

DEMETER IN ATTICA

*The incorporation of Demeter's cult in the sacred
landscape of the Athenian polis*

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ABSTRACT

Because of the importance of the Eleusinian sanctuary for the Athenian *polis* and combined with the attractiveness of the Eleusinian Mysteries for research, scholars tend to study the cult of Demeter only from an Eleusinian and Athenian viewpoint. By collecting all sources regarding the cult sites of Demeter and re-examining the evidence, this study will demonstrate that this creates an unjustified view of Demeter's cult in the Athenian *polis*. While the individual sources show the significance of the Eleusinian cult in Attica, together they display a more balanced and multilayered image of Demeter as part of Attica's sacred landscape in the Classical period. The Attic demes, in particular, were essential to the cult of Demeter as a venue for many celebrations of local agricultural traditions and rites associated with Demeter, and of the Eleusinian cult. As a result, this research contributes to the scholarly debate on the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis* by giving an overview of Demeter's cult sites.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Anecd. Bekk.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca</i> I-III, ed. I. Bekker, 1814-1821.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>CGRN</i>	<i>Collection of Greek Ritual Norms</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i> (1150, unknown lexicographer).
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden, 1926-58, reprint 1954-60.
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>IG I³</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anterior</i> , 3 rd ed. fasc. 2, D. Lewis and L. Jeffery (eds) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994).
<i>IG II²</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae II and III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posterior</i> , 2 nd ed. part 3, fasc. 1, J. Kirchner (ed.) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935).
<i>IG II³</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae II and III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posterior</i> , 3 rd ed. part 4, fasc. 2, J. Curbera (ed.) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenistic Studies</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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INTRODUCTION

For the ancient Greeks, the natural world and the *polis*' landscape were strongly connected to the life of the gods. Walking through Greece, almost every rock, river, or fountain was associated with a deity or a hero through myth. Nowadays, many of these natural features have been lost, absorbed by the ever-expanding city of Athens, or overrun by nature. Not only are these features no longer visible today, but we are also unable to see this religious landscape the way the ancient Greeks saw it: a combination of the natural landscape with the religious world. Every Greek *polis* possessed a natural, human, and imagined landscape that made each *polis* different and unique. The natural landscape consisted of all physical elements, such as mountains, plains, fountains, and the sea. These elements influenced the human landscape built into this physical landscape. For example, plains and mountains were essential for the settlement structure and the political organization, while mountains and fountains influenced the religious organization of the human landscape. The last layer, the imagined landscape, consisted of the mythical world of the dead and the gods.¹

The sacred landscape of a *polis* was made up of these three layers. It combined the natural landscape with the world of the gods who used to roam their land. At the same time, it revealed the social and political structures created by the people in the *polis*. The placement of sanctuaries also depended on the different landscapes. The Greeks believed and created ancient traditions that associated the physical landscape with the world of the gods, thereby influencing the placement of cult sites that now also became part of the human landscape. In the case of Athens, mythical tales explained the landmarks found in the *polis* and the rituals performed there, like the battle between Athena and Poseidon over Athens and Erechtheus' and Theseus' stories.² These mythical traditions are essential in the early formation and development of the early Greek *polis* but remained so afterward and evolved. Sometimes new mythical stories were added, like the arrival of Asclepius in Athens during the Greater Mysteries. In addition to these mythical traditions that centered on and integrated Athens, the *polis* comprised all kinds of subdivisions with their own mythical traditions and local heroes. These myths and cult sites portrayed the connection between the Athenians and the other Greeks. This sacred landscape of Attica, the sanctuaries, the mythical traditions, and the structures beneath it are the core topics of my thesis, in particular the sacred landscape of Demeter.

The sacred landscape of Demeter in Attica has been studied mainly from an Eleusinian point of view. The importance of Eleusis has caught the attention of many historians and archaeologists, who are

¹ Cole (2004) 7-8.

² Sourvinou-Inwood (2011) *Athenian Myths and Festivals: Aglauros, Erechtheus, Plynteria, Panathenaia, Dionysia*, Oxford University Press; Tyrrell and Brown (1991) *Athenian Myths and Institutions: Words in Action*, Oxford University Press; Robertson (1992) *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual*, University Of Toronto Press, 1-144.

interested not only in the Eleusinian sanctuary and the rituals performed there,³ but also Athens' relationship with the site and its incorporation into the *polis*.⁴ An important source for the Eleusinian cult is *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which tells the story of Demeter's arrival in Attica, the origin of the agricultural year, and the beginning of some of her rites, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries. Since the Eleusinian sanctuary and cult became important for the identity of the Athenians, other cult sites of Demeter in Attica are mainly considered from an Eleusinian point of view. For example, archaeologists and historians research the City Eleusinion in Athens primarily as the branch cult of Eleusis.

In this way, however, scholars study only one aspect of the multi-layered structure of Demeter's sanctuaries and cult. For example, the City Eleusinion was already a cult site of Demeter before the presumptive incorporation of Eleusis in the Athenian *polis*, and while local traditions and sanctuaries may have changed with the incorporation and rise of Eleusis in the Athenian *polis*, some elements have remained the same. To see this, we need to re-examine the sources of Demeter's cult sites in Attica from a more local perspective rather than an Eleusinian viewpoint.

In addition to this emphasis on Eleusis in scholarship, historians sometimes tend to focus on Athens and view the rest of the *polis* as periphery, receiving less attention as result. Attica, however, is almost the only *polis* for which there is relatively much knowledge of the 'periphery' compared to other Greek *poleis*. These sources demonstrate Attica contained many more small centers besides Athens and its religious landscape was correspondingly very complex.⁵ It is, therefore, necessary to explore the Athenian *polis* in its entirety. Since it is not feasible for this master's thesis to discuss all the cult sites of Attica and create an overview of its religious landscape, this thesis researches the cult of Demeter. In doing so, it is possible to consider the entire region of Attica instead of focusing on one specific region of the *polis*. Besides, the cult of Demeter is suitable as a case study for research focusing on the sacred landscape of ancient Greece. As a goddess of agriculture, she was strongly connected to the natural landscape and essential to all Athenians in everyday life. Furthermore, mythical traditions such as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* also express the Athenian belief that Demeter once wandered around their *polis*. Finally, Demeter is likely one of the older divinities in the Greek world and some of her rites can be dated to the early history of the Greek *poleis* and show strong local traditions.

To gain a better understanding of the sacred landscape of Attica, my thesis will seek to answer the question: how was the cult of Demeter incorporated in the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis* in the Classical period? To answer this question, I will present the evidence for all Demeter's cult sites in Attica to create an overview of her cult and religious landscape (Chapter 1). I then discuss three aspects that stood out in this first part: the placement of Demeter's cult sites (Chapter 2); the Eleusinia spread throughout Attica (Chapter 3); and the celebration of the Proerosia (Chapter 4). It has the advantage of involving the whole of Attica in research on the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis* and the social

³ For the Eleusinian Mysteries and the sanctuary in general, see Kevin Clinton and Michael Cosmopoulos.

⁴ For the relationship between Eleusis and Athens, see Cavanaugh (1996).

⁵ Parker (2007) 51.

and political structures underlying it. It will also show that Demeter's cult in Attica is much more complex than the Eleusinian perspective alone because of the many local traditions and developments still present in the Classical *polis* of Athens. As a result, this research will contribute to the scholarly debates on the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis*, the development of the *polis* in the Classical period, and how the Eleusinian cult became more central in Attica while at the same time keeping local traditions intact.

Poleis existed in all shapes and sizes throughout the Greek Mediterranean world. They often consisted of an urban center called *asty* or *polis* and the surrounding territory called *chora*.⁶ A much-discussed aspect of the *polis* is the importance of religion and cult in its development. Scholarship has mainly stressed the importance of religion and cult for the formation and early development of the *polis*. But religion and cult were still crucial in the later history and development of the *polis*' political institutions and social structures.⁷

One of the leading scholars who studied and emphasized the importance of cults in the formation and development of the Greek *polis* is François de Polignac, in his book *La naissance de la cite grecque. Cultes, space, et société VIIIe-VIe siècles avant J.C* (1984).⁸ He argued that extra-urban sanctuaries, located on the edge of a *polis*' territory (connected to the *polis* with a procession), acted as the boundary between the civilized and wild world, as well as between two *poleis*. Therefore, they were the ideal location for the Greek aristocracy to meet and compete by expressing their power and wealth in a religious setting. This phenomenon is also known as the 'ritualized competition'; examples of it are expensive sacrifices or impressive temples. The bipolar city, as De Polignac called it, is of great importance in the formation of the *polis*.⁹ Although de Polignac initially considered Athens to be an exception to his model (since the main sanctuary was in the urban center rather than on its border),¹⁰ he later made alterations and added the Athenian *polis* as to the bipolar city model, with Athens as the urban pole and Eleusis as the territorial pole.¹¹ The model presented by De Polignac has influenced many other scholars working on the Athenian *polis*, its cults, religious system, and sacred landscape, such as C. Sourvinou-Inwood, C.M. Antonaccio, and F. van den Eijnde.¹² This research will also emphasize the importance of religion and cult in the social and political organization of the Athenian *polis* while incorporating more than just the extra-urban and central sanctuaries of the *polis*.

⁶ Hansen & Nielsen (2005) 4.

⁷ Hansen & Nielsen (2005) 130-132.

⁸ In this thesis, I use the English translation *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City State* by Janet Lloyd (De Polignac 1995a).

⁹ De Polignac (1995a) 33-88.

¹⁰ De Polignac (1995a) 81-88.

¹¹ De Polignac (1995b) 91.

¹² Antonaccio (1994) 99-101; Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 144-150; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 26-27; Van den Eijnde (2010) 35-42.

Scholars have also written about Attic religion in general, like A. Mommsen, L. Deubner, H. Parke, and R. Parker,¹³ thereby attempting to provide an overview of the religious life in the Athenian *polis*. While Deubner and Parke focus on the more prominent *polis* festivals and the Athenian festival year, Parker also incorporates private rites of smaller groups, such as the *deme* or the *oikos*. In particular, the Eleusinian cult of Demeter received much attention from scholars. The foremost scholar on the Eleusinian cult today is Kevin Clinton. He, among other things, published all the inscriptions of the sanctuary and *deme* (2005-2008) but also studies the Eleusinian cult outside of Eleusis. The Attic cult of Demeter as the main topic has only been previously researched by Brumfield in her dissertation *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (1976). In this study, she focuses exclusively on the *polis* festivals of Demeter, such as the Thesmophoria and Haloa. As mentioned before, I will contribute to this by looking even more broadly at the cult of Demeter through the goddess' cult sites while trying to distance myself from the Eleusinian perspective.

More broadly, Cole studied the cult of Demeter both in the city and in the *chora*. In one of her chapters, she examines the placement of Demeter's sanctuaries throughout the Greek world in relationship to the city and its land. She has rightly claimed that 'the function of the divinity, the demands of the ritual, and the social organization of the community influenced the placement of sanctuaries in relation to the city and its land'.¹⁴ Chapter 2 will also discuss the placement of Demeter's sanctuaries in Attica and compare this to the conclusion Cole has drawn in her case study. In general, Cole studies the influence of ancient landscapes and the organization of ritual space within Greek *poleis*. An example of this is her book *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience*, in which she studies the ancient landscapes and the division of public and ritual space related to the concept of gender.¹⁵

The placement of sanctuaries and the sacred landscape of a region or *polis* has been researched more often. A good example is M. Scott's study of the religious landscape of Pan in the city of Athens. He states that research on cult spaces and practices is missing the 'consideration of how these individual dynamic and polyvalent sites of ritual connected to each other and to their civic communities, particularly within the institution of the *polis*'.¹⁶ Therefore, instead of Sourvinou-Inwood's *polis*-religion model, he incorporates a network theory approach to emphasize the connectedness created by Pan's rituals and cult sites.¹⁷ Like Scott, I will look at religion beyond the *polis* system, emphasizing the connection between the various cult sites and the multi-layered interpretation of cult sites. Since the spatial turn in the 1990s, scholars have paid attention to the spatial dimension and landscapes of the

¹³ Mommsen (1898); Deubner (1966); Parke (1977); Parker (1996 & 2007).

¹⁴ Cole (2001) 201.

¹⁵ Cole (2004), she uses the cult and sanctuaries of Artemis as a test case.

¹⁶ Scott (2017) 213. According to Scott, part of the reason for this is the general acceptance of Sourvinou-Inwood's *polis*-religion model.

¹⁷ Scott (2017) 213.

ancient past, as a result of which the landscape is considered both a natural and cultural space.¹⁸ Most of this work focused on the meaning and importance of ‘space’ in ancient cultures and the relationship between landscape, space, and social and cultural practices, such as rites or processions. In this thesis, I seek to emphasize this very relationship in the specific case of Attica. Previous research has already focused on Attica, but primarily on the early Attic sacred landscape and the origin of the *polis* in the Archaic period.¹⁹ Therefore, I will discuss later developments of the *polis* in the Classical period, starting small with just the cult of Demeter.

In sum, my thesis will contribute to the scholarly debate on the organization of Attic religion, the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis*, and its social and political structures by taking a closer look at the cult of Demeter, also – and perhaps especially – outside of religious centers of Demeter in Attica; Eleusis and Athens.

This research is divided into two parts. The first part contains descriptions of Demeter’s cult sites in Attica. Part II includes chapters in which I discuss aspects of the cult of Demeter that provide more insight into the sacred landscape of the goddess and Attica in general.

For the discussion of Demeter’s cult sites in part I, I have gathered all available sources about individual cult sites of Demeter. These cult sites come in various shapes and forms, such as a distinct sanctuary with a temple or a river sacred to Demeter. All sources discussed in part I indicate the existence of a cult site belonging to Demeter. General references to the cult of Demeter in Attica that do not indicate a specific cult site are left out. However, I have included cult sites that have been identified by the sources but cannot be located precisely or even at all. For example, a sanctuary of Demeter Azesia is included, even though we cannot locate this site at all. The cult site has only been recorded on a boundary stone. In addition to the general references to Demeter’s cult, I have also excluded the sanctuary of Eleusis as it would contain too many sources for this thesis, and the sanctuary and its sources already received much scholarly attention. However, some cult sites around the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis are included in the first chapter (Part I).

I have combined archaeological, epigraphical, and literary sources to find as many cult sites of Demeter as possible. Few archaeological remains are left, especially outside of Athens and Eleusis. Even in the case of these two sites, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact location of the cult sites. In many cases, archaeologists have not been able to find the cult sites. In addition, less archaeological research has been done outside of Athens and Eleusis. Therefore, it is difficult to locate cult sites like deme sanctuaries or smaller cult sites. Some suggestions for sanctuaries have been made, for example in Thorikos and Phaleron, but these identifications are problematic, as we shall see. Fortunately, it is also possible to determine cult sites with literary and epigraphical sources. Literary sources – such as Pausanias and

¹⁸ Torre (2008) 1127-1132.

¹⁹ Van den Eijnde (2010).

Herodotus – can be beneficial in generally locating the cult sites and explaining their mythological background. In the introduction of the first chapter, I elaborate on the use of the various sources and some of their problems. Furthermore, I will discuss in more detail the way the cult sites and sources are presented.

Part II consists of three chapters that analyze Demeter’s cult sites relating to the Attic sacred landscape. Chapter 2 takes a closer look at the placement of Demeter’s cult sites, both in the natural and mythical landscape of Athens and the *chora*. I will show parallels between the different sites and compare this with what has already been written about sanctuaries in Greek *poleis* in general and the chapter ‘Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside’ by Cole (2001). The next chapter examines the sanctuaries of Demeter called ‘Eleusinion’ located in various Attic demes and how they relate to the Eleusinian cult of Demeter in general. I argue that while some scholars believe they did not exist, they fit very well into the sacred landscape of Demeter and the way the Athenians spread the Eleusinian cult across Attica. Chapter 4 studies how the Proerosia was celebrated in the Athenian *polis*. On a more practical level, it analyzes how the different celebrations of the festival in the demes functioned in relationship to the others, especially Eleusis, and emphasizes the importance of local traditions and the value of celebrating these rites close to home for some Athenians.

For this thesis, I have focused on just these three topics, but there are many more exciting aspects of the sacred landscape of Demeter that stand out when discussing Demeter’s cult sites. For example, I only looked at the Proerosia festival, but several more festivals were celebrated in Attica, such as the Thesmophoria, Chloia, and Skira. It would be interesting to study and compare their celebrations. Another example for further research is the value of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* for the cult of Demeter in Attica and compare this with comparable traditions of Demeter in Attica. It seems that the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* does not always correspond very well with the Eleusinian sites and rites, as already suggested by Clinton.²⁰ Or the more political structures underneath the sacred landscape of Demeter in Attica and the way Athens used the Eleusinian cult to unite their *polis*. Although research focuses mainly on the early history of Athens and Eleusis, this development continued into the Classical period.

²⁰ Clinton (1992) 36-37.

PART I: THE CULT SITES OF DEMETER

CHAPTER 1. The cult sites of Demeter in Attica

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss all the Attic cult sites of Demeter, thereby combining the available archaeological, literary, and epigraphical sources. As already mentioned in the introduction, there are few archaeological sources that provide information on the cult sites and help locate them, especially outside of Athens and Eleusis. In many cases, literary and epigraphical sources provide the only evidence for Demeter's cult sites. However, we need to be careful with reading and interpreting these sources.

While I focus on the sacred landscape of the Classical *polis*, the sources I use are not necessarily all from the Classical period. In some cases, literary sources from later periods can also provide information about the Classical *polis*, which is especially useful when few sources from the Classical period are available. I only add later sources if they contribute to the debate on the cult sites. Part I cannot, therefore, be seen as an overview of Demeter's cult sites for later periods because most of these later sources have been omitted. Pausanias is an excellent example of a later Roman source that I have used. He traveled through Greece in the second century A.D, but he is especially interested in the early history of Greek *poleis*, its older sanctuaries, and traditions. The scholastic commentaries to ancient literature can also help in collecting all Demeter's cult sites, especially as they sometimes refer to sources and fragments now lost. However, with all these sources and especially the scholiasts, we must be careful in applying the information to the situation of the Classical period in Attica. At the same time, authors of the Byzantine period had better access to ancient sources than scholars do today, and modern philologists, like August Immanuel Bekker, still used Byzantine literature in their works. Problematic, however, is that these authors often fail to mention their sources.

As with the archaeological sources, more literary and epigraphical sources are available for Athens and Eleusis than the evidence from the Attic chora. In addition, since there are fewer sources for the demes outside of Athens and Eleusis, it is also more complicated to understand them because there is relatively less context that helps interpret. Since there were more cult sites than the sources provide us with, I do not pretend to have created a complete overview of Demeter's cult sites. However, this comprehensive and as far as possible complete overview still shows the diversity and complexity of Demeter's cult in Attica. One could only imagine many more cult sites all over Attica that we do not have sources for and perhaps never will. For example, since Demeter was the goddess of agriculture, some farms would have had their own small shrine of Demeter somewhere on their land, but no archaeological sources of this will have survived. In sum, there are some limitations to using this overview of the cult sites due to the scattered amount of data, but that does not mean it is not useful.

Regarding the presentation of the cult sites, they are discussed alphabetically. By doing so, I hope to present the sources as neutral as possible, without any form of comparison or distinction. By discussing the sites alphabetically, I will mainly focus on information deduced from ancient sources. Sometimes interpretations have become standard in historiography, but there may not be a clear indication for this when going back to the sources. There are a few exceptions when it comes to the various sacred sites at Eleusis and the sacred plowings scattered around Attica. The debates concerning the location of the sacred sites of rocks and springs surrounding Eleusis are closely linked, and therefore it is best to discuss them together. In the case of the sacred plowings, I have also decided to discuss them together because there is little evidence about them individually. Most sources instead discuss them as a group.

If possible, the cult sites are organized and referred to by location, for example the deme it was located in or more specific locations, such as a hill or river. When the location of a cult site is unknown or in the case of Athens there are several cult sites near each other, I refer instead to the cult name, e.g., ‘Chloe on the slope of the Acropolis’ or ‘Achaia & the Gephyraeans’. All sources referring to the cult sites can be found in the descriptions or footnotes and, if useful, I cite parts of the Greek epigraphic and literary sources with a translation. The sources themselves will be central to the descriptions of the cult sites. I discuss what we can learn from these sources about the location of the cult, the mythical traditions related to this site, the rites that took place there, and whether they were part of a local or an Attic tradition. If helpful, I will also include some scholars who have written about these cult sites and similar sources. Especially in the case of complex epigraphical sources, like decrees and sacrificial calendars, the different editions and interpretations help understand the text and its implications for the cult site.

1.2 Achaia & the Gephyraeans

One of the local cults of Demeter in Attica is the one controlled by the Gephyraeans of Demeter Achaia. Herodotus informs us about the Gephyraeans, who migrated to Athens where they continued some of their rites:²¹

καί σφι ἰρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἰρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἰρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.

‘They have certain set forms of worship at Athens, wherein the rest of the Athenians have no part; these, and in especial the rites and mysteries of Achaean Demeter, are different from the other worships.’

Herodotus, furthermore, argues that they were among the Phoenicians who arrived in Boeotia, where they later were expelled by the Boeotians. They were then welcomed by the Athenians and granted

²¹ Hdt. 5.61.2, transl. A.D. Godley (Loeb-ed, 1922).

citizenship, although being excluded from several practices. The Gephyraeans themselves, however, claimed to derive from Eretria.²² Their actual homeland is still controversial.²³

No matter where they came from, they ended up in Athens, where they held on to some parts of their cult, especially the mysteries of Demeter Achaia. Some thought that the Gephyraeans formed a *genos*, but that would not correspond with the idea of a private cult.²⁴ Scholars hesitate about the cult's secrecy of the cult since the sacrificial calendar of the deme of Marathon also includes a sacrifice to Achaia.²⁵ Two other references to Demeter Achaia have been found in the theatre of Dionysos on two Roman theatre seats, for the priestess of Demeter Achaia and Demeter Kourotrophos Achaia.²⁶ Overall, the Gephyraeans mainly or exclusively worshiped Demeter Achaia, including her secret rites. The goddess herself had indicated the spot where they needed to build her a shrine when they arrived in Attica. However, that location is unknown today.²⁷

1.3 Agrai: The Lesser Mysteries

Agrai is a hill located just outside the city of Athens across the river Ilissos, which starts at mount Hymettos and runs south of Athens to the bay of Phaleron.²⁸ Several cult sites are situated along the river at the closest point to the city.²⁹ The place was especially sacred to Artemis Agrotera since it was the first spot she hunted after she arrived here, but more deities were associated with Agrai.³⁰

Agrai was also the location for the Lesser Mysteries, which were held during the month of Anthesterion. From a decree on different regulations concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries, we learn that the period of truce for the Lesser Mysteries started with the full moon in the month Gamelion, all through Anthesterion, until the tenth of Elaphebolion:³¹

τοῖσι δὲ ὀλ-		and for the
εἰζοσι μυστε-		Lesser
ρίοισιν τὰς [σ]-		Mysteries the
πονδᾶς εἶνα[ι]		truce is to be
τοῦ Γαμελιῶνο-	40	in the month Gamelion
ς μὲν ὁ ἀπὸ δ[ι]-		from the
[χ]ομενίας κα[ι]		full moon and
τὸν Ἄνθεστε[ρ]-		through Anthesterion

²² Hdt. 5.57.

²³ Parker (1996) 288 n.11.

²⁴ Parker (1996) 288-289.

²⁵ *IG* II² 1358 B.27.

²⁶ *IG* II² 5117 (Demeter Achaia); *IG* II² 5153 (Demeter Kourotrophos Achaia).

²⁷ *EM* s.v. Ἀχαιά.

²⁸ Strab. 9.1.24; Paus. 1.19.5-6.

²⁹ Parker (2007) 56-57.

³⁰ Paus. 1.19.6.

³¹ *IG* I³ 6 B.36-47, transl. S. Lambert, P.J. Osborne (AIO).

[ι]ὸνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλ-		and in
αφεβολιῶνος	45	Elaphebolion
μέχρι δεκάτε-		until the
ς ἡσταμένο.		tenth.

The managers of the Mysteries (ἐπιμεληταί) at Eleusis were also responsible for the sacrifice at the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai.³² Besides the sacrifice, the river Ilissos was also part of the Lesser Mysteries, perhaps with some purification ritual.³³ The tradition goes that the Lesser Mysteries were founded for Herakles specifically.³⁴

According to Parke, the Lesser Mysteries were initially associated with a local cult of Demeter, also called ‘the Mother’, but later arranged into the Eleusinian Mysteries as the Lesser Mysteries, where the participants needed to initiate first before entering the Greater Mysteries.³⁵ The inscription *IG I³ 383* also refers to this ‘Mother’ goddess, but Parke does not refer to any other source on this ‘Mother’ cult.³⁶ Some scholars connect a small Ionic temple, now destroyed, situated at Agrai to this cult, but it has also been argued that the temple belonged to Artemis Agrotera.³⁷

1.4 Aixone & Demeter Chloe

Aixone was a coastal deme of Attica located on the west coast, south of Halimous.³⁸ Although there is no archaeological evidence for a cult site of Demeter in this deme or a sacrificial calendar, a stele with financial provisions for the local priests and priestesses (*IG II² 1356*) still provides us with information on the cults in the deme. After publishing the fourth fragment of the sacred law, scholars were sure that it belonged to the deme Aixone.³⁹

Continuing with the significant priesthood for this research, namely the priestess of Demeter Chloe, the decree states the following:⁴⁰

Δήμητρος Χλόης ἱερεῖται ἱερέωσυνα :Γ: δεισί-	For the priestess of Demeter Chloe, priestly dues, 5
ας κρεῶν, πυρῶν ἡμέκτεω :ΙΙΙ: μέλιτος κοτύλης	dr.; a share
:ΙΙΙ: ἐλαί-	of the meat; for a half-sixth of wheat, 3 ob.; for a cup
	of honey, 3 ob.;

³² *IG II³ 1 915.8-9.*

³³ Polyaeus, *Stratagemas* 5.17.1.

³⁴ Plut., *Thes.* 30.5; Aristoph., *Plut.* 842; Steph. Byz., *Ethnika* s.v. Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι.

³⁵ Parke (1977) 58.

³⁶ *IG I³ 383.50.*

³⁷ Parker (2007) 56.

³⁸ Strab. 9.1.21.

³⁹ Parker (2010) 194-200. The large number of priesthoods and cults together with the apparent sub-division of the body into ‘fifties’ (πεντηκοσ[σ]τύων) indicate that a larger body issued the decree; therefore the deme Aixone. However, other possibilities like *genos* have also been suggested.

⁴⁰ *IG II² 1356.16-19*, transl. S. Lambert and F. Schuddeboom (AIO).

ο τριῶν κοτυλῶν :ΙC: φρυγάνων :Π: ἐ[πι δὲ τὴν
τράπεζαν κ]-
ὠλῆν, πλευρὸν ἰσχίῳ, ἡμίκραιρα[ν χορδῆς·

for three cups of olive oil, 1½ ob.; for firewood, 2
ob.; on the table,
a thigh, a haunch-flank, half a head of tripe or
sausage.

The priestess receives five drachmae, a double portion of the meat, and gets paid several obols for the sacrificial expenses. At last, she receives some portion of the meat initially meant for Demeter. The provisions for the priestess of Demeter Chloe are similar to the other priesthoods mentioned in the law. The priestess of Demeter Chloe is the only priesthood of Demeter mentioned in the law, although the law is incomplete. Since the priesthoods of heroes – Paralos, Archagetos, and other heroes – are clustered together at the end, it gives the impression that the list was clustered by deity, but this is not certain.⁴¹

The sacred law of Aixone demonstrates that the deme had a priestess of Demeter Chloe, who was priestess on behalf of the deme and got paid by them. It is also possible that the inscription refers to the priestess of Demeter Chloe in Athens. However, since the other priesthoods belong to local heroes, the priesthood of Demeter Chloe was likely also locally appointed. If Demeter Chloe had a priestess, it is also possible that she also had a sanctuary in the deme of her own or shared with other deities. All this indicates that the cult of Demeter Chloe was of some significance to the deme.

1.5 Azesia (Demeter): Agora boundary stone

Archaeologists found a small *horos* built into a modern wall at the Athenian Agora (*Agora XIX*, H16). The boundary stone dates to the second half of the fourth century B.C. and states: “Ὁρ[ος] ἱεροῦ Δήμητρος Ἀζησία[ς]”. The *horos* indicates a sanctuary (*hieron*) of Demeter Azesia; however, its location is unknown. The sanctuary may not even be located near the Athenian Agora.⁴² According to Hesychius, this epithet of Demeter derives from ἀζαίνειν τοὺς καρποὺς (‘to dry fruits’).⁴³ The epithet Azesia is also ascribed to Kore in connection to Demeter being called ‘Amaia’ by Suidas.⁴⁴ In one of his lost plays, Sophocles would also have referred to Demeter Azesia.⁴⁵

1.6 Chloe on the slope of the Acropolis

On the southwest slope of the Athenian Acropolis, below the Propylaea, Demeter Chloe had a sanctuary that she shared with Ge Kourotrophos. Although archaeologists never found the exact spot and remains of the structure, literary and epigraphical sources help locate the sanctuary. First of all, Aristophanes

⁴¹ *CGRN* 57, lines 16-19.

⁴² Oliver & Dow (1935) 52-53.

⁴³ Hsch., s.v. Ἀζεσία.

⁴⁴ Suidas, s.v. Ἀζεσία

⁴⁵ *Anecd. Bekk.*, s.v. Ἀζησία (οὕτως ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ καλεῖται. Οἱ δὲ τὴν εὐτραφή). Cf. Nauck fr. 891.

mentions the sanctuary in the *Lysistrata*. In the play Cinesias wants to speak to his wife Myrrhine, who has occupied the Acropolis with other Athenian women to protest against their fighting husbands. He goes up the Acropolis to the sanctuary of Demeter Chloë from where the women on the enclosed Acropolis can see him.⁴⁶ This positioning indicates that the sanctuary of Demeter was located on the Acropolis but outside of the Propylaea.

More specifically, Pausanias discusses the temples on the south slope in the order from east to west. Starting with the Asklepieion, following the temples of Themis and Aphrodite, and next the sanctuary of Demeter Chloë:⁴⁷

ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους.

‘There is also a sanctuary of earth, Nurse of Youth, and of Demeter Chloë (*Green*). You can learn all about their names by conversing with the priests.’

Following Pausanias’ path around the Acropolis, the sanctuary of Demeter Chloë was likely located on the southwest slope. However, it needs to be said that the topography of the southwest slope of the Acropolis is rather tricky, and many of these smaller sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias are difficult to locate precisely. The southwest orientation corresponds to an inscription from the Roman period:⁴⁸

Φοῖβος Ἀθηναίους Δελφοῦς ναίων τάδε [εἶπεν]:

ἔστιν σοὶ παρ’ ἄκρας πόλεως παρὰ [τὸν Προπύλαιον],

οὔτε λαὸς σύμπας κλήιζει γλαυκώ[πιδα Ἀθήνην],

Δήμητρος Χλοῖης ἱερὸν Κούρη[ς τε μακαίρας],

οὔτε πρῶτον στάχους εὐξή[ται — —] 5

ἅς πρότεροι πατ[έρες — —]

‘Phoibos (Apollo) who dwells at Delphi has said this to the Athenians:

You have, on the acropolis before the propylon,

where all the people celebrate Glaukopis Athena, a sanctuary of Demeter Chloë and blessed Kore

where the ear of holy

wheat first grew.’

The inscription concerns a Delphic Oracle, stating that the sanctuary of Demeter Chloë, together with Kore, was located on the Acropolis before the Propylaea. This location was special because it was supposed to be where wheat, sacred to Demeter, first grew. There are also two more general references to the sanctuary of Demeter Chloë in fragments of Eupolis and Philochoros. They mention the Acropolis but give no specific location.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Aristoph., *Lys.* 835.

⁴⁷ Paus. 1.22.3, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

⁴⁸ *IG II² 5006*, transl. author (based on Fontenrose (1978), 173-174).

⁴⁹ Eupolis Fr.196 = Σ Soph., *OC* 1600; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F.61 = Σ Aristoph., *Lys.* 835.

