

### 3. FESTIVALS AND CONTESTS

When I was teaching at New York University some years ago, a Jewish student invited me to attend a celebration of the Hanukkah festival. The Hanukkah festival commemorates the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem by Judah Maccabeus after the victory of the Maccabees over the Seleucid King Antiochos IV in 165 BC. Already in antiquity, this festival defined Jewish identity both in Judaea and in the diaspora. It may well be the oldest commemorative anniversary of a historical event that is celebrated without interruption for more than two millennia, originally in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, later in the Roman Empire, today in all the areas of the globe, in which Jews live. This festival is connected with a specific rite. For eight nights the lights of a nine-branched menorah (instead of the usual seven-branched menorah) are kindled using the light of the ninth branch. A legend (or «aetiological myth») explains the rite: When the Jewish rebels drove the Seleucid army from the Temple, only a single container with ritual olive oil was found, sealed by the High Priest and protected from profanation. It sufficed to keep the menorah in the Temple lit for a single day. However, miraculously the menorah burned for eight days, until new oil could be made ready. From that time on, the festival of the Light is celebrated. It may well be that this «new» eight-day festival is the combined celebration of the festivals of Sukkot and Shemini Atzeret, which had not been celebrated on time because of the war. In addition to its own unique rite – the kindling of the hanukkah-lamp –, the festival is accompanied by prayers, blessings, the recitation of a hymn, exchange of gifts, and the consumption of fried foods. In Israel, the schools are closed, although other activities – forbidden on the Sabbath – are permitted. Modern technology has introduced a hanukkah-lamp with electric lights, making the celebration possible in places where open flame is forbidden. In recent years the festival is celebrated in Israel with military overtones, whereas in the diaspora Hanukkah has evolved into a Jewish alternative to Christmas, which is celebrated at approximately the same time (late November/December). Since 2001 an official Hanukkah reception is hosted by the President of the United States in the White House. In New York I teasingly declined the invitation: Why should a Greek ancient historian celebrate a Jewish victory over a Hellenistic king?

The reference to the Hanukkah festival in a volume dedicated to festivals and contests in the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman worlds may seem odd, but I chose this example for a variety of reasons. To begin with, Hanukkah is an ancient festival celebrated in the Greek and Roman worlds, but belonging to a culture which is excluded from the *ThesCRA* volumes. Following the established tradition of *LIMC* and *ThesCRA*, this volume only considers the Greek, Roman, and Etruscan worlds. By mentioning a Jewish festival I would like to point out that the volume's authors are aware of the fact that the «Greek» and «Roman» worlds were not isolated, «sterilized» entities. They comprised many foreign cultures and they were continually in contact with foreign cultures – the latter applies, of course, to the Etruscans as well. These contacts shaped the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman cultures, including their religious practices and celebrations. In addition to the Jews, I should also mention the Egyptians, the populations of Asia Minor, the Celts, and Germans, and the countless peoples with whom the Greeks and the Romans interacted. The unavoidable – and to a certain extent justifiable – thematic limitation of this volume should not be misunderstood as an indication that its authors ignore how significant a parallel and comparative study of ancient festivals is, beyond the borders of the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman worlds.

This volume is part of a series with a specific thematic profile and not a general encyclopedia of the festivals of the ancient world. Nevertheless, there are occasional references to other cultures, and the authors have tried to include among the case studies that they discuss evidence with a very broad geographical range (Greece, Italy, Western Europe, North Africa, the Near East). The diffusion of festivals in the Roman Empire is explicitly addressed, although more emphasis is placed on the diffusion of Roman festivals in the provinces than on the diffusion in the Empire of festivals originating in its native populations.

Secondly, the main features of the Hanukkah festival (aetiological legend, commemoration, specific rituals, significance for the identity of a community) resemble the main features of Greek and Roman festivals, indeed of festivals in almost every culture. The universality of festivals does not, however, exclude very specific, local features, and above all it does not exclude the influence of



specific political, social, or cultural developments on traditional celebrations. A general feature of the treatment of festivals in this volume is precisely the emphasis on diversity and change. The authors have tried to stress, whenever possible, the dynamic character of festivals, their continual transformation, and local variations.

Thirdly, as the invitation to attend a celebration commemorating the triumph of the Maccabees over the Hellenizers implies, the celebrations of festivals may be governed by specific norms and dictated by ritual traditions, but they also have individual aspects. Their reception by agents, performers, and audiences varies, depending on individual experiences. It is this individual, sometimes very emotional, aspect of a festival that is very hard to grasp in the ancient evidence.

As already stated, this volume attempts to provide a general overview of festivals and contests in the Greek, the Etruscan, and the Roman worlds, following the general principles of this series. The authors discuss the main aspects of festivals and contests and present case studies. There are clear differences in the authors' approach in the three sections. These differences were in part dictated by the heterogeneity of the three cultures, their history, and the source material. Since it was impossible – and explicitly not desired – to systematically present all the festivals and all their features, we have chosen to discuss some phenomena only in one of the cultures under study, in the culture in which they can best be studied. For instance, the Roman section includes short chapters on ancient discourses on festivals and on Christian attitudes towards pagan festivals. A section on similar discourses in Greece would be an unnecessary duplication of these examples. Similarly, the Roman section pays particular attention to calendars in Rome, Italy, and the provinces, since this is a feature that characterizes Roman religion; it also discusses in some detail the festivals of the dead, which are only briefly mentioned in the Greek section. Conversely, the Greek section places emphasis on other matters, such as the literary representation of festivals and the impact of festivals on literature, the financial aspects of festivals, and the interdependence of festival and sacred space.

Because of the paradigmatic discussion of various aspects of festivals and contests in different sections, the reader who wishes to get a comprehensive overview of the available sources, the methodological issues, and the questions concerning the study of festivals and contests is advised to read the entire volume. An attentive reader will notice differences in the approach of the different authors. They only reflect the different theoretical models that exist in the study of festivals – a subject that could not be treated in this volume in a systematic manner. I only mention two of these differences: In the Greek section a sharp distinction is made between festivals and celebrations; the Roman section presents a typology of festivals (agrarian, civic, festivals of the dead, imperial cult) – which is justified by the ancient sources; a typology of festivals is explicitly avoided in the Greek section.

Although the chapters dedicated to the three cultures do not follow the same pattern – and they do so on purpose –, the authors have tried to present comprehensive overviews of the various categories of sources (literary sources, inscriptions, iconography, other archaeological material) and to sketch as many aspects of the religious, cultural, political, economic, and social significance of festivals and contests as possible. Aspects on which emphasis was placed include the study of the ancient terminology of festivals, celebrations, and contests; the paradigmatic discussion of the organisation of festivals, the participants, and the audiences; and the presentation of cases studies (e.g. the *sacrum Bonae deae* in Rome, the *Daidala* in Boiotia).

In the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman worlds, festivals were primarily a form of communication between mortals and gods or other beings outside the human sphere; similarly, contests usually took place in honour of gods and beings with a status higher than that of the ordinary mortals. But they were also human activities with a great significance for identity and memory, political life and society, economy and culture. The primary aim of this volume is to outline this multifaceted phenomenon.

ANGELOS CHANIOTIS



# Festivals and Contests in the Greek World

## CONTENTS

<p>I. Greek festivals and contests: definition and general characteristics (A. Chaniotis) . . . 4</p> <p>1. Festivals: definition, terminology, and general characteristics . . . . . 5</p> <p>1.1. Festivals were connected with the worship of super-human beings (gods and heroes) . . . . . 7</p> <p>1.2. Festivals were communal activities . . . . . 9</p> <p>1.3. Festivals were celebrated periodically on a fixed day (or days) . . . . . 12</p> <p>1.4. A festival had a name . . . . . 14</p> <p>1.5. Festivals were commemorative celebrations . . . . . 14</p> <p>1.6. Festivals were connected with distinct ritual actions . . . . . 15</p> <p>1.7. Festivals temporarily suspended elements of ordinary life . . . . . 17</p> <p>1.8. Festivals fulfilled a variety of functions . . . . . 19</p> <p>2. Contests: definition, terminology, and general characteristics . . . . . 21</p> <p>3. Programme . . . . . 27</p> <p>4. Organisation of festivals and contests . . . 31</p> <p>4.1. Funding . . . . . 31</p> <p>4.2. Officials . . . . . 33</p> <p>4.3. Order . . . . . 34</p> <p>4.4. Preparation, decoration, and building measures . . . . . 35</p> <p>5. Socio-political dimensions of Greek festivals and contests . . . . . 36</p> <p>6. Historical development and dynamic of festivals . . . . . 40</p> <p>II. Das griechische Heiligtum als räumlicher Kontext antiker Feste und Agone (J. Mylonopoulos) . . . . . 43</p> <p>1. Einführung . . . . . 44</p> <p>2. Architektur des Festes . . . . . 45</p> <p>3. Architektur des sportlichen Agons . . . 48</p> <p>4. Das griechische Heiligtum als Kulisse: Theateranlagen und die Dramaturgie des Kultes . . . . . 50</p> <p>5. Agonal bedingte commemorative Eingriffe in die Topographie griechischer Heiligtümer: Votive . . . . . 53</p> <p>6. Agonal bedingte Eingriffe in die Topographie einer Stadt: Choregische Monumente in Athen – Die Stadt als «Heiligtum»? . . . . . 54</p> <p>7. Panhellenische Feste und Agone und der Mythos hellenischer Identitätsstiftung: das «lokale» Olympia und das «panhellenische» Isthmia . . . . . 56</p> <p>7.1. Olympia . . . . . 57</p> <p>7.2. Isthmia . . . . . 59</p>	<p>8. Prominente Feste, die nie panhellenisch wurden: Die Panathenäen und das athenische «Trauma» . . . . . 61</p> <p>9. Fest und Agon an Orten der Weissagung: Dodona . . . . . 62</p> <p>10. Amphiktyonische Feste und Heiligtümer: Kalauria . . . . . 65</p> <p>11. Frauen und Agon im lokalen und panhellenischen Horizont . . . . . 67</p> <p>11.1. Agon als Initiation: Brauron . . 67</p> <p>11.2. Weiblicher Agon in einer männlichen Welt? Der Fall der <i>Heraia</i> . . . . . 70</p> <p>12. Exklusivität im Fest und der angebliche Kampf der Geschlechter: Das Eleusinion in Athen sowie die Heiligtümer der Demeter in Korinth und Pergamon . . . . . 71</p> <p>12.1. Das Eleusinion in Athen . . . . . 72</p> <p>12.2. Das Heiligtum der Demeter und Kore in Korinth . . . . . 73</p> <p>12.3. Das Demeterheiligtum in Pergamon . . . . . 75</p> <p>13. Zusammenfassung . . . . . 77</p> <p>III. Bilder griechischer Feste (I. Krauskopf) . . 78</p> <p>1. Einführung und Überblick . . . . . 78</p> <p>1.1. Bilder für Feste . . . . . 78</p> <p>1.2. Bilder von Festen . . . . . 79</p> <p>1.2.1. Prozessionen . . . . . 80</p> <p>1.2.2. Agone . . . . . 82</p> <p>1.2.2.1. Gymnische Agone . . . . . 82</p> <p>1.2.2.2. Musische Agone . . . . . 85</p> <p>1.2.3. Magna Graecia: Theater und Karneia . . . . . 86</p> <p>2. Bilder von Festen: Ausgewählte Denkmäler . . . . . 87</p> <p>2.1. Öffentliche Festdarstellungen . . 87</p> <p>2.1.1. Parthenonfries . . . . . 87</p> <p>2.1.2. Kalenderfries . . . . . 95</p> <p>2.2. Dionysosfeste in Athen und Delphi . . . . . 101</p> <p>2.2.1. Theater und Vorformen . . . 102</p> <p>2.2.2. Dionysosfeste in Athen . . . 107</p> <p>2.2.2.1. Die Schiffskarren-Prozession . . . . . 107</p> <p>2.2.2.2. Das Dionysos-Masken-Idol . . . . . 108</p> <p>2.2.2.3. «Maypole» . . . . . 112</p> <p>2.2.2.4. Anthesterien-Bilder . . 113</p> <p>2.2.2.5. Die Gesandtschaft der attischen Frauen nach Delphi zum Fest der Thyiaden . . . . . 117</p> <p>2.3. Eleusis, andere Demeterfeste und die allgemeine hellenistische Mysterien-Ikonographie . . . . . 118</p> <p>2.4. Das Persephonefest in Lokroi . . 121</p> <p>IV. Fest und Spiele in der griechischen Literatur (A. Bierl) . . . . . 125</p>
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1. Einleitung . . . . .	126
1.1. Einführende Überlegungen zum Fest, Agon und Spiel . . . . .	126
1.2. Festliche Poetik der griechischen Literatur . . . . .	127
1.3. Fest und Ästhetik . . . . .	130
1.4. Spiel, Fest und Agon als Rahmungsphänomene . . . . .	132
1.5. Thalia – die Verkörperung des Fests . . . . .	132
2. Epos und Fest . . . . .	133
2.1. Fest, Agon und Homer . . . . .	133
2.2. Ein Festagon zwischen der homerischen und hesiodeischen Tradition? . . . . .	135
2.3. Fest und Agon im homerischen Apollonhymnos als Aitiologie delischer Aufführungspraxis Homers . . . . .	136
3. Lyrik und Fest . . . . .	137
3.1. Alkman, Fest und Agon . . . . .	137
3.2. Sappho, Mädchenfeste, Hochzeit und Festlichkeit . . . . .	139
3.3. Männliche Lyrik, das Symposion und das öffentliche Fest . . . . .	140
3.4. Fest der Verkehrung und Iambos . . . . .	140
3.5. Choreia und Feste . . . . .	141
3.5.1. Pindars thebanisches Daphnephorikon (fr. 94b S.-M.) . . . . .	141
3.5.2. Siegeslieder, Feste und Agone . . . . .	143
3.5.3. Zurück nach Athen: Dithyrambos und Große Dionysien (Pindar fr. 75 S.-M.) . . . . .	144
4. Das attische Drama . . . . .	145
4.1. Tragödie: Der dionysische Rahmen der Großen Dionysien und die <i>Bakchen</i> . . . . .	146
4.1.1. Andere Feste in der Tragödie . . . . .	147
4.1.2. Die Fraglichkeit und Umfunktionalisierung des Fests in der Tragödie . . . . .	148
4.2. Spiel und Satyrspiel . . . . .	148
4.3. Komödie . . . . .	149
4.4. Genauere Betrachtung des <i>Plutos</i> . . . . .	152
5. Festlichkeit nach der medialen Wende zur dominanten Schriftlichkeit im Hellenismus . . . . .	155
5.1. Feste bei Theokrit . . . . .	155
5.2. Feste im griechischen Roman . . . . .	158
6. Zusammenfassung und weiterführende Gedanken . . . . .	159
V. Exemplary discussion of a selection of festivals (A. Chaniotis) . . . . .	160
1. Thesmophoria . . . . .	160
2. Hyakinthia . . . . .	164
3. Daidala . . . . .	167

4. The festival of Andania . . . . .	169
5. Demostheneia at Oinoanda . . . . .	171
VI. Envoi (A. Chaniotis) . . . . .	172

### I. Greek festivals and contests: definition and general characteristics

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(ed.), *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2008); Schmitt Pantel, P./Lissarrague, F., «Les hommes au banquet», in *TheCRA II* (2004) 231–250; Simon, Festivals; Slater, W., «Deconstructing Festivals», in Wilson 2, 21–47; Slater, W./Summa, D., «Crowns in Magnesia», *GRBS* 46 (2006) 275–299; Stengel, Kultus; Strasser, J.-Y., «Quelques termes rares du vocabulaire agonistique», *RPh* 75 (2001) 299–301 (= Strasser 1); id., «Chorales et pythales d'époque impériale», *BCH* 126 (2002) 97–142 (= Strasser 2); id., «La carrière du pancratiaste Markos Aurelios Demostratos Damas», *BCH* 127 (2003) 251–299 (= Strasser 3); id., «Inscriptions grecques et latines en l'honneur de pantomimes», *Tyche* 19 (2004) 175–212 (= Strasser 4); Stroumsa, G., *The End of Sacrifice. Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity* (2009); Sumi, G., «Civic Self-Representation in the Hellenistic World. The Festival of Artemis Leukophryene», in Bell/Davies 79–92; Tracy, S. V., «The Panathenaic Festival and Games: An Epigraphic Enquiry», *Nikephoros* 4 (1991) 133–153; Trümper, C., *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (1997) (= Trümper 1); ead., «Feste zur Vollmondszeit. Die religiösen Feiern Attikas im Monatslauf und der vorgeschichtliche attische Kultkalender», *ZPE* 121 (1998) 109–115 (= Trümper 2); ead., «Die Thesmophoria, Brimo, Deo und das Anaktoron. Beobachtungen zur Vorgeschichte des Demeterkultes», *Kernos* 17 (2004) 13–42 (= Trümper 3); van Nijf, O., «Athletics, Festivals and Greek Identity in the Roman East», *PCPhS* 45 (1999) 176–200; Vial, C., «À propos des concours de l'Orient méditerranéen à l'époque hellénistique», *Pallas* 62 (2003) 311–328; Warrior, V. M., *Greek Religion. A Sourcebook* (2009); Weir, R., *Roman Delphi and its Pythian Games* (2004); Wiemer, H.-U., «Bild der Polis oder Bild des Königs? Zur Repräsentationsfunktion städtischer Feste im Hellenismus?», in Mattheai, A./Zimmermann, M. (eds.), *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus* (2009) 116–131 (= Wiemer 1); id., «Neue Feste – neue Geschichtsbilder? Zur Erinnerungsfunktion städtischer Feste im Hellenismus», in Beck, H./Wiemer, H.-U. (eds.), *Feiern und Erinnern. Geschichtsbilder im Spiegel antiker Feste* (2010) 83–108 (= Wiemer 2); Wilson, P., *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia. The Chorus, the City, and the Stage* (2000) (= Wilson 1); id. (ed.), *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies* (2007) 67–84 (= Wilson 2); Wörle, M., *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* (1988).

### 1. Festivals: definition, terminology, and general characteristics

In the Greek world a festival (ἑορτή) was a day or a sequence of days fixed by a community for the worship of a specific god or a group of gods. It in-



volved the performance of specific ritual actions, which were connected with its religious, social, and cultural function and gave a festival its distinct profile. A festival was celebrated in commemoration of events of the mythical, legendary, or historical past. Even when a festival's primary function was connected with a human activity such as agriculture or marriage, a narrative (*ἄτιον*) explained the circumstances that had led to the establishment of the festival or celebration and its peculiar rituals. Despite the conservative character of religious festivals, their rituals, functions, and profiles experienced substantial changes in the course of the centuries, from the Mycenaean world to the establishment of Christianity (I.6). The essential elements of Greek festivals, highlighted in this definition, shall be explained in the following sections (I.1.1–1.8).

Although every festival was a celebration and was connected with rituals, not every celebration and every ritual was a festival (*ἑορτή*)<sup>1</sup>. The Greeks had many celebrations, which were not festivals *stricto sensu*, especially because they lacked periodicity (cf. I.1.3). Banquets, celebrations for the birth of a child (*ἀμφιδρόμια*, *γενέσια*) or a wedding, festivities for the inauguration of a building, the conclusion of a treaty, the safe return of a traveller, the reception of foreign envoys or a ruler (*ἀπάντησις*), good tidings or the announcement of a victory (*εὐαγγελία*), processions for the self-representation of a ruler (e.g. Antiochos IV' procession in Daphne) and so on<sup>2</sup>. The Athenians sent a delegation to Delphi (*Πυθαίς*), consisting of hundreds of members and connected with musical, literary, and dramatic performances; it was a major festivity but it took place at irregular intervals, when a sign was observed: when lightning flashed through a mountain saddle called Harma<sup>3</sup>. Such ir-

1. Mikalson 2; Parker, *Polytheism* 158–165; Chaniotis, A., «Fest und Feier: die griechische Perspektive», *Erwägen, Wissen, Ethik* 19 (2008) 223–224. A somewhat different view is expressed in the discussion of Roman festivals (see *ThesCRA* VII 3 Festivals and contests, Rom. general introduction). These differences reflect the on-going discussions on festivals and rituals. On the controversial relationship between festival and celebration beyond the world of antiquity see Bollnow, O. W., *Neue Geborgenheit. Das Problem einer Überwindung des Existentialismus* (1955) 213–227; Gebhardt, W., *Fest, Feier und Alltag. Über die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit und ihre Deutung* (1987); Maurer, M., «Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des Festes», in *id.* (ed.), *Das Fest. Beiträge zu seiner Theorie und Systematik* (2004) 19–54.

2. Banquet: Slater, W. J. (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (1991); see also IV.3.3. Birth: Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt Pantel 64–65; Schmitt Pantel/Lissarrague 233–234. Wedding: Wagner, B., *Zwischen Mythos und Realität. Die Frau in der frühgriechischen Gesellschaft* (1982) 179–198; Robertson, N., «The Betrothal Symposium in Early Greece», in Slater, W. J. (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (1991) 25–58; Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt Pantel 68–72; Oakley, J./Sinos, R., *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (1993); Dillon 215–220; Ferrari, G., «What Kind of Rite of Passage was the Ancient Greek Wedding?», in Dodd, D. B./Faraone, C. A. (eds.), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Ritual and*

regular festivities should be distinguished from festivals in a more narrow sense (*ἑορταί*), although they share common features in their rituals and their function (communication with gods, heroes, or mortals of an elevated status). For instance the symposia were celebrations beginning with a libation to the gods and following strict rituals, but they were not festivals<sup>4</sup>. This distinction between festivals and irregular celebrations is primarily a modern heuristic tool that allows us to recognise differences in various types of festivities; but it also finds some support in the Greek terminology (see below).

Many sacrifices that fulfil the criterion of periodicity (monthly and annual sacrifices) cannot be regarded as festivals (cf. I.1.4). Festivals mean the temporary suspension of certain characteristics of everyday life (I.1.7), whereas a celebration (and a sacrifice) could take place in everyday life. The distinction between festival and sacrifice was already made by the ancient Greeks. The Athenian local historian Philochoros wrote a treatise «Concerning Festivals» (*Περὶ ἑορτῶν*) and a separate one «Concerning Sacrifices» (*Περὶ θυσίων*); this distinction is also clear in the title of Habron's work «Concerning Festivals and Sacrifices» (*Περὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ θυσίων*)<sup>5</sup>. Also the accounts of the treasurers of Athena in Athens (334 B.C.) distinguish between festivals (e.g. Panathenaia, Dionysia, Eleusinia, etc.) and sacrifices (*θυσία*, *θυσίαι*; e.g. sacrifices to Zeus Soter)<sup>6</sup>. In this survey of festivals in the Greek world we make a distinction between festivals and celebrations whenever this is significant for their understanding.

