's connexion with the crops. Prayers were addressed to her at the Proerosia, according to Euripides<sup>16</sup>; and she had her part in the Haloa and Χλοῖα<sup>18</sup>. At Athens, Syracuse<sup>103</sup>, and elsewhere she shares Demeter's title of Thesmophoros, and though this is not universally the case<sup>c</sup>, she is always essential to the myth or dogma of the festival. Under the mystic name of Despoina at Lykosura she was worshipped with cereal offerings<sup>119a</sup>; and her feast called *καταγωγή* at Syracuse was celebrated when the corn was carried, the young goddess being supposed to return to the lower world when the harvest of the year was over. The descent of Kore implies also her return or resurrection, at first a purely agrarian idea but one fraught with great possibilities for religion. We have noted already the evidence of

regarded as two, which would be essential to the theory. But the whole question concerning the Semnae is very complex, and will be treated more fully in a later chapter in connexion with the Erinyes. It has been partly dealt with by Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena*, and with many of her views I agree.

<sup>a</sup> Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 611, 'die Korn-Mutter geht über das Getreide.'

The Mexicans spoke of the 'long-haired mother of maize,' Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 35; corn called the mother in Peruvian ritual, A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 257.

<sup>b</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 182, 201, 318; Mannhardt, *Antike Wald-u. Feld-Kulte*, p. 289, 'die ans dem Korn herausgetriebene Kornjungfer.'

<sup>c</sup> R. 83, 85-87.

a primitive ritual in which the earth-goddess was supposed to be awakened and evoked by the smiting of the earth with hammers, and this may have belonged to a religious era earlier than the arrival or evolution of the Hellenic deities. It is probable that the late-born Kore attracted to herself the dogma and possibly part of the ritual of the *primaeval Gaia*<sup>a</sup>. The record of the Greek festivals that celebrated the *Ἄνοδος* or return of the former is scanty and doubtful; but we may be fairly certain that the *Προχαιρητήρια*, the 'feast of early welcome' at Athens, was celebrated at the end of winter when the corn was beginning to sprout, and was consecrated to Kore<sup>b</sup>, whose resurrection was at hand<sup>161</sup>. Also the lesser Attic mysteries at Agrae, an early spring festival of the corn, were specially devoted to Kore-Persephone<sup>210</sup>, and probably commemorated her resurrection. In fact she seems to belong rather to the youthful period of the year than to the matured harvest-field, and while Demeter was necessary to every corn-festival we cannot be sure that her daughter was. We can never of course be certain that the record that has come down to us is complete; but we note the absence of Kore's name in the detailed account of the *Κάλαθος*, 'the feast of the corn-basket,' at Alexandria<sup>237</sup>, in the record of the *Καλαμαῖα* at Athens<sup>18</sup>, in the reaper's harvest prayer<sup>15</sup>, and in many dedications and thanksgivings for the harvest<sup>33a, 39</sup>. And except *καρποφόρος* and perhaps *θεσμοφόρος* we can quote no title of hers referring to the crops<sup>160</sup>. It does not then seem likely that Kore arose simply as the peasant's corn-maiden,

<sup>a</sup> Vide chapter on 'Monuments of Demeter,' pp. 223, 224.

<sup>b</sup> There can be little doubt, as Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, 2, p. 256, note 77, remarks, that the *προχαιρητήρια* and the *προχαιριστήρια* are identical, being popular synonyms of the same feast. In volume 1, p. 298 (Athena, R. 28) I have taken the view that the festival was properly Athena's; but, though she may have had some connexion with it, I am inclined now to regard Müller's opinion as correct, that the festival was falsely attributed by some of the later

lexicographers to Athena because of the misleading associations of the name *Κόρη*, which suggested *Παρθένος*: the fact that the *Krokonidai* were concerned with it, and that it was connected with the *ἄνοδος τῆς Θεοῦ*, points clearly to Kore. Athena at Athens had no time of returning or departing. *Προχάριεν* denotes the anticipatory welcome to a guest speedily arriving; it could not be applied to a departing friend: therefore in Harpokration<sup>164</sup> *ἀνίεναι* is a necessary correction for *ἀπιέναι*: cf. the sacrifice of *προχάρεα* at Messoa<sup>44</sup>.

a personage developed from the fetich of the last-gathered sheaf. Like Adonis she was also a divinity of trees<sup>a</sup>, and in certain mysteries a tree was chosen as her divine counterpart, to be honoured and bewailed<sup>259</sup>. In fact, as her mother was the earth-goddess herself of very manifold function, so the daughter was the goddess of the young earth, Πρωτογένη, 'the first-born of the year<sup>b</sup>,' as they called her in the mystic cult of Phlye<sup>26</sup>; and her life and power were in the springing blade, the tender bud, and all verdure, being only another form of Demeter Χλόη. She might occasionally care for cattle—the earth-goddess under any name would do that—and even for the keeping of bees<sup>160</sup>; but in the main agricultural ritual she was overshadowed by Demeter whom we must regard as the older creation of Greek religion. For Kore was not an inevitable goddess, as all her functions were fulfilled by Demeter; the communities that worshipped a Demeter Χλόη and a Demeter Χθονία were in no need of another goddess, 'Kore,' to fill a vacuum in their pantheon, and these worships of Attica and Hermione may reflect the thoughts of a time when Kore was not. As we have seen, the Hermione-cult of Demeter Χθονία or of Χθονία was very prominent and ancient, being probably of Dryopian origin<sup>c</sup>, as it belonged by equal right to Asine also; and though of course Kore came to be recognized both in its ritual and myth<sup>d</sup>, we gather from Pausanias' account of the worship<sup>37</sup> and of the mysteries<sup>247</sup> that in the oldest stratum of the local religion the elder earth-goddess was still a single and undivided power. She appears in certain inscriptions united with Klymenos and without Kore, and it is the unique trait of the Dryopian legend as Pausanias presents it to us that the god and goddess of the lower world appear in the relation of brother and sister rather than as

<sup>a</sup> For connexions in Teutonic folk-myth between the 'Holzfräulein' and the growth of corn see Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 77.

<sup>b</sup> That Πρωτογένη could be naturally interpreted as alluding to vegetation is shown by the name Πρωτογένεια borne by one of the Hyakinthides, nymphs of vegetation at Athens (Photius s. v.

Παρθένοι).

<sup>c</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 195.

<sup>d</sup> In Syracusan-cult, if Hesychius is correct, both mother and daughter were called 'Hermione'<sup>129</sup>. It is rare to find a deity taking on so directly the name of a city (if this is the right explanation).

husband and wife. Again, the strange Arcadian worships of Demeter the Black and Demeter Erinys seem to reveal a glimpse of a period when the earth-goddess reigned below—probably always in union with an earth-god—but without a younger goddess to claim an equal share or a part in the sovereignty. Even the temple of Demeter Eleusinia in South Laconia was no permanent home of Kore, who comes there only as an occasional visitor from Helos<sup>240</sup>. In the Elean Pylos, an ancient seat of Hades, we hear of a grove of Demeter near his shrine and no word of Kore, though the temples of the three were reared side by side on the banks of the Acheron, a branch of the Alpheios<sup>47</sup>. Probably then it is no mere accident of an imperfect record, but the abiding impress of an earlier religious stage that accounts for the fact that Demeter's name appears so frequently in cult—both agrarian and political—without her daughter's, and Kore's so rarely without her mother's<sup>a</sup>. Have we then a clue to the date of Kore's birth in Greek religion? In an older generation it was possible to argue that because Homer does not mention Kore or the abduction, but only Persephone, whom he speaks of as the dreaded queen of the dead and the wife of Hades, he therefore knew nothing of Demeter's daughter or Demeter's sorrow. The wrong-headedness of this kind of argument was well exposed by K. O. Müller<sup>b</sup>. Homer—that is to say the Homeric poems as they have come down to us—knew that Persephone was the daughter of Zeus, and that Demeter had once been his bride<sup>110</sup>: how much more he knew it is useless to discuss. He may have known all the main points of the tradition of Demeter and Kore and seen no occasion for revealing his knowledge. The story of the abduction is

<sup>a</sup> S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 245: 'An allen diesen Orten (Taygetos, Sparta, Hermione) ist der Hades-Gott mit Demeter (nicht mit Kore) verbunden, eine Verbindung, die gewiss älter war als die des Hades und der Kore.' One or two of his instances are based on doubtful evidence, but his main principle is probably sound in the sense that a

duality of chthonian powers preceded and survived by the side of the later trinity. The question whether we should thus explain the Eleusinian pair,  $\delta \theta ε ο ς$  and  $\eta \theta ε α$ , must be separately discussed below.

<sup>b</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, 2, pp. 92-93, in his review of L. Preller's *Demeter und Persephone*.

briefly mentioned by Hesiod<sup>110</sup>, and is expanded into a beautiful poetic legend by the author of the Homeric hymn. But neither the latter poet, whose date is uncertain, nor Hesiod employ the word *Kόρη* or *Κούρη* as a personal divine name, but speak only of Persephone; and in the longer poem this name is freely used, evidently without any association of evil omen, as the popular designation of the lovely and 'pure daughter of pure Demeter.' The oldest written record of 'Kore' as an individual name is the very archaic rock-inscription in the precincts of the temple of Apollo Karneios at Thera<sup>160</sup>; but the earliest passage in literature is the fragment of Lasos, quoted by Athenaeus, in which the poet of Hermione hails her as 'Kore, the guardian of oxen, the wife of Klymenos'<sup>37</sup>. Here at last is the full-fledged Kore-Persephone, consort of the nether god, with the functions of an earth-goddess. And as the literary evidence is usually very late in proving anything, she had probably won her special name and independent personality long before the sixth century B.C. The myth of the daughter's rape and the mother's bereavement appears to have been ancient and widespread in the Greek world<sup>a</sup>. The ritual of the Thesmophoria enacted it in some kind of passion-play; and though this theme need not have been the original kernel of the mystery, we know that Greek ritual was slow of growth, and most conservative in form. The cult of Demeter, 'Αχέα or 'Αχαιά<sup>60</sup>, was an ancient inheritance of Tanagra and the Gephyraioi, and the probable interpretation<sup>b</sup> of the title as 'the sorrowing one' implies the legend of the abduction. Again, *Κόρη* or *Δήμητρος Κόρη* is no mere popular and affectionate *sobriquet*, but the official and formal title of the goddess in many a state-cult, attested by inscriptions or the careful notice of authorities such as Pausanias: in fact the only instances that I have been able to find of the official use of the name 'Persephone' for the public cult of the goddess are in the cults of Athens<sup>114</sup>, Cyzicos<sup>128</sup>, Messoa in Laconia<sup>44</sup>; probably also in the Heraeum of Elis<sup>117</sup>, for the name appears here in the text of Pausanias, who habitually uses *Κόρη* instead, and probably

<sup>a</sup> See Förster, *Raub der Persephone*, pp. 2-10.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, pp. 70-71.

among the Locri Epizephyrii<sup>134</sup>; and this very scanty evidence is further weakened by the fact that both at Athens and Cyzicos the other and milder name was obviously paramount.

As further indication, we have such names of her festivals as *Κόρεια* (more properly *Κόραια*) in Arcadia<sup>149b</sup>, and Syracuse<sup>68</sup>, the *Κοράγια*, the procession of the Kora-idol at Mantinea, where the sacred house was called *Κοράγιον*<sup>253</sup>. Now festival names belong usually to a very ancient period of Greek religious nomenclature; and it may well be that the name of Kore was widely known and stamped upon the formulae of Greek ritual and festivals before the Dorian invasion. The law at Paros, preserved in an archaic inscription, forbidding a Dorian to share in the civic sacrifice to 'Kore,' seems to carry us back to very ancient days<sup>a</sup>. Therefore, though in the chronology of Greek religion precise dating is usually impossible, we may maintain that the divine daughter was a creation of the pre-Hesiodic period. Of this at least we are sure, that before Homer, probably long before, the earth-goddess had become pluralized. To two such divine beings the ancient city of Potniae owed its name, and perhaps at its very origin the 'lady-goddesses' were already known and called by the names 'Demeter' and 'Kore,' as they were called and worshipped there in later times<sup>113</sup>. As pre-Homeric offshoots of Gaia we must recognize Demeter, Persephone, and Themis. In nature the two former are identical, for each in the earliest period of which we can gain a glimpse has a double character as chthonian and vegetative goddess<sup>b</sup>. But from the two distinct names two distinct personalities arose, according to the law of the popular Hellenic imagination which tended to convert the *nomen* into a *numen*. Then as these two personalities were distinct and yet in function and idea identical, early Greek theology must have been called upon to define their relations. They might have been explained as sisters, but as there was a male deity

<sup>a</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Paros.

<sup>b</sup> The same is true of nearly all the Greek divinities of the earth, vide Rohde's

*Psyche*, vol. 1, p. 205: cf. Zeus *Χθόνιος*, *Πλούταν*, *Τροφάνιος*, Dionysos, Aphrodite *Μελαινίς*, &c.

in the background and Demeter's name spoke of maternity, it was more natural to regard them as mother and daughter. And apart from any myth about Demeter's motherhood Persephone-Kore might well have been a very early cult-title, meaning simply the girl-Persephone, just as Hera, the stately bride-mother, was called "Ἡρα Παῖς, 'Hera the girl' at Stymphalos. For that the goddess of the woods, pastures, and corn-fields should be imagined as a girl in spring was natural to the Hellenes and apparently to other races. Again, the bride of the god of the lower-world god might naturally be called Kore: we have the analogy of Herkyna, the girl-friend of Kore at Lebadea, who was the spouse of Trophonios, and really identical with Kore or with the young Demeter herself<sup>42b</sup>, and who was represented as a maiden holding a goose<sup>111</sup>, the young earth-goddess with one of her favourite birds<sup>a</sup>.

On this hypothesis Kore was a mere abbreviation for Persephone-Kore, and if Persephone were already the daughter of Demeter before the separate name Kore arose, this latter when detached would give still more vivid expression to the relationship. Or if Persephone had not been already so regarded, the name Kore, now detached and yet recognized as hers and meaning equally 'girl' or 'daughter,' would speedily bring about her affiliation to Demeter. This hypothesis would have the advantage that it represents Kore and Persephone as aboriginally the same; and this corresponds with all the facts of ritual, which bear strong evidence against Dr. Jevons' view that 'the daughter' was once quite a distinct person, an Eleusinian corn-maiden who by some later contamination becomes confused with Persephone the queen of the shades<sup>b</sup>. The ritual-testimony compels us to say that the

<sup>a</sup> We are told that the duck was sacred to Persephone, R. 111: cf. the type of the Boeotian earth-goddess holding water-fowl, vol. 2, p. 522, Fig. XXIX a: the bird flying up behind the throne of Persephone, a very interesting type on an old Boeotian vase published Ath. Mitth. 1901, Pl. VIII, is more pro-

bably intended for an ordinary water-fowl than for a disembodied human soul (which is Wide's explanation, ib. p. 152).

<sup>b</sup> In chapter on the Eleusinian Mysteries in his *Introduction to the Study of Religion*.



young corn-maiden was always indistinguishable from the chthonian goddess, that at no period is Kore shown to be the former only and not also the latter. In fact Kore in function and worship was as 'chthonian' as Persephone, but the former name almost supplanted the latter in actual cult; for, though the author of the Homeric hymn uses the name 'Persephone' without reserve and with that freedom from superstition that marks the Ionic Epic, it is clear that to the popular imagination the name was ominous, and Kore a happier and brighter word.

Or the facts could be brought into accord with another supposition. 'Kore' may have been detached from such a ritual name as Demeter-Kore, 'the girl-Demeter.' It is true that we have no clear proof of the existence of the latter cult-title; for the phrase in the inscription of Erythrae<sup>154 a</sup>, in which Dittenberger<sup>a</sup> thought it occurred, can be otherwise interpreted. But the young Demeter was as natural a concept as the girl-Hera, and Hesychius may have been correct in his statement that *ἱερὰ παρθένος* was a cult-appellative of Demeter<sup>157</sup>, for there was never anything to prevent the mother-goddess of one cult or festival in Greece being regarded in another as a virgin. And Herkyna of Lebadea may once have been the young Demeter, for we hear of a Demeter *Ἐρκυννα* and a Demeter's feast *Ἐρκήνια* or *Ἐρκύνια*<sup>42 b</sup>. Demeter-Κόρη then would mean little more than Demeter-Χλόη; and if this were Kore's origin we should easily understand why mother and daughter were often so indistinguishable in art and even ritual, why Tertullian should speak of the rape of *Ceres*<sup>218</sup>, and Servius of the marriage of Ceres and Orcus at Rome<sup>106 a</sup>, and why it was that at Mantinea *ἡ θεά*, the goddess of the mysteries, seems to have been used as an indifferent term for Kore or Demeter<sup>249</sup>. Then, when the name becoming detached from Demeter was thought to designate a distinct person, this latter would at once be identified with Persephone, who may have been regarded as the daughter of Demeter

<sup>a</sup> He interprets the phrase *Δήμητρος Κόρης* as the genitive of *Δημήτηρ Κόρη*: it is more naturally regarded as the

genitive of *Δήμητρος Κόρη*, a not infrequent official appellative of Kore, e. g. in Laconia<sup>240</sup>, at Aigion in Achaëa<sup>140 c</sup>.

before the title of 'the daughter' found its way into formal religious nomenclature.

Whether Kore then arose as a detached epithet of Demeter or Persephone, the names Kore, Persephone, Demeter came at some place<sup>a</sup> and at some time to develop a pair of divinities who tend frequently to coalesce into one complex personality.

A discussion about the origin of a name may seem unimportant; but the history of names makes a very serious chapter in the history of religions. The name 'Kore' had a future before it and a fruitful career in Europe, while Persephone vanished gradually into the limbo of pagan superstitions, her name being chiefly heard at last in the imprecations with which one cursed one's enemies and devoted their lives to the infernal powers, or in the gloomy formula<sup>b</sup> which guarded the sepulchre from violation<sup>c</sup>.

The survey of the Kore-cults need not now detain us long, as the agrarian aspect of them has already been exhibited. In the rare cases where the name Persephone was the official title, we may assume that a specially chthonian character attached to the religion.

It attached also to most of the leading Kore-worships<sup>111-135</sup>. Among these we may specially note the Potnian, with its sacrifice of sucking-pigs thrown into the subterranean shrine, a sacrifice that reminds us of the Thesmophoria<sup>113</sup>: the Argive, with its singular fire-ritual, in which lighted torches were thrown into the sacred pit<sup>115a</sup>; and the somewhat similar Mantinean<sup>149a</sup>, in which a perpetual fire was maintained in the shrine of Demeter and the daughter<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> We cannot possibly divine the birthplace of 'Kore': Dr. Jevons, *op. cit.*, supposes that she arose at Eleusis and was thence diffused. This view rests merely on the fact that the goddess bore this name in the official Eleusinian style, and that the name Persephone has not yet been found in any public formula there. But the same argument could be advanced about many other localities.

<sup>b</sup> For specimens of these in Attica see *C. I. A.* Appendix 101-103.

<sup>c</sup> This continuous maintenance of a sacred fire, a prominent feature in the ritual of the Roman state, does not appear to have been a common practice in the Greek temples: besides Mantinea we find a record of it at Delphi and Athens (in the cult of Hestia), and at Argos in the cult of Apollo *Ἀθήκειος* (Apollo, R. 7<sup>f</sup>), and we

We discern here a certain sort of sympathetic magic, for the torch is the emblem of the vitalizing warmth that resides in the inward places of the earth, and by throwing fire into the vault or maintaining it in the shrine the votary is quickening the power of the earth-goddess to produce the effects he desires.

We observe, too, that according to the evidence of the Mantinean inscription<sup>249</sup> the cult of Kore-Demeter was in some way associated with the monthly offerings to the dead; at least this seems the natural interpretation of the rule that her temple was opened with some special ceremony *ἐν τοῖς τριακοστοῖς*, the analogy of the Attic *τριάκδες*, the monthly commemoration of the departed, suggesting a similar explanation for the Mantinean festival.

Near Tralles, in a district called Acharaca, the worship of Pluto and Kore presents some peculiar features<sup>124</sup>. Its chthonian aspect is strongly emphasized in the record of Strabo: the joint temple of the god and younger goddess of the lower world stood in or near the sacred enclosure called the Ploutonion, and close to these was the mysterious cave known as the Charonion, dangerous to enter except for those sick persons who were brought and laid there by the priests to find a cure for their diseases by dream-divination, the process of *ἐγκομήσεις*, which was commonly employed in chthonian oracles and of special repute in the Epidaurian cult of Asclepios. Therapeutics belong naturally to divination, and the earth-goddess is *suo iure* oracular; but it is only at Patrae<sup>258</sup> and Acharaca that we hear of Demeter and Kore exercising such a prerogative; elsewhere the prophetic chthonian power being a male personage such as Trophonios or Amphiaraos.

It seems that both Pluto and Kore were supposed to work the cures near Tralles, and the closeness of their union is in other respects noticeable: the people of Soloe honoured the local cult by a dedication to them as ancestral deities of the political community, as *θεοὶ πατρώοι*: and as we hear of the festival called *θεογάμια* at the village of Nyse which was

may compare the Athenian practice of keeping the sacred lamp burning always in the shrine of Athena Polias. It was

usually in the Prytaneum of the Greek state that the sacred fire was kept up.

in the near neighbourhood, we must suppose that it celebrated the sacred marriage of the nether god and his bride. These *θεογάμια*, which survived under a spiritual and symbolic aspect in early Christian legend, were not uncommon in the Hellenic states; we find them in the worship of Zeus and Hera, of Dionysos, and apparently of Heracles; in the cult of Kore, besides the instance just noted, we have record of the same ritual at Syracuse<sup>162</sup>, and we have reason, as has been shown, for conjecturing that it was part of the celebration at Sicyon<sup>a</sup>; and probably the 'Orci Nuptiae' at Rome was a reflex of the Hellenic service. The bridegroom might possibly take the form of Dionysos when the *θεογάμια* was held in spring<sup>b</sup>; when in autumn, he would naturally be Hades-Plouton. These celebrations were no doubt in some way mimetic, the divine personages being represented either by puppets or by their human counterparts; and no doubt some threads from the current mythology of the rape would be woven in. For instance, Pollux, who is our authority for the *θεογάμια* of Syracuse, mentions it by the side of the Ἄνθεσφόρια, the bringing of flowers to Kore, and this ritual may have been explained by the Syracusans, as it was by the people of Hipponium in Magna Graecia<sup>163</sup>, as a reminiscence of Kore's flower-gathering at the time of her abduction.

But this simple and universal act of ritual does not need any mythic justification, and in the case of the earth-goddess is probably older than any of her myths: it would be equally unnatural to explain the contrary ordinance which forbade flowers in her cult<sup>c</sup> as a taboo imposed because of a certain detail in the legend of the rape; it is a mark rather of the *θυσίαι μετὰ στυγνότητος*, 'the gloomy sacrifices,' found even in the worship of the Charites, and natural in the service of the powers of the underworld, and the same motive apparently prompted the Rhodians to consecrate the asphodel to Kore, as the symbol of the shadowy realm<sup>123</sup>.

We are struck with the prominence of the earth-god in the

<sup>a</sup> Vide p. 100.

<sup>c</sup> At Lykosura, R. 119<sup>a</sup>; as a general

<sup>b</sup> Vide Demeter, *Monuments*, p. 252. rule, R. 35.

state-cult at Acharaca<sup>a</sup>, and with the absence of any mention of Demeter. Wherever the name *Κόρη* is attested as the official title, we may be sure that the mother was also recognized, and that the religious conception was enriched with the legend of the bereavement, the tenderest and profoundest myth of Greece; the silence of the record concerning Demeter in a few centres of the Kore-cult is probably a mere accident. But we have reason for believing that occasionally the worship of the daughter overshadowed the mother's; for example, at Nisa, Cyzicos, among the Locri Epizephyrii<sup>163</sup>; and not infrequently the former possessed a separate shrine and ministration<sup>b</sup>; at Megalopolis, by the side of their joint temple, in which they were worshipped as *αἱ Μεγάλαι θεαί*, stood a separate temple of Kore, containing a colossal statue of the goddess and open always to women, but to men only once a year: just as at Erythrae we find a distinct priesthood for *Κόρη Σώτειρα* apart from that of *Κόρη Δήμητρος*<sup>163</sup>.

But, as has been shown, the association of the daughter's cult with the mother's is far more frequently attested than its independence: we may distinguish their functions to this extent perhaps that Kore comes at last—owing probably to the influence of the mysteries—to have less to do with agrarian life and ritual and more with the world of the dead, though as a special form of the earth-goddess she belonged originally, and to some extent always, to both spheres.

Her connexion with the life of the Polis depended on the degree of prominence that her cult attained, and this might depend on causes that for the history of religion are accidental. There was nothing to prevent an originally agrarian or

<sup>a</sup> It is possible that the sacrifice of the bull that was pushed by the ephebi into the cavern, where it was supposed to die immediately by divine seizure, was intended specially for him, and we may say the same of the bulls that were thrown into the pool called Kyane near Syracuse, a spot closely associated with Hades and Kore, R. 129.

<sup>b</sup> Rubensohn's dictum '...Korenienials allein im Kultus auftritt' (*Mysterien-*

*heiligtümer*, p. 44) is not correct. Demeter's head may be recognized on coins of Cyzicos (Gardner, Types, 10. 41); but there is no other record of her cult, unless 'the mother' who is mentioned by the side of Kore and distinguished from the *Μήτηρ Πλακιανή* in a Cyzicene inscription of the early Roman period is Demeter (which seems reasonable to suppose), vide Rhea-Cybele, R. 55.

chthonian cult becoming the basis of a state-church; and in the Tanagran inscription, that preserves the reply of the oracle to the question whether the people of Tanagra might transfer the shrine of the two goddesses from the outside country into the city, we seem to see the transition from their agrarian to their political status<sup>141</sup>. At Cyzicos<sup>128</sup> Kore seems to have become the supreme goddess of the community and was worshipped as 'the Saviour'<sup>a</sup>; Akragas and Thebes are greeted by the poets as her special seat or as part of her bridal dower<sup>131, 139b</sup>; and the political importance of both goddesses in Sicily, especially at Syracuse, is attested by much evidence<sup>b</sup>. For the public influence attaching to their cult at Gela we have the testimony of Herodotus, who traces it back to Knidos<sup>130</sup>; and we can recognize Persephone under the mystic and significant title of Πασικράτεια, 'the Omnipotent,' which is read in an inscription of Segesta commemorating the public gratitude for a victory in the fifth century B.C.<sup>71</sup> But on the whole the political life of the Hellenes is not so clearly reflected in their cults as in some others. The evidence from Attica has already been stated; and in the case of Demeter it has been shown that her political character is less salient than that of many other Hellenic divinities, that the centre of her interest is after all in the field or the shadowy world. We can say the same with still more force of Kore-Persephone, whose worship penetrated far less than her mother's the social and political activities of Hellas.

Where they are not purely agrarian, the value of their cult lay in a sphere beyond the daily civic life, and thus it comes to appeal more to the modern religious consciousness. For in their mysteries, the last and most difficult portion of this investigation, the religion seems—at least in its final form at Eleusis—to rise above the state, or rather to penetrate beneath it, and to touch the inner life of the individual soul.

The limitation of this treatise to the actual state-cults allows us to ignore the question of the Orphic communities and the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the legend on the Cyzicene *Münztaf.* 7. 49, 50.  
coins in Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol.* 2.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Sicily.

private Dionysiac brotherhoods, but compels us to face the problem of Eleusis; for the Eleusinian mysteries were the paramount fact of the Attic state-religion, and their administration the most complex function of the Attic state-church. As compared with any other growth of Hellenic polytheism, they exercised the strongest and widest influence on the Hellenic world: they retained a certain life and power after the Delphic oracle had expired; they conducted the forlorn hope of Graeco-Roman paganism against the new religion, to which they may have bequeathed more than one significant word and conception.

The adequate discussion of the minuter as well as the larger questions that arise about them would transcend the possible limits of this work; and on the other hand it would be useless to limit oneself to a mere epitomized statement of the antiquarianism of the subject and to the *résumé* of the leading theories. To be able to express any kind of opinion, with any contentment of conscience, on the Eleusinian problem is only possible after a long study of multifarious and dubious evidence; and the result may seem very meagre and disappointing, unless one realizes that there is often scientific advance in admitting and revealing ignorance, in exposing the weakness of testimony, and in distinguishing between proved truth and hypotheses of varying degrees of probability. In regard to the whole inquiry we are at least in a better position than the scholars were in the generations before Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*; when to touch on the mysteries at all was to plunge at once into a bottomless quagmire of fantastic speculation. Thanks partly and first to him the discussion has at least become sober and sane, and we profit, though not always perhaps as much as we might, by his industrious compilation of the literary record and the sceptical scrutiny to which he subjected it. Since the period of Lobeck the evidence has been enriched by the discovery of many inscriptions at Eleusis and Athens bearing on the great mysteries, and by archaeological excavation on the sacred site. And from another source—the newly developed science of anthropology—it has been supposed that much indirect light has been thrown

upon the rites of Eleusis by observation of mysteries among primitive races. Yet these various streams of evidence do not always guide us safely or far. The literary evidence, when it appears important, is often very late and suspicious, the excited utterances of the Christian writers who hated and misunderstood the object of their invective, who can rarely be supposed to be speaking from first-hand knowledge<sup>a</sup>, and who at times indiscriminately include the *ἄργια* of Dionysos, Attis, Cybele, and Demeter under one sentence of commination. As regards the inscriptions they illuminate and determine many points of considerable interest, but mainly touch on the external organization, the ritual that was performed outside the *τελεστήριον*; such testimony is obviously not likely to reveal the heart of the action or the passion, whatever this was, that was shown to the *mystæ* in the inner hall.

It has been hoped that the labours of comparative anthropology would have assisted us to form a reasonable view about this; and it is often lightly assumed that they have. Certainly they have enabled us the better to understand the peculiar soil and atmosphere in which such mysteries originally germinated. But so far as I have been able to follow them,

<sup>a</sup> Christian writers converted from paganism may, of course, have been initiated in their youth: and on this ground the evidence of Arnobius and Clemens is *a priori* superior to that of Origen. Of the origin and early history of Hippolytus and Firmicus Maternus, citations from whose works appear among the 'Schriftquellen' for the Eleusinia, nothing certain is known. And we must not assume that a convert to the new religion would be prone to reveal the essential secret of the Pagan rite. Clemens in the *Protreptica* certainly promises that he will (p. 11 Pott.), and in p. 18 he seems to be keeping his promise: and this last passage<sup>219</sup> is definite enough, but much of the rest of his statement is so vague as to suggest a doubt whether he was himself at one time a *μύστης*. We

must also be on our guard against the common fallacy of supposing that when Pagan or Christian writers are referring to 'mysteria' the Eleusinia are intended. We must reckon with the Dionysiac, Phrygian, and Mithraic which the word can quite as naturally denote. The evidence of the Christian writers on Eleusis is certainly important, at least for our knowledge of Pagan religion if not of the Eleusinia: but I should not be inclined to estimate its value so highly, as for instance Prof. Ramsay in his article on the 'Mysteries' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Nor must we in any case assume that everything which is recorded about Eleusis by a writer of the later classical periods was true of the rites in the fourth and fifth centuries B. C.



their contribution to the discussion of the real Eleusinian question appears as meagre as their illumination of other domains of Greek religion has been brilliant and epoch-making. The reason may be that the masters of this new and most valuable science are much more concerned with savage than with advanced religion, and the traces of savagery which are clearly enough imprinted on many cults of Hellas are scarcely discernible in the Eleusinian mystery-worship<sup>a</sup>. All that we have learned from anthropology bearing on this matter is that most savages possess some kind of initiation-ritual and some kind of religious dramatic show; the same is true of most of the advanced religions, and we may maintain that there is a certain generic resemblance between the lowest and highest religions of the world. But it would be rash and futile to argue that therefore the observation of the Australian 'Bora' can interpret for us the incidents of the Eleusinian drama, and all the religious emotions and conceptions thereto attaching. Probably the spectacle of a mediæval passion-play would be more to the purpose; and if, after a careful review of the evidence, we wish to gain for our own imagination a warm and vital perception of the emotions inspired by the Eleusinian spectacle, we probably should do better to consult some Christian experiences than the folk-lore of Australia, though we will welcome any new light from this or any other quarter of the world when it comes. Meantime, on our present information, we can pronounce the central mystery of Greece innocent of totemism, cannibalism, human sacrifice, or of any orgiastic or 'matriarchal' excess.

Before raising the special questions that are of importance, we must realize clearly what the Greeks understood by a *μυστήριον* and how it differed from an ordinary act of divine service. We find the word frequently grouped with *τελετή* and *ἄργια*, and setting aside the careless or figurative applica-

<sup>a</sup> The Pawnee story which Mr. Lang (*Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2, p. 270) quotes from De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, and which he regards as the 'Pawnee version of the Eleusinia' is in some respects an interesting parallel: but it

does not seem to have any agrarian sense, nor do we hear anything about the hopes of posthumous salvation held by those who danced the Pawnee mystery; the story is repeated by Goblet d'Alviella in his *Eleusinia*, p. 49.

tions of it in the later Pagan or early Christian writers, we may interpret *μυστήριον* in its strict sense as a secret worship<sup>a</sup>—the idea of secrecy lying at the root of the word—to which only certain privileged people, *οἱ μνηθέντες*, were admitted, a ritual of purification or other preliminary probation being required before *μύησις*, and the mystic ceremony itself being so important and perilous that a hierophant was needed to guide the catechumen aright. The object of the *μύησις* is to place the *μύστης* in a peculiarly close and privileged relation with the divinity or the deified spirit. This statement will be found to apply in outline to the usual savage mystery, such as the Australian, as well as to the Hellenic; and it serves to mark the contrast between these peculiar ceremonies and the ordinary classic cult of city or gens or family. The latter were only exclusive in the sense that the stranger was usually excluded<sup>b</sup>, though in the case of the city-cults even this rule was not maintained in the more advanced periods: all the members of city, gens or household could freely join in the cult, if they were in the ordinary condition of ritualistic cleanliness; and the sacrifice that the priest performed for the state might be repeated by the individual, if he chose to do so, for his own purposes at his own house-altar. Both in the public and in the mystic service a sacrifice of some sort was requisite, and as far as we can see the religious conception of the sacrifice might be the same in both<sup>c</sup>. But in the former the sacrifice with the prayer was the chief act of the ceremony, in the latter it was something besides the sacrifice that was of the essence of the rite; something was shown to the eyes of the initiated, something was done: thus the mystery is a *δρᾶμα μυστικόν*, and *τὸ δρᾶν* and *δρησιμοσύνη* are

<sup>a</sup> The odd statement in Diodorus Siculus (5. 77) that in Crete all *τελεταί* and *μυστήρια* were open and without secrecy is self-contradictory, and occurs in a worthless passage. Euripides is a witness to the nightly, and therefore presumably secret, mysteries of Zagreus in Crete, vide Zeus, R. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaopham.* p. 272, collects instances of this: he tends to regard

the exclusiveness of the mysteries as only a special application of a general principle; but his definition of *μυστήριον* is insufficient, pp. 270-271.

<sup>c</sup> This consideration is of great importance when we consider the theory put forward by Dr. Jevons on the Eleusinia in his *Introduction to the Study of Religion*, vide infra, pp. 194-197.

verbal terms expressive of the mystic act. We may divine, in fact, that the usual mystery in Greece was in some sense a religious drama, and this opinion is confirmed by Lucian's positive statement that no mystery was ever celebrated without dancing<sup>218 a</sup>, for religious dancing in ancient Greece as in savage communities was usually mimetic, the movements being interpreted as expressive of a certain story<sup>a</sup>. We may also regard it as probable that some kind of *ιερός λόγος*, some secret communication was made to the mystae, at least in the more important mysteries: this *λόγος* not of course being the profound statement of an esoteric philosophy, some revelation of a higher religion or metaphysic, as was vainly imagined by enthusiastic scholars of a bygone generation, but the communication, perhaps, or explanation of a divine name, or a peculiar story, divergent from the current mythology, explaining the sacred things that might be shown to the eyes of the privileged<sup>b</sup>.

The above may be accepted in the main as the typical statement of a Greek mystery, and can be illustrated by ancient information of a fairly trustworthy nature concerning the Eleusinia. And we can also follow on the whole the general account given by Theo Smyrnaeus<sup>c</sup>, who defines the various parts of the normal *μυστήριον* as the *καθαρμός* or initial purification, the *τελετής παράδοσις* a mystic communion or communication which may have included some kind of exegetical statement or *λόγος*, the *ἐποπτεία* or sight of certain holy things, which is the essential and central point of the whole, the *ἀνάδεσις* or the *στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις*, the crowning with the garland which is henceforth the badge of the privileged, and finally, that which is the end and object of all this, the happiness that arises from friendship and communion with God. We may note in conclusion that this mystic communion, while establishing a peculiar relation between the worshipper and

<sup>a</sup> As is well known the religious dance lingered long in the Christian ritual, and had at last to be suppressed in the churches.

<sup>b</sup> Our own communion is also accompanied by a short comment. At

the other end of the religions scale we find that in the Australian mysteries the officiating elders communicate some kind of *ιερός λόγος* to the youths to explain the value of the sacred objects.

<sup>c</sup> *De Utilit. Math.* Herscher, p. 15.

the divinity, did not serve as any special bond of union between the individuals who were initiated, at least in the case of the state-mysteries: except in so far as one might owe gratitude to the person by whom one was introduced.

Now these 'mystic' cults—which we can only understand if we banish the modern word 'mysticism' from our mind—are not very numerous in the record of Greek religion; and though this is of course incomplete, yet it is obvious that by far the larger number of cults were open and public. Probably both kinds of worship were as old as the religion itself, and I can see no evidence to show that the one was prior and the other posterior. But some explanation is demanded why certain worships were mystic and others were not; the question is generally evaded, and yet it is not hard to suggest at least a working hypothesis. It seems that in some cases the religious *tapu* was more dangerous than in others: the sacred object or the sacred ground might be charged with a more perilous religious current; thus the statue of Artemis at Pellene was so sacred that it blasted every eye that gazed on it. In such circumstances, where madness or other ill might be the result of rash handling or rash entrance, it would be natural to resort to preliminary ceremonies, piacular sacrifice or purification, whereby body and soul might be specially prepared to meet the danger of *rapport* with the divinity. Now this religious sanctity of such excessive strength and peril was likely to attach to those cults that were specially associated with the world below, the realm of the dead; and therefore it happens that nearly all the mysteries which are recorded are connected with the chthonian divinities or with the departed hero or heroine. Those of Demeter were by far the most numerous in the Hellenic world; but we have record of the mystic cult of Ge at Phlye, of Aglauros at Athens, of Hekate at Aegina<sup>a</sup>, of the Charites at Athens, and we can infer the existence of a similar worship of Themis: and all these are either various forms of the aboriginal earth-goddess, or at least related

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hekate, R. 7, 22: to these we may perhaps add on account of the cult-title the worship of Artemis *Μυσία*

on the road between Sparta and Arcadia, Apollo, R. 27<sup>f</sup>.

closely to her. The same idea of the religious miasma that arose from the nether world would explain the necessity of mystic rites in the worship of Dionysos, of the Cretan Zagreus, of Trophonios at Lebadea, of Palaimon-Melikertes on the Isthmus of Corinth, probably also in the Samothrakian Cabiric cult. Or they might be necessary for those who desired to enter into communion with the deified ancestor or hero, and thus we hear of mysteries of Dryops at Asine<sup>a</sup>, of Antinous the favourite of Hadrian at Mantinea<sup>b</sup>. Again, where the chthonian aspect of the worship was not prominent, but where there was promise and hope of the mortal attaining temporarily to divinity, of achieving the inspiration of his mortal nature with the potency of the godhead, certainly so hazardous an experiment would be likely to be safeguarded with special preparation, secrecy, and mystic ritual; and this may have been the prime cause of the institution of the Attis-Cybele mystery. Which of these two explanations, that are by no means mutually exclusive, applies best to the Eleusinia may appear on closer investigation.

In approaching now the complicated Eleusinian problem we may formulate thus the main questions of interest: (*a*) What do we know or what can we infer concerning the personality and character of the deities to whom the mysteries were originally consecrated, and can we note change or new developments owing to internal or external causes? (*b*) When was the cult taken over by Athens and opened to all Hellas, and what was the state-organization provided? (*c*) Is there a secret to discover or worth discovering, and does the evidence yield us any trustworthy clue: or in any case can we account for the reverence paid to the mysteries by all classes in the Hellenic world? (*d*) Can we attribute any ethical influence to them, or did they in any way influence popular Greek conceptions concerning immortality or the future life?

If we can answer these questions we have dealt with the problem sufficiently and may omit some of the antiquarianism of the subject<sup>164-230</sup>.

As regards the deities to whom the mysteries specially

<sup>a</sup> Apollo, R. 144<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. 8. 9, 7.

belonged the record of the historical period is perfectly clear, the inscriptions agreeing with the literature in designating them as Demeter and Kore, or by the vaguer and more reverential title of τῶ θεῶ, the two being sometimes distinguished as ἡ πρεσβυτέρα and ἡ νεωτέρα<sup>224</sup>. We have noticed already, from the evidence at present forthcoming, that Persephone was not the official name for the daughter at Eleusis. These then are the two to whom the τελεστήριον belonged, and whose communion the mystae sought to gain by initiation. But there could have been no sacred drama or dance presenting the myth of the rape without a third figure, at least as an accessory in the background, the ravisher and husband, the god of the lower world, by whatever name he was called—Plouton, Aidoneus, Polydegmon. And, as a matter of fact, Plouton is clearly recognized in the public ordinances that have come down to us concerning the Eleusinian sacrifice; and his temple has been discovered at Eleusis—a very ancient cave-shrine in close proximity to the τελεστήριον on the north<sup>a</sup>.

In the historical period, then, the two goddesses are the chief personages of the mystery, with the god of the underworld as an accessory. And this is the conclusion we should draw from the testimony of the Homeric hymn to Demeter, our earliest certain evidence from literature. It is clear that that composition has a certain ritualistic value: the poet has probably borrowed from what he knew of the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinia—two distinct festivals not always easy to disentangle—such traits in the story as the sitting by the sacred well (where henceforth, out of respect for the sorrow of Demeter, the mystae refused to sit), the drinking of the κικεών, the ribaldry of Iambe, the legend of the pomegranate. We can fairly gather then from this important source the conviction that the two goddesses were the chief deities of the mystery before the sixth century as they were ever afterwards, that the god of the lower world was recognized as well, and that a passion-play and a ἱερὸς λόγος concerning the abduction and the return of Kore were elements of that mystery; and we may remind ourselves that the author of the hymn names the daughter

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hades-Plouton, R. 14.

Persephone and not Kore. As regards the date, all that seems clear is that it is later than the period of Hesiod<sup>a</sup>, to whom the poet is probably indebted for his unnecessary figure of Hekate and for other minor points.

We may win a still earlier glimpse of the Eleusinia if we believe that Pausanias, in his book on Attica, has drawn from a genuine hymn of Pamphos, the ancient hymn-maker, many of whose poems appear to have been preserved by the Lykomidae of Phlye; from his allusions to the lost poem<sup>b</sup> we should draw the same conclusions concerning the Eleusinian cult with which it is obviously connected, as we draw from the Homeric hymn; for Pamphos seems to have described the rape, the sorrow of Demeter, her disguise, the sitting at the sacred well, and the daughters of Keleos. It appears then that, at the earliest period to which we can return, the chief divinities of the mysteries were those with whom we are familiar through the record from the fifth century onwards; and there is no legendary indication of anything different. But a different view concerning the aboriginal personalities of Eleusinian worship has been suggested by a well-known fifth-century inscription<sup>180</sup>, and by the discovery of two dedicatory reliefs found at Eleusis of a pair of divinities known simply as  $\delta \theta ε \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$  and  $\eta \theta ε \acute{\omicron}$ <sup>225</sup>. Moreover, these are mentioned and represented by the side of  $\tau \acute{\omega} \theta ε \acute{\omicron}$ , who are always Demeter and Kore; a separate sacrifice is offered to this nameless pair, their service is administered by a separate priest, and Eubouleus, the Eleusinian shepherd-hero, is twice associated with them. The reliefs found near the Propylaea, and on the site of what was probably the ancient Ploutonion, are of remarkable interest; the one belonging to the fourth century B.C.<sup>c</sup>, the other to the

<sup>a</sup> See T. W. Allen, *Hell. Journ.* 1897, p. 54, *Text of the Homeric Hymns*; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Homer. Untersuch.* p. 209, ascribes the hymn to the first part of the seventh century, and thinks that the Demeter-cult alluded to in the hymn has little to do with mysteries, which were first made popular and sacramental through the influence

of Pisistratus. But I do not know how he accounts for ll. 476-482 or what ancient authority attests this influence of Pisistratus, of whom we are liable to hear rather too much in modern accounts of the Eleusinia.

<sup>b</sup> I. 38, 3; 39, 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1886, Πίπ. 3. 1.

beginning of the first <sup>a</sup>. On the first (Pl. I) we see the god and the goddess of the lower world seated at a banquet, the titles *θεός* and *θεά* being inscribed above their names, and on their right, at a separate table, two other divinities, attended by a youthful cup-bearer; though here there are no inscriptions to assist us, the sex, the drapery, the two torches in the hand of the one <sup>b</sup>, the sceptre in the hand of the other, as well as the whole entourage, at once designate the goddesses Demeter and Kore, and we may call the cup-bearer Triptolemos. The intention of the whole scene on the relief is well expressed by Philios: the lord and queen of the lower world are seated in friendly communion, he is no longer the fierce ravisher, but the mild and beneficent husband holding the horn of plenty; and the same idea is embodied in the group on the left, where the mother is happily feasting with her daughter and raising the libation-bowl over her head: in this scene of peace and reconciliation we may believe that the figure of Kore-Persephone appears twice, once as *θεά* the queen and the wife, and again as daughter. On the second relief (Pl. II) 'the goddess' stands by the side of her seated husband 'the god,' whose sceptre, drapery, and throne remind us of a well-known type of Zeus, but neither of the pair are distinguished by any specially characteristic attributes <sup>c</sup>. On the left of the relief we may recognize the figures of Plouton, Kore, Demeter, and Triptolemos <sup>c</sup>.

Now an important theory concerning the original period of Eleusinian religion has been recently maintained by more than one scholar and archaeologist <sup>d</sup>, that in this worship of *ὁ θεός* and *ἡ θεά* we are touching the bed-rock of the local cult: that at Eleusis, as we have seen elsewhere, there was a primitive worship of a god and goddess of the lower world, nameless because at this period the deities had not yet acquired per-

<sup>a</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1886, Πίv. 3. 2.

<sup>b</sup> The two torches seem fairly clear; but Philios in an excellent article on the reliefs insists that she is holding a sceptre, *Eph. Arch.* 1886, p. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Vide note, p. 278.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Foucart, *Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des Mystères d'Éleusis*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 35, 1895: cf. von Protz, *Athen. Mitth.* 1899, pp. 262-263.







sonal names or personal myth; and that at some later epoch this peaceful chthonian-agrarian married couple were partly dethroned, partly transformed by the intrusive Demeter with her daughter, by a more personal cult, full of the emotions of human life and of the legend of sorrow, loss, and consolation. According to this view, the titles  $\delta \theta ε \acute{o} \varsigma$ ,  $\eta \theta ε \acute{\alpha}$  are interesting survivals in the later liturgy of that prehistoric period of nameless half-formed divinities that, according to Usener, preceded the fully developed Greek polytheism. One writer goes even so far as to speak of a 'Götterkampf' at Eleusis which has left its trace on the later cult-ordinances.

There are grave objections to the whole theory, though none, as far as I am aware, have been openly expressed. Certainly there are vestiges elsewhere in the Greek records of a primitive worship of an earth-goddess with her male partner that is older than the stratum at which Kore arose. But the proofs that it existed at Eleusis, though the possibility need not of course be denied, do not stand the test. Usener's theory of a primitive period of nameless divinities in Greece rests on a frailer basis than it is often supposed, as will be shown in a later chapter. But we might accept it and yet object to its application here. For the titles  $\delta \theta ε \acute{o} \varsigma$  and  $\eta \theta ε \acute{\alpha}$  need not be primitive at all. It is especially in the cults of the powers of the lower world, in the worship of Hades and Persephone, and more especially still in the mysteries, that we discern in many Greek communities a religious dislike to pronounce the proper personal name, either because of its extreme holiness or because of its ominous associations, and to conceal it under allusive, euphemistic, or complimentary titles. Hence in place of Persephone we find Despoina, 'the Mistress,' or Hagne, 'the Holy one,' or Soteira, 'the Saviour,'  $\Pi \alpha \sigma \iota \kappa \rho \acute{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \iota \alpha$ , 'the Almighty,' and Kore itself was once a name of the same import: for Hades we find  $\Pi \lambda \acute{o} \upsilon \tau \omega \nu$ , 'the wealthy one,'  $\Pi \omicron \lambda \upsilon \delta \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \mu \omega \nu$ , 'the all-hospitable,' Eubouleus, and apparently  $\text{Εὐχάιρης}$ , whose female partner in the nether world is called simply 'goddess' in a late oracle<sup>a</sup>. The feeling is partly

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hades, R. 41.

personal names, and that it might be dangerous to utter the real one of a divinity except in secret to the initiated, as the real name of Despoina was uttered. And later Greek piety not infrequently, even in cults that were non-mystic, showed a tendency to substitute terms such as 'the god' or 'the highest god' for the personal name of the deity<sup>a</sup>. We can note the same feeling of reserve surviving faintly in our own religious nomenclature; and it works strongly on many modern savages, inducing them to conceal their own individual names.

We find not infrequently the same divinity designated by two different names in the same context, and under each name receive a separate sacrifice; thus at Erythrae Kore Soteira<sup>163</sup> had a distinct worship from Kore Δημητρος<sup>164a</sup>; but the nearest parallel to two such groups as τὸ θεῶν and ὁ θεός, ἡ θεά, each group containing the same personage, is afforded by the ritual inscription from Messoa in Laconia, where at the festival of the Eleusinia a sucking-pig and a boar were offered to Demeter and Despoina respectively, and a boar to both Plouton and Persephone<sup>44</sup>. Despoina was probably identified with Persephone in Laconia as well as in Arcadia. But the use of such distinct divine names, suggesting distinct ritual acts, can easily lead at last to a distinction of the divine personages. We cannot then regard such official titles as ὁ θεός and ἡ θεά as necessarily descending from a nameless period of religion or as proof of any great antiquity of the cult: they can be more naturally explained as late developments.

A similar question arises from consideration of the Attic cult of Daeira<sup>165</sup>, to whom we have a record of sacrifice at Athens and in the Marathonian Tetrapolis in the fourth century B. C.; but who must be regarded as one of the divine names of the Eleusinian cult and legend. For she appeared in the Eleusinian genealogical tables; Ismaros, who was buried in the Eleusinion at Athens, being the son of Eumolpos and Daeira; and among the officials of the Attic mysteries Pollux mentions a Δαειρίτης. All that we know about her

<sup>a</sup> Vide Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 343.





identity is that Aeschylus, a good authority on matters Eleusinian, regarded her as Persephone, and this view was accepted by the lexicographers. The name itself might mean either 'the knowing one'—perhaps, then, the goddess of mystic lore—or the 'burning one,' with allusion to the torches used in her ritual. Either interpretation would accord with the character of Persephone. But it has been argued by von Prott<sup>a</sup> that she cannot be this goddess, because the Marathonian ritual prescribed a pregnant ewe as the sacrifice to Daeira, while only male victims could be offered to Persephone; and also because a certain antagonism is revealed between Daeira and Demeter in a ritual law that is vouched for by Eustathius: he tells us that Pherecydes maintained Daeira to be the sister of Styx, and he goes on to justify this view of the historian by saying, 'for the ancients assign Daeira to the sphere of the moist element. Wherefore they regard her as hostile to Demeter, for when sacrifice is offered to Daeira, Demeter's priestess is not present, nor is it lawful for her to taste of the offering.' It is not clear whether the latter part of this statement, which is the only important part, is drawn from Pherecydes or not. But in any case we may accept the curious detail about the ritual as a valid fact<sup>b</sup>. Thus the above-mentioned scholar is led to the conclusion that Daeira cannot be another name for Demeter or the daughter, but is really the personal name of ἡ θεά, the aboriginal goddess who with her partner was disturbed by the arrival of the triad Demeter-Kore-Plouton and the introduction of the mystic cult, and who then became the hostile 'step-sister' Δάειρα<sup>c</sup>.

Now the first argument on which this theory rests is contradicted at once by a wider survey of the facts of ritual: the male victim was certainly offered to Persephone as to her

<sup>a</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>b</sup> It is possible, as von Prott, op. cit. p. 259 maintains, that Servius was referring to Daeira when he wrote that the temple of Juno was closed at Eleusis when sacrifice was offered to Ceres

(vide Hera, R. 29), for Eustathius informs us that certain people regarded Daeira as Hera.

<sup>c</sup> The 'step-sister' was an ancient interpretation of the word, vide Eustathius<sup>135</sup>.

mother, but so also was the female<sup>a</sup>: therefore the Marathonian ritual does not disprove the original identity of Persephone and Daeira.

The second argument is the weightier. If we believe in this hostility of the cults as a really primitive fact we must assign Daeira, who is evidently a chthonian goddess<sup>b</sup>, to a different era of religious belief from that to which Demeter with Kore belongs, or at least regard the rival cults as of different local origin. At any rate here would appear traces of a 'Götterkampf,' perhaps the supplanting of an older by a younger or of an aboriginal by an alien worship. Now instances of the imprint of such religious rivalry on ritual in Greece are exceedingly rare, the only other that I can call to mind being the antagonism between the Hera and Dionysos cults at Athens<sup>c</sup>. And we may well doubt whether it existed between Demeter and Daeira at Eleusis at all. *Ex hypothesi* the latter was an ancient form of the earth-goddess; Demeter was generally recognized in Greece as one herself. We have traced already the pluralizing process which from an original Gaia throws off the figures Demeter, Persephone-Kore, Themis, Erinys, Aglauros, and between these no hostility is anywhere expressed or hinted in legend or cult. It is strange that it should have existed at Eleusis: still stranger, if it did exist, that Aeschylus should have nevertheless permitted himself to identify the hostile Daeira with the beloved Persephone. It is quite possible that this religious hostility is a fiction of the later exegetical writers who were puzzled about Daeira, and who were seeking a reason for the one fact that had come to their knowledge,

<sup>a</sup> Male victims to Demeter and Kore at Messoa<sup>44</sup>: in the Attic Thesmophoria: wether to Demeter at Kos, Geogr. Reg. s. v.: ram to Demeter *Χλόη*<sup>9</sup>: boar to Kore at Mykonos, Zeus, R. 56: black cow to Kore at Cyzicos<sup>128</sup>. It is not clear whether the bulls offered at Acharaca near Tralles<sup>124</sup> and at the pool of Kyane near Syracuse<sup>129</sup> were victims to Persephone or the nether god; only female victims allowed in

the ritual of Despoina<sup>119a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> This appears not only from the evidence of Aeschylus and Pherecydes, but from Lycophron, 710, *θήσει Δαίριρα καὶ συνευρέτη δάνας*, referring to Odysseus after his return from the world below. Mommsen's hypothesis that Daeira is Semele is merely fantastic, *Feste Stadt Ath.* p. 381: Daeira has no associations with Bacchus.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Hera, 28<sup>d</sup>.



that Demeter and her priestess had no share in the worship of Daeira. Quite other reasons may have explained this, for instance, the independence that has been noted occasionally belonged to the worship of Persephone. The religious appellatives *θεός*, *θεά*, *Δάειρα* may have arisen then after the institution of the mysteries, after the firm establishment in the public religion of the personal deities, Demeter, Kore, Plouton, and after the general acceptance of the myth of the abduction and the return. And this theory accounts for the facts somewhat better than the other.

There were localities in Greece, as we have seen, where Demeter was worshipped without Kore, as a *primaeval* Ge-Demeter or *Ge-Xθovia*, the spouse of the nether god; and there may have been mysteries of Demeter before Kore was attached to her, as there appears to have been a mystery of Ge at Phlye<sup>a</sup>. But at Eleusis the worship and myth of Demeter and Kore are relatively to us at least aboriginal: the myth of the arrival of the goddess there need not affect us; and the elements which the Homeric hymn reveals of the great mystery—the group of the mother and the daughter with the god in the background—are the prime factors with which we start and which it is useless speculation to endeavour to resolve into a simpler form. The questions when it arose or whence it was derived cannot be settled on any existing evidence. M. Foucart has recently revived a theory<sup>b</sup>—which was prevalent in antiquity and was accepted a generation ago by Curtius—that the Eleusinia were an Egyptian importation, and were an adaptation of the mystic cult of Isis-Osiris, of which the doctrine of the future life was a main feature. The recent discoveries concerning the Mycenaean age have, indeed, revealed a closer association than was supposed by modern historians to exist between the Nile-valley and that earliest period of Hellas. Such a hypothesis then as M. Foucart's cannot be ruled out *a priori*: the *mirage orientale* has worked some havoc in modern discussions of origins, but foreign influences on Greek soil have, nevertheless, to be reckoned with: in each particular case it is simply a question of the

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Mémoire* cited above.

weight of the evidence. It is interesting to note that this Egyptian theory seems to have been corroborated by an important find in the necropolis of Eleusis in 1898<sup>a</sup>. One of the tombs, containing vases of the Mycenaean and geometric period, revealed a small figure of Isis in Egyptian porcelain, together with some Egyptian scarabs and some vases of the peculiar form associated with the Isis-cult, the probable date falling between the tenth and the eighth century B.C. The discovery is a very interesting indication of a possible trade-connexion between the Nile and this part of Attica, and we know that religion sometimes follows trade: we may agree that if the Eleusinians needed to borrow a foreign cult from Egypt, the door was open to them to do so. But this is still only an *a priori* consideration. The evidence from the facts of cult adduced by M. Foucart appears to be of very slight weight, and he is inclined to strain a few casual resemblances such as are often noticed in any two systems of ritual however remote. The belief in life after death, accompanied by a desire for future bliss, extends over so wide an area of the world that it is almost valueless as evidence for any theory of borrowing. There is a general resemblance between the sorrows of Isis and the sorrows of Demeter, and the search of Isis for Osiris and the search of the Greek goddess for her daughter, though the setting of the story is very different. We may say the same of the Pawnee story quoted by Mr. Andrew Lang<sup>b</sup> as a close savage parallel to the Eleusinia, and we may add that such resemblances have now become the common-places of anthropological study. It is more to the purpose to remark that certain essentials of the Isis-Osiris legend, the prominence of the god, his death and dismemberment, the figure of a second and malignant god, are not discoverable in the Eleusinian mystery rites, where there is no death of any divinity and no contest between powers of light and powers of darkness. Plouton, whose shrine lay outside the telesterion, is no real counterpart of Osiris in the sacred story: to find one M. Foucart has to force Dionysos into

<sup>a</sup> Vide article by Skias, *Eph. Arch.* 1898, pp. 108, 120, Taf. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 129, note a.

a prominent place within the original mystery and thus do violence to the evidence: and his theory fails entirely to account for Kore.

Mystery-cults may be regarded as an ancient heritage of Mediterranean religion. Demeter's cult at Eleusis may have been 'mystic' from the beginning, owing to the force of its aboriginal chthonian associations which, as we have seen, were a potent stimulus to the institution of mysteries. Or it may have taken on a mystic form, when the beautiful story of the daughter had become shaped and prevalent, and the craving for a passion-play arose, which may have been gratified by the inventiveness of some priest or poet, whose hieratic and dramatic genius may have instituted the dance and elaborated the *δρᾶμα μυστικόν*: for in the various Greek legends the origin of the local mystery is usually ascribed to some gifted and inspired individual, as whose descendant the *ἱεροφάντης* may in some sense be regarded.

Whatever its origin may have been, the Eleusinian mystery once instituted became the chief religious service of the whole Eleusinian community, while the Thesmophoria, a sister-ritual of perhaps older foundation, remained the women's privilege. In mythic motive and content the two were closely akin, but the Thesmophoria had merely an agrarian function and value, while the Eleusinia, an agrarian festival also in the earliest as well as the later period<sup>a</sup>, conveyed a promise of future happiness and thus rose to the higher religious plane. This double aspect of it is already clearly presented in the Homeric hymn<sup>169</sup>: 'Happy is he who has seen these mysteries: but he who has had no share in them has by no means an equal lot in the darkness of the dead.' Whether it is aboriginal, or whether the agrarian was at first its sole function, are problems impossible at present to determine: for before we could handle the question as to the primitive faith at Eleusis, we should have to be able to construct a general history of

<sup>a</sup> The distinction which Rubensohn draws sharply between the older agrarian non-mystic cult at Eleusis and the mystic, *Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis u. Samothrake*, p. 35, does not rest on

clear evidence: no doubt there were non-mystic cults at Eleusis, and the Haloa were not the same as the Eleusinia; but the 'mystic' cult-figures were always 'agrarian' also.

Greek thought as touching the after-life back to the Mycenaean period, and at present sufficient material does not exist.

We can clearly determine then the chief figures of the mystery-cult in the earliest period at which the record begins. But we have also to consider briefly some secondary and accessory figures such as Eubouleus, Triptolemos, Iacchos, Dionysos. There are other divine personages besides these worshipped at Eleusis, and any one of them might be recognized in the preliminary sacrifices that preceded the great celebration. But those just mentioned are the only names that even the most general treatment of the Eleusinian problem cannot pass over; and the question to ask is whether they are aboriginal, or, if of later introduction, whether they were admitted into the heart of the mystery so far as to modify the religious conception.

Eubouleus<sup>227</sup>, the Eleusinian shepherd 'of good counsel,' who with his flock of swine was swallowed up when the earth opened to receive Kore, is a transparent figure enough. The name was attached to Zeus at Paros, Amorgos, and Cyrene, and in the abbreviated form of Βουλεύς at Mykonos: the ancients interpreted the name not as an appellative of the all-wise sky-god, but as designating the god of the lower world, Zeus Χθόνιος or Hades, and the name is used as an equivalent for him in the Orphic poetry. That this is the correct interpretation is borne out by the legends and the cult-associations of Eubouleus, which are all of a distinctly chthonian character, and his name may well have belonged to the ancient chthonian liturgy of Eleusis, although the author of the Homeric hymn shows no knowledge of it.

The exact explanation of his name is by no means easy. Was it possible for the primitive folk of Eleusis to think of the god of death as the 'god of wise counsel,' with the same spirit of optimistic faith as prompted Plato to write that the lord of the lower world kept the souls in his domain, not by fetters, but by the spell of wise speech<sup>a</sup>? The later influence of the mysteries may have led certain advanced minds to regard death as a gain; but we are hardly prepared for so ideal

<sup>a</sup> *Cratyl.* p. 403 E.

a view revealed to us in the earliest epoch of Eleusinian cult. Some of the names for the powers of the shadowy world may be regarded as euphemistic; but this can hardly be one of them: the 'stern ones' or the malignant spirits might be called by euphemism the 'kindly ones' or the 'good people'; so by the rule of euphemism, if we applied it here, we should have to suppose that the primitive folk considered the chthonian god to be more or less a fool, which is not probable. Dr. Kern thinks that Zeus Eubouleus has some connexion with Zeus βουλαῖος<sup>a</sup>; but the resemblance of title is merely a coincidence, for the latter belongs wholly to the council-chamber and to political life, the former to the darkness of the grave. The most probable explanation may be that the title expresses the once active oracular functions of the chthonian divinity, the function which Gaia had once extensively exercised by means of dreams, and which Trophonios retained down to the later days of Hellenism. And the name 'Eubouleus' could thus easily have arisen from the good counsel that the nether god could give, especially in the concerns of the shepherd and the husbandman. As at Mykonos<sup>b</sup>, so probably at Athens, he had both a chthonic and a vegetative character. He was remembered in the preliminary sacrifices, but does not seem to have belonged to the inner circle of the mystic cult, nor was his legend such as could be adapted easily to a sacred drama. We have reason to think that the remembrance of his original identity with Plouton had faded from the popular mind by the second century B. C.<sup>c</sup>

Triptolemos was on a very different footing in the Eleusinian cult. His personality is brighter and more human<sup>228</sup>; apparently an old culture-hero of Eleusis, he is mentioned in the Homeric hymn as one of those to whom the mysteries were revealed by Demeter. We do not know at what age his cult was established: he possessed a separate shrine there, and on the Rarian plain an altar and a sacred threshing-floor that is noticed

<sup>a</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1891, p. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Zeus, R. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Svoronos has argued that he appears as Plouton in the Lakrateides-relief;

but Heberdey with much more reason sees Eubouleus in the youthful figure on the right of the relief, traces of whose long curls are preserved; vide Pl. II.

by Pausanias and in a fourth-century Athenian inscription, and that was doubtless associated with the sacred ploughing in which Eleusis asserted her primaevial claims in rivalry with Athens. The Triptolemos-cult penetrated the capital after the unification of Attica: his temple stood near the temple of Demeter, close to the Enneakrounos spring<sup>a</sup>; the state remembered him in the *προτέλεια*, the sacrifices preliminary to the great mystic ceremony, and in the consecration of the *ἀπαρχαί* sent by the allies.

Triptolemos the plougher<sup>b</sup> and the dispenser of the gift of corn was one of the many apostles of agriculture that were honoured in various parts of Greece, usually in connexion with the legend of Demeter. But owing to the Panhellenic prestige of Eleusis and, we may add, to the influence of the Attic art that dealt lovingly and most skilfully with the legend of his mission, his personality and claim became recognized in most of the Greek states, in spite of local dissent: so that Arrian was able to say that the worship of Triptolemos as the founder of cultivation was universal<sup>c</sup>. But whether he played any part or a prominent part in the Eleusinian mystery or mystic drama itself is a doubtful question that may be briefly considered a little later on.

More important and perplexing are the questions about Iacchos, 'the daemon of Demeter, the founder of the mysteries,' as Strabo describes him<sup>229 n</sup>. The author of the hymn is silent about him, and considering his later prominence we may in this case interpret silence as ignorance. The first mention of him occurs in the early fifth-century Attic inscription concerning the *προτέλεια Ἐλευσινίων*, to which reference has already been made<sup>176</sup>, if the restoration I venture to adopt is correct<sup>d</sup>. His recognition in the mysteries appears to have

<sup>a</sup> Dörpfeld identifies these two temples with the Thesmophorion, *Ath. Mitth.* 1897, p. 477.

<sup>b</sup> That he was a plough-hero might be inferred from his associations with the Rarian plain: but it is clearly revealed by two vase-representations of the fifth century B. C., one of Attic, the other of Boeotian art: see Rubensohn,

*Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 60, Taf. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Triptolemos on coins: Cyzicos, fourth century B. C.; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 452; Enna, third century B. C., p. 119; on coins of Roman period at Anchialos, p. 236; Corinth, 340; Sardes, 553; Tarsos, 618; Alexandria, 719.

<sup>d</sup> von Prott, *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 253, has done much to restore the in-

been complete by the time of Herodotus, who describes the *πανήγυρις* as raising the cry *Ἰακχε*, or calling on the god *Ἰακχος* in the festival of Demeter and Kore<sup>171</sup>; and perhaps this memorable association of Iacchos with the great fight for freedom may have increased his fame and popularity in Greece. As regards the locality of his worship and its value for the mystic service, the evidence is clear and important. We hear of the *Ἰάκχειον* at Athens<sup>229 f</sup>, and his statue representing him as holding a torch stood in the temple of Demeter in a group with the mother and the daughter near the Dipylon gate<sup>143</sup>. On the evening of the nineteenth and on the twentieth day of Boedromion<sup>a</sup>, a day specially sacred to him, and itself called *Ἰακχος*<sup>211, 229<sup>1</sup></sup>, the multitude of mystae, protected by the armed escort of the ephebi, escorted him from the city along the sacred way to Eleusis, the god being represented either by an image or his human counterpart<sup>185, 186</sup>. We hear of his formal reception at Eleusis, and of a special attendant, the *Ἰακχαγωγός*, who waited upon him on the route, and who may possibly have been associated in this task by another official known as the *κουροτρόφος*<sup>193, 208</sup>. It is clear then, from this evidence, that at Eleusis Iacchos had no abiding home: we hear of no altar, of no temple, consecrated to him there; he comes as a stranger and a visitor, and departs at the end of the sacred rites: nor does his name occur in any branch of Eleusinian genealogy. The conclusion then is certain, and generally accepted<sup>b</sup>, that Iacchos does not belong to the original Eleusinian cult or to the inner circle of the mysteries. It is of no importance that

scription of the *ἱερὸς νόμος* to its proper form: he rightly objects to the accepted restoration [Πλούτωνι [Ἰάκ]χω on the ground of the Δ that follows the first word. But his own suggestion, Δολίχῳ, though it suits the space is unconvincing, as it is highly improbable that an almost unknown hero, Dolichos, should be associated in this carefully organized service with Plouton and τῷ θεῷ. But Πλούτωνι δὲ Ἰάκχω fills up the space equally well, and this use of δὲ to connect the different clauses of a *ἱερὸς νόμος*

is found in the sacrificial inscription of Mykonos.

<sup>a</sup> The procession certainly started on the nineteenth (R. 187), but it must have occupied part of the twentieth day (R. 211, 229<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>b</sup> For instance by O. Kern in his article on Zeus-Euboulens, *Ath. Mitth.* 1891, pp. 1-29: cf. id. 1892, p. 140; Rubensohn, *Mysterienheiligth.* p. 40; Rohde in his *Psyche* takes the same view (vol. I, p. 285).

a late and reckless composer of an 'Orphic' hymn<sup>a</sup> chooses to introduce him into the old Eleusinian myth of Baubo<sup>b</sup>: and if Strabo, in styling him the ἀρχηγέτης τῶν μυστηρίων, means more than that he led the mystae down the sacred way to the mystic shrine, we need not be influenced by Strabo against the better evidence. On the other hand, Iacchos is certainly Attic, perhaps specially Athenian; in spite of the loose use of his name by late writers, there is no trace of his cult outside this district<sup>c</sup>; and if future discovery were to prove its existence elsewhere, we should be justified in assuming that it was an exportation from Attica. His intrusion, therefore, into the Eleusinian ceremony cannot have happened at a very early epoch<sup>d</sup>; else those Greek communities, and there were several, that at a probably early period had borrowed Eleusinia from Eleusis, would have surely borrowed this personage also; and, as we have seen, the author of the hymn appears to have been ignorant of him. Now Iacchos is no obscure hero, but a deity whose cult aroused the enthusiasm of the greatest Attic poets. Who then is this deity whose power was such that he was chosen—perhaps from the sixth century onwards—to lead the mystae to the home of the mystery? We are accustomed, as were most of the ancients, to call him Dionysos, and this is probably right<sup>e</sup>, but there is much that requires clearing up. As regards the name itself, assuming this identification as correct, we may be content with one of two explanations: it may arise, as Curtius suggested, from some reduplication of Βάκχος, from Φίλακχος, by the dropping of the digammas; or

<sup>a</sup> Orph. Frag. 16.

<sup>b</sup> The soundness of the text may be doubted, see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 820.

<sup>c</sup> On this point the writer of the article 'Iacchos' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 9, is misleading.

<sup>d</sup> O. Kern, *Ath. Mitth.* 1892, p. 140, suggests that Iacchos grew into prominence from the aid he may have been supposed to have given at Salamis: he there rightly protests against the belief that Iacchos-cult made any deep impress upon the mysteries.

<sup>e</sup> This view is sometimes questioned, as for instance by Rohde, *Psyche*,

vol. 1, p. 284, but *a priori*, even apart from real evidence, it seems the only reasonable one. For Iacchos is a high god, and such deities did not grow up obscurely in a corner of Attica and suddenly emerge into power in the sixth century B.C. And what other high god of the Greek Pantheon can claim his name but Dionysos? We notice too that Iacchos is the ὠραῖος θεός<sup>229a</sup>, the type of Dionysos that was beginning to be popular from the sixth century onwards in literature and from the fifth century in art.



from the root that is found in *λαχέειν*, 'to cry aloud,' so that the word would designate Dionysos as the god of the loud cry, and would be the equivalent of 'Bromios.' Now as regards the identification itself, we do not discover it by any clear sign in the glowing invocation of the Aristophanic chorus<sup>229 a</sup>, but the ode in Sophocles' *Antigone* clearly and decisively reveals that Iacchos is Dionysos in his relation to Eleusinian cult<sup>229 b, c</sup>. 'Bacchus, thou rulest in the hill-girt bay of Eleusinian Deo, whereunto all guests come. . . . Hail, thou whom the fire-breathing stars follow in the dance, thou hearer of voices of the night! show thyself, oh Son of God, with thy ministering women of Naxos, the maenads who all night long honour thee in frenzied dance, Iacchos, the dispenser of men's fate<sup>a</sup>.' It seems, then, that Sophocles and his audience were quite well assured about Iacchos; and again a most valuable piece of Attic evidence is preserved by the scholiast on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes<sup>205 d</sup>, who tells us that at the Lenaia the *δαδοῦχος*, one of the highest Eleusinian officials, proclaimed to the people, as he held a lighted torch in his hand, 'Invoke the god'; and that the people in answer cried out, 'Hail, Iacchos, son of Semele, thou giver of wealth.' The formula has a genuine old Attic savour, and neither it nor the other facts he gives us are likely to have been the invention of later antiquarianism. And we can gather from it that in a genuine popular liturgy of Athens, perhaps older than the time of Sophocles, Iacchos was recognized as Dionysos, and as the usual Dionysos, the son of Semele and the vegetation-god who gives wealth. At the same time as 'Iacchos' was a peculiar epithet and became almost an independent personal name, it was to be expected that the later mythographers would try to draw distinctions, and, among the numerous Dionysoi that they invented and

<sup>a</sup> Compare with this the recently discovered Delphic hymn that in one or two places seems almost an echo of the Sophoclean ode, R. 229<sup>d</sup>. The epithet *ταμίης* of Iacchos is mysterious: it is applied to Zeus and Hermes, but in contexts that explain its special sense: it is never applied to Dionysos, but Bruch-

mann, *Epithet. Deor.* p. 92, quotes Menand. Fr. 289 (Koch), *Σκοῖδον Διόνυσσον* and Phot. s. v. *Σκοῖδος ταμίης τις καὶ διοικητής. Μακεδονικὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα.* It may be that *ταμίης* was applied to Bacchus in the same sense as *πλουτοδότης*, by which title he was hailed in the Lenaia<sup>205d</sup>.

tried to find genealogies for, Iacchos becomes specialized as the son of Zeus and Persephone<sup>229 1, m.</sup> But they did not agree among each other or with the popular view expressed in the Lenaia; nor is there any reason to regard their artificial genealogies as throwing any light on the secret of Eleusis. Whatever stories were in vogue concerning the babe Iacchos and his nurture at Demeter's breast<sup>a</sup>, we must not lightly suppose that these emanated from the centre of the mysteries themselves, or that Iacchos and his legend had much to do with the *δρᾶμα μυστικόν*. All that we know of him in respect of the mysteries is that as the youthful Dionysos he was escorted in the sacred procession to Eleusis once a year, and was in some sense regarded as the leader of the *mystae*, and that his home was Athens<sup>b</sup>. He was a popular, not a specially 'mystic,' still less an 'Orphic' figure<sup>c</sup>, and fortunately for him the later manufacturers of Orphic poetry did not trouble much about him, except occasionally to use his name as one of the countless synonyms of Dionysos, and perhaps to invent a special genealogy for him. His presence among the *mystae* is one of the signs of the great influence of the Dionysiac worship in Attica from the sixth century onwards. Considering the enthusiasm it evoked, the ideas it enshrined of initiation and of communion with the deity, its promises concerning the future life, we should be astonished if there were no signs of a *rapprochement* between it and the Eleusinian religion. And

<sup>a</sup> R. 229<sup>k</sup>. 'Κουροτρόφος τις' may have been one of the officials in an Attic mystery, and may have personated one of the *θεοὶ κουροτρόφοι*: but that he or she was connected with Eleusis or Iacchos is more than we know. The Virgilian 'Mystica vannus Iacchi' is no indication that the Bacchic infant was carried in a 'vannus' or *λίκνον* in the Eleusinian procession: the phrase need have no reference to Eleusis, and no *λικνοφόρος* is found in the list of Eleusinian officials (R. 229<sup>e-1</sup>).

<sup>b</sup> We might be able to say more if we knew what happened to Iacchos—his statue or his counterpart—when the

procession reached Eleusis.

<sup>c</sup> He has nothing to do with Phanes and no real connexion with Zagreus: it is true that Lucian speaks of an *Ίάκχου σπαραγμός* as a story that was danced somewhere, R. 229<sup>m</sup>: but by his time the various names for Dionysos were becoming interchangeable. Sophocles in calling Iacchos *βούκερος* (R. 229<sup>c</sup>) was not necessarily thinking of Zagreus, as the horned Dionysos was a fairly prevalent Hellenic type. 'Certain people' may have identified Zagreus and Iacchos (Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 7. 3), but apparently not the Athenian people or the Eleusinian ritual.

Dionysos was known and recognized at Eleusis, not merely under his special Athenian, but also under his usual Hellenic name. We hear of the *πάτριος ἀγών* of the Dionysia there and of Dionysiac choruses in honour of the great goddesses<sup>220</sup>; and from the time of Archilochus companies of Bacchic singers may have been in the habit of solemnizing 'the panegyris of Demeter and Kore': and we have an interesting inscription, belonging to a late period, commemorating a society of Iobacchi that was organized at Eleusis and performed choruses in which the actors personated Kore and other divine personages<sup>a</sup>. In return, we see leading officials of the mysteries concerned with the administration of Dionysiac rites at Athens, such as the Lenaia and perhaps the Anthesteria<sup>b</sup>: for there was no reason why some employment should not be found for a *δαδοῦχος* or a *ἱεροκῆρυξ* when he was off his Eleusinian duty. Again, the Dionysiac brotherhoods, alone of all religious associations in Greece, were eager proselytizers. It was inevitable that they should try to force their way into the sacred penetralia of the national religion, especially after the Lykomidae, a family with Orphic proclivities, had obtained possession of the office of *δαδοῦχος*<sup>c</sup>; and what is strange is, not that we find some traces of Dionysos at Eleusis, but that the attempt of these sectarians to capture the stronghold altogether failed. The Orphic propagandists might win the credulous to believe that Orpheus or his son Musaeos had presided in time past over Eleusis and other homes of the Eleusinian goddess<sup>d</sup>: the Athenian state might sacrifice to Dionysos as to other deities on one of the days of the mysteries<sup>213</sup>; and possibly Orphism may have been able to influence the lesser mysteries at Agrai; but

<sup>a</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> The *ἱεροκῆρυξ* is mentioned as assisting in an important function connected with the Anthesteria (R. 205<sup>f</sup>), but Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 20, p. 19, maintains that this need not be the Eleusinian *ἱεροκῆρυξ*: it is true that we hear of *ἱεροκῆρυκες* elsewhere, the Amphictyonic Council possessing one, cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 155. 18; 186. 6; 330. 19. But Foucart is right in maintaining that no

other is known at Athens except the *ἱεροκῆρυξ* of the great mysteries, *Rev. d'Ét. Grec.* 6, p. 341.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plut. *Themist.* 1; Paus. 1. 37, 1.

<sup>d</sup> Aristophanes believed it or pretended to believe it, *Frogs* 1032, possibly the author of the speech against Aristogeiton A, § 11: the writer of the article on Orpheus in Roscher's *Lexikon* speaks somewhat too positively on this point (2, p. 1096).

there is no evidence that it ever succeeded in winning for its god or its apostle any place within the mystic cult itself or in the genuine traditions or genealogies of Eleusis. Dionysos' name is not mentioned in the state-inscription concerning the *προτέλεια*, nor have we reason to believe that it was heard in the *τελεστήριον*<sup>a</sup>. The peculiar characteristics of his cult—the orgiastic enthusiasm, the prominence of the female votary, the death of the god—have not yet been discovered in the Eleusinian mystic rites, of which such a philosopher as Plato speaks always with reverence, while he scarcely disguises his dislike of the ecstatic violence and the scheme of salvationism that marked the private Bacchic cults<sup>b</sup>. Nor again can we trace up to or within the hall of the mysteries any of the footprints of Orphism, or by any sure clue discover there any of its leading doctrines, any traces of its central cosmic figure of Phanes or of its uncouth legend of Zagreus. In its own circles Orphism may have borrowed very freely from Eleusis, but there is no proof that it imposed any part of itself on the mystery<sup>c</sup>. Eleusis had no need to borrow from any alien cult

<sup>a</sup> The only apparent evidence is the Roman inscription mentioning the consecration of a woman at Eleusis to 'Bacchos (or Iacchos), Ceres, and Cora'<sup>113b</sup>: the date is A. D. 342, and that a Roman of this period should call the Eleusinian initiation 'a consecration to Iacchos, Ceres, and Cora' proves nothing important. The passage quoted R. 230 from Cicero's *De Nat. Deor.*, which M. Foucart regards as proving that Dionysos was an aboriginal partner of the Eleusinian mystery, proves nothing about Eleusis at all: Cicero may be referring to Orphic Dionysos-mysteries. Aristides tells us that the 'Kerykes and the Eumolpidae at Eleusis got Dionysos to be the *paredros* of the Eleusinian goddesses': this might vaguely describe the position of Iacchos at Eleusis, but does not show that Dionysos was permanently established at Eleusis as their peer in the mysteries (Dionysos, R. 129<sup>c</sup>).

<sup>b</sup> *Rep.* pp. 363-5; *Laws*, 815 C:

in *Phaedo*, p. 69 c, there is an appreciative allusion to the Eleusinia: at least this seems probable in spite of the Bacchic quotation. But Plato may have borrowed his doctrine of palingenesis from Orphism, *Phaedo*, c. 61, 62.

<sup>c</sup> The view summarily given in the text agrees on the whole with that of Rohde in his *Psyche* and in his article on Orpheus in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1896, pp. 1-18, and O. Kern, loc. cit.: O. Gruppe in his article on 'Orpheus,' Roscher's *Lexik.* 3, p. 1137, comes to the same conclusion, though reluctantly and with reservation. I have not considered it relevant to discuss the question more minutely: the 'onus probandi' lies with those who maintain the thesis of the Orphic conquest of the Eleusinia, which my own studies in Orphism have led me to reject: the mud-bath of the uninitiated—an Orphic idea—may have been adopted as an Eleusinian dogma, but this is not quite clearly proved by

the belief in the life after death. It is of course quite conceivable that the solemn visit of Iacchos-Dionysos to the mystic shrine may have added strength to the story, current in Sabazian mysteries, that the god was the son of Persephone; or may have given further currency to the idea of a close association between him and the mother and daughter that possibly found expression in a *ἱερὸς γάμος* at Sicyon<sup>78</sup>, and in the consecration of a temple to Dionysos *Μύστης* by the grove of Demeter at Tegea (Geogr. Reg. s.v. 'Tegea'), and in the state-ritual of Lerna<sup>115 b</sup>. And it would be natural if those of the Eleusinian votaries who had been initiated into Dionysiac mysteries, and were full of enthusiasm for their god, should recognize him in the Eleusinian Plouton. But concerning their thoughts there is silence. The records do not reveal to us any change in the divine *personnel* of the mystic circle, nor can we trace throughout the ages any profound modification in the religious view, even though a statement of Porphyry's<sup>207</sup> may suggest that the perturbing influence of neo-Platonism was felt at last. Doubtless the interpretation of what was shown might change with the changing sentiment of the ages; but the two stately and beautiful figures that are presented to us by the author of the hymn, who says no word of Dionysos, are still found reigning at Eleusis in the latter days of paganism.

We can now consider certain points of importance in the history and administration of the mysteries. In the fifth century they were open to the whole Hellenic world<sup>a</sup>. But legends<sup>167, 216</sup>, which in this case are quite sufficient historical evidence, preserve a reminiscence of a time when they were closed against strangers<sup>b</sup>; and apart from such indications

the references (R. 223<sup>f</sup>, cf. Plutarch in Stobaeus, Meinek. vol. 4, p. 107); vide Eunapius, *Vit. Max.* p. 52, Boissonade (the *τῶ θεῷ* still at Eleusis just before the Gothic invasion).

<sup>a</sup> The passage in Julian that seems to contradict this is properly dealt with by Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 17.

<sup>b</sup> The Dioscuri and Heracles were

admitted only through adoption: or Heracles was not admitted to the great mysteries being an alien, but the lesser mysteries were instituted for his benefit: the chorus in Euripides' *Ion* lament that an alien bastard should take part in the Eleusinia. It seems probable that every stranger needed an Athenian *μυσταγωγός* to introduce him (just as

we could assume in accordance with the general principles of ancient religions that in the earliest period they were the gentile or tribal privilege of the Eleusinians. It is usually assumed—and probably correctly—that they lost this exclusiveness and became Panhellenic in consequence of the absorption of Eleusis in the Attic state, though this latter event need not have immediately brought about this momentous result. The natural interpretation of ll. 480–482 in the Homeric hymn suggests that by the time of its composition they had already been thrown open to the whole of Hellas; for we cannot suppose that the poet was composing the hymn for the benefit merely of a narrow clique of Eleusinian families, and we must read these words as an appeal to the Hellenic world to come and be initiated: otherwise we should have to say that the author was informing the general public that they were sure of damnation for not being Eleusinian born. We may take it then that by 600 B.C. the mysteries admitted other Hellenes, and it is not rash to suppose that Eleusis by this time was part of the Athenian community. The fantastic view still held apparently by a few writers, that the struggle between Athens and Eleusis which ended in the incorporation of the latter was an incident in the period of Solon or Pisistratus, rests merely on a mistranslation of a simple sentence in Herodotus<sup>167</sup>: the fragment of Euripides' *Erechtheus*<sup>a</sup> is in itself evidence sufficient to oblige us to relegate that important event to the prehistoric or at least the dawn of the historic period of Attica<sup>b</sup>. The Homeric hymn certainly makes no allusion to Athens; but it was obviously the cue of the poet to refrain from any, for he is dealing solely with the remote origins of Eleusinian

the foreign applicants at the Delphic oracle needed a Delphian): this would be a survival of the ancient feeling.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Athena, R. 17<sup>ab</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* 2, p. 257, goes so far as to maintain that Athens had won Eleusis and the mysteries before the Ionic migration to Asia Minor: for at Athens the chief management was in the hands of the *ἀρχων βασιλεύς*,

the representative of the ancient king (R. 182, 184, 190), and at Ephesos of the descendants of Androctos who were still called kings<sup>231a</sup>. But it is obviously possible that the Ephesians borrowed their Ἐλευσίνια ἱερά at a later date, and merely followed the Athenian example in this detail of the administration.

things. And if we believe that the admission of alien Greeks to the mysteries was a comparatively early event, we can better understand the migration of Eleusinian mystic cult into other localities of Hellas and the antiquity that was claimed for many of these affiliated shrines of Demeter Ἐλευσινία. But it will be more convenient to discuss at the end of this investigation what was the real relation between these and the Attic town.

