

The *Heorte* of Heortology

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MOST HEORTOLOGICAL STUDIES, including my own,¹ treat as ‘festivals’ religious activities as diverse as the Arrephoria, the Panathenaia, and occasionally even simple sacrifices to deities of the state cult. But such ‘festivals’ often differed markedly from one another in ritual, ambience, purpose, and in the number and rôle of the participants. It is time, I think, to direct attention to the Greek terminology for these religious activities and to consider whether ‘festival’ is the appropriate designation for all of them. In particular I wish to investigate the special character and form of religious activities which the Athenians² called *heortai*.

We must first distinguish between *heorte* and *thysia*.³ There was a *thysia*, a sacrifice, of some type in each *heorte*, but each *thysia* was not a *heorte*. And there is no evidence to indicate that if a *thysia* was part of state cult, *i.e.* if it was financed by the state or performed by state officials, it was therefore a *heorte*. A *thysia* might be very large, as that to Zeus Soter in 334/3, the skins of the victims of which were sold for 1050 drachmae,⁴ but this alone should not induce us to label

¹ A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898); L. DEUBNER, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932: hereafter ‘Deubner’); Jon D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975); and H. W. PARKE, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977: hereafter ‘Parke’).

² This study is limited to Athens because only for Athens is there evidence on sufficient *heortai* to allow reliable conclusions.

³ On *thysia*, its cognates, and its relationship to *heorte* see J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec* (Aix-en-Provence 1966) 69–154, esp. 132–34. The examples, particularly Hdt. 2.60 and 62, which Casabona cites to show that *thysia* may on occasion simply mean *heorte* are not convincing.

⁴ IG II² 1496.88–89. One notices in this inscription a distinction between religious activities that have proper names (*e.g.* Panathenaia, Eleusinia, and Asklepieia) and those that are simply termed sacrifices (*e.g.* *thysia* to Eirene, *thysia* to Agathe Tyche, and *thysia* to Democratia). Only activities of the first group—the Panathenaia, Eleusinia, City Dionysia, and Bendideia—are termed *heortai* by the sources (see *infra*). The Asklepieia was imported from Epidaurus in 419 B.C. and the Bendideia from Thrace at approximately the same time, but, apart from these, the group with proper names in this inscription contains only old and well-established Athenian religious activities, whereas several of the *thysiai*, as to Eirene, Ammon, Democratia, and Agathe Tyche (see Deubner, index *s.vv.*) are demonstrably or probably of late fifth- or fourth-century origin. It is probably *heortai* like the Asklepieia and Bendideia that Isocrates (7.29) terms “added” (*ἐμθέτους*) when he complains of their grand celebrations and banquets

it a *heorte*.⁵ A *heorte* had a character apart from and beyond that of a *thysia*, and it is this special character to which I wish to draw attention.

Athenian authors and sources of the classical period designate the following religious activities as *heortai*: the Anthesteria (Ar. *Ach.* 1079);⁶ Apatouria (Hdt. 1.147, Pl. *Ti.* 21B); Bendideia (Pl. *Resp.* 327A); Brauronia (Hdt. 6.138.1); Diasia (Thuc. 1.126); City Dionysia (Dem. 4.35); Eleusinia (*IG* I² 5.5); Haloa (Philochorus *FGrHist* 328F 83); Eleusinian Mysteries (Hdt. 8.65.4, Lys. 6 *passim*); Panathenaia (Dem. 4.35); Proerosia (*IG* II² 1363.4–6); Pyanopsia (Lycurgus in Harp. s.v.); Skira and Stenia (Ar. *Thesm.* 834–35); Synoikia (Thuc. 2.15.2); Tauropolia (Eur. *IT* 1456–61); Thargelia (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.28); Thesmophoria at Piraeus (*IG* II² 1177.8); a celebration for Asclepius in the Piraeus (*IG* II² 47.32–39); and the *theoria* to Apollo on Delos (Pl. *Phd.* 61A, Thuc. 3.104). If we give to the Eleusinian Mysteries, to the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Delian Apollo, and to Asclepius' celebration in the Piraeus their proper names, viz. τὰ μυστήρια, Delia, and Asklepieia,⁷ then the names of all the *heortai* end in the same letter, as Herodotus (1.148) tells us they will.