Although literary and epigraphical sources help locate the sanctuary, they do not provide information on the architecture and exterior of the sanctuary. Because we do not have any archaeological sources, this will remain unknown, but it gives the impression that it was perhaps a relatively small shrine. However, epigraphical sources can shed some light on other elements of the cult site. Two Roman dedications found on the Acropolis mention a priestess of Demeter Chloe,⁵⁰ and there is also a theatre seat found for a priestess of Demeter Chloe in the theatre of Dionysos.⁵¹ So the sanctuary had a priestess of its own. A list from the deme of Aixone of financial provisions for priests and priestesses from the fourth century B.C. also mentions the priestess of Demeter Chloe.⁵² She was likely a local priestess of Demeter Chloe for the deme Axione, but it has also been suggested that the sources found in the deme all refer to the Athenian priestess of Demeter Chloe.

Demeter Chloe shared her sanctuary with Ge Kourotrophos, as we learned from the passage by Pausanias, but other sources only refer to a sanctuary for Demeter Chloe or in connection with Kore.⁵³

The sanctuary was probably the location or one of the locations for the Chloia, a festival held in spring.⁵⁴ The fragment by Philochorus informs us about a yearly sacrifice for Demeter Chloe in the month Thargelion:⁵⁵

Χλόης Δημήτρος ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἐν ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι μηνὸς Θαρρηλιῶνος, ὡς Φιλόχορος φησιν ἐν ζ´.

‘There was a temple of Khloe Demeter on the acropolis, in which the Athenian sacrificed during the month Thargelion, as Philokhoros says in (book) 6.’

The Chloia is also mentioned in connection to the demes Paiania, Thorikos. and Eleusis.⁵⁶ Parke has proposed that the cult of Demeter Chloe and the Chloia was imported from Eleusis into Athens since the Eleusinians celebrated an entire festival called the Chloia. Nevertheless, the festival is attested in other places, as mentioned here; therefore, it is impossible to prove this statement.⁵⁷ The sacrifice at Thorikos took place in the month of Elaphebolion. Consequently, the Chloia was perhaps not even celebrated simultaneously in Attica. Elaphebolion and Thargelion are already mentioned as possibilities, but the demesmen in Marathon probably celebrated the Chloia in Anthesterion when they sacrificed to Chloe according to the sacrificial calendar.⁵⁸ Most of these celebrations are in springtime, except for the

⁵⁰ *IG* II² 4750 and *IG* II² 4777.

⁵¹ *IG* II² 5129.

⁵² *IG* II² 1356.

⁵³ *IG* II² 4748; *IG* II² 4778; *IG* II² 5006.

⁵⁴ Parke (1977) 149.

⁵⁵ Philochorus *FGIh* 328 F.61 = Σ Aristoph., *Lys.* 835, transl. P. Harding (2008).

⁵⁶ Paiania: *IG* I³ 250.30-31; Thorikos: *IG* I³ 256B.38-39; Eleusis: *IG* II² 949.7 and 35.

⁵⁷ Parke (1977) 149.

⁵⁸ *IG* II² 1358.49-50.

sacrifice in Athens during the month Thargelion mentioned by Philochorus. Parker, therefore, has suggested that this sacrifice was instead part of the Thargelia, a festival of Apollo.⁵⁹

It is not even sure whether the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe on the southwest slope of the Acropolis was even a location for the Chloia. If the sacrifice performed there in the month of Thargelion indeed belonged to the Thargelia, no source connects the Chloia to the sanctuary on the Acropolis. Another possibility might be that the City Eleusinion in Athens was the central location at Athens since the Paiania decree mentions piglets brought to the Eleusinion. However, that might also refer to a local Eleusinion in the deme itself (which will be discussed in ‘1.16 Paiania’).⁶⁰

The sanctuary of Demeter Chloe might also be connected to the sacred plowing, known as the Bouzygion, taking place underneath the Acropolis. We know little about this ritual and its location, but Kern has suggested some connection between the first wheat and the first plow.⁶¹

1.7 Cholargos

Cholargos was a city deme situated north of Athens.⁶² The deme housed, among others, a sanctuary of Herakles.⁶³ An important source for the religious life in Cholargos is a decree regulating the sacrifice during the Thesmophoria, likely in the deme itself (*IG II² 1184*). The inscription from the fourth century B.C. discusses some of the duties of the ἀρχούσαι, two female officials. They had to supply the priestess responsible for preparing the Thesmophoria with various provisions, like wheat, olive oil, poppy seeds, garlic, and a torch. The *archousai* gave these products and equipment to the priestess on behalf of the people of Cholargos.⁶⁴

This decree gives no further information on the duties of the officials entitled as ἀρχούσαι, but Isaeus tells us a bit more about them. According to this text, two wives of the demesmen were chosen each time to:⁶⁵

ἄρχειν εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα μετ’ ἐκείνης

‘preside at the Thesmophoria and to carry out the ceremonies’

The two women probably helped organize the Thesmophoria within the deme and performed the rites with the priestess. Isaeus also uses the phrases συνιεροποιεῖν and κυρίαν ποιεῖν ἱερῶν to explain the

⁵⁹ Parker (2007) 196.

⁶⁰ *IG I³ 250.30-31*.

⁶¹ Kern (1893) 198. For more information on the Sacred Plowing at Bouzygion, see ‘1.24.3 Sacred Plowing at Bouzygion’.

⁶² Situated thanks to grave marker *IG II² 7768*.

⁶³ *IG II² 1248*.

⁶⁴ *IG II² 1184.3-19*.

⁶⁵ Isae. 8.19, transl. E.S. Forster (Loeb-ed, 1927).

duties of the female officials, which indicates that their function was similar to the *hieropoioi* who oversaw the temples and sacred rites in other Athenian cults. They were also entrusted with the care for sacred objects or activities.⁶⁶ The deme to which this text of Isaeus refers is uncertain and scholars suggested several options.⁶⁷

Broneer proposed that the two ἀρχούσαι were chosen in each deme, like special committees, to organize one *polis*' Thesmophoria together. As mentioned in the Cholargos decree, they were responsible for handing over the provision to the priestess in Athens. This way, the different demes were represented at the central festival in Athens.⁶⁸ However, since there is evidence for other local celebrations of the festival, for example at Halimous, Phrearrhioi, and Peiraeus, most scholars agree that the Thesmophoria was also celebrated more locally in the demes. Besides, archaeologists never found a central Thesmophorion in the city. The ἀρχούσαι then, like in Cholargos, were responsible for these local Thesmophoria.⁶⁹

Thus, the demes that celebrated the Thesmophoria appointed two demeswomen as *archousai* responsible for the different practical and ritual aspects of the Thesmophoria, especially financially. The fact that they, and with them their husbands, were financially responsible for at least some part of the Thesmophoria is strengthened by another passage stating that someone was almost forced to organize the Thesmophoria because he was married and owned enough money to do so:⁷⁰

καὶ ἔν τε τῷ δήμῳ κεκτημένος τὸν τριτάλαντον οἶκον, εἰ ἦν γεγαμηκός, ἠναγκάζετο ἄν ὑπὲρ τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικὸς καὶ θεσμοφóρια ἐστιᾶν τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα προσήκε λητουργεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπὸ γε οὐσίας τηλικαύτης.

‘Again in his deme, since he possessed the fortune of three talents, he would have been obliged on behalf of this wedded wife of his to entertain the wives of his fellow-demesmen at the Thesmophoria, and to perform for her the other offices which the possession of such a fortune entails.’

1.8 City Eleusinion in Athens

The (City) Eleusinion is located east of the Panathenaic way on the north slope of the Athenian Acropolis, close to the Agora. It is a sanctuary for Demeter and Kore and connected with the sanctuary at Eleusis through, among other things, the Eleusinian Mysteries. A complete excavation of the area has been impossible since the eastern part of the sanctuary is situated beneath the modern city of Athens.

⁶⁶ Isae. 8.20.

⁶⁷ Pithos: Clinton (1996) 122; Phlya: *CGRN* 79.

⁶⁸ Broneer (1942) 271-272.

⁶⁹ Parker (2007) 270-283; Brumfield (1976) 70-103.

⁷⁰ Isae. 3.80, transl. E.S. Forster (Loeb-ed, 1927).

Consequently, scholars cannot establish the size of the entire sanctuary and the different structures within it. Literary sources can help us to fill in some of these gasps.⁷¹

Before excavations started on the lower north slope of the Athenian Acropolis, scholars disagreed on the location of the Eleusinion. References in literary sources pointed towards different spots ‘below the Acropolis’.⁷² A reference by Xenophon indicated that the sanctuary was somewhere near the Agora and the processional route, similar to Philostratus.⁷³ Pausanias’ description of the sanctuary locates the spot more precisely, above the Enneakrounous spring and Odeion:⁷⁴

ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θεᾶς ἄξιος. πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη, καλοῦσιν δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δῆμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα.

‘When you have entered the Odeum at Athens you meet, among other objects, a figure of Dionysus worth seeing. Hard by is a spring called Enneacrunos (Nine Jets), embellished as you see it by Peisistratus. There are cisterns all over the city, but this is the only fountain. Above the spring are two temples, one to Demeter and the Maid, while in that of Triptolemus is a statue of him.’

After the first excavations of 1936-1939, the lower northern slope of the Acropolis was viewed as the general location. Only in 1949, they connected the Eleusinion to an earlier found walled precinct with an Archaic building on this part of the slope.⁷⁵ This excavated area corresponded with literary testimonies of the Eleusinion and other findings, like inscriptions and sculptures, found in or near the precinct.

The precinct of the Eleusinion was a large sanctuary that could also be securely closed off.⁷⁶ As mentioned by Pausanias above, there were two temples in the sanctuary, one for Demeter and Kore and one that housed a statue of Triptolemus and therefore was presumably of Triptolemus. Furthermore, Pausanias also mentions a bronze bull and a seated statue of Epimenides inside the sanctuary.⁷⁷ However, his dream forbade him to discuss other elements within the sanctuary:⁷⁸

πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅποσα ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχεν ὄψις ὀνειράτος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὅσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέφομαι.

⁷¹ Miles (1998) 3-6. The Eleusinion was excavated as part of the Athenian Agora in 1936-1939 and 1950-1960.

⁷² Clem. Al., *Protr.* 3.45.1-2.

⁷³ Xen., *Hipparchicus* 3.3.2; Philostr., *V S* 2.550.

⁷⁴ Paus. 1.14.1, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

⁷⁵ Miles (1998) 5-6.

⁷⁶ Thuc. 2.17.1.

⁷⁷ Paus. 1.14.1-5.

⁷⁸ Paus. 1.14.3, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

‘After I had intended to go further into this story, and to describe the contents of the sanctuary at Athens, called the Eleusinium, I was stayed by a vision in a dream. I shall therefore turn to those things it is lawful to write of to all men.’

The same happened at Eleusis when Pausanias wrote his description of Eleusis. He could not write about the sanctuary behind the Propylaea because only those initiated in the rites knew what happened there. The City Eleusinion was similar to Eleusis and also consisted of an open forecourt and a closed inner sanctuary.

The literary sources also mention an altar.⁷⁹ This altar referred to by Andocides might be the same as the one we found parts of inscribed with two sacred laws (*IG I³ 231-232*). These laws are dated to the first half of the fifth century and concern the perquisites of priesthoods of the Greater Mysteries and sacrifices at several, now lost, festivals. They are the first epigraphical evidence for the City Eleusinion on this location. The inscriptions are extremely damaged, but they are probably copies of even older sacred laws.⁸⁰

The archaeological evidence for the sanctuary dates back to at least the seventh century B.C., but the Archaic history of the sanctuary is still very much debated. The City Eleusinion expanded over time down the slope towards the Agora.⁸¹ The only temple found in the sanctuary is an Archaic temple. The foundations of this temple are dated to ca. 500 B.C. and are most of the time attributed to Triptolemus.⁸²

The City Eleusinion is primarily known for its function during the Greater Mysteries. A procession linked the sanctuaries of Eleusis and Athens visibly. On the first day of the Mysteries, the priestess of Demeter and Kore brought the Sacred Objects from Eleusis to Athens. After a few days of rituals surrounding Athens and the Eleusinion (see also ‘1.18 Phaleron’), the initiates walked in a procession, following the Sacred Objects, to Eleusis.⁸³ After the mysteries, the council would gather for one day in the City Eleusinion instead of the Bouleuterion. This ritual might go back to Solon’s time, but there have been some hesitations about the accuracy of Andocides’ statement on this.⁸⁴

Many decrees, sacred laws, dedications, and other inscriptions were placed inside the sanctuary. These inscriptions often concern the Mysteries themselves, the sacred officials connected to the

⁷⁹ Andoc., *Myst.* 1.112. Besides an altar, there is also literary evidence for holy water (Lysias, *Against Andocides* 6.52), a bronze horse (Xen., *De Re Equestri* 1.1.6), and the Tomb of Immarados (Clem. Al., *Protr.* 3.45).

⁸⁰ Jefferey (1948) 86-111; Clinton (1974) 10-13.

⁸¹ Miles (1998) 12-18. For more information on the architectural development of the City Eleusinion until the Roman period, see Miles (1998) 11-95.

⁸² Miles (1998) 35-45. Earlier, the temple was also identified as the temple of Demeter and Persephone by Thompson (1960) 334-338.

⁸³ Miles (1998) 22.

⁸⁴ Andoc., *Myst.* 1.112; *IG II² 1072*; *IG II³ 1 1168*.

Mysteries, or other aspects of the Eleusinian cult.⁸⁵ An example of an inscription found in the Eleusinion is a stele (4th century B.C.) concerning regulations for the Mysteries.⁸⁶ Side A of the inscriptions is written in *stoichedon*. On the other side (B), a smaller text is written, not in *stoichedon* style. The law on side A starts discussing the Mysteries' announcement and the Sacred Truce during the time of the festival, the appointment and duties of several officials, such as the *epimeletai*, the basileus, and hearth-initiate. On the backside (or frontside, the order of the fragments is still debated), the law discusses the regulations of the initiates, the procession, the *epistatai*, and legal procedures when necessary. This stele is the most extensive piece of regulations we have regarding the Mysteries. One explanation for this might be the cult's growing popularity after the Peloponnesian War, when people from all over the Greek world did not visit Eleusis for a while.⁸⁷ Inscriptions like this were placed in the City Eleusinion at Athens and the Eleusinian sanctuary.

Besides the relation of the City Eleusinion to the Greater Mysteries, the sanctuary was probably also used as a Thesmophorion (see '1.14 Melite') and for other festivals of Demeter and Kore as well.⁸⁸ The sanctuary likely also housed the cults of Pluto and Asclepius. Several inscriptions mention a Ploutonion in or nearby the City Eleusinion.⁸⁹ A circular building higher on the slopes has been identified as a possible location for the Ploutonion.⁹⁰ However, the location is still uncertain and debated, but the evidence at least indicates that there was a shrine of Plouton nearby and perhaps even inside the City Eleusinion that fell under the administration of the Eleusinian officials.⁹¹

At last, the City Eleusinion was also connected to Asclepius. There was also a ritual for Asclepius during the Mysteries; the Athenians called that day 'Epidauria'.⁹² On that day, there was a procession in honor of Asclepius.⁹³ The connection between the Mysteries and Asclepius is because Asclepius arrived for the first time at Athens in the City Eleusinion during the Greater Mysteries.⁹⁴ Although he got his sanctuary on the Acropolis' south slope, the Athenians still celebrated his arrival at

⁸⁵ Examples of this are *IG I³ 6* (sacred law); *IG I³ 32* (further discussed in the entry 'Phaleron'); *IG I³ 421-432* (confiscated property after profaning the Mysteries); *IG I³ 953* (dedication by a priestess of Demeter and Kore). For more information on the inscriptions from the Eleusinion, see the catalogue by Miles (1998) 187-210; Clinton (2005-2008).

⁸⁶ The stele consists of several fragments found in and around the City Eleusinion: I 4007; I 5733; I 6974; I 6877; I 6915; I 4739; I 3854; I 4140. For earlier publication of some fragments, see Meritt (1957) 52-53 no.9 and Meritt (1963) 2, 40-41 no.2 and 41.

⁸⁷ Clinton (1980) 272-275.

⁸⁸ For Thesmophorion, see I 5165.

⁸⁹ The inscriptions mentioning a Ploutonion: I 5165; *IG II² 1933.2*; *IG II² 1934.3*; *IG II² 1935.5*; and several times in *IG II² 1672* (although not clear whether it refers to a Ploutonion at Eleusis or Athens). Pausanias also references an image of Plouton where Athenians sacrifice (Paus.1.28.6), but its relation to the Ploutonion is uncertain.

⁹⁰ Clinton (1992) 21 n.39.

⁹¹ Miles (1998) 101-102.

⁹² Paus. 2.26.8.

⁹³ [Arist.], *Ath. Pol.* 56.4.

⁹⁴ *IG II³ 4 665.1-12*.

the Eleusinion during the Mysteries. His shrine was likely placed in the forecourt of the precinct, open for all the visitors.⁹⁵

1.9 Eleusis

Taking a closer look at the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis, there is the large building known as the Telesterion, which formed the central building of the Eleusinian Mysteries. I will not discuss the Telesterion here, as explained before, but will touch upon a few other sacred spaces in and around the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. These sacred places are especially connected to the Eleusinian landscape, namely the Callichoron Well, Parthenion Well, the Mirthless Rock, and Anthion Well. I will also discuss the ‘Sacred Orgas’ of Eleusis.

1.9.1 Callichoron Well (Καλλίχορον Φρέαρ) & Parthenion Well (Παρθένιον Φρέαρ)

Part of the Eleusinian sanctuary is the Callichoron well (‘beautiful dance’). According to Pausanias, it was the spot where women danced and sang for the mourning Demeter:⁹⁶

Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπτολέμου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Πατρός, φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον, ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν.

‘The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus, of Artemis of the Portal, and of Poseidon Father, and a well called Callichorum (*Lovely dance*), where first the women of the Eleusinians danced and sang in praise of the goddess.’

Pausanias gives the impression that the well was located in front of the Greater Propylaea on the forecourt. In any case not behind the Propylaea because Pausanias was not allowed to describe this part of the sanctuary. Archaeologists usually identify a stone structure adjacent to the Greater Propylaea as the Callichoron well. With the growing cult of Demeter and the expanding sanctuary, the well became more built-in, which may have made the dancing ritual around it more difficult.⁹⁷

The Callichoron well in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* refers to another site. At the end of the myth, Demeter instructs the Eleusinian to build her temple over the Callichoron well.⁹⁸ There is no reference to Demeter sitting or mourning by that rock. However, in the hymn, Keleus’ daughters find Demeter sitting at the Parthenion well.⁹⁹ Therefore, there were two distinctive wells, one of them was located below the sanctuary and the other nearby. The Parthenion well is only mentioned in the Homeric

⁹⁵ Lawton (2015) 25-26.

⁹⁶ Paus. 1.38.6, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

⁹⁷ Richardson (1974) 326-328.

⁹⁸ *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 270-272.

⁹⁹ *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 99.

hymn and no longer in Classical sources. Not all scholars agree that the two names also indicate two wells and question the usefulness of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in connection with the sacred landscape of Eleusis.

Mylonas states that there were two wells at one point. ‘Callichoron’ was initially related to an older well in the sanctuary. However, because the sanctuary eventually expanded and built on top of this well, they transferred the name to a well in the forecourt, which was called the Parthenion well until then. This would explain the two wells in the Homeric hymn, but also the absence of the Callichoron in later sources.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Richardson considers it unlikely that the Eleusinians would have ‘moved’ such an important landmark of their cult to another location.¹⁰¹ However, he agrees with Mylonas that the two names were interchangeable at some point in history and could indeed refer to the same well. Eventually, the name ‘Callichoron’ prevailed over ‘Parthenion’, and the latter one disappeared entirely.¹⁰² In addition, Clinton argued that while the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is an important source for the cult myth of the Eleusinian Mysteries, historians and archaeologists should be careful with considering the myth as the most accurate description of the sacred landscape of Eleusis. It more likely consists of a generic Greek story of Persephone’s abduction rather than the Eleusinian or Athenian version of the myth.¹⁰³

In conclusion, although the relationship between these two wells is uncertain and some mythical traditions seem to contradict each other, the well was at least an essential spot during the Mysteries, as the women still danced there in the time of Euripides.¹⁰⁴

<p>αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολὺν- μνον θεόν, εἰ παρὰ καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς 1075</p>	<p>‘I feel shame before the god of many hymns, if beside the spring of Callichoroe</p>
<p>λαμπάδα θεωρὸν εἰκάδων ὄψεται ἐννύχιος ἄπνους ὄν, ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ, χορεύει δὲ σελάνα 1080 καὶ πενήκοντα κόραι Νηρέος, αἱ κατὰ πόντον ἀενάων τε ποταμῶν δίνας, χορευόμεναι τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν 1085</p>	<p>the boy as sleepless onlooker beholds the all-night torch of the twentieth day when the star-gleaming heaven of Zeus strikes up the dance and the moon dances and also the fifty daughters of Nereus, in the sea and in the eddies of everflowing rivers, dance in honor of the maid of golden garland</p>

¹⁰⁰ Mylonas (1942) 74-78.

¹⁰¹ Richardson (1974) 327-328.

¹⁰² Richardson (1974) 326-327; Clinton (1992) 28-29.

¹⁰³ Clinton (1992) 13-15.

¹⁰⁴ Clinton (1992) 27-28; Eur., *Ion* 1074-1086, transl. D. Kovacs (Loeb-ed, 1999).

καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν.

and her august mother.’

1.9.2 Anthion well

Another well related to the myth of Demeter is the well between Eleusis and Megara called Anthion (Ἄνθιον), which means flowery well. However, Pausanias’ story regarding this well is quite similar to the Callichoron well and Parthenion well in Eleusis. Leaving Eleusis in the direction of Megara, one will come across the well. Pausanias describes it as follows:¹⁰⁵

ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γραῖ εἰκασμένην: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἄτε γυναῖκα Ἀργεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Κελεοῦ κοιμισθῆναι παρὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ οἱ τὴν Μετάνειραν οὕτω πιστεῦσαι τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἀνατροφὴν.

‘Pamphos in his poems describes how Demeter in the likeness of an old woman sat at this well after the rape of her daughter, how the daughters of Celeus thence took her as an Argive woman to their mother, and how Metaneira thereupon entrusted to her the rearing of her son.’

Apparently, there was another well in the area of Eleusis, of which was told the story that Demeter sat there mourning the loss of her daughter, and she was brought to the king of Eleusis by his daughters. Following the topography of Pausanias, this well cannot be the same as the Callichoron and Parthenion well since they were located on the other side of Eleusis.¹⁰⁶ However, this is the only well of which Pausanias says that Demeter sat down there mourning. He only reports that the Eleusinian women danced there about the other well.

According to Pausanias, Pamphos wrote the oldest hymns for the Athenians and even antedated Homer.¹⁰⁷ Several times Pausanias refers to his poems, and the statements above indicate at least an ancient narrative regarding the Anthion well and the arrival of Demeter in Eleusis.

1.9.3 Mirthless Rock (Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα)

The Mirthless rock or Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα was located near the Callichoron well. This sacred spot in the Eleusinian landscape is again not mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, but this time also not described by Pausanias. We do have other testimonials from the rock that can provide us with information. (Pseudo-)Apollodorus’ description of Persephone’s abduction myth mentions a rock on which Demeter sat as she mourned in search of her daughter. After she arrives at Eleusis, he writes:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Paus. 1.39.1, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

¹⁰⁶ Mylonas (1942) 65-72.

¹⁰⁷ Paus. 7.21.9; 8.37.9; and 9.29.8.

¹⁰⁸ Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.5.1, transl. author (based on Frazer (Loeb-ed, 1921)).

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν Ἀγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον.

‘And first she sat down on the rock which has been named Mirthless after her, beside the well called Callichoron.’

The rock was located beside or near (παρὰ) the Callichoron well. The rock is also described in Ovid’s *Fasti*, in which the rock was also the place where Demeter sat after she arrived in Eleusis.¹⁰⁹ A third description of the rock is by a scholion to Aristophanes’ *Equites*. The scholion refers to the Mirthless

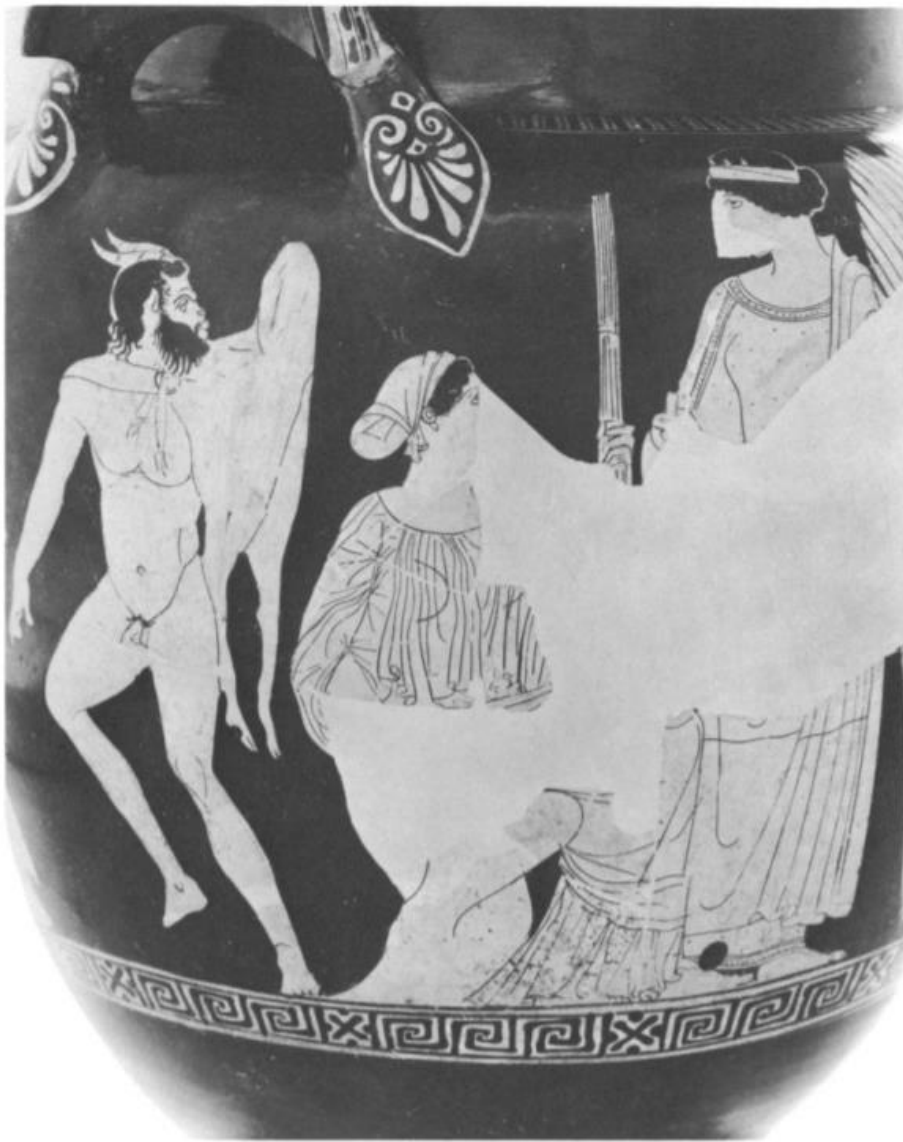


Figure 1. Kleophon Krater: The Mission of Triptolemus. Photo: Stanford University Museum of Art (1970.12).

¹⁰⁹ Ovid, *Fasti* 4.502-504 (*sic venit ad portus, Attica terra, tuos. His primum sedit gelido maestissima saxo: illud Cecropidae nunc quoque triste vocant*).

rock in connection with the Εἰρεσία Πέτρα, a sea cliff at Salamis.¹¹⁰ The rock on which Demeter sat is also portrayed on a fifth-century vase painting published by A. and I. Raubitschek and was likely more often portrayed this way, at least in Attica (see figure 1).¹¹¹

Despite the several descriptions of the rock, it is uncertain where it was. Mylonas argued that the rock was probably not directly located adjacent to the well; Pausanias would otherwise have described such an important Attic landmark along with the Callichoron well. Therefore, the rock must be sought behind the Propylaea inside the sanctuary. He suggests a place on the side of the Sacred Way from the Lesser Propylaea to the Telesterion, perhaps in front of the rock-cut steps and platform after the Ploutonion, which are still unexplained.¹¹² Richardson replied that the rock was not described by Pausanias, not because it was in the secret sanctuary, but because the new Greater Propylaea covered the rock and was no longer visible.¹¹³ Clinton considers this as ‘callousness’ towards the mythical tradition in Eleusis, which would not correspond to the general attitude of the Greeks and Romans towards their ancestors and traditions.¹¹⁴ A location for the rock inside the rock is more likely, according to Rubensohn. It would explain the absence of the rock in Pausanias’ writings, and the cave and cliff immediately after the propylaea would be a logical location. Especially since Aristophanes’ scholion also connects the Mirthless rock with the descent from Theseus to Hades, and the cave at Eleusis is supposed to be the entrance to Hades.¹¹⁵

According to Clinton, Rubensohn’s interpretation is on the right track, but it would be weird if Demeter sat on the cliff on top of the cave. However, another location close to the cave and cliff is preferable.¹¹⁶ Part of his solution is the inscription *IG II² 1672* in which the Mirthless rock is the storage place for mudbricks during the winter before they were taken to the Eleusinion in Athens (πλίνθοι εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει ΧΓΗ: δι ἑκατὸν : ΓΗΠΙΙ, σὺν τῇ κομιδεῖ ἀπ Ἀγελάστου πέτρας).¹¹⁷ The inscription states that 1600 bricks were to be brought to Athens from the Eleusinion, which cost 120 drachmae. Based on this inscription, Clinton argues that the bricks were probably safely stored in the cave rather than on or next to the cave. Πέτρα, therefore, refers more likely to an area in general than

¹¹⁰ Σ Aristoph., *Eq.* 785a Koster = Suda, s.v. Σαλαμίνος (Σ 49 Adler). Further descriptions of the Ἀγελάστος Πέτρα only confirm that it was located in Attica and/or Eleusis, without further specifications: Zenobius I.7

(Ἀγελάστος πέτρα: ἐπὶ τῶν λύπης προξένων πραγμάτων εἴρηται· ἔστι δὲ ἡ πέτρα αὕτη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἐφ’ ἧς ἐκαθέσθη ἡ Δημήτηρ, ὅτε τὴν κόρην ἐζήτει); Diogenianus I.8 (ἐπὶ τῶν λύπης προξένων ἡ παροιμία. ἐπ’ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἐκάθισεν ὅτε τὴν κόρην ἐζήτει ἡ Δημήτηρ); Hesychius s.v. ἀγελάστος πέτρα (ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ); Photius, *Bibliotheca* ed. Bekker p. 319b.19-22 (ἀγελάστος πέτρα: ταύτην (τὴν Ἰάμβην) φασί, τῆς Δήμητρος ἀνημμένης ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀρπαγῇ προσελθεῖν περὶ τὸν Ἐλευσίνα ἐπὶ τῇ νῦν Ἀγελάστῳ καλουμένη πετρα καθημένη καὶ διὰ τινων χλευασμάτων εἰς γέλωτα προάγεσθαι τὴν θεάν).

¹¹¹ Raubitschek (1982) 115-117; <https://cantorcollection.stanford.edu/objects-1/info?query=mfs%20all%20%22triptolemos%22&sort=0>.

¹¹² Mylonas (1942) 86-91.

¹¹³ Richardson (1974) 221.

¹¹⁴ Clinton (1992) 16.

¹¹⁵ Rubensohn (1899) 49-54.

¹¹⁶ Clinton (1992) 17.

¹¹⁷ *IG II² 1672*.182-183.

one specific rock and the cave in its entirety could be a πέτρα. When looking for some seating area inside the cave, there is an outcropping of the rock that forms a natural seat, which could be the actual location of the Mirthless rock.¹¹⁸

1.9.4 Sacred Orgas of Demeter and Kore

Another sacred area of Eleusis were the *Sacred Orgas* (ιερά ὀργάς) of Demeter and Kore. These sacred fields of Eleusis are above mainly famous because of the border conflicts between Megara and Eleusis and an Athenian decree concerning the boundaries and cultivation of this land (*IG II³ 1 292*).

The Sacred Orgas were located on the border between Attica and Megara and, therefore, part of many disputes between these two poleis. For example, this is described by Thucydides:¹¹⁹

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τᾶλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων.

‘But the Athenians would pay no heed to their other demands and declined to rescind the decree, charging the Megarians with encroachment upon the sacred land and the border-land not marked by boundaries, and also with harbouring runaway slaves.’