The abolition of the gentile privilege, carried out by Athens before the sixth century and foreshadowing her later policy of wise toleration of aliens, was a momentous event in the history of ancient religion. It is true that at the dawn of history in Hellas the barriers of the ancient 'sacra' are already breaking down: Amphictyonies are being formed and many of the high gods are common to the great tribes, and oracles are speaking to the whole people. But here for the first time was a religion that invited the whole Hellenic world to communion; and while Delphi was growing to exercise a certain political and sacerdotal influence in matters external, Eleusis might hope to become the shrine of the spiritual life of the nation. And this Eleusinian communion was not a convention into which an individual found himself born, as he was born into a certain circle of household and civic 'sacra,' but was a free act of the individual's choice. Nor were women excluded, nor even slaves. As regards the former there is no question<sup>173</sup>: but as to the admission of the latter there is difference of opinion. There is no reason at all for pronouncing it *a priori* improbable. There were many cults to which slaves had free access, and some were their special prerogative: the very occurrence in certain ritual inscriptions of the prohibition—δούλῳ οὐ θέμις—shows that this rule was not universal. And that there was no such prohibition at Eleusis is almost proved by the fragment of the comic poet Theophilos<sup>173</sup>: the slave remembers with gratitude the kindnesses of his master towards him, 'who taught me my letters, and who got me initiated into the sacred mysteries<sup>a</sup>.' It is difficult to suggest who at Athens

<sup>a</sup> Meineke, *ibid.*, suggests that possibly a freedman is speaking. Lobeck, *op. cit.* p. 19, takes the natural interpretation but does not insist on it.

the *θεοί* to whom he was initiated could be except the famous *τὸ θεῶν*. But more positive evidence is provided by the inscription found some years ago at Eleusis containing the accounts of the Eleusinian officials during the administration of Lycurgus, B. C. 329–328; one of the items of expenses is *μύησις τῶν δημοσίων*<sup>182</sup>, and from this we are bound to conclude that, at least under special conditions, slaves could be admitted to initiation; nor in the scrutiny of candidates<sup>217</sup> does any question seem to have been raised concerning free or unfree status.

We may now consider certain points of interest in the state-organization of the mysteries and in the *personnelle* of the administration. From the sixth century no distinct record has come down to us, unless we assign an exact and literal accuracy to a statement of Andocides, who quotes a law of Solon bidding the *βουλή* hold a meeting in the Athenian Eleusinion on the day after the mysteries, no doubt to debate on matters connected with them<sup>174</sup>. But the orators use Solon's name so vaguely that the statement loses its chronological value. The excavations at Eleusis appear to show that the period of Pisistratus was one of great architectural activity there, as the rapidly increasing prestige and popularity of the mysteries demanded a new laying-out of the site. But the construction of the *μυστικὸς σηκός*, which existed at least till the time of Strabo, was one of the great achievements of the Periclean administration<sup>177–179</sup>. And from the fifth century two inscriptions have come down to us giving important illustration of the Panhellenic character which attached to the rites, and which the Athenian state desired to intensify: one that may be dated earlier than 450 B. C. contains the decree proclaiming a holy truce of three months for the *mystae*, *epoptai* and their attendants both at the greater and lesser mysteries, so as to allow ample time both for the journey out and the return to their homes<sup>175</sup>; the other, a generation later, is the famous inscription concerning the *ἀπαρχαί*, which has already been discussed<sup>180</sup>: the subject-states are commanded, the other Hellenic communities are courteously invited, to send thank-offerings of corn in ac-



cordance with the oracle, and divine blessings are invoked upon them if they comply. The invitation was to be proclaimed at the mysteries, the sacrifices offered from the tithes or from the money the tithes realized were consecrated to the divinities of the inner and outer circle of the mysteries, as the state and the Eumolpidae prescribed. Grounds have been given above<sup>a</sup> for the opinion that these offerings were intended for the Eleusinia as part of the preliminary ritual, not for the Haloa as Mommsen has maintained. We may read in these records the far-sighted policy of Athens, the determination to find if possible a religious support for her hegemony. Even when the latter had passed away, *θεωποί* still flocked to the great celebration from all parts of Greece. And in an inscription of the fourth century the prayer of the Milesian representatives is preserved, who pray 'for the health and safety of the people of Athens, their children and wives'<sup>181</sup>.

It was in the fifth century also that the ministration of the rites received the organization that lasted throughout the later period: the early Attic inscription mentioned above contains some of the official titles that are found in the lists compiled by later antiquarians<sup>175</sup>.

We can consider here the relative position of Eleusis and the capital city. The tradition preserved by Pausanias<sup>166</sup> is founded to some extent on actual fact: that by the terms of submission whereby Eleusis was merged in the larger state she still was allowed to retain the performance of the mysteries in her own hands. But the literary evidence from the fifth century onwards shows how complete was the control of the Athenian state, to whom every one of the numerous officials was responsible<sup>205</sup>. The head of the general management was the king-archon, who with his *πάρεδρος* and the four epimeletae, two of whom were appointed by the ecclesia, formed a general committee of supervision, and matters of importance connected with the ritual were decided by the Boulé and Ecclesia. Here, as in Greek religion generally, the state was supreme over the church. Nevertheless, the legend about the treaty corresponded to a great extent with

<sup>a</sup> Vide pp. 43-44, 46 note a.

the facts. For the function of the Athenian state—apart from the questionable family of the Kerykes—was really confined to externals and to the exercise of control. The claim of Eleusis as the metropolis of the mysteries was not ignored or slighted. For of the two priestly families in whose hands lay the mystic celebration itself and the formal privilege of admission, the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, the first were undoubtedly Eleusinian. They were recognized by the author of the hymn as a leading local family, to whose ancestor Demeter had revealed her ὄργια, and in origin they belonged at least to the period of their city's independence. The story of their 'Thracian' or North Greek *provenance* does not concern us here, but will be discussed in the chapter on Poseidon; for if there is foundation for it, the legend concerns his cult, not Demeter's, and ought not to be quoted in support of a theory concerning the influence of early Thrako-Phrygian religion upon the Eleusinian mystery: had there been any, it would have worked through Dionysiac or Cybele-cult, with which the Eumolpidae have nothing to do<sup>a</sup>. For the present purpose then they may rank as representing in Athenian religious history the claim of the old Eleusis and the principle of apostolic succession, long cherished though frequently through stress of circumstances abandoned in Greek ritual. The chief official of their family who represented them to the state and the religious head of the whole celebration was the Hierophantes. His name discloses his solemn function: it was he who was said to 'reveal the orgies,' φαίνειν τὰ ὄργια, to 'show the things of the mystery,' δεικνύναι τὰ ἱερά<sup>202a</sup>. He alone could penetrate into the innermost shrine, the μέγαρον or the ἀνάκτορον, in the hall of the mysteries<sup>202m</sup>, whence, at the most solemn moment of the whole mystic celebration, his

<sup>a</sup> Miss Harrison in her theories concerning the position of Eumolpos and Dionysos at Eleusis does not take sufficient account of this fact (*Prolegomena*, p. 561): in the manifold genealogical and other legends concerning Eumolpos there is not a single Dionysiac trait except possibly the vague and doubtful

myth that it was he who invented the culture of the vine and other trees; but this is only found in a foolish compilation of Pliny's concerning mythic inventors (*Nat. Hist.* 7, § 199). The connexion between Eumolpos and Musaeos is a transparent Orphic fiction.

form suddenly appeared transfigured in light before the rapt gaze of the initiated<sup>218 i, 1</sup>. Whether he was then enacting a divine part is a question we may postpone for the present. To him alone belonged the power of *μύησις* in the highest and strictest sense of the word<sup>204</sup>, for he alone could show the mystic objects the sight of which completed the initiation. And it seems that he could refuse those applicants whom he judged unfit for the communion<sup>221</sup>. He was an impressive figure, holding office for life, wearing a peculiar and stately dress<sup>202 f</sup>, and so sacred in person and habit of life that no one dared to address him by his personal name<sup>a</sup>; according to Pausanias he might never marry, and was vowed to continual chastity<sup>202 h, i, 1</sup>; but this was probably a rule introduced under the Roman Empire<sup>b</sup>, for it appears that the sacerdotal sanctity of the hierophantes continued to increase throughout the later ages, until both the office and the associations attaching to it were absorbed by Christianity<sup>c</sup>. By the side of the hierophantes we find two hierophantides, female attendants on the elder and younger goddess<sup>191, 193, 203</sup>. Their special duty was perhaps to introduce and initiate the female aspirants; but they were present throughout the whole ceremony, and played some part also in the initiation of the men; for an epitaph on a hierophantis mentions to her glory that she had set the crown, the seal of the mystic communion, on the heads of the illustrious mystae Marcus Aurelius and Commodus<sup>194 b</sup>. In another epigram, of a late period from Eleusis, a certain Kallisto speaks of herself as 'one who stands near the doors

<sup>a</sup> This rule that Lucian attests<sup>202 c</sup> may only refer to casual or flippant mention of the name in public. The inscriptions are not so reticent: a decree of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae (fourth century B. C.) names a hierophant Chairetios (*Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 83), and another—quite as late as the time of Lucian—names Glaukos<sup>202 a</sup>: but a hierophant, writing his own eulogy, asks the mystae not to inquire about his personal name, for he lost it on entering the sacred office—'the mystic law wafted it away into the sea' (*Eph.*

*Arch.* 1883, p. 79). The taboo on the personal names of sacrosanct people is world-wide: it survives in certain usages of modern society.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Foucart, *Grands Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 28: he quotes an earlier inscription from Eleusis mentioning the wife of the hierophantes.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Goblet d'Alviella, *Eleusinia*, pp. 145-146, and his quotation from Theodoretus, which however seems from the context to refer to the mysteries of Priapos at Lampsacos (Theodor. *De Fide*, t. 4, p. 482).

of Demeter and Kore,' and as cherishing the recollection of 'those nights lit by a fairer light than the day'<sup>194 a</sup>. Kallisto is thinking of the torch-lit hall, and she must have been the hierophantis or perhaps 'the priestess.' For we hear of 'the priestess' of Demeter and Kore<sup>192</sup>, and her residence at Eleusis<sup>182</sup>; it appears that she held office for life, and certain Eleusinian inscriptions have been found that are dated by her name<sup>192</sup>; like the hierophantides she was probably of the Eumolpid family<sup>a</sup>. We hear also of the Παναγής, 'the All-holy One,' among the female ministrants of the mysteries: and we should suppose that so solemn a title could only attach to the high-priestess of the temple or to the hierophantides, and only to them in so far as they were regarded as the human embodiments of the divinities themselves. But a late inscription teaches us that the 'Panages' was neither one nor the other of these high functionaries, and she remains a mysterious *incognito*<sup>192, 193</sup>. Besides these ministers, one of the committee of management called the ἐπιμεληταί, who sat with the Basileus, was appointed from the Eumolpidae; as was also an Ἐξηγητής<sup>b</sup>, a person who served as religious adviser to the state in the interpretation of ritual-law<sup>188, 190, 201</sup>.

The Eumolpidae survived as a hieratic caste down to the last period of Athenian history: and Plutarch was able to say<sup>204</sup> that even in his own day it was still Eumolpos who initiated the Hellenes<sup>c</sup>. As a corporation they exercised

<sup>a</sup> The evidence is clearer in their case (vide *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 142) than hers; Philios, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 118, assumes it to be true of her also. But it is possible that the gloss in Photius about the Philleidae (R. 204) refers to this priestess: Philios (op. cit.) and Foucart (*Rev. d'Ét. Gr.* 1893, p. 327) suppose that the mysteries to which the priestess of the Philleidae initiated were the Haloa; but the only τελετή of the Haloa was a τελετή of women, and Photius speaks of τοὺς μύστας. The vagueness of the whole citation very much reduces its value.

<sup>b</sup> Besides the Ἐξηγητής ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν we hear of ἐξηγηταὶ τρεῖς<sup>186</sup>, who appear from the inscription in *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 79, to have had some concern with the Eleusinia; are these the same as the three exegetae mentioned by the scholiast on Demosthenes (47, 68), and described as Πυθόχρηστοι, οἷς μέλει καθαίρειν τοὺς ἐν ἀγεί ἐνισχηθέντας? These appear to be the body whom individuals might consult on questions of conscience, for instance, concerning homicide (Demosth. *κατ. Εὐέργ.* p. 1160; Isaens, p. 73).

<sup>c</sup> The last hierophant but one before the Gothic sack was of the Eumol-

certain functions outside the administration of the mysteries: we find them serving on a commission to decide concerning questions of the boundaries of the sacred land at Eleusis and elsewhere in Attica<sup>184</sup>; and legal actions concerning impiety might be brought directly before them. Every individual of the family enjoyed certain perquisites from the sacrifices at the lesser as well as the greater mysteries<sup>190</sup>.

The other caste which enjoyed a like position and an almost equal prestige were the Kerykes, who with the Eumolpidae formed the two *Γένη* that took measures together to preserve the sanctity of the mysteries<sup>199</sup>; and recent finds at Eleusis have brought to light inscriptions enregistering their joint decrees. The chief official of the Kerykes was the *δαδούχος*<sup>205</sup>, who like the hierophantes was appointed for life<sup>a</sup>, and like him was distinguished by a stately, almost royal robe—a dress which Aeschylus borrowed for his tragedy; and the religious sanctity surrounding him was almost as great, the same rule of reticence concerning the personal name applying to him also<sup>202c</sup>. We find him associated with the hierophantes in certain solemn and public functions<sup>190, 202g</sup>, such as in the *πρόρρησις*, or opening address to the *mystae*<sup>202k</sup>, and in the public prayers for the welfare of the state<sup>205c</sup>. He also enjoyed the right of *μύησις*<sup>190</sup>, but not in the highest sense of the revelation of the sacred objects<sup>b</sup>, nor did he enter the 'anaktoron,' the innermost part of the shrine<sup>218e</sup>. Yet he must have been present throughout the whole solemnity<sup>218k</sup>, playing perhaps some part in a divine

pidae: the very last was a stranger from Thespieae, Eunap. *Vita Max.* p. 52 (Boissonnade).

<sup>a</sup> *C. I. Gr.* 190-194: among the lists of *δείστοι* of their tribes the individual *δαδούχος*, *ιεροκῆρυξ*, and *ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῶ* are mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> Besides the loose use of *μυεῖν* in Greek—the ordinary citizen may be said to *μυεῖν* another in the sense of paying the money-expenses of the ceremony (e.g. Demosth. 59. 21)—there were different grades of the *μύησις* proper: for instance, at least two dif-

ferent officials, one the *ιεροφάντης*, another the *ιερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ*<sup>173</sup>, claimed to have initiated Marcus Aurelius<sup>189</sup>, vide *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 123 (Philios): and in the lower sense *μυεῖν* was equivalent to *μυσταγωγεῖν* and referred to the preliminary preparation of the candidate by the *μυσταγωγός*, and this privilege belonged to all members of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae clans<sup>190</sup>: vide Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 20, p. 32; Foucart, *Les Grands Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 93.

drama<sup>207</sup>, and 'holding the torch,' as his title implies. We find the *δαδούχος* officiating at Eleusis in the service of purification in which 'the fleece of God' was employed to cleanse those to whom the stain of guilt—probably blood-guiltiness—attached (Zeus, R. 138<sup>a</sup>). This purification may have been resorted to by those who wished for initiation into the Eleusinia and were disqualified by some *ἄγος*.

As we hear of a hierophantis by the side of the hierophantes, so we are told of a *δαδουχοῦσα*, the female ministrant natural in a mystery where women were admitted, and where goddesses were the chief divinities<sup>206</sup>. The two other functionaries who were drawn from the family of the Kerykes were the *ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ*<sup>175, 185</sup> and the *ἱεροκῆρυξ*<sup>193, 205</sup>. All these, like the officers of the Eumolpidae, were appointed for life, and their religious functions might extend beyond the range of the Eleusinia<sup>a</sup>. But they had not such jurisdiction as the other family possessed in questions of religious law, nor did they possess in the earlier period the important function of exegesis<sup>180</sup>, though later they seem to have acquired it<sup>b</sup>.

The historical question concerning the Kerykes has been much debated by recent scholars: were they one of the original Eleusinian 'gentes' or of Athenian origin? The evidence from the genealogies is contradictory and ineffectual. Pausanias, like Arnobius<sup>202e</sup>, traces them back to Eumolpos, but adds that they themselves claimed Hermes and Aglauros for their progenitors<sup>166</sup>. What is more to the point is that though the family possessed an official house at Eleusis<sup>190</sup> no

<sup>a</sup> The *ἱεροκῆρυξ* assisted the wife of the king-archon in the Dionysiac service: Dittenberger does not regard him as necessarily an Eleusinian functionary, and certainly the name occurs in connexion with other and non-Attic cults, e. g. *Syll.* 155. 18; 186. 6; 330. 19: but at Athens he was probably of the family of the *Κήρυκες*. The *δαδούχος* assisted at the Lenaia.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 20, p. 12; cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882,

p. 436.

<sup>c</sup> As a specimen see Preller-Robert, 2, p. 788, n. 4. In Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3, 6 the *δαδούχος* in his speech to the Lacedaemonians speaks of Triptolemos as *ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος*; and this is usually quoted in support of the Eleusinian origin of the Kerykes: but the context shows that he is not referring to himself or his own family but to the whole Attic community, one of whose ancestors was Triptolemos.

trace has as yet been found of any individual of it inhabiting the Eleusinian district; the 'gens' appear to have been scattered over most parts of Attica. Their ancestral deity was Hermes, and they had special functions in the service of Apollo Pythios and Delios<sup>a</sup>, a peculiarly Ionic cult<sup>207</sup>. If then they were a non-Eleusinian stock and belonged to Athens, we must say that Athens wrested from Eleusis nearly half the internal management of the mystery; and Pausanias' imaginary treaty was not *ben trovato*. There is much that is perplexing in regard to this family.

Down to the fourth century we find them constantly coupled with the Eumolpidae, as if they were a kindred stock; in fact one inscription of that period speaks of them as τὸ γένος τὸ Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπιῶν<sup>b</sup>. But no inscription has come down to us from a later date than the fourth century—so far as I am aware—that mentions them at all; and we have fair evidence that the *δαδουχία* came at last to pass into the hands of the Lykomidae, a priestly family at Phlye<sup>c</sup>: we cannot say with accuracy when the change took place, and no writer definitely mentions it. It is usually supposed that the *Κήρυκες* died out: but the words of Pausanias<sup>166</sup> imply that they were existing in his time, and Lucian's impostor, Alexander, named the ministrants of his sham mysteries Eumolpidae and Kerykes<sup>214</sup>. Were they for some reason merged in the Lykomidae? The change might have been important, for there is some reason for supposing that these latter were strong devotees of Orphism<sup>d</sup>. Yet we cannot trace any Orphic elements in the cult of Andania, which one of their stock

<sup>a</sup> Vide Foucart, *Les Grands Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 14.

<sup>b</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 83: this would really settle the question of their local origin, but unfortunately the same inscription goes on to speak of τὰ γένη, distinguishing the family of the Kerykes from that of the Eumolpidae as Aeschines does<sup>209</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> It can be discovered by combining Paus. 1. 37, 1 with Plut. *Themist.* 1. Inscriptions of the Roman period

give us instances of *δαδοῦχοι* of the Lykomidae, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 496: one of this family was *ἐξηγητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων* in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Lenormant in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, p. 550, who regards the Lykomidae as responsible for the Orphism which he believes transformed the Eleusinia in the later times.

reorganized in the fourth century B. C.<sup>246</sup>; nor must we lightly assume that they were able to effect any fundamental change in the religious tradition of the Eleusinian *τελεστήριον*.

The only other name of some interest among those of the functionaries who played a part in the celebration is the *παῖς ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας*<sup>209</sup>. We are told that he was a boy of one of the highest Athenian families, who was elected by lot to this position, and was 'initiated by the state' (*δημοσίᾳ μνηθείς*); and Porphyry speaks of him as if he served as a kind of mediator between the other *mystae* and the godhead. Who was this boy, and how did he get his name? The suggestion, sometimes offered, that he was the youth who personated Iacchos in the procession is against probability: these human counterparts of divinities were usually elected by special choice on account of their comeliness and fitness, not by lot. And besides later on we hear of a girl in this position, ἡ ἀφ' ἑστίας<sup>a</sup>. I would suggest that the phrase literally means 'the boy who comes to the mysteries from the city's hearth,' the hearth in the Prytaneum: that the boy by proceeding thence was representing the future hope of the state of Athens, and by his initiation was supposed to specially guarantee the favour of the goddesses to the younger generation of the community<sup>b</sup>. Somewhat analogous is the idea implied by the complimentary title ἡ Ἑστία τῆς πόλεως voted at Lacedaemon to eminent women.

As regards the actual ceremony, we are now able—thanks to the labours of generations of scholars—to give a fairly connected account of the ritual up to the point when the *mystae* entered the hall at Eleusis. The whole celebration lasted several days: τὰ Ἐλευσίνια being the most comprehensive name for it, which includes τὰ μυστήρια as the name of a special part<sup>c</sup>. It took place every year, but seems to have

<sup>a</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1885, p. 145.

<sup>b</sup> I find that more or less the same explanation is given by M. Foucart in *Les Grands Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 98. It is somewhat borne out by the Platonic expression ἀφ' ἑστίας μακουργεῖν τὴν πόλιν (*Euthyphr.* 3 A) in which the

'ἑστία' seems to denote the most vital part of the city's existence.

<sup>c</sup> As against Mommsen's and von Protz's view, which would separate altogether τὰ Ἐλευσίνια from τὰ μυστήρια (*Feste der Stadt Athen: Athen. Mitth.* 1899, p. 253, &c.), vide Robert in



been conducted every four years with especial splendour, and this 'penteteris' was distinguished as τὰ μεγάλα Ἐλευσίνια<sup>212</sup>. On the thirteenth of Boedromion the epheboi marched out to Eleusis, and on the fourteenth escorted back the 'sacra' from Eleusis to the Eleusinion in the city after a short pause by the 'holy fig-tree' in the suburb<sup>187, 211</sup>: these 'sacra' probably included the statues of the goddesses, for we hear that the φαίδωντῆς τοῦν θεοῦν<sup>187</sup> was in some way responsible for them, and his name alludes to the process of washing and cleaning the idols. It was his duty to announce to the priestess of Athena that the sacred objects had arrived; and from this moment we may consider the mysteries to have begun. The first day—perhaps the sixteenth—was the 'day of gathering'<sup>213</sup>, when the applicants for initiation met and heard the address which was delivered by the hierophantes, assisted by the dadouchos, in the Stoa Poikilé<sup>214</sup>. This 'πρόρρησις' was no sermon or moral exhortation, but a formal proclamation bidding those who were disqualified and for some reason unworthy of initiation to depart. The terms of the address, if we could recover them, would be interesting. It is clear from Isocrates that 'barbarians' were explicitly forbidden to participate<sup>172</sup>, as also were homicides. The proclamation made by Lucian's false prophet before his ὄργια—'if any atheist or Christian or Epicurean has come as a spy to our holy celebration let him flee'—is intended to be a parody of the Athenian. But we must not suppose that at Athens there was any question of dogmatic faith. Was there any moral test applied? We may believe that from the earliest period a man was barred from communion if he was at that time polluted by bloodshed or any other notorious miasma; and we have the famous example of the bold refusal which closed the mysteries against Nero. But as we have often seen, the conception of sin in the most ancient stages of religion tends to be ritualistic rather than ethical: Heracles

*Götting. Gelehr. Anz.* 1899, p. 538: cf. R. 185, 206<sup>b</sup>, 207, 212. Foucart, *Les Grands Mystères d'Éleusis*, pp. 144–147, maintains that τὰ Ἐλευσίνια were distinct and fell early in Metageitnion,

but in the Roman period were put after the mysteries and confused with them: but he does not satisfactorily explain away the evidence in R. 185.

could not participate in the Eleusinian communion because he was not yet purified from the blood of the Centaurs<sup>217 a</sup>. Such a rule as this was observed in all Greek ritual. In the later ages it is conceivable that it developed in respect of such mysteries as the Eleusinia into something nearer to a general moral principle. There are two passages at least in late pagan writers that have been taken as indicating that the *πρόρρησις* of the hierophant amounted at last to a kind of moral scrutiny of the candidates. Libanius states that the 'leaders of the *mystae*,' *οἱ μυσταγωγοί*, proclaimed to the assembly that they must be 'pure in hand and soul and of Hellenic speech'; and that they then cross-examined each individual as to the particular food he had tasted or abstained from recently, informing him that he was impure if he had eaten such and such things<sup>217 a, b</sup>. In a later part of his speech, where he repeats the formula, Libanius shows that he is referring to the mysteries of Eleusis; but he repeats it in a slightly different form, phrasing it '*ὅστις . . . φωνὴν ἀσύνητος*.' Now this condition would only demand that the catechumen should understand the speech in which the secret things of the mystery were to be revealed and explained to him: and we should suppose that this was a rule not peculiar to Eleusis. And the same phrase occurs, as if part of a hierophant's formula, in the other passage, of which the import is very similar, quoted by Origen from Celsus<sup>a</sup>: 'Those who invite people to the other mysteries (as distinct from the Christian) make this proclamation, "(come all ye) who are pure of hand and of intelligible speech": and again, other (mystagogues) proclaim "whosoever is pure from all stain and whose soul is conscious of no sin and who has lived a good and just life." And these proclamations are made by those who promise purification from sin.' Origen's citation is of great interest, and it is clear that Celsus and Libanius have drawn from some common source the fragment of a real formula, *ὅστις φωνὴν συνετός* or *ἀσύνητος*, which Libanius paraphrases, no doubt rightly, by the words *φωνὴν Ἑλληνικὰ εἶναι*: but the rest of the two statements does not suggest a common original nor

<sup>a</sup> Origen, *in Cels.* 3. 59.

that Libanius was drawing on Celsus. We cannot be certain that the latter author has the *πρόρρησις* of the Eleusinian hierophantes in his mind. He speaks of such proclamation as being usual in piacular ceremonies, *καθάρσια ἁμαρτημάτων*, and the Eleusinia need not have been included among these. And we can almost trace the origin of the most impressive words in his sentence, those that refer to the soul's consciousness of sin: for almost the same occur in the now famous Rhodian inscription, inscribed perhaps in the time of Hadrian, over the doorway of a temple, '(those can rightfully enter) who are pure and healthy in hand and heart and who have no evil conscience in themselves<sup>a</sup>.' This spiritual conception of holiness can be traced back to a much earlier period of Greek religious speculation<sup>b</sup>; and no doubt the Athenian hierophants might have been tempted in course of time to introduce words of more spiritual import into their address. We are certain that as early as the fifth century they required the catechumen to be a Hellene and to be pure of hand; and let us suppose that they solemnly proclaimed that he should also be *ψυχὴν καθαρὸς*<sup>c</sup>. But how could the moral injunction be enforced without some searching scrutiny, which we know was not employed, or without some system of confessional? This latter discipline, so much cherished by mediaeval Christianity, was also in vogue in the Babylonian and Mexican religions, and some rare traces of it can be found in ancient Greece; the priests of the Samothracian mysteries endeavoured, as it seems, to enforce it, notably in the case of Lysander, whose

<sup>a</sup> *C. I. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* i. 789.

<sup>b</sup> Vide my *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 136.

<sup>c</sup> It is interesting to note that the *πρόρρησις* of the *mystae* in the *Frogs*, l. 356 *ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμη μὴ καθαρεύει* does somewhat correspond to the words of the citation in Origen *φωνὴν σύνετος* and *ψυχὴν καθαρὸς*; and might incline us to believe that both Celsus and Libanius were quoting fragments of genuine Eleusinian formulae; but the phrase *φωνὴν σύνετος* is not likely to have been one current in a public formula at Athens in the

pre-Roman period, to distinguish the Greek from the barbarian: at the best we can only imagine it as natural after Romans were admitted freely to the Eleusinia. It is hard to accept Foncart's explanation that the words express 'clear articulation,' freedom from stammering, &c.: this strained interpretation was suggested to him by his peculiar theory of the purport of the mysteries, which will be noticed below, vide *Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mystères d'Éleusis*, 1896, p. 33.

spirited refusal to submit is the first expression of Protestant feeling on the subject<sup>a</sup>. We have no reason to surmise that it was employed at the Eleusinia, where the moral scrutiny that was exercised could not have been severe, in view of the number of applicants and the lack of time and machinery. The only person besides Nero whom we hear of as being rejected by the hierophant was the celebrated Apollonios of Tyana; and the objection taken to him was one about which the Established Church has always felt strongly, that he was 'a wizard,' γόης οὐ καθαρὸς τὰ δαιμόνια, unclean in his relation to things divine<sup>221</sup>. But this is a religious rather than a moral question. No doubt there was reason in the criticism that Diogenes passed on the Eleusinia, that many bad characters were admitted to communion, thereby securing promise of higher happiness than the uninitiated Epaminondas could aspire to<sup>223</sup><sup>e</sup>.

In fact we may say that all that was required of candidates was that no notorious stain of guilt should be attaching to them, that if Athenians they should not be under any sentence of civic ἀτιμία<sup>217</sup>, and that they should have observed certain rules of abstinence and fasting. That for a certain period before initiation sexual purity was required may be taken for granted: and special kinds of food, beans for instance, were rigorously tabooed; and no doubt reasons for avoiding them were drawn from the Demeter-legend, but in this case, as in others, we may believe that the taboo was older than the myth. That the *mystae* fasted by day and took sustenance by night is in accordance with an ancient fasting-ritual observed by Moslems, but was explained by the story that Demeter in her sorrow acted so<sup>217</sup><sup>b</sup>.

After the 'assembly,' perhaps on the next day, the proclamation 'ἄλαδε μύσται' sent them to the sea-shore to purify themselves with salt-water<sup>b</sup>: and it seems that sprinkling with pig's blood was also part of the cathartic ritual<sup>219</sup>. We know how closely this animal was associated with the chthonian powers, and how frequent was the use of its blood in cere-

<sup>a</sup> Plut. p. 236<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Holy water from the wells of Rheitoi was also used<sup>215</sup>.

monies of lustration<sup>a</sup>. And it seems that the *mystae* at some time in the celebration banqueted on its flesh, for in the Paradise of the *Frogs* the air was full of the goodly savour of pork<sup>219g</sup>. But we must not hastily conclude from this that the flesh was eaten at a sacramental meal or that the animal was recognized in the mystery as the embodiment of the divinity. It is probable that not merely the Eleusinian but all mysteries, Hellenic and Oriental, laid stress on the purification rather than on the sacrament as an essential preliminary, the lustration coming to occupy in the later mystic ritual the same place as baptism in the Christian Church.

Another preliminary condition that had to be fulfilled was initiation into the lesser mysteries of Agrai on the Ilissos, the ceremony being regarded as part of the whole process of purification<sup>210</sup>. As they served merely as a ladder to the full initiation at Eleusis we should naturally suppose that the divinities were the same in each service, and no doubt both the mother and the daughter were recognized at Agrai; but the scholiast on Aristophanes speaks as though the great mysteries belonged to Demeter, the lesser to Persephone<sup>210c</sup>, and we have some earlier evidence that in respect of the lesser mysteries he was right<sup>b</sup>; for Duris, the Samian historian, has preserved a fragment of the ode with which the degenerate Athenians welcomed Demetrius Poliorketes, and the anonymous sycophant who composed it informs us that in the same month as that of their hero's arrival at Athens (Munychion) 'the goddess Demeter is coming to celebrate her daughter's mysteries'<sup>210i</sup>. We hear of no temple of Demeter or Persephone at Agrai, though the region is said to have been sacred to the former goddess<sup>210g</sup>; we do not know where the ceremonies took place, and concerning most of the questions that arise about them we are left to conjecture. Stephanus, drawing from an unknown source, describes the *δράματα* of the latter as if they were a dramatic representation of Dionysiac myth<sup>210b</sup>. Hence

<sup>a</sup> e. g. in purification from blood-guiltiness, as in the vase-representation of the purification of Theseus; in the purification of the Pnyx before the political meeting. In the Lycurgean

inscription of Eleusinian accounts there is mention of two pigs bought for the purification of the Eleusinian temple<sup>210</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Monumental Evidence*, p. 242.

they have been supposed to have solemnized the birth and death of Iacchos<sup>a</sup>, and Mommsen in his *Feste der Stadt Athen*<sup>b</sup> has concluded that their content was wholly Orphic; and certainly Agrai was the district round Athens where many alien cults had from early days found a home. But in the dearth of sure facts it is well to be sparing of theory, and to content ourselves with the one well-attested fact that both mysteries were under the same state-management<sup>185, 190</sup>, and that the epimeletae offered sacrifices at both to the same goddesses 'in behalf of the Boulé and Demos'<sup>210f</sup>. Possibly the lesser mysteries were instituted by Athens herself in rivalry with Eleusis before the days of the union, when the Eleusinia proper were closed to aliens<sup>c</sup>. They were celebrated about or slightly after the middle of Anthesterion, at the beginning of spring<sup>175, 210g</sup>, probably to commemorate the return of Kore and to promote the operations of spring: Dionysos, whose festival, the Anthesteria, seems to have just preceded them, had probably some part in them, possibly as the bridegroom of the risen goddess, though there is no sure evidence of such a sacred marriage at Athens<sup>d</sup>. Occasionally, when the number of candidates was very great, they were celebrated twice a year, to give those who were too late for the ceremony in Anthesterion another chance of passing this preliminary stage before the great mysteries came on<sup>125</sup>. We can believe that the participants in the lesser mysteries

<sup>a</sup> By Anton, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis*.

<sup>b</sup> p. 400: he regards the *μικρὰ μυστήρια* as in some way a development of the *χύρποι*, to which also he gives an Orphic meaning on slight grounds. Vide pp. 243, 251 for monumental evidence of Dionysos in the lesser mysteries.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to be implied by one of the versions of the initiation of Heracles: the little mysteries were created in his honour, because being a stranger he could not be initiated at Eleusis<sup>168</sup>. After the union with Eleusis the Athenian state would find it to its profit to retain them as its own contribution to the complex ceremony.

<sup>d</sup> Vide p. 252: the only Dionysiac marriage that we hear of at Athens took place in the temple of Dionysos *ἐν Δίμναις* between the god and the wife of the king-archon, on the twelfth of Anthesterion, the only day in the year when the temple was open. The lesser mysteries certainly did not coincide with the Anthesteria, and we should have expected that temple, his most ancient in Athens, to have been opened for such a celebration, if those mysteries included the ritual of his marriage with Kore. There is no reason for the view that the Basilinna impersonated Kore: she stood rather for the Athenian city.

received certain instructions concerning details of conduct so as to prepare themselves for the communication of the greater, and possibly certain guarded discourses were delivered to them which might quicken their imagination for a fuller appreciation of what was afterwards to be revealed <sup>210e</sup>.

Returning to the ritual of the great mysteries, we may believe that among the ceremonies in Athens before the procession started for Eleusis with Iacchos on the nineteenth of Boedromion, the most important must have been some kind of sacrifice. For in Philostratus' account of the Epidauria, the name of a day that came in the middle of the mysteries before the process of *μύησις* was consummated, we are told that this day drew its name from the arrival of Asclepios from Epidauros<sup>a</sup>; the god having come to Athens in the midst of the mysteries but too late for initiation, a 'second sacrifice' was instituted on 'Epidauria' to admit the late-comer, and this custom remained in vogue till at least the time of Apollonios of Tyana, who also arrived on that day <sup>221</sup>. We gather also from Aristotle <sup>221</sup> that there was a procession in honour of Asclepios on a day 'when the *mystae* were keeping at home'—a phrase which we can interpret to mean 'had not yet started for Eleusis.' Putting this together with Philostratus' statement that the Epidauria came after the *πρόρρησις* and the animal sacrifice, we are justified in placing it on the eighteenth. And on the seventeenth we hear of the offering of a young pig to Demeter and Kore, in an inscription of the time of Hadrian <sup>211</sup>. A fact now emerges of perhaps some fundamental importance for our view of the mysteries. A sacrifice is essential for the first process of *μύησις*, which began at Athens after the return of the *mystae* from the sea. Was this an ordinary gift-offering to the divinities, or some sacrament whereby they drew into a closer and mystic communion with them? We

<sup>a</sup> Mommsen's paradox that the Epidauria was really the same as the second celebration of the lesser mysteries is well refuted by A. Fairbanks in the *Classical Review*, 1900, p. 424. The latter scholar does not notice a citation from Clemens which I have given under

R. 215, which at first sight seems to be slightly in favour of Mommsen's theory; but the context shows that Clemens' statement is altogether mystic and symbolical, and of no value for real chronology.

must leave this question for the present to see what we can glean concerning the ritual in the telesterion.

The great procession bearing the god Iacchos in their company started for Eleusis<sup>216</sup>, and, as they had many sacrifices to perform and many shrines to visit, the journey which began on the nineteenth must have lasted late into the evening, and therefore overlapped into the twentieth day, so that the twentieth is habitually spoken of as the day 'of the exodus of Iacchos,' and the latter part of the whole ceremony was sometimes called 'the Eikades'<sup>211</sup>. The one feature of some anthropological interest in the account of the journey along the sacred way was the cursing and badinage at the bridge. There is reason to think that here, as in the Thesmophoria, this was something different from the ordinary ribaldry of a holiday crowd, that it was a conventional part of the ritual and of a certain significance. A collection of instances would show that cursing and abuse were employed for different purposes in the ceremonies of Mediterranean religions, and that no one explanation applies to all<sup>a</sup>. It is natural in this case to suppose that the invective hurled 'at the most distinguished citizens' as they crossed the bridge of the Kephissos was intended to avert the evil eye from these *mystae* of blessed estate, just as the Roman soldiers reviled their general during his triumphal procession, or as in certain Brahman ritual the initiated are said to be alternately praised and reviled<sup>b</sup>. Thus safeguarded against evil influences<sup>c</sup>, purified, fasting, and inspired with that religious exaltation that fasting assists, the sacred band reached Eleusis too fatigued, one would think, for that intoxicating midnight revel under the stars with Iacchos that Aristophanes sings of in his delightful

<sup>a</sup> We have examples of cursing and abuse in harvest ritual, apparently for a piacular purpose, see Mannhardt, *Ant. Wald- u. Feld-Kult.* p. 168: and this explanation might be also applied to the *γεφυρισμός*. See also Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Hillebrandt, *Grundriss Vedische Opfer*, p. 157. For abusive language at weddings see Crawley, *The*

*Mystic Rose*, p. 352: at the Saturnalia of the Hoo tribe children and parents revile each other.

<sup>c</sup> The saffron band worn on the right hand and foot<sup>216c</sup> had probably the value of an amulet: for other examples of this practice in Greek and Egyptian superstition see Wolters and Kroll in *Archiv für vergl. Religionswissenschaft*, 1905 (Beiheft), p. 20.



ode<sup>220</sup>. This may have taken place on the subsequent night and on more than one night<sup>a</sup>. In fact, from this point it becomes impossible to fix the Eleusinian time-table. It has been reasonably argued that the ceremonies in the mystery-hall must have occupied at least two nights, for this if for no other reason: the neophytes were not yet admitted to full initiation, but must wait a year before they could become *ἐπόπται*, before the very heart of the mystery was displayed to them<sup>210d</sup>: hence Plato distinguishes the highest part of his philosophy as *τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά* from the more elementary part which a beginner could understand<sup>210a, 218f</sup>. We must suppose then that those at Eleusis who were aiming at *ἐποπτεία* must have been received at a different, probably a second, celebration. The whole religious festival was concluded with a general libation to the chthonian powers<sup>220</sup> and perhaps to the spirits of the departed, which was called *Πλημοχόαι*<sup>b</sup>.

We are now face to face with the question which alone is of deep interest for a modern student: what was the ceremony in the *τελεστήριον* or the *Anaktoron*? What was done and what was said? We must try to piece together the fragmentary evidence to see if we can attain a reasonable explanation of the strong appeal which the mysteries made to the most cultivated minds of Greece. We can at least feel sure that something was acted there in a religious drama or passion-play; for the sin imputed to Alcibiades was not that

<sup>a</sup> Euripides speaks of Dionysos (or Ion) watching the torch-dance of the *Εικάδες*<sup>216</sup>: and Müller in his account of the details of the Eleusinia (*Kleine Schriften*, 2, p. 273) assumes that this is a name for a single day, viz. the twentieth. But it is as strange in Greek as in English to call the 'twentieth' the 'twenties'; Plutarch in his life of Phokion calls that day *ἡ εἰκάς*<sup>211</sup>: no author uses *αἱ εἰκάδες* of the single day, not even Andokides, *De Myst.* p. 121 whom Müller misunderstands. There is no reason why he should insist that the neophytes must have hurried away

after their visit to the sea at once to Eleusis to be initiated, so as to have the privilege of joining in the *Iacchos* dance on the twentieth. It is true that those who join are called *μύσται*, but this name does not prove that they had all been through the *μύσις* in the *τελεστήριον*; for the catechumens are all equally called *μύσται* at the *ἀγνυρμός* and at the *πρόρρησις*.

<sup>b</sup> There are strong reasons against Mommsen's identification of the *Πλημοχόαι* and the *προχαιρητήρια* (*Feste*, p. 44), see p. 115.

he uttered with his lips any forbidden secret, but that he acted a sacred pageant, and Aeschylus was accused for acting on the stage something that was performed in the mystery-hall<sup>218</sup>. We may note too that Porphyry in an otherwise doubtful and obscure statement<sup>207</sup> speaks of the hierophant and the *δαδουχος* as acting divine parts<sup>a</sup>, and that in the mysteries of Andania, modelled to some extent on the Eleusinian, provision was made for women playing the part of goddesses<sup>246</sup>.

What then was the subject of this mystic play? We may imagine that it was one which would best move pity and love, the sense of pathos and consolation in the spectator, such a theme as the loss of the daughter, the sorrow of the mother, the return of the loved one and the ultimate reconciliation. And parts of such a complex myth appear on many vases and works of Greek art; but let us beware of supposing that vase-painters would dare to reproduce, however freely, any real scene of the *μυστικὸν δράμα*. There are two citations from which we may extract evidence. Clemens tells us that 'Deo and Kore became (the personages of) a mystic drama, and Eleusis with its *δαδουχος* celebrates the wandering, the abduction, and the sorrow'<sup>218</sup>. But he himself affirms that the same theme was solemnized by the women in the Thesmophoria and the other women's festivals<sup>751</sup>, and we know that Eleusis had its Thesmophoria. Still the use of the peculiar verb *δαδουχεῖν* in the first citation almost compels us to conclude that it refers to the Eleusinia. And we may suppose that Tertullian's words<sup>218 e</sup>, 'Why is the priestess of Ceres carried off unless Ceres herself had suffered the same sort of thing?' assuming a confusion of Ceres with Proserpine, allude to the Eleusinia rather than to the Thesmophoria, where there was no man to act the part of the ravisher<sup>b</sup>. But the words

<sup>a</sup> According to him the hierophant represented the Demiurgos, the *dadouchos* the Sun, the priest *ἐπὶ βαμῶ* the Moon, and the hierokeryx Hermes. The treatise of Porphyry from which Eusebius gives us a long extract is full of unnatural and fictitious symbolism.

That a priest impersonated Selene is a hard saying.

<sup>b</sup> It is also not impossible that Tertullian is referring to the Sabazios-mystery, which is not proved to have been ever engrafted on the Eleusinia (vide note b, p. 178); there is no other

of Appuleius, in spite of their lack of that simplicity which wins credence, are of even more importance<sup>218</sup>, the words that are put into the mouth of Psyche when she appeals to Demeter in the name of 'the unspoken secrets of the mystic chests, the winged chariots of thy dragon-ministers, the bridal-descent of Proserpine, the torch-lit wanderings to find thy daughter, and all the other mysteries that the shrine of Attic Eleusis shrouds in secret.'

From these statements, then, in spite of verbiage and vagueness, we have the right to regard it as certain that part at least of the great myth was acted before the eyes of the *mystae* in the telesterion. And some of the dances outside the temple, the nightly wanderings with torches over the land, the visits to the well *Καλλίχορον* and the 'unsmiling rock,' may well have been in some way mimetic of the myth, though part of such ritual may have been originally mythless. A statement by Apollodorus<sup>7</sup> is interpreted by M. Foucart as referring also to an episode in the mystic passion-play<sup>a</sup>: 'The hierophant is in the habit of sounding the so-called gong *τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλουμένης*.' He understands these last words in the sense of 'Kore calling for aid'; but in such a sentence they are more likely to signify 'when Kore is being invoked by name.' According to his interpretation the words allude to a critical moment in the drama; according to the other to a point of ritual in a divine service when the worshippers or the minister called aloud upon the name of the goddess. The gong may have been sounded to drive away evil spirits; but whether the worshipper understood this or not its effect would not be lost; many of us are aware of the mesmeric thrill that is caused to the religious sense by the sudden sound of the gong in the Roman celebration of the Mass. Unfortunately

Demeter-myth to which the words of Tertullian could properly apply, except the Arcadian legend of Poseidon and the horse-headed goddess which is out of the question here: there is no reason for supposing that the *θεογάμια* of Zeus and Demeter was part of the mystic drama at Eleusis, except perhaps the very vague note of the scholiast on

Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 497 c (quoted in part, R. 219<sup>b</sup>)—'the greater and lesser mysteries were instituted because Plato abducted Kore and Zeus united himself with Deo: in which many shameful things were done.' He is drawing ignorantly from Christian sources, and is a valueless authority.

<sup>a</sup> *Les Grands Mystères*, p. 34.

we are not sure that the text refers to Eleusinian ceremonies at all: for Apollodorus merely indicates the place of the action by the word Ἀθήνησι, and the ritual in which the gong or the cymbal was used appears to have been fairly common in Greece.

From vague hints we may regard it as probable that some form of *ιερός γάμος* was celebrated in the Eleusinia, in which the hierophantes or the dadouchos may have personated the bridegroom<sup>a</sup>. We find record of such ritual elsewhere, but at Eleusis the evidence is too slight to allow us to dogmatize. The words in Appuleius<sup>218</sup> need not mean more than that there was a representation of the abduction in accordance with the ordinary legend; but Asterius<sup>218e</sup> seems to be alluding, and with unpleasant innuendo, to some form of *ιερός γάμος* when he speaks of 'the underground chamber and the solemn meeting of the hierophant and the priestess, each with the other alone, when the torches are extinguished, and the vast crowd believes that its salvation depends on what goes on there.' Asterius wrote in the fourth century A.D., but we know so little about the facts of his life that we cannot judge the value of his evidence. Admitting the truth of his statement, and supposing the last words to reveal the true significance of the rite, we should conclude that this sacred marriage was more than a mere *μίμησις*, and was a representative act whereby the whole company of the initiate entered into mystic communion with the deities, just as Athens with Dionysos through his union with the Basilinna. At any rate we have no right to imagine that any part of the solemn ceremony was coarse or obscene. Even Clemens, who brings such a charge against all mysteries in general, does not try to substantiate it in regard to the Eleusinia; and the utterances of later Christian writers who accuse the indecencies of paganism have no critical value for the study of the mysteries of Eleusis<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A *ιερός γάμος* occurred in Alexander's mysteries, which are described by Lucian as in some respects a parody of the Eleusinian, *Alexandr.* §§ 38, 39.

<sup>b</sup> It is curious that Hippolytus in the

context dealt with below bears witness to the scrupulous purity of the Eleusinian hierophant, which was safeguarded by the use of anti-aphrodisiac drugs, R. 202<sup>1</sup>.

Did the Eleusinian miracle-play include among its motives the birth of a holy child, Iacchos for instance? A divine birth, such as the *Διὸς γοναί*, was an ancient theme of Greek dramatic dancing, and we infer from Clemens that the birth of Dionysos was a motive of Phrygian-Sabazian mysteries<sup>a</sup>. As regards Eleusis the evidence on this point, both the literary and the archaeological, wants very careful scrutiny. We know how valuable is the combination of these two sources when one or both are clear: but when both are doubtful, they may combine to give us a very dubious product. Now the person who wrote the *Philosophumena*, who used to be called Origen but is now regarded as Hippolytus, informs us that at a certain moment in the Eleusinian mysteries the hierophant called aloud, 'The lady-goddess Brimo has born Brimos the holy child'<sup>2021</sup>. This is an explicit statement, and is accepted as a fact to build upon by many scholars and archaeologists<sup>b</sup>: and on the strength of it certain vase-representations have been interpreted by Furtwängler and Kern as showing the Eleusinian mystic story of the divine birth. The archaeological evidence will be discussed later<sup>c</sup>. But so far as this interpretation depends on the text of the *Philosophumena*, it rests on a very frail foundation. For Hippolytus, who seems in that passage to be revealing the very heart of the mystery, does not even pretend to be a first-hand witness, but shows that he is drawing from gnostic sources. For our purpose he could hardly have been drawing from worse: for we know that a gnostic with his uncompromising syncretism would have no scruple in giving to Eleusis what belonged to Phrygia. Hence Hippolytus, in the same breath, goes on to speak of Attis and the story of his self-mutilation. And Clemens, a far higher authority, associates Brimo, not with Eleusis, but with the Phrygian story of Attis<sup>d</sup>, and is followed in this by Arno-

<sup>a</sup> *Protrept.* 14 (Pott.): cf. the *Ἀπόλλωνος γοναί* in the mock-mysteries of Lucian's false prophet, *Alexandr.* § 38.

<sup>b</sup> e. g. Foucart, *Recherches*, pp. 48, 49 (who assigns, in my opinion, excessive weight to all citations from the Christian writers on the Eleusinia); Furtwängler,

*Jahrbuch d. d. Inst.* 1891, p. 121; Kern, *ibid.* 1895, p. 163 (Anzeiger).

<sup>c</sup> Vide pp. 252-256.

<sup>d</sup> In the Greek myth Brimo had a close connexion with Thessaly (*Propert.* 2. 2, 12) and with the Pheraean Artemis-Hekate; and probably because of

buis<sup>a</sup>. Now this medley of Phrygian and Eleusinian legend and cult, which appears in the text of Hippolytus and in the comments of the scholiast on Plato<sup>219</sup><sup>e</sup>, may conceivably be due to the actual infusion of the Asia Minor orgies into the Attic mystery in the later days of paganism<sup>b</sup>. But it is hard to believe that the Athenian state, which never, even in the late days of its decadence, publicly established the orgies of Sabazios and Attis, should have allowed the responsible officials of the Eleusinia to contaminate the holiest of the state ceremonies at their own caprice. The late imperial inscriptions show us the great mysteries practically unchanged: nor did Clemens find Sabazianism at Eleusis.

The other explanation involves less difficulty: later writers, whether controversialists or compilers, had little first-hand knowledge, and relied much on late Orphic literature, believing in its claim to represent Eleusinian dogma all the more readily, as that literature freely borrowed Eleusinian names; and the same *θεοκρασία* or religious syncretism which was characteristic of gnostic was also a fashion of Orphic speculation, and Diony-

this affinity she is called *Παρθένος* by Lycophron (*Cass.* 1175). Yet she joins in love with Hermes, but the legend contains no idea of 'immaculate conception' such as Miss Harrison would find in it (*Prolegomena*, p. 553). In the later syncretistic theology the name 'Brimo' floats round Thracian, Samothracian, Phrygian cult-legend: but it may be an old north Greek name for the goddess of the under-world, meaning 'the strong,' or the 'angry one,' as *Hom. H.* 28, 10 *βρίμη* signifies 'strength' or 'rage': cf. *Πασυπάρεια* = Persephone at Selinus, *Κπάρεια* the Cabirian goddess on the vase from the Theban Kabeirion, vide *Athen. Mitth.* 13, Taf 9.

<sup>a</sup> *Protrept.* p. 14 (Pott.); *Arnob. Adv. Gent.* 5, 20.

<sup>b</sup> This is Prof. Ramsay's explanation in his article on the 'Mysteries,' *Enc. Brit.* The strongest evidence in support of this view might seem at first

sight the citation from Tatian<sup>218m</sup>, who first gives the Orphic-Sabazian story of the incestuous union of Zeus and his daughter and her conception: 'Eleusis shall now be my witness and the mystic snake and Orpheus': then follows the ordinary Eleusinian story of the abduction of Kore, the sorrow and wanderings of Demeter. It is all equally immoral in Tatian's view: and Tatian might have known the truth about the later Eleusinia and may have wanted to tell it. The 'mystic snake' in this context is meant no doubt to be Sabazios. But of what is Eleusis 'the witness,' of the first story or the second or of both? Even if Tatian means that Eleusis is witness for Sabazios, the doubt arises whether for Tatian, as for the later uncritical age generally, 'Eleusis' has not become a mere name synonymous with Orpheus, the belief prevailing that everything 'Orphic' was also Eleusinian.

sos is identified with Eubouleus, Attis, Sabazios, and even perhaps Jehovah. With the same recklessness the Orphic poet thrusts Iacchos into the place which the babe Demipho occupies in the Homeric hymn: and thus Lucretius may have got the idea that it was Ceres who nursed Iacchos, and hence may have arisen the phrase 'Dionysos at the breast' as a synonym for Iacchos<sup>229 k</sup>.

But those who think that Iacchos was the holy babe in the Eleusinian passion-play should explain how it was that he went to Eleusis, in the procession of the *mystae*, in the form of 'a god in his first prime';<sup>229 a</sup> and why the whole Athenian people hailed him at the Lenaea as the son of Semele<sup>205 d</sup>. We must suspend our judgement for the present about the divine birth in the great mysteries.

A further question arises concerning the dramatic element in the Eleusinia. Was there some kind of stage-machinery and scenic arrangement whereby a vision of Paradise and the Inferno could be revealed before the eyes of the *mystae*, so as strongly to impress their imaginative faith and to produce a permanent conviction? A passage from Themistius' treatise 'On the Soul,' preserved by Stobaeus, has been sometimes quoted as proof that there was<sup>218</sup>: 'The soul (at the point of death) has the same experiences as those who are being initiated into great mysteries... at first one wanders and wearily hurries to and fro, and journeys with suspicion through the dark as one uninitiated: then come all the terrors before the final initiation, shuddering, trembling, sweating, amazement: then one is struck with a marvellous light, one is received into pure regions and meadows, with voices and dances and the majesty of holy sounds and shapes: among these he who has fulfilled initiation wanders free, and released and bearing his crown joins in the divine communion, and consorts with pure and holy men, beholding those who live here uninitiated, an uncleansed horde, trodden under foot of him and huddled together in filth and fog, abiding in their miseries through fear of death and mistrust of the blessings there.' Themistius, a pagan writer of the time of Julian, a man of many words and bad style, is unusually interesting in this dithyrambic fragment. It suggests

a passing reflection on the indebtedness of Christian apocalyptic literature to some of the later utterances of the older religion. And no doubt it contains an allusion, more or less remote, to certain facts of the Eleusinia. But we dare not strain the words to any very definite conclusion. For the two sides of the simile are confused in a dreamy haze, nor can we disentangle the phrases that refer to the mysteries from those that describe the life of the soul after death. Yet M. Foucart, in his *Mémoire*<sup>a</sup>, finds in this passage a proof that the initiated in the mystery-hall were supposed to descend into hell and to witness the terrors of the place. Now we can easily believe, and Themistius may help us to the belief, that the catechumens passing from the outer court into the pillared hall might pass through darkness into a wonderful light, and we know that at the moment of the climax the form of the hierophant, radiant in light, appeared from the suddenly opened shrine, and the bewildering interchange of darkness and blaze can work marvels upon an imagination sharpened by fasting and strained with ecstatic expectancy. We conceive also that after the completion of the holy ceremony, the initiated, wearing his crown, could walk with the other holy and purified beings in a blissful communion. But there is no *μίμησις* in all this so far. When Themistius asks us to imagine—if he really asks us—that within the *τελεστήριον* there was an impressive scenic arrangement of meadows and flowers, and a region of mud and mist where the superior persons might behold the wallowing crowd of the damned, we are unable to follow him. The spade of the Eleusinian excavations, as Prof. Gardner has some time

<sup>a</sup> p. 58. He bases his belief also on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, ll. 315-459: but the whole scene there, read naturally and critically, conveys no allusion whatever to any of the *δράματα* of the mystery-hall: the *mystae* are partly in their own nether Paradise with torches and a pervading smell of roast pig, partly on the Athenian stage, and they sing as if they were escorting Iacchos along the sacred way: all is irrespon-

sible fooling and delightful poetry. A passage in Lucian's *Κατάπλους* might seem to give some support to his theory<sup>206b</sup>: the friends who are journeying together in the lower world see something that reminds them of the mysteries in the scene around, especially when a female approaches them hearing a torch; but the only clear reference is to the darkness and the sudden gleam of light approaching.



ago pointed out <sup>a</sup>, has dispelled these allusions: the construction of the hall was such as would give very little opportunity to the modern scene-artist: the basement has been laid bare, and no substructures or subterranean passages have been found into which the *mystae* might descend for a glimpse into the Inferno or from which ghosts might arise to point a moral <sup>b</sup>. In fact, whatever passion-play was acted, the stage-properties must have been of the simplest kind possible, probably nothing beyond torch-light and gorgeous raiment. The most impressive figures were the hierophant and the dadouchos, as we gather from the late rhetorician Sopatros <sup>218 k</sup>: 'When I had passed within the inner shrine, and being now an initiate had seen the hierophant and dadouchos, . . . I came out feeling strange and bewildered.' The eight sacred officials, the priests and priestesses, were enough to give, by solemn dance and gesture, a sufficiently moving representation of the abduction, the sorrowful search, the joyful reunion, a holy marriage, and the mission of Triptolemos. In part of the drama, the search for Kore, the *mystae* themselves may have joined, moving in rhythmic measures with torches waving. 'In Ceres' mystery all night long with torches kindled they seek for Proserpine, and when she is found the whole ritual closes with thanksgiving and the tossing of torches.' These words of Lactantius <sup>218 c</sup> may allude to the Thesmophoria, but we can conceive them applicable to the Eleusinia too.

This is about as far as our imagination can penetrate into the passion-play of the mysteries. Or may we suppose that though there was no architectural structure lending itself to elaborate stage-effects, yet the art of the painter might have come to their aid, and have provided *πίνακες* to be hung on the columns or displayed by the hierophant, representing scenes of the Inferno? Might such a supposition explain the strange words in the speech against Aristogeiton <sup>c</sup>, in which the writer

<sup>a</sup> Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 283.

<sup>b</sup> M. Svoronos supposes the revelation of the *ιερά* not to have gone on in the *τελεστήριον* at all, but in the forecourt before the temple of Demeter,

which latter he takes to be the 'anak-toron' (*Journ. Internat. Arch. Numism.* 1901): I cannot discuss the topography of Eleusis here, but am unable to reconcile his views with the texts.

<sup>c</sup> I, § 52.

—not Demosthenes nor an early Christian, but an orator of the fourth century B.C.—describes the life of Aristogeiton in Athens, ‘who walks in company with cursing, blasphemy, envy, faction, and strife, even as the painters depict the guilty in hell.’ This is startling language from a Greek of this period: and such paintings as those by Polygnotus on the Delphian Lesche were not of a style to justify it. Nevertheless, he may have been thinking of these; and at least we have no indication that he was thinking of any Eleusinian mystery-paintings. Not only have we no reason to suppose that such existed at Eleusis, but we have this reason for supposing they did not: in the elaborate accounts of the Eleusinian commissioners, drawn up in the administration of Lycurgus, and inscribed on a stone that was discovered some years ago<sup>a</sup>, amidst the very multifarious items no single entry occurs that points to any expenditure on scene-painting or stage-machinery, or any kind of outfit intended for the passion-play in the *τελεστηριον*. We are forced to conclude that the latter was a simple form of choral mimetic dancing, solemn and impressive no doubt, but not able to startle the spectator by any cunningly devised stage effects. The representation in a mediæval picture of the Last Judgement would be something far beyond its scope.

But among the religious acts in the service of the mystery there was one of at least equal importance with that which has been called the ‘passion-play’: and this was the act of the hierophantes when he ‘displayed the sacred things.’ Some of these could be shown to the neophyte, as we gather from the story about Apollonios<sup>202 d</sup>: others were reserved for the final *ἐποπτεία* to which one could only attain after a year’s interval, this being sometimes the distinction between the *μύστης* and the *ἐπόπτης*. What were these *ιερά*? We can at least make a probable guess. Surely ‘the sacred things’ that were escorted so reverently to Athens by the *epheboi* must have included statues of the deities: reason for this has already been shown. These images were perhaps of great antiquity or at least of preternatural sanctity, so that

<sup>a</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 109.

the view of them was both a danger and a privilege: and the men who saw them, revealed perhaps in some mystic light, would feel that they stood nearer to the divinity henceforth. But other things may have been shown among these *ιερά*, legendary relics, things that the Greeks might call *φρικώδη*, such as would cause a religious tremor in the spectator.

Of one of these we seem to be told by Hippolytus, who leads his readers up to it as to an anti-climax: he speaks of 'the Athenians initiating people at the Eleusinia and showing to the epoptae that great and marvellous mystery of perfect revelation, in solemn silence<sup>a</sup>, a cut corn-stalk!' <sup>2180</sup>.

Now these words occur in the suspicious statement that has been examined above in which the formula is given concerning the holy birth of Brimos, and the writer immediately goes on to speak of the self-mutilation of Attis: and it is a noteworthy coincidence that in a trustworthy account of the Attis-Sabazian mysteries, Attis himself is called a *στάχυς ἀμητός*, an identical phrase with *στάχυς τεθερισμένος*. Considering the context, therefore, and the sources from which Hippolytus is drawing, we are at liberty to doubt whether he is giving us anything genuinely Eleusinian at all. Nevertheless, it is quite credible and even probable, that a corn-token was among the precious things revealed. For we have every reason to regard the mysteries as in some sense a commemorative harvest-festival, although they were held some time after the harvest was gathered, probably after the *προηρόσια*<sup>b</sup>. An interesting statement by Plutarch that 'the ancients used to begin the sowing earlier, and this is evident from the Eleusinian mysteries'<sup>218p</sup>, has been interpreted by Müller as evidence that these were originally a sowing-festival. But the same celebration that gave thanks for the harvest could also commemorate at the same time the divine processes of sowing and ploughing. Triptolemos was at once a plougher and the

<sup>a</sup> It is not clear whether *ἐν σιωπῇ* is to be taken with *τεθερισμένον στάχυον*, as its position suggests: if so, we must suppose that the stalk was cut in the presence of the *mystae*, but the perfect

participle is against this. Hippolytus is not careful of the order of his words, and I believe *ἐν σιωπῇ* is meant to be taken with the words that precede.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 44.

apostle who distributed the grain for sowing ; and in all probability he played a part in the sacred drama, and his mission was a *motif* of the plot. The valuable Amphictyonic decree recently discovered at Delphi <sup>185a</sup> reveals the strong hold that the Attic mysteries had on the Greek world in the second century B.C. : the Amphictyons admit that Attica was the original home of civilization, law, and agriculture, and the mysteries are specially mentioned as the means whereby men were raised from savagery to the higher life. And that the culminating blessing of the harvest was a paramount fact in the physical background of the great mysteries can scarcely be gainsaid. Reason has been shown for believing that the *ἀπαρχαί* of Attica and the other Hellenic states were delivered at their celebration ; and if this were doubtful we have the statement of Himerius that the *mystae* were commanded to bring sheafs of corn as a symbol of civilized diet <sup>216 a</sup> ; Isocrates regards Demeter's gift of corn as associated with the institution of the *τελετή*, and speaks of her blessings which only the *mystae* can fully comprehend <sup>222</sup>. Maximus Tyrius maintained that all such festivals were founded by husbandmen <sup>218 n</sup> ; and finally Varro went so far as to declare that 'there was nothing in the Eleusinian mysteries that did not pertain to corn' <sup>222</sup>, an exaggerated statement no doubt, but one that together with all the other evidence almost compels us to believe that a corn-token would be among the sacred things reverentially there displayed. And it may have also served as a token of man's birth and re-birth, not under the strain of symbolic interpretation, but in accordance with the naive and primitive belief in the unity of man's life with the vegetative world. But we have not the slightest reason for supposing that it was worshipped, as a divinity in its own right : the hypothesis of Dr. Jevons that the Eleusinians in their mystery paid divine honours to a corn-totem is not based on any relevant evidence ; nor, as I have tried to show, is there any trace of corn-worship, still less of corn-totemism, discoverable in any part of the Hellenic world <sup>a</sup>. The question, however, is part of the discussion concerning the Eleusinian sacrament, with which this account will conclude.

<sup>a</sup> Vide pp. 35-37.

Meantime, granting that Hippolytus' statement is in this instance correct, we moderns at least need find nothing ridiculous in the fact that he scornfully reveals.

So far we have been considering what was done in the mysteries, the action, the things displayed, τὰ δρώμενα, still reserving the consideration of the sacrifice or sacrament. It is convenient now to notice the formulæ, if we can find any record of them, also the ἱερὸς λόγος, the exegesis sermon or discourse of the hierophant, if there was any. We may first note a very valuable passage in Proclus, which, when restored by the brilliant and convincing emendation of Lobeck<sup>a</sup>, yields the following meaning<sup>219b</sup>, 'in the Eleusinian rites they gazed up to the heaven and cried aloud "rain," they gazed down upon the earth and cried "conceive."' This genuine ore of an old religious stratum sparkles all the more for being found in a waste deposit of neo-Platonic metaphysic. The formula savours of a very primitive liturgy that closely resembled the famous Dodonaean invocation to Zeus the sky-god and mother-earth; and it belongs to that part of the Eleusinian ritual 'quod ad frumentum attinet.' But we should be glad of some recorded utterance that would better reflect the spiritual mood of the catechumen: and we are left with nothing more than that of which we are told by Clemens, truthfully no doubt: 'The pass-word of the Eleusinian mysteries is as follows, "I have fasted, I have drunk the barley-drink, I have taken (things) from the sacred chest, having tasted thereof<sup>b</sup> I have placed them into the Kalathos,

<sup>a</sup> Lobeck's emendation is proved by the passage in Hippolytus, R. 219, and an inscription found on the margin of a well near the Dipylon gate, Ὁ Πάν ὁ Μῆν χαίρετε Νύμφαι καλάι: ὕε κὺε ἐπέρχουε, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 20, p. 79; see Lenormant, 'Elensinia' in *Daremberg et Saglio*, 2, p. 573, n. 682, who concludes that the formula was uttered at the Πλημοχόαι, and that these took place at Athens immediately on the return of the *mystæe*. But the invocation of Pan, Men, and the Nymphs does not suggest the Πλημοχόαι: the

inscription seems only to prove that the formula was not confined to the mysteries and was not part of the secret λόγος (it is probably of the second century A. D.).

<sup>b</sup> The word ἐργασάμενος in the formula has been emended by Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* p. 25) to ἐγγενεσάμενος: Prof. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrastiturgie*, p. 125, would retain ἐργασάμενος, to which he would give an obscene meaning; but if such were lurking in the words Arnobius would have seized on it, who quotes the formula in an innocent para-

and again from the kalathos into the chest<sup>219c</sup>.” This curious and somewhat lengthy formula served excellently no doubt to distinguish the initiated, and it illustrates the exceeding importance attaching in early mystic ritual to simple movements and acts: nevertheless it would strike us as flat and dull, but for one gleam of enlightenment it gives us concerning something we would wish to know. Some kind of sacrament was a preliminary condition of admission to the mystery or was itself part of the *μύησις*. In drinking the *κυκεών* the *mystae* drank of the same cup as the goddess drank of when at last she broke her nine days' fast in the midst of her sorrow, and the antiquity of this ritual is attested by the Homeric hymn. This then is some kind of communion service, which will be considered later; and part of the same celebration was the rite to which the rest of the formula refers—if Lobeck's emendation is accepted—the eating by the communicant of some sacred food which was preserved in the mystic cista, *pain bénit* probably with other cereals and fruits. And again we have a reference to the probably sacramental eating of holy food in the extract from Polemon, given by Athenaeus<sup>219d</sup>, which Rubensohn maintains with skilful and convincing arguments to refer to the *κερχνοφορία*<sup>a</sup>, an essential though preliminary part of the great mystery. And here also the food is nothing but fruits and cereals. Elsewhere animal sacrifice was prevalent in Demeter's worship; we cannot be sure whether it was allowed or tabooed in the more esoteric ritual of the mysteries<sup>b</sup>, but it was certainly practised in the *περίβολος* of the temple<sup>219g</sup>.

phrase, though in a very vituperative context, *Adv. Nation.* 5, 26. However, Prof. Dieterich in his valuable treatise has collected evidence proving in much ancient ritual the prevalence of the belief that mystic communion with the deity could be obtained through the semblance of sexual intercourse: it is found in the Attis-Cybele worship, and in the Isis-ritual (*Joseph. Antiq.* 18, 3) and it probably explains the myth of Pasiphae.

<sup>a</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1898, p. 271.

<sup>b</sup> The scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>219g</sup>

tells us that 'it was not lawful to fling outside (the temple) any part of the victim offered to Demeter and Persephone' (*θνόμενα* refers properly to animal sacrifice). We are familiar with this rule in Greece expressed often in the ritual-inscriptions by the phrase *ὄνε ἀποφορά*, and we find it in other Mediterranean countries. It implies that the sacrifice is so sacred that it must be consumed on the altar and not taken away to a secular place or for secular purposes. The scholiast's words would

The scholiast on Plato<sup>210</sup> <sup>a</sup> pretends to have discovered another Eleusinian formula, not unlike the last, 'I have eaten from the timbrel, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have carried the sacred vessel, I have crept under the shrine (or bridal-chamber) <sup>a</sup>.' At once we catch the echo of a Phrygian orgy; and Firmicus Maternus, supported by Clemens, supplies the fitting termination to such a litany, 'I have become a mystic votary of Attis.' We can leave this aside in discussing Eleusis <sup>b</sup>.

Was there then nothing more in the way of litany or solemn utterance? We can discover nothing more; but, because the record fails us at this point, as in so many others, we must not assert that there were no other words put into the mouths of the *mystae* more expressive of spiritual hope; such as was perhaps the joyful proclamation in the Athenian marriage-service and the Phrygian Dionysiac mystery, 'I have fled from evil, I have found a better thing': even in certain modern savage mysteries the idea of the mental regeneration of the initiated finds utterance <sup>c</sup>. But it may not have been the cue of the Christian writers to mention it, and the pagan may have refrained out of reverence.

We can pass now to consider whether there was any discourse or official exposition of mystic doctrine or belief, delivered

be out of place if he were thinking merely of a *δλοκαύτωμα*: they imply a sacrifice that could be eaten, and possibly a sacramental sacrifice of a holy victim, perhaps a pig, somewhere inside Demeter's and Kore's temple. But where and when? The scholiast is referring to an Attic rule, but not of necessity, though probably, to Eleusis. Was the purple-died wool that seems to have been used in the ritual of the mysteries partly for purification, partly as a badge to bind round the arms and feet of the *mystae*, a 'surrogate' for the blood of the animal or of themselves, with which in ancient times they may have been smeared<sup>216</sup>. The purple badge occurred also in the Samothracian mysteries: and here perhaps as

well as at Eleusis was merely a symbol of the lower world, used as an amulet—vide p. 172, note c.

<sup>a</sup> The *παστός* will probably have been the small shrine of Cybele, regarded as her bridal-chamber, carried by her *παστοφόροι*.

<sup>b</sup> The context in *Protrepit.* p. 13 (Pott.) clearly connects the formula with the Phrygian mysteries; Lenormant in 'Eleusinia,' *Daremberg et Saglio*, 2. p. 572 misreads Clemens, and preferring the authority of the unknown scholiast to that of the other two writers concludes that 'the Sabazios-mystery was part of the Eleusinian *ἐπισημία*.'

<sup>c</sup> Vide Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 3, p. 428, &c.

at the close of the ceremony or accompanying it. This is the question on which Lobeck's scepticism was most active; for he had to silence the absurdities of those who held the opinion that the hierophant was in the position of a prophet-priest who aspired to impart profounder truth concerning God and man and the world to eager ears. No official priest of Greece was likely to be a spiritual teacher or to rise much above the intellectual level of his fellows. Nevertheless, there was certainly some exposition accompanying the unfolding of the mysteries, though it may well have been the least important part of the whole ceremony, of probably less importance than the sermon at the close of our Christian service <sup>a</sup>. Something was heard as well as seen <sup>218 h</sup>: the Eumolpidae were in charge of certain *ἄγραφοι νόμοι*, an unwritten code, according to which they delivered their exegesis, which may have been little more than decisions on details of ritual <sup>201</sup>: but the hierophant said something more; he was the chief spokesman, who 'poured forth winning utterance,' and whose voice the catechumen 'ardently desired to hear' <sup>202 a, i, 219</sup>. What then was this utterance of the hierophant, delivered not at the *πρόρρησις* nor in the preliminary ceremonies, but in the hall of the mysteries, which only the *mystae* could hear? In judging the evidence, we must carefully distinguish between what may have been said to his protégé by the individual *μυσταγωγός*, the private introducer, or again what was expounded in outside speculation concerning the inner meaning of the *ἄργια*, and on the other hand what was communicated by those who had the right of exegesis in the inner hall. For instance, when we are told by St. Augustine <sup>222</sup> that Varro interpreted the whole of the ceremony as containing nothing but corn-ritual and corn-symbolism, we have only Varro's private judgement, which is interesting though false, but in any case it does not concern the question we are raising. Nor again, when Cicero in the *De Natura Deorum* <sup>b</sup> speaks as though the knowledge obtained by the

<sup>a</sup> In the analysis of the various parts of the *μυστήριον* by Theo Smyrnaeus, quoted above, there is no clear mention of *λόγος* or discourse; but we have some evidence of its importance in a

sentence of Galen's, *De usu Part.* 7. 14, who speaks of the rapt attention paid by the initiated 'to the things done and said' in the Eleusinian and Samothracian mysteries. <sup>b</sup> 1. 42.



Eleusinia was natural philosophy rather than theology, 'rerum magis natura cognoscitur quam deorum,' must we infer that the hierophant discoursed on the sacred myths of Greece in the style of the later stoics, or of Roscher and Max Müller; the context only indicates that certain people rationalized on the Eleusinian and Samothracian ceremonies with a view to discover in them a mere system of symbolic expression of natural and physical facts. This tendency was rife in Greece from the fifth century B.C. onwards, as it has been rife in our age: so far as it was effective it was fatal to the anthropomorphic religion; and we can hardly suppose that any hierophant, however eccentric, would allow himself to be dominated by such a suicidal impulse when discoursing on the holy rites. Another passage in Cicero is more difficult to explain: 'Remember, as you have been initiated, the things that were imparted to you in the mysteries<sup>222</sup>'; and the context shows clearly that he is referring to the Euhemeristic doctrine that deities were merely glorified men who died long ago, and the words quoted, as well as those which precede, certainly suggest that Eleusis taught her catechumens this depressing doctrine. No doubt the hierophant had some slight liberty of exposition, and his discourse may have occasionally reflected some of the passing theories of the day<sup>a</sup>, absurd or otherwise; but that Euhemerism was part of the orthodox dogma of the mysteries, of the *πάτρια Εὐμολπιδῶν*, we should refuse to believe even if Cicero explicitly stated it. There is something here, probably trifling, that we do not understand; Cicero's statement may be a mere mistake, or based on some insignificant fact such as that Eubouleus the god was once an Eleusinian shepherd.

More important is the extract from Porphyry<sup>222</sup>, who tells us that 'Triptolemos is said to have laid down laws for the Athenians,' and that Xenocrates declared that three of these were still preached at Eleusis, namely, 'to honour one's father and mother, to make to the deities an acceptable sacrifice of fruits, not to destroy animal life.' Here is moral teaching and an important ritual-law, and the natural interpretation

<sup>a</sup> In the time of Julian the hiero- neo-Platonic tendencies, vide Eunapius, phant was a philosopher, probably of *Vit. Max.* p. 52 (Boissonade).

of the passage is that these rules of conduct were impressed upon the *mystae* by those who expounded the mysteries. For what other teaching was there at Eleusis except in the *τελεστηριον*? Yet we are confronted with difficulties. The Greeks did not want mysteries to teach them their duty to their parents, for this was sanctioned and upheld by the ordinary religion. As regards the sanctity of animal life, could Eleusis teach a vegetarian religious doctrine that was openly and systematically defied by the state and the *mystae* themselves? We may believe, though we cannot absolutely assert, that the sacrifices or sacraments in the 'telesterion' were bloodless, but animal victims were offered in the *περίβολος* of the temple, and the rites of purification demanded the shedding of animal blood. It is possible that Xenocrates was attempting to father Orphic doctrines upon Triptolemos and Eleusis: for though he is not otherwise known as a propagandist of Orphism, he was interested in its mythology, and appears to have held peculiar opinions concerning the sanctity of animal life.

At any rate we cannot believe that Porphyry's statement, however we may explain or regard it, reveals to us anything of the mystic teaching of the Eleusinia. No doubt the hierophant descanted on the blessings mankind derived from Demeter, as the testimony of Isocrates assures us<sup>222</sup>; doubtless he would comment on the *ιερά* explaining their sanctity, as the savage hierophant of the Australian mysteries explains the sanctity of the 'Churinga' to the neophyte. Certainly it was not his part to preach the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, for as Rohde has well pointed out, the belief in the continuance of life after death was presupposed by the mysteries, and was more or less accepted by the average Greek, being the basis of the cult of the dead. It was happiness in the other world that the mysteries promised and which initiation aimed at securing. At the same time, no doubt, through the solemn and impressive ceremonies of initiation, belief in the possibility of continuance of life may have gained a stronger hold on the mind of the average man: while it is quite conceivable that the discourse of the hierophant touched on the future joys of the *mystae*. He may also have exhorted them to lead pure

and good lives in the future. But we know nothing positively of any higher moral teaching in these mysteries: we have no record and no claim put forth. It is clear that their immediate aim was not an ethical one; though it is quite reasonable to believe that in certain cases they would exercise a beneficial influence upon subsequent conduct. The character of these ceremonies, as of Greek religion in general, was dominantly ritualistic; but the fifth century B.C. was ripe for that momentous development in religion whereby the conception of ritualistic purity becomes an ethical idea. It is specially attested concerning the Samothracian rites that persons were the better and juster for initiation into them<sup>a</sup>. As regards the Eleusinia we have no such explicit testimony<sup>223</sup>: it is even implied by the cynical phrase of Diogenes that they made no moral demands at all<sup>223 e</sup>, but *ex hypothesi* he knew nothing whatever about them. On the other hand, Andocides, when he is pleading for his life before the Athenian jury, assumes that those who had been initiated would take a juster and sterner view of moral guilt and innocence, and that foul conduct was a greater sin when committed by a man who was in the service of 'the Mother and the Daughter'<sup>223 d</sup>. And we should not forget the words of Aristophanes at the close of the beautiful ode that Dionysos heard in the meadows of the blessed, 'To us alone is there a sun and joyous light after death, who have been initiated and who lived in pious fashion as touching our duty to strangers and private people'<sup>223 b</sup>.

The Amphictyonic decree<sup>185 a</sup> of the second century B.C. speaks of the mysteries as enforcing the lesson that 'the greatest of human blessings is fellowship and mutual trust': but these words cannot be taken as proving any actual doctrine that was explicitly preached, but as alluding to the natural influence which all participation in mystic rites produces on the mind, the quickened sense of comradeship between the members. And this may have been the implicit idea that inspired the conviction of the rhetorician Sopatros

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. 5. 49.

that initiation would increase his capacity for every kind of excellence <sup>223 g</sup>.

As regards the moral question, then, we may conclude that though in the Homeric hymn there is no morality, but happiness after death depends on the performance of certain ceremonies, and punishment follows the neglect of them <sup>223 a</sup>, by the time of Aristophanes the mysteries had come to make for righteousness in some degree: probably not so much through direct precept or exhortation, but rather through their psychologic results, through the abiding influences that may be produced on will and feeling by a solemn, majestic, and long sustained ceremony, accompanied by acts of purification and self-denial, and leading up to a profound sense of self-deliverance.

In fact whatever opinion we may form concerning the *λόγος* or discourse delivered at the mysteries it was, as we have said, of far less importance than the *ἐποπτεία*, the sight of holy things and scenes: we gather this from other evidence, but specially from Aristotle's well-known statement that 'the initiated do not learn anything so much as feel certain emotions and are put into a certain frame of mind' <sup>222</sup>. These words throw more light than almost any other record on the true significance of the Eleusinia; and are at least a stumbling-block in the way of M. Foucart's theory, expounded in his *Recherches*, about which a few words may be said before leaving the question concerning the mystic teaching. In accordance with his theory of their Egyptian origin, he maintains that the object of the mysteries was much the same as that of the Egyptian Book of the Dead: to provide, namely, the *mystae* with elaborate rules for avoiding the perils that beset the road into the other world, and for attaining at last to the happy regions: that for this purpose the hierophant recited magic formulae whereby the soul could repel the demons that beset the path by which it must journey; and the *mystes* learned them by careful repetition: therefore a fine and impressive voice was demanded of the hierophant, and the *λόγος* was really the cardinal point of the whole: and it was to seek this deliverance from the terrors of hell that all Greece flocked to Eleusis, while poets and orators glorified the Eleusinian scheme of

salvation. Even M. Foucart's well-known learning and acumen fail to commend these hypotheses. The weakness in certain parts of them has been exposed already: great violence has to be done to the facts to make the Egyptian theory plausible for a moment; nor is there any hint or allusion, much less record, to be found in the ancient sources, suggesting that any recital of magic formulae was part of the ceremony. To suppose that the crowds that sought the privilege of initiation were tormented, as modern Europe has been at certain times, by ghostly terrors of judgement, is to misconceive the average Greek mind. The Inferno of Greek mythology is far less lurid than Dante's, and it is to the credit of the Greek temperament that it never took its goblin-world very seriously, though the belief was generally prevalent that the gods might punish flagrant sinners after death. In fact, M. Foucart's theories which have no *vraisemblance* in their application to Eleusis would be better in place in a discussion of the private Orphic sects and their mystic ceremonies. The tombs of Crete and Magna Graecia have supplied us with fragments of an Orphic poem, verses from which were buried with the dead, and served as amulets or spells to secure salvation for the soul. And Plato, always reverential of Eleusinian rites, speaks contemptuously of the attempts of the Orphic priests to terrorize men's minds with threats of punishment that awaited them in the next world, unless they performed certain mystic sacrifices in this. If the kernel of the mysteries were what M. Foucart supposes, the recitation of magic spells whereby to bind the demon powers of the next world, Greek ethical philosophy would have probably attacked them as detrimental to morality, and their vogue would have been an ominous sign of mental decay. But on the contrary they reached their zenith when the Greek intellect was in the full vigour of sanity and health. We have no reason for imputing to them a debasing superstition or to suppose that their main function was a magic incantation: what there was of primitive thought in the mystery, probably the belief in the close association of man's life with the life of plants, could easily be invested with a higher significance and serve as the stimulus of a higher hope.

The account of the mysteries as given above is perhaps as complete as the literary evidence at present forthcoming allows. But does it explain the enthusiastic reverence they awakened, and the rapturous praise that the best Greek literature often awarded them<sup>165</sup>? 'Happy is he,' cries Pindar, 'who has seen them before he goes beneath the hollow earth: that man knows the true end of life and its source divine': and Sophocles vies with Pindar in his tribute of devotion; the stately and religious Aeschylus, native of Eleusis, acknowledges his debt to Demeter 'who has nurtured his soul': while Isocrates in his liquid prose declares that 'for those who have shared in them their hopes are sweetened concerning the end of life and their whole existence'; and the writers of the later days of paganism, Aristides and Libanius, speak of them with more fervent ecstasy still.

To explain satisfactorily to ourselves the fascination they exercised over the national mind of Hellas some of us may be inclined to have recourse to the theory put forward by Dr. Jevons in his *Introduction to the Study of Religion*; some less important points of it have already been criticized, but it has been convenient to reserve the consideration of its central principle for the close of this chapter. The theory is a theory of totemism conjoined with a certain view of the Eleusinian sacrifice. We will now be silent about the question of totemism, a word that is irrelevant in the discussion of the Eleusinia; it is his view of the sacrifice that it is fruitful to consider. He has drawn from Professor Robertson Smith's work on the *Religion of the Semites* the conception of the gift-offering to the deity being a later and in some sense a depraved outgrowth of an earlier and higher sacrifice, which was of the nature of a sacramental meal whereby the worshipper became of one flesh and one blood with his deity by eating or drinking some divine substance. He goes on to maintain that certain archaic worships in Greece, among others the Eleusinia, had been able to retain the more primitive and in some sense the more spiritual conception of sacrifice as a communion, which elsewhere had been supplanted by the more utilitarian view of it as a bribe: then that the opening

of the great mysteries to the Greek world—an event which he erroneously places in the period of Solon—coincided with the revival of religious feeling in Greece, with a consciousness of the hollowness of the gift-offering and with a yearning for a closer religious communion through more efficacious, sacramental ritual. Now the original and well-reasoned hypothesis, that was first put forward in Professor Robertson Smith's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and developed in his larger work, wants more careful scrutiny than it has usually received, and the detailed examination of it must be reserved <sup>a</sup>. When modified in certain important points the theory is, I think, applicable to Greek as well as to Semitic sacrifice. Sacramental meals are found in Greece, and were by no means confined to the mysteries. Doubtless the drinking of the *κυκεών* and the eating from the *κέρχνος* implied some idea of communion with the divinity; and an inscription tells us that the priest of the Samothracian mysteries broke sacred bread and poured out drink for the *mystae* <sup>b</sup>; a savage form of sacrament may be faintly discernible in the Arcadian Despoina-ritual <sup>119</sup>. But if we keep strictly to the evidence, as we ought in such a case, we have no right to speak of a sacramental common meal at Eleusis, to which, as around a communion-table, the worshippers gathered, strengthening their mutual sense of religious fellowship thereby: we do not hear of the *πάρασιτοι* of Demeter as we hear of the *πάρασιτοι* of Heracles and Apollo at Acharnae.

As regards the sacrifices before the *mystae* reached Eleusis, we know nothing about them except that one of them at least was a preliminary condition of initiation. As for the *κυκεών*, for all we know, they may have drunk it separately, each by himself or herself, or at least in pairs <sup>c</sup>; we have no proof here of a sacramental common meal, although it is probable that the votary felt in drinking it a certain fellowship with the deity, who by the story had drunk it before him <sup>d</sup>. Still less

<sup>a</sup> Vide my article in *Hibbert Journal*, 1904, p. 306.

<sup>b</sup> *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1882, p. 8, no. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Vide the vase described in *Monu-*

*ments of Demeter*, p. 240, showing two *mystae*.

<sup>d</sup> There is no text or context which proves that the initiated at Eleusis was regarded as of one flesh with the deity:

—and this is a grave objection to the constructive idea of Dr. Jevons' theory—is there any sign that the initiated believed they were partaking through food of the divine substance of their divinity. This conception of the sacrament, which has played a leading part in Christian theology, appears elsewhere sporadically in ancient Greek ritual; we may detect it in the Attic Buphonia, in the Dionysiac offering of the bull-calf at Tenedos, in the story of the mad bull with golden horns, that seems to have embodied Hekate, devoured by the Thessalian host<sup>a</sup>; and it is salient in the Maenad-ritual of Dionysos. But it is by no means so frequent that we could assume it in any given case without evidence. And there is no kind of evidence of its recognition at Eleusis: and no convincing reason for supposing that the Greeks flocked there because they were weary of the conventional gift-offering, and because they believed that a profounder and more satisfying ritual of communion-sacrifice existed there. Moreover, we have strong grounds for doubting whether this latter ever exercised a vital influence upon religious thought in the older Hellenism, outside at least the pale of the private Orphic societies. It may have been the secret of the strength of the later Cybele-worship; but the author of the Homeric hymn, the first propagandist of the Eleusinia, ignores it altogether, and presents the Eleusinian sacrifice merely as a gift-offering: it is also ignored by the earlier Greek philosophers, and by the later writers, such as Lucian, in his treatise *περὶ θουσιῶν*, or Iamblichus in the *De Mysteriis*. The silence concerning it in the latter work is all the more remarkable, as the author carefully analyses the phenomena of mystic ecstasy, and rejects as unworthy the gift-theory, regarding sacrifice as a token of friendship with the divinity, but shows no recognition of the idea of sacramental communion. In fact, a serious part of Dr. Jevons' construction collapses through this vacuum in the evidence, and cannot be strengthened by *a priori* probabilities. Lastly, we come to feel another difficulty in his

those on which Professor Dieterich relies in his able treatise, *Eine Mithras-liturgie*, pp. 137-138, do not seem to

me to be relevant.