Thucydides (2.15.2) speaks of the Synoikia as a *έορτή δημοτελής*, i.e. a *heorte* 'paid for at state expense'. Jacoby⁸ treats *έορταί δημοτελείς* as one category of *heortai* and infers from lexicographers' treatments of *ιερέια δημοτελή*⁹ other categories of *heortai*, e.g. those of demes, of orgeones, and of the clans. One might add to these categories 'private' *heortai*, however paradoxical this may seem, because we have an example in the annual *heorte* of Artemis of Eph-

at the expense of attention paid to "the most holy of the sacred rites." Such *heortai* were 'added' by the vote of the ekklesia (Suda s.v. *έπιθέτους έορτάς*).

⁵ Philochorus' two books entitled *Περί έορτών* (*FGrHist* 328F83–84) and *Περί θυσιών* (80–82) and the title of Habron's work *Περί έορτών και θυσιών* (359F1) indicate that the distinction between *heortai* and *thysiai* was maintained for some time in the scholarly tradition.

⁶ Aristophanes here has Lamachus talk of 'celebrating a *heorte*' (*έορτάζειν*) on the Choes and Chytroi. The Choes and Chytroi were each part of the *heorte* of the Anthesteria; in the classical period they were not individually termed *heortai* (see Jacoby *ad FGrHist* 328F84). There is a fine but important distinction between Aristophanes' usage in speaking of 'celebrating a *heorte*' on the Choes and Chytroi and that of the late lexicographers who simply designate each of them a *heorte*.

⁷ The Asklepieia in the Piraeus is distinct from the Asklepieia held in the city on Boedromion 17 or 18 and on Elaphebolion 8.

⁸ *CQ* 38 (1944) 66–67.

⁹ E.g. *Anecd.Bekk.* I 240.28, *δημοτελή και δημοτικά ιερέια διαφέρει· τὰ μὲν δημοτελή θύματα ἢ πόλις δίδωσι, εἰς δὲ τὰ δημοτικά οἱ δημόται;* and Harp. s.v. *δημοτελή και δημοτικά ιερά· διέφερον ἀλλήλων και τῶν ὀργεωνικῶν και τῶν γενικῶν ... Cf. Hesychius and Suda s.v. δημοτελής.*

esus which Xenophon, in exceptional circumstances, created, presented, and administered for his friends and neighbors in Scillus (*An.* 5.3.4–13). Such categories may be instructive in delineating the historical development of *heortai* because in earlier periods many *heortai* like the Eleusinia, Mysteries, Haloa, and Brauronia were under the control of demes or clans. But by the fifth century virtually all Athenian *heortai* had some administrative control and financial support from the state and were therefore δημοτελείς. By his use of δημοτελής in 2.15.2 Thucydides points to the uniqueness of the Synoikia as the first *heorte* celebrated, paid for, and administered by the newly formed Athenian state.

In Plato's ideal state of the *Laws* the lawgiver and law-guardian are to establish twelve *heortai*¹⁰ for the twelve gods after whom the tribes are named. These *heortai* are to consist of sacrifices, choruses, and musical and athletic contests. The lawgiver also advises to distinguish between women's *heortai* that allow the presence of men and those that do not.¹¹ In the *Laws* (653D) Plato has the Athenian speculate on why gods established *heortai*: "The gods, because they pitied the race of men which is born to hard labor, assigned to them the recompense of *heortai*¹² as relaxations from their labors [*cf.* Thuc. 2.38]. They gave to men as fellow-participants in the *heortai* the Muses, Apollo Musegetes, and Dionysus so that men might be set again on the proper course.¹³ The gods also gave the nourishment which occurs in the *heortai*." Plato recognizes that sacrifices and *heortai* are

¹⁰ Although the wording of *Leg.* 828AB is somewhat imprecise, one can distinguish between *thysiai* and *heortai*. There are to be 365 sacrifices (not the 'feasts' of Bury's translation in the Loeb), one each day; there are to be only twelve *heortai*, one each month. Plato's discussion of choruses and contests in this passage concerns only the *heortai*.

