

THE THESMOPHORION IN ATHENS

I

ITS LOCATION

In the excavation of the area to the south of the Pnyx the attempt was made to determine the exact location of the Thesmophorion.¹ Before that time literary testimonies alone had led scholars to look for it on the Pnyx hill, not far from the assembly place. Its location in that section of the city has not in recent years been questioned.² But the excavation of the Pnyx in 1932 and 1934, carried on jointly by the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies, failed to reveal any clear evidence of the cult, and on the basis of the finds alone no one could possibly have come to the conclusion that one of the oldest and most famous sanctuaries of Athens had been discovered in this place. In fact, even now the only compelling argument for assigning the Thesmophorion to this locality is a single passage in the *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes.³ It will be necessary to consider this evidence first in order to determine, if possible, its exact bearing on the problem.

As the name of the play implies, the action centers about the women's celebration of the Thesmophoria, and the scene is laid in the sanctuary itself. No proof of this fact should be needed, for it is obvious that it could take place nowhere else, and in several instances the actors refer to the fact that they are in the Thesmophorion. The relevant passages are:

- Lines 83-84, *κὰν Θεσμοφόρουν μέλλουσι περὶ μου τήμερον*
 ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ.
Lines 88-89, *Ἀγάθωνα πείσαι τὸν τραγωδοδιδάσκαλον*
 ἐς Θεσμοφόρουν ἐλθεῖν.

Euripides is speaking in both instances and twice he refers to the place where the women are to hold an *ἐκκλησία* as the (sanctuary) of the Thesmophoroi goddesses. Twice the Thesmophorion is mentioned by name:

- Lines 277-278, *ὥς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*
 σημεῖον ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορείῳ φαίνεται.
Line 880, *Θεσμοφορεῖον τουτογί.*

¹ H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 156 ff.; and cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 96, note 1.

² For the literature see Curt Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, p. 255; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 399; and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 182-192.

³ Line 658.

These passages are important in showing that not only did the celebrants meet in the Thesmophorion, but even the assembly, which is called together at the time of the festival, is held in the sacred precinct. The women were probably required to spend the whole time of the festival within its enclosure, as appears from the fact that they brought tents and equipment for camping on the grounds.

When it was discovered that the *κηδεστής* had joined the assembly in woman's guise, a search was made throughout the temenos to see whether any other men had been smuggled in. The chorus raises the cry:

Lines 655-658, ἡμᾶς τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη τὰς λαμπάδας ἀψαμέναις χρὴ
 ξυζωσαμένας εὖ κἀνδρείως τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀποδύσας
 ζητεῖν, εἴ που κἄλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἐσελήλυθε, καὶ περιθρέξαι
 τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηνάς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθρήσαι.

This reference to the Pnyx in connection with the assembly of women constitutes the only evidence from ancient literature for associating the Thesmophorion with the assembly place.⁴

It is obvious that, if τὴν πύκνα in line 658 refers to the Pnyx as the place of assembly, this must have been included in the sacred area devoted to the celebration of the Thesmophoria. Aristophanes cannot have meant to imply that the Pnyx should be searched for intruders, unless it was shut off from the public during the festival. Jane Harrison alone of all the scholars has drawn this logical conclusion from the association of the Pnyx and the Thesmophorion. She seized upon this fact and made it an important point in the argument. "The Pnyx was the scene of the celebration. Half the fun of the piece turns upon that. It was an actual fact that for three or four days the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria held possession of the Pnyx which the women of the *Ekklesiastousai* would like to have held for always."⁵ Carried away with the enthusiasm of this discovery she observes with chagrin that "commentators must needs darken counsel by explaining that the Thesmophorion might rightly be called the Pnyx—for in the temple, as it were a Pnyx, was held the assembly concerning Euripides." She does not state her authority for this comment, but it is found in Blaydes' edition of Aristophanes.⁶ It is merely an elaboration of the idea

⁴ Dörpfeld, Harrison, and others have found support in the statement of Pausanias, I, 14, 1, that the temples of Demeter and Triptolemos were situated above the Enneakrounos, ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην. The new identification of the fountain at the south edge of the Agora with the Enneakrounos deprives this passage of its significance in this connection, for, as Thompson points out, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, "the two temples cannot be separated from the Eleusinion," the approximate location of which can now be determined beyond a doubt as being on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, northeast of the Areopagos.

⁵ *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 106.

⁶ *Thesm.*, line 658. τὴν πύκνα] Thesmophorium et tentoria vicina intelligit Fritzsche. Pnycis autem nomine appellari Thesmophorium quod in eo, quasi in Pnyce, concio nunc feminarum de Euripide habeatur. Cf. Invernizius, *Aristophanis comoediae*, vol. VIII, p. 411, on the same passage: templum in quo tunc concioni habendae congregatae erant mulieres, facete comicus Pnycem appellat.

expressed in the scholia on the passage. The commentator, not being interested in matters of topography, offers the most natural interpretation to the effect that the sanctuary, being temporarily used for an assembly, might appropriately be called the Pnyx. Two of the scholiasts, however, who may have had independent knowledge about the relative position of the two buildings, take the Pnyx here to refer to the assembly itself.⁷ This is the interpretation followed by most of the older commentators, until topographers began to look for the Thesmophorion, using this passage as a clue to its location.⁸

If we interpret the reference to the Pnyx in a material sense, taking this as evidence for the proximity of the assembly place to the Thesmophorion, by a similar line of reasoning we must also conclude that the house of Agathon was next door to the sanctuary of the goddesses. In lines 280 ff. the kinsman, fitted out with woman's clothing, is still standing before the house of Agathon. He speaks to an imaginary female slave, who is ordered to take down the sacred box and take out a cake for an offering to the goddesses. Then he addresses a prayer to Demeter and Persephone, and immediately, before dismissing the servant, he begins to look for a place where he can sit down and listen to the orators.⁹ Thereupon he dismisses the imaginary Thratta because, as he says, slaves are not permitted to attend. In the crowded space of the theater these actions, represented as taking place before the house of Agathon and in the Thesmophorion respectively, are carried out with practically no intervening space; but no one, so far as I am aware, has suggested that this indicates the relative position of the sanctuary and the poet's house. It is obvious that we are here dealing with stage conventions which have nothing to do with Athenian topography.¹⁰

⁷ Line 658. *πύκνα· τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. παρὰ τὸ πυκνοῦσθαι τοὺς ὄχλους, ἐπεποιήντο γὰρ ἐκκλησίαν.* Others seem to have understood *τὰς σκηνάς* to refer to the stage in the theater, where the play was given. Rutherford, *Scholia Arist.*, II, pp. 481 f.

⁸ Van Leeuwen, writing in 1904, *Arist. Thesm.*, p. 87, takes the view of the topographers: Pnyxem Thesmophorio vicinam explorare mulieres iubet earum dux, praesertim autem scrutari sua ipsarum umbracula.

⁹ Line 292: *ποῦ, ποῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ῥητόρων | ἵν' ἐξακούω.*

¹⁰ There are other instances of a similar kind in Aristophanes' plays, in which the poet's fancy has misled commentators to draw sweeping conclusions about historical facts. An excellent case in point is a passage in the *Acharnians*, lines 593-598, where Lamachos refers to himself as *strategos*, although in a later passage, lines 1073 ff., of the same play it clearly appears that he is a subordinate officer, being despatched by the generals to do garrison duty on the Boeotian border. Van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Acharn.*, pp. 99, 104, has shown that Lamachos was *taxiarch* in 426/5, the year in which the play was presented. Cf. K. J. Beloch, *Att. Pol.*, p. 302. Other scholars have interpreted the first of the two passages in a literal sense; see A. B. West, *A.J.P.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 145 ff. H. B. Mayor in a recent article, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 45-64, has attempted to prove that Lamachos was general when the play was presented at the Lenaia in February, 425 B.C. The election of generals ordinarily took place after the Lenaia, and Aristophanes, hoping to prejudice the people against Lamachos and the war party, composed his play with this intention. But by exception the election of the generals for 425 was held a month earlier than usual, and when the results were announced Aristophanes changed a portion of the play so as to take into account that Lamachos was

There is no more reason to assume that the reference to *πύκνα* in line 658 reflects the actual position of the Thesmophorion in relation to the real Pnyx.¹¹ Since we are specifically told by the actors that the assembly is represented as being held in the Thesmophorion, there is no difficulty in understanding *τὴν πύκνα* to refer to the assembly itself, here represented as a part of the festival celebration.

The word Pnyx, which became the name of the hill on which the assembly place was situated, is not often found either in literature or in inscriptions. Etymologically it appears to be connected with *πυκνός*,¹² which can only refer to the crowding of the people in the assembly, not to the construction of the assembly place. That being the case, its primary significance attaches to the ekklesia itself, although in time it came to be used most commonly as a designation of the place in which the assembly was held. But in the *Knights* of Aristophanes¹³ it occurs once unmistakably referring to the people assembled in the Pnyx. When Demos promises to hand over the reins of the Pnyx to one of the two contestants, Paphlagon and the sausage-seller, he uses a figure from the horse races. The steed to be controlled by the winner is the assembly of Athenian citizens, that is the demos itself, not the material building in which the assemblies were held. A few lines below in the same play (lines 1131-1140) *πυκνότης* is used with a play on the word to describe the cleverness of the Pnyx-frequenting Demos, who purposely fed the grafters in the Pnyx like sacrificial victims until they were ready for the slaughter.