<sup>a</sup> Polyæn. *Strat.* 8. 42.



attempted solution of the Eleusinian problem. Whatever the mystic sacrifice may have been, he lays a great deal more stress upon it than the Greeks themselves did <sup>a</sup>. It is clear that the pivot of these mysteries was the ἐπιπεία, not the θυσία: among the five essential parts of the μύησις given by Theon Smyrnaeus there is no mention of sacrifice, nor in the strange case dealt with by the late rhetorician Sopatros of the man who was initiated by the goddesses themselves in a dream; they admitted him to their communion by telling him something and showing him something <sup>b</sup>.

If we abandon then this hypothesis, are we left quite in the dark as to the secret of salvation that Eleusis cherished and imparted? When we have weighed all the evidence and remember the extraordinary fascination a spectacle exercised upon the Greek temperament, the solution of the problem is not so remote or so perplexing. The solemn fast and preparation, the mystic food eaten and drunk, the moving passion-play, the extreme sanctity of the ἱερά revealed, all these influences could induce in the worshipper, not indeed the sense of absolute union with the divine nature such as the Christian sacrament or the hermit's reverie or the Maenad's frenzy might give, but at least the feeling of intimacy and friendship with the deities, and a strong current of sympathy was established by the mystic contact. But these deities, the mother and the daughter and the dark god in the background, were the powers that governed the world beyond the grave: those who had won their friendship by initiation in this life would by the simple logic of faith regard themselves as certain to win blessing at their hands in the next. And this, as far as we can discern, was the ground on which flourished the Eleusinian hope.

It flourished and maintained itself and its ritual throughout the latter days of paganism when the service of Zeus Olympios was almost silent; and it only succumbed to no less a religion

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Jevons himself seems at last to have perceived this, for he says on p. 381 'it is the communion thus afforded (by the revelation of the corn-stalk) rather than the sacramental *κυ-*

*κείων* which is the crowning point of the ritual.' But this admission loosens most of the fabric of his hypothesis.

<sup>b</sup> *Rhetor. Graec.* vol. 8, p. 121.

than Christianity itself. With its freedom from ecstatic extravagance and intolerant dogmatism, with its appealing dramatic display, with the solemn beauty of its ritual touched with melancholy but warmed with genial hope, the Eleusinian worship bore to the end the deep impress of the best Hellenic spirit. To its authority and influence may be due the comparative immunity of Greece from the invasion of Mithraism<sup>a</sup>.

We should certainly expect that a cult of such prestige would plant offshoots of itself in different parts of Greece. Perhaps we can find one of these in Attica itself, namely, in the mystery of Soteira whom Aristotle vaguely mentions, and who is probably the same as the Kore Soteira worshipped at Korydalos near the Peiraeus<sup>267</sup>. It is difficult to suppose that this Kore should be Athena, whose worship, so far as we know, was never mystic; and we gather from the context of the passage in the *Frogs*, in which the *mystae* sing the praises of Soteira, that she is none other than their own goddess Kore-Persephone; the mystic liturgy being prone to substitute a reverential appellative such as 'Hagne' or 'Despoina' for the proper name. Why was Kore called specially the 'Saviour'? Aristophanes seems to interpret the name in a political sense, and this may also have been its significance in the worship of Kore Soteira at Cyzicos and at Erythrae<sup>128, 163</sup>; but at Megalopolis at least it had a 'mystic' meaning, an inscription proving that 'Soteira' was there identical with the Despoina of the Lykosuran mysteries<sup>119c</sup>; and that the cult of Kore Soteira was 'mystic' at Sparta seems proved by its close association with the legend of Orpheus<sup>117</sup>. It is probable that in the Attic, Arcadian, and Laconian worships, Kore was called 'the Saviour' because of the blessings she dispensed to her *mystae* after death: and we may bear in mind that the same mystic use of *σωτηρία* or 'salvation' occurred in the later Dionysiac-Attis rites. If this

<sup>a</sup> The last hierophant before the destruction of Eleusis in the invasion of Alaric appears to have been a Mithras-worshipper, Eunap. *Vit. Max.* p. 52 Boissonnade. (Lenormant, *Daremberg et Saglio*, p. 551, discovers traces of 'une

fosse taurobolique' in a substructure of the latest period found within the sacred precincts; cf. *ib.* 559: but according to Cumont the 'taurobolia' is not Mithraic but belongs to Cybele, *Textes et Mon. fig. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 334.)

supposition is correct, the word that has become the master-word of the Christian creed was drawn like much else of the Christian vocabulary from the earlier nomenclature of paganism.

But outside Attica also there were cults of Demeter Eleusinia that were regarded by the ancients themselves as early scions of the mystic worship at Eleusis: and it is a historical question of some interest whether this opinion was correct. In Ionia, at Ephesus and Mykale, the foundation of the 'Eleusinian' goddess was associated with the legend of the Attic foundation<sup>231 a, b</sup>, and, as we have seen, the Ephesian 'Basileis' possessed the same sacred functions in regard to her rites as the Archon Basileus at Athens. At the Arcadian city of Pheneos the mysteries of Demeter Eleusinia presented certain peculiar features of ritual that have already been noticed<sup>235</sup>; certain sacred books containing the rules for the initiation were kept in the rocky vault known as the *πέτρωμα*, and were read aloud to the *mystae* at the great annual *τελετή*. The citizens declared that the *δρώμενα* were a counterpart of the Eleusinian, and that they were founded by a certain Naos, a near descendant of Eumolpos.

We may surmise that Alexandria possessed some form of Eleusinian rites, as we hear of the region called Eleusis, situated about four miles from the city: and the Athenian hierophant had been specially summoned from Attica by the first Ptolemy to advise on a matter concerning the state-religion<sup>202 a, 237</sup>; but the only mystic Demeter-ceremonies that are recorded of Alexandria are connected with the kalathos-ritual, which shows no resemblance to the Eleusinian, so far as the hymn of Callimachus gives us an account of it. We have in the 'Panarium<sup>a</sup>' a late record of what at first sight appears to be a pagan mystic cult of 'Kore' at Alexandria: on a certain day the worshippers met in the temple called 'Korion,' and after a religious service that lasted through the night bore away at daybreak the idol of the maiden and escorted it with torches to an underground chapel; whence they then brought up another idol of wood, naked and seated on a litter, but with the sign of the cross on its brow: this was led seven times

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Africa (Alexandria): cf. my *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 34-36.

round the temple with timbrels and flutes and hymns, and then restored to its underground dwelling, 'And they say that on this day Kore, that is the virgin, gave birth to the eternal.' We have here a very striking picture of the transitional period between paganism and Christianity, the engrafting the name of the virgin and the imprinting the sign of the cross upon the earlier Kore, the transmuting of a pagan ritual with the idea of a virgin-birth<sup>a</sup>. But it would be a mockery of all criticism to endeavour to deduce from this fantastic account any definite view concerning the genuine Eleusinia at Alexandria: its value is greater for the general history of European religion.

In many places where Demeter is not known to have been worshipped by this special title of *Ἐλευσινία*, we find indubitable traces of Eleusinian influence: for instance, at Keleae near Phlius, where, as Pausanias tells us, the 'initiation-mystery of Demeter' was held every four years, and a special hierophant, who might be a married man, was elected for each occasion, but the rest of the proceedings were 'an imitation of those at Eleusis'<sup>202 h</sup>: at Lerna in Argolis, where the legend of the abduction was indigenous and a *τελετή* of Demeter, in which possibly Dionysos had a share, is recorded by Pausanias, who gives Philammon as its traditional founder; late inscriptions show that its organization was assimilated to the Eleusinian, the son of an Athenian hierophant being hierophant of the Lernaean mystery<sup>115 b, 233</sup>: at Megalopolis, where the initiation-ceremonies that were performed in the temenos of the 'great goddesses' were again an 'imitation of those at Eleusis'<sup>234</sup>; the institution of them may belong to the period of Epaminondas, and there is no reason that forbids us supposing them to have been derived from Eleusis. The *Μεγάλαι θεαί* here, as at Andania<sup>246</sup>, and the Arcadian Trapezos<sup>248</sup> are certainly Demeter and Kore, known in the usual mystic fashion by a solemn descriptive appellation; we see by the Achaean decree of the latter part of the second century B.C. that they were served by a hierophant who was elected for life, and whom we may suppose to have usually

<sup>a</sup> *Αἰών* is a gnostic concept borrowed from Mithraism, vide Cumont, *Culte de Mithras*, I, p. 76.

belonged to the sacred family of the founders of the mystery ; but we find no rule of celibacy enforced here as at Athens. We have good evidence that just as Asclepios made his way into the Attic mysteries, so his Epidaurian cult became at least in later times strongly coloured with Eleusinian influence<sup>236</sup>. Finally, we have reason to believe that, in later times, mysteries were established after the fashion of the Attic at Naples<sup>252 a</sup>.

On the other hand we have record of a certain number of cults of Demeter Eleusinia, of which no legend claiming for them an Eleusinian origin has come down to us, and which are not recorded as being connected with any 'mysteries' at all. At Hysiai near Cithaeron stood a temple of Demeter Ἐλευσινία that is much heard of in the later accounts of the battle of Plataea : according to Plutarch its foundation was of great antiquity, but the only indication that might seem to attest it was the existence of a prehistoric grave mentioned by Pausanias as in its vicinity or precincts<sup>239</sup>. The same cult existed in probably more than one district of Laconia<sup>240</sup> ; in the south, on the slopes of Taygetos, the Eleusinion of Demeter is mentioned, where the mother at certain seasons received her daughter, whose statue was formally escorted thither from Helos on the coast. The temple contained a statue of Orpheus, evidently a very archaic wooden image, as Pausanias was told it was a 'Pelasgic dedication.' And an inscription from the Roman period found at Messoa (Mistra) speaks of an ἀγών that is evidently part of a festival there called the 'Ἐλευσῖνια' or Eleusinia, while the ritual-formula reveals there the trio of Attic-Eleusinian deities, Demeter, Plouton, Persephone ; but with these was grouped 'Despoina,' whose name was better known in Arcadia, and the law of the ritual itself presents some peculiarities, such as the exclusion of males, that prevent our regarding it as borrowed from the Eleusinian mysteries. In Arcadia the cult existed at Thelpusa, where the temple of Demeter Eleusinia contained three colossal marble statues of Demeter, 'the Daughter,' and Dionysos<sup>242</sup> ; and at Basilis, where the legend prevailed that Kypselos, the ancient Arcadian king, the father-in-law of Kresphontes, instituted

the cult of Demeter Eleusinia and a festival of which 'a contest for beauty' formed a part, prizes being given to the most beautiful women<sup>241</sup>. Finally, we have traces of the goddess 'Eleusinia' or Eleusina in Crete and Thera<sup>243-245</sup>.

Now as regards the explanation of these facts, there is considerable diversity of opinion among scholars. Some<sup>a</sup>, like Dr. Rohde, following the lead of K. O. Müller, maintain that Eleusis is directly and indirectly the metropolis whence all these cults emigrated at some time or other. But the contrary and more paradoxical view is sometimes taken<sup>b</sup> that outside Eleusis there is no single cult of Demeter Eleusinia, not even that in the Athenian Eleusinion, that should be regarded as affiliated to the Attic town: that in fact the name of Demeter 'Ελευσινία, a prehistoric goddess of wide recognition in early Hellas, is the prior fact, the name of Eleusis secondary: that Eleusinia gave the name to Eleusis, not Eleusis to Eleusinia. On this theory the latter word is regarded as a variant for 'Ελευσία, an equivalent for Eileithyia, so that the 'Eleusinian' goddess means Demeter the 'helper in child-birth.' But against this explanation, which has been proffered without much critical argument, there are serious objections from the point of view of cult, and still more serious on philological grounds. We have seen that Demeter had occasionally some recognition as a travail-goddess<sup>c</sup>, and this function may have belonged to her Aeginetan counterpart Damia, as in fact it belonged to most Greek goddesses, and to some far more essentially than to Demeter. What is important to note is that nowhere in the cults of 'Ελευσινία' is there any feature in the ritual or legend that suggests the child-birth goddess. The Laconian Eleusia is of course Eileithyia, the name being slightly transformed by the known laws of the Laconian dialect<sup>240</sup>; but neither Eleusia in Laconia nor Eileithyia elsewhere was ever, so far as our present evidence goes,

<sup>a</sup> Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* 2, p. 259; Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 102, &c.; Rohde, *Psyche*; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuch.* p. 209, &c., believes that the mystic cults of D. Eleusinia in Greece were 'filiale'

of Eleusis, but that most were non-mystic.

<sup>b</sup> e. g. by Bloch, *Der Kult und Mysterien von Eleusis*, 1896; cf. his article in Roscher, *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1337.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 81.

associated with Demeter. If it is true, as Hesychius tells us<sup>240</sup>, that Artemis was called Ἐλευσινία in Sicily, the support that this might seem to give to the theory that is being considered is at once destroyed by his further statement that Zeus was called Ἐλευσίνιος by the Ionians. For Artemis was indeed a deity of child-birth, but Zeus obviously was not; and they may have both merely drawn this epithet by reason of some accidental cult-association<sup>a</sup> from the worship of Demeter Ἐλευσινία. Again, the etymological equation Ἐλευθία = Ἐλευσινία leaves unexplained the formative suffix of the latter word, and is based on a false supposition; for, though the Laconians would call Ἐλεῖθια Ἐλευσία, no other Greek dialect would, and it is absurd to suppose that all over the Greek world people spoke of Demeter as ἡ Ἐλευσινία in order to imitate the Laconian lisp: again, by the laws of its adjectival formation, Ἐλευσινία can only be explained in the light of the facts we possess as a compound word arising from Ἐλευσίς (Ἐλευσίνος). We can also be certain that 'Eleusis,' the base-word, whatever its root-meaning may have been, was the name of a place. But what place? We must reckon with the possibility of there having been more settlements of this name than the Attic, for many Greek place-names were apt to recur, and a dim recollection was preserved of an Eleusis in Boeotia on the Copaic lake<sup>238</sup>, and Thera named one of its cities Ἐλευσίν<sup>245</sup>. But some one of these must have been famous enough to diffuse the name, for we have no more right to suppose in the lack of any evidence that there was always a local 'Eleusis' wherever there was a worship of ἡ Ἐλευσινία than to maintain that there was a local Olympos wherever Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was worshipped. And the only famous Eleusis was the Attic.

But can we believe that it was so famous in early times as to have diffused this title of Demeter through the Peloponnese, where the Laconian and Arcadian cults of ἡ Ἐλευσινία claimed to be pre-Dorian foundations? This is the difficulty which has caused mistrust of the simple and obvious explanation of

<sup>a</sup> We must often reckon with this factor in the growth of cult-titles, e. g.

Zeus Ἡραῖος, Ἄφροδίσιος, Apollo Σαρπηδόσιος, Athena Αἰαντίς.

Ἐλευσινία. But we must consider the value of that claim. In regard to the worship at Basilis<sup>241</sup> we have the temple-legend given us by Athenaeus from the 'Arkadika' of Nikias, ascribing its foundation to the pre-Dorian Kypselos. Now Kypselos may have been a real Arcadian ancestor of the period before the conquest; but such temple legends, which are often valuable for ethnological arguments, are useless for exact chronology; for every shrine would be tempted to connect its worship with a striking name belonging to the mythic past. We may only draw the cautious inference that the cult at Basilis was of considerable antiquity<sup>a</sup>. The account of the Laconian temple has preserved no legend of foundation, but the 'Pelagic' xoanon of Orpheus may have been a work of the seventh century B. C., and suggests associations with Attica or North Greece. On the other hand, we have no right to assert that the Attic cult could not have diffused the title of Ἐλευσινία through parts of the Peloponnese or into Boeotia in the Homeric or pre-Homeric period. The silence of Homer proves nothing: the prestige of the Attic Eleusis may have been great in his time and before his time. The very early associations between Attica and Arcadia have been pointed out by Toepffer<sup>b</sup>, and we may trace in legend and cult a similar connexion between Laconia, Argolis, and Attica. And many of the smaller tribal migrations into the Peloponnese may have journeyed by way of Eleusis and the Isthmus; and have brought on with them to their new homes the name, though not always the mystery, of Demeter Eleusinia. The Boeotian temple may of course have named its Demeter after the perished town of Eleusis on Lake Kopais; but the legend about that town savours a little suspiciously of Boeotian jealousy of Attica. And that the Plataean district of Cithaeron could have borrowed the name Eleusinia for its Demeter at any early time from the Attic Eleusis is very easy to believe.

<sup>a</sup> Immerwahr, *Kulte und Myth. Arkad.* p. 123, regards the cult of Basilis of Messenian origin: his arguments appear to me unconvincing, and the question

as to the meaning of Ἐλευσινία, whether in Arcadia or Messenia, he does not consider.

<sup>b</sup> Op. cit., e. g. pp. 214-215.



At least one is driven to admit that no other scientific hypothesis has as yet been put forward explaining the cult of Demeter Eleusinia outside Attica: and in dealing with the question we should bear in mind the new proof that has been afforded by excavation that Eleusis was a centre of some external commerce as early as at least the later Mycenaean period.

The mysteries of Keleai<sup>203b</sup>, Lerna<sup>115b, 233</sup>, and Pheneos<sup>235</sup> were influenced by the Eleusinian, probably after these latter were thrown open; but we have no chronological data for determining when this influence began. And in two of them, those of Keleai and Pheneos, certain peculiar features are found which prevent our regarding them as mere offshoots of the Attic. The latter Arcadian city vaunted the Eleusinian character and origin of its mysteries, but it is strange that in the record of them there is no mention of Kore: certain sacred books were kept in a building called the *πέτρομα*, and were read aloud to the *mystae* at the 'greater mystery' which occurred every other year. The curious custom which Pausanias mentions of the priest of Demeter *Κιδάρια* donning the mask of the goddess, and striking on the ground with a rod to evoke the earth-powers, seems to have belonged to the mystic celebration and to have been specially Arcadian. What is most strange in this service is the assumption by the male functionary of the likeness of the goddess. And this impersonation of the divinity by the mortal ministrant seems to have served the purposes of ritual magic, and not, as at Eleusis and probably at Andania, of a religious drama. Nor can we be sure that the mysteries of Pheneos were penetrated, as no doubt the Lernaean were, with the doctrine of a blessed immortality.

The mysteries at Andania in Messenia<sup>246</sup> are the last that require some closer consideration here, as much obscurity attaches to the question of their association with Eleusis and the personality of their divinities. If we trusted the account of Pausanias who is comparatively explicit concerning these mysteries, regarding them as standing second to the Eleusinian alone in prestige and solemnity, we should believe them to

have been instituted originally in honour of Demeter and Kore, who were known by the vaguer and more reverential names of αἱ Μεγάλαι θεαί, 'the great goddesses,' while Kore enjoyed also the specially mystic title of 'Hagne,' 'the holy one.' And this author believed in the legend that traced their institution to Attica and Eleusis through the names of Kaukon and Lykos. But we can now supplement and perhaps test the statement in Pausanias by the famous inscription of Andania which can be dated at 91 B. C. From this it appears that other divinities had by this time been admitted to the Messenian mysteries; the oath is taken in the name of the θεοὶ οἷς τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται, and these form a group to whom a special priest is assigned. The group includes Demeter, Hermes, the θεοὶ Μεγάλοι, Apollo Κάρνειος, and Hagne: the name θεαὶ Μεγάλαι nowhere occurs. It has been therefore supposed<sup>a</sup> that Pausanias was misled in his account, and wrongly attributed to the θεαὶ Μεγάλαι mysteries that belonged by right to the θεοὶ Μεγάλοι; and it has even been thought that Ἄγνή was not really a *sobriquet* for Kore as Pausanias understood, but was merely the name of the fountain in the temenos or the fountain-nymph. This latter opinion is held by M. Foucart; but there are grave objections to it. For it is unlikely that a fountain-nymph should be called by a name of such mystic solemnity or should be given so prominent a position by the side of the national divinities in the greatest of the state mysteries: nor does the inscription prove that the fountain was itself called Ἄγνή; the sacred books probably referred to the κρήνη τῆς Ἄγνης. The name must belong to one of the leading goddesses, and it is incredible that Kore should have been absent from this mystic company, and that nevertheless the legend of the cult, whether true or false, should have so many connexions with Eleusis. But Kore is never mentioned at all in the long inscription, unless Hagne is she. We may believe then with Pausanias, who would be certain to make careful inquiry on such a matter, that 'the Holy one' was 'the Daughter' at Andania, nor

<sup>a</sup> By Sauppe, *Mysterieninschrift von Andania*, p. 44, and Foucart in his commentary on Le Bas, 2, no. 326<sup>a</sup>.

need we suppose that the Ἀγνή θεά of Delos was other than Kore<sup>246</sup>. But it is almost equally difficult to conceive that he was altogether deceived about the θεαὶ Μεγάλαι. As he elsewhere shows himself perfectly conversant with the difference between them and the θεοὶ Μεγάλοι why should he have made this foolish mistake in gender here<sup>a</sup>, and again apparently in the same book when he speaks of the sacrifices offered on the recolonization of Messene to the θεαὶ Μεγάλαι and Kaukon<sup>246</sup>? Still stranger would it seem for Methapos to have made the same blunder in his inscription that was set up in 'the tent of the Lykomidae' at Phlye in Attica: for this person, probably a contemporary of Epaminondas, boasts in it that 'he purified the dwelling-place of Hermes and the ways of Demeter and Kore, the early-born, where they say Messene consecrated to the great goddesses the funeral-festival of Kaukon of Phlye,' and he wonders how 'Lykos the son of Pandion could have established all the Attic sacred service at Andania'<sup>246</sup>. In fact this well-attested Lycomidean monument is fatal to the theory that would exclude the Μεγάλαι θεαί from the Andanian mystery. But could we regard them as late-comers and the Μεγάλοι θεοί as the original divinities of the mysteries? This reverential title is found applied to no other gods but the Dioscuri and the Kabiri. As regards the former their cult was very prominent, as Toepffer<sup>b</sup> has shown, both in the earlier and later period of Messenia, and at certain places touches that of Demeter<sup>c</sup>; but we have no proof that the Messenians ever styled them 'the great gods,' and we have no evidence that their worship was anywhere of a mystic character before they became at a later period confused with the Kabiri<sup>d</sup>. The more probable and the more common opinion is that these Andanian Μεγάλοι θεοί were no

<sup>a</sup> This objection is properly stated by Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 220.

<sup>b</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Geogr. Reg. s.v. Messene and R. 149<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Paus. 10. 38, 7 speaks of the τελετή Ἀνάκτων καλουμένων παίδων at Amphissa, and suggests that these may be

the Dioscuri, Kouretes, or Kabiri, but adds that the learned preferred the last explanation. The term παῖδες probably refers to the diminutive size of the images, and is against the supposition that these are the Hellenic twin-brethren.

other than the divinities of the Samothracian mysteries, to whom the prescribed victim, the young sow—an offering scarcely likely to be acceptable to the Hellenic Dioscuri—was for some special reason appropriate. On this view it is inconceivable that these foreign divinities could have been the original powers to whom a mystery so associated with the prehistoric past of Messenia and with Eleusis was consecrated: for the earliest establishment of the Kabiri-cult in Greece was at Thebes, and the earliest date which the excavations suggest for its introduction there is the sixth century B.C.<sup>a</sup>, while it was not likely to have touched Messenia till some centuries later. We might believe that the mystery-monger Methapos played some part in its installation at Andania, as according to Pausanias he was specially interested in its propagation. The prestige of the Samothracian rites increased in the Macedonian period, and it is in no way strange that a leading Demeter mystery should be found in the later centuries lending them some countenance. Near the Kabeirion at Thebes lay the temple of Demeter *Καβειρία*, where she was worshipped in a mystic cult with Kore<sup>b</sup>; and we have some indication of a similar association of the native and the imported worships at Anthedon<sup>256</sup>. On the other hand, if we can trust certain statements of Strabo and Mnaseas<sup>256</sup>, we can believe that Demeter and Kore were themselves admitted into the inner circle of the Samothracian worship.

But all such *rapprochement* was probably late; and the most reasonable hypothesis concerning the Andanian mysteries is that the mother and the daughter were the divinities to whom they were consecrated in the earliest period; to the mother perhaps originally before the daughter grew up at her side. For in the inscription Demeter appears more prominently than any other divinity; two distinct priestesses of hers are mentioned among the native officials; and her priestess from the Laconian Aigila, where we may infer there was another

<sup>a</sup> Dörpfeld, *Athen. Mitth.* 13, p. 89.

<sup>b</sup> Nevertheless the actual worship of the Kabiri at Thebes seems to have been entirely independent of Demeter's:

nothing relating to her has been found in the Kabeirion, vide Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. 2, p. 2539.

mystery of Demeter's, perhaps the Thesmophoria, was specially invited<sup>82b</sup>. As for Hagne her importance is sufficiently attested; it appears that a special table of offerings, a lectisternum consecrated no doubt to her as a nether goddess, was set up near her fountain<sup>a</sup>, and near the same spot one of the two stone treasuries was erected which was only opened once a year at the mysteries<sup>b</sup>.

But in the later period at least they no longer rule alone; Hermes, Apollo Karneios, as well as the *Μεγάλοι θεοί*, are among the *θεοὶ οἷς τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται*. Apollo, whose cult is nowhere else mystic, may have forced his way in through the historic importance of the worship and the legend of Karneios; it was in his grove that the mysteries were celebrated, and the initiated were crowned with laurel. But Hermes, an old Messenian god, and a specially appropriate personage in a chthonian ritual, may have belonged essentially to them as representing the male deity of the lower world. However, his relations with the Mother and Daughter cannot here be determined. That these latter were the leading personages of the Andanian, as they were of the Eleusinian mysteries, is further suggested by the fact that in the rules laid down in the inscription concerning the apparel of the female officials there is special reference to the raiment necessary for the impersonation of divinities; but women could only personate goddesses: it would seem then that there was some *δρᾶμα μυστικόν* in which the goddesses appeared alone, for there is no reference to the male actor. The priestesses were married women, and were required to take an oath that they had lived 'in relation to their husbands a just and holy life'—a rule that obviously strengthened the ethical law of chastity but which probably had a ritualistic origin, such as the common rule that excluded adulteresses from temples. We hear also in the inscription of the functions of the sacred maidens who escorted the chariots containing the mystic *cistae*.

It is hard to estimate how far the whole ceremony was influenced by Eleusinian procedure and ideas; we note

<sup>a</sup> l. 86.

<sup>b</sup> ll. 90-95.

a resemblance in the fact that at Andania as at Eleusis there were grades of initiation, for we find the *πρωτομόσται* specially designated and distinguished by a peculiar diadem or crown. We are told also of the purification of the *mystæ* with the blood of swine and of the sacrificial meals shared by the priests and the priestesses, the latter sometimes wearing on their feet the skins of the slaughtered animals. But there is no record of a sacrament nor of any mystic teaching or eschatological promise. Yet, unless the Eleusinian tradition and the record concerning Methapos are utterly at fault, the Andanian mysteries probably maintained and secured the hope of future happiness.

Finally, the title *Θεαὶ Μεγάλαι* is not likely to have been an invention of Pausanias, though it does not occur in the Andanian inscription. It is attested by the epigram of Methapos, and was attached to Demeter and Kore in the worships of Megalopolis and Trapezus<sup>119c, 248</sup>. And we may surmise with Immerwahr<sup>a</sup> that there was some connexion between these Arcadian cults and the Messenian.

As regards the mysteries of Megalopolis, we gather little beyond the names of *Θεαὶ Μεγάλαι* and Kore Soteira; and the significance of the latter appellation has already been noted. The principle of apostolic succession was maintained here as in some other rituals, for an inscription has been found at Lykosura in honour of a Megalopolitan hierophant who was descended from 'those hierophants who first instituted the mysteries of the great goddesses among the Arcadians<sup>119c</sup>.' The same principle of divine tradition was maintained by the Eumolpidae, and we may surmise that Eleusinian influences touched Megalopolis. But it was to the Lykosuran cult of Despoina that the Megalopolitan worship was mainly assimilated, and the Despoina-mystery and legend belonged no doubt to a very ancient stratum of Arcadian religion<sup>119a</sup>. In the sacred story of Phigaleia, Thelpusa, and Lykosura, Despoina is the daughter of Demeter and Poseidon, and the tale of the rape was told not of Hades and Kore, but of Poseidon and

<sup>a</sup> *Kulte Arkadiens*, p. 123.

the mother-goddess<sup>a</sup>. And in the cult of Lykosura and the kindred legends of the other centres Despoina is always the daughter<sup>b</sup>, not the independent and self-sufficing earth-goddess, but a personality that arose when the latter had become pluralized<sup>40, 41</sup>. We may identify her with Kore-Persephone as the men of Megalopolis did<sup>119a</sup>, but we cannot apply Eleusinian ideas to the Lykosuran mystery, in which there is no trace of a passion-play or of a *ἱερὸς γόμος* or of any legend of sorrow and loss. Pausanias noticed something peculiar in the sacrifice in the Megaron: the throat of the victim was not cut, according to the usual ceremony, but each sacrificer chopped off the limbs quite casually. It is conceivable that this is a modification of some wild form of sacramental sacrifice like that described by Professor Robertson Smith as practised by the Arabs: 'The whole company fall upon the victim (a camel) with their swords, hacking off pieces of the quivering flesh and devouring them raw<sup>c</sup>.' Certain minute rules of the Lykosuran ritual are conveyed to us by an inscription found in the temple<sup>119a</sup>, and some of these remind us of the Andanian regulations: the women must wear their hair loose, and no sandals on their feet; gold was tabooed and no flowers must be brought into the shrine, and a rule, which I am not aware of as existing elsewhere in Greece, excluded pregnant women and those giving suck from participation in the mystery.

As regards the Mantinean mysteries<sup>249</sup>, some few points in the record that are of interest have already been noticed: a prominent part of the mystic rite was the reception of the goddess—Kore or Kore-Demeter—into the house of the priestess; we have reason for supposing that the *τελετή* was connected with some belief in the life after death, but we

<sup>a</sup> The ordinary Hellenic story of the abduction may have afterwards gained some currency at Phigaleia, vide Paus. S. 42.

<sup>b</sup> In the inscription from the Lacedaemonian Messoa of the Roman period Despoina is grouped with Demeter and Pluto, and seems distinguished—per-

haps only for the moment—from Persephone: mother and daughter were called Despoinae at Kyzikos (R. 128), in Elis (R. 118), and we have a hint of the worship of Despoina at Epidauros (R. 147).

<sup>c</sup> *Religion of Semites*, p. 320.

have no trace of a sacramental rite. It is possible that the idea of some communion with Demeter through the sacramental cup explains the strange title of *Ποτηριοφόρος* which was attached to her in Achaea<sup>254</sup>: the 'cup-bringer' might be the goddess who offered the *κυκεών* to the lips of her worshippers.

Except in Greece proper, there is no clear trace of Demeter-mysteries possessing a prominent national character or importance for religious history. We do not know whether the Ephesian cult of Eleusinia was strictly mystic<sup>231a</sup>. But we can conclude that mysteries were associated with the Triopian cult of the chthonian divinities of Knidos; for when this was transplanted to Gela by the ancestor of Gelo, we hear that this family secured the privilege of acting as 'hierophants,' a name that always connotes mysteries. And we can thus better understand why this worship at Gela and Syracuse exercised so strong a religious attraction as to serve as a ladder to high political power<sup>130</sup>.

This review of the Demeter-mysteries outside Attica was necessary, and the facts recorded of them are of some historical importance; but they scarcely assist the solution of the Eleusinian problem. Generally we may believe that they all proffered in some way the promise of future happiness; but we do not know the means by which this promise in each and all of them was conveyed and confirmed.

It has been doubted whether the Eleusinian faith had really a strong and vital hold on the religious imagination of the people, on the ground that the later grave-inscriptions rarely betray its influence. For the purposes of private consolation the Orphic mysteries may have appealed more powerfully to certain circles, especially in South Italy, where Kore also played her part in the Orphic-Dionysiac cults<sup>a</sup>. And so authoritative a witness to the public opinion concerning the doctrine of immortality in the fifth century B.C. as the Attic

<sup>a</sup> Proclus tells us that those who are being initiated to Dionysos and Kore pray 'to cease from the circle of existence and to rest from evil' (Diony-

sos, R. 135): these are the well-known words of the Orphic mystic hymn prevalent in Crete and South Italy. Cf. *Demeter-monuments*, p. 224.



inscription on those who fell at Potidaia seems to reveal a creed quite independent of Eleusis<sup>a</sup>. Doubtless there was neither uniformity nor dogmatism in this as in any other domain of Greek religious speculation, and the paradise of the *mystae* was not always clearly defined. Nevertheless the Eleusinian faith is not silent on the stones: it speaks in the epitaph of the hierophant of Eleusis who had found that death was not an evil but a blessing<sup>202a</sup>; and in the devout prayer inscribed on Alexandrian grave-reliefs that the departed 'might reach the region of the holy ones'<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *C. I. A.* 1. 442 Αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο.

<sup>b</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1901, p. 263.

## CHAPTER III

### MONUMENTS OF DEMETER

THE literary records of this cult are in some respects fuller and more explicit than the monuments, and some of the more interesting aspects of the Demeter-Persephone service lack, or almost lack, monumental illustration. The theriomorphic conception, of which we detected a glimpse in the Phigalean legend, can scarcely be said to have left a direct impress upon art<sup>a</sup>; and it is doubtful if even the later aniconic period has left us any representation or *ἄγαλμα* to which we may with certainty attach Demeter's name. On a few late coins of certain Asia Minor states<sup>b</sup>, of which the earliest is one struck under Demetrius III of Syria in the first century B. C., we find a very rude semblance of a goddess with corn-stalks but with only faint indication of human form. But in spite of the emblems we cannot say that this is a genuine Demeter; it may very probably be merely one of the many forms of the great mother-goddess of Asia Minor, the divine power of fertility and fruits; and it may descend from the same stratum of cult as that to which the type of the Ephesian Artemis belongs, to which it bears an obvious resemblance. Only when Demetrius took it as his badge, he and his people may have regarded it as Demeter's image for his name's sake. But at the time when this primitive fetich first came into vogue in these regions, we may be fairly certain that it did not belong to the Hellenic corn-goddess.

The same doubt attaches to another relic of prehistoric

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, pp. 56-57.

<sup>b</sup> Overbeck, *Münz-Taf.* 8. 1-5.

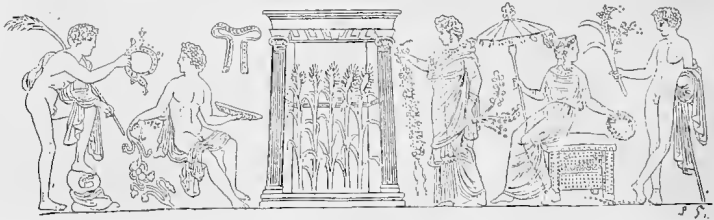


PLATE III

a



b



and semi-ionic art. A small terracotta agalma has been found at Eleusis<sup>a</sup>, probably in a grave, though this is not stated, of the type known as Pappádes, because it represents a goddess with a kalathos of much the same shape as the high hat of the modern Greek priest (Pl. III a). The decoration of the breasts and of the curls shows the Dipylon style, but the curious spiral attachment to the kalathos seems to be borrowed from Egyptian art; while in another fetich of the same group we find a decorative motive derived from Assyria<sup>b</sup>. Yet these terracottas are of indigenous fabric and may belong to the seventh century B.C.; we are tempted therefore to attach to them some divine name of the Hellenic system, for certainly by this period the polytheism had passed beyond the embryonic stage, and Gaia, Demeter, Kore-Persephone had become, at least nominally, distinct personalities, though art was often too inarticulate to distinguish them. The Pappádes are, it is true, found in different localities, Tanagra, Megara, Thisbe, as well as at Eleusis; and it is very unlikely that they represented in all places the same divinity; but if an Eleusinian grave was really the 'find-spot' of the terracotta on Pl. III a, we may reasonably believe that those who interred it there intended it to stand for Demeter, the great goddess of the locality; for if the dead needed a divine object that might serve as a charm in the world below, he would naturally select the image or badge of the most powerful divinity of his community, especially when this was also a divinity potent in the lower world.

If we can draw nothing very definite from a survey of the monuments that the prehistoric or the pre-ionic age has left us, it at least yields us negative evidence of some importance. The earliest agalmata bear no resemblance whatever to a corn-sheaf, and contribute no support at all to the theory that a corn-fetich, a harvest-eikon of corn-mother or corn-baby, was the embryo of the anthropomorphic figures of the two goddesses. Demeter is not found half-emerging from the corn-sheaf or corn-stack as Dionysos or Adonis were some-

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 3 (1888), p. 343, Fig. 26 (Bochlan).

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* p. 344.

times represented emerging from the tree. The old Hellenic divinities are further removed from the physical substance. This statement might indeed seem to need some correction or modification, on the ground of the testimony of a Lampsacene coin<sup>a</sup> (Coin Pl. no. 2); on a beautiful gold-stater of the fourth century we find the figure of Kore rising up from the ground, bearing corn-stalks in her hand, while behind her seem to spring up corn and vines. The representation gains in importance by an interpretation which has been given it<sup>b</sup>, according to which the coin-artist has given expression to the idea that the young corn-goddess is essentially immanent in the corn, is in fact the very corn itself. We have observed such a primitive religious conception underlying the worship of Demeter Chloe, 'the verdure,' and it must be reckoned with in the earlier evolution of Greek religion. But it is doubtful whether we ought to attribute to the accomplished artist of this coin-type this primitive animistic thought. Need he mean anything more than that the returning Kore brings us corn and wine, and that the ear and the vine-cluster shoot and spread around her? A poet or artist of the most anthropomorphic religion might so express himself.

The record examined in the former chapter fails to reveal to us any direct worship of the corn in Hellenic religion, whether public or mystic<sup>c</sup>. And the monuments are equally silent; unless indeed we accept Lenormant's interpretation of a fourth-century Apulian vase<sup>d</sup> (Pl. III b). What is presented to us on it is merely a shrine with corn-stalks symmetrically and reverently disposed either in the porch or—as the painter may have wished us to imagine—in the interior; outside are worshippers with libations and offerings of garlands, wreaths, and flowers. Lenormant sees in this an unmistakable monument of mere corn-worship: the stalks have a shrine all to themselves, they are worshipped immediately without the interposition of Kore, Demeter, or Ceres; and he further supposes the vase to reveal to us the heart of the Eleusinian

<sup>a</sup> Vide Gardner, *Types*, Pl. 10. 25.

<sup>b</sup> By Professor Gardner, loc. cit. p. 174.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 35.

<sup>d</sup> In Daremberg et Saglio *Dictionnaire*, 'Ceres,' I, p. 1066 (Fig. 1308).

mystery. But—apart from the Eleusinian question which does not arise about this vase—we may feel grave difficulties here. The record of literature does not incline us to believe that the Greek of South Italy in the fourth century built temples to a divine corn-stalk, and left out the personal divinity: so eccentric a rite would probably not have escaped notice. And an isolated fragment of apparent evidence from the monuments must always be received with great caution and suspicion. But in fact the vase-representation that we are considering may be quite innocent of the dogma that Lenormant finds in it. There is no reason to suppose that the corn is there being worshipped at all, still less that the shrine is dedicated merely to the sacred stalks. The vase-painter was not bound to show the personal deity within the temple, but may reckon on the imagination to supply the presence of the god or goddess; and the corn-stalks may be more naturally interpreted as the first-fruits or oblations consecrated to the local Apollo or Demeter or Persephone; and they are set up in such a fashion as to remind us somewhat of our own offerings set up in our churches at the harvest-thanksgiving. The vase-scene is at the most then an interesting though vague allusion to some such festival in South Italy.

On the very archaic vase of Sophilos<sup>a</sup>, where Demeter appears by the side of Hestia, it is only the inscriptions that enable us to recognize the one and the other goddess. But at an early period no doubt in the development of anthropomorphic religious art the earth-goddesses of agriculture were specially distinguished by such emblems as corn-stalks, poppies, pomegranate, and kalathos, the symbol of fruitfulness, as well as by the symbolism of the nether world, such as torch and serpent. Of these attributes none is in itself sufficient indication of personality except the corn and the poppies. And it is likely that these were the earliest emblems by which Demeter's idols, having originally in all probability an agrarian character and purpose, were distinguished. A Demeter of this ancient type is described by Theocritus<sup>23 a</sup> as standing near his threshing-floor, holding poppies and corn-stalks, and Eusebius mentions

<sup>a</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 14, Taf. 1.

both these as the usual attributes of her images<sup>9</sup>. And when the lowly worship of the husbandmen became a leading cult of the state churches, it is this type of her that appears most frequently on the coins, and often in a hieratic form that suggests a temple image as the source of the coin-artist's conception<sup>a</sup>. The earliest example that can be quoted is the Epirote coin of Pyrrhus<sup>b</sup>, representing her in a very stately pose on her throne, holding the precious fruit; and a plastic original probably of an earlier period is suggested by a very similar representation on a gem published by Overbeck<sup>c</sup> showing us the goddess throned and wearing the stephane above her forehead, with the corn and poppies in her right hand and her left hand resting on her seat.

Of the purely agrarian ritual of Demeter we have scarcely any direct monumental representation; but the interesting procession of the kalathos described by Callimachus<sup>237</sup> is recorded by a coin of Trajan, on which we see the sacred vessel with the corn-stalks being drawn by a quadriga of four horses and an Egyptian priest standing behind<sup>d</sup>.

The chief story concerning the corn-goddess was the legend of the mission of Triptolemos; and the art of vase-painting from the fifth century onward devoted itself with enthusiasm to this theme. But these mythic representations, except so far as they illustrate and no doubt helped to propagate the religious idea that Attica was the sacred and original home of agriculture and the higher life, do not directly concern

<sup>a</sup> For examples, vide Cilician coins, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lycaonia, &c.*, p. 157, Pl. 27. 9 (Syedra, Dem. with corn, poppies, torch): p. 76, Pl. 13. 6 (Epi-phaneia, Dem. with corn and torch): Erythrae, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, Pl. 16. 18; vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Cilicia* (Laertes), Antiocheia ad Maeandrum, Elaia. Prof. Gardner has noticed instances in *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner): Coins of Argos, Pl. K, 39, Dem. standing in hieratic pose holding corn-stalks and poppy-heads; cf. p. 160, figure on another coin of same type seen within

at enclosure: Coin of Aigion, *ib. R. 17*: of Kaphyae, T. 15: Sicyon, Dem. on throne wearing polos and holding corn, H. 20: Athens, on throne with corn and sceptre, B. B. 22.

<sup>b</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Epirus*. Coin Pl. no. 3.

<sup>c</sup> *Kunstmythol.* 3, *Gemmen-Taf.* 4. 2: its present possessor is unknown.

<sup>d</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, Pl. 30. 552: on the coin, *ib. no. 553*, the chariot is being drawn by oxen, but the former is more in agreement with Callimachus' account.



this work. Only the question might arise whether the very numerous and somewhat uniform representations of the mission, in which Triptolemos appears seated in his serpent-car receiving the ears of corn from Demeter or a libation from Kore, reproduce even at a distance some sacred drama that was acted in a mystery-play. But the question belongs rather to the examination of the art that may be or has been supposed to illustrate the Greek mysteries.

It is not merely the corn-culture, but the whole life of the fields and farms that is reflected in the monuments of this cult: the goddess herself holds the plough<sup>a</sup>, and the flocks and herds of the homestead are under her protection. A lost antique, that appears to have been in the Collegio Romano in the time of Gerhard<sup>b</sup> and was copied by him, seems to give in a somewhat hieratic style a full embodiment of the conception of Demeter as the goddess of the cultivated earth: veiled and amply draped she is seated on a throne, holding in her left hand on her knees what seems to be a small bee-hive, while her right hand may be resting on a young bull, and swine are standing by her feet and left side. How much is due to restoration must remain uncertain, until the antique is found again; but we may regard it as authentic on the whole; it is in accordance with the idea embodied in the bronze statuette that belonged to the collection of Strawberry Hill, representing Demeter with a calf on her lap and a honey-pot in her left hand<sup>c</sup>.

In fact the monuments as well as the literature attest that her functions ranged beyond the corn-field, and that she had absorbed much of the character of Gaia, the universal earth-goddess, from whom she had emerged as a specialized form. We have seen this larger aspect of her presented in the Boeotian cult-epithet 'Demeter Europa'; and it is significant that the typical representation of the Cretan Europa as riding

<sup>a</sup> Dem. with plough on later coins of Leontini, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 131: cf. vase in Overbeck, *Atlas*, 15. 13.

<sup>b</sup> *Antike Bildwerke*, 154, copied in Ruhland, *Die Eleusinischen Göttinnen*,

p. 107.

<sup>c</sup> Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. 8, 91: sold, according to Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 69, note 172, to Mr. Cope in 1842.

half-recumbent on the bull was borrowed at least once as an art-type for Demeter : for it can be no other than this latter goddess who is carved on a gem in St. Petersburg riding on the bull and holding poppies and corn and cornucopia<sup>a</sup> (Pl. IV a).

But, being conceived as the earth-goddess civilized, neither in art nor literature is she ever associated with the animals of the wild, and rarely with the goat that pastures in wild places<sup>b</sup>. There is one monument only that shows goat-sacrifice in her cult, an Attic relief in the Louvre, on which a group of worshippers is seen bringing this animal to her altar, where she stands holding a libation-cup<sup>c</sup>.

The pig and the serpent, her peculiar animals and most frequent companions, belonged to her as a divinity of the nether world. For in literature, ritual, and art both aspects of her, the chthonian and the vegetative, were inextricably blended and, as it appears, were coeval in development. Her terracotta images that were buried with the dead wear the kalathos, the emblem of the fruit-bearing power. This double character of hers is expressed by a representation on a gem in the Berlin Cabinet<sup>d</sup>, showing her enthroned and holding the usual corn-stalks and poppy-heads, with an ear of corn and an ant on her right and a serpent on her left, the whole form suggesting a sculptured image of cult : and by such an image as that on a coin of Sagalassos in Pisidia, on which Demeter appears with torch, corn, and 'cista,' the casket containing the *arcana sacra* of the lower world ; or on the coins of the Pergamene Elaia that represent both goddesses with kalathos, corn, and torches entwined with serpents<sup>e</sup>. A terracotta in the Louvre, said to have been found in Rome, represents Demeter as if emerging from the ground, only visible from the breast upwards, with long flowing hair and corn-stalks in her

<sup>a</sup> Müller-Wieseler, op. cit. 2. 95 : the same type may have occasionally been used for Artemis, see vol. 2, p. 529.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmythol. Atlas*, 14. 5 : the gem published by Müller-Wieseler, op. cit. 2. 91<sup>a</sup>, showing a maidenly figure holding corn-stalks in

one hand, and in the other a goat's head and standing on the head of an ox, may represent Demeter, but possibly Artemis.

<sup>d</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. 3, *Genmen-Taf.* 4. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Pisidia, Pergamon.

a



b





hands and serpents entwined about each uplifted arm ; the type is solemn and hieratic<sup>a</sup>. And a scene of actual ritual, recorded on a relief in St. Mark's, at Venice, shows us most of the attributes of her cult : a priestess, holding a knife and fruits with a disk in her right hand, stands by an altar round which a serpent is carved, and a basket and a pig are placed below it. The inscription proves that we have here an allusion to an Italian ritual of the Thesmophoria, which as in Greece must have been both a chthonian and an agrarian service<sup>b</sup>. A sacrificial relief<sup>c</sup> in the Acropolis Museum at Athens is also interesting because of its antiquity—it belongs to the middle period of archaism ; on the right are represented male and female worshippers, then a boy holding a patera and leading a pig to Demeter, who stands on the left with a spray in her hand and wearing a crown that is probably of corn-ears.

The monumental evidence discloses this fact of importance, that while the goddess is fully recognized as a power of the nether world, there is scarcely ever any sinister or repellent trait entering into the representation of her. The numerous terracottas found at Camarina<sup>d</sup> represent a hieratic form of Demeter holding the pig, sometimes a torch, and in one instance the pomegranate, and the intention was to depict the chthonian goddess by means of these attributes ; but the forms of the countenance appear soft and benign (Pl. IV b). And with these we may compare another series found near Catania, dedications to Demeter and Persephone, representing them with torch, pomegranate, and pig<sup>e</sup>. Probably only one monument can be quoted of the gloomier type of expression, an early fourth-century coin of the Arcadian Thelpusa, showing on the obverse a Demeter head of unique style, the wild hair that rises like the crests of serpents around the head and the stern expression in the eye and countenance alluding undoubtedly

<sup>a</sup> Müller-Wernike, *Denkmäler*, 2, Taf. 18, 5; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1359 (Abbild. 9).

<sup>b</sup> *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* 5865: inscr. in Greek and Latin *Τεσμοφορία Παραμονή* *ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου*.

<sup>c</sup> As far as I know unpublished.

<sup>d</sup> Kekulé, *Terracotten von Sicilien*, Taf. 4. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Published by Orsi in *Monum. Antichi*, 7, 1897, p. 201, Pl. 3-7.

to the local cult of the dark goddess, Demeter Melaina; while on the reverse the figure of the horse Areion points clearly to the story of the outraged and vindictive deity<sup>a</sup> (Coin Pl. I, no. 1). But probably this was not the dominant conception of her even at Thelpusa; at least it scarcely affects the main current of Greek imagination concerning her.

In all the functions and attributes of Demeter the daughter, Persephone, has her part: and though the chthonian character is more emphasized in the latter, it is blended in her also with the beneficent power of the giver of fruits<sup>b</sup>. Kalathos, corn, fruits, flowers, serpent, and the sacrificial animals that belong to the mother become the property of the daughter as well; and in the works of the finest art the corn-stalks form her crown as they form the mother's. The varied fruitfulness and beauty of the earth go to adorn her stephane in the coin-device of Phrygillos and Eumenes, that stamps the beautiful tetradrachms of Syracuse in the fifth century: the poppy, the acorn, the oak-leaf, and the corn are interwoven in it<sup>c</sup>. From the monuments that illustrate the conception of Persephone as goddess of vegetation, and that belong to hieratic or religious art, two may be selected as typical: a black-figured vase<sup>d</sup> on which she is depicted seated on a rock opposite to Hades, and holding large stalks of corn in her hands; the scene is in the lower world, but the artist was thinking of life rather than death a terracotta-relief from Locri Epizephyrii<sup>e</sup> of the fifth century B.C., showing Persephone seated by the side of the god of the lower world, who both in countenance and attributes is invested with a mild and Dionysiac character and holds a flowering spray in his hands, while in hers we see the ears of corn and a cock that was sacrificed at times to the nether powers (Pl. V).

Perhaps the most interesting embodiment of the same con-

<sup>a</sup> Overbeck, *op. cit.*, Coin Pl. 6. 26; Head, *op. cit.* p. 382: on the reverse the name ΕΠΙΩΝ above the horse.

<sup>b</sup> The powerfully depicted and repellent type of Persephone with snakes in her hair that was found in the tomb

'dell' Orco' at Corneto shows the impress of Etruscan imagination, *Mon. d. Inst.* 9. 15<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 202.

<sup>d</sup> *Wiener Vorlege-Blätter*, E. Taf. 6. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, 1, p. 1798.

PLATE V



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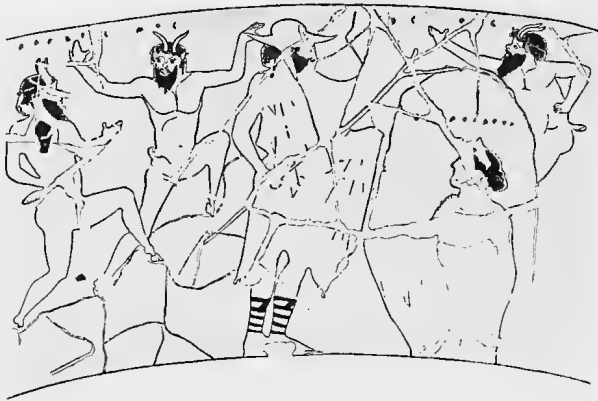


PLATE VI

a



b



ception is to be found in those representations that deal with the Anodos or resurrection of the corn-goddess in spring: and certain of these are works rather of ritualistic or at least religious than of mythologic art. The representation on the beautiful coin of Lampsacos already mentioned is a unique rendering of an idea suggested by a pure nature-religion; other examples of the Anodos in art are of a more ceremonious character, and perhaps originated in an ancient and mystic ritual. Only three can be quoted, of which the main theme admits of no doubt: a vase in Naples<sup>a</sup>, that from the lettering of the inscriptions may be dated about 440 B.C.; Kore is ascending preceded by Hekate, while Hermes awaits her, and Demeter holding her sceptre stands on the right; the representation is somewhat coloured by the myth, for the daughter is looking with longing at the mother and lifting her hand with a gesture of yearning (Pl. VI a): a vase in Berlin<sup>b</sup>, on which the rising Kore is seen revealed as far as the knees, and Hermes gazing on the far left, while goat-demons or goat-men are celebrating the resurrection with a dance: a vase in Dresden (Pl. VI b) with much the same scene, their inscribed names attesting the two main personages, Hermes and the ascending Kore, while the same goat-dance is being danced to greet her<sup>c</sup>. We seem in the two latter works to be confronted with a solemn hieratic action rather than a mere myth: the 'tragic' dances may be part of the primaeval ritual of a spring-festival, and their possible relation to a later 'tragedy' is a question to consider, though it lies now outside our scope<sup>d</sup>. The return of Kore may have occasionally been associated with a dogma concerning her union with Dionysos; for we see Dionysos present

<sup>a</sup> Overbeck, *Atlas*, 18. 15; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 423.

<sup>b</sup> Published in *Röm. Mittheil.* 1897, Taf. 4. 5 (Hartwig).

<sup>c</sup> *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 166.

<sup>d</sup> We have evidence of the same mummerly as being part of the *καταγύγια* at Ephesus, which probably was a festival of 'the Return' of Artemis

(vide Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 177, quotation from the *Martyrologium Sancti Timothei*) and survived the introduction of Christianity; Hartwig, loc. cit. p. 100 suggests that such goat-dances may have been practised at the Anthesteria when Dionysos and Kore might be supposed to be married: but we have no clear evidence of this marriage at Athens.

at another scene<sup>a</sup>, on a Berlin crater, of the resurrection of the earth-goddess, whom on the ground of its striking analogies with the representations above mentioned we may interpret as Kore. And again on an early Campanian vase in Paris we see the heads of the earth-god and goddess emerging, and the vine-crown on his head and the presence of satyrs convince us that Plouton and Dionysos are here identified<sup>b</sup>. It is particularly in South Italy that the evidence of the monuments reveals this twofold conception of Persephone as the goddess of the lower world and as the divine source of vegetative life: it is illustrated by some interesting terracottas found in a sanctuary of Persephone near Tarentum, of which a description has been given by Dr. Arthur Evans<sup>c</sup>; and one of these represents her standing erect with the kalathos on her head and holding torch in her right hand, and in her left a basket with pomegranate and probably corn-stalks, while another head of the goddess is adorned with the vine-spray; the fragment of another terracotta shows a large serpent by her side. And here again, as the above-mentioned writer has pointed out<sup>d</sup>, her male partner, the under-world god, has decidedly a Dionysiac character. The association of Dionysos with the chthonian goddess, which the record proves of several localities in Greece<sup>230</sup>, is shown also by the archaeological finds at Knidos<sup>e</sup>. This *rapprochement*, due probably to Orphic influences, which we know to have been specially strong in Magna Graecia between the wine-god and Hades-Plouton, invested the character of the latter with a milder aspect, and diffused a certain brightness over the artistic representations of the lower world. The much discussed sepulchral reliefs from Laconia, showing a male and female pair enthroned together, sometimes holding the wine-cup and pomegranate, with worshippers bringing the latter

<sup>a</sup> Robert's *Archäolog. Märch.* Taf. 4; Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*, p. 278.

<sup>b</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* 6, Tav. 7: but on a similar group, Gerhard, *Akad. Abhand.* 68. 1, the earth-goddess is named 'Semele.'

<sup>c</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1886, pp. 22, 28.

<sup>d</sup> loc. cit. p. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Newton, *Halicarnassus*, vol 2, pt. 1, p. 329, Pl. 46, Fig. 6, youthful figure wearing crown of flowers, with long hair and himation round lower limbs and over left shoulder, almost certainly Bacchus.



PLATE VII



fruit and a cock as offerings, may represent the great god and goddess of the lower world, whose cult was powerful in Laconia, or the heroic ancestors of the family conceived under their forms (Pl. VII)<sup>a</sup>; in any case the religious imagination revealed by these works concerning the life after death differs markedly from that of the Homeric society. Again, the rather numerous representations showing the nether god and goddess in peaceful and loving intercourse, such as the relief from Locri Epizephyrii mentioned above, the relief in the Villa Albani where Plouton is seen holding the cornucopia standing by the side of the stately Persephone in the company of Zeus, Poseidon, and Amphitrite<sup>b</sup>, the beautiful interior picture of the British Museum cylix figured here (Pl. VIII a), seem to reflect a religious belief into which the myth of the ravisher did not enter, and may possibly preserve something of the tradition of the primitive chthonian cult when the Kore of the well-known legend was not yet differentiated from the earth-goddess. And it is noteworthy that with this conjugal couple Demeter is sometimes peacefully united in scenes of hieratic art: on an important relief found at Tegea<sup>c</sup> dedicated to Hades, Kore, and Demeter, on which the god appears throned and holding the horn of plenty, Persephone with sceptre and kalathos stands leaning her left arm lovingly on the shoulder of her mother who holds torches and a cup; and monuments of similar intention have been found at Eleusis and already mentioned. In fact we may believe that these scenes of peaceful communion and reconciliation between the trinity of nether deities, such as the famous Hope vase<sup>d</sup>, owe something to the indirect influence of the Eleusinian mysteries.

But frequently in the chthonian cult and the art that it inspired it was the mother and daughter alone that were united as rulers of the world of souls. Eleusinian influence spread far afield, and a certain local art-type may have

<sup>a</sup> The plate shows a relief from Chry-sapha now in Berlin.

<sup>b</sup> Müller-Wieseler, *op. cit.* 2, Taf. 7, no. 76.

<sup>c</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 5. 69; *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 225.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *infra*, p. 258.

spread with it; for instance a relief at Gythion in Laconia<sup>43</sup>, a region where the Eleusinian cult is attested<sup>240</sup>, shows us the mother-goddess seated on a round seat, which is probably a conventional form of the mystic 'cista,' crowned with corn-stalks and holding what seems to be a torch in her left hand, while her right clasps the hand of her daughter, who stands by her crowned and veiled and holding a sceptre: the group is a free reproduction of an Eleusinian type<sup>a</sup>. The chthonian character of this mystic cult is indicated by the Cerberus at the feet of Demeter (Pl. VIII b). The other symbols of this character were chiefly the pomegranate and the torch or serpent, which all belong to them both. And from an early period in Greece the habit seems to have prevailed in certain centres of placing some of these emblems or images of the goddesses themselves in the tomb with the deceased. At least, clay pomegranates have been found in the necropolis of Eleusis, and date from the geometrical period: and in a child's grave opened near the Acharnian Gate at Athens, amidst other relics, archaic images were found of two pairs of seated goddesses wearing the polos and draped in mantles<sup>b</sup>. And the Attic earth has disclosed statuettes of similar type. As one of them wears a gorgoneion and aegis on the breast<sup>c</sup>, it has been supposed that the goddess represented is always Athena. But we do not know that this Athena-statuettes was discovered in a grave; and though the pious relatives in any community might place an idol or emblem of their leading divinity as an amulette in the tomb of the deceased, there was no special reason why Athena should be chosen, when there were other goddesses more appropriate. It is hard to suppose that the dead—who were called 'Demetreioi' in Attica—were committed to the earth under the care of any other divinity than the earth-goddess herself; and at least from the sixth century onwards the only earth-goddess who could inspire

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 267.

<sup>b</sup> Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, Taf. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *Cults*, vol. I, p. 333, Pl. XV. a:

it appears from a statement in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 265, that this statuette is now in the Museum of Berlin.



PLATE VIII

a



b



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PLATE IX









PLATE X





in the faithful the hope of posthumous happiness was Demeter-Persephone. In the child's tomb mentioned above, where we find two pairs of images of the same type, we may with conviction name them Demeter and Kore, reduplicated to increase the potency of the amulette; in another case, where the image is tripled<sup>a</sup>, we may suppose that Hekate was added to the pair. For it is against the trend of the later Greek religious history to suppose that the worshipper intended them to be nameless forms of a vaguely conceived goddess, though the art-form was usually without character and could be used in different localities for different cult-purposes<sup>b</sup>. Still less reason have we to doubt that the goddess intended by the terracotta bust found in a necropolis at Thebes<sup>c</sup> is Demeter or Demeter-Persephone: she wears veil and stephane, her hands are pressed against her breast, and her face shows benignity with a touch of sadness (Pl. IX). The work displays the style of the fifth century, and may reproduce the type of Demeter Thesmophoros at Thebes, whose statue as we are told 'was only visible as far as the breasts<sup>86</sup>.' A sepulchral significance probably also belonged to two busts or masks of Persephone in the British Museum, one of which—from Tanagra—represents her as holding an egg in her right hand and with her left pressing a cock against her breast (Pl. X), the other with both hands holding a pomegranate and flower to her bosom. Such movement of the hands as in these just mentioned monuments descends

<sup>a</sup> Stackelberg, op. cit. p. 42 (vignette): the central deity has a round disk-like object between her breasts; this may be a gorgoneion, but as she wears no aegis we need not suppose her to be an Athena (the gorgoneion has a chthonian significance, hence the Cistophoros of Cambridge wears it in the service of Demeter). The relation between this central goddess who is throned and the younger goddess who stands at her left seems one of mother and daughter: the goddess at her right has no distinctive characteristic, but the dedicator may have intended Hekate, who, as early as

the sixth century B. C., was placed in Attic tombs, vide *Cults*, 2, p. 549, Pl. XXXVIII. a.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Fränkel in *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 265: similar types are found in Boeotia (Tanagra) and Eretria, vide *Eph. Arch.* 1899, pp. 29, 30.

<sup>c</sup> *Mon. Grecs*, 1873, Pl. 2: the writer there points out that the form of these terracotta busts was specially appropriate to sepulchral purposes, if it was an object to represent the earth-goddesses as half-emerging from the ground below.

from an ancient hieratic gesture indicative of nourishment or fertility<sup>a</sup>. The beautiful wall-painting in Berlin<sup>b</sup>, showing Kore seated on a throne holding myrtle and pomegranate, was found in a tomb at Nola (Pl. XI). And, finally, we may assign an important place among the monuments of this worship to the terracottas found in a tomb in Aegina<sup>c</sup>, the one representing a seated goddess with a kalathos on her head, the other a smaller goddess erect wearing a polos and pressing a pomegranate to her breast, a work of the sixth century B.C. as the letters of the fragmentary inscription show; we should style them Demeter and Kore, but we may rather name them according to the local titles of these divinities, Damia and Auxesia, whom the record reveals as goddesses of increase and life, and who are here fulfilling a sepulchral or chthonian function.

For again and again we note how in Greek symbolism and belief the ideas of life and death are blended. The pomegranate was usually but not exclusively a symbol of death; the seeds of life are in it, and therefore Hera could hold it, who may have bequeathed it by a strange accident of transmission to the Virgin Mary<sup>d</sup>. The statuette found in the Tauric Chersonese of a veiled goddess holding this fruit in her right hand against her breast and a calf in her lap may represent a Demeter *Εὐβοσία* or a Persephone *Πολυβοία* rather than a merely chthonian goddess<sup>e</sup>. The torch also may have carried the same double symbolism: in the hands of the Furies and of Demeter Erinys at Thelpusa it alluded to the mysteries of the under-world, but it could be used in an agrarian ritual for evoking the life-giving warmth of the earth<sup>f</sup>, and this was probably part of its purpose in

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 2, p. 672.

<sup>b</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, Taf. 14.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* 1867, Taf. 228.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 42.

<sup>e</sup> Müller-Wernicke, 2. 18, 3.

<sup>f</sup> We may thus explain the not infrequent coin-type, probably always bearing a Demetrian significance, of the torch combined with corn or poppies,

e. g. on coins of Hermione, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Peloponnese*, Pl. 30. 2, 4 (fourth century): of Thebes, *Central Greece*, Pl. 16. 3 (torch, ears of corn, poppy-heads, all tied up together): of Lysimachia, *Thrace*, p. 238 (pine-torch within wreath of barley, on obverse head of Demeter): ?Alaesa, *Sicily*, p. 28,

PLATE XI





the Thesmophoria. And it is an error to interpret every representation of Demeter with torches as if they conveyed an allusion to the myth of her search for her daughter through the gloom of the lower regions. For instance, it might seem natural to believe that the very archaic bronze statue at Enna mentioned by Cicero<sup>158</sup> of the torch-bearing goddess was intended to embody the local legend of the quest; but the coins of this city<sup>a</sup> struck about 450 B. C. show us Demeter sacrificing at an altar and holding a torch in her left hand (Coin Pl. no. 4), and the representation is ritualistic, not mythologic. And there is surely some reference to ritual in the coin-type of Megara in which Demeter appears holding torches and standing before another large torch that is stuck upright in the ground<sup>b</sup> (Coin Pl. no. 6). One may surmise an allusion in this device to the worship of Demeter Thesmophoros at Megara, for the torch-service was, as we know, an important part of the Thesmophoria at Athens and apparently at Syracuse. The ritualistic significance of the torch is still more salient on a very curious Cyzicene coin of the Imperial period<sup>c</sup> (Coin Pl. no. 7), where we discern three female figures, of which those on the left and right hold each one torch and the central figure two, standing in a line on the top of a round building in the face of which is a door, while below on each side of it are torches standing erect with serpents round them<sup>d</sup>. This last hieratic emblem, which is not infrequent on the coins of certain states of Asia Minor<sup>e</sup>, occurs again on a later coin of Kyzikos, and is again placed upright but before a very small altar<sup>f</sup>. We are

<sup>a</sup> In British Museum, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 119: on the reverse is a unique type of the torch-bearing Demeter in a chariot drawn by horses Coin Pl. no. 5; it is quite uncertain whether this refers to the quest—it does not accord with the usual representations of it—or to some unrecorded ritual, possibly a procession in which the priestess figured in this way.

<sup>b</sup> Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* A. 12, 13.

<sup>c</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, Pl. 11, no. 7.

<sup>d</sup> The same building with posts or torches at the side encircled by serpents occurs on a Cyzicene relief found at Samothrace, vide Kern, *Ath. Mitth.* 1893, 357, and Rubensohn, *Mysterienheiligtümer*, p. 158; both writers are inclined to interpret it in reference to the Cybele-cult alone, but the three figures on the top are not easily explained thus.

<sup>e</sup> e. g. at Elaia (vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Asia Minor).

<sup>f</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, Pl. 11, no. 8.

evidently here on the track of some important religious service belonging to the worship of Demeter-Persephone or Cybele, to which cults Kyzikos as we know was devotedly attached<sup>a</sup>. The numismatic evidence shows us that the serpent and the torch were special adjuncts of the agrarian Persephone-cult in this city<sup>b</sup>. But what is the meaning of the round building with the figures on it? It does not appear to be an altar, and is quite unlike the obvious altar on the other coin, where the same emblem occurs; nor would it be easy to explain why torch-bearing figures should be standing on an altar. We must, I think, interpret them as goddesses, probably Demeter, Persephone, and Cybele, the central personage who predominates over the others and holds two torches being the elder deity<sup>c</sup>. And the figures so far as one can judge from a somewhat blurred coin are not immobile statues, mere 'xoana,' but there is an appearance of movement in them. Perhaps the hypothesis which best explains the enigmatical representation is that here again we have an allusion in art-language to the Cyzicene Thesmophoria, where the women carried torches in procession as usual, and where serpents played their part among the 'sacra' of the mysteries and were possibly fed by the women<sup>d</sup> as at Athens. It is true that hitherto no written record has been found mentioning the festival at Kyzikos; but it would be very surprising if a Milesian settlement did not possess a ritual so dear to the Ionic communities and of such antiquity and tenacity of life.

Looking now for monumental illustration of the non-agrarian cults, those, for instance, that reflected more par-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. R. 128 and *Cybele*, R. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, p. 44, Pl. 12. 8, bust of Kore Soteira, on reverse serpent feeding from flaming altar: Pl. 10. 10 (earlier period) bust of Kore Soteira, on reverse torch with corn-stalks around it: Pl. 13. 6, flaming torch entwined by serpent and by ears of corn and poppies: Pl. 14. 5, men racing on foot and horseback, behind them torches entwined with serpents

(allusion to the games in honour of Kore).

<sup>c</sup> Cf. late Cyzicene coin, *op. cit.* Pl. 13. 8, Demeter or Kore with flaming torches advancing by flaming altar, and Pl. 15. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Note the Cyzicene coin-types of serpents twined about the torches feeding on fruit or cakes, *op. cit.* Pl. 12. 5, 9, cf. note b, *supra*.

ticularly the organization of family and state, we can quote none that clearly express any conception of the sacred pair as goddesses of marriage. Nor, although certain local worships recognized them as deities of child-birth<sup>108</sup>, have we any art-dedications that allude to this aspect of them.

Demeter was one of the many *θεοὶ Κουροτρόφοι* at Athens<sup>109</sup>, and it has been supposed that we possess certain works consecrated to this idea of her as the nurse of childhood; for instance, a headless statue of fifth-century style in the Museum of the Acropolis at Athens, showing a female figure in stately drapery with a boy nestling at her side; a clearer example would be the statuette of terracotta found at Paestum of a goddess holding a child in her mantle on her left arm, if we were sure that the object in her other hand were a cake or a loaf; but it may be an egg or fruit<sup>a</sup>. Such *ex voto* dedications as the last-mentioned work are in all probability purely *genre*, and do not represent any mythologic concept such as the nurture of Iacchos. And by far the greater number of these representations show no external symbol of Demeter at all, and the dedication may have intended them for *Ge Kourotrophos* or rather for the goddess *Kourotrophos* pure and simple, whose personality we shall have to consider in a later chapter. A collection of terracottas from a necropolis at Eretria includes a representation of a veiled goddess holding a girl-child on her lap<sup>b</sup>, who is resting her head on her shoulder: one naturally thinks of Demeter and Kore, as we have other examples of the Mother represented with the Daughter in her lap<sup>c</sup>. Or is this also merely a type of *Kourotrophos* suitable for dedication in the grave of a little girl? We must be content, perhaps, with admitting that the archaic art had not yet fixed the outlines of these numerous goddesses of nurture and growth.

The monuments that definitely illustrate the civic or

<sup>a</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmythol.* 2, p. 489; Daremberg et Saglio, 1, p. 1041, Fig. 1295.

<sup>b</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1899, p. 30.

<sup>c</sup> Small dedication from the temple

at Eleusis, statuette of Demeter with Kore on her lap, fourth century B.C. *Athen. Mitth.* 1895, p. 359 (Furtwängler).

political character of Demeter's worship are also very scanty in number, and the art-language is here by no means clear or impressive. Later art, like the later literature, may have come to interpret Demeter Thesmophoros as 'Legifera,' and may have occasionally represented her as carrying a volume of the Law, but the monuments sometimes quoted in proof of this are of doubtful significance<sup>a</sup>. A small terracotta in the British Museum from Cyprus (Pl. XII a) shows us two goddesses enthroned side by side, each with a scroll on her lap, and these may be intended for the θεοὶ Θεσμοφόροι, but the workmanship does not appear wholly Greek or quite intelligent; still it is probably an imitation of a real Greek type. Once only do we find the turreted crown, the special badge of the city-goddess, assigned to Demeter<sup>b</sup>: the unique example is a bronze-coin of the Sarmatian Olbia (Coin Pl. no. 8) of the third century B. C., on which she is represented wearing the mural crown adorned with corn-stalks<sup>c</sup>; and other coins of this state well attest her political significance there, and there is some slight numismatic evidence for the belief that she was there associated with Apollo as the patroness of the Polis. The head of Demeter appears, like that of most other Greek divinities, with some frequency on coins, but rarely with such persistence as to prove for her a paramount importance in the community. And the examples earlier than 400 B. C. are not numerous. From Kyzikos<sup>d</sup> we have a beautiful type of a veiled Demeter crowned with corn-stalks, which belongs to the latter part of the fifth century B. C. (Coin Pl. no. 9). Of greater historical and of transcendent artistic importance are the great Syracusan medallions and tetradrachms with heads of Persephone carved by Euainetos, Eumenes, and a still greater but unknown artist, commemorating in all probability the great national triumph over the Athenians<sup>e</sup>. The

<sup>a</sup> The vase-painting published in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1043, Fig. 1296, shows Dionysos conversing with a woman who has a scroll on her lap: there is no reason for calling her Demeter Thesmophoros.

<sup>b</sup> Joannes Lydus is confusing Demeter

and Cybele when he speaks of the former as usually represented with a turreted-crown, vide Rhea-Cybele, R. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *Hellen. Journ.* 1902, p. 262, 'Cults of Olbia' by Hirst.

<sup>d</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 451.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Evans, *Syracusan Medallions*,



PLATE XII a



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Arcadian worship of Despoina is reflected on fifth-century coins of Arcadia on which we recognize her head<sup>a</sup>. Later, the numismatic types of the goddesses are more frequent, perhaps owing to the extending influence and prestige of the mysteries, and in certain cases, as at Alexandria, Olbia, Metapontum, Locri Epizephyrii, and possibly Sestos<sup>b</sup>, to the prosperity of the local corn-trade. Yet in none of these places does it appear that the figure of Demeter or Persephone was specially the emblem of the state, though Kore Soteira was often and very strikingly commemorated by the Cyzicene coin-artist<sup>c</sup>, and her form or her mother's appears on a late issue by the side of the Ephesian Artemis in token of an alliance with Ephesus<sup>d</sup>: and the ancient fame of Persephone's temple in the territory of the Locri Epizephyrii is attested by coins of the third century B.C. But the only issues that seem to have given a predominance to the emblems or figures of the goddesses in the autonomous Greek period were those of Messene<sup>e</sup> and Hermione<sup>f</sup>: a fact sufficiently explained by the cult-records of those communities.

As has been noted, the Achaean coins do not appear to have recognized Demeter Panachais as the leading divinity of the confederacy<sup>g</sup>. On the other hand the most ancient federal union in Greece, the Delphic Amphictyony, has left us one beautiful memorial of its consecration to Demeter's service, the well-known Amphictyonic coin showing Apollo on the reverse, and on the obverse the veiled and corn-crowned head of the goddess<sup>h</sup>.

p. 131, who quotes the reverse design of tetradrachms by the artist Enarchidas showing Persephone with torch, driving a chariot, while Nike flies towards her with the *aplustre* of a ship, published *ibid.* Pl. 10. 6, 7.

<sup>a</sup> Gardner, *Types*, 3. 50.

<sup>b</sup> Alexandria, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, p. xli; Metapontum, *Head, Hist. Num.* p. 64; Locri Epizephyrii, Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2, no. 102<sup>a</sup>, bronze-coin with Persephone holding torch seated before growing corn; cf. *Head*, op. cit. p. 88 (bronze-coin, third century B.C.), Persephone

seated with patera in hand and sceptre ending in poppy-head; Sestos, *vide Head*, p. 225.

<sup>c</sup> *Vide Coin Pl.* no. 12. Kore Soteira on fourth-century coin of Kyzikos with veiled head and corn-crown. Cf. *Head*, op. cit. p. 453; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, Pl. 10. 10; 12. 8.

<sup>d</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, p. 60.

<sup>e</sup> *Coin Pl.* no. 10. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Peloponnese*, p. 109 (issue from 370 to 280 B.C.).

<sup>f</sup> *Coin Pl.* no. 11 (op. cit. p. 161).

<sup>g</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 69.

<sup>h</sup> *Coin Pl.* no. 13 (*vide supra*, p. 73).

This scanty evidence may suffice to suggest, what the other record also tends to attest, that her position in the public life of the community, except perhaps at Syracuse and Kyzikos, was not such as was held by Zeus Apollo or Athena, and that for the more utilitarian side of religion her importance was agrarian rather than in the strict sense political. Nor do the monuments associate her in any way with the arts of life except those that concern the sower and the tiller <sup>a</sup>.

It remains to consider what may be regarded as the most interesting class of monuments, those namely that directly or indirectly illustrate the service of the mysteries. These have been eagerly studied and discussed, for they excite the hope that they may throw some light on secrets not otherwise revealed, or that they may serve to corroborate or correct the literary record. How far such hope is justified may appear later. It is only the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone in Attica that concern us now, for their other mystic cults in Greece have scarcely left any articulate memorial of themselves except in the literature. And the question may almost be confined to the monumental illustration of the great mysteries at Eleusis and the lesser at Agrae. A possible allusion to the Thesmophoria on coins has already been noticed, and the above-mentioned relief at Venice shows us the functions of a priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros; but that this mystic celebration in Attica inspired any art-representation that has survived has not yet been made out, though we may consider for a moment in this connexion one cult-relief that has a general interest apart from its interpretation (Pl. XII b). This fragment was found at Eleusis in the precincts of the temple of the mysteries, and has been published and described by Rubensohn <sup>b</sup>: we see worshippers of both sexes, followed by a girl with a large mystic casket on her head, approaching the muffled

<sup>a</sup> A quaint *ex voto* dedication found at Eleusis <sup>158</sup>—a painted terracotta with a razed head of Demeter above, and below a human nose and pair of eyes, one blinded—expresses the prayer of some worshipper to recover his sight: but this does not attribute to Demeter

any special aptitude in the therapeutic art: any divinity, saint, or hero can be addressed with prayers for health, and such dedications are common in the churches of Roman Catholicism.

<sup>b</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 46, Pl. 8.

PLATE XII *b*





figure of Demeter seated on the ground or, as the above-mentioned writer argues, on the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα, the 'rock without laughter,' which as we now know was the official name for a locality in Attic territory<sup>a</sup>. The goddess is not elsewhere represented in such a disconsolate pose. But, as we have seen, the women in the Thesmophoria showed their sympathy with her sorrow by themselves 'sitting on the ground': it was a ritualistic act, to which we may conceive the present monument vaguely to allude. More than a vague allusion to the Thesmophoria, the festival confined to women, the presence of the men here forbids us to assume. It is also possible of course that the relief may refer to the visit of the *mystae* in the Eleusinia to the localities associated with the sorrowing mother: we know they visited the well<sup>216b</sup>; it may be only an accident that 'the rock without laughter' is not mentioned in their sacred itinerary.

If we now fix our attention upon those monuments that can with certainty or with reasonable probability be associated in some way with the Eleusinia, we can ignore many that used to be cited as bearing on the question; we need not notice, for instance, certain representations from South Italy that have a marked Dionysiac character and no genuine Eleusinian trait. The authentic monuments are naturally of Attic *provenance*: and we may consider them from various points of view, accord-

<sup>a</sup> Vide inscription, R. 182. In spite of all the recent discussion we are still uncertain as to the exact site of the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα: the Homeric hymn, the hymn of Callimachus, and what is more important, the description of the Eleusinian territory in Pausanias, do not mention it at all. Apollodorus (followed by Schol. Aristoph. *Equit.* 785) is our authority for placing it at Eleusis 'by the well Kallichoros'; and we have no reason at present for rejecting his statement, which is somewhat corroborated by the discovery of this relief at Eleusis, the only undoubted representation of Demeter on the rock. The mention of the place in the accounts of

the Epimeletai does not indeed prove that the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα was at Eleusis; but I cannot admit Svoronos' arguments that it disproves it or accept his contention that the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα was at Agrae (*Journ. d'Archéol. Numism.* 1901, p. 249, &c.). Rubensohn's reasons for localizing the rock on the hill above the Plutonion at Eleusis are not without weight; on this view Apollodorus was somewhat inexact in placing it by the 'Kallichoros well'; which has been discovered near the Propylaea at Eleusis, outside the sacred precinct (*Delt. Archaiol.* 1902, p. 34).

ing as they illustrate the mere externals of the ritual and the historic and mythic traditions that were matters of common report, or secondly, according to the light that they may be supposed to throw on the inner character or dogma or drama of the mystic function: finally, we may select those that best reveal to us how the personages of the Eleusinian religion were conceived in ideal religious art.

As regards external questions we shall not expect the monuments to throw light on the earliest days of the history of Eleusis and the beginnings of its religion. Except for the statuette of Isis and the very archaic terracotta of a possible Demeter, that have already been mentioned, the record on this side is blank until the latter part of the sixth century. But even works of a later epoch claim a certain attention from those who try to estimate the historical value of tradition, if they illustrate the prevalence of myths that were accepted by the later age as historical. For instance, the legend of Eumolpos has a certain bearing, as we have seen, on the question of Dionysiac influence in the mysteries; it is of some importance, therefore, to gather from the archaeological evidence the negative fact that on the monuments he has no special association with Dionysos; but the myth, which has been found to possess some significance, of his affiliation to Poseidon is illustrated by the interesting vase of Hieron in the British Museum<sup>a</sup> (Pl. XIII), on which the deities of Eleusis, Demeter, 'Pherophatta,' Triptolemos, and the personified Eleusis on the one side are grouped with Eumolpos, Zeus, Dionysos, Amphitrite, and Poseidon on the other; and while Poseidon with Amphitrite sits on the extreme right, on the far left the figure of Eumolpos balances his. And the relation of the mortal to the divinity is shown not only by this correspondence in position, but probably by an accessory symbol also, the swan that is depicted by his chair; the artist intending to convey an allusion—not surely to his name of 'sweet singer,' for the swan has not that significance in Greek art-speech—but to the water-god his father<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 2, p. 545, Fig. 2629.

legend, and the type of the swan bearing Aphrodite.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the swan in the Hyperborean







The presence of Zeus indicates here the importance of the mysteries for the whole Olympian circle. Their strong attraction for Athens and the political dependence of Eleusis upon the greater state is often expressed by the presence of Athena in the Eleusinian 'entourage.' A relief of good fifth-century style, found in a wall of Eleusis near the Telesterion, shows us the figures of the great goddesses standing and belonging in form and drapery to a type prevalent in the latter half of this century, and on the right Athena greeting them, and a youthful personage who may be Iacchos, or the Demos of Eleusis <sup>a</sup> (Pl. XIV). These representations are mythologic or political, not ritualistic or ceremonious, and it is the art of the latter character that concerns us more nearly. But the whole ritual was, as we have seen, very complex, and we could not expect to find all the details of even the public part of it represented in surviving monuments, especially as we know that Greek art loved a short-hand style, and rarely tells us the whole of anything. The process of preparation for the act of initiation was, as we have seen, mainly 'cathartic'; and we have at least one interesting monument of Eleusinian purification. This is a marble vase with relief-figures found in a tomb of the gens Statilia near the Porta Maggiore at Rome, which seems to show Attic style of the early Roman period (Pl. XV a). Two of the figures at least are clear enough: on the left stands Kore holding a torch behind Demeter, who is seated on a throne of cylindrical shape, and is turning round as if in conversation with her daughter. The elder goddess is crowned with corn, two of the ears being set in a peculiar way upright over her forehead: she also holds a torch, and her large familiar serpent coils round her and lies in her lap. Before her stands a catechumen wrapped in an ample robe of wool with a fringed border; on his left shoulder appear traces, not very clear, of a fawn skin <sup>b</sup>. He is leaning on a club, entirely at his ease, and

<sup>a</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* 1894, Taf. 7.

<sup>b</sup> On the fragment of an Eleusinian relief published *Ath. Mitth.* 1892, p. 127, Fig. 2, we see an official wearing some kind of skin, which has something

of the appearance of a fawn skin, over his robe: Harpokration, *s. v. νεβριζων*, speaks of the fawn skin as worn by *mystae*, but he is referring to the well-known passage in the *De Corona*, and

playing in the most unceremonious manner with the snake, while the goddess seems to take no notice of him. It would be absurd to see anything 'hieratic' or mystic in this part of the scene, which gives us rather a very *genre* or secular handling of divine things. The scene that follows is very different. Here we see the aspirant covered in a large robe that conceals his face, and seated on a throne over which a lion's skin is laid; the club is in his left hand, and a ram's head is seen beneath his feet; while behind him stands a priestess in long robes holding an object above his head that has rightly been interpreted as a 'liknon' or winnowing-fan. Then comes a group consisting of a youth, wearing a lion's skin and holding a pig head downwards over an altar, and a priest who holds a patera containing poppy-heads in one hand, and with the other is pouring a libation over the sacrificed animal.

Now the group of the seated and standing goddesses belongs to a cult-type prevalent at Eleusis in the fifth century, as will be shown; and the pig-oblation was part of the preliminary purification that every *mystes* performed. But the scene is not *genre* and typical but mythological, for the ordinary person did not carry a club or wear a lion's skin; it evidently reproduces the well-known Attic myth of the purification of Heracles, who had to be cleansed from the blood of the Centaurs before he could be initiated into the lesser mysteries. And the same figure of the hero appears in the three different phases of the action, first bringing his piacular victim, then undergoing the cleansing process, then wearing the mystic garland and enjoying the privileged converse with the goddesses. The work has a general interest, giving us we may believe the general outlines of an 'Eleusinian' catharsis. We are familiar with the swine-offering; and we may assume that the 'liknon' was used in it, for, though there is no mention of it in the literature, it may have belonged to Demeter as naturally as to Dionysos<sup>a</sup>.

there is no allusion to Eleusis in his words.

<sup>a</sup> I can see no reason for assuming with Miss Harrison—*Prolegomena*, p. 549

—that Demeter borrowed the liknon from Dionysos or that a 'liknophoria' was part of Eleusinian ritual.