¹¹ Of the Athenian *heortai* listed above, the Thesmophoria, Stenia, and Haloa were celebrated primarily or exclusively by women.

¹² τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβὰς [τοῖς θεοῖς]. I follow (with Ast, Schanz, and England) Clement of Alexandria in omitting τοῖς θεοῖς. The remaining phrase cannot mean 'the feasts of thanksgiving' (Bury), nor, I think, does it mean 'changes consisting of festivals' (England). The *heortai* are intended rather as 'recompense' for the labors of one's life. The presence of the Muses, Apollo Musegetes, and Dionysus may have induced a literal-minded interpolator to append crudely τοῖς θεοῖς here and μετὰ τῶν θεῶν at the end of the sentence. The resulting image of the golden age, a time in which the gods literally participated with men in *heortai* (see M. L. West, *Hesiod, Works and Days* [Oxford 1978] 285–92) is inappropriate to the context.

¹³ ἵνα ἐπανορθῶνται. Plato uses *heortai* in his ideal state for educational purposes. He opens this discussion (653D) of *heortai* with the observation that the education of one's childhood often breaks down in adulthood. ἵνα ἐπανορθῶνται, I would argue, refers to the need of adults to be re-educated by means of the μουσική (Muses, Apollo Musegetes, and Dionysus) of *heortai*. ἐπανορθῶνται is thus passive, with ἄνθρωποι as its understood subject. For a quite different interpretation see England *ad loc.*

occasions for “paying due honor to the gods” (*Leg.* 809D),¹⁴ but throughout his writings the primary stress is upon the musical, athletic, social, and culinary aspects of *heortai*. Simply put, a *heorte* is an enjoyable occasion of sacrificing, feasting, dancing, and play (*παιδιά*). Plato, ever the pedagogue, employs these elements of the *heortai* to instill or revive military and ethical training, but he does it in such a way that this does not distract from the joyful experience of the participants.

Aristotle, like Plato, puts *heortai* in the context of play (*παιδιά*), laughter, prosperity, success, and satiety (*Rh.* 1380b3). These descriptions of *heortai* as joyful and entertaining opportunities to sing, dance, participate in or watch contests, feast, and sacrifice clearly reflect the attitude which Athenians of the fifth and fourth century had towards this element of their religious life.¹⁵ The chorus of blessed initiates in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* (386–395) spends eternity in celebrating a *heorte* of play and dance (*παῖσαι τε καὶ χορεύσαι*).¹⁶ The unique feature of their *heorte* was not so much its character as its duration. In *Peace* the chorus bids the Muse to “play the *heorte* along with me” (*μετ’ ἐμοῦ σύμπαιζε τὴν ἑορτήν*, 816). And in *Clouds* (615–19) the gods are angry because the Athenians so muddle their calendar that the gods often arrive on the wrong day and thus are cheated of their ‘dinners’ in *heortai*. Aristophanes could expect his audience to commiserate, in comic fashion, with these cheated and hungry gods. The association of *heorte* and banquet was so close in Athens that Plato in colloquial language can treat the two as virtually synonymous (*Resp.* 5.458A, *Grg.* 447A). And in *Clouds* Strepsiades (408–09) associates the Diasia with cooking while Socrates (386–87) describes the fierce indigestion linked with the Panathenaia.¹⁷

There was, in addition to the pleasures of the palate, the delight in spectacle. One went to a *heorte* to ‘see it’,¹⁸ and also, no doubt, to be seen. Prosperous men and women had special garments which they wore only for *heortai*¹⁹ and which, if their household organization met

¹⁴ *Heortai* are celebrated ‘for a god’, e.g. for Dionysus. See Casabona (*supra* n.3) 132–33.