The passage pictures two types of land on this sacred land, the sacred land (τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς) and the undefined borderland (τῆς γῆς τῆς ἀορίστου). The Megarians ignored these boundaries and started cultivating these grounds. After several times, this resulted in the Megarian decree, which banned the Megarians from the harbors and marketplaces of Attica.¹²⁰ The dispute is also mentioned by Plutarch, who gives us more information about the making of this decree after the Megarians killed the Athenian herald.¹²¹ Thucydides explains this conflict between Eleusis and Megara in connection to the rising tensions just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.¹²²

Another important source for the Sacred Orgas of Demeter and Kore is a decree (*IG II³ 1 292*), dated to the year 352/1, concerning the boundaries of the land, the border of Attica and Megara, and the

¹¹⁸ Clinton (1992) 22-23.

¹¹⁹ Thuc. 1.139.2, transl. C.F. Smith (Loeb-ed, 1919).

¹²⁰ French (1976) 245; Legon (1981) 213-217;

¹²¹ Plut., *Per.* 30.2-3. Scholars assumed that two passages by Herodotus (6.75) and Pausanias (3.4.2) also refer to the Sacred Orgas. But these authors probably refer to the temenos of Eleusis rather than the sacred fields of Demeter and Kore. Although it might be possible that the story of the Lacedaemonian king invading the sanctuary of Eleusis became identified with the dispute of the Megarians on the borders of Attica, consequently these two different stories became one narrative, as proposed by Papazarkadas (2011), 245-246.

¹²² Wick (1977) 75-91. Wick (1977) calls into question the significance of the Megarian decree as was proposed by de Ste. Croix before (1972) and followed by many other historians, making it into ‘nothing more (but nothing less) than the catalyst’. For more information on the Megarian decree, its significance in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and the writings of Thucydides regarding the Megarian decree, see Brunt (1951 [1997: 1-16]); Ste Croix (1972); French (1976); Wick (1977); Legon (1981) 200-227; and Macdonald (1983).

agricultural use of the fields.¹²³ After another disagreement over these Sacred Orgas (Demosthenes 13.32), the Athenians drafted a decree that first appointed a commission of fifteen men – 5 from the council and ten from all Athenians – to place new boundary stones (ὁ ὄρος).¹²⁴ A second problem addressed in this decree is the issue of the agricultural use of parts of this parcel. At least part of the Sacred Orgas was being cultivated. The question was whether they should lease this part in order to build the portico (προστώον) and repair the sanctuaries with that money or to set the land fallow again and become part of the Sacred Orgas.¹²⁵ The two possibilities were written on similar pieces of tin, rolled up in wool, and placed in two different water jugs, gold and silver. The oracle of Delphi would then show which option Apollo preferred.¹²⁶ The Athenians had begun cultivating parts of the Sacred Orgas at least somewhere in the fourth century. While this was not a problem at first, it eventually became problematic, and the Athenians decided to ask a god's opinion on the matter.

From two local historians of Attica, Androtion and Philochorus, we learn more about the context and outcome of this decree. Androtion reports that the Delphic oracle replied that the fields of the Sacred Orgas (ἔσχατιά) should remain consecrated (καθιερώω) rather than leased and that the boundaries of the Sacred Orgas were demarcated (*FGrH* 324 F30 = Didymus on Demosthenes 14.37-49). Philochorus also noted that the Athenians entered Megara to mark the boundaries of the Sacred Orgas (*FGrH* 328 F155 = Didymus on Demosthenes 13.47-58).

However, there is a discrepancy between the accounts of the Atthidographers and the actual decree. The decree states the boundary stones needed to be placed by 15 Athenian men, from inside and outside the council, while Androtion and Philochorus only mention the *dadouch* and *hierophant*. Possibly the two officials placed the stones after the committee determined the actual location, or perhaps the Megarians only accepted the new boundary stones when Eleusinian officials placed them rather than an Athenian commission.¹²⁷ Another possibility is suggested by Matthaïou, according to his reading of the decree, the two officials established the borders of the Sacred Orgas, and the Athenian committee determined a specific piece of cultivated land as referred to in the decree, referred to in the other sources as ἔσχατιά.¹²⁸ It could even be possible for the boundary stones to be repositioned after a short time, as the actual outline of the events surrounding this decree is uncertain.¹²⁹

¹²³ Matthaïou (2020) 71.

¹²⁴ *JG* II³ 1 292.5-23.

¹²⁵ *JG* II³ 1 292.23-30.

¹²⁶ *JG* II³ 1 292.30-54.

¹²⁷ Rhodes and Osborne (2007) 277-278.

¹²⁸ Matthaïou (2020) 87.

¹²⁹ For the context and overview of the debate, see Rhodes and Osborne (2007) 272-281; Papazarkadas (2011) 244-259; Matthaïou (2020) 71-89.

1.10 Erchia

One of the demes of which we still have a sacrificial calendar is the deme Erchia (*SEG* 21.541), located in the interior of Attica east of Paiania. Both Pausanias and Strabo make no mention of the deme and its sanctuaries. The sacrificial calendar was written in the fourth century B.C., and its title is ‘δημαρχία ἡ μᾶζων’ (the greater demarchy).¹³⁰ It consists of five small columns discussing the various sacrifices, usually accompanied by the locations and costs. The calendar reports sacrifices to forty-three deities and heroes, especially Apollo and Zeus receive many of these sacrifices.¹³¹

The calendar is interesting here because of the near absence of Demeter in it. Not a single sacrifice to the goddess in the deme is mentioned, just one sacrifice to Demeter in Athens, discussed below. Parke surmises that the Erchians did not worship her at all in the deme. However, another sacrificial calendar was likely functioning simultaneously, which may have included more sacrifices to Demeter.¹³² Nevertheless, it remains striking that her sacrifices are not mentioned together with the sacrifices for deities such as Apollo, Hera, and Kourotrophos. Since there is no satisfactory explanation for ‘the greater demarchy’ and the character of this calendar, it is also difficult to say anything about a possible second calendar.

As mentioned, there is one reference to Demeter in the inscription, namely a sacrifice to Demeter at the City Eleusinion (Ἐλευσινίῳ ἐν ἄστει) in Athens on the twelfth of Metageitnion (lines B1-5). On the same day, the deme of Erchia also sacrifices to Apollo, Zeus, and Athena in the city, giving the impression of an annual procession of the demesmen of Erchia to Athens.¹³³ Mikalson also suggested that the sacrifice of Demeter took place in Eleusis, but with the addition of ‘ἐν ἄστει’, it refers to the Eleusinion sanctuary in Athens.¹³⁴ Given the high number of sacrifices on this day in Athens, Mikalson suggested that there be a state festival on the twelfth of Metageitnion. However, there is no further evidence of such a *polis* festival on that day.¹³⁵ One possible festival would be the Eleusinia celebrated in Metageitnion according to the Marathonian sacrificial calendar, but the exact dates for this festival are uncertain.¹³⁶ Therefore, any other unknown festival is also possible, and the sacrifices may not even be connected to a *polis* festival.

¹³⁰ Scholars disagree on the meaning of this heading. In the first publication of this inscription (1963), Daux concluded that since only a few deities were present in the calendar and only annual sacrifices were mentioned, which were likely not connected to great state festivals, there must have been a ‘lesser’ demarchy besides this calendar. ‘Greater’ might refer to an increased authority of the deme, sharing the expenses between five liturgists, against the other sacrifices being the responsibility of groups like *gene* (Dow, 1965). ‘Lesser’ could also mean less in importance, quantity of items, or expense (Jameson, 1965). Mikalson (1977) suggested that the ‘lesser’ calendar included the lesser festival days that consisted of biennial and quadriennial sacrifices. For the debate on the meaning of this heading, see Mikalson (1977) 427-428 and Whitehead (1986) 57-64.

¹³¹ Mikalson (1977) 424.

¹³² Parke (1977) 178.

¹³³ *SEG* 21.541 A.1-5; C.13-18; D.13-17.

¹³⁴ Mikalson (1975) 38-39.

¹³⁵ Mikalson (1975) 39.

¹³⁶ *CGRN* 52, lines A1-5 + B1-6 + Γ13-18 + Δ13-17 (12 Metageitnion); Mikalson (1975) 46.

Although the sacrificial calendar suggests that Demeter was not a prominent goddess in the deme of Erchia, there is one literary reference that surprises in this context. In his geographical dictionary, called *Ethnika*, Stephanus of Byzantium describes the deme Erchia as follows:¹³⁷

Ἐρχιά: Δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τῆς Αἰγιίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Ἐρχίου τοῦ ξενίσαντος Δήμητραν.

‘Erchia: Demos of the Phyle Aigeis in Attica, named after Erchios who welcomed Demeter as his guest.’

According to this entry, there was a legend in the deme that Demeter visited them once, and Erchios then welcomed her into his house (ξενίζω).¹³⁸ Such a legend would probably be related to and based on a local cult of Demeter in the area.¹³⁹ As in the case of Thorikos, where Demeter’s prominent position in their sacrificial calendar is supported by the story that Demeter once visited the place, although there is no evidence for a unique local cult in the deme either.¹⁴⁰ However, if the legend of Demeter visiting Erchia is true, one might expect some local cult of Demeter in Erchia. Moreover, since most scholars agree that the sacrifices mentioned in this ‘greater demarchy’ of Erchia are local annual sacrifices, this calendar would be a likely candidate for such a cult of Demeter.¹⁴¹ However, this brings us back to the debate about the nature of this ‘greater demarchy’ calendar and possible other calendars, which we cannot solve with the available sources.

1.11 Halimous & Cape Kolia

Pausanias also mentions the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore in Halimous (Ἀλιμουσίους μὲν Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν).¹⁴² This deme was located on the west coast of Attica, south of Phaleron. It is not clear whether this is the same sanctuary like the one mentioned by Hesychius at Kolia (Κωλιάς: [...] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν αὐτόθι πολύστυλον) which was the location for a ritual to Demeter on the tenth of Pyanepsion during the Thesmophoria.¹⁴³ According to Brumfield, they describe separate sanctuaries, and so there were two sanctuaries of Demeter, at Halimous and Kolia. Brumfield gives no reason why they should be seen separately other than the different location names.¹⁴⁴ However, since Kolia was in the deme Halimous and because of the cultic resemblance between the two sanctuaries and sites, they are more likely the same. The site of cape

¹³⁷ Steph. Byz., *Ethnika* s.v. Ἐρχιά (Volume II, 172-173), transl. author (based on Billerbeck and Zubler, 2010).

¹³⁸ The work of Stephanus of Byzantium is by many scholars not regarded as the most reliable source on the geography of ancient Greece, but this is less important since it concerns a not geographical subject, but a legend accompanied with an Attic deme. For the reliability of Stephanus of Byzantium, see Whitehead (1994).

¹³⁹ Parke (1977) 201 n.11.

¹⁴⁰ For the evidence and sources see, entry ‘Thorikos’.

¹⁴¹ Scholars believe it to be all local sacrifices, because the given locations are all in Erchia, whether generally (at Erchia) or more precisely (on the hill or in Hera’s sanctuary).

¹⁴² Paus. 1.31.1.

¹⁴³ Hesch., s. v. Κωλιάς.

¹⁴⁴ Brumfield (1976) 82.

Kolias was used during the second day of the Thesmophoria, while the sanctuary mentioned Pausanias also belonged to Demeter Thesmophoros.

Cape Kolias is located on the coast of Halimous. Herodotus describes the place as a ἡμίον (shore) and Hesychius as a ἀκτὴ (promontory).¹⁴⁵ According to Hesychius, two sanctuaries were located on the cape, for Aphrodite and Demeter. He further specifies the temple of Demeter as the one with the many columns (πολύστυλον).¹⁴⁶

The cape was also the venue for a ritual celebrated exclusively by women. Polyaeus and Plutarch describe Solon's arrival at Kolias overseas, where he found women sacrificing to Demeter.¹⁴⁷ These passages give the impression that the sacrifice took place at cape Kolias rather than in the center of the deme Halimous. In addition to the sacrifice, the women also danced on the shore.¹⁴⁸ According to Brumfield, these rituals probably started as local rites and were taken over by Athens.¹⁴⁹ Plutarch points out that the women sacrificed to Demeter according to ancestral customs (τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν).¹⁵⁰ Clement of Alexandria states that the rites, which he describes as mysteries, in Halimous were restricted to Athens compared to other more public and Panhellenic celebrations.¹⁵¹

The Thesmophoria began on the eleventh of Pyanepsion in Attica and lasted three days. Women only celebrated this festival. However, two other festivals were attributed to the two days before the Thesmophoria. On the ninth of Pyanepsion, the Stenia took place. The local Thesmophoria at cape Kolias started the next day, which is a day earlier than the other Thesmophoria in Attica.¹⁵² The reason for this advanced Thesmophoria in the deme is unknown, probably a local tradition as mentioned above, but it caused some confusion within the Attic sacred calendar. Although ancient and modern scholars have proposed that the Thesmophoria consisted of four days, including the first day at Kolias¹⁵³, it is more likely that the actual Thesmophoria consisted of three days. The celebration at Halimous can then be seen as an irregularity or exception to this rule. This leaves us with only one problem regarding Aristophanes' play *Thesmophoriazousae*.¹⁵⁴

καὶ πῶς; ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' οὔτε τὰ δικαστήρια
μέλλει δικάζειν οὔτε βουλῆς ἐσθ' ἔδρα,
ἐπεὶ τρίτη 'στὶ Θεσμοφορίων ἡ μέση.

How can that be? The courts won't be trying
cases today, and the Council isn't in session
either, for it is the middle day of the
Thesmophoria.

¹⁴⁵ Hdt. 8.96; Hesch., s. v. Κωλιάς.

¹⁴⁶ Hesch., s. v. Κωλιάς.

¹⁴⁷ Plut., *Sol.* 8.4; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.20.

¹⁴⁸ Σ Aristoph., *Thesm.* 80.

¹⁴⁹ Brumfield (1976) 82.

¹⁵⁰ Plut., *Sol.* 8.4.

¹⁵¹ Clem. Al., *Protr.* 2.34.2.

¹⁵² Σ Aristoph., *Thesm.* 80; Parke (1977) 88.

¹⁵³ Σ Aristoph., *Thesm.* 80; Nilsson (1906) 317; Deubner (1932) 52.

¹⁵⁴ Aristoph., *Thesm.* 79-80, transl. J. Henderson (2000).

Aristophanes here refers to the third day (τρίτη) of the Thesmophoria, which he calls ἡ μέση (the NESTEIA, ‘the mid-day’). However, the third day cannot be the mid-day in a festival of three days. Since this is the only time the third day is called the NESTEIA, which was usually the name for the second day, and there is no reference to a four-day Thesmophoria, the problem of this passage remains unsolved. Perhaps an error by the author that a scholion tried to fix by adding the ritual at KOLIAS as the fourth day.¹⁵⁵

Since it was probably only a local celebration of the Thesmophoria, as argued above, the women who participated in the rites were the women of Halimous. However, perhaps a group of Athenian women accompanied them. In Plutarch’s passage on Solon, he sails to KOLIAS together with Peisistratos, where they find the women (πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας) making sacrifices. He then informs the Megarians that the leading women of Athens (τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πρότας γυναῖκας) are there so they can capture them.¹⁵⁶ Following this passage, Parke suggested that the elite women of Athens traveled to Halimous, a day before celebrating the Thesmophoria in Athens, to partake in the local rituals there.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, not all scholars agree on whether this passage by Plutarch can be seen as evidence for an annual trip of the elite women from Athens to Halimous and back. For example, Clinton argues that Plutarch initially refers to them as ‘women’; but the second time, Solon introduces them as ‘leading women’ to encourage them more. Besides, there is no objective evidence for a journey of the elite women of Athens to Halimous.¹⁵⁸

There is no evidence for any other cults of Demeter in Halimous, except for the Demeter Thesmophoros sanctuary and the local Thesmophoria at cape KOLIAS. The presence of a sanctuary to Demeter in the deme, perhaps even two temples, raises the possibility that they also held other festivals and sacrifices to Demeter in the deme. However, the deme Halimous was not so far situated from Athens. This made it possible for people to travel to Athens to attend Athenian and *polis* festivals if necessary.

1.12 Kerameikos and the gates

Pausanias is the primary source for another sanctuary of Demeter in Athens. When he arrives in Athens, at the Kerameikos and the Sacred and Dipylon gate, he sees another sanctuary of Demeter. First, he describes the Pompeion and then discusses a temple of Demeter:¹⁵⁹

ἔσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναὸς ἐστὶ Δημητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῆ τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δᾶδα ἔχων Ἰακχος: γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους.

¹⁵⁵ Clinton (1996) 115-117.

¹⁵⁶ Plut., *Sol.* 8.4.

¹⁵⁷ Parke (1977) 88.

¹⁵⁸ Clinton (1996) 116.

¹⁵⁹ Paus. 1.2.4, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

‘On entering the city there is a building for the preparation of the processions, which are held in some cases every year, in others at longer intervals. Hard by is a temple of Demeter, with images of the goddess herself and of her daughter, and of Iacchus holding a torch. On the wall, in Attic characters, is written that they are works of Praxiteles.’

The Pompeion was a multifunctional building but mainly used for the preparations of the Panathenaea.¹⁶⁰ In the vicinity of this building was a temple of Demeter with several works of Praxiteles. However, the location of this temple is difficult to determine.

One possibility for its location is a structure (building Y) found south of the Sacred Way. One of the functions proposed for building Y, as suggested by French in her archaeological reports on the building, would be as a dining hall connected to a sanctuary. But other practices for this building have been suggested too.¹⁶¹ Parts of the area around the Pompeion and the gates have not yet been excavated. It is, therefore, also very possible that archaeologists have not found the actual temple. Pausanias gives the impression that the temple of Demeter was close to the Pompeion and perhaps also the Sacred Way, which was the processional road to Eleusis during the Greater Mysteries.¹⁶²

As mentioned by Pausanias, there was a statue group of the goddess herself, Kore, and Iacchus holding a torch.¹⁶³ Clement of Alexandria has also described the same type of group, including Demeter, Kore, and Iacchus created by Praxiteles (ἡ πού γ' ἂν ἔτι τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ τὸν Ἴακχον τὸν μυστικόν).¹⁶⁴ This may have been the same statue group, but there are also references to a single statue of the two goddesses and a separate statue of Iacchus.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, the statues may have been rededicated and merged at a later stage. This would also explain the Attic writing on the wall, which does not correspond to Praxiteles' time. Possibly the Attic script was engraved later in Roman times to give the new group of statues some historicity and authenticity.¹⁶⁶

Thus, Demeter's temple could be found close to the Pompeion, between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate. The sanctuary has probably not yet been excavated but was likely close or adjacent to the Sacred Way, the processional road that led from Athens to Eleusis. The Sacred Gate was also where the river Eridanos entered the city through a channel.

There is no evidence for a specific cult or ritual of Demeter associated with this sanctuary. However, the site may be related to the procession on the fifth day of the Greater Eleusinian Mysteries. All initiates and religious officials gathered at the Sacred Gate from where they began the procession to

¹⁶⁰ Camp (2001) 135-137.

¹⁶¹ French (1992-1993) 8-9. For the other archaeological reports of building Y, see: French, *Archaeological Reports* 37 (1990-1991) 8; 38 (1991-1992) 6-7; 40 (1993-1994) 8-9.

¹⁶² Champion-Smith (1998) 45-46.

¹⁶³ Paus. 1.2.4.

¹⁶⁴ Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.54.

¹⁶⁵ Cic., *In Verrem* 4.60; Agora I 4165.

¹⁶⁶ Champion-Smith (1998) 46-48.

Eleusis.¹⁶⁷ Due to the temple's proximity to the Sacred Gate and the statue of Iacchus, leader of the procession, the sanctuary may have served some purpose that day. The temple may even have been called the Iaccheion. As mentioned by Plutarch, this temple is generally identified with the temple of Demeter.¹⁶⁸ It was impossible for all the participants to gather in the sanctuary, as they would on the second day of the Mysteries in the much larger City Eleusinion, especially with all the wagons and animals needed for the procession. However, perhaps the religious officials gathered in the sanctuary, like the priests and priestesses.

1.13 Marathon & the Tetrapolis

In addition to demes sacrificial calendars, a sacrificial calendar is also available for a local religious association called the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*IG II² 1358*), comprising the four demes Marathon, Trikorynthos, Oinoe, and Probalinthos in north-east Attica.¹⁶⁹ The Tetrapolis was one of the twelve ancient cities in Attica:¹⁷⁰

Κέκροπα πρῶτον εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις συνοικίσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὧν ὀνόματα Κεκροπία Τετράπολις Ἐπακρία Δεκέλεια Ἐλευσίς Ἄφιδνα (λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πληθυντικῶς Ἀφιδνας) Θόρικος Βραυρῶν Κύθηρος Σφηττὸς Κηφισία.

‘Cecrops first settled the multitude in twelve cities, the names of which were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Deceleia, Eleusis, Aphidna (also called Aphidnae, in the plural), Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia.’

The four cities later became four demes, but the Marathonian Tetrapolis structure of the past remained at a certain level. Their cultic center was probably the Dionysion in Marathon.¹⁷¹ The Tetrapolis had their own archon and four *hieropoioi*, one from each deme.¹⁷²

The fourth century B.C. sacrificial calendar is two-sided and includes individual sacrifices by the demes and communal sacrifices by the Tetrapolis. The two columns on face A concern the calendars of the demes, of which only the second column of the deme Marathon is complete. The first column is

¹⁶⁷ Evans (2010) 120-121.

¹⁶⁸ Plut., *Arist.* 27.3; Parker (2007) 348 n.89.

¹⁶⁹ Strab. 8.7.1.

¹⁷⁰ Strab. 9.1.20, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1927).

¹⁷¹ *IG II² 1243.20-22*. See Parker (1996) 331-332.

¹⁷² Archon: *IG II² 1358.A2.39-40* and *IG II³ 4 224.3-4*. Besides, some epigraphers also argued that the inscription *IG II² 1243* refers to plural ‘archons’ by the second century for the Tetrapolis (l. 10-12), but this restoration and interpretation is not completely clear, read AIO Papers 1 no. 5 by Lambert (2014). *Hieropoioi: IG II³ 4 224.4-8*. For a short general account of the Tetrapolis, see Parker (1996) 331-332 and Ismard (2015) 80-97.

less well preserved, and its sacrifices remain a puzzle.¹⁷³ Face B contains names followed by amounts of money, probably connected with the sacrifices on face A as their financing.¹⁷⁴

The text is fragmentary and only parts of it have survived, but several sacrifices to Demeter are preserved for Marathon. In Thargelion, the Marathons sacrifice to Demeter Achaia a ram – 12 drachmas – and a female animal – 11 drachmas.¹⁷⁵ Demeter Achaia is a quite unknown goddess in Attica, except for her private cult by the Gephyraeans (see the entry ‘1.2 Achaia & the Gephyraeans’). Demeter also appears twice in the Marathonian sacrificial calendar as Demeter Eleusinia. In line 43, she receives a sacrifice from the deme in the month Metageitnion, consisting of a bovine. In the same month, Kore also receives a sacrifice. The second time, in Anthesterion, she gets a pregnant sow as a sacrifice.

There is a distinct Eleusinian aspect to the cult of Demeter in Marathon. Earlier, the calendar mentions a sacrifice $\pi\rho\delta$ Μυστ[η]ρί[ων]13.....].¹⁷⁶ Ekroth has suggested that Demeter was the recipient of this sacrifice, as it concerns the Mysteries.¹⁷⁷ Lambert, on the other hand, argued that this identification is uncertain. First, because a male animal is being sacrificed, which could refer to a male deity instead. Second, the festival is perhaps only mentioned as an indicator of time without connecting the sacrifice and the Mysteries. In the similar case of the Skira later on, there is probably also no connection between the sacrifices made to these local heroes, Hyttenios and Galios, and the Skira festival afterward.¹⁷⁸ However, if there is no connection between these two events, why is it mentioned in the calendar? Since the calendar gives no specific date for the sacrifice, except the month, why ‘before’ the Mysteries and the Skira in these cases. Since this would not fit the sacrificial calendar, I follow Ekroth’s argument that there must be some connection between the sacrifice and the festival, but this does not necessarily lead to Demeter as the recipient of the sacrifice before the Mysteries. Many different deities, including local ones, are possible as recipient, and in the case of a local deity, the connection may even be unknown to us. In the case of the Skira, there might be a local connection between these heroes, Demeter, and the Skira. Another link to the Eleusinian cult is the sacrifice to Daeira, a nymph of Eleusis, but was also sometimes associated with Demeter or Kore.¹⁷⁹

Besides the sacrifices connected to the Eleusinian cult in Marathon, the calendar also mentions a sacrifice to Chloe (lines A2.49-50):¹⁸⁰

Χλόηι ν παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου ὄς κούου[α?]
ΔΔ, ιερώσυνα F ν ἀλφίτων ἐκτεὺς ΠΙΙ ν οἶνο χ[ῶς.]

¹⁷³ See Lambert (2000) 65-66; *CGRN* 56.

¹⁷⁴ Lambert (2018) 151.

¹⁷⁵ *IG II²* 1358.A2.27-28.

¹⁷⁶ *IG II²* 1358.A2.5.

¹⁷⁷ Ekroth (2002) 160 n.138.

¹⁷⁸ Lambert (2014) 3. For Skira: *IG II²* 1358.A2.30 and 51.

¹⁷⁹ *IG II²* 1358.A2.11.

¹⁸⁰ Transl. S. Lambert (AIO).

‘To Chloe by the property of Meidylos, a pregnant sow, [70 dr.?],
Priestly dues, 1 dr., a sixth of barley, 4 ob., a chous of wine [1 dr.]’

The sacrificial location is specified in this case, namely ‘by the property of Meidylos’. Such a specification of the location has been added a few times, like the sacrifices ‘for the hero by the marsh sanctuary’ (line A2.25) and to Ge ‘in the fields’ and ‘at the oracle’ (lines A2.9 and 13). The added location can be interpreted in various ways. Since most of the other sacrifices do not specify their location, the location for these few sacrifices may be different, changed recently, or is not clear enough to the people. There may have been several possible spots for Demeter Chloe’s sacrifices. This is undoubtedly the case for Ge, as her sacrifices occur in at least two locations, ‘in the fields’ and ‘at the oracle’. It is also possible that these sacrificial spots were further outside the religious center of Marathon and therefore specified. Above all, the location shows a strong connection between the deities, their cult, and the land.

As mentioned before, the sacrificial calendar also refers to the Mysteries and the Skira, which were probably preceded by local sacrifices (lines A2.5, 30, and 51). According to Parke, these are signs that the people of Marathon were free to participate individually in the Skira and Mysteries in Athens. The sacrifices beforehand were ‘preliminary services held on their own’.¹⁸¹ In the case of the Mysteries, it is clear that the main event was not celebrated locally but at Eleusis. We know less about how and where the Skira was celebrated. They may have written the sacrifices for the Skira itself on another unknown sacrificial calendar. However, this calendar gives the impression that Marathon did not celebrate its own Skira but celebrated it outside the deme. A location other than Athens for the festivals is also possible, as it was also celebrated elsewhere.¹⁸²

A final element referring to the cult of Demeter is the Eleusinion mentioned in line 17 of the first column. The context surrounding the Eleusinion has been lost, and it is difficult to determine to what type of Eleusinion they refer. While it may be a local Eleusinion used for agricultural sacrifices and festivals, it may also refer to the City Eleusinion in Athens. Parker argues that this calendar does not provide evidence for either possibility and therefore cannot resolve the question of whether this Eleusinion was a local sanctuary.¹⁸³ However, Lambert stated in several editions and papers on this sacrificial calendar that the Eleusinion was one of the most important sanctuaries of the Tetrapolis.¹⁸⁴ His only argument for a local Eleusinion is the absence of ἐν ἄστει in the inscription.¹⁸⁵ However, the Eleusinion in Athens is called both the ‘City Eleusinion’ and the ‘Eleusinion’. Ismard suggested that the deme might have used the sanctuary for the Skira and Kourotrophos’ cults. He also added that there is

¹⁸¹ Parke (1977) 181.

¹⁸² See entries ‘1.16 Paiania’ and ‘1.17 Peiraeus’.

¹⁸³ Parker (2007) 332-333. Eleusinia are also mentioned in association with the demes Paiania and Phrearrhioi. These sources will be discussed in their entries and more extensively in chapter 3.

¹⁸⁴ Lambert (2000) 52; (2014) 152 n.57; (2018) 154.

¹⁸⁵ Lambert (2000) 52.

no evidence for its location within the deme itself. ‘It would not be surprising if the deme [...] utilized an extra-territorial sanctuary as its regional Eleusinion.’¹⁸⁶

Another source that might reinforce the idea of an Eleusinion somewhere in the Tetrapolis is Bekker’s description of the Diakria, a region in northeastern Attica named after the highlands in this area. Bekker’s definition reads as follows:¹⁸⁷

Διάκρια: τόπος Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Βραυρῶνα Ἐλευσίνιον Δήμητρος καὶ Φερεφάττης ἱερόν.

‘Diakria: Place in Attica under and towards Brauron (and the place) where the Eleusinion, the sanctuary of Demeter and Pherephattes, is located.’

Scholars usually read this text by Immanuel Bekker, a German philologist from the 19th century, as evidence for an Eleusinion in Brauron.¹⁸⁸ However, it refers to an Eleusinion in Diakria and not in Brauron. In addition, his positioning of Diakria in connection to Brauron is a bit problematic. Historians disagree about whether Brauron was indeed part of the Diakria. In the ancient sources, there was uncertainty about the name and boundaries of this highland region. Herodotus refers to this region as the *Hyperacria*, while others refer to it as the Diakria or sometimes *Epakria*, named after one of the twelve districts of ancient Attica.¹⁸⁹ When it comes to the region’s southern border, the Pentelikon may have been the southern border, but sometimes it also includes parts of the Mesogeia with Brauron as its border.¹⁹⁰ Whatever the actual border was, it is clear that it was above Brauron, not located ὑπὸ (under and towards), and that it certainly included the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The description of Bekker may refer to the same Eleusinion as in the inscription from the Marathonian Tetrapolis. However, there may have been another deme in the region of Diakria who had their own Eleusinion. Even Brauron is possible, but that cannot be deduced from this text alone. Mainly because this text by Bekker is a relatively late source, he wrote the *Anecdota Graeca* between 1814-1821; therefore, it is not sure how reliable the information is.¹⁹¹ Moreover, Bekker does not mention which ancient sources he based his description on. However, it does indicate the presence of an Eleusinion outside the region of Athens and Eleusis.

Overall, Demeter features prominently in the fragmented sacrificial calendar of the Tetrapolis – but especially in that of the deme Marathon – and it gives the impression that in the deme, Demeter was mainly visible as the goddess of agriculture (Demeter Eleusinia and Chloe). The cult of Demeter Chloe is especially connected with the landscape of Marathon in the calendar. In addition to Demeter’s

¹⁸⁶ Ismald (2015) 89.

¹⁸⁷ *Anecd. Bekk.*, s.v. Διάκρια, transl. author.

¹⁸⁸ Wijma (2013) 201.

¹⁸⁹ Hdt. 6.20; Hsch., s.v. Διακρεῖς; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Ἐπακρία.

¹⁹⁰ Hopper (1961) 193-194.

¹⁹¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ‘August Immanuel Bekker’.

agricultural aspects of Demeter, the Eleusinian cult is also represented in the calendar with the Mysteries and Daeira.