This transfer of the name of an assembly hall to the assembly itself, or vice versa, is as common in ancient Greek as it is in modern languages. For example, *ἀγορά* means either place of assembly, the assembly itself, or market place, and it continued to be used with all three meanings till late times. Similarly *θέατρον*, which most commonly denotes the building, is frequently used by writers of the fifth century as a collective term referring to the spectators.¹⁴ Conversely the term *ἐκκλησία*, which

already general. The rest remained unaltered, hence the discrepancy in the offices held by Lamachos. For this ingenious theory, designed to overcome the difficulty, there is no proof outside the play itself, and it runs counter to epigraphical and historical evidence, as W. K. Pritchett has shown, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 469-474. A comic poet, as Mayor allows, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, "is not bound to be consistent."

¹¹ A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 320, note 5, points to the danger of using the Aristophanes passage as evidence for the location of the Thesmophorion. As he rightly observes, no one has concluded that the women officers mentioned in lines 373 ff. actually existed. He thinks that the reference to the Pnyx, like the titles of the women officers, may be nothing but a joke: "Man erwartet einen verschliessbaren Raum, und den bot die Pnyx nicht."

¹² There seems to be no good reason for doubting this connection. See Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v. *πνύξ*. Reference is there given to *πυκναῖα* in Ion Frag. 65, which has the same meaning as *πνύξ*. The feminine noun understood with this adjective is presumably *ἐκκλησία*.

¹³ Line 1109: *τούτῳ παραδώσω τῆς πυκνὸς τὰς ἡγίας*. Cf. *Ekklesiazousai*, line 466: *μὴ παραλαβοῦσαι τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἡγίας*.

¹⁴ Herodotos, VI, 21; Plato, *Symposium*, 194 B; Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 233.

primarily means assembly, sometimes occurs in the sense of assembly place, i. e., the Pnyx.¹⁵

That the festival of the Thesmophoria was held within the sanctuary of the goddesses is clear from the direct statements quoted above, and the great secrecy surrounding the performance makes this self-evident. The sanctuary must have been clearly marked off either by a wall or by a fence following a line indicated by boundary stones. The Pnyx, too, had clearly fixed boundaries.¹⁶ The celebrants in the Thesmophorion could no more encroach upon the area assigned to the Pnyx than the populace was allowed within the precinct of the goddesses. There are good reasons for believing that the Pnyx, far from being turned over to the women during the celebration, was actually used as a place of assembly by the demos during the days of the festival. The time of the festival is well known. The celebration in the Thesmophorion lasted three days, Pyanopsion 11-13, but it was preceded by a one-day celebration at Halymous.¹⁷ One decree from the year 122/1 is preserved¹⁸ which was passed on the eleventh of Pyanopsion. At this late date the Pnyx may have been in ruins,¹⁹ and the assembly which passed the decree held its meeting in the theater, as was the practice at that time. But the fact that it was passed at one of the regular assemblies, and a principal assembly (*ἐκκλησία κυρία*) at that, shows that the ekklesia did not suspend its activities for the duration of the festival.²⁰ Since the women had no

¹⁵ Philochoros, in a quotation preserved by a scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds*, line 997, uses *ἐκκλησία* to denote the place of assembly, and in the same sentence he uses the word *πνύξ* as the name of the hill.

¹⁶ See *I.G.*, I², 882; and cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 108.

¹⁷ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 52, where the ancient references are collected.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1006, line 50.

¹⁹ On this question see Thompson, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 216 f., and cf. his revised view referred to below, p. 256, note 27.

²⁰ In lines 78-80 of the *Thesmophoriazousai* the announcement is made by the kinsman that the Boule and the courts were closed, the alleged reason being that it was the third day of the festival. In the lines following Euripides replies that he expected this to be his undoing, since this was the very day on which the women had decided to hold an assembly in order to take action on his case. There seems to be a play on the information that the courts and the council were not in session, for in reality while the ekklesia was assembled in the Pnyx the courts and the council would normally be closed to make it possible for the prytaneis and the dicasts to be present in the assembly. That the assembly met during other important festivals is shown by many extant decrees. At least seven preserved decrees, ranging in date from the fourth to the second century B.C., were enacted during the days of the City Dionysia, Elaphebolion 9-13, *I.G.*, II², 360; 460; 461; 646; 647; 1008, line 50; and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 15. On the day preceding the Dionysia, Elaphebolion 8, which was known as the sacred day *par excellence*, assemblies were not held; and Aischines, III, 67, violently assails Demosthenes for violating this rule by making the prytaneis call the ekklesia together. At certain other festivals too the ekklesia apparently did not hold sessions. There are no dated decrees preserved that could have been passed during the Lenaia, celebrated on Gamelion 12-14, whereas no less than sixteen extant decrees are dated on the eleventh. These would seem to show that an attempt was made to rush business through before the holidays began. During festivals lasting for many days, like the Eleusinia, the Boule and the ekklesia seem to have met on the less important days. The subject is treated at length by S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 111 ff.; cf. L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

part in the public affairs of the state, the celebration of the festival did not interfere with the assembly. It might be argued that the demos had to forego its right to meet in the Pnyx, because it was then occupied by the women, but there is no proof of such a startling provision.²¹ If this had been the case Aristophanes would certainly have made the assembly of women meet in the regular assembly place rather than in the Thesmophorion.

It has been asserted that the ekklesia of the women in the *Thesmophorizousai* was suggested to Aristophanes by the proximity of the Pnyx to the Thesmophorion.²² There is, of course, no proof of this nor is it at all a necessary assumption. Since the Thesmophoria were in charge of the women of Attica, it is obvious that they had to hold a formal session some time during the festival to deliberate about the affairs of the cult. It was customary at other festivals to call the boule and sometimes the ekklesia²³ together in the pertinent sanctuary to take action upon matters connected with the festival, especially to decide whether any person participating in the celebration be found guilty of unlawful behavior.²⁴ In view of the fact that the Eleusinion is one of the sanctuaries most frequently mentioned as the meeting place of the Boule,²⁵ this practice might well have suggested the situation for the play.

From the *Thesmophoriazousai* we learn nothing further about the location of the sanctuary, except for some vague indications that it occupied a position on a hill.²⁶

²¹ In Thebes, we are told by Xenophon, *Hellenika*, V, 2, 29, at the time of the Spartan attack the Boule met in a stoa in the agora because the women were celebrating the Thesmophoria in the Kadmeia, the inference being that the Boule but for the festival would have met in the Kadmeia. It is possible that its regular meeting place was the sanctuary of Demeter, which was regarded as having been at one time the house of Kadmos; cf. Pausanias, IX, xvi, 5. Similarly in Athens the bouleuterion was closely connected with the temple of the Great Mother; see Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 208 ff. From the statement of Xenophon it is clear that the celebration of the Thesmophoria in Thebes did not interrupt the public business.

²² H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 185; J. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 106.

²³ See below, note 25, and cf. *I.G.*, II², 780, lines 3, 28. At such a session, held during the Skira, the women of the *Ekklesiazousai* decided upon their scheme to seize control of the city.

²⁴ See Demosthenes, *Meidias*, 175 (p. 517); and cf. *I.G.*, II², 1140, a tribal decree passed *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ μετὰ Πάνδια*. See also S. Dow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 110-111; and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 289.

²⁵ Andokides, I, 111, cites a Solonian law which made it compulsory for the Boule to meet in the Eleusinion after the celebration of the mysteries. Decrees passed at such sessions are preserved: *I.G.*, II², 848; 1072; and 794, where the reading *βουλὴ ἐν τῷ [ι] Ἐλευσινίῳ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ* is an almost certain restoration. See S. Dow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 109, 116; and cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 85.

²⁶ See Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 184. In the case of a play presented in the theater the question must always be asked whether such indications refer to the actual monument or locality in which the action is represented as taking place, or to the theater itself. References like these have been used with as much—or as little—justification as evidence for the construction of the fifth-century Theater of Dionysos. See criticism in Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, pp. 188 ff., where expressions like *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* are explained, on the basis of common usage in the assembly, as referring to the appearance and disappearance of a speaker before the audience. Cf. A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*³, p. 166; Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, p. 91.

Since there are many hills in Athens, these indications are not very helpful. They are, in fact, no less applicable to any one of several proposed sites, including the new location suggested below.

In the detailed study of the Pnyx area Thompson has described both the site itself and all the movable objects that can be said to throw any light on the location of the Thesmophorion. It will not be necessary to discuss these here at length, but a brief mention of the more important objects is in place. The architectural remains are those of a stoa, now called East Stoa, begun at a late date and left in such an unfinished condition that it can never have been used. It had two predecessors, the first of which also remained unfinished. The original construction was first dated in the second century B.C., but recently Thompson has pushed its date back to the time of Lykourgos.²⁷ There are also traces of earlier occupations of the site, but these are too scanty to afford any tangible information. To the northwest of the stoa are several rock-cut beddings for monuments, and another large building, the West Stoa, was discovered in one of the recent campaigns of excavations. None of these buildings has been suggested as having anything to do with the Thesmophorion.