¹⁵ Thuc. 3.104; Xen. *An.* 5.3.10–12, *Cyr.* 1.5.1; Ar. *Ran.* 370–71, 386–95, 444–46, *Nub.* 615–19, *Pax* 816; Isoc. 4.158, 19.40. Herodotus reveals his understanding of *heortai* in his descriptions of Egyptian and Babylonian *heortai* (1.191.6, 2.60, 3.27.3). Cf. Homer *Od.* 20.156, 21.258.

¹⁶ Cf. 370–71, 398, 444–46.

¹⁷ Cf. [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.9. At Xenophon’s *heorte* in Scillus even the pack animals enjoyed a feast (*An.* 5.3.12).

¹⁸ *θεωρεῖν* and cognates: Thuc. 3.104, Soph. *OT* 1490–91, Isae. 8.15–16, Pl. *Leg.* 657D.

¹⁹ Xen. *Oec.* 9.6 and 10, Pl. *Ion* 535D; cf. Hdt. 9.92.3.

Ischomachaeon standards, they kept stored separately. Among the indignities which Demosthenes claimed to have suffered from Meidias was the attempted destruction of the garment that he intended to wear at the City Dionysia. Demosthenes waxes hyperbolic in labeling this garment 'holy' because it had been prepared for the *heorte* (21.16). *Heortai* were major social occasions, particularly in the sheltered and home-bound lives of young women. The inability to enjoy or participate in *heortai* ranks high, like the loss of marriage, among the deprivations which young tragic heroines such as Electra (Eur. *El.* 310), Antigone (Soph. *OT* 1490–91), and Cassandra (Eur. *Tro.* 452) could suffer.

A survey of the religious activities specifically termed *heortai* in the classical period indicates to what extent processions, banqueting, and musical or athletic competitions were common to them. Processions are attested for the Bendideia (Pl. *Resp.* 327A), Brauronia (Philochorus *FGrHist* 328F101), City Dionysia, Choes,²⁰ Delia (*I.Délos* IV 1869), Eleusinia (*IG* II² 930.8), Eleusinian Mysteries,²¹ Haloa (*Anecd. Bekker* I 384.31), Panathenaia (Parthenon frieze), Pyanopsia (Harp. s.v. Πυανόψια), Skira (Harp. s.v. Σκίρον), Thesmophoria (Isae. 6.50), and Thargelia (Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 56.26). Banquets or distributions of meat are attested elements of the Apatouria (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 146), Asklepieia in Piraeus (*IG* II² 47.32–39), Bendideia (Pl. *Resp.* 354A, *IG* II² 1255.5–6), Brauronia (dining couches at sanctuary), City Dionysia,²² Diasia (Ar. *Nub.* 408–09, Lucian *Tim.* 7), Eleusinia (*IG* II² 847.24–26), Mysteries,²³ Haloa (*IG* II² 1299.11–14), Panathenaia (*IG* I² 188.18–21, II² 334), Proerosia (*IG* II² 1183.32–34), Pyanopsia (Plut. *Thes.* 22), Synoikia (*IG* I² 188.60–63), and Thesmophoria (Isae. 3.80). Performances or contests of μουσική or γυμνική occurred at the Apatouria (Pl. *Ti.* 21B), Bendideia (*Resp.* 328A), Brauronia (Hesych. s.v.), City Dionysia,²⁴ Chytroi ([Plut.] *X orat.* 841F), Delia (Thuc. 3.104), Diasia ([Lucian] *Charid.* 1), Eleusinia (*IG* II² 1672.258–62), Haloa (*IG* II² 1299.29 and 77), Panathenaia (*IG* II² 2311–17), Pyanopsia (Suda s.v. εἰρεσιώνη), Skira,²⁵ Tauropolia (Men. *Epit.* 476–79

²⁰ A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford 1968) 61–63, 10–13.

