

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF GREEK RELIGION

Corrected Edition

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For our teachers

JOHN V.A. FINE

AND

C. BRADFORD WELLES

C. THE CULTS OF DIONYSUS

ECSTATIC WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS

The classic treatment of Dionysiac religion is Euripides' tragedy the *Bacchae* ["Bacchant Women"]. It portrays the power of the secret rites in which the devout danced in Dionysus' honor, often in winter or mountain heights, and tore animals apart in order to consume their raw flesh and blood. Euripides' play conveys the abhorrence with which much of respectable society viewed these seemingly barbaric practices, but it also conveys the compelling appeal of this religion, especially to women—its promise of blessed happiness, of contact with elemental forces, of ecstasy, of possession by the gods. (The word *enthousiasmos* is often used to denote the indwelling of the god in his devotees.) On Dionysiac religion see M.P. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion*; W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (Boston, 1950), pp. 145–182; E.R. Dodds' edition of *Euripides' Bacchae*² (Oxford, 1960), esp. the Introduction. The following passage from the *Bacchae* is a hymn of praise sung in honor of Dionysus Bromios ["Roarer"] by the chorus of Bacchant women, who congregate in a sacred band known as a *thiasos*.

(Euripides, *Bacchae* 64–168.)

From Asian land, passing by sacred Tmolos, I quickly ply for Bromios my pleasant toil, my easy-labored labor shouting *eua!* to Bacchus.

Who is on the road? Who is on the road? Who is in the palace? Let everyone come away, let every one consecrate his mouth with holy silence. For I shall sing a traditional hymn of Dionysus.

(72) O happy is he who with the god's blessing and knowledge of the rites of the gods leads a pious life and joins his soul to *thiasos* and Bacchic revels in the mountains with devoted purifications, observing the ceremonies of the Great Mother Kybele, brandishing the *thyrsos*, and crowned with ivy, serves Dionysus.

Go, Bacchantes; go, Bacchantes, and bring Dionysus Bromios, divine son of God, back out of the Phrygian mountains into the broad streets of Greece. Bromios!

(88) He it is whom his mother carried and bore in compulsive pangs of childbirth, casting him from her womb when the lightning bolt of Zeus came flying at her, and she departed the world at the stroke of the thunder. But then Zeus the son of Kronos immediately received him in his birthing chamber, and enclosed him in his thigh and fastened it with golden needles, to hide him from Hera. And he bore, when the Fates brought him to term, the bull-horned god, and he crowned him with crowns of serpents, which is the reason the maenads festoon their hair with their beast-bred prey.

(105) O Theban nurses of Semele, crown yourselves with ivy! Be laden with green bryony with its beautiful berries. Play the Bacchant with branches of oak or pine, and deck your garments of dappled fawn-skin with fillets of white wool be reverent in wielding the violent wands Soon all the earth will dance—he is Bromios, whoever leads the *thiasos* [or "whenever Bromios leads the *thiasos*"]—to the mountain, to the mountain, where the crowd of women waits, goaded from their looms and shuttles by Dionysus.

(120) O inner chamber of the Kouretes, O divine haunts of Crete which gave birth to Zeus, where the Korybantes with their triple crowns discovered in the caves this my round drum of stretched hide. And in the tense strained Bacchic dance they mixed it with the, sweet-voiced breath of Phrygian flutes, and they put it into Rhea's hand, an accompaniment to the *eua*-song of the Bacchantes. The raving Satyrs got it from the goddess mother, and they attached it to the biennial dances in which Dionysus rejoices.

(135) He is pleasant on the mountains, when he falls to the ground out of the swift-running *thiasoi*, wearing his holy fawn-skin, tracking down the blood of the slaughtered goat, the joy of flesh eaten raw, yearning for the Phrygian mountains, the Lydian, and Bromios is the leader, *euoi!*

(142) The plain flows with milk, it flows with wine, it flows with the nectar of bees; the Bacchic one holds up the pine torch bright blazing like the smoke of Syrian incense from his staff, and he darts at a run, with dances rousing the stragglers and urging them on with his cries, tossing his delicate locks in the air.