In the fill within and around the East Stoa some votive objects were discovered, most of which belong to a sanctuary deposit, and all of which date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. They consist chiefly of small votive vessels and terracotta figurines, of well-known types, such as might be found in any sanctuary. In no case are the figures accompanied by recognizable attributes that would help to determine what deities if any they were intended to represent.

The most important of the other objects are a terracotta mould for a relief and a fragment from the impression²⁸ of another similar mould. In the center of the relief

²⁷ At the meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Hartford in December, 1941, Thompson presented his revised views regarding the date of the stoa and the Pnyx. He now proposes to ascribe the construction of the massive retaining wall to Lykourgos. The stoa, formerly identified as belonging to the Thesmophorion, and a much larger stoa farther west, he regards as parts of the Pnyx complex and intended for use in connection with the assemblies. The two stoas will henceforth be designated the East (formerly Long Stoa; it is the shorter of the two) and the West Stoa. See *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 123.

²⁸ It is not very clear what purpose these impressions were intended to serve. Similar reliefs, but of earlier date, have been treated in a recent article by Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285 ff., who applies to them the noncommittal term "excerpts," and suggests various explanations of their "mysterious purposes." Homer Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 176, assumes that the relief under discussion was taken from a metal bowl for use in making terracotta relief vessels. If such were its purpose, it would seem strange that only a small part of the second figure was included in the mould; and it is not very clear why the moulds made from the metal reliefs were not used directly in the making of terracotta bowls. This process still seems to leave the impressions without any intelligible purpose. In the case of whole figures or groups of figures lifted from a metal vessel to be used by the less inventive craftsman in a cheaper medium the process is easily understood, but it is difficult to explain the use of such excerpts containing parts of several figures, or even of a single figure, with the head or some equally essential feature omitted. Another

is a draped female figure holding a torch in her left hand. Above her head is the small figure of a stag darting away to the left. At the right edge there is part of a seated figure holding a scepter, and on the left is an amphora and something else which is not very clear. Thompson has advanced arguments for identifying the standing figure with Kore and the seated one with Demeter. But the stag is more appropriate as an attribute of Artemis, whereas the torch is equally suitable either to Artemis or to Kore. The identity of the figures, however, is of slight importance, since the mould was obviously made from some vessel on which a larger group of deities was depicted.²⁹ Seeing that only one complete figure and part of a second are included in the mould, it is impossible to determine what group of deities was represented on the original. Moreover, we know that in many sanctuaries altars were erected and sacrifices made to deities other than those to whom the sanctuaries were dedicated, and dedications were not always selected for their appropriateness to the recipient deity. Unless there is a preponderance of recognizable types of figures in a sanctuary deposit, it is unsafe to draw any conclusions with regard to the identity of the deities to whom the dedications were made.³⁰

Among the other objects from the fill near the East Stoa is a bronze plaque of a female figure holding a wreath but devoid of any identifying attributes. The deposit also includes a few fragments of lamps, some of the corona type, and numerous small votive cups, identical with those found in large numbers at various points on the North Slope of the Acropolis and in the Agora excavations. One curse tablet of lead was found near the East Stoa but not in the sanctuary deposit. Although such curses were frequently deposited in sanctuaries of Demeter, they are also associated with the

explanation suggests itself, that the impressions were kept by the possessors of precious metal vessels as convenient means of identification and proof of ownership. The vessels were sometimes used at public celebrations and festivals, as is suggested in Thucydides' description (VI, 32) of the departure of the Sicilian Expedition, and at such occasions an excerpt from the relief of a vessel would serve the same purpose as the owner's signature. A comparable practice obtained in regard to public seals, impressions (*σύμβολα*) of which were kept as guarantees of the authenticity of credentials. See *I.G.*, II², 141, lines 18-25 and the article by Regling in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *symbolon* (4).

²⁹ Thompson explains the stag as part of the filling ornament, having nothing to do with the figures below. These he assumes to have been taken from an Eleusinian assembly of gods.

³⁰ The presence of the mould and the impression together with that of the other fragments of moulds for figurines, lamps, and relief bowls Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 176, has construed as "evidence for the existence, in the vicinity, of a potter's shop which supplied offerings for a sanctuary." It would be surprising to find an establishment of that kind so close to the sanctuary that the wastrels and refuse from it should be found together with the deposits of votive objects from the sanctuary itself. The dedications to the gods would have been buried within the limits of the *temenos*. But if the potter's shop could have been located so close to the Thesmophorion, and if its sole business was to produce votive objects for the cult of the goddesses, it is remarkable that none of the objects from the sanctuary deposit has any clearly marked characteristics indicating the nature of the cult.

cults of other chthonian deities; and a single specimen is hardly sufficient to establish the identity of the sanctuary in which it may have been placed.³¹

From this brief enumeration of the important objects from the excavation it is clear that these offer no conclusive proof for the location of the Thesmophorion. Having accepted the common interpretation of *Thesmophoriazousai*, line 658, as evidence for the existence of the sanctuary in the vicinity of the Pnyx, Thompson was fully justified in attempting to relate the finds to the cult of Demeter. Deprived of this support they are not sufficiently characteristic to offer positive information. It is significant that none of the votive objects peculiarly appropriate to the Eleusinian religion, such as figures of pigs, of women carrying pigs, or hydrophoroi was found in the excavation.³² Even more important is the total absence from the deposit of kernoi,³³ the specific cult vessel of Demeter, and this is the more remarkable in view of the large number of such vessels that have come to light in the deposits from the Eleusinion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.

Important, too, is the fact that nothing was found of the megara, which formed an essential part of the Thesmophorion. We have no clear description of these chambers, but they appear to have been natural caverns sufficiently roomy to contain altars and to allow the priestesses and the ἀντήτριαι to perform their rites in the interior. If they existed in the vicinity of the Pnyx, they can hardly have disappeared entirely, for the whole hill consists of hard limestone which has not been greatly altered through erosion.

Before the positive evidence for the location of the Thesmophorion is presented it should be pointed out that *a priori* the Pnyx hill is a most unlikely place for its position. The Thesmophoria were one of the most ancient and certainly the most popular of all the religious festivals, not only in Athens but throughout the Greek world.³⁴ This we learn from sources of two kinds. On the one hand, tradition assigns its introduction to a primitive age before the hellenization of the population of Greece, that is, archaeologically speaking, to prehistoric times. On the other hand, the rites and sacrifices practiced at the festival were of such primitive character that a late introduction of the cult of the Thesmophoroi is out of the question. That being the case, we should look for the sanctuary in which such rites were performed in one of

³¹ No less than forty-five such tablets have been discovered in a well in the Agora excavations. See G. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 43 ff.; and VI, 1937, pp. 382 ff.

³² See Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186.

³³ The small votive cups might well have served as substitutes for kernoi, as Thompson suggests, but of themselves they are no more characteristic of Eleusinian worship than of any other cult.

³⁴ See Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 313 ff.; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 120 ff. In Sicily, we are told by Diodoros, V, 4, the Thesmophoria were celebrated in imitation of primitive life, τῇ διασκευῇ μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον. In Eretria, too, where the women celebrating the festival cooked meat in the sun instead of by fire, the rites bear the characteristics of primitive religion. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.*, p. 298 B; and cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

the oldest quarters of the city. The Pnyx hill does not belong to this category.³⁵ Among the objects associated with the sanctuary itself there are, as we have seen, no traces of an early cult, nor was anything found in the assembly place to show that the area was occupied before the fifth century B.C.³⁶ Remains of prehistoric times and even of the early archaic period are conspicuously absent from the whole region surrounding the Pnyx, and there is every reason to believe that the crest of hills to which the Pnyx has given its name is a comparatively late addition to the city.³⁷ Thucydides' description of Athens before the time of Theseus³⁸ makes it perfectly clear that the Pnyx hill was not at that time a part of the city. The accurate observation which he makes with regard to the location of the earliest sanctuaries as evidence for the extent of the primitive city would certainly point to a place nearer the Acropolis as the most likely location of the Thesmophorion.

Thucydides does not mention the Thesmophorion among the early cult places close to the Acropolis, but if we apply his method of reasoning, we inevitably come to the conclusion that it was situated within the area occupied by his early—pre-Theseus—city of Athens. The exact extent of this area we do not know, but some of the sanctuaries mentioned by name in the Thucydides passage have been discovered and identified. Two of these, the sanctuaries of Zeus Olympios and Apollo Pythios, are situated on the upper slope, just below the Acropolis wall;³⁹ and the sanctuary of

³⁵ E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 22 ff., proceeding from other considerations, concluded that the Pnyx hill belonged to the earliest part of Athens; but this view, wholly incompatible with the archaeological discoveries, is no longer seriously accounted.