²¹ G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1962) 252–58.

²² Pickard-Cambridge (*supra* n.20) 89. In addition to the banquet provided by the *choregos* there was also probably a large public banquet after the sacrifices and before the *komos* on Elaphebolion 10.

²³ Mylonas (*supra* n.21) 271–72.

²⁴ Pickard-Cambridge (*supra* n.20) 57–125.

²⁵ Jacoby *ad FGrHist* 328F14–16. But see also now E. Kadletz, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 363–71.

[Sandbach]), and Thargelia (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56. 12). The Bendideia (Pl. *Resp.* 328A), Haloa (Alciphron 4.6.3), Mysteries (Eur. *Ion* 1074–77), Panathenaia (*IG II²* 334.30–33), Stenia (*IG II²* 1363.14–17), and Tauropolia (Men. *Epit.* 450–52) also included a *pannychis*, an ‘all-night’ celebration.

The fragmentary nature of the evidence does not allow us to prove that all *heortai* included processions, banquets, and musical or athletic performances and contests. Clearly most did, and in general terms we may say that *heortai* are of a homogeneous character to the extent that they included most or all of these elements. They were joyful, pleasant, playful, and entertaining occasions for participants and spectators.²⁶ *Heortai* are, properly, ‘festivals’.

The two most striking metaphorical uses of *heorte* also center upon this understanding of the word. In each the *heorte* is that which the subject could most enjoy doing, but in each the author adds the twist that this activity is either repugnant or surprising to the observer. In Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, after the *parodos*, Apollo attempts to chase the Furies from his sanctuary. He chastizes them, claiming that their proper interests are condemnations to beheadings and eye-gougings, slaughters, emasculations of children, amputations, stonings, and the moans of impaled men. “Do you,” he continues, “hear what kind of *heorte* you love (οἷας ἐορτῆς . . . στέργηθρ’ ἔχουσαι) and why therefore you are hateful to the gods?” (186–92). Those gougings and emasculations and impalings which are to others such a horror are to the Furies their *heorte*. Thucydides puts an image of similar form but different tone into the mouths of the Corinthians (1.70) in their famous description of the Athenians: “(The Athenians) consider doing what has to be done nothing other than a *heorte*,” καὶ μήτε ἐορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράξαι (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 9c). The Athenians’ exasperated enemies who claim to prefer moments of peace and quiet note with some surprise and admiration the sheer pleasure the Athenians derive from *πολυπραγμοσύνη*. Both these images point to *heortai* as paradigms of pleasure and enjoyment, and upon this understanding of *heortai* both images depend.

In view of all that has been said of the nature and atmosphere of *heortai*, the concept of a ἐορτὴ πένθιμος, a ‘lugubrious *heorte*’, seems paradoxical and anomalous. ἐορταὶ πένθιμοι may be, I suspect, little more than a mistake of post-classical and modern scholars. The two

²⁶ I owe to Professor Zeph Stewart two quotations which capture nicely ancient attitudes towards *heortai*: Democritus (DK 68F230), βίος ἀνεόρταστος μακρῆ ὁδὸς ἀπανδόκεντος; and Antiphon (DK 87F57), νόσος δειλοῖσι ἐορτῆ, with the explanation οὐ γὰρ ἐκπορεύονται ἐπὶ πράξιν.

religious activities generally termed *έορταί πένθιμοι*, the *Genesisia* and *Hydrophoria*, require some examination.