(151) And at the same time he roars out, with shouts of *eua!*, thus: "O Bacchantes, go; Bacchantes, go! with the glitter of Tmolos flowing with gold sing Dionysus to the sound of deep-roaring drums, glorifying with *eua!* the god of the *eua*-cry, in Phrygian shouts and cries, whenever the sacred melodious flute plays its roaring sacred song, joining the pilgrimage to the mountain, to the mountain. Joyfully, then, like a colt at the manger with its mother, the Bacchant moves her limbs in quick swift leaps.

This sort of nocturnal *oreibasias* ["Mountain-Processions"] is also attested as early as the seventh century B.C. (though it is not specifically Dionysiac) in the following fragment.

(Alcman, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* XI 498f—499a frag 56 in D Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford, 1962.)

Often on the tops of the mountains when the gods took delight in the festival with many torches you carried a large (wooden) cup, like the ones shepherds carry, all golden, and with your own hands you filled it with the milk of a lioness, and you made a cheese, large, unbroken, to [Hermes] the slayer of Argos.

The orgiastic nature of the Dionysiac rites is typified by the musical instruments which accompanied the dance—in this passage the geographer Strabo (who wrote in the late-first century B.C.) associates the cult of Dionysus with similar cults in Phrygia (in Asia Minor) and Thrace (northeast of Greece). Thrace was widely considered the land from which Dionysus entered Greece.³¹

(Strabo, *Geography* X. 470–471.)

Among the Thracians (among whom the Orphic rites have priority) the Kotyteia and the Bendideia are like the Phrygian rites. Aeschylus in his tragedy “The Edonians” mentions Kotyto and the instruments which accompany her, “they who keep the sacred rites of Kotys [and her instruments]”; he then alludes immediately to those who accompany Dionysus, “The one holds in his hands bass flutes, worked on a lathe, and fills it with fingered melody which brings on the incitement of madness; the other clashes bronze-bound hollow cymbals.” Again he says, “The lyre raises its cry, the awesome bull-voiced mimes roar from some hidden place, and the likeness of a drum, like subterranean thunder, comes bearing deep-seated terror.” These are like the Phrygian ones, and it is not unlikely that, since the Phrygians are colonists of the Thracians, they also transferred their sacred rites there. In addition, by associating Dionysus and Lycurgus the Edonian, they intimate the similarity of their rites.

One of the gods from Thrace and Asia Minor whose cult entered Greece in the fifth century and whose worship resembled that of Dionysus was Sabazios. The following excerpt is from a speech in which Demosthenes attacks his opponent by emphasizing the degeneracy of the rites in which he has participated. This passage alludes to some of the cult practices, and also illustrates the suspicion with which “respectable” elements regarded them.

(Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 258–260.)

But you—the respectable man, spitting on everybody else—consider the kind of fortune you have enjoyed. . . . [As a child you did menial service at your father’s grammar school], (259) and when you became a man you used to read the texts and attend to the rest of the paraphernalia at the initiation rites your mother conducted—preparing fawn skins, mixing wine, purifying the initiates and wiping them off with clay and bran, then after the purification bidding them rise and say “I have escaped the evil, I have found the better,” and you thought it respectable that no one ever gave out the shout as well as you. . . . (260) During the

31. Cf also the mysteries of Thracian gods on Samothrace, pp. 210–216.

days you led your pretty *thiasoi*, garlanded with fennel and white poplar, through the streets, and you would squeeze the *pareias*-snakes and toss them above your head, and shout *Euoi Saboi*, and dance around to *Hyes Attes! Attes Hyes!* greeted by the old women as *Exarchos* [Leader], *Prohegemon* [Instrutor], *Kittophoros* [Bearer of the Ivy], *Liknophoros* [Bearer of the Winnowing-Fan], and such like, and you would get as payment pastries—crumbled, twisted, and fresh-ground.

When the Dionysiac mysteries became popular in Rome in the second century B.C., the Romans translated their reactions against the cult into a general suppression of it. The parts of Livy’s account given here cast some light on cult practices and the social class of the participants, though the viewpoint is clearly that of a thoroughly hostile witness.

(Livy, *History of Rome* XXXIX. 9.4, 10.5–7, 13.8–14.)

The mother told the young man that she had made a vow on his behalf when he was sick, that as soon as he began to recover she would have him initiated into the Bacchic rites, and that she now wished to discharge the vow, as she was obliged to do by the generosity of the gods. He must maintain chastity for ten days; on the tenth day he would partake of a banquet and be washed with pure water, and then she would conduct him into the sanctuary. . . .