We may gather another interesting detail from the vase: the catechumen in this ceremony of purification was veiled. We would like to discover the mystic motive for the veiling, which no ancient text mentions. It has been held that in Eleusinian, as in Christian ritual, the concept of regeneration or the dying to the old life and the rising to the new prevailed and was symbolized by the covering of the head<sup>a</sup>. But it is probably an error and certainly gratuitous to impute such exalted mysticism to the Eleusinia; and in pagan ritual the veiling the head or whole person may have been due to different motives on different occasions; one prevalent conception very likely being that in certain critical moments of a mystic rite the participant was in a high state of taboo and also particularly susceptible to dangerous influences from without. Or in this Eleusinian catharsis the veiling may have answered the purpose of concealing from his sight the sacred things held in the liknon above his head which he is not yet sufficiently purified to behold. It is true that no *ιερά* are visible in this vessel, but it is very probable that the vase-painter shrank from indicating them. And the analogy of other works almost compels us to believe that the liknon is here being raised above his head in order to bring him into *rapport* with certain mystic 'sacra' of the goddess<sup>b</sup>. We may be sure, at least, of the significance

<sup>a</sup> Vide Dieterich, *Mithras-Liturgie*, pp. 167-168: the face covered in Christian baptism at Jerusalem according to Anton, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis*, p. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the children walking under the liknon of Demeter on the gem of Tryphon, playing at the mystery of marriage, Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. 54; Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 533; terracotta-relief in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1, p. 449, with veiled *mystes* led up so that the liknon with fruits may be placed above his head in a Bacchic initiation: the Roman wall-painting published *Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. Rom.* 7, Tav. 3-4, two officials raising a vessel of curious shape over the veiled head of the *mystes*; here

again the sacred objects are not shown. Svoronos, *Journ. Internat. Arch. Num.* 1901, p. 340, compares the custom in certain Greek churches of raising the eikon of the dead Christ while the faithful walk beneath it on the day of Christ's burial, also the custom of raising the elements of the Eucharist over the participant who closes his eyes, *ib.* p. 475. Miss Harrison's view that the 'liknon' is raised in our monument as a fan symbolizing purification seems to me less likely (*Prolegom.* p. 548). I cannot find other Greek parallels, nor is the 'liknon' in the sense of 'winnowing-fan' mentioned by Servius in his account of Dionysiac catharsis, *Verg. Georg.* 1. 166; 2. 389.

of the ram's head under his feet<sup>a</sup>. We have an allusion here to the 'divine fleece' or 'fleece of God,' which was used at Eleusis for the purification of 'οι ἐναγείς.' Such a term could not apply to the whole multitude of the uninitiated, for the older Greeks were by no means so liberal in their application of the word as we are with our word 'sinner'; it could only designate those upon whom lay some special ἄγος or taint, such as the taint of bloodshed, which must be purified away before they could be admitted into the Eleusinian brotherhood. Much blood lay upon Heracles, therefore he needed a peculiarly drastic ritual of expiation. We must therefore be cautious of using this monument as if it were in all details a typical representation of the usual Eleusinian purification incumbent on all. But it embodies for us in a genial though scarcely impressive form the ideas of expiation and of the happy and familiar intercourse enjoyed with the divinity by the initiated. But the artist has carefully abstained from any hint concerning the central act of ritual by which the actual mystery was fulfilled.

We have examined the literary evidence for the existence of some sacramental service at Eleusis. And we have one interesting monument—perhaps only one—revealing an Eleusinian sacrament, a vase-painting in Naples of archaic style<sup>b</sup> representing two *mystae*, male and female, seated side by side on a throne before a table laden with food, underneath which is a basket of loaves, while a priest stands before them holding a bundle of twigs in his left hand and with his right administering to them the sacred cup (Pl. XV b). There is nothing in the scene that suggests Dionysiac mysteries; the myrtle crowns which the two catechumens wear point rather to Eleusis, and the twigs that were used no doubt for a lustral purpose are found on certain provedly Eleusinian monuments, for instance on coins of Attica and Eleusis, bearing the device of a pig standing on a bundle of them (Coin Pl. no. 14)<sup>c</sup>, and

<sup>a</sup> In two other examples of the same representation the ram's fleece is placed on the seat.

<sup>b</sup> Figured in Daremberg, op. cit. 2,

Fig. 2637, and Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 157.

<sup>c</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Attica*, Pl. 6. 14 (fifth century B.C.), Pl. 20. 3 (Eleusis,



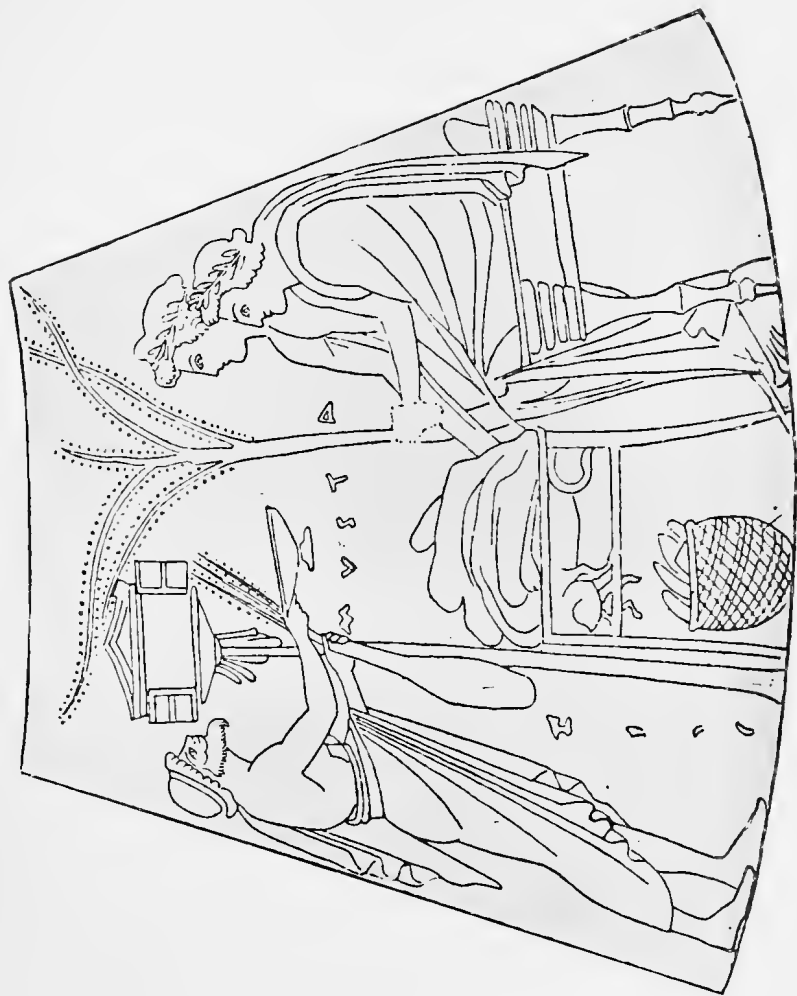






PLATE XVI



on some of the vases mentioned below. The little shrine supported on a pole by the side of the priest may stand for the sacred chamber or *θαλάμη* out of which the officiating functionary took the cereal oblations and distributed them to the faithful, as we are told by Polemon<sup>219d</sup>. Nor is there anything in the epigraphy of the vase that prevents us regarding it of Attic *provenance*. This interpretation being allowed, this small artwork becomes of great importance, for it is the earliest representation of the sacrament in European mystic cult, and assists us to contrast and to connect pre-Christian with Christian ceremonial; and it also disposes of certain theories concerning the Eleusinia, for it shows that the sacrament did not belong to the inner circle or the esoteric part of the mysteries<sup>a</sup>; else no painter would have dared to depict it.

Among the prior acts that led up to the perfect initiation we may place the *κερχυφορία*, the formal carrying in dance or procession of the sacred cereals and vegetable oblations by the *mystae*<sup>b</sup>. This is the ritualistic act which most archaeologists will be now convinced is depicted on the famous painted tablet (Pl. XVI) which was found near the mystic hall at Eleusis and dedicated by an inscription 'to the two goddesses,' and is called the pinax of Nannion<sup>c</sup>. It has been much and controversially discussed, and various interpretations of the whole scene have been put forward. The most penetrating account of it and by far the most satisfactory interpretation has been given by M. Svoronos<sup>d</sup>. Accepting the evidence accumulated by others<sup>e</sup> that the vase on the head of the woman is what was called a *κέρυκος* or *κέρνος*, and that therefore the picture

fourth century). We have no right to apply the word '*βάκχος*' to this mystic bundle when it appears on the Eleusinian monuments, as is usually the custom: it was merely in the Bacchic mysteries, as far as we are told, that the boughs carried by the *mystae* were so called (Schol. Arist. *Equit.* 409).

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, pp. 194-195.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 186.

<sup>c</sup> The name in spite of the blurring of the second letter is practically certain,

and from its neuter form must be the name of a woman; the advanced style of the painting, circ. 400 B.C., forbids us interpreting the O as = Ω which would give us *Navvίaw*, a possible name of a man.

<sup>d</sup> *Journ. Internat. Arch. Numism.* 1901, Pl. 1.

<sup>e</sup> By Kuruniotes in *Eph. Arch.* 1898, p. 22, and (independently and at greater length) by Rubensohn, *Athen. Mitth.* 1898, pp. 271-306.

presented the ritual of the *κερχνοφορία*, this scholar has succeeded in finding a lucid and coherent explanation of the whole scene. He breaks up the representation into three separate *tableaux*, the lower being marked off from the middle by the delicate white line that threads its way obliquely through the figures across the face of the panel, the upper filling the pediment-like field at the top. He notes—and has been apparently the first to note—that two of the figures occur in each of the three scenes, and that the goddess seated in the lower is the same personage as the erect female bearing the two torches in the middle group: therefore the whole presents us with a complex drama of different acts in which the same personages bear their parts: the myrtle crowns, the torches, the sacred twigs, the forms of the goddesses, and the dedication itself, are clear indications pointing to the Eleusinia, while the flowers which are drawn in the lower field suggest that the action herein depicted takes place in the spring, while the absence of them in the upper scene shows the fall of the year. We may accept his exposition in the main: Nannion, who dedicates the picture, has commemorated in it her own initiation, first into the lesser mysteries at Agrai, and then her later initiation into the greater Eleusinia; and in the gable-field she is depicted revelling with her companions, among whom is the faithful elderly man who accompanies her along the sacred way, carrying the travelling bag, and who never leaves her. The goddess in the lowest group is undoubtedly Kore, distinguished from the seated goddess above, who is no less unmistakably Demeter, by the fairer tint of her face, neck, and arms, also by a robe of lesser richness. She appears alone in this holy reception, and the throne by her is empty<sup>a</sup>, as M. Svoronos has well pointed out. This is Demeter's seat, which she has quitted because she leaves the patronage of these lesser mysteries mainly to her daughter. We have here then a valuable corroboration of the texts which suggested that

<sup>a</sup> This must be intentional on the part of the artist: there is a wide interval between Kore and the throne: he was not a great draughtsman, but

not such a bungler but that he could have drawn Kore seated on that throne if he had wished.

Persephone was paramount at Agrai<sup>a</sup>. So far controversy may be silent : but it must arise concerning the stately personage who holds two torches, one erect and the other lowered, and who is presenting Nannion to Kore. M. Svoronos explains him as the mortal dadouchos, in spite of his own axiom that the deities on this vase are distinguished from the mortals by their loftier stature, and of the obvious fact that this person stands higher than any other erect figure on the vase except the Kore on the tier above who exactly matches him. The axiom itself may be doubted ; the difference in stature may be due on this as on other vases to the growing power of perspective in dealing with nearer and further distances. Nevertheless, he may well be intended for some ideal or divine personage, just as in the middle scene Nannion is introduced to Demeter by a divinity none other than Kore herself, who has changed her dress for the journey, but otherwise bears an exact resemblance to the Kore below, and who with the seated Demeter forms a group that we know to have been a prevalent art-type at Eleusis. If then he is no mortal dadouchos, what god or hero could we imagine him to be? His youthful form would suit Dionysos-Iacchos, and this interpretation has been maintained by some. It may appear supported by the statement of Stephanus that 'the lesser mysteries were a drama of the history of Dionysos<sup>b</sup>,' a suspicious statement in itself, for it ignores Kore altogether ; it is also supposed that the representation of the 'omphalos' near him is a symbol of the god who has newly arrived from Delphi<sup>c</sup>. If indeed the Delphic omphalos were so clearly regarded by the Greeks of the classical period as his property, then an artist might use it as his badge in any scene where he wished to depict the god. But the art-record itself is ample enough to dispel this theory : in the vast range of Dionysiac monuments there are only two—the Tyskiewickz vase to be considered below, and a vase from

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 169.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 169.

<sup>c</sup> This is the view of Skias in *Eph. Arch.* 1901, p. 28. Miss Harrison, in the *Prolegomena*, p. 561, cf. 557, goes still further, and conceives that Dionysos

is imagined to be travelling round with his omphalos, bearing it with him from Delphi wherever he goes : the vase-painter had probably too much sense of humour to make such a demand on our imagination.

Crete<sup>a</sup>, a rough replica of the former—in which he is depicted by or on an omphalos, not necessarily the Delphic. Nor does any literary record speak of the Delphic omphalos as his property; only the late and questionable Tatian asserts that it was his grave; but a fragment of Philochorus shows that this was not the belief prevalent at Delphi in the third century B.C. We cannot then maintain a casual remark of Tatian's against the evidence from Philochorus and from the silence of all the earlier and later literature: nor can we suppose that a figure in art otherwise showing no Dionysiac trait could be recognized as Dionysos by the public for whom the artist worked merely by the adjunct of an omphalos. If we had reason for saying that Dionysos-Iacchos was commonly imagined to introduce people at Agrai, a vase-painter could depict him in such a scene without any of his usual characteristics and yet hope to be understood. But we have no such reason; and we had better leave this dadouchos of divine appearance unnamed, who after all may possibly be no more than an ordinary mortal. But the question concerning the omphalos still confronts us. It appears in this vase nearer to Kore than to the dadouchos, and ought to be interpreted in reference to her rather than to him. And it also appears on other monuments of the Eleusinian circle, where no allusion to Delphi, still less to Dionysos, can be supposed: on the vase from Kertsch (Pl. XVIII) the female on the right is sitting on a sort of omphalos, and on the relief-vase from Cumae (Pl. XVII) the seat of the goddess on the extreme left has much of this shape. These may be due to artistic caprice, but there is no doubt about the hieratic intention of the omphalos on the vase we are considering, or on the fragment of the vase found recently at Eleusis which shows us the omphalos well white-washed and bedecked between the two goddesses. We begin to suspect that Athens or Eleusis possessed one or more unrecorded local omphaloi, perhaps in the metroon at Agrai, or in the city's Eleusinion, or in the sacred enclosure at Eleusis. Delphi had no necessary monopoly of these ancient agalmata of the earth-goddess; and they might have been found among

<sup>a</sup> *Journ. Intern. Arch. Num.* 1901, Πίv. 15'.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Dionysos*, vol. 5, R. 35.







the temple furniture of the great mother, Demeter-Persephone, or the primaeva Gaia at Athens as elsewhere. But we cannot be sure that they are used in these Eleusinian representations as indicating a special locality or temple<sup>a</sup>.

We may sum up our impressions and our gains from the study of this monument. It shows us the *κερχνοφορία*, and we see therefore that it was not a mystic or secret function, but a religious dance necessary as a preliminary: it shows us that Kore was predominant at Agrai with a throne always ready for Demeter, but it does not prove that Dionysos was her partner. And the mediocre artist has not painted for religious edification; Nannion carries it off gaily, and the whole scene has a light and festive air.

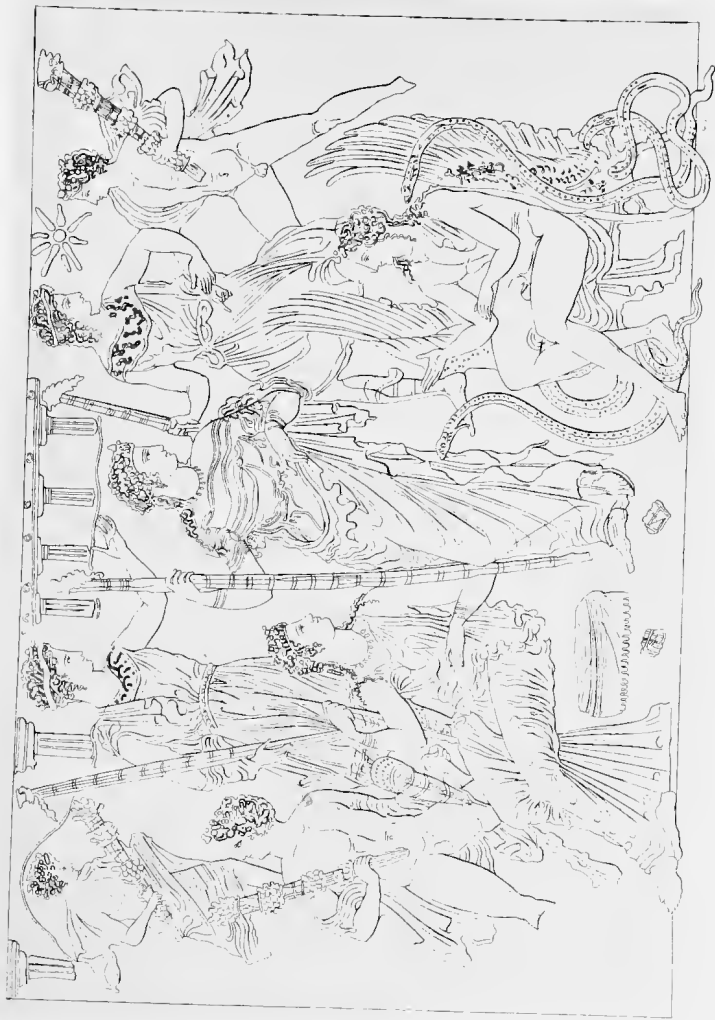
There are two other vase-representations, of more impressive style, that are usually believed to show the initiation into the lesser mysteries. One is a beautiful 'pelike' from Kertsch, now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (Pl. XVIII), of early fourth-century style. Fortunately most of the personages can be recognized without doubt. Above we see Triptolemos in his winged car as if hovering in the air, and on the right Dionysos with thyrsos sitting at ease and gazing across at a figure on the far left, whose club and the mystic bundle of boughs which he carries show him to be Heracles seeking initiation. On the lower plan is the amply-draped Aphrodite, with her arms muffled in her mantle and with the young Eros at her feet; then somewhat above her towers the imposing form of a dadouchos, who may be the mortal priest or some heroic personage, but is not recognizably any god: then comes a group which is unmistakable, the mother-goddess throned and sceptred, and wearing a low kalathos on her head, richly

<sup>a</sup> I see no sufficient reason for M. Svoronos' view, *op. cit.* p. 292, &c., that this 'Eleusinian' omphalos indicates the *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα* which he would place in Agrai, *Eph. Arch.* 1894, p. 133: the relief found in the bed of the Ilissos—not far from this district—representing a probably chthonian divinity receiving sacrifice with a rough

'omphalic' altar of stones piled up in front of him proves nothing, but merely suggests that this form of altar may have been common at Athens in chthonian cults: something like a small omphalos is seen by the side of Asclepios in a statuette from Epidaurus, *Eph. Arch.* 1885, Πίν. 2, no. 9.

draped, and raising her hand as if in lively converse with the daughter-goddess who stands at her left resting her elbow on a column and holding a torch in her right hand. She is lightly clad, and her shoulders and breast are bare. Between them, looking up at Demeter, is a little boy bearing a large cornucopia, who has been called Iacchos, but is now generally admitted to be Ploutos. In the right corner is the draped figure of a female of mature form, sitting on an omphalos-shaped stone in a meditative attitude with her elbow on her knee and her hand raised to her chin, gazing at Demeter. She has been variously named, but there is no interpretation that carries conviction; she may be a local personification such as Eleusis, or an abstraction such as Telete, the genius of the mysteries. And we can form an opinion of the whole scene without deciding who she really is. The subject is evidently the initiation of Heracles, at which Dionysos is present taking no part but that of the sympathetic spectator. The style is the purest Attic, the forms are nobly conceived and finely outlined, a stately religious pageant is impressively shown. The artist has used none of the conventional methods for indicating locality.

We wish to know the locality, for this will decide the question whether it is the greater or the lesser initiation that we are witnessing. But we must first consider the other work, the representation on the Pourtales vase, of which the subject is to some extent identical and the allusion to the Eleusinia is equally clear (Pl. XIX). Again we see the group of the seated mother and the daughter standing by her side in the centre, one of the many free variations of a well-known Eleusinian type; and their drapery conforms more to the conventional ideal here than was the case on the former vase, nor is Kore's upper body bared, but only clad in a diaphanous robe: again we see the catechumen Heracles with mystic faggot and club approaching from the left, while Triptolemos is here seated quietly in his serpent-car on the lower right in animated conversation with Demeter. But in this scene Heracles is not the only heroic candidate for initiation; on right and left above are two boyish figures, crowned and bearing the same emblem





as Heracles in their hands, whom by the star above the head of one we recognize for the Dioscuri; and each is being led by two male figures whom it is sufficient for the present purpose to call 'dadouchoi' merely. The vase is in the British Museum, and belongs still to a good period, though the style is laxer than that of the last.

But here the locality is marked by a background of pillars that indicate one or perhaps two temples. And the question now arises, is the scene laid at Eleusis or Agrai? We hear indeed of no temple at Agrai in which we can be sure that the smaller mysteries were enacted: perhaps the metroon there was the scene of them or some special sacred building. But this is unimportant, for the vase-painter's conscience would be sure to leave him free to throw in a pillar or two. Triptolemos' presence inclines us to think of Eleusis rather than Agrai, especially in considering the scene on the Pourtales vase where he appears to be very much at home. But on the Kertsch pelike he is hovering in the air as one who might be arriving from a distance; and no vase-painter would be likely to have scruples about bringing Triptolemos into the scene of the lesser mysteries, if he wanted a convenient figure to fill up a space. As for Dionysos, his connexion with Agrai may have been more intimate than with Eleusis, but he was sufficiently at home at either place to appear as the interested spectator at either mystery. Nor can we gather any certain inference from the presence of Aphrodite with Eros; if we were sure that the scene was laid at Agrai we might suppose that the vase-painter was mindful of the temple of 'Aphrodite in the gardens' in that vicinity: and those who imagine that the lesser mysteries were entirely captured by Orphism may see in the Eros on the vase the mystic life-power prominent in Orphic cosmogony. But this little Eros is charmingly playful and seems quite innocent of 'Orphism' or any 'mysticism.' And Aphrodite sits with her arms muffled in her mantle as if she had no part in these mysteries. Nor should one impute too much theological learning and consistency to vase-painters; we know how they loved accessory figures, and Aphrodite and Eros are among the most popular and appear in many scenes,

and probably without any mythologic or 'hieratic' justification. We shall discover her again on another Eleusinian vase to be considered soon.

Nor ought we to base any large theories on the presence of the boy-Ploutos, a most natural accessory figure, serving also as a balance to the boy-Eros: at most we may only believe that he alludes to that side of the mysteries which looked to agrarian prosperity. His figure is poetical-allegorical merely, not, as far as we can discover, mystic: nor can we say that he belonged to Agrai rather than to Eleusis <sup>a</sup>.

But it is commonly supposed that Heracles was initiated only at Agrai, and that therefore our vase-scenes represent the lesser mysteries. But the myth that these latter were founded specially in his honour is found only in quite late sources <sup>168, 210</sup>; and it may have arisen from his worship in the adjacent deme of Kynosarges. There is no indication that it was prevalent in the fifth and fourth century, the period with which we are now concerned. When Euripides mentions the initiation there is no reason for supposing that he is not thinking of Eleusis; while there are reasons for supposing that Xenophon, who deals seriously with the myth, is thinking of the great mysteries and of an initiation thorough and complete. As for the Dioscuri, no author associates them with Agrai: we are merely told that by adoption as Attic citizens and at their own demand they were initiated into the mysteries <sup>168</sup>.

But the most weighty argument against the commonly accepted opinion concerning these vases appears to have escaped the attention of archaeologists. The pinax of Nannion, if it teaches anything, teaches us that the lesser mysteries belonged to Kore and that Demeter does not even need to come to them. But in these two scenes of the initiation of

<sup>a</sup> Strube, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, p. 47, &c., closely connects the mysteries of Agrai with Ploutos, Epimenides, and Crete: the prophet comes to Attica and makes the Cretan Ploutos the cornerstone of the little mysteries: one wonders why. Strube's dream arises from a misunderstanding of a text in Pausanias

1. 14, 4—from the confusion of the Eleusinian in Athens with a mystery-temple in Agrai. We do not know that Ploutos was ever a real figure in Cretan religion; nor does Aristophanes in his comedy associate him with Agrai or with any mysteries.







Heracles, Demeter is the seated, central, and imposing personage, Kore stands by her as a subordinate; we must then abandon the evidence of the Nannion pinax, or we must place the scene on the Pourtales and Kertsch vases at Eleusis. It is a vice of interpretation to impute too much hieratic meaning or theological learning to vase-painters; but we may believe that they knew the relative positions of Demeter and the daughter in the greater and lesser mysteries, and that when they wished to distinguish the two ceremonies—as they need not often have wished—they could only do so in the way we have observed; and that they would use the same accessory figures for both scenes.

The tablet of Nannion remains then as the only certain representation of the initiation at Agrai.

Usually it is permissible to suppose, and even to hope, that the vase-painter was not trammelled by the limitations of locality. He might wish to give an ideal picture of the holy mysteries, and his imagination could people the scene with deities summoned perhaps from Agrai and the vicinities of the Athenian Eleusinion and the Eleusinian Telesterion, or from regions still further aloof. Therefore Aphrodite and even Zeus might be present in a 'sacred conversazione' at Eleusis. And this is perhaps the best description that has been given of the beautiful but baffling relief picture on the hydria from Cumae now in St. Petersburg (Pl. XVII). It would serve no purpose here to discuss the various and elaborate theories put forth about its meaning<sup>a</sup>: as all attempts to extract from it a definite *ἱερός λόγος* appear hopelessly unconvincing. It is truer probably to say that the artist had no profound meaning to express, no sacred drama in his mind to depict, but merely wished to group the beloved Eleusinian goddesses with various friendly and interested divinities who are enjoying a refined conversation in couples, while torch-bearers, the mystic branches<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> These are tabulated by Svoronos, *op. cit.* p. 404.

<sup>b</sup> Strube, *Bilderkreis*, p. 39, maintains that these branches are corn-stalks,

the offerings of the *mystae*, and that the ears are visible: I can find no other representation of corn-stalks in Greek art at all like these bundles.

and the piacular pig suffice to create a mystic atmosphere. We wish to recognize the divinities, and in most cases we can; but some escape us, and even the sex of two is doubtful, nor is there universal agreement that all the figures are divine and that no mortal could be admitted into the group; for might not some of the sacred functionaries of the state-mystery be supposed to enjoy the divine intercourse? At least we discover the usual Eleusinian group of the Mother seated in the centre conversing with the Daughter who stands holding a torch by her side; and on her left Dionysos in somewhat unusual attire but revealed by the thyrsos, the ivy crown, and surely by the tripod behind him, the prize at Athens of the Dionysiac contests in music<sup>a</sup>. He is talking earnestly with Triptolemos. Then on the right we see Athena seated on her native rock and wearing a helmet, but no aegis, and turning to talk with the sacred personage who carries the pig for sacrifice. As for his name, we shall never convince each other about it; one might venture to conjecture 'Iacchos,' as this youthful form of Dionysos belongs specially to Athens, and this youth wears, not the ordinary myrtle-crown of the *mystae*, but a garland of ivy, and he might stand for the ideal catechumen who proceeded from Athena's city to Eleusis. But would an Attic painter in the fifth or fourth century bring Dionysos and Iacchos as two separate personages into the same picture<sup>b</sup>? The literary evidence inclines us to believe that he would not. As regards the female figures seated at each extremity of the scene, there is no harm in regarding the one on the extreme left as Artemis, who was worshipped both at Agrai and Eleusis, the other on the right, a veiled matronly and stately

<sup>a</sup> Svoronos—op. cit. p. 404, &c.—is right in maintaining this as against those who see in the figure the *ἱεροκῆρυξ*: this latter interpretation entirely fails to explain the tripod: Svoronos well compares the long-robed youthful Bacchus on the Attic tripod published in the *Jahreshefte Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* 2. Taf. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Svoronos' principle of vase-interpretation which he adopts here and

elsewhere—that the same personage is often represented more than once in the same scene under different aspects—has some few analogies in its favour, such as the marriage-scene in the pyxis of Eretria; but it is against the usual practice of the Greek art of the best age, and he applies it somewhat recklessly: vide P. Gardner, *Grammar of Greek Art*, p. 205.





PLATE XX

form, as Aphrodite, who appeared on the former vase in the Eleusinian circle.

So far as these monuments have carried us, we are no nearer than before to understanding the real *δρῶμενα* or drama of the mysteries. But other vases have been supposed to reveal or at least allude to part of a mystic action. It is too often forgotten by archaeologists, as well as amateurs, and therefore cannot be too often insisted on, that no Attic vase-painter would dare to depict the holy drama of Agrai or Eleusis by means of any scene that bore any recognizable resemblance to the reality; if he did so, his artistic career might be brief. And probably no foreign painter would venture either; for if his own conscience was callous, the public conscience was sensitive enough. Therefore the utmost we can expect to discover are guarded and distant allusions to something that may have really entered into the mystic and esoteric ritual. And when the art-record is of this kind, interpretation is always hazardous.

The hydria from Capua, sometimes called the Tyskiewickz vase<sup>a</sup>, is one of those that has been supposed to reveal to us something of the content of the mysteries (Pl. XX). It is a beautiful monument of the Attic art of the early fourth century: and the type of the central group, the seated Demeter and the daughter standing by her with the torches, is derived from Eleusis, and therefore we may assume at least an Eleusinian atmosphere for the scene. And one other figure at least is recognizable; the stately young god holding the thyrsos and seated on a stone or mound of the 'omphalos' shape must be Dionysos; and Kore, descending as it seems from some higher place, moves towards him with her torches as with a solemn gesture of greeting. As regards the other figures, neither their forms nor attributes throw any light on the scene. There is a rough replica of this representation on the hydria from Crete mentioned above, of undoubted Attic export; on which the central group reappears with little difference, except that Dionysos is not sitting on the 'omphalos,' but rather strangely above it. For the interpretation of the picture,

<sup>a</sup> Figured in *Mon. d. Inst.* 12. 34; *Coll. Tyskiewickz*, Pl. 10.

the omphalos—if it is really meant for one—does not help us. It has no resemblance to the famous one at Delphi, therefore we need not think of Delphi at all; and we have seen that in all probability there were ‘omphaloi’ in Attica, perhaps one in the vicinity of Agrai, one perhaps at Eleusis. The most elaborate and ingenious interpretation of these two vases has been recently propounded by M. Svoronos<sup>a</sup>, who holds that the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Kore and Dionysos is here depicted, which he thinks took place on the twelfth of Anthesterion, and with which the lesser mysteries were in some way connected; and he places the scene in the temple of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις, and regards the rest of the figures as representative of the temples in the vicinity. We might be tempted to accept this explanation, if there was otherwise any record of such a sacred marriage at Athens; but there is none, and these vases cannot be said to fill up the gap in the evidence. For the scene depicted ‘looks not like a marriage’: Kore may be merely greeting Dionysos as a visitor at Agrai, or Dionysos-Iacchos at Eleusis; and the vases illustrate for us nothing more with clearness than the hospitable relations between the god and the goddesses<sup>b</sup>.

The only remaining monuments that need be noticed here as bearing on the central Eleusinian question are those that have been supposed to reveal the mystic birth or the nativity of a holy child as an inner part of the mystery. But before considering the evidence in any detail, a cautious sceptic might maintain that if a holy birth was really enacted in the Telesterion or Anaktoron, for that very reason it would not be painted on vases; and conversely, if we do find scenes on vases that

<sup>a</sup> Op. cit. p. 450, &c.: his interpretation of this, as of other vases, rests on the principle that the vase-painters often aimed at giving a sketch-map of the locality by means of certain personal forms: I cannot feel sure about his principle or regard his topographical exposition as convincing; but his most ingenious suggestion is worth notice, that the half-draped female seated up on the left is *Ἐὐκλεία*, whose shrine was

near the Eleusion at Athens (Paus. i. 14. 4), and that she is holding not a tambourine as is usually supposed but a shield.

<sup>b</sup> The only example I can find of the marriage of Kore and Dionysos represented in art is the gem of Roman period published by Millin, *Gal. Myth.* Pl. 48, no. 276—Kore and Dionysos in a chariot drawn by Centaurs, Eros accompanying.







look like the birth of a divine child at Eleusis, we may use these as evidence—not of what was acted in the mysteries—but of what was not acted in them, at least as an essential part of the mystic ritual.

The first to consider very briefly is the well-known picture on the other side of the Kertsch pelike (Pl. XXI a). Perhaps no vase-representation has been more minutely discussed than this, or with such diversity of opinions. It has been interpreted as the birth of Erichthonios, though it differs markedly and in some essential points from the known representations of that story: it has been ingeniously explained by Professor Robert as the birth of Dionysos, who is just being taken from the cleansing waters of Dirke, a version which explains much of the scene, but scarcely the central prominence of Athena and Nike. If either of these two interpretations were correct, the subject would not necessarily concern the Eleusinian question. And in fact the only reasons *a priori* for considering this side of the vase at all among the monuments of the Eleusinian religion, are the analogy of the subject on the obverse, and, secondly, the undoubted presence on the reverse side of the two great goddesses in the left upper corner, the one seated and the other standing according to the convention of the Eleusinian group-type. We should suppose then the subject to be one in which Eleusis and Athens as represented by Athena are equally interested. The latter goddess seems to be standing behind Hermes—there can be no doubt about him, although he wears an unusually shaped petasos like a modern cocked-hat—and to be protecting him, while Victory flies behind and above her pointing downwards. But Hermes, though remembered in the preliminary sacrifice, has nothing to do with the mysteries themselves; and what divine birth was there that could be regarded as a victory for Athens? In the midst of all this doubt one may well question whether the vase is 'mystic' at all. And the only really consistent and in some respects satisfactory attempt to interpret it in direct reference to the mysteries has been recently made by M. Svoronos<sup>a</sup>, who boldly challenges what may be called the orthodox view. He

<sup>a</sup> Op. cit. p. 342.

maintains that there is no holy infant in the picture at all ; that the resemblance of the object which Hermes is receiving to a swaddled bambino is illusory, the part of it that seems like the outline of a human head being merely due to a flaw on the surface of the vase. Certainly if this is so, there is nothing in the rest of the outline of the thing wrapped up in the fawn-skin to suggest a human or divine baby at all : whether this is so can only be decided by a minute examination of the vase in St. Petersburg. But what else save a new-born child could be thus presented, as brought up from the earth and sustained in the arms of the earth-goddess or one of her kind and received into the hands of Hermes ? Could it be the sacred *ἱερά*, as M. Svoronos suggests or insists rather, which before the beginning of the great mysteries were brought from Eleusis to Athens under the escort of the ephēbi, and which are here represented as being brought by Eleusis herself from the cavern below the shrine of Plouton where they were kept throughout the year, as received by Hermes the tutelary and representative deity of the ephēbi, and as safeguarded by Athena who guarantees victory if any enemy in the country should disturb the sacred journey ? The other personages are brought into line with this theory : the pair above on the left are the two goddesses of Eleusis who watch the *ἱερά* depart : the female with the tambourine stands for Ἥχῶ, personifying the station on the sacred way to which this name was given : the deities above, whom every one has hitherto called Zeus and Hera, are really Asclepius and the Demeter of the Eleusinion in the city ; for Asclepius is specially interested in this procession, in so far as the *ἱερά* or sacred relics, after they have been lodged in the city, will be taken on his day, the Epidauria, from the Athenian Eleusinion past his temple to Agrai, he himself accompanying ; and M. Svoronos actually finds this unrecorded visit of Asclepius with the *ἱερά* to Agrai on an Attic relief from the bed of the Ilissos<sup>a</sup>, showing Asclepius leading Demeter, followed by Athena and Nike, who carries the relics in two little round pots.

This theory is skilful, and in spite of many detailed points

<sup>a</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1894, Πiv. 8 a.

which are not likely to command assent, may win general acceptance, though it does not seem at present to have attracted much attention; one of the most important by-issues is the question about Asclepios, which will be dealt with below<sup>a</sup>. But even if M. Svoronos were right in his identification of this figure, we need not follow him in his theories about the procession of the *ἱερά* from the Asclepieion to Agrai. The literary record is absolutely silent about all this, and no art-monument is likely to speak to us so articulately as to fill up the void in our knowledge left by this silence.

Looking, however, at the main theory and admitting its allurements, we must bear in mind that part of the substructure essential to it is a mere hypothesis: for we are nowhere told that those *ἱερά* were kept in an underground vault, or brought along covered up in a fawn-skin. And if that fawn-skin which we see in the picture or the small round pots which we see in the relief really contain them, they must have been unimpressive and disappointing little objects, and they could scarcely have included images of the deities, as we saw some reason to surmise that they did. We may grant that this subject, the procession of the *ἱερά*, was a legitimate one for art: every one knew about it and could witness the procession; it could be painted without impiety. Yet the painter was treading on very dangerous ground in dealing with them; and we might suppose that he would hardly like to represent them in this somewhat easy way, covered merely in a fawn-skin that shows the outlines of them, but that he would be tempted to enshroud them from the eye more completely, would bury them for instance in a mystic chest.

Therefore the last word has perhaps not yet been uttered about this interesting Eleusinian monument.

But we seem further off than ever from the discovery of that holy Eleusinian babe called Brimos or Iacchos that is supposed by some to have been made manifest at the most awful moment of the mystery.

The last monument that need be questioned here, for it has been thought to prove and to illustrate the mystic birth at

<sup>a</sup> Vide note, p. 278.

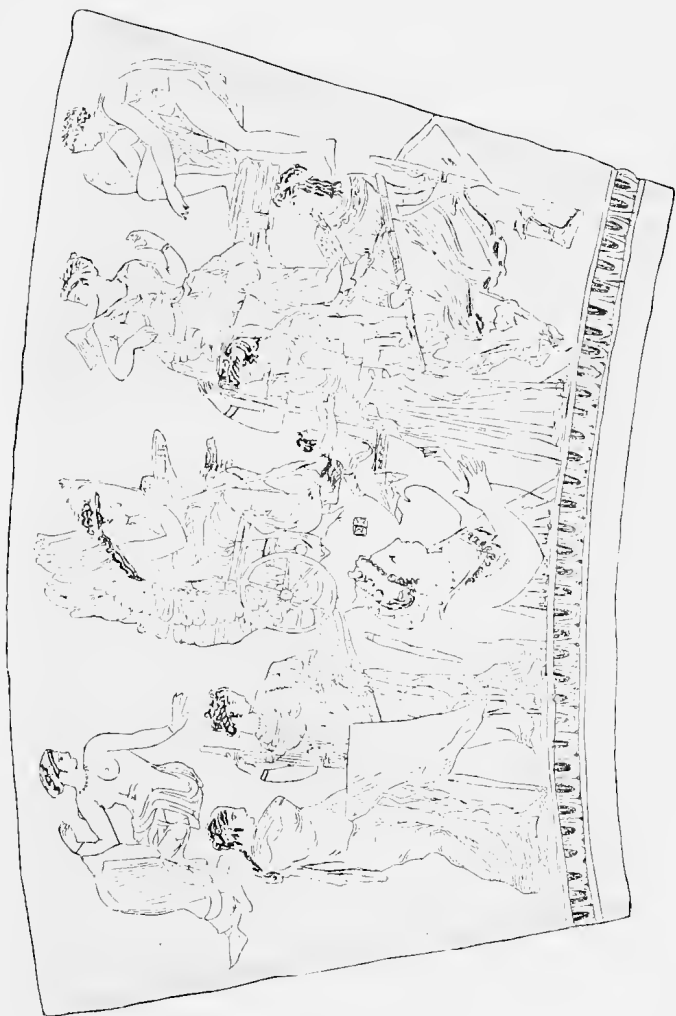
Eleusis, is a hydria found in Rhodes of Attic work, now in the Museum of Constantinople (Pl. XXI b). When a few years ago it was first noticed and described<sup>a</sup>, it aroused excitement and hope, for it was given out that Brimos, the holy infant, had been found at last, whose Eleusinian significance and very existence had hitherto hung by a thread attached to a very late and suspicious literary record. And no one of those who have dealt hitherto with the vase has been able to avoid quoting the gnostic formula of Hippolytus. Looking without prepossession at the picture, we see the figure of the earth-goddess rising up out of the ground as she was wont and lifting a horn of plenty, on the top of which sits a male infant turning and stretching out his hands to a goddess who, though she wears neither aegis nor helmet, is now known to be Athena, as she certainly bears a lance in her right hand<sup>b</sup>; on the left of the central drama are two figures characterized just sufficiently to be recognized as Kore and Demeter, on the right is a dadouchos starting away in surprise: just above the centre is Triptolemos in his car, and before him a goddess or priestess with what may be a temple-key indicated above her shoulder: if we like we may call her Artemis Προπυλαία. The half-clad female on the left and the youth in the attitude of 'Jason' on the right may as well remain nameless, for in vase-painting such accessory figures may have had a purely decorative value, and we cannot be sure that the vase-painter intended to name them himself. But where is there any 'mystery' in all this? Where is the holy babe Brimos or Iacchos or a mystic birth? The baby is plainly Ploutos, the incarnation of the cornucopia, no more a 'mystic' figure here than in the Munich group of Kephisodotos; and the art-language is more than usually simple and articulate, proclaiming that through Demeter's gift of corn to Triptolemos wealth is brought to Athens, and that

<sup>a</sup> Reinach, *Rev. Archéol.* 1901, p. 87: cf. Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 526, Fig. 153: the former rightly refuses to regard the vase as giving the key to the Eleusinian mysteries; while according to Svoronos, who thinks that the child Ploutos here = Κοῦρος Βρίμος, 'it gives

us the very revelation of the mystery,' *op. cit.* p. 387.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Fredrich of Posen, who kindly sent me a minute description of the vase from Constantinople, describes it as 'a staff ending in a point at the top.' It is, therefore, not a sceptre.

PLATE XXI 6







if one wished for more esoteric information he might apply to that priestess with the key.

There was nothing to offend the religious conscience in this, and the vase-painter seems to have been a prudent man.

In fact we are not likely to find what we seek down this road. What was the actual revelation or what were the *ιερά* shown, what were the elements of the passion-play and the forms of the mystic drama, concerning these questions we may conjecture and may theorize on the fragments of evidence that we can collect. But the art of the age of belief would not dare to reveal them, and when the world ceased to believe art fell silent or took to other themes. Nevertheless, Greek art contributes much to our knowledge and appreciation of the Eleusinia; to our knowledge not merely of certain antiquarian details, but of all the preliminaries of initiation that might be safely depicted, the *κερχνοφορία*, the purification, and even the sacrament; to our appreciation, for the art speaks as plainly as the literature concerning the deep impression that these mysteries exercised upon the religious imagination of Athens and the Greek world; and it is the artist rather than the poet who has shown us with what stately and beautiful forms the Eleusinian goddesses presented themselves to the mind's eye of the worshipper.

Finally, we may believe that the influence of the mysteries, the Eleusinian combining with the Dionysiac in filling men's minds with milder and brighter thoughts about death, may have helped to modify certain forms of art and to suggest new themes. The inner force working in Greek art from the sixth century onward, making for the creation of more spiritual and brighter types for the embodiment of the powers and the life of the other world, may have been a spontaneous movement due to the artistic temperament of the Greek; but no doubt it drew strength from the mystery-cults, of which the influence grew ever wider from this age onwards. The ruler of the lower world is no longer the god of the stern and inexorable face: his countenance becomes dreamy like that of Dionysos, or benignly thoughtful as that of Asclepios, or of that god whom Plato imagined to 'hold the souls captive in

his realm by the spell of wise speech.' And after the fifth century vase-painting came to people the lower world with happy groups of united lovers, idealized perhaps under heroic forms: Demeter sits in peaceful converse by the side of her daughter in Hades, and love is about and around them<sup>a</sup>. Even the old anger of the mother against the ravisher of her child seems to be put aside when, as in the tenderly depicted scene on the Hope vase<sup>b</sup>, we see Demeter peacefully taking leave of her daughter, who turns to embrace her before she goes down to her appointed place for a season, while the bridegroom gazes sympathetically at the pair. And on the well-known Eleusinian relief of Lysimachides, the mother and the daughter, the one pouring a libation to the other<sup>c</sup>, are seated together in hospitable communion by the side of the wedded couple, 'the god' and 'the goddess' (Pl. I).

<sup>a</sup> Vide relief at Gythion, p. 226, Pl. VIII b.

<sup>b</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Bnd. I, p. 422, Taf. 7.

<sup>c</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1886, Πίτ. 3, no. 1: the goddesses are hard to distinguish. Philios in first publishing the relief maintained that the goddess on the

right with the long curls is Demeter, who greets her daughter with a libation; certainly this is the more maternal figure, but she holds, not the sceptre as Philios thought, but two torches; and these more frequently indicate Kore, who in other representations offers a libation to her mother.



PLATE XXII



## CHAPTER IV

### IDEAL TYPES OF DEMETER-KORE

THE ideal of Demeter is presented us in a few monuments only, but is among the most interesting products of Greek art, a late blossom of the soil of Attica ; for it was especially the Attic religion and art that spiritualized and purified men's imagination of her. The archaic period was unable to contribute much to its development, and it was long before the mother could be distinguished from the daughter by any organic difference of form or by any expressive trait of countenance. On the more ancient vases and terracottas they appear rather as twin-sisters, almost as if the inarticulate artist were aware of their original identity of substance. And even among the monuments of the transitional period it is difficult to find any representation of the goddesses in characters at once clear and impressive. We miss this even in the beautiful vase of Hieron in the British Museum <sup>a</sup>, where the divine pair are seen with Triptolemos: the style is delicate and stately, and there is a certain impression of inner tranquil life in the group, but without the aid of the inscriptions the mother would not be known from the daughter. A large bust or mask, probably of sepulchral significance, in the British Museum from Tanagra, which may belong to the beginning of the fifth century, shows us an interesting type of the chthonian goddess wearing a stephane with long hair parted over a very low forehead and falling in masses over her shoulders and with delicate maidenly features (Pl. XXII): in spite of the absence of expression the work has something of the same charm that we find in early Italian images of the Madonna: we may venture, without wishing to be too precise, to name her Demeter-Kore.

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 236.

Nor was there even a conventional type of costume generally regarded as distinctive of the one and the other. The sombre expression which is characteristic of some of the sculpture of the generation before Pheidias would be consonant with the character of the chthonian powers; but as it was an art-convention of that age, it does not subserve the expression of individual character; and we cannot for instance distinguish a Demeter from a Hera by means of this merely, any more than by the veil and the matronal forms. Yet one monument of the pre-Pheidian epoch has already been mentioned, which is of some significance for the higher development of religious sculpture<sup>a</sup>, the terracotta bust found in the necropolis of Thebes. And another<sup>b</sup>, of a slightly earlier date, deserves mention here (Pl. XXIII), a marble relief found at Eleusis, showing the mother enthroned, holding sceptre and corn-stalks and crowned with a low kalathos, and the daughter<sup>c</sup> standing reverentially before her holding torches. The work has certainly an impress of the solemnity that hieratic sculpture demands; yet there is a delicate charm in it also: Demeter's glance is tranquil and bright, and there is the shadow of a smile on the lips. The flowing unbound hair of the mother is a noticeable trait; we might have expected to find it as a characteristic of the daughter, but Kore's hair is carefully pressed in a coif. But the sculptor imagines the elder goddess as the poet of the Homeric hymn imagined her<sup>d</sup>, and on the great Eleusinian relief we find the same trait once again<sup>e</sup>. We note also that in this earlier relief it is the mother that wears the richer costume, while in the later art it is usually Kore, who here is draped in a fashion of archaic simplicity that disappears soon after this date. The work is immature

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 227.

<sup>b</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, Pl. 5.

<sup>c</sup> There is no real reason for doubting that this figure is Kore: Ruhland, *Die Eleus. Göttinnen*, p. 60, supposes her to be a priestess only on the ground of her shorter stature; certainly if this Demeter stood up, she would be far taller than the other person, but the artist need not

have intended this, but may merely have followed the law of 'isokephalia,' so as to bring the two heads into the same alignment.

<sup>d</sup> l. 279, vide Philios, *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 252.

<sup>e</sup> For similar treatment cf. Roman coin, Overbeck, *K. M.* 2, *Münz-Taf.* 8. 9.

PLATE XXIII







like the other works of this period ; yet it is one of the first examples of a cult-type prevalent at Eleusis that is inherited, as we shall see, by the more developed schools.

Looking at the products of the great Athenian circle of Pheidias and his contemporaries and pupils, we are struck with the absence of any mention of the Eleusinian deities in the copious list of their works ; unless indeed we admit the phantom-figure of an elder Praxiteles into that great company and attribute to him the group of Demeter, Kore, and Iacchos in the Eleusinion at Athens<sup>a</sup>. This silence of the record is probably no mere accident : it may be that the mysteries were already provided with their monuments of worship, of defective style, perhaps, but archaic holiness ; or it may be that the great masters were commissioned to embellish the Eleusinian shrines, but that their statues being included among the *ιερά* or mystic objects escaped record. Nevertheless the 'Pheidian' hand has left evidence of itself on the Eleusinian ground.

We ought first to consider whether we can discover the forms of the goddesses and their attendant figures amidst the surviving remains of the Parthenon sculpture. The controversy concerning many of the divine personages in the pediment and on the frieze has continued long and still continues ; but one result of archaeological criticism is beginning to be accepted, that in the two seated goddesses near the 'Dionysos' of the east gable<sup>b</sup> we have the mother and daughter of Eleusis. Yet we should rather call them the twin-sisters, for in bodily forms and drapery they are strangely alike ; and it would seem that just in this maintenance of an ancient tradition of their unity as an identity, Pheidias did not care to break away from archaic art. Only their countenances, where the individuality of the personal nature might have been masterfully displayed, are unfortunately lost. The

<sup>a</sup> Vide Kalkmann, *Arch. Anzeig.* 1897, p. 136, who believes in the 'elder Praxiteles' and tries to reconstruct the group from the Berlin and Cherchel 'Demeters,' the 'Kore' of the Villa Albani, the 'Eros' of St. Petersburg

whom he regards as a Triptolemos : it is impossible to discuss this complex hypothesis here.

<sup>b</sup> Michaelis, *Parthenon*, Taf. 6, E, F ; Brunn-Bruckmann, no. 188.

fragments have a priceless value for the history of sculpture; but for the religious ideal we gather merely an impression of the loving tie that binds them together. The arm of one embraces the shoulder of the other; they do not appear disturbed by the dramatic action in the centre, but to be engaged in conversation. As regards the west gable, Demeter Kore and Iacchos may be there, but we cannot clearly discern them<sup>a</sup>. But amidst the company of the deities on the frieze we may with the highest degree of probability recognize Demeter in the goddess who sits by the side of the questionable deity that is nursing his knee (Pl. XXIV). Her form has amplexness and breadth, and she alone of all the divinities bears a torch, and it is far more likely that that symbol designates here the Eleusinian goddess than Artemis or any other divinity likely to be present in such a group<sup>b</sup>. We may note also, though such arguments are in themselves inconclusive, that in drapery and partly in the gesture of the right arm the figure resembles an undoubted Demeter in an Eleusinian relief<sup>c</sup>. There is certainly some individual character in the forms and some significance in the pose of the arms, a certain meditative dignity, but unhappily the countenance is lost. An original Pheidian Demeter, then, is not wholly preserved in the Parthenon sculpture-work<sup>d</sup>.

But we are fortunate in possessing a series of reliefs, most of

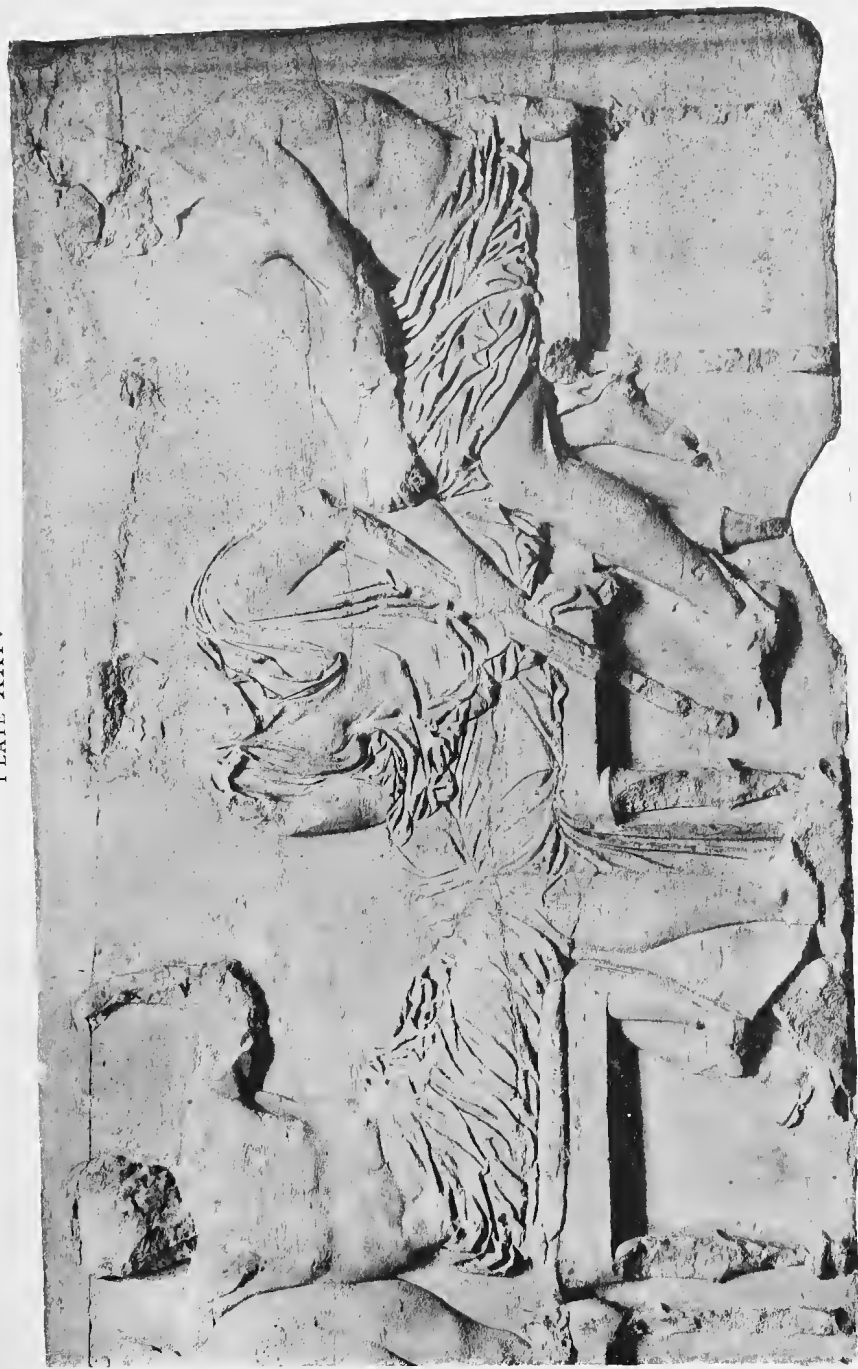
<sup>a</sup> The group in the left corner of the seated god with the serpent and the female figure nestling into his side has been interpreted as Hades and Persephone by Bloch in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, 1369, because an undoubted copy of this group has been found at Eleusis in 1889; but vide Philios in *Eph. Arch.* 1900 (Pl. 12) who rightly refuses to draw any conclusions from the *provenance* of the copy; it was found outside the holy precincts, not far from the Propylaea: it is very unlikely that this genial and very *genre* couple are the god and goddess of the lower world. As regards Iacchos he may possibly be the naked figure seated in the lap of

the goddess towards the right corner, preserved in Carrey's drawing: it used to be called Aphrodite because of its nudity, but it is probably male (vide Loeschke, *Dorpatser Programm*, 1884): if so, there were three boys in this gable, and one of them may well have been Iacchos: more cannot be said at present.

<sup>b</sup> That Kore is absent is no fatal objection; the economy that governs the frieze-composition would account for this.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Pl. XIV, p. 265.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *infra*, pp. 265-266 for Demeter and Kore in Carrey's drawings of the metopes.









them found on Eleusinian soil, that show us how the Eleusinian pair were commonly imagined by the contemporaries of Pheidias. The most celebrated of these is the great relief found at Eleusis and now preserved in the Central Museum at Athens (Pl. XXV). It may be fairly regarded as one of the greatest monuments of religious art that has come down to us from antiquity, a noble example of the high style in hieratic sculpture. A solemn stillness pervades the group, and a certain tranquil air of the divine life and world. The formal beauty of the chiselling can only be felt in the presence of the original. The lines are still wonderfully clear beneath the dusky and partially defaced surface, and the contours of the features are very delicately raised against the background. The eyes of the goddesses are deeply set under the lids, and this imparts a spiritual and earnest expression to the face: the cheeks are not quite so broad nor the chins so long as on the Parthenon frieze. A touch of the more ancient style seems here and there to survive; for though the organic forms are largely and fluently treated, some of the lines are rather hard, and something of the earlier exaggeration may be faintly discerned in the contours of the boy's limbs, and the lips are slightly turned downwards as we still find on vases of the middle of the fifth century. As regards the composition of the figures, we discern an architectural symmetry combined with a perfect freedom, for in the inclination of the heads, the pose of hands and feet, in the disposition of the drapery and the system of its folds there is a studied and a finely conceived variety. The work need not be earlier than the date of the Parthenon frieze, and there is nothing to suggest that it is later.

Who then are these figures and what are they doing? The goddess on the left with the unbound hair and the simpler drapery used to be often taken for the daughter; but a comparison with other monuments sets it beyond doubt that this is Demeter, and that the goddess on the right with the more elaborate drapery, the peplos drawn over the chiton across the body and falling in a fold on the left shoulder, the hair bound with a chaplet, is Kore. The boy is more probably

Triptolemos than Iacchos; and only on this assumption can we explain the action: the now current view is probably right that Demeter is giving him corn-stalks, indicated by painting, while Kore is placing a crown on his head. Yet the drama has nothing of the air of a mythological scene; it is rather a mystic or hieratic pageant.

We may regard this relief then as a striking monument of that religious style in which the Pheidian circle achieved so much, and with some probability as itself inspired by some free group which a master of that school wrought for the service of Eleusis. There are other reliefs that are related to this as the other free copies of the same original and that have assisted in establishing the identity of the goddesses. The first<sup>a</sup> (Pl. XXVI a) was found some years ago in the excavations of the Acropolis and is now in the Acropolis Museum. The work belongs to the close of the fifth century; the chiselling of the marble is wonderfully warm and genial, and the dignity of the Pheidian manner is combined with a subtle Attic grace and ease. We know the goddess on the left in the simple sleeveless Doric chiton of wool to be Demeter, for the last letters of her name are preserved at the top of the slab: therefore the other goddess is Kore, draped more elaborately, as often happens at this epoch, in two garments of finer texture arranged about her limbs as on the larger relief. Demeter's left hand, raised behind her daughter's shoulder, was resting on a sceptre, while her right hand was extended towards Triptolemos, of whom the only sign that remains is the coil of his familiar serpent. The other relief (Pl. XXVI b) was found at Rhamnus and is now in Munich<sup>b</sup>. The group reflects, though with variations, the same original: the drapery is virtually the same, and, in many essentials, the pose of the figures; only here it is the daughter who raises her hand to her mother's shoulder, while Demeter's hands are lowered, the missing right holding out perhaps a libation-cup to the worshipper towards whom her head is benignantly inclined; or perhaps it is again Triptolemos to whom she intends to give a libation. The

<sup>a</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1893, *Πίτ.* 8, p. 36.

Furtwängler, *Hundert Tafeln nach den*

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Eph. Arch.* 1893, p. 38;

*Bildw. d. Glyptoth.* no. 27.



a



b









surface of the relief has greatly suffered, and it has lost much of its charm, but it belongs probably to the same age as the last.

Probably of somewhat earlier period than these is the relief mentioned already <sup>a</sup>, showing Athena greeting the goddesses of Eleusis and inscribed with a decree concerning the bridging of the Pheitoi on the sacred way, which we can date at 421 B.C. (Pl. XIV). As in the Acropolis relief, Kore's hands are lowered, and the torches which are to be imagined there are seen here, and again Demeter raises her left hand, but now merely to lift up a lappet of her mantle: and again we see the same drapery and the same disposition of the folds. Another monument of the Eleusinian worship that ranges itself with these, a relief from Eleusis now in the Louvre <sup>b</sup>, shows us the goddesses receiving a swine-offering, Demeter wearing a kalathos and holding out a libation-cup and turning her head benignantly to the worshippers, while Kore holds two torches in her right hand and ears of corn in her left (Pl. XXVII a). The long curls of Demeter are a noticeable feature in this work, while in the other smaller reliefs we find the shorter hair that is more in accordance with the 'Pheidian' taste as shown in the Parthenon sculpture.

A reminiscence of the type to which these figures conform reappears in an interesting relief, of which a part was found in the Plutonion at Eleusis (Pl. XXVII b), and which we may approximately date at 400 B.C. <sup>c</sup>. It is no myth that is here represented, but a cult-drama: Triptolemos is not starting on his mission in his serpent-car; for his seat is not a chariot but a throne, and he sits receiving worship from the mortals who approach. In front of him stands Demeter, with her left arm raised as in Pl. XIV, and wearing the same drapery; while behind him is Kore, again holding the torches and wearing chiton and peplos disposed about her body as before.

Finally, in Carrey's drawing of one of the south metopes of

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 237.

<sup>b</sup> Overbeck, *Atlas*, 14. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Published in its complete form by Philios in *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 255,

Pl. 6; but the right interpretation was first given by Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.* 1896, pp. 100-102.

the Parthenon<sup>a</sup>, we may detect the same group of the two goddesses, the dress of both appearing to conform to this now well-established type, and Demeter raising her left hand somewhat as in three of the examples we have noted, though with a different intention.

The archaeological evidence then enables us to figure in our imagination some famous and impressive group of sculpture that stood on sacred ground, probably at Eleusis, but certainly not in the Telesterion or the Holy of Holies, else we should never have received even a distant copy of it<sup>b</sup>; and it seems to reveal the handiwork of the Pheidian school. But none of the surviving copies, not even the great Eleusinian relief, presents us with such a countenance of Demeter or Kore as could satisfy us and could serve as a standard. Nor do we find it among those free statues surviving in our museums which on the insufficient ground of a similar treatment of the drapery have been derived from this original Eleusinian group of the fifth century<sup>c</sup>. There was another and independent group of

<sup>a</sup> Michaelis, *Parthenon*, 3. 19: vide article by Peruce in *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1895 (Taf. 3), who regards these figures as priestesses.

<sup>b</sup> The attempt made by recent archaeologists—e.g. by R. von Schneider in *Album der Antiken-Sammlung Wien*, Taf. 26, Kern in *Ath. Mitth.* 1892, p. 138—to discover the forms of the chief idols of the mysteries seems to me useless: for if anything in the mysteries was likely to be sacred and tabooed it would be these; and the ateliers would hardly dare to make copies for public trade.

<sup>c</sup> I regret to have found little profit in the elaborate attempts made by distinguished archaeologists such as von Schneider and Furtwängler and more recently by Rubland to discover copies of this group in the Cherchel 'Demeter,' the 'Demeters' of Berlin and the Capitoline Museum, the 'Kore' of the Villa Albani and the still earlier bronze statuette of 'Kore' in Vienna.

The latter work—*Album d. Antiken-Samml. Wien*, Taf. 26—is an early example of the style of drapery that appears on the Eleusinian reliefs and of which the figure of Kore on the vase of Perugia is perhaps the earliest (Roscher, *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1370): it appears again in the Villa Albani statue. But neither of these works nor the 'Kore' of the Duval Collection (Rubland, *op. cit.* 3. 3) nor the 'Kore' of Venice (*ib.* 2. 3) show us any attribute or characteristic expression that reveals the personality of the goddess. The same is true of the Cherchel figure—a striking 'Pheidian' work earlier than the Parthenon—and of the Berlin statues; they agree merely in drapery with the Demeter on the great Eleusinian relief; but this style was a 'Pheidian' fashion and was freely used for different personalities, e.g. in the Samos-Athens relief, Brunn-Bruckmann, 475<sup>a</sup>. The Mantinean relief shows us one of the muses draped in the style of Kore. Certainly







the two goddesses which Attic religious sculpture had created before the end of the fifth century for the service of Eleusis, and which was evidently of considerable repute, for we find many free reproductions of it in different materials, and even outside Attica<sup>a</sup>. The group consists of the mother seated either on the mystic casket or on the stone border of the well as she once sat in her sorrow or more rarely on a throne: the daughter stands by her, in front or behind, on her right or left, with torches. The transitional period has left us a notable example of this, as we have seen, and the later ages loved to reproduce it. We have found it on many of the mystery-vases of the fifth and fourth century, and it appears on certain fragments of the Panathenaic amphorae, on reliefs of the fourth century which attest its prominence in the public religion, and finally on the well-known relief of Lakrateides now that the fragments of this large and important monument have been skilfully pieced together (Pl. II).

These derivatives vary in many details and in the relative position of the figures; all that we can conclude with some security concerning the original is that it was a free group of sculpture of the transitional period representing the mother enthroned and holding a sceptre and the daughter standing by her with torches. And this may have given birth to a new and attractive theme, Kore standing before Demeter and pouring her a libation, which we can discern in the fragments of a cylix of the finest Attic style of the earlier part of the fifth century<sup>b</sup>.

The group which has just been examined together with its

the Capitoline statue (Overbeck, *Atlas*, 14. 20) agrees in pose and gesture as well as drapery with the Demeter in the relief (Pl. XIV), but in the absence of significant attribute and expression the similarity is not sufficient to prove identity of personality; witness the identity of pose in the 'Demeter' of the south metope of the Parthenon and the daughter of Pelias in the famous Lateran relief.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. supra, pp. 226, 260: vide Kern's

article in *Ath. Mitth.* 1892, p. 126; to the material which he there collected may be added the fragments of an Eleusinian vase of the later red-figured style published *Eph. Arch.* 1901, Πίν. 2; and another fragment of a vase from Eleusis published by Philios in *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 249.

<sup>b</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* 6, Tav. 4; cf. the fragments of a vase published *Ath. Mitth.* 1881, Taf. 4, on which we can detect the same scene.

cognate works, an achievement of the Attic art of the fifth century, made an important contribution to the development of the ideal conception of the two goddesses; for it emphasized the distinction, which was rarely expressed in the monuments of this period, between the more august and maternal form and pose of the mother and the younger and virginal type of Kore<sup>a</sup>.

The most striking example in free sculpture preserved to us from the age of Pheidias, of this ideal of the elder goddess, is the marble statue now in the Jacobsen collection at Copenhagen (Pl. XXVIII), which appears to be a Roman copy of an original of the great period of Attic religious art: Demeter is seated and draped majestically in Ionic diploidion and mantle across her knees, holding poppies and corn-ears in her left hand, with a crown above her forehead and a veil falling down behind her head. The expression appears benign, but it is difficult to say how far the copy has here preserved the character of the original. We can at all events discern in the whole figure the impress of the great style that appears in the sculpture of the Parthenon and that could imprint a profoundly religious aspect upon the works of this age. And the work has this further interest for us that we can regard the great Cnidian statue, the most perfect development of the Demeter-ideal, as in some sense a descendant from it<sup>b</sup>.

The Pheidian school then, we may be fairly certain, occupied itself with this theme; but as the original works have almost perished, we cannot estimate exactly how far they were able to work out a characteristic expression distinctive of the countenance of the goddess; or to determine whether it was they who imparted to it that look of benign brightness that

<sup>a</sup> This appears slightly but delicately indicated in the vase from Perugia published in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1370, Fig. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Helbig in *Führer*, no. 874, and Bloch in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1360 consider the Jacobsen statue to prove that the later Ludovisi head, which I have described in accordance with the common opinion as a head of Hera

(*Cults*, vol. 1, p. 239), really represents Demeter. The similarity between the two does not seem to me to prove identity of person; and even when we are dealing with Greek art of the fourth century it is not always possible to distinguish between a Demeter and a Hera when there is no external attribute to decide.

PLATE XXVIII







PLATE XXIX *a*



appears in certain terracotta images of this period found in Attica and elsewhere, one of the most typical of which is produced on Plate XXIX a<sup>a</sup>. We may surmise that this softer style aiming at a gentler and less austere effect commended itself rather to the handicraftsmen in clay modelling than to the great masters of this age in monumental marble and bronze<sup>b</sup>.

After all, for us at least, the highest achievement of the Hellenic imagination, so far as it was occupied in the fifth century with the forms of the two goddesses, is preserved by the coins rather than by the sculpture. It is specially the coinage of Kyzikos and in a still higher degree of perfection the medallions and tetradrachms of Syracuse that present us with the finest types. The Cyzicene electron stater published by Head<sup>c</sup> shows us a striking countenance of the mother-goddess wearing a coif on her head and apparently crowned with corn: the strong and broad treatment of the forms, the lines of the eyebrow, the outlines of chin and cheek, reveal the style of the great age, combined with a suggestion of gentleness in the pose of the head (Coin Pl. no. 9).

The study of the Syracusan coins that show us Demeter-Persephone is one of the most fascinating in the range of Greek numismatics; and while a full estimate of their artistic and historic value is beyond our present scope, they concern us intimately here as the religious memorials of a community devoted to the worship of these goddesses, and containing coin-engravers who surpassed their brethren of the craft throughout all Hellas in cunning delicacy of hand and perfection of achievement within the narrow limits of the art. These Syracusan types of this age, which are roughly contemporaneous, may be distinguished according as they present the type of the goddess of the early corn or the goddess of the harvest; but this distinction is not one between Demeter, the mother-deity of matronly forms and of expression deepened by experience, and the young virgin of the spring. The

<sup>a</sup> Bought by Lenormant at Eleusis and published in Henzey, *Terres cuites du Louvre*, Pl. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 221.

<sup>c</sup> *Hist. Num.* p. 451.

former ideal does not seem to have attracted the Syracusan engravers either of this or the later period; they chose only the type of the youthful goddess, Kore or Demeter-Chloe, and the changes of the seasons which she controlled are only expressed by the different texture of the crown which she wears. Thus Persephone of the harvest wears a garland of corn-spikes and ears on a striking tetradrachm, probably earlier than 409 B.C.<sup>a</sup>, which shows us a noble head of large style in the treatment of the features and with exuberant rendering of the hair (Coin Pl. no. 15): the artist is unknown, but we may trace the effects of this impressive work surviving in Syracusan coin-dies of a later period<sup>b</sup>. Another and independent example of the face of the harvest-goddess is the coin-type of Eumenes, of higher artistic merit but struck about the same time (Coin Pl. no. 16): the crown she wears here is woven of the autumn growths of field and wood and is identical with that on the coin of Phrygillos mentioned above; the hair is more severely treated than in the type just described and assists the impression of strength and firm character which the features convey. There is intellectual power stamped on the forehead and brow, but no benignity—rather a proud reserve—in the face. And in this respect the head of Eumenes has affinities with the work of his greater contemporary Euainetos.

The *chef-d'œuvre* of the latter artist is the engraving of the famous medallions that bear the signature Εὐαίνετον with the head of Persephone on the obverse and the four-horsed car with the flying Victory and the panoply on the reverse, commemorative in all probability of the triumph over the Athenians<sup>c</sup>. The type, of which an example from the British Museum is figured on Coin Pl. no. 17, has been till recently regarded as the master-achievement of Syracusan art and unrivalled perhaps by any other product of glyptic technique.

<sup>a</sup> Gardner, *Types*, Pl. 6. 19.

<sup>b</sup> e.g. the Syracusan coins of Pyrrhus and Agathocles (Coin Pl. no. 24).

<sup>c</sup> The chronology, historical significance, and artistic value of these coins

has been discussed with great acumen and appreciation by Dr. Arthur Evans in his treatise on 'the Syracusan Medallions and their Engravers.'



Its fame went far and wide, and it was borrowed for their coin-device by many Greek states and even by Carthage. The formal beauty of the countenance, the artistic fineness in the detail combined with a certain largeness of manner natural to the great age, justify the highest estimate of the work. As regards that which more immediately is the present concern, the aspect of the divinity which the artist wished to present, the same ideal of the earth-goddess possesses the artist as before: Kore is shown us in her fresh virginal beauty, without emotion in the face but with that touch of aloofness and reserve which is commonly seen in the divine types of the fifth century: and the crown she wears is the symbol not of harvest but of the promise of the spring, for it is woven of the waving blades of the young corn. The hair is bound up as in the work of Eumenes, in keeping with the maidenly severity of the whole; but certain locks are allowed to play freely as if the wind of spring were about her head.

In fact the medallion of Euainetos might stand for the perfect embodiment of the Greek maiden-goddess of the spring, were it not that the fortunate discovery made some years ago of a hoard on Mount Etna has revealed to us a sister-type even more remarkable for its beauty and execution. This is a medallion in the private possession of Dr. Evans, the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, figured on Coin Pl. no. 18, unique among the products of the engraver's art for its delicacy of execution and a certain daring of imagination. Its qualities have been so eloquently described, and its place in the numismatic history of Syracuse so critically determined by its possessor, that there is little that can be added here. He has convincingly shown that in spite of its salient resemblance to the type of Euainetos, it is the creation of an unknown and in some respects greater artist, to whom Euainetos was in a great measure indebted. There is the same ideal here as in the former work, but expressed with greater lightness and fineness of touch and with more of the freedom and fullness of life: the treatment of the hair is astonishing for the impression it conveys of the fanning of 'the meadow-gale in spring,' and the locks encircling the corn-stalks show us the artist rejoicing

in his power and the play of his fancy. Yet the character of the countenance is mainly the same as in the work of Euainetos: in spite of its surpassing loveliness it remains free from sensuousness, severe and pure. And there is something added to the characteristic pride in the expression; a touch of melancholy has been rightly detected in the drooping corners of the lips, as if the artist might have wished to hint at the other side of her destiny.

We find then that the art of the fifth century and especially the numismatic art created at last for Kore a type of virginal beauty, scarcely touched with emotion, severely perfect in form, and in a sense pagan—if such a word is ever in place—because it embodied for the imagination the physical glory of the earth more palpably than any of the forces of our moral and spiritual life.

By the end of this period and by the beginning of the fourth century a distinct type for the mother-goddess is gradually emerging. She is given usually the veil and the maturer forms proper to maternity, and the countenance is marked with emotion and the impress of experience. The full embodiment of the highest conception of her was reserved, as we shall see, for the sculpture of the younger Attic school, but corn-engraving, still a worthy rival of the greater arts, contributed its part. The small Lesbian 'hektæ' of the beginning of the fourth century have preserved an interesting representation of the veiled Demeter (Coin Pl. no. 19): the ample brow, large surface of cheek, and strong chin are inherited from the older style, but the deep-cut eyesockets and a certain maturity in the contours impart a special character to the face; there is a shadow upon it and yet a certain brightness proper to the corn-mother in the upturned gaze<sup>a</sup>. To nearly the same age belongs a striking coin-type of Lampsacos, showing a head which, in spite of the absence of the veil, we can recognize as Demeter rather than Persephone on account of the fullness of the features, the shadow thrown on the face by the deep

<sup>a</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, 19. 1; cf. head of Demeter with a markedly the Amphictyonic coin (Coin Pl. no. 13, benign and bright expression. B.C. 346, on which we see a veiled

cutting, and the expression of thought and experience (Coin Pl. no. 20).

But the coins have not yet shown to us that countenance of Demeter with which Clemens of Alexandria was familiar, the visage known to us ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς, by the touch of sorrow upon it. The earliest example of this trait which is very rarely found in the existing numismatic monuments is a small Cyzicene coin <sup>a</sup>, which shows the veiled head and the upturned visage with eye and mouth wrought so as to hint unmistakably at the suffering of the bereaved mother (Coin Pl. no. 21).

On the other hand, the daughter is usually characterized on the fourth-century coins by the fresh youthfulness of her features, sometimes by a certain exuberance of beauty, occasionally by a rich luxuriance of hair and a look of bright joyousness. A special and historically interesting series of coins of this period are those which follow the tradition of Euainetos. The influence of his creation is seen on the dies of the Locri Opuntii, of Pheneos and Messene (Coin Pl. nos. 22, 23, 10); but the forms are simplified, the minute gem-like delicacy of the original has disappeared, and the severity of expression is somewhat softened.

Another characteristic type of Persephone-head in the fourth century also bears affinity to an earlier Syracusan type, that namely of which an example has been given on Coin Pl. no. 15. What is specially distinctive here is the rich framework of hair that encases the whole countenance and flows down in waves upon the neck, giving a marked picturesque effect which is enhanced by the crown of corn. The coins of Agathocles and Pyrrhus struck at Syracuse show us the endurance of this art-form in its native place (Coin Pl. no. 24 Pyrrhus). But the most beautiful example of it is found on the fourth-century coins of Metapontum (Coin Pl. no. 25); this characteristic rendering of the hair is here in perfect accord with the exuberant charm of the face, in which the succulent freshness of youth is lit up with an inner brightness that attests the divinity. Nowhere among

<sup>a</sup> Published and well described by Prof. Gardner, *Types*, Pl. 10. 14, p. 174.

the monuments of the fourth century do we find any higher ideal of the spring-goddess than this.

But it would be wrong to give the impression that the numismatic artists of this period were always careful to distinguish—in such a manner as the above works indicate—between mother and daughter. The old idea of their unity of substance still seemed to linger as an art-tradition: the very type we have just been examining appears on a fourth-century coin of Hermione<sup>a</sup>, and must have been used here to designate Demeter Chthonia who was there the only form that the corn-goddess assumed. And even at Metapontum, where coin-engraving was long a great art, a youthful head crowned with corn, which in its own right and on account of its resemblance to the masterpiece of Euainetos could claim the name of Kore, is actually inscribed 'Damater'<sup>b</sup>.

Turning now to the monuments of plastic art, we find the record of the earlier part of the fourth century as silent as that of the fifth concerning a Demeter or a Kore wrought by any of the great masters in marble and bronze. We may surmise that the image of the benign and tender mother was in the mind of Kephissodotos when he carved his beautiful group of Eirene holding the infant; certainly it is thus that we should imagine the Attic Demeter of this generation, and indeed the form of Eirene is closely akin to the Eleusinian ideal of Demeter which has been already noticed<sup>c</sup>. But it is not till the period of Praxiteles that the record speaks clearly.

There is reason for supposing that the consummation of the ideal of these goddesses owes most to him and his school. At least three groups of the Eleusinian deities are ascribed to him by ancient writers, unless we allow the phantom of an elder Praxiteles to arise and claim the triad of Demeter, Kore, and Iacchos in the temple at Athens, where Pausanias saw the mysterious writing on the wall in 'Attic characters'<sup>143</sup>. In any case there is no reason for doubting the authenticity of the group of the mother and the daughter and Triptolemos in

<sup>a</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Peloponnese*, Pl. 7. 18 (in the Museum of Turin).  
30. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmyth., Münz-Taf.*

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, pp. 264, 265.

the Servilian Gardens at Rome<sup>a</sup>, or of his bronze representation of the rape of Proserpine, which must have contained at least two figures. To the same sentence in which Pliny mentions the latter work, he adds the mysterious words 'item Catagusam'<sup>b</sup>. Now *κατάγουσα* is one of those popular descriptive titles by which the Greek public often loved to designate a favourite monument; but its meaning in this place has been much disputed. If the work was a single statue, then we could be content with the interpretation which has been proposed and often accepted—'a spinning-girl'; but the context might seem to suggest some connexion with Persephone, and it is conceivable that Pliny's short-hand note contains a reference to two connected groups dealing with different parts of the Kore-legend<sup>c</sup>, one the violent abduction, the other the peaceful return of the goddess to the lower world, whither the mother, appeased and reconciled, leads her back with her own hand. Such a theme as the reconciliation of Demeter with the chthonian power might commend itself to the genius of Praxiteles, and would harmonize with the spirit of the Eleusinian faith: and the idea is revealed on the Hope vase mentioned above and on other monuments. But Pliny's text has been compiled with too great carelessness and disregard for relevance to allow us to feel secure concerning any interpretation of this phrase.

At least we are certain that the great sculptor worked in the service of this cult, which would be likely to attract him with the appeal of its plaintive story and with the charm of

<sup>a</sup> Plin. *N. H.* 36. 23.

<sup>b</sup> *N. H.* 34. 69 'fecit ex aere Praxiteles) Proserpinae raptum, item Catagusam.'

<sup>c</sup> Ulrich's *Observ. de arte Praxit.* p. 12 started the opinion, which has been accepted by some recent scholars, that *κατάγουσα* could designate Demeter 'bringing Persephone back from exile': certainly her sojourn in the shades might be called an exile, and the verb is used of the exile's return. But it would be most incongruous that such a word should be used for bringing

a person *up* from the Inferno; and the passages quoted in support of Ulrich's view are fatal to it; for instance, the return of Aphrodite to Eryx was celebrated by a festival called *καταγωγή*—Athenae, p. 395—because Aphrodite came back across the sea, and to put into land is *κατάγειν*—but the *καταγωγή* of Kore in Syracuse was celebrated in the autumn, when the goddess 'descends' into the lower world, and in regard to Kore in particular the word could have no other sense.

the world of nature that it reflected. The question, then, arises whether we can trace his handiwork or influence in any existing monument. We look in vain for any clear token of it among the crowd of Graeco-Roman figures that people our museums. But fortunately a few monuments have come down to us of actual fourth-century sculpture, and these deserve careful attention. One of these is a life-size terracotta head found by Dr. Evans<sup>a</sup> in the sanctuary of Persephone near Tarentum, and published by him. We see a strong and noble countenance, of full almost maternal forms, with some luxuriance of hair, but much reserve, even coldness, in the expression (Pl. XXIX b): we recognize the style of Magna Graecia in certain traits, but not a touch of Praxitelean hand or feeling. Nor is it easy to discover much trace of these in the fragments of a marble group found at Delos, now in the Central Museum at Athens, representing Plouton carrying off Kore from the midst of her nymphs. The surface of the fragments is too defaced to allow a sure judgment of the technique; but it is probably Attic work of the close of this century. There are no clearly Praxitelean features that we can recognize in the heads of the divinities, which are fortunately preserved<sup>b</sup>.

On the other hand, a head of Demeter from Lerna, of colossal size, in the museum at Argos, is reported to be an original work of the fourth century after the manner of Praxiteles<sup>c</sup>. But it is our own National Museum that contains images of the two goddesses that most clearly reflect the influence of the last great Attic sculptor. The one is a marble statuette of Kore found by Newton during his excavations at Budrun in the sanctuary of the Cnidian Demeter. The working of the surface is soft and warm, and the lines of the face and the rippling treatment of the hair recall the style of Praxiteles, though the forehead is a higher triangle than is seen in the

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1886, p. 30, Pl. 63.

<sup>b</sup> He has deep sunk eyes and a protruding forehead, traits proper to the character. Her face is a rather full oval, and her eye-sockets also are rather deep. Nor do the fragments of an Abduction-group from a pediment at

Eleusis throw any light on the Raptus Proserpinae of Praxiteles (*Eph. Arch.* 1893, Πίτ. 14).

<sup>c</sup> As far as one can judge from the publication, the expression is merely one of mild earnestness (Overbeck, *Atlas*, Taf. 14. 20).

PLATE XXIX *b*











Cnidian Aphrodite or Hermes. She holds the pomegranate in her right, and the unusually high kalathos on her head is the well-known emblem of fruitfulness. Her face is delicate and maidenly, but the veil that falls down the back of her head denotes the bride (Pl. XXX).

If anywhere outside Athens, the influence of Praxiteles would be strong at Knidos. And it was here that Newton found one of the masterpieces of Greek religious sculpture, the Cnidian Demeter, the only satisfying embodiment of the goddess in free sculpture that has come down to us from Hellenic times (Pl. XXXI). The mother-goddess is seated on her throne in a stately and reposeful attitude, her limbs fully draped in chiton and mantle, of which the lines and folds display the intricate treatment that came into fashion towards the close of the fourth century. The workmanship of the lower part of the statue is lacking in clearness and effect. It is in the head where the mastery lies. The character and story of Demeter are presented with a strange power of imagination in the face, where in the grace and sunny warmth of the countenance one seems to catch a glimpse of the brightness of the corn-field translated into personal forms. Yet the features bear the stamp of her life-experience, and the shadow of her sorrow is upon them like cloud blending with sunshine. To call her the *Madre Dolorosa* is only half the truth; she is also the incarnation of the fruitfulness and beauty of the earth. The face is Praxitelean chiefly in the sense that it is a great example of his mastery in selecting and portraying certain mental moods; but it differs in some features from what we know of his work. We might surmise that his sons were commissioned to execute it for Knidos after his death<sup>a</sup>.

For the purpose of this chapter the quest is at an end. The later works fall far short of the Cnidian, being either expressionless or selecting for expression one quality only, the

<sup>a</sup> There is some evidence that the Cnidian Demeter was famous enough to be copied in ancient times. The veiled head of Demeter in Lansdowne House, a good Graeco-Roman work, resembles it closely in pose and certain features

such as the very high forehead. A head in the British Museum from Dali in Cyprus is of the same type, but the cheerful expression in it is more pronounced.

benignity or the melancholy, of the goddess<sup>a</sup>. The Demeter of the British Museum and the Persephone of the Syracusan medallion remain the chief art-records of the significance of this religion for the Hellenic imagination, and both contribute to our own mental inheritance. We owe to Hellas the ideal in religious art of the mother and the maid.

<sup>a</sup> The Demeter-head of the mysterious Demophon is not so important as his Artemis, for its surface is far more damaged. The markings of the face show the maternal character, and the lines down the centre remind us of the

Cnidian: but the expression does not appear very profound, merely soft and benign. I am inclined to place the head later than the fourth century, in spite of Mr. Daniel's interesting article in the *Hellenic Journal*, 1904.

#### NOTE ON THE LAKRATEIDES-RELIEF (Pl. II).

The goddess is raising a lappet of her mantle over her shoulder like Demeter on the Attic relief mentioned p. 265 (Pl. XIV): on 'the god's' throne we see a sphinx supporting the arm which terminates in a ram's head. Chiefly for this reason M. Svoronos, in a long and elaborate argument, *Journ. Internat. Arch. Numism.* 1901, maintains that ἡ θεά and ὁ θεός are none other than Hygieia and Asclepios. I cannot find his arguments convincing. It is true that a Roman relief in the Central Museum at Athens, probably a faithful copy of the cult-statue of Asclepios by Thrasymedes at Epidaurus, shows a ram's head and a sphinx carved on the arm of the throne (Cavvadios, *Γλυπτά*, no. 174); but we know that much of the Asclepios type was borrowed from Zeus, and Thrasymedes may easily have taken this trivial decorative motive from some Zeus-type of Pheidian work; for the ram belongs *par excellence* to Zeus, and is rarely found in the ritual of Asclepios; and the sphinx on the throne of Asclepios is obviously borrowed from the throne of Zeus. Again, on the famous scene on the Kertsch vase (Pl. XXIa), we see a god enthroned above on the right, much in the pose of the Zeus on the Parthenon frieze (whom no one doubts but M. Svoronos), and his commanding position in the scene and the victory flying just before him constrain us to call him Zeus, and here again we see both the sphinx and the ram's head, the latter perhaps alluding to the ram-sacrifice associated with Zeus Meilichios at Eleusis. But M. Svoronos insists that this Kertsch



PLATE XXXI



figure also is Asclepios. If the artist intended this, why did he try to deceive his public? For as the vase is earlier than the work of Thrasymedes at Epidaurus (circ. 370 B.C.), a ram's head as an ornament was not likely to suggest Asclepios to any one. We should require a serpent or a hound at least. On the other hand, it is *a priori* most improbable that in the great Athenian inscription<sup>180</sup>, which cannot be later than 421 B.C., Asclepios and Hygieia should have already won their way into a prominent place in the Eleusinian ritual, and already be receiving tribute from the allies: when we know that the Epidaurian God only came to Athens—first in a private way—about 420 B.C. And when they came, they were not vague nameless deities (such as the θεός ξενικός of the old Attic inscription, *C. I. A.* 1, 273, a deity whose name was unknown or forgotten): nor was there any mysterious reason why the Athenians should avoid pronouncing their names: on the contrary we know that they were at once officially called 'Asclepios' and 'Hygieia' both at Athens and Eleusis, and were always so called down to the end of paganism (vide *Πρακτικά*, 1898, p. 87, shrine of Asclepios at Eleusis with dedications from the latter part of the fifth century ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΙ). And M. Svoronos appears wrong in saying that Asclepios was ever styled at Athens θεός ὑψίστος vaguely: none of these inscriptions 'to the highest god' at Athens were found in the Asclepieion: though they commemorate cures, it is obvious that they were set up to Zeus (τῷ ὑψίστῳ Δεῖ occurs), and one of them was inscribed on a column above which was an eagle (*C. I. A.* 3, 102<sup>a</sup>, b; 132<sup>a-k</sup>, 1, 148). The worship of ἡ θεά and ὁ θεός survived at Athens till the time of Hadrian, and never touched Asclepios: the banquet-relief at Eleusis shows no necessarily 'Asklepian' trait. Only ὁ θεός and Asclepios both derive their forms in art from Zeus. It may be added that it is dangerous to base any argument concerning personality on the throne-ornament of the ram's head: it probably belongs to the mere tradition of decoration, for we find it with the sphinx employed in the same way on the thrones of the sacred females on the Harpy-tomb, having no more inner meaning than the swan's head carved on the back of one of the thrones or the Triton under the arm of the throne of the male figure there. The most recent and satisfactory account of the whole Lakrateides-relief is by Heberdey in the *Festschrift für Benndorf*, p. 111, Taf. IV.