1.14 Melite

An inscription from the early second century BC sheds some light on one of the locations for the Thesmophoria in Athens. The deme of Melite, located in the center of Athens, published this honorary decree concerning Satyra, a priestess of the Thesmophoroi (I 5156). Broneer first published the inscription in his article on the location of the Thesmophorion in Athens in 1942.¹⁹² Although scholars previously believed that, based on Aristophanes' play *Thesmophoriazousai*, the Thesmophorion was located somewhere on or near the Pnyx, Broneer argued that women probably used the City Eleusinion during the Thesmophoria. This location is likely given its spot on the north slope of the Acropolis. Besides, it is unlikely that another major sanctuary of Demeter was located in the vicinity of the City Eleusinion. The honorific decree of Satyra (I 5156), as published by Broneer, confirms and strengthens his argument:¹⁹³

[Ca. 18 letters -κ]λέουσις εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱέρεια τῶν
 Θεσμοφό-
 [ρων προκεκριμένη ὑπὸ τῶν] δημοτῶν, Σάτυρα,
 Κρατέου Μελιτέως γυν[ῆ],
 [ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοτῶν καλῶ]ς καὶ εὐσεβῶς
 πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας
 [θυσίας ἄς οἱ νόμοι προσέτατ]τον, ἐπεσκεύακεν δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς πά[ν]-
 [τας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ, παρε]σκεύακεν 5
 δὲ καὶ πά[ν]τα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλ[ού]
 [τωνος ἱερῶι, προσανήλωκεν δὲ καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑκατὸν δρα
 [χμᾶς εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς γιγνομένα]ς κατ' ἐνιαυτόν·
 ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδό
 [χθαι τοῖς Μελιτεῦσι· ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἱέρειαν τῶν
 Θ[ε]σμοφόρων Σάτυρα<ν>
 [Κρατέου Μελιτέως γυναῖκα καὶ στεφα]νῶσαι
 αὐτὴν μυρρίνης στεφά
 [νοι εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς] 10
 τὰ]ς θεὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν

“ - - - , son of - - - kles, made the motion: Inasmuch
 as the priestess of the Thesmophoroi,
 Satyra, the wife of Krateas of Melite, having been
 selected by the members of her deme,
 has performed well and piously on behalf of the
 demesmen all the appropriate
 sacrifices prescribed by law; and has repaired all the
 temples
 in the Eleusinion and made all the preparations in the
 temple in the sanctuary
 of Pluto, and furthermore, has expended out of her
 private means more than hundred drachmas
 for the annual sacrifices; be it resolved by the
 Meliteans— with Good Fortune —
 to commend the priestess of the Thesmophoroi,
 Satyra,
 the wife of Krateas of Melite, and to bestow upon her
 a crown of myrtle
 in return for her good will and piety toward the
 goddesses and the deme of the

¹⁹² Broneer (1942) 265-274.

¹⁹³ Broneer (1942) 250-274, the inscription 265-267.

[Μελιτέων, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰκόνοσ ἀ]νάθεσιν
 ἐν πίνακι, καθάπερ
 [δέδοται καὶ ἄλλαισ ἱερείαισ ἐν τῷ ναῷ] τῆσ
 Δήμητροσ καὶ τῆσ Κόρη[σ],
 [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ταμίαν] τῶν
 δημοτῶν ἐν στήλει λ[ι]-
 [θίνει καὶ στήσαι πρὸσ τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ, τὸ δὲ]
 ἀνάλωμα εἰσ ταῦτα με[ρί]-
 [σαι ἐκ τῆσ κοινῆσ διοικήσεωσ]. 15

Meliteans; (and be it further resolved) to grant her
 the right to set up a painted portrait
 in the temple of Demeter and Kore in accordance
 with the privilege bestowed upon other
 priestesses.
 The treasurer of the demesmen is to have this decree
 inscribed upon a marble plaque
 and placed at the approach to the Eleusinion, the
 coast of this work to be
 paid out the common funds.

Satyra was the wife of a Melitean demesman, and her demesmen chose her as the priestess of the Thesmophoroi. According to the text, the priestess had behaved well on behalf of her deme. Therefore, she received a myrtle crown and the right, like other priestesses, to set up a painting in the temple of Demeter and Kore. Her excellent behavior included sacrificing properly and paying parts of the annual sacrifices herself. For the argument of the location of the Thesmophorion, it is especially interesting that the priestess also repaired temples (plural) in the Eleusinion and made preparations in the sanctuary of Plouton.

Although the Eleusinion is never mentioned in what has survived of the inscription, Broneer restored it twice in lines 5 and 14. The mention of several temples and a cult space of Plouton resembles the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore that we know as the City Eleusinion, and the deme of Melite was very close to the City Eleusinion. In addition, the stone was built into a later building near the Eleusinion.¹⁹⁴ This inscription, together with the practical aspect of a combined Thesmophorion and City Eleusinion, makes it very likely that the Thesmophoria was held in the City Eleusinion. The Athenians may have referred to the Eleusinion to as the Thesmophorion as well.

The question remains how this relates to the deme of Melite. The priestess of the Thesmophoroi was from the deme of Melite, but the City Eleusinion was not located in Melite. According to Broneer, the city demes of Attica did not have their own local celebrations of the Thesmophoria, as is attested for the demes of Peiraeus and Halimous outside the city. It would be financially and practically impossible for all the city demes to stage their Thesmophoria in their sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which indicates that the Athenian women in the city gathered together in one sanctuary. Besides, the reference to several sanctuaries and Plouton cannot be linked to any sanctuary in Melite. Two similar sanctuaries close to each other in the center of Athens is also very unlikely, as already mentioned before.¹⁹⁵ Clinton adds that in line 12 of the inscription, the text refers to ‘the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore’ instead of

¹⁹⁴ Broneer (1942) 270-274.

¹⁹⁵ Broneer (1942) 270-274.

the Thesmophorion, indicating that there was no second sanctuary to Demeter and Kore called a Thesmophorion.¹⁹⁶

The priestess of the Thesmophoroi, according to Broneer, may have been chosen among the different demes who participated in the Thesmophoria in the City Eleusinion. This year it was a priestess from Melite.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, Clinton reasons differently to explain the presence of a Meletian priestess in the City Eleusinion. According to him, in the Archaic period, the area of the City Eleusinion had belonged to one of the villages which later formed Athens. The sanctuary of Demeter belonged to a village that was considered the predecessor of the deme Melite. During the Archaic period, the emerging *polis* appropriated territories from these demes and changed the sanctuary of Demeter into the Eleusinion. The polis now administrated the sanctuary, but it also served local purposes, and Melite continued to administer their ancient Thesmophoria in the sanctuary and still provide the priestess of the Thesmophoroi while other city demes joined them in their celebration.¹⁹⁸

While Clinton and Broneer argue that the Thesmophorion must be associated with the City Eleusinion, and that the City Eleusinion remained to some extent a local sanctuary outside of the Eleusinian context, Clinton emphasized the local aspect of the sanctuary in his argument that the sanctuary was an Archaic sanctuary of Demeter for the preceding Archaic village of Melite. In contrast, Broneer's reasoning emphasizes the *polis* aspect of the Thesmophoria, with several demes sharing the priesthood of the Thesmophoroi.

1.15 Myrrhinous

A decree of Myrrhinous (*IG II² 1183*) mentions the celebration of the Plerosia (πληροσία) on the fifth of Poseidon or Pyanopsion.¹⁹⁹ The people celebrated this festival before they would plow, sometime around September. According to Deubner, the month in line 36 should be restored as Poseidon, around December or January. Combined with the different spelling of the festival as Plerosia, he states that it is not the same festival as the Proerosia.²⁰⁰ However, it is quite common to find different spellings of this festivals name in epigraphical sources, such as πρηροσία and προηρεσία.²⁰¹ Besides, it is also called Plerosia in Piraeus and together with the Thesmophoria, Kalamaia, and Skira celebrated in the Thesmophorion.²⁰² It is also possible that the inscription refers to the month of Pyanopsion (October-November), which would place the festival closer to the celebration of the Proerosia around September.²⁰³

¹⁹⁶ Clinton (1996) 123.

¹⁹⁷ Broneer (1942) 270-275.

¹⁹⁸ Clinton (1996) 124.

¹⁹⁹ *IG II² 1183.33*.

²⁰⁰ Deubner (1966) 68.

²⁰¹ Hsch., s. v. Πρηροσία; *IG II² 1028.28* (προηρεσία).

²⁰² *IG II² 1177*.

²⁰³ Ziehen (1951) *RE* s.v. 'Πληροσία' (21.1).

Since there is no uniformity in how the Athenians celebrated the Proerosia, neither in name nor in date, Myrrhinous' Plerosia was possibly similar to the Proerosia even if it was held in December. The festival included a sacrifice to Zeus by the demarch.²⁰⁴ Zeus also played a part in the Proerosia elsewhere; he may have initially ordered the sacrifice and was possibly one of the principal deities of the Plerosia at Myrrhinous.²⁰⁵

1.15.1 Myrrhinous and Phlya

Another reference to a cult place of Demeter in the deme of Myrrhinous is from Pausanias. He discusses together the demes of Phlya and Myrrhinous and states the following:²⁰⁶

Φλυεῦσι δὲ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίαις τοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Διονυσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι: ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν.

'Phlya and Myrrhinous have altars of Apollo Dionysodotos, Artemis Selasphoros, Dionysos Anthion, the Ismenian nymphs, and Ge, whom they name the Great Goddess; a second temple contains altars of Demeter Anesidora, Zeus Ktesios, Athena Tithrone, Kore Protogone, and the Furies (the goddesses named Semnai).'

Pausanias' text raises several questions about the relationship between the two demes and the actual presence of the temples in the demes.

Pausanias groups several altars. Since the second group of altars begins with ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος, the first group of altars was also part of one temple. After that, the first temple contained altars of Apollo Dionysodotos, Artemis Selasphoros, Dionysos Anthion, the Ismenian nymphs, and Ge. A second temple included the altars of Demeter Anesidora, Zeus Ktesios, Athena Tithrone, Kore Protogone, and the Semnai.

The next question is whether these temples were located in Phlya or Myrrhinous, as they are two different demes. To complicate matters, the demes are not even located close to each other or are part of the same trittys or phyle. Traill locates Phlya as an inland deme a little east of Athens, while Myrrhinous was on the east coast of Attica.²⁰⁷ Since the temples are quite specific with the various altars, they were likely not built in both demes but two temples shared by both demes. This would indicate some cultic connection between Phlya and Myrrhinous.

On the other hand, the exact location of the Attic demes is not always certain and, in some cases, only supported by little evidence. There is quite a bit of evidence for the location of Myrrhinous on the

²⁰⁴ IG II² 1183.33.

²⁰⁵ Suda, s.v. Προηροσία; Brumfield (1976) 54-60.

²⁰⁶ Paus. 1.31.4, transl. author (based on W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918)).

²⁰⁷ Traill (1975) 42 and 51.

east coast of Attica. However, the location of Phlya only depends on the findings of two inscriptions and is therefore not at all sure.²⁰⁸ Possibly the deme was located somewhere else, perhaps further east, closer to Myrrhinous. When the two demes were located side by side, they were more likely to share temples and sanctuaries, like the altar of Demeter Anesidora.

If Phlya and Myrrhinous were not close together, it could be possible that there was a cultic connection between them. There is no further evidence pointing to such an association. Another possibility is that Pausanias made a mistake in this passage. He mentions ten smaller demes in Attica of which he states something noteworthy (δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθεὶς, τάδε ἐξ μνήμην παρείχοντο).²⁰⁹ He starts with Halimous on the west coast of Attica and then goes counterclockwise, continuing to the southwest coast with Zoster and Anagyrus. He then discusses Kephale, Prasiai, and Potamos on the southeast coast of Attica. Before heading north to the inland deme of Athmonia, he discusses the two temples of Phlya and Myrrhinous.²¹⁰ From Potamos, it makes sense to continue with Myrrhinous. Since he afterward mentions Athmonia (an inland deme of Attica east of Athens), it is not strange to also discuss Phlya here. So, both demes would make sense in the direction of Pausanias, but together they are difficult to understand. In conclusion, the current locations of Myrrhinous and Phlya by Traill would fit in the counterclockwise direction of Pausanias through Attica. Therefore, the context of the reference cannot help to understand why Pausanias mentions Phlya and Myrrhinous together or help in relocating the demes of Myrrhinous or Phlya.

Usually, scholars tend to attribute the sanctuaries to one of the demes without mentioning the issues of Pausanias' text. For example, Parker states that the two temples and ten altars mentioned by Pausanias were in Phlya, without discussing the possibility of Myrrhinous.²¹¹ However, as I argued above, there is no evidence for Phlya or Myrrhinous. Leaving aside the question of the connection between the two demes, the location of these demes and cult sites, the passage of Pausanias mentions the cult for Demeter Anesidora ('sender of gifts') in both demes, with or without cult site. The epithet 'Anesidora' was also used for the goddess Ge.²¹²

1.16 Paiania

Deme decrees can be very useful for examining religious life within the demes. An example of this is a decree of the deme Paiania concerning cultic regulations (*IG I³ 250*). Paiania was an inland deme east of Athens. The deme was divided into an upper (καθ'ὑπερθεv) and lower (ὑπένερθεv) Paiania.²¹³ The decree was issued in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and concerns specific sacred duties, such as the provision of meat and pots by the officials and an account of sacrifices. It differs from the

²⁰⁸ *IG II² 2776.48-49* and *IG II² 7716*; Traill (1975) 51.

²⁰⁹ Paus. 1.31.1.

²¹⁰ Paus. 1.31.1-6.

²¹¹ Parker (1996) 305;

²¹² Hsch, s.v. Ἀνησιδώρα.

²¹³ Suda, s.v. Παιανιεῖς; Traill (1975) 43.

take, for example, lines 20-21 in the inscription above. The open spaces create a pause between the sacrifices. In that case, the interpretation of τεῖδε as ‘here’ does not fit as well as before.

In conclusion, the interpretation of ‘τεῖδε’ is not certain and should be reconsidered. Without a better understanding, there is also no clear distinction from the Eleusinion and might as well refer to a local Eleusinion within the deme. It has also been suggested that ‘τεῖδε’ would refer to a female recipient in the dative, perhaps a priestess.²²⁰ This would associate it with the priestly benefits, as I argued above. However, the relation between them is not clear, and it also does not solve the first sacrifice mentioned in the inscription (A15).²²¹

The decree does not explain why the Prerosia is on both sides, which will also be the case for the Chloia discussed later. Parker suggested that the two sides of the decree concern sacrifices within and outside the deme (τεῖδε vs. ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον).²²² But the actual meaning of τεῖδε is, as discussed above, not sure, and both sides of the inscription refer to an Eleusinion. In general, the impression of side B is less specific and chronological.²²³ One possibility would be that the two sides refer to the upper and lower deme of Paiania. Nonetheless, with such a damaged side as side B, it is impossible to say anything with certainty about the relationship between these two sides.

Returning to the Prerosia, a local celebration of the festivals would match the pattern in Attica. The celebration of the Prerosia varies widely throughout Attica. For example, there are several names and dates for the festival in Attica, and Demeter was not always the main deity honored during the Prerosia. Parker, therefore, argues that the Prerosia was a well-established older festival in Attica with a strong local focus.²²⁴

The second festival of Demeter mentioned in the decree is the Chloia:²²⁵

ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον : Χλοα-	to the Eleusinion, for the Chloia,
ἴα χοίρ [ο] ἄρρεν καὶ θέλει-	two piglets, one male and one female;
α : ἀπόμετρα : τρεῖς : III	priestly perquisites, 3 obols.

The text here presents similar problems as with the Prerosia. The front section, quoted above, is repeated on side B.²²⁶ Even more than with the Prerosia, the lines are almost even. Unlike the Prerosia, the sacrifice for the Chloia took place only in the Eleusinion, and no mention is made of ‘τεῖδε’. However, if the Athenians sacrificed in the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe on the Acropolis during the Chloia, it

²²⁰ Nilsson (1944) 70-76.

²²¹ *CGRN* 25.

²²² Parker (2007) 195.

²²³ *CGRN* 25, lines B21-23 and 33-37.

²²⁴ Parker (2007) 196. For other celebrations of the Prerosia, see the entries ‘1.15.1 Myrrhinous & Phlya’ and ‘1.17 Peiraeus’, where the festival is called Plerosia, and ‘1.25 Thorikos’. For the debate on the name and origin of this festival, see Brumfield (1979) 54-65; Robertson (1996) 347-358.

²²⁵ *JG* I³ 250A.26-28.

²²⁶ *JG* I³ 250B.30-32.

would be strange for the Paianians to sacrifice in the City Eleusinion instead. Therefore, it seems more likely that they would sacrifice in a local Eleusinion.²²⁷ This would strengthen the idea that the Eleusinion, as referred to in this decree, is a local sanctuary in the deme or near Paiania.

The decree mentions two more festivals that could refer to Demeter, the Skira, and Antheia, but scholars disagree on identifying these festivals with Demeter. A priestess of Paiania had to provide the meat for the sacrifice during the Skira.²²⁸ The Skira was a festival celebrated in Skiraphorion and might be related to Demeter, but Athena is also possible.²²⁹

The other festival mentioned in line 8 and at the end of side A is the Antheia,²³⁰ Although it was most likely a festival for Demeter, it is found in only one other inscription from Thorikos. Therefore, so little is known about this festival.²³¹ Nevertheless, it is twice included in the Paianian decree, where they made regulations for a sacrifice on that day and during the Skira, in addition to the Prerosia and Chloia. However, the location of these sacrifices is uncertain since the opposition of ‘here’ and ‘in the Eleusinion’ is not yet fully understood and may indicate in the deme and outside of the deme.

1.17 Peiraeus

Peiraeus was an important deme in Attica, thanks to its central port for Athens. The deme on the west coast of Attica had its own Thesmophorion. A deme decree from the fourth century B.C. (*IG II² 1177*) gives a good indication of how this sanctuary was administrated and used by the Peiraeans. The first part of the decree (lines 1-12) concerns inappropriate religious activities outside the prescribed days when the women gathered in the sanctuary for a festival of Demeter. After this, the penalty follows if someone surpasses the law (line 12-17). A second part concerns the protection of wood within the sanctuary (line 17-21) and concludes with inscribing and setting up the stele by the ὀριστὰς, the officials responsible for the boundaries, close to the Thesmophorion (line 21-24).

The decree mentions the Thesmophorion twice, in lines 2 and 24. The demarch and priestess were to ensure that no ritual activities, like purification rites or approaching the altar, would occur in the Thesmophorion when the priestess was not present. Except during the festivals when the women gathered according to ancestral tradition (συνέρχονται αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ τὰ πάτρια).²³² The inscription includes some of these days, namely the festival of the Thesmophoria, Plerosia, Kalamaia, and the Skira.²³³

²²⁷ Brumfield (1979) 61 and 67-68 n.33.

²²⁸ *IG I³ 250A.6-7.*

²²⁹ Brumfield (1979) 156-157. For more information on the Skiron and its sources, see the entry ‘1.24 Sacred Plowings at Skiron, Bouzygion, and the Rharian plain’.

²³⁰ *IG I³ 250A.8; 29-32.*

²³¹ *IG I³ 256 (Thorikos); Parker (2007) 195-196.*

²³² *IG II² 1177.10-12.*

²³³ *IG II² 1177.8-10.*

The inscription indicates that there was a sanctuary of Demeter in Peiraeus, more precisely called a Thesmophorion.²³⁴ The sanctuary was used, among other things, to celebrate the Thesmophoria, Plerosia, Kalamaia, and the Skira. The Thesmophoria, Plerosia, and Skira are festivals also known from other Attic demes; the Kalamaia, on the other hand, is unique. Besides this reference, we only know that the Eleusinians also celebrated it. It was a harvest festival and probably celebrated after the Plerosia and before the Skira; if the festivals are indeed mentioned chronologically in this decree.²³⁵ The festival was probably only celebrated by the women who would gather in the Thesmophorion for this occasion. It is impossible to determine from this source what the role of these celebrations was in connection with Athens and Attica. Although the inscription state that the women gather on these days, the exact dates for the festivals are not given, nor is it clear whether all the women of Peiraeus gathered or some traveled to other destinations.

Another source providing evidence for the presence of a Thesmophorion in Peiraeus is *IG II² 2498*. This decree concerns the lease of public land, including precincts, at the end of the fourth century B.C. One of the leased lands was part of the precinct of Thesmophorion.²³⁶ No further information is given about the precinct itself. However, given that the deme leased the precinct's land or parts of it, it may have been a large precinct.²³⁷

1.18 Phaleron

Phaleron was a coastal deme of Athens, located southeast of Piraeus. It used to be the main harbor of Attica, possible because the sea was closest to Athens here.²³⁸ However, according to Pausanias, this position was taken over by Piraeus at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.²³⁹ Pausanias also gives us information about some sanctuaries in or near Phaleron, including a ruined temple of Demeter.²⁴⁰

καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οἳ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτία ναοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαληρῶ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἡμίκαντοι μένουσι.

‘This too is the reason why the temples in the territory of Haliartus, as well as the Athenian temples of Hera on the road to Phalerum and of Demeter at Phalerum, still remain half-burnt even at the present day.’

²³⁴ A rectangular building found north of the Mounichia hill at Peiraeus might be identified as the Thesmophorion; for more information, see Le Guen-Pollet (1991) 15-19.

²³⁵ Brumfield (1976) 150.

²³⁶ *IG II² 2498.12*.

²³⁷ Clinton (1996) 113.

²³⁸ Paus. 8.10.4; Strab. 9.1.21.

²³⁹ Paus. 1.1.2.

²⁴⁰ Paus. 10.35.2, Transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed. 1935).

The temple of Demeter burned down during the Persian war and, like many other ruins in Greece, was never rebuilt. Therefore, when Pausanias visits the place, he finds the temple in ruins. There is no more information available about this temple of Demeter at Phaleron.

Although they did not rebuild the temple of Demeter after the Persian war, a decree from the second half of the fifth century B.C. points to a second sanctuary of Demeter, called an Eleusinion. Perhaps it was a replacement after the other was destroyed, or it was a second temple of Demeter at Phaleron that already stood there before the Persian war. However, if it did, it would probably have been destroyed by the Persians as well. The inscription (*IG I³ 32*) was found at Eleusis and is dated sometime between 452/1 to 432/1 B.C. The decree concerns an amendment to an unknown initial decree, which probably was an earlier building program.²⁴¹ According to the amendment, five Athenian men were appointed annually as *epistatai* who were in charge of the property and the income of the Two Goddesses in their sanctuaries at Eleusis, Athens, and Phaleron.

Furthermore, the decree refers to several architectural expenses made in Eleusis, the City Eleusinion in Athens, and the Eleusinion in Phaleron.²⁴² The references to these three sanctuaries, including the Eleusinion at Phaleron, are quite interesting and a unique source on the embeddedness of Phaleron in the Eleusinian cult. Rituals, like the processions during the Greater Mysteries, connected these three places of Athens, Eleusis, and Phaleron. The connection was further strengthened by establishing the *epistatai* in charge of all three sanctuaries. In addition, they set up the inscription in all three precincts. Therefore, this inscription shows a clear administrative and financial link between the sanctuaries of Eleusis, the City Eleusinion in Athens, and the Eleusinion in Phaleron, in addition to the already existing ritual and cultic connection.

As mentioned earlier, Phaleron was also cultically connected to Eleusis and Athens. On the third day of the Eleusinian Mysteries, a purification ritual took place at the bay of Phaleron. Two inscriptions from the fifth and third century B.C. inform us of a march to the sea (*ἄλαδε*) and the managers (*ἐπιμελητὰς*) of the Mysteries were responsible for the march to the sea (*τῆς ἄλαδε ἐλάσεω[ς]*).²⁴³ The third day of the Mysteries is also formally called *ἄλαδε μύσται* – ‘Initiates to the sea’. On that day, Chabrias once won the naval battle at Naxos, because according to Polyaeus he was under the protection of the ‘seawards initiates’ (*[οἱ δὲ περὶ Χαβρίαν] τὸ Ἄλαδε μύσται*).²⁴⁴

While these sources do not reveal the procession’s destination and the specific spot for the ritual purification on the coast of Attica, scholars usually believe it to have taken place at the coastline around Phaleron. Mainly because of the presence of an Eleusinion in Phaleron, which links this place to the

²⁴¹ Meritt & Wade-Gery (1963) 111-114.

²⁴² For further information on *IG I³ 32* see: Mattingly (1961) 171-173; Lewis (1981) 34-36; Cavanaugh (1996) 15-27; and Clinton (2005) 40-42.

²⁴³ *IG II³ 1 1164.17-20* and *IG I³ 84.35-36*.

²⁴⁴ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 3.11.2.

Eleusinian cult. Peiraeus is also suggested, due to a passage from Plutarch in which he reports a large fish attacking an initiate in the harbor of Cantharus:²⁴⁵

μύστην δὲ λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάρω λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε καὶ τὰ κάτω μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἄχρι τῆς κοιλίας κατέπιε

‘Moreover, as a mystic initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Cantharus, a great fish seized the man and devoured the lower parts of his body as far as the belly’

According to this story, Cantharus was part of the port of Peiraeus and also a place where the initiates purified themselves. therefore, it is more likely that they used a large area around Phaleron and Peiraeus as the location for the mass purification of all the initiates.²⁴⁶

Plutarch’s passage also informs us of the actual purification ritual. The initiates probably brought a pig to the sea and walked into the water with their sacrificial pigs to purify themselves and their pigs. As in Plutarch’s story, this did not always go smoothly, and once a fish attacked one of the initiates. There is a similar story of Aeschines’ scholiast, who mentions an attack by a shark who was attracted to the piglet’s blood. The initiate had slit his piglet’s throat already in the water.²⁴⁷

It is not clear whether the piglets were afterward sacrificed at Phaleron, back in Athens, or brought to Eleusis along with the initiates. If they sacrificed the piglets on Phaleron’s beach immediately after the purification, the Eleusinion at Phaleron could have been its location. It is also possible that some other activities took place in the Eleusinion as well. As Parker said, ‘Evidently, the Phaleron Eleusinion was put to use in some way on that occasion.’²⁴⁸ Perhaps it was the official end of the procession from Athens or some other sacrifice or ritual that day, but unfortunately, there is no evidence of other rituals.

Mylonas and Parke suggested that the piglets were taken back to Athens and sacrificed in the city. Mylonas thinks it plausible that the pigs were sacrificed not long after the purification ritual. Otherwise, the pigs would no longer be considered pure.²⁴⁹ On the other hand, Deubner and Clinton argue that the pigs were brought to Eleusis. There they were either sacrificed or deposited in the ground as a dedication to Demeter.²⁵⁰ However, scholars usually interpret the following passage by Aristophanes as evidence that the pigs were eaten rather than deposited:²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ Plut., *Phoc.* 278.3, transl. P. Perrin (Loeb-ed, 1919).

²⁴⁶ Parke (1977) 62.

²⁴⁷ Aeschin., *In Ctes.* 3.130; Σ Aeschin. 3.130.

²⁴⁸ Parker (2007) 332.

²⁴⁹ Parke (1977) 62-63; Mylonas (1961) 249.

²⁵⁰ Deubner (1966) 75; Clinton (1988) 77-78. According to Clinton, depositing the pigs into the *megara* at Eleusis would fit the connection with the local Thesmophoria as proposed in his article ‘Sacrifice in the Eleusinian Mysteries’ (1988).

²⁵¹ Aristoph., *Ran.* 337-339, transl. J. Henderson (Loeb-ed, 2002).

ὦ πότνια πολυτίμητε Δήμητρος κόρη,
ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσέπνευσε χοιρείων κρεῶν.

‘Most, exalted lady, daughter of Demeter, what
a nice aroma of pork wafted over me!’

At the same time, these two different types of offers do not have to be mutually exclusive. Possibly more pigs were present besides the ones brought by the initiates. They could have been deposited while the initiates’ pigs were sacrificed, or the other way around. Nevertheless, all these interpretations do not address the possibility of the pigs being sacrificed at Phaleron immediately afterwards. But with the presence of an Eleusinion under the same administration as Athens and Eleusis, I think it should also be considered.

In conclusion, the Eleusinion at Phaleron presumably participated in the Eleusinian Mysteries in some way, given its administrative, financial, and cultic connection to the City Eleusinion in Athens and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. But it probably also functioned more generally as a sanctuary of Demeter, especially since the earlier temple of Demeter was never rebuilt after the Persians burned it.

1.19 Phlya

The deme of Phlya had their own mysteries. A *genos*, called the Lycomidae, controlled it.²⁵² The most important and almost exclusive source on the Mysteries is by Plutarch:²⁵³

ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δηλός ἐστι: τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἱστόρηκεν.

‘However, it is clear that he was connected with the family of the Lycomidae, for he caused the initiation-hall at Phlya, which belonged to the Lycomidae, and had been burned by the Barbarians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.’

Plutarch mentions Themistocles who belonged to the *genos* of the Lycomidae, as evidenced by the restoration of the initiation-hall (τελεστήριον), belonging to the Lycomidae. An initiation hall indicates that the place was used for initiation rites.

²⁵² Rice and Stambaugh (2009) 127-128.

²⁵³ Plut., *Them.* 1.4, transl. author (based on Perrin (Loeb-ed, 1914)).

According to Parker, the ritual belonged to Demeter, but this identification is unclear.²⁵⁴ Plutarch gives no further information about the initiation-hall and Mysteries associated with the *genos*, but Hippolytus states that they belonged to the Great Goddess.²⁵⁵

Πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φλυῇ <τὰ τῆς> λεγομένη<ς> Μεγάλῃ<ς> ὄργια.

‘Before the Eleusinian Mysteries, the secret rites of the so-called Great Goddess were held in Phlya.’

Hippolytus, a later source from the third century A.C., refers to the Mysteries at Phlya as the predecessor of the Eleusinian Mysteries.²⁵⁶ This would indeed indicate that they were also associated with Demeter. The Mysteries of Phlya also continued after the rise of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Otherwise, Themistocles would not have to rebuild the initiation hall after the Persians destroyed it. The relationship between the Mysteries of Phlya and Eleusis is therefore not entirely certain from this reference. Furthermore, the Great Goddess could also refer to the goddess Ge, as mentioned by Hippolytus. Pausanias’ description of the deme Phlya and Myrrhinous, as discussed in entry ‘1.15.1 Myrrhinous and Phlya’, mentions several altars and temples, including one for Ge, which they call the Great Goddess (ἡν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι).²⁵⁷ Therefore the Mysteries could also belong to Ge or both.

A second text by Pausanias makes it even more complicated. In the description of Messenia, he tells the story of Caucon, who brought Demeter’s rites from Eleusis to Messenia.²⁵⁸

παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Μεσσηνίην τὰ ὄργια κομίζων τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Καύκων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ὁ Κελαινοῦ τοῦ Φλύου. Φλύον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς: ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα.

‘It was to her [Messene] that Caucon, the son of Celaenus, son of Phlyus, brought the rites of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis. Phlyus himself is said by the Athenians to have been the son of Earth, and the hymn of Musaeus to Demeter made for the Lycomidae agrees.’

According to Pausanias, Phlyus was the son of Ge, but his grandson spread the rites of Demeter, the Great Goddess of Eleusis, to Messene. The reference to the Lycomidae in this context makes it even more complicated. Apparently, the *genos* of the Lycomidae were related to this man Phlyus and also the name Phlyus suggests that he was related to the Mysteries of Phlya. This confirms the relationship between the Mysteries of Eleusis and Phlya to which Hippolytus refers. However, it does not resolve

²⁵⁴ Parker (2007) 333 n.30.

²⁵⁵ Hippol., *Haer.* 5.20.5, transl. Litwa (2016).

²⁵⁶ The authorship of Hippolytus has been debated, and other names have been suggested, see Litwa (2016) xxxii-xlii.

²⁵⁷ Paus. 1.31.4.

²⁵⁸ Paus. 4.1.5., transl. W.H.S. Jones and H.A. Ormerod (Loeb-ed, 1926).

the question of which deity the Mysteries of Phlya belonged to. Demeter and Ge are possible and the sources can argue both.