(10.5) [Then his mistress Hispala told him] that while she was a slave she entered that sanctuary as an attendant to her mistress, but as a free woman she had never gone near it. She knew that it was the work-shop of every kind of corruption, and it was well-known that for two years now no one had been initiated there who was more than twenty years old; as soon as a person was inducted, he was treated as a victim for the priests. They would conduct him to a place which resounded with screeches, chanting, music, and the crash of cymbals and drums, so that the voice of the initiate could not be heard while the shameful act was perpetrated upon him with violence. . . .

(13.8) Hispala then expounded to the consul the origin of the rites. At first that sanctuary belonged to the women, and it was customary not to admit any man. They had three days fixed each year in which initiations were held for the Bacchantes during the day. By custom the matrons were made priestesses in turn. Paculla Annia of Campania changed everything when she was priestess, in spite of a warning from the gods. She was the first to initiate men, her sons Minius Cerrinius and Herennius Cerrinius. Of the daytime rite she made a nocturnal one; and for the three days each year she established five initiation days each month. As a result, the rites were in a state of promiscuity: men mingled with women; the night added permissiveness; no crime, no vice was neglected there. There was more debauchery on the part of the men among themselves than with

the women. If some were less tolerant of the shame and more reluctant to commit the crime, they were slaughtered as sacrificial victims. To believe that nothing was illicit, among them this was the most exalted faith. Men, as if their minds had been taken from them, prophesied with frenzied tossings of their bodies; women in the vestments of Bacchants, hair in disarray, ran down to the Tiber with burning torches, submerged the torches in the water and (because live sulfur and lime were applied to them) brought them out with flame still burning. People were reported to have been carried off by the gods, when actually they had been tied to machines which carried them out of sight into hidden caverns—these were the ones who had refused to take the oath or take part in the crimes or tolerate the abuse. They were an immense group, and were now almost a second nation; several men and women of the nobility were among the number. For the last two years it had been the policy that no one over the age of twenty be initiated—those of younger ages could be got hold of and were more tolerant of error and vice.

RITES OF DIONYSUS IN SIKYON

This short passage describes the temple and worship of Dionysus at Sikyon in the northern Peloponnese. The secrecy of the Bacchic cult is here combined with a temple accessible to the public.

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece* II. 7.5–6.)

After the theater is a temple of Dionysus. The god is of gold and ivory, and beside him are Bacchants of marble. They say that these women are sacred to the god and go into a frenzy in his honor. There are other statues, but the Sikyonians keep them in secret: these they bring on one night a year into the Dionysion from the so-called *kosmeterion* ["vestry"], and they bring it accompanied by lighted torches and native hymns; the one which they call *Bakcheios* goes first—Andromadas the son of Phlias made it for them—followed by the one called *Lysios* ["Releaser"], which Phanes of Thebes brought from Thebes at the command of the Delphic oracle.

THE ANTHESTERIA

The spring festival of the Anthesteria provides an example of several types of rituals, public and private, addressed to Dionysus. A fragment of the Hellenistic historian Apollodorus gives the names of each of the three days of the festival, celebrated on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of the month Anthesterion. See the discussion in M.P. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion* (New York, 1962), pp. 32–36.

(Apollodorus of Athens, in the Scholia to Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 961; frag. 133 in *FGrH* 244.)

The whole festival held for Dionysus is called "Anthesteria" its parts are *Pithoigia* ["Opening of the Wine Jars"], *Choes* ["Pitchers"], and *Chytroi* ["Pots"].

The ceremonies of the first day, *Pithoigia*, are briefly described by Plutarch and by Phanodemus, a historian of the fourth century B.C.

(Plutarch, *Table-Talk*, 655e.)

At Athens they inaugurate the new wine on the eleventh of the month, and they call the day *Pithoigia*.

(Phanodemus, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* XI. 465a; frag. 12 in *FGrH* 325.)

At the temple of Dionysus in Limnai ["The Marshes"] the Athenians bring the new wine from the jars and mix it in honor of the god and then they drink it themselves. Because of this custom Dionysus is called *Limnaios*, because the wine was mixed with water and then for the first time drunk diluted.