## CHAPTER V

### CULT OF THE GOD OF THE LOWER WORLD

ALTHOUGH this worship is among the minor phenomena of Greek polytheism and never attained any great significance for Hellenic religious history or civilization, yet some questions of interest arise concerning it, and some facts of importance may emerge. The discussion and exposition of them can be brief in the present state of our knowledge. The citations and other kinds of evidence collected below suffice to show that the god of the lower world was worshipped over a wide area of the Hellenic world, appearing under various forms and names, as Plouton or Plouteus, Zeus Chthonios, Zeus *Εὐβουλεύς*, with whom Zeus Meilichios had affinity, as Zeus *Σκοτίας*, Klymenos, Trophonios, and, very rarely, Hades<sup>a</sup>. But it would be going beyond the evidence to maintain at once that his worship was a common inheritance of all the Hellenic stocks. Some of these cults may, for all we know, have been of late origin, and Eleusinian influence may have been responsible for some; for we have seen reason to believe that there was an ancient Plouton-cult and Ploutoneion at Eleusis, and that Eubouleus was one of his synonyms there; and we may suppose that these appellatives were grafted thence upon the ritual of other Greek states. The consideration of the names is of some value. Homer knows the nether god as *Ἄϊδης*, the brother of Zeus, the husband of Persephone, and in some sense a god of vengeance, who sends up the Erinyes in answer to the

<sup>a</sup> Vide Zeus, R. 20. 55-61.



prayer of the wronged father or mother<sup>a</sup>, and the germ of a moral idea that might develop and fructify is latent here. In one passage only the name Ζεὺς Καταχθόνιος is applied to him, and a theological view of some importance is revealed, which appears again in the Hesiodic formula of 'Zeus χθόνιος.' And in the theology of Hesiod this 'nether Zeus' is not merely the grim lord of the dead, but the beneficent god of fruitfulness to whom, as to Demeter, the husbandman will pray for a rich harvest. The religious significance of the title is then the same as attaches to 'Trophonios,' the 'nourishing' god who lives below the earth in a realm of ghostly terror, and yet is a mantic healer and the fruitful power of life, or to 'Plouton,' whose name first appears in the pages of the Attic dramatists, but was probably heard at Eleusis<sup>14</sup> long before the Attic drama arose<sup>b</sup>. Now in the older stage of religion, owing to the magic power of 'nominalism,' a god or the concept of a god could develop under one name and not under another. For some reason the name 'Hades' remained barren, a word of taboo or teratology, of no avail for the kindlier purposes of worship. It is specially noticed by Pausanias—and the evidence we possess confirms his statement—that nowhere in the Greek world was 'Hades' worshipped, except in Elis, where there were mythic reasons given why he should be honoured under this name<sup>21</sup>. And the Elean worship was surrounded with mystery and awe: the temple was only opened once in the year, nor might any enter save the priest.

It is not hard to account for these facts. It was natural to Greek superstition, as has been already observed, to avoid the mention, wherever possible, of the personal names of the chthonian powers and to substitute for them appellatives which were generally euphemistic. Or a name which might pass muster in poetry or in ordinary talk might be useless as a spell to conjure with in prayer, if it connoted nothing good.

<sup>a</sup> Demeter, R. 110: Zeus, R. 59.

<sup>b</sup> Rubensohn regards the Eleusinian worship in the Ploutonion as 'der erste Ausgangspunkt des Eleusinischen Kultus' and—down to late times—as 'der

Mittelpunkt des lokalen Kultus,' *Athen. Mitth.* 1899, p. 49; cf. his *Heiligtümer von Eleusis*, pp. 60–61: the reasons for this extreme view are not convincing, vide supra, pp. 137, 138.

And the name 'Hades' was one of this sort. Probably the oldest name of the nether god that was accepted generally by the Greek tribes—and hence predominant in the oldest poetry—it was felt to be inefficacious and ill-omened, as the logic of spell-ritual and of prayer developed: perhaps because of that very poetry of Homer's in which it was invested with associations of gloom, or still more because of its original meaning, if we believe, as we have a right, that it meant 'the unseen one<sup>a</sup>.' Obviously a ritual-name so uncanny as the 'unseen' had no such fructifying force for those who were praying for crops or a favourable sign as names like Plouton or Eubouleus<sup>39</sup>. Nor would it be likely to be cherished by the mysteries which aimed at brightening the conception of death and of the world beyond death. The name 'Hades' then remained efficacious only in the ritual of imprecation, and in the popular religious phraseology marked the inexorable god of stern justice and posthumous vengeance<sup>38</sup>. The terror he inspired was averted by the devices of euphemism<sup>b</sup>, and later by absorbing him in brighter deities such as Dionysos.

Such being a short sketch of the facts, a question of some interest for comparative religion presents itself. Did the various Greek tribes bring with them into Hellas the conception already matured and traditional of a male divinity who was the ruler of the nether world? This hypothesis is quite possible, but the evidences from other cognate races does not seem to corroborate it<sup>c</sup>, nor can we trace back the conception of an Inferno to the Indo-Germanic period; while some of the races, both Aryan and non-Aryan, that have possessed it imagined a queen of the dead<sup>d</sup>, 'die Hel' in the Teutonic north, Allatu at Babylon, rather than a king. Nor in the

<sup>a</sup> The suggestion that the word meant 'the earth-god' or 'Zeus in the earth,' from *ai-îths* (*ala*) (vide Mr. Cook in *Class. Rev.* 1902, p. 172), fails to account for the bad omen of the name and philologically is not convincing.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *supra*, pp. 144, 145.

<sup>c</sup> No god of the nether world appears in the Vedic-Iranian religion (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 169, 'Yama' the

chief of the blessed dead, a celestial, not a Chthonian power, p. 171), nor in the Teutonic (Golther, *Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie*, p. 471).

<sup>d</sup> Nergal the god associates himself with Allatu (vide Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyl. Assy.* vol. 1, p. 473): but Allatu appears to have been prior (vide King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 37).

legend or personality of Hades can we discover any clues pointing to an aboriginal connexion with northern or middle Europe<sup>a</sup>. For it is probably illusory to interpret Hades κλυτόπωλος as a Greek equivalent of 'death as the rider.' Hades was no god of horses like Poseidon, nor did he habitually ride after his prey, though he once carried off Persephone in his chariot; the horse in Greek mythology does not seem to have possessed always a 'chthonian' significance<sup>b</sup>; the 'great god,' a reverential title of Plouton on the coins of Adessus, is not necessarily connected with the Thracian rider<sup>c</sup> who appears as another type on the coins of that state<sup>2</sup>; finally, there is no sign in early Greek legend or superstition that the dead were supposed to ride along the road to the lower world. In spite of recent attempts at explanation, the origin of the epithet κλυτόπωλος remains doubtful; the traditional view that the god was called 'famous for his steeds,' just as Pindar styles him χρυσήμιος, 'the lord of the golden reins,' because he carried off Persephone in a stately chariot, is not convincing, but is as good as any that has been offered.

On the other hand, if we suppose that the cult-figure of Hades was an independent product that developed on Greek soil after the Hellenic settlement, we may consider the causes to which its growth and diffusion were due. We can hardly seek these in ancestor-worship, which gave rise to such personages as Aiakos and Minos, the judges of the dead, or Amphiaraios or Zeus-Agamemnon, chthonian hero-powers of certain localities, but never sufficiently free from the local ties to become national high gods. Hades was no ancestor, and the Greek genealogies severely leave him alone<sup>d</sup>. Or did the

<sup>a</sup> We may believe that the 'Tarnkappe' = the Ἄϊδος κυνέη, the cap of darkness; but it is no special perquisite of Hades. On the other hand, the Greek Cerberus appears to have travelled up into Teutonic lands (Golther, op. cit. p. 473).

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, pp. 59-61: Stengel, *Archiv. Religionswissensch.* 1905, supposes Hades to have acquired this

epithet from the close association of the horse with the departed hero.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *Jahrbuch d. d. Inst.* 1898, p. 162.

<sup>d</sup> The Klymenos in the Minyan-Neleid genealogies shows no trace of a Hades in disguise: the name is a very obvious one, and might be expected to recur in different localities (vide Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v.).

nether god arise originally spontaneously out of nature-worship as a god of fruitfulness, the supporter of the life that springs from below the soil, *φερέσβιος* as perhaps Empedocles calls him<sup>a</sup>? The buried ancestor Erechtheus, or any departed hero, naturally becomes a fructifying power; and the Mycenaean period probably possessed certain male divinities of vegetation such as Hyakinthos and Eunostos. But these seem to have been sporadic cult-phenomena due to local and special causes. And the evidence of the name Hades, if the interpretation accepted above is correct, suggests that the aspect under which Homer presents him is the earlier, and that it was not in the character of Plouton, but as the lord of the dead, that he first emerged.

He might have arisen as the mere male counterpart to Demeter-Persephone, as the husband of the earth-goddess, to fill a gap in the social theological system, in accord with the patriarchic trend of Greek polytheism. And certainly in some cult-centres, such as Eleusis, and again at Hermione, where as Klymenos, 'the Famous One,' he figured as the brother of Chthonia and the husband of Kore, he seems to have occupied a subordinate position as a secondary god<sup>b</sup>. But this was not necessarily the case elsewhere; at Elis, for instance, he existed in cult, not as the shadow-husband, but as an independent and isolated power.

It is more probable that in the pre-Homeric, perhaps in the aboriginal Hellenic, period the personality of Hades emerged as the counterpart of Zeus himself<sup>c</sup>. Some belief in a world of souls, some concern for the life after death, even

<sup>a</sup> Hera, R. 14<sup>a</sup>. In the verse that Plutarch quotes it is doubtful if *φερέσβιος* is an epithet of Hera—whom Empedocles regards as the personification of the air—or of Aidoneus.

<sup>b</sup> Demeter, R. 34: it is probable that the Klumenos in the Argive story, told by Parthenios c. 13 from Euphorion, who commits incest with his daughter Harpalyke, and whose son is cooked by her in a sacrifice, has arisen from a forgotten Hades-cult contaminated with

Orphic-Zagreus elements.

<sup>c</sup> Even in the Mycenaean age the Egyptian cult of Osiris—who as male divinity of the lower world and as judge of the dead has a close resemblance to Hades—may have influenced Hellenic belief. The evolution of the Assyrian Nergal appears to have been similar to that of Hades; originally a god of the dead, he becomes a god of fertility and beneficent, according to Jastrow, op. cit. 1, p. 473.

direct ancestor-worship, must be ascribed to the early 'Mycenaean' age, nor would such an age be lacking in theological speculation. And as the living had their high god, so the religious need would be felt of a high god for the world of souls; and as Zeus ruled above, so a shadow of Zeus might rule below. The same deity could be made by the invocative power of appellatives to serve different and even contradictory purposes; the sky-god changes his nature by means of the ritual word *καταχθόνιος*; and the invocation of him by the shy and reverential name of 'the unseen one' must have been very early, as evidently before the time of Homer the name 'Hades' has lost its original appellative force and has acquired the stability of a concrete personal name.

This evolution of Hades from Zeus would be the easier and more natural, if already the latter had acquired something of the character of an earth-god by his functions in the domain of vegetation; and there are strong reasons for believing that he had already begun to take over these in a very early period of Hellenic religion<sup>a</sup>. And that this was actually the origin of the nether god is strongly confirmed by *a posteriori* evidence; by the Homeric phrase *Zeus Καταχθόνιος*, by the cults of Zeus Trophonios, Zeus Meilichios, and Zeus Chthonios and Eubouleus, many of them having the air of great antiquity and established independently in many centres, finally by the occasional identification of the buried ancestor—Amphiaraos, Agamemnon—who became a chthonian power with Zeus himself. On the other hand, we have two such phenomena as the grouping of Plouton and Hera near Byzantium<sup>5</sup>, and

<sup>a</sup> Vide series of articles by Mr. Cook, in *Class. Rev.* 1903 and onwards, on 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak'; it is not easy to agree with all his deductions or his estimate of each part of the complex evidence, but his main thesis that in the earliest period Zeus was more than a mere sky-god and tended to acquire the character of a vegetative and chthonian power is on the whole fairly established. On the other hand, such an hypothesis

as that put forward by Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, pp. 13-28), that, for example, the cult of Zeus Meilichios arose from the supplanting of an older autochthonous Meilichios by the later Zeus, fails to explain why or how the sky-god became an usurping nether god; and the philological probabilities are against this view, as *Μελιχίος* is a word of later growth than Zeus within the same language.

Hades and Athena at Koroneia<sup>12</sup>, the nether god taking the place of Zeus in such associations. And even if the emergence of Hades were independent of all these facts and followed a path we cannot track, the facts remain of value in the history of religion. As was shown in a former chapter, they exhibit the early trend of Greek religious thought in the direction of monotheism. Further, they prove that the contrast between the upper and nether powers in this religion, though it existed and had sometimes to be reckoned with, was not pushed to the violent extremes of theologic dualism: the lord of life becomes in some sense lord of death, and Zeus transcends the ancient limitations of departmental nature-worship.

The artistic representations of the nether god have already been incidentally noticed in a former chapter<sup>a</sup>: nor is any minute study of the monuments, which are comparatively few, of necessity here. We find in these, as in the cults, that the name 'Hades' was carefully avoided: it appears only on the two sepulchral wall-paintings of Orvieto and Corneto, in both of which the form is more repellent than in pure Hellenic art, the Etruscan artist representing him with a cap of a wolf's or a dog's muzzle and holding a spear encircled with a serpent<sup>b</sup>. The Greek vase-painters, whose works are the chief representations of this theme that have come down to us from the earlier periods of art, show us the type of the beneficent god of fruits, Plouton with the cornucopia, rather than the gloomy features of the god of the dead, and only hinted occasionally at the underworld aspect of him by such a trait as the massed and overhanging hair, which on the Volci vase in the British Museum is characteristically painted white (Pl. XXXIIa). His close affinity to Zeus is expressed not merely by dignity of figure and pose, but more especially by the eagle which appears not infrequently as his attribute, usually surmounting his sceptre<sup>c</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. I, p. 105; vol. 3, pp. 222, 224, 225, 257, 276.

<sup>b</sup> Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, pp. 1807-8; *Mon. d. Inst.* 9, Tav. 15: the serpent is the usual symbol of the nether world and was attached to many chthonian powers, Zeus, Meilichios, Asclepios, the

local heroes; but Greek art rarely used it as a badge of Hades-Plouton: the Cerberus by the side of the statue of Hades in the Villa Borghese is encircled by a serpent (see Roscher, I, p. 1803; Helbig, *Führer*, 935).

<sup>c</sup> Vase of Ruvo in Karlsruhe-Winne-



a



b





and on one vase-painting placed on the top of his cap<sup>a</sup>. On a vase that is earlier in style than any of these we have the remarkable example of a Zeus-Trinity that includes Hades, which has been noticed in a former volume<sup>b</sup>. And the same idea, though expressed with less insistence on the identity of personality, is found on the vase of Xenocles, where the three brothers are represented in animated converse, and Hades is distinguished by no attribute at all, but merely by the gesture of the averted head; and we may accept the explanation that this is an expression in art-language of the name of the 'unseen' who hides his face (Pl. XXXII b). The latest art-record of this simple and natural conception of a trinity of brothers is perhaps a late coin of Mitylene of the imperial period, showing us the three side by side, and the inscription θεοὶ ἀκραίου Μυτιληναίου<sup>22</sup>: but it is unsafe to read theological dogma into this, for the type may have arisen from the casual juxtaposition of their three temples on the Acropolis, or on the heights above the sea<sup>c</sup>. However, in the dedication found at Mitylene to

feld, no. 388 (published Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 1810): *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, vol. 4, F. 332: *Vasensammlung zu Petersburg*, no. 426 (the eagle sometimes painted white); cf. the statuette in the British Museum, vol. 1, Pl. 1 c.

<sup>a</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, vol. 4, F. 277.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 1, p. 104, Pl. I. b: the genuineness of this vase has been doubted: vide Roscher, *op. cit.* 1, p. 1799.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Cook, in *Class. Rev.* 1904, p. 76, is over-rash in tracing this triple cult back to a pre-historic Argive-Lycian Zeus-Trinity. He finds the same trinity in the three male figures enthroned on the Harpy-tomb, *ib.* p. 74. But it seems idle to draw religious deductions from this mysterious monument, until one can find ground for a decision whether the male and female personages there receiving offerings from the women and from the warrior are the deities of the lower world or the heroic ancestors of the

family: the question remains open in spite of Milchhöfer's attempt (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 53) to prove that they cannot be divinities: one does not see why the Greeks who habitually placed images of divinities in graves should never venture to carve them in relief outside: on the other hand, the arguments in favour of the 'hero-worship' theory are strong, and we know such worship was rife in Lycia. It is certainly tempting to detect Demeter and Kore in the seated personages on the west-front, though we have no proof of their worship at this early date at Xanthos (vide Demeter, *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Lycia*). But if we believe the seated male to be a divinity, a chthonian or other trinity is a hazardous assumption here; for the multiplication of the figures may well be merely a convention of art-language; the same divinity may be intended on each of the three sides of the tomb, though he appears once without his beard. Meantime we may doubt if a Greek god

'Zeus the all-seeing, to Plouton, and to Poseidon, the gods of all salvation,' set up by a lady in gratitude for a safe voyage, we may discern dimly the idea of a divine One-in-Three: for having mentioned the Three, she adds 'that she was saved by the Providence of God <sup>a</sup>.'

The personality of the nether god was strengthened, as we have seen, in Magna Graecia, and the art-type modified, by his fusion with Dionysos. In the Hellenistic period the cult received a further stimulus from Alexandria and the establishment of the worship of Sarapis by the first or second Ptolemy as the religious bond of his Graeco-Egyptian kingdom <sup>4</sup>. The records of this cult and the question concerning the authorship of the cult-image lie beyond our present limits. It may suffice to note that though the name Sarapis is probably Egyptian, the monuments of the worship, which spread itself over a large area of the ancient civilized world, and only in the fourth century of our era yielded in the struggle with Christianity, are entirely Greek; and some of them may reproduce features of the original statue that Ptolemy introduced from Sinope or Antioch. The attributes, such as the calathos Cerberus eagle cornucopia, are derived from the monumental tradition of Hades-Plouton and Zeus the nether god; while the mildness joined with melancholy that we detect in some of the better busts may descend from the original cult-image and accords with the refined conception of the more advanced Greek world concerning the god of death <sup>40</sup>.

would keep a small bear under his throne. The precise significance of the Harpy-tomb we may never know: in the main a Hellenic work, its general

religious value lies in its illustration of the belief in the correlation of birth and death.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Poseidon, R. s. v. Lesbos.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CULTS OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS AND RHEA-CYBELE

THE primitive earth-goddess has been discovered in various parts of the Hellenic world, under various forms and names; and there still remain certain worships that claim a brief consideration, consecrated to a name of some potency once on Greek soil and of abiding interest in the history of religion, 'the Mother,' 'the Great Mother,' or 'the Mother of the Gods.' We find her cult occurring sporadically about the Greek mainland, and of considerable importance and some antiquity in Boeotia <sup>16</sup>, Athens <sup>19</sup>, and Arcadia <sup>26</sup>, while Akriai in South Laconia boasted to possess her oldest temple <sup>25</sup>. Her divinity was prominent in the Attic state church; for besides an altar dedicated to her in the Agora <sup>19c</sup>, she possessed a temple in the Kerameikos near the council-hall, which came to be used as a record office of the state-archives <sup>19b, e</sup>; a festival was held in her honour, in which she received a cereal oblation called ἡ Γαλαξία, a sort of milk-porridge <sup>19a</sup>. We have also some traces of her cult outside the ancient limits of the city; at least we hear of a 'Mother-temple at Agrai,' and of 'the Mother in Agrai,' and her images—not apparently of the earliest period—have been found in the cave of Vari on Hymettus <sup>a</sup>. We have nothing that suggests a late date for the introduction of her worship into Attica; only, under this name at least, it does not seem to have belonged to the aboriginal religion; the earliest monument that we possess of

<sup>1</sup> Vide Apollo, R. 20.

the Attic cult, a terracotta figure of the goddess with a lion in her lap, a work of the sixth century B.C., is no trustworthy chronological datum, for it may have been an object of import<sup>19m</sup>. Finally we may remark, what will appear of importance, that she was indifferently styled in common Attic speech 'the Mother' or 'the Mother of the Gods'<sup>19b, n</sup>.

From Boeotia we have clear evidence of the recognition of 'the Mother' or 'the Mother of the Gods' in some of the leading cities<sup>16-18</sup>, but we cannot follow it back under this name to a date earlier than the fifth century B.C.; it is Tanagra<sup>18b</sup> so far that has bequeathed us the earliest monument. At Corinth the temple of the 'Mother of the Gods' on the slope of the Acropolis is described by Pausanias, who mentions also in his account of this state a *τελετή Μητρος*, 'a mystic service of the Mother,' with which Hermes the ram-bearer was in some way connected, but the context and the phrase are too obscure for precise information<sup>21</sup>.

The cult was more prominent in Arcadia<sup>26</sup>, and we have reason for believing in its great antiquity here, for it was associated on Mount Azanion with the worship of the mythic ancestor Azan<sup>a</sup>. She was also honoured with a shrine by the sources of the Alpheios, where two lions were carved as her temple-warders<sup>25d</sup>, giving to the place the name of the 'lions' ford'; and along the banks of this river on the way to Elis there appears to have existed a very primitive and rustic cult of Heracles and the Greek 'Mother of the Gods,' in which a prophetess gave oracles to the folk of the country-side<sup>b</sup>. Coming into Elis we find an altar and a temple erected not earlier than the fourth century, dedicated to this divinity under this special name<sup>27</sup>: and some cymbals of ancient bronze technique discovered at Olympia, though apparently consecrated to the temple of Zeus, may have been associated with the ritual of the 'Mother'<sup>c</sup>.

We need not for the present follow this cult-appellative further through its other settlements in Greece and the islands,

<sup>a</sup> Vide Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* *Chrys. Or.* 1, p. 59 R.

4. 292.

<sup>c</sup> *Bronzen von Olympia, Text*, p. 70.

<sup>b</sup> Vide the long narrative in *Dio*.

but at once consider the question that naturally arises. Who is this Great Mother, who is also called in cult and in secular speech the 'Mother of the Gods'? Were she only called 'the mother,' we might be content with regarding her as a vague aspect of the earth-goddess viewed from her maternal side<sup>a</sup>, and we might believe her to have originated in that stratum of religion which gave birth to such immature personal forms as the 'corn-mother'; and we might raise the theory of nameless 'Pelagic' divinities. In fact we might be satisfied with the hypothesis that various settlements in prehistoric Greece may have just worshipped a local divine 'Mother,' about whom no more could be said. But more is to be said about this particular 'Mother,' for she also enjoyed the style of the 'Mother of the Gods,' ἡ Μεγάλη Μήτηρ and Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν being inseparable titles of one personality. Now this latter appellation is of far greater importance, for, like the Christian ἡ θεοτόκος, it implies a dogma. It also implies a fixed religious system, no amorphous world of vague and unrelated *numina*, but a plurality of definite divinities grouped according to some principle of correlation. Such a grouping would arise, for instance, when a number of kindred tribes, having already attained to an advanced anthropomorphic religion, were drawn into closer relations, or were obliged to take over certain indigenous deities of an earlier and perhaps conquered race: the need for systematization would make itself felt, and the priest or the poet would be at hand to supply it. It may well have been under such circumstances that Zeus, for instance, was affiliated to Kronos, the fading divinity of an older race of men than those to whom the leading Olympians belonged. Who then among the pre-Hellenic or proto-Hellenic goddesses was likely to acquire the august position of the θεῶν Μήτηρ? We may be fairly certain that she would be one of the many shapes of the earth-goddess, if not Gaia herself, for the affinity

<sup>a</sup> Various goddesses of the polytheistic system might occasionally be called Μήτηρ: Athena for instance (Athena, R. 66), and Demeter at Kyzikos (Demeter, R. 55), and possibly at Agrai, though I think it more probable that this Μήτηρ

ἐν Ἄγραϊς is the mother of the gods: cf. the cult of the 'Meteres' or Cretan 'nurse-mothers,' R. 38°. Vide article on 'Meter' by Drexler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. 2.

of the Μεγάλη Μήτηρ with the earth is amply attested<sup>a</sup>. But it is clear from the cults and the religious genealogy that Gaia or Ge was not under this name actually identified with her, though the poets may have occasionally used language suggestive of such a belief<sup>b</sup>. Nor, again, was Demeter wholly, though her personality and her very name brought her into the closest relations with the θεῶν Μήτηρ, and the two were often associated intimately in cult and in the vague syncretism of the poets<sup>b</sup>. We may suppose that Demeter's family-legend and personality had become crystallized in the Greek belief before the necessity of finding room in the system for a mother of the gods had arisen. Our earliest genealogist, Homer, regards no single goddess as the θεῶν Μήτηρ in the full application of the term; in one passage<sup>c</sup> he speaks vaguely of ocean as the source whence the gods sprung, as the θεῶν γένεσις, and of 'mother Tethys his spouse'; yet in the same context he shows that he regards Rhea as the mother of Hera, as elsewhere he speaks of her as the mother of Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades<sup>d</sup>. Hesiod, who gives the Cretan legend in full, enlarges the family of Rhea, giving her Hestia and Demeter for her children as well as the former four<sup>e</sup>, but we are not aware that he used the term θεῶν Μήτηρ as a personal appellation. The first example in actual literature of this use is the fragment of the Homeric hymn<sup>1</sup>, in which the religious conception is pantheistic and the unnamed goddess is regarded as the source of all life, human and divine, but the description is picturesque and precise, and exactly answers to the contemporary or at least the later ideal of Rhea. Then from the fifth century onwards the three names, the Mother of the Gods or Great Mother, Rhea, Cybele, are used indistinguishably in the literature to denote one divine personality, and we may suspect that the cult-ideas attaching to the various shrines and altars of the Μήτηρ θεῶν were influenced by this fusion. The alien element that infuses itself into the Greek worship of the Great Mother

<sup>a</sup> Vide Ge, R. 28 Γῆ Μήτηρ at Erythrai: Ge is called ἡ Μεγάλη θεά at Phlye, Ge, R. 16<sup>d</sup>: cf. Rhea-Cybele, R. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Vide R. 55 and Demeter, R. 7.

<sup>c</sup> *Il.* 14. 201.

<sup>d</sup> 15. 187.

<sup>e</sup> *Theog.* 453.

will be considered shortly; but the primary question must be first discussed whether this identification of Rhea with the  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$   $M\eta\tau\eta\rho$  of the Greek mainland is an original fact explaining the religious dogma expressed by the title, or whether it is one of those later syncretisms so common in all polytheistic religions. Modern theory seems to incline to the latter view<sup>a</sup>, and to distinguish between an aboriginal Hellenic  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$   $M\eta\tau\eta\rho$  and the Creto-Phrygian Rhea-Cybele. But if this view is correct, the former personage with her dogmatic appellative remains an unsolved mystery. To test it, we must consider the facts of the Rhea-cult outside Crete. And what strikes us first is that the name 'Rhea' itself was apparently not much in vogue in the official cult-language. The oldest religious archive that contains it is an inscription from Ithaka of the sixth century B.C.<sup>30</sup>; but in early times the Arcadians seem to have appropriated the story of the birth of Zeus and the worship of Rhea, which we find on Mount Lykaion and on Mount Thaumasion near Methydriion<sup>26f, g</sup>. The name of Rhea is well attested for both these cults, and the latter at least, where the sacred shrine was a cave into which none but women might enter, is not likely to have been a late importation<sup>b</sup>. At Athens a joint temple of Rhea and Kronos stood in the temenos of Zeus Olympios<sup>19</sup>, where Ge also enjoyed honour; and Rhea's cult is well attested at Kos<sup>37</sup> and Olympia<sup>27</sup>, and possibly existed at an early period at Byzantium<sup>40</sup>. These statistics of Rhea-worship are very scanty, and though the record that has come to us is probably incomplete, we can conclude that the goddess under this name did not play a very prominent part in Hellenic religion. We find also that at Athens and Olympia at least her shrines and altars were distinct from those of the  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$   $M\eta\tau\eta\rho$ ; and hence the conclusion has been drawn<sup>c</sup> that they were originally two distinct personages. But such an argument is fallacious. The power of the divine name was transcendent in ancient

<sup>a</sup> So, for instance, Rapp in his article on Cybele, Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1660. Showerman, in his recent treatise on the worship of Cybele and the great mother, is not explicit.

<sup>b</sup> As regards the shrine on the other

mountain, it is not clear from the words of Callimachus<sup>26f</sup> whether women were forbidden altogether or only pregnant women.

<sup>c</sup> e. g. by Rapp, loc. cit.

religion; the same divinity, with two different appellatives, would demand two altars, and appellatives were always liable to detach themselves from their owner and evolve a new cult-personage. Thus, if the Greeks found in Crete a great mother-goddess called Rhea, to whom in their desire to adopt her into their system they affiliated Zeus and others of their Olympian group, her cult could easily pass forth to other Greek communities, trailing with it sometimes the name 'Ρέα, sometimes the title ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, or simple ἡ Μήτηρ.

And that something like this actually happened we may be inclined to believe when we weigh certain facts in the ancient records that are sometimes overlooked. The cult of the θεῶν Μήτηρ on the Greek mainland is by no means very widely extended, and it is imbedded in just those localities where we have clear proofs of Cretan influence. In South Laconia, which boasted to possess at Akriai the oldest temple of the mother of the gods, the traces of the Cretan religion were fairly numerous<sup>a</sup>. At Olympia<sup>27</sup> we have the ancient legend of Kronos, that gave its name to the hill above the Altis, and the worship of the Idaean Dactyli and the Kouretes for proofs of early Cretan association<sup>b</sup>. In Arcadia the story of Rhea was widely diffused<sup>c</sup>, though it did not apparently touch the actual cult of the 'Mother of the Gods'; and it is probable that Heracles came to be associated with her on the Alphios owing to his curious affinity with the Idaean Dactyli, which explains also his association with Demeter at Mykalessos in Boeotia<sup>d</sup>. The Arcadians may have had direct relations with Crete<sup>e</sup>, or Cretan myths and cults may have filtered through into the country by the valley of the Alpheios. As regards Attica, its close prehistoric connexion with Crete is reflected, as we have seen, in many cults and legends; the cereal oblation in the

<sup>a</sup> Britomartis, vide Artemis, R. 131<sup>d</sup>; Pasiphae, Aphrodite, R. 103; cf. Apollo, R. 34<sup>d</sup>, Apollo Delphinios in Laconia.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Paus. 5. 4, 6; 5. 14, 9. The Cretan symbol of the double-axe has been found at Olympia, apparently in connexion with the worship of Zeus.

<sup>c</sup> At Phigaleia, Paus. 8. 41, 2; Tegæa,

8. 47, 3; Arne, 8. 8, 2.

<sup>d</sup> Demeter, R. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Evans, 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult,' *Iell. Journ.* 1901, p. 129; Immerwahr in his *Kulte u. Mythen Arkadiens*, p. 213, &c. denies Cretan influences in Arcadia, but without criticism of the whole question.



ritual of the Mother may have been derived from old Cretan ritual. In Boeotia the figures of Demeter Europa at Lebadeia and of the Idaean Heracles at Mykalessos <sup>a</sup> are cult-tokens of a Cretan strain in a land where evidence has also been gathered of the existence of the mysterious Cretan script <sup>b</sup>; and the story of Rhea and the divine birth was rife in the country, for instance at Plataea <sup>c</sup> and Chaeronea <sup>d</sup>. Finally, we have recent evidence from Epidauros of the coincidence of the Mother and the Cretan Kouretes in the local worship <sup>24</sup>. The inference that these indications suggest has received the strongest confirmation by the recent epoch-making discoveries in the field of Cretan religion that we owe chiefly to Dr. Arthur Evans. The curtain seems to be partly lifted that concealed the prehistoric past of Hellenic life. The influences of so brilliant and long-enduring a civilization as that which he has revealed, and is still revealing at Knossos, must have been potent and far-reaching in religion as well as in art and politics. The boast of the Cretans which Diodorus unsuspectingly records, that Greece derived most of its religion from their island, need not now be set down merely to that characteristic which St. Paul and others deplored in the people of Crete; though the claim was no doubt excessive, there was an element of reason in it. The facts which the above-mentioned writer has gathered and weighed in his able treatise on the Mycenaean tree and pillar cult, and in his various reports concerning the excavations at Knossos, are sufficient to convince us that the central figure of the old Cretan religion was a great goddess of fertility, of maternal character <sup>e</sup>: a male deity also received recognition, but there is some indication that he played a subordinate part, standing to the goddess perhaps in the relation

<sup>a</sup> Demeter, R. 3, 8.

<sup>b</sup> Vide M. Salomon Reinach in *L'Anthropologie*, 1900, p. 197, and my note in *Class. Rev.* 1902, 137 a, b.

<sup>c</sup> Pans. 9. 2, 7.

<sup>d</sup> Id. 9. 41, 6.

<sup>e</sup> e. g. *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 108, Fig. 4 ('Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult'): the prominence of the idea of

maternity in the Cretan religion is illustrated also by the Cretan cult of the 'Meteres,' the 'Holy Mothers' who were transplanted at an early time from Crete to Engyon in Sicily <sup>38a</sup>; their temple is spoken of erroneously by Cicero as that of the 'Magna Mater,' *Verr.* 4. 44.

of son to mother<sup>a</sup>: women were prominent in her worship, though the male votary is frequently found. Of this great goddess we are presented with a fairly complete picture by representations on seals, and in plastic and pictorial art. She was of ample form and large breasts, and flowers and fruits are among her emblems: she was therefore a mother-goddess, the source of fertility and life. The snake was also consecrated to her, and the most interesting idol of all, which was found in one of the temple repositories of the palace in the chapel of the Sacred Cross, represents her with snakes coiled round her waist and arms, and before her was a figure of her female votary brandishing a snake in each hand<sup>b</sup>: we may venture then to regard her also as a chthonian goddess, a deity that might be concerned with death and the life of the tomb. She was also a warrior-goddess, armed with spear and bow and helmet; a representation that is of most value for the present purpose shows her thus<sup>c</sup>, standing on a peak as a mountain-mother, *Μήτηρ ὄρεα*, and guarded by lions (Pl. XXXIII); and many other monuments<sup>d</sup> prove that the lion was her constant and familiar animal. Finally, there is reason to think that the axe was consecrated to her as it was to the god of Knossos<sup>e</sup>.

Here then is a great religious personality revealed from the second or third millennium before our era, to whom the later creeds of Europe may have been deeply though unconsciously indebted; the sanctity of the cross in the aboriginal religion of Crete is in itself a momentous fact. It is no wonder that the discoverer himself is tempted to regard all the later Hellenic goddesses, such as Artemis, Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite, as mere variant forms of the great Cretan mother. Such a hypothesis probably claims too much, even for Crete; and we must reckon as probable the view that goddess-worship was an aboriginal Aryan heritage, and that many goddesses possessing a fixed name and character may

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 168.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Evans, *Report of Excavations*, 1902-3, p. 92, Fig. 63.

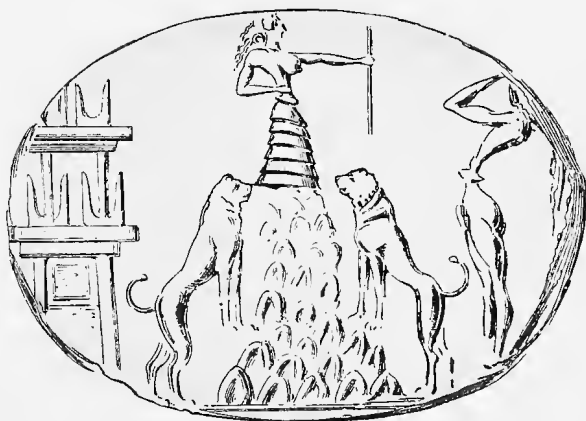
<sup>c</sup> Evans, *Report*, 1901, p. 29, Fig. 9.

<sup>d</sup> e. g. Cretan goddess guarded by or

holding lions on Mycenaean gem, Evans, *op. cit.* *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 164, Fig. 44.

<sup>e</sup> Vide *Eph. Arch.* 1900, Πίv. 3. 4.

PLATE XXXIII





have accompanied a Hellenic migration from the north. It is enough, at least at present, to assert the belief that here in the Cretan great goddess we have the prototype of the Hellenic Mother of the Gods, the Hellenes in Crete giving her this name and spreading it to adjacent shores, either because they found her regarded in the aboriginal cult as the mother of God, or because they assimilated her to their own Olympian system by giving her this position out of respect for her supremacy in the preceding cult-dynasty: and we may discern in the story of Rhea and Kronos a reflex of the stone-worship of Minoan Crete. The mother-goddess probably possessed many personal names among the Eteocretan population. We may suppose that Rhea was one of them, a name which has not been successfully traced to any Hellenic stem: her worship at Knossos, of which Diodorus records certain relics <sup>38 b</sup>, belonged evidently to the prehistoric period.

The monuments tell us most about the Cretan great mother; but we may gather something from the literature also. The worship was probably orgiastic <sup>a</sup> and ecstatic in the earliest times <sup>38 a</sup>, and in their ecstasy the votaries might prophesy, as did the Galli of Cybele <sup>57 h</sup> and the priests of the Magna Mater at Phaistos <sup>38 c</sup>. The religion may also have developed certain ideas of mystic communion with the divinity, which were dominant in the Sabazian Cybele-ritual of Phrygia; the love-story of Pasiphae may be a degraded record of a sacred office misunderstood <sup>b</sup>. It may have possessed some ritual of baptism and the concept of rebirth, such as are found in the sister-worship of Phrygia; the legend of Rhea regenerating Pelops in her cauldron may be derived from some baptismal rite.

<sup>a</sup> The orgiastic dances in Crete and Phrygia were officially performed by men or eunuchs; but probably in Minoan Crete the dancers were more frequently women; on a seal-design used in the palace of Knossos the goddess was represented amid rock-scenery with a female figure 'apparently performing an orgiastic dance,' vide Evans, *Report*

*of Cretan Excavations*, 1901, p. 19; and in later times women certainly took part in the orgies of the Galli, and are prominent in the Sabazianism which attached itself to the Attis-Cybele cult, vide R. 13, 36; Aphrodite, R. 118<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*, p. 136, who quotes a Hindu parallel.

We may now ask how far the early Hellenic cults of the mother of the gods preserved the forms and character of the ancient Cretan worship. No doubt she was stripped of much that seemed superfluous, her axe, her serpents, and her Minoan costume: she seems also to have lost her orgiastic character, until the missionaries from Phrygia restored it to her. But her picturesque epithet *ὄρεία* was a reminiscence of her hill-worship in Crete, and she kept her lions, the clearest token that the Hellenic Mother possessed of her ancient Cretan home<sup>a</sup>; and in Arcadia it seems she retained the mantic functions that belonged to her at Phaestos. The Hellenic conception of her is best illustrated by the Attic relief in Berlin in the form of a *ναῖσκος*<sup>b</sup>, wrought about 400 B.C., and inspired perhaps by the statue carved by Pheidias for the Metroon, showing the goddess of benign and maternal form enthroned, holding the tympanum, with the lion couching peacefully at her feet (Pl. XXXIV); she wears no turret-crown, but a simple stephane, the monument is instinct with the bright and tranquil spirit of true Hellenic religion.

This spirit was disturbed in the fifth and later centuries by the tumultuous wave of Phrygian cult that brought with it the names of Attis, Sabazios, and Cybele; and it only remains to consider very generally the influences and effects of this tide. It is the generally accepted opinion, based on very strong evidence, that the Cretan Rhea and the Phrygian Cybele are one and the same goddess of the earlier Anatolian populations; and that the incoming European Phrygo-Thrakians found in Asia Minor a goddess the same in character with her whom

<sup>a</sup> The earliest monuments that we possess of the lion-goddess in Greece are the terracotta from Athens already mentioned (R. 19<sup>o</sup>), and the figure in the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 573 (possibly of Argive work): the interesting archaic tripod belonging to All Souls College, Oxford, supported by three female figures standing on lions, preserves a Minoan tradition and a Mycenaean form of pillar, but we need not attempt to find personal names for the supporting figures:

it is of interest to note that a very similar monument of early date was found at Olympia, and may belong to the Cretan tradition there, vide P. Gardner, *Hell. Journ.* 1896, Pl. 12.

<sup>b</sup> The *ναῖσκος*-form of the relief is seen also in the fifth-century monument at Tanagra<sup>18b</sup>, and is common in later reliefs at Athens, vide Milchhöfer, *Museen Athens*, p. 22; it is not clear whether it represents the *θαλάμη* of the Phrygian goddess.

PLATE XXXIV







the Hellenes found in Crete<sup>a</sup>. She, too, was a great mother-goddess—Matar Kubele, as she is styled on the earliest Phrygian monument<sup>43</sup>, itself probably a derivative of Minoan religious art—a goddess of the mountains also, whose very name may have been derived from cave-worship, which was a prominent feature of the native cult<sup>53-54</sup>; and to her, as to her Cretan counterpart, the lion was specially consecrated. A goddess of life and fertility, she was also a goddess of death, closely associated with the ritual of the tomb<sup>b</sup>. Moreover, her worship was in the highest degree orgiastic, agreeing also with the Cretan in the strong attraction it seems to have possessed for the belief in the death and resurrection of the divinity. Stone-worship was prominent in the Phrygian as in the Cretan cults<sup>57<sup>e</sup></sup>, and may explain the curious Phrygian legend that Cybele and Agdestis came forth from the rocks<sup>c</sup>; the name Agdestis, which was a title of the great goddess<sup>58-59</sup>, being associated with a rock called Agdus near Pessinus, her religious capital<sup>d</sup>. And as we may believe that Rhea and Cybele were merely a double growth from the same root, so, when Phrygian influences had permeated the cities of the Asiatic Greeks, the cult-names which were still held separate by the ritual<sup>e</sup> are blended indistinguishably by the poets: Apollonius Rhodius, for example, making his Argonauts dance a hoplite-dance like the Kouretes in honour of the mother-goddess of Kyzikos<sup>54<sup>b</sup></sup>.

<sup>a</sup> For instances of early connexion of Crete and Phrygia, vide discussion of 'Apollo Smintheus' in vol. 4: the view expressed in the text is justified by Prof. Ramsay on ethnological grounds in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 358.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Ramsay, *Hell. Journ.* 5, p. 245, &c.: cf. R. 71, Dionysos, R. 63<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Arnobius 5. 5; birth from rocks known in Mithraic and other legends, vide Dieterich, *op. cit.* p. 218 and in *Archiv f. Religionswissensch.* 1904, p. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Pausanias mentions a mountain called Agdistis, near Pessinus, where Attis was buried, R. 60<sup>1</sup>; Agdistis may

be one of the many names for Cybele derived from mountains; her originally bisexual nature reminds us of the similar belief about Astarte, and there are certainly foreign elements in the story given by Arnobius: for instance, Nana, the daughter of King Midas, appears to be the Babylonian goddess.

<sup>e</sup> The name of Rhea does not occur in Asia Minor cult-documents: the *Κούρητες* are found once only in Anatolia, namely at Ephesus where they were associated with Leto-Artemis<sup>75</sup>: if we can trust Apollonius Rhodius<sup>54<sup>b</sup></sup> we must suppose that the Idaean Dactyli had intruded into the Cyzicene worship.

A complete history of Cybele-cult requires a separate treatise and transcends the limits of a work on Greek religion. It is only desirable here to note its salient features, so as to form some impression of the influence it exercised upon the religious imaginations of the later Hellenic and Graeco-Roman world.

Our knowledge of this religion on its more inward side is derived from late sources only, such as Sallustius<sup>571</sup>, and chiefly from Arnobius<sup>57e</sup>, who however draws his account from Timotheus, a contemporary of Manetho. But for our present purpose it is not necessary to determine how much in the later ritual may have been an accretion upon older and simpler forms. The records probably present it mainly as it appeared when it was beginning to win its way across the sea.

The character of the whole service was strongly emotional, ecstatic, and mystic, aiming in various ways at communion with the deity. Thus the frenzied 'Gallos' was himself called *Κύβηβος*<sup>58</sup>, the male counterpart of the goddess; and the high-priest at Pessinus was himself Attis<sup>57g</sup>, a divine priest-king, enjoying at one time great secular as well as religious power through his union with the godhead: the catechumen attains to a divine existence through sacramental food<sup>a</sup>, or through the blood-baptism of the 'taurobolion,' whereby he dies to his old life and is born again<sup>b</sup>: or the process of regeneration might be effected by a different kind of corporeal union with the divinity, the semblance of a mystic marriage<sup>c</sup>. Even the self-mutilation necessary for the attainment of the status of the eunuch-priest may have arisen from the ecstatic craving to

<sup>a</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 219<sup>o</sup>, 'I have eaten from the timbrel, I have eaten from the cymbal; I have become a mystic votary of Attis' was the confessional formula of these mysteries.

<sup>b</sup> The ritual of the taurobolion is graphically described by Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 10. 1076: the priest standing in the pit drinks in, and is saturated with, the blood of the bull slaughtered on the platform above: the votaries are sealed with the seal of the goddess.

<sup>c</sup> In the Sabazian ritual this emerges clearly, vide Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 14 P. (vide Dionysos, R. 62<sup>d</sup>): it probably existed in the ordinary Cybele-mystery, for the priests carried round a *παρόσ*, which probably means the bridal-chamber of the goddess, and the initiation formula contained the phrase, 'I have secretly entered the *παρόσ*,' vide Demeter, R. 219<sup>o</sup>; cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*, pp. 123, 126.

assimilate oneself to the goddess and to charge oneself with her power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete the transformation. Perhaps the solemn *θρόνωσις*<sup>51</sup>, in which the catechumen was placed on a throne, round which the sacred officials danced and sang, was part of the mesmeric process which aimed at producing the impression of deification in the mortal. The central act of the public worship appears to have been a sacred drama of the death and resurrection of the youthful god; a long period of fasting and mourning being followed by a festival of rejoicing. The mournful part of the ritual was called the *κατάβασις*<sup>50</sup>, which probably denotes 'the descent into hell'; at some time in this period the image of the dead god was exposed on a bier. The fast ends when the deity arises, and the worshippers, as if reborn, are nourished on milk like infants: in their joy they crown themselves and are conscious of divine communion. Firmicus Maternus preserves for us the very words of the most solemn part of the liturgy which he mocks—"when they are satiated with their fictitious grief a light is brought in, and the priest, having anointed their lips, whispers, "Be of good courage, oh ye of our mystery, for our God is saved; for us there shall be salvation after sorrows<sup>57k</sup>." And he adds a strange comment, 'truly the devil has his own Christs.' The correspondence to our Lenten and Easter service is exact, even in respect of the time of the year<sup>a</sup>; for at Rome the Attis-festival of the Hilaria—a name which has left its impress on the Roman Christian calendar—was held about March 25<sup>45-50</sup>. The sorrowful ritual of fasting and mortification must have belonged to the old Phrygian religion: the native legends reflect it, and it appears in other cognate cults of Asia Minor, in the worship of Adonis, and in the pathetic legend and cult of the Bithynian hero Bormos. How far this dogma of the resurrection of the god was associated in the early Phrygian belief with the hope of human immortality is not yet clear; we may believe that this association was

<sup>a</sup> We gather from Julian's sermon<sup>57e</sup> that the sacred tree which formed the effigy of Attis was cut at the spring equinox, then followed the blowing of

trumpets by which Attis was supposed to be aroused, then the mutilation of the divine Gallos, and finally the Hilaria.

achieved at least in the Graeco-Roman period, for Attis was identified with the Orphic god, the corner-stone of the Orphic gospel of immortality, and the images of Attis found in the necropolis at Amphipolis<sup>15</sup> suggest the hope of the dead votary.

Finally, this Phrygian cult is marked by a strong proselytizing character. The *παστός* or shrine, probably bridal-chamber, of the goddess was carried round by *μητραγύρται*, or wandering priests, who sought alms and attracted votaries.

Such in bare outlines was the new mystery that was striving for admittance into the Greek states at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century; for before its close the Phrygian goddess had become so familiar to the popular imagination that the poets identify Rhea, Cybele, and the Mother of the Gods, the Cretan and Phrygian rites, without scruple<sup>5-7</sup>. And it was this religion that Pindar ventured, with the sanction of the Delphic oracle<sup>13a</sup>, to introduce as his own private cult at Thebes<sup>a</sup>. But the Hellenic states of the mainland for the most part refused to establish it: only at Dyme and Patrai<sup>29</sup> do we hear of the state-church of the 'mother Dindymene and Attis'; in the Peiraeus the cult was administered by private orgeones, who were merely tolerated<sup>19o</sup>. The Attic reliefs dedicated to the Mother of the Gods in the fourth and following centuries present no clear features of specially Phrygian cult: the lion-guarding goddess is grouped with familiar Hellenic figures, such as Pan<sup>19p</sup>, Hekate, possibly Hermes<sup>b</sup>. The legend that the Athenians murdered the first metragyrtes<sup>c</sup> who ventured to show himself in Athens is discredited; but the feelings of the more educated classes in Greece were certainly hostile. A character in Menander's play expresses his dislike of 'a god who tours round with an old woman, and of the metragyrtes who creeps into our houses'; and the answer of Antisthenes to the mendicant priest is reported as follows:

<sup>a</sup> He would have wanted no Delphic sanction for the introduction of the Hellenic *Μήτηρ θεῶν* into Thebes; and Pausanias expressly styles the goddess of Pindar's shrine *Μήτηρ Δινδυμήνη*<sup>16a</sup>: but the poet appears to have completely

Hellenized both the deity and the cult<sup>2-4</sup>, and he is the first who is known to have applied the term *Μήτηρ θεῶν* to Cybele<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, pp. 275, 279.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *Apollo*, R. 133<sup>1</sup>.

'I give no alms to the mother of the gods, whom the gods may support themselves<sup>9</sup>.' And the same feeling of antagonism finds fiercer vent in the well-known passage in the *De Corona* of Demosthenes<sup>a</sup>. At Eresos in Lesbos no Gallos was allowed to enter the temple, nor were women allowed to 'γαλλάξην,' or perform the Phrygian orgy, in the precincts<sup>36</sup>; in fact, according to the teaching of Phintys<sup>13</sup>, the female Pythagorean philosopher, no chaste woman should take part in the 'mysteries of the Mother<sup>b</sup>.'

The reasons for this prejudice against the Phrygian cult have already been partly considered in a former chapter. They were deeply founded in the tempered sanity of the Hellenic spirit of the best period, to which violent religious ecstasy was uncongenial, and which tamed even the Thracian Dionysos. The Hellenes of the mainland, less exposed to the influence of the Oriental temperament, were no doubt repelled by the sexual aberrations and the diseased psychic condition that was reflected in the Attis-Agdestis legend, and which prompted to self-mutilation; and they may well have looked with suspicion on a ritual of communion that used a sexual symbolism, nor would they have sympathy with a religion that tended to sacerdotalism. The Phrygian mystery, then, touched rather the private than the national religious life of Greece, gaining strength no doubt as it was taken up and propagated by the later Orphic sects, but preaching no new morality nor in itself being likely to reinvigorate a decadent nation.

Even in the Aegean islands we have no clear proof of its establishment as a state-cult; the Parian inscription<sup>32</sup> seems

<sup>a</sup> §§ 259-260, p. 313. The mysteries there denounced are the Sabazian; but the Phrygian formula *ἑὴς ἀττης* reveals the presence of Attis: cf. the similar opinion of Lucian, *Aphrodite*, R. 118<sup>g</sup>, vol. 2, p. 648, note c: Plutarch speaks contemptuously of τὸ ἀγυρτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖον καὶ περὶ τὰ μητρῶα καὶ σεράπεια βωμολοχοῦν καὶ πλανώμενον γένος who sold oracles to slaves and women, *De Pyth. Orac.* 25 (p. 407 B).

<sup>b</sup> This may imply no more than that

their general effect on the temperament was sexually exciting; the symbolism employed in the ritual may have been gross, but it does not follow that the actual service was essentially immoral: we gather from Augustine that the 'lavatio Cybelae' at Rome was accompanied by immoral songs<sup>47</sup>, which were not necessarily sung as part of the liturgy, and from Arnobius that the repulsive story of Agdestis was acted in pantomime on the Roman stage.

to refer to a private chapel ; and we must not interpret every worship of the *Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν* as Phrygian, but only so when it is accompanied by such features as the ritual of the Galli, or by the cult-figure of Attis, or by some of the local divine names of Phrygia or Lydia<sup>a</sup>. Naturally, its chief triumphs over Hellenism were won in Asia Minor. Next to Pessinus, its main cult-centre appears to have been Kyzikos<sup>66</sup>, where it was easily blended with the worship of the Hellenic mother Demeter and her daughter. It was powerful at Smyrna<sup>71</sup>, Magnesia on Sipylon<sup>63</sup>, and Magnesia on the Maeander<sup>78</sup> ; it attracted and partly transformed the Hellenic cults of Leto and Apollo<sup>b</sup>, the divine mother and son, and especially the cult of Artemis, who was brought into closer relations than any other Greek divinity with the great Anatolian goddess<sup>c</sup>. But the greatest career awaited it in semi-orientalized Rome ; and it was to its prominence in the imperial city that it owes its importance in the general history of European religion and the passionate hatred that the early Christian fathers conceived for it. The full account of it belongs to the history of the later paganism and to the statement of the evolution of Christianity<sup>d</sup> ; and its religious effects are not yet extinct in the Mediterranean area.

In many essential respects it helped to prepare the way for the higher religion which triumphed ; for it familiarized the later Graeco-Roman world with the concept of a God that dies and rises again, and it satisfied the craving for mystic communion of the mortal with the divine nature. When it was supplanted by Christianity on the soil where it had been rooted for ages, its unextinguished vitality germinated into strange forms which struggled for existence under the names of Christian heresies. But its greatest contribution to the religion of Europe has been its insistence on the idea of the divine mother, 'the mother of God' ; and at times to Greek thought the cult seemed to sanctify the tie of human maternity :

<sup>a</sup> Among the monuments the turret-crown is the only personal badge that distinguishes the Phrygian goddess from the Greek *Μήτηρ θεῶν*.

<sup>b</sup> Vide 'Apollo,' Geogr. Reg. s. v. Phrygia, Lycaonia.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Artemis, pp. 472-487.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Showerman, op. cit. pp. 329-330 ; cf. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche*, vol. 2, chapter on 'Die Grosse Mutter.'

'for those who have true knowledge of things divine,' says Alexis of the middle comedy, 'there is nothing greater than the mother; hence the first man that attained culture founded the shrine of the mother <sup>a</sup>.'

Finally, here and there in this old-world Cretan-Phrygian cult we may be able to discern, glimmering through the obscurity of savage legend, the conception of a virgin-mother, not yet crystallized by any systematic theology, but still offering opportunity and suggestion to the constructive dogma of later creed. In fact the palace of Knossos has given us a clue to the ultimate origin of the phenomenon known as Mariolatry in Europe.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

The statement that the idea of the virgin-mother can be discovered in Greek paganism is sometimes thrown out at random, and the evidence requires cautious handling. Legends of miraculous conception or parthenogenesis are not uncommon both among savage and advanced races <sup>b</sup>; but as a clear theological dogma we cannot impute the idea to any purely Hellenic cult; the cases of Hera Παρθένος and Hera the bride, or of Demeter-Kore, are not to the point. A goddess of the same name might, without any mysticism or metaphysical significance in the various liturgies, be worshipped in one place or at one time as maiden, in another place or at another time as mother. Therefore, because Britomartis means in the Eteo-Cretan language 'sweet-maid' and Aphaia of Crete is a virgin-goddess, we have no clear right to speak of the great mother of Minoan Crete as a virgin-mother. In regard to Cybele, however, certain facts come nearer to suggesting the mystic idea. The birth-legends of Adgestis and Attis both present the feature of miraculous conception: Adgestis is begotten without a mother—Julian alludes to this legend by his phrase Παρθένος ἀμήτωρ <sup>c</sup>, and Attis is virgin-born without a father. The legends explaining these phenomena arise from a savage imagination, and, as they belong to a well-explored class, would not in themselves be of great importance, unless they may be supposed to reflect actual

<sup>a</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 79. 13.

<sup>c</sup> *Or.* 5. 166; in the same context he-

<sup>b</sup> Vide Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, especially vol. I, ch. 4 and 5, and p. 131. styles her 'the mother of the gods.'

cult-ideas that prevailed in certain localities. Now we find that part of the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Kyzikos was called the *Παρθενών*, the 'house of the virgin.' Is this a recognition of the virgin-mother, or merely an allusion to the worship of Kore or Artemis who, as the same inscription informs us, were united in ritual with the Mother<sup>55</sup>? Again, the Lydian nymph Hippa or Hipta, regarded as the nurse of Dionysos-Sabazios, is called 'the mother' in an inscription found at Smyrna, and in an Orphic hymn is addressed as *Κούρη*, 'the girl,' and at the same time as the 'chthonian mother,' and implicitly identified with the Idaean goddess<sup>a</sup>. But such evidence is very vague and admits of more than one interpretation: Hipta may have been an obscure title of the great Lydian Mother, and may have become regarded, by a process of degeneration common enough in polytheism, as the name of a local nymph, a 'Meter' only in the sense of nursing-mother, like the Cretan 'Meteres' who nursed Zeus. The myths that are supposed to exhibit the virginal character of the Great Mother are doubtful and contradictory: what they contain of genuine belief may be a reflex of her primitive Amazonian and warlike character, of which a memory might still survive here and there, for instance in the story that Diodorus gives of the association between Cybele and the Amazons in Samothrace<sup>55</sup>, or in the legend preserved by Arnobius about the daughter of Gallos cutting off her breasts<sup>b</sup>. But Amazonism is not necessarily connected with virginity; and the long euhemeristic narrative about Basileia-Cybele in Diodorus<sup>c</sup>, which contains genuine elements of Phrygian mythology, is inconsistent with the conception of a virgin mother-goddess. Nor is this anywhere clearly revealed in the cults of Phrygia or Crete. All that we may venture to assert is that when this idea was propagated as a theological dogma by Christianity it might not appear wholly alien to the various stocks of Asia Minor who had been nursed in the older religion.

<sup>a</sup> The references—*Μουσ. Βιβλ. Σμυρν.* 3, p. 169, and *Orph. H.* 49—are given among the Dionysos citations, R. 63<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *Adv. Gent.* 5. 7.

<sup>c</sup> 3. 58.





*Frag. Chrysipp.* 836 :

Γαῖα Μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθήρ,  
ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,  
ἡ δ' ὑδροβάλους σταγόνας νοτίας  
ποραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς,  
τίκτει δὲ βορὰν φύλά τε θηρῶν  
ὄθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως  
μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.  
χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω  
τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' ἐς γαῖαν.

<sup>9</sup> *Soph. Antig.* 339 :

θεῶν τε τῶν ὑπερτάτων Γῶν,  
ἄφθιτον ἀκαμάταν ἀποτρύεται.

<sup>10</sup> *Dittenb. Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 837 (at Thermon, in Aetolia): Πολύφρων . . . τὴν  
ιδίαν θρεπτὴν ἀπηλευθέρωσεν ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἕλιον.

<sup>11</sup> *Plut.* 935 B τὸ δὲ Γῆς ὄνομα παντί που φίλον Ἕλληνι καὶ τίμιον, καὶ  
πατρῶν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ἄλλον τινα θεὸν σέβασθαι. *Porph. de Abstin.* 2. 32  
κοινῆ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῆ καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐστία, καὶ δεῖ πάντας ἐπὶ ταύτης ὡς  
τροφοῦ καὶ μητρὸς ἡμῶν κλινομένους ὑμνεῖν καὶ φιλοστοργεῖν ὡς τεκοῦσαν.

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF CULTS OF GE.

<sup>12</sup> Byzantium: *Dionys. Byz. Anapl.* 9 'Templum Telluris supra mare.'

<sup>13</sup> Dodona vide Zeus, 13<sup>k</sup>. ? Aetolia vide R. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Delphi vide Apollo, R. 112, 113, 114, 118: *Schol. Hes. Theog.* 117  
(vide *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 3, p. 157; *Mnas. Patr. Fr.* 46). Μνασείας  
ὁ Πατρὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν συναγωγῇ Εὐρυστέρνας ἱερόν φησιν  
ἀναστήσαι. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, p. 65, Delphic inscr. mentioning  
τὸ Γῆς ἱερόν.

<sup>15</sup> Thebes vide Demeter R. 139, cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 2452 (inscr.  
early fifth cent.) ἱερὸν Γ(αία)s (Μα)καίρας Τελεσσφόρω.

<sup>16</sup> Attica.

<sup>a</sup> Γῆ Κουροτρόφος, on the slope of the Acropolis, vide Demeter, R. 5 :  
*Suidas s. v.* Κουροτρόφος. Γῆ ταύτη δὲ θῦσαι φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον τὸ πρῶτον  
ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ γῆ τῶν τροφείων,  
καταστήσαι δὲ νόμιμον τοὺς θύοντας τινὶ θεῷ ταύτη προθύειν. *Rangabé  
Antiq. Hell.* 2. 1083 Καλλίας Ἀγαθάρχου Γῆ Κουροτρόφω (inscr. found on  
the Acropolis, now disappeared).

<sup>b</sup> Γῆ Ὀλυμπία, on the south near the Ilissos (in the περίβολος of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος), vide Apollo, R. 156. Dionysos 124 f.: near the Areopagus, vide Cults of Hades s. v. Athens. Cf. Hermes, R. 19<sup>a</sup>. Γενέσια or Νεκύσια, in honour of Ge, vide Hesych. s. v. Γενέσια. Id. s. v. Ὠραία νεκύσια· οἱ δὲ δαιμόνια. Ὠραία θύειν· τελετή τις, ἐν ἣ τῶν ὠραίων ἀπάντων ἐγίνοντο ἀπαρχαί. Cic. *De Leg.* 2. 25 'Nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, ocius terra humandi, quam quum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur: solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur: sequebantur epulae quas inibant propinqui coronati.'

<sup>c</sup> Ge Θέμις, at Athens, vide Athena, R. 26 f. *C. I. A.* 3. 350 (on seat in theatre) ἱερίας Γῆς Θέμιδος. Cf. Paus. 1. 22, 1 μετὰ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτη πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσιν Θέμιδος ναὸς ἔστιν.

<sup>d</sup> Ge at Phlye, vide Dionysos, R. 21. Cf. Hippol. *de haer.* 5. 20 (p. 144, Miller) πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων, ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Φλυοῦντι [τῆς Ἀττικῆς] λεγομένη μεγαληγορία [? leg. τῆς λεγομένης Μεγάλης ἔργια]. ἔστι δὲ παστὰς ἐν αὐτῇ . . . πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς παστάδος ἐκείνης ἐγγεγραμμένα, περὶ ὧν καὶ Πλούταρχος ποιεῖται λόγους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐμπεδοκλέα δέκα βίβλοις. "Ἔστι δὲ . . . πρεσβύτης τις ἐγγεγραμμένος πολλὸς πετρωτὸς [leg. πετρωτὸς] ἐντεταμένην ἔχων τὴν αἰσχύνην, γυναικα ἀποφεύγουσαν διώκων κυνοειδῆ . . . ὥστε εὐλόγως ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς Σιβιανούς ἐγγὺς παῦ τελεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς Μεγάλης Φλοῦας ἰονόργια [? leg. Φλοισίων ἔργια].

<sup>e</sup> Marathon and the Tetrapolis: Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graec. Sacr.* 26 (fourth century B.C. ritual calendar) Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος . . . Γῆ ἐπὶ τῷ μαντεῖφ τράγος παμμέλας . . . Γῆ ἐν γύαις βοῦς κνοῦσα.

<sup>f</sup> Proclus in Tim. 5. 293 ὁ δὲ καὶ οἱ θεομοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰδότες προσέταττον Οὐρανῷ καὶ Γῆ προτελεῖν τοὺς γάμους.

<sup>g</sup> ? Γῆ Πανδώρα [Ἀνεσιδώρα], vide Athena, R. 26<sup>b</sup>, 35<sup>f</sup>. Cf. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll. Tyana.* 6. 39 ἔθις τις ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ τῇ Γῆ, καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τούτου ὤκει . . . καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ Πανδώρα ἐχώρει ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

<sup>h</sup> Theophr. *de Plant. Hist.* 9. 8, 7 ὅταν τὸ πάνακες τὸ Ἀσκληπίειον καλούμενον τέμνωσιν· ἀντεμβάλλειν γὰρ τῇ γῆ παγκαρπία μελιττοῦταν.

<sup>i</sup> Γῆ καρποφόρος: *C. I. A.* 3. 166 Γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντεῖαν (inscription found on Acropolis, time of Hadrian: cf. Paus. 1. 24, 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετενοῦσης ὕσαι οἱ τὸν Δία.

<sup>17</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 177 ἐν Ὀλυμπίοισί τε καὶ βαθυκόλπου Γῆς ἀέθλοισι ἔν τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιχωρίοις. Schol. *ib.* τὸ δὲ Γῆς ὅτι καὶ αὐτῆς ἀγὼν ἄγεται ἐν Ἀθήναις, ὡς φησι Δίδυμος.

- <sup>18</sup> Sparta : vide Apollo, R. 216<sup>d</sup>, Zeus, 113<sup>b</sup>.
- <sup>19</sup> Tegea : Paus. 8. 48, 8 πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶ Γῆς βωμός.
- <sup>20</sup> Olympia : Paus. 5. 14, 10 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ βωμός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γῆς, τέφρας καὶ οὄτος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Στομίου Θέμιδι ὁ βωμός πεποιήται.
- <sup>21</sup> Near Aigai in Achaia : Paus. 7. 25, 13 Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν ὁ Γαῖος ἐπὶ κλησιν Εὐρυστέρνον· ξόανον δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον γυνή δὲ ἡ αἰὲ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λαμβάνουσα ἀγιστεύει μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα ἔσται πλέον ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς πείραν ἀφιγμένη. Πίνουσαι δὲ αἶμα ταύρου δοκιμάζονται. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 28. 147 Taurinus quidem (sanguis) recens inter venena est excepta Aegira; ibi enim sacerdos terrae vaticinatura sanguinem tauri bibit prius quam in specus descendat.
- <sup>22</sup> Patrai : vide Demeter, R. 258.
- <sup>23</sup> Mykonos : sacrifice to Γῆ χθονία, vide Dionysos, R. 44.
- <sup>24</sup> Thera : *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 374 Γῆς ἱερόν (fourth century B.C.).
- <sup>25</sup> Kos : *Rev. d. Ét. Grec.* 1891, p. 361 (inscription, second century B.C., concerning finance) ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ὠνὰν κύκλου Γῆς.
- <sup>26</sup> Crete : Cauer, *Delect.*<sup>2</sup> 121 [ὀμνύω] τὰν Γῆν καὶ τὸν Οὐρανόν (oath of Dzeros, third century B.C.).
- <sup>27</sup> Kyzikos : Γῆ καρποφόρος with Poseidon Ἀσφαλείος, vide Poseidon, R. 86.
- <sup>28</sup> Erythrai : inscription in *Μουσ. κ. Βιβλιο. Σμυρν.* 1873, p. 105, mentioning cult of Μήτηρ Γῆ.
- <sup>29</sup> Pergamon : formula of oath, Artemis, R. 50<sup>f</sup>.
- <sup>30</sup> Smyrna and Magnesia : Γῆ mentioned in formula of state-oath, vide Athena, R. 85<sup>e</sup>. Cf. *C. I. G.* 3137, l. 60, oath of Magnesia, Ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον.
- <sup>31</sup> Near Amasia, on bank of the Iris : inscription on rock-tomb Γῆς ἀρχιερεὺς (? = priest of Mā), Perrôt, *Exploration archéol. de la Galatie et Bithynie*, p. 372, no. 157.
- <sup>32</sup> Tauric Chersonese : vide Artemis, R. 37 (in oath-formula).
- <sup>33</sup> Cults of Themis ? as earth-goddess : vide Cults, vol. 2, p. 495<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 211 :

ἐμοὶ δὲ μήτηρ οὐχ ἅπασ μόνον Θέμις,  
καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία,  
τὸ μέλλον ἢ κρανοῖτο προὔτεθεσπίκει.

<sup>a</sup> Macedonia : at Ichnai : Steph. Byz. *s. v.* "Ιχναί πόλις Μακεδονίας . . . 'Ιχναία ὁ Θέμις· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατελήφθη ἐν τοῖς τῶν 'Ιχναίων τόποις (cf. Artemis, R. 138<sup>c</sup>). Hesych. *s. v.* 'Ιχναίην· χώραν τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔνθα τὸ μαντεῖον ὁ 'Απόλλων κατέσχε καὶ τιμᾶται ['Ιχναίη Θέμις]. Hom. *H. Apoll.* 94 'Ιχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγᾶστονος 'Αμφιτρίτη.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. 435 (in Thessaly) "Ιχναί, ὅπου ἡ Θέμις 'Ιχναία τιμᾶται. Lycophr. *Cass.* 129 τῆς 'Ηλίου θυγατρὸς 'Ιχναίας. (Cf. Menand. *de Epcom.* 2. 2 (Heeren) περὶ δὲ Κυριωθίων καὶ 'Ισθμοῦ ὅτι "Ηλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Θέμις καὶ Νύξ.)

<sup>c</sup> Epirus : vide *Cults*, vol. 2, p. 495<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Thessaly : archaic inscription to Themis under the name Θεμίσστα, *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 223 (Lolling).

<sup>e</sup> Tanagra : Paus. 9. 22, 1 'Ἐν Τανάγρα παρὰ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διωνύσου Θεμίδος ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ 'Αφροδίτης.

<sup>f</sup> Thebes : Zeus, R. 113<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Attica : vide R. 16<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> At Troezen : altar of Θέμιδες, Dionysos, R. 52.

<sup>34</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 19 P. Θεμίδος τὰ ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα, ὀρίγανον, λύχνος, ξίφος, κτεῖς γυναικείος.

<sup>35</sup> Eratosth. *Catal.* 13 Μουσαῖος γὰρ φησι Δία γεννώμενον ἐγχειρισθῆναι ὑπὸ 'Ρέας Θέμιδι.

## REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER II. (CULTS OF DEMETER AND KORE.)

Demeter as earth-goddess.

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Bacch.* 275 :

Δημήτηρ θεά,

Γῆ δ' ἔστιν ὄνομα δ' ὀπότερον βούλει κάλει.

Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 2. 39 τὴν Δημήτερα τῇ γῆ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν λόγον φασὶν οἱ σοφοί· ζεῖδωρος γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ βιόδωρος καὶ φερέσβιος καλεῖται. Sext. Empir. *adv. Mathem.* 9. 189 ἡ γὰρ Δημήτηρ, φασίν, οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστὶν ἢ γῆ μήτηρ.

<sup>2</sup> Demeter Χαμόνη at Olympia : Paus. 6. 21, 1 ἱερόν πεποιήται Δήμητρι ἐπὶ κλησὺν Χαμόνης. Cf. 6. 20, 9 ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμόνης.

<sup>3</sup> Demeter Εὐρώπη at Lebadeia : Paus. 9. 39, 4 (in the grove of Trophonios) ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐπὶ κλησὺν Εὐρώπης. § 5 θύει . . .

ὁ κατιῶν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Τροφωνίῳ . . . καὶ Δήμητρι ἦν ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐρώπην τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασὶν εἶναι τροφάν.

Cf. Εὐρυόδεια: Hesych. s. v. ἡ Δημήτηρ αὐτῶς ἐν Σκαρφία· καὶ ἡ γῆ.

<sup>4</sup> Demeter χθονία: R. 37.

Demeter associated with Ge in cult.

<sup>5</sup> At Athens: Paus. I. 22, 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτράφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης.

<sup>6</sup> At Patrai: Paus. 7. 21, 11 ἱερὸν Δήμητρος· αὕτη μὲν καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐστῆσι, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Γῆς ἐστὶ καθήμενον.

<sup>7</sup> With Rhea-Cybele: Melanippides, *Frag.* 10 Bergk (Philodemus *περὶ εὐσεβείας*, p. 23, Gomperz) Μελανιππίδης δὲ Δημήτερι μητέρα θεῶν φησιν μίαν ὑπάρχειν: cf. also Eurip. *Helena*. 1301:

ὀρέα ποτὲ δρομάδι κώλω  
 μάτηρ θεῶν ἐσύθη  
 ἀν' ὑλᾶντα νάπη  
 ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμ' ὑδάτων  
 βαρύβρομάν τε κῦμ' ἄλιον  
 πόθῳ τὰς ἀποιχομένας  
 ἀρρήτου κούρας.

Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 3 χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον Δαμάτερος . . . εὐρυχαίταν . . . Διόνυσον. Vellei. I. 4 Cerealibus sacris aeris sonum cieri. Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 708 Ἀχαιῶν δὲ τὴν Δήμητρα ἐκάλουν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτύπου τῶν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Κόρης. Apollodorus, *Frag.* 36 (Müller) Ἀθήνησιν ἱεροφάντην τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλουμένης ἐπικροτοῦεν τὰ λεγόμενα ἠχεῖον. At Akakesion, Demeter and Despoina with ἡ Μεγάλη Μήτηρ; R. 119. At Amorgos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 236 Δήμητρος ἀρῆς ἡ οἰκία (fifth century b. c.).

<sup>8</sup> Demeter connected with the Idaean Dactyli: Paus. 9. 19, 5 πρὸς θάλασσαν δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησοῦ Δήμητρος Μυκαλησσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· κλείεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ ἐκάστη καὶ αὐθις ἀναίγεσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ Ἑρακλέους, τὸν δὲ Ἑρακλέα εἶναι τῶν Ἰδαίων καλουμένων Δακτύλων. δείκνυται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ θαῦμα τοιῶνδε· πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν ποδῶν τιθέασι ὅσα ἐν ὀπώρα πέφυκεν ἡ γῆ φέρειν, ἃ διὰ παντὸς μένει τεθηλότα τοῦ ἔτους. Cf. 8. 31, 3 (at Megalopolis) ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρακλῆς παρὰ τῇ Δήμητρι μέγεθος μάλιστα πῆχυν. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3, 6 (speech of Καλλίας ὁ δαδούχος to the Lacedaemonians) λέγεται ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κάρης ἀρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτους ξένας δεῖξαι Ἑρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγῆτι καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν ὑμετέρων πολίταιν.

Demeter as goddess of vegetation and fruits.

<sup>9</sup> Demeter Χλόη (vide R. 5). At Athens: C. I. A. 2. 631 (fourth

century B. C.) Δήμητρος Χλόης ἱερεία (cf. Demeter Εὐχλόη, *C. I. A.* 3. 191, private dedication). *Delt. Archaeol.* 1889, p. 130 Δήμητρι Χλόη καὶ Κόρη τὴν Κουροτρόφον Εἰσιδότης ἀνέθηκε κατ' ὄνειρον (Roman period) At Marathon and in the Attic Tetrapolis, fourth-century inscription: Prott-Ziehen, *Leg. Graec. Sacr.* 26 Ἀνθεστηριῶνος (τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται) Χλόη παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλον ἕς κνουσα. *Soph. Oed. Col.* 1600 :

τῶδ' εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἔς προσόψιον  
πάγον μολόντε (at Colonus).

Schol. *ib.* Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ ἄκροπόλει καὶ Εὐπολις Μαρικᾶ

ἀλλ' εὐθὺ πόλεως εἴμι· θύσαι γάρ με δεῖ  
κριὸν Χλόη Δήμητρι.

(Οὕτω δὲ τιμᾶται ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τῶν κήπων χλόης) θύουσί τε αὐτῇ Θαρρηλιῶνος ἔκτη. Schol. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 835 Χλόης Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι μηνὸς Θαρρηλιῶνος, ὡς Φιλόχορος φησὶν ἐν 5'. Cf. Diog. Laert. 2. 5, 23 Θαρρηλιῶνος ἔκτη, ὅτε καθαίρουσι τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι. Cornutus, *N. D.* 28 περὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ Δήμητρι Χλόη θύουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ χαρᾶς, ἰδόντες χλοάζοντα. *C. I. A.* 2. 375, inscription of third century B. C. mentioning ὁ μεὼς τῆς Δήμητρος, ? referring to this temple. Cf. the oracle brought from Delphi to Athens second century A. D. :

ἔστιν σοι παρ' ἄκρας πόλεως . . .  
οὐ λαὸς σύμπας κλήζει γλαυκῶ[πιδ' Ἀθηνῆν]  
Δήμητρος Χλοῖης ἱερόν Κούρη[ς τε . . .]  
οὐ πρῶτον στάχυσ ἠξή[θη . . .].

*Athen. Mittheil.* 1893, p. 193.

At Mykonos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 461 τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ [Ποσειδεῶνος δυοδεκάτῃ] Δήμητρι Χλόη ἕες δύο καλλιστεύουσαι, see Ditt. *Syll.* 373. Athenae. 14, p. 618 D Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ παιάνων φασί· τὰ δράγματα τῶν κριθῶν αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ προσηγόρευον ἀμάλας, συναθροισθέντα δὲ . . . οὐλους καὶ ἰούλους, καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα ὅτε μὲν Χλόην ὅτε δὲ Ἰουλῶ. ἀπὸ τῶν οὖν τῆς Δήμητρος εὐρημάτων τοὺς τε καρποὺς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν οὐλους καλοῦσι καὶ ἰούλους. δημήτρουλοι καὶ καλλιούλοι. καὶ

πλείστον οὐλον ἕει ἰούλον ἕει.

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 3. 11, 6 κατέστηκε τὸ βρέτας τῆς Δήμητρος τοῖς σταχύσι, μήκωνές τε περὶ αὐτὴν τῆς πολυγονίας σύμβολον (from Porphyry περὶ Ἀγαλμάτων). Cf. Callim. *Hymn Cer.* 45.

Festival of τὰ Χλοῖα at Eleusis, R. 18.

? Goddess of pasture and flocks.

<sup>10</sup> ? Δημήτηρ [or Κυβέλη] Εὐβοσία in Phrygia: *C. I. G.* 3858 ἱερέα

Σεβαστῆς Εὐβοσίας = the younger Agrippina (or Poppaea, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 627) worshipped as Demeter. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀζανοί· λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου συνελθόντες οἱ ποιμένες ἔθνον εὐβοσίον γενέσθαι.

<sup>11</sup> Δημήτρος Φρεαρ[ρ]θ[ου] at Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 375, on a seat in the Erechtheum. Cf. Hesych. s. v. Ἐπικρήναι· ἑορτὴ Δημήτρος παρὰ Λάκωσι.

<sup>12</sup> Demeter Ταυροπόλος at Kopai in Boeotia: *C. I. G. Sept.* 2793 Δαμάτρας Ταυροπόλω. Cf. Paus. 9. 24, 1 ἐνταῦθα Δημήτρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Σαράπιδός ἐστω ἱερά.

<sup>13</sup> Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Nisaia in the Megarid: Paus. 1. 44, 3 ἱερὸν Δημήτρος Μαλοφόρου· λέγεται . . . τοὺς πρώτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῆ θρέψαντας Δημήτρα ὀνομάσαι Μαλοφόρον. Cf. month Μαλοφόριος at Byzantium, *Philologus* 2. 248. At Selinus: *R.* 71.

<sup>14</sup> Callim. *Hymn Cer.* 137: Φέρβε βόας, φέρε μᾶλα, φέρε στάχυν, οἷσε θερισμόν.

Goddess of corn and cereals.

<sup>15</sup> In Homer and Hesiod Δημήτερος ἀκτῆ: *Il.* 13. 322: 21. 76; *Asp.* 290; *Erg.* 32, 466, 597, 805. (Cf. Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* 377 D ποιητῆς δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν θεριζόντων 'τῆμος δὲ αἰζηοὶ Δημήτερα κωλομοῦσι.')

Hes. *Theog.* 969:

Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλούτου ἐγένετο, διὰ θεάων,  
Ἰασίφ ἥρωϊ μιγείσ' ἑρατῇ φιλότῃτι  
νειῶ ἐνὶ τριπόλφ, Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμφ.

Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 125. Hes. *Erg.* 463:

Εὔχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίφ, Δημήτερι θ' ἀγνῆ,  
ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν,  
ἀρχόμενος τὰ πρῶτ' ἀρότου.

*Il.* 2. 695:

Οἱ δ' εἶχον Φυλάκην καὶ Πύρασον ἀνθεμόεντα,  
Δημήτρος τέμενος.

Cf. Reapers' song in Theocritus, *Id.* 10. 42:

Δάματερ πολύκαρπε πολύσταχυν, τοῦτο τὸ λᾶον  
εὐεργόν τ' εἶη καὶ κάρπιμον ὅττι μάλιστα.

Corn-goddess in Attica.

<sup>16</sup> Demeter προηροσία: Plut. 158 E Ὅμβριφ Διὶ καὶ προηροσία Δημήτρι καὶ φυταλμίφ Ποσειδῶνι πού βωμὸς ἔσται; Ceremony of the προηροσία in Attica, in the vicinity of Eleusis (? called also προαρκατούρια, see Hesychius,



s. v. προηρόσια). Suid. s. v. εἰρεσιώνη, p. 1615 A οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασιν, ὡς, λαμοῦ πάσαν τὴν γῆν κατασχόντος, ὁ θεὸς εἶπε προηρόσια τῇ Δηοῖ ὑπὲρ πάντων θύσαι θυσιάαν Ἀθηναίους. Οὐ ἕνεκα χαριστήρια πανταχόθεν ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀθήναζε τῶν καρπῶν τὰς ἀπαρχάς. *Ib.* Προηροσία . . . ἐγίγνετο δ' ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὑπὲρ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐ' Ὀλυμπίადι (aliter ἐ' σ' Ὀλυμπίαι). Cf. Isocrat. *Raneg.* 4. 31 αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείστα τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἑνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσιν, ταῖς δὲ ἐκλείπουσιν πολλὰκίς ἢ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια. Cf. Aristides, 1, p. 168 (Dind.). (Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1055 and *Eg.* 725.) Eurip. *Suppl.* 28:

τυγχάνω δ' ὑπὲρ χθονὸς  
ἀρότου προθύουσ' ἐκ δόμων ἔλθοῦσ' ἐμῶν  
πρὸς τόδε σηκόν, ἔνθα πρῶτα φαίνεται  
φρίξας ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆσδε κάρπιμος στάχυσ'  
δέσμον δ' ἄδεσμον τόνδ' ἔχουσα φυλλάδος  
μένω πρὸς ἀγναῖς ἐσχάrais δυοῖν θεαῖν  
Κόρης τε καὶ Δήμητρος . . .

*Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 99 Ἱεροφάντη καὶ κήρυκι εἰς ἄριστον τὴν ἑορτὴν προαγορεύουσι τῶν προηροσιῶν ΠΙΙ (inscription from Eleusis, circ. 300 B. C.). *C. I. A.* 2. 467, 28 (Ephēbi inscription first century B. C.) τοῖς προηροσίαις ἦραντο τοὺς βοῦς ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐτάκτως ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις μυστηρίαις φιάλην τῇ τε Δήμητρει καὶ Κόρη.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.* 144 B Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρφ, τοῦ παλαιστάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα· δεύτερον δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥαρία, τρίτον δὲ ὑπὸ πέλιω [? πόλιω], τὸν καλούμενον βουζύγιον. *Serv. Aen.* 4. 402 cum vidisset Minerva Cererem segetes invenisse, volens ipsa ostendere Atticis quo expeditius segetes parent, aratrum dicitur invenisse. *Paus.* 1. 38, 6 τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι [οἱ Ἐλευσῖνιοι] καὶ πρῶτον αἰξήσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν· ἐνταῦθα ἄλλως καλουμένη Τριποτόλιον καὶ βωμὸς δεικνύται. Cf. *Inscr. Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 122, l. 20 τὴν ἄλω τὴν ἱεράν (329–8 B. C.). Ceres Raria, see Athena, R. 118. *Steph. Byz.* Ῥάριον πεδίον ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ . . . Ῥαρία ἢ Δημήτηρ. *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 119, l. 43 (accounts of the ταμίαι τοῖν θεοῖν at Eleusis) νέκυν ἀνελόντι ἐκ τῆς Ῥαρίας μισθός . . . τῷ καθήραντι τὴν Ῥαρίαν χοίρου τιμὴ (329–8 B. C.). *Paroemiogr. Graec.* (Gaisford), p. 25 βουζύγης· ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ ἀρωμένων· ὁ γὰρ βουζύγης Ἀθηνησιν ὁ τὸν ἱερὸν ἄροτον ἐπιτελῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀράται, καὶ τοῖς μὴ κοινωνοῦσι κατὰ τὸν βίον ὕδατος ἢ πυρὸς ἢ μὴ ὑποφαίνουσι δὸν πλανωμένοις.