Athletic, dramatic, and musical contests (*ἀγῶνες*, *ἄθλα*, *ἔριδες*, *θέμιδες*) took place as part of festivals and other celebrations. Contests (or «games») are treated here in connection with fes-

*Narratives: New Critical Perspectives* (2003) 27–41; Schmitt Pantel/Lissarrague 233. 235; see also IV.3.2. Inauguration of a building: *IKyme* 13; *IGRom* III 292, l. 41–42. Conclusion of a treaty: *LSAM* 15 (Pergamon, 129 B.C.). Reception of envoys and rulers: Habicht 147, 152–153; Perrin-Saminadayer, É., «L'accueil officiel des souverains et des princes à Athènes à l'époque hellénistique», *BCH* 128/129 (2004/05) 351–375; see also *ThesCRA* VII 3 Festivals and contests, Rom. 3.1.5; Chankowski. Good tidings (*εὐαγγελία*): *IG* XII 5, 481 + Suppl. (Siphnos, 217 B.C.); *IG* XII 6, 7 l. 7 (*εὐαγγέλιος ἡμέρα* in Samos, 5 B.C.); *IG* XII 6, 56, l. 5–8 (Samos, 306 B.C.); *I.Ilion* 35 (Ilion, c. 245 B.C.); *IOropos* 525, l. 68–69 and 529, l. 22–23 (cf. *SEG* 51, 585). Pritchett, W. K., *The Greek State at War* III (1979) 189–192. Procession in Daphne: Bunge. Inauguration of magistrates and priests (*ἀνάληψις στεφάνου, εἰσότηρια*): Nilsson, *Feste* 31; Chaniotis 8.

3. Strab. 9, 2, 11 C 404; Boethius, A., *Die Pythais* (1918); Tracy, S. V., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2336. *Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythais* (1982); Parker, *Polytheism* 83–87.

4. On ancient symposia: Bravo; see also IV.3.3. Drinking cups inscribed with the names of gods in the genitive were used for libations during symposia: e.g. *SEG* 30, 1115; 55, 705; 56, 545–547.

5. Philochoros: *FGrH* 328. Habron: *FGrH* 359.

6. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1496, l. 88–89.

tivals. Their general features are summarized separately (I.2; cf. III.1.2.2).

Although there was no consistency in the use of religious terms, the Greeks usually designated the festivals as *ἑορταί*<sup>7</sup>. Besides the term *ἑορτή*, which sometimes was used in the more general meaning «celebration»<sup>8</sup>, several other terms appear as designations of festivals: *ἑραὶ ἡμέραι* («sacred day»)<sup>9</sup>, *εὐήμερος* («good day»)<sup>10</sup>, *πανήγυρις* («festive gathering»)<sup>11</sup>, *ἑερομηνία* («celebration of a sacred month»)<sup>12</sup>, and *ἐπιφανής, ἐπιφανεστάτη* and *ἐπίσημος ἡμέρα* («distinguished day»)<sup>13</sup>. These terms express essential features of festivals: that they were connected with religious activities; that they were days of joy – although there are exceptions<sup>14</sup>; and that they were social events. Some times the paraphrases *πομπή καὶ θυσία* («procession and sacrifice») or *κατευχὴ καὶ πομπή καὶ θυσία* («prayer, procession, and sacrifice») or *πομπή καὶ θυσία καὶ ἀγῶν* («procession, sacrifice, and competition») were used instead of the word *ἑορτή*<sup>15</sup>, listing the most important activities connected with a festival. In the Imperial period also the term *θεωρία*, which originally designated an embassy to a sanctuary or a festival, was used to designate a celebration<sup>16</sup>. The ancient sources often explicitly designate a festival as such using one of the above terms or paraphrases<sup>17</sup>, but usually they refer to a festival simply by its name (I.1.4). When an explicit reference is missing, a festival can still be recognized on the basis of some external features (I.1.1–8).

7. E.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 223, l. 22; 1247, l. 14; *IG* VII 4254 = *IOropos* 298, l. 14; *IG* XII 7, 22, l. 14; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 900, l. 12–13; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1038.

8. E.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1368 = *LSCG* 51, l. 44: καὶ εἴ τις πρόσκαιρος ἑορτὴ τοῦ θεοῦ (an extra-ordinary celebration of Dionysos); *IEryth* 503, l. 15–16: ταῖς νομηγίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς.

9. *IMagn* 100, l. 24–25; *IGRom* III 292, l. 35–36; examples of such *ἑραὶ ἡμέραι* in Robert, L., *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 59; Pritchett (n. 2) 189–192.

10. E.g. *ICret* II v.35, l. 17; III iii.3 B 2; *SEG* 26, 1049, l. 49–50; Hamon, P., «Un prêtre des dieux boulaioi dans le bâtiment du Conseil de Cos», *Chiron* 36 (2006) 157 with n. 25. Cf. *εὐήμερία*: *IG* XII 6, 13, l. 32.

11. E.g. *IG* XII 6, 4; *SEG* 54, 1406; *IEleusis* 295; *IG* VII 4254 = *IOropos* 298, l. 14; Loukopoulou, L. D., et al., *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου* (2005) E451; *IEphes* 24 = *LSAM* 31; *I.Ilion* 1–18; *MAMA* IX 16; *LSS* 65, l. 103 and 112; *IGRom* III 293 col. II 25. In *SEG* 38, 1462 A 13 *πανήγυρις* designates a contest (*πανήγυρις θυμελική*).

12. E.g. *IEphes* 24 = *LSAM* 31.

13. *Ἐπιφανής ἡμέρα*: Hamon, P., «Un prêtre des dieux boulaioi dans le bâtiment du Conseil de Cos», *Chiron* 36 (2006) 157 with n. 25. *Ἐπιφανεστάτη ἡμέρα*: *FDelphes* III 3, 242, l. 25–28; *IEphes* 987, l. 16–18; *IG* XII 5, 951, l. 18–20. *Ἐπίσημος ἡμέρα*: Hamon, *ibid.*; *IStratonikeia* 530, l. 7–8.

14. Parker, *Polytheism* 160–165.

15. E.g. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 589, l. 8; 762, l. 10; 1045, l. 13; *IMagn* 100, l. 33. Cf. *θυσία καὶ ἀγῶν καὶ πανήγυρις*; *I.Ilion* 2, l. 8–9.

16. E.g. *SEG* 47, 1771 (Termessos, 2nd cent. A.D.); *ICret* I xviii.23 (Lyttos, 2nd cent. A.D.); *IPerge* 323. On the original meaning of *theoria* («viewing») see Kowalzig, B., «Mapping out *Communitas*: Performances of *Theoria* in

### 1.1. Festivals were connected with the worship of super-human beings (gods and heroes)

The worship of gods was central in festivals. All Greek festivals, including commemorative anniversaries, athletic and musical contests, and most celebrations of private foundations, were celebrations connected with – often exclusively dedicated to – the worship of the gods or other super-human beings. There was no such thing as a purely «secular» festival. Of course celebrations and rituals that we can label as secular did exist (e.g., birthdays, weddings), but usually they were accompanied by some form of worship, such as a libation or a sacrifice. Periodic commemorative rites for the dead, well-attested until the Imperial period, were neither purely secular, since they were devoted to individuals who had left the ordinary world of mortals and were sometimes attributed extraordinary powers, nor were they dedicated to the gods, although they included offerings to gods associated with the underworld<sup>18</sup>. They should not be regarded as «festivals» *stricto sensu*. On the contrary, celebrations for heroes, which are a very heterogeneous phenomenon with a long evolution in Greek religion, share common features with festivals for the gods (sacrifice, banquet), but they also have significant differences in ritual details (especially in the form of the sacrifice)<sup>19</sup>. The difficulty in introducing clear-cut categorisations can be exemplified by a Thasian

their Sacred and Political Context», in Elsner, J./Rutherford, I. (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods* (2005) 41–72; Scullion, S., «Pilgrimage and Greek Religion: Sacred and Secular in the Pagan Polis», *ibid.*, 111–130.

17. E.g. *ἑορτή*: Panathenaia in Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 334); Thesmophoria in Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1177 and 1184); Amphiareia in Oropos (*IG* VII 4254 = *IOropos* 298, l. 14); Dionysia in Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 223, l. 22); Itonia in Amorgos (*IG* XII 7, 22, l. 14); Panamareia in Stratonikeia (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 900, l. 12–13); Proerosia in Athens (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1038 A = *LSCG* 7 A = *IEleusis* 175 A).

18. Rudhardt, *Notions* 113–127; Schmitt Pantel/Lissarrague 247–250. For commemorative rites, often in connection with endowments or with the manumission of slaves, see e.g. *IG* X 2, 1, 260 (Thessalonike, Imperial period); *Philippi* II 597 (Philippi, Imperial period); *IG* XII 6, 132 (Samos, 2nd cent. B.C.); *IGRom* III 294, l. 16 (*ἐναγισμός τῶν Ἀριστωνίδαι*; Pergamon, 1st cent. B.C.); *SEG* 51, 1837 (funerary endowment, Trebenna, 3rd cent. A.D.); *SEG* 52, 503 (commemorative obligations of a freedman, Chaironeia, 3rd/2nd cent. B.C.); *SEG* 52, 1227 (funerary endowment, Bithynia, 3rd cent. A.D.); Robert, *Études* 307–308.

19. On the cult of the heroes see Graf, *NK* 121–137; Kearns, *Heroes*; Rudhardt, *Notions* 127–135; Antonaccio, *Ancestors*; Larson, J., *Greek Heroine Cults* (1995); Lyons, D., *Gender and Immortality. Heroines in Ancient Greek Myth and Cult* (1997); Deoudi, *Heroenkulte*; Boehringer, D., *Heroenkulte in Griechenland von der geometrischen bis zur klassischen Zeit. Attika, Argolis, Messenien* (2001); Ekroth 2; Buraselis, K., et al., «Heroisierung und Apotheose», in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 126–158. On the similarity and differences between sacrifices to gods and heroes see also Ekroth



regulation concerning the veneration of the war-dead (fourth century B.C.)<sup>20</sup>. For the regular sacrifice to the war-dead («the virtuous», ἄγαθοί) the authors of the cult regulation use the verb ἐντέμνω instead of θύω, which was used for sacrifices to the gods. Nevertheless, the meat of the victims was treated exactly as the meat of sacrificial animals in a sacrifice to the gods: it was consumed by the participants.

The central part played by the worship of the gods was expressed through rituals (especially sacrifices, hymns, and prayers), the location where the festival took place or focal points of the celebrations (altars, sanctuaries, sacred places; see II), and the festival's name (I.1.4).

Although contests for deceased mortals have a long tradition in Greek culture, the «funeral games» for Patroclus being the most famous example<sup>21</sup>, it is only from the late fifth century B.C. that we observe festivals celebrated in honour of mortals. The beginning was made in Samos, when the Samians renamed the contest Ἡραϊά to Λυσάνδρεια (404/3 B.C.)<sup>22</sup>. When the Hellenistic ruler cult was established by Greek poleis, the fes-

tivals in their honour adopted the model of the festivals for gods, and the godlike worship of the king was either attached to a pre-existing festival or was modelled after the worship of the gods<sup>23</sup>. The same applies to the cult of other distinguished individuals (statesmen, benefactors, Roman generals, and provincial governors)<sup>24</sup>. In Kyme (early third century B.C.), Antiochos I was honoured in a festival together with Dionysos, but Philetairoi in a festival which remained distinct from the Soteria<sup>25</sup>; similarly, the cult of Philopoimen in Megalopolis was associated with those of Zeus Soter and Hestia<sup>26</sup>. Also festivals organised by kingdoms, such as the Ptolemaia in Alexandria, established by Ptolemy II in honour of his father, followed the model of festivals for the gods in structure and programme and at the same time, they served as a medium for the display of royal power<sup>27</sup>. The same model (procession, sacrifice, banquet, contest) was also adopted for celebrations in honour of heroised individuals, which were established by their relatives through foundations<sup>28</sup>. Similar models were later adopted for the celebration of festivals for the Roman emperors<sup>29</sup>, in

1; Parker, R., «Ὁς ἦρωι ἐναγίζεν», in Hägg, R./Alroth, B. (eds.), *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian* (2005) 37–45; Henrichs, A., «Sacrifice as to the Immortal». Modern Classifications of Animal Sacrifice and Ritual Distinctions in the *Lex Sacra* from Selinous», *ibid.* 47–58.

20. LSS 64, with the comments of Ekroth 1, 268.

21. II. 23, 257–897; Grethlein, J., «Epic Narrative and Ritual. The Case of the Funeral Games in Iliad 23», in Bierl, A./Lämmle, R./Wesselmann, K. (eds.), *Literatur und Religion. Wege zu einer mythisch-rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen* (2007) I 151–177; see II.4. Cf. e.g. Isokr. *Euagoras* 1 (agons organised by Nikokles for his father); IG V 1, 660 (ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών in Sparta for Leonidas, Pausanias, and other heroised Spartans); contests called Epitaphia are also known in Athens (e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006. 1008. 1011) and Rhodes (*Lindos* II nos. 222 and 707). See also Rudhardt, *Notions* 157. For possible instances in Classical Macedonia see Panayotou, A./Chrysostomou, P., «Inscriptions de la Bottiè et de l'Almopie en Macédoine», *BCH* 117 (1993) 372–375; Manakidou, E., «Heroic Overtones in Two Inscriptions from Ancient Lete», in Voutiras, E. (ed.), *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Μακεδονίας* (1996) 85–98; cf. SEG 43, 395; 44, 523.

22. Douris, *FGrH* 76 F 71 (= Plut. *Lys.* 18, 5–6); IG XII 6, 334.

23. On the ruler cult see Habicht (festivals and contests: 147–153); Bunge; Mikalson, *RelHellAth* 75–104; Chaniotis, A., «The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers», in Erskine, A. (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (2003) 431–445; Buraselis, K./Aneziri, S., «Die hellenistische Herrscherapotheose», in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 172–186; Aneziri, S., «Étude préliminaire sur le culte privé des souverains hellénistiques: problèmes et méthode», in Dasen, V./Piérart, M. (eds.), *Ἰδία καὶ δημοσία. Les cadres «privés» et «publics» de la religion grecque antique* (2005) 219–233; Chaniotis 9; Pfeiffer, S., *Herrscher- und Dynastiekult im Ptolemäerreich* (2008).

24. Festivals for benefactors: Thériault, G., «Une fête des évergètes en Macédoine», *The Ancient World* 32 (2001) 207–213; Strubbe, J. H. M., «Cultic Honors for Benefactors in the Cities of Asia Minor», in de Ligt, L./Hemelrijk, E. A./Singor, H. W. (eds.), *Roman Rule and Civic Life. Local and Regional Perspectives* (2004) 315–330. Festivals for Roman governors: Erkelenz, D., «Cicero, pro Flacco

55–59. Zur Finanzierung von Statthalterfesten in der Frühphase des Koinon von Asia», *Chiron* 29 (1999) 43–57; Thériault, G., «Remarques sur le culte des magistrats romains en Orient», *Cahiers des Études Anciennes* 37 (2001) 85–95.

25. SEG 50, 1195, l. 28: ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Διονυσίοισι καὶ Ἀντιοχέοισι; cf. l. 42: τὰ Σωτήρια καὶ τὰ Φιλεταίρει[α]. See Buraselis, K., «Political Gods and Heroes or the Hierarchisation of Political Divinity in the Hellenistic World», in Barzanò, A., et al. (eds.), *Modelli eroici dall'antichità alla cultura europea* (2003) 185–197.

26. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 624.

27. Rice; Wiemer 1. On the dynastic ruler cult see Melaerts, H. (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III<sup>e</sup> s. av. notre ère* (1998); Müller, H., «Der hellenistische Archiereus», *Chiron* 30 (2000) 519–542; Virgilio, B., «Epigrafia e culti dei re seleucidi», in *Epigrafia e storia delle religioni. Dal documento epigrafico al problema storico-religioso* (2003) 39–50; van Nuffelen, P., «Le culte royal de l'Empire des Séleucides: une réinterprétation», *Historia* 52 (2004) 278–301; Iossif, P., «La dimension publique des dédicaces «privées» du culte royal ptolémaïque», in Dasen/Piérart (n. 23) 235–257; Wright, N., «Seleucid Royal Cult, Indigenous Religious Traditions, and Radiate Crowns: The Numismatic Evidence», *MeditArch* 18 (2005) 67–82.

28. E.g. the foundation of Kritolaos in honour of his son Aleximachos (Aigiale, c. 100 B.C.): IG XII 7, 515; LSS 61. Cf. Wittenburg, A., *Il testamento di Epikteta* (1990) 121–138. See Laum I 68–87.

29. On the rituals of the imperial cult in the East see Price, *Rituals*; Chaniotis, A., «Der Kaiserkult im Osten des Römischen Reiches im Kontext der zeitgenössischen Ritualpraxis», in Cancik, H./Hitzl, K. (eds.), *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen* (2003) 3–28; Lo Monaco 188–240. On the organisation of imperial cult in the East see more recently Friesen, S. J., *Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (1993); Burrell, B., *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (2004); Bennett, M., *Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodien und Römern. Untersuchung zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas von 30 v. bis 66 n. Chr.* (2007); Kantiréa, M., *Les dieux et les dieux augustes: le culte impérial*

which the procession and the agonistic programme became the predominant features. Sometimes an already existing (agonistic) festival was connected with the cult of the emperor<sup>30</sup>.

### 1.2. Festivals were communal activities

Festivals were established and performed by a community: a polis, a federal state, an amphiktyony, a civic subdivision, a religious association, or another form of corporation or community.

Most Greek festivals as well as most athletic and musical contests were polis festivals. Which festivals were officially recognised as public festivals (πάνδημος ἑορτή) was determined by the decisions of the community of citizens, sometimes sanctioned by oracles, and was subject to scrutiny. Although the Greeks did not have festive calendars such as those attested in the Roman world (see *ThesCRA* VII 3 Festivals and contests, rom. 2.1.1), there existed lists of festivals, sacrifices, and rituals that had to be performed every year. No such «calendar» survives, but we have excerpts of the sacrificial calendar of the Athenian state, which was recorded through a complex procedure between 410 and 399 B.C.<sup>31</sup>. When the Teians founded a new festival in honour of Antiochos III and Laodike (Ἀντιόχεια καὶ Λαοδικεῖα), this festival was registered in a «sacred book» (ἱερὰ βύβλος)<sup>32</sup>. Calendars of sacrifices and rituals survive in inscriptions in many Greek cities<sup>33</sup>, and must have also existed in written form in public archives or in the archives of ritual experts<sup>34</sup>.

Public festivals were organised, funded, and celebrated by communities of citizens of poleis. The magistrates, who were responsible for the fes-

tivals (I.4.2), were appointed by the polis; the citizens and their families were explicitly invited to attend and sometimes to perform specific roles in the procession, in performances of choruses and ritual songs, and in rituals; decrees of the assembly and laws of the polis – known under the misleading label *leges sacrae*<sup>35</sup> – determined the organisation of the festival; usually, public funds were made available (I.4.1); sometimes foreigners were explicitly excluded from all or certain cult activities or competitions (I.5).

Federal states (κοινά) organised festivals especially in the Hellenistic period, e.g. in Arkadia (Λύκεια<sup>36</sup>), the Alexandria of the Ionian Koinon in Smyrna<sup>37</sup>, several contests in Boiotia (Βασίλεια, Δαίδαλα, Μουσεῖα, Παμβοιώτια, Πτώια<sup>38</sup>), and the Ἐλευθέρια in Thessaly<sup>39</sup>. A well documented case is the festival and contest of Apollon Aktios at Aktion, which was originally a festival of the polis of Anaktorion, but in 216 B.C. became a festival of the Akarnanian Koinon<sup>40</sup>. Under Roman rule, most regional koina organised their own agonistic festivals usually connected with the imperial cult and celebrated under the responsibility of the high-priest of the imperial cult – e.g. the agonistic festivals Ἀλεξάνδρειος ἀγών of the Macedonian Koinon, the Κοινά of the Cretan Koinon in Gortyn, the Κοινά Ἀσίας in the main cities of the province (Ephesos, Pergamon, Sardis, Smyrna, etc.), the ἔθνηκη πανήγυρις in Lykia<sup>41</sup>.

«Tribal communities» (ἔθνη, κοινά) and religious confederations (ἀμφικτυονίαι) that did not have a joint state structure – although they occasionally had joint political institutions – also organised their separate festivals and contests appointing the responsible magistrates from among

en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens: études épigraphiques et archéologiques» (2007); Witulski, T., *Kaiserkult in Kleinasien: Die Entwicklung der kultisch-religiösen Kaiserverehrung in der römischen Provinz Asia von Augustus bis Antoninus Pius* (2007); Edelmann, B., «Pompa und Bild im Kaiserkult des römischen Ostens», in Rüpke, J. (ed.), *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2008) 153–167. See also *ThesCRA* VII 3 Festivals and contests, Rom. 4.2.7. Examples of agonistic festivals in honour of emperors, known through honorary inscriptions for agonothetai, athletes, and artists, are the Kaisareia Sebasta in Athens, the Kaisareia Pythia in Thessalonike, the Hadrianeia of Ephesos, the Hadrianeia Olympia in Kyzikos, the Traianeia in Pergamon, the Hadrianeios agon in Anazarbos and Antioch, and the Augustia Olympia Oikoumenika and the Takitios Metropolitios Isokapetolios agon in Perge. For references see the index of Moretti and SEG.

30. E.g. the Lykaia Kaisareia in Arkadia: IG V 2, 463.

31. Lambert, S. D., «The Sacrificial Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis: A Revised Text», *ZPE* 130 (2000) 43–70; *id.*, «The Sacrificial Calendar of Athens», *BSA* 97 (2002) 353–399.

32. SEG 41, 1003 II, l. 28–29: ἀναγ[ράψαι δὲ τ]αύτην τὴν ἑορτὴν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν βύβλον.

33. Lupu, E., *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents* (2005) 65–71; cf. Graf, *NK* 162–196 (Erythrai).

34. Tresp, A., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* (1914).

35. Parker, R. «What are Sacred Laws?», in Harris, E. M./Rubinstein, L. (eds.), *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece* (2004) 57–70; Lupu (n. 33) 5–9; Chaniotis 12.

36. Jost, *Arcadie* 179–187; cf. Burkert, *HN* (1983) 84–93.

37. SEG 44, 422.

38. Daidala: see below 5.3. Basileia: Turner, L. A., «The Basileia at Lebadeia», in Fossey, J. M. (ed.), *Boeotia Antiqua* VI (1996) 105–126. Mouseia: Knoepfler 2. Ptoia: Nafissi, M., «Un decreto da Haliartos ed il culto di Athena Itonia (a proposito di SEG XXXVII 380)», *AnnPerugia* 15/16 (1991–93 [1997]) 111–120. On the Boiotian festivals see Schachter, *Boiotia*; Migeotte; Manieri, A., *Agoni poetico musicali nella Grecia antica*. 1. Beozia. *Testi e commentari* (2009).

39. IG IX 2, 528 + SEG 55, 607.

40. IG IX<sup>2</sup> 1, 583; Czech-Schneider, R., «Das Apollonheiligtum von Aktion in hellenistischer Zeit. Überlegungen zum wirtschaftlichen Verhältnis zwischen Heiligtum und profanem Inhaber», *Klio* 84 (2002) 76–100.