In addition to the Mysteries located at Phlya, the cult of Demeter Anesidora was also present in the deme.²⁵⁹ However, it is not clear from Pausanias' passage whether the altar of Demeter Anesidora was in the deme of Phlya or Myrrhinous, which he discusses together.²⁶⁰

1.20 Phrearrhioi

A relatively unknown deme of Attica is Phrearrhioi, located as a coastal deme south of mount Olympus. The location of the deme is based on the findspot of the sacred law discussed here (*SEG* 35.113).²⁶¹ The inscription was issued during the first half of the third century BC and mainly concerned the Eleusinian deities in the deme, but it also contains elements of Demeter Thesmophoros.²⁶² Since the entire inscription concerns the cult of Demeter, I will quote it here in full.²⁶³

[...6... τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Ἀ[...?.. Δῆ]- [μητρι Θεσμο]φόροι ἕν πρ[...?..] [...6... πρ]οιστάντωσαν ΚΑ[...?..] [...7...]αδος τῶι λαμπαδεί[ωι ...?..] [ἱερώσ]υνα κωλῆν, πλευρὸν, ἰ(σ)χ[ίον ...?.. οἱ ἱε]-	5	[...] of the hieropoioi [... for Demeter] Thesmophoros a sow [...] [...] let them set up in front [...] [...] for the torch-holder [...] priestly perquisites: a thigh, a rib (or: side), a hip (or: piece of hip)
[ροποιο]οὶ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ δαινύσθωσ[αν ...?..] [... Π]λούτωνι θυόντωσαν κρ(ιό)[ν ...?..] [δημ]όταις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ν [...?..] [. τ]ὸν ἐν τῶι Ἐλευ(σ)τινίω βωμῶν [...?.. τῶν ἀκολ]ούθωμ ἱεροποιὸς ἀφιέτω ΤΑΣ[...?..]	10	[... the hieropoioi] and the herald are to hold a feast [...] [...] let them sacrifice a ram for Plouton [...] the demesmen along with the others and [...] the altar in the Eleusinion [... of the attendants] the hieropoios shall set free the [...] whenever the priestesses perform [...] of the Phrearrhioi, let them sacrifice to Demeter [...] [...] and to Kore a male ox [...] and if they want anything else [...] it
[...] καὶ ἐάν τι ἄλλο βούλωνται νν [...?.. νό]- μι(μ)ὸν ἐστιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς [...?..]- I μηροῦς, μασχαλίσματα, ἡμίκρ(ρ)α[ιραν ...?.. μ]- ηροῦς, μασχαλίσματα, ἡμίκρ(ρ)αιρ[αν ...?..] ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσινίω[ι ...?.. τῶι τ]- οῦ Πλούτωνος βωμῶι ἱερώσων[α ...?.. τοῖν θε]-	15	is allowed (or: customary). And on the altars [...] thighbones, bits from the armpits, half the head [...] thighbones, bits from the armpits, half the head [...] on the altar in the Eleusinion [...] on the altar of Plouton priestly perquisites [for the two goddesses]
οἷν τῶν βω(μ)ῶν τῆι ἱερείαι κα[ῖ ...?.. κωλῆν, πλε]- υρὸν, ἰσχίον, ΙΙΙ τοῦ ἱερείου [...?.. ξ]-	20	of the altars for the priestess and [...] (a thigh?), a rib (or: side), a hip (or: piece), 3 obols for (?) the sacrificial animal [...]

²⁵⁹ Paus. 1.31.4.

²⁶⁰ For an extensive discussion of the passage by Pausanias, see '1.15.1 Myrrhinous and Phlya'.

²⁶¹ For detailed descriptions of the inscription, see *SEG* 36.206 (Sokolowski); *CGRN* 103; *NGSL* (Lupu) 3.

²⁶² For the date, see Vanderpool (1970) 47; Simms (1998) 93.

²⁶³ *SEG* 35.113, transl. Carbon and Peels (*CGRN* 103).

ύλα, ἐπὶ τὸν χύτρον παρε[χ..?.. ἐν τῆ]-		wood, for the pot provide [...]
ι ἀύλῃ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου[υ ..?..]-		in the courtyard of the Eleusinion [...]
ΥΣ ν Ν δαῖδα καὶ τῶν ΗΓ[...?.. δ]-		[...] a torch and of the [...]
αῖδα διδόντωσαν Γ[...?..]	25	let them give a torch [...]
[.]Σ καὶ τοῦ Ἰάκχου Ι[...?..]		[...] and of Iakchos [...]
[..]ΟΙ· ν τῆι δὲ ἐβδό[μηι ..?..]		[...] On the seventh (i.e. day) [...]
[...] καὶ τῆς μουσι[κῆς ..?..]		[...] and of music[...]
[...5..] τὸν βωμ[ὸν ..?..]		[...] the altar [...]

The law mainly covers the Eleusinian deities –Demeter, Kore, Plouton, and Iakchos – but begins with a sacrifice to Demeter Thesmophoros. Then the inscription mentions sacrifices to Demeter, Kore, and Plouton. The context of these sacrifices is unfortunately uncertain. The *hieropoioi* are mentioned several times in the inscription, once together with the herald (κῆρυξ). Furthermore, the priestesses performed the sacrifices and received perquisites afterward. Iakchos is also mentioned at the end but without context. Another interesting element in the inscriptions is the reference to an Eleusinion. It contained at least two altars, one sacred to Plouton (line 19) and a courtyard (line 23). Interpreting the inscriptions is difficult because the stone is broken off on all sides.

The inscription was first published in 1970 by Vanderpool, who interpreted it as cult regulations by the deme Phrearrhioi for the local rites of the Eleusinian deities that took place in their own Eleusinion. There may be some references to *polis* festivals, such as Iakchos' connection with the procession of the Mysteries, but here it would also be the participation of the deme Phrearrhioi in the Mysteries.²⁶⁴ Following Vanderpool, Brumfield also states that there may have been a local mystery-cult of Demeter Thesmophoros in Phrearrhioi.²⁶⁵ However, Vanderpool only indicated that there were local rites of the Eleusinian deities, and there are no real signs of a mystery cult in the inscription, as suggested by Brumfield. Sokolowski also followed Vanderpool's interpretation but added the deme's local celebration of the Thesmophoria, based on line 2.²⁶⁶ A few years later, Osborne suggested that the context of the inscription 'may well be a set of regulations for a local Eleusinion and not a deme decree at all'.²⁶⁷ In general, all these scholars refer to a local cult of Demeter, whether in the deme or nearby, which included elements of Demeter Thesmophoros and the Eleusinian gods of the Mysteries, which took place in their own Eleusinion.

More recent scholars, however, argue for a celebration outside of the deme. While Clinton still leaves it open where the sacrifice of Demeter Thesmophoros took place ('in an Eleusinion'), Robertson and Simms both find it unlikely for the Eleusinion to refer to a local sanctuary in the deme. According to Robertson, the mention of Iakchos in line 26 only makes sense in connection with the Athenian

²⁶⁴ Vanderpool (1970) 49.

²⁶⁵ Brumfield (1976) 96 n.8.

²⁶⁶ Sokolowski (1971) 218-219.

²⁶⁷ Osborne (1985) 177.

Eleusinion. Therefore, the inscription can only refer to the City Eleusinion in Athens.²⁶⁸ According to Lupu, the cult described in the decree was a public cult, combining the Eleusinian deities and Demeter Thesmophoros. However, this would be a hitherto unknown Athenian festival whose location is also unknown, as the inscription is too fragmentary to draw further conclusions.²⁶⁹

According to Simms, there is also a reference to Demeter Phrearrhios, the eponym of the deme, in lines 12-13. Usually, the goddess is restored here as Demeter Thesmophoros, but it is more likely to end with -ιωι, and Demeter Thesmophoros is already mentioned in line 2.²⁷⁰ The cult of Demeter Phrearrhios is also attested with a priestess seat in the theatre of Dionysos, stating Δήμητρ[ος] Φρεαρρό[υ].²⁷¹ Being their eponymous goddess, Simms believes it was probably a dominant cult in the deme with its sanctuary and festival.²⁷² Furthermore, Simms argues that the decree probably concerns sacrifices on behalf of the deme at a *polis* festival, perhaps a ritual during the early days of the Mysteries in Athens. The Eleusinion mentioned in the inscription would therefore not be a local sanctuary but the City Eleusinion, which Simms believes would also correspond to the attestation of the purely Eleusinian deity Iakchos in the inscription.²⁷³ Moreover, the description with several altars, including one for Plouton, and a courtyard is quite similar to the City Eleusinion.²⁷⁴

Although Parker agrees that Phrearrhioi probably did not have an Eleusinion of its own, he admits that it would be possible for sanctuaries to mirror the Eleusinia in Athens and Eleusis, thus including a courtyard that was a relatively unknown feature of Greek sanctuaries beyond those that housed mysteries.²⁷⁵ What would also argue for the use of a local Eleusinia by the deme of Phrearrhioi is the notion that the priestesses in the inscription, probably local personnel, received perquisites. These perquisites suggest that they had control over the sanctuary. It would be exceptional for local priests of the deme Phrearrhioi to receive perquisites after the sacrifice in the City Eleusinion in Athens.²⁷⁶ Furthermore, the connection of the local deity Demeter Phrearrhios to the ritual described in the text emphasizes the local context of the festival that is central in the inscription and would not fit within the City Eleusinion.

Overall, the local setting of the decree and no explicit reference to Athens, other than the appearance of Iakchos, does not quite match with the City Eleusinion or another sanctuary outside of the deme as its venue. While an Eleusinion consisting of several altars and a courtyard would not fit a small deme at first glance, it would not be entirely improbable, and the local sanctuary could even be linked to the cult of Demeter Phrearrhios, as there is no evidence yet for her own sanctuary in the deme.

²⁶⁸ Clinton (1996) 122; Robertson (1996) 351 n. 93, 358.

²⁶⁹ Lupu (2009) 162-163.

²⁷⁰ Simms (1998) 91-93.

²⁷¹ *JG II*² 5155.

²⁷² Simms (1998) 91-93.

²⁷³ Simms (1998) 93-106.

²⁷⁴ Simms (1998) 102-103.

²⁷⁵ Parker (2006) 333.

²⁷⁶ Parker (2006) 333.

In chapter 3, we will look further at these local Eleusinia and how they do fit into the Attic demes and the sacred landscape of Demeter.

1.21 Prospalta

In the inner plains of Attica, south of Athens, is the deme of Prospalta.²⁷⁷ It was an average deme represented by five men in the boule.²⁷⁸ Besides a brief passage from Pausanias, there are no other literary and epigraphical references to provide information about the deme.

When Pausanias discusses some smaller demes, such as Halimous and Prospalta, he only mentions one or two notable features within these demes. In the case of Prospalta, he points to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which was apparently worth mentioning.²⁷⁹ Perhaps it was a unique or ancient sanctuary and stood out for visitors like Pausanias, or a special and essential cult for the deme itself. In the latter case, it would be interesting to see why the cult was so prominent, but there is no evidence for this assumption, and we know next to nothing about the deme in general. The sanctuary is not further specified by a reference to a specific epithet or festival, like Thesmophoros or Chloe. It only states that it was the sanctuary for the two goddesses, Demeter and Kore, which is very common in the Greek religion.

1.22 Rheitoi

On the way from Athens to Eleusis, one comes across several rivers, such as the rivers called Rheitoi (Ῥειτοί). Pausanias describes these rivers more as streams (ῥεῦμα) because they consisted of seawater:²⁸⁰

οἱ δὲ Ῥειτοὶ καλούμενοι ῥεῦμα μόνον παρέχονται ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστὶ σφισι: [...] λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥειτοὶ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἰρεῖν μόνους.

‘The streams called Rheiti are rivers only in so far as they are currents, for their water is sea water. [...] They are said to be sacred to the Maid and to Demeter, and only the priests of these goddesses are permitted to catch the fish in them.’

The streams are located between Eleusis and Athens, close to the sea. They served as the boundary between Eleusis and Athens in ancient times. According to Pausanias, the rivers were sacred to Demeter and Kore, and the priestess of the Two Goddess was the only one allowed to fish in the rivers.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Identified with several grave markers, see Traill (1975) 48.

²⁷⁸ Whitehead (1986) 111-112 n.129; 371.

²⁷⁹ Paus. 1.31.1 (Προσπαλτίους δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν).

²⁸⁰ Paus. 1.38.1, transl. W.H. S.Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

²⁸¹ Paus. 1.38.1.

Although no other sources are available on these rivers and their relation to Demeter, it shows an interesting connection between Demeter and water and a unique insight into the practicalities of Demeter's priesthood. Her priestesses were the only ones allowed to fish in the Rheitoi, which indicates that fishing was part of their priesthood and perhaps even a ritual.

1.32 Sacred Plowings at Skiron, Bouzygion, and the Rharian Plain

There were three sacred plowings in Attica that were somehow connected with the mythical past of Attica and Demeter and, at times, perhaps connected to a larger festival. Plutarch describes these sacred plowings as follows:²⁸²

Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἄροτους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρω, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρία, τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει.

'The Athenians observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Scirum in commemoration of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria, and the third near the base of the Acropolis, the so-called Buzygius (the ox-yoking).'

Much is unknown about these sacred plowings and their significance, but they at least give the impression that these ceremonies marked important places for the Athenians.

1.32.1 Sacred Plowing at Skiron

The first plowing mentioned by Plutarch takes place at Skiron. It was located along the Sacred Road from Athens to Eleusis. Furthermore, Pausanias tells us the place was named after Skiros, a man who was also buried there by the Eleusinians. Among the several cult places around Skiron was also a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.²⁸³ Pausanias described this temple of Demeter and Kore (see entry '1.24 Sacred Way: Two sanctuaries along the Road'), but it is not sure whether it still belonged to Skiron or stood near the site. In Pausanias' description of the Sacred Way, he begins at the Sacred Gate of Athens and mentions several cult sites before crossing the Kephissus river. These shrines are all close to each other, and the distance between the Sacred Gate and the Kephissus is not that long, but it is difficult to pinpoint all these sites precisely and determine whether the sanctuary belongs to Skiron.

According to Deubner, the sanctuary would be too far from Skiron to be part of the sacred plowing or the procession of the Skira, as will be discussed below.²⁸⁴ Pausanias' story about the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, however, fits with the other sources about the sacred plowing at Skiron. Pausanias

²⁸² Plut., *Conjugalia Praecepta* 42.144 a-b, transl. F.C. Babbitt (Loeb-ed, 1928).

²⁸³ Paus. 1.36.4.

²⁸⁴ Deubner (1966) 47.

mentions an inscription he saw in Demeter’s sanctuary, which tells the story of Phytalus. He welcomed Demeter to his home in the same place and received a fig tree from Demeter for this deed. The inscription is said to have stated:²⁸⁵

ἐνθάδ’ ἀναξ ἥρωος Φύταλος ποτε δέξατο σεμνήν	Hero and king, Phytalus here welcome gave to
	Demeter,
Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,	August goddess, when first she created fruit of
	the harvest;
ἦν ἱερὰν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει:	Sacred fig is the name which mortal men have
	assigned it.
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρωσ.	Whence Phytalus and his race have gotten
	honours immortal.

Not only does the inscription inform the reader of the legend of Phytalus welcoming Demeter, but also of Demeter’s first harvest again. This agrees with Plutarch mentioning that Skiron was the site of the first sowing.²⁸⁶ Therefore, it is probable that the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore which they shared with Athena and Poseidon according to Pausanias was located in Skiron and probably connected with the sacred plowing as mentioned by Plutarch.

We know little about the sacred plowing at Skiron, but it may have been related to a festival called Skira or Skiraphoria.²⁸⁷ The Athenian women celebrated this festival most likely in the month of Skiphorion.²⁸⁸ Modern scholars and sources such as the lexicographers and the inscriptions disagree about the deity worshiped during this festival. The two most likely candidates are Demeter and Athena. While epigraphical and literary sources from the Classical period point to Demeter as the main deity, Athena Skiras is present in the lexicographers’ description of the Skira.²⁸⁹ However, Parker pointed out that scholars today are mistakenly looking for ‘one god per festival’, while the Greek festivals and religion, in general, were more complex than that.²⁹⁰ Therefore, possibly the Skira belonged to both Demeter and Athena. A similar problem exists for the location of the Skira. Later Roman sources mention Skiron as the primary location for the festival. According to Harpocration, there was a procession during the Skira from the Acropolis to Skiron, including the priest of Poseidon, Athena’s priestess, and a priest of the Sun. It is noteworthy that he does not mention the priestess of Demeter as

²⁸⁵ Paus. 1.37.2, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

²⁸⁶ Plut., *Conjugalia Praecepta* 42 144 b.

²⁸⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 144.

²⁸⁸ Parker (2007) 173.

²⁸⁹ Brumfield (1976) 156-164. The ancient Classical sources on the Skira are rather scarce, but the mention of the festival in ancient inscriptions give the appearance of an Eleusinian context (Paiania), and the Skira in Peiraeus is even celebrated in the Thesmophorion. If you, however, add later sources to the discussion, there will be new gods, locations, and personnel added to the festival, which give a whole new impression. See Brumfield (1976) 156-174; Parker (2007) 173-177; Parke (1977) 156-162.

²⁹⁰ Parker (2007) 155.

a participant in this procession.²⁹¹ However, there is no indication of this procession or any ritual at Skiron before Harpocraton's passage from the second century A.D. The attestations of the Skira's local celebrations at Peiraeus and Paiania, on the other hand, indicate that the festival was held at several sites throughout Attica. Another possible location is Phaleron, where Pausanias mentions a temple of Athena Skira.²⁹² The sources show varying images of the festival, which are considered to be evidence of two rituals that later merged into one festival or two different rituals that ancient authors mistakenly gave the same name. However, it is also possible that the Skira was a combined festival of both Demeter and Athena from the very beginning that was celebrated throughout Attica. The connection between the Sacred Plowing at Skiron and the Skira festival is reinforced by sources that indicate that the two rituals took place around the same time.²⁹³

In conclusion, there is much uncertainty about the sacred plowing. The ritual may have taken place at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (shared with Athena and Poseidon) somewhere near Skiron, which was the site of the first harvest given by Demeter after Kore's abduction. Though Plutarch's description of the Sacred Plowing does not refer to Demeter, the possible connection to the Skira and the sanctuary of Demeter at the site, in addition to the fact that a sacred plowing aims to ask for a blessing for the following plowing period, indicate a connection between the Sacred Plowing and Demeter.

1.23.2 Sacred Plowing at the Rharian plain

The second sacred plowing mentioned by Plutarch takes place in the Rharian plain at Eleusis. Plutarch gives no further explanation, but Pausanias stated that it was the first plain that they sew and on which the first crops grew:²⁹⁴

τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον ἀυξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιῆσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν.

'They say that the plain called Rharium was the first to be sown and the first to grow crops, and for this reason it is the custom to use sacrificial barley and to make cakes for the sacrifices from its produce.'

This story is also told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which states that the Rharian plain was the first that grew crops again.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Harp., s.v. Σκίρον (Φασι δὲ οἱ γράψαντες περὶ τε μηνῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Λυσιμαχίδης, ὡς τὸ σκίρον σκιάδιόν ἐστι μέγα, ὑφ' ᾧ φερομένῳ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τινα τόπον καλούμενον Σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἥλιου· κομίζουσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑτεοβουτάδα).

²⁹² Paus. 1.1.4.

²⁹³ Brumfield (1976) 168-169.

²⁹⁴ Paus. 1.38.6, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

²⁹⁵ *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 450-456, transl. D.J. Rayor (2014).

ἔς δ' ἄρα Ῥάριον ἴξε, φερέσβιον οὔθαρ ἀρούρης

she came to the Rarian plain: life-giving udder
of land

τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' οὔτι φερέσβιον, ἀλλὰ
ἔκηλον

once fertile, now barren, it stood idle,

ἔστήκει πανάφυλλον: ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα κρῖ λευκὸν
μήδεσι Δήμητρος καλλισφύρου: ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα
μέλλεν ἄφαρ ταναοῖσι κομήσειν ἀσταχύεσσιν

stripped of leaves. The land hid the white barley
through graceful Demeter's cunning. Soon,
with the flourishing spring, the grain would
grow

ἦρος ἀεξομένοιο, πέδω δ' ἄρα πίονες ὄγμοι
βρισέμεν ἀσταχύων, τὰ δ' ἐν ἔλλεδανοῖσι
δεδέσθαι.

tall again, and in the plain, fat furrows
would be heavy with grain to be tied into
sheaves.

The crops of the Rharian field were not only used for sacrifices, as Pausanias mentioned, but the victors of the Eleusinian games also received corn from these sacred fields.²⁹⁶ The importance of the Rharian fields as the first crop-crowning field is therefore later demonstrated by the Eleusinians in their sacred use of the Rharian, which Pausanias also emphasizes. The use of the sacred fields on which the Sacred Plowing also took place may indicate that the other Sacred Plowing locations were used similarly.

1.23.3 Sacred Plowing at Bouzygion

The third and final sacred plowing took place in Athens, at the foot of the Acropolis, and this place is called Bouzygion.²⁹⁷ The Bouzygai, an aristocratic family from Athens, performed this plowing. They are sometimes referred to as a *genos*.²⁹⁸ The exact location under the Acropolis was characteristic because the plow of the hero Bouzyges, the first man to put an ox to his plow, was dedicated there.²⁹⁹ There is no substantial evidence that this sacred plowing had anything to do with Demeter other than the importance of fertility and agriculture, as is in the case of the other plowings at Skiron and the Rharian plain. However, it has been suggested that the bell krater (Fogg Art Museum inv. 1960.345) depicts Bouzyges, Kekrops, and Demeter (Figure 2). The krater was found at Vari in Attica and dates to the second half of the fifth century B.C. Due to the presence of Kekrops, scholars believe it to be the sacred plowing under the Acropolis. The deity presiding over the ritual holds a scepter in her right hand and probably ears of grain in her left hand. This fits the iconography of Demeter, although initially Athena was suggested.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ IG II² 1672.258-262; Aristid., *Panathenaic Oration* 38.

²⁹⁷ Plut., *Conjugalia Praecepta* 42.144 a-b.

²⁹⁸ Parker (1996) 286-287.

²⁹⁹ Σ Aeschin. 2.78.168; Brumfield (1979) 64.

³⁰⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 145; Simon (1983) 21 and n.16; Beazley, *ARV²* 1115.30. For the first publication of the krater and the identification of the female deity as Athena, see Robinson (1931) 152-160.

Combining these three Sacred Plowings, they seem to celebrate the different steps of the agricultural introduction; the first sowing, the first harvest, and the first ox-plow. According to Cole, the series of plowings also represent Athena's reception of Demeter in Attica:

'The three locations are the important elements. The Rharian field, traditionally Demeter's first stop in Attika, was the field that supplied the grain for the bread used in the Eleusinian ritual. [...] Skiron had a sanctuary of Athena and represented the midpoint of the ties between the major divinity of the central settlement and the major divinity of the Attic periphery. [...] Where the third sacred plowing underscored the ritual unity between Athens and Eleusis.'³⁰¹

While this argument contains several difficulties, such as the Skira's problematic connection to Athena or Demeter, and Parker's observation that Skiron was not located in the middle between Athens and Eleusis, Cole still demonstrates the importance of interpreting these sacred plowings as a whole and their significance in the Athenian sacred landscape.³⁰²



Figure 2. Bell Krater: Bouzyges and the Plough. Photo: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (1960.345).

³⁰¹ Cole (2004) 86-87.

³⁰² Parker (2007) 175.

1.24 Sacred Way: Two sanctuaries along the Road

Walking from Athens to Eleusis, the initiates of the Mysteries came across several sanctuaries, some of which were included in the procession. One of these sanctuaries is a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, located after the tomb of Themistocles and before crossing the Kephisos (the river ran north of Athens down to Peiraeus):³⁰³

ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός: σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμάς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δεξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς

‘There is also an altar of Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter. With them Athena and Poseidon are worshipped. There is a legend that in this place Phytalus welcomed Demeter in his home, for which act the goddess gave him the fig tree.’

Poseidon and Athena were also worshiped together with Demeter and Kore in the sanctuary. The story goes that on the sanctuary site, Demeter once visited the house of Phytalus who invited her, for which the goddess gave him a fig tree. Because Phytalus welcomed Demeter into his home, his race received immortal honors.³⁰⁴ This corresponds to the existence of a *genos* called the Phytalidai in Attica.³⁰⁵ We do not know anything about their role as *genos*. The sanctuary is further discussed in the entry ‘1.23 Sacred Plowings at Skiron, Bouzygion, and the Rharian plain’ in connection with the Skira festival and the Sacred Plowing at Skiron.

Across the Kephisos, another sanctuary is located, partially dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Pausanias tells us the following about this sanctuary:³⁰⁶

ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

‘There is a sanctuary in which are set statues of Demeter, her daughter, Athena, and Apollo. At the first it was built in honor of Apollo only.’

It was initially only built for Apollo, and later statues of, among others, Demeter and Kore were added. Since Pausanias says that the sanctuary was only sacred to Apollo *at the beginning* (τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς), the added statues seem to indicate that the sanctuary later also belonged to Demeter, Kore, and Athena.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ Paus. 1.37.2, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918). Kephisos: Strab. 9.1.24.

³⁰⁴ Paus. 1.37.2.

³⁰⁵ Hesch., s.v. Φυταλίδαι.

³⁰⁶ Paus. 1.37.6, transl. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb-ed, 1918).

³⁰⁷ Paus. 1.37.6.

Other than a possible connection to the Sacred Plowing at Skiron for the former sanctuary, there are no other sources about these two sanctuaries of Demeter along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, nor any specific functions of these sanctuaries known. Being along the Sacred Way, they may have played a part during the processions to Eleusis the Greater Mysteries.

1.25 Thorikos

On the east coast of Attica, north of Cape Sounion, the deme Thorikos is located. It was one of the twelve ancient cities founded by Kekrops.³⁰⁸ The site was built on the slopes of a hill and included a fortress with two harbors. The deme was best known for its mines.³⁰⁹ Thorikos is one of the demes of which we still have a sacrificial calendar, from the second half of the fifth century (*IG I³ 256B*). The calendar is a mixture of local rites combined with *polis* festivals. Unfortunately, the calendar does not always include the locations for the sacrifices. Although the sacrificial calendar is in good condition and much of the text has been preserved, it is still difficult to read and interpret the inscription.

The inscription starts with the month of Hekatombaion. During this month, there was a Prerosia offering (τὴν πρηροσίαν), mentioned in line 5. However, the actual Prerosia took place in Boedromion, as indicated in the calendar (line 13). Therefore, Parker and Lupu suggested that the sacrifice of the Prerosia was divided into two phases, a pre-plowing sacrifice in the month Hekatombaion and the actual festival in Boedromion.³¹⁰ Brumfield proposed the idea that, as with the announcement of the Eleusinian festival in Athens, the early Prerosia sacrifice would be part of the festival announcement, that would take place a few months later.³¹¹ The date for the Prerosia in the month Boedromion does not match the other deme celebrations of the festival. Therefore, there was no fixed date for the Proerosia in Attica.³¹²

In addition to the Prerosia in Boedromion, there was another sacrifice of an adult animal for Demeter.³¹³ The sacrifice, it seems, is probably not connected to a *polis* festival as it was in the case of the Prerosia, so that it may have been a local tradition.

Later in the calendar, in the month of Elaphebolion, a sacrifice for the Chloia is mentioned. The offering consists of a pregnant ewe (οἶν) (lines 38-39). The date for the Chloia probably differed between the demes. In Marathon, the festival was held in Anthesterion³¹⁴, while the celebration in the deme Paiania was probably held earlier in the year.³¹⁵ However, they generally celebrated it in the spring. The different dates prove that the Chloia was celebrated locally, including in the deme of Thorikos, and probably deeply rooted in a local tradition, such as the Proerosia.

³⁰⁸ Strab. 9.1.20-22.

³⁰⁹ For fort and harbors, see Pseudo Scylax 57; for mining see: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 37.18.2.

³¹⁰ Parker (1987) 141 n.39; Lupu (2009) 127-128.

³¹¹ Brumfield (1976) 58.

³¹² Parker (2007) 196.

³¹³ *IG I³ 256B.21*.

³¹⁴ *IG II² 1358 B.48*.

³¹⁵ *IG I³ 250 A.26-28*.

The third festival of Demeter in the sacrificial calendar is the Antheia in the month of Mounichion. Again, the offering consisted of a pregnant ewe (line 43-44). The Antheia is also present in the sacred law of the deme Paiania, but without a date.³¹⁶ However, the two inscriptions are pretty similar to the cycle of Proerosia, Chloia, and Antheia. All three festivals are linked to the agricultural year in Attica and feature prominently in Thorikos' sacrificial calendar. The Proerosia was celebrated in the fall as a pre-plowing celebration, followed by the Chloia in the spring to celebrate the green shoots, and then the Antheia later in the spring.³¹⁷ Demeter played a vital role in the sacrificial calendar and the religious year of the deme Thorikos. Although the calendar does not specify places for sacrifices, most, if not all, of these festivals were likely celebrated in the deme.

The importance of Demeter in the deme is further emphasized in *the Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The hymn tells the story of Hades abducting Persephone to the underworld and her grieving mother Demeter searching for her daughter. When she arrives as an older woman named Doso near the palace of king Keleus in Eleusis, she tells the daughters of king Keleus the following story:³¹⁸

“τέκνα φίλ’, αἵ τινές ἐστε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων, χαίρετ’, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν μυθήσομαι· οὐ τοι ἀεικές ὑμῖν εἰρομένησιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι. Δὼς <μὲν> ἔμοι γ’ ὄνομα ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ· νῦν αὐτὲ Κρήτηθεν ἐπ’ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης ἦλυθον οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, βίη δ’ ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκη ἄνδρες ληϊστῆρες ἀπήγαγον. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα νηὶ θοῆι Θορικόνδε κατέσχεθον, ἔνθα γυναῖκες ἠπείρου ἐπέβησαν ἀολλέες ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δεῖπνον ἐπηρτύνοντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός· ἀλλ’ ἔμοι οὐ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἤρατο θυμός, λάβρη δ’ ὀρμηθεῖσα δι’ ἠπείροιο μελαίνης φεῦγον ὑπερφιάλους σημάντορας, ὄφρα κε μή με ἀπριάτην περάσαντες ἐμῆς ἀποναίατο τιμῆς. οὕτω δεῦρ’ ἰκόμην ἀλαλημένη, οὐδέ τι οἶδα ἢ τις δὴ γαῖ’ ἐστὶ καὶ οἳ τινες ἐγγεγάασιν.	120	"Dear children, whoever you are of womankind, greetings. Since you ask, I will tell you my tale; it is right to tell you the truth: Doso is my name, given by my lady mother. I came from Crete upon the sea's wide back, not wanting to, but forced against my will, stolen away by pirates. When they landed their swift ship at Thorikos, the women set foot on land all together, and the pirates prepared dinner beside the ship's stern cables. But my spirit longed for no pleasant meal. Secretly hurrying through the darkened land I fled my arrogant leaders, so they could not sell me, an unbought slave, and enjoy my purchase price. After wandering so, I came here, not knowing at all what land this is or who lives here.
	125	
	130	

³¹⁶ JG I³ 250 A.8; 29-32.

³¹⁷ Parker (2007) 195.

³¹⁸ *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 119-134, transl. D.J. Rayor (2014).

According to this version of the hymn, Demeter's first stop in Attica was at Thorikos, where she arrived along with the pirates she then fled. Only after wandering through Attica does she arrive at Eleusis. The hymn does not mention anything specific about Thorikos, but it is the only other site mentioned besides Eleusis. This indicates that Thorikos could have been an important place for the cult of Demeter or at least that Demeter was considered an important goddess by the people of Thorikos themselves.

Scholars also pointed to evidence for a sanctuary of Demeter at Thorikos. In 1754, a structure was found, which Le Roy then identified as a temple.³¹⁹ A second excavation, including by Bedford, in 1813 led to the conclusion that the building was a stoa.³²⁰ In the nineteenth century, the Greek Archaeological Society dated the structure to the 5th century B.C. It concluded that the high quality of the craftsmanship, a *horos* inscription referring to a temple of the Two Goddesses (*IG II² 2600*), and a fragment of an Archaic female statue indicate that the building was a temple of Demeter and Kore.³²¹ Dinsmoor even interpreted it as a telesterion. However, without arguing why or based on what evidence.³²² It was also suggested that the building was an Eleusinion due to the strong presence of Eleusinian rites in the deme,³²³ because of the *horos* inscription that refers to two goddesses (τοῖν θεοῖν), and the cultic vessels found in and near Thorikos that seem to indicate an important Eleusinian cult.³²⁴ While this can indeed be interpreted as evidence for a cult of Demeter in an Eleusinian context, there is no substantial reference for an Eleusinion in the deme. It might as well have been another kind of sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, for example, a Thesmophorion as in the case of Peiraeus.

After 1959, excavations in the ancient Agora of Athens have uncovered ancient blocks in the Post-Herulian wall deriving from the structure at Thorikos, which were also previously used for a Roman temple in the southeastern corner of the Agora. Thompson and Whycherley have suggested that since the later temples used elements from the temple of Demeter and Kore at Thorikos, and perhaps even the statue, the temple on the Athenian Agora was also a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.³²⁵ However, Dinsmoor jr. later stated that the Thorikos blocks belonged to another Roman structure on the Agora, the temple to the west. Even more importantly, he argued that since the findspot of the *horos* at Thorikos is unknown and dates to the 4th rather than the 5th century B.C., it cannot be connected to the structure at Thorikos with any certainty.³²⁶

Recently, many scholars agree with Bedford's early assumption that the building was a stoa, albeit with a rather unusual plan. The stoa is separated by a cross wall along the center of the building, creating two rooms that a door may connect. According to Miles, the building could even function as

³¹⁹ Le Roy (2004) 238-240; 309-312.