<sup>18</sup> Festivals of Ἀλώια καὶ Καλαμαῖα at Eleusis: *Eph. Arch.* 1890, p. 128, l. 8 (inscription second century B. C.) ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ

Δήμαρχος ὁ Ἐλευσινίων ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθυσεν τοῖς τε Ἀλωῖοις καὶ τοῖς Χλοίοις τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς . . . συνετέλεσεν δὲ τὴν τῶν Καλαμαίων θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἔστειλεν . . . ἔθυσε ἐφ' ὑγιείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς τε βούλης καὶ τοῦ Δήμου καὶ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων. *Ib.* 1883 (p. 119, l. 47), inscription found at Eleusis, account of Eleusinian expenses 329–8 B. C. ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας . . . Ξύλα εἰς Ἀλωῖα τάλαντα ϜΔΠΙ(1). *Ib.* p. 114 B, l. 8 [ἐπὶ τῆς ἕκτης πρυτανείας] μισθωτῆ . . . τῷ τὰς προσβάθρας Ἀλωῖοις ποιήσαντι . . . *Ib.* 1883, p. 122 B, l. 10 ἀρεστηρίαν θῦσαι ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν θεῶν . . . ϜΔΠΤ ἐς τὰ Ἀλωῖα. Cf. *ib.* 1884, p. 137, l. 9. *Ib.* 1887, p. 4, inscription from Eleusis, Ἀλωῖων τῷ πατρίῳ ἀγῶνι, ? circ. 201 B. C. *Ib.* 1884, p. 135, inscription from Eleusis circ. 300 B. C., in honour of the στρατηγός . . . ἔθυε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀλωῖοις τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης . . . παρεκάλεσεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν. Καλαμαῖα at Peiraeus: vide R. 75<sup>o</sup>. The month Καλαμαίων at Miletos: *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 128. At Olbia: *C. I. G.* 3663 A. At Kyzikos: *C. I. G.* 2082. *Harpor.* s. v. Ἀλῶα ἑορτὴ ἐστὶν Ἀττικὴ τὰ Ἀλῶα ἦν φησι Φιλόχορος ὀνομασθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τὰς ἄλως. ἄγεται δὲ αὐτὴν φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ ἑορτῶν Ποσειδεῶνος μνήσ. (Demosth.) κατὰ *Neap.* 116 κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ [τοῦ ἱεροφάντου] καὶ ὅτι Σιώπη τῇ ἑταίρᾳ Ἀλῶις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἐλευσίνι προσαγοῦση ἱερίων θύσειεν, οὐ νομίμου ἔντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερεῖα θύειν, οὐδ' ἐκείνου οὔσης τῆς θυσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας. Schol. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* (*Rhein. Mus.* 25. 557) [Ἀλῶα] ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι μυστήρια περιέχουσα Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου ἐπὶ τῇ τομῇ τῶν ἀμπέλων καὶ τῇ γέυσει τοῦ ἀποκειμένου ἤδη οἴνου . . . [πέμματα?] προτίθεται αἰσχύναις ἀνδρείους εὐκότα . . . τελετὴ τις εἰσάγεται γυναικῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι . . . καὶ παιδιαὶ λέγονται πολλαὶ καὶ σκώμματα . . . οἶνός τε πολὺς πρόκειται καὶ τράπεζαι . . . γέμουσαι βρωμάτων πλὴν τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ, ροῖās φημὶ καὶ μήλου καὶ ὀρνίθων κατοικιδίων καὶ ψῶν καὶ θαλαττίας τρίγλης . . . παρατιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὰς τραπέζας οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἐνδὸν καταλιπόντες ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτοὶ χωρίζονται ἕξω διαμένοντες. *Eustath. Il.* p. 772, 25 ἐπὶ συγκομιδῇ καρπῶν, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ τὰ θαλύσια ἐθύετο, ἑορτὴ ἦγετο Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου κατὰ Πausanίαν, ἄλῶα καλουμένη διὰ τὸ ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς μάλιστα ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλῶ τότε καταχρᾶσθαι φέροντας εἰς Ἐλευσίνα ἐν ἣ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἦν πομπή.

<sup>a</sup> Schol. Aeschin. *Paraprosb.* p. 90 (Dindorf) τὰ κανᾶ ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν ἣ αἱ παρθένου ἱερά τινα Δήμητρος ἐν καιοῖς ἐβάσταζον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς\* ὅθεν κωνηφόροι κέκληνται.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπικλείδια: *Hesych.* s. v. ἑορτὴ Δήμητρος Ἀθήνησι.

<sup>19</sup> Feast of Ἀρκάδια in Arcadia: *Steph. Byz.* s. v. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεῶν ἑκαυδεκάτῳ βιβλίῳ περὶ Δήμητρος φησιν ὅτι Ἀρκάδια τῇ Δήμητρι

μέλλοντες θύειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ταύτην γὰρ τὴν θυσίαν συνεστήσαντο μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον σπόρον.

<sup>20</sup> Feast of Θαλύσια at Kos: Theocr. *Id.* 7. 31

ἃ δ' ὁδὸς ἄδε Θαλυσίας· ἢ γὰρ ἑταῖροι  
ἀνέρες εὐπέπλω Δαμάτερι δαῖτα τελεῦντι  
ἄλβω ἀπαρχόμενοι.

Cf. Paton and Hicks, *Inscripsi.* 37 (sacrificial calendar) Δάματρι οἷς τέλειωσ καὶ τελέα κνέουσα.

<sup>21</sup> Feast of Προλογία in Laconia: Hesych. *s. v.* θυσία πρὸ τῶν καρπῶν τελουμένη ὑπὸ Λακόνων.

Titles referring to the corn-goddess.

<sup>22</sup> Demeter Ἀθηφαγία in Sicily: Athenae. 416 B Πολέμων δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον παρὰ Σικελιώταις φησὶν Ἀθηφαγίας ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ Σιτοῦς Δήμητρος ἄγαλμα, οὗ πλησίον ἰδρῦσθαι καὶ Ἱμαλίδος, καθάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἐρμούχου [? leg. σπερμούχου], ἐν δὲ Σκόλῳ τῷ βοιωτικῷ Μεγαλάρτου καὶ Μεγαλομάζου: cf. *id.* 109<sup>a</sup> τῆς Σιτοῦς καλουμένης Δήμητρος καὶ Ἱμαλίδος οὕτως γὰρ . . . παρὰ Συρακοσίοις τιμᾶται. Cf. month Μεγαλάρτιος at Pyrasos in Thessaly: inscription first century B. C. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 563; also at Halos: *ib.* 1887, p. 371. Feast of Megalartia at Delphi: *ib.* 1895, p. 11, inscription fifth century B. C.; also at Delos: R. 91.

<sup>23</sup> Ἀζησία: Hesych. *s. v.* ἢ Δημήτηρ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀζαίνειν τοὺς καρπούς.

<sup>a</sup> ? Ἀλωάς: Theocr. *Id.* 7. 155:

βωμῷ παρ Δάματρος ἀλωάδος· ἃς ἐπὶ σωρῷ  
αὐτῆς ἐγὼ πάξαιμι μέγα πτύον· ἃ δὲ γελάσσαι  
δράγματα καὶ μάκνας ἐν ἀμφοτέραισιν ἔχοισα.

<sup>24</sup> Ἀμαία: Suidas, *s. v.* p. 237 A Ἀμαία, ἢ Δημήτηρ. Ἀζησία δέ, ἢ Κόρη· καὶ παροιμία ἢ Ἀμαία τὴν Ἀζησίαν μετῆλθεν. Cf. Didymus apud Zenob. *Adag.* 4. 20 Ἱστορεῖ Δίδυμος ὅτι Ἀμέα μὲν ἢ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Τροίξηνιόις προσαγορεύεται· Ἀζησία δὲ ἢ Κόρη (Plut. *Proov. Alex.* 41). Cf. R. 36.

<sup>25</sup> Ἀμαλλοφόρος: Eust. 1162. 27 Δημήτηρ Ἀμαλλοφόρος, ἣ ἔθνον Ἀθηναῖοι.

<sup>26</sup> Ἀνησιδώρα at Phlye: Paus. 1. 31, 4 ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμούς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς Κτησίον καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμῶν ὀνομαζόμενων θεῶν. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 745 A ἡμεῖς οἱ γεωργοὶ τὴν Θάλειον αἰκειούμεθα, φνυτῶν καὶ σπερμάτων εὐθαλούντων καὶ βλαστανόντων ἐπιμελείαν αὐτῇ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀποδιδόντες· ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαια, ἔφην, ποιείτε· καὶ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ Δημήτηρ Ἀνησιδώρα.

<sup>27</sup> Ἐλήγηρις (?) Eustath. *Il.* 1197. 53 τὴν Δημήτηραν Ἐλήγηριν λέγουσι διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἔλης γηρᾶν. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀχειρῶ . . . καὶ

Ἑλληγῆρος καὶ Γῆ καὶ Δημήτηρ. *id. s. v.* Ἑγγῆρος ἢ γῆ, παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς. *s. v.* Καῦστις ἢ ἔκφυστι τῶν σταχῶν . . . ἐπώνυμον Δήμητρος.

<sup>28</sup> Εὐαλωσία: Hesych. *s. v.* Δημήτηρ' ὅτι μεγάλας τὰς ἄλως ποιεῖ καὶ πληροῖ.

<sup>29</sup> Θερμασία at Hermione: Paus. 2. 34, 12 Δήμητρος δὲ ἱερὰ πεποιήται θερμασίας, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ὄροις, . . . τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει.

<sup>30</sup> Καρποφόρος at Tegea: Paus. 8. 53, 7 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐν Τεγέᾳ καὶ Κόρης ναός, ἃς ἐπονομάζουσι Καρποφόρους. At Epidaurus: *Éph. Arch.* 1883, 153, no. 50 Δήμητρος καρποφόρου Μηνιδώρος . . . πυροφορήσας (? first century B. C.). In Paros: *C. I. G.* 2384 f Δήμητρος Καρποφόρου. In Lesbos (Mitylene): *ib.* 2175 Δήμητρος καὶ θεῶν καρποφόρων καὶ θεῶν παλυκάρπων καὶ τελεσφόρων (? early Roman period). At Ephesus: see R. 98. ? At Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 1545 Δήμητρ[ος] Καρποφ[όρου]. At Pessinus: *C. I. G.* 4082 Δήμητρι Καρποφόρω, dedication of Roman period.

<sup>31</sup> Ὀμπνία at Athens: Suidas, *s. v.* ὄμπνιος λειμών' ὁ σῖτος καὶ οἱ Δημητριακοὶ καρποὶ, ἐπεὶ Ὀμπνία ἢ Δημήτηρ λέγεται. Schol. Nikand. *Alex.* 450 Ὀμπαι' οἱ μέλιτι δεδευμένοι πυροί' Καλλιμάχος 'ἐν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ φλογὶ δαιήμεν ὄμπνας' τούτους γὰρ Δήμητρι ἔθουον. *C. I. G.* 524 ἱερέως τῆς Ὀμ[πνίας] Δήμητρος]?

<sup>32</sup> Παμπανώ: Hesych. *s. v.* Πάμπανον [? Παμπανώ] ἢ Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἑρακλείᾳ.

<sup>33</sup> Ὠρία on coin of Smyrna: Sallet, *Zeitschr. für Num.* 4. s. 315 Δομιτιάνῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Σμυρναῖοι τὴν Ὠρίαν.

<sup>a</sup> ? Δικμαία: *Anth. Pal.* 6. 98, cereal dedication to Διοῖ Δικμαίῃ καὶ ἐναυλακοφοίτισιν Ὠραις.

<sup>34</sup> Worship on the Isthmus of Corinth of Demeter and Eueteria = the goddess of abundance: *C. I. G.* 1104 (inscription of Roman period) τὸν περίβολον τῆς ἱερᾶς νάπης καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ναοὺς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης . . . καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς τῆς Εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τὸ Πλουτώκειον.

<sup>35</sup> Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 681 φασὶ τὰς θεὰς [Δήμητραν καὶ Κόρην] ἀνθινοῖς μὴ κεκρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς θεσμοφοριαζούσαις τὴν τῶν ἀνθινῶν στεφάνων ἀπειρηῆσθαι χρῆσιν' ὁ δ' Ἴστρος, τῆς Δήμητρος εἶναι στέμμα τὴν μυρρίνην καὶ τὴν μίλακα' . . . καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην δὲ καὶ τὰς ἱεροφάντιδας καὶ τὸν δαδούχον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυρρίνης ἔχειν στέφανον. Cf. *ib.* 684 ἐν τῇ Νιόβῃ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς τὸν κρόκον ἀντικρὺς τῇ Νιόβῃ ἀνατίθεται' καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἴδιον ἂν εἴη Σοφοκλέους. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 683 :

νάρκισσος, μεγάλαιν θεαῖν

ἀρχαίον στεφάνωμα.

Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 333 μυρσίνω στεφάνῳ ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ μεμνη-

μένοι . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀπαλλόδωρος καὶ τοὺς θεσμοθέτας φησὶ διὰ τοῦτο μυρσίην στέφεσθαι, ὅτι αἰκείως ἔχει πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν ἢ θεὸς καὶ ὅτι τοῖς χθονίοις ἀφιέρωτο.

<sup>36</sup> Cult of Δαμία and Αὐξησία (? originally identical with Demeter and Persephone).

<sup>a</sup> At Epidaurus and Aegina: Herod. 5. 82–83 Ἐπιδαυρίοισιν ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδον . . . ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμῆς τε καὶ Αὐξησίης ἀγάλματα ἰδρῦσασθαι . . . [οἱ Αἰγινῆται] τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμῆς καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαίρουσται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκομίσαντό τε καὶ ἰδρῦσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χῶρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, . . . ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ . . . θυσιήσι τέ σφεα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικῆοισι κερταμίοισι ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν κακῶς δὲ ἡγάρεον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναικας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ αὐταὶ ἱρουργίαι· εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι. c. 86 (when the Athenians tried to carry off the images from Aegina) ἐς γούνατά σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Paus. 2. 30, 4 εἶδόν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα [ἐν Αἰγίνῃ] καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι θύειν νομίζουσιν. Schol. Aristid. 3, p. 598 (Dind.) Ἐπιδαυριοὶ λοιμῶ διεφθείραντο· ἔχρησεν αὐτοῖς ἡ Πυθία ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν τῆς Ἀθηναῶν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀγάλματα ἰδρῦσασθαι Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης Δαμίας καὶ Αὐξησίας. Cf. *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, no. 51 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Μαλεάτα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ θεῶν Ἀξείων Δαμίας Αὐξησίας: cf. inscription of fifth century B. C. published by Furtwängler, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1901, p. 1597, from Aegina, ἐν τῷ τῆς Μνίας θυμιατήριμα χαλκᾶ . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς Αὐξησίας λυχνίῳ χαλκοῦν.

<sup>b</sup> At Troezen: Paus. 2. 32, 2 ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν, καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὃν Ἐπιδαυριοὶ καὶ Αἰγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης· στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγνοσὶ σφισι λιθαβόλια ὀνομάζοντες. Cf. Hom. *Hymn Dem.* 265: Hesych. s. v. Μόροττων· ἐκ φλαιοῦ πλέγμα τι, φῆ ἔτυπτον ἀλλήλους τοῖς Δημητρίοις.

<sup>c</sup> At Sparta: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4496 [Αὐξη]σία καὶ Δαμοία.

<sup>d</sup> Amyclai: *ib.* 4522 ἀ πόλις Αὐρ. Τιμοκράτειαν . . . θοιναρμοστρίαν ἐς Δαμίας.

<sup>e</sup> Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 361, very archaic dedication, Λοκαία Δαμία.

<sup>f</sup> Tarentum: Hesych. s. v. Δάμεια· ἑορτὴ παρὰ Ταραντίοις.

<sup>g</sup> ? At Rome: Paulus 68 'Damium sacrificium, quod fiebat in operto in honorem Bonae Deae . . . dea quoque ipsa Damia et sacerdos eius damiatrix appellabatur.' W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 105.

Demeter as goddess of the under world.

<sup>37</sup> Χθονία at Hermione: Paus. 2. 35, 4-9 (on mount Pron) τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρώνος· τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμιονεῖς μὲν Κλυμένον Φορωνέως παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Κλυμένου Χθονίαν τοὺς ἰδρυσμένους φασὶν εἶναι. . . . § 5 Χθονία δ' οὖν ἡ θεὸς τε αὐτὴ καλεῖται, καὶ Χθονία ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρα θέρου· ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως ἡγοῦνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἳ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετειοὺς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσι, ἔπονται δὲ καὶ γυναικες καὶ ἄνδρες. οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοι σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτη κοσμοσάνδαλον, ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χροῶ· . . . τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν ἄγουσιν ἔπονται τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες . . . ἐπειδὴν τὴν βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς θύρας. Τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολείπόμενοι γρῶες, αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσὶν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι. . . . § 8 αὐτὸ δὲ ὁ σέβουσιν [ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος] ἐπὶ πλεόν ἢ τᾶλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος, οὔτε ξένος, αὐτὴ Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν· μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γρῶες ἴστασαν. Strabo 373 παρ' Ἑρμιονεῦσι δὲ τεθρόληται τὴν εἰς Αἴδου κατάβασιν σύντομον εἶναι· διόπερ οὐκ ἐντιθέασιν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς νεκροῖς ναύλαν. Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 24 τὸν ἐν Ἑρμιόνη τῆς Χθονίας νεῶν. Aelian. *Nat. An.* 11. 4 (at Hermione) μεγίστους οὖν ἀκούω βοῦς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Δήμητρος ἄγεσθαι τε πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ θύειν ἐαυτὰς παρέχειν. Καὶ οἷς λέγω μάρτυς Ἀριστοκλῆς. Athenae. 624 e Δᾶσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν [ἐν] Ἑρμιόνη Δήμητρα ὕμνῳ λέγων οὕτως

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένιοιο ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν.

Apollo. 1. 5, 1 μαθοῦσα δὲ [Δημήτηρ] παρ' Ἑρμιονέων ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἤρπασεν. Inscriptions from Hermione: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889, p. 198 Δάματρι, Κλυμένῳ. *C. I. G.* 1198 Δάματρι Χθονία with Διὶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ. *Ib.* 1193 ἀποδέχεται ἅ πόλις [τῶν Ἑρμιονέων] φιλοφρόνως τὰν τε θυσίαν ἂν μέλλει ἄγειν ἅ πόλις τῶν Ἀσιναιῶν τῷ Δάματρι τῷ Χθονία. *Ib.* 1197 ἅ πόλις ἅ τῶν Ἑρμιονέων Νίκην Ἀνδρωνίδα Δάματρι, Κλυμένῳ, Κόρα.

<sup>38</sup> At Sparta: Paus. 3. 14, 5 Δήμητρα δὲ Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασί, παραδόντος σφίσιν Ὀρφέως, δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη κατέστη καὶ τοῦτοις Χθονίαν νομίζειν Δήμητρα.

<sup>39</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 1. 6 (*Anath.* 31) αἰγιβάτη τόδε Πανὶ καὶ εὐκάρπῳ Διονύσῳ καὶ Διοὶ Χθονίῃ ξυνὸν ἔθηκα γέρας. Αἰτέομαι δ' αὐτοὺς καλὰ πῶεα καὶ καλὸν οἶνον, καὶ καλὸν ἀμῆσαι καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.

<sup>40</sup> Demeter Μέλαινα at Phigaleia: Paus. 8. 42, 1 Δήμητρος δὲ ἄντρον αὐτόθι ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Μελαίνης· ὅσα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐν Θελοπούσῃ λέγουσιν ἐς μίξιν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνός τε καὶ Δήμητρος, κατὰ ταῦτά σφισιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς νομίζουσι. Τεχθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος οἱ Φιγαλεῖς φασὶν οὐχ ἔππον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Δέσποιναν

ἐπονομαζομένην ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων. . . . § 3 πεποιῆσθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἄγαλμα. καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρα, γυναικὶ δὲ εἰκέναι τᾶλλα πλὴν κεφαλῆν· κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ κόμην εἶχεν ἵππου, καὶ δρακόντων τε καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων εἰκόνες προσαπεφύκεσαν τῇ κεφαλῇ· χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνεδέδυτο καὶ ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας· δελφίς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἦν αὐτῇ, περιωστὴρὰ δὲ ἡ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ· . . . Μέλαιναν δὲ ἐπονομάσαι φασὶν αὐτὴν ὅτι καὶ ἡ θεὸς μέλαιναν τὴν ἐσθῆτα εἶχε. *Ib.* § 11 ἔθυσσα τῇ θεῷ, καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδέν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἡμέρων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸν, καὶ μελισσῶν τε κηρία καὶ ἐρίαν τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἦκοντα, . . . [ἀ]τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἄφοδομημένον πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, θέντες δὲ καταχέουσιν αὐτῶν ἔλαιον ταῦτα ἰδιώταις τε ἀνδράσι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Φιγαλέων τῷ κοινῷ καθέστηκεν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν. ἰέρεια δὲ σφισὶν ἐστὶν ἡ δρώσα, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν Ἱεροθύτων καλουμένων ὁ νεώτατος. οἱ δὲ εἰσι τῶν ἀστῶν τρεῖς ἀριθμὸν. Cf. Hom., *Hymn Cer.* 42 :

κνάνεον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὦμων.

<sup>41</sup> Demeter Ἐρινύς, at Thelpusa in Arcadia (cf. Poseidon, R. 40<sup>b</sup>): Paus. 8. 25, 4 καλοῦσι δὲ Ἐρινὺν Θελοῦσαιοι τὴν θεόν· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισὶ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος . . . § 6 ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τῇ θεῷ γεγόνασι, τοῦ μηνίματος μὲν ἔνεκα Ἐρινύς, ὅτι τὸ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καλοῦσιν ἐρινύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Λουσία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λούσασθαι τῷ Δάδωνι. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματά ἐστι τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ξύλον . . . τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἐρινύος τὴν τε κίστην καλουμένην ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ δῶδα . . . ὅσοι δὲ Θέμιδος καὶ οὐ Δήμητρος τῆς Λουσίας τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι νομίζουσι, μάταια ἴστωσαν ὑπειληφότες. τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τεκεῖν φασὶν ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα, ἧς τὸ ὄνομα ἐς ἀτελέστατους λέγειν οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ ἵππον τὸν Ἀρείονα. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ σφισὶν Ἀρκάδων πρώτοις Ἴππιον Ποσειδῶνα ὀνομασθῆναι. Cf. the worship of the Πραξιδικαὶ on Mount Τιλφούσιον near Haliartos in Boeotia, Paus. 9. 33, 3, and the Τιλφῶσσα Ἐρινύς, Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 126. Tzetz. Lycophr. 153 καὶ Καλλιμάχος Ἐριννὺν καλεῖ τὴν Δήμητρα λέγων

τὴν μὲν ὄγ' ἐσπέρμηγεν Ἐρινυῖ Τιλφουσσαίη.

Lycophr. 1040 :

δίκης τάρροθος Τελφουσία  
Δάδωνος ἀμφὶ βεῖθρα ναίονσα σκύλαξ.

<sup>42 a</sup> Demeter associated with Poseidon in cult.

On the sacred way from Athens to Eleusis: Paus. 1. 37, 2 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός· σὺν δὲ σφισὶν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμὰς: vide 'Haloa,' R. 18. At Mykonos: Dittenb. *Syll.* 373 (R. 9). ? At Troezen: R. 80. Plut. 668 E (*Quaest. Conv.* 4. 4, 3) Διὸ καὶ Δήμητρος σίνναος ὁ Ποσειδῶν. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 2, 221, col. 9 πολλοὺς πρὸ Δήμητρος θύειν Ἀχελῷφ ὅτι πάντων ποταμῶν ὄνομα ὁ Ἀχελῷφος καὶ ἐξ ὕδατος καρπός.

<sup>42</sup> b ? Demeter "Ερκυννα: Lycophr. 153, cf. Paus. 9. 39, 2-3. Hesych. s. v. 'Ερκύνια' ἑαυτὴ Δήμητρος.

Other chthonian cults of Demeter.

<sup>43</sup> In Laconia: Plut. *Λyc.* 27 τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν αὐτὰς . . . τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος (cf. Plut. 943 A τοὺς νεκροὺς Δημητρείους Ἀθηναῖοι ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν). Public inscription in honour of the dead at Sparta: *C. I. G.* 1434 ἀ πόλις Ἀράταν Τυχαρέτου βιαῦσαν σωφρόνως καὶ εὐσεβῶς Δάματρι καὶ Κόρα. At Gythion: Paus. 3. 21, 8 Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἄγιον. Cf. relief of (?) Graeco-Roman period found at Gythion, with inscription (*Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 223, Taf. 13, 1) [Τι]σικράτ[ης Ἀγ]αθόκλειαν τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα Δάματρι καὶ Κόρα χαριστήριον. At Kainepolis, near Tainaron: Paus. 3. 25, 6 ἐν αὐτῇ μέγαρον Δήμητρος.

<sup>44</sup> Inscription from Messoa: *C. I. G.* 1164 . . . ἐν Ἐλευσινίοις Δάματρι θύσει χοιρίδιον ἄρσεν, ἄρτον διὰ σαάμων . . . ἄρσης δὲ οὐδεὶς παρέσται . . . Δεσποῖνα χοῖρον ἄρσεν, ἄρτον διὰ σαάμων, Πλούτωνι χοῖρον ἄρσεν, ἄρτον προχαρέα (?), Περσεφόνα χοῖρον ἄρσεν, ἄρτον Τύχα χοῖρον ἄρσεν.

<sup>45</sup> At Tegea: R. 119<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> At Mantinea: R. 119<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Elis, on Mount Minthe near Pylos: Strab. 344 τέμενός ἐστιν Αἴδου πρὸς τῷ ἄρει τιμώμενον καὶ ὑπὸ Μακιστίων, καὶ Δήμητρος ἄλσος ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ Πυλιακοῦ πεδίου. On the banks of the Acheron, a branch of the Alpheios: *ib.* ἐκτετίμηται σφόδρα τὰ τε τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης ἱερά ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἄδου. Cf. R. 118.

<sup>48</sup> At Potniai in Boeotia: R. 113.

<sup>49</sup> At Megara: Paus. 1. 40, 6, on the Acropolis, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὰ καλούμενον μέγαρον ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Κἄρα ἔλεγον.

<sup>50</sup> At Paros: Herod. 6. 134 mentions the ὑποζάκωρος τῶν χθονίων θεῶν in connexion with the ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος: vide R. 251; Hera R. 66.

<sup>51</sup> At Athymbra in Caria: Ἰατροκλῆς . . . Ἀθωνβριανὸς Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη Δήμητρι Ἐρμεῖ Ἄνουβι, κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887, p. 274.

<sup>52</sup> At Knidos: Newton, *Halicarn.* p. 714, Pl. lxxxix, no. 14 (Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 3520) Σώστρατος Λαχάρτου Δάματρι Κούραι Πλούτωνι Ἐπιμάχῳ Ἐρμῆι. Cf. the 'Dirae' inscriptions on leaden tablets (Newton, *ib.* p. 719, &c. Collitz, 3536-3548) with the formula ἀνερωῖ . . . Δάματρι Κούραι Πλούτωνι θεοῖς τοῖς παρὰ Δάματρι (? second or first century B. C.). Cf. inscription of Herodes Atticus at his Triopian farm on the



Apprian way, οἱ κίονες Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἀνάθημα καὶ χθονίων θεῶν (Kaibel, *Inscr. Graec. Ital. et Sicil.* 1390). *C. I. G.* 916 παραδίδωμι τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεαῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἥρφον φυλάττειν, Πλούτωνι καὶ Δήμητρι καὶ Περσεφόνῃ καὶ Ἐρινύσι. Demeter, Kore, Plouton, Eubouleus associated at Eleusis : R. 180, 226. Chthonian character of Demeter in the Attic θεσμοφόρια : R. 75<sup>f</sup>. In Sicily : R. 129, 130.

Political and ethnic titles and cults.

<sup>53</sup> Demeter Πελασγίς at Argos : Paus. 2. 22, 2 Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου Πελασοῦ, cf. R. 232.

<sup>54</sup> Demeter Λιβύσσα : Polemon. *Frag.* 11 (Preller) ἐν τῇ Ἀργεῖα σπαρέντος τοῦ πυρῶν σπέρματος ἐκ Λιβύης Ἄργου μεταπεμφαμένου· διὰ καὶ Δήμητρος Λιβύσσης ἱερὸν ἰδρυσεν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει.

<sup>55</sup> Demeter Λερναία at Lerna : R. 233.

<sup>56</sup> Demeter Κρισαία ἐπιδαμος at the Boeotian Orchomenos : *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 3213 Δαμάτερι Κρισή ἐπιδάμν ἀνέθεικε.

<sup>57</sup> Μυκαλησσία : vide R. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Demeter Στειρίτις in Phokis : Paus. 10. 35, 10 Δήμητρος δὲ ἐπίκλησιν Στειρίτιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Στείρι· πλίνθου μὲν τῆς ὤμης τὸ ἱερὸν, λίθου δὲ τοῦ Πεντέλῃσι τὸ ἄγαλμα, δῶδας ἢ θεὸς ἔχουσα· παρὰ δὲ αὐτῇ κατειλημένον ταινίαις ἄγαλμα ἀρχαίων εἴ τι ἄλλο.

<sup>59</sup> Demeter Παναχαΐα at Aigion : Paus. 7. 24, 3 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαΐᾳ ἐστὶ Δήμητρος . . . ἐστὶ δὲ σφισι καὶ Σωτηρίας ἱερὸν· ἰδεῖν μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν ἱερουμένων ἔστι, δρῶσι δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λαμβάναντες παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ πέμματα ἐπιχώρια ἀφίαισιν ἐς θάλασσαν, πέμπειν δὲ τῇ ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἀρεθαύσῃ φασὶν αὐτά.

<sup>60</sup> Demeter Ἀχαΐα in Boeotia : Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* 378 D καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρα κινουῦσιν, ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζοντες, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς Κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος αὔσης. Ἔστι δ' ὁ μὴν οὗτος περὶ Πηλεΐδα σπάρμιος, ὃν Ἀθῶρ Αἰγύπτιοι, Πυανειψιδῶνα δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Δαμάτριον καλοῦσι. At Thespiai : *Athen. Myth.* 4, p. 191 ἱέρειαν διὰ βίαν Δήμητρος Ἀχέας (Roman period). At Tanagra and Athens : Steph. Byz. s. v. Γέφυρα· πάλιν Βοιωτίας· τινὲς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ Ταναγραίους φασιν, ὡς Στράβων καὶ Ἐκαταῖος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Γεφυραία ἢ Δηῶ. Strabo, 404 καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ Γεφυραῖοι οἱ Ταναγραῖοι. Herod. 5. 57 οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι . . . αἴκειον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπαλαχάντες τὴν Ταναγκρικὴν μοῖραν . . . 61 οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφι ἱρά ἐστὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μετὰ ταῖσι λοιπαῖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἱρὸν τε καὶ ὄργια. At Marathon and in the Attic Tetrapolis, calendar-inscription, fourth century B. C. : Prott-Ziehen 26 Θαρρηλιῶνος· Ἀχαιᾶ

κρίος. Cf. Hesych. s. v. 'Αχαιία: ἐπίθετον Δήμητρος ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὴν Κόρην ἄχους. Cf. R. 7, 109. ? Delos: vide R. 91. Paus. 5. 8, 8 πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμῳ τῷ ἐς 'Αχαιίαν ἐποίησεν Ὡλὴν Λύκιος ἀφικέσθαι τὴν 'Αχαιίαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβαρέων τούτων' ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠδὴν Μελάνωπος Κυμαῖος ἐς Ὡπιὸν καὶ Ἐκαίρην ᾗσεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβαρέων καὶ αὐταὶ πρότερον ἔτι τῆς 'Αχαιίας ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δῆλον. ? At Ikonion in Lykaonia: C. I. G. 4000 'Ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀχαιῆς (?) δήμου χάριν τῆς δεκαμάζου τετρακόρης τε θεῶν πρόπολοι καὶ Διωνύσου (inscription of late period, doubtfully restored).

<sup>61</sup> Demeter Ὁμολογία at Thebes: vide Zeus, R. 133.

<sup>62</sup> Demeter Ἀμφικτυονίς, near Thermopylae: Herod. 7. 200 Θερμοπυλέων κόμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὐνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται' . . . καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱερὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἴδρυται καὶ ἔδρα ἐσιὶ Ἀμφικτυοσί καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱερόν. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 142, Amphictyonic inscription of the period of Alexander, mentioning κοινάσεως τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐμ Πυλαίαι τῆς Δήμητρος μισθός. Strab. 429 ἔστι δὲ καὶ λιμὴν μέγας αὐτόθι καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐν ᾧ κατὰ πᾶσαν Πυλαίαν θυσίαν ἐτέλουν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες; cf. 420. *Anth. Pal.* 13. 25 (Callimachus) Δήμητρι τῇ Πυλαίῃ, τῇ τούτων οὐκ Πελασγῶν Ἀκρίσιος τὸν νηὸν ἐδείματα. Cf. 136<sup>c</sup>; Apollo, R. 120.

<sup>62</sup> <sup>a</sup> ? Ἀκανθία, from Akanthos in Thrace: C. I. G. 2007 κ ΟΡ[ας] ΔΗ[μητρος] ΑΚ[ανθίας].

<sup>63</sup> Εὐνομία, ? epithet of Demeter on fourth-century coins of Gela: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 124. Cf. inscription found in the Peiraeus, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 310, mentioning a dedication to Demeter as the ἁμόνοια τοῦ κοινοῦ [τῶν θιασωτῶν], B. C. 302.

<sup>64</sup> Demeter Θεσμοφόρος and Θεσμία: Diod. Sic. 5. 5 [Δημήτηρ] νόμους εἰσηγήσατο καθ' οὓς δικαιοπραγεῖν εἰθίσθησαν δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φασὶν αὐτὴν θεσμοφόρον ἐπονομασθῆναι. Callim. *H. Demet.* 19:

κάλλιον ὡς παλίσσιν ἐαδῦτα τέθμια δῶκεν.

Vide infra, R. 74-107.

<sup>a</sup> Demeter Δημοτελής in Amorgos: *Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 1903, p. 166 (fourth-century decree) ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ' . . . ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Δήμητρος τῆς δημοτελοῦς εἰσαγγέλλει . . . περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Δήμητρος ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες εἰσιῦσαι.

<sup>65</sup> Dedication at Halikarnassos: *Hell. Journ.* 1896, p. 217 Πανταυέντη Διοσίμῳ τοῦ Ἄρεως [ἱερατεύσασα Δῆ]μητρι καὶ Κόρη καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ (? second century B. C.).

<sup>66</sup> Festival of Ἐλευθέρια at Athens in honour of Demeter and Kore: *Eph. Arch.* 1890, p. 74 [Φιλιππίδης] ἐπίθετον ἀγῶνα κατεσκεύασεν τῇ Δήμητρι

καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ πρῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερίας, B. C. 284-3. *C. I. G.* 123 (Eleusinian official to supervise weights and measures fined for neglect of duty) ὀφειλέτω ἱερὰς τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ δραχμὰς χιλίας.

<sup>67</sup> Demeter in the formula of the state-oath. At Pheneos: *R.* 235. At Athens: *C. I. G.* 736 (inscription of Cimon's period) τὴν βουλὴν ὀμνύου Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Δήμητρα. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 578. In the oath of the Heliasts: Demosth. *in Timocr.* 151 ἐπομνύου Δία Ποσειδῶ Δήμητρα. Cf. *in Callipp.* 9. Pollux 8. 122 ὤμνον δὲ [οἱ δικασταὶ] ἐν Ἀρδιόττῳ δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω πατρῶν καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Δία βασιλέα. Cf. Schol. Aeschin. *in Timarch.* (Dindorf, p. 31) τοὺς ὀρκίους, Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν πατρῶν καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Δία, ὡς φησι Δείναρχος: ? oath instituted by Solon. See Hesych. *s. v.* τρεῖς θεοί.

<sup>68</sup> At Syracuse, ὁ μέγας ὄρκος: Plut. *Dion.* 56 ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος. καταβὰς ἐς τὸ τῶν Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος ὁ διδούς τὴν πίστιν ἱερῶν τιῶν γενομένων περιβάλλεται τὴν πορφυρίδα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ λαβῶν δᾶδα καιομένην ἀπόμνυσι. . . ὁ Κάλλιππος περιμείνας τὴν ἑορτὴν ἧς ὤμοσε θεοῦ δρᾶ τὸν φόνον ἐν τοῖς Κορείοις. Cf. Diod. Sic. 19. 5 παραχθείς [Ἀγαθοκλῆς] εἰς τὸ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὤμοσε μηδὲν ἐναντιωθῆσεσθαι τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ.

<sup>69</sup> Demeter invoked in treaties of alliance, e. g. between Athens and Keos: *C. I. A.* 4. 54<sup>b</sup>, with Zeus, Athena, and Poseidon. Between Erythrai and Kolophon: *ib.* 1. 9, 13. Between Athenians, Arcadians, Achaeans, Eleans, and Phliasiens—see Xen. *Hell.* 7. 5—before the battle of Mantinea: *C. I. A.* 2, addit. 57<sup>b</sup> εἴξασθαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς.

<sup>70</sup> ? City-goddess of Sicyon: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐπωπίς· Δήμητηρ παρὰ Σικυωνίοις. Of Sardis: Apoll. Tyan. *Epist.* 408 Ἐρινύων νομίσαι ἂν τις τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος· ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλόανθρωπος.

<sup>71</sup> Δήμητηρ Ξιφηφόρος ? worshipped as war-goddess in Boeotia: Lycophr. 153 Ἐρκυνὴ Ἐρινὺς Θουρία Ξιφηφόρος; see Tzetzēs, *ib.* ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἴδρυνται ἡ Δήμητρα ἔχουσα ξίφος. Cf. worship of Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Selinus. Roehl, *I. G. A.* 515 νικῶντι τοῖ Σελινώντιοι διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικράτειαν. Plut. *Eum.* 6 εἶτα τῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, τῷ δὲ τὴν Δήμητραν βοηθοῦσαν ἐλθεῖν. ? Demeter Νικηφόρος at Henna: *R.* 158.

Demeter as goddess of marriage (?) and birth.

<sup>72</sup> Plut. *Coniug. Praec.* 1, p. 138 A μετὰ τὸν πάτριον θεσμόν, ὃν ὑμῖν ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱέρεια συνειργυμένοις ἐφήρμοσεν. *De Isid. et Osir.* 377<sup>b</sup> πῶς οὔτε Δήμητρι τῆς τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιμελείας μέτεστι, ἀλλ' Ἴσιδι; *ib. Prov. Alex.* 16 Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἔθος ἦν ἀμφιβαλῆ ποῖδα . . . λικνὸν ἄρτων πλήρη περιφέροντα λέγειν "Ἐφυγον κακόν, εἴρον ἄμεινον." Cf. Hesych. *s. v.*

γαμήλιος· ὁ εἰς τοὺς γάμους πεσσομένοις πλακοῦς. Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 58 alii dicunt favere nuptiis Cererem, quod prima nupserit Iovi et condendis urbibus praesit, ut Calvus docet 'et leges sanctas docuit et cara iugavit corpora connubiis et magnas condidit urbes.'

<sup>73</sup> Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos* 386 τὰς δὲ λαχούσας ὁμοσάσας ἱερῶσθαι [τῇ Δάματρι] ταῖς δὲ τελευμέναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπυνημφεοιμέναις ἦμεν τῇ δηλομένα, . . . πενταβάλλος διδοῦσαις ἀπολελεύσθαι ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων πάντων (? third century B. C.).

<sup>74</sup> Θεσμοφόρος (vide R. 64): Herod. 2. 171 καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληες Θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὅση ἐστὶ λέγειν. αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγῶσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας. μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, αἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίω καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μῦνοι.

<sup>75</sup> The Θεσμοφόρια (cf. R. 35).

In Attica: <sup>a</sup> Arist. *Thestomorph.* l. 280 ὦ Θραῖττα, θᾶσαι, καομένων τῶν λαμπάδων | ὅσον τὸ χρῆμ' ἀνέρχεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς λιγνύος. l. 376 τῇ μέσῃ | τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, ἧ μάλισθ' ἡμῖν σχολή. l. 294 δούλοισ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων. l. 78 ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' οὔτε τὰ δικαστήρια | μέλλει δικάζειν οὔτε βουλῆς ἐστ' ἔδρα, | ἐπεὶ τρίτῃ στί Θεσμοφορίων ἡ μέση. l. 1148 ἦκετ' εὐφρονες ἴλασι, | πότνια, ἄλλος ἐς ὑμέτερον, | ἄνδρας ἴν' οὐ θέμις εἰσορᾶν | ὄργια σεμνὰ θεῶν, ἵνα λαμπάσι | φαίνεται ἄμβροτον ὄψιν. Av. 1519 ἀλλ' ὡσπερὶ Θεσμοφορίους νηστεύομεν. Isaeus. 3. 80 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κεκτημένος τὸν τριτάλαντον οἶκον . . . ἠναγκαζέτο ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς γαμητῆς γυναικὸς καὶ Θεσμοφόρια ἐστῆν γυναῖκας. 8. 19 αἱ τε γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα προῦκριναν αὐτὴν μετὰ τῆς Διοκλέους γυναικὸς . . . ἄρχειν εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα μετ' ἐκείνης.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Arist. *Thestomorph.* 841 τὰ μὲν Στήνια πρὸ δυεῖν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων Πυανεψιῶνος θ' (Phot. s. v. Στήνια' ἐορτὴ Ἀθῆνησιν, ἐν ἧ ἔδοκει ἡ ἄνοδος γενέσθαι τῆς Δήμητρος, εἰλοιδοροῦντο δ' ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτὸς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀλλήλοισ' οὕτως Εὔβουλος). Schol. Arist. *Thestomorph.* 86 δεκάτῃ [Πυανεψιῶνος] ἐν Ἀλλιοῦντι Θεσμοφόρια ἄγεται. . . ἐνδεκάτῃ Πυανεψιῶνος ἄνοδος (id. l. 592 παρ' ἐνίοις καὶ κάθοδος) δωδεκάτῃ νηστεία τρισκαιδεκάτῃ καλλιγένεια. (Cf. Artemis, R. 73). Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 341 τὸ κρεοφαγεῖν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις . . . τὸ χοιροφαγεῖν. Hesych. s. v. ἄνοδος ἡ ἐνδεκάτῃ τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος ὅτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέρχονται εἰς Θεσμοφορίαν [ῥεῖς Θεσμοφορίον] οὕτω καλεῖται. Plut. *Vit. Demosth.* 30 κατέστρεψε δὲ ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος μηνὸς ἐν ἧ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγαυσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. Athenae. 307 F νηστείαν ἄγομεν Θεσμοφορίων τὴν μέσην. Alkiphr. 3. 39 ἡ νῦν ἐστῶσα σεμνοτάτῃ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἐορτὴ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἄνοδος κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γέγαυεν ἡμέραν ἡ

Νηστεία δὲ τὰ τήμεραν εἶναι παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐορτάζεται, τὰ Καλλιγένεια δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπιόδουσαν θύασι. Photius, s. v. p. 87, 21 Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραι δ' : δεκάτη Θεσμοφορία (cod.), ἐνδεκάτη κάθοδος.

c Ον. *Met.* 10. 431 :

Festa piae Cereris celebrabant annua matres  
Illa quibus nivea velatae corpore veste  
Primitias frugum dant spicea sarta suarum,  
Perque novem noctes Venerem tactusque viriles  
In vetitis numerant.

d Theodor. *Therapeut.* 12. 73 (p. 176, 9) ἐρωτηθεῖσα [Θεανῶ] “ Ποσταία γυνή ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόριον κάτειναι ; ”

e Schol. Theocr. 4. 25 Παρθένου γυναικὸς καὶ τὸν βίον σεμναὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελετῆς τὰς νομίμους βίβλους καὶ ἱερὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κορυφῶν αὐτῶν ἀνετίθεσαν καὶ ὡσανεὶ λιτανεύουσαι ἀπήρχοντο εἰς Ἐλευσίνα.

f Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 16 P. αἱ Θεσμοφοριάουσαι τῆς βροίης ταὺς κόκκους παραφυλάττουσιν ἐσθίειν.

g Apoll. *Bibl.* 1. 5, 1, § 3 γραῖά τις, Ἰάμβη, σκόψασα τὴν θεὸν ἐποίησε μειδιάσαι· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς Θεσμοφορίαις τὰς γυναικὰς σκώπτειν λέγουσιν (cf. Hom. *H. Dem.* 203–205). Theodor. *Therap.* 3. 84 (p. 51, 33) τὸν κτένα τὸν γυναικίον ταῖς Θεσμοφορίαις παρὰ τῶν τετελεσμένων γυναικῶν τιμῆς ἀξιούμεναν.

h Plin. 24. 59 Graeci lygon vocant, alias agnon, quoniam matronae Thesmophoriis Atheniensium castitatem custodientes his foliis cubitus sibi sternunt.

i Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 14 P τὰ Φερεφάττης ἀνθαλόγια καὶ τὸν κάλαθον καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Αἰδωνέως καὶ τὰ σχίσμα τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὰς ὕς τοῦ Εὐβουλέως τὰς συγκαταπαθείσας ταῖν θεαῖν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίαις μεγαρίζοντες χαίρους ἐκβάλλουσι [leg. μεγάροις ζώντας . . . ἐμβάλλουσι], ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναικὸς παικίλως κατὰ πάλιν ἐαρτάζουσι, Θεσμοφορία, σκιροφόρια, ἀρρητοφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγωδοῦσαι ἀρπαγὴν. Lucian's Scholiast, *Rhein. Mus.* 25 (1870), p. 548 Θεσμοφορία (sic) ἐαρτὴ Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια περιέχουσα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Σκιροφορία καλεῖται . . . εἰς οὖν τιμὴν τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ριπτεῖσθαι τοὺς χοίρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κάρης. τὰ δὲ σαπέντα τῶν ἐμβληθέντων εἰς τὰ μέγαλα καταναφέρουσιν (sic) ἀντλήτρια καλούμεναι γυναικὸς, καθαρεύσασαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν· αἱ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα καὶ ἀνευεγκάσαι ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν· ὧν νομίζουσι τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ τῷ σπάρῳ συγκαταβάλλοντα εὐφορίαν ἔξειν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ δράκοντας κάτω εἶναι περὶ τὰ χάσματα, οὓς τὰ παλλὰ τῶν βληθέντων κατεσθίειν. διὸ καὶ κρότον γίνεσθαι ἔταν ἀντλώσιν αἱ γυναικὸς, καὶ ἔταν ἀποτιθῶνται πάλιν τὰ πλάσματα ἐκεῖνα ἵνα ἀναχωρήσωσιν αἱ δράκοντες οὓς νομίζουσι φρουροὺς τῶν ἀδύτων. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρρητοφόρια καλεῖται, καὶ ἄγεται τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον

ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σποράς. ἀναφέρονται δὲ κανταῦθα ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ἐκ στέατος τοῦ σίτου κατεσκευασμένα, μιμήματα δρακόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν σχημάτων. λαμβάνουσι δὲ κώνου θαλλοὺς διὰ τὸ πολύγονον τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἐμβάλλονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μέγαρα οὕτως καλούμενα ἄδυτα ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ χοῖροι, ὡς ἤδη ἔφαμεν, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸ πολυτόκον, εἰς σύνθημα τῆς γενέσεως τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. . . Θεσμοφορία καλεῖται καθότι Θεσμοφόρος ἡ Δημήτηρ κατονομάζεται, τιθεῖσα νόμον ἦτοι θεσμὸν καθ' οὓς τὴν τροφήν πορίζεσθαι τε καὶ κατεργάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπου δέον.

<sup>k</sup> Plut. p. 378 D (*De Isid. et Osir.* 69) καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίας χαμαὶ καθήμενοι.

<sup>l</sup> Hesych. s. v. Διάγμα· θυσία τις Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τελουμένη ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφόροις· τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀποδιώγμα ὕστερον ἐκλήθη.

<sup>m</sup> Id. s. v. Ζημία· θυσία τις ἀποδομένη ὑπὲρ τῶν γυνομένων (?) ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις.

<sup>n</sup> Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* 4, p. 462 νόμος ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις λύεσθαι τοὺς δεσμώτας. Cf. *ib.* 8, p. 67.

<sup>o</sup> At Halimus: Paus. I. 31, 1 Ἀλιμουσίοις Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν.

<sup>p</sup> At Kolias: Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 8 πλεύσας ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Πεισιατράτου καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτόθι πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ Δήμητρι τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπιτελούσας.

<sup>q</sup> At Peiraeus: *C. I. A.* 2. 573<sup>b</sup> (fourth century B. C.) ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν δήμαρχον μετὰ τῆς ἱερείας τὸν αἰεὶ δημαρχοῦντα τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου ὅπως ἂν μηδεὶς ἀφέτους ἀφιεῖ μηδὲ θιάσους συνάγει μηδὲ ἱερὰ ἐνιδρεύονται μηδὲ καθαρμούς ποιῶσι μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν ἄνευ τῆς ἱερείας ἀλλ' ἢ ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων καὶ πληροσῖαι καὶ κυλαμαιοὶ καὶ τὰ σκίρα καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην ἡμέραν συνέρχονται αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Ἐψηφίσθαι Πειραιεῦσιν; cf. 1059. (Cf. Arist. *Thest.* 834 προεδρίαν τ' αὐτῇ δίδοσθαι Στηνίοισι καὶ Σκίροις.)

<sup>r</sup> At Eleusis: Aen. Tact. 17 ταῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναιξί, Θεσμοφορία ἀγούσας ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ (referring to the period of Pisistratus).

<sup>76</sup> Θεσμοφορία at Eretria: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 31 διὰ τί τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις αἱ τῶν Ἐρετριέων γυναῖκες οὐ πρὸς πῦρ ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ὀπτῶσι τὰ κρέα καὶ Καλλιγένειαν οὐ καλοῦσιν;

<sup>77</sup> Θεσμοφορία at Megara: Paus. I. 42, 6 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν Θεσμοφόρου. Cf. 43. 2, near the Prytaneum, Πέτρα Ἀνακλήθρα . . . Δημήτηρ, εἴ τῳ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανᾶτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. εὐκότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.

<sup>78a</sup> ? Θεσμοφορία on the Isthmus of Corinth: Serv. *Aen.* I. 430 apud

Isthmon anus quaedam nomine Melissa fuit. Hanc Ceres sacrorum suorum cum secreta docuisset, interminata est ne cui ea quae didicisset aperiret ; sed cum ad eam mulieres accessissent, ut ab ea primo blandimentis post precibus et praemiis elicerent ut sibi a Cerere commissa patefaceret, et in silentio perduraret, ab eisdem iratis mulieribus discerpta est.

<sup>b</sup> ? Θεσμοφόρια in Sicyon, on the road to Phlius : Paus. 2. 11, 3 πυραία καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄλσος, ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Προστασίας Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐνταῦθα ἐφ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, τὸν δὲ Νυμφῶνα καλούμενον ταῖς γυναιξιν ἑορτάζειν παρειασι καὶ ἀγάλματα Διονύσου καὶ Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης τὰ πρόσωπα φαίνοντα ἐν τῷ Νυμφῶνι ἐστίν.

<sup>79</sup> Θεσμοφόρια in Aegina : Herod. 6. 91 καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δῆμητρος Θεσμοφόρον.

<sup>80</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Troezen : Paus. 2. 32, 8 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ναόν ἐστι Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος, Ἀθήπου, καθὰ λέγουσιν, ἰδρυσαμένου.

<sup>81</sup> ? Θεσμοφόρια at Epidaurus : Diod. Sic. (*Excerpti*) 32. 1 ad fin. λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν τὴν εἰς ἄνδρα μορφήν ἱέρεια τῆς Δῆμητρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἄρατα ἰδοῦσα κρίσιν ἔσχεν ἀσεβείας.

<sup>82a</sup> Θεσμοφόρια in Laconia : Hesych. s. v. Τρήμερος· Θεσμοφόρια ὑπὸ Λακόνων.

<sup>b</sup> ? Θεσμοφόρια at Aigila : Paus. 4. 17, 1 ἔστι δ' Αἴγιλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἔνθα ἱερὸν ἰδρυταὶ ἄγιον Δῆμητρος· ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Ἄριστομένης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς γυναικας ἀγούσας ἑορτὴν. . .

<sup>83</sup> Θεσμοφόρια in Arcadia, near Pheneos : Paus. 8. 15, 5 οἱ δεξιόμενοι τὴν θεὸν . . . ἐποίησαντο μὲν Δῆμητρος ναὸν Θεσμίας ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κυλλήνῃ, κατεστήσαντο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τελετὴν, ἥτινα καὶ νῦν ἄγουσιν.

<sup>84</sup> ? Θεσμοφόρια at Megalopolis : Paus. 8. 36, 6 Δῆμητρος καλουμένης ἐν ἔλει ναὸς τε καὶ ἄλσος· τοῦτο σταδίους πέντε ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, γυναιξὶ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἕσοδος ἐστι μόναις. Cf. R. 107.

<sup>85</sup> ? Θεσμοφόρια near Pellene in Achaea : Paus. 7. 27, 9 τὸ Μύσαιον, ἱερὸν Δῆμητρος Μυσίας. ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ φασιν ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν τῇ Δημητρὶ ἐνταῦθα ἡμερῶν ἐπτά· τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑπεξίσιν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καταλειπόμενοι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες δρῶσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ δπόσα νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς· ἀπελαύνονται δὲ οὐχ οἱ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὸ ἄρρεν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφικομένων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ γυναῖκές τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὰς γυναικας οἱ ἄνδρες γελωτὶ τε ἐς ἀλλήλους χρῶνται καὶ σκώμασιν. Cf. R. 253.

<sup>86</sup> In Boeotia.

<sup>a</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Thebes : Paus. 9. 16, 5 τὸ δὲ τῆς Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς

Θεομοφόρου Κάδμου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων οἰκίαν ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι. Δῆμητρος δὲ ἄγαλμα ὅσον ἐς στέρνα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ. Cf. 9. 6, 6. Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2, 29 ἡ βουλή ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ Θεομοφοριάζειν.

<sup>b</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Koroneia: *C. I. G. Sept.* 2876 ἱεραίασσα Δάματρι Θεομοφόρῳ.

<sup>87</sup> Θεομοφόρια in Phokis: Paus. 10. 33, 12 Δῆμητρος δὲ Θεομοφόρου Δρυμαίοις ἱερόν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου πεποιήται· καὶ αὐτῇ Θεομοφόρια ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.

<sup>88</sup> Θεομοφόρια in Lokris: Strab. 1. 60 περὶ δὲ Ἄλπωνον Θεομοφορίων ὄντων.

<sup>89</sup> Θεομοφόρια in Thrace (Abdera): Athenae. 2, p. 46E ἐπεὶ αἱ τῶν Θεομοφορίων ἡμέραι ἐνέστησαν, δεηθεισῶν [Δημόκριτον] μὴ ἀποθανεῖν κατὰ τὴν πανηγυριν, ὅπως ἐορτάσωσι.

<sup>90</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Pantikapaion: *C. I. G.* 5799 ἱερία Δῆμητρος Θεομοφόρου. *Ib.* 2106 Δῆμητρι Θεομοφόρῳ (private dedication, circ. 300 B. C.).

<sup>91</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Delos: Athenae. 109E Ἀχαιῖνας· τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου μνημονεύει Σῆμος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Δηλιάδος λέγων ταῖς Θεομοφόροις γίνεσθαι· εἰσὶ δὲ ἄρτοι μεγάλοι, καὶ ἐορτὴ καλεῖται μεγαλάρτια, ἐπιλεγόντων τῶν φερόντων ἀχαιῖνην στέατος ἔμπλεων τράγον. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 6, pp. 24–25, temple accounts of Delos, circ. 180 B. C., χοῖρος τὸ Θεομοφόριον καθάραι (l. 198), εἰς Θεομοφόρια τῇ Δῆμητρι ὄς ἐγκύμων (l. 200), τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Δῆμητρος τῇ τῆς Κόρης (l. 201). Cf. year 1903, p. 72 (inscription, circ. 250 B. C.), in month Metageitnion, χοῖρος τὸ Θεομοφόριον καθάρασθαι· ὄς ἐγκύμων ἐς θυσίαν τῇ Δῆμητρι καὶ ὥστε τῇ Κόρῃ ἱερεῖον καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερεῖον.

<sup>92</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Paros: vide R. 50. Cf. Hera, R. 66.

<sup>93</sup> ? Θεομοφόρια at Mykonos: vide R. 250.

<sup>94</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Rhodes: the month Θεομοφόριος mentioned in inscription on vase-handle, *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 133. Inscription in *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 157 (first century A. D.) mentions a collegium Θεομοφοριαστῶν.

On the coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>95</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Gambreion: Θεομοφόριον mentioned *C. I. G.* 3562. Cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 470 τοῖς ἀγνισμοῖς τοῖς πρὸ τῶν Θεομοφορίων.

<sup>96</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Smyrna: *C. I. G.* 3194 ἡ σύνοδος τῶν μυστῶν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς πρὸ πύλων Θεομοφόρου Δῆμητρος (? first century B. C.).

<sup>97</sup> Θεομοφόρια at Erythrai: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 4. 157, 160 ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Ζωσίμην ἱερεῖαν Δῆμητρος Θεομοφόρου.



<sup>98</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Ephesos : Herod. 6. 16 *νυκτός τε γὰρ ἀπικότο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐάντων τῆσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι Θεσμοφορίων*. Yearly mysteries and sacrifices Δήμητρι καρποφόρῳ καὶ Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ θεαῖς σεβαστοῖς (=the deceased Roman emperors) ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, p. 289.

<sup>99</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Priene (?) : *C. I. G.* 2907, dedication to the hero Androclos, who saw in a dream Θεσμοφόρου ἀγνὰς Πισνίας ἐμ φάρεσι λευκαῖς.

<sup>100</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Miletos : Parthenius, 8 ἐν Μιλήτῳ Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων καὶ συνηθραισμένων γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὃ βραχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχει. Steph. Byz. s. v. Μίλητος. Δίδυμος ἐν συμπασιακοῖς φησιν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν Δελεγηῖς ἐκαλεῖται . . . εἶτα Πιτύουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ πιτύων καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖ πρῶταν πίτυς ἔφυ. οἱ γὰρ . . . ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίαις πίτυος κλάδον ὑπὰ τὴν στιβάδα . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὰ κλῶνον πίτυος τίθεισθαι.

Egypt and Africa.

<sup>101</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Alexandria : Polyb. 15. 29, 8. Cf. 15. 27, 2 παρὴν εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφορεῖον, ἀνεωγμένον τοῦ νεῷ διὰ τινα θυσίαν ἐπέτειον. Arsinoe : *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, 1887, p. 81, street called Θεσμοφορίου. Schol. Arat. *Phenom.* 150 παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὸν Ἐπιφί μῆνα, ἅτε ἐν Λέοντι γίγνεται ὁ ἥλιος, ἡ τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγὴ τελειοῦται.

<sup>102</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Cyrene : Suidas, s. v. Θεσμοφόρος· ὅτι Βάττας, ὁ Κυρήνην κτίσας, τῆς Θεσμοφόρου τὰ μυστήρια ἐγλίχετο μαθεῖν. Cf. Aelian *Frags.* 44 μετὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς ὄλαι τελούμεναι μυστικῶς σφάκτριαι καταλειφθεῖσαι· καὶ αἶρουσαι τὰ ξίφη . . . καταπλέας ἔχουσαι τοῦ αἵματος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα μένται [ἦσαν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων χρισαμέναι].

Sicily.

<sup>103</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Syracuse : R. 68. Athenae. 647 A Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Συρακούσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεσμῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶ τοῖς παντελείοις τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἐκ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐφήβαια γυναικεία, ἃ καλεῖσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν μυλλοὺς καὶ περιφέρεσθαι ταῖς θεαῖς. Plat. *Epist.* 349 D καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκπέμπει με, εὐρῶν πράφασιν ὡς τὰς γυναικας ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, ἐν ᾧ κατόκου ἐγώ, δέοι θύσαι θυσίαν τινα δεχήμερον. Diod. Sic. 5. 4 οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν . . . τῆς Δήμητρος τὸν καιρὸν τῆς θυσίας προέκριναν ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ σπόρος τοῦ σίτου λαμβάνει. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα πανήγυριν ἀγούσιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, τῇ τε λαμπρότητι τῆς παρασκευῆς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην καὶ τῇ διασκευῇ μιμούμενοι τὰν ἀρχαῖον βίον. ἔθασ δὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις αἰσχρολογεῖν κατὰ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀμιλίαις διὰ τὸ τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγῇ λυπαυμένην γελάσαι διὰ τὴν αἰσχρολογίαν.

<sup>104</sup> Θεσμοφόρια at Akrai : *C. I. G.* 5432 Καλλιγενεῖα εὐχίαν (late period).

<sup>105a</sup> ? Θεσμοφόρια at Katana : Cic. *in Verr.* 4. 99 sacrarium Cereris

est apud Catinenses . . . in eo sacrario intimo fuit signum Cereris perantiquum: quod viri, non modo cuiusmodi esset, sed ne esse quidem sciebant. Aditus enim in id sacrarium non est viris: sacra per mulieres ac virgines confici solent . . . sacerdotes Cereris atque illius fani antistitae, maiores natu, probatae ac nobiles mulieres.

<sup>b</sup> ? Enna: Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 4 Gracchanis temporibus, turbata republica et seditionibus et ostentis, cum repertum esset in carminibus Sibyllinis antiquissimam Cererem debere placari, legati sunt Ennam missi. Haec igitur Ceres, quam videre maribus ne adorandi quidem gratia licebat. . . . (Cf. Cic. *in Verr.* 5. 187 teque Ceres, et Libera . . . a quibus initia vitae atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispertita esse dicuntur, quarum sacra populus Romanus a Graecis adscita et accepta, tanta religione et publice et privatim tuetur.)

<sup>106</sup> In Italy.

<sup>a</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4. 57:

mactant lectas de more bidentes  
legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo.

? at Rome: Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 1. 344 nuptias Cereri celebrare, in quibus revera vinum adhiberi nefas fuerat, quae Orci nuptiae dicebantur, quas praesentia sua pontifices ingenti sollemnitate celebrabant. Censorinus *D. Nat.* c. 17 renuntiarunt xviri uti Diti Patri et Proserpinae ludi Tarentini in campo Martio fierent tribus noctibus et hostiae furvae immolarentur (from Varro).

<sup>b</sup> Pompeii: *C. I. G.* 5865 (votive inscription) *ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου.*

<sup>107</sup> Neapolis: *C. I. G.* 5799 (votive inscription, Roman period) *ἱερία Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου.* Cic. *Pro Balbo* 55 sacra Cereris; quum essent assumpta de Graecia, et per Graecas semper curata sunt sacerdotes, et Graecia omnia nominata. . . . Has sacerdotes video fere aut Neapolitanas aut Velienses fuisse. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 33 *ἰδρύσαντο [οἱ Ἀρκάδες] Δήμητρος ἱερόν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῇ διὰ γυναικῶν τε καὶ νηφαλίου εἴθυσαν, ὡς Ἑλληνιστὶ νόμος, ὃν οὐδὲν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἥλλαξεν χρόνος.*

<sup>107</sup> <sup>a</sup> Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 609 Proserpinam raptam a Dite patre Ceres cum incensis faculis per orbem terrarum requireret per triviam eam vel quadriviam vocabat clamoribus. Unde permansit in eius sacris ut certis diebus per compita a matronis exerceatur ululatus, sicut in Isidis sacris. Id. *Ecl.* 3. 26 consuetudo fuerat ut per triviam et quadriviam ulularent et flebile quiddam in honore Dianae canerent rustici ad red-

dendam Cereris imitationem, quae raptam Proserpinam in triviis clamore requirebat.

<sup>105</sup> Demeter ἐπιλυσαμένη: Hesych. s. v. Ἐπιλυσαμένη, Ἐλευθῶ καὶ μία τῶν Ἐλλειθιῶν κοὶ ἐπώνυμον Δήμητρος παρὰ Ταραντίνοις καὶ Συρακοσίοις. Ἐπιπόλα. s. v. οὕτως ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἢ Δημήτηρ ἰδρυμένη τιμᾶται. s. v. ἐπίασσα. Δήμητρος ἐπώνυμον. s. v. ἐποικιδίη. Δημήτηρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

<sup>109</sup> Demeter Κουροτρόφος at Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 372 and 373 (inscriptions on seats in the Erechtheum) Κουροτρόφου ἐξ Ἀγλαύρου Δήμητρος (referring to the worship of Demeter in the Aglaurion): Δήμητρος Κουροτρόφου Ἀχαιῶς. Cf. R. 9.

<sup>109 a</sup> Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 58 alii dicunt hos deos quos commemoravit nuptiis esse contrarios: Cererem quia propter raptum filiae nuptias execratur . . . et Romae cum Cereri sacra fiunt observatur ne quis patrem aut filiam nominet, quod fructus matrimonii per liberos constet. *Id.* 3. 139 quidam dicunt diversis numinibus vel bene vel male faciendi potestatem dicatam ut Veneri coningia, Cereri divortia, Iunoni procreationem liberorum.

Persephone: vide Ge, R. 1.

<sup>110</sup> Hom. *Od.* 10. 491:

εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμονς καὶ ἐποιήης Περσεφονείης.

II. 217:

Περσεφόνη, Διὸς θυγάτηρ.

II. 9. 568:

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοῖα  
κυκλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινήν Περσεφόνηαν,  
πρόχην καθεζομένη, δεῖοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι,  
παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον τῆς δ' ἠεροφίτις Ἐρινὸς  
ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβεσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

Hes. *Theog.* 912:

Αὐτὰρ ὁ Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν,  
ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλεον, ἣν Ἀΐδωνεὺς  
ἦρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός· ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς.

Chthonian cults of Kore-Persephone as queen of the lower world.

<sup>111</sup> At Lebadeia (cf. R. 42<sup>b</sup>): Paus. 9. 39, 2 φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα Ἐρκυαν ὁμοῦ Ἐόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζουσαν. . . § 3 καὶ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ναὸς Ἐρκύνης, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένης χῆνα ἔχουσα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὄρθα, περιελεγμένοι δὲ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν τοῖς σκίπτροις δράκοντες. . . εἶεν δὲ ἂν Τροφώνιος καὶ Ἐρκυνα. § 4 καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Ἐόρης ἔστι καλουμένη θήρα καὶ Διὸς βασιλείως ναός. *Liv.* 45. 27 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Tro-

phonii adit: ibi . . . sacrificio Iovi Hercynnaeque facto, quorum ibi templum est. (Cf. Porph. *de Abst.* 4. 16 *ἱερὰν Φερεφάττης ἢ φάττα*.)

<sup>112</sup> ? At Thebes: Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 682 *δεδοῦσθαι γὰρ τὰς Θήβας τῇ Περσεφόνῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀνακαλυπτήρια, ὡς Εὐφορίων*.

<sup>113</sup> At Potniai: Paus. 9. 8, 1 *Ποτινῶν ἐστὶν ἐρείπια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλος Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης. . . ἐν χρόνῳ δ' εἰρημένῳ δρῶσι καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα καθέστηκε σφισι, καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγαρα καλούμενα ἀφιάσις ὡς τῶν νεογῶν' τοὺς δὲ ὡς τοῦτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τοῦ ἔτους ὄραν ἐν Δωδώνῃ φασὶν ἐπιφανεῖν*].

<sup>114</sup> At Athens: Eur. *Heracl.* 408:

*σφάξαι κελεύουσίν με παρθένον Κόρη  
Δήμητρος, ἣτις ἐστὶ πατρὸς εὐγενούς.*

Dem. *In Conop.* 1259 *ἡμῖν ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Φερεφάττιου. . .* Hesych. s. v. *Φερεφάττιον' τόπος ἐν ἀγορᾷ. C. I. A. 2. 699* (schedule of accounts found on Acropolis, circ. 358 B. C.) *Δήμητρος καὶ Φερεφάττης ὑδρία.* 3. 293 (on a seat in the theatre) *ἱερέως Δήμητρος καὶ Φερεφάττης.* 3. 145 *Πλούτων καὶ Κόρη εὐχαριστήριον* (late period).

<sup>115a</sup> At Argos: Paus. 2. 22, 4 *ἀφιάσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐς τὸν βῆρον κιομένης λαμπάδας Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος. Cf. R. 253.*

b Argolis, near Lerna: Paus. 2. 36, 7 *πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ περίβολός ἐστι λίθων καὶ τὸν Πλούτωνα ἀρπάσαντα, ὡς λέγεται Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασίν; vide R. 233. Cf. Corp. Inscr. Lat. 6. 1780* *sacratae apud Eleusinem deo Baccho, Cereri et Corae, sacratae apud Laernam deo Libero et Cereri et Corae* (A. D. 342).

<sup>116</sup> At Hermione: R. 37.

<sup>117</sup> At Sparta: Paus. 3. 13, 2 *Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ . . . ἐστὶ ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείας' ποιῆσαι δὲ τὰν Θρᾶκα Ὀρφέα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἄβαριν ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων; vide Tsountas, *Éph. Arch.* 1892, p. 21. Cf. Apollo, R. 27<sup>a</sup>. At Gythion: see R. 43. At Messoa: R. 44. At Elis: see R. 47.*

<sup>118</sup> In the Altis: Paus. 5. 15, 3 *πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίναις [βωμός]. § 6 μῶναις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποίναις σπένδειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. In the Heraeum: 20, § 3 Πλούτων καὶ Διόνυσος Περσεφόνῃ δὲ καὶ Νύμφαι. . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κλειδί—ἔχει γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλούτων κλεῖν—λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν καλούμενον Ἄδην κεκλείσθαι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐπάνεισι οὐδεὶς αἰθὶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ.*

In Arcadia, Persephone-Despoina.

<sup>119a</sup> At Lykosura: Paus. 8. 37, 1 *ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀκακησίου τέσσαρας σταδίουσ ἀπέχει τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης. § 2 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Δήμητρὶ τέ ἐστὶ βωμός καὶ ἕτερος Δεσποίνῃ, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μεγάλῃς Μητρὸς. Θεῶν δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα, Δέσποινα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ τε καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ καθέζονται, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα*

τὸ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστὶν ἐνὸς ὁμοίως λίθου. . . . Δαμοφῶντος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δημήτηρ δᾶδα ἐν δεξιᾷ φέρει, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν χεῖρα ἐπιβέβληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέσποιαν. ἡ δὲ Δέσποινα σκῆπτρόν τε καὶ τὴν καλουμένην κίστην ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει, τῆς δὲ ἔχεται τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς κίστης. . . . § 3 πρὸς δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης τῷ ἀγάλματι ἔσθηκεν Ἄνυτος σχῆμα ὀπλισμένου παρεχόμενος<sup>α</sup> φασὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τραφήναι τὴν Δέσποιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄνυτου, καὶ εἶναι τῶν Τιτάνων καλουμένων καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον. . . . τὰ δὲ ἐς Κούρητας, οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πεποιήνται, καὶ τὰ ἐς Κορύβαντας ἐπειρασμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου, γένος δὲ οἷδε ἄλλοιον καὶ οὐ Κούρητες, τὰ ἐς τούτους παρήμῃ ἐπιστάμενος. § 4 τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων οἱ Ἀρκάδες δένδρων ἀπάντων πλὴν βόιας ἐσκομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. . . . § 5 παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης . . . Μέγαρόν ἐστι καλούμενον, καὶ τελετὴν τε δρώων ἐναυθα καὶ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ θύουσιν ἱερεῖα οἱ Ἀρκάδες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἄφθονα. θύει μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ὅ,τι κέκτηται τῶν δὲ ἱερείων δὲ οὐ τὰς φάρυγγας ἀποτέμνει ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, κῶλον δὲ ὅ,τι ἂν τύχη τοῦτο ἕκαστος ἀπέκοψε τοῦ θύματος. ταύτην μάλιστα θεῶν σέβουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Δέσποιαν, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆν Ποσειδῶνος φασὶν εἶναι καὶ Δήμητρος ἐπέκλῃσι ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ καὶ Δέσποινα . . . τῆς δὲ Δεσποίνης τὸ ὄνομα ἔδεισα ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστους γράφειν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον μέγαρόν ἐστιν ἄσος τῆς Δεσποίνης ἱερόν θριγκῶ λίθων περιεχόμενον. . . . ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ ἄσος καὶ Ἰππίου Ποσειδῶνος, ἅτε πατὴρ τῆς Δεσποίνης, καὶ θεῶν ἄλλων εἰσὶ βωμοί. 8. 10, 10 τὴν ἱεράν τῆς καλουμένης Δεσποίνης ἔλαφον. Ritual-inscription from the temple of Despoina at Lykosura: *Érh. Arch.* 1898, p. 249 μὴ ἐξέστω παρέρπην ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερόν τᾶς Δεσποίνης μὴ χρυσία ὅσα μὴ [ἴν] ἀνάθεμα, μηδὲ πορφύρεον εἰματισμόν μηδὲ ἀνθινόν μηδὲ μέλανα, μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ δακτύλιον. . . . μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀμπεπλεγμένας, μηδὲ κεκαλυμμένους, μηδὲ ἄνθεα παρφέρην μηδὲ μύεσθαι κνέσασιν μηδὲ θηλαζομέναν. Τὸς δὲ θύοντας. . . . χρέεσθαι ἐλαία μύρτοι, κηρίοι, ὄλοαῖς αἰρολογημένας, ἀγάλματι, μάκωνσι λευκαῖς λυχνίοις, θυμιάμασι ζμύρνα ἀρώμασιν τὸς δὲ θύοντας τᾷ Δεσποίνῃ θύματα θύην θήλεα. Cf. inscription found on the site of the temple at Lykosura: *Dell. Arch.* 1890, pp. 43-44, mentioning the ἱερεὺς τᾶς Δεσποίνης. *Íb.* pp. 45 βασιλεὺς Ἰούλιος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλίππου Φιλίππου ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων καλῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων καὶ πεποικῶτων τᾷ τε πόλει τῶν Λυκουρασίων καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ δίκαια ἔν τε συνδικίαις καὶ ἱερατείαις καὶ τέκνων Κορειθῆταις καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς δαπάναις. . . . ἐπεδέξατο δὲ καὶ τὰν ἱερατείαν Νικάσιππος τᾶς Δεσποίνης. . . . τῶν τε χρημάτων μὴ πεσόντων τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἀπέδωκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου τῷ φίσκῳ. . . . ἀνευκνάτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ γραφὲν ἐς τὸ γραμματοφυλάκιον τὸ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει. Cf. *Íb.* p. 44, no. 2, and p. 45, no. 5 for dedications of Megalopolis at Lykosura.

<sup>b</sup> In the territory of Megalopolis on the Messenian border: Paus. 8. 35, 2 ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα Δεσποίνης τε καὶ Δήμητρος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πεποιήται καὶ Ἑρακλέους. Cf. R. 44.

Other chthonian cults in Arcadia.

c ? At Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 31, 1 τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πέρας τῆς στοᾶς παρέχεται τὸ πρὸς ἡλίον δυσμῶν περιβύλον θεῶν ἱερὸν τῶν μεγάλων. αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἰ μεγάλαι θεαὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη, . . . τὴν Κόρην δὲ Σώτειραν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες . . . καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν κόρας ἐποίησεν οὐ μεγάλας, ἐν χιτῶσὶ τε καθήκουσιν ἐς σφυρὰ, καὶ ἀνθῶν ἀνάπλεων ἑκατέρα τάλαρρον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ φέρει· εἶναι δὲ θυγατέρες τοῦ Δαμοφῶντος λέγονται. *Ερῆ. Αρχ.* 1896, p. 122, Achaean decree at Lykosura in honour of Σάων Πολυχάρμου Μεγαλοπολείτης . . . γεγωνὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτως τὴν τελετὴν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι συστησαμένων ἱεροφαντῶν . . . ἀναστήσαι . . . εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ χαλκείας . . . ἐχούσας ἐπιγραφὴν “Σάωνα . . . Μεγαλοπολείτην οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν” (circ. 120 B. C.).

d ? At Mantinea: R. 249, 149<sup>a</sup>.

e ? Tegea: relief representing Demeter Kore and Hades with worshippers, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, s. 225. Cf. R. 30.

<sup>120</sup> At Mykonos: see Zeus, R. 56.

<sup>121</sup> At Paros: see R. 50; Hera, R. 66.

<sup>122</sup> At Amorgos: Zeus, R. 55<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> At Rhodes: Suidas, s. v. Ἀσφόδελας. Περσεφόνης καὶ χθονίων ἱερῶν καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν Κόρην καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἀσφοδέλω στέφουσιν.

<sup>124</sup> Near Tralles: Strab. 649 ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδοῦ τῇ μεταξὺ τῶν Τράλλων καὶ τῆς Νύσης κόμη τῶν Νυσαέων ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως Ἀχάρακα, ἐν ἣ τὸ Πλουτῶνιον ἔχον καὶ ἄλλος πολυτελὲς καὶ νεῶν Πλουτῶνός τε καὶ Κόρης, καὶ τὸ Χαρώνιον ἄντρον ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἄλλου θαυμαστὸν τῇ φύσει· λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τοὺς νοσῶδεις καὶ προσέχοντας ταῖς τῶν θεῶν τούτων θεραπείαις φοιτᾶν ἐκεῖσε καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῇ κόμῃ πλησίον τοῦ ἄντρου παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ ἐγκοιμῶνται τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ διατάττουσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀνείρων τὰς θεραπείας . . . ἄγουσι δὲ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ἄντρον καὶ ἰδρύνουσι μένοντας καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐκεῖ καθάπερ ἐν φωλεῷ σιτίων χωρὶς ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἰδίοις ἐνυπνίοις οἱ νοσηλευόμενοι προσέχουσι . . . ταῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἄδυντός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὀλέθριος. πανήγυρις δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀχαράκοις συντελεῖται κατ' ἔτος. . . τότε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ταῦρον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νεοὶ καὶ ἔφηβοι γυμνοὶ λίπ' ἀλληλιμμένοι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνακομίζουσιν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον ἀφεθείς δὲ μικρὸν προσελθὼν πίπτει καὶ ἔκπνους γίνεται. Inscription found near Acharaka: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 402 ὁ Δῆμος ὁ Σολοέων Κόρη καὶ Πλουτῶνι θεοῖς πατρώοις ἀνέθηκε. *Id.* 1881, p. 232 Θεογάμα ἐν Νύσῃ (Roman inscription).

<sup>125</sup> At Ephesos: Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ. Ευαγγ. Σχολ. 1880, p. 180 ἱερέως Πλουτῶνος καὶ Κόρης, in reign of Vespasian.

<sup>126</sup> In Caria: R. 51.

<sup>127</sup> At Knidos : R. 52.

<sup>128</sup> ? At Sinope : see R. 262. At Kyzikos : App. *Mithrad.* 75 λέγεται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐμπροίκιον ὑπὸ Διὸς τῇ Κόρῃ δοθῆναι, καὶ σέβουσιν αὐτὴν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μάλιστα θεῶν· ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐν ἣ θύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐπλάττον ἀπὸ σίτου, μέλαινα δὲ βοῦς ἐκ πελάγους πρὸς αὐτοὺς διενήχεται. Cf. Porphyry, *De Abst.* i. 25 (same story in Plut. *Luc.* 10 mentioning the festival τὰ Φερεφάττια). Steph. Byz. s. v. βέσβικος· νησίδιον περὶ Κύζικον . . . Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ἐν πρώτῃ περὶ Κυζίκου φησὶν ὅτι 'κτίσμα ἐστὶ Φερσεφόνης.' Κόρη Σώτειρα at Kyzikos : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 473 Κυζικηνῶν ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε· ἐπιτετελέκατε τὰ σωτήρια πρᾶτ- [τοντες Κόρα] τῇ Σωτείραι. Cf. *ib.* p. 475, n. 5, inscription mentioning ἱερεὺς Κόρης Σωτείρας. Archaic inscription on fragment of marble cup at Oxford found at Kyzikos Δεσπότησι : Roehl. *Inscr. Graec. Antiqu.* 501. *C. I. G.* 3671, inscription, Roman period, from Kyzikos : θαλερῆς ἐν τεμένεσσι Κόρης. Games in honour of Κόρη at Kyzikos : Strabo, 2, p. 98 Εὐδοξόν τινα Κυζικηνὸν θεωρὸν καὶ σπονδοφόρον τοῦ τῶν Κορείων ἀγῶνος ἔλθειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον . . . κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον Εὐεργέτην. Cf. Rhea-Cybele, R. 55.

<sup>129</sup> At Syracuse : Diod. Sic. 5. 4 οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν . . . ἑκατέρω τῶν θεῶν κατέδειξαν θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπινύμους αὐταῖς ποιήσαντες . . . τῆς μὲν γὰρ Κόρης τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐποίησαντο περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν τετελειουργῆσθαι συνέβαιεν. 5. 4 ad init. τὸν γὰρ Πλούωνα μυθολογοῦσι τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ποιησάμενον ἀποκομίσαι τὴν Κόρην ἐφ' ἄρματος πλησίον τῶν Συρακουσῶν πηγὴν δὲ ἀνεῖναι τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κυάνην, πρὸς ἣ κατ' ἐναυτὸν οἱ Συρακόσιοι πανηγυριν ἐπιφανῆ συντελοῦσι, καὶ θύουσιν οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται τὰ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱερείων, δημοσίᾳ δὲ ταύρους βυθίζουσιν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ. Cf. R. 104. Hesych. s. v. Ἑρμιόνη. ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη ἐν Συρακούσαις. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 158 ἱερωσύνην εἶχεν ὁ Ἰέρων Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διὸς Αἰτναίου ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐκ διαδοχῆς Τηλίνου τοῦ προγόνου αὐτῶν.

<sup>130</sup> At Gela : Herod. 7. 153 οἰκίτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριπολίῳ κειμένης . . . ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἑόντες.

<sup>131</sup> ? At Akragas : Pind. *Pyth.* 12. 2 Φερσεφόνας ἔδος.

<sup>132</sup> ? At Selinus, Persephone Πασικράτεια : R. 71.

<sup>133</sup> ? At Katana, Persephone βασίλις : *C. I. G. It. Sic.* 450 Περσεφόνη Βασίλις Καταναίων] (inscription of doubtful authenticity).

In Italy.

<sup>134</sup> Lokri Epizephyrii : Livy 29. 18 fanum est apud nos Proserpinae, de cuius sanctitate templi credo aliquam famam ad vos pervenisse.

Diod. Sic. *Exc. de Virt. et Vit.* 470 (Dind. vol. 4, p. 101) ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἱερῶν τοῦτο [τὸ τῆς Περσεφόνης ἱερὸν] εἶναι λέγεται καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀγνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τετηρηῆσθαι. *C. I. G. It. Sic.* 631 dedication on bronze helmet found 'in agro Locrensi': [Π]ηριφόνα [ἀνέθη]κέ με Ξένα (early fifth century).

<sup>a</sup> At Tomi: *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* 8, 8, 21, inscription of imperial period, ἱερατεύσαντος Πλούτωνι καὶ Δήμητρι καὶ Θεᾷ Κόρη.

<sup>135</sup> Persephone Δάειρα in Attica: *C. I. A.* 2. 741<sup>b</sup> (time of Lycurgus) [ἐκ τῆς θυσίας] τῇ Δαείρῃ. *Et. Mag.* s. v. Δάειρα ἡ Περσεφόνη παρὰ Ἀθηναίους. Aesch. *Frag.* 275 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 846) ὅτι δὲ τὴν Δαίραν Περσεφόνην καλοῦσι Τιμοσθένης ἐν τῷ Ἑξηγητικῷ συγκατατίθεται καὶ Λισχύλος ἐν ψυχαγωγίαις ἐμφαίνει, τὴν Περσεφόνην ἐκδεχόμενος Δαίραν. Cf. Pollux, 1. 35 Δαειρίτης mentioned among the officials of the Attic mysteries. Paus. 1. 38, 7 Ἐλευσίνα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Δαείρας Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι. Eustath. Hom. *Il.* p. 648, 37 Δάειραν Φερεκύδης ἱστορεῖ Στυγὸς ἀδελφὴν, καὶ ἔσκε, φησὶν, οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπὶ γὰρ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας τάττουσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν Δάειραν. Διὸ καὶ πολεμίαν τῇ Δήμητρι νομίζουσιν. ὅταν γὰρ θύηται αὐτῇ [Δαείρῃ] οὐ πάρεστιν ἡ Δήμητρος ἱερεία. Attic Tetrapolis inscription, fourth century B. C., Γαμηλιῶνος Δαίρα οἷς κνούσα, Protz-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* 26.

Κόρη [Περσεφόνη] or ἡ Παῖς associated with Demeter in cult.

<sup>136a</sup> At Pyrasos in Thessaly: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 562 Δάματρι καὶ Κόρα, third century B. C.

<sup>b</sup> At Ambrysa in Phokis: *C. I. G.* 1727 Δάματρι καὶ Κόρα (? second century B. C.). *Ib.* 2567 τὰν Δάματρα καὶ τὰν Κόραν Ἀρχεδίκα . . . μετὰ τὰν περίστασιν ὑπὲρ τὰς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἰδρύσατο (first century B. C.).

<sup>c</sup> At Thermopylae: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898, p. 479, fourth century Amphictyonic inscription from Delphi, τῶν θυρωμάτων τῶν ἐν Πύλαις τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς Κόρης. At Opus: *Geogr. Reg.*

<sup>137</sup> ? At Lebadeia: Κόρης καλουμένη Θήρα; see supra, R. 111.

<sup>138</sup> At Anthedon: Paus. 9. 22, 5 Ἀνθηδονίοις μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως Καβείρων ἱερὸν καὶ ἄλλος περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ, πλησίον δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Παιδὸς ναός.

<sup>139a</sup> At Potniai: R. 113. Near Thebes: Paus. 9. 25, 5 Δήμητρος Καβειρίας καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἄλλος· ἐσελθεῖν δὲ τοῖς τελεσθεῖσιν ἔστι· ταύτου δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐπτά που σταδίου τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφέστηκε.



<sup>b</sup> Thebes : Eur. *Phoen.* 681 :

τάνδε γὰν . . .  
 ἂν διώνυμοι θεαὶ  
 Περσέφασσα καὶ φίλα  
 Δαμάτηρ θεὰ  
 πάντων ἄνασσα, πάντων δὲ Γᾶ τροφὸς  
 ἐκτήσαντο πέμπε πυρφόρους  
 θεάς.