³⁶ Kourouniotes and Thompson, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 96 and 215, assume that the Pnyx Hill "was frequented by the popular assembly early in the city's history," but this assumption is not borne out by the excavations, nor is it in itself probable. Before the reforms of Kleisthenes the populace had no need of a special assembly place apart from the Agora, where it was accustomed to congregate for religious festivals and even for the earliest dramatic performances. The excavators themselves have elsewhere, *loc. cit.*, p. 109, expressed the view that the assembly did not meet on the Pnyx hill before the beginning of the fifth century. Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 72, 395; and Haigh, *The Greek Theatre*³, p. 178. The earliest evidence for the existence of the assembly place is furnished by a boundary stone from about the middle of the fifth century.

³⁷ Cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 389, and L. B. Holland, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 292, who states that "it is doubtful if any area outside the Acropolis was included in the city walls before the sixth century." By the term Acropolis he obviously means not the area enclosed within the citadel wall of the fifth century, but the whole Acropolis hill, including the slopes.

³⁸ Book II, 15. The description of Athens by Plato, *Kritias*, 111e ff., which includes the Pnyx within the circuit of the primitive Acropolis, is hardly evidence to the contrary. Although this whole account has a foundation in fact, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 92, the dimensions of his early city and of Attica are, like the rest of his description, exaggerations of conditions existing in his own day. As such they cannot be said to correspond to actual conditions at any particular period of the city's history.

³⁹ The much debated identification of these sanctuaries cannot be discussed here. There are scholars who still find it possible to believe that Thucydides referred to sanctuaries which even in his own day lay outside the city walls as proof of the smallness of the primitive city. See W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.; Axel Boëthius, *Die Pythais*, pp. 4, 5, 160 ff.; Hans Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*,

Ge should probably be identified with one of the three shrines of the earth-goddess known to have existed within a short distance of the Acropolis. The identification of the Enneakrounos is the most disputed point of the passage, but the best solution hitherto offered is to regard the fountain discovered in the Agora⁴⁰ as the Enneakrounos mentioned both by Thucydides and by Pausanias. This is situated in the hollow to the north of the Areopagos, at the southwest corner of the Agora. Thucydides' statement concerning the fountain, *ἐκείνη τε ἐγγὺς οὖσῃ*, indicates that it was outside, but only just outside, the limits of the early city. Whether the Areopagos was regarded as being within that area, depends very largely on the identity of the sanctuary of Ge to which Thucydides refers. One of the cult places dedicated to her worship was situated directly below the Areopagos, close to the sanctuary of the Eumenides.

It is in this general vicinity, or at least within the same proximity of the Acropolis, that we might reasonably expect to find the Thesmophorion. And favoring this situation is the fact that two known sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore existed in this locality and that a large part of the Acropolis slope is known to have been devoted to cults of the Eleusinian goddesses.

Just below the entrance to the Acropolis Demeter Chloe shared a cult place with Kourotrophos⁴¹ and Aphrodite Pandemos, also called Blaute.⁴² Kore, too, was worshiped with Demeter in this shrine, but her association in the cult may be late. Demeter and Ge Kourotrophos also had cult connections with Aglauros,⁴³ whose sanctuary was on the upper north slope farther east. Lower on the same slope was the area, presumably fairly extensive,⁴⁴ in which one of the three sacred plowings of

LX-LXI, 1935-36, pp. 258 ff. Even as late as in the time of Hadrian it was known that the Olympieion and the Pythion to the southeast of the Acropolis lay outside the city of Theseus, as is shown by the inscription on the Arch of Hadrian. Thucydides is discussing an even earlier city of much smaller area, covering only the Acropolis and its immediate slopes. For the identification of the early Olympieion and of the Pythion on the north slope see the convincing study of A. Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XII, 1929, pp. 86-98.

⁴⁰ No detailed study of the fountain has appeared, but its identification with the Enneakrounos has been tentatively proposed. See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360 and pl. III, 15; and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 183. A criticism of the view is given by Möbius, *loc. cit.*, pp. 264 ff., who accepts the identification of the fountain in the Agora with the Enneakrounos of Pausanias, but follows the opinion of earlier scholars that the fountain referred to by Thucydides was situated at the Ilissos.

⁴¹ Kourotrophos appears to have been originally an independent goddess, whose identification with Ge is of late origin; see M. P. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 390. A divergent view is expressed by G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 382, who regards Kourotrophos here as a cult title of Aphrodite.

⁴² See Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 285 ff.; Keramopoulos, *loc. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.; G. W. Elderkin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 381-387.

⁴³ See *I.G.*, II², 5152, and cf. E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. xxvi; W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 4, 21.

⁴⁴ See Doro Levi, *Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-1924, pp. 16 ff.

Attica took place.⁴⁵ The other two were at Skiron on the road to Eleusis and in the Rharian Plain, near Eleusis. All three were fertility rites in the religion of Demeter, but the one in Athens was originally connected with the worship of Athena, whose priests were chosen from the family of the Bouzygai.⁴⁶ The *ἄροτος Βουζύγιοις*, as the plowing in Athens was called, was probably performed close to, if not within the temenos of the Eleusinion. Possibly the area cultivated by the ceremonial plowing should be identified with the Field of Hunger, *λιμοῦ πεδῖον*,⁴⁷ a suitable name descriptive of the condition of agriculture before the first plow was invented by Bouzyges, whose identity was sometimes confused with that of Triptolemos or Epimenides.⁴⁸ Deubner⁴⁹ has plausibly suggested that the sacred objects brought up from the megara by the *ἀντλήτραι* were in the first instance intended to be used as fertility charms in connection with the sacred plowings at Skiron and on the slope of the Acropolis.⁵⁰

The approximate location of the Eleusinion *ἐν ἄστει* on the northwest slope of the Acropolis may now be regarded as an established fact,⁵¹ although none of the buildings relating to the cult has as yet been identified. Numerous inscriptions known to have stood in the Eleusinion, marble reliefs representing groups of Eleusinian deities, and, above all, deposits of votive objects of indisputably Eleusinian character, all of which have come to light in a comparatively limited area, combine with the testimonies of ancient writers to settle once for all this much disputed point in Athenian topography.⁵²

⁴⁵ See Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.*, 42 (p. 144 B); cf. J. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 167.

⁴⁶ Bouzyges and his two oxen are represented on the calendar frieze in the church of Hag. Eleutherios. See J. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 168, fig. 38; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 250, and pl. 36, 8, where Bouzyges is preceded by a sower. The group belongs to the month Maimakterion, corresponding to the season of the fall sowing in Greece. The sacred plowing is also depicted on a red-figured krater published by D. M. Robinson in *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 152 ff. Here both Athena and Kekrops (or possibly Boutes) appear as spectators to whom Bouzyges demonstrates his new invention.

⁴⁷ Bekker, *Anecd.*, I, 278, 4; Zenobios, iv, 93: τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Πρυτανείου πεδῖον. See also W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 ff. Cf. the Homeric *νεῖδς τρίπολος*, and see below, note 50.

⁴⁸ A statue of Epimenides stood in front of the temple of Triptolemos in or near the Eleusinion; see Pausanias, I, xiv, 4.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 51. But cf. A. R. van der Loeff, *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, pp. 101 ff.

⁵⁰ It has been suggested that the name Triptolemos, derived by false etymology from *τρίς* + *πολέω*, was thought to have originated from the three sacred plowings in Attica. See Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. Triptolemos; and J. Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. liii, 96, 167. Iasion, another congener of Triptolemos, and like him a lover of Demeter, is likewise connected with triple plowing. In the words of Homer, *Odyssey*, V, lines 105-127, "fair-tressed Demeter, yielding to her passion, lay in love with Iasion in the thrice plowed fallow, *νεῶν ἐν τριπόλῳ*," and the offspring of their union was Ploutos. Like Epimenides, Iasion was at home in Crete, but he does not figure in Attic legend.

⁵¹ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff. See above, p. 251, note 4.