³²⁰ Bedford (1817) 57-59 with plates I-III.

³²¹ Staïs (1893) 12-17. For further information on the identification of the temple as the temple of Demeter and Kore, see Boersma (1970) 78-79, 137, 188.

³²² Dinsmoor (1950) 169-170.

³²³ Osborne (1985) 177; Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 148.

³²⁴ Wijma (2013) 201 n.24.

³²⁵ Thompson and Whycherley (1972) 167-168.

³²⁶ Dinsmoor (1982) 434-438.

a propylon. The two widened intercolumniations in the middle of the two long facades indicate some passage through the building. In the drawing below (Figure 3) by Miles, based on an earlier plan by Petrakos (1997), she included the door in the central cross wall. She does agree with Stais that the monumental character of the building and the high quality of the workmanship does indicate a religious or commemorative setting, but there is no evidence whatsoever to link anything to a sanctuary of Demeter.³²⁷

Considering the presence of Demeter in the sacrificial calendar of Thorikos, the importance of the site to the myth of Demeter and her connection to Attica and Eleusis, and the *horos* stone denoting a *temenos* for the Two Goddesses, it is most likely that the deme had its own sanctuary for Demeter and Kore, perhaps even an Eleusinion. However, there is no evidence to correlate this evidence with the structure discussed above.

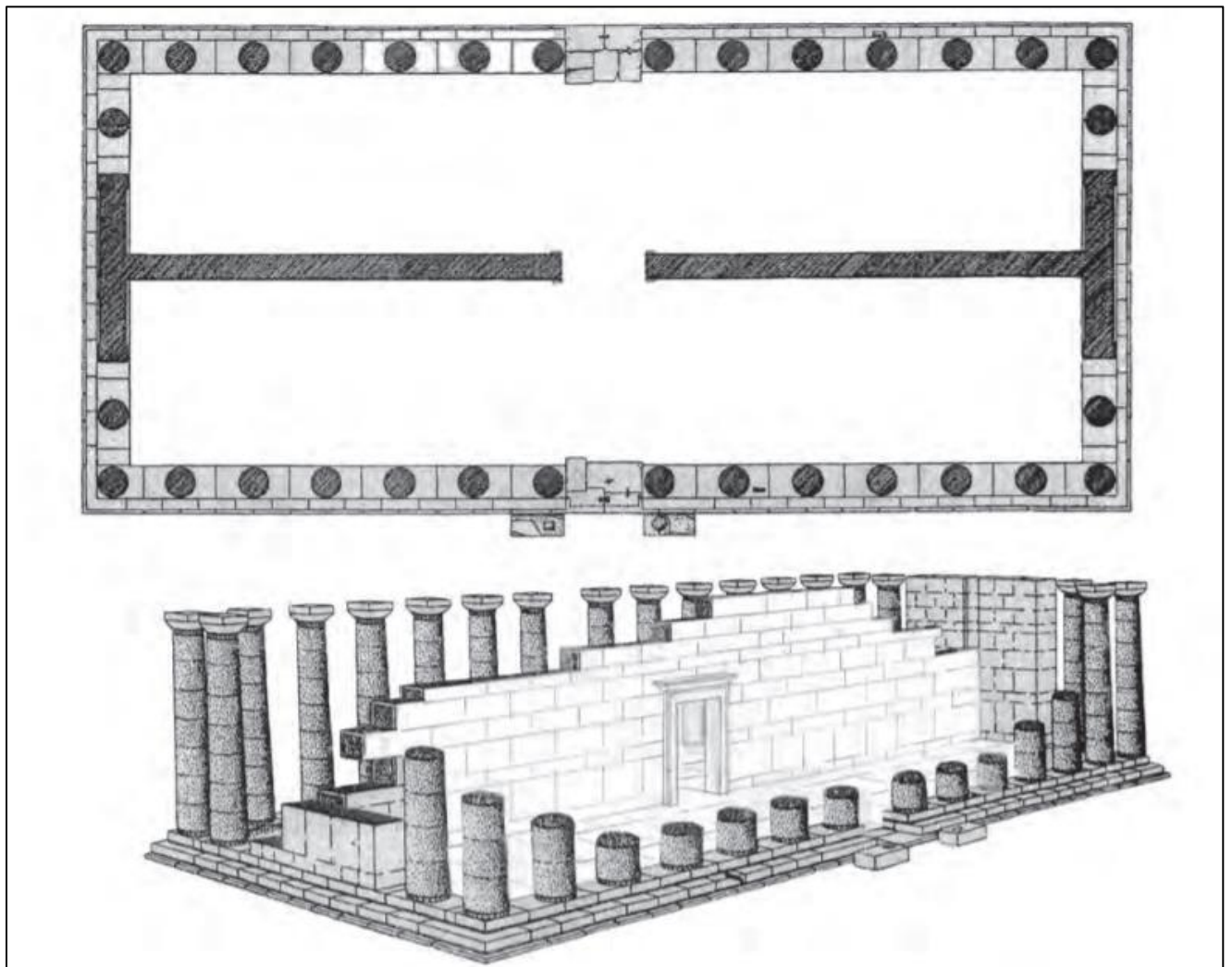


Figure 3. Plan and drawing of Stoa, by Miles (2015) 171.

³²⁷ Miles (2015) 170-172.

PART II: ANALYTIC STUDIES

CHAPTER 2. The placement of Demeter's cult sites

2.1. Introduction

The cult sites of Demeter can be found all over Attica. We expect to find her sanctuaries near the farmland in the countryside of the *polis* or, more generally, in nature. However, the descriptions in the previous chapter prove that her cult sites can also be found in the city of Athens. The placement of Demeter's cult sites is much more complex than perhaps expected beforehand, and it involves more than just the agricultural aspects of the *polis*. In this chapter, I will take a closer look at the different locations of these cult sites, the natural features surrounding them (also within the city), and the mythical traditions behind them. As mentioned in the introduction, Cole already studied the placement of Demeter's sanctuaries in Greece in general. She underlined the importance of 'the function of the divinity, the demands of the ritual, and the social organization of the community' for the location of sanctuaries in general.³²⁸ I will compare the findings of Attica with Cole's analysis of Demeter's cult sites and see whether they correspond with each other or maybe some component needs to be added to the general pattern presented by Cole.

It is important to note that the sources do not provide a complete overview of the cult sites of Demeter in Attica since many sanctuaries are still unknown. In addition, the exact location of a cult site is not always known, especially in the case of sanctuaries referred to in the deme documents. Therefore, it is difficult to remark anything on the general placement of the cult sites. Nevertheless, there are still some similarities and parallels to be found between the cult sites that give insight into the sacred landscape of Demeter in Attica. Perhaps this new information can also help in a more targeted search for Attic cult sites of Demeter in archaeological research today. In my analysis of the cult sites of Demeter, I will first concentrate on the cult sites located in Athens. Afterward, the focus will be on the sanctuaries in the demes outside of the city. There are also a few cult sites specifically connected to a physical landmark. Therefore, I will discuss the influence of the physical landscape on Demeter's cult sites. At last, I will take a closer look at the mythical landscape of Attica and the impact of these myths on the placement of Demeter's cult sites.

2.2 The City

Though one might not expect sanctuaries for the goddess of agriculture within the urban environment of a city, Athens included several sanctuaries belonging to Demeter.

³²⁸ Cole (2001) 201.

2.2.1 *The Acropolis*

Perhaps the most prominent one in the city was the City Eleusinion. It stood below the Acropolis on the lower north slope, facing the Agora. Because the precinct was situated on the slope, it had a view over the Agora and the lower city. Looking up along the Panathenaic Way, one would see the Propylaea and the Caryatid temple on top of the Acropolis. The City Eleusinion was thus situated between Athens' two most important centers, the Agora and the Acropolis.³²⁹ Because of this location, it looks at first glance like the sanctuary was centrally located. It was, however, made into an isolated area through its layout and specific location within the city. While in the center, the sanctuary was remote from the other cults in the city. It was located higher than the Agora but at the same time significantly lower than the cults on the Acropolis and its steep slopes. In addition, the city of Athens and its center probably originally lay south of the Acropolis, and the Athenians only later moved their focus to the north with Classical Agora. Therefore, the early sanctuary of Demeter was not as centrally located as from the sixth century onwards.³³⁰ In case of its layout, the sanctuary was enclosed with a wall to protect the rites performed inside. Cole has noticed this 'sense of isolation' for many of Demeter's sanctuaries. Some sanctuaries of Demeter located in the center of the city 'exploit topographical or geographical features of the site in order to preserve the sense of isolation associated with sanctuaries outside the wall'.³³¹ Therefore, the City Eleusinion combines the central role of its cult in the Athenian *polis* with the usual isolation of Demeter's cult sites.

Furthermore, the rituals also influenced the location of the City Eleusinion. The precinct played a crucial role during the Mysteries as one of the locations for the *mystai* to gather. It needed to be rather large for everybody to fit in. Moreover, as mentioned above, the walls created a secure area for the mysterious secret rites of the Mysteries and women's festivals, like the Thesmophoria.³³² Therefore, the precinct had to be large enough and also closed off for unwanted viewers. In conclusion, the requirements of Demeter's rites influenced the placement of the City Eleusinion, just like Cole argued.

Located even more closely to the Acropolis is the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe, right underneath the Propylaea. This was likely not a big precinct including temples or other buildings but rather a small shrine, as established in chapter 2. From this spot, one can look out over the city and the surrounding agricultural territory; especially the latter was crucial to Demeter. At least from the Roman period onwards, but probably already before, the Athenians believed it was the location where wheat grew for the first time.³³³ The location for the Sacred Plowing performed at Bouzygion under the Acropolis is

³²⁹ For an extensive discussion on the distribution of sanctuaries in Athens, See Parker (2007) 51-56.

³³⁰ Camp (2001) 19.

³³¹ Cole (2001) 2013.

³³² Cole (2001) 216. Thucydides (2.17.1) describes how the City Eleusinion and the Acropolis in Athens could be securely closed off. Furthermore, Pausanias' description (1.14.3) of the City Eleusinion shows that the precinct included an inner sanctuary only available for those initiated, therefore even more secluded.

³³³ *JG* II² 5006.

unknown but might have been related to the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe and therefore located close to the Propylaea.³³⁴

Demeter's cult may not have been located on top of the Acropolis, but she was well represented around the Acropolis. According to Cole, cities with a sanctuary of Demeter on or around the Acropolis and its slopes are exceptional. Demeter's cult sites are mostly found outside the central areas and sometimes not even within the city walls.³³⁵ The city of Athens, with two sanctuaries close to the Acropolis, can therefore be seen as an exception.

2.2.2 The City Gates

Demeter was not only present in the center of the city but also at the city's so-called Sacred and Dipylon Gates at the Kerameikos.³³⁶ Based on Pausanias' description, the sanctuary was located close to the Sacred Way. Therefore, it has been assumed that it was used during the processions of the Mysteries. Thus, the rituals influenced the placement of this sanctuary close to the Sacred Way, similar to the City Eleusinion. Cole also underlines the importance of natural features nearby sanctuaries of Demeter that are used during her rituals, like water.³³⁷ Suppose the sanctuary of Demeter was indeed located near the Sacred Gate through which the river Eridanos entered the city. In that case, the sanctuary of Demeter might have had access to this river as well. All this, however, depends on the exact location of the sanctuary, which is still unknown.

The location near the gates of Athens represents the border between the city and the countryside of the *polis*. In his work on the formation of the *polis* and the nonurban sanctuaries, De Polignac demonstrated the importance of sanctuaries on thresholds, not just of the *polis* but also boundaries in general.³³⁸ Although this sanctuary probably originally marked the exact border of the city and overlooked the agricultural fields of the *polis*, it was later swallowed up by the growing city of Athens. In the case of other rural sanctuaries in Attica, it is also quite possible that they were initially built in a rural setting but became part of the city over time. Cole mentions several more sanctuaries of Demeter located between the urban and agricultural territories, especially in the older Greek cities like Knossos and Corinth.³³⁹ The sanctuary at the gates of Athens corresponds with these cities, and it gives the impression that the sanctuary was already present at Athens in its formative stage. However, it is impossible to confirm this because there is no archaeological evidence and only a few literary descriptions from later periods.

³³⁴ Miller (1970) 230 n.17.

³³⁵ Cole (2001) 209-211.

³³⁶ Since the sanctuary is only referred to by Pausanias (1.2.4), it is challenging to locate the actual sanctuary. French (1992/1993) suggested a structure south of the Sacred Way as location, but there is as yet no clear evidence for this identification.

³³⁷ Cole (2001) 204.

³³⁸ De Polignac (1995).

³³⁹ Cole (2001) 208.

2.3 The Demes

As demonstrated in chapter 2, many Attic demes had a sanctuary of Demeter. In the following two chapters, I will look at some festivals celebrated in these sanctuaries. I will also pay special attention to the spread of Eleusinia throughout Attica. Here, we will focus on the location and placement of the cult sites of Demeter in the demes. It has to be noted that the exact locations of these sanctuaries are unknown. Only for a few of them have archaeologists tried to connect the literary references to specific architectural findings, but not convincingly thus far. Luckily, we can deduct some information from the remaining literary and epigraphical sources.

Cult sites for Demeter can be found in demes all over Attica, but we find them primarily in Attica's central and southern demes. The Marathonian Tetrapolis is the only exception in the northeast of Attica. Some of these sanctuaries were used during the Thesmophoria, although that does not mean that they are all called 'Thesmophorion', like the one in Peiraeus. The sanctuaries can be found both in smaller and larger demes. Some of the larger demes had their own Eleusinion (as I will argue in chapter 3), but smaller demes, like Halimous and Prospalta, may well have had a sanctuary of Demeter. There is no evidence for a cult site of Demeter in the smallest Attic demes.³⁴⁰ This could indicate that they did not have a sanctuary for Demeter but used the sanctuaries from neighboring demes or perhaps had a simple shrine for Demeter within their deme. However, we need to be careful with these conclusions since the absence of these sources does not necessarily indicate there was no cult site. Since Demeter, as the goddess of agriculture, was essential to all the Athenians and especially to the farmers in the countryside, it is very likely that she was also worshiped in these smaller demes. Besides, just an altar would be enough to worship her. The example of Myrrhinous and Phlya, as mentioned by Pausanias, shows that it is also possible for demes to combine many altars in one sanctuary.³⁴¹

As we saw with the City Eleusinion, it was located on a hill against the Acropolis. The sanctuary at Eleusis resembles this pattern. It was also located directly underneath the acropolis of Eleusis. It is very well possible that other demes in Attica followed this structure and built their sanctuary of Demeter on a hill or just beneath their small acropolis or religious center. As I will discuss later in chapter 4, demes often tried to mirror the city of Athens in their own religious system. In the case of Demeter's cult, they perhaps instead follow the Eleusinian example. The sanctuary at Eleusis was also built on top of remains from the Bronze Age.³⁴² These Bronze Age remains are not present in the City Eleusinion in Athens, which can only be dated as an open-air cult site to the mid-7th century B.C. and possibly earlier.³⁴³ As we will discuss later in this chapter, some of these sanctuaries do refer to their ancient past

³⁴⁰ Following Traill (1975) for his estimations of the size of the demes and their representations in the council.

³⁴¹ Pausanias (1.31.4) mentions a temple shared by Phlya and Myrrhinous containing altars of 'Demeter Anesidora, Zeus Ctesius, Tithrone Athena, First-born Kore, and the Furies'.

³⁴² See Cosmopoulos (2015) *Bronze Age Eleusis and the Origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries*.

³⁴³ Miles (1998) 16-18.

and mythical traditions. However, there is no archaeological evidence to connect these ancient claims to actual remains from early periods like the Bronze Age, Geometric period, or the early Archaic period.

2.4 Physical features of Demeter's cult sites

The cult sites of Demeter are especially connected to the agricultural territories; therefore, she has a rather prominent presence in the landscape of Demeter when compared to other deities like Athena and Dionysos.³⁴⁴ However, she can also be connected to other specific physical elements of the landscape.

One element that often occurs in the description of Demeter's cult sites is the presence of water. I already mentioned it before with the sanctuary near the river Eridanos in Athens, but there are other sanctuaries where this was the case. The sanctuary at Agrai, just outside Athens, was also located near a river, the Ilissos. We know that they used the river during the purification ritual of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai. This ritual use of the river is similar to the purification ritual at Phaleron during the Greater Mysteries, although the bay of Phaleron was used instead of a river. These rituals, requiring proximity to water, played an essential role in the placement of the sanctuaries of Demeter, as already argued by Cole.³⁴⁵ Furthermore, there are also springs and wells mentioned in or around the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary at Eleusis. In the case of Eleusis, the Callichoron well and Parthenion well were at least part of the actual sanctuary.³⁴⁶ Perhaps this was also in the case of the City Eleusinion. The City Eleusinion was situated close to the Klepsydra spring, but it is uncertain whether the spring was used during rites.³⁴⁷ However, the other examples of the connection of Demeter with nearby water prove that it is quite possible.

Besides the importance of water during purification rituals, water was also a necessary for agriculture.³⁴⁸ Therefore, the availability of water is essential to Demeter's worship, even outside of these purification rituals. For example, another connection between Demeter and water is also present in the Rheitoi rivers, sacred to Demeter and Kore. The rivers, located between Eleusis and Athens, belonged to Demeter and Kore, and only their priestesses were able to fish in these rivers.³⁴⁹ Lastly, there is the local rite of women dancing on the shore at Cape Kolias.³⁵⁰ Although there is no reference to the use of the sea here, I believe it is striking that this ritual took place on the shore instead of inside the sanctuary of Demeter located nearby.

Besides rivers and springs, the sanctuaries of Demeter are also related to rocks a few times. The most important rock is arguably the Mirthless rock in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. Demeter sat

³⁴⁴ Cole (2001) 201.

³⁴⁵ Cole (2001) 201, 204.

³⁴⁶ For more information on these wells, see '1.9 Eleusis'.

³⁴⁷ Miles (1998) 31.

³⁴⁸ Cole (201) 204-205.

³⁴⁹ Paus. 1.38.1.

³⁵⁰ Σ Aristoph., *Thesm.* 80.

on this while mourning the loss of her daughter. A rocky outcrop in the City Eleusinion may also have held a significant position in the sanctuary.³⁵¹

Often, sanctuaries of Demeter were located on the side of a hill.³⁵² One could look over the surrounding lands from the hill, including the agricultural territories. This way, Demeter symbolically watches over and protects her crops and fields. Even sanctuaries inside an urban center on a hill are therefore focused on the regions outside of the city. This association between Demeter and hillsides originated from *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and the placement of the sanctuary at Eleusis. In the hymn,³⁵³ Demeter gives the Eleusinians instructions to build a temple and altar for Demeter ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῶ ('on the rising hill'). The City Eleusinion was also located on a hill, namely the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis. It is impossible to give the location for the other sanctuaries in Attic demes. However, as argued above, the Attic demes sometimes copied the sacred landscape of Athens.³⁵⁴ Therefore, it is likely that some of these deme sanctuaries of Demeter were situated on hillsides and, even more specifically, on the slopes of their acropolis.

The last physical feature of Demeter's cult sites discussed here is the aspect of agricultural land. This feature is perhaps not surprising given the agricultural aspect of Demeter's worship but still needs to be mentioned since it is something unusual for other Greek sanctuaries. The three sacred plowings performed at Skiron, in the Rharian field, and at Athens, where the place is called Bouzygion, indicate that sometimes the agricultural land was part of the sanctuary and used for the rites.³⁵⁵ It is, however, uncertain what happened during these rituals. In the case of the Rharian field, we do know that, besides the sacred plowing performed in the fall, the Eleusinian used the corn of these sacred fields for other religious practices. For example, the winners of the Eleusinian games received part of the sacred crops from the Rharian fields.³⁵⁶ Perhaps the crops from the other sacred lands were also used in a religious context, like sacrifices. In addition, it is not clear what these cult sites looked like and if they even were identical.³⁵⁷ In the case of Skiron, the sacred plowings might have been connected to the Skira festival and the temple of Demeter and Kore located at Skiron. There is no temple mentioned in connection to the other two. It seems unlikely that the place underneath the Acropolis enclosed a large field of crops because there is not that much space available.

³⁵¹ Miles (1998) 20-21. Within Attica, there are no further references to rocks within sanctuaries of Demeter, but Pausanias mentions three other rocks related to Demeter: Hermione (2.34.10); Pheneos (8.15.2); Megara (1.43.2).

³⁵² Béquignon (1958) 149-177.

³⁵³ *Hom. Hymn Dem.*, 298, transl. D.J. Rayor (2014).

³⁵⁴ Parker (2007) 67-68. The best example of this, and the one mentioned by Parker, is the deme of Erchia. According to its sacrificial calendar (*SEG* 21.541), the deme had its own Acropolis and Agora and resembled Athens in its cults. However, the only reference of a sacrifice to Demeter in this deme is at the City Eleusinion, and not in a sanctuary of their own.

³⁵⁵ Plut., *Conjugalia Praecepta* 42.144a-b.

³⁵⁶ *JG* II² 1672.258-262; Aristid., *Panathenaic Oration* 38.

³⁵⁷ It has often been thought that they were identical because Plutarch discusses these three sacred plowings collectively.

Besides these three sacred plowings, there were also sacred *Orgas* of Demeter and Kore on the border between Megara and Eleusis. Generally, it was forbidden to cultivate these fields or use them. However, this was not always the case, as evidenced by the various disputes between Megara and Athens and a decree regarding a possible lease of the Sacred *Orgas*.³⁵⁸ All these examples show that the agricultural fields are sometimes also an essential part of the rites and cult sites of Demeter.

2.5 The Mythical Landscape

Finally, it is also possible to say something about how myths helped the Athenians place their sanctuaries or how myths explained to the Athenians the location of their sanctuaries. The most well-known example is *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which mentions that Demeter orders the Eleusinians to build a temple at Eleusis, where she can teach them her secrets.³⁵⁹ Combining the different myths, Demeter was believed to have not only wandered around Eleusis but all over Attica. First, she arrived at Thorikos according to *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.³⁶⁰ In the Homeric myth, she soon afterward arrives at Eleusis, where Keleus' daughters bring her to the palace. However, there are more versions of Demeter visiting different places in Attica. Along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, there is a sanctuary of Demeter at the place where Phytalus one welcomed her into his home. He received a fig tree for this, which was considered the first fruit harvest given by the goddess.³⁶¹ It is also said that Demeter once visited the house of a man named Erchios, after whom they named the deme Erchia.³⁶² Building on these two examples, it is possible that there were more similar mythical tales of Demeter visiting the homes of Athenians all over Attica and later becoming the basis of a local cult.

The sacred plowings at different locations demonstrate the introduction of agriculture in Attica through myths. While the fig tree at Skiron was the first fruit harvest given by Demeter, they also commemorated the place because of its 'most ancient of sowings'.³⁶³ The same goes for the sacred plowing at the Rharian plain of Eleusis, which is said to be the first fields to be sown and grow crops.³⁶⁴ The sacred plowing at Bouzygion, on the other hand, was a commemoration of the first ox-yoke used. Another sanctuary that identifies one of the 'firsts' in Attica is the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe on the Athenian Acropolis. It was supposed to be where wheat grew for the first time.³⁶⁵ Together these cult sites reveal the story of the introduction of agriculture and various crops in general in Attica. Generally, the myths explain the location of these cult sites within the landscape and show the mythical and physical presence of Demeter in Attica, mainly around the Athens-Eleusis area but also outside this region.

³⁵⁸ *JG* II³ 1 292.

³⁵⁹ *Hom. Hymn Dem.*, 270-274.

³⁶⁰ *Hom. Hymn Dem.*, 136-139

³⁶¹ Paus. 1.37.2.

³⁶² Steph. Byz., *Ethnika* no. 138.

³⁶³ Plut., *Conjugalia Praecepta* 42.144 a-b.

³⁶⁴ Paus. 1.38.6; *Hom. Hymn Dem.*, 450-456.

³⁶⁵ *JG* II² 5006.

2.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed the different locations of Demeter's cult sites. Although, as expected, they can be found in an agricultural context in nature, there are also many sanctuaries located in Athens or in an urban environment in general. Overall, these cult sites seem to confirm Cole's hypothesis of considerations that influenced the placement of the cult sites. First, the function of the divinity; the agricultural concerns of Demeter are always present in her cult sites, even in the city. The urban sanctuaries are elevated on a hill, so they still overlook the agricultural fields outside of the city. Moreover, their created sense of isolation mimics the isolated rural sanctuaries. This isolation is also an important requirement for Demeter's rites taking place in the cult sites, just like the size of the sanctuary and the availability of water. Although these ritual demands are better met in the countryside, the Athenians also recreate them in their city. Often these ritual demands correspond to Demeter's agricultural concerns, like the presence of water and the isolated and rural setting of the sanctuary. However, the large number of cult sites of Demeter within the center of Athens does form an exception to the general pattern of Demeter's cult sites in Greece. At last, as discussed by Cole, the social organization and formation of the Athenian *polis* also influenced the placement of the cult sites. For example, the cult sites of Demeter in many of the Attic demes.

In addition to Cole's survey of the placement of Demeter's cult sites, I have demonstrated in this chapter the importance of mythical traditions and ancient histories connected to the site, especially those embedded in the physical landscape of Attica. Although these mythical and historical references do not always influence the placement process itself but rather explain them afterward, they were important beliefs and considerations for the Greeks themselves. Another notable factor influencing the placement of cult sites is the way Attic demes try to mirror Athens and Eleusis by simulating these settlements in their center. We see this mirroring phenomenon and the relationship between the demes and Athens and Eleusis in more detail with the specific Eleusinia in Attica in chapter 3 and the celebration of the Proerosia in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3. Eleusinia in Attica

3.1 Introduction

As described in the first chapter, at least two sanctuaries in Attica are called ‘Eleusinion’. The first one is the City Eleusinion (Ἐλευσίνιον ἐν ἄστει) or simply Eleusinion in Athens close to the Acropolis. A ‘City Eleusinion’ indicates a second distinctive Eleusinion outside of the city, which indeed there was, the Eleusinion at Phaleron. As some scholars argued, the third sanctuary referred to as ‘Eleusinion’ is the sanctuary at Eleusis or the Telesterion specifically. These sanctuaries have in common that they were all used as locations during the Eleusinian Mysteries on specific days. The name ‘Eleusinion’ might originate from these secret rites celebrated and performed in their precincts.

Besides these sanctuaries, the name ‘Eleusinion’ also appears in inscriptions from the demes Paiania, Phrearrhioi, and the Marathonian Tetrapolis. ‘Eleusinion’ might refer in these inscriptions to a local sanctuary in their deme or one nearby, which would indicate that there were more sanctuaries called an Eleusinion in Attica besides the three mentioned above. Alternatively, the documents from Paiania, Phrearrhioi, and the Marathonian Tetrapolis refer to one of the already known Eleusinia, either Eleusis, Athens, or Phaleron, and they cannot be considered as evidence for local deme Eleusinia in Attica. In the latter case, it is most likely that the references in the deme inscriptions are to sacrifices of central festivals at Athens, the religious center of the polis. I discussed the epigraphical sources for the potential deme Eleusinia in Paiania, Phrearrhioi, and the Marathonian Tetrapolis separately in chapter 2.

In this chapter, I will combine the sources from Paiania, Phrearrhioi, and the Marathonian Tetrapolis. Unfortunately, there are just three inscriptions to argue that they point towards the presence of local Eleusinia in some of the demes of Attica, and to demonstrate how such sanctuaries integrated into the cult of Demeter by reconsidering the Attic cult of Demeter and reformulating the meaning of ‘Eleusinion’. First, I will comment on the Eleusinia in Athens, Phaleron, and especially Eleusis since I did not discuss the latter in the second chapter. For an extensive description of the sanctuaries of Athens and Phaleron, see chapter 2. Next, I will discuss the sources for the other potential Eleusinia and explain why they, especially when put together, indicate the presence of local deme Eleusinia. I will conclude by taking a closer look at the implications of the possible existence of more Eleusinia than previously assumed and argue that these sanctuaries would fit well within the sacred landscape of Demeter in Attica.

3.2 The Eleusinia of Athens, Phaleron, and Eleusis

The Eleusinion in Athens, also called the City Eleusinion, was related to the sanctuaries at Phaleron and Eleusis first and foremost through the cult. During the Greater Mysteries, held each year for new

initiates, they participated in rites at these three locations. As seen in one of the inscriptions (*IG I³ 32*), the sanctuaries were also administratively and financially connected.³⁶⁶

The City Eleusinion in the center of Athens was a sanctuary for Demeter and Kore, also referred to as the sanctuary of the two goddesses in some sources, but they shared the sanctuary with other deities and heroes, like Plouton and Triptolemus. Other mythological and historical figures also had a prominent place in the precinct, for example, Immarrados and Epimenides.³⁶⁷ The sanctuary is generally referred to as simply ‘Eleusinion’ in literary sources. Authors like Pausanias and Thucydides refer to the Eleusinion in their sources.³⁶⁸ The name ‘Eleusinion ἐν ἄστει’ can only be found in epigraphical sources, especially in inscriptions that also mention other Eleusinia to prevent confusion. For example, the financial accounts from Eleusis from the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*IG II² 1672*). The inscription includes both expenses for the sanctuary at Eleusis as for the City Eleusinion, ‘ἐν ἄστει’.³⁶⁹

The initiates also used the Eleusinion at Phaleron during the Greater Mysteries. However, it is uncertain how the sanctuary was incorporated into the Mysteries and how it was related to the purification ritual around the bay of Phaleron. The only source for the sanctuary (*IG I³ 32*) refers to it as the Eleusinion at Phaleron (Φαληροῦ ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι). There are no further references to the same sanctuary, so it is impossible to say anything about the uses of the sanctuary outside of the Eleusinian Mysteries or how the Athenians would refer to it in another context.

A third sanctuary that I have not yet discussed is the sanctuary of Eleusis. A few inscriptions indicate that the Eleusinian sanctuary was also referred to as an Eleusinion, at least in epigraphical context. The first inscription is a decree concerning the first-fruits dedicated to Demeter and Kore (*IG I³ 78*). The number of crops dedicated by each deme in Attica and city outside of Attica as first-fruits to the two goddesses was recorded on a wooden tablet (πινακίοι), and they placed these boards ‘ἐν τε τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσίνι καὶ ἐν τοῖ βουλευτερίοι’ (in the Eleusinion at Eleusis and the Bouleuterion).³⁷⁰

However, it is unclear where they placed the boards precisely and thus what ‘Eleusinion’ actually means in this case. It could refer to the sanctuary in general. According to Rubensohn, it refers to the Telesterion as a clear roofed building comparable to the Bouleuterion, the other location where these boards were restored. If they stored the wooden tablets in the sanctuary itself, they would be exposed to the weather.³⁷¹ On the other hand, the Telesterion is part of the sanctuary. Therefore, if ‘Eleusinion’ refers to the sanctuary in its entirety, it does not exclude the Telesterion as the exact location for the wooden tablets or any other building that protected it from the rain and sun. This would indicate that the storage location was generally known to the readers of the inscription.

³⁶⁶ *IG I³ 32*.

³⁶⁷ Paus. 1.14.5; Clem. Al., *Protr.* 3.45.

³⁶⁸ Paus. 1.14.3; Thuc. 2.17.1.

³⁶⁹ *IG II² 1672.129, 162, 166, 171, 183, 195, 203, 306*. But there are more references to the City Eleusinion in inscriptions that also mention the sanctuary at Eleusis or even the Eleusinion at Phaleron: *IG I³ 16.B.45-46; IG I³ 32.33-34; IG I³ 386/387.14; IG II³ 1 292.57*.

³⁷⁰ *IG I³ 78a.29-30*.

³⁷¹ Rubensohn (1955) 9-16; Shear Jr. (2016) 192 n.4.