The second day of the festival, "Pitchers," was also observed at the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes. The participants who conducted the rites in secrecy were a group of priestesses called *gerarai*, the *Hierokerux* [Sacred Herald], and the *Basilinna*, the wife of the annual magistrate who was called the "King" because the office included the priestly duties associated in very early times with the king of Athens. The source for all this is a speech in which Neaira, the wife of the "King" in one of the years in the late 340s B.C., is accused of having profaned the secret rites because she was not a full-blooded Athenian, and had even been a prostitute before marrying her husband. The passage also includes a reference to the ceremony, held later in the day, in which the "Queen" became the bride of Dionysus. The short selection from Aristotle describes the location of this sacred mating, the *Boukoleion* in the Athenia agora. On the Demosthenes passages see H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London and Ithaca, 1977), pp. 110–113.

(Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*, 73–76, 78.)

And this woman offered for you on behalf of the city the unspeakably holy rites, and she saw what it was inappropriate for her, being a foreigner, to see; and being a foreigner she entered where no other of all the Athenians except the wife

of the king enters; she administered the oath to the *gerarai*³² who serve at the rites, and she was given to Dionysus as his bride, and she performed on behalf of the city the traditional acts, many sacred and ineffable ones, toward the gods. These are things which may not be heard by everyone; how then is it pious for a passerby to do them, let alone for such a woman and one who has perpetrated such acts?

(74) ... In ancient times, Athenians, there was monarchy in our city, and the kingship belonged to those who in turn were outstanding because of being aboriginals. The king used to make all the sacrifices, and his wife used to perform those which were most holy and ineffable—and appropriately, since she was queen. (75) But when Theseus centralized the city and created a democracy, and the city became populous, the people continued no less than before to select the king, electing him from among the most distinguished in noble qualities. And they passed a law that his wife should be an Athenian who has never had intercourse with another man, but that he should marry a virgin, in order that according to ancestral custom she might offer the ineffably holy rites on behalf of the city, and that the customary observances might be done for the gods piously, and that nothing might be neglected or altered. (76) They inscribed this law on a *stele* and set it beside the altar in the sanctuary of Dionysus in Limnai. This *stele* is still standing today, displaying the inscription in worn Attic letters. Thus the people bore witness about their own piety toward the god and left a testament for their successors that we require her who will be given to the god as his bride and will perform the sacred rites to be that kind of woman. For these reasons they set it in the most ancient and holy temple of Dionysus in Limnai, so that most people could not see the inscription. For it is opened once each year, on the twelfth of the month Anthesterion.

(78) Now I wish to summon the sacred herald, who attends the wife of the king when she administers the oath to the *gerarai* with their baskets at the altar, before touching the sacrificial victims, in order that you may hear the oath and the formulas spoken, insofar as it is possible to hear them, and that you may see how solemn and sacred and ancient the traditional rites are:

Oath of the *Gerarai*: "I live a holy life and am wholly pure from others who do not live a pure life and from relations with a man; I serve as *gerara* at the Theoinia [feast of the wine god] and the Iobakcheia to Dionysus in accordance with ancestral custom and at the appropriate times."

32. The late lexicographer Pollux (*Onomastikon* VIII, 108) gives the following definition of the *gerarai*: "These offered to Dionysus the ineffably holy sacrifices, along with other sacred functions. There are fourteen of them, appointed by the basileus." And the *Etymologicum Magnum* quotes Dionysius of Halicarnassos: "The *gerairai* are holy women among the Athenians, whom the basileus appoints in equal numbers to the altars for the purpose of honoring [*gerairein*] the god."

(Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 3.5.)

Not all the magistrates live together. The "King" kept what is now called the Boukoleion near the *prytaneion* [townhall]. The evidence is that even now the mating and marriage of the wife of the "King" with Dionysus takes place there.

In addition to these official ceremonies, private drinking parties were held. In his comedy *The Acharnians*, Aristophanes shows us a man preparing to celebrate the advent of peace by observing the pitcher-banquet. At this banquet the host provided dessert, but each guest brought his own wine and pitcher. The fragment of Phanodemus gives an aetiological myth to explain this custom, as well as the custom of taking the wreaths to the temple of Dionysus after the party.

(Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 1085–1093.)

Come quickly to dinner, bringing your hamper and your pitcher, for the priest of Dionysus summons you. Hop to it now—you've been holding up the banquetting long enough. All the rest has been prepared—couches, tables, cushions, spreads, wreaths, myrrh, sweets, whores, all kinds of cakes (whole-wheat, flat, sesame, sesame-and-honey), and dancing girls, beautiful ones, the darlings of Harmodios. But hurry as fast as you can.