⁵² There is a considerable literature on the location of the Eleusinion in Athens. For the earlier theories see Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff., and J. Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 93 ff. Until recently the most commonly accepted theory was that of Dörpfeld, who placed it on the west slope, close to his hypothetical location of the Enneakrounos. Lately Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1934-35, pp. 85 ff., has revived and modified an older theory of Versakis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1912, pp. 48 ff., that it occupied

The Eleusinion was one, by far the most famous, of the many sanctuaries on the North Slope of the Acropolis in which primitive fertility cults were practiced. With each campaign of excavation new evidence is brought to light, showing that the whole area along the slope was devoted to primitive religion. The sanctuary of Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops, in which also Ge and Demeter appear to have been honored, and the early cult place of Aphrodite in the Gardens belong to this category. The same is true of the Lenaion, which is hardly to be distinguished from the Dionysion in Limnais.⁵³ The latter was probably not situated on the slope of the Acropolis but at the south edge of the Agora, not far from the Enneakrounos. It was, however, related to the Eleusinion, not only by the proximity of the two sanctuaries but through association in certain cult practices as well.⁵⁴

In this environment of primitive Greek religion the Thesmophorion finds its proper place.⁵⁵ In the Eleusinion itself probably stood the temple of Demeter and Kore, the two goddesses who were honored in the Thesmophoria and in that capacity bore the cult title *Θεσμοφόροι*. The festival was part of the Eleusinian religion,⁵⁶ and naturally belongs in the Eleusinion *ἐν ᾧστει*. The name Thesmophorion may have been applied to the Eleusinion in connection with the festival, just as the term Pythion was used for the cult place of Apollo in the cave above the Klepsydra, although Apollo was here more commonly called *Ἵπακράϊος* or *ὑπὸ Μακράϊς*. He was also Apollo Patroos, as is shown by the myth of Ion, the reputed ancestor of the Ionians in

the western part of the south slope. More startling and wholly without foundation is the recent theory of C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.*, VII, 1936, pp. 119 f.; XI, 1938, pp. 99 ff.; XII, 1938, pp. 93 f. and 243; *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, II, pp. 714-732, who identifies it with the so-called Theseion on Kolonos Hill. His opinion is categorically accepted by Giffler, *Rev. Arch.*, XII, 1938, pp. 243 f., in a brief note which adds nothing of importance. Any attempt to remove the Eleusinion from the immediate vicinity of the Acropolis goes contrary to the unanimous testimonies of ancient writers and inscriptions. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1078, lines 14-15: *ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει*, the equivalent of *ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει*, which Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.*, III, 39P, uses to denote the location of the Eleusinion. For a criticism of Picard's theory see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 112, note 48, and W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 1, note 4.

⁵³ See J. Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 96; and Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 293 ff.

⁵⁴ See *I.G.*, II², 1367 and 1672, line 182, where sacrifices to Demeter, Kore, and Pluto, and to Dionysos are mentioned in close connection. Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 125; and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 278.

⁵⁵ According to Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 108, the Eleusinion in Athens was established at the time when hostilities between Eleusis and Athens had come to an end and Eleusis had become incorporated into the Athenian state. This event is usually dated in the second half of the seventh century; cf. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 393; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 104. It does not follow, however, that the Demeter cult was then planted for the first time in the area chosen for the Eleusinion. The connections of Demeter with some of the cult places in this vicinity have all the characteristics of primitive religion, and it is more in keeping with the course of religious development to assume that the Eleusinian cult was grafted upon an already existing worship of Demeter rather than introduced for the first time in the seventh century.

⁵⁶ See H. G. Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr. z. Geschichte des Eleus. Kults*, p. 109; Paul Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 64; and cf. *I.G.*, II², 1363.

Athens.⁵⁷ The name Pythios is derived from his connection with Delphi through the sacred mission of the Pythaistai.

Other instances of this kind can be cited,⁵⁸ showing that a particular deity may be worshipped under different cult titles in the same sanctuary. Thus there is no need to look for a Thesmophorion as a separate temenos of Demeter. The Eleusinion with its temples of Demeter and Kore and of Triptolemos might well have been called Thesmophorion in connection with the rites of the Thesmophoria. It is possible, however, that a certain part of the Eleusinion where the subterranean megara were situated was especially devoted to this function, and that this part was called Thesmophorion in a specific sense,⁵⁹ but the whole Eleusinion was certainly required to furnish sufficient space for the celebrations. Eleusinion was the more common, though probably less ancient, name applied to the temenos and its temples, which served the purpose of a city annex to the sanctuary at Eleusis.⁶⁰

The Eleusinion was situated along the route followed by the sacred processions through the city, and this fact has an important bearing on the location of the Thesmophorion. Deubner⁶¹ assumes on the basis of the famous scholion on Lucian⁶² that the pigs and other objects were deposited in the megara early in the summer at the festival of the Skira and that the remains were brought up and placed on the altars in the fall at the celebration of the Thesmophoria. Objections to this interpretation were raised by Thompson⁶³ on the ground that the Thesmophorion with its megara lay too far from the direct route of the procession leading from the Acropolis to Skiron. In a recent article⁶⁴ Deubner has restated his position with regard to the time at which the objects were deposited in the megara, although he adheres to the accepted view that the Thesmophorion was located on the Pnyx hill. If the conclusion reached by the present study is accepted, that the Thesmophorion was identical with, or part of the Eleusinion, this topographical difficulty disappears.

The important point upon which this whole investigation turns is the interpretation of a single reference to the Pnyx in the *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes.

⁵⁷ See Demosthenes, XVIII, 141: τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον, ὃς Πατροῦς ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει; and cf. A. Keramopoulos, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, XII, 1929, pp. 92-98. M. P. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 391, states that Apollo Pythios in Athens became Apollo Patroos at a relatively late date.

⁵⁸ The name Lenaion, referred to above, probably originated in a similar way.

⁵⁹ Some of the earlier topographers assumed that the Thesmophorion was both physically and by cult connected with the Eleusinion; cf. Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 299, and J. Martha, *Les Sacerdotes Athéniens*, p. 160. But since neither the one nor the other could at that time be located with any kind of certainty, this conclusion was hardly more than a correct guess.

As a parallel to such a sanctuary within a sanctuary as we must assume for the Thesmophorion in Athens, reference should be made to the cult place of Demeter at Pagasai-Demetrias, cf. *Polemon*, I, 1929, pp. 32 ff.; H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186, note 3.

⁶⁰ Cf. S. Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 125; M. P. Nilsson, *Jahrb.*, XXXI, 1916, p. 314.

⁶¹ *Attische Feste*, p. 43.

⁶² *Dialogi Meretricii*, II, 1.

⁶³ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 188, note 1.

⁶⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, pp. 335 ff.

No other, independent evidence exists and none has ever been adduced for placing the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx hill. Were it not for this passage it could never have occurred to anyone to separate the Thesmophorion from the ancient cult places of the Eleusinian goddesses on the Acropolis slope. The Aristophanes passage, as has been shown above, admits of a satisfactory interpretation which deprives it of its validity for the solution of this problem. Turning from this fact to the results of the excavation we find that no objects of exclusively Eleusinian or Thesmophorian character were brought to light in the area assigned to the sanctuary; and the remains are too late and too insignificant to be interpreted as belonging to the early and highly important cult of the Thesmophoroi. We are thus left without any evidence for the location of the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx hill, and the high antiquity of the cult is a strong argument for placing it near the Acropolis, where most of the other primitive cult places were situated. And since the rites of the Thesmophoria, which gave the name both to the sanctuary and to the goddesses, were an essential part of the Eleusinian religion,⁶⁵ we are justified in assuming that they were practiced in the Eleusinion itself.

Until the area of the Eleusinion has been more thoroughly investigated and the results published, it would be hazardous to propose new interpretations of its remains in the light of the present study. The excavations have yielded a variety of material related to the worship of Demeter and Kore. Whether any of these objects will prove to throw further light on the location of the Thesmophorion cannot yet be determined. But one point in favor of the view expressed here might be mentioned, the more so as the same suggestion has been made independently by members of the Agora staff.

It has been stated above that the absence near the Pnyx of underground chambers that might have served as megara gives rise to a serious objection against the former view regarding the location of the Thesmophorion. No such chambers have been recognized in the area of the Eleusinion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, but the ground is there so soft that any natural caverns that may have existed could easily have disappeared. On the other hand, the excavations have revealed an elaborate system of underground tanks and passages lined with brick and reached from above through wide, circular shafts.⁶⁶ These are of Roman date, probably of the first century after Christ. It is not impossible that this extensive complex will prove to be a Roman modification and elaboration of the original natural caverns, which may have collapsed or otherwise become inadequate to Roman tastes and practices. The Eleusinian religion experienced a marked revival in imperial times, and the cult of the Thesmophoroi continued in popularity to a very late date. At Eleusis there were extensive repairs and improvements made by the Roman emperors, and it is likely that the sanctuary in Athens likewise benefited from their interest in the Eleusinian religion.

⁶⁵ See M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 42 ff.

⁶⁶ See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 218 and 220.

II

DECREE IN HONOR OF SATYRA, PRIESTESS OF THE
THESMOPHOROI

51. While engaged in the present study of the location of the Thesmophorion in Athens, my attention was called to an unpublished inscription⁶⁷ from the Agora excavations, which sheds further light on the problem. The marble fragment (Fig. 1) containing part of the honorary decree was discovered on January 24, 1938, in a modern wall in Sector AA. The slab is broken diagonally along a line extending from the upper left to the lower right corner. Approximately half of the inscribed surface and most of the pediment are preserved.

Height, 0.528 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.117 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5165.

Early Second Century B.C.

Non-Stoichedon 52-56

- [Ca. 18 letters -κ]λέους εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱέρεια τῶν Θεσμοφό
[ρων προκεκριμένη ὑπὸ τῶν] δημοτῶν, Σάτυρα, Κρατέου Μελιτέως γυν[ή],
[ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοτῶν καλῶ]ς καὶ εὐσεβῶς πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας
[θυσίας ἃς οἱ νόμοι προσέττα]ον, ἐπεσκεύακεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς πά[ν]
5 [τας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ, παρε]σκεύακεν δὲ καὶ πᾶ[ν]τα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλ[ού]
[τωνος ἱερῶι, προσανήλωκεν δὲ καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑκατόν δρα
[χμὰς εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς γιγνομένα]ς κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει· δεδό
[χθαι τοῖς Μελιτέυσι· ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἱ]έρειαν τῶν Θ[ε]σμοφόρων Σάτυρα<ν>
[Κρατέου Μελιτέως γυναῖκα καὶ στεφα]νῶσαι αὐτὴν μυρρίνης στεφά
10 [νωι εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τὰ]ς θεὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν
[Μελιτέων, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰκόνας 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]
15 [σαι ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς διοικήσεως].