C. I. G. Sept. 2468 [Δάματρι κ]ῆ Κόρη.

<sup>140</sup> Near Plataea : R. 238. At Skolos : Paus. 9. 4, 3 Δῆμητρος δὲ καὶ Κόρης ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις οὐκ ἐξειργασμένος ὁ ναός, ἤμισσα δὲ καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

<sup>141</sup> ? At Tanagra : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 2, p. 589, Pl. 26, 2, inscription in the museum of Tanagra, ἐπὶ Οὔρα. Third century B. C. inscription of Tanagra : *Rev. d. Ét. Grec.*, 1899, p. 71, l. 4 μαντενομένος τᾶς πόλιος οὐπὲρ τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Δάματρος κῆ τᾶς Κόρας πότερα κῆ αὐτῇ ἱαόντους Ταγαρήους καθὰ κῆ νιοῦν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐσσετη ἢ μεταφερόντους ἐν τὸν τόπον τὸν τᾶς Εὐαμερίας εἰ ἐν πόλι, ὁ Ἄπόλλων ἐχρεισε θιάς πρᾶφαστίδας στεφάνου δέκεσθη ἐπὶ ἀγαθὸ θάλλοντας κῆ οὗτο ποίμεν εὐχαμένως αὐτῆς τῆς θεῆς ὅπως ὄν κατασκευασθεῖη τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Δάματρος ἐν πόλι . . . l. 18 ἐσσεῖμεν τῇ βηλαμένη τᾶν γουνηκῶν ἐπαγγελίασθη μὴ πλιον πέντε δραχμάς.

<sup>142</sup> At Kolaka in Lokris : Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 1490 Ἐλπιώικαν ἱερατεύσασαν Δάματρι καὶ Κόρα.

<sup>143</sup> At Athens and Attica : see R. 9, 16, 18, 42<sup>a</sup>, 65, 75<sup>a, c</sup>. Paus. 1. 2, 4 ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν . . . πλησίον ναός ἐστι Δῆμητρος ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῆ τε καὶ ἧ παῖς κοὶ δῶδα ἔχων Ἰακχος γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. 1. 14, 1 ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην [Ἐννεάκρουον] ὁ μὲν Δῆμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα. 1. 31, 1 Προσπαλτίους δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν. At Phlye : vide R. 26. ? At Skiron : see Athena, R. 27<sup>a, b, c</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> At Corinth : R. 34. Paus. 2. 4, 6 ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν [ναός] καὶ ὁ Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερά ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα.

<sup>145</sup> Near Sicyon : R. 82. At Phlius : Paus. 2. 13, 5 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλος περίβολός ἐστιν ἱερὸς Δῆμητρος, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Δῆμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός—(below the Acropolis) Δῆμητρος ἐστὼν ἱερὸν καὶ καθήμενα ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα. Argolis, R. 115<sup>b</sup>, 253. At Hermione : R. 37.

<sup>146</sup> At Bouporthmos (a mountain on the coast near Hermione) : Paus. 2. 34, 8 ἐν Βουπόρθμῳ πεποιήται μὲν ἱερὸν Δῆμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός.

<sup>147</sup> Between Hermione and Troezen: Paus. 2. 34, 6 ἔστι δὲ Εἰλιῶι χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης τῆς Δῆμητρος ἱερά. At Troezen: cf. the cult of Damia and Auxesia, R. 36.

At Epidaurus and Aegina: R. 36. Cf. *Fouilles d'Épidaure* 42 Δεσποῖνα Διάφαντος ἱεροπολήσας κατ' ὄναρ.

<sup>148</sup> In Laconia. <sup>a</sup> Sparta, R. 43: vide Apollo, 27<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Gythion: R. 43.

<sup>c</sup> Helos: R. 240.

<sup>d</sup> Amyklai: *C. I. G.* 1435 ἡ πόλις τὴν σωφρονεστάτην Ξεναρίαν τὴν θυναρμοστρίαν καὶ Ἑστίαν πόλεος δσίως καὶ εὐαγῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως λιτουργήσασαν ταῖν θεαῖν. *Ib.* 1449 ἡ πόλις Αὐρηλίαν Ἐπαφρῶ, πῶλον τοῖν ἀγιωτάτου θεοῖν γενομένην, Δῆμητρι καὶ Κόρη.

In Messenia. Andania: R. 246.

<sup>149a</sup> In Arcadia: R. 107. Tegea: R. 30. Megalopolis: R. 119<sup>c</sup>. Thelpusa: R. 242, Phigaleia: R. 40. Lykosura: R. 119. ? Pallantion: Paus. 8. 44, 5 ἐν δὲ Παλλαντίῳ . . . Κόρης τῆς Δῆμητρος ἱερόν. Mantinea: *ib.* 8, 9, 2 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ ἐτέρῳθι Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερόν· πῦρ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καίουσι, ποιούμενοι φροντίδα μὴ λάθῃ σφίσιν ἀποσβεσθέν. Cf. R. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 153 πολλοὶ δ' ἄγονται ἀγῶνες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, Λύκαια, Κόρεια, Ἀλεαῖα, Ἑρμαῖα.

Elis: vide R. 47, 118.

<sup>149c</sup> Achaea. At Aigion: Paus. 7. 24, 2 Κόρης τε πεποιήται [ἱερόν] τῆς Δῆμητρος; cf. R. 59. Patrai: R. 6.

The Islands.

<sup>150a</sup> Delos: R. 91.

<sup>b</sup> Mykonos: vide Zeus, R. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Keos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905, p. 356 Φιλοχάρους γυνὴ ἱερέα γενομένη Δῆμητρι καὶ Κόρη.

<sup>d</sup> Paros: vide Zeus, R. 55<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Amorgos: Zeus, R. 55<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Syros: *C. I. G.* 2347<sup>1</sup> [ἱερέα] τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρας τῶν σεμνοτάτων (late period). Cf. 2347<sup>c</sup>. ? Thera: *C. I. A. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 355 Κούρης inscribed on rock in precincts of temple of Apollo κάρνειος (very archaic).

<sup>g</sup> Samothrace: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

<sup>h</sup> Lesbos: ? Demeter and Kore as θεοὶ καρποφόροι, R. 30.

<sup>151</sup> ? Crete. Hierapytna: *C. I. G.* 2567 τὰν Δάματα καὶ τὴν Κώραν Ἀρχεδίκα . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς πάλεως . . . ἰδρύσατο (Roman period). *Ib.* 2568 θεαῖς Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ (private dedication of Roman period).

<sup>152</sup> Byzantium: Dionys. Byz. p. 7, 5 Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης παράλληλα [ἱερά] (Wescher).

Asia Minor.

<sup>153a</sup> Sigeion: *C. I. G.* 3636 [ἱερεία] Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ.

<sup>b</sup> Aigai: *Ergänzungsheft des Jahrb. deutsch. Inst.* 1889, 2, p. 42 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σκευάσην ἄργυρα πρόσωπα ἕξ καὶ χρυσώσην καὶ θήσην τὰς τε Δώματος καὶ τὰς Κόρρας καὶ τῶν συνναύων θεῶν (second century B. C.).

<sup>154a</sup> Erythrai: Dittenberg. *Syll.* 370, l. 72, inscription circ. 278 B. C., mentioning priesthood, Δήμητρος καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρης. l. 90 Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης Πυθοχρήστου.

<sup>b</sup> Caria. Athymbra: R. 51. Knidos: R. 52. Halikarnassos: R. 65.

Sicily.

<sup>155</sup> Syracuse: R. 103, 129. Diod. Sic. 11. 26 ὁ Γέλων ἐκ μὲν τῶν λαφύρων κατεσκεύασε νοῦς ἀξιολόγους Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. Cf. τὰ Κόρεια at Syracuse, R. 68. Gela: R. 130. At Selinus, Demeter Μαλοφόρος and Persephone Πασικράτεια: R. 71.

<sup>156</sup> Akrai: *C. I. G.* 5431 Νύμφων Ἰέρωνος νυμαμονεύσας ἀγναῖς θεαῖς. Cf. 5432 ἱερατεύοντος θεῶν ἀγνῶν Καλλιγενεία.

<sup>157</sup> At Tauromenion: *ib.* 5643 θεαῖς ἀγναῖς χαριστήριον. Hesych. s. v. ἱερά Παρθένος\* ἡ Δημήτηρ [ἢ ἡ Δήμητρος].

<sup>158</sup> Henna: Cic. *Verr.* 4. § 107 ubi usque ad hoc tempus Syracusani festos dies anniversarios agunt, celeberrimo virorum mulierumque conventu . . . mira quaedam tota Sicilia privatim ac publice religio est Cereris Ennensis. § 108 nec solum Siculi verum etiam ceterae gentes nationesque Ennensem Cererem maxime colunt. § 109 qui accessistis Ennam vidistis simulacrum Cereris e marmore, et in altero templo Liberae. Sunt ea perampla atque praeclara sed non ita antiqua. ex aere fuit quoddam modica amplitudine ac singulari opere, cum facibus, perantiquum, omnium illorum quae sunt in eo fano, multo antiquissimum. § 110 ante aedem Cereris in aperto ac propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi, et pulcherrima et perampla . . . insistebat in manu Cereris dextra simulacrum pulcherrime factum Victoriae.

Tarentum: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

Carthage.

<sup>159</sup> Diod. Sic. 14. 77 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν δεισιδαιμονία κατέσχε καὶ δέος . . . οὐ παρειληφότες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς οὔτε Κόρην οὔτε Δήμητρα, τούτων ἱερεῖς τοὺς ἐπίσηματάτους τῶν παλιτῶν κατέστησεν καὶ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος τὰς θεὰς ἰδρυσάμενοι τὰς θυσίας τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθεσιν ἐποίουν.

Titles of Kore referring to vegetation and agriculture.

<sup>160 a</sup> Καρποφόρος: R. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Παλύβουα: Hesych. s. v. θεὰς τις ὑπ' ἐνίων μὲν Ἄρτεμις ὑπὰ δὲ ἄλλων Κόρη. Cf. Μελίβουα, R. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Φλοιά: Hesych. s. v. Φλοιάν· τὴν Κόρην τὴν θεὰν οὕτω καλοῦσι Λάκωνες. Month Φλοιάσιος at Sparta: Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 4496. Hesych. s. v. Φλυήσιος· μὴν τις. Steph. Byz. s. v. Φλιούς· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τῶν μηνῶν ἓνα Φλιάσιον καλοῦσι.

<sup>d</sup> ? Μελιτώδης: Porph. *de Antr. Νυμφῆ*. 18 τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερείας ὡς τῆς χθονίας θεᾶς μυστίδας μελίσσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κόρην μελιτώδη. Cf. Hesych. s. v. Μελίσσαι. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 χρησμός ὄρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ. Schol. *ib.* μελίσσας δὲ κυρίως μὲν τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερείας φασὶ καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζῆφου καθάρων . . . οὔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ ἱερά διατελοῦσας νύμφας Μελίσσας ἔλεγον, Μυασεᾶς ὁ Παταρεὺς ἀφηγεῖται λέγων . . . ἄνευ γὰρ Νυμφῶν οὔτε Δήμητρος ἱερὰν τιμᾶται . . . οὔτε γάμος οὐδεὶς ἄνευ Νυμφῶν συντελεῖται.

<sup>161</sup> Festival of Προχαιρητήρια: Harpocr. s. v. Προχαιρητήρια. Δυκαῦργος ἐν τῇ τῶν Κροκωνιδῶν διαδικασίᾳ· ἐορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γραφομένη [leg. ἀγομένη] ὅτε δακεῖ ἀπιέναι ἢ Κόρη. See Athena-chapter, vol. 1, p. 292, R. 28.

? Marriage and child-birth.

<sup>162 a</sup> Θεσμοφόρος at Athens: R. 17<sup>a</sup>. ? At Delos: R. 91. ? At Priene: R. 99. ? At Syracuse: R. 68.

<sup>b</sup> Χειρογονία: Hesych. s. v. ἢ Περσεφόνη. Pollux, 1. 37 Κόρης παρὰ Σικελιώταις, Θεογάμια καὶ Ἀνθροσφόρια. Cf. R. 124.

Independent worship of Kore-Persephone apart from Demeter.

<sup>163 a</sup> ? At Athens: R. 114, 135. Sparta: R. 117.

<sup>b</sup> At Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 31, 8 τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Κόρης· λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ποδῶν ὅκτῳ μάλιστα· ταυῖα δὲ ἐπέχουσι διὰ παντὸς τὰ βᾶθρον· ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν γυναιξὶ μὲν τὸν πάντα ἐστὶν ἔσσοδος χράνου, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οὐ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἔκυστον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσίσι. (Cf. Despoina-cult, R. 119<sup>a</sup>.) ? Pergamon, Kore-Mise: *Ath. Mitt.* 6, p. 138 Ἄνθις Ἱερεῖα Μίση Κόρη τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκε. Kyzikos: R. 128. Nisa, near Tralles: R. 124. Lokri Epizephyrii: R. 134.

<sup>c</sup> ? At Erythrai: Dittenberg. *Syll.* 370, inscription mentioning priesthood of Κόρης Σωτείρης, l. 83, circ. 278 B. C., but vide R. 154.

<sup>d</sup> ? At Hipponion (Vibo-Valentia): Strab. 256 διὰ τὸ εὐλείμωνα εἶναι τὰ περικείμενα χωρία καὶ ἀνθηρὰ τὴν Κόρην ἐκ Σικελίας ἀφικνεῖσθαι δεῦρο ἀνθολογήσουσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐν ἔθει γέγονεν ἀνθολογεῖν καὶ στεφανηπλοκεῖν, ὥστε ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰσχρὸν εἶναι στεφάνους ἀνηγούτους φορεῖν. Cf. inscription from Hipponion, Orelli-Henzen, *Inscript.* vol. 3, p. 143, no. 1476.

<sup>e</sup> ? Akragas: R. 131<sup>f</sup>. ? Alexandria: Strab. 98 Εὔδοξόν τινα Κυζικηνὸν θεωρῶν καὶ σπονδοφόρον τοῦ τῶν Κορείων ἀγῶνος ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἱστορεῖ [Ποσειδώνιος] κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον Εὐεργέτην.

The Eleusinian and other state-mysteries.

Local cult of Eleusis.

<sup>164</sup> Hom. *H. Dem.* 473:

ἡ δὲ [Δημήτηρ] κιοῦσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλευσί  
δείξε, Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ,  
Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,  
δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ἔργα πᾶσι,  
Τριπτολέμῳ τε Πολυξείνῳ τ', ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ Διοκλεῖ,  
σεμνά, τά τ' οὐ πως ἔστι πορευξίμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι,  
οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδῆν.

270: ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι νηὸν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ἵπ' αὐτῷ  
τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ἵπαι πόλιν αἰπύ τε τείχος,  
Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν, ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ.

Fame of the mysteries.

<sup>165a</sup> Pind. *Frag.* 102:

ἄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνα κοίλαν  
εἴσιν ὑπὸ χθόνα· οἶδεν μὲν βίου κείνος τελευτὰν  
οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν.

b Soph. *O. C.* 1050:

λαμπάσιν ἀκταῖς, οὐ ποτνίαί σεμνά  
τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν ὧν καὶ χρυσέα  
κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσα βέβακε προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν.

c Soph. *Frag.* 719:

ὦ τρισόλβιοι  
κείνοι βροτῶν, οἱ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη  
μῶλωσ' ἐς Ἄδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ  
ζῆν ἐστί, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

d Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 613:

τὰ μυστῶν δ' ἔργι' ἠντύχησ' ἰδῶν.

<sup>e</sup> Isocr. *Paneg.* § 28 τὴν τελετὴν, ἧς οἱ μετασχόντες περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι. Cf. Arist. *Eleusin.* Dind. vol. I, p. 421 ἡδίους ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐν σκάτῳ καὶ βορβάρῳ κεισαμένους. Cf. R. 223<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *Anth. Pal.* I I. 42 (referring to the mysteries):

τῶν ἀπο κῆν ζφoῖσιν ἀκηδέα, κεῦτ' ἂν ἴκημι  
ἐς πλεόνων ἕξεισιν θυμῶν ἐλαφρότερον.

Eleusinian cult taken over by Athens.

<sup>166</sup> Paus. I. 38, 3 τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμόλπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιῶνης . . . καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς Ἐλευσινίους ἐς τὰ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίων κατηκόους ὄντας ἰδίᾳ τελεῖν τὴν τελετὴν· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεοῖν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ· καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ὅμηρος . . . τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου Κῆρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παιδῶν, ἐν αὐταῖς Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἐρμού παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου. Cf. 205<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Herod. I. 30 (Tello, in time of Solon) γενομένης Ἀθηναίσι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν παλεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα.

<sup>168</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1014 Ἡρακλῆς ἐπιστὰς ἤξιον μνεῖσθαι· ἕθος δὲ ἦν Ἀθηναίσι ξένον μὴ μνεῖν. μὴ βουλόμενοι οὖν λύσαι τὸ ἕθος μὴδ' ἀπόσαι τὸν εὐεργέτην Ἡρακλέα ἐπενόησαν μικρὰ μυστήρια εὐμετάδοτα. Initiation of aliens through adoption, *Plut. Thes.* 33 καὶ τοῦτο [τὸ μνηθῆναι] ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς [ταῖς Διοσκούροις] Ἀφίδνου ποιησαμένου παῖδας ὡς Πύλιος Ἡρακλέα. Cf. *Apoll. Bibl.* 2, 5, § 12.

<sup>169</sup> Mysteries open to the whole Hellenic world before the sixth century (?). *Hom. H. Dem.* 480:

ὄλβιος ὃς τὰδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·  
ὃς δ' ἀτελής ἱερῶν, ὃς τ' ἄμμορος οὐ παθ' ὁμοίων  
αἴσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώοντι.

<sup>170</sup> *Soph. Antig.* 1119:

Μέδεις δὲ [Διόνυσος]  
παγκοίνοις Ἐλευσινίας  
Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις.

*Xen. Hell.* 6, 3, 6 λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγανος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτοις ξένους δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῳ καὶ Διοσκόρῳ τοῖν ὑμετέροισιν πολίταιν.

<sup>171</sup> Herod. 8, 65 τὴν ὄρτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖα ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μνεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὄρτῃ ἱακχάζουσι.

<sup>172</sup> Isocr. *Paneg.* 157 Εὐμολπίδαι καὶ Κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὡσερ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους, προαγορεύουσι.

<sup>173</sup> Admission of women: Aristid. *Eleusin.* (Dind. vol. I, p. 415) ὅσα μὲν δὴ θέας ἐχόμενα, εἶδον γενεαὶ παμπληθεῖς, εὐδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρρήτοις φάσμασιν. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 409–412. (Dem.) κατὰ Νεαιρ. 135. Ἡ Λυσίας γὰρ ὁ σοφιστὴς Μετανείρας ὡν ἐραστὴς . . . ἐβουλήθη καὶ μῆσαι αὐτήν. Of slaves: Theophilus, *Frag. Com. Graec.* vol. 3, Meineke, p. 626:

καίτοι τί φημι καὶ τί δρᾶν βουλευόμει ;  
προδοὺς ἀπείναι τὸν ἀγαπητὸν δεσπότην,  
τὸν τροφέα, τὸν σωτήρα, δι' ὃν εἶδον νόμους  
"Ἐλληνας, ἔμαθον γράμματ', ἐμνήθην θεοῖς.

Cf. R. 182.

<sup>174</sup> State supervision: official management: order of ceremonies.  
? Period of Solon and Pisistratus.

Andoc. *de Myst.* 111 ἡ γὰρ Βουλὴ ἐκεῖ καθεδείσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ.

Fifth century.

<sup>175</sup> *C. I. A. I. 1*, fragmentary inscription found at Athens relating to financial and other arrangements before B.C. 450: οἱ δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ ταμειεῖσ[θων ὡσερ κατ' ἀρ]χὴν ἐν τῷ [Ἐλευσῖνι ἱερῷ] . . . τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ ἱερέα καὶ [τὸν ἱερέα] τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ἱερέα το[ῦ] θεοῦ . . . λαμβάνειν. *Ib.* B, l. 4 σπονδὰς εἶναι τοῖσι μύστησι καὶ τοῖς ἐπόπτησιν καὶ τοῖς ἀκολουθούουσιν καὶ ἄλλοισι τοῖς τούτων καὶ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἄπασιν. ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν χρόνον τῶν σπονδῶν τοῦ Μεταγαϊτνιδῶνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ διχομηνίας καὶ τὸν Βοηδρομιῶνα καὶ τοῦ Πυανοψιδῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἱσταμένου. τὰς δὲ σπονδὰς εἶναι ἐν τῆσι πόλεσιν, ὅταν χρώνται τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῆσιν αὐτῆσιν πόλεσιν. τοῖς δὲ ὀλιζοῖσι μυστηρίουσιν τὰς σπονδὰς εἶναι τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ διχομηνίας καὶ τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα καὶ τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιδῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἱσταμένου.

<sup>176</sup> Early fifth-century inscription: *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 253 [Ἐδοχσε]ν [τῇ Βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅ[τ]ε Παραιβάτη[ς ἐ]γράμματευε[ν] προτέ[λει]α [θύε]ν τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς Ἐλευσινίων: καὶ [. . . . .] ἐ]ν [τῷ Ἐ]λευσιν[ίῳ] Γ[ῆ]: Ἐρμῇ Ἐναγωνίῳ: Χάρισιν αἶγα: [. . . . .] κριῶν: [Ποσειδ]ῶνι [κριῶ]ν: Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα: Τελεσιδρόμῳ: Τρι[πτολέμ]ῳ οἶν (?) Πλούτω]νι: δ[ὲ] ἰ[άκ]χῳ: θεοῖν τρίττωαν βόαρχον ἐν τῇ ἐορ[τῇ] (the same in more fragmentary state in *C. I. A. I.* 5).

<sup>177</sup> Plut. *Pericl.* 13, during the administration of Pericles, τὸ ἐν

'Ελευσίῃ τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομῆν . . . τὸ δὲ ὄπαιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε.

<sup>178</sup> Strab. 395 "Ἐλευσις πόλις, ἐν ἣ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς 'Ἐλευσινίας καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς σηκὸς ὃν κατεσκεύασεν Ἴκτινος ὄχλον θεάτρου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον . . . Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος τῶν ἔργων.

<sup>179</sup> Decree referring to the older temple found at Eleusis: *Ath. Mitt.* 1894, p. 163 τὸν 'Ρεῖτον τὸν παρὰ τοῦ \*Ἀστεως γεφυρῶσαι λίθοις χρωμένους Ἐλευσινόθεν τῶν καθηρημένων ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου . . . ὡς ἂν τὰ ἱερά φέρωσιν αἱ ἱέρειαι ἀσφαλέστατα.

<sup>180</sup> Dittenb. *Syll.* 13, inscription found at Eleusis (? 420 B. C.) ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεοῖν τοῦ καρποῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μάντειαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν 'Αθηναίους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκατὸν μεδίμων κριθῶν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐκτέα . . . ἐγγέγειν δὲ τοὺς δημάρχους κατὰ τοὺς δήμους καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς 'Ἐλευσινόθεν 'Ἐλευσινάδε. ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους κατὰ ταῦτά. κελεύετω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ ὁ δαδούχος μυστηρίους ἀπάρχεσθαι τοὺς 'Ἐλληνας τοῦ καρποῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν . . . ἐπαγγέλλειν δὲ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τῆσιν ἄλλησιν πόλεσι τῆσιν 'Ἑλληνικῆσιν ὅποι' ἂν δόκη αὐτῇ δυνατὸν εἶναι, λέγοντας μὲν κατὰ ἃ 'Αθηναῖοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, ἐκείνοις δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάττοντας κελεύοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι εἰάν βούλωνται, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν: . . . θύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πελάνου καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι ἐξηγήσωνται, τριττοῖαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερων τοῖν θεοῖν ἐκατέρω ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῷ Τριπτολέμῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ Εὐβούλῳ, ἱερεῖον ἐκάστω τέλεον καὶ τῇ 'Αθηναίᾳ βουὴν χρυσόκερων. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρούς ἀποδομένους τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναθήματα ἀνατιθέναι τοῖν θεοῖν . . . καὶ ἐπιγράφειν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἀνεθέθη καὶ 'Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀπαρχομένων' τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ποιούσι πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπίαν οὔτινες ἂν μὴ ἀδικῶσι 'Αθηναίους μηδὲ τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὸ θεῶ.

Inscriptions of fourth century and later periods.

<sup>181</sup> *C. I. A.* 2. 442, prayer of the Milesian θεωροί at the great mysteries, ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Αθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τοῦ τῶν Μιλησίων δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν.

<sup>182</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 110 (the λογοδοσία of Eleusinian officials in the time of Lycurgus, B. C. 329–328) A, 1. 1 λόγος ἐπιστατῶν 'Ἐλευσινίοθεν καὶ ταμιῶν τοῖν θεοῖν . . . τὸ περιὸν παρὰ ταμίαν τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ παρὰ ταμίᾳ τοῖν θεοῖν. . . 1. 4 σπονδοφόροις ἐπὶ νήσων εἰς μυστήρια τὰ μεγάλα: . . . 1. 41 ἐξηγηταῖς Εὐμολπίδων εἰς ζεύγη μυστηρίους . . . ἐπιστάταις εἰς θυσίαν μυστηρίους. *Ib.* B, 1. 46 ἐπαρχῇ (sic) Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτωνι Γ. (Cf. 1. 4 τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῖν θεοῖν.) 1. 46 ἐπιστάταις ἐπὶ Λήναια



εἰς Διονύσια θύσαι . . . πλῖνθαι εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν Ἄστει . . . σὺν τῇ κομιδῇ ἀπ' Ἀγελάστου Πέτρας. l. 71 μῆσις δυαῖν τῶν δημοσίων.

<sup>a</sup> l. 49 χοῖροι δύο καθῆραι τὰ ἱερὰν τὰ Ἐλευσίνι . . . καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἱερὰν οὐ ἡ ἱέρεια αἰκεῖ.

<sup>b</sup> l. 30 [ἀπὸ τῶν μισθωμάτων] ἃ ἐμίσθωσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ πάρεδροι καὶ αἱ ἐπιστάται οἱ Ἐλευ[σι]νάθεν καὶ αἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν] μυστηρίων (cf. l. 33).

<sup>183</sup> C. I. A. 4. 323<sup>b</sup> ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων αἱ χειροτονηθέντες τὰν ἐνιαυτὰν τὰν ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου ἄρχαντος τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν . . . τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλαις θεαῖς αἰς πάτριαν ἦν, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Βαυλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου. Cf. 614<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>184</sup> C. I. A. 4. 104<sup>a</sup> (B. C. 352-1), see *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889, p. 443, ἐλεσθαι τὰν δῆμον δέκα ἄνδρας . . . τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας δικάζειν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ τῷ ἐν Ἄστει περὶ τῶν ἄρων τῶν ἀμφισβηταυμένων τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀργάδος . . . παρῆναι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τὰν δευδοῦχαν . . . καὶ Εὐμαλπίδας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βαυλόμεναν. Cf. Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 287 ἀργάς' τὰ ἱερὰ χῶρια καλεῖται τὰ ὑφιερωμένα ταῖς θεοῖς.

<sup>186</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 176, inscription from Eleusis (third century B. C.) ἔδαξεν τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων . . . τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν, ἅσαι καθῆκαν αὐταῖς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλαις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Βαυλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πραθύματα, καὶ τὰ ζεύγος παρεσκεύασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὴν καμίδην τῶν ἱερῶν . . . ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀλαδε ἐλάσεως καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίνι Ἰαόχου ὑπαδοχῆς· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἄγραν μυστηρίων γενομένων δις ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ διὰ τὰ συντελεῖσθαι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια· ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια θύμα ταῦρον. Cf. C. I. A. 2. 315 ταῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσον [οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων] ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅσαι εἰσὶν εὖνους καὶ φιλαὶ τοῦ δήμου (early third century B. C.).

<sup>185a</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 96 (second century B. C.) ἔδαξε τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν· ἐπειδὴ γενομένη καὶ συνειλέχθαι τεχνιτῶν σύναδον παρ' Ἀθηναίους συμβέβηκε πρῶταν, ἃν ὁ δῆμος ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγὰς κατασταθείς, ἐγὼ μὲν ταῦ θηριώδους βία μετήγαγεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἡμεράτητα παραίτιος δ' ἐγενήθη τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας, εἰσαγαγὼν τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν, καὶ διὰ τούτων παραγγείλας τοῖς ἅπασιν ἅτι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς χρῆσις τε καὶ πίστις, ἔτι δὲ τῶν δαθέτων ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμων καὶ τῆς παιδείας· ἁμαίως δὲ καὶ τῆς ταῦ καρποῦ παραδόσεως ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐδέξατο τὰ δῶρον καινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν εὐχρηστίαν ταῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀπέδωκεν. . . .

<sup>186</sup> C. I. A. 2. 467. Ditt. *Syll.* 347 (inscription B. C. 100) ἐπὶ Μηδείᾳ ἄρχαντος . . . ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ . . . ἐπειδὴ αἱ ἐφηβαί . . . μετὰ τοῦ

κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐπόμπουσάν τε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπαπάντησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτά, καὶ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ὡσαύτως, ἤρασαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς βούς ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουθύτησαν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

<sup>187</sup> *C. I. A.* 3. 5. Ditt. *Syll.* 387 (? period of Marcus Aurelius) ἐπειδὴ οἱ περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων νόμοι προστάττουσι τῷ γένει τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἂν αἰεὶ παραπεμφθῆι τὰ ἱερά εὐκόσμως Ἐλευσινίῳθεν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ ἐξ ἄστυος Ἐλευσίναδε . . . δεδύχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, προστάξει τῷ κοσμητῇ τῶν ἐφήβων κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα ἄγειν Ἐλευσίναδε τοὺς ἐφήβους τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος . . . ἵνα τῇ τετραδί ἐπὶ δέκα παραπέμψωσιν τὰ ἱερά μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσεινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει . . . ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φαιδυντῆς τοῖν θεοῖν ἀγγέλλει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ὡς ἦκει τὰ ἱερά καὶ ἡ παραπέμψουσα στρατιά. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος προστάξει τῷ κοσμητῇ τῶν ἐφήβων ἄγειν τοὺς ἐφήβους πάλιν Ἐλευσίναδε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχήματος παραπέμποντας τὰ ἱερά. . . γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην φανεράν καὶ τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν φ' καὶ τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ τῷ γένει τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν.

<sup>188</sup> *C. I. A.* 3. 267, inscription on seat in the theatre of Dionysos, Ἐξηγητοῦ ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν χειροτονήτου (? Eleusinian, vide *Hermes* 20, p. 12, Dittenberger); cf. *ib.* 241 Πυθοκρήστου Ἐξηγητοῦ. *ib.* 720 (at Eleusis) Ἀπολλωνίου Ἐξηγητῆν ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν. *Erh. Arch.* 1895, p. 107 Τιβερίου Κλαύδιος . . . ἱερεὺς Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 436 (inscription from Eleusis later than Marcus Aurelius) ἐξηγητῆς μυστηρίων.

<sup>189</sup> *Erh. Arch.* 1883, p. 78 Δεύκιον Μέμμιον ἐπὶ βωμῷ Θορίκιον τὸν ἀπὸ δαδούχων . . . μνήσαντα θεὸν Δούκιον Οὐῆρον . . . καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνίνου: vide R. 175. Cf. inscription, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 119:

καὶ σοφίῃ κλεινὸν καὶ σεμνῶν φάντορα νυκτῶν

Δηοῦς καὶ Κούρης ἀγνὸν ὄρας πρόπολον

ὅς . . .

καὶ τελετὰς ἀνέφηνε . . .

Αὐσονίδην τε ἐμύησεν ἀγάκλυτον Ἀντωνίνου.

*Erh. Arch.* *ib.* p. 109, inscription, l. 24 (B. C. 329–8) τὸν Κηρύκων οἶκον at Eleusis.

<sup>190</sup> *C. I. A.* 2. 597 (inscription fourth century B. C.) ἐπειδὴ Εὐθύδημος ὁ πάρεδρος τοῦ βασιλέως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως μετὰ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων ἐπεμελήθη τῶν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια. *ib.* 4, p. 4 μνεῖν δὲ εἶναι τοῖς οὖσι Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶν . . . τοὺς μύστας τοὺς Ἐλευσίῃ μνουμένους ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἄστυ μνουμένους ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ, fifth century B. C.

Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 651 (*Erh. Arch.* 1890, p. 83), decree of the Eumol-

pidai found at Eleusis, ἐπειδὴ Τληπόλεμος τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερὸν καλῶς ἐκόσμησεν, ἐπαίνεσαι αὐτὸν . . . νέμειν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ μερίδα ἐγὼ μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἄγραν ὄσημπερ Εὐμολπιδῶν ἐκάστω. *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 113, inscription from Eleusis, time of the Antonines, in honour of citizen . . . l. 17 ἱεροφαντοῦντα . . . καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μύησαντος (*sic*) Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐῆρον, δις ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτει ἀγαγόντα μυστήρια καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ θεμιτόν, καὶ προσειδρύσαντα Εὐμολπίδην συναγαγόντα ἔπει (?) καὶ ἐπιλέγοντα 'εἴχομεν' (? do the last words contain some special reference to the emperor's initiation).

<sup>191</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 113 Πόση Ποσέους Μαραθωνίου θυγάτηρ τὴν ἑαυτῆς τήθην, Ἱεροφάντῳ νεωτέρας . . . ταῖν θεαῖν εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα (first century A. D.). Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 126; γ, ll. 4-5 (inscription from Eleusis, B. C. 329-8) ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν τῶν Ἐλευσίνι τοῖν θεοῖν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας . . . ἐκ τοῦ τῆς νεωτέρας.

<sup>192</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 113, inscription from Eleusis, ἐπὶ ἱερείας Φλαουίας (first century A. D.).

<sup>193</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1894, p. 176, inscription found at Eleusis (late imperial period) mentioning Eleusinian (and other) sacred officials, Δαφνηφόρος . . . Ἱεροφάντης . . . Ἱεροφάντιδες δύο. [ὁ] ἀφ' ἑστίας . . . Ἐξηγητῆς and Ἐξηγηταὶ τρεῖς . . . Ἱεροκῆρυξ . . . Ἰακχαγωγός. ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ. Πυρφόρος. Φαιδυντής. Παναγῆς. (Cf. Hesych. s. v. Παναίεις leg. Παναγείς Ἀθήνησιν ἱερεῖαι.) Vide *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 79 [ἱερεῖα] Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης Παναγῆς . . . (second century A. D.). Cf. R. 182, 208.

<sup>194 a</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 146 οὐνομα Καλλιστώ . . . ἐς γέρας ἀθανάτων ἰστάμεθ' ἀγχιθυροὶ Δηοῦς καὶ Κούρης δαιδηφόρου, οὐδέ με νύκτες (?) Δῆ[ισοντ'] ἡελίου κάλλιον λαμπόμεναι.

b *Eph. Arch.* 1885, p. 150:

Πυροφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπείροχον Ἱεροφάντιν

Ἡ τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνον ὁμοῦ Κομμόδῳ βασιλεῖας

Ἀρχομένη τελετῶν ἔσπεφε μυστιπόλους.

<sup>195</sup> *C. I. A.* 3. 919 ἐρρηφορήσασαν τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη.

<sup>196</sup> *Id.* 393 ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθεῖς παῖς. Cf. 406, 443-445.

<sup>197</sup> Andoc. περὶ μυστ. 110 κατηγορήσαν δέ μου καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱκετηρίας, ὡς καταθεῖν ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ, νόμος δ' εἶν πάτριος, ὃς ἂν θῆ ἱκετηρίαν μυστηρίοις, τεθνᾶναι.

<sup>198</sup> The Σπονδοφόροι: Aeschin. *Fals. Legat.* § 133 τοῖς σπονδοφόροις τοῖς τὰς μυστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπέισαντο. Cf. R. 175.

<sup>199</sup> The 'Επιμεληταί: Arist. *Ath. Polit.* 57 ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν οὗς ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνει, δύο μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, ἓνα δ' Εὐμολπιδῶν ἓνα δὲ Κηρύκων. Lysias, κατ. Ἀνδοκ. 4 ἂν . . . Ἀνδοκίδης . . . λάχῃ βασιλεὺς, ἄλλο τι ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θυσιάσει καὶ εὐχὰς εὐξεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐνθάδε Ἐλευσινίῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσίνι ἱερῷ, καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἐπιμελήσεται μυστηρίους.

<sup>200</sup> The Ἱεροποιοί: Pollux, 8. 107 δέκα ὄντες [Ἱεροποιοί] ἔθνον θυσίας τὰς πενταετηρίδας, τὴν εἰς Δῆλον, τὴν ἐν Βραυρώνι, τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείων, τὴν Ἐλευσίνιαδε. Lycurgeoan inscription referred to supra, R. 182, mentions οἱ Ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐκ Βουλῆς.

<sup>201</sup> The Ἐξηγηταί: vide R. 180, 182, 186, 188, 193. Lysias, κατ. Ἀνδοκ. § 10 τοῖς ἀγράφοις [νόμοις] καθ' οὗς Εὐμολπίδαι ἐξηγοῦνται. Andoc. περὶ τῶν Μυστ. 116 ὦ Καλλία, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιώτατε, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξηγῆ, Κηρύκων ὦν, αὐχ ὄσιόν σοι ἐξηγεῖσθαι.

<sup>202 a</sup> Ἱεροφάντης: *Antiq. Pal. Append.* 246:

ὡς τελετὰς ἀνέφαινε καὶ ὄργια πάννυχα μύσταις  
Εὐμολπου, προχέων ἱμερόβεσσαν ὄπα.

*Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 81 (Γλαῦκος):

ὄργια πᾶσιν ἔφαινε βροτοῖς φασίμβροτα Δηοῦς  
εἰναετές, δεκάτῳ δ' ἦλθε πρὸς ἀθανάτους  
ἢ καλὸν ἐκ μακάρων μυστήριον, αὐ μόνον εἶναι  
τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

b Hesych. *s. v.* Ἱεροφάντης: μυσταγωγός, ἱερεὺς ὁ τὰ μυστήρια δεικνύων.

c Luc. Λεξιφαν. 10 ἐντυγχάνω δαδούχῳ τε καὶ Ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρρητοπαιοῖς Δεινίαν σύρουσιν ἄγδην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἔγκλημα ἐπάγοντες, ὅτι ὠνόμαζεν αὐτούς, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξ οὐπερ ὠσιώθησαν ἀνώνυμοί τε εἰσι καὶ οὐκέτι ὀνομαστοὶ ὡς ἂν ἱερόνυμαι ἤδη γεγενημένοι.

d Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 4. 18 ὁ δὲ Ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά.

e Arnob. *Adv. Gent.* 5. 25 Eumolpus, a quo gens ecfluit Eumolpidarum et ducitur clarum illud apud Cecropios nomen et qui postea floruerunt Caduceatores, hierophantae atque praecones. Tac. *Hist.* 4. 83 Ptolemaeus . . . Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quaenam illa superstitio, quod numen, interrogat.

f Plut. *Alcib.* 22 (in the indictment of Alcibiades) ἔχοντα στολήν οἶανπερ Ἱεροφάντης ἔχων δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά . . . τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐταίρους μύστας προσαγορεύοντα καὶ ἐπόπτας παρὰ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ καθεστηκότα ὑπὸ τε Εὐμολπιδῶν καὶ Κηρύκων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνιας.

<sup>ε</sup> Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 12. 6 ἐπηράσαντο αὐτῷ Κήρυκες καὶ Εὐμολπίδαι.

<sup>h</sup> Paus. 2. 14, 1, at Keleai near Phlius, τῇ Δήμητρι δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ τετάρτου τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσι. ἱεροφάντης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ ἐκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτέ ἐστὶν ἄλλος σφίσιον αἰρετός, λαμβάνων, ἦν ἐθέλλῃ, καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διάφορα τῶν Ἐλευσίνι νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τελετὴν ἐκείνων ἐστὶ μίμησις.

<sup>i</sup> Stobae. vol. 4, p. 73 (Meineke), quoting from Iuncus περὶ γήρωσ, ἦττον ἐσθίων ἢ πίνων ὁ πρεσβύτης ἀφροδισίων τε ἀπεχόμενος ὡσπερὶ ἱεροφάντης.

<sup>k</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 372 τοῖτοισιν ἀπαυδῶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ δαδοῦχου πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ.

<sup>l</sup> Hippol. *Philosoph.* 5. 8 (Miller, p. 115) ὁ ἱεροφάντης . . . εὐνουχι-σμένος διὰ κανείου καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπηρτισμένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν νυκτὸς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων 'ἐρὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κουρὸν Βριμὼ Βριμῆ.'

<sup>m</sup> Aelian, *Frag.* 10 ἀνὴρ τις ἦν . . . ὅσπερ ᾄθησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέγαρον φέρων, ἔνθα δῆπου τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ μόνῳ παρελθεῖν θεμιτὸν ἦν.

<sup>n</sup> Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* (Sopatros), p. 121 καὶ πλέον ἔχων ἀμύητου δοκῶν . . . ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς ἱεροφάντου κατακοῦσαι φωνῆς.

<sup>208</sup> Ἱεροφάντης: vide R. 191, 193, 194. Istros ap. Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 681 ὁ δ' Ἰστρος τῆς Δήμητρος εἶναι στέμμα τὴν μυρρίνην καὶ τὴν μίλακα . . . καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην δὲ καὶ τὰς ἱεροφάντιδας καὶ τὸν δαδοῦχον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυρρίνης ἔχειν στέφανον.

<sup>204</sup> Φιλλεΐδαι: Photius, *s. v.* γένος ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἡ ἱερεία τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, ἡ μύουσα τοὺς μύστας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. Plut. *de Exil.* 17 Εὐμολπον ὃς ἐκ Θράκης μεταστῆς ἐμύησε καὶ μυεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

<sup>205</sup> Κήρυκες, R. 166, 172, 190, 202<sup>o-f</sup>. Aeschin. 3. 18 τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 597. Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* vol. 8, p. 118 πρὸ πάντων ἐπιτάττει [ὁ ἱεροκῆρυξ] δημοσίᾳ τὴν σιωπὴν.

<sup>a</sup> Δαδοῦχος: R. 184, 189, 202<sup>o</sup>, 218. Schol. Aeschin. *Fals. Legat.* Dind. p. 82 ἱεροφάνται μὲν Δήμητρος ἀπὸ Εὐμολπιδῶν, Δαδοῦχος δ' ἀπὸ Κηρύκων.

<sup>b</sup> Arist. *Eleusin.* Dind. vol. 1, p. 417 Εὐμολπίδαι τε καὶ Κήρυκες ἐς Ποσειδῶ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἀναφέροντες ἱεροφάντας, οἱ δὲ δαδοῦχους παρέρχοντο.

<sup>o</sup> Aelian, *Frag.* 10 (Suidas, p. 857 D, *s. v.* Δαδοῦχεϊ) Εἴξαντο δὲ καὶ τῇ Βουλῇ (Βουλαία Bernhardy) καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ διὰ τε τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν καὶ τοῦ δαδοῦχου σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 482 ἐν τοῖς Δηναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δαδούχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει· καλεῖτε θεόν· καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσι· ‘Σεμελή’ Ἰακχε πλουτοδότα.

<sup>e</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4, 20 Κλεόκριτος ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ. For the ἱεροκῆρυξ vide also Dionysos, R. 124 9.

<sup>206 a</sup> Female δαδούχος: C. I. G. 1535.

<sup>b</sup> Luc. Κατάπλους 22 εἰπέ μοι, ἐτελέσθης γάρ, ὦ Κύνισκε, τὰ Ἐλευσίνα δῆλον ὅτι—οὐχ ὁμοῖα τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐνθάδε; εὖ λέγεις· ἰδοὺ γοῦν προσέρχεται δαδουχοῦσά τις.

<sup>207</sup> Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 3. 12 (from Porphyry) ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ’ Ἐλευσίνα μυστηρίοις ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνσκευάζεται, δαδούχος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡλίον· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βωμῶ εἰς τὴν σελήνην. ὁ δὲ ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἑρμοῦ. Cf. Apollo, *Geogr. Reg.* ‘Delos’ (two Κήρυκες ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων τοῦ τῆς μυστηριωτίδος officiating in the worship of the Delian Apollo).

<sup>208</sup> Ὑδρανός: Hesych. *s. v.* ὁ ἀγνιστῆς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων. Pollux, 1. 35 περὶ μυστηρίων τελούντων καὶ τελουμένων· . . . ἱεροφάνται δαδούχοι κήρυκες σπονδοφόροι ἱέρειαι παναγείς πυρφόροι ὕμνωδοὶ ὑμνήτριαι ὑμνητρίδες, ἱακχαγωγὸς γὰρ καὶ κουροτρόφος τις καὶ δαιριότης καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἴδια τῶν Ἀττικῶν.

<sup>209</sup> Ὁ ἀφ’ ἐστίας παῖς: vide supra, R. 193, 196. Harpocr. *s. v.* ἀφ’ ἐστίας μνείσθαι· Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καλυδῶνα· ὁ ἀφ’ ἐστίας μνούμενος Ἀθηναῖος ἦν πάντως. *Lex. Rhet.* p. 204 ἀφ’ ἐστίας μνηθῆναι· ὁ ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων Ἀθηναίων κλήρω λαχὼν παῖς δημοσίᾳ μυηθεῖς. Porph. *de Abst.* 4. 5 ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὁ ἀφ’ ἐστίας λεγόμενος παῖς ὃς ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν μνουμένων ἀπομειλίσσεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀκριβῶς δρῶν τὰ προστεταγμένα.

Time, ritual, and order of the ceremonies.

Vide R. 175 for date of the σπονδαί for the lesser and greater mysteries.

<sup>210</sup> Lesser mysteries at Agrai: vide R. 168, 175, 185, 190.

<sup>a</sup> Plat. *Rep.* 2, p. 364 E (cf. *Gorgias*, p. 497 C) ὡς πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων τὰ μικρὰ παραδοτέον.

<sup>b</sup> Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἄγρα χωρίον . . . ἔστι δὲ . . . τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν ᾧ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται μίμημα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 846 μυστήρια δὲ δύο τελείται τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη, τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ ἔστι τὰ μικρὰ ὡς περ προκάθαρισις καὶ προάγγελσις τῶν μεγάλων . . . ἦσαν δὲ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρὸς. ὁ δὲ μνούμενος τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὁ ἐφόρει ἐν τῇ μῆσει, οὐδέποτε ἀπεδέυτο, μέχρις ἂν τελείως ἀφανισθῆ διαρρυνέν. Diod. Sic. 4. 14 Δημήτηρ πρὸς τὸν καθαρμὸν τοῦ κενταύρων φόνου τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια συνεστήσατο, τὸν Ἑρακλία τιμῶσα.

<sup>d</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 26 ἔγραψεν [Δημήτριος] ὅτι βούλεται παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς μνηθῆναι καὶ τὴν τελετὴν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παραλαβεῖν· τοῦτο δ' οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γεγονός πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος· ἐπάπτευσεν δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐνιαυτὸν διαλείποντες . . . ἐτόλμησεν ἀντειπεῖν Πυθόδωρος ὁ δαδοῦχος.

<sup>e</sup> Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5. 11 (p. 688–689 P.) οὐκ ἀπεικόντως ἄρα καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἄρχει μὲν τὰ καθάρσια καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ λουτρόν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια διδασκαλίας τινὰ ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα καὶ προπαρασκευῆς τῶν μελλόντων, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα, περὶ τῶν συμπάντων οὐ μανθάνει ἐτι ὑπολείπεται, ἐποπτεύειν δὲ καὶ περινοεῖν τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὰ πράγματα.

<sup>f</sup> *C. I. A.* 2. 315 περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἔθυσαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγραν μυστηρίοις . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ . . . πρότερον τε ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς θυσίας καὶ νῦν θεύκασιν τὰ σωτήρια ταῖς θεαῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου.

<sup>g</sup> Himer. *Or.* 3. § 3 (p. 432) νῦν ἔαρ . . . § 4 νῦν πλούσια μὲν Ἰλισσοῦ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ νάματα, καὶ τάχα δὴ σὲ [? Δηοῦς] μαντεύεται πάλιν ὁ ποταμὸς τὰ μυστήρια. Cf. Himer. *Ecl.* 10, 16 παρ' Ἰλισσοῦ μυστικαῖς ὄχθαις. Polyæn. *Strat.* v. 17 τὸν Ἰλισσόν, οὗ τὸν καθαρμὸν τελοῦσι τοῖς ἐλάττωσι μυστηρίοις.

<sup>h</sup> Suidas, *s. v.* Ἄγρα· Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Ἰλισσῷ. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἄγρα· χωρίον Ἀττικὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἱερὸν Δήμητρος.

<sup>i</sup> Athenae. 253<sup>d</sup> Δούρις δὲ ὁ Σόμος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἰθὺφαλλον· ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι | τῇ πόλει πάρεισιν· | ἐνταῦθα γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ Δημήτριον· | ἅμα παρῆγ' ὁ καιρός· | χῆ μὲν τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια | ἔρχεθ' ἵνα ποιήσῃ.

Date of the greater mysteries: vide R. 175, 187.

<sup>211</sup> Plut. *Phok.* 6 (referring to the battle of Naxos) Ἐνίκων δὲ μεγάλους μυστηρίοις· καὶ παρέιχεν οἰνογόμημα Χαβρίας Ἀθηναίος καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος. *Ibid.* c. 28 Εἰκάδι γὰρ ἡ φρουρὰ Βοηδρομιῶνος εἰσῆχθη μυστηρίων ὄντων, ἢ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξ ἄστεος Ἐλευσινιάδε πέμπουσιν. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* Kayser 2, p. 104 ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ προαστείῳ [τῆς Ἐλευσινιάδε λεωφόρου] Ἱερὰ Συκῆ· τὰ δὲ Ἐλευσινώθεν ἱερὰ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἄστὺ ἄγωσιν, ἐκεῖ ἀναπαύουσιν. *C. I. G.* 523 (inscription about the time of Hadrian, found at Athens, now at Oxford), on the 17th of Boedromion Δήμητρι Κόρη δελφάκα; on the 18th τρυγητὸν Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς.

<sup>212</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 3: inscription from Eleusis (third century B.C.) γινομένης τῆς πανηγύρεως τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τῶν μεγάλων ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐστρατήγηκεν. Cf. *ib.* 1883, p. 123, l. 46 τὴν πεντετηρίδα τῶν Ἐλευσινίων.

### Ritual.

<sup>213</sup> Hesych. s. v. Ἄγυρμός· τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρα πρώτη.

<sup>214</sup> The πρόρρησις, R. 172, 202 k. Luc. *Demon.* p. 34 ἐτόλμησε δέ ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναῖους ἐρωτῆσαι δημοσίᾳ τῆς προρρήσεως ἀκούσας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀποκλείουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους. Id. *Alex.* p. 38 τελετὴν συνίσταται καὶ δαδουχίας καὶ ἱεροφαντίας τριῶν ἐξῆς αἰεὶ τελουμένης ἡμερῶν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ πρόρρησις ἦν, ὡσπερ Ἀθήνησι, τοιαύτη· εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἤκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων φευγέτω. Pollux, 8. 90 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μυστηρίων προσέστηκε . . . προαγορεύει δὲ τοῖς ἐν αἰτία ἀπέχεσθαι μυστηρίων.

<sup>215</sup> Hesych. s. v. Ἄλαδε μύσται· ἡμέρα τις τῶν Ἀθήνησι μυστηρίων: vide R. 185. Hesych. s. v. Ῥεῖτοί· ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἐλευσίνι Ῥεῖτοί, Ῥωγμοί· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας θεοῦ νομίζεται· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ τῆς νεωτέρας· ὄθεν τοὺς λουτροὺς ἀγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσοις. Cf. Paus. i. 38, 1. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. viii, p. 114 (Sopatros) μέλλων δὲ τοῖς καθορσίοις τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς ἐντυγχάνειν. Tertull. *de Baptism.* 5 Certe ludis Apollinaribus et Eleusiniis tinguuntur idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periorum suorum agere praesumunt.

<sup>216</sup> a Eur. *Ion* 1075 Τὸν πολύμνον θεόν, εἰ περὶ καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς λαμπάδα θεωρὸν εἰκάδων ἄνπνος ὄψεται. Cf. R. 164.

b Paus. i. 38, 6 Ἐλευσινίοις ἔστι . . . φρέαρ καλούμενον Καλλιχόρον ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν. Apollod. *Bibl.* i, c. 5, § 1, 2 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν Ἀγέλαστον Πέτραν ἐκάθισε [Δημήτηρ] παρὰ τὸ καλλιχόρον φρέαρ καλούμενον. Cf. Clem. *Protrept.* p. 16 P. φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπουμένη. τοῦτο τοῖς μνουμένοις ἀπαγορεύεται εἰς ἔτι νῦν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τετελεσμένοι μμεῖσθαι τὴν ὄδουραμένην.

c *Ei. Mag.* 429. 42 Ἡμεροκαλλές· φοινικῶν ἔριον διαπεποικιλμένον, ᾧ χρώνται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς Θεόδωρος ὁ Παναγὴς προσαγορεύει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Κηρύκων γένους.

d Phot. s. v. κροκοῦν· οἱ μύσται ὡς φασὶ κράκη τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καὶ τὸν πόδα ἀναδοῦνται· καὶ λέγεται τοῦτο κροκοῦν· οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐνίστε κράκῳ καθαίρονται.

e Himerius, vii. 2, p. 512 Ἀττικὸς νόμος Ἐλευσίναδε φῶς μύστας φέρειν κελεύει καὶ δράγματα, ἡμέρου τροφῆς γνωρίσματα.



<sup>f</sup> Plut. *Alcið.* 34 θυσίαι καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δρωμένων καθ' ὁδὸν ἱερῶν, ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἰακχόν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐξελείπεται.

<sup>g</sup> Strabo, 400 Ποταμοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ὁ μὲν Κηφισσοῦς . . . ῥέων δὲ διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ γέφυρα καὶ οἱ γεφυρισμοί. Hesych. s. v. Γεφυρίς . . . ἄνδρα ἐκεῖ [ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας] καθεζόμενον τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων [ῥ' ἀγομένων] συγκαλυπτόμενον ἐξ ὀνομάτων σκώμματα λέγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐνδόξους πολλίτας. Suidas, s. v. Γεφυρίς· Ξένη καὶ ἐπίσακτος· οἱ γὰρ Γεφυραῖοι ξένοι. For the Ἰάκχου ὑποδοχὴ vide R. 185.

<sup>217 a</sup> Moral tests applied to candidates: Liban. *Or. Corinth.* vol. iv, p. 356 (Reiske) οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα καθαροὶ εἶναι τοῖς μύστασι ἐν κοινῷ προαγορεύουσι, οἷον τὰς χεῖρας τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν φωνὴν Ἑλληνας εἶναι. Cf. p. 368 τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦτο κηρύττεται, 'ὅστις τὰς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς Ἀθηναίων' λέγε [? leg. εἶτε] 'ὅστις σφῶν [Lobeck, em. φωνῆν] ἀσύνετος.' (Lobeck's emendation is proved by the citation of the formula in Theo Smyrnaeus, *De Utilit. Math.* p. 15 (Hiller), and by Origen *in Cels.* 3. 59.) Suet. *Nero*, c. 34 Peregrinatione quidem Graeciae et Eleusinis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce praeconis summoventur, interesse non ausus est. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, c. 5, § 12 [Ἡρακλῆς] μὴ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν τὰ μυστήρια, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐκ ἦν ἡγνισμένος τὸν Κενταύρου φόνον ἀγνοοῦν ἐπὶ Εὐμόλπου τότε ἐμυήθη. Andoc. *De Myst.* § 33 (p. 36, Baiter) εἴαν μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων καὶ ἀτιμωθῆ ὁ ἐνδείξας ἐμὲ Κηφίσιος οὐτάσι, οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταῖν θεῶν εἰσεῖναι ἢ ἀποθονεῖται.

<sup>b</sup> Rules of abstinence: Liban. *loc. cit.* καὶ ἰδίᾳ πάλιν τὸ εἰ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡ εἰ τοῦδε ἐγένωσα, οὐ καθαρὸς πάρε· καὶ πολλὴ τοῦτου παρὰ τοῖς μυσταγωγοῖς ἐπιμέλεια. Paus. I. 37, 4 (beans tabooed) ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἐλευσίνοι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικὰ ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὁ λεγῶ. Porph. *De Abstin.* 4. 16 παραγγέλλεται γὰρ καὶ Ἐλευσίνοι ἀπέχεσθαι κατοικιδίων ὀρνίθων καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ κυάμων ῥοιᾶς τε καὶ μήλων. Cf. R. 18. Plut. *De Sollert. Anim.* 35 Τρίγλαν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μύστας σεβομένους ἴσσε. Ov. *Fast.* 4. 535:

Quae quia principio posuit ieiunia noctis,  
Tempus habent mystae sidera visa cibi.

<sup>218</sup> The religious service in the τελεστήριον.

<sup>a</sup> Luc. *De Saltat.* 15 τελετὴν οὐδὲ μίαν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἄνευ ἀρχήσεως.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 11 P. τὰ μυστήρια οὐκ ἐξορχήσομαι ὡσπερ Ἀλκιβιάδην λέγουσι. Synes. *in Dion.* p. 52 c δεῖ τὰ μικρὰ ἐποπτεῦσαι πρὸ τῶν μειζύων καὶ χορεῦσαι πρὶν δαδουχῆσαι καὶ διδουχῆσαι πρὶν ἱεροφαντῆσαι.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 12 Δηῶ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δρᾶμα ἤδη ἐγενέσθη μυστικὸν καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὰ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίσι δαδουχεῖ.

d Apulei. *Metam.* 6 Per tacita secreta cistarum et per famulorum tuorum draconum pinnata curricula . . . et illuminarum Proserpinae nuptiarum demeacula et luminosarum filiae inventionum remeacula et cetera quae silentio tegit Eleusinis Atticae sacrarium.

° Tertull. *Ad Nat.* ii. p. 30 Cur rapitur Cereris sacerdos si non tale Ceres passa est? Cf. Asterius, *Encom. martyr.* p. 194 (Combe) οὐκ ἐκεῖ τὸ καταβάσιον τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ αἱ σεμναὶ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς τὴν ἰέρειαν συντυχίαι, μόνου πρὸς μόνην; οὐχ αἱ λαμπάδες σβέννυνται; καὶ ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀναριθμητος δῆμος τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ παρὰ τῶν δύο πραττόμενα. Lact. *Div. Inst.* epitom. 23 His (Isidis sacris) etiam Cereris simile mysterium est, in quo facibus accensis per noctem Proserpina requiritur, et ea inventa ritus omnis gratulatione et tædarum iactatione finitur.

f Plat. *Symp.* p. 210 A ταῦτα τὰ ἐρωτικά ἴσως κἂν σὺ μνηθεῖης, τὰ δὲ τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ οἶός τ' ἂν εἴης.

g Himer. *Ecl.* 10, § 4, p. 176 οὐ μμησάμενος τὸν μυστικὸν νόμον, ὃς ἐπόπη τε καὶ μύστη μερίζει τὸν χρόνον.

h Stobae. from Themistius (Plutarch) *περὶ ψυχῆς* (vol. iv, p. 107, Meineke) τότε πάσχει πάθος οἶον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλας ὀργιαζόμενοι . . . πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπάδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορείαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἴτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησε, καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελής ἦδη καὶ μεμνημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγωνὸς καὶ ἄφетος περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὀσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι.

i Plut. *de profect. virt.* p. 81 E ὁ δ' ἐντὸς γενόμενος καὶ μέγα φῶς ἰδὼν οἶον ἀνακτόρων ἀνοιγομένων.

k Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. viii, p. 114 (Sopatros): ἐπεὶ οὖν εἴσω τῶν ἀνακτόρων γεγέννημαι καὶ μύστης ὧν ἱεροφάντην ἄμα καὶ δαδούχον τεθέαμαι . . . ἐξῆεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐπ' ἑμαυτῷ ξενιζόμενος.

l Themist. *Or.* 5. 71 ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τὰ προτέλεια μνήσας εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα τὴν τελετὴν καταθήσεται. Cf. R. 202<sup>m</sup>. Inscription from Eleusis (late period) *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 79:

ὦ μύσται, τότε μ' εἶδεν ἀνακτόρου ἐκ προφανέντα  
Νυξίν ἐν ἀργενναῖς. . .

Cf. R. 206<sup>b</sup>.

m Tatian, *In Graec.* 8 Zeus τῇ θυγατρὶ συγγίγνεται, καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κύει. μαρτυρήσει μοι νῦν Ἑλεουσίς καὶ δράκων ὁ μυστικὸς καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ 'θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις' λέγων. Αἰδωνεὺς ἀρπάζει τὴν Κόρην καὶ αἰ

πρίξεις αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι μυστήρια· κλαίει Δημήτηρ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τινες ἀπατῶνται διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

<sup>n</sup> Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 30 e Δοκοῦσι δέ μοι μῆδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συστήσασθαι ἑορτὰς καὶ τελετὰς θεῶν ἄλλοι τινὲς ἢ γεωργοί· πρῶτοι μὲν ἐπὶ ληνῶ στήσάμενοι Διονύσφ χορούς, πρῶτοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἄλλφ Δημήτρι ὄργια.

<sup>o</sup> Hippol. *Philosoph.* p. 115, Miller, Ἀθηναῖοι μουῦντες Ἐλευσίαια καὶ ἐπίδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν μυστήριον, ἐν σιωπῇ τεθερισμένον στάχυν.

<sup>p</sup> Plutarch, *Frag.* xxiii. οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ πρωϊότερον ἔσπειρον καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τελετῶν.

<sup>219</sup> Prayer, mystic formulae, sacrifice.

<sup>a</sup> Lysias, 6. 51 Οὗτος ἐνδὺς στολὴν μμούμενος τὰ ἱερά ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμύητοις καὶ εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ τὰ ἀπόρρητα.

<sup>b</sup> Procl. *in Tim.* 293 c ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις ἱεροῖς εἰς μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψαντες ἐβῶν 'υἷε,' καταβλέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν 'τοκυῖε' (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 782 emends ὕε, κύε, which is found in the parallel statement of Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Haer.* 5. 7, p. 146).

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 18 P. Κάσσι τὸ σύνθημα Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων· ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐγγευσάμενος (MS. ἐργασάμενος) ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην (cf. *ιβ. ξενίσασα ἢ Βαυβῶ τὴν Δηῶ, ὀρέγει κυκεῶνα αὐτῇ*).

<sup>d</sup> Athenaeus, 478<sup>c</sup> Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ δίου κωδίου φησί· 'μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τελετὴν ποιεῖ καὶ αἶρει τὰ ἐκ τῆς θαλάμης καὶ νέμει ὅσοι ἄνω (ἀν ὧσι emend. Casaubon) τὸ κέρνος περιενηνοχότες. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον κεραμοῦν ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους· ἔνεισι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄρμιοι, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πίσοι, λάθυροι, ὄχροι, φακοί, κύαμοι, ζεαί, βρόμος, παλάθιον, μέλι, ἔλαιον, οἶνος, γάλα, οἶον ἔριον ἄπλυτον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσας οἶον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται. Cf. Pollux, 4. 103 τὸ κερμοφόρον ὄρχημα οἶδ' ὅτι λίκνα ἢ ἐσχαρίδας φέροντες.

<sup>e</sup> Schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c ἐλέγετο πρὸς τῶν μουμένων ταῦτα· ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα . . . ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυνον. Cf. Firm. Mat. *de error.* 18 (p. 102, Halm) ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα. γέγονα μύστης Ἄττεως.

<sup>f</sup> Hom. *H. Dem.* 206 τῇ δὲ (Δήμητρι) δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἴνου | πλήσασ', ἢ δ' ἀνένευσ'. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν οἱ ἔφασκε | πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ' ἄρ' ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ | δοῦναι μίξασαν πύμεν γλήχωνι τερεῖῃ.

<sup>ε</sup> ? Animal sacrifice: Schol. Arist. *Eqm.* 282 οὐκ ἐξῆν τὰ θυόμενα

Δημήτρι καὶ Περσεφόνη ἕξω ἀφίειν; in the περίβολος of the temple, R. 176, 180, 186. Arist. *Ran.* 337:

ὦ πότνια πολυτίμητε Δῆμητρος Κόρη,  
ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσέπνευσε χοιρέων κρεῶν.

Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 378 A. Plut. *Phok.* 28 Μύστην λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάραφ λιμέει κῆτος συνέλοβε.

<sup>220</sup> The feast of Πλημοχόαι: Athenae. 496 A Πλημοχόη . . . χρωῶνται δὲ αὐτῶ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τῇ τελευταία τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρα, ἣν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσ-αγορεύουσι πλημοχόας ἐν ἣ δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀμιστάμενοι, ἀνατρέπουσιν ἐπιλέγοντες ῥῆσιν μυστικῆν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τὸν Πειρίθου . . .

ἵνα πλημοχόας τάσδ' ἐς χθόνοι  
χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν.

Hesych. s. v. πλημοχόη. τῇ ὑστεραία ἡμέρα τῶν μυστηρίων κοτυλίσκους πληροῦσιν, οὓς καλοῦσι πλημοχόας. Pollux, 10. 74: πλημοχόην . . . κεραμεοῦν ἀγγεῖον . . . φ' χρωῶνται τῇ τελευταία τῶν μυστηρίων.

<sup>221</sup> The Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα: Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 4. 18 Ἦν μὲν δὴ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα. Τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαύρια μετὰ πρόρρησιν καὶ τὰ ἱερέα δεῦρο (leg. 'ἱερά δεῦρο,' vide Rhein. Mus. 1902, 4) μνεῖν Ἀθηναίους πάτριον ἐπὶ θυσία δευτέρα' τοῦτι δὲ ἐνόμισαν Ἀσκληπιῶ ἕνεκα, ὅτε δὴ ἐμήσαν αὐτὸν ἦκοντα Ἐπιδαυράθεν ὄψε μυστηρίων. ἀμελήσαντες δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ μνεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἶχον . . . ὁ δὲ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά, μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε μνήσαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα ἀνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. Cf. Paus. 2. 26, 8. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56 πομπῶν δ' ἐπεμελείτο [ὁ ἄρχων] τῆς τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ γενομένης ὅταν οἰκουρῶσι μύσται.

<sup>222</sup> ? Mystic doctrine.

August. *de Civ. Dei*, xx. De Cereris sacris Eleusinae, de quibus iste Varro nihil interpretatus nisi quod attinet ad frumentum. Porph. *de Abst.* 4. 22 φασὶ δὲ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον Ἀθηναίους νομοθετῆσαι, καὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἔτι Ξενοκράτης λέγει διαμένειν Ἐλευσίῃ τούσδε' γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν' ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι. Cf. the ἄγραφοι νόμοι, R. 201. Cic. *Att.* 1. 9 τὰ Εὐμολπιδῶν πάτρια. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 13 reminiscere quoniam es initiatus quae traduntur mysteriis. Isocr. *Paneg.* 28 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς οὐχ οἶδόν τε ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀκούειν. Synes. *Dion.* p. 48 A Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τετελεσμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τί δέῃ ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι γενομένους δηλονότι ἐπιτηδείους.

<sup>223</sup> ? Moral influence of the mysteries.

<sup>a</sup> Hom. *H. Dem.* 366-369:

Τιμὰς δὲ σχήσησθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας,  
τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἤματα πάντα  
οἳ κεν μὴ θυσίαισι τεὸν μένος ἰλάσκωνται  
εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες.

<sup>b</sup> Arist. *Ran.* 455:

μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος ἰλαρόν ἐστιν  
ἴσσοι μεμνήμεθ' εὐ-  
σεβῆ τε διήγομεν  
τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους  
καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας.

<sup>c</sup> *Id.* 886:

Δῆμητερ ἢ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα  
εἶναι με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων.

<sup>d</sup> Andoc. *De Myst.* p. 44 Baier (§ 125) συνάκει ὁ πάντων σχετλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἱερεὺς ὢν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς . . . οὐδ' ἔδεισε τῷ θεῷ. *Id.* p. 36, § 31 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεμνήσθε καὶ ἑωράκατε τοῖν θεοῖν τὰ ἱερά, ἵνα τιμωρήσῃτε μὲν τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας σώξῃτε δὲ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας.

<sup>e</sup> Arr. *Epict.* iii. 21, 422 οὕτως ὠφέλιμα γίνεται τὰ μυστήρια, οὕτως ἐς φαντασίαν ἐρχόμεθα ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει τοῦ βίου κατεστάθη.

<sup>f</sup> Diog. Laert. vi. 2, § 39 Ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν [Διογένη] Ἀθηναίων μνηθῆναι καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἐν Ἀδου προεδρίας οἱ μεμνημένοι τυγχάνουσι, Γελοῖον, ἔφη, εἰ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῷ βαρβόρῳ διάξουσιν, εὐτελεῖς δὲ τινες μεμνημένοι ἐν ταῖς μακάρων νήσοις ἔσσονται.

<sup>g</sup> Sopatros, in Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* 8. 114 ἔσομαι διὰ τὴν τελετὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐτοιμώτατος.

Groups of Eleusinian deities.

<sup>224</sup> Τὸ θεῷ = Demeter and Kore: vide R. 175, 180, 182, 183, 185, 187. Inscriptions, *Eph. Arch.* 1894, p. 195, and 1896, p. 37. Andoc. *De Myst.* 124. Cf. R. 191 Ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἡ νεωτέρα.

<sup>225</sup> ὁ θεός and ἡ θεά = ?Plouton and Persephone: vide inscription on relief at Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.* 1886, Πίν. 3 Λυσιμαχίδης ἀνέθηκε θεῷ θεῶ. *C. I. A.* 2. 1620 c; 3. 1109 Κοσμήτης ἐφήβων ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εἰρηναίας: vide R. 180 τὸ θεῷ mentioned in company with ἡ θεά and ὁ θεός.

<sup>226</sup> Τὸ θεῷ and Plouton: vide R. 182, 190. Inscription, circ. 100 B.C., on Eleusinian relief, *Eph. Arch.* 1886, Πίν. 3 (cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, p. 262, n. 2) Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαριεὺς ἱερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καὶ

Εὐβουλέως . . . χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη καὶ θεῶ καὶ θεῶ καὶ Εὐβουλεῖ . . . ἀνέθηκεν. Πλούτων. Τριπτόλεμος. Θεά. θεός: for restoration of inscription vide Heberdey in *Festschrift für Benndorf*, p. 111, Taf. 4. *C. I. A.* 2. 948 (circ. v. c. 310) Τούσδε ἐπιώψατο ὁ ἱεροφάντης [τὴν κλίνην στρῶ]σαι τῷ Πλούτωνι καὶ τὴν τράπ[εζαν κοσμήσαι] κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ: see *Hermes*, vi. p. 106. *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 99 ἡ τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερεῖα: inscription from Eleusis, circ. 300 v. c.

<sup>227</sup> Eubouleus, in conjunction with ἡ θεά and ὁ θεός: vide R. 180. Votive inscription found near the Ploutonion at Eleusis, fourth century v. c. *Eph. Arch.* 1886, p. 262 Εὐβουλεῖ Βαυκιδεὺς . . . Διάφαντος . . . ἀνέθηκαν: vide Zeus, R. 55<sup>a</sup>, 56. Cf. Dionysos, R. 132. *C. I. G. Add.* 2347<sup>o</sup>: late epigram identifying Eubouleus and Hades.

Triptolemos.

<sup>228</sup> *Arg. Epict. Diss.* 1. 4, 30 Τριπταλέμφ ἱερὰ καὶ βωμῶν πάντες ἀνθρώποι ἀνεστάκασιν ὅτι τὰς ἡμέρας τροφὰς ἡμῖν ἔδωκε. Cult at Eleusis: vide R. 176, 183. Paus. 1. 38, 6 Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπταλέμου ναός. Cf. R. 17, 164. At Athens: R. 143. *C. I. A.* 3. 704, late inscription mentioning ἱερεὺς τοῦ Τριπταλέμου. Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 47 Ἱερεὺς Δήμητρος καὶ Τριπταλέμου ὁ Ἀμφίθεος.

<sup>229</sup> The Goddesses and Iacchos: vide R. 115<sup>b</sup>, 143, 171, 176, 185, 186, 193, 205<sup>d</sup>, 211, 216<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Arist. *Ran.* 324:

Ἰακχ', ὦ παλυτίμοις ἐν ἔδραις ἐνθάδε ναίων,  
Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε,  
ἔλθε τόνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χαρεύσων  
δσίους ἐς θιασώτας,  
παλύκαρπον μὲν τινάσσω  
περὶ κρατὶ σῶ βρύοντα  
στέφανον μύρτων.

340 ἔγειρε φλαγέας λαμπάδας ἐν χερσὶ τινάσσω,

Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε,  
νυκτέρον τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ.

395 Νῦν καὶ τὸν ὠραῖον θεὸν παρακαλεῖτε δεῦρο

ῥδαῖσι, τὸν συνέμπορον τῆσδε τῆς χορείας.

Ἰακχε παλυτίμητε, μέλος ἑαρτῆς  
ἦδιστον εὐρών, δεῦρο συνακαλούθει  
πρὸς τὴν θεάν.

<sup>b</sup> Soph. *Antig.* 1119:

Μέδεις δὲ  
παγκοίνους Ἐλευσινίας  
Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, Βακχεῦ.

- c 1146 Ἴω πῦρ πνεόντων  
 χοράγ' ἀστρων,  
 νυχίων φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε,  
 παῖ Διὸς γένεθλον,  
 προφάνηθ' ὦ Ναξίαις σαῖς ἄμα περιπόλοις  
 Θυίαισιν, αἶ σε μαινόμεναι πάννυχοι  
 χορεύουσι τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχον.

d Newly discovered Delphic Paean to Dionysos, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1895, p. 403 ἔμολες μυχὸνς Ἐλευσίνος ἀν' [ἀνθεμῶ]δεῖς . . . [ἔθνος ἐνθ'] ἅπαν Ἑλλάδος γᾶς ἀμφὶ ἐνναέταις . . . ἐπόπταις ὄργιων ὄσ[ίων Ἰα]κχον [κλείει σ]ε.

e Soph. *Frag.* (Strabo, 687) Νῦσαν, ἣν ὁ βούκερος Ἰακχος . . . νέμει.

f Plut. *Aristid.* 27 τὸ Ἰακχεῖον λεγόμενον (at Athens).

g Verg. *Georg.* 1. 166 Mystica vannus Iacchi. Serv. *id.* alii 'mysticam' sic accipiunt, ut vannum vas vimineum latum dicant, in quod ipsam propter capacitatem congerere rustici primitias frugum soleant, et Libero et Liberæ sacrum facere.

h Harpocr. *s.v.* Δικροφόρος· τὸ λίκνον πρὸς πᾶσαν τελετὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἐπιτήδειον ἐστι.

i Hesych. *s.v.* Δικνίτης· ἐπίθετον Διονύσου ἀπὸ τῶν λίκνων, ἐν οἷς τὰ παιδία κοιμῶνται.

k Photius, *s.v.* Ἰακχος· Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῶ καὶ ἥρωσ τις, καὶ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶδῆ· καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ πανήγυρις. Cf. Ἰακχαγωγός and Κουροτρόφος, R. 208. Lucr. 4. 1168 At tumida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho.

l Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 326 Μία τῶν μυστηρίων ἐστὶν ἡ εἰκὰς ἐν ἣ τὸν Ἰακχον ἐξάγουσιν . . . συνίδρυνται τῇ Δήμητρι ὁ Διόνυσος. εἰσὶ γοῦν οἱ φασὶ Περσεφόνης αὐτὸν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τῇ Δήμητρι συγγενέσθαι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἕτερον Διόνυσον εἶναι τὸν Ἰακχον, οἱ δὲ τὸν αὐτόν. Αἰγ. *Αναδ.* 2. 16, 3 Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσιν . . . καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπάδεται.

m Lucian, *De Salt.* 39 [ἡ τοῦ ὄρχηστοῦ πολυμάθεια . . . ἴστω . . .] Ἰάκχου σπαραγμόν.

n Strabo, p. 468 Ἰακχὸν τε καὶ Διόνυσον καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῶν μυστηρίων, τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμονα.

o Eur. *Cycl.* 62:

Οὐ τάδε Βρόμιος οὐ τάδε χοροὶ  
βάκχαι τε θυρσοφόροι,  
οὐ τυμπάνων ἀλαλαγοί,  
οὐκ οἴνου χλωραὶ σταγόνες  
κρήναις παρ' ὑδροχύτοις,  
οὐδ' ἐν Νύσα μετὰ Νυμφῶν  
Ἰακχον Ἰακχον φῶδᾶν  
μέλπω πρὸς τὰν Ἄφροδίταν.

<sup>230</sup> Dionysos-cult at Eleusis, R. 18, 211. Archil. *Frag.* 120, from the Ἰοβάκχεια: Δήμητρος ἀγῆης καὶ Κόρης τὴν πανήγυριν σέβων. Eleusinian fourth-century inscription in honour of Damasia the Theban: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 71 . . . παρασκευάσας . . . χοροὺς δύο, τὸν μὲν παίδων, τὸν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐπέδωκεν τῇ Δήμητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τῷ Διούσῳ . . . ἀνειπάτω . . . ὁ δήμαρχος. Διονυσίων τῶν Ἐλευσίνι τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς . . . ἐπιμελέσθω . . . ὅπως ἀν ἀναγραφῇ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ σταθῆ ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ. Cf. 1883, p. 83 Διονυσίων τῷ πατρίῳ ἀγῶνι Ἐλευσίνι. Cf. *ib.* p. 109. Connexion between Eleusis and the Anthesteria: vide R. 205<sup>f</sup>. Cf. Dionysos, R. 62<sup>f</sup>, 119<sup>e</sup>, 129<sup>e</sup>. Suid. *s. v.* Κιστοφόρος· ζοικε δὲ τὰς κίστας ἱερὰς εἶναι Διούσου καὶ ταῖν Θεᾶν. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2. 62 Hunc dico Liberum Semela natum non eum quem nostri maiores auguste sancteque Liberum cum Cerere et Libera consecraverunt, quod quale sit ex mysteriis intelligi potest. Cf. R. 78<sup>b</sup>, 115<sup>b</sup>. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Tegea. Diod. Sic. 4. 25 [Ἡρακλῆς] μετέσχε τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων Μουσαίου τοῦ Ὀρφείου υἱοῦ τότε προσσηκτός τῆς τελετῆς. Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 1. 7 ideo simul Liberum et Cererem posuit, quia et templa eis simul posita sunt et ludi simul eduntur. Cf. 1. 344 licere Cereri de vino sacrificari; pontificales namque hoc non vetant libri. Cf. R. 7.

Affiliated cults.

<sup>231</sup> a Ephesos: Strab. 633 ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους [Ἀνδρόκλου] ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, προεδρίαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπωνα ἀντὶ σκίπτρου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος.

b Mykale: Herod. 9. 97 ἀπικάμενοι πορὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτηνῶν ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπέοντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νειλέω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν.

At Keleai, near Phlius: vide R. 202<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>232</sup> At Argos, temple of Demeter Πελαγίς, ? associated in local myth with Eleusis: Paus. 1. 14, 2 λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος



ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἴκῳ . . . ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐλθεῖν φασὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναικά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος γῆμαι κ.τ.λ.

<sup>235</sup> Lerna: vide R. 115<sup>b</sup>. C. I. A. 3, 718 (third century A. D.) Δηοῦς καὶ Κούρης θεοῖκελον ἱεροφάντην | κυδαίνων πατέρα στήσε δόμοις Κλεάδας | Κεκροπίης σοφὸν ἔρνος Ἐρώτιον, φ' ἴρα καὶ αὐτὸς | Λερναίων ἀδύτων ἴσον ἔδεκτο γέρας. Paus. 2. 36, 7 ἡ δὲ Λέρνα ἐστίν . . . πρὸς θαλάσση, καὶ τελετὴν Λέρναια [? Λερναία] ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρι. 37. 3 Καταστήσασθαι δὲ τῶν Λερναίων τὴν τελετὴν Φιλάμμωνά φασι. Arch. Zeit. 1863, 75, inscription of Archelaos: 'ἐν Λέρνῃ δ' ἔλαχεν μυστιπόλους δαΐδας.'

<sup>234</sup> Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 31, 7 Καταστήσασθαι δὲ οὔτοι Μεγαλοπολίταις λέγονται πρῶτον τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν τὴν τελετὴν, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἐστὶ μμήματα. Cf. 119<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>236</sup> At Pheneos, in Arcadia: Paus. 8. 15, 1 Φεναίταις δὲ καὶ Δήμητρός ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ἐλευσινίας, καὶ ἄγουσι τῇ θεῷ τελετὴν, τὰ Ἐλευσίνι δρώμενα καὶ παρὰ σφίσιν τὰ αὐτὰ φάσκοντες καθεστηκέναι. ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ναὸν κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν, τρίτον δὲ ἀπόγονον Εὐμόλπου τούτου εἶναι τὸν Ναόν. Παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται Πέτρωμα καλούμενον, λίθοι δύο ἡρμοσμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μεγάλοι. ἄγοντες δὲ παρὰ ἔτος ἦντινα τελετὴν μείζονα ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς λίθους τούτους τηρικαῦτα ἀνοίγουσι, καὶ λαβόντες γράμματα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετὴν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν μυστῶν κατέθεντο ἐν νυκτὶ αὖθις τῇ αὐτῇ. Φεναετῶν δὲ οἶδα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὀμνύντας ὑπὲρ μεγίστων τῷ Πετρώματι καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιφερές ἐστιν, ἔχον ἐντὸς Δήμητρος πρόσωπον Κιδαρίας. τοῦτο ὁ ἱερεὺς περιθέμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ μείζονι καλουμένῃ τελετῇ ῥάβδους κατὰ λόγον δὴ τινα τοὺς ὑποχθονίους [MS. ἐπιχθονίους] παίει.

<sup>236</sup> Epidaurus: *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 228 (injunction to the invalid visiting the temple) Κοῦῃ θύσαι Ἀσκληπιῷ Ἡπιόνῃ Ἐλευσινίας (inscription first century A. D.): *ib.* p. 26 Δηοῦς πρόπολος Παιήονος ἱερεὺς (inscription second century A. D.). Cf. R. 221 the Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα.

<sup>237</sup> Alexandria: R. 202<sup>e</sup>. Livy, 45. 12 Ad Eleusinem, qui locus quattuor milia ab Alexandria abest. Schol. Callim. *in Cer.* 1 Ὁ φιλάδελφος Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔθη τινα ἴδρυσεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλάθου πρόοδον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν ὀρισμένη ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλάθον ἐς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος. *Hymn. Cer.* 1:

Τῷ καλάθῳ κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξασθε γυναικες  
'Δάματερ μέγα χεῖρε, πολυτρόφε, πουλυμέδιμνε.'  
τὸν καλάθον κατιόντα [χαμαὶ θάσασθε βέβαιοι]  
μήτ' ἀπὸ τῷ τέγεος μήτ' αὐτόθεν αἰγάσσησθε,  
μὴ παῖς μήτε γυνὰ μηδ' ἄ κατεχεύαστο χεῖταν.

121 *χὼς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότριχες ἵπποι ἄγοντι  
τέσσαρες, ὡς ἁμῖν μεγάλη θεὸς εὐρύνασσα  
λευκὸν ἔαρ λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χεῖμα φέροισα  
ἤξει καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ' εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεί.*

? Independent worship of Demeter Ἐλευσινία or Ἐλευσία.

<sup>238</sup> Boeotia. Κορραι: Paus. 9. 24, 1 *ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Σαράπιδος ἔστιν ἱερά. Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ πολιίσματα ἄλλα πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ποτέ, Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐλευσίνα, οἰκεῖσθαι.*

<sup>239</sup> Plataea: Paus. 9. 4, 3 *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἱερὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. Plut. Arist. 11 (outside the city) ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναὸς ἔστιν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσαγορευόμενος. Cf. Herod. 9. 62.*

<sup>240</sup> Laconia. On Taygetos: Paus. 3. 20, 5 *Δήμητρος ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἔστιν ἱερὸν. ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιῶ τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμεναν. καὶ Ὀρφέως ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ξόανον, Πελασγῶν, ὡς φασιν, ἔργον. § 6 ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλισμα Ἔλος ἦν . . . ἐκ τούτου δὴ ταῦ Ἔλους ξόανον Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον. Hesych. s. v. Ἐλευσίνια ἄγων θυμηλικὸς ἀγόμενος Δήμητρι παρὰ Λάκωσι· καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τιμᾶται Ἄρτεμις, καὶ Ζεὺς Ἐλευσίνιος παρ' Ἰωσι. Festival of Ἐλευσίνια at Mistra: R. 44. Cf. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4416 Ἐλευσίνια Δαμώνων ἐνίκη αὐτὸς ἀνοχίων ? sixth century B. C. ? At Gythion: *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 216 (Le Bas-Foucart, Laconia, 240) [Θεα?] Ἐλευσί[α] on votive relief. Cf. *Cults*, p. 616, R. 16.*

<sup>241</sup> Basilis: Paus. 8. 29, 5 *ταύτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς Κύψελος ὁ Κρεσφόνη τῷ Ἀριστομάχῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρείπια ἢ Βασιλῖς ἦν, καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλείπετο Ἐλευσινίας. Athenae. 609 e Νικίας ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδιοῖς . . . φησὶν Κύψελον [Βασιλῖδα] πόλιν κτίσαντα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν. εἰς ἣν κατοικίσαντα Παρρασιῶν τιναὶ τέμενος καὶ βωμὸν ἀναστήσαι Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινίᾳ, ἧς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖσαι . . . ἐπιτελεῖται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὁ ἀγὼν οὗτος. καὶ αἱ ἀγωνιζόμεναι γυναῖκες χρυσοφόροι ὀνομάζονται.*

<sup>242</sup> Arcadia. Thelpusa: Paus. 8. 25, 2 *Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Ἐλευσινίας . . . ἔστι μὲν Θελπουσιῶν ἐν ἄροισι, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ, ποδῶν ἐπτὰ οὐκ ἀποδέον ἕκαστον, Δήμητρος ἔστι καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως λίθου.*

<sup>243</sup> ? Knossos in Crete: Diod. Sic. 5. 77 *κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσῷ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερώς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδουσαι (referring to the Eleusinian and Samothracian mysteries).*

<sup>244</sup> Olus in Crete, the goddess ἢ Ἐλευσίνια: Artemis, R. 131<sup>a</sup>. *C. I. G.* 2554 *Μηνὸς Ἐλευσινίῳ.*

<sup>245</sup> Thera: *C. I. G.* 2448, col. ii. l. 9 *ἐν μνητῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. Ptolem. Geogr.* 3. 15, 25 *Θήρα νῆσος ἐν ἧ πόλεις δύο, Ἐλευσίν καὶ Οἶα.*

Other mystery-cults of Demeter and Kora: vide Demeter Θεομοφάρος, R. 74-107.