(Phanodemus, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* X, 437c–d; frag. 11 in *FGrH* 325.)

Demophon the King instituted the festival of the Pitchers [*Choes*] at Athens. When Orestes arrived at Athens [after killing his mother] Demophon wanted to receive him, but was not willing to let him approach the sacred rites nor share the libations, since he had not yet been put on trial. So he ordered the sacred things to be locked up and a separate pitcher of wine to be set beside each person, saying that a flat cake would be given as a prize to the one who drained his first. He also ordered them, when they had stopped drinking, not to put the wreathes with which they were crowned on the sacred objects, because they had been under the same roof with Orestes. Rather, each one was to twine them around his own pitcher and take the wreathes to the priestess at the precinct in Limnai, and then to perform the rest of the sacrifice in the sanctuary. The festival has been called *Choes* ever since.

The third day Chytroi ["Pots"] was a day of relative solemnity. Pots of food were set out for Hermes (as the guide of the dead to the underworld). Theopompus, who wrote in the fourth century, describes the ceremony and gives an aetiological explanation for it.

(Theopompus, in the Scholia to Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 1076; frag. 347 in *FGrH* 115.)

Those who had survived the great deluge [of Deukalion] boiled pots of every kind of seed, and from this the festival gets its name. It is their custom to sacrifice to Hermes Chthonios [Of the Underworld]. No one tastes the pot. The survivors did this in propitiation to Hermes on behalf of those who had died.

The Chytroi ended with a ritual cry usually interpreted as an order to the souls of the departed to leave the land of the living. Our source for the cry is a Christian writer of the ninth century A.D., who gives another explanation (see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* [Berlin, 1932], pp. 94–96, 113–114).³³

(Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “Thyraze Kares.”)

“To the doors, Kares, it is no longer Anthesteria”: some authorities contend that this is what is said to the crowd of Karian slaves, since at the Anthesteria they join in the feast and do not do any work. Therefore, when the festival is over, they send them back out to work with the words, “To the doors, Kares, it is no longer Anthesteria.” But others contend that the proverb goes: “To the doors, Keres, it is no longer Anthesteria,” since the souls [*keres*] wander about through the city at the Anthesteria.

THE RURAL DIONYSIA

Many of the *demes* of Attica had their own festivals of Dionysus, held in the winter month of Poseideon. Our chief source is this passage from Aristophanes’ comedy the *Acharnians*, in which Dikaiopolis makes a private peace treaty with the Spartans, then celebrates with the bawdy revelry of a phallic procession with the rest of his family.

(Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 243–279.)

Dikaiopolis: Keep holy silence, holy silence! *Chorus*: Quiet, everybody. Did you men hear that “holy silence”? This is the one, the person we’ve been looking for. Everybody out of the way—it looks as if the man is coming out to make a sacrifice.

33. See also R. Ganszyniec, “Thyraze Kares,” *Eranos* 1947, 100–113; M. van der Valk, “Thyraze Kares or Keres,” *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 76 (1963) 418–420; J. ter Brugt-Lenz, “Thyraze Keres,” *Mnemosyne* 15 (1962) 238–247.

Dikaiopolis: Keep holy silence, holy silence! Girl, be the Basket-bearer, come forward a little—Xanthias, hold the phallus up straight. Now put the basket down, daughter, so we can start.

Daughter: Here, mother, hand me the sauce-boat, so I can pour the sauce on this cake.

Dikaiopolis: Well, that’s fine. O Lord Dionysus, may it be well-pleasing to you, that I conduct this procession, make sacrifice with my household, and celebrate auspiciously the country Dionysia, to observe my release from army duty. And may my thirty-year truce be well concluded. Daughter, be nice—and careful to carry the basket nicely—you look like you’ve had a dose of bitter herbs. It’ll be a lucky man who marries you, and when he gets up, produces little polecats that smell just as bad as you. Go on, and be very careful in the crowd that nobody sneaks a nibble at your baubles. Xanthias, you two hold the phallus up straight and follow the Basket-bearer. I’ll come along and sing the phallus-song. Wife, you watch me from the roof. Let’s go O Phales, comrade of Bacchus, wanderer in the night, adulterer, pederast: it has been six years since I have come in joy to my deme to address you, to pour libations to make a treaty for myself, discharged from business and battle and Lamachos. Much more pleasant it is, O Phales, Phales, to find that ripe and ready thieving wood-gathering Thracian slave-girl of Strymodoros, the one from Phelleus, to grab her waist, lift her up, toss her down, and get down to business, O Phales, Phales. If you join our drinking-party, at dawn the morning after you will gulp down a cup of peace; and the shield will hang on the fireplace.