TRANSLATION

“-----, 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*

⁶⁷ I owe this reference to the kindness of W. Kendrick Pritchett, who has also offered helpful suggestions on some points of interpretation. With the kind permission of T. L. Shear, Director of the Agora Excavations, and of B. D. Meritt, Editor of the Agora inscriptions, I include here a publication of this important document as an appendix to the topographical study.

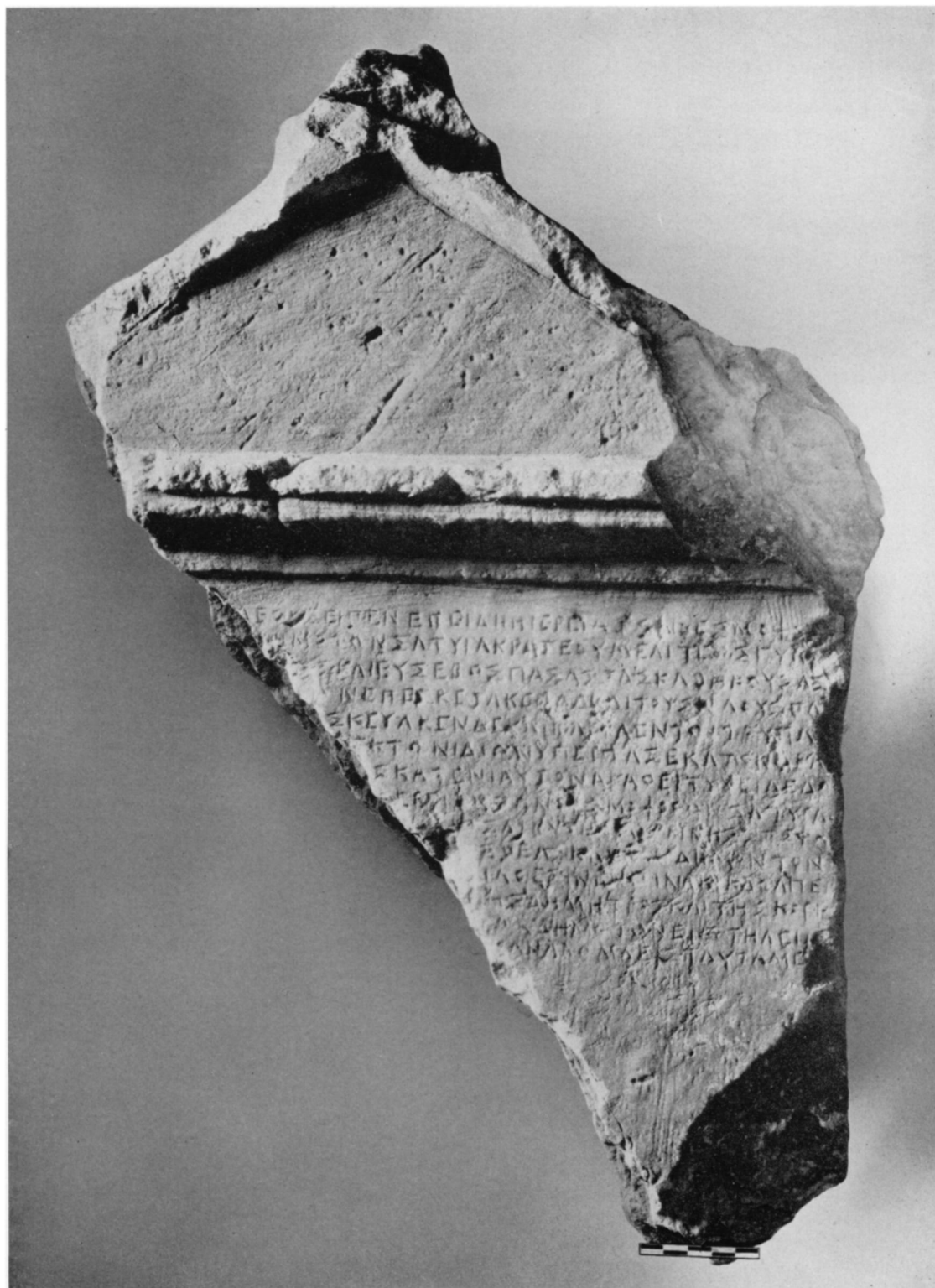


Fig. 1. Decree in Honor of the Priestess Satyra

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 *sanctuary of Pluto*, and furthermore, *has expended* out of her private means more than a 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 Meliteans*; (and be it further resolved) *to grant her the right to set up a painted portrait (of herself) 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 cost of this work to be paid out the common funds.*”

The date of the inscription, so far as it can be determined on the basis of letter forms, is the first half of the second century B.C. The lettering may be compared with *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 277, no. 74 (dated 184/3); *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 141, no. 78. There is nothing in the contents to determine the date more closely.

The length of the lines can be fixed within narrow limits. A median line extending vertically through the apex of the gable would bisect the inscribed area, provided the left margin was of the same width as the existing margin on the right. Eight half-lines preserved to the right of the center show a variation of only two letters. On this basis a line of 52-58 letters should be restored. Line 9, the restoration of which may be regarded as certain, unless it contained a misspelling, has 53 letters. The other lines, in the restoration here proposed, vary between 52 and 56 letters.

The restorations in some of the lines are conjectural, and it would be unsafe to base any far-reaching conclusions on evidence from the restored part of the text. Fortunately the general sense is certain, and the important points of information are for the most part contained in the preserved portions.

Line 1: The inscription began with the name of the mover, followed by his father's name in the genitive.⁶⁸ Both names must have been unusually long to occupy the available space of 23 or more letters. Names of that length are rare, but by no means unknown, in the period to which the inscription belongs. The omission of any formula for dating shows that it is not a decree of the Athenian assembly, and the words *τῶν δημοτῶν* preserved in lines 2 and 13 indicate that it was passed by one of the demes. Since the woman honored was the wife of a man from Melite, we are justified in restoring the name of that deme in lines 8 and 11.

The husband's name Krateas is unusual in Attic prosopography. Among the tombstones published in the last volume of the *Editio Minor* there is one (*I.G.*, II²,

⁶⁸ In most of the preserved demotic decrees the father's name is omitted, but one other example, *I.G.*, II², 1186, is similar to ours in this respect.

6860) bearing the name of Krateas son of Nikolaos of Melite, which is dated by the editor in the second century B.C. It can hardly be doubted that he is the husband of the priestess honored in the decree.

Line 2: The participle from *προκρίνω* has been restored on the basis of a passage in Isaios (see below, p. 271, note 78), describing the election of the women who assisted the priestess at the Thesmophoria. It is not known whether the priestess acquired office in the same way, but the process is similar to that used in the election of priests of other cults. The aorist participle *προκριθέσα* would be more in keeping with common usage, but it is too short to fill the space. *Χειροτονηθέσα* would have the right number of letters, but priests were seldom elected by a show of hands, and it is unlikely that this method was used in Satyra's case. Whatever was the exact word, there can be little doubt that it denoted the selection of the priestess by or from the body of demotai.

Lines 4-5: The restoration of the phrase *ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ* is conditioned upon acceptance of the view presented above with regard to the location of the Thesmophorion. If, as seems likely, the word *ἐπεσκεύακεν* in line 4 refers to actual repairs of the buildings, the restoration *παρ]εσκεύακεν* in line 5 is probably justified. The latter term would then be used to describe the various preparations of the cult places for the celebration of the festival. If *ἐπεσκεύακεν* had been repeated in line 5, we should expect the article *τά* to follow *πάντα*. As the text stands *πάντα* can best be understood as a cognate accusative with *παρεσκεύακεν*.⁶⁹

The word beginning at the end of line 5 can hardly be anything but the name of a deity. The letters ΠΛ are clearly preserved, and there is possibly room for two letters following the lambda. In view of the fact that alpha in this inscription is written without the horizontal stroke as often as with it, some other name like Πλ[*νός*] could be restored instead, but the cult association of Pluto with the Eleusinian goddesses makes the proposed restoration more probable.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Various preparations and minor repairs in the Thesmophorion at Delos were made in successive years shortly before the festival, which there as at Thebes appears to have been celebrated in Metageitnion. See M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 314, note 5, and p. 317; *I.G.*, XI, 203, lines 48-51; 287, lines 68-69; *Inscriptions de Délos*, 290, lines 5, 87-91; 291, lines 25-28; 316, line 103; 338, line 44; 354, line 82; 372, line 88, etc.; and cf. R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 250-278. It is possible that *πάντα* in line 5 of our decree is the object of the verb, and in that case we must assume that the article was omitted by haplography. Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 1106, line 111: *πάντα τὰ δέοντα παρασκευάτε*.

⁷⁰ In a fragmentary inscription from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 1363, containing the fasti for the month Pyanopsion, the priestess of Pluto is mentioned in close connection with the Thesmophoroi. The passage doubtless refers to the celebration of the Thesmophoria. A sanctuary of Pluto was connected with the Thesmophorion at Pagasai-Demetrias; see *Πρακτικά*, 1915, pp. 191 ff. At Delos the male divinity regularly associated with the Thesmophoroi is Zeus Eubouleus, who is almost the equivalent of Pluto; cf. J. E. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 101. See *Inscriptions de Délos*, 290, lines 87-88; and *I.G.*, XI, 287, line 69.

Line 6: For the restoration compare *I.G.*, II², 956, line 18; and *I.G.*, XI, 161A, line 116 (Delos, 279 B.C.): *εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια προσαναλώσαμεν πρὸς ᾧ παρὰ ταμίον ἐλάβομεν*.⁷¹ The use of the article with a numeral following the preposition *ὑπέρ* should not be interpreted as denoting a specific sum fixed by regulation. The words *ὑπέρ τὰς* mean nothing more than *πλέον ἢ*. The same use of the article occurs in other inscriptions, most of which are dated in the second century B.C. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 956, line 19; and 958, line 15.

Line 8: Instead of *Μελιτεῦσι* the word *δημόταις*, which has one less letter, might be substituted. These are the only obvious alternatives possible within the spacial limits determined by line 9. There is no trace of the nu of *Σάτυραν*, although there is room for it at the edge of the stone.

Line 11: The formula *δοῦναι εἰκόνας ἀνάθεσιν ἐν πίνακι*, if correctly restored, refers to the permission granted to Satyra for placing her portrait somewhere in the sanctuary, but does not specify how the funds are to be provided. Another formula, more commonly found, *ἀναθεῖναι εἰκόνα ἐν πίνακι* (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1327, line 24), implies that the demos would pay for the portrait. These formulas vary a great deal, especially in decrees passed by local assemblies and religious organizations.

Line 12: The restoration of this line is quite uncertain. It probably contained specification of the place where the painting was to be exhibited. But it may also be restored: *δέδοται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱερείαις ταῖς] τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης*.

Line 14: Here again, as in line 5, the proposed restoration is to some extent determined by the relation of the Thesmophorion to the Eleusinion. Since the decree is in honor of a priestess of the Thesmophoroi, the phrase *ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ*, which fits the space, might be expected. It was a common practice to erect honorary decrees in or near the place most closely connected with the activities and the benefactions of the person honored. This is especially true of priests and others whose duties had to do with the cults. On the other hand, it is unlikely that dedications of this kind were set up in the sacred area that bore the name Thesmophorion in a restricted sense. The *ἱερόν* proper was evidently closed to the public throughout the year, except on festival days, when it was accessible only to women;⁷² and it would have defeated the purpose of the honorary decree to post it in such a place. The entrance way to the Eleusinion,

⁷¹ This and other inscriptions, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1186, lines 34 ff.; 1198, lines 13 ff.; 1206, lines 7 ff., show that, in addition to the prescribed sum granted for sacrifices from the common funds, individuals in charge of the festivals (whether priests or laymen) were in the habit of adding out of their private means. In a decree from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 847, lines 17-20, 31-32, the epimeletai are honored for fitting out at their own expense (*παρεσκεύασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*) a team for transporting the sacred objects at the festival. The public money designated for this purpose was in this case given back to the Boule. Cf. also the inscription from Rhamnous, P. Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 269, lines 27 f.

⁷² See J. Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

on the other hand, which was in the form of a prothyron, is often given as a place for the erection of inscriptions and dedications.⁷³

The phrase *εἰς ταῦτα* need not apply to anything more than the *ἀναγραφὴ* and *ἀνάθεσις* of the stele. If it were intended also to cover the expense for the painting of the portrait, such a provision would normally be stated in specific terms.

Line 15: For the restoration of the last line compare *I.G.*, II², 1206, lines 10-11.

The inscription gives rise to certain points of inquiry which need to be discussed at some length. It has an important bearing upon the location of the Thesmophorion and its relation to the Eleusinion *ἐν ἄστει*, and it supplies new information about the priestess of the cult.

The inscription belongs to a period of which few other demotic decrees are known. It was passed by Melite, which was not only a city deme but actually situated within the confines of the city proper. Most demotic decrees hitherto published are from demes outside of Athens. By far the largest number have been found at Eleusis, which, like Peiraeus, held a peculiar position among the demes of Attica. Very few decrees of city demes are known, and most of these are from Peiraeus or from demes located at some distance from the heart of the city. This is hardly accidental. The demotic decrees with few exceptions have to do with the cults of the demes. Some contain regulations about sacrifices and the administration of the sanctuaries; others, like the Satyra decree, were passed in honor of officials or donors for services rendered in connection with the cults. It is unlikely that the demes in the city had many cults, apart from those of their eponymous heroes,⁷⁴ which were not shared by the rest of the Athenians. The country demes, on the other hand, consisting of villages too remote to give the inhabitants easy access to the festivals celebrated in Athens, would be more likely to duplicate the cults in the city.

The most difficult problem arising from the decree is to determine whether the cult of the Thesmophoroi, of which Satyra was priestess, was the city cult or a local

⁷³ Cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 97, no. 18; and p. 105, no. 20, line 26. An entrance-way is so often referred to in connection with sanctuaries of Demeter, both in Athens and elsewhere, that it appears to have been a prominent feature of her cults. Herodotus, VI, 91, mentions the *πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου* on the island of Aigina; at Gambreion in Asia Minor an inscription was set up *πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου*, Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 1219, line 32; an inscription from Koroneia refers to repairs of the *πρόθυρον* and the *ἀμφίθυρον*, made by the priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros, *I.G.*, VII, 2876; an honorary decree of the Eleusinians was set up *παρὰ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης*, *I.G.*, II², 1187; the inscription relating to the Thesmophorion at Peiraeus was placed at the ascent to the sanctuary, *πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου*, *I.G.*, II², 1177, line 23. For Delos see R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 275-276.

⁷⁴ B. Haussoullier, *La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 151, states categorically that all the demes had cults of their eponymous heroes, but cites very few examples. If such cults existed in all the Attic demes, they had, of course, only local significance and thus would not be frequently mentioned either in inscriptions or in literature.

cult of the deme Melite. If the latter, we should have to assume that there were demotic cults of the Thesmophoroi with local festivals celebrated in all the city demes, in addition to the celebration in the Thesmophorion of the city. This is in itself highly improbable. The expense alone, which devolved upon the well-to-do citizens whose wives served on the committees,⁷⁵ would have been difficult to meet if several celebrations had been staged simultaneously throughout the city. Moreover, the celebrants were apparently required to spend the whole time of the festival, three days and nights, in the Thesmophorion,⁷⁶ and this practice would have made it impossible for the same women to participate both in the local and in the city celebrations. Aristophanes' description of the festival in the *Thesmophoriazousai* conveys the impression that the women of the whole city were gathered in the main sanctuary which was crowded with tents and other equipment.

It would be difficult, furthermore, to explain lines 4 and 5 as referring to sanctuaries within the deme Melite. Not only was there a separate cult place of Pluto, which was somehow included in the celebration of the Thesmophoria, but there were several other temples with which Satyra as priestess of the Thesmophoroi goddesses was directly concerned. Not a few sanctuaries are known to have existed in the deme of Melite,⁷⁷ but these did not, so far as can now be determined, house demotic cults.

On the other hand, there is evidence to show that certain arrangements for the celebration of the state Thesmophoria were in the hands of special committees appointed in the demes. Two women called archousai, who served under the priestess of the Thesmophoroi, were in charge of the preparations, for which they had to contribute in kind and cash out of their own or their husbands' private means. These committee women were chosen by lot from a number of available candidates, previously selected (*προκριθείσαι*) by the married women of the deme.⁷⁸ An inscription passed by the deme Cholargos⁷⁹ specifies what provisions the archousai are to bring for the festival of the Thesmophoria.⁸⁰ These were to be handed over to the priestess,

⁷⁵ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 57, and cf. Isaïos, III, 80. In Menander's *Epitrepontes*, lines 533-535, these litourgiai are referred to as a ruinous drain on the resources of Charisios, who had to contribute twice, once for his wife and a second time on behalf of his mistress.

⁷⁶ See L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 182 f.

⁷⁸ The method used in selecting the *ἀρχουσαι* is referred to by Isaïos, VIII, 19-20. The orator points to this process as proof of the good family of the defendant. The duties performed by the archousai were probably similar to those of the *μέγαρχαι*, who are honored in a decree of the deme Athmonon, *I.G.*, II², 1203. At the celebrations of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai and of the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis a committee of two epimeletai was in charge, cf. *I.G.*, II², 661. In other cults the duties of the *ιεροποιοί* would correspond to those of the archousai. Cf. Isaïos, VIII, 20, where the term *συνιεροποιεῖν* is used to describe the function of the archousai.