Rubensohn takes it even further by stating that the Bouleuterion refers to the City Eleusinion since the council gathered on the day after the Mysteries inside the City Eleusinion instead of the Bouleuterion. Following this argument, the Bouleuterion might be a reference to the City Eleusinion. According to Rubensohn, it would make sense to state the Telesterion compared to the City Eleusinion.³⁷² However, this does not count exclusively for the Telesterion but the entire sanctuary at Eleusis. Besides, one would expect general use of language without creating any ambiguity, meaning that βουλευτεῖοι most likely refers to the actual Bouleuterion, rather than the City Eleusinion where the council would meet just on a single day. The Bouleuterion is generally where the Athenians kept their archives, at least until the fourth century.³⁷³

One of the other inscriptions that refers to the sanctuary at Eleusis as an Eleusinion gives the impression that ‘Eleusinion’ there included the entire sanctuary.³⁷⁴ It concerns the inventories of the sanctuary at Eleusis but also includes items in the City Eleusinion (*IG I³ 386*). It refers to the City Eleusinion as ‘ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι τοῖ ἐν ἄσ[τει]’ and the sanctuary at Eleusis as ‘ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι’.³⁷⁵ Therefore, it is likely that ‘Eleusinion’ refers to the entire sanctuary at Eleusis instead of the Telesterion as argued by Rubensohn and is, therefore, used similarly to Athens and Phaleron. Perhaps the wooden tablets that included the first-fruit offerings were also placed at Eleusis in their Bouleuterion.³⁷⁶

The three Eleusinia of Athens, Eleusis, and Phaleron form a group of sanctuaries related to each other through the Greater Mysteries. The initiates and sacred objects travel from one place to another while performing different rites. All three of them are called an Eleusinion in one or more inscriptions, but the City Eleusinion is the only sanctuary for which there is substantial evidence for this name. Although the sanctuary at Phaleron is clearly referred to as ‘the Eleusinion at Phaleron’ in *IG I³ 32*, there are no sources to compare. The Eleusinion at Eleusis is a relatively unique reference since there are only two instances when the sanctuary is referred to as an Eleusinion. all the other times, it is called the sanctuary at Eleusis or the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (at Eleusis).

3.3 Local deme Eleusinia

The Eleusinia described above demonstrate that the sanctuaries’ names were not as certain and definite as scholars often use them nowadays. Except for the City Eleusinion in Athens, the name Eleusinion was only used for the sanctuaries at Phaleron and Eleusis in epigraphical context and, more specifically, in decrees. There are, however, three other inscriptions – from the demes Paiania, Phrearrhioi, and

³⁷² Rubensohn (1955) 6.

³⁷³ Sickinger (1999) 81-83, 148-149.

³⁷⁴ For more references to the Eleusinion of Eleusis, see *IG II² 1363.A.1*; *IG II² 1672.6*; *IG II² 1673.81*. Rubensohn (1955) argues that they refer to the Telesterion specifically for each of these references. However, these references are even more complex, and it is not even sure they refer to Eleusis at all; see Rubensohn (1955) 16-25.

³⁷⁵ *IG I³ 386.14*, 20.

³⁷⁶ *IG II² 1078.42-43*.

Marathon – that mention an Eleusinion. Some scholars also believe that there were Eleusinia at Brauron and Thorikos, but as I have argued in chapter 2, there is no actual evidence for these sanctuaries.³⁷⁷ Therefore I will leave them out of this chapter. However, it would be possible for these demes to have had their own Eleusinion, considering the sacred landscape shaped by these Eleusinia, as I will argue later.

3.3.1 Paiania

The first inscription is a decree issued by the deme of Paiania and contains regulations for different cults at Paiania (*IG I³ 250*). The decree starts with a few sacred duties for the priestess and religious officials during the Skira, Antheia, and Proerosia, like providing the meat and equipment. From line 15 onwards, the decree looks like a sacrificial calendar, naming specific sacrifices for different festivals and the priestly perquisites afterward. Unlike the sacrificial calendars, it does not include the dates on which they performed sacrifices or any chronology. However, the decree does mention the locations for the sacrifices, most prominently an Eleusinion. The question is what kind of Eleusinion is meant here. It could refer to a local Eleusinion of the deme or one of the more central Eleusinia, most likely Athens in this case.³⁷⁸

It is difficult to establish the meaning of ‘Eleusinion’ in this decree. First of all, because the inscription is severely damaged, especially on the inscription’s back (face B). Consequently, the connection between the front and back sides is uncertain. The backside seems to copy the sacrifices of the front side, but with slight differences. Secondly, and most importantly, the meaning of ‘Eleusinion’ is difficult to establish because of the recurring word ‘τεῖδε’ in the text:³⁷⁹

<p>τεῖδε χοῖρος : ἐς τὸ Ἐλευ- σίνιον Δαίραι ἀμνὲ : Πρε- ρόαρχος ννν : ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσί- νιον : Πρεροσίον τέλεον θεῖλον χοῖρος ἄρρεν [:] ἀπόμ- τρα τεταρτεῦς : τεῖδε ηε- μιτετάρτεον νν : πρεροσ- ιάδον χριθὼν ἡύε δύο ἄρρεν καὶ θέλεια : ἀπόμ- ετρα [:] τεταρτεῦς : τεῖδε ἡμιτετάρτεον vacat ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον : Χλοα- ῖα χοίρ [ο] ἄρρεν καὶ θέλει-</p>	<p>15 20 25</p>	<p>Here (in Paiania?), a piglet; into the Eleusinion, for Daeira, a female lamb, leader-of-the-Prerosia (?); into the Eleusinion, for the Prerosia, an adult female animal, a male piglet; priestly prerogative, a quarter measure; here, a half-quarter measure for the barley grains of the Prerosia, two pigs, one male and one female; priestly prerogative, a quarter measure; here, a half-quarter measure; Into the Eleusinion, for the Chloia, a pair of piglets, one male and one female;</p>
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³⁷⁷ For Brauron, see chapter ‘1.13 Marathonian Tetrapolis’; Thorikos ‘1.25 Thorikos’.

³⁷⁸ For a more extensive discussion of the entire inscription, see ‘1.16 Paiania’.

³⁷⁹ *IG I³ 250.15-32*, transl. Carbon & Peels (*CGRN 25*).

α : ἀπόμετρα : τρεῖς :III νν		priestly prerogatives, 3 obols.
ἐς Ἄνθεια ἡῦς κριτὲ {ν} ν		For the Antheia,
κύοσα χοῖρος : ἄρρεν : ἀπ-	30	a selected pregnant sow, a male piglet;
όμετρα [:] τεταρτεύς : τε-		priestly prerogatives, a quarter measure;
ἰδε ἡμιτετάρτεον νν		here, a half-quarter measure. [...]

The sacrifices mentioned above are all the sacrifices mentioned on side A of the inscription. The more fragmented text on side B of the inscription seems to copy this text almost precisely.

The interpretation of ‘Eleusinion’ has primarily been understood in connection to the meaning of ‘τεῖδε’. So, there are sacrifices performed in the Eleusinion and others taking place ‘here’ (τεῖδε), which indicates that the Eleusinion was likely located outside of the deme.³⁸⁰ However, it could still refer to any Eleusinion, the City Eleusinion of Athens, and a potential Eleusinion of a neighboring deme. ‘here’ could also refer to a specific location within the deme and then a location for the Eleusinion within the deme would still be possible.

Although scholars almost always refer to this interpretation, I believe it is more complicated, and the interpretation of ‘τεῖδε’ is less certain. While scholars usually connect ‘τεῖδε’ to the sacrifices, the phrase is, except for line 15, which is problematic because there is no recipient mentioned in connection to the piglet, always followed by and related to the priestly prerogatives. For example, in lines 20-24, two pigs are sacrificed for the Prerosia. The ‘ἡμιτετάρτεον’ mentioned before are connected to the barley for the Prerosia, but the open space afterward could also be interpreted as the start of a new sentence. The half-quarter measure would then belong to the priestly perquisites of lines 19-20. The phrases of ‘τεῖδε’ in lines 24 and 31-32 are also followed by open spaces. The sacrifice of the adult female animal and male piglet (lines 18-19), the barley (line 21), and the two pigs (lines 22-23) could all refer back to the Eleusinion as mentioned in line 17. It is not sure what the meaning of ‘τεῖδε’ could be in connection to the priestly perquisites, perhaps a female dative. Nilsson suggested that ‘τεῖδε’ might refer to the priestess, who is also mentioned earlier in the text in line 5.³⁸¹ This would mean they divided the priestly perquisites into two parts. Even though this interpretation of ‘τεῖδε’ raises new questions that we need to answer regarding the priestly perquisites and the piglet mentioned in line 15, it corresponds better with the structure of the text and the open spaces between different entries.

If ‘τεῖδε’ no longer refers to the location of the sacrifice, the meaning of ‘Eleusinion’ also no longer depends on it. Combined with the local focus of the inscriptions, as evident from the local officials who provide the sacrificial animals and equipment but also receive the prerogatives afterward, the sacrifices during the Prerosia, the Chloia, and Antheia could very well have taken place in a local Eleusinion administered by the deme of Paiania. The local emphasis can be found in the entire inscription, starting with the local priestess and religious officials who need to provide the sacrificial

³⁸⁰ Humphreys (2004) 154-155.

³⁸¹ Nilsson (1944) 70-76.

animal and equipment (lines A1-14). Of the subsequently mentioned sacrifices, the priestess – likely the priestess (of Demeter) of Paiania as already mentioned in line 5 – receives the priestly perquisites. The exact measurements of the perquisites are not sure and depend on the meaning of ‘τεῖδε’, as argued above. However, receiving the prerogatives generally implies that the priestess was responsible for the sacrifice itself or even the controlling authority of the sanctuary.³⁸² If that is the case, it would be rather strange for the local priesthood of Paiania to receive these perquisites for the sacrifice that took place in the Eleusinion at Athens or Eleusis. On the stele’s backside, the inscription continues with similar sacrifices, but from line 33 onwards, switches to the priestly perquisites given to the priestess of Hekate and the duties of the *zakoros* (temple attendant). Which again emphasizes the local focus of the inscription. Thus, the Eleusinion, as referred to in this deme decree, could very well be located inside the deme and used at least for sacrificing during the Perrosia, Chloia, and Antheia. Instead of referring to one of the central Eleusinia in Athens or Eleusis.

3.3.2 *Phrearrhioi*

A sacred law from Phrearrhioi (*SEG* 35.113) also refers to an Eleusinion. I will not quote the inscription here since the entire text has already been quoted in the second chapter.³⁸³ The sacred law contains regulation for a cult that included a sacrifice for Demeter Thesmophoros (line 2) but was also connected to the Eleusinian deities like Plouton and Iakchos (lines 7 and 26).

The rites, connected to the Eleusinian cult, were performed in the Eleusinion. This sanctuary, as described in the text, included: several altars for the two goddesses (line 9, 15, 18, and 20); an altar of Plouton (line 19); and a court (line 23). This description of the sanctuary sounds similar to the precincts of the City Eleusinion and the Eleusinian sanctuary that both included a forecourt and inner sanctuary, the latest only open to those initiated into Demeter’s rites. Furthermore, there was also a sanctuary of Plouton (Ploutonion) connected to the sanctuary at Eleusis and the City Eleusinion. However, in the case of Athens, it is not sure whether it was in or nearby the Eleusinion. Because of the similarities between these sanctuaries, scholars have thought that the Eleusinion mentioned in the sacred law of Phrearrhioi was a reference to the City Eleusinion.³⁸⁴ Besides, the Eleusinian context of the text, especially the reference to Iakchos as the leader of the procession, would only make sense in connection to Athens. Therefore, the rites could only take place in Athens.³⁸⁵ More precisely, the rites were performed during the Mysteries. According to Simms, the sacrifices and rites in the inscription belonged to the second day of the Mysteries, through which the deme of Phrearrhioi participated in the Mysteries.³⁸⁶

³⁸² Parker (2007) 333.

³⁸³ See ‘1.20 Phrearrhioi’.

³⁸⁴ Simms (1998) 102-103.

³⁸⁵ Robertson (1996) 351 n. 93, 358.

³⁸⁶ Simms (1998) 101-106.

While most scholars agree with Simms that the inscription attests to the deme's participation in the Mysteries,³⁸⁷ Vanderpool initially interpreted the sacred law as a set of regulations for a local cult of the Phrearrhioi. He published the inscription for the first time in 1970.³⁸⁸ Instead of a deme document, it could also be interpreted as regulations for a local Eleusinion.³⁸⁹ Except for Iakchos, that according to Simms, could only make sense in connection to Athens, the inscription concerns entirely local deme elements. The demesmen, for example, have a central position in the law (lines 8 and 12), and similar to the regulations in the inscription of the Paianians, the local religious officials receive the priestly prerogatives. Because of this emphasis on the deme in the sacred law, Simms argues that the deme participated as a whole on the second day of the Mysteries. However, as Wijma rightfully argues, the participation of a deme does not correspond with the strong individual focus of the Mysteries. There is no evidence for deme participation in the Mysteries in one of the sacrificial calendars of Attic demes or even any other local cult on one of the days during the Mysteries.³⁹⁰ Moreover, the physical and cultic similarities between the Eleusinion of Phrearrhioi and the ones at Athens and Eleusis are not arguments against the presence of local deme Eleusinia but fit within the framework of the Eleusinia, as I will argue in this chapter.

The Eleusinion at Phrearrhioi was the place for rites that included both agricultural aspects through Demeter Thesmophoros (line 2) and more eschatological aspects through the Eleusinian deities like Iakchos and Plouton. Perhaps in the Eleusinion, there were also rites performed for Demeter Phrearrhioi, the goddess is likely mentioned in line 13.³⁹¹ As opposed to the demesmen (line 8), the 'others' mentioned in the text is likely a broad term referring to anybody who wants to participate in their local Eleusinian rites, in which they, according to Wijma, mimic the inclusiveness of the Mysteries at Eleusis.³⁹²

3.3.3 *Marathon*

The last inscription that I will discuss is the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*IG II²* 1358). The calendar includes sacrifices from the four different demes associated with the Marathonian Tetrapolis and communal sacrifices by the Tetrapolis. The sacrifices start with the month and date, the deity, sometimes a specific location, the sacrificial animal and its price, and the priestly perquisites. The heroes and deities referred to in the sacrificial calendar attribute to the local context of the inscription. The inscription mentions many local heroes and ancestral divinities, like Hyttenios (line A2.30) and Aristomachos (line A2.19). Some of the sacrifices are further clarified by adding the specific location.

³⁸⁷ For participation of the deme in the Mysteries, see Robertson (1996) 351 n.93; Simms (1998) 101-106; Parker (2007) 333.

³⁸⁸ Vanderpool (1970) 47-53.

³⁸⁹ Osborne (1985) 177-182.

³⁹⁰ Wijma (2013) 101.

³⁹¹ Simms (1998) 92.

³⁹² Wijma (2013) 202-204.

All of these sites are related to the landscape of the deme. For example, in the case of Marathon, the text mentions a sacrifice to Chloe ‘by the property of Meidylos’ (line A2.49) and sacrifices to Ge ‘in the fields’ (line A2.9) and ‘at the oracle’ (line A2.13 and 17). These cult sites are primarily local and demonstrate together with the divinities the overall local emphasis of this sacrificial calendar.

The first column of sacrifices – it is not sure to which deme this column belongs – mentions the Eleusinion as one of the locations for a sacrifice (line A1.17).³⁹³

[.....c.11.....] τάδε τοῦ τῶν ἐν		[...] the following
[.....c.9.... ἐ]νιαυτοῦ ἕκαστον		[...] in the year of [...] each
[.....c.9....]α ἐξῆς ὡς γέγραπται	15	[...] in order as is written
[.....c.11.....]τον τὸν ἐν ταῖς		[...] the one on the
[.....c.10.... π]αρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον		[...] by the Eleusinion
[.....c.11.....]ωι ἐν Κυνοσούραι		[...] in Kynosoura
[...c.8.... παρ]ὰ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον		[...] by the Herakleion

Unfortunately, the context of the divinity, the sacrifice, and the date is lost. Therefore, nothing can be said about the use of this Eleusinion here; the sacrifice might even have taken place outside of the sanctuary since the text states *παρὰ* instead of *ἐν*. However, considering the local emphasis of the calendar, the reference to the Eleusinion without any other specification needs to refer to an Eleusinion located in one of the Tetrapolis’ demes. Besides, all the other locations mentioned in the text are likely also located in the Tetrapolis.³⁹⁴

The sacrificial calendar of the individual deme of Marathon refers to several sacrifices to Demeter but does not mention the Eleusinion in this case. These sacrifices are to Demeter Achaia (line A2.27-28), Demeter Eleusinia (lines A2.43 and 48), and Demeter Chloe (line A2.49). However, she is only referred to by her epithets in the text. The sacrifice to Chloe took place somewhere else (‘by the property of Meidylos’), but it is very well possible that the other sacrifices to Achaia and Eleusinia took place in the Eleusinion.

Comparing this sacrificial calendar and the other two inscriptions of Phrearrhioi and Paiania to the sacrificial calendar of Erchia, reveals an interesting difference. The Erchian calendar does specify the Eleusinion mentioned there as the one in Athens by adding ‘ἐν ἄστει’, while other sanctuaries are for example at Erchia itself (ἐν Ἐρχιδῶσι).³⁹⁵ Although it is a bit problematic to compare the Attica sacrificial calendars since they differ so much, it demonstrates the possibility for a deme document to refer to the City Eleusinion.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ *JG II*² 1358.A1.13-19, transl. Carbon & Peels (*CGRN* 56).

³⁹⁴ Lambert (2000) 52-53, 57-60.

³⁹⁵ *SEG* 21.541.B.3-4.

³⁹⁶ Dow (1968) 176-177.

3.4 Implications of local Eleusinia

As discussed above, and contrary to common opinion, it is very likely that some Attic demes had their own Eleusinion. Most scholars have difficulty understanding these local Eleusinia in the broader context of the Mystery cult of Demeter in Attica. They, therefore, perhaps also lean more towards the use of the City Eleusinion by the deme, while the evidence from the inscription themselves argue for local Eleusinia. Taking a closer look at the implications of such sanctuaries spread throughout Attica helps to understand how these Eleusinia fitted very well within the Attic worship of Demeter and the broader ritual landscape.

Eleusinia, like the ones at Athens and Phaleron with a direct ritual function during the Greater Mysteries, cannot have existed in these demes since probably no rituals took place outside of these three locations during the Greater Mysteries.³⁹⁷ There are no festivals or other ritual activities scheduled during the Mysteries midst Boedromion in the sacrificial calendars from the Attic demes.³⁹⁸ Parker, therefore, concludes that the Eleusinia may refer to one of the three already known or to a completely 'different type of Eleusinion, a sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia that served local needs and was locally administered'.³⁹⁹ He seems to lean towards the first explanation, namely that the inscriptions actually refer to Athens or Eleusis, and is generally hesitant to interpret these Eleusinia as local deme sanctuaries.⁴⁰⁰ However, the different inscriptions all seem to indicate the existence of local Eleusinia. With the sources combined, there is strong evidence for local Eleusinia. Therefore, they need to be understood as such, and I would argue that these sanctuaries are not that different as Parker thinks they need to be to place them within a broader framework of the Eleusinian cult.

Let us first look at what the inscriptions can tell us about the use of these sanctuaries. The inscription from Paiania informs us that the deme sacrificed there during at least two agricultural festivals, the Proerosia and the Chloia.⁴⁰¹ This corresponds with Peiraeus, where the women celebrated the Plerosia and Kalamaia in their sanctuary of Demeter, called 'Thesmophorion' in this case.⁴⁰² The Kalamaia has not been attested for the deme of Paiania, but the inscription does mention the Antheia. Overall, it demonstrates that the Paianians used their Eleusinion for a local agrarian cult. The sacrifice for Daeira, prior to the Proerosia, fits within this agricultural context. However, the rituals connected to Daeira are somewhat complex and vary greatly throughout Attica. She has a strong connection to Eleusis but is not primarily connected to the Mysteries themselves.⁴⁰³ Pausanias informs us that she is the mother

³⁹⁷ Parker (2007) 332.

³⁹⁸ Wijma (2013) 201; Whitehead (1986) 187 n.57. Except perhaps for a sacrifice to Demeter in the sacrificial calendar from Thorikos (*SEG* 33.147.21-22), but the exact date of the sacrifice is uncertain. It might have taken place before the Mysteries, similar to the sacrifice referred to in the Marathonian Tetrapolis 'in Boedromion before the Mysteries' (*IG* II² 1358.A2.5).

³⁹⁹ Parker (2007) 333.

⁴⁰⁰ Parker (2007) 333.

⁴⁰¹ *IG* I³ 250.

⁴⁰² *IG* II² 1177.

⁴⁰³ Clinton 'Daeira' in the Oxford Classical Dictionary (4 ed.).

of the hero Eleusis after whom they named the city.⁴⁰⁴ As a deity, she aligns with the other agrarian goddesses like Demeter, Chloe, and Ge. Sometimes she is even compared to Persephone.⁴⁰⁵

The Eleusinion of Phrearrhioi was used in an agricultural context, among others with a sacrifice to Demeter Thesmophoros, but the rites also incorporated elements of the Eleusinian Mysteries with the presence of Plouton and Iakchos. Although the subject of the actual rituals in the inscriptions remains a mystery, it at least incorporated elements of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the agrarian cult of Demeter of Eleusis.⁴⁰⁶

At last, there is the Eleusinion in the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The exact location of this sanctuary is not sure, and the sacrifice and rites related to the Eleusinion are missing in the sacrificial calendar. However, it is not even sure that the rites *παρὰ τὸ Ἐλευζίνιον* were even connected to the cult of Demeter. It could also be just an indicator of a location close to the Eleusinion without any relation to the Eleusinion. The inscription does give an impression of the cult of Demeter that could have taken place there. Likely, the sacrifices to Demeter Eleusinia held by the deme of Marathon every other year during the months Metageitnion and Anthesterion took place in the Eleusinion. The same goes for the sacrifice to Demeter Achaia. Only for the sacrifice to Chloe is the location given, namely 'by the property of Meidylos'.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, we know for sure that this sacrifice was not performed in the Eleusinion. The sacrificial calendar of Marathon also mentions a sacrifice to Daeira, similar to Paiania. Considering the Eleusinian context of the goddess, as we established above, whether as Demeter, Persephone, or the mother of Eleusis, this sacrifice could also have taken place in the Eleusinion. In general, it gives the impression that the Eleusinion could have been used for the cult of Demeter Eleusinia and perhaps other Eleusinian deities, like Daeira.

The inscriptions above demonstrate the importance of the Eleusinian cult in Attica, also outside of Athens and Eleusis. This cult incorporates, first of all, the Mysteries and its eschatological aspect, but also Demeter as the goddess of agriculture who taught through the Eleusinians all her secrets to the world.⁴⁰⁸ Both of these aspects are present in the Eleusinia throughout Attica, and they combined the Mysteries and the Thesmophoria into one Eleusinian context.⁴⁰⁹ Their local cults of Demeter all refer back and are modeled on Demeter of Eleusis. Therefore, they also mirror the rites, the ritual language, and the physical and architectural aspects present at Eleusis.⁴¹⁰ While Parker hesitates to see the Eleusinion of Phrearrhioi as a local sanctuary because of these similarities with the City Eleusinion,

⁴⁰⁴ Paus. 1.38.7.

⁴⁰⁵ Clinton (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*) 'Daeira'.

⁴⁰⁶ Lupu (2009) 162-163.

⁴⁰⁷ *IG II²* 1358.A2.49.

⁴⁰⁸ Parker (2007) 327-328.

⁴⁰⁹ Wijma (2013) 200.

⁴¹⁰ Wijma (2013) 202-204. Wijma argues that the reference to the 'others' in connection to the *demotai* needs to be understood as a claim of supra regionalism, through which they mimic the ritual language and the inclusiveness of the Mysteries of Eleusis.

Wijma argues that that is the exact point of the local Eleusinion since it is modeled on the sanctuary of Eleusis. Just like the City Eleusinion is modeled on the same sanctuary.⁴¹¹

Furthermore, Sourvinou-Inwood noticed that these Eleusinia are all in south-east Attica at some distance from the center of the cult in and around Eleusis and Athens. She, therefore, sees them as ‘the desire to reinforce symbolically the Eleusinian dimension, and thus Demeter’s blessings, on their territory, [...] a part of the periphery not as directly covered by the ritual movements focused on the Athens-Skiron-Eleusis axis’.⁴¹² The local Eleusinia not only can be found in the south-east of Attica but more precisely in relatively larger demes. According to Wijma, the smaller and neighboring demes could, therefore, perhaps also participate in the rites of their larger neighboring demes, which are no longer deme rites but minor regional rites.⁴¹³

The Eleusinia make it possible for the demes located further away from the center of the Eleusinian cult to receive protection from the Eleusinian deities as well, by recreating the cult in their deme on a local level. Attica widely attests to this phenomenon of recreating polis cults in the demes. However, these local versions of central polis cults and festivals do not refer back to Eleusis but Athens.⁴¹⁴ Perhaps Erchia is one of the best examples of this phenomenon, by recreating the city of Athens in their deme with an acropolis, agora, and a pagos.⁴¹⁵ Osborne describes these local celebrations, also in the deme Eleusinion, as both alternatives to the central celebrations and confirmation of those celebrations.⁴¹⁶ Especially sanctuaries like these Eleusinia located relatively far away can act as alternative locations for people who are unable to attend the sanctuary at Athens or Eleusis. At the same time, because they are modeled on the sanctuary at Eleusis, they also confirm the central cult.⁴¹⁷

The local Eleusinia cannot be considered completely alternatives for visiting Eleusis because one needed to initiate into the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, the spot that Demeter selected for this. The Greater Mysteries took place once a year, and one could only take part in the Mysteries twice, besides the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai, first as a *mystes* and in the following year as an *epoptes*.⁴¹⁸ However, being initiated likely does not mean the end of the cult. Although there was a less urgent reason to visit Eleusis during the Mysteries after being initiated, the already initiated persons may still have wanted to sacrifice to Demeter Eleusinia around that time or meet fellow initiates and gather together. As discussed above, there were no official alternative rites organized during those days, but this does not exclude the Athenians gathering and traveling to Athens to participate in the more public

⁴¹¹ Parker (2007) 333; Wijma (2013) 202.

⁴¹² Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 148.

⁴¹³ Wijma (2013) 202 n.26. She compares these local celebrations to the spread of deme celebrations of the rural Dionysia as described by N. F. Jones (2004) *Rural Athens under the Democracy*, 128-141.

⁴¹⁴ Parker (2007) 64-65; 73-76.

⁴¹⁵ SEG 21.541. See also Wijma (2013) 203; Parker (2007) 67-68 and 71.

⁴¹⁶ Osborne (1985) 177-178.

⁴¹⁷ Wijma (2013) 202.

⁴¹⁸ For more information on the different stages within the Mysteries, see Dowden (1980) 409-427; Simms (1990) 183-196.

activities there and watch the processions. However, when one could not travel to Athens, it could also have been possible to travel to a nearby Eleusinion in a neighboring deme. This could also be the case for other festivals celebrated primarily at Eleusis, like the Eleusinia.

3.5 Conclusion

The Eleusinia mentioned in these deme documents served as local sanctuaries for Demeter. They used them for both agricultural deme-festivals in honor of Demeter and for additional rituals connected to the Eleusinian Mysteries carried out on a local level that confirm the importance of Demeter of Eleusis for the entire Attic land. The Eleusinia at Athens and Phaleron may also be viewed through a local lens. They also confirm the significance of the Eleusinian cult, but unlike the Eleusinia in eastern Attica, they play a more vital role during the Mysteries since the secret rites requested by Demeter also take place in their Eleusinia. In general, however, these sanctuaries are not that different. Moreover, as Osborne believes, ‘the Eleusinion in Athens can only be understood in the framework of all these other Attic Eleusinia’.⁴¹⁹ Returning to the meaning of ‘Eleusinion’ as mentioned in the introduction, it refers to Demeter’s rites as they are taught and performed originally at Eleusis and then distributed to the rest of Attica and even further outside of Attica.

⁴¹⁹ Osborne (1985) 177.

CHAPTER 4. The Proerosia in the demes

4.1 Introduction

While some of the rituals described in part I are unique local cults performed by only a few, like the Gephyraeans' rites of Demeter Achaia or the Mysteries of the deme Phlya, many rites and festivals were celebrated by all Athenians. Examples of such festivals are the Thesmophoria, the Chloia, or the Antheia. Some of these rituals were only performed in one place, like Athens or Eleusis, others were also or mainly performed in the local demes.⁴²⁰ This chapter will focus on the Proerosia; a festival celebrated before the farmers started plowing their fields at the end of autumn with a sacrifice.⁴²¹ I selected this festival because there is clear evidence, as demonstrated in chapter 1, that it was one of the festivals that the Athenians in several Attic demes, including Eleusis. The festival at Eleusis is mainly regarded as the most prestigious festival of the Proerosia in the Athenian *polis* and the Greek world in general. Parker agrees with this idea and attributes it, among other things, to the connection with the first-fruit offerings to Eleusis as part of the festival.⁴²² Robertson is one of the leading scholars arguing this strong connection between the Proerosia and the first-fruits offerings.⁴²³ However, other scholars disagree on this connection, which also influences the status of the Eleusinian celebration of the Proerosia.

In this chapter, I take a closer look at the festival, how the different celebrations relate to each other and what this entails for the inhabitants of Attica. Thus, seeing if the Eleusinian celebration was indeed as prestigious as is usually claimed and what this says about the celebrations in the demes. First, I will look at the festivals as they were celebrated in the different demes, mainly focusing on their diversity. Afterward, I discuss the festival of Eleusis, the most famous celebration in Attica, and its importance in Attica. Thereby, also studying the role of the first-fruit offerings in the Attic agricultural year and its relation to the festival. At last, I consider the relationship between these celebrations and how they could function within the polis' religious landscape.

4.2 The Proerosia in the demes

The Athenians celebrated the Proerosia in several Attic demes. The festival is mentioned in documents of at least the demes of Thorikos, Paiania, Myrrhinous, and Peiraeus. Athenians celebrated the festival in Eleusis instead of Athens, as we will discuss below.⁴²⁴ Although the festival was held at different

⁴²⁰ Parker (2007) 73-78.

⁴²¹ Parke (1977) 73.

⁴²² Parker (2007) 330-332.

⁴²³ Robertson (1996) 319-325.

⁴²⁴ Parker also connects a sacrifice at the shrine of Demeter Chloe on the Acropolis during the month Thargelion as part of the Thargelia to the Proerosia, (2007) 196.

locations, many local traditions influenced the pre-plowing rites. For example, the name and date of the festival or the deities honored in the rituals besides Demeter. According to Parker, these local variations indicate that the pre-plowing sacrifices were ancient established rites in the countryside of Attica.⁴²⁵

First, there are different names attested for the festival. Literary sources refer to the festival as the Proerosia (Προηρόσια). However, the evidence from the demes, only consisting of epigraphical sources, refer to the Prerosia (Πρηρόσια) in case of Thorikos and Paiania, or the Plerosia (Πληροσία) in case of Peiraeus and Myrrhinous.⁴²⁶ Although Deubner has posited that the Plerosia is different from the Proerosia because of the name and also different dates, recent scholars agree that they are the same since they share important similarities despite these differences.⁴²⁷ Parker argues that these different names no longer have any connection with plowing, as may be the case with the rites themselves, but that is more difficult to determine.⁴²⁸ Besides the different names of the festival, sometimes the name seems to indicate a type of sacrifice instead.⁴²⁹ At Paiania, the sacrificial decree speaks of two victims during the Prerosia. First, a female animal and a male piglet, and secondly, something called ‘πρεροσιάδον’.⁴³⁰ According to Robertson, it could refer to a specific type of victim, but that is not certain.⁴³¹ A similar term can perhaps be found in the calendar of Thorikos. The first mentioning of the Prerosia (πρηρο[σίαν]) in line 5 can refer to the Proerosia festival itself, or more likely the announcement of the festival in advance. It has also been argued that it refers to a type of victim instead.⁴³²

There were also different the dates, but these are difficult to establish since the actual dates are rarely mentioned in the sources and can only be deduced from their context. At Thorikos, the celebration of the pre-plowing rites took place during the month of Boedromion (September-October). However, no specific date is mentioned.⁴³³ Since it is the first mentioned sacrifice of the month, the people from Thorikos likely celebrated the Prerosia early in Boedromion.⁴³⁴ There was also a sacrifice connected to the Prerosia earlier in the year in Hekatombaion (July-August). Scholars usually interpret it as the festival’s announcement that involved a sacrifice, similar to Eleusis and probably also Paiania.⁴³⁵ The sacrifice may have belonged to Daeira, an agricultural goddess associated with the Proerosia in other places, especially with the announcement.⁴³⁶

⁴²⁵ Parker (2007) 196.