41. Alexandreios agon of the Macedonian Koinon: *Iberia* 68–69. Crete: IG VII 1859. Koina Asia: *I. Iasos* 108 (Ephesos, Pergamon, Sardis); IG II<sup>2</sup> 3169, l. 23–24 (Sardis); IG II<sup>2</sup> 3169, l. 27 (Smyrna); IG VII 49 (Philadelphiea); *Iephes* 1605 (Laodikeia); Miranda, E., *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Napoli* (1990–95) 48 (Kyzikos). Lykia: SEG 54, 1406. Such agonistic festivals are known primarily through lists of victories of athletes and artists (collected in Moretti; see also Ebert, J., *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* [1972]).



the member states, sometimes from a single member state. Usually, attendance – especially participation in the agonistic part of such festivals – was open to citizens beyond the borders of the federal state or ethnos. Such groups can be best designated as *amphiktyoniai*, although this name is usually reserved to the Pylaian or Delphic amphiktyony. The Pylaian amphiktyony was responsible for the organisation of the festivals Pythia (from the early sixth century B.C.) and Soteria (after 278 B.C.); after the mid-third century, the Soteria were organised by the Aitolian Koinon<sup>42</sup>. Local amphiktyonies are known in the Peloponnese – e.g. the amphiktyony connected with the sanctuary of Poseidon in Kalaureia –, in the Aegean – the amphiktyony of the Ionic cities that celebrated the festival of Apollo on Delos –, and in Asia Minor – the federation (*κοινόν*) of the cities, which celebrated the festival (*πανήγυρις*) of Athena Ilias (Panathenaia), and the amphiktyony of the Ionian cities, which celebrated the festival of Apollo in the Panionion of Mykale<sup>43</sup>. Most likely, the communities, which originally partook of the cult of Zeus in Olympia, formed an amphiktyony, which gradually opened the participation in the festival and the contests to all the Greeks, making the contest that took place every fourth year (*πενταετηρίς*) into a «Panhellenic» festival<sup>44</sup>. Some festivals, which were celebrated separately in individual poleis, may have been festivals of ethnic groups originally, as we may infer from their names and especially from names of months. For instance the Apatouria was an Ionian festival, and month names such as Boedromion and Metageitnion in several cities presuppose the existence of the festivals Boedromia and Metageitnia<sup>45</sup>.

The term «Panhellenic festival or contest» is a modern term, used to designate large-scale, usually pentaeteric, festivals and contests, to which all the Greeks were explicitly invited by the means of sacred envoys (*θεωροί*; I.4.4)<sup>46</sup>. Until the Hellenistic period, only four pentaeteric festivals can

42. Nachtergaele, G., *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sotéria de Delphes. Recherches d'histoire et d'épigraphie hellénistique* (1977); Sánchez, P., *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes. Recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au II<sup>e</sup> s. de notre ère* (2001) 303–309; Lefèvre, F., *CID IV. Documents amphictioniques* (2002), esp. nos. 1. 27. 57. 142.

43. Kalaureia: Mylonopoulos 427–431; see II.10. Ionian festival on Delos: Nilsson, *Feste* 144–149; Parker, *Polytheism* 80–82. Festival of Athena Ilias: I. Iliion 1–18. Festival at the Panionion: Nilsson, *Feste* 74–79; main sources: Hdt. 1, 148; Diod. 15, 49; Strab. 8, 384.

44. Taita, J., «Un'anfizionia ad Olimpia? Un bilancio sulla questione nell'interpretazione storiografica moderna», in Foraboschi, D. (ed.), *Storiografia ed erudizione. Scritti in onore di Ida Calabi Limentani* (1999) 149–186; cf. Siewert, P., «Kultische und politische Organisationsformen im frühen Olympia und in seiner Umgebung», in Freitag, K./Funke, P./Haake, M. (eds.), *Kult – Politik – Ethnos. Überregionale Heiligtümer im Spannungsfeld von Kult und Politik* (2006) 43–54. On super-regional festivals see also Ulf, C., «Anlässe und Formen von Festen mit überlokaler

be designated as «Panhellenic»: the Olympia in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios in Olympia, the Nemea in the sanctuary of Zeus Nemeos in Nemea, the Pythia, in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Delphi, and the Isthmia, in the sanctuary of Poseidon near the Isthmus of Corinth (cf. II.7). They were celebrated in sequence in a period of four years, the «circuit» (*περίοδος*). Of course, these were not the only festivals which attracted participants from every corner of the Greek world. The pentaeteric festival Ἐλευθερία in Plataiai, which commemorated the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, was a «Panhellenic» festival of a special kind, as it was organised by the «Koinon of the Hellenes»<sup>47</sup>. From the Hellenistic period onwards, newly founded festivals of kings, cities, and confederacies, were declared by their founders *ἰσοτύθιος* (later also *ἰσοθύμιος*, *ἰσάκτιος*, and so on, that is of the same rank as the Pythia, the Olympia, and the Aktia) and sought the recognition of Greek communities as such (I.2). Such festivals and contests include inter alia the Ptolemaia in Alexandria, the Soteria in Delphi, and the Leukophryena in Magnesia on the Maeander.

At a lower level than the level of the *polis*, civic subdivisions (*demoi*) also organised local festivals – or sometimes celebrated a polis festival locally. Such festivals of the demes are best known in Athens thanks to the abundant epigraphic material<sup>48</sup>, but they are widely attested in the Greek world.

A significant development in the history of festivals is the establishment of festivals by kings (e.g. the Ptolemaia of Alexandria<sup>49</sup>), which presupposed the community of their subjects.

Celebrations also existed beyond the political structures of polis communities and confederations: they include periodic and one-time family celebrations (birthdays, periodic commemorative rites for the dead, festivities for the birth of a child or a wedding, etc.<sup>50</sup>); festivals of real or virtual family groups (e.g. the Demotionidai in Athens,

Reichweite in vor- und früharchaischer Zeit. Wozu lohnt sich der Blick in ethnologisch-anthropologischer Literatur?», *ibid.* 17–41.

45. Apatouria: Salviat, F., «Le source ionienne: Apatouria, Apollon Delphinios et l'oracle, l'Aristarchéion», in Hermay, A./Tréziny, H. (eds.), *Les cultes des cités phocéennes* (2000) 25–31. Boedromia: Trümper 1, 7. 31. 36–37. Metageitnia: Trümper 1, 30–31. 36–37. See also V.2 on the Hyakinthia.

46. On the problems connected with this term see Robert, *OMS* II 784; Rigsby 64; Parker 11; Slater/Summa 281.

47. Moretti 151–156 no. 59 (c. 20 B.C.).

48. Humphreys 130–196; Parker, *Polytheism* 50–78.

49. Rice; Thompson, D. J., «Dynastic Power in a Mediterranean Context», in Mooren, L. (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (2000) 365–388. See also n. 27.

50. Birthdays: Schmidt, W., *Geburtstag im Altertum* (1908) 5–21. Commemorative rites for the dead: see note 433. Birth: see note 2. Wedding: see note 2.

the Labyadai in Delphi, and the Klytidai of Chios<sup>51</sup>); privately sponsored festivals that bore the names of their founders (e.g. the Stesileia and Echenikeia in Delos<sup>52</sup>); festivals of professional groups (e.g. the festival Χαλκεία, celebrated in particular by the Athenian bronze-smiths<sup>53</sup>); sacrifices, banquets, and contests of associations of foreign residents in cities (e.g. the *Compitalia* celebrated by the Italian residents of Delos in the late second century B.C.<sup>54</sup>); and the innumerable celebrations of private cult associations<sup>55</sup>. Sometimes the different areas intersected, and festivals organised by a non-polis community or founded by an individual became public festivals, such as the Bendideia in Athens, which originated in the worship of Bendis by the Thracian residents of Athens and was recognized as a public festival in the late 5th cent. B.C.<sup>56</sup>.

Another very significant development in the history of Greek religion are festivals of supra-ethnic or supra-state cult communities, which lacked political structures but were based on joint faith. Some celebrations connected with mystery cults

51. Demotionidai: Hedrick, C. W. Jr., *The Decrees of the Demotionidai* (1990); on the Athenian phratries and their celebrations see Hedrick, C. W. Jr., «Phratry Shrines of Attica and Athens», *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 241–268; Lambert, S. D., *The Phratries of Attica* (1994). Labyadai: LSS 77; *CID* I 9; Sebillotte, V., «Les Labyades: une phratric de Delphes?», *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 8 (1997) 39–49. Klytidai: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 987; *LSCG* 118 (c. 335 B.C.); Graf, *NK* 32–37; Brulé, P., «La sainte maison commune des Klytides de Chios», *Ktema* 23 (1998) 307–324. Family celebrations: Parker, *Polytheism* 9–49.

52. Durvy, C., «Aphrodite à Délos: culte privé et public à l'époque hellénistique», *REG* 119 (2006) 83–113.

53. Deubner 35–36; Parker, *Polytheism* 464–465.

54. Hasenohr, C., «Les Compitalia à Délos», *BCH* 127 (2003) 167–249. See also *ThesCRA* VII 3 Festivals and contests, Rom. 4.2.3.

55. Celebrations of cult associations; e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1368 = *LSCG* 51 (Iobakchoi, Athens, 178 A.D.); *SEG* 52, 1197 (cult association, Pergamon, c. 168–164 B.C.); *IG* XII 6, 132 (association of «those who ascend on the Helikonion», Samos, 2nd cent. B.C.); *IG* 382 (association of the συμπορευόντες παρὰ Δία Ἰέτιον). On cult associations the study of Poland, F., *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1908) still remains the main book of reference; for more recent studies (with further bibliography) see Brashear, W. M., *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (1993); Parker, *AthRel* 328–342; Arnaoutoglou, I. N., *Θυσίας ἐνεκα καὶ συννοσίας: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens* (2003); Harland, P. A., *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (2003). See also *ThesCRA* VII 3 Festivals and contests, Rom. 3.2.

56. Montepaone, C., «Bendis Tracia ad Atene: L'integrazione del «nuovo» attraverso forme dell'ideologia», in Mactoux, M. M./Geny, E. (eds.), *Mélanges P. Levêque* VI (1992) 201–219; Garland, R., *Introducing New Gods. The Politics of Athenian Religion* (1992) 111–114; cf. Plat., *pol.* 1, 327a; *ThesCRA* I 1 Processions, Gr. 16.

57. Eleusis: Mylonas, *Eleusis*; Graf, *Eleusis*; Clinton, *SO*; Clinton, *MC*; Clinton 1; Burkert, *HN* (1983) 248–297; Brumfield 192–222; Burkert, W., «Initiation», in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 92–96; Kleid, A., *Die Entführung Kore's.*

combine features of polis festivals with celebrations based on a communication with the divine which transcended the borders of a polis community: they were organised by polis communities, which also provided the ritual experts, but initiation was open to individuals who lacked citizenship (e.g., the Eleusinian mysteries, the mysteries of Andania, the mysteries of Samothrace<sup>57</sup>). But already in the Archaic period communities of faith that transcended the polis emerged, based on ideas of afterlife and performing initiation rituals outside the institutional framework of the polis. The best attested group are the so-called «Orphics», who performed rituals of initiation connected with the worship of Dionysos<sup>58</sup>. To traditional, local mystery cults (Eleusis, Andania, Lerna, Kyme, etc.), new mysteries and cults based on a community of faith and worship were introduced from the Hellenistic period onwards, especially the mysteries of Isis and Mithras, the orgiastic cult of the Great Mother/Kybele, the cult of the Syrian Goddess (Thea Syria/Dea Syria), and the cult of Theos Hypsistos<sup>59</sup>. These cults had their own cel-

*Studien zur athenisch-eleusinischen Demeterreligion* (2004). See also III.2.3. Andania: see V.4. Samothrace: Cole, *Theoi Meg.*; Burkert, W., «Initiation», in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 101–103; Dimitrova, N. M., *Theoi and Initiates in Samothrace. The Epigraphical Evidence* (2008). On mystery cults in general: Burkert, *Mystery Cults and id.*, «Initiation», in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 91–124; cf. Scarpri, P. (ed.), *Le religioni dei misteri. I. Eleusi. Dionisismo, Orfismo* (2002); Cosmopoulos, M. B. (ed.), *Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (2003); Lo Monaco 33–68; of Demeter: Sfameni Gasparro, G., *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (1986); Pirenne-Delforge 291–346; of Dionysos: Casadio 1, 9–50. 223–325. For newly attested mysteries of Demeter Chthonia and Meter Oreia see Parker, R./Stamatopoulou, M., «A New Funerary Gold Leaf From Pherai», *AEPHem* 143 (2004 [2007]) 1–32 (*SEG* 55, 612). Mysteries were also part of the Komymia and the Heraia in Stratonikeia: Nilsson, *Feste* 28–29.

58. Recent studies (with earlier bibliography): Bernabé Pajares, A., *Poetae epici graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta. II Orphicorum et Orphicis similitum testimonia et fragmenta* (2004–07); Graf, F./Iles Johnston, S., *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife. Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets* (2007); Bernabé Pajares, A./Jiménez San Cristóbal, A. I., *Instructions for the Netherworld. The Orphic Gold Tablets* (2008).

59. For a bibliography see Metzger, B. M., «A Classified Bibliography of the Graeco-Roman Mystery Religions 1924–1973 with a Supplement 1974–1977», *ANRW* II 17, 3 (1984) 1259–1423. Egyptian mysteries: Witt, R. E., *Isis in the Ancient World* (1971); Totti-Gemünd, M., *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (1985); Bommas, M., *Heiligtum und Mysterium. Griechenland und seine ägyptischen Götter* (2005); Bricault, L., *Atlas de diffusion des cultes isiaques (IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.)* (2001); *id.*, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques* (2005); Bricault, L./Versluys, M. J./Meyboom, P. G. P. (eds.), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman World* (2007). Mithras: CIMRM; Hinnells, J. R. (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism* (1994); Clauss, M., *The Roman Cult of Mithras. The God and his Mysteries* (2000); Gordon, R., «Ritual and Hierarchy in the Mysteries of Mithras», *Antigüedad. Religiones y Sociedades* 4 (2001) 245–274; Beck, R., *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire. Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun*



ebations. For instance, the festival *Navigium Isidis*/ Πλοιαφέσια connected with the cult of Isis was celebrated in many parts of the ancient world, including Greece, from the late Hellenistic period onwards<sup>60</sup>. The cult of the snake god Glykon Neos Asklepios founded by Alexander of Abonou Teichos in the mid-second century A.D. included a mystery festival<sup>61</sup>. The Jewish festivals were celebrated by the diaspora Jews.

### 1.3. Festivals were celebrated periodically on a fixed day (or days)

Festivals are on fixed days; they presuppose periodicity. One-time celebrations, e.g. for the inauguration of a building, the announcement of a victory (εὐαγγέλια), the conclusion of a treaty, the self-representation of a ruler (e.g. Antiochos IV's procession in Daphne<sup>62</sup>), or the expression of gratitude to the gods for a specific event<sup>63</sup>, are not festivals in a narrower sense (I.1 and n. 2), exactly as one-time celebrations in the life-cycle of mortals (rites of passage, weddings, funerals, etc.) are not festivals. But also simple sacrifices on fixed days are not festivals *stricto sensu*. Every festival has a sacrifice of some kind, but not every sacrifice is a festival. It has been estimated that in Athens, sacrifices were offered on more than 120 (possibly 144) days<sup>64</sup>, but only very few of these sacrifices were part of a festival (I.1).

Because of their periodic celebration on fixed days, festivals had an intrinsic connection with the calendars of the Greek cities. Most Greek months derive their name from the name of an important festival, presumably the most important festival in the respective month at an early period. The calendar of Athens, which is better known than other calendars, is a good case in point. The Athenian year began with Hekatombaion, the month in which the Hekatombaia (originally, the festival of the sacrifice of 100 oxen) was celebrated for Apollo. Metageitnion was the month of the Metageit-

nia (another festival of Apollo), which must have been celebrated in other poleis that had similar month names as well<sup>65</sup>, Boedromion that of the Boedromia, Poseideon that of the festival of Poseidon and so on. The names of these months reveal which were the most important *heortai* of the Athenians in the period in which the Attic calendar was fixed (possibly as early as the late Bronze Age). Many of these early festivals lost their importance in the course of time, so that sometimes we do not even know on which day of the month they were celebrated. For instance in the Archaic period, the new Panathenaic festival in the month Hekatombaion overshadowed the Hekatombaia; in Elaphebolion, the Dionysia was far more popular than the eponymous festival of the Elaphebolia (in honour of Artemis).

The distribution of festivals in the solar year was uneven. No other months of the Athenian year had as many festivals as Boedromion and Pyanopsion (ca. late September-late November)<sup>66</sup>. In Boedromion eight days were dedicated to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. In Pyanopsion we know of at least twelve official festivals: the Proerosia («the festival before the plough»), a festival of Demeter, which was announced on the fifth day in Eleusis and was probably celebrated shortly thereafter; the Oschophoria («the festival of carrying the vine branches»), a festival of Dionysos and Athena, which took place on the 6th; on the 7th, which was the sacred day of Apollo, the Athenians celebrated the Pyanopsia («the festival of the bean soup»), followed by the Theseia («the festival of Theseus») on the 8th and the Stenia, a festival of Demeter, on the 9th. From the 11th to the 13th the greatest women's festival, the Thesmophoria, took place. The bronze-smiths celebrated their own festival (Chalkeia, «the festival of the bronze-smiths») on the last day of the month. The Apaturia, an Ionian family festival, was also celebrated for three days in this month, but we do not

know exactly when (19th-21st or 26th-28th). The concentration of so many festivals in this time of the year cannot be coincidental. This was an important period for agricultural activities (collection of grapes, ploughing), consequently a period of joy and anxiety, a period of more intensive need to communicate with the gods in order to express gratitude for the past and to request assistance for the future. Most of the festivals in these months were either connected with the goddess of agriculture (Demeter: Eleusinian mysteries, Proerosia, Stenia, Thesmophoria<sup>67</sup>) or had agricultural overtones (Pyanopsia, Oschophoria).

Festivals which were celebrated at different times of the year were sometimes connected with each other. In Magnesia on the Maeander, the selection of the sacrificial bull for Zeus Sosipolis in the fall (ἀνάδειξις ταύρου) was connected with the sacrifice in the summer<sup>68</sup>. Just as different agricultural activities in different months were connected (e.g. ploughing and harvest, collection of the grapes and testing of the new wine), relations between celebrations could be established.

In addition to their annual celebration, some festivals were celebrated every fourth year (πενταετηρίς) with greater glamour or with the participation of foreigners. To distinguish between the annual and the pentaeteric celebration, the Greeks often added the attribute «great» to the latter (Μεγάλα Παναθηναία, Μεγάλα Διονύσια, Μεγάλα Ἡράκλεια, Μεγάλα Ἀσκληπιεία, Μεγάλα Κλάρια, etc.). Such festivals were given a more significant position among the celebrations of a community. There were also trieteric and enneateric festivals as well as festivals celebrated at different intervals (e.g. Daidala; see V.3)<sup>69</sup>.

Monthly sacrifices – e.g. sacrifices on the first day of the month (νομηνία<sup>70</sup>) and monthly sacrifices (κατὰ μῆνα θυσίαι)<sup>71</sup> on days dedicated to particular gods (e.g. sacrifices to Apollo on the seventh day of every month, to Artemis on the sixth, etc.) – should be distinguished from festivals *stricto sensu*. Influenced by the model of monthly sacrifices, monthly festivities were also established in connection with the Hellenistic ruler cult. When the cult was established during the lifetime

of a king or a member of the royal family, the celebration usually took place on his or her birthday; but just as in the worship of the gods, the sacrifice was not offered annually, but on the respective day of every month<sup>72</sup>. For example, during the reign of Ptolemy III (246-221 B.C.) the 25th day of every month was «the day of the king», a celebration commemorating the king's accession to the throne on 25th Dios 246 B.C.<sup>73</sup>.

Sometimes the rituals of festivals spanned several days (usually three), in order to accommodate complex ritual actions (e.g. the mysteries of Eleusis and Andania) and an elaborate agonistic programme or to provide time for an emotional development, for instance from a mournful or distressful beginning to a joyful end (e.g. Thesmophoria, Hyakinthia, Anthesteria)<sup>74</sup>. The dramatic agon in Athens during the Dionysia lasted for four days, the Olympic Games for five, the Thesmophoria in Syracuse for ten (I.5.1). From the Classical period onwards the long duration of festivals was the result of efforts to upgrade a celebration (ἀύξησης, ἐπαύξησης)<sup>75</sup>, of the competition among communities and the propagation of local cults and sanctuaries, and above all of the necessity to accommodate an increasing number of agonistic events and market-days (I.6). In the Imperial period, the Spartan festival Λεωνίδεια, an agonistic festival in honour of Leonidas and Pausanias, lasted for 20 days, during which market transactions were tax-free<sup>76</sup>. In c. 162-164 A.D. the assembly of Ephesos decreed to dedicate the entire month Artemision to Artemis: «when the goddess is honoured in an even better fashion, our city will remain more glorious and prosperous for ever»<sup>77</sup>. Festivals and agons that lasted for ten (Ptoia and Kaisareia), thirty (festival of Sosibios in Antioch), twenty-two (Demostheneia at Oinoanda), or even forty days (Capitolia) are known, but they seem to be exceptional cases of extravagance<sup>78</sup>. Because of the increase in the number and duration of agonistic festivals in the Imperial period Hadrian had to fix the sequence of the most important among them, in order to facilitate the participation of itinerant athletes and artists (see n. 178).

(2006). Kybele: CCCA; Roller, L. E., *In Search of God the Mother. The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (1999). Syrian Goddess: Hörig, M., «Dea Syria – Atargatis», *ANRW* II 17, 3 (1984) 1536-1581. Theos Hypsistos (the uniformity of this cult is subject to controversy): Mitchell, S., «The Cult of Theos Hypsistos Between Pagans, Jews, and Christians», in Athanassiadi, P./Frede, M. (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (1999) 81-148; Belayche, N., «Hypsistos: Une voie de l'exaltation des dieux dans le polythéisme gréco-romain», *ARG* 7 (2005) 34-55; Mitchell, S., «Further Thoughts on the Cult of Theos Hypsistos», in *id.*/van Nuffelen, P. (eds.), *One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (2010) 209-230.

60. Perpillou-Thomas 114-116. See Bricault, L., *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques* (2005) 50-52 (Eretria). 54 (Chalkis). 169 (Amphipolis). 183 (Byzantion). 348 (Tenos). 421 (Elaia). 435 (Ephesos). 469 (Kios). 472 (Nikomedeia). 502 (Seleukeia in Pieria). 568-569 (Rome). 740 (Tomis). The relevant inscriptions usually give the names of ναύαρχοι, ναυβάται, ἱερονάται, and τριήραρχοι.

61. Lukian. *Alex.* 38; Robert, L., «Le serpent Glykon

d'Abônouteichos à Athènes et Artémis d'Éphèse à Rome», *CRAI* (1981) 513-535; Sfameni Gasparro, G., «Alessandro di Abonutico, lo 'pseudo-profeta' ovvero come costruirsi un'identità religiosa. I. Il profeta, 'eroe' e 'uomo divino'», *StudMatStorRel* 62 (1996) 565-590; Victor, U., *Lukian von Samosata, Alexander oder Der Lügenprophet* (1997) 40-41; Sfameni Gasparro, G., «Alessandro di Abonutico, lo 'pseudo-profeta' ovvero come costruirsi un'identità religiosa. II. L'oracolo e i misteri», in Bonnet, C./Motte, A. (eds.), *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique* (1999) 299-302; Chaniotis 5.

62. Bunge.

63. E.g. *IGRom* III 292, l. 17 (Pergamon, sacrifice for the return of Diodoros Pasparos).

64. Mikalson 1.

65. Trümper 1, 293 (Byzantion, Delos, Ephesos, Kalchedon, Kallatis, Kos, Leros, Miletos, Perinthos, Priene, Rhodes, Samos).

66. See the table in Deubner; cf. Parker, *Polytheism* 486-487. For the festivals of these months see Parke, *Festivals* 53-94.

67. Cf. Brumfield 1. On the Proerosia see also Robertson, N., «New Light on Demeter's Mysteries: The Festival Proerosia», *GRBS* 37 (1996) 319-379.

68. *IMagn* 98; Nilsson, *Feste* 25-27.

69. Trieteric: *IGRom* III 293 col. II 25. Enneateric: e.g. *SEG* 47, 1771 (Termessos, 2nd cent. A.D.); *IPerge* 315, 317.

70. Graf, *NK* 162. E.g. *IG* XI 2, 287, l. 42; *LSAM* 49 a1, l. 23; *LSAM* 81, l. 17. Cf. the existence of cult associations, which celebrated on the first day of the month (Νομηνιασταί): e.g. *IG* XII 9, 1151 (Chalkis, 3rd cent. B.C.).

71. E.g. *ICos* ED 145, l. 15; *IPriene* 113, l. 69-70. Sacrifices on the birthdays of gods: Graf, *NK* 185.

72. Monthly celebrations for kings: Habicht 152 n. 60. 156. E.g. *LSAM* 26 = *IEryth* 207 (2nd cent. B.C.).

73. Bernard, E., *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre* (1992) 5. Cf. *SEG* 37, 859.

74. Thesmophoria: V.1. Hyakinthia: V.2. Anthesteria: Deubner 93-123; Parke, *Festivals* 107-120; Hamilton, *Choes*; Burkert, *HN* (1983) 213-247; Simon, *Festivals* 92-99; Parker, *Polytheism* 290-316; *ThesCRA* VI 1 b Childhood, Gr. 3.2.2.3. For mixed mood in festivals see Parker, *Polytheism* 160.

75. E.g. *LSS* 36, l. 18-19; *SEG* 30, 93, l. 34-37; *IG* VII 4139; *IG* XII 5, 129; *ICos* ED 77, 178, 180; *IMagn* 100; *I.Ilion* 2, l. 22-23.

76. *IG* V 1, 18 B.

77. *IEphes* 24 = *LSAM* 31; Horsley, G. H. R., «The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament», *Novum Testamentum* 34 (1992) 154-155; Chaniotis 6, 184-186.

78. Wörle 245-247. The Panamaria, near Stratonikeia, lasted for ten days, later for thirty days: Nilsson, *Feste* 30.



#### 1.4. A festival had a name

An *ἐορτή* usually had a name. For example, when Magnesia on the Maeander established a new festival of Artemis, the relevant decree stipulated «that this day should be declared a sacred day for all time and it should be called *Isiteria*»<sup>79</sup>. The name of a festival was a neuter word in the plural form (τὰ Πύθια, τὰ Διάσια, τὰ Θεσμοφόρια, τὰ Παναθήναια, etc.)<sup>80</sup>. The noun to which this attribute referred was never directly stated, but it must be the word *ἱερά* («sacred acts, deeds»); names of agonistic festivals are sometimes masculine singular, as attributes to the word *ἄγών* (e.g. Τερτύλλειος ἄγών, ἄγών Δημήτριος<sup>81</sup>).

The names of festivals usually derive from the names or epithets of gods. Τὰ Ἡραῖα was the festival of Hera, τὰ Διονύσια that of Dionysos, τὰ Ῥωμαῖα the festival for Dea Roma/Thea Rhome, τὰ Πύθια was celebrated for Apollo Pythios, τὰ Σωτήρια was a festival of Apollo (and/or Zeus) Σωτήριος (and not the festival of σωτηρία)<sup>82</sup>, τὰ Ὀλύμπια the festival of Zeus Olympios (and not a festival in Olympia), τὰ Ἐλευθέρια the festival of Zeus Eleutherios (and not of ἐλευθερία). Very often festivals were named after a specific ritual: τὰ Ἐκατόμβια was a festival, in which 100 oxen were sacrificed to Apollo; during τὰ Πλυντήρια Athena's statue was washed; during the Πυανόψια a special soup made of beans was prepared; during the Ἐκδύσια and the Περιβλημαῖα in Crete ephebes exchanged the clothes of the ephebe with the military attire of the citizen; at the Ἡροξείνια of Thasos the heroes were invited to a banquet; the καταγώγια celebrated the return of Dionysos<sup>83</sup>. From the Hellenistic period onwards kings, emperors, rulers, and provincial governors gave their name to festivals and agons (e.g., Ἀλεξάνδρεια, Ἀντιόχεια καὶ Λαοδικαία, Πτολεμαῖα, Δημητρία, Μουκία)<sup>84</sup>. Other features that could determine the name of a festival include a significant time of the year, usually defined by an agricultural activity, and an important event, which was commemorated in the celebration: τὰ Προηρόσια was the festival before the start of the ploughing of the fields; τὰ Κλαδευτήρια referred to the cutting down of the vines<sup>85</sup>. The Συνοικία commemorated the bringing together of local

communities into a single community in Athens<sup>86</sup>. The ἀσύλια Πύθια in Perge commemorated the award of the privilege of *asylia* to this city<sup>87</sup>. The importance of a name for the definition of a celebration as a festival can be seen in the accounts of the treasurers of Athena (334 B.C.; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1496, l. 88–89), which made a distinction between festivals with a name (Παναθήναια, Ἐλευσίνια, Ἀσκληπιεῖα, Διονύσια, Ὀλυμπιεῖα etc.) and sacrifices (θυσία, θυσίαι) that lacked the status of a festival (e.g. sacrifices to Agathe Tyche, Zeus Soter etc.).

#### 1.5. Festivals were commemorative celebrations

The existence of a festival was usually explained by means of an *αἴτιον*, an aetiological myth, that is the narrative of an event (imaginary or not) of the past, which had led to the foundation of the festival. Festivals were, in this respect, commemorative celebrations. For instance, the Athenian festival Synoikia was celebrated in commemoration of Theseus' decision to abolish the local assemblies and magistrates and to concentrate all public activities in the centre of Athens<sup>88</sup>. Many Athenian aetiological myths were connected with Theseus, the legendary founder of the Athenian state and its institutions<sup>89</sup>. For example, it was said that when Theseus arrived at Delos, after he had killed the Minotaur, he vowed to Apollo to offer him a sacrifice upon his safe return to Attica. Indeed, as soon as he and his companions arrived in Attica, «they mixed everything that had been left from their provisions in a pot; when everything was cooked, they held a banquet and ate it together»<sup>90</sup>. This served as the *aition* of the Pyanopsia<sup>91</sup>.

Many festivals, especially newly established ones from the late Archaic period onwards, were genuine commemorative anniversaries usually celebrating war victories, the expulsion of tyrants or the liberation of a city from a foreign garrison, and other important political events. Important commemorative anniversaries include festivals for the battles of the Persian Wars in Athens and Plataiai, the defeat of the Gauls in 278 B.C. in Delphi, the victory of the Argives over Kleomenes of Sparta, the victory of the Athenians at the sea-battle near

Naxos in 376 B.C. and of the Thebans at Leuktra in 371 B.C., the liberation of Priene and Eretria (286/5 B.C.), the peace treaty between Athens and Sparta in 374 B.C., the reconciliation of the citizens of Nakone on Sicily after a civil war, the concord between Antioch near Pyramos and Antioch near Kydnos, and the return of Diodoros Paspáros to Pergamon after a successful embassy<sup>92</sup>. Despite the political nature of the *aition*, these celebrations were religious festivals dedicated to the worship of the gods<sup>93</sup>. Since important historical events sometimes took place on the day of an already existing religious festival<sup>94</sup>, the pre-existing festival acquired an additional profile as a commemorative anniversary. The battle at Marathon took place on the day of the festival of Artemis Agrotera (6 Boeodromion), an Athenian victory in a sea-battle near Naxos (376 B.C.) occurred on the day on which the great procession to Eleusis was held (16 Boeodromion), and the battle at Mantinea (362 B.C.) was fought on the festival of Athena Skiras<sup>95</sup>; Eretria was liberated from the Macedonian garrison of Demetrios on the day of the festival of Dionysos (286/5 B.C.)<sup>96</sup>; Harmodios and Aristogeiton attempted to murder the Athenian tyrant Hippias during the celebration of the Panathenaia<sup>97</sup>. Naturally, the already existing rituals were adopted for the celebration of the historical anniversary<sup>98</sup>.

The commemorative character of festivals is evident in the dramatization of the mythical (or historical) traditions that explained their establishment (I.1.6). Still in Plutarch's time, the Athenians celebrated their victory over the Megarians for the control of Salamis and represented a stratagem of Solon's: a ship sailed quietly along the coast of Attica, and when it approached Cape Skiriadion an armed man sprang suddenly, shouting aloud, on the land; allegedly, Solon had warned the Athenians of a Megarian attack in this manner<sup>99</sup>. The procession at the Oschophoria was led by two young men in female garments, alluding to the *aition* of the festival: Theseus had replaced two of his male companions with girls, when he sailed to Crete to kill the Minotaur (I.6). The rite of the Αἰώρα («swinging») allegedly commemorated the suicide of Erigone<sup>100</sup>.

#### 1.6. Festivals were connected with distinct ritual actions

In Greek public festivals one observes several recurring elements, most of which also characterise festivals which were not celebrated by polis and supra-polis communities<sup>101</sup>. Festivals usually included a procession and a sacrifice accompanied by the singing of ritual songs and dance performances and followed by a banquet and sometimes contests and a market (I.3). But in addition to these typical festive elements, festivals were usually connected also with very specific ritual activities, which distinguished one festival from another. Such a distinctive ritual detail was at times an object, which was carried or shown only on this occasion; a specific sacrificial detail (a different way to sacrifice an animal, the selection of the sacrificial offering, et sim.); consumption of a specific kind of food or preparation of food in an unusual manner; a unique ritual performative text (e.g. singing of a song, performance of a dance); the use of peculiar language (e.g. ritual exclamations), etc.

A few examples should suffice. Very often, a festival got its specific ritual profile from an object that was ritually carried around or carried in a procession. During the Athenian Thargelia children carried the *εἰρεσιώνη*, a branch of olive or laurel around which white and red wool threads were twined and on which all kinds of fruits, figs, and cakes in the form of harps, small bowls, grape branches, etc. were hanging<sup>102</sup>. They carried the *eiresione* from house to house, singing a song: «the *eiresione* carries figs, rich cakes, honey in a jug, olive oil for anointment, and a bowl of sweet wine, from which you shall drink and get tired». The owners of the houses gave gifts to the children in order to guarantee the blessing of the *eiresione*. This branch was then hung on the door, where it remained for the rest of the year. During the official procession, which ended at a sanctuary of Apollo, the *eiresione* was carried by a boy whose parents were both still alive. The Athenian Oschophoria derive their name from the carrying of the ὄσχοι, branches of vines with grapes<sup>103</sup>. During the Ἀρρηφόρια (or rather ἡ ἀρροφορία?)

79. *IMagn* 100, l. 24–25: τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν τήνδε ἀναδεῖχθαι εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἱεράν, προσαγορευομένην Ἰσιτήρια.

80. Hdt. 1, 148; Parker, *Polytheism* 160.

81. *IPerge* 314 and 318.

82. Similarly, τὰ Σωτήρια in Kyzikos were celebrated in honour of Kore Soteira: *IG XI* 4, 1298.

83. Hekatombaia: Parker, *Polytheism* 471. Plynteria: Parker, *Polytheism* 478–479. Pyanopsia: see I.6. Ekdysia and Periblemaia: see 5. Heroxeia: *LSS* 69. Katagogia: *LSAM* 48.

84. Alexandria: Ferrandini Troisi, F. «La divinizzazione di Alessandro Magno. Testimonianze epigrafiche», *Epigraphica* 67 (2005) 23–34. Antiocheia kai Laodikeia: *SEG* 51, 1003 II, l. 6. Moukieia (for Q. Mucius Scaevola): *IPerg*

268; Rigsby, K. J., «Provincia Asia», *TAPhA* 118 (1988) 141–149.

85. Proerosia: Parker, *Polytheism* 479. Kladeuteria: Nilsson, *Feste* 267. Cf. Brumfield.

86. Parker, *Polytheism* 480–481.

87. *IPerge* 313.

88. Thuk. 2, 15: «from that time onwards and until the present day, the Athenians celebrate the festival Synoikia for Athena at public expense»; Parker, *Polytheism* 480–481.

89. Calame, *Thésée*; Graf, *GM* (1997<sup>4</sup>) 102. 130–135.

90. Plut. *Thes.* 22, 4; Calame, *Thésée* 291–324.

91. For other *aitia* see e.g. Plut. *mor.* 301e–f; Ath. 15, 672c–d; Burkert, *HN* (1983) 137–139 (*bouphonia*); Brulé, *Fille* 218–221; II.7–8 and II.11.1; IV.4.4.

92. On commemorative anniversaries see Chaniotis 1; cf. Wiemer 2. Persian Wars: Chaniotis 1. Liberation of Priene: *IPriene* 11, l. 29–30. Liberation of Eretria: see n. 96. Leuktra: Diod. 15, 53, 4. Diodoros Paspáros: *IGRom* III 292, l. 35–36 and 42–49. For festivals in commemoration of victories see also e.g. the ἄγών τοῖς προκινδυνεύσασιν ἐπὶ τῶν Στενῶν in Larisa: *SEG* 53, 550; the Μεγάλα Καισάρεια Ἐπιπέλαια Καβείρια Πύθια in Thessalonike: *SEG* 49, 817; the ἐπινίκια in Pergamon: Jones, C. P., «Diodoros Paspáros Revisited», *Chiron* 30 (2000) 1–14. See also *IG XII* 6, 7, l. 9 (Samos, 5 B.C.). A race of armoured men in honour of Nike in Epidauros (late 3rd cent. A.D.) was also in commemoration of a victory: *IG IV*<sup>2</sup> 1, 44.

93. Chaniotis 1, 137.

94. On attacks during festivals see 4.3.

95. Plut. *mor.* 349e–350a.

96. *IG XII* 9, 192. Jaccottet, A. F., «La lierre de la liberté», *ZPE* 80 (1990) 150–156; Knoepfler, *Eretria XI. Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté* (2001) 253. 258 with n. 1014 (on the date).

97. Thuk. 6, 54–59.

98. Chaniotis 1, 127–138.

99. Plut. *Sol.* 9, 4.

100. Deubner 118–121; Simon, *Festivals* 99; Parker, *Polytheism* 183–184.

101. Cf. Parker, *Polytheism* 161–162. Examples: *aiora*: see n. 124.

102. Calame, *Thésée* 296–301; Parker, *Polytheism* 180, 204–205.

103. Deubner 142–147; Parke, *Festivals* 77–80; Simon, *Festivals* 89–92; Parker, *Polytheism* 211–217.



τὰ ἄρρητα, things about which it was forbidden to speak, were carried and deposited in an undetermined place on the Acropolis<sup>104</sup>; at the Skira, a festival of Athena, a large umbrella (σκῆρον) was carried<sup>105</sup>; at the Thesmophoria (V.1) rotten meat of piglets mixed with other substances was taken out of subterranean cavities to be used as a promoter of fertility. In many cases the existence of such rituals can only be inferred from the designations of cult officials, who were responsible for the carrying of sacred objects in processions, especially in the context of mystery cults and their celebrations<sup>106</sup>. The washing of the ancient cult image of Hera was the central ritual of the Τόναια in Samos<sup>107</sup>.

Literary sources and inscriptions mention (but rarely describe) many peculiar rituals which characterised only a single festival. At the Διπύλια, the Athenian festival of Zeus Polieus (14 Skirophorion), a double axe and a bronze table were used for the sacrifice of an ox that was selected in an unusual manner. Then the axe and knife which were used for the sacrifice were brought to trial, condemned and cast out of the land, while the animal's hide was stuffed with hay and set in front of the plough<sup>108</sup>. The scapegoat (φαρμακός) was driven out of a community at the Thargelia<sup>109</sup>; wooden images were burned at the Daidala of Plataiai (V.3); an unusual sacrifice was offered during the Λάφρια at Patrai, as the participants threw alive upon an altar, made up of logs of both dry and green wood, every kind of animal, including wild animals (boars, deer, gazelles, wolf-cubs, bear-cubs), and set the wood on fire<sup>110</sup>; a mock human sacrifice was a peculiar rite of the Athenian Ταυροπόλια<sup>111</sup>; only in the procession of this festival the priestess rode last upon a wagon pulled by deer; the Eleutheria at Plataiai included

in the programme (from the second century B.C. on) a rhetorical competition (*dialogos*, «debate») between Athens and Sparta, which determined which city would have the privilege to lead the procession (I.2); during the festival of Artemis at Mopsouhestia the priestess (διαβήτρια Περασσία) had to walk on fire<sup>112</sup>; the cutting of a tree (δενδροκόπιον) was the central rite of a festival of Hera in Kos<sup>113</sup>; in a festival of Dionysos (in Chalkis?) a man was carried on a phallus around the orchestra as many times as possible<sup>114</sup>. It is not clear what the exact function of the hereditary παλλακίδες και ἀνιπτόποδες in Tralleis was, but it is clear that they were functionaries in the cult of Zeus, exercising their function during festivals<sup>115</sup>. Orgiastic celebrations, often by women, are a recurring feature of Dionysiac and exclusive cults<sup>116</sup>.

Another means, through which the specific profile of a festival was expressed, was the preparation and consumption of specific food<sup>117</sup>. During the Athenian Πυανόψια a special soup was prepared, consisting of various kinds of beans and peas, flour, and possibly honey. These food items alluded to agricultural production, the most important achievement of organized life, and they were cooked together in a critical period of the agricultural year, during the sowing season<sup>118</sup>. The preparation of food consisting of a variety of plants, seeds, and fruits (πανσπερμία) characterizes many festivals, especially those which were associated with fertility in nature or among humans or with the agricultural year, e.g. the Θαργήλια in Athens (cf. n. 154), which derives its name from θάργγλος (a barley and vegetable stew, a barley bread), and the festival of Artemis Lyaia, patron of livestock, in Syracuse<sup>119</sup>. The winner of the race at the Oschophoria drank a mixture of oil, wine,

104. Deubner 9–17; Parke, *Festivals* 141–143; Simon, *Festivals* 39–46; Brulé, *Fille* 79–98; Dillon 57–60; Parker, *Polytheism* 160 n. 14. 163. 221–222.

105. Schol. Aristoph. *Ecl.* 18; Deubner 46; Brumfield 156–181; Parker, *Polytheism* 173–177.

106. Pleket, H. W., «Nine Greek Inscriptions from the Cayster-Valley in Lydia: A Republication», *Talanta* 2 (1970) 67; Chaniotis 2, 158 n. 95. A few examples: ἀγκυνοφόρος, ἀθλοφόρος, βωμοφόρος, δενδροφόρος, εἰκονοφόρος, θεοφόρος, ἱεραφόρος, κωνηφόρος, κεραυνοφόρος, κισταφόρος, κλειδοφόρος, κοσμοφόρος, λιθοφόρος, λικναφόρος, ναοφόρος, ναρθηκοφόρος, ὄβελιαφόρος, πυρφόρος, σεβαστοφόρος, σελεινοφόρος, σχηπτροφόρος, σπονδοφόρος, ὕδροφόρος, φαλλοφόρος, etc. See also the designations in the inscription from Torre Nova (n. 284).

107. Ath. 15, 672c–d; Nilsson, *Feste* 46–49; Graf, *NK* 93–96.

108. Paus. 1, 24, 4; Porph. *abst.* 2, 28, 4–31, 1; Nilsson, *Feste* 14–16; Deubner 158–174; Parke, *Festivals* 162–167; Burkert, *HN* (1983) 136–143; Simon, *Festivals* 8–12; Parker, *Polytheism* 187–191.

109. Bremmer, J., «Scape-Goat Rituals in Ancient Greece», *HSCP* 87 (1983) 299–320; cf. Parker, *Polytheism* 180.

110. Paus. 7, 18, 8–13; Pirenne-Delforge 218–220. 227–229.

111. Parker, *Polytheism* 157.

112. Furley, *Fire* 213–222 (on Strab. 12, 2, 7); Tauber, H., «Eine Priesterin der Perasia in Mopsouhestia», *EpAnat* 19 (1992) 19–24 (on SEG 42, 1290).

113. Nilsson, *Feste* 61.

114. SEG 29, 807; Veyne, P., «Une inscription dionysiaque peu commune», *BCH* 109 (1985) 621–624; Csapo, E., «Riding the phallos for Dionysos», *Phoenix* 51 (1997) 253–295.

115. Budin, S. L., «Pallakai, Prostitutes, and Prophetesses», *CIPh* 98 (2003) 148–159 (with the comments in *EBGR* [2004] 33).

116. Dionysiac celebrations: E.g. Villanueva-Puig, M.-C., «Le cas du thiasse dionysiaque», *Ktéma* 23 (1998) 365–374; Dillon 140–153; Jaccottet 64–80. Rites in the cult of the Korybantés: Ustinova, Y., «Corybantism: the Nature and Role of an Ecstatic Cult in the Greek Polis», *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 503–520. See *IEryth* II 206; *LSAM* 23 and 25; SEG 46, 1463; 47, 1628.

117. Cf. Parker, *Polytheism* 184–186 with examples. Cf. 5.2 (Hyakinthia).

118. Deubner 198–201; Calame, *Thésée* 291–324; Parker, *Polytheism* 185–186.

119. Nilsson, *Feste* 199–205.

honey, cheese and barley flour (πενταπλόα), the initiates in the Eleusinian mysteries drank the κυκεών, a drink made of water, barley, and other substances<sup>120</sup>. Also abstinence from food or a specific kind of food is attested in festivals, such as the fasting at the Thesmophoria (V.1) or the abstinence from bread on the first day of the Hyakinthia (V.2). The special feature of the θίασοι in Aigina was that for eleven days banquets were held in private houses, with the participants eating in silence and excluding foreigners and slaves<sup>121</sup>.

Occasionally a specific feature of a festival was a ritual performative text of a particular kind. In addition to hymns, which could be sung on many occasions and were not necessarily connected with a festival's profile<sup>122</sup>, we know of texts that were exclusively connected with a single festival. For instance the ὄσχοφορικόν was a song sung only to honour the winner of the race at the Oschophoria<sup>123</sup>; a typical feature of the Hyakinthia in Sparta was the singing of the paian (V.2), and special songs were sung during the carrying of the εἰρησίων (I.1.8); only at the Aiora (the «swinging rite») at Athens did women sing the *Aletis*, the «song of the wandering woman»<sup>124</sup>. Also acclamations and ritual cries contributed to a festival's or a cult's specific profile: ἐλελεῦ, ἰού, ἰού at the Oschophoria<sup>125</sup>; ἰή ἰή Παίηον in the cult of Apollo and Asklepios<sup>126</sup>; during a festival of Dionysos the women of Elis traditionally invoked the god with the ritual phrase «worthy bull! worthy bull!» (ἄξιε ταῦρε, ἄξιε ταῦρε)<sup>127</sup>. A special dance called σурτός was performed at the Ptoia of Akraiphia<sup>128</sup>.

The effort to provide a festival with a distinctive local profile by means of peculiar ritual actions was part of the construction of local identities and the competition among cult communities. This is particularly clear in the Imperial period, when small and big poleis revived «ancestral» rituals (πάτρια)<sup>129</sup>.

Specific ritual actions were sometimes understood as rudimentary dramatizations of the myth-

ical or historical traditions (cf. I.1.5, IV.1.2) which explained the establishment of the festival, e.g. the imitation of the wedding between a god and a goddess (ἱερός γάμος)<sup>130</sup>. Some rituals at the Oschophoria (story-telling, preparation of supper for the boys) were supposed to reproduce or to recall details of Theseus' Cretan adventure<sup>131</sup>. At the Thesmophoria in Thebes cymbals were struck to imitate the noise made by Demeter while she was searching for Kore (V.1). In Argos men and women exchanged clothes during the festival Ὑβριστικά, apparently a celebration belonging to the widespread type of festivals of reversal («verkehrte Welt»); again, allegedly this commemorated the fact that the women had fought like men and saved Argos from Kleomenes' attack in the late sixth century B.C.<sup>132</sup>. Through such dramatisations festivals became an important medium in the transition of cultural memory.

### 1.7. Festivals temporarily suspended elements of ordinary life

Festivals mean the temporary suspension of certain characteristics of everyday life<sup>133</sup>. This allows us to recognise a fundamental difference between festivals and celebrations. A celebration (and a sacrifice) could take place in everyday life, whereas the extraordinary nature of the festival was expressed through a variety of media, and especially through its difference from everyday life and its activities.

Many times (not always) the celebration of a festival was a holiday, on which work, administrative activities (e.g. the meeting of the assembly), legal actions (signing of contracts, lawsuits, executions), and occasionally even military activities were not permitted (ἐκχειρία; see n. 334). Not all festivals were holidays<sup>134</sup>. Cult regulations (decrees, laws), especially in the Hellenistic period, when many new festivals were founded, explicitly determined which festivals were days on

120. Pentaploa: Parker, *Polytheism* 213–214. Kykeon: Delatte, A., *Le Cycéon, breuvage rituel des mystères d'Éleusis* (1955).

121. Plut. *mor.* 301e–f; Nilsson, *Feste* 73–74; Mylonopoulos 308.

122. Rudhardt, *Notions* 181–187; Furley/Bremer, *Hymns*. Hymns were sung by delegations of cities in the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios: see Robert, L./Robert, J. *La Carie*. II. *Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs* (1954) 115–119; SEG 37, 961–980; Busin, A., *Paroles d'Apollon. Pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive (II<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (2005) 40–45 (with bibliography). For the increased interest in hymnody in the Imperial period see Chaniotis 13, 22–23.

123. Rutherford, I. C./Irvine, J. A. D., «The Race of the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar», *ZPE* 72 (1988) 43–51.

124. Parker, *Polytheism* 184.

125. Deubner 144; Calame, *Thésée* 335; Parker, *Polytheism* 215.

126. E.g. h. *Hom. Ap.* 272; Herodas 4, 82–85. Cf. Lukian. *Alex.* 39 (Glykon Neos Asklepios).

127. Furley/Bremer, *Hymns* II 373–377.

128. IG VII 2712, l. 66–67. On dances in ritual contexts see Rudhardt, *Notions* 143–149; Naerebout, F. G., *Attractive Performances. Ancient Greek Dance. Three Preliminary Studies* (1997) 324–406; Ceccarelli; Calame, *Choruses*; Dillon 211–215; Shapiro, A., et al., «Dance», in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 310–343.

129. Chaniotis 11.

130. E.g. Diod. 5, 72: γάμους ἀπομιμῆσθαι (the celebration of the wedding of Zeus and Hera in Knossos); see also 5.3 (Daidala). On the concept of *hieros gamos* see Avagianou.

131. Parker, *Polytheism* 211–217.

132. Plut. *mor.* 245e; Nilsson, *Feste* 371–373.

133. Cf. Dunand 1, 208 with n. 42; Assmann 13–17.

134. Parker, *Polytheism* 160–161.



which the children did not go to school, prisoners and slaves were released from chains, and the law courts suspended their activities<sup>135</sup>. A Thasian cult regulation (late fourth century B.C.) lists more than twenty festivals, on which no legal prosecution was allowed<sup>136</sup>: Apatouria, the festival of All the Gods, Maimakteria, Posidea, Anthesteria, Soteria, Dionysia, Diasia, Great Herakleia, Choreia, Dyodekathia, Alexandria, Pythaia, Thesmophoria, Great Asklepieia, Demetria, Heroxenia, Dioskuria, Great Komaia, Badromia; the rest of the list is not preserved. These selected festivals were only some of the festivals of Thasos; the community felt the need to distinguish a group of more significant «state» festivals from other festivals, sacrifices, and celebrations. The reasons for this measure may have been an inflationary increase of festivals, such as the one reported for Taras: the state festivals (πάνδημοι ἑορταί) were more than the working days<sup>137</sup>. The Thasian list of selected festivals includes festivals dedicated to several important gods (Apollo, Asklepios, Demeter, Dionysos, Herakles, Poseidon, Zeus, and the Dioskouroi); the rest of the gods were indirectly honoured in the festivals for the Twelve Gods and All the Gods; the list is completed with a traditional Ionic family festival (Apatouria), a festival for heroes (Heroxenia), and two festivals for rulers (Alexander the Great and Demetrios Poliorketes, if the Demetria was indeed his festival). As we do not know which (and how many) other festivals were excluded from the list of festivals during which legal actions were not permitted, we cannot determine the criteria that were used for this selection. We can only suspect that it was a combination of financial concerns, practical considerations (e.g. the work of courts should not rest for more than two days per month), traditions (e.g. the popularity of the Apatouria among families and the Thesmophoria among women), political opportunism (festivals for Macedonian kings), and traditional piety towards the gods.

The extraordinary character of the day of the festival was expressed through external features, which very often marked the distinction between

the ordinary and the extraordinary: the members of the festive community wore wreaths (στεφανηφορία)<sup>138</sup>, the priests and magistrates wore special garments and insignia of office and authority<sup>139</sup>. During the commemorative celebration for the war dead of the battle at Plataia, the *archon* exchanged the white garment which he wore on ordinary days, with a purple robe and only on this occasion he was allowed to come into contact with an iron weapon<sup>140</sup>. A regulation concerning the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos in Priene gave him the right to wear the ceremonial dress (στολή) of his choice and a golden ivy wreath in Lenaion and Anthesterion, that is in months with important Dionysos festivals, as well as on the occasion of the Καταγώγια<sup>141</sup>. During the procession on 20th Metageitnion in Kos, the priest of Nike wore a purple robe, a golden ring, and a ring made of fresh olive branches<sup>142</sup>. During the procession of the *Chthonia* in Hermione the children wore wreaths woven of a particular flower (κοσμοσάνδαλον)<sup>143</sup>.

Other external features also occurred, such as the wearing of specific garments, the preparation of food in a particular manner (I.1.6), fasting, sexual abstinence, or other deviations from ordinary habits. At the Athenian Oschophoria the boys who led the procession were dressed like girls; the herald who attended this procession had a crown placed not on his head but on his distaff (Plut. *Thes.* 22, 3–5. 23, 2). The extra-ordinary (sad, chthonic) character of some celebrations was stressed precisely by the fact that the wearing of wreaths was not allowed (see V.1–2 on the Thesmophoria and the Hyakinthia).

These deviations from the ordinary were usually explained through aetiological myths (e.g. Oschophoria), which, however, rarely reveal their original function. A very common reason was the temporary suspension and subsequent confirmation (or change) of status. At the Thesmophoria, married women temporarily returned to the state of the unmarried girl, in order to reassume their marital obligations with new motivation and strength (V.1). Ritual transvestism is quite widespread in the context of transition rites<sup>144</sup>.

135. E.g. *LSAM* 8 = *ILampsakos* 9, l. 17–18 and 24–26 (Asklepieia, Lampsakos, 2nd cent. B.C.); *LSAM* 15, l. 53–55 (Pergamon, 129 B.C.); *LSAM* 33, l. 25–26. 29–31 (Eisiteria for Artemis Leukophryene, Magnesia on the Maeander, early 2nd cent. B.C.); *LSS* 14, l. 50–51 (Thargelia, Athens, 129/8 B.C.); *SEG* 41, 1003 I, l. 29–30 (Antiocheia and Laodikeia, Teos, c. 204/3 B.C.); Ziebarth, E., *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen* (1914<sup>2</sup>) 147–163; Deubner 58; Robert, *Études* 177–179.

136. Salviat, F., «Une nouvelle loi thasienne», *BCH* 82 (1958) 193–267; *LSS* 69; *SEG* 17, 415.

137. Strab. 6, 3, 4. For Athens, see Mikalson 1.

138. *LSAM* 8 = *ILampsakos* 9, l. 22–24 (Lampsakos, 2nd cent. B.C.); *LSAM* 81, l. 14 (festival of Homonoia, Antiocheia ad Pyramos, c. 160 B.C.); *LSS* 46, l. 6–10 (Dionysia, Eretria, 286/5 B.C.); *Syll.* 398, l. 36–38 (sac-

rifice for the victory over the Gauls, Kos, 278 B.C.); *SEG* 33, 675, l. 5–7 (celebration for Ariarathes IV, Kos, c. 188–166 B.C.); *IERYth* 504, l. 34 (birthday of Antiochos I, Klazomenai); *IPriene* 11, l. 22 (anniversary of the fall of tyranny, Priene, 297 B.C.); *SEG* 61, 1003, l. 26 (Antiocheia and Laodikeia, Teos, c. 204/3 B.C.). Cf. Blech, *Kranz* 303 with n. 154–155; Robert, *OMS* I 490–491; Wörle 218–219.

139. Examples in Wilhelm, A., «Urkunden aus Messene», *OeJh* 17 (1914) 36–42; Chaniotis 2, 158; Wörle 187–188. 192–195. See also V.4.

140. Plut. *Arist.* 21; Chaniotis 1, 131–133.

141. *LSAM* 37.

142. *LSAM* 163. Further examples in Chaniotis 8, 49–52; Connelly 85–92 (dress of priestesses).

143. Paus. 2, 35, 5; *ThesCRA* I 1 Processions, Gr. 33.

144. E.g. Calame, *Thésée*; Leitao.

### 1.8. Festivals fulfilled a variety of functions

Festivals fulfilled a variety of functions, the primary one being to establish communication with a god or with gods. A festival was an occasion for the god's institutionalised virtual communication with humans. In accordance with the principle of reciprocity, which characterizes most hierarchical relations in ancient Greece (between people and elite, cities and kings, mortals and gods), the community of worshippers used this occasion in order to make an offering both as an expression of gratitude for past services and in expectation of new ones<sup>145</sup>. The ἀγερομός – a procession for the collection of gifts, usually by children but also by women –, which is observed in some festivals (e.g. Thargelia; I.1.6), reflects the same principle: the owners of households first have to give in order to get the blessing promised by the children who knock at their door and request a gift<sup>146</sup>. According to a decree of Magnesia on the Maeander<sup>147</sup>, after a bull was selected in order to be sacrificed to Zeus Sosipolis «at the beginning of the seed-time» (ἀρχομένου σπόρου) during a ceremony explicitly aiming at the protection of the agricultural production (ὑπὲρ τε εἰρήνης καὶ πλούτου καὶ σίτου φορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν πάντων καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν), the bull was brought to the market place by the citizen responsible for his raising and the corn merchants and other traders were asked to make contributions to the bull's food with the expectation of the god's blessing (καὶ ἀγειρέτω παρὰ τε τῶν σιτοπωλῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγοραίων ἃ ἀνήκει εἰς τὴν τροφήν, καὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι τοῖς διδοῦσιν).

During the festival, the god was perceived as arriving and being present. But his coming was not to be taken for granted<sup>148</sup>. A god had to be invited in order to come to the celebration. The ὕμνοι κλητικοί presupposed his absence and fulfilled the very function of inviting him to appear in a festival<sup>149</sup>; they were part of a complex set of signals, which were supposed to attract the god's attention. These included signals that could be seen, such as bright clothes, crowns, beautiful animals with gilded horns, and decorated altars,

tables, and *klinai*; signals that could be heard, such as hymns, prayers, invocations, musical performances, and acclamations; and signals that could be smelled, such as incense, wine, and thighs burning on the altar. Potential obstacles to this competitive and fragile communication, such as impure individuals and inappropriate emotions, had to be removed. Kallimachos' hymn to Apollo describes the anxiety of the worshippers anticipating the god's imminent arrival on Delos<sup>150</sup>. In the first verses the poet observes the movement of the sacred palm tree and the flight of the birds; these were signs that the god was approaching. With the sacred cry εὐφημεῖτε («use good/appropriate language») he then urges the worshippers to use pious words, avoiding the use of any articulate or inarticulate sound which might disturb communication with the god and present an obstacle to his coming. Even Achilles' mother, Thetis, eternally mourning for her son's death, had to postpone her lament as soon as she listened to this ritual cry<sup>151</sup>.

The arrival and reception (ξενισμός, θεοξένια) of the god was insinuated through staging devices, such as setting-up his statue or the preparation of a bed and a table (τράπεζα) for his reception<sup>152</sup>. Again, the aforementioned decree of Magnesia provides a good example for such arrangements for a festival of Zeus Sosipolis on 12 Artemision: «the stephanephoros who leads the procession shall carry wooden images of all twelve gods, dressed in garments as beautiful as possible, and he shall erect a tent in the market next to the altar of the twelve gods; and he shall prepare three mattresses, as beautiful as possible; and he shall provide for music, a flutist, a piper, and a kitharist»<sup>153</sup>.

The functions of a festival in a more narrow sense were connected with the specific aim of the communication between a cult community and a god. They were usually expressed through the festival's name (e.g., during Ἡροξένια the heroes were offered a banquet by the community; see n. 83), but also through its rituals (I.6), symbols, sets of associations, the designations of those who actively participated in the festival, and the names of ritual objects. Let us take for instance the Athenian Thargelia, a festival which in its early form was

145. Kavoulaki 2. For reciprocity in connection with dedications and sacrifice see Grottanelli, C., «Do ut des?», in *Anathema* 45–55; Parker, R., «Pleasing Thighs: Reciprocity in Greek Religion», in Gill, C./Postlethwaite, N./Seaford, R. (eds.), *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece* (1998) 105–126; Bierl 1, 140–150.

146. For ἀγερομός see Burkert, *GrRel* (Engl.) 101–102. E.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1328–1329; *ICos* ED 178, 215, 236.

147. *IMagn* 98 (early 2nd cent. B.C.); Nilsson, *Feste* 23–27.

148. Chaniotis, A., «Acclamations as a Form of Religious Communication», in Cancik, H./Rüpke, J. (eds.), *Die Religion des Imperium Romanum. Koine und Konfrontationen* (2009) 199–201.

149. Furley/Bremer, *Hymns* I 61.

150. Dickie, M. W., «Who Were Privileged to See the Gods?», *Eranos* 100 (2002) 109–127.

151. Kall. *h. Apoll.* 17–25. On the significance of *euphemia* («use of appropriate language», and not «ritual silence»), see Göttsche, S., «Emotionale Verschiebungen. Zur Bedeutung der *euphemia* im griechischen Ritual», in Kneppel, A./Metzler, D. (eds.), *Die emotionale Dimension antiker Religiosität* (2003) 21–46; Chaniotis (n. 148) 201.

152. Jameson, M. H., «Theoxenia», in Hägg, *AGCP EpigrEv* 35–57; Bruit, L./Lissarrague, F., «Les théoxénies», in *ThesCRA* II 4 a Bankett, Gr. p. 225–228. For *theoxenia* in sacrifices for heroes see Ekroth 1, 264–266 (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1356 B 3–4, 23–25).

153. *IMagn* 98; Nilsson, *Feste* 23–24.



loaded with associations with fertility<sup>154</sup>. The festival's name refers to a specific offering (θάργγλος), a barley and vegetable stew and a barley bread. A central ritual was the carrying of the *eiresione*, a branch of olive or laurel around which white and red wool threads were twined and on which all kinds of fruits, figs, and cakes in the form of harps, small bowls, grape branches etc. were hanging (cf. IV.4.4). The *eiresione* was carried by young individuals; in the official procession the bearer of the *eiresione* was a boy, whose parents were both alive; the Greek designation παῖς ἀμφιθαλής («a child blooming on both sides») evoked fertility, exactly as the processional song explicitly expressed the wish for abundance of agricultural products; the children carried the *eiresione* from house to house, singing a song: «the *eiresione* carries figs, rich cakes, honey in a jug, olive oil for anointment, and a bowl of sweet wine, from which you shall drink and get tired». The owners of the houses gave gifts to the children in order to guarantee the blessing of the *eiresione*, in accordance with the principle of reciprocity (cf. I.1.6).

In addition to their primary function as an institutionalised occasion of communication between a cult community and its gods, festivals fulfilled other important functions: As part of the calendar, they marked the beginning and the end of the year and articulated it, especially when they were connected with seasonal activities; they were also connected with important turning points in the biological and social life of individuals (I.5); they made a community jointly remember events – mythical or historical – of great significance for its identity. These main functions of festivals are so closely interconnected that, in a diachronic perspective, Greek festivals defy any classification that gives more emphasis to a single function (cf. I.6).

The very fact that most festivals were days fixed in the calendar made them an important medium for the articulation of the year. The first day of the year (νέα νομηνία)<sup>155</sup> not only marked the beginning of a new year. In the world of the Greek poleis, where most public functions were annual, the first day of the year was also the day on which a new set of magistrates took office and usually a new age-class of citizens was accepted into full citizenship. This new beginning was marked with sacrifices. On the last day of the year, the magistrates, who left office, offered a sacrifice

154. Deubner 179–198; Parke, *Festivals* 146–149; Simon, *Festivals* 76–77; Parker, *Polytheism* 481–483.

155. SEG 21, 510, l. 2; 32, 1243, l. 31; ICret I ix.1, l. 146–147. See Hodot, R. J., «Décret de Kymè en l'honneur du prytane Kléanax», *GettyMusJ* 10 (1980) 175–176.

156. Bevilacqua, G., «Eisitetèria – eisagògeia: Considerazioni sul decreto onorario per Timokrite, sacerdotessa di Aglauro», *RendLinc Ser. 9*, 6 (1995) 757–766; Matthaiou, A., «Νέο θραύσμα τῆς IG II<sup>2</sup> 689», *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 39–45; Chaniotis 8, 45–49; Chaniotis 9. Some examples: IG II<sup>2</sup> 689, l. 20; SEG 41, 1003 II; 48, 1040; ISestos 1.

(ἐξιτήρια), usually to Aphrodite as patron of concord, and on the next day the new magistrates offered a sacrifice as they assumed office and took their oath (εἰσιτητήρια); also a new age-class was accepted into citizenship and took the oath of citizenship<sup>156</sup>. Otherwise little evidence for the celebration of festivals on the first day of the year survives<sup>157</sup>. That Zosimos of Priene invited all the population of the city to an opulent banquet when he entered office on 1st Boedromion was an unusual extravagance<sup>158</sup>. Similarly, the first day of each month was a day of sacrifice (νομηνία), but not necessarily a day of a festival (I.1.3). In Athens, most festivals of which the exact date is known took place around the middle of a month (between the 11th and the 20th day), possibly (at least originally) coinciding with the full moon<sup>159</sup>.

Because of their cyclical nature, festivals were connected with the observation of seasonal changes (the rise of stars, the length of the day, changes in vegetation) and with seasonal activities (ploughing, harvesting, collecting the grapes, opening the jars with new wine, seafaring, the seasonal movement of livestock, seasonal military activities). They reveal the anxiety of humans to get divine protection in crucial moments of the year, when their prosperity does not only depend on their work but also on external factors (weather conditions, foreign attacks), in the time of ploughing and harvest, in historical periods when scarcity of food, raids of pirates, and foreign invasions could reasonably be expected. They also reveal the need to express gratitude and to celebrate after a critical or toilsome period has come to an end and a short moment of leisure is affordable.

The function of a festival usually found its emblematic expression in rituals, symbols, and cult paraphernalia. It should be noted, however, that the symbolic significance of rites and objects could change or be misunderstood in the course of time. A good example of symbols may be provided by the *eiresione* (I.1.6). As already mentioned, its form (branch), its decoration (figs, honey, oil, wine, fruits), and the fact that it was carried by young persons, all this can plausibly be associated with concepts of fertility, wealth, and growth. The wool threads, which were twined around the branch, reappear in the branches carried by the suppliants (ἰκέται) and in the branches with which worshippers asked Apollo for help against disease;

157. For the possibility that the procession of the *molpoi* in Miletos was part of a New Year's festival, see Herda, A., *Der Apollo-Delphinios-Kult in Milet und die Neujahrsprozession nach Didyma. Ein neuer Kommentar der sog. Molpoi-Satzung* (2006); see Chaniotis, A., «The Molpoi Inscription: Ritual Prescription or Riddle?», *Kernos* 23 (2010) 375–379.

158. IPriene 113, l. 53–60 (1st cent. B.C.).

159. Trümper 2.

wool was conceived as an apotropaic medium (ἀλεξιφάρμακον). These connections suggest that the *eiresione* symbolically represented both the wish for fertility and the request for divine protection in time of need<sup>160</sup>. An *eiresione* song, sung by children who went from house to house in Samos during a festival of Apollo, clearly expressed these ideas<sup>161</sup>: «We are coming to the house of a powerful man. Powerful he is, and he should have good fortune. Now, will you open the door? For great wealth will enter the house, and along with wealth also fortune and the fair peace. All jars may be full; fire should always be in the oven; there should be beautiful, thick barley bread in plenty, with a lot of sesame. Look, a woman is coming for your boy. Mules are pulling her wagon to your house. She shall sit at the loom and weave all day long. We have come, as in every year; we have come like the swallow; we are standing in front of your door. Now, give us at last something, and Apollo Agyieus will be merciful for you, etc.».

The functions of festivals were subject to change (I.1.6). For this reason, the development of festivals over time is a serious obstacle for a taxonomy. In the historical periods for which we have reliable sources the form in which a festival was celebrated was the result of a very long development, and consequently the celebration was loaded with symbols and meanings of different origins (e.g. V.2–3; see also IV.3.5.1). For instance, many festivals seem to have their origin in the effort of primarily agricultural communities to safeguard divine protection for the fields and the harvest. This significance was expressed by the festival's name, rituals, and ritual objects or by the character of the deity to whom the festival is dedicated, as a patron of agriculture and fertility<sup>162</sup>. However, in the periods to which most of the source material dates (Hellenistic and Imperial periods), the agricultural significance of a festival could have changed, if not in every Greek city, certainly so in major urban centres<sup>163</sup>. To classify a festival according to the significance it may have had in archaic times is an ahistorical approach, which gives priority to origins over developments, to early periods over late periods, and, unavoidably, to inference over evidence. For example, to characterize the festival Thargelia as a festival of fertility, only because its early function may have been the protection of the fields and purification, means to ignore the unequivocal evidence for its re-interpretation as a patriotic festival with mili-

tary overtones in the Hellenistic period<sup>164</sup>. Instead, it is more fruitful to examine how different parameters defined the particular profile of a festival.

Such parameters include the divine or deified figure honoured in the festival; the rituals and the programme; the time and periodicity of the celebration; the intended result (e.g. protection of the fields or of fertility, removal of pollution and atonement, commemoration of a victory, commemoration of the dead, etc.); the gender, age, legal status (free, slaves, foreign residents, married/unmarried) of the active and passive participants; the type of the festive community (family, civic subdivision, civic community, ethnic community, initiates); oral performances (hymns, prayers, acclamations). Depending on such parameters one may distinguish between different types of festivals: festivals related to the agricultural year; family festivals; commemorative rites for the dead; festivals of the ruler cult; commemorative anniversaries; women's festivals; festivals that promoted fertility; purificatory festivals; festivals of renewal and reversal («verkehrte Welt»)<sup>165</sup>; inclusive and exclusive festivals (e.g. festivals in which various categories of individuals are excluded: non-citizens, slaves, representatives of a gender, non-Greeks, etc.). However, festivals were rarely monosemantic. This calls for a holistic approach in the study of festivals, an approach that considers their historical development, the place where they were celebrated, the rituals, the community of worshippers, participants, and officiants, the etiological myths, the layout, furnishing, and decoration of the sanctuary, and the type of dedications. Sometimes the study of these features reveals contrasts, contradictions and discrepancies; some of the contrasts were intentional – part of the significance of the festival; the discrepancies were usually the result of complex historical developments, and as such also part of the significance of a festival (I.6).

## 2. Contests: definition, terminology, and general characteristics

Athletic, dramatic, and musical contests (ἀγῶνες, ἄθλα, generally, but also somewhat misleadingly, designated as «games», «Spiele», «jeux»)<sup>166</sup> were part of the programme of most festivals, and in some cases they were the most important part of the festival; they always took place in the context of a celebration, but not always in

160. Cf. Plut. *Thes.* 22, 6: τὴν δὲ εἰρεσιώνην ἐκφέρουσι κλάδων ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ μὲν ἀνεστραμμένον, ὡσπερ τότε τὴν ἰκετηρίαν [cf. 18, 1], παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἀνάπλεων καταργμάτων διὰ τὸ λῆζει τὴν ἀφορίαν, ἐπάθοντες.

161. Nilsson, *Feste* 116–118. This festival took place on the day of the new moon in the spring, possibly on the first day of Thargelion.

162. On festivals and their relation to the agricultural cycle see Parker, *Polytheism* 195–206.

163. Burkert, *GrRel* (Engl.) 226; Cartledge 101–102.

164. Chaniotis 12, 100–101.

165. On dissolution and renewal in «new year's festivals» see the remarks of Burkert, *HN* (1983) 135–212.

166. Rarely called ἐριδες: ICos ED 145, l. 31: τὰν ἐρίν τᾶς λαμπάδος.



the context of festivals<sup>167</sup>. Contests also took place in connection with the funerary cult (ἀγῶνες ἐπιτάφιοι), as part of the training of boys and girls, especially in the gymnasium (often called Ἐρμαῖα), and on the occasion of weddings<sup>168</sup>. In addition to the contests organised by poleis and federations (amphiktyonies and *koina*), there were also privately founded public contests in order to honour individuals, usually deceased family members (θέμιδες)<sup>169</sup>. Not every festival included a contest (ἀγών) in its programme, but most did, and from the Hellenistic period onwards the contest became the most important element of a festival (hence the modern designation of some festivals as «agonistic festivals»). Just like the festivals, the contests in most cases derived their name (neuter plural) from the name or the epithet of the divinity or the mortal in whose honour they took place (e.g. Ἀσκληπιεῖα, Ἀμφιάρεια, Διονύσια, Μουσεῖα, Πύθια, Πύθια, etc.). There were exceptions, such as contests given the name of their founder (e.g. Εὐαρέστεια and Δημοσθένεια at Oinoanda), or a name that referred to the reason of their foundation (ἀγών Χαριστήρια),<sup>170</sup> or a name that referred to a particular feature – e.g. the Ἀσπίς in Argos, named after a hill. Sometimes the designation of the contests was a paraphrase – e.g. the Larisean «contest for those who fought among the first at the Stena» (ἀγών τοῖς προκινδυνεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν Στενῶν), which commemorated a battle in 171 B.C.<sup>171</sup>. Also the word βραβεῖα is attested as part of the name of a festival (Nymphaia or βραβεῖα τῶν Νυμφῶν)<sup>172</sup>.

From the Hellenistic period onwards contests in honour of rulers – first of Hellenistic kings, later of Roman emperors, occasionally for members of royal families and their friends or for members of the imperial family –, the Goddess Rome (Ῥωμαῖα)<sup>173</sup> and Roman provincial governors<sup>174</sup> were added to the traditional contests organised for gods and for mortals of elevated status (heroes, war dead). Also innumerable contests were endowed by individuals<sup>175</sup>. This increased the number of contests tremendously<sup>176</sup>. It has been estimated that by the second century A.D. about 500 *agones* are attested in inscriptions and coins<sup>177</sup>. Because of this increase in agonistic festivals, the Emperor Hadrian intervened in 134 A.D., establishing a strict sequence in which the most important contests should take place<sup>178</sup>.

The most prestigious contests were those that awarded crowns as prizes (ἀγών στεφανίτης), not money (ἀγών ἀργυρίτης, χρηματίτης, θεματικός; cf. ταλαντιαῖος, ἡμιταλαντιαῖος, χειλιοδραχμιαῖος)<sup>179</sup>. Although the claim of an inscription of Magnesia that «the other contests were originally established with moneyed prizes, but later became crown-awarding contests as a result of oracles<sup>180</sup> is an anachronistic generalisation, one can observe a general trend towards an upgrade of the rank of contests. Supported by oracles<sup>181</sup>, kings, and later emperors<sup>182</sup>, many cities tried to have their most important contests recognized as «sacred» and «crowned» (ἀγών ἱερὸς στεφανίτης)<sup>183</sup>. Among the «crowned» agons some were more prestigious than others.

Another type of upgrading, attested from the third century B.C. onwards, was to declare a contest as of equal rank with that of other festivals, such as the Pythia and the Olympia, later the Aktia and the Kape(i)tolia and so on (ἀγών ἰσοπύθιος, ἰσολύμπιος, ἰσάκτιος, ἰσοκαπετώλιος, ἰσονέμεος, ἰσαντινότιος)<sup>184</sup>. This designation means that the cities which recognized a festival as such rewarded their citizens who won a victory with the same material awards and privileges as those reserved for the Pythia, the Olympia, etc.<sup>185</sup>. In the Imperial period an important rank distinction was that of the *iselastic* contest (ἀγών εἰσελαστικός). The winners of these contests received from their cities of origin important privileges, although the nature of these privileges is subject to different interpretations. They may have included a ceremonial entrance into the city (εἰσελάσις), not necessarily through a breach in the city-wall, and a money prize<sup>186</sup>. In the Imperial period communities displayed local pride for the elevated status of their agonistic festivals, pompously listing their titles (e.g. ἀγών ἱερὸς οἰκουμενικὸς ἰσοπύθιος ἐκεχειρίως εἰσελαστικός<sup>187</sup>).

New contests continued to be founded until the mid-third century A.D. The most prominent agonistic festival in Side, the ἱερὰ Πύθια was only founded in 243 A.D.<sup>188</sup>; two metrical oracles concerning the foundation of the agon were inscribed on a gilded altar which was dedicated on the third celebration of the agon<sup>189</sup>. Some of these new agons were short-lived, for instance because a community had no reasons to continue honouring the mortal for whom they had been established (a king or an emperor), because the endowment was

not sufficient, or because the driving force of the contest had died. For instance, the contest Euarestia founded by Iulius Lucius Pilius Euarestos at Oinoanda took place five times, with the founder serving as *agonothetes*, it was celebrated once after his death and never again<sup>190</sup>.

In addition to the agonistic programme (the competitions), contests included religious rituals, political and social events, and cultural performances (epideictic orations, victory songs, etc.). Libations were offered by the priests to the gods<sup>191</sup>; important announcements were made<sup>192</sup>; magistrates and honoured individuals were invited to take a seat of honour (προεδρία) and honours were announced<sup>193</sup>. During which contest and at which point of the contest an individual would receive the honorary crown, depended very much on the significance of his achievement, and one can recognize a certain hierarchy of honours<sup>194</sup>.

The contests consisted of competitions in athletic and equestrian disciplines (ἀγών γυμνικός, ἀγών ἵππικός), music, dance, and theatrical performances (ἀγών μουσικός, ἀγών θυμεικός, ἀγών σκηνικός), but also in unusual disciplines (e.g. a contest of sculptors in Aphrodisias, a contest of doctors in Pergamon, beauty contests in Lesbos<sup>195</sup>). The contests in the gymnasia concerned achievements related to educational values (see below).

Most contests were athletic events. They included competitions in the «classical» disciplines of ancient sport: races over various distances (στάδιον, δίαυλος, δόλιχος), sometimes of armed men (ὀπλίτης), wrestling (πάλη), boxing (πυγμαχία), pentathlon (discus, standing jump, javelin, stadion race, wrestling), and pankration<sup>196</sup>. The competi-

167. General overview: Rudhardt, *Notions* 149–158.

168. Funeral contests: see n. 21. Contests in the gymnasium: see n. 202. Contests during royal weddings: e.g. Diod. 16, 92, 5; 16, 94; Plut. *Arat.* 17.

169. Laum I 93–96. E.g. *ICentral Pisidia* 122–128; *IPerge* 128 (θέμις Οὐάρεως); 315 (θέμις ἐπὶ Λαβίω); 317 (πάτριος μεγάλη θέμις); *ISide* II 120 (Ἀνδρονεικὴν θέμις); no. 121–126 (θέμις Παμφυλιακὴ Τουησιάνειος).

170. *OGIS* 253; *I.Estremo Oriente* 103 (Babylon, early 2nd cent. B.C.).

171. *SEG* 53, 550.

172. Slater/Summa 294.

173. Mellor, R., *Θεὰ Ῥώμη. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (1975) 169–173. E.g. *IG XII* 6, 200 (Rhomaia kai Attaleia in Samos). 342 (Rhomaia in Miletos); *IOropos* 521 (Amphiaraia kai Rhomaia); Knoepfler 4; *SEG* 54, 516 (Rhomaia in Thebes); Robert, *OMS VII* 681–694 (Rhomaia in Xanthos).

174. Soteria and Moukieia for Q. Mucius Scaevola (Pergamon, c. 100–90 B.C.): *IPerg* 268; *OGIS* 438/439; games for L. Valerius Flaccus (Tralleis, early 1st cent. B.C.): Cic. *Flacc.* 52, 55–56, 59. See Rigsby (n. 84) 141–149.

175. E.g. *IPerge* 77 (Perge, early 2nd cent. A.D.); *SEG* 47, 1771 (Termessos, 2nd cent. A.D.).

176. Chaniotis 2, 148–153; Vial; Musti, D., «Isopythios, isolympios e dintorni», *RivFil* 130 (2002 [2005]) 130–148. The number of agonistic festivals known through inscriptions continually increases with new finds, for which see the index of *SEG*.

177. Leschhorn, W., «Die Verbreitung von Agonen in den östlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches», in *Collo-*

*quium «Agonistik in der römischen Kaiserzeit»* 1995 (1998) 31–57.

178. Petzl/Schwertheim 69–91 (*SEG* 56, 1359); cf. Jones, C. P., «Three New Letters of the Emperor Hadrian», *ZPE* 161 (2007) 145–156 (English translation).

179. ἀργυρίτης: *IMagn* 16, l. 16. χρηματίτης: *FGrH* 239 § 38; θεματικός: *IG II* 2 3163; *IG V* 1, 542; *IV* 0 237; *ISmyrna* 659; ταλαντιαῖος: *IG II* 2 3163; *FDelphes* III 1, 89, 547; *MAMA VIII* 420; ἡμιταλαντιαῖος: *ITrall* 118, 122, 136; χειλιοδραχμιαῖος: Bean, G. E., *Side Kitabeleri* (1965) no. 149.

180. *IMagn* 16, l. 22–24. According to the Parian Chronicle (*FGrH* 239 § 38) the Pythian festival was first founded as a «money» contest in 591 B.C. (ὁ ἀγών ὁ γυμνικός ἐτέθη χρηματίτης ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων) and became «crowned» festival in 582 B.C.

181. E.g. *IMagn* 16, l. 18–26; *IG XI* 4, 1298; *LSCG* 73; Aneziri 1, no. D10; *ISide II* 134; Robert, L., *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (1987) 156–173.

182. E.g. *IMagn* 180, l. 9–11: Παναθήναια τὰ πρῶτα δοθέντα εἰσελαστικά ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ; for the upgrade of the Didymeia of Miletos with imperial patronage (177 A.D.) see Herrmann, P., «Fragment einer Senatsrede Marc Aurels aus Milet», *IstanbMitt* 78 (1988) 309–313 (on *Milet I* 9, 337).

183. Robert, *OMS II* 784–785; Robert, *OMS VI* 709–710; Pleket, H. W., «Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology. Some Aspects of the History of Sport in the Greco-Roman World», *Stadion* 1 (1975) 49–89; *id.*, «Einige Betrachtungen zum Thema 'Geld und Sport'», *Nikephoros* 17 (2004) 77–89; Slater/Summa. The term στεφανίτης is attested as a technical term in *IG IV* 2 1, 68, l. 73 (302 B.C.).

184. For these terms see e.g. *CID IV* 107 (ἰσοπύθιος, ἰσολύμπιος); *FDelphes* III 1, 481–482 (ἰσοπύθιος, ἰσονέμεος). 555 (ἰσοκαπετώλιος); *IBeroia* 117 (ἰσάκτιος); *IMagn* 16, l. 29 (ἰσοπύθιος); *SEG* 40, 1568 (ἰσαντινότιος). Discussions: Robert, *OMS II* 785; Slater/Summa 281–282. The first occurrence of ἰσοπύθιος may be in connection with the Ptolemaia around 280 B.C. (cf. Parker 15).

185. E.g. *IG VII* 1735: τὰ δὲ ἄθλα τοῖς νικῶσιν Ἀθηναίων τὰ Μουσεῖα ὑπάρχουσιν ἕως καὶ τοῖς Πύθια νικῶσιν τ[οῖς τε] ἐπὶ ποιηταῖς καὶ αὐλωδοῖς [καὶ] τοῖς ἀληταῖς τοῖς τὰ Πύθια νικῶσιν], καθὰ ἀξιοῦσιν Βουιοτοὶ καὶ ἡ [πόλις ἡ] Θεσπιέων (Mouseia of Thespiiai, late 3rd cent. B.C.).

186. For ἀγών εἰσελαστικός see *FDelphes* III 3, 551, 557; *IBeroia* 69; *IGBulg* III 1, 890–891; *IEphes* 4114; *ISardis* 79; cf. Strasser 2; Slater/Summa 280, 293. For *eiselasis* see *SEG* 41, 1003 II, l. 46–47 (Teos, 204 B.C.): ἕσοι δ' ἂν νικήσαντες [τοῦ] στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας εἰσελαύνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Cf. Plin. *ep.* 10, 118–119; Suet. *Nero* 25. For money prizes to winners of «crowned» contests see *IEphes* 1415 (2nd cent. B.C.).

187. *ISide II* 134 and 143 (the Hiera Pythia in Side, 3rd cent. A.D.).

188. *ISide II* 134 and 143.

189. *ISide II* 134.

190. Hall, A./Milner, N., «Education and Athletics. Documents Illustrating the Festivals of Oenoanda», in French, D. (ed.), *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia in Memoriam A. S. Hall* (1994) 29.

191. *ICos ED* 180, l. 20–22; *SEG* 51, 1054 A 3–5. On libations see Simon, E., «Libation», in *ThesCRA I* (2004) 237–253.

192. Chaniotis 10, 54–59.

193. E.g. *I.Ilion* 1, l. 50–51: καλεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς προεδρ[αν] Παναθηναί[οις] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὀνομασ[τέ] (Panathenaia of Ilion, late 4th cent. B.C.); Chaniotis 10, 59–62.

194. Chaniotis 10, 56–59.

195. Contests of sculptors in Aphrodisias: *MAMA VIII* 519 (ἀγών τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν); of doctors in Pergamon (ἀγών τῶν ἱατρῶν): Samama, É., *Les médecins dans le monde grec* (2003) 334–338; *IEphes* 1161–1162, 1164–1165, 4101; beauty contests in Lesbos and Elis: Lesbos: Ath. 13, 609e–610a; Nilsson, *Feste* 57.

196. For these disciplines see the lists of victors in Moretti; cf. Ebert (n. 41); see e.g. *IOropos* 520–525, 527, 528–530 (Amphiaraia). On Greek contests see the many contributions of L. Robert (*OMS I, II, V, VII*), various contributions and bibliography in the journal *Nikephoros* and the studies of Ebert (n. 41); Pleket (n. 183); Strasser 1–4. Useful books of reference: Sweet, W. E., *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece. A Sourcebook with Translations* (1987); Golden, M., *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (1998); Reed, N. B., *More than just a Game. The Military Nature of Greek Athletic Contests* (1998); Phillips, D. J./Pritchard, D. (eds.), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, (2003); Crowther, N. B., *Athletika. Studies on the Olympic Games and Greek Athletics* (2004); Miller, S. G., *Ancient Greek*



tions took place according to age-classes (παῖδες, παῖδες ἀπὸ γυμνασίων, ἀγένειοι, ἄνδρες). Races for girls are attested in exceptional cases<sup>197</sup>.

Allegedly the oldest, certainly the most renowned and long-lived agonistic festival was the Olympia, allegedly founded in 776 B.C. and abolished in 393 A.D.<sup>198</sup>. For this festival, the *spondophoroi* announced a sacred truce, which allowed participants from all Greek cities to attend the celebration, which lasted six days. After the religious rites of the first day and the oath ceremony of the athletes, ten competitions for adult men took place in four days: stadion race, diaulos, dolichos (24 stadia), race of men with heavy armour (ὄπλιτοδρόμος), pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, chariot race, horse race, and pankration; another three competitions were for boys: stadion race, wrestling, and boxing. A board of ten judges from Elis (Ἐλλανοδίται) declared the winners, who received their prizes, crowns of wild olive branches cut from the sacred grove of the Altis. Further celebrations (procession, singing of songs for victors and gods, banquet) followed, and the *panegyris* also offered opportunities for traders to sell their goods and orators to display their skills (e.g. Paus. 6, 17, 7 on Gorgias).

Equestrian events (ἄγων ἵππικός) were less common, but very spectacular, popular, and prominent in areas with a tradition in horse-breeding. They included a very large variety of events: races of single horses, both young and grown-up (κέλης πωλικός, κέλης τέλειος), of war horses (ἵππος πολεμιστής, πολεμιστήρια, πολεμιστήριο), of pairs of horses (συνωρίς πωλική, συνωρίς τελεία) and mules (ζεῦγος ὄρεικόν), races of chariots drawn by young and grown-up horses (ἄρμα πωλικόν, ἄρμα τέλειον), mounted torch races (ἀφιππολαμπάς), competi-

tion in throwing a javelin while riding on a horse (παλτόν), jumping from a chariot or a horse (ἀποβάτης), etc.<sup>199</sup>. Participation in equestrian disciplines was the privilege of the horse-breeding and horse-owning higher classes. They were very important especially in connection with the commemoration of battles. A contest organised by Larisa to honour its warriors who fought in a pass near Mt. Ossa included in addition to the more common equestrian events a προσδρομή ἱππέων, that is a competition in charging a sudden cavalry attack, and bull-hunting (ταυροθηρία)<sup>200</sup>. As we know from lists of victors, women participated in equestrian events as owners of horses<sup>201</sup>.

The most common competition in the gymnasium was the torch-race<sup>202</sup>. Other competitions reflected the values and skills that were transmitted in the gymnasium: order, manly appearance, good physical condition, good maintenance and use of weapons, and diligence (εὐκοσμία, εὐταξία, εὐανδρία, εὐεξία, εὐοπλία, φιλοπονία)<sup>203</sup>. For example, the programme of competitions in the gymnasium of Samos<sup>204</sup> included disciplines such as the use of the catapult (καταπάτης) and an engine used for hurling stones (λιθοβόλος), javelin, archery, fighting with shield and lance (ὄπλομαχία), and fighting with the small shields of the Galatian type (θυρομαχία), in addition to «classical» athletic competitions. But depending on the idiosyncrasies (e.g. the education) of the gymnasiarchos unusual contests could also be organised, such as the literary contests (ἀμίλλης ἀγῶνας τῶν τε ἐκ φιλολ[ο]γίας μαθημάτων) organised by Zosimos in Priene<sup>205</sup>.

Beyond the athletic and equestrian events, thymelic and musical competitions were extremely popular (ἄγων μουσικός/θυμελικός/σκηνικός)<sup>206</sup>. The most popular music competitions were those among choruses of boys and men

*Athletics* (2004); Kyle, D. G., *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (2007); Papakonstantinou, Z. (ed.), *Sport in the Cultures of the Ancient World. New Perspectives* (2010).

197. Mantas, K., «Women and Athletics in the Roman East», *Nikephoros* 8 (1995) 125–144; Strasser 1, 289–296 (on *FDelphes* III 1, 534).

198. Coulson, W./Kyrieleis, H. (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games 1988* (1992); Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt Pantel 116–121; Weiler, I. (ed.), *Olympia – Sport und Spektakel. Die Olympische Spiele im Altertum und ihre Rezeption im modernen Olympismus* (1997); Lee, H. M., *The Program and Schedule of the Ancient Olympic Games* (2001); Nielsen, T. H., *Olympia and the Classical Hellenic City-State Culture* (2007). For the popularity of the Olympic Games until the 4th cent. A.D. see Ebert, J., «Zur neuen Bronzeplatte mit Siegerschriften aus Olympia», in *Colloquium «Agonistik in der römischen Kaiserzeit» 1995* (1998) 137–149; Sinn, U., «Olympia: Pilgrims, Athletes and Christians. The Development of the Site in Late Antiquity», in Docter, R. F./Moormann, E. M. (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam 1998* (1999) 377–380.

199. Strasser 1, 273–289; e.g. SEG 54, 560. Dismounting from a chariot (ἀποβάτης) is almost exclusively attested for the Panathenaia: Parker, *Polytheism* 183. See also Golden, M.,

«Equestrian Competition in Ancient Greece: Difference, Dissent, Democracy», *Phoenix* 51 (1997) 327–344.

200. SEG 54, 559 + 55, 606.

201. E.g. SEG 54, 560, l. 16–17 (chariot race, Eleutheria of Larisa, 1st cent. B.C.). The most famous victory is that of Kyniska, the sister of the Spartan king Agesilaos: Kyle, D. G., «The Only Woman in Greece». Kyniska, Agesilaos, Alcibiades and Olympia», *Journal of Sport History* 30 (2003) 183–203.

202. On agons in gymnasium see Gauthier, P./Hatzopoulos, M. B., *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia* (1993) 95–123; Weiler, I., «Gymnastik und Agonistik im hellenistischen Gymnasium», in Kah, D./Scholz, P. (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium* (2004) 25–46. Torch-races: Gauthier, P., «Du nouveau sur les courses aux flambeaux d'après deux inscriptions de Kos», *RPh* 69 (1995) 576–585; e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 956–961, 1006; I<sup>3</sup> 82; *IByzantion* 11; *ICos* ED 145. See also III.1.2.2.1.

203. E.g. IG XII 6, 1, l. 179–184; SEG 3, 355; 26, 551; *OGIS* 339 = *ISestos* 1; *IBeroia* 1.

204. IG XII 6, 1, 179–184.

205. *IPriene* 113, l. 28–29 (1st cent. B.C.).

206. On these terms see Wörle 227–228. E.g. *MAMA* VIII 492. Musical contests: Manieri (Anm. 38). See also III.1.2.2.2; IV.2.2.

representing the civic subdivisions of the polis<sup>207</sup>. The best attested thymelic festival is the Dionysiac festival in Athens (see IV.4; cf. III.2.2). Usually, theatrical performances (tragedy, comedy, satyr play), both the presentation of new plays and the production of «classics», were part of musical competitions, which also included a variety of further competitions in poetry, music, dance accompanied by song, and vocal performances of heralds<sup>208</sup>. A more or less standard schedule of competitions was developed in the Hellenistic period, which allowed for variations. It can be observed in the schedule of the festival of the Lysimacheia in Aphrodisias, which included the following disciplines: trumpeter (σαλπικτής), herald (κῆρυξ), encomium writer (ἐγκωμιογράφος), poet (ποιητής), rhythmic oboist (πυθαύλης), oboist (αὐλητής), kithara player (ψαλμοκθαρεύς), boy kithara-singer (παῖς κιθαρωδός), choral oboist (χοραύλης), tragic chorus (χορὸς τραγικός), choral kithara-player (χοροκιθαρεύς), comedian (κωμωδός), tragedian (τραγωδός), general contest of comedians (κοινὴ κρίσις κωμωδῶν), general contest of tragedians (κοινὴ κρίσις τραγωδῶν), new comedy (κωμωδία καινὴ), ancient comedy (κωμωδία ἀρχαία), new tragedy (καινὴ τραγωδία), pyrrhic dance (πυρρίχη), adult kithara-singer (κιθαρωδός)<sup>209</sup>.

Some contests were exclusively associated with specific festivals. For instance, competition in the dance *pyrrhiche* originally only took place at the Panathenaia<sup>210</sup>. A contest among *sophists* is attested only at the Amphiarraia of Oropos<sup>211</sup>; competitions of rhapsodes seem to be a speciality of Boiotia<sup>212</sup>. The contests of some festivals were closely connected with their character. The Oschophoria,

for example, included a race, but this race was in many ways different than others: the runners had to cover a long distance from the sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens to the Oschophorion in Piraeus, and they had to run carrying a vine branch<sup>213</sup>. These two features, along with the unique prize (the drink *pentaploia*) and the winner's participation in a *komos*, distinguished this race from all others. Similarly, at the Spartan Karneia the running competition had a special character, as the young men competed carrying bunches of grapes (σταφυλοδρομία)<sup>214</sup>. A special kind of race in full armour (ἐνόπλιος δρόμος) took place at the Eleutheria of Plataiai, a commemorative festival for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians (478 B.C.); the contestants had to run in full armour from the trophy of the battle to the altar of Zeus Eleutherios (c. 2500 m); the victor received the honorary title «the best of the Hellenes» (ἄριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων)<sup>215</sup>. Another special competition at the Eleutheria was the *διάλογος* («debate»), a rhetorical competition between representatives of Athens and Sparta, introduced in the second century B.C. The representative of Athens tried to prove that the contribution of his native city to the victory was more significant than that of Sparta, and the representative of Sparta tried to prove the opposite. A Panhellenic jury decided who had brought the most convincing arguments, and the city whose orator won had the privilege to lead the procession (*propompeia*)<sup>216</sup>. An inscription found in Athens preserves a fragment of a speech delivered on this occasion<sup>217</sup>. In Delos the Apollonia included a competition of flutists in πυθικός νόμος, i.e. a representation of the battle of Apollo and the Python<sup>218</sup>. As already mentioned, the

207. Calame, *Choruses*; Parker, *Polytheism* 181–183 (for the choral contests during the Athenian Thargelia and Dionysia); see also IV.1.3.

208. An invaluable work of reference is a prosopography of ancient performers, which also includes the winners in musical and thymelic contests: Stephanis, I. E., *Λιοντσιακοὶ Τεχνίται. Συμβολὴς εἰς τὴν προσωπογραφίαν τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων* (1988). Without claiming completeness, we give a list of disciplines attested in thymelic and musical contests: αὐλητής, αὐλωδός, διθύραμβος, ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν θεὸν καταλογάδην, ἐγκώμιον λογικόν, ἐγκώμιον ἐπικόν, ἐπινίκιον, κῆρυξ, κιθαριστής, κιθαρωδός, κωμωδία ἀρχαία/καινὴ, ποιητὴς ἐπῶν/ἐπικός, κῆρυξ, κύκλιος αὐλητής, μῦθος, παντόμιμος, ποιητής, ποιητὴς ἐπῶν, ποιητὴς κωμωδῶν, ποιητὴς προσοδίου, ποιητὴς Ῥωμαϊκός, ποιητὴς σατύρου, ποιητὴς τραγωδιῶν, πυθαύλης, πυρρίχη, ῥαψωδός, σαλπικτής, σάτυρος, σοφιστής, τραγωδία παλαιά/καινὴ, ὑποκριτὴς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας, ὑποκριτὴς παλαιᾶς τραγωδίας, ψαλμοκθαρεύς, χοραύλης, χοροκιθαρεύς, χορὸς τραγικός. See e.g. the lists of victors in *IOropos* 521. 523. 524. 526. 528. 531.

209. Roueché, C., *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (1993) 173–174. The Mouseia of Thespiai probably served as a model: Bonnet. A similar programme can be found in the festival Demosthenia (V.6).

210. Ceccarelli 31–36; Shear, J. L., «Atarbos' Base and the Panathenaia», *JHS* 123 (2003) 164–180. In the Imperial period it is attested in Aphrodisias (Roueché [n. 209] 173 no. 53); a *pyrrhichistes*, winner in an unknown agon in *MAMA* VI 58.

211. IG VII 414 = *IOropos* 520, l. 8 (late 4th cent. B.C.).

212. West, M. L., «Rhapsodes at Festivals», *ZPE* 173 (2010) 10–11.

213. Kadletz, E., «The Race and Procession of the Athenian Oschophoroi», *GRBS* 21 (1980) 363–371; Rutherford, I. C./Irvine, J. A. D., «The Race of the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar», *ZPE* 72 (1988) 43–51; Parker, *Polytheism* 212.

214. Brelich, *Paides* 150–151; Pettersson, *Apollo* 68–71.

215. Paus. 9, 2, 5–7; IG V 1, 628 and 641 Robert, L., «Recherches épigraphiques, 1: Ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων», *REA* 31 (1929) 225–226; Moretti 151–156 no. 59.

216. Robertson, N., «A Point of Precedence at Plataia. The Dispute between Athens and Sparta Over Leading the Procession», *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 88–102.

217. IG II<sup>2</sup> 277; Chaniotis, A., *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* (1988) 42–48.

218. Prêtre, C., «La tabula délienne de 168 av. J.-C.», *BCH* 124 (2000) 261–271 (SEG 50, 725).



typical race of the gymnasium was the torch-race (λαμπαδηδρομία). The programme of contests continued to develop in the Imperial period. Although performances of mimic dancers (παντομίμοι) were very popular already from the Classical period, they were included in agonistic festivals only in the late second century A.D. They were first added to the Sebasta in Neapolis, then to other agons (Leukophryena, Kapitolia, Olympia, Asklepieia, Kommodeia, Sebasta Koina Asias in Pergamon, Kommodeia, Herakleia Dionysia in Thebes, Ephesia, etc.)<sup>219</sup>.

The participation of women in contests was not uncommon but subject to special regulations<sup>220</sup>. For instance a race of girls took place at the Heraia in Elis (Paus. 5, 16, 2). As already mentioned, they did participate in equestrian contests but only as owners of horses. In the course of time all-women athletic competitions were introduced. An inscription at Delphi records the victory of three sisters in stadion and armed chariot race at the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean contests (first century A.D.), but it is not certain whether they competed against men<sup>221</sup>, as they probably did in musical competitions.

There were cases of undecided competitions because both opponents withdrew or because the agon was interrupted by the trainers; then the award was dedicated to the god (ἱερά); sometimes, both opponents were declared victors (συστεφανωθείς), e.g. because of time constraints or because the opponents agreed to share the victory and the awards<sup>222</sup>. Victories without competition (ἀκονιτί, ἀμαχεί) in athletic agons were very prestigious, especially when they were achieved

because of the fame, the strength, or the skill of an athlete<sup>223</sup>.

The prizes at agonistic festivals differed substantially<sup>224</sup>, from crowns made of wild olive (Olympia), laurel (Pythia), celery (Nemea), and celery and later pine (Isthmia)<sup>225</sup> to vases filled with olive oil for the victors of the athletic and equestrian events of the Panathenaia (the «Panathenaic amphorae»)<sup>226</sup>, grain collected from a sacred plain for the winners at the Eleusinia<sup>227</sup>, shields for contests in the gymnasium<sup>228</sup>, tripods for the sponsors of chorus contests (dedicated at their own expense)<sup>229</sup>, and cash<sup>230</sup>. At the Sarapieia of Tanagra the crowns were made of gold of specific value, thus combining material value with prestige<sup>231</sup>. Songs (ἐπινίκια, such as those composed by Pindar) glorified the victors, their ancestors, and their city<sup>232</sup>.

The social prestige of the victors in agonistic festivals was very significant, especially of the victors in «crown-contests» (ἱερονίκαί)<sup>233</sup>. The honours they received from their home town depended on the rank and prestige of the festival and ranged from a ceremonial entrance (εἰσέλασις; see n. 186), an honorary position in a procession<sup>234</sup>, and a seat of honor (προεδρία), to cash prizes and free food in public meals (σίτησις)<sup>235</sup>. The increasing popularity of contests made their ceremonial background more elaborate. For instance, in Kos the priest of Hermes Enagonios (the patron of agones) crowned all winners of «crowned» contests in an annual ceremony, during which their names were announced<sup>236</sup>; at Aizanoi a boy was charged with cutting the victor's wreaths and carrying them to the scene of the contest (ἀμφιθαλής)<sup>237</sup>.

219. Strasser 4. Cf. Slater, W. J., «The Pantomime Tiberius Iulius Apolaustus», *GRBS* 36 (1995) 263–292.

220. Lee, H. M., «SIG<sup>3</sup> 802: Did Women Compete Against Men in Greek Athletic Festivals?», *Nikephoros* 1 (1988) 103–117; Bernardini, P. A., «Le donne e la pratica della corsa nella grecia antica», in *id.*, *Lo Sport in Grecia* (1988) 153–184; Dillon, M., «Did Parthenoi Attend the Olympic Games? Girls and Women Competing, Spectating, and Carrying out Cult Roles at Greek Religious Festivals», *Hermes* 128 (2000) 457–480. On the Heraia in Elis see Scanlon, T., «The Heraia at Olympia Revisited», *Nikephoros* 21 (2008) 159–196; see also II.11.2.

221. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 802; Lee (n. 220).

222. Crowther, N. B., «Resolving an Impasse: Draws, Dead Heats and Similar Decisions in Greek Athletics», *Nikephoros* 13 (2000) 125–140.

223. Crowther, N. B., «Victories Without Competition in the Greek Games», *Nikephoros* 14 (2001) 29–44.

224. Rudhardt, *Notions* 155–156; Rumscheid, J., *Kranz und Krone. Zu Insignien, Siegespreisen und Ehrenzeichen der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2000).

225. Bronceer, O., «The Isthmian Victory Crown», *AJA* 66 (1962) 259–263.

226. Shear, J. L., «Prizes from Athens: the List of Panathenaic Prizes and the Sacred Oil», *ZPE* 142 (2003) 87–108; Johnston, A., «Panathenaic Amphorae Again», *ZPE* 161 (2007) 101–104; III.1.1.

227. *IEleusis* 177 l. 386–391.

228. Gauthier, P./Hatzopoulos, M. B., *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia* (1993) 100–102; *IG* VII 2712, l. 22–25; *OGIS* 339 (= *ISestos* 1), l. 79–83; *SEG* 30, 1073. In some contests in the gymnasium the prize was a sacrificial basket: Culasso Gastaldi, E., «Il canestro di Anteros. Osservazioni in margine a *SEG* XXXII 216», *ZPE* 162 (2007) 125–131.

229. Wilson 1, 198–213.

230. Pleket 2. See also n. 235.

231. Calvet, M./Roesch, P., «Les Sarapieia de Tanagra», *RA* (1966) 297–332. This seems to be the case with the crown awarded at the Leukophryena of Magnesia on the Maeander (*IMagn* 16, l. 28–29), although Slater/Summa have presented an alternative restoration of this passage.

232. Hornblower, S./Morgan, C. (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals. From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire* (2007); Neumann-Hartmann, A., *Epinikien und ihr Aufführungsrahmen* (2009). See also IV.3.5.2.

233. On hieronikai see *LSAM* 32, l. 39–40; Robert, L./Robert, J., *Clarus I. Décrets hellénistiques* (1989) 20–23.

234. E.g. *LSAM* 32, l. 40; 81, l. 11–12; *LSCG* 163, l. 7–8; *IPerg* 246, l. 34.

235. Slater/Summa 293. In Samos, a benefactor gave crowns to boys who had won contests in other cities (*IG* XII 6, 290).

236. *ICos* ED 145, l. 74–79 (3rd cent. B.C.).

237. *MAMA* IX 30. Cf. *IDidyma* 162–163 and 195; Robert, *OMS* I 633–519.

The winners often dedicated their prize to a god, or made other dedications to commemorate their victory in sanctuaries<sup>238</sup>. In Hellenistic Kos, all winners of «crowned» contests were obliged to make a sacrifice to Hermes Enagonios<sup>239</sup>. In the case of prestigious contests, even to have been accepted in the competition (κριθείς) could be regarded an honour<sup>240</sup>. What also contributed to the fame of a winner were victories in the «circuit» (περιοδονίχης), victories under unusual conditions (παράδοξος), and a great number of victories (πλειστονίχης)<sup>241</sup>. The sociology of ancient athletic and musical competition is a very complex phenomenon, since the participants in the contests included both professionals and the scions of elite families<sup>242</sup>.

### 3. Programme

Greek festivals were usually characterized by the same programme<sup>243</sup>: a procession, the offering of a sacrifice, accompanied by prayers and hymns, and a banquet. Not all festivals included contests, but from the Hellenistic period onwards the contest (ἀγών) was one of the most important elements of a festival (I.2). The expression «procession, sacrifice, and contest» (πομπή και θυσία και ἀγών) was sometimes used as a synonym of ἑορτή

(I.1). While the sacrifice was the most important cultic element and the athletic and musical competitions the one that attracted most visitors, the procession usually was the object of the most elaborate staging. As far as we may judge from Mycenaean iconography – and in part by information provided by the Linear B texts –, the procession, the sacrifice, and the banquet were component elements of festivals already in the late Bronze Age<sup>244</sup>.

In addition to sacred envoys who announced a festival in other cities (I.4.4), announcements were made by «sacred heralds» (ἱεροκῆρυξ) in the place where the festival was to take place, the citizens were invited to attend, instructions were given through priestly proclamations, and in some cases undesired intruders were asked to stay away<sup>245</sup>. An impression of how the beginning of a festival was announced is provided by a decree of Magnesia on the Maeander concerning the new festival Ἐλισιτήρια on Artemis' birthday (6th Artemision), which commemorated the dedication of the new statue of Artemis Leukophryene<sup>246</sup>. In the morning (πληθυσούσης ἀγορᾶς) the magistrates and the citizens assembled in front of the Bouleuterion; while a libation was offered, the sacred herald invited all to offer a sacrifice.

Usually, a festival began with a procession<sup>247</sup>, which either brought something to a god or es-

238. Rudhardt, *Notions* 156; E.g. Lysias 21, 2; Isaios 5, 41; 7, 40; *IG* V 2, 403 = *SEG* 37, 337 (Lousoi, c. 475–450 B.C.); *IG* IX<sup>2</sup> 1, 1566; *IByzantion* 11. For statues of victors in sanctuaries see Herrmann, H.-V., «Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia. Schriftliche Überlieferung und archäologischer Befund», *Nikephoros* 1 (1988) 119–183; cf. Rausa, F., *L'immagine del vincitore. L'atleta nella statuaria greca dall'età arcaica all'ellenismo* (1994); Steiner, D. T., *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought* (2002). See also II.5.

239. *ICos* ED 145, l. 74–79 (3rd cent. B.C.).  
240. E.g. *IG* XII 2, 388: κριθέντα ἐν Δελφοῖς; *IG* XII 6, 460: κριθέντα εἰς Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πείσῃ.

241. E.g. *IStraton* 685; [ἱερονίχης, πλειστονίχης, παράδοξος]; *IGRom* III 321: περιοδονίχου πλειστονίχου παραδόξου. Examples in Robert, *OMS* I 645–646.

242. See the studies of van Nijf, O., «Local Heroes. Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East», in Goldhill, S. (ed.), *In Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (2001) 306–334; *id.*, «Athletics, Andreia and the Askēsis-Culture in the Roman East», in Rosen, R. M./Sluiter, I. (eds.), *Andreia. Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity* (2003) 263–286; *id.*, «Athletics and Paideia: Festivals and Physical Education in the World of the Second Sophistic», in Borg, B. E. (ed.), *Paideia: the World of the Second Sophistic* (2003) 203–228; Pleket, H. W., «Athleten im Altertum. Soziale Herkunft und Ideologie», *Nikephoros* 18 (2005) 151–163. On the social aspects of ancient sport see also Mann, C., *Athlet and Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland* (2001); Nicholson, N. J., *Aristocracy and Athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece* (2005); Christesen, P., «The Transformation of Athletics in Sixth-Century Greece», in Schaus, G. P./Wenn, S. R. (eds.), *Onward to the Olympics. Historical Perspectives on the Olympic Games* (2007) 59–68; Golden, M., *Greek Sport and Social Status* (2008).

243. Cf. Parker, *Polytheism* 178–191.

244. Burkert, *GrRel* (Engl.) 34–39, 43–46. On contests in the Mycenaean period see Rystedt, E., «The Foot-Race and Other Athletic Contests in the Mycenaean World. The Evidence of the Pictorial Vases», *OpusAth* 16 (1986) 103–116; Renfrew, C., «The Minoan-Mycenaean Origins of the Panhellenic Games», in Raschke, W. (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity* (1988) 13–25.

245. Announcement of festival: e.g. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1045/1046 (festival of Athena Itonia, Arkesine). Priestly proclamations: Dickie, M., «Priestly Proclamations and Sacred Laws», *CIQ* 54 (2004) 579–591. *Prorrhesis* in Eleusis: *Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 369; *Isokr.* 4, 157; *Deubner* 72. *Prorrhesis* in other cults: *Lukian. Alex.* 38; *Orig. Contra Celsum* 3, 59; *Victor, Lukian* 156.

246. *IMagn* 100 = *LSAM* 33, l. 36–49 (early 2nd cent. B.C.); *Dunand* 1; Gauthier, P., «Epigraphica», *RPh* 64 (1990) 61–65.

247. On processions in the Greek world: Nilsson, M. P., «Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult», in *id.*, *Opuscula Selecta* I (1951) 166–214; Bömer, Lehnaed, *Prozession*; Rice; Connor, W. R., «Tribes, Festivals, and Processions. Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece», *JHS* 107 (1987) 40–50; Rogers, G. M., *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos. Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (1991); Cole; Chaniotis 2; Brulé, P., «La cité en ses composantes: remarques sur les sacrifices et la procession des Panathénées», *Kernos* 6 (1996) 37–63; Köhler, J., *Pompei. Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Festkultur* (1996); Bremmer, *GrRel* 39–41; Graf, F., «Pompei in Greece. Some Considerations about Space and Ritual in the Greek Polis», in Hägg, *Polis* (1996) 55–65; Kavoulaki 1; Gebauer, *Pompei*; Laxander, H., *Individuum und Gemeinschaft im Fest. Untersuchungen zu attischen Darstellungen von Festgeschehen im 6. und frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (2002); Tsochos, C., *Πομπάξ*



corted a god; for instance, a procession escorted the cult statue of Kore from Halos to Therai (Paus. 3, 20, 7). The procession reflected the social dimensions of a festival, the hierarchy and the legal positions of a community, its values – for instance unity, concord, success –, and its traditions; myths and local traditions were alluded to by the carried objects or the processional songs. Because of the procession's importance as a medium of the presentation of civic values and local cultural memory, the authorities took care for the participation of the youth, of large number of citizens, and of foreign spectators<sup>248</sup>.

Processions usually started early in the morning<sup>249</sup>. The place of departure, the route, the stops, and the place where the procession ended had a symbolical significance and were carefully selected<sup>250</sup>. Often the starting point was a public building or an altar in the agora<sup>251</sup>; after occasional stops for offerings and the singing of hymns, usually the procession ended at the altar. A good example for such stops is presented by the cult regulation of the Milesian *molpoi*<sup>252</sup>, concerning a procession in the first month of the Milesian year (Taureon). The procession stopped at a shrine or statue of Hekate; the deposition of a stone (*γυλλός*) may be compared to an analogous ritual in the Eleusinian mysteries, whose cult functionaries included «stone-bearers» (*λιθοφόροι*); a second stop was made at the shrine of Dynamis, a personification of divine power, followed by stops to honour the Nymphs (in a meadow on Mt. Akron), Hermes (at Kelados, which may be the name of a river or a shrine), Phyllos, and (Apollo?) Keraites. The seventh stop – seven was Apollo's sacred number – was made in front of the statues of the Branchidai; a second stone was deposited at the end of the procession, in front of the gate of the sanctuary at Didyma. These stops and the rituals (deposition of stones, singing and dancing) were connected with Apollo's cult.

*πέμπειν. Prozessionen von der minoischen bis zur klassischen Zeit in Griechenland* (2002); *TheoCRA 1 Processions, Gr.*; Parker, *Polytheism 178–180*; Connelly 165–173; Edelmann (n. 29) 153–167; see III.1.2.1

248. On the significance of processions for society and cultural memory see Chaniotis 2, 156–157; Sumi 4; Chankowski; Wiemer 1 and 2.

249. *LSS 44*, l. 9–10 (Eumeneia, Delphi, 160/159 B.C.): *ώρας δευτέρας*; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 334 = LSCG 33 B 34* (Panathenaia, Athens, late 4th cent. B.C.): *ἕμια ἡλίωι ἀνιόντι*.

250. Bömer 1909–1910. E.g. *LSCG 15*, l. 37–40 (procession to Eleusis, Athens, 1st cent. B.C.); a boundary stone of the procession of the pythais from Athens to Delphi: *Agora XIX p. 29 H 34* (4th cent. B.C.): *ἕρος ἱερῶς ὁδῶ δι' ἧς πορεύεται ἡ Πυθαίς ἐς Δελφός*.

251. Πρυτανεῖον: *SEG 33*, 675, l. 8 (festival for Ariarathes IV, Kos, c. 188–166 B.C.); *IPerg 246*, l. 15–16 (festival for a victory of Attalos III, Pergamon, c. 139–133 B.C.); *LSS 61*, l. 45–46 (foundation of Kritolaos, Aigiale, late 2nd cent. B.C.); *IGRom IV 292*, l. 43 (celebration for the inauguration of the Diodoreion, Pergamon, c. 85 B.C.); *LSCG*

The significance of staging a procession is clearly revealed in Aristophanes' description of Dikaiopolis' preparations for the celebration of the rural Dionysia<sup>253</sup>: «Say words of good omen! Say words of good omen! [Then, addressing his daughter, who is carrying the sacrificial basket and his slave who is carrying the phallus]. The basket bearer should step forward a bit. Xanthias should hold the phallus up straight. Daughter, put down the basket, so I can perform the preliminaries». [The daughter turns to the mother] – «Mother, hand me the broth ladle, so I can pour broth over this cake». [Dikaiopolis comments] «There, that's beautiful». [After a short prayer to Dionysos, Dikaiopolis continues]. «Come now, daughter, make sure you bear the basket beautifully, beautiful as you are, and keep a look on your face as if you were eating a savoury. Blest is the man who will wed you and make you plenty of kittens, for no one farts better than you when the dawn comes. Forward march! And take care that no one steals your gold jewels unnoticed. Xanthias, you too must carry the phallus erect behind the basket bearer! And I will follow singing the phallic song. And you, wife, watch me from the roof. Forward!» Dikaiopolis, a farmer, takes care of every detail: the arrangement of the procession, the sequence of ritual actions, the appearance of the procession (*καλὸν γ' ἔστιν*), and public order. His daughter should carry the basket in a beautiful manner, the slave the phallus erect, the participants should watch their tongue. We also notice that the daughter wears her jewels. Dikaiopolis even makes sure that he has an audience. He sends his wife to the roof of his house to watch the procession from there. These are exactly the arrangements made by ancient cult regulations that concern themselves with the organisation of rituals<sup>254</sup>. A good example is the decree concerning a festival established in Antioch near Pyramos (c. 160 B.C.) to commemorate the end of a conflict with Antioch near Kydnos<sup>255</sup>. Every year, on the an-

128, l. 3 (cult calendar, Dardanos, Imperial period); *ἔστιν αὖ βουλαία*: *LSAM 81*, l. 7 (festival of Homonoia, Antiocheia near Pyramos, c. 160 B.C.); *ἔστιν ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου*: *LSCG 46*, l. 7 (Bendideia, Piraeus/Athens, late 3rd cent. B.C.); *τὰ βασιλεια*: *LSAM 9 = I.Ilion 52*, l. 29–30 (Iliaka, Ilion, 2nd cent. B.C.); the *ἄλωσ* opposite the bouleuterion: *LSS 44*, l. 9; *LSCG 80*, l. 15; 81, l. 7 (Eumeneia, Attaleia, Alkesippeia, Delphi, 2nd cent. B.C.); *ἀγορά*: *LSCG 92*, l. 35–36 (Artemisia, Eretria, c. 350 B.C.).

252. *LSAM 50 = Milet I 3*, 133, l. 25–31; Georgoudi, S., «La procession chantante des Molpes de Milet», in Brulé, P./Vendries, C. (eds.), *Chanter les dieux. Musique et religion dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (2001) 153–171; Herda (n. 157).

253. Aristoph. *Ach.* 241–262; *TheoCRA I 1 Processions, Gr. 12*; Chaniotis, A., *Θεατρικότητα και δημόσιος βίος στον ἑλληνιστικό κόσμο* (2009) 141–142; Kavoulaki 2, 238–242.

254. Chaniotis 2, 155–161.  
255. *LSAM 81*; Savalli-Lestrade, I., «Antioche du Pyrame, Mallos et Tarse/Antioche du Cydne à la lumière de *SEG XII*, 511: Histoire, géographie, épigraphie, société»,

niversary of the foundation of an altar dedicated to the Homonoia, the following celebration would take place: «On the day, on which the altar will be founded, a procession shall be held as beautiful and glamorous as possible, from the altar of the council to the sanctuary of Athena. The procession will be led by the *daiourgos* and the *prytaneis* (the members of the council). They will offer a sacrifice of a cow with gilded horns to Athena and to Homonoia. The priests, all the other magistrates, the winners of the games, the supervisor of the gymnasium with all the ephebes and the young men, and the supervisor of the children with all the children, shall participate in the procession».

Sacred regulations, especially of the Hellenistic and Imperial period, provide information concerning the preparation, arrangement, and decoration of the procession<sup>256</sup>: the cleaning of processional roads, the purchase of implements (especially of objects carried during the procession), the timing and the setting of the procession, the dress of the magistrates and the population, the timing of the various rituals, the sacrificial animals, the participation of horsemen<sup>257</sup> and victorious athletes (see n. 255), the musical accompaniment<sup>258</sup>, the arrangement of the participants into groups according to tribes, age-classes, hierarchy, prestige, or duties<sup>259</sup>, and the supervision of this strict order by special officials (I.4.3). The exact position of the participants in the procession was subject to strict rules, especially the question who took the leading positions (*προπομπεία*). The procession from Athens to Eleusis was led by the two chief cult functionaries of the mysteries, the *hierophantes* and the *dadouchos*<sup>260</sup>. Even the sequence in which the sacrificial animals were led in the procession was subject to control – according to trib-

al subdivisions and sometimes as a result of a competition among the tribes for the raising of the most beautiful animal (*κριτόν, καλλιστεῖον*)<sup>261</sup>. At Bargyia, on the day before the sacrifice a competition among the sacrificial animals raised by the tribes determined the position of the animals in the procession (*προπομπεία*); the same men who were responsible for judging the competition of «manliness» (*εὐανδρία*) among the tribes, served as judges<sup>262</sup>.

Processions were supposed to present a pleasing spectacle to the divinity, which was invited to come and to be honoured in the festival. This explains the significance of the aesthetic element in the procession and the sacrifice, as part of the strategies applied by communities of worshippers in their communications with gods<sup>263</sup>. The interest in aesthetically pleasing elements can be seen in the use of the verb *καλλιστεύω* («to make the most beautiful offering») in connection with the selection of the most beautiful sacrificial animal; the selected animal was designated as *καλλιστεῖον*; the words *καλλιερεῦειν* and *καλλιέρια* were synonyms of «to sacrifice» and «sacrifice», respectively<sup>264</sup>. Aesthetic aspects played an important part from the earliest times, but it is only from the mid-fourth century B.C. onwards that their arrangement became part of public discourse, reflected by cult regulations and honorary decrees for the individuals responsible for the organization of festivals. The relevant documents place the beauty of the processions (*κάλλος, χάρις, ἐπιφάνεια, εὐκοσμία*) in the foreground. The arrangements aimed at pleasing the senses of an audience and the responsible magistrates were honoured because they offered a beautiful spectacle<sup>265</sup>. A decree of Kalindoia in Macedonia (1 A.D.) honoured a lo-

in Virgilio, B. (ed.), *Studi Hellenistici 12* (2006) 119–245; Chaniotis, A., «Dynamic of Emotions and Dynamic of Rituals. Do Emotions Change Ritual Norms?», in Brosius, C./Hüsken, U. (eds.), *Ritual Matters. Dynamic Dimensions in Practice* (2010) 214–215.

256. Chaniotis 2, 155–161.  
257. *LSCG 93*, l. 6–7; *SEG 32*, 456, l. 10; cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 37, 1. Cf. the expression *ἵππος πομπικός/πομπευτής*: Bömer 1904–1905.

258. E.g. *LSCG 65*, l. 29; 92, l. 38–40; 163, l. 26–29; Plut. *Arat.* 53, 6.

259. Cf. Robert, *Études 179–180*; Robert, *OMS I 493–495*; Bömer 1904. 1908–1909; Habicht 152; Burkert, *Structure 99*; Chaniotis 2, 156–158. Examples: *LSAM 9 = I.Ilion 52*, l. 22–23 (Iliaka, Ilion, 2nd cent. B.C.); *LSAM 32*, l. 36–41 (festival of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, c. 185 B.C.); *LSAM 81*, l. 8–16 (festival of Homonoia, Antiocheia near Pyramos, c. 160 B.C.); *LSCG 65*, l. 28–32 (mysteries, Andania, 24 A.D.); 163, l. 6–7 (festival of Nike, Kos, 2nd cent. B.C.); *LSS 14*, l. 34–37 (Thargelia, Athens, 129/8 B.C.); 44, l. 9–10 (Eumeneia, Delphi, 160/59 B.C.); 45 = *Staatsverträge 523*, l. 41–43 (Aktia, Aktion, late 3rd cent. B.C.); *I.Ilion 31*, l. 14–17 (Ilion, festival for Apollo and Seleukos I, 281 B.C.); *IPerg 246*, l. 40 (celebration for a victory of Attalos III, Pergamon, c. 139–133 B.C.); *IGRom IV 222*, l. 44–46 (festival for the inauguration of the Diodoreion,

Pergamon, after 85 B.C.); *SEG 33*, 675, l. 8–10 (festival for Ariarathes, Kos, c. 188–166 B.C.).

260. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 949*, l. 9–10; Clinton, *SO 46*.  
261. E.g. *LSAM 9 = I.Ilion 52*, l. 20–24; *I.Ilion 31*, l. 14–17; *LSS 83*, l. 7–12; *LSCG 65*, l. 33; 92, l. 35–38; 159, l. 7–16. Competition among the tribes: Zimmermann, K., «Späthellenistische Kulturpraxis in einer karischen Kleinstadt. Eine lex sacra aus Bargyia», *Chiron 30* (2000) 451–485 (on *SEG 44*, 1508).

262. *SEG 45*, 1508 A/B; Blümel, W., «Inchriften aus Karien I», *EpAnat 25* (1995) 35–39; *id.*, «Ein dritter Teil des Kultgesetzes aus Bargyia», *EpAnat 32* (2000) 89–94; Zimmermann (n. 261) (Bargyia, late second/early 1st cent. B.C.).

263. Chaniotis, A., «Theatricality Beyond the Theater: Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World», in Le Guen, B. (ed.), *De la scène aux gradins. Théâtre et représentations dramatiques après Alexandre le Grand dans les cités hellénistiques* (1997) 245–248; *id.*, *Θεατρικότητα και δημόσιος βίος στον ἑλληνιστικό κόσμο* (2009) 141–147; Kavoulaki 2, 238–253. See also IV.1.3

264. *Καλλιστεύω*: e.g. *LSCG 33 B 22*; 96; *LSS 41*; *καλλιστεῖον*: *LSCG 92*, l. 37; *καλλιερεῦειν* and *καλλιέρια*: *LSCG 118*, l. 6–7; *LSCG 83*, l. 32; 156 B 10; *LSCG 180*, l. 4–5.  
265. E.g. *IEleusis 70*. 85 (*ἔπως . . . ἡ θυσία θύηται*) ὡς *καλλίστη*), 95; 295 (*προνοηθέντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν κόσμ[ου]*).



cal benefactor for organising a procession described as «colourful» (ποικίλη) and «worth seeing» (ἀξιοθέατος) and for not neglecting the spectacular aspects of the festival (θέα), entertainment (ἀπάτη), and pleasure (διάχυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς)<sup>266</sup>. Similarly, in Theocritus' *Adoniazousai*, the women who attended the Adonis festival in Alexandria went there as spectators of a show<sup>267</sup>.

The procession expressed in many ways the specific character of a festival. The starting point and the destination were connected with the god, who was honoured and often connected with two interrelated cult places. The procession of the Oschophoria started in a sanctuary of Dionysos and led to the sanctuary of Athena in Phaleron, at a place called Oschophorion (see n. 213). On the first day of the Thesmophoria the women marched in procession from the Thesmophorion at Halimous to the Thesmophorion in Athens (V.1); every four years a procession connected the old sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron with the small cult place of Artemis Brauronia on the acropolis<sup>268</sup>. On 14 Boedromion the sacred objects were brought from the sanctuary of Demeter in Eleusis to the Eleusinion in Athens, and on 19 Boedromion they were returned to Eleusis<sup>269</sup>. At the Skira, a procession led by the priestess of Athena and the priests of Helios and Poseidon brought the worshippers from the acropolis of Athens to a cult place called Skiron<sup>270</sup>. The objects that were carried during the procession were connected with the festival's specific profile (n. 106).

During the procession songs were sung and choral performances took place<sup>271</sup>. Heliodoros describes the performance of girls' choruses during a *theoria* from Thessaly to Delphi<sup>272</sup>: «They were divided into two choruses. The girls in one chorus bore hand-baskets filled with flowers and fruits in

season, the other group carried head-baskets full of sacrificial cakes and incense-burners with which they filled the air with sweet-smelling smoke. They held each other's hand either in a straight or in a crossing chorus-line so that it was possible for them simultaneously to walk forward and to dance. The other chorus provided the actual musical song for them for it had the job of singing the entire hymn.»

When the procession reached the altar, a sacrifice was offered, prescribed by the cult regulations for the specific festival<sup>273</sup>. Depending on the festival's character, the details of the sacrifice differed substantially. Such details included the type of sacrifice (bloody or bloodless); the number, age, gender, species, and nature of the sacrificial animal (e.g. pregnant animals, yearlings, black animals, etc.); the manner of the animal's killing; restrictions concerning the participation of women; the consumption of the animal's meat (e.g. consumption on the spot, distribution of parts of the animal among the recipients, burning on the altar, etc.); the virtual presence of a god (θεοξένια; see n. 152). Sacrifices were accompanied by oral performances (acclamations, prayers, hymns, ritual cries<sup>274</sup>) and followed by the banquet<sup>275</sup>. The banquet was a social event of great importance. The participants were arranged in a manner that corresponded to their civic status – usually according to civic subdivisions<sup>276</sup>. In the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, additional funding for the banquet was provided by benefactors, who invited to it groups of individuals who lacked citizenship – guests of honour, foreign envoys, visitors from allied or neighbouring cities, Romans, foreign residents, the population of the countryside, or even slaves – and competed with benefactors of the past or with the organisers of festivals in neighbouring

266. SEG 35, 744: ... πομπὴν ποικίλην καὶ ἀξιοθ[ε]α-  
των σκευάσας ... οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν τῆς εὐωχίας [φρ]ονῶν  
[χρεῖαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ] τὴν θέαν καὶ τὴν ἀπά[τη]ν [καὶ τὴν  
διά]χυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς.

267. Theokr. 15, 21–25. On this topic see IV.5.1.

268. Parker, *Polytheism* 230–231, 463.

269. Deubner 72.

270. Deubner 46; Parke, *Festivals* 156–162; Burkert, *HN* (1983) 143–149; Brumfield 156–181; Simon, *Festivals* 22–24; Parker, *Polytheism* 173–177.

271. Furley/Bremer, *Hymns* I 28–32; Kowalzig; on choral performances see also Calame, *Choruses*; Athanasaki, L., *Ἀεῖδeto πᾶν τέμενος. Οἱ χορὸν παραστάσεις καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τους στὴν ἀρχαϊκὴ καὶ πρώιμη κλασικὴ περίοδο* (2009).

272. Heliod. *Aith.* 3, 2; cf. Furley/Bremer, *Hymns* I 30.

273. *Sacrifice (Entretiens)*; Rudhardt, *Notions* 249–300; Dettienne/Vernant, *Cuisine*; Étienne/Le Dinahet, *L'espace sacrificiel*; Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt Pantel 28–39; van Straten, *Hiera*; Rosivach; Bremmer, *GrRel* 40–43; *ThesCRA* I 2 a Sacrifices, Gr.; Georgoudi, S./Belayche, N. (eds.), *La cuisine et l'autel: les sacrifices en question dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne* (2005); Hägg, R./Alroth, B. (eds.), *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian* (2005); Mehl, V./Brulé, P. (eds.), *Le sacrifice antique. Vestiges, procédures et stratégies* (2008);

Petropoulou, M.-Z., *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism and Christianity, 100 BC–AD 200* (2008); Pirenne-Delforge 179–241. On changing perceptions of sacrifice see Heyman, G., *The Power of Sacrifice. Roman and Christian Discourses in Conflict* (2007); Stroumsa.

274. Acclamations and ritual cries: Chaniotis (n. 148) 199–218. Prayers: Versnel, H. S., «Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer», in Versnel, *Faith* 1–64; Pulleyn, S., *Prayer in Greek Religion* (1997); Jakov, D./Voutiras, E., «Gebet, Gebärden und Handlungen des Gebetes», in *ThesCRA* III (2005) 104–141. Hymns: Furley/Bremer, *Hymns*.

275. Rudhardt, *Notions* 158–162; Schmitt Pantel, P., «Le festin dans la fête de la cité grecque hellénistique», in *La fête, pratiques et discours. D'Alexandrie hellénistique à la mission de Besançon* (1981) 85–99; ead., *La cité au banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (1992); Mango, E., «Bankette im hellenistischen Gymnasium», in Kah, D./Scholz, P. (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium* (2004) 273–311; Schmitt Pantel/Lissarrague; Stavrianopoulou, E., «Die Bewirtung des Volkes. Öffentliche Speisungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit», in Hekster, O./Schmidt-Hofner, S./Witschel, C. (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* (2009) 159–184.

276. SEG 32, 1243, l. 43; 45, 1508 B 17–19; *IEphes* 3066; *IPriene* 113, l. 42–43; *MAMA* VIII 413 d, l. 21–22.

cities in the sums that they spent, the number of animals that were sacrificed, and the number of individuals invited to the banquet<sup>277</sup>. Most festivals included contests in their programme (I.2).

Besides these common elements of most festivals, there are some aspects that recur only in some of them (I.1.6), such as purifications<sup>278</sup> and rituals of atonement<sup>279</sup>, nocturnal celebrations (παννυχίς) usually of women<sup>280</sup>, the consultation of an oracle on a specific day<sup>281</sup>, the collection of gifts (ἀγεργμός; see n. 146), orations<sup>282</sup>, the reading of sacred texts (Paus. 8, 15, 2), initiation in mysteries (I.1.2, V.4), etc. Festivals acquired their distinctive profile through such unique features (I.1.6), such as for instance the story-telling during the Athenian Oschophoria (Plut. *Thes.* 23, 3). The rituals of mystery cults and Dionysiac celebrations, whose popularity increased in the Imperial period, had very distinctive features and the members of the associations performed specific roles<sup>283</sup>. An inscription from Torre Nova (Rome, c. 160–165 A.D.), which lists initiates and functionaries of a Dionysiac family association, gives us an impression of such celebrations<sup>284</sup>. The torch-bearers (δαδοῦχοι) presuppose nocturnal ceremonies; several designations (θεοφόροι, κισταφόροι, λικναφόροι, φαλλοφόροι) reflect the carrying of sacred objects (the god's statue, the basket with sacred symbols, a phallus, torches, the liknon) and the burning of aromatic substances (πυρφόρος); several other functions (ιερεύς, ιεροφάντης, ὑποργός, σελιγνόκοσμος, ἀμφιθαλεῖς) are also related to the procession. The terms ἀρχιβουκόλοι, ἀρχιβασσάροι, and ἀρχιβασσάραι suggest the use of costumes. The term βᾶκχι ἀπὸ

καταζώσεως is connected with the reception of a new dress by the initiate. The staging of the ritual in an artificial cave is suggested by the term ἀντροφύλακες.

Festivals offered an opportunity for the organisation of market days, for which tax exemptions were sometimes granted<sup>285</sup>.

Some examples of the programme of festivals are provided below (V.2, 4, 5).

#### 4. Organisation of festivals and contests

##### 4.1. Funding

The financial administration of the Greek cities was quite sophisticated, including a regular budget for the cult. In many cities one can observe efforts to establish a coherent and efficient administration of public and sacred funds (ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἱερὰ πρόσδοι). Magistrates responsible for sacred funds are attested in several cities, such as ἐπι τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων (Pergamon), νεωπόλης (Priene), ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν (Samos), ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων (Smyrna), and οἰκονόμοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων (Ephesos)<sup>286</sup>. Funds were needed in particular for sacrifices, festivals, and the prizes given to the winners of contests. Information about the diverse expenses for festivals is provided primarily by the accounts of sanctuaries, which survive in large numbers but only from a few cities (Athens, Delphi, Delos), but by the accounts (ἀπολογία) of the agonothetai (e.g. in Boiotia), and by decrees concerning the organisation of celebrations<sup>287</sup>.

Additional funds were made available through revenues which were explicitly dedicated to festive

277. See e.g. the benefactions of Diodoros Paspalos in Pergamon (1st cent. B.C.?; *IGRom* III 294, l. 6–19), Kleonax in Kyme (c. 2 A.D.; *SEG* 32, 1243), and Epameinondas in Akraiphia (mid-1st cent. A.D.; *IG* VII 2712). Other examples: *IPriene* 113, l. 38–60; 118, l. 12–15 (1st cent. B.C.). See Robert, *OMS* VII 34–39; Chaniotis 11; Stavrianopoulou (n. 275).

278. Parker, *Miasma*; Rudhardt, *Notions* 163–175; *ThesCRA* II 3 a Purification, gr. (p. 11–12, purifications in festivals). See also I.5.1 and I.5.4.

279. E.g. in Corinth, atonement for the murder of Medea's children: Nilsson, *Feste* 57–61.

280. See I.5.1 and I.5.2; Bravo; Parker, *Polytheism* 182, 256–258. Further examples: Panathenaia: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 334; Asklepieia and Epidauria: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 704, 775 (*SEG* 18, 19). 974–976 + *SEG* 18, 27–28; *SEG* 18, 21; cult of Hebe: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1199; Chalkeia: *Agora* XV 253; cult of Demeter: *IEphes* 10. See also *MAMA* III 50.

281. *LSCG* 83 (oracle of Apollo at Korope, c. 100 B.C.).

282. E.g. at the Theseia in Athens: Follet, S./Pepas-Delmouzou, D., «La légende de Thésée sous l'empereur Commodus d'après le discours d'un éphèbe athénien (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2291A + 1125, complétés)», in *Romanité et cité chrétienne. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Yvette Duval* (2000) 11–17.

283. Mystery cults: see n. 57–59. Dionysiac celebrations: Dillon 140–153; Jaccottet 63–146.

284. *IGUR* 160. See Ricciardelli, G., «Mito e performance nelle associazioni dionisiache», in Tortorelli Ghidini,

M./Storchi Marino, A./Visconti, A. (eds.), *Tra Orfeo e Pitagora. Origini e incontri di culture nell'antichità* (2000) 265–282; Jaccottet 30–53. For an analogous list of functionaries in an association in Thessalonike see *SEG* 49, 814 and Nigdelis, P. M., *Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια. Συμβολὴ στὴν πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ ἱστορία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (2006) 101–128 no. 1 (*SEG* 56, 754).

285. Chandezon, C., «Foues et panégyries dans le monde grec classique et hellénistique», *REG* 113 (2000) 70–100. On trade activities in sanctuaries see *IG* XII 6, 169 (Heraion of Samos, c. 245 B.C.).

286. Migeotte, L., «Les finances publiques des cités grecques: bilan et perspectives de recherche», *Topoi* 5 (1995) 7–32; id., «La haute administration des finances publiques et sacrées dans les cités grecques», *Chiron* 36 (2006) 379–394. On the financial aspects of cult see also Lo Monaco 283–299.

287. On the funding of sacrifices in Athens see Rosivach. For Delphi see *CID* II. For Delos see a few representative documents in Prêtre, C., et al., *Nouveaux choix d'inscriptions de Délos. Lois, comptes et inventaires* (2002) 59–124, 143–198 (*IG* XI 2, 161 A, 287 A; *IDélos* 399 A, 442 A). A few further examples: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 334; *LSCG* 33; *ThesCRA* I I 1 Procections, Gr. 17 (Panathenaia, 335/4 B.C.); *IDélos* 290 l. 5, 59, 67–68, 82, 91 (Thesmophoria, Antigoneia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Aphrodisia, Ptolemaia, 246 B.C.); *ICos* ED 145, l. 14–15: τοῦ ἀργυρίου τοῦ διατεταγμένου ἐς τὰς κατὰ μῆνα θυσίας; cf. Loukopoulou (n. 11) E7 (Abdera): τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα ... δότωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας.