

The Race and Procession of the Athenian *Oscophoroi*

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THE ATHENIAN STATE conducted each year both a race and a procession, each of them involving youths called *oscophoroi*.¹ Students of Attic religion have disagreed sharply over the relationship between these two events, on which the evidence is contradictory. In this paper I wish to argue that one piece of evidence has been overlooked in this debate which may show the way to the correct answer.

Until recently it has been supposed that both the race and the procession were part of the festival known as the *Oscophoria*, which was celebrated early in the month of Pyanepsion (Oct./Nov.).² Felix Jacoby, however, in his study of the *Atthidographers*, argued vehemently against this reconstruction.³ According to Jacoby, the procession alone was part of the *Oscophoria*; the race took place during the festival of Skira, on the twelfth of Skiraphorion (June/July). Jacoby's interpretation has been followed by H. W. Parke in his recent book on Athenian festivals.⁴ Jacoby says that⁵ "an independent argument against the infor-

¹ As this is the spelling used in the one epigraphical testimony, it is to be taken as the correct spelling and will be used in this paper.

² D. K. F. HERMANN, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten* II (Heidelberg 1846) 288; K. O. MÜLLER, *Kleine deutsche Schriften* II (Breslau 1848) 164; W. MANNHARDT *Wald- und Feldkulte* I (Berlin 1875) 216–17; P. STENGEL, *Die griechischen Sakralaltertümer* (Munich 1890) 157–58, cf. *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ (Munich 1920) 229; L. PRELLER, *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin 1894) 207–08; A. MOMMSEN, *Feste in der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) 283–84; J. HEEG, in *Roscher Lex.* 4 (1909–1915) 999–1000; A. RUTGERS VAN DER LOEFF, "De Oschophoriis," *Mnemosyne* 43 (1915) 404–15; L. DEUBNER, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 142–47; W. S. FERGUSON, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 36; H. JEANMAIRE, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille 1939) 361; L. ZIEHEN, "Oschophoria," *RE* 18.2 (1942) 1538–39; M. P. NILSSON, *GGR* I³ (Munich 1967) 125; A. BRELICH, *Paidēs e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 444–45. These works are cited hereafter by authors' names alone.

³ F. Jacoby *ad FGrHist* 328F15 (IIIb Suppl. 1 [1954] 300–05).

⁴ H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca 1977) 160–61; but for one argument against Jacoby see P. Vidal-Naquet, *ProcCambPhilAs* 194 (1968) 58.

⁵ Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb Suppl. 2 (1954) 220 n.179.

mation given by Aristodemos [*viz.*, that the race was part of the Skira] has, in fact, never been brought forward.” I shall attempt below to bring forward such an argument.

The ancient authors who mention a race or a procession of *oscophoroi* are few and their testimony is easily set forth:

FGrHist 383F9. Aristodemos, a scholar of the second century B.C. who wrote a commentary on Pindar (quoted by Athenaeus, 11.495F):

Ἀριστόδημος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Πινδάρου τοῖς Σκίροις φησὶν Ἀθηναῖζε ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων δρόμον· τρέχειν δ' αὐτοὺς ἔχοντασ ἀμπέλου κλάδον κατάκαρπον τὸν καλούμενον ὠσχον. τρέχουσι δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου μέχρι τοῦ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηναῖς ἱεροῦ, καὶ ὁ νικήσας λαμβάνει κύλικα τὴν λεγομένην πενταπλόαν, καὶ κωμάζει μετὰ χοροῦ. πενταπλόα δ' ἡ κύλιξ καλεῖται καθ' ὅσον οἶνον ἔχει καὶ μέλι καὶ τυρὸν καὶ ἀλφίτων καὶ ἐλαίου βραχύ.

FGrHist 327F6. Demon, an Atthidographer of *ca* 300 B.C. (quoted by Plutarch, *Thes.* 23.2–4):

ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ὠσχοφορίων ἑορτὴν Θησέως καταστήσαντος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπάσας αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰς λαχοῦσας τότε παρθένους, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνήθων νεανίσκων δύο θηλυφανεῖς μὲν ὀφθῆναι καὶ νεαροῦς, ἀνδρωδεῖς δὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ προθύμους, λουτροῖς τε θερμοῖς καὶ σκιατροφίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν κόμην καὶ λειότητα καὶ χροιάν ἀλοιφαῖς καὶ κοσμήσεσιν ὡς ἔστιν ἐξαλλάξαντα κομιδῆ, καὶ διδάξαντα φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ βάδισιν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα παρθένοις ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν τῶν παρθένων ἀριθμόν, καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἅπαντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, αὐτόν τε πομπεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους οὕτως ἀμπεχομένους ὡς νῦν ἀμπέχονται τοὺς ὠσχοὺς φέροντες. φέρουσι δὲ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀριάδῃ χαριζόμενοι διὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι συγκομιζομένης ὀπώρας ἐπανῆλθον.

Proclus in the *Chrestomathia*, as preserved by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 239 (p.322a; V 165–66 Henry):

ὠσχοφορικὰ δὲ μέλη παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἦδετο. τοῦ χοροῦ δὲ δύο νεανία κατὰ γυναῖκας ἐστολισμένοι κλήμα τ' ἀμπέλου κομίζοντες μεστὸν εὐθαλῶν βοτρυῶν (ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸ ὠσχην, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν ἢ ἐπωνυμία) τῆς ἑορτῆς καθηγοῦντο. ἄρξαι δὲ φασὶ Θησέα πρῶτον τοῦ ἔργου· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκούσιος ὑποστάς τὸν εἰς Κρήτην πλοῦν ἀπῆλλαξε τὴν πατρίδα τῆς κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν συμ-

φοράς, χαριστήρια ἀποδιδούς Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Διονύσω, οἱ αὐτῶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Δίαν ἐπεφάνησαν, ἔπραττε τοῦτο δυσὶ νεανίαις ἐσκιατραφημένοις χρησάμενος πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ὑπηρέταις. ἦν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡ παραπομπὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Σκιράδος τέμενος. εἶπετο δὲ τοῖς νεανίαις ὁ χορὸς καὶ ἦδε τὰ μέλη. ἐξ ἐκάστης δὲ φύλης ἔφηβοι διημιλλῶντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ· καὶ τούτων ὁ πρότερος ἐγεύετο ἐκ τῆς πενταπλῆς λεγομένης φιάλης, ἡ συνεκιρνᾶτο ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καὶ μέλιτι καὶ τυρῶ καὶ ἀλφίτοις.

A scholiast on Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* 109a (pp.65f Geymonat):

ὄσχοφόροι δὲ λέγονται Ἀθήνησι παῖδες ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἀμιλλώμενοι κατὰ φυλάς, οἱ λαμβάνοντες κλήματα ἀμπέλου ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου ἔτρεχον εἰς τὸ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν.

Hesychius s.v. Ὀσχοφορία (IV 333 Schmidt):

παῖδες εὐγενεῖς ἠβῶντες καταλέγονται οἱ φέροντες τὰς ὠσχας εἰς τὸ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. εἰσὶ δὲ κλήματα ἔχοντα βότρυς.

Anect. Bekker 285:

Ὀσχοφορία· ὄνομά ἐστιν ἑορτῆς ἡ ὄσχοφορία, καλουμένη διὰ τοῦτο. ὄσχη προσαγορεύεται κληματὶς ἐκκειμένους ἔχουσα βότρυς. ταύτην εὐγενεῖς παῖδες φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν.

Anect. Bekker 318:

Ὀσχοί· τὰ μεγάλα κλήματα σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βότρυσι. καὶ ὠσχοφόροι οἱ ταῦτα τῇ Σκειράδι Ἀθηνᾶ προσφέροντες ἐν γυναικείαις στολαῖς δύο νεανίαι παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου. καὶ ἡ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης ἑορτὴ Ὀσχοφορία λέγεται.

The Salaminioi inscription of 363/2 B.C., found in the Athenian agora in 1936 (Ferguson 1ff [SEG XXI 527; Sokolowski, *LSCG* Suppl., no.19]):

- 20 ὄσα μὲν ἡ πόλις παρέχει ἐκ τῶ δημο-
 οσίο ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὠ[σ]κοφόρων ἢ παρὰ τῶν δειπνοφόρ-
 ων γίγνεται λαμβάνειν Σαλαμινίοις, ταῦτα μὲν
 κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὠμ-
 24 ἀ τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρως . . .

- . . . ἄρχοντα δὲ κ-
- 48 ληρῶν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἑκατέρων ὅστις καταστήσει
 τὸς ὠσκοφόρος καὶ τὰς δειπνοφόρος μετὰ τῆς ἱε-
 ρείας καὶ τὸ κήρυκος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια . . .
- . . . τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τὸ ἀμίλλο ἐμ μέρ-
- 62 ει ἑκατέρος κατάρχεσθαι

This inscription, which deals with the *genos* of the Salaminioi and their worship of Athena Skiras,⁶ mentions *oscophoroi* twice (lines 21 and 49). There is no record of a procession, but the contest alluded to in line 61 might be a race.

These sources, contradicting one another in several essentials, present a confused picture. Aristodemos describes a race run by ephebes, each of whom carries a grape bough. He says that the race was towards Athens (*Ἀθήναζε*), and was a part of the festival of Skira (*τοῖς Σκίροις*). He then, however, states that the race was from the temple of Dionysus to that of Athena Skiras. We know of only three temples of Athena Skiras in Attica, one in the port of Phaleron, one on the Sacred Way to Eleusis in the Athenian suburb of Skiron, and one on the island of Salamis.⁷ Since none of these temples is in Athens, it seems difficult to reconcile these two descriptions of the goal of the race. Finally, Aristodemos says that the victor received a drink called the *pentaploa* and joined with a chorus in a festive procession.

Plutarch describes not a race but a procession led by two youths dressed as women who carry grape boughs. He says that this procession was part of the Oscophoria.

Proclus describes a like procession, which went from the temple of Dionysus to the *temenos* of Athena Skiras; a chorus made up part of the procession. He goes on to describe a race run by ephebes, the winner of which tasted the *pentaploa*. Proclus makes no explicit connection between the race and the procession.

The scholiast to Nicander says that the *oscophoroi* were Athenian youths with both parents living⁸ who raced, carrying grape boughs, from the temple of Dionysus to that of Athena Skiras. The lexicographers describe the youths as noble. And the inscription

⁶ Ferguson 18–20, 36–41.

⁷ See esp. Jacoby (*supra* n.5) 209 n.96; for the temple on Salamis see Hdt. 8.94.

⁸ L. Robert, “*Ἀμφιθαλής*,” *HSCP* Suppl. 1 (1940) 509–19 (*Opera minora selecta* I [Amsterdam 1969] 633–43).

says that the Salaminioi will choose the *oscophoroi* according to ancestral custom.

The problem is to reconcile and make sense of these contradictory sources. It has generally been agreed that there is some corruption in these texts, but different scholars have found it in different places. Deubner (145–46) thought that Aristodemos and the scholiast to Nicander were corrupt, leaving only Proclus as a trustworthy witness. Jacoby,⁹ on the other hand, found Proclus corrupt and put his faith in the scholiast and, especially, in Aristodemos.

According to Deubner, Aristodemos and the scholiast to Nicander betray their corruption in several places. Aristodemos says that the race went towards Athens, but afterwards he contradicts himself by saying that it was run towards the temple of Athena Skiras. There is obviously some confusion here, but Deubner's main objection lies elsewhere—the epithet *ἀμφιθαλεῖς* (i.e., with both parents living) applied to runners, and their carrying grape boughs. Both conditions, he says, make sense for the leaders of a religious procession associated with the grape harvest, but would be ridiculous if applied to athletes engaged in a competition.¹⁰ Deubner is thus left with the account of Proclus as the only reliable description of the race.

Jacoby asserts that it is the text of Proclus that is corrupt, for here, according to Jacoby, the account of the race is torn in two and incorporated into a description of the procession. Thus it is Aristodemos who preserves the correct account. The race took place as part of the festival of Skira in the month of Skiraphorion, not during the Oscophoria in Pyanepsion. Jacoby's argument is complex, but his essential point is that the procession was part of the Oscophoria while the race, as Aristodemos states, was part of the Skira.

There is, however, a piece of evidence which no one, to my knowledge, has used in this dispute. In the church of the Hagios Eleutherios in Athens is a relief of late Hellenistic or Roman date which depicts the year, illustrating each month with symbols of the major religious festivals falling in that month.¹¹ The month of Pyanepsion is represented by three festivals: a young boy carrying a bough over his shoulder, to depict the *eiresione*; a woman bearing a casket on her head, representing the Thesmophoria; and, in

⁹ *Supra* n.3.

¹⁰ Jacoby (*supra* n.5) 218–19 n.169 finds no objection to these qualifications for athletes.

¹¹ See esp. Deubner 248–54 and plates 34–40.

the center, a young man portraying the festival of the Oscophoria. This last figure is described by Deubner as follows: "Der kelternde Mann, der einen Rebzweig in der Hand hält."¹² There is no doubt that the man holds a grape bough, but it is hard to believe that he is pressing grapes. Naked, he is striking a pose which, I suggest, betokens victory. He is holding aloft an object which looks like a small cup, while placing his left foot on a pile of small round objects. These Deubner takes to be grapes being pressed. I do not think this is possible. First, if these are grapes being pressed, they ought to be depicted in a vat. The Greeks trod their grapes in vats, generally made of acacia wood.¹³ Representations of grape-pressing on Greek vases always show this vat and the posture of the presser is completely different from that of the figure on the frieze.¹⁴ But more important than this objection is the fact that there is no mention of grape-treading as a part of the festivities of the Oscophoria. Why then should a man treading grapes be used to represent this festival?

I would suggest that this man is naked because he has just been in an athletic contest; he strikes the pose of a victor because he has just won this contest. The mound upon which he places his foot might represent the goal of the race; it cannot, at all events, represent grapes being pressed. The cup he is holding aloft is the prize for his victory. The grape bough in his hand proves beyond any reasonable doubt that he is an *oscophoros*, and the inescapable conclusion is that the figure represents the victor in the race of the *oscophoroi*. The object in his upraised hand represents the cup of the *pentaploa*, the mixture of five ingredients which the winner of the race drank (Aristodemos, Proclus). There were other athletic contests held in Pyanepsion; the Theseia, for example, incorporated many types of competition. But the grape bough in the athlete's hand precludes the association of this figure with any festival other than the Oscophoria. If my suggestion is correct and the figure represents the winner of the race of ephebes known as *oscophoroi*, then Jacoby must be wrong. The race took place in Pyanepsion and was not part of the Skira in the month of Skiraphorion.

We must therefore reexamine the testimonia and try to form

¹² Deubner 250; illustrated also in Parke (*supra* n.4) pl. 32.

¹³ H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1940) 191.

¹⁴ CVA, France, fasc. 10 (= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fasc. 2) sec. III H.e, no. 49.3, 50.1; Italy fasc. 3 (= Villa Giulia, fasc. 3) sec. III H.e, no. 24.1; Italy, fasc. 4 (= Lecce, Museo Provinciale, fasc. 1) sec. III, Ic, no. 5.1, 6.1.

some coherent picture of the festival of the Oscophoria. First, the phrase *τοῖς Σκίροις* in Aristodemos must be either corrupt or capable of some different interpretation. It cannot mean, as Jacoby would understand it, that the race was part of the festival of Skira; the calendar frieze precludes this interpretation. Rohde¹