The only evidence for the lugubrious character of the *Genesisia*²⁷ is Hesychius *s.v.* *Γενέσια· έορτή πάνθιμος Ἀθηναίους*. Hesychius' meaningless *πάνθιμος* appears as *πενθήμερος* in *Anecd.Bekker* I 231.19 but has been emended by modern scholars to give *πένθιμος*. Accordingly, the *Genesisia* has become a *έορτή πένθιμος* only by the emendation of a very late lexicographical citation. There is no doubt that the *Genesisia* involved rites for or in memory of the dead, but its lugubrious character is not established by ancient evidence. We cannot even be certain that it was a *heorte*. The only indication, apart from Hesychius, is *Anecd.Bekker* I 86.20: *οὔσης τε έορτῆς δημοτελοῦς Ἀθηναίς, Βοηδρομιῶνος πέμπτης, γενέσια καλουμένης, καθότι φησὶ Φιλόχορος (FGrHist 328F28) καὶ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς ἄξουσιν*. Jacoby in his discussion of this passage attributes all the heortological information to Philochorus, and thus there would be good evidence that the *Genesisia* was a *heorte*. But if Philochorus is responsible for only the date, or for only the name and the date,²⁸ then the only source that the *Genesisia* was a *heorte* is the lexicographical tradition, and, we must remember, the lexicographers were rather cavalier in their use of this term.²⁹ Although one cannot be certain because of the scantiness of the evidence, the *Genesisia* apparently had none of the characteristic elements of a *heorte*. And, in short, if the *Genesisia* were a *heorte*, which is open to question, there is virtually nothing to indicate that it was a *έορτή πένθιμος*.

The case is different for the *Hydrophoria*, which consisted of offerings to the victims of the great flood of Deucalion's time. These offerings most probably occurred as part of the *Chytroi*.³⁰ Photius, Hesychius, and the *Suda* (*s.v.* 'Υδροφόρια) term the *Hydrophoria* a

²⁷ For the testimonia and discussion of the *Genesisia* see Deubner 229–30 and Jacoby (*supra* n.8) 65–75.

²⁸ As, for example, Jacoby claims for 328F84.

²⁹ Lexicographers and scholiasts made *heorte* into one of their major categories of classification and extended its usage to include virtually all religious activities (see Jacoby *ad* 328F84). In the *Suda*, for example, even private birthday celebrations (*s.v.* *γενέθλια*) are labeled *heortai*. There are traces, in the Roman period, of this development also outside or on the periphery of the scholarly tradition. *E.g.* Pausanias once calls the *Arrephoria* (1.27.3) a *heorte*. Athenaios (437B) erroneously designates the *Choes* a *heorte* (see *supra* n.6). And in Athens the *Iobacchoi*, somewhat before A.D. 180, had a *πρόσκαμος έορτή*, an 'occasional *heorte*' (*IG* II² 1368.44). Such a concept is unparalleled in the classical period. Plutarch, as we might expect, uses *heorte* in the classical way, often distinguishing *heortai* from other types of religious activities (*e.g.* *Thes.* 20.5, *Mor.* 169D).

³⁰ Deubner 113, Parke 117. But *cf.* Jacoby *ad* *FGrHist* 365F4.

έορτή πένθιμος, and we know from other sources that the Chytroi was part of a *heorte*. Photius and the Suda cite as their authority an Athenian, Apollonius of Acharnai (130–100 B.C.), whose book was entitled Περὶ έορτῶν. If one takes into account the highly abbreviated nature of lexicographical citations, the evidence would suggest that the Hydrophoria was a ritual which formed part of the Chytroi which was, itself, part of the *heorte* called Anthesteria. The rites of the Hydrophoria were possibly πένθιμα, but the whole *heorte* need not have been. The offerings on this day to Hermes Chthonius and the puzzling cry Θύραζε Κήρες, “Spirits of the Dead (?), out of the door,” may have been, like the Hydrophoria itself, part of the cult of the dead. But the day of the Chytroi was not άποφράς.³¹ In fact the best evidence we have for the day suggests quite the opposite. In the fourth century Lycurgus introduced a proposal to restore the contest of comic actors held on this day, the άγῶνες χύτρινοι (schol. Ar. *Ran.* 218, [Plut.] *Mor.* 841F). Such a contest is hardly compatible with the gloomy character generally attributed to this day. The Chytroi may have had some lugubrious elements like the Hydrophoria, but it is highly improbable that either the Chytroi or Hydrophoria was a *heorte* (see *supra* n.6), to say nothing of a έορτή πένθιμος.