⁷⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1184. It is dated in the year 334/3.

⁸⁰ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 57, following L. Ziehen, *Phil. Woch.*, XXXVII, 1917, col. 1259 ff., concludes that the contributions, because of their smallness, were not intended for a common meal but rather for a cake offering to the goddesses.

who was responsible for the disposition of the material.⁸¹ It is further stipulated that these contributions are to be made annually on behalf of the deme: ὅπως δ' ἂν γίγνηται ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Χολαργέων κατὰ τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. Cholargos, too, was a city deme,⁸² situated a little to the north of Athens between Acharnai and the city proper. It seems most improbable that the contributions made by the archousai of Cholargos were intended for a local celebration in the deme. The stipulations in the inscription are in complete agreement with those to which Isaios refers, and the most logical interpretation is that both have to do with the city celebration of the Thesmophoria.⁸³

There is no direct evidence to show how the priestess of the Thesmophoroi was appointed. But the method of selecting the archousai, as described by Isaios, is the same as that commonly employed for choosing priests of other cults,⁸⁴ and it would be a natural inference that the priestess of the Thesmophoroi came into office in the same way. It is possible that the archousai from the different demes together selected the priestess by lot out of their own number, but this remains a conjecture. However that may be, the deme from which the priestess hailed would naturally feel honored by her appointment and if her duties were well performed she might receive recognition from her own demesmen.⁸⁵ Since the individual demes were represented at the

⁸¹ The text as it stands reads: τὰς δὲ ἀρχούσας κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρας διδόναι τῆς ἱερείας εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, but the editors are doubtless right in changing τῆς ἱερείας, which cannot be construed, to τῇ ἱερείᾳ.

⁸² For its location see Milchhoefer, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Cholargos; H. Hommel, *ibid.*, s.v. Trittyes, col. 367; and cf. S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte* (map), who places Cholargos among the country demes. That Cholargos, which was also the name of a trittys, belonged to the city demes has been shown by Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 53-54.

⁸³ This is the view held by L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Haussoullier, *op. cit.*, p. 139, on the other hand, interprets the Isaios passage as referring to a local Thesmophoria in the deme Pithos. Cf. S. Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 19, no. 21, who lists the Cholargos decree among the testimonia referring to cults in the Attic demes outside the city.

⁸⁴ Cf. Demosthenes, *Euboulides*, 46: ὡς ἔπ' αὐτῶν τούτων (τῶν δημοτῶν) προεκρίθην ἐν τοῖς εὐγενεστάτοις κληροῦσθαι τῆς ἱεροσύνης τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, and *ibidem*, 62. For the various methods employed in the selection of priests see J. Martha, *Les Sacerdotes Athéniens*, pp. 29 ff.

⁸⁵ It was not unusual for demes to honor officials chosen from their number, even if they had been appointed to represent the whole tribe or city in some capacity involving no duties directly concerned with the deme. A good example of this kind is furnished by an inscription discovered in the Agora excavations (see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 104 ff.), in which the taxiarchs for the year 302/1 B.C. were honored by the Athenian demos. The inscription records that these officials, who were appointed one from each tribe (see Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, LXI, 3, and cf. Ch. I. Karouzos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, VIII, 1923, p. 90), had previously been crowned by committees appointed in their own demes. Pritchett has interpreted the clause καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταῦτα αἰρεθέντες ἐκ τῶν δήμων as referring to the epimeletai in charge of the εὐκοσμία. This does not explain the phrase ἐκ τῶν δήμων, and the parallel cited, *I.G.*, II², 354, is hardly to the point, inasmuch as the ἐπιμελεται τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ θέατρον did not have anything to do with the crowning, nor were they elected ἐκ τῶν δήμων but by the Boule (cf. *I.G.*, II², 223 B). The αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν δήμων in the inscription from the Agora were bodies chosen by the ten demes that

festival, it is not unlikely that the priestess performed sacrifices on behalf—and at the expense—of her own deme. Such acts would not conflict with her duties as priestess of the state cult.⁸⁶

The inscription has an important bearing on the location of the Thesmophorion in Athens. At first sight it may appear to confirm the former view, connecting the sanctuary of the Thesmophoroi with the assembly place, since the Pnyx is known to have been situated in the deme of Melite.⁸⁷ But if the conclusion reached above is correct, that Satyra served in the state cult, it is a mere coincidence that the priestess for the particular year in which the decree was passed happened to be from the deme Melite. Whatever was the exact method of election, it is obvious that the priestess was not always chosen from the same deme. Moreover, among the scanty remains on the Pnyx hill, interpreted as belonging to the Thesmophorion, one looks in vain for foundations of temples that can be identified with those mentioned in the decree.

On the other hand, the inscription offers valuable additional evidence for connecting the Thesmophorion with the Eleusinion ἐν ἄστει. In the first place, it was discovered in the general vicinity of the Eleusinion, but the importance of its provenance is lessened by the fact that it had been built into a modern wall. A stone of

had furnished the taxiarchs. Since there was only one taxiarch elected from the whole body of phyletai, the choice probably fell indiscriminately among the demes of each tribe. The individual demes from which the taxiarchs were chosen would then appoint committees to be in charge of the crowning ceremonies. In ordinary instances this duty devolved upon some of the regular officials: in the Athenian demos upon the proedroi, in the demes upon the demarch and the treasurer (either separately or in collaboration with each other), in tribal assemblies upon the epimeletai. In special cases, however, a committee, whose members were sometimes called Elders, was appointed to function in this capacity. See *I.G.*, II², 555; *I.G.*, II², 1186, lines 30-32; *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 269-270, lines 43-47; Ch. I. Karouzou, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, VIII, 1923, p. 90, no. 2; and p. 98, no. 4. It is to committees of this kind that the αἰρεθέντες ἐκ τῶν δήμων must refer in the inscription published by Pritchett.

An inscription set up on the Acropolis, *I.G.*, II², 1156, contains four separate decrees in honor of the epheboi of the tribe of Kekropis and of their sophronistes. These men were honored by their tribe, by the Boule, by the deme of Eleusis where the epheboi had been stationed as guards, and by the deme of Athmonon to which Adeistos, the sophronistes, belonged. In the last of these instances the sophronistes was praised for his services to his deme as well as for those rendered on behalf of the whole tribe, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθη τῶν τε δημοτῶν (καὶ τῶν) ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς, although he owed his appointment not to his deme directly but to his tribe and to the Athenian demos. For the procedure of electing the sophronistai see Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, XLII, 2.

⁸⁶ Thus a priest of Asklepios could be honored by his tribe εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς φυλῆτας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων and a copy of the decree be set up in the Asklepion, *I.G.*, II², 1163. The demes seem to have performed certain prescribed sacrifices in Athens on their own behalf, as we learn from a decree of the deme Plothea: --- θύεν τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ τε ἐς Πλωθεῖ[ας κ]οινὰ καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ Πλ[ωθέω]ν τὸ κοινὸν κτλ., *I.G.*, II², 1172, lines 25-33; and cf. *I.G.*, II², 1362, in which a priest of Apollo makes proclamations in connection with his office ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.

⁸⁷ See W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 168; and H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 183.

that size might have been transported a considerable distance. But the contents of the document cannot easily be reconciled with the old view. The repairs and embellishment by the priestess of several temples and of a sanctuary of Pluto can best be explained on the theory that the Thesmophorion was physically connected with the Eleusinion. The likelihood of finding a temple on the Pnyx hill near the assembly place is disposed of by Thompson in the following terms: "None of the remains on the site can be construed as those of a temple, nor is it likely that a temple (which, had it ever existed, must have stood in some prominent part of the area now thoroughly explored) should have disappeared without leaving a trace."⁸⁸ It is not necessary to assume that there was a temple called the Thesmophorion, for it is likely that the temple of Demeter and Kore in or near the Eleusinion served as the chief center of worship in all the festivals of the two goddesses. This building is in all probability mentioned in line 12 of our inscription. The reference to several temples in line 4 agrees well with the prayer of the women in Aristophanes' play,⁸⁹ which is directed to several deities: Pluto, Kalligeneia, Kourotrophos, Hermes, and the Charites, in addition to the Thesmophoroi goddesses themselves. Whether all these gods and goddesses had cult places in the vicinity of the Eleusinion our records do not reveal, but the inscription shows beyond a doubt that several temples, *πάντας τοὺς ναοὺς*, besides the sanctuary of Pluto, were sufficiently closely related to the cult of the Thesmophoroi to share in the generosity of the priestess. From Pausanias⁹⁰ we know that a temple of Triptolemos stood near that of Demeter and Kore, and a Ploutoneion is known to have existed at no great distance from the Eleusinion.⁹¹ In view of these facts it seems necessary to suppose that the Eleusinion comprised a considerable area including sanctuaries of other deities whose cults were connected with that of Demeter and Kore.

OSCAR BRONEER

⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186.

⁸⁹ *Thesmophoriazousai*, lines 295 ff.

⁹⁰ Book I, 14, 1, 4.

⁹¹ See Pausanias, I, 28, 6. Cf. J. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 101; and W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 291.