⁴²⁶ Brumfield (1976) 54; Thorikos: *IG* I³ 256B.13; Paiania: *IG* I³ 250.8 and 18; Peiraeus: *IG* II² 1177.8-10; Myrrhinous: *IG* II² 1183.33.

⁴²⁷ Deubner (1966) 68; Ziehen (1951) 233-234; Robertson (1996) 356-357.

⁴²⁸ Parker (2007) 196.

⁴²⁹ Brumfield (1976) 57.

⁴³⁰ *IG* I³ 250.17-25.

⁴³¹ Robertson (1996) 352; Brumfield (1976) 57.

⁴³² *IG* I³ 256B.5, 13. Brumfield (1976) 57-58; Robertson (1996) 348-349.

⁴³³ *IG* I³ 256B.13.

⁴³⁴ Robertson (1996) 349.

⁴³⁵ Brumfield (1976) 57-58.

⁴³⁶ Robertson (1996) 354-355.

There is also evidence of two sacrifices during the Proerosia at Paiania. First, there is the sacrifice to Daeira as ‘Πρερόαρχος’.⁴³⁷ This term is sometimes translated as ‘leader of the Proerosia’ or interpreted as a type of victim or cult official.⁴³⁸ The actual festival is listed immediately after, but the inscription gives no date.⁴³⁹ It is, therefore, difficult to determine whether the sacrifice to Daeira took place a few months before the festival, similar to Thorikos, or on the eve of the festival. Robertson believes that the text gives the impression that the announcement and the festival follow each other in direct succession.⁴⁴⁰ However, the only time indication I find is the agricultural chronology of the Proerosia, Chloia, and Antheia, which says nothing about the intervening time. Therefore, it is only certain that the sacrifice to Daeira took place before the Proerosia. Compared to the other Proerosia celebrations, more time between the announcements and the festival itself could be expected or would at least be possible.

At Myrrhinous, the festival took place on the fifth of an unidentified month. Since the next sacrifice mentioned is associated with the Dionysia in the month Poseidon, it is probably the month Maemacterion or even earlier.⁴⁴¹ Brumfield suggested that the sacrifice was probably performed during the month of Pyanopsion, as it is generally considered the plowing month in Attica.⁴⁴² However, since there is no uniformity in the date of the Proerosia, it may have been a different month like Boedromion, similar to the case of Thorikos.

At last, there is the deme of Peiraeus. Since the decree does not concern the sacrifices or anything similar to the sacrificial calendars, no date is stated. The decree only states that the women of Peiraeus celebrated the Proerosia in their local Thesmophoria, similar to a few other women’s festivals.⁴⁴³ Overall, the pre-plowing festival was celebrated sometime during Boedromion and Pyanopsion, but the month Maemacterion is also mentioned. There is ultimately no indication that the Attic demes performed the rituals on the same day. Brumfield argued that the date of the festival varied every year, depending on the weather and the right time to sow and thus plow. This could also explain the phenomenon of the festival’s announcement.⁴⁴⁴

In addition to the various names and dates, the decrees and sacrificial calendars also refer to different deities as recipients. The sacrifices mentioned in the calendar of Thorikos are all for Zeus, as Zeus Polieus and Zeus ‘at Automenai’.⁴⁴⁵ At the deme of Myrrhinous, the demarch also sacrifices to

⁴³⁷ *JG* I³ 250.15-17.

⁴³⁸ Brumfield (1976) 57, 61.

⁴³⁹ *JG* I³ 250.15-25.

⁴⁴⁰ Robertson (1996) 351.

⁴⁴¹ Robertson (1996) 348.

⁴⁴² Brumfield (1976) 55.

⁴⁴³ *JG* II² 1177.8-10

⁴⁴⁴ Brumfield (1976) 59; Jim (2014) 102.

⁴⁴⁵ *JG* I³ 256B.13-15. According to Robertson (1996), the site Automenai was an elevated (ἐπί) place where Zeus was also the recipient for a sacrifice later in the month Thargelion. Therefore probably also the recipient of the whole burnt piglet in the month Boedromion, but in connection to the earlier sacrifice to Zeus Polieus, he was only referred to by his epithet here (p. 349-350).

Zeus.⁴⁴⁶ Both times no offering to Demeter is mentioned. Zeus was one of the principal deities of their pre-plowing rites, while Demeter was probably part of the festival differently. An oracle by himself explains Zeus' connection to the Proerosia. In this oracle, Zeus ordered the sacrifice of the Proerosia.⁴⁴⁷ Brumfield has argued that this oracle belonged to Zeus since Photius locates the oracle at Elis, the site of Zeus. Besides, Zeus was also important to the Athenians the year as the provider of rain this time of.⁴⁴⁸ However, some traditions refer to the Delphic oracle instead of Zeus.⁴⁴⁹ One possibility could be that these two traditions refer to two different rituals, as suggested by Jim and Brumfield.⁴⁵⁰ I will explore this theory further when discussing the festival's connection with the *aparchai* sacrifices below. In addition to Zeus, Daeira was also associated with the Proerosia in several places, as an agrarian goddess associated with Eleusis.⁴⁵¹

The sources for the Proerosia in at least three of the Attic demes, Thorikos, Paiania, and Myrrhinous, show the diversity in the way they celebrate the pre-plowing rituals. Although there is little documentation for the celebrations of the Proerosia, they point to various names, deities, and dates. However, they all have a large number of sacrifices in common compared to the other sacrifices mentioned.⁴⁵² At Thorikos, Zeus Polieus is the only deity mentioned in the calendar who receives two victims, a sheep and piglet, instead of one.⁴⁵³ The sacrifice at Paiania of several victims was also the most extensive offering documented in the decree.⁴⁵⁴ At Myrrhinous, the sacrifice consisted of 500 drachmae which is an impressive number of drachmae for a deme sacrifice.⁴⁵⁵

4.3 The Proerosia at Eleusis

The Eleusinians also celebrated the festival in their deme, joined by the Athenians. Scholars believe that the Proerosia is mainly focused on this celebration in Eleusis.⁴⁵⁶ Primarily because of two different legends about the origin of the festival. The first concerns a plague or famine that ravaged all of Greece. As a solution, an oracle ordered the Athenians to sacrifice to Demeter on behalf of all Greeks, which is considered to be the sacrifice of the Proerosia.⁴⁵⁷ The second legend commemorates the gift of corn that Demeter first gave to the Eleusinians, who then voluntarily shared it with the rest of Greece with the

⁴⁴⁶ *IG* II² 1183.32-36.

⁴⁴⁷ Suda s.v. Προηροσία ('αἱ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρότρου γινόμεναι θυσίαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι καρπῶν, ὥστε τελεσφορεῖσθαι· ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὑπὲρ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἴεξ 'Ὀλυμπιάδι'); Photius *Bibliotheka* Προηροσία ('ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν καρπῶν θυσία γιγνομένη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατὰ μαντείαν ἐν Ἡλίδι').

⁴⁴⁸ Brumfield (1976) 60.

⁴⁴⁹ Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 28-31; *IG* I³ 78A.5.

⁴⁵⁰ Jim (2014) 98-102; Brumfield (1976) 67 n.29.

⁴⁵¹ Brumfield (1976) 60.

⁴⁵² Robertson (1996) 355.

⁴⁵³ *IG* I³ 256B.13-14.

⁴⁵⁴ *IG* I³ 250.15-25; Brumfield (1976) 61.

⁴⁵⁵ *IG* II² 1183.33; Robertson (1996) 355.

⁴⁵⁶ Parker (2007) 330.

⁴⁵⁷ *IG* I³ 78A.5; Suda s.v. Προηροσία; Phot., *Bibl.* s.v. Προηροσία.

help of Triptolemus.⁴⁵⁸ In both cases, the Athenians, who took part in and adopted the festival of the Eleusinians, believed that they were performing these pre-plowing rites on behalf of all Greeks.⁴⁵⁹

Although the Eleusinian Proerosia was probably the biggest celebration of the festival, there is much ambiguity about the festival's content. The Proerosia is missing from the Eleusinian sacrificial calendar. Therefore, the date of the festival is uncertain, similar to the other demes. We do know there was an announcement of the festival on the fifth of Pyanopsion in Athens, but the inscription does not mention the actual Proerosia afterward.⁴⁶⁰ Possibly the festival followed immediately after the sixth, similar to the Mysteries of Demeter.⁴⁶¹ However, as mentioned above, it is also possible that the date of the festival varied every year and therefore was announced earlier. This would explain why the inscription does not refer to the festival.⁴⁶² Robertson states that it is not even likely that the pre-plowing rites were performed during Pyanopsion. There is evidence that the *boule* met a few times on the sixth of that month, which would be highly unlikely if it was indeed the date of the Proerosia. The seventh day belonged to the Pyanopsia, a festival held in honor of Apollo, and the Stenia and Thesmophoria were scheduled from the ninth day onwards. Therefore, the Proerosia did not take place in the month's first half.⁴⁶³ Robertson does not discuss the events on the eighth day, but I would argue there is no room in the text to fit in a festival like the Proerosia. In contrast, Robertson provides some evidence to suggest that the Eleusinians celebrated the Proerosia in their deme during the month of Maemacterion.⁴⁶⁴ This would be later than the evidence of the Attic demes.

Because the Proerosia is not included in the sacrificial calendar, it is difficult to determine what happened during the day. Some scholars argue that the festival is related to the first-fruits offerings (*aparchai*).⁴⁶⁵ They were parts of the harvest gathered in Eleusis from the Attic demes, Athenian allies, or any other Greek city who also wanted to contribute.⁴⁶⁶ The mythical traditions about establishing the *aparchai* and the Proerosia seem to indicate at least some kind of relationship. In the case of Triptolemus sharing Demeter's gift with the rest of Greece and in the case of the Athenians following the oracle and sacrificing on behalf of all, the Greek cities sent *aparchai* in return as a way to thank and commemorate their generosity.⁴⁶⁷ According to Parker, Triptolemus' tradition of Triptolemus forms the foundation of the first-fruits offering on behalf of all the Athenians. Their generosity was later extended to the entire world through the oracle's command to sacrifice and end the plague.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁵⁸ Isoc., *Paneg.* 29-31; Aristid., *Panathenaic Oration* 36-37.

⁴⁵⁹ Jim (2014) 98-99.

⁴⁶⁰ *JG* II² 1363.3-7.

⁴⁶¹ Dow and Healey (1965); Deubner (1966) 68; Mikalson (1976) 67-68; Parke (1977) 73; *CGRN* 94, lines A5-9 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/94/>).

⁴⁶² Brumfield (1976) 59.

⁴⁶³ Robertson (1996) 332-334.

⁴⁶⁴ Robertson (1996) 344-346.

⁴⁶⁵ Robertson (1996) 319-325; Parker (2007) 330-332.

⁴⁶⁶ *JG* I³ 78A.

⁴⁶⁷ Isocr., *Paneg.* 29-31; Aristid., *Panathenaic Oration* 36-37; *JG* I³ 78A.

⁴⁶⁸ Parker (2007) 331-332.

It is, however, unclear whether they were also connected in practice and celebrated at the same time. Parker and Robertson believe that the *aparchai* were brought to Eleusis as part of the Proerosia.⁴⁶⁹ Robertson agrees that the date of the Proerosia was too late to bring parts of the harvest itself. The *aparchai* would, therefore, instead consist of seeds of grain.⁴⁷⁰ On the other hand, Jim believes the sacrifice of the *aparchai* brought to Eleusis and the pre-plowing sacrifice were not part of a single festival.⁴⁷¹ Although the sacrifices are related in myth, they consist of two separate sacrifices. While the pre-plowing sacrifice was addressed to Demeter, ‘the *aparchai* were primarily thank-offerings (χαριστήρια) addressed to the Athenians rather than to the gods’.⁴⁷² The only possible source that combines the *aparchai* with the Proerosia is the decree by the deme Paiania mentioning ‘pre-plowing barley’.⁴⁷³ According to Parker, this could be *aparchai* brought to Eleusis by the deme.⁴⁷⁴ However, there is no indication that this barley was brought to Eleusis, rather their own local Proerosia, nor is it called *aparchai*. In the end, there is no actual reference to the *aparchai* and Proerosia sacrifice taking place together, except that they both occur within the same mythical traditions. The *aparchai* offerings are only a later response to the Athenians’ generosity and thus could also be scheduled at a later time.⁴⁷⁵

Brumfield also suggested a connection between the Proerosia and the sacred plowing at Eleusis. The sacred plowing at the Rharian plain was possibly part of the Proerosia since they are both celebrated by the Eleusinians and the Athenians together and pertain to the plowing of fields.⁴⁷⁶ However, there is no evidence to confirm or deny this association.

In general, little can be said with certainty about the Proerosia in Eleusis. The legends about the origin of the pre-plowing sacrifice and the *aparchai* offered, either during the festival or at any other time of the year, emphasize the importance of the Eleusinian festival. It also indicates that it was the most prestigious celebration of the Proerosia in Attica and perhaps even in Greece, but it was not the only Proerosia celebrated in Attica. However, some scholars think that the Proerosia became a polis festival at some point.⁴⁷⁷ The Athenians took over the Eleusinian festival early on instead of celebrating their own festival as they used to, thereby creating new traditions of the Proerosia as an Athenian festival.⁴⁷⁸ According to Jim, this joint Eleusinian-Athenian festival probably became not only a very prestigious festival but even more a polis festival towards the end of the fifth century B.C. He argues that Euripides’ *Supplikes* indicates that the Proerosia by then (420s) was a central festival of the polis, by situating the beginning of his play at the sanctuary at Eleusis where Aithra, the mother of Theseus,

⁴⁶⁹ Robertson (1996) 319-325; 346-347; Parker (2007) 330-332.

⁴⁷⁰ Robertson (1996) 319-325; 346-347.

⁴⁷¹ Jim (2014) 98-102.

⁴⁷² Jim (2014) 99.

⁴⁷³ *IG* 1³ 250.21.

⁴⁷⁴ Parker (2007) 331.

⁴⁷⁵ Jim (2014) 100-101.

⁴⁷⁶ Brumfield (197) 63-65.

⁴⁷⁷ Parke (1977) 73-74; Robertson (1996) 358-9; Jim (2014) 98.

⁴⁷⁸ Robertson (1996) 320, 359.

offers before the plowing of the land.⁴⁷⁹ While I agree that the play as a result of this indicates that the Proerosia in Eleusis was a shared Eleusinian and Athenian festival with high status in Attica, there is no indication of a central polis festival as the festival was still celebrated in the Attic demes.

Although the Proerosia at Eleusis may have taken the form of quite a large festival over time, accompanied by the Athenians and one of the motives of the *aparchai* offerings, it nevertheless remained a deme festival, albeit rather prestigious.⁴⁸⁰ Evidence for pre-plowing rites outside Eleusis continued into the fourth century B.C. The calendar of Thorikos and the Paianian decree date to the second half of the fifth century and demonstrate the variety between the local Proerosia. While at the same time, the relatively high cost of the sacrifices, as discussed above, indicates that it was a rather important festival for the demesmen. Although little information has survived, the decree of Myrrhinous from the second half of the fourth century B.C. still included an expensive sacrifice during the Proerosia, similar to the fifth century. Furthermore, the demeswomen in Peiraeus still gathered together on the day of the Proerosia in the fourth century B.C. Besides, the different names prove that local traditions were still active in the fourth century B.C. and that ‘lack of centralization’ did not end in the last quarter of the fifth century, as suggested by Jim.⁴⁸¹ It is possible that demes renounced some local traditions and became more like the Eleusinian festival, as we see this tendency more often in Attica.⁴⁸²

Since the Proerosia of Eleusis became very prestigious over time, it could have attracted visitors from all over Attica and perhaps even Greece. However, it is difficult to say whether these legends emphasizing the high status of the celebration at Eleusis influenced the celebrations of the other demes or were only told and believed by the Athenians. In the case of the Proerosia, it could have been valuable to celebrate such an ancient ritual together with your close relatives and other demesmen who work on the same farm fields. This does not exclude the possibility that someone occasionally celebrates it more extensively at Eleusis. Both celebrations would highlight different aspects of the pre-plowing ritual. While the festival at Eleusis commemorates the beginning of agriculture and the importance of Athens to the crops of all Greeks, performing the pre-plowing rituals at someone’s deme along with your peer-farmers and demesmen emphasizes the ritual’s importance to the fertility of your own fields. Although the Athenians claim to sacrifice on behalf of all Greeks, it can be considered valuable to have the pre-plowing sacrifice take place close to your fields rather than on the other side of Attica at Eleusis. This strengthens the connection between their fields, crops, and the ritual.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the Proerosia and how the Athenians celebrated the pre-plowing festival throughout Attica. Previous scholars have already underlined the prestigious character of the Eleusinian

⁴⁷⁹ Eur., *Supp.* 28-31; Jim (2014) 100-101.

⁴⁸⁰ Mikalson (1976) 68.

⁴⁸¹ Jim (2014) 102.

⁴⁸² Robertson (1996) 359.

Proerosia. Parker and Robertson contribute this to the *aparchai* offerings brought to Eleusis and sacrificed there as part of the Proerosia. While the Proerosia was also celebrated in some Attic demes with local traditions, the Eleusinian festival gained more prestige. However, it did not become a central polis festival celebrated solely in Eleusis. Deme documents show that in the mid-fourth century B.C., the people still celebrated the Proerosia in their demes, with even significant sacrifices. The local varieties such as different names, dates, and honorands indicated ancient established pre-plowing rites in the countryside of Attica and that they also continued into the Classical period of the Athenian *polis*.

The mythical traditions behind the Proerosia show the significance of the pre-plowing rites performed by the Eleusinians and Athenians for all of Attica. They extended the story of Demeter's gift of corn and Triptolemus' mission with the role of Athenians in ending the plague with a sacrifice on behalf of all Greeks. Both these legends associate the *aparchai* offerings with the Proerosia sacrifice. However, there is no indication that they became part of one festival in historical times outside of these mythical traditions. Moreover, even the myths point to two separate sacrifices that did not occur simultaneously time in the story. The *aparchai* offerings were merely a retrospective reaction to the actual sacrifice that was part of the Proerosia and, therefore, could have taken place at any time and not necessarily as part of the Proerosia. Besides, suppose the date of the Proerosia varied every year. In that case, it is not likely that a ritual such as gathering *aparchai* from all the demes and Athenian allies was associated with it. Nevertheless, even without the actual association of the two rituals, the Proerosia in the deme of Eleusis remained quite prestigious, thanks in part to its mythological connection. On the other hand, the Proerosia in the other demes remained active, and their sacrifices were one of the largest in the demes. The strong local traditions mentioned earlier, combined with the appeal of sacrificing in close connection to one's farm and fields, may be part of the reason for these local celebrations.

CONCLUSION

Due to the great importance of Demeter's cult in Eleusis for the formation and development of the Athenian *polis* and the identity of the Athenians, scholars tend to study Athenian religion and the cult of Demeter from an Eleusinian and Athenian viewpoint. In this thesis, I do not refute the significance of the Eleusinian cult in Attica. Instead, I have re-examined the evidence for Demeter's cult throughout Attica and considered whether the image of the Athenian *polis* as portrayed by scholars today is correct. Undeniably, the sources demonstrate that in the case of some Attic cults, a close connection with Eleusis and the Eleusinian cult existed. However, my systematic collection of sources about Demeter's cult sites has also uncovered many rites performed locally in the demes and other strictly local rites, and their importance to the functioning and development of the Athenian *polis*. This creates a more balanced and multilayered image of Demeter's share in Attica's sacred landscape. In this conclusion, I summarize the findings regarding the incorporation of Demeter's cult in the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis* in the Classical period. I argue that the current view in scholarship needs to change into a multilayered perspective on Attic cult and religion.

Cult sites of Demeter can be found throughout Attica in all shapes and sizes. In the first part, I have collected all the sources about Demeter's cult sites, as far as I was able, and gave descriptions of the various cult sites. Even though the source material for especially the areas outside of Athens and Eleusis is scarce, there is relatively still much evidence for sanctuaries all over Attica compared to other Greek *poleis*. Several cult sites were in the vicinity of Eleusis and Athens, such as the sanctuaries along Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, the Rheitoi rivers, or the Sacred Plowing cult sites in Athens, Eleusis, and Skiron.⁴⁸³ Many of these sanctuaries in the vicinity of Eleusis were associated with the Eleusinian cult of Demeter. For example, her secret rituals of the Greater Mysteries were performed in three cult sites. The *initiates* gathered in the City Eleusinion in Athens and walked to the bay at Phaleron, where a second Eleusinion was. After a few days, they finally walked in a procession to Eleusis, where they passed numerous important Eleusinian cultic landmarks, such as the Mirthless Rock and the Callichoron Well. Overall, these cult sites confirm the 'Eleusiniocentric' image portrayed in current scholarship.

Besides those in the center of the Eleusinian cult, I have also described many cult sites of Demeter in the Attic demes. Some of these were shared sanctuaries, like the temple that belonged to the demes of Myrrhinous and Phlya, which contained altars of various deities, including Demeter Anesidora and Kore or the sanctuary at Skiron shared by Demeter, Apollo, and Athena. Other cult sites in the demes were sanctuaries solely meant for rites of Demeter, such as the Thesmophorion in Peiraeus. Not

⁴⁸³ Skiron is believed to be located precisely between Athens and Eleusis and would therefore represent the midpoint and ritual unity between Athens and Eleusis.

only the Thesmophoria took place in this sanctuary, but also the Plerosia, Kalamaia, and Skira (all women's festivals). The City Eleusinion was also used as a Thesmophorion by several city demes, among others, by the deme of Melite. In addition, the City Eleusinion acting as a deme sanctuary, the sanctuary at Eleusis, and likely the Eleusinion at Phaleron, was also used by their own deme on a deme level. Besides the specific Thesmophoria and Eleusinia, there were many more sanctuaries of Demeter mentioned in our sources as 'sanctuary of Demeter and Kore' generally.

The Athenians celebrated *polis* festivals in many of these deme cult sites throughout Attica. However, there were many local varieties and differences within these *polis* festivals, like the Proerosia and Thesmophoria. For example, the Proerosia was celebrated on different days, under different names, and in honor of different gods. As for the Thesmophoria, much is unknown, but the festival was probably held simultaneously in Attica, except for the deme of Halimous, where the festival started a day early. In the latter case, this exception may have been incorporated into the Athenian festival through a visit by the Athenian elite women. Besides the difference in the way the demes celebrated Demeter's festivals, it also seems the case that not all the demes celebrated the same festivals of Demeter. For example, the Kalamaia is only mentioned in connection to Eleusis and Peiraeus. Together, these deme sanctuaries demonstrate the importance of the deme in Demeter's cult and the presence of strong local traditions.

Demeter was not only worshiped in a *polis* setting, whether central or in the deme, but I have also presented evidence for local cults, for example the cult of Demeter Achaia by the Gephyraeans. The location for their Mystery rites is unknown, but we do know that the Athenians welcomed the Gephyraeans into their *polis* and allowed them to hold their own rites. Another example is the Mysteries held at Phlya, administered by a *genos* called the Lycomidae. These cult sites of Demeter outside of the Eleusinian area receive little attention in scholarship. However, I believe that especially the deme cult sites are essential in understanding the Attic cult of Demeter in general but also the Eleusinian cult of Demeter.

Although we expect Demeter's cult sites in a more natural context, especially in the *polis*' countryside, the collection of cult sites in this thesis paints a different picture: many times, the goddesses' cult sites were many times also located in an urban setting, whether in Athens or other smaller settlements in Attica. However, these urban sanctuaries more or less also took over features of the more rural cult sites into their precincts. For example, the sanctuaries of Demeter outside urban centers are generally characterized by a sense of isolation, which was recreated for the urban sanctuaries, for example, in the City Eleusinion in Athens. A sanctuary in a dense urban environment cannot be completely isolated, but to a certain degree, the City Eleusinion was, both topographically and by design. The sanctuary was situated in the center of Athens, but outside of the religious centers of Athens. Thus, isolated from the other Athenian cult sites. The large, enclosed walls, that were at the same time supposed to protect the secret rituals performed inside, further enhanced the isolation of the sanctuary. The isolated location and layout of Demeter's sanctuaries in the city not only can be regarded as a

reference to the goddess' usual rural setting, but the sanctuaries are also generally located higher up, e.g., on a hill, overlooking the agricultural fields which belonged to Demeter. In addition, the agricultural concerns of the goddess are also evident from the presence of water in many of Demeter's cult sites and, of course, the presence of farmlands itself as part of the cult sites, for example, the Sacred Orgas at Eleusis or the several Sacred Plowings around Athens and Eleusis. This corresponds to Cole's argument that Demeter's agricultural concerns, the ritual demands of her cult, and the social organization of the *polis* were necessary for the location of her sanctuaries.⁴⁸⁴

In addition to Cole's study, I have also shown the importance of mythical and historical traditions associated with Demeter's cult sites and the tendency of demes to copy the religious landscape of Athens as Attica's religious center. For example, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* explains the cult of Demeter in Eleusis and the presence of Demeter's cult in Thorikos. There were more mythical stories outside of the Homeric hymn about Demeter visiting places and houses in Attica, were then later a cult site arose. In many of these cases, Demeter was welcomed by someone, and in return, she gave something back; in Skiron's case it was a fig tree considered the first fruit crop. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* also gives and explains the site of the Eleusinian sanctuary. According to the hymn, Demeter ordered the Eleusinians to build a temple on the hill where their acropolis was located. This site is comparable to the location of the City Eleusinion in Athens. It is quite possible that the other Eleusinia in Attica were placed, similar to Eleusis, on a hill and perhaps also below their religious center or acropolis. Although there is no evidence regarding their location, this would tie in with the general pattern of Attic demes copying the main sanctuary, in most cases the Athenian Acropolis but in this case the Eleusinian sanctuary, in their demes.

The cult sites of the City Eleusinion and the Eleusinian sanctuary functioned differently; they were deme sanctuaries that the people used simultaneously as sanctuaries on a *polis* level for the Eleusinian cult of Demeter. The other Eleusinia in Attic demes resemble how these sanctuaries were used multi-functionally. These sanctuaries are attested for at least the demes of Paiania, Phrearrhioi, and Marathon. On the one side, they were the location for Demeter's festival like the Prerosia and Chloia celebrated by the deme in the case of Paiania, while on the other hand, they also functioned as regional franchises of Demeter's cult at Eleusis. Although they could not have been part of the actual initiation ritual like the sites of Eleusis, Athens, and Phaleron, they were likely locations for some other rites performed locally during the Mysteries, where initiated demesmen could meet their fellows. Therefore, the name 'Eleusinion' refers to Demeter's rites as they were first taught and performed at Eleusis. And while Eleusis remained the central location for these rites after that, they were transferred to other locations in Attica and other parts of the Greek world.

⁴⁸⁴ Cole (2001) 201.

Contrary to most scholars who are inclined to believe that these local Eleusinia did not exist, I state that the sources, such as decrees and sacrificial calendars of the demes, do indicate the presence of local Eleusinia in their demes. However, more importantly, these local Eleusinia fit very well into Demeter's cult and sacred landscape. As we saw in the first part of this thesis, the deme played an essential role in the cult of Demeter. For example, festivals like the Proerosia and Thesmophoria had local traditions strongly rooted in the demes. Therefore, it is very well possible that the Eleusinian cult of Demeter, specifically the Eleusinian Mysteries, was also celebrated in some of the demes. They thereby show the importance of the Eleusinian cult for all Attica combined with the overall importance of the deme as the place for Demeter's cult. The demes could also begin to resemble the Eleusinian sanctuary by copying its structure and location into their local Eleusinion. The Eleusinion of Phrearrhioi, for example, contained, among other things, a Ploutonion and a courtyard like Eleusis and Athens. The Eleusinia may also have been located on a hill or somewhere else higher up.

At the same time, these deme Eleusinia also help us to understand the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary at Eleusis (which is also referred to as Eleusinion a few times). While scholars usually view these sanctuaries as Attic cult sites of significance for the whole *polis*, they are also deme sanctuaries and function accordingly. Both the deme and the *polis* level of the cult sites are essential to understand these cult sites in their entirety. They can only be understood when put into context with the other Eleusinia in Attica. However, scholars tend to study the sanctuaries of Athens and Eleusis mainly on a *polis* level. The 'Eleusiniocentric' perspective, as present in the works of scholars like Parker and Cole, cannot explain the multilayered function and meaning of the Eleusinia. Even more so, it does not fully grasp the entire cult of Demeter.

I have also stressed the importance of deme religion in the discussion of the Proerosia. Scholars generally focus on the Eleusinian celebration of the festival, as they consider it to be the most prestigious in Attica, and they interpret it as the central *polis* festival. However, the evidence for local celebrations in other demes reveals a more complex picture of the Proerosia. Besides Eleusis, the Athenians celebrated the Proerosia also in other demes. As evident from the relatively large amounts of sacrifices and the persisting local varieties, the Proerosia was an important festival to the demes and following the sacrifices also celebrated grandly. Compared to the other sacrifices mentioned in the demes' sacrificial calendars, the sacrifice of the Proerosia was one of the largest in the deme. These sources show that the pre-plowing festival was celebrated in some demes at least until the middle of the fourth century. Local varieties, such as different dates, names, and honorands, originated from ancient local rites, remained active in the demes in the Classical period. Contrary to what Jim states, the Eleusinian festival did not become the central *polis* festival celebrated solely at Eleusis. It was also a local celebration of the *polis* festival in the deme. It demonstrates the persistence of local rites in the demes and the primary concerns of this festival on a local level. Despite the prestigious character of the Eleusinian celebration of the Proerosia, the Athenians continued to celebrate the festival in the demes as well. The strong local traditions associated with the pre-plowing festival are perhaps part of why the Proerosia remained

celebrated locally. Another possibility why the Proerosia continued as local celebrations of the festival could be the close connection between the pre-plowing rites and the farmlands protected by these rituals in the following farming season.

On the other hand, the prestigious festival in Eleusis could certainly have attracted people from all over Attica. There are two stories about the origin of the festival that explain and justify the prestigious character of the Eleusinian celebration; namely that an oracle ordered the sacrifice of the Proerosia to the Athenians to stop the plague all around Greece and that the festival commemorated Triptolemus sharing Demeter's gift with Greece. Both stories are considered to be the reason why there were *aparchai* sent to Eleusis by the demes and Athenian allies. The mythical traditions about the origin of the Proerosia's pre-plowing sacrifice justify the Eleusinian sacrifice's importance and prestige for the whole *polis*, and perhaps even beyond Attica as argued by the Athenians. However, contrary to what Robertson argues, it is uncertain whether the Proerosia celebration and the *aparchai* offerings took place on the same day. Although the mythical traditions link the Proerosia sacrifice and the *aparchai* offerings, this does not mean that they took place on the same day. Considering that the Proerosia in Eleusis was a local deme celebration, like other celebrations of the *polis* festival in Attica, it is unlikely that the festival coincided with the *aparchai* offerings. Nevertheless, even without these *aparchai* offerings, the Proerosia at Eleusis remained a prestigious celebration in Attica, based on the mythical traditions.

In summary, Demeter's sanctuaries in the demes, the spread of Eleusinia over Attica, the celebration of the Proerosia in the demes, including the Eleusinian deme, and the strong local traditions present in the demes demonstrate the importance of the deme for Demeter's cult. This thesis, therefore, presents a much more varied and multilayered picture of Demeter's cult and sacred landscape than when viewed solely from an Eleusinian or Athenian perspective. By including all cult sites of Demeter in this study, I have shown the value of looking at a *polis* (Attica) in its entirety. While it is undeniable that the Eleusinian cult occupied a prominent position in the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis*, I have noted in this thesis the presence of Demeter's cult in the Attic demes and its importance to the cult and the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis*. As the cult site of Eleusis expanded and became more important over time in Attica and the Greek world, local agricultural traditions and rites in the demes continued into the Classical period in Attica as well. To better understand the interaction of the Eleusinian cult on the one hand and deme religion and local traditions on the other hand, it is necessary to investigate other festivals and rituals of Demeter too.

This thesis fits within the scholarly debates about the importance of religion and cult in the organization and development of the *polis*, the influence of ancient landscapes on the organization of ritual space, and more specifically, the influence of Demeter's cult on the sacred landscape of the Athenian *polis*. As already mentioned in the introduction, this thesis is only the beginning of broader research into the sacred landscape of Demeter, as many more elements can be studied using the sources collected in this thesis.

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