Much the same explanation may serve for the remaining possibly gloomy *heorte*, the Diasia.³² This was celebrated for Zeus Meilichios μετά τινος στυγνότητος, “with some repugnance” (Hesychius s.v. Διάσια, schol. Lucian *Tim.* 43, *Icar.* 24). To Aristophanes’ Strep-siades, however, the thought of this *heorte* brings to mind the pleasures of the banquet (*Nub.* 408–09, cf. Lucian *Tim.* 7). The dual character of this *heorte* which apparently incorporated some lugubrious elements but was ultimately joyful is nicely symbolized in the offering of the demesmen of Erchia. Their sacrifice at this *heorte* was to be “wineless until the vital organs were consumed.”³³ After that the wine could flow.

The Chytroi and Diasia and, perhaps, the Genesisia indicate that, exceptionally, *heortai* might include in their structure some gloomy or lugubrious elements. But these few exceptions should not distract attention from the otherwise consistent classical tradition, from sources both on the nature of a *heorte* and on specific *heortai*.³⁴ This tradition

³¹ Mikalson, *AJP* 95 (1975) 24. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge (*supra* n.20) 13–15.

³² Deubner 155–57 and M. Jameson, *BCH* 89 (1965) 159–66.

³³ Jameson (*supra* n.32) 159.

³⁴ Although the lexicographers and the scholiasts to Aristophanes are not reliable sources for identifying *heortai*, it should be noted that they describe the following as Athenian *heortai*: Adonia (schol. *Lys.* 389), Aianteia (Hesych.), Aiora (Hesych.), As-

portrays *heortai* as pleasant and joyful religious experiences with an abundance of good food, good company, and good entertainment. In our attempts to describe and characterize Greek religious attitudes we must not neglect these emotions and expectations that Athenians of the classical period had regarding this major element of their religious life.

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kolia (schol. *Plut.* 1129), Boedromia (Harp., Suda), Bouphonia (Harp., Hesych., Suda, schol. *Pax* 419 and *Nub.* 985), Chalkeia (Harp., Suda), Charmosyna (Hesych.), Epikleidia (Hesych.), Galaxia (Hesych.), Hephaistia (Harp., Suda s.v. *λαμπάς*), Kronia (Hesych., Suda, schol. *Nub.* 397), Lenaia (Suda, schol. *Eq.* 547), Oschophoria (Hesych. s.v. *δειπνοφόροι*, Suda), Pandia (Harp., Hesych.), Paionia (schol. *Ach.* 1213), Pithoigia (Hesych.), Plynteria (Harp., Hesych.), Prometheia (Harp., Suda s.v. *λαμπάς*), Proschaireteria (Harp., Suda), Pyanopsia (Hesych., Suda, schol. *Eq.* 729), and Theseia (Hesych., Suda, schol. *Plut.* 627). Of these the Pithoigia was part of the Anthesteria. Some, e.g. the Aianteia, Chalkeia, Hephaistia, Kronia, Lenaia, Oschophoria, Prometheia, Pyanopsia, and Theseia, were quite probably *heortai*. Plutarch, who understands his terminology, labels the Kybernesia (*Thes.* 17.6) and the Oschophoria (*Thes.* 23.2) *heortai*. The others on the list, so far as they are known, lacked the characteristic elements of *heortai*. Some are probably rituals and offerings, for example the Aiora, Askolia, Bouphonia, Galaxia, Plynteria, and Proschaireteria.