<sup>216</sup> Andania, in the Καρνάσιον ἄσλος: Paus. 4. 33, 4 ἡ δὲ Ἀγνή Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπικλησις· ὕδωρ δ' ἀνεῖσιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τὰς μεγάλας, δρῶσι γὰρ καὶ ταύταις ἐν Καρνασίῳ τὴν τελετὴν, ἀπόρρητα ἔστω μοι· δεύτερα γὰρ σφισι νέμω σεμνότητος μετὰ γὰρ Ἐλευσίαια. *Id.* 4. 26, 8 (in the ὑδρία χαλκῆ, found on Ithome and opened by Epaminondas) τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν ἐγέγραπτο ἡ τελετὴ, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἡ παρακαταθήκη τοῦ Ἀριστομένου. *Id.* 4. 1, 5 παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰ ὄργια κομίζων τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν Καύκων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος· . . . τὴν δὲ τελετὴν τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Καύκωνος προήγαγεν ἐς πλεόν τιμῆς· καὶ Λύκου δρυμὸν ἔτι ἀνομάζουσιν ἔνθα ἐκάθηρε τοὺς μύστας . . . § 7 μετεκόσμησε καὶ Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἔστιν ἄ. Ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελετῆς δὲ καὶ ὄργιων παντοίων συνθέτης. οὗτος καὶ Θηβαῖος τῶν Καβείρων τὴν τελετὴν κατεστήσατο . . . ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ κλίσιον τὸ Λυκομιδῶν εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἐπίγραμμα.

ἤγγισα δ' Ἑρμείω δόμους . . . τε κέλευθα  
Δάματρος καὶ πρωτογόνου Καύρας, ὅθι φασὶ  
Μεσσήνην θείναι μεγάλαισι θεαῖσιν ἀγῶνα  
Φλυαδέω κλεινοῖο γόνου Καυκωνιάδα.

Θαύμασα δ' ὡς σύμπαντα Λύκος Πανδίωνιος φῶς  
'Ατθίδας ἱερὰ ἔργα παρ' Ἀνδανίῃ θέτο κενῆ.

*Id.* 4. 27, 6 (at the recolonization of Messene): Μεσσήνιοι δὲ Διὶ τε Ἰθωμάτα καὶ Διοσκουροῖς, οἱ δὲ σφισιν [Μεσσηνίαις] ἱερεῖς θεαῖς ταῖς μεγάλαις καὶ Καύκωνι [ἔθου]. Inscription (B. C. 91) found near Andania; Dittenb.<sup>2</sup> 653. Cauer, *Delect.*<sup>2</sup> 47. Collitz, *Dialect-Inschr.* 4689. Sauppe, *Die Mysterien-inschrift* von Andania, *Ber. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1859, p. 217. Le Bas-Foucart II, No. 326<sup>a</sup>, *Explic.* p. 161 Περὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἱερῶν. Ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων τοὺς γενηθέντας ἱεροῦς ὀρκιζάτω παραχρῆμα . . . ἱερῶν καιομένων αἶμα καὶ οἶνον σπένδοντες ὄρκου τὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον ὀμνύω τοὺς θεοὺς, οἷς τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται, ἐπιμελεῖται ἔξιν . . . τὰς δὲ ἱερὰς ὀρκιζέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Καρνείου . . . καὶ πατερορκιζόντω. πεποιήμαι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν συμβίωσιν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως . . . 1. 23 μὴ ἐχέτω δὲ μηδεμία . . . ὑποδήματα εἰ μὴ πῖλινα ἢ δερμάτινα ἱεράθντα. 1. 24 ὅσας δὲ δεῖ διασκευάζεσθαι εἰς θεῶν διάθεσιν, ἐχόντω τὸν εἰματισμὸν καθ' ὃ ἂν οἱ ἱεροὶ διατάξωσι. 1. 30 [ἐν δὲ τῷ πομπῆ] οἱ παρθένοι αἱ ἱεραὶ, καθὼς ἂν λάχωντι ἄγουσαι τὰ ἄρματα, ἐπικειμένας κίστας ἐχούσας ἱερὰ μυστικά. εἶπεν ἂ θουαρμωστρία ἂ εἰς Δάματρος . . . εἶπεν ἂ ἱερεα τὰς Δάματρος τὰς ἐφ' ἵπποδρόμῳ, εἶπεν ἂ τὰς ἐν Αἰγίλῳ . . . Ἀγέσθω δὲ ἐν τῷ πομπῆ καὶ τὰ θύματα, καὶ θυσάντω τῷ μὲν Δάματρι σὺν ἐπίτοκα, Ἑρμῶν κριόν, μεγάλας θεαῖς δάμαλιν σὺν, Ἀπόλλωνι Καρνεῖω κάπρον, Ἀγνῆ ὄιν . . . 1. 69 Ἔστι δὲ ἂ δεῖ παρέχειν πρὸ τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων, ἄρνας δύο λευκοῦς, ἐπὶ τοῦ

καθαροῦ κριὸν εὐχρουν, καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καθαίρει, χοιρίσκους τρεῖς, ὑπὲρ τοὺς πρωτομύστας ἀρνας ἑκατόν . . . l. 87 τᾶς δὲ κράνας τᾶς ὀνομασμένας διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐγγράφων Ἄγνῆς καὶ τοῦ γεγενημένου ποτὶ τῆ κράνα ἀγάλματος τὰν ἐπιμελειαν ἔχῃτο Μνασίστρατος. l. 93 τὸν ναὸν τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν. l. 97 Ἱεροῦ δειπνου. Οἱ ἱεροὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θυμάτων . . . τὰ λοιπὰ κρέα καταχρησάσθῳσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δειπνον μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ παρθένων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὸν τε ἱερῆ καὶ τὰν ἱέραν καὶ τὰν ἱέραν τοῦ Καρνείου. Cf. the Ἄγνῆ θεά at Delos: *C. I. A.* 2. 985 (circ. 95 B. C.).

<sup>247</sup> At Hermione (on the site of the old city): Paus. 2. 34, 10 περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων λογάδων εἰσίν. ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ δρῶσι ἀπόρρητα Δήμητρι.

Arcadia.

<sup>248</sup> Trapezus: Paus. 8. 29, 1 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλφειὸν ἐν ἀριστερῇ καταβαίνοντι ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος οὐ πάρῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάθος ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἔνθα ἄγουσι τελετὴν διὰ ἔτους τρίτου θεαῖς μεγάλας.

<sup>249</sup> Mantinea: vide R. 149<sup>a</sup>. Le Bas-Foucart, 352 h (inscription 61 B. C., in honour of a priestess) ἐπεὶ Νικίππα . . . l. 15 ἄγαγε δὲ καὶ τὰν πυμπὰν τῶν κοραγίων ἐπισάμωσ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶσ καὶ ἔθνε τῆ θεῶ . . . εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ τῆ θεῶ πέπλον καὶ ἐσκέπασε καὶ εὐσχημόνισε τὰ περὶ τὰν θεὸν ἀρρητὰ μυστήρια, ὑπεδέξατο δὲ καὶ τὰν θεὸν εἰς τὰν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, καθὼς ἐστὶν ἔθος ταῖς αἰε γινόμενοις ἱερεῦσι, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐν τοῖς τριακοστοῖς, τῆ ἀνοίξει τοῦ ναοῦ μεγαλομερῶσ. Cf. 352<sup>i</sup> ἐπειδὴ Φαηνὰ . . . ἀνεστράπτει εὐσεβῶσ . . . πρὸς τε τὰν Δήμητρα καὶ τὰν Κόραν καὶ τὰς ἱερείας τᾶσ Δάματροσ . . . ἱερίτευχε γὰρ τῆ Δάματρι μεγαλοπρεπῶσ . . . ἀνάκεικε δραχμὰς ἑκατόν εἴκοσι εἰς τε τὰν τοῦ μεγάρου ἐπισκευὰν . . . ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τᾶν ἱερείῶν [τᾶσ Δάματροσ] ἐπαινέσαι Φαηνὰν . . . ἐπὶ τε τῆ καλοκαγαθίᾳ καὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ, τῆ ἔσχηκε εἰς τε τὰν θεὸν καὶ τὰς ἱερείας . . . καὶ ἀναθεῖναι [τὸ ψήφισμα] εἰς τὸ Κοράγιον.

Lykosura: vide R. 119<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> Mykonos: Dittenb. *Syll.* 373 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν (of Demeter and Kora see Zeus, R. 56) θυέτω Μυκονιάδων ἢ βουλομένη καὶ τῶν οἰκουσῶν ἐμ Μυκονῶ ὅσαι ἐπὶ Δήμητρα τετέλεσται (Macedonian period).

<sup>251</sup> Paros, Thasos: Paus. 10. 28, 3 Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὄργια τῆσ Δήμητροσ ἐνεγκεῖν πρῶτην ἐκ Πάρου φασίν. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 418: coin of Paros, circ. 200 B. C., Demeter seated on mystic cista with sceptre. Cf. Ruhland, *Die Eleusin. Gottheit.* p. 102. Mitylene: *C. I. G.* 2177 ὁ δᾶμοσ Τιβ. Καίσαρα σὺν ταῖς θεαῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια: cf. 2175 Δήμητροσ καὶ θεῶν καρποφόρων καὶ θεῶν πολυκάρπων καὶ τελεσφόρων.

<sup>252</sup> Smyrna: *Ath. Mitth.* 1889, p. 95 (inscription, second century A. D. ?) Κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα Κόρης μυστῶν.

Gela: R. 130.

<sup>253</sup> a ? at Naples: Stat. *Silv.* 4. 8, 50 Tuque Actaea Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelō | votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystae.

<sup>253</sup> Demeter Μυσία: Paus. 2. 18, 3, between Argos and Mycenae,

χωρίον Μυσία καὶ Διμήτρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν, ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυσίου τὸ ὄνομα γενομένου καὶ τούτου, καθάπερ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, ξένου τῇ Διμήτρει. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔπεισιν ὄροφος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὀπτήης πλίνθου, ξόανα δὲ Κόρης καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Διμήτρος ἐστὶ. At Pellene: see R. 85.

<sup>254</sup> Demeter Ποτηριοφόρος, Athenae. p. 460 d τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ Δημήτηρ ποτηριοφόρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀνθέων χώραν, ὡς Αὐτοκράτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀχαϊκῶν.

<sup>255</sup> Demeter Παντελίη, dedication at Epidauros: *Eph. Arch.* 1893, p. 102 Παντελίη Βάκχῳ τε καὶ αὐτῇ Φερσεφονίᾳ.

Demeter with the Kabeiri.

<sup>256</sup> ? in Samothrace. Mnaseas of Patrai: Müller, *F. H. G.* 3. p. 154 Τοῖς Καβείροις, ὧν Μνασέας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα . . . Ἀξίερος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ Δημήτηρ, Ἀξιόκερσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη, Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἄδης. Strab. p. 198 Ἀρτεμιδώρος φησιν εἶναι νήσον πρὸς τῇ Βρετανικῇ, καθ' ἣν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Διμήτρα καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται. At Thebes: R. 139<sup>a</sup>. Cf. the legend in Paus. 9. 25, 6 Διμήτρος δ' οὖν Καβείροις δῶρον ἐστὶν ἡ τελετή. ? At Anthedon: R. 138. At Andania: R. 246.

<sup>257</sup> The mysteries of ἡ Σώτειρα at Athens: Ar. *Rhet.* p. 1419 a Περικλῆς Δόμπαυα ἐπήρετο περὶ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν τῆς Σωτείρας ἱερῶν, εἰπόντος δὲ ὅτι οὐχ οἶόν τε ἀτέλεστον ἀκούει κτλ. Cf. Ammonius, p. 84 (Walckenaer) Κορύδαλος δῆμος Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ᾧ σωτήρος κούρης ἱερὸν. Arist. *Ran.* 377:

ἀλλ' ἔμβα χῶπως ἀρείς  
τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως.

Cf. Kore Σώτειρα at Megalopolis: R. 119<sup>o</sup>. Kyzikos, R. 128. Erythrai, R. 163. Sparta, R. 117.

<sup>258</sup> Demeter as goddess of healing, with Asklepios: vide R. 37, 124, 236; private dedication at Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.* 1892, Taf. 5 Δημήτρι Εὐκράτης (? circ. 300 B. C.). Cf. inscription ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀράσεως θεᾶ Δημήτρι δῶρον on relief from Philippopolis, Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol. Atlas*, Taf. 14, no. 7. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 298. Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 2. 39 (Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Ἴακχος) τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀιστᾶσι. At Patrai: Paus. 7. 21, 11 τοῦ δὲ ἄλλοις ἱερὸν ἔχεται Διμήτρος· αὕτη μὲν καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐστᾶσι, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Γῆς ἐστὶ καθήμενον. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Διμήτρος ἐστὶ πηγὴ . . . Μαντεῖον δὲ ἐνταυθα ἐστὶν ἀψευδές, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ παντὶ γε πράγματι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν καμνόντων. κάτοπτρον καλφιδίῳ τῶν λεπτῶν δήσαντες καθιάσιν, σταθμῶμενοι μὴ πρόσω καθικέσθαι τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπιψαῦσαι τοῦ ὕδατος τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ κατόπτρου. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν εὐξόμενοι τῇ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάσαντες ἐς τὸ κάτοπτρον βλέπουσιν· τὸ δὲ σφισι τὸν νοσοῦντα ἦτοι ζῶντα ἢ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐπιδείκνυσι.

<sup>259</sup> Firm. Mat. *De Error.* c. 27 (p. 120, Halm) In Proserpinae sacris caesa arbor in effigiem formamque virginis componitur, et cum intra civitatem fuerit inlata, quadraginta noctibus plangitur, quadragesima vero nocte comburitur.

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER.

The Euxine.

Pantikapaion: R. 90. *C. I. G.* 2108 *ἱερὴ Δήμητρος.*

Olbia: Herod. 4. 53 *Ἰππώλειω ἄκρῃ . . . ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυνται.* Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 11: Head of Demeter, fourth century B.C.: cf. *Hell. Journ.* 1902, p. 262.

Tomii, 134<sup>a</sup>.

Thrace.

Abdera, 89.

Lysimacheia: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 238. Head of Demeter with corn-wreath.

Philippopolis (?), 258.

Byzantium, 13, 152.

Sestos, coin-type fourth century B.C.: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 198: Demeter seated, with ear of corn. Head of Persephone.

Macedon: Thessalonica coin-type (Roman period), *Brit. Mus. Cat., Macedon*, p. 117: Demeter with torches in serpent-car.

Pella: *ib.* p. 92: Head of Demeter with veil, first century B.C.

Thessaly.

Call. *Hymn Cer.* 25:

*οὐπω τὰν Κνιδίαν, ἔτι Δώτιον ἱερὸν ἔναιον.*

*τεῖνδ' αὐτῷ καλὸν ἄλσος ἐποιήσαντο Πελασγοί.*

Pyrasos, 15, 22, 135<sup>a</sup>. Cf. Strab. p. 435 *τὸ δὲ Δημήτριον Δήμητρος εἴρηκε [᾽Ομηρος] τέμενος καὶ ἐκάλεσε Πύρασον' ἦν δὲ πόλις . . . ἔχουσα Δήμητρος ἄλσος καὶ ἱερὸν ἄγιον.*

Antron: Hom. *Hymn Dem.* 490:

*ἀλλ' ἄγ' Ἐλευσίνοσ θεοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσαι,*

*καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἄντρονὰ τε πετρήεντα.*

Cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἄντρον πόλις Θετταλίας.

Thebai of Phthiotis: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, p. 50. Head of Demeter with corn-stalks, fourth century B.C.

Thermopylae, 62, 136<sup>a</sup>.

Delphi: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 23, p. 579 (reference to inscriptions indicating a shrine). Cf. R. 22.

Lokri Epiknemidii, 142.

Skarpheia, 3. Strab. 408 *ὁ Ἐρεωνὸς δὲ Σκάρφη μετανομάσθη.* Schol.

Soph. *Oed. Col.* 91 εἰσὶ γε οἱ φασὶ τὸ μῆμα τοῦ Οἰδίποδος ἐν ἱερῷ Δήμητρος εἶναι ἐν Ἐτεωνῶ (quoting from Arizelos). Lysimachos apud Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 91 (Müller, *F. H. G.* 3, p. 336, Fr. 6) Οἰδίπου τελευτήσαντος . . . ἐκόμισαν οἱ φίλοι [αὐτὸν] εἰς Ἐτεωνόν. Βουλόμενοι δὲ λάθρα τὴν ταφὴν ποιήσασθαι, καταθάπτουσιν νυκτὸς ἐν ἱερῷ Δήμητρος . . . τὸ δὲ ἱερόν Οἰδιπόδειον κληθῆναι.

Alponos, 58.

Opus: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1507 Δάματρι καὶ Κόρη. *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 287 ἱερητεύσασαν τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη (second century B.C.).

Epirus: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, p. 100, coin-type of Elea: head of Demeter with corn-stalks, with Cerberus on the reverse, fourth century B.C. On coins of Pyrrhos, *ib.* Pl. 20. 12 and 14, head of Persephone with corn-stalks, Demeter on throne with corn.

Illyria: *ib.* p. 59, coin-type of Apollonia, ? second century B.C., bust of Demeter veiled. Pharos: *ib.* 83, head of Persephone with corn-stalks, fourth century B.C.

Pale in Kephallenia: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Peloponnese*, p. 85, head of Persephone on coins of fourth century.

Phokis: Drymaia, 87; Steira, 58; Ambrysos, 36.

Boeotia, 60, 71; Orchomenos, 56; Lebadeia, 3, 111; Anthedon, 138; Kopai, 12, 238; Koroneia, 86<sup>a</sup>; Mykalessos, 8; Tanagra, 60, 141; Thebes, 61, 86, 112, 139<sup>a</sup>, 256; Potniai, 113; Thespiiai, 60; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 659, dedication to Demeter and Hermes. Cf. dedication ? third century B.C., *C. I. G. Sept.* 1, no. 1810. Plataea, 239; Skolos, 22, 140; Erythrai, archaic inscription (unpublished) Ἀνέθειαν τὰ Δάματρι.

Euboea: Eretria, 76.

Athens, 5, 9, 11, 18<sup>a</sup>, 18<sup>b</sup>, 25, 30, 31, 60, 66, 67, 69, 74, 75, 109, 114, 135, 143, 161, 164-229, 257. Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 44 εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι θύειν δέλφακα καὶ ράινειν τὰς καθέδρας τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἐς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος.

Eleusis, 8, 16, 17, 18, 35, 66, 164-229, 258. Steph. Byz. Ῥάριον πεδίον ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ . . . καὶ Ῥαριάς ἡ Δημήτηρ. Games called Ἐλευσίαια: vide Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 143 ἐτελείτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἀγὼν Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐλευσίαια, ἐλάμβανε δὲ γέρας ὁ νικῶν κριθάς.

Attica, 27, 42<sup>a</sup>. Kolonos: Schol. Hom. *Od.* 11. 271 Οἰδίπους ἐκπεσὼν ὑπὸ Κρέοντος ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ᾤκησεν Ἴππεία Κολωνὸν καλούμενον καὶ ἰκέτευεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν, Δήμητρος καὶ παλιούχου

- 'Αθηνᾶς (from Androton). Skiron, 17, 143; Agrai, 210; Halimmos, 75<sup>n</sup>; Phlye, 26; Peiraeus, 63, 75<sup>o</sup>; Kolias, 75<sup>m</sup>. Hesych. *s. v.* Κωλιάς . . . ἐστὶ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν αὐτόθι πολύστυλον. Prospalta, 143; Phaleron: Paus. 10. 35, 2 ὁ ἐπὶ Φαλήρω τῆς Δήμητρος ναὸς καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι [ἡμίκαυστος μένει]. Marathon and the Attic Tetrapolis: Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graec. Sacr.* 26 Μεταγευτιῶνος Ἐλευσινίᾳ βουῖς . . . Κόρη κριὸς . . . Ἀνθεστηριῶνος [τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται] Ἐλευσινίᾳ ὕς κνουσα. Salamis: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Attica*, p. 116, Pl. 20. 9, head of Demeter or Persephone, fourth century B. C.
- Megara, 49, 77; Nisaia, 13.
- Corinth, 34, 108, 144. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Corinth*, Pl. 12. 11, head of Demeter, veiled, crowned with corn-stalks. Pl. 9. 9: head of Persephone with necklace, ear-rings, and corn-stalks (fourth century B. C.).
- Isthmus of Corinth, 77<sup>a</sup>.
- Sikyon, 69, 78.
- Phlius, 69, 145, 202<sup>b</sup>.
- Epidauros, 30, 36, 81, 147, 236, 255.
- Troezen, 24, 36, 81, 239, 255.
- Eilioe, 147.
- Mount Bouporthmos, 146.
- Hermione, 29, 37, 247. Near Hermione: Paus. 2. 36, 3 ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἔστι δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Δήμητρος ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθου λευκοῦ.
- Asine, 37.
- Argolis, 54, 69, 253.
- Argos, 53, 115<sup>a</sup>, 232.
- Lerna, 115<sup>b</sup>, 233.
- Mount Pontinos, Demeter Προσύμνη: Paus. 2. 37, 1 ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου ἀγάλματα ἔστι μὲν Δήμητρος Προσύμνης, ἔστι δὲ Διονύσου· καὶ Δήμητρος καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα.
- Laconia, 11, 21, 43, 82<sup>a</sup>, <sup>b</sup>, 108, 160, 240.
- Sparta, 36, 38, 117, 148; Amyklai, 36, 148<sup>d</sup>; Gythion, 43, 240; Kainepolis, 43; Aigila, 82<sup>b</sup>, 246; Messoa, 44.
- Arcadia, 19, 69, 74, 149<sup>b</sup>.
- Tegea, 30, 119<sup>o</sup>; vide Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Tegea. Le Bas-Foucart, *Mégaride et Pélopon.* 337<sup>i</sup> (inscription from Tegea) Κλεοπάτρα ἱερασαμένα, Ἀλέα Ἀθάνα καὶ Δάματρι. Paus. 8. 54, 5 (on



the road from Argos to Tegea) Δήμητρος ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῶν δρυῶν ναὸς ἐν Κορυθεύσει καλουμένης· πλησίον δὲ ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διονύσου Μύστου. *id.* 8. 10, 1 (between Tegea and Mantinea on Mount Alesion) Δήμητρος ἄλσος ἐν τῷ ἄρει. Mantinea, 149<sup>a</sup>, 249. Paus. 8. 8, 1 μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐρέπια τῆς Νεστάνης ἱερὸν Δήμητροῦς ἐστὶν ἄγιον, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐσρτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄγουσιν οἱ Μαντινεῖς. Trapezus, 248; Thelpusa, 41, 242; Pallantion, 149<sup>a</sup>; Phigaleia, 40; Lykosura, 119<sup>a</sup>; Basilis, 241; Pheneos, 83, 235; Megalopolis, 8, 84, 119<sup>b, c</sup>, 163, 234. Kleitor: Paus. 8. 21, 3 Κλειτορίοις δὲ ἱερά τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα Δήμητρος, τὸ δὲ Ἄσκληπιοῦ, τρίτον δὲ ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας. Zoitia, vide Artemis, R. 55<sup>b</sup>.

Messenia: Andania, 246; Messene: Paus. 4. 31, 9 Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνιαίς ἐστὶν ἄγιον, καὶ Διοσκούρων ἀγάλματα φέραντες τὰς Λευκίππου; vide Coin Pl. (10). *Hell. Journ.* 1905, p. 50-51, inscription (circ. 200 B.C.) from south-west Messenia, near deme Αἴπεια, mentioning δέπνον καὶ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δάματρος.

Elis, 2, 47, 69, 118; at Lepreon: Paus. 5. 5, 6 Δήμητρος [ἱερὸν]· πλίνθου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεποίητο ὤμης, καὶ οὐδὲν παρείχετο ἄγαλμα.

Achaea, 69, 254; Patrai, 6, 258; Aigion, 59, 149<sup>o</sup>; Pellene, 85; Bura, vide Aphrodite, R. 32<sup>a</sup>; Dyme: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Peloponnese*, Pl. 5. 3, head of Demeter, veiled.

Asia Minor, Interior.

Galatia.

Pessinus, 30.

Ikonion, 60.

Ankyra: *C. I. G.* 4026 τὸν δέινα . . . ἱερασάμενον δις θεᾶς Δήμητρος (? early Roman period). On late imperial coins: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia*, &c., pp. 11, 12, 14.

Phrygia, 10.

Lydia, Sardis, 70. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 553 Κάραια Ἄκτια (imperial period).

Pergamon, 163.

Gambreion, 95.

Caria.

Athymbra, 51.

Nysa, 124.

Trapezopolis: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Caria*, &c., p. 178, Demeter bust on late imperial coins.

Aphrodisias: *C. I. G.* 2839 τὸ τέμενος θεᾶς Κόρης. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 7. 402.

Tralles, 124. *C. I. G.* 2937 *ἱέρεια Δήμητρος* (early Roman period).

Lagina: Newton, *Halicarn.* 2, p. 798, decree in honour of citizen, *τὴν Κόρην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισησάντα* (Roman period).

Inscription found in temple of Zeus Πανάματος (?first century A.D.): *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 12, 1888, p. 269 *Τύχη πατρίδος καὶ Δήμητρι Ναρουανδίδι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Πελδεκεϊδί καὶ Λευκιανῇ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Κωράζων καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίου καὶ Λευκοφρύνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικιδίοις θεοῖς Διὶ κτησίῳ καὶ Τύχῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἱερεῖς ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας ἐν Ἑραίοις Κλεόβουλος κτλ. . . . καθιέρωσαν.*

Antiocheia ad Maeandrum: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Caria, &c.*, p. 15, Demeter, veiled, with long chiton and peplos, holding ears of corn in right, resting left hand on torch (Septimius Severus period).

Pisidia, Palaiopolis: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Lycia, &c.*, p. xcvi, coin-type (? Antoninus Pius), Demeter standing.

Sagalassos: *ib.* p. 243, Demeter with torch, corn, and open cista (Caracalla). Cf. Pl. 38. 8, coin of Julia Mamaea.

Seleukeia: *ib.* p. 254, Demeter with torch in car drawn by snakes (Claudius II).

Seleukis, Apameia: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia, &c.*, Pl. 27. 1, head of Demeter wearing veil and corn-wreath, first century B.C.

#### Asia Minor coast and vicinity.

Sinope, 262.

Heracleia Pontike, 32.

Apameia-Myrlea: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Pontus, &c.*, p. 110, Pl. 25. 6, head of Demeter, third century B.C.

Kalchedon: *ib.* p. 126, Pl. 27. 12, head of Demeter, third century B.C.

Kyzikos, 128.

Priapos: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, p. 177, Demeter-head, first century B.C.

Aigospotami: *ib. Thrace*, p. 187, head of Demeter with stephanos and wreath, fourth century B.C.

Lampsakos: *ib. Mysia*, p. 81, Pl. 19. 5, head of Demeter with veil and corn-wreath, fourth century B.C.

Sigeion, 153.

Kisthene: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, p. 17, Pl. 3. 7, veiled head of Demeter with corn-wreath, second century B.C.

Elaia: *ib. Troas*, &c., p. liii, Pl. 25. 10-15; 26. 1, types of Demeter and Persephone, calathos with poppy-heads and corn, torches entwined by serpents, on imperial coins. Rape of Persephone on coin of M. Aurelius; *ib.* p. 129.

Aigai, 153<sup>b</sup>.

### Ionia.

Smyrna, 33, 96, 252.

Erythrai, 69, 97, 154<sup>a</sup>, 163. Dittenb. *Syll.* 370. 47 Δημήτηρ ἐν Κολώναις.

Kolophon, 69.

Ephesos, 98, 125, 230.

Magnesia on Maeander: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Ionia*, Pl. 19. 8, Demeter in car with winged serpents (imperial).

Priene, 99.

Mykale, 231.

Miletos, 100, 181. *Lact. Div. Inst.* 2. 8 Ceres Milesia.

### Doris.

Halikarnassos, 65. Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ἐνδρομώ· Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἄλικαρνασσῶ.

Knidos, 52. *El. Mag.* 548. 8 Κύρητα· παρὰ Κνιδίσις ἡ Δημήτηρ.

Lycia: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Lycia*, p. 46, Pl. 10. 7, coin-type, circ. 200-81 B. C., head of Demeter, veiled, wearing corn-stalks.

### Pamphylia.

Side: *C. I. G.* 4345 [ἱερασαμένην θεῆς Δῆμητρος.

Syllion: Lanckoronki, *Pamph. u. Pisid.* 1. 60 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν ἀρχιερίαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἱερίαν Δήμητρος καὶ θεῶν πάντων καὶ ἱεράφαντι τῶν πατρίων θεῶν.

### Cilicia, 124.

Syedra: vide text, p. 218, n. a.

Mallos: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Lycaonia*, cxii, Pl. 17. 2, Demeter striding forward with torch and corn-stalks.

Ephaneia: vide text, p. 218, n. a.

Laertes: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, op. cit. p. 91, Demeter seated with sceptre, poppy, and ear of corn: coin of Trajan, Pl. 15. 5.

Kelenderis. Demeter in car drawn by serpents, holding torch, *ib.* p. 58, Pl. 10. 14 (late imperial).

Cilicia (*continued*).

Adana : *ib.* p. 15, head of Demeter with stephane and veil (second century A. D.).

Aigiai : *ib.* p. cxiv (pre-imperial).

Anazarbos : *ib.* p. 31, Persephone on obverse with corn and poppy-head, Demeter with polos and torch on reverse (imperial).

Tarsos: vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 617 *Κόραα*, games in imperial period.

## The Islands.

## North Aegean.

Thasos, 251.

Samothrace, 256.

Lesbos, 30, 251.

Aegina, 36, 79.

## The Cyclades.

Keos, 69, 150. Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* no. 48 *Φιλητῶ . . .*  
*ιέρεια γενομένη Δήμητρι ἀνέθηκεν.*

Syros, 150.

Mykonos, 9, 42, 250; Zeus, R. 56.

Delos, 9, 91, 246.

Amorgos, 7, 64<sup>a</sup>; Zeus, 55<sup>b</sup>.

Paros, 30, 50, 251. Cf. *C. I. G.* 2557. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897,  
p. 116 *ξένῳ Δωριῇ οὐ θέμις, οὔτε δ' [ὄπ]οία Κόρη ἀστοί.* Vide Zeus,  
R. 55<sup>a</sup>.

Thera, 150, 245.

Samos: Hesych. *s. v.* 'Ενελευσκis' *Δημήτηρ ἐν Σάμῳ.* *Bull. Corr. Hell.*  
5, p. 479, inscription, circ. 200 B. C. *ἐν τοῖς ἐντοιχείοις θυρίσιν Δήμητρα*  
*καὶ Διόνυσον . . . κατὰ γλυφον.*

Kalymnos: Newton, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.* 300 *Δήμητρι πρόβατον* from  
temple of Apollo.

## South Aegean.

Kos, 20, 73. Paton and Hicks, 411 *ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσθμιωτῶν*  
*καθιέρωσεν Σεβαστὰν θεὰν Δαμάτραν καὶ τὸ ἱεράν.* Cf. n. 37. l. 62  
*Δάματρι οἷς τέλεως καὶ τελέα κυέσσα· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορὰ· κύλικες οἴνου*  
*δύο δίδονται· θύει ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερά παρέχει.*

Rhodes, 94, 123.

Crete, 15, 151, 243, 244; Hierapytna, 151.

Cyprus: *C. I. G.* 2637, inscription from Paphos (Roman period)  
*ἡ ἀρχιέρεια τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον Δήμητρος ἱερῶν.*

Sicily, 22, 162.

Akrai, 104, 156.

Akragas, 131.

Aitne: Diod. Sic. II. 26 ἐπεβάλετο δὲ ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτην κατασκευάζειν νεῶν Δήμητρος ἐνηώς (?) δὲ οὔσης.

Katana, 105<sup>b</sup>, 133. *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 449 Δημήτηρ Ἱερά (?) 'in fornice valvarum opere Dorico.'

Enna, 105<sup>a</sup>, 158.

Gela, 63, 130.

Panormos: Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 142-3, head of Persephone on fifth and third century coins.

Selinus, 71.

Syracuse, 22, 68, 103, 108, 129.

Tauromenion, 157.

Leontini: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 131, Demeter with plough on later coins.

Kamarina: vide Monuments, p. 221.

#### Africa.

Alexandria, 101, 163, 237. *C. I. G.* 4682<sup>b</sup> (? third century B.C.) Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Κόρη ἐύχην. Epiphanius *Panarium: Philologus* 16, p. 354 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν τῷ Κορίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ, ναὸς δὲ ἐστὶ μέγιστος, τουτέστιν τὸ τέμενος τῆς Κόρης. Ὅλην γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἀγρυπνήσαντες ἐν ἄσμασι τισὶ καὶ αὐλαῖς τῷ εἰδώλῳ ᾄδοντες, . . . μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀλεκτρύνων κλαγγὴν κατέρχονται λαμπαδηφόροι εἰς σηκὸν τινα ὑπόγειον καὶ ἀναφέρουσι ξόανόν τι ξύλινον φορίῳ καθεζόμενον γυμνὸν ἔχον σφραγίδά τινα σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου διάχρυσον . . . καὶ περιφέρουσι τοῦτο τὸ ξόανον ἐπτάκις κυκλώσαντες τὸν μεσαίτατον ναὸν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ὕμνων καὶ κωμάσαντες καταφέρουσιν αὐτὸ αὐθις εἰς τὸν ὑπόγειον τόπον. . . λέγουσιν ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ σήμερον ἡ Κόρη, τουτέστιν ἡ Παρθένος, ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα.

Arsinoe, 101. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Alexandria*, p. xli.

Carthage, 159.

Cyrene, 102.

#### Italy.

Tarentum, 36, 106<sup>a</sup>, 108. Newly discovered temple of 'the goddesses,' vide Evans, *Hell. Journ.* 1886, p. 23, and *Horsemen of Tarentum*, p. 27.

Lokri Epizephyrii, 134.

Hipponion, 163.

Velia, 107.

Metapontum: vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 62.

Pompeii, 106.

Neapolis, 107, 252<sup>a</sup>.

Rome, 106<sup>a</sup>.

Petelia, Demeter-head on coins: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 91.

## CULTS OF THE GOD OF THE LOWER WORLD (Hades-Plouton).

Vide Demeter, R. 110; Hera, R. 14<sup>a</sup> (Plut. *de Plac. Philos.* 1. 33).

- <sup>1</sup> Schol. Hom. *Il.* 9. 158 ἐν σὺδεμιᾷ πόλει ἄδου βωμός ἐστι· Αἰσχύλος φησί· μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δάρων ἐρά, οὐδ' ἄν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων λάβοις, οὐδ' ἐστι βωμός οὐδέ παιωνίζεται.

Thrace and the shores of the Euxine.

- <sup>2</sup> Odessos, cult of the θεὸς Μέγας: *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1898, p. 155, Taf. 10. 20, coin-type of Plouton with cornucopia and patera, inscription θεοῦ Μεγάλου (circ. 250 B. C.). *Ath. Mitth.* 10. 317, 5 οἶδε ἰέρηται τῷ θεῷ (? circ. 30 B. C.; see *Ath. Mitth.* 11, p. 200).
- <sup>3</sup> Tomi: vide Demeter, R. 134<sup>a</sup>.
- <sup>4</sup> Sinope: Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* p. 361 F Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σωτήρ ὄναρ εἶδε τὸν ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῦ Πλούτωνος κολοσσόν . . . κελεύοντα κομίσαι τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. . . ἐπεὶ δὲ κομισθεὶς ὄφθη, συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν ἐξηγητὴν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννύτην Πλούτωνος εἶναι ἄγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ δράκοντι, πείθουσι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὡς ἐτέρου θεῶν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ Σαράπιδος ἐστίν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκείθεν οὕτως ἀνομαζόμενος ἦκεν. . . . 984 B [οἱ πεμφθέντες εἰς Σινώπην] . . . ἔγνωσαν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν ἀγαλμάτων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἀνελεῖσθαι καὶ κομίζειν, τὸ δὲ τῆς Κόρης ἀπομάξασθαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν. Cf. coin in Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol.* 1, Münztaf. iv. 25, god reclining with eagle, sceptre, and kalathos: Zeus-Serapis (imperial period).
- <sup>5</sup> Byzantium: Dionys. Byz. p. 7 (Wescher) κατὰ δὲ ἀπόβασιν τῆς θαλάττης δύο νεῶ Ἦρας καὶ Πλούτωνος.
- <sup>6</sup> Hades on coins of Pessinus: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 630.
- <sup>7</sup> Macedon: Aiane, *Rev. Arch.* 1868, pp. 18-28, relief dedicated

- with inscription Θεῶ δεσπότῃ Πλούτωνι καὶ τῇ πόλει Ἐανῆ Τ. Φλαούσιος Λεωνᾶς [ἐλθὼν ἰδ]ῶν τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν ναόν.
- <sup>8</sup> ? Apollonia Illyriae : *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, Pl. 13. 7, coin-type (Septimius Severus), Hades throned, with Cerberus at his feet, before him female figure holding infant.
- <sup>9</sup> ? Epirus : Ampel. *Lib. Memor.* 8. 3 Argis in Epiro . . . ibi Iovis templum Trophoniū, unde est ad inferos descensus ad tollendas sortes : in quo loco dicuntur ii qui descenderunt Iovem ipsum videre (probably a mistake for Lebadea).
- <sup>10</sup> Lebadeia, Zeus Τροφώνιος : vide Zeus, R. 20. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1. 423 Διὶ Τροφώνιοι. Cf. Zeus, R. 57<sup>b</sup> ; Zeus Χθόνιος in Hesiod, R. 15.
- <sup>11</sup> Oropos, shrine of Amphiaraios in the neighbourhood : Dikaiarch. p. 142 (Fuhr) τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ. Suidas s. v. Πάμψυχας ὁ Ἀμφιάραιος, ὅτι πασῶν ἀνάσσει ψυχῶν ἐν Ἄδου.
- <sup>12</sup> Koroneia : see Athena, R. 61.
- <sup>13</sup> Athens : Demeter, R. 114, 180 (Zeus Eubouleus). Paus. 1. 28, 6, near the Areopagos, ἱερὸν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖαι Σεμνάς, . . . κείται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα. ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν ὄσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετα ἀπαλύσασθαι, θύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἄσται. *C. I. A.* 2. 948 (fourth century B. C.) τοῦσδε ἐπιώψατο ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὴν κλίνην στῶσαι τῷ Πλούτωνι καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κασμήσαι.
- <sup>14</sup> Eleusis : Demeter, R. 82, 225, 226. Zeus Εὐβουλεύς, Demeter, R. 227.
- <sup>15</sup> Corinth : Demeter, R. 34 (τὰ Πλουτώνειον (?)) combined with cult of Kore). Zeus Χθόνιος, Zeus, R. 57<sup>a</sup>.
- <sup>16</sup> Hermione : Hades Κλύμενος, Demeter, R. 37.
- <sup>17</sup> Lerna : Demeter, R. 115<sup>b</sup>, 233.
- <sup>18</sup> ? Argos : Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* p. 365 A Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενῆς Διόνυσος ἐπὶ κλῆν ἐστὶ ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπύγγων ἐξ ὕδατος, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ. Cf. Demeter, R. 253.
- <sup>19</sup> Sparta : Zeus Σκοτίτας, Zeus, R. 58 (cf. Zeus, R. 61) ; Demeter, R. 38. Messoa : Demeter, R. 44.
- <sup>20</sup> Tegea : Demeter, R. 119<sup>e</sup>.
- <sup>21</sup> Elis : Demeter, R. 47, 118. Zeus Χθόνιος at Olympia : Zeus, R. 142<sup>a</sup>. Paus. 6. 25, 2 ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἄιδου περίβαλος τε καὶ ναός . . . ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ αὐδὲ τότε ἐφέϊται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερομένου. Ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνου τιμῶσιν Ἄιδην Ἥλειου.

- <sup>22</sup> Lesbos : vide Poseidon, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Lesbos.
- <sup>23</sup> Paros : R. 50. Zeus Eubouleus, Hera, R. 66.
- <sup>24</sup> Amorgos : Zeus Eubouleus, Zeus, R. 55<sup>b</sup>.
- <sup>25</sup> Mykonos : Zeus, R. 56.
- <sup>26</sup> Crete : "Αδης Ἀγησίλαος, vide inscription in *Rev. Arch.* 1, pp. 152-3 and 1867, p. 413 (*C. I. G.* 2599) ? cult-title. Cf. Aesch. *Frag.* 319 (Athenae. 3, p. 99 B) Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἀιδὴν Ἀγησίλαον εἶπε.
- <sup>27</sup> Tralles : Demeter, R. 124.
- <sup>28</sup> Ephesos : Demeter, R. 125.
- <sup>29</sup> Caria : Demeter, R. 51.
- <sup>30</sup> Hierapolis : vide Cybele-Rhea, R. 60.
- <sup>31</sup> Halikarnassos : *C. I. G.* 2655 Διὸς Πλουτήος. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Πλουτέως = Ἀδης.
- <sup>32</sup> Knidos : Demeter, R. 52. Cf. cult of Ἐπίμαχος at Erythrai, Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, l. 61.
- <sup>33</sup> Soloi : Demeter, R. 124.
- <sup>34</sup> With Demeter on late coins of Syedra in Cilicia : *Brit. Mus. Cat., Lycæonia*, &c., p. xxxvi, n. 3.
- <sup>35</sup> Tarentum and Magna Graecia : vide *Hell. Journ.* 1886 (A. Evans), pp. 11-19. Cf. supra, p. 224.
- <sup>36</sup> Rome : Demeter, R. 106<sup>a</sup> (Orci nuptiae).
- <sup>37</sup> Demosth. κ. Ἀριστογ. Α. § 52 οἱ ζωγράφοι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐν Ἀίδου γράφουσι, μετ' ἀρᾶς καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ φθόνου καὶ στάσεως καὶ νείκους.
- <sup>38</sup> Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2, p. 494, Pott. εὖ γοῦν ἡ τραγωδία ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀίδου γράφει
- πρὸς δ' οἶον ἦξει δαίμον' ὡς ἐρώμενον ;  
ὅς οὔτε τὰπεικὲς οὔτε τὴν χάριν  
ἦδει, μόνην δ' ἔστεργε τὴν ἀπλῶς δίκην.
- <sup>39</sup> Arist. *Frag.* 445<sup>a</sup> (*Tagenistai*):
- καὶ μὴν πόθεν Πλούτων γ' ἂν ὀνομάζετο,  
εἰ μὴ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἔλαχεν ; ἐν δέ σοι φράσω,  
ὄσφ τὰ κάτω κρείττω ἴσθιν ὧν ὁ Ζεὺς ἔχει.
- <sup>40</sup> *C. I. G.* 1067, grave inscription from Megara (late period), Σοὶ δὲ χάρις Πλουτεῦ ἀκάκη θεῶ, εἵνεκα μοίρης.
- <sup>41</sup> Oracle of Klaros, delivered in time of plague, second century A. D.: Buresch, *Klaros*, p. 81. *Ath. Mitt.* 1899, p. 257 . . . ἔρδεν ὑπουδαίους θεοῖς, εὖ ἴσθ' ἕκαστα, λοιβύς | καὶ τῷ μὲν Εὐχαιτῆ ταμεῖν κνηκὸν θεῆ δὲ μῆλον, | κέλαινα δ' ἄμφω ρεζόμεν.



REFERENCES FOR CULTS OF THE MOTHER OF  
THE GODS AND RHEA-CYBELE

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *H.* xiv :

Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων  
ἔμναι, Μοῦσα λίγεια, Διὸς θυγάτηρ μεγάληα,  
ἧ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σὺν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν  
εὔαδεν ἧδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων  
σῦρεά τ' ἠχήμεναι καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.

Cf. Demeter : R. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pind. *Frag.* 48 (Böckh) :

σοὶ μὲν κατάρχειν  
Μᾶτερ μεγάλη, πάρα ῥόμβοι κυμβάλων  
ἐν δὲ κεχλάδειν κρόταλα  
αἰθομένα δὲ δᾶς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πύκκισ.

<sup>3</sup> *Frag.* 63 :

ᾠ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων  
καὶ σεμνῶν ἀδύτων φύλαξ,  
Ματρὸς μεγάλας ὄπαδέ,  
σεμνῶν Χαρίτων μέλημα τερπνόν.

Pyth. 3. 77 :

Ἄλλ' ἐπέυξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω  
Ματρί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον  
σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμὰ  
σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐνύχιαι.

(Schol. *ib.* νυκτὸς αὐτῇ τὰ μυστήρια τελεῖται.)

<sup>4</sup> Dithyramb. *Fr.* 80 :

Κυβέλα μᾶτερ θεῶν.

<sup>5</sup> Soph. *Philoct.* 391 :

ἽΟρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διός,  
ἂ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὐχρυσον νέμεις, . . .  
ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων  
λεόντων ἔφεδρε.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph. *Av.* 875 :

ΙΕ. στρούφω μεγάλη Μητρί θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων.  
ΠΕ. Δέσποινα Κυβέλη, στρούθε, . . .

<sup>7</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 120 (cf. Dionysos, R. 62<sup>n</sup>) :

ὦ θαλάμειμα Κουρήτων ζαθέου τε Κρήτας  
Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι, τρικάρυβες ἔνθ' ἐν ἄντραις

βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε μοι Κορύβαντες ἤδρον·  
 ἀνὰ δὲ βάκχια συντόνω  
 κέρασαν ἀδυβόα Φρυγίων αὐλῶν  
 πνεύματι, ματρός τε ῥέας ἐς χέρα θῆκαν,  
 κτύπον εὐάσμασι Βακχῶν.

<sup>8</sup> Telestes ap. Athenae. p. 626 a :

πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατήρας Ἑλλήνων ἐν αὐλοῖς  
 συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος ματρός ὀρείας  
 φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον.

<sup>9</sup> Clem. Alexandr. *Protr.* p. 64 (Pott.) Μένανδρος γοῦν ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἠνιώφ :

οὐδεὶς μ' ἀρέσκει (φησὶ) περιπατῶν ἕξω θεῶς  
 μετὰ γραδὸς οὐδ' εἰς οἰκίας παρεισιῶν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ σανιδίου μητραγύρτης.

τοιούτοι γὰρ οἱ μητραγύρται· ὄθεν εἰκότως ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς μεταί-  
 τοῦσαι, οὐ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, ἦν οἱ θεοὶ τρέφουσιν.

<sup>10</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6. 94 :

Ἄραξόχειρα ταῦτά σοι τὰ τύμπανα  
 καὶ κύμβαλ' ὀξύδονπα κοιλοχείλαια  
 διδύμους τε λωτοὺς κεραβόας, ἐφ' οἷς ποτὲ  
 ἐπωλόλυξεν αὐχένα στροβιλίσας,  
 λυσιφλεβῆ τε σάγαριν ἀμφιθηγέα  
 λεοντόδιφρε σοί, ῥέη, Κλυτοσθένης  
 ἔθηκε λυσσητήρα γηράσας πόδα.

<sup>11</sup> Lucr. 2. 599 :

Quare magna deum mater materque ferarum  
 Et nostri genetrix haec dicta est corporis una.  
 Hanc veteres Graium docti cecinere poetae

Sedibus in curru biugos agitare leones,

Muralique caput summum cinxere corona.

Hanc variae gentes antiquo more sacrorum  
 Idaeam vocitant matrem Phrygiasque catervas  
 Dant comites, quia primum ex illis finibus edunt  
 per terrarum orbem fruges coepisse creati.

<sup>12</sup> Artemid. *Oneir.* 2. 39 Μήτηρ Θεῶν γεωργοῖς ἀγαθὴ· γῆ γὰρ εἶναι  
 νερόμισται. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 6. 8 Interpretationis huius, quando

agitur de sacris Matris Deum, caput est certe quod Mater deum terra est . . . verum tamen quoquo modo sacra eius interpretentur et referant ad rerum naturam: viros muliebria pati non est secundum naturam sed contra naturam. Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa sacra professionem. Cf. 7. 24 (reference to Varro's view).

<sup>13</sup> Stob. *Floril.* vol. 3, p. 63 (Meineke) Φίντυος τᾶς Καλλικράτειος θυγατρὸς Πυθαγορείας ἐκ τοῦ περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνας. I. 32 φημὶ δὴ ἐκ πέντε τούτων [τῆ γυναικὶ περιγίνεσθαι σωφροσύναν] . . . ἐκ τῶ μὴ χρέεσθαι τοῖς ὀργιασμοῖς καὶ ματρωσμοῖς. Cf. Iambl. *de Myster.* 3. 10 (p. 121 Parthey) γυναικῆς εἰσιν αἱ προηγουμένως μητρίζουσαι, ἀρρένων δὲ δλίγιστοι καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ὦσιν ἀπαλώτεροι.

<sup>14</sup> Io Lyd. *de Mens.* 3, p. 49, ἡ Δημήτηρ πόλεως ἐστὶ καταρκτηκῆ, οἰοεὶ ἡ γῆ ὄθεν καὶ πυργοφόρον αὐτὴν γράφουσι, λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κυβέλη. Vide Zeus, R. 98, reference to Rhea as goddess of marriage.

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER

<sup>15</sup> Amphipolis: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 423 Νικοστράτη Μητρί. 1895, p. 534, terracotta figures of Attis from the necropolis there.

<sup>16</sup> Boeotia.

<sup>a</sup> Thebes: Paus. 9. 25, 3 διαβᾶσιν οὖν τὴν Δίρκην οἰκίας τε ἐρείπια τῆς Πινδάρου καὶ Μητρὸς Διωνυμῆος ἱερὸν, Πινδάρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἄριστομήδους τε καὶ Σωκράτους Θηβαίων· μῆ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστων ἐτῶν ἡμέρα, καὶ οὐ πέρα, τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοίγειν νομίζουσιν, ἐμαὶ δὲ ἀφικέσθαι τε ἐξεγεγόνει τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον λίθου τοῦ Πεντέλῃσι καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν θρόνον.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 137 (Boeckh) Ἄριστόδημός φησιν Ὀλύμπιχον αὐλητὴν διδασκόμενον ὑπὸ Πινδάρου γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου τὴν μελέτην συνετίθει, καὶ ψόφον ἱκανὸν καὶ φλόγα ἰδεῖν καταφερομένην. τὸν δὲ Πίνδαρον ἐπαισθόμενον συνιδεῖν Μητρὸς θεῶν ἄγαλμα λίθινον τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπερχόμενον, ὅθεν αὐτὸν συνιδρύσασθαι πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ Μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Πανὸς ἄγαλμα. τοὺς δὲ πολίτας πέμψαντος ἐς θεοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐκβησομένων· τὸν δὲ ἀνεπέειν ἱερὸν Μητρὸς θεῶν ιδρύσασθαι.

<sup>17</sup> Orchomenos: *C. I. G. Sept.* I. 3216 (? first century A.D.) Ἰππαρτί·τα Ἡροδότου ἱερατεύουσα Ματρί θεῶν.

<sup>18</sup> Chaironeia: *ib.* 3315 (? first century A.D.) Εὐφροσύνα ἱερὰ τὰς Ματέρος τῶν θεῶν. 3378 . . . ἀνέθηκαν τὴν ἰδίαν θρηπτήν Διονυσίαν ἱερὰν τῇ Μητρί τῶν θεῶν παραμείνασαν παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν ἀνεγκλήτως.

<sup>18a</sup> Thespiai: *C. I. G. Sept.* I. 1811 Ματέρι Μεγάλῃ.

<sup>18</sup> b Tanagra: *Ath. Mittl.* 3, p. 388, &c., small shrine with inscription τῆ Μητρί: large relief of maidens holding tympana, seated figure of Cybele, fifth century B.C.

<sup>19</sup> Attica: Athens, temple of Rhea and Cronos in the τέμενος of Zeus Olympios, vide vol. I, 'Cronos,' R. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 229 ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μητρί θεῶν ἀγαμένη, ἐν ἣ ἔψουσι τὴν γαλαξίαν. Hesych. s. v. γαλαξία ἔστι δὲ πόλιτος κριθίως ἐν γάλακτι.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. I. 3, 5 ἠφοδοῦνται δὲ καὶ Μητρός θεῶν ἱερὸν ἦν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον. Cf. *Arr. Anab.* 3. 16, 8.

<sup>c</sup> Aeschin. κ. Τιμ. § 60 ὁ Πιπτάλακος ἔρχεται γυμνὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Μητρός τῶν θεῶν.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Demosth. κ. Ἀριστογ. A. § 97 Λυκοῦργος μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐμαρτύρητο καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν καὶ καλῶς ἐποίησε.

<sup>e</sup> Harpokrat. s. v. μητρῶν τοὺς νόμους ἔθεντο ἀναγράφαντες ἐν τῷ μητρῶφι δηλοῖ Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πυθέου.

<sup>f</sup> Poll. 3. 11 ἐλέγετο δὲ τι καὶ μητρῶν Ἀθήνησι, τὸ τῆς Φρυγίας θεοῦ ἱερὸν.

<sup>g</sup> Plin. *N. H.* 36. 17 Est et in Matris Magnae delubro eadem civitate Agoracriti opus. *Arr. Peripl.* 9 ἐσβαλλόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Φᾶσιν ἐν ἀριστοτέρῳ ἴδρυται ἡ Φασιανὴ θεός· εἴη δ' ἂν ἀπὸ γε τοῦ σχήματος τεκμαυρομένη ἢ 'Ρέα' καὶ γὰρ κύμβαλον μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχει καὶ λέοντας ὑπὸ τῷ θρόνῳ, καὶ κάθηται ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ Μητρῶφι ἢ τοῦ Φειδίου.

<sup>h</sup> *C. I. A.* 1. 4 (fragment of ritual-archive found on the Acropolis, early fifth century B.C.) Μητρί.

<sup>i</sup> *Ib.* 2. 607 (324-3 B.C.) οἱ συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου ἀνέθεσαν Μητρί θεῶν ἐπὶ Ἡγησίου ἀρχοντος.

<sup>k</sup> *Ib.* 2. 1388<sup>b</sup> add. ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ . . . κατηφορήσασαν Μητρί θεῶν.

<sup>l</sup> *Ib.* 3. 1062 ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος ἱερέως Μητρός θεῶν καὶ Ἀγαπητοῦ (decree of the Antiochis tribe, circ. 210 A.D.). *Ib.* 2. 1594 Μάνης Μητρί καὶ Μίκα Μητρί θεῶν. Cf. Aphrodite, R. 13<sup>c</sup>, Apollo, R. 133<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> In Agrai: Müller, *F. H. G.* 1, p. 359, Cleitodemos, *Fr.* 1 τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ μητρῶν τὸ ἐν Ἀγραῖς. *C. I. A.* 1. 273 (temple-accounts 426-422 B.C.) Μητρός ἐν Ἀγραῖς.

<sup>n</sup> Paus. I. 31, 1 Ἀναγυρασίους δὲ Μητρός θεῶν ἱερὸν.

<sup>o</sup> *Arch. Anzeig.* 1895, p. 129, Berlin terracotta from Athens representing goddess holding lion on her lap, sixth century B.C. Vide

*Ann. d. Inst.* 34. 23, inscription of third century B.C. concerning the 'orgeones' of the *Μήτηρ θεῶν* and the *Ἀττιδεῖα* in the Peiraeus.

<sup>p</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 275, relief found on Acropolis showing two Panes with inscription *Εἰσιᾶς Διοδώρου ἐκ Δαμπτρέων Μητρὶ θεῶν κατ' ἐπιταγήν Πάντα θεῶν σεμνύνομεν.*

<sup>20</sup> Pagai in Megara: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 330, coins of imperial period, Cybele seated, at her feet lion.

<sup>21</sup> At Corinth: *α τελετὴ Μητρὸς*, vide vol. 5, Hermes, R. 6. Paus. 2. 4, 7 (on the way up to the Acropolis) *ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ [καὶ στηλῆ] καὶ θρόνος· λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος.* Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 340, on coins of imperial period, Cybele seated.

<sup>22</sup> Hermione: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 370, Cybele on coins, imperial period.

<sup>23</sup> Epidauros: *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 151, inscription of late period, *Μητρὶ θεῶν ἰκέτης κατ' ὄναρ Μελάνωπος ἔτευξε.*

<sup>24</sup> Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, no. 64 *Μεγάλῃ Μητρὶ θεῶν ὁ ἱερεὺς Διογένης: ἰδ. no. 40 βωμὸν Κουρήτων.*

<sup>25</sup> Laconia. Sparta: Paus. 3. 12, 9 *τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Μεγάλῃς Μητρὸς τιμᾶται περισσῶς δὴ τι.* Akriai on the coast: 3. 22, 4 *θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκριὰς ἔχοντες ὅποσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίοις ἱερά ἐστιν.* *Ath. Mitth.* 2. 329.

<sup>26</sup> Arcadia.

<sup>a</sup> Akakesion: vide Demeter, R. 119<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> On the Alpheios: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1, pp. 60–61 R.

<sup>c</sup> On Mount Azanion: cf. R. 52. Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* 4. 292 *In illo monte Azanio ut Iupiter ita etiam Mater Deorum colitur ritu Idaeo.*

<sup>d</sup> At Asea: Paus. 8. 44, 3 *πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῇ πηγῇ ναὸς τε Μητρὸς θεῶν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον καὶ λέοντες δύο λίθων πεποιημένοι. Cf. Hesych. s. v. Λεόντειος πόρος· ὁ Ἀλφειός. καθότι ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς αὐτοῦ λεόντων εἶδωλα ἐφίδρυνται.*

<sup>e</sup> At Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 30, 4 *ἔστι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα Μητρὸς θεῶν, τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ὅτι μὴ οἱ κίονες ἄλλο ὑπόλοιπον οὐδέν. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μητρὸς ἀνδριάς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ.*

<sup>f</sup> On Mount Lykaion: Call. *H. in Jon.* 10:

*ἐν δέ σε Παρρασίῃ ῥεῖη τέκεν, ἧχι μάλιστα  
ἔσκεν ὄρος θάμνοισι περισκεπέε· ἔνθεν ὁ χῶρος  
ἱερός, οὐδέ τί φιν κεχρημένον Εἰλειθυίης  
ἔρπετον οὐδὲ γυνὴ ἐπιμίσγεται, ἀλλὰ ἐ ῥεῖης  
ᾠγύγιον καλέουσι λεχάϊον Ἀπιθανῆς.*

ε At Methydrion on Mount Thaumasion : Paus. 8. 36, 3 ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ὅτι μὴ γυναιξὶ μόνας ἱεραῖς τῆς θεοῦ, ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδενὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἔστι τῶν ἄλλων.

<sup>27</sup> Olympia : Paus. 5. 20, 9 ναὸν δὲ μεγέθει μέγαν καὶ ἐργασίᾳ Δωρίων Μητρώον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καλοῦσιν ἔτι, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ διασώζοντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον. κείται δὲ οὐκ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῶν Μητρός, βασιλέων δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες Ῥωμαίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεις τὸ Μητρώον. Paus. 5. 14, 9 βωμοὸς Μητρός θεῶν : cf. 5. 8, 1 (Idaeon Dactyli and Kouretes). Cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5. 10 Ὀλυμπίασι βωμοὶ εἰσὶν ἐξ δίδυμοι, τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἀνδρῶν μένοι . . . ἔκτος Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας, ὡς φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος. ? Statue of Korybas in city of Elis : Paus. 6. 25, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Messenia : Paus. 4. 31, 6 οὐ μάλιστα ἀξίον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ἄγαλμα Μητρός θεῶν, λίθου Παρίου, Δαμοφώντος δὲ ἔργον. § 9 (near the temple of Eileithyia) Κουρήτων μέγαρον ἔνθα ζῶα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν.

<sup>29</sup> Achaea. Dyme : Paus. 7. 17, 9 [Δυμαίοις] . . . ἔστι . . . ἱερόν σφισι Δυδνυμῆν μητρὶ καὶ Ἄττῃ πεπονημένον. Patrai : 7. 20, 3 ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν Μητρός Δυδνυμῆνης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄττης ἔχει τιμὰς. τοῦτου μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνουσι : τὸ δὲ τῆς Μητρός λίθου πεποιήται.

<sup>30</sup> Ithaka : vide Hera, R. 77 (worship of Rhea, sixth century).

<sup>30a</sup> Keos : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* dedication of late period . . . ἱερεὺς θεῶν Μητρὶ ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>31</sup> Delos : *ib.* 1882, p. 500, n. 22 (inscription third century B.C.) Ἀναξαρέτῃ Μητρὶ θεῶν. Cf. n. 25 Μητρὶ Μεγάλῃ τῇ πάντων κρατούσῃ.

<sup>32</sup> Paros : *Ath. Mitth.* 1901, p. 160 (second century B.C.) σοὶ τόνδ', ὦ Φρυγίη, ναὸν περικαλλέα σεμνῷ βήσῃ ἐν δαπέδῳ. . . Cf. p. 162.

<sup>33</sup> Chios : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 324 Καλλισθένης Ἀσκληπιάδου τὴν στρωτὴν καὶ τὰς καθέδρας Μητρὶ (second century B.C.).

<sup>34</sup> Thera : *C. I. G.* 2465 A (add.) οἶρου γὰς θεῶν μητρὶ . . . θυσία Ἀρχίνου τῷ ἔτει τῷ πρατίστῳ θύσονται βούν καὶ πυρῶν ἐγ μεδίμνου καὶ κριθῶν ἐγ δύο μεδίμνων καὶ οἴνου μετρητῶν (? private sacrifice from land dedicated to her, Roman period).

<sup>35</sup> Samothrace : *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 130 (Kern) : no proved connexion with the mysteries : Diod. Sic. 3. 55 ταύτην δὲ [νήσον] . . . καθιερώσαι [τὰς Ἀμαζόντας] τῇ προειρημένη θεῷ [τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν] καὶ βωμοῖς ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐπιτελέσαι. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 226, coins, circ. 300, 'Cybele seated on throne, beneath which lion.'

<sup>36</sup> Lesbos : two reliefs representing Cybele with lions and tympanum, Conze, *Lesbos*, p. 10. Cf. inscription from Eresos, *Class. Rev.*

1902, p. 290 εἰστείχην δὲ μηδὲ Γάλλους, μηδὲ γυναῖκες γυλλάξην ἐν τῷ τεμένει.

<sup>37</sup> Kos: Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.* 38 (fourth century B. C.) τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ 'Ρέα ὅς κευῦσα καὶ ἱερά' . . . ταύτων οὐκ ἀποφορά' θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερά παρέχει· γέρη λαμβάνει δέρμα. *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 176, 44, relief in Vienna of Cybele with tympanon and lion in lap from Kos.

<sup>38</sup> Crete: vide Zeus, R. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Nikand. *Alexiph.* 217:

ἢ ἄτε κερνοφόρος ζάκαρος βωμίστρια 'Ρείης  
εἰνάδι λαοφόροισιν ἐνχιρίμπτουσα κελεύθους  
μακρὸν ἐπεμβοάα γλώσση θρόον, οἱ δὲ τρέουσι  
'Ἰδαίης ῥιγῆλὸν ὄτ' εἰσαίωσι ὕλαγμάν.

Schol. *ib.* εἰνάδι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνάτη τοῦ μηνὸς . . . τότε γὰρ τὰ μυστήρια αὐτῆς ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

<sup>b</sup> Knossos: Diod. Sic. 5. 66 τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ὅπου περ εἶτι καὶ νῦν δείκνυται θεμέλια 'Ρέως αἰκόπεδα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος.

<sup>c</sup> Phaistos: inscription of Hellenistic period, published *Museo Italiano* iii, p. 736 by Halbherr, vide *Ath. Mitth.* 1893, p. 272, and 1894, p. 290:

θαῦμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποις πάντων Μάτηρ πιδίκνυτι·  
τοῖς ὅσοις κίνχηρη καὶ οἱ γονεῶν ὑπέχονται,  
τοῖς δὲ παρεσβαίνουσι θιῶν γένος ἀντία πρίτει·  
πάντες δ' εὐσεβίης τε καὶ εὐγλωθοῖ παρίθ' ἀγνοί  
ἔνθεον ἐς Μεγάλας Ματρὸς ναόν, ἔνθεα δ' ἔργα  
γνώσηθ' ἀθανάτας, ἄξια τῶδε ναῶ.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2, p. 22, Pott (vol. 4, p. 103, Klotz) [Ἐπιμενίδης] ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ 'Ρέας.

<sup>e</sup> Diod. Sic. 4. 80 [οἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Κρήτες] . . . κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὸν τῶν Μητέρων διαφόρως ἐτίμων τὰς θεάς. . . ταύτας δὲ ἀφιδρυθῆναι φασιν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης διὰ τὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς θεὰς ταύτας διαφερόντως· μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτὸς τὸ παλαιὸν θρέψαι τὸν Δία . . . βραχὺ γὰρ πρὸ ἡμῶν εἶχον αἱ θεαὶ βοῦς μὲν ἱερὰς τρισχιλίας. Cf. Plut. *Marcell.* 20.

<sup>f</sup> Feast of τὰ Ἰλάρια in Crete, Dionys. Areop. *Ep.* 8.

<sup>39</sup> Cyprus: Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Die antik. Kultusstätten auf Kypros*, p. 11. 5 (vide Drexler in Roscher's *Lexikon* 2, p. 2898).

<sup>40</sup> Byzantium: Hesych. Miles. *Frag.* Müller, *F. H. G.* 4, p. 149 'Ρέας μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς λεγόμενον τόπον νεῶν τε καὶ ἄγαλμα καθιδρύσατο [ὁ Βύζας], ὅτι καὶ Τύχιον ταῖς πολίταις τετίμητο. Cf. Zosim. *Nov. Hist.* 2. 31 (vide Amelung in *Röm. Mitth.* 1899, p. 8) statue of Cybele with lions brought by Constantine from the neighbourhood of Kyzikos and altered by him into a type of Cybele with outstretched hands, praying for his city.

Asia Minor (maritime and anterior districts).

<sup>41</sup> Pontos: vide vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 63<sup>f</sup> (Corybantic dances).

<sup>42</sup> Bithynia.

<sup>a</sup> Heracleia Pontiké: Arr. *Peripl.* 13 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡρακλείας ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ Μητρῶον καλούμενον στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα.

<sup>b</sup> Nikaia, vide Apollo: *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Bithynia (thiasos of Apollo and Cybele).

<sup>c</sup> Nikomedeia: Plin. *Ep.* 10. 58 in angulo (fori) aedes vetustissima Matris Magnae.

<sup>43</sup> Phrygia, vide Ramsay: *Hell. Journ.* 5, pp. 245-246, tomb with very archaic relief of Cybele and two lions erect on each side, placing their paws above her shoulders, inscription 'Matar Kubile,' ? circ. 700 B. C. Cf. vol. 5, Dionysos, 35<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>l, m</sup>. Strab. p. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες Φρυγῶν τι φύλον καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδην κατακοῦντες ῥεῖαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτη, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἄγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν Μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τάπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυλῆνην καὶ Πισσωαντιίδα καὶ Κυβέλην [καὶ Κυβήβην].

<sup>44</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 61 Ἰδαίος ὁ Δαρδάνου . . . ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἂ νῦν Ἰδαίᾳ ἀπ' ἐκείνου λέγεται· ἔνθα Μητρὶ θεῶν ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς κατεστήσατο, ἃ καὶ ἐς τὰδε χρόνου διαμένουσιν ἐν πάσῃ Φρυγίᾳ.

<sup>45</sup> Schol. Nik. *Alexiph.* 8 οἱ δὲ Φρύγες κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ θρηνοῦσιν αὐτὸν [Ἄττην].

<sup>46</sup> Diod. Sic. 3. 59 διόπερ τοὺς Φρύγας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἠφανισμένου τοῦ σώματος εἰδῶλον κατασκευάσαι τοῦ μειρακίου πρὸς ᾧ θρηνοῦντας ταῖς οἰκείαις τιμαῖς τοῦ πάθους ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὴν τοῦ παρανομηθέντος μῆνην· ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς διατελεῖν.

<sup>47</sup> Arr. *Tact.* 33 τὸ πένθος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἄττῃ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πενθεῖται, καὶ τὸ λαυτρὸν δ' ἢ ῥεῖα ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πένθους λήγει, Φρυγίων νόμφ λαύται. (Cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei* 2. 4, impure ritual at Rome connected with the lavatio Cybelae.)

<sup>48</sup> For mysteries of Attis vide Demeter, R. 219, and Aphrodite, 108<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Hippol. *Ref. Haeres.* 5, p. 118 (Miller) Ἄττι, σὲ καλοῦσιν . . . οἱ Φρύγες ἀλλαστε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ δὲ νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον, ἢ αἰπῶλον ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα ἢ ἄν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν.

<sup>50</sup> Macr. *Sat.* 1. 21, 7 ritu eorum (Phrygum) catabasi finita simulationeque luctus peracta celebratur laetitiae exordium a. d. octavum Kalendas Aprilis. quem diem Hilaria appellant. Cf. Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 1. 28 [οἱ Φοίνικες] κλαυθμὸν καὶ ἔλεος καὶ οἶκτον βλαστήματι γῆς ἀπάντι καθιέρων.

<sup>51</sup> Plat. *Euthyd.* 277 D ποιεῖται δὲ ταῦτ' ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυ-





c Herod. 4. 76 προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον [Ἀνάχαρσις] καὶ εὔρε γὰρ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὄρθην κάρτα μεγαλοπρεπέως κτλ.

d Paus. 8. 46, 4 Κυζικηνοὶ τε ἀναγκάσαντες πολέμῳ Προκονησίους γενέσθαι σφίσι συνοίκους Μητρὸς Διουδυμήνης ἄγαλμα ἔλοβον ἐκ Προκονησίου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀντὶ ἐλέφαντος ἵππων τῶν ποταμίων ὀδόντες εἰσὶν εἰργασμένοι.

e Strab. 575 ὑπερκείται δὲ ἄλλο Δίνδυμον μονοφυές, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Διουδυμήνης Μητρὸς θεῶν, ἴδρυμα τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν.

f C. I. G. 3668 Σωτηρίδης Γάλλος εὐξάμενος Μητρὶ Κο . . . (first century B. C.). Cf. worship of Adrasteia at Kyzikos, Artemis, R. 138.

55 At Plakia, near Kyzikos: C. I. G. 3657 (inscription early Roman period, found at Kyzikos) αἱ συντελοῦσαι τοὺς κόσμους παρὰ τῇ Μητρὶ τῇ Πλακιανῇ καὶ ἱεροποιοὶ αἱ προσαγορευόμεναι θαλάσσιαι καὶ αἱ συνοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν ἱέρειαι Κλειδίχην Ἀσκληπιάδου ἱερωμένην Μητρὸς τῆς ἐν Πλοκίᾳ καὶ προιερωμένην Ἀρτέμιδος Μουνυχίας (petition, allowed by δῆμος, to erect a statue in the agora of Kyzikos with this inscription). Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 155 (inscription found at Kyzikos, permission given by the δῆμος to dedicate portrait of same priestess) ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Μητρὸς τῆς Πλακιανῆς ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι . . . ἱερωμένην Μητρὸς Πλακιανῆς καὶ Κόρης καὶ Μητρὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Μουνυχίας. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 465, head of Cybele turreted on bronze coins of Plakia, circ. 300 B. C.; reverse, lion on ear of corn.

56 Near Lampsakos: Strab. p. 589 οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων Λαμψάκου δεικνύουσι λόφον, ἐφ' ᾧ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἅγιον Τηρείης ἐπικαλούμενον.

57 Pessinus: vide Aphrodite, R. 119 n.

a Strab. 567 Πεσσινοῦς δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτῃ μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνον. καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀγδιστιν. οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν δυνάσται τινὲς ἦσαν, ἱερωσύνην κορπούμενοι μεγάλην, νυνὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν αἱ τιμαὶ πολὺν μεινῶνται, τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον συμμένει κατεσκευάσται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων ἱεροπρεπῶς τὸ τέμενος ναφ τε καὶ στοαῖς λευκολίθοις· ἐπιφανὲς δ' ἐποίησαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀφίδρυμα μεταπεμφάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμούς, καθάπερ καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον τῆς πόλεως τὸ Δίνδυμον, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Διουδυμήνη, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἢ Κυβέλης.

b Cf. Herod. 1. 80 ἐξ οὔρεος ἱροῦ Μητρὸς Διουδυμήνης.

c Plut. *Marius* 17 περὶ τοῦτόν πως τὸν χρόνον ἀφίκετο καὶ Βαττάκης ἐκ Πεσσιναῦτος ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Μητρὸς ἱερεὺς ἀπαγγέλλων ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχειν.

<sup>d</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 5. 51 :

Μῆτερ ἐμή, γαίη Φρυγίων, θρέπτειρα λεόντων,  
Δίνδυμον ἢ μύσταις οὐκ ἀπάτητον ὄρος,  
σοὶ τάδε θῆλυς Ἀλεξίς ἐῆς οἰστρήματα λύσσης  
ἔνθετο.

<sup>e</sup> *Arnob. adv. Gent.* 5, § 7 fluore de sanguinis (Attidis) viola flos nascitur et redimitur ex hac arbor : unde natum et ortum est nunc etiam sacras velarier et coronarier pinos. . . . tunc arborem pinum sub qua Attis nomine spoliaverat se viri, in antrum suum defert (Mater Deum) et sociatis planctibus cum Agdesti tundit et sauciat pectus. . . . Iupiter rogatus ab Agdesti ut Attis revivesceret non sinit : quod tamen fieri per fatum posset, sine illa difficultate condonat, ne corpus eius putrescat, crescant et comae semper, digitorum ut minimissimus vivat et perpetuo solus agitetur e motu. Quibus contentum beneficiis Agdestim consecrasset corpus in Pessinunte, caerimoniis annuis et sacerdotiorum antistitibus honorasse. *Id.* 5. 6-7 unde vino, quod silentium prodidit, in eius nefas esse sanctum sese inferre pollutis. 5. 16 quid enim sibi vult illa pinus, quam semper statutis diebus in deum matris intromittitis sanctuario? . . . quid lanarum vellera, quibus arboris conligatis et circumvolviis stipitem? . . . quid pectoribus adplodentes palmas passis cum crinibus Galli? . . . quid temperatus ab alimonio panis, cui rei dedistis nomen castus? Nonne illius temporis imitatio est quo se numen ab Cereris fruge violentia maeroris abstinuit? . . . evirati isti mollesque . . . cur more lugentium caedant cum pectoribus lacertos . . . cur ad ultimum pinus ipsa paullo ante in dumis inertissimum nutans lignum mox ut aliquod praesens atque augustissimum numen deum matris constituatur in sedibus? (For his authorities vide ch. 5 *ad imit.* apud Timotheum non ignobilem theologorum unum. . . .) *Id.* 7, § 49 adlatum ex Phrygia nihil quidem aliud scribitur missum rege ab Attalo, nisi lapis quidem non magnus, ferri manu hominis sine ulla impressione qui posset, coloris furvi atque atri, angellis prominentibus inaequalis. § 50 quis hominum credet terra sumptum lapidem . . . deum fuisse matrem? *Jul. Or.* 5. 168 C αὐτὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττιδος αἱ θρηνούμεναι τέως φυγαὶ καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἀφανισμοὶ καὶ αἱ δύσεις αἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον. τεκμήρια δὲ ἔστω μοι τούτου ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ γίνονται : τέμεσθαι γάρ φασὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δένδρον καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἰσημεριῆς ἀψίδος ἔρχεται· εἶθ' ἐξῆς περισαλπισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται τῇ τρίτῃ τέμενεται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπάρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου· ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰλάρια, φασί, καὶ ἑορταί.

<sup>f</sup> *Herodian.* 1. 11 τούτο δὲ [τὸ ἄγαλμα] πάλαι μὲν ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθήναι λόγος εἷς τινα τῆς Φρυγίας χώραν, Πεσσιωῶς δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

§ Polyb. 22. 20 παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν [Σαγγάριον] στρατοπεδευσαμένων παραγίγναι Γάλλοι παρὰ Ἄττιδος καὶ Βαττάκου, τῶν ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ἱερέων τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. Cf. inscription, ? first century B. C., *Ath. Myth.* 1897, p. 38 from Pessinus, Ἄττις ἱερεύς. Vide Körte, *ib.* p. 16, priest called by the name of the god at Pessinus and Rome.

h Ov. *Fast.* 4. 363 :

Inter, ait, viridem Cybelen altasque Celaenas  
Amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua.  
Qui bibit inde, furit.

(Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 10. 220 Galli per furorem motu capitis comam rotantes futura praenuntiabant.)

Ov. *Fast.* 4. 367 :

Non pudet herbosum, dixi, posuisse moretum  
In Dominae mensis? An sua causa subest?  
Lacte mero veteres usi memorantur, et herbis  
Sponte sua si quas terra ferebat, ait.  
Candidus elisae miscetur caseus herbae,  
Cognoscat priscos ut dea prisca cibos.

i Paus. 1. 4, 5 Πεσσινοῦντα ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρος . . . τὴν Ἄγδιστιν ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τεθάφθαι λέγουσι.

k Firm. Matern. *De error.* c. 22 nocte quadam simulacrum in lectica supinum ponitur et per numeros digestis fletibus plangitur : deinde cum se ficta lamentatione satiaverint, lumen infertur : tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur, quibus perunctis sacerdos lento murmure susurrat

θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου  
ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.

l Sallustius, *De Diis et Mundo*, c. 4 (Orelli, p. 16) ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν . . . πρῶτον μὲν ἐν κατηφείᾳ ἔσμεν σίτου τε . . . ἀπεχόμεθα . . . εἴτα δένδρου τομαὶ καὶ ἡστία . . . ἐπὶ τούτοις γαλακτὸς τραφή, ὡσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων' ἐφ' οἷς ἰλαρείου καὶ στέφανου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶον ἐπάνοδος . . . περὶ γὰρ τὸ ἔαρ καὶ τὴν ἰσημερίαν δρᾶται τὰ δρώμενα.

<sup>78</sup> Eumeneia : C. I. G. 3886 ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν . . . Μόνιμαν Ἀρίστωνος τὸν ἀπὸ προγόνων λαμπαδαρχησάντων Διδὸς Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδας καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ἄγδίστεως (early Roman period).

<sup>59</sup> Ikonion, cult of Agdistis, the Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν and the Μήτηρ Βοθητή : vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Phrygia.

<sup>60</sup> Hierapolis : Strab. 630 οἱ δ' ἀπόκοποι Γάλλοι παρίασι [τὸ Πλουτώνιον] ἀπαθεῖς.

<sup>61</sup> Lydia : vide vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 63<sup>o</sup> (cult of Hippi or Hipta).

<sup>a</sup> Paus. 7. 17, 10 μεταφέρσεν ἐς Λυδίαν [Ἄττης] τῷ Ἑρμησιάνακτος λόγῳ, καὶ Λυδοῖς ὄργια ἐτέλει Μητρὸς, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκων παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμῆς ὡς Δία Ἄττη νεμεσήσαντα ἔν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιπέμψαι τῶν Λυδῶν. Ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοι τε τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄττης ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱός. καὶ τι ἐπόμενον ταύτους Γαλατῶν δρώσιν οἱ Πεσσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, ὧν οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι.

<sup>b</sup> Luc. *de Dea Syr.* 15 Ἄττης δὲ γένος μὲν Λυδὸς ἦν, πρῶτος δὲ τὰ ὄργια τὰ ἐς Ῥέην ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ τὰ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Σαμόθρακες ἐπιτελέουσιν Ἄττω πάντ' ἔμαθον.

<sup>c</sup> Lucian. *Trogoedopodag.* 30 :

ἀνὰ Δίνδυμον Κυβήβης  
 Φρύγες ἔνθεον ὀλολυγὴν  
 ἀπαλῶ τελοῦσιν Ἄττη,  
 καὶ πρὸς μέλος κεραύλου  
 Φρυγίου κατ' ὄρεα Τυμῶλου  
 κῶμον βοῶσι Λυδοί,  
 παραπλήγες δ' ἀμφὶ ῥόπτροις  
 κελαδοῦσι Κρήτες ῥυθμῶ  
 νόμον Κορύβαντες εὐάν.

<sup>d</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6. 234 :

Γάλλος ὁ χαιτάεις, ὁ νεήτομος, ὁ πρὸ Τυμῶλου  
 Λύδιος ὄρχηστὰς μάκρ' ὀλολυζόμενος,  
 τῇ παρὰ Σαγγαρίῳ τάδε ματέρι τύμπανα ταῦτα  
 θήκατο καὶ μᾶστιν τὰν πολυαστράγολον.

(Cf. Luc. *op. cit.* 111 :

τίσιν δὲ τελεταῖς ὀργιάζει προσπόλους ;  
 οὐχ αἶμα λάβρον προχέομεν ὑποτομοῖς σιδάρου,  
 οὐ τριχὸς ἀφέτου λυγίζεται στροφαῖσιν αὐχὴν,  
 οὐδὲ πολυκρότοις ἀστραγάλοις πέπληγε νῶτα.)

<sup>62</sup> On Mount Sipylon : Paus. 5. 13, 7 Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης Μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. Cf. *Ath. Millh.* 1887, p. 253, dedication, Roman period, Μητρὶ θεῶν Πλαστήνη.

<sup>63</sup> At Magnesia on Sipylon : Paus. 3. 22, 4 Μάγνησι γε οἱ τὰ πρὸς Βαρρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρα Μητρὸς ἐστὶ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα. Vide Apollo, R. 87, in the formula of oath of alliance between Magnesia and Smyrna, ἡ Μήτηρ ἡ Σιπυληνὴ.

<sup>64</sup> Sardis : Herod. 5. 102 καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπήρθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβίβης. Plut. *Them.* 31 ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις [Θεμιστοκλῆς] εἶδε δὲ ἐν Μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην χαλκῆν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν κτλ.

<sup>65</sup> Thyateira: *C. I. G.* 3508 ἡ πατρίς. . . Μαρκέλλαν . . . ἱέρειαν διὰ βίου τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν.

#### Mysia.

<sup>66</sup> Pergamon: Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon* 481 ἱέρεια τῆς Μητρὸς τῆς βασιλείας. Cf. 334 μύστης Μητρὸς βασιλῆας. *C. I. G.* 6835 (on relief with Cybele and two lions) Μητέρα θεῶν Περγαμονῆν Νικηφόρος τὴν ἰδίαν πρόσταται. Strab. 619 τὸ δ' Ἀσπορθητὸν ὄρος τὸ περὶ Πέργαμον, τραχὺ καὶ λυπρὸν ἔν, Ἀσπορθητὸν [δεῖν λέγειν φασί], καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐνταῦθα τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν Ἀσπορθητῆς.

<sup>67</sup> At Andeira: Strab. 614 ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς Ἀνδείροις ἱερόν ἐστι Μητρὸς θεῶν Ἀνδειρηνῆς ἅγιον καὶ ἄντρον ὑπόνομον μέχρι Παλαιᾶς. *Hell. Journ.* 1902, p. 191, inscription from Kyzikos, private dedication θεῶν Ἀνδειρείδι. Cf. relief in Louvre, with bust of Cybele, turreted and holding pomegranate, dedicated Ἀνδειρηνῆ . . . θεῶν ἀγνῆ εὐχῆν.

<sup>68</sup> Kyme: Cybele on reliefs of sixth century B. C., *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 10. 492.

<sup>69</sup> Temnos: Ramsay, *Hell. Journ.* 2, p. 291, worship of the Mater Sipyrene illustrated by its later coins.

<sup>70</sup> Myrina (?): statuette in Berlin of Cybele throned and holding key (as goddess of the underworld) with lions at side of throne and on her lap, *Arch. Anzeig.* 1892, p. 106.

Ionia: vide vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 63 f.

<sup>71</sup> Smyrna: Apollo, R. 87. *C. I. G.* 3193, inscription in Oxford, early Roman period [ἱέρεια Μητρὸς θεῶν Σιπυληνῆς. 3387 (fine for violation of tombs to be paid) Μητρὶ θεῶν Σιπυληνῆ ἀρχηγέτι] δι' ἡμῶν ἀργυρίου δηνάρια ε'. Cf. 3385-6, 3401, 3411. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Ionia*, Pl. 25. 10, Cybele with oak-crown on coins of Smyrna.

<sup>72</sup> Erythrai: Strab. 645, a κόμη called Κυβέλεια. Dittenb. *Syllogè* 2. 600, l. 106, priesthood of the Κορύβαντες mentioned (third century B. C.).

<sup>73</sup> Above Tralles in the valley of the Cayster: Strab. p. 440 τὸ τῆς Ἰσοδρόμης Μητρὸς ἱερόν.

<sup>74</sup> Near Teos: inscription found, Μητρὶ θεῶν Σατυρευαία ἐπηκόω, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Oesterr.* 1883, p. 180, 37.

#### Caria.

? Telmessos: vide Apollo, R. 202 (goat-sacrifice by thiasos to θεῶν Μήτηρ, ordered by Apollo).

<sup>75</sup> Ephesos: inscription in British Museum, private dedication Μητρὶ Φρυγίη: *Greek inscript. Brit. Mus.* Pt. 3, sec. 2, p. 205. Strab.







p. 640 (on the mountain above Ephesos, τῶν Κουρήτων ἀρχαίων συνάγει συμπόσια καὶ τινὰς μυστικὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ in the worship of Leto-Artemis).

<sup>76</sup> Magnesia on Maeander: Strab. p. 647 ἐνταῦθα δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τῆς Διὸς ἱερόν· ἱεράσασθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους γυναῖκα, οἱ δὲ θυγατέρα παραδιδόασιν· νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἱερόν διὰ τὸ τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἄλλον μετακίσθαι τόπον. (So also Plut. *Them.* 30.)

<sup>77</sup> Lycia: vide vol. 2, Coin Plate B. 29. ? Cybele or Asiatic Artemis issuing from tree on coin of Myra.

<sup>78</sup> Lykaonia. Laodicea: *Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 237 Μητρὶ Ζιζιμνηῖ εὐχὴν Ἀλέξανδρος (= Μητρὶ Διὸς ἱερόν, Ramsay, *ib.*).

Black Sea.

<sup>79</sup> Olbia: Latyschew, *Inscr. Pont. Eux.* 1, p. 138, no. 107.

<sup>80</sup> Pantikapaion: *C. I. G.* add. 2017<sup>b</sup> βασιλείουτος Παιρισάδου τοῦ Σπαρτάκου Ἐστιαία Μηνοδώρου θυγάτηρ ἱερωμένη ἀνέθηκε Μητρὶ Φρυγίᾳ (fourth century B.C.). Cf. the *Φασιανὴ θεός*, R. 19<sup>ε</sup>.

For worship of Ma (identified with Rhea, Enyo, Artemis) in Lydia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Byzantium vide Artemis, R. 182.

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