THE CITY DIONYSIA

The great Attic festival of Dionysus was held in the spring month of Elaphebolion. After a procession on the first day escorting the god’s statue to the theater precinct, the festival included three days of choral performances and the production of tragedies and comedies. In the first passage, Demosthenes the orator who as *choregos* or sponsor of the boys’ dithyrambic chorus in 349 B.C. was assaulted by his enemy Meidias in the theater, here accuses Meidias of sacrilege. In the process he cites some of the laws and oracles regulating the festival.

(Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 51–54.)

Surely you know that you perform all these choral dances and hymns to the god in accordance not only with the laws concerning the Dionysia, but also with the oracles both from Delphi and from Dodona, in all of which you will find it enjoined upon the city to organize choruses according to ancestral custom, to fill

the streets with sacrificial savor and to wear garlands. (52) Please take them and read the oracles themselves.

“Now I address you, the sons of Erechtheus, all who do dwell in Pandion’s city, whose festivals follow the ancestral customs.

Be ever mindful of Bacchus, and throughout the broad spacious roadways Set up the thanksgiving dances to Bromios for all the seasons,

Cover your heads with thick garlands, set sweet smelling savor on altars.”

“For good health, sacrifice and pray to Zeus Hypatos [the Highest], and Apollo Prostatarios [the Guardian]. For good fortune, to Apollo Agyieus [of the Streets], Lato, Artemis; in the streets set bowls of wine and dances, and wear garlands according to ancestral custom for all the Olympian gods and goddesses, raising right arms and left; and remember your donations.”

(53) Oracle from Dodona: “The man of Zeus declares to the Athenian people: whereas you have let pass the times of sacrifice and the sacred embassy, he commands you to send nine delegated envoys, and with dispatch. Make an auspicious offering to Zeus Naios of three oxen and with each ox two sheep, and to Dione an ox, and a bronze table for the dedication which the Athenian people have dedicated.

“The man of Zeus declares in Dodona: conduct a public sacrifice to Dionysus, mix a bowl of wine and set up choruses; sacrifice an ox to Apollo Apotropaïos [the Averter]; both free and slave are to wear garlands, and to be at leisure for one day. A white bull to Zeus Ktesios.”

(54) Athenians, these and many other fine oracles are in the city’s keeping. What then should you take to heart out of them?—that they order us to offer sacrifices to the gods indicated by each oracle, but in addition they also enjoin us to set up choruses and to wear garlands according to ancestral custom and all the oracles which come to us.

The following short passages illustrate the procession with the statue of Dionysus from the suburban Academy to the temple in the theater precinct, and also the conduct of the performances themselves. For a detailed account of the festival, see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 57–125; more briefly in Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London and Ithaca, 1977), pp. 125–136.

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I. 29.2.)

The Athenians also have shrines of gods and heroes and tombs of men outside the city in the denies and along the roads. The nearest is the Academy; it was once one man’s private property, but in my day is a gymnasium. . . . There is a temple there, not large, into which they bring the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus every year on certain fixed days.

(Alciphron, *Letters* IV. 18.16.)

May I always have the opportunity to garland myself with Attic ivy and sing hymns to Dionysus each year at the Hearth.

(*IG* II² 1006, lines 12–14.)

[The youths of the city] accompanied Dionysus from the Hearth to the theater with torches, and they sent to the Dionysia a bull worthy of the god which they sacrificed to the god at the procession.

(Philochorus, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* XI. 464f; frag. 171 in *FGrH* 328.)

The Athenians, at the Dionysiac competitions, first had breakfast and drank, and when they had finished they went to the show. They wore wreathes to watch it, and during the whole competition wine was poured for them and sweets were brought around. They would pour out something for the choruses to drink at their entrances, and when they were through with the competition and were proceeding out, they would pour some more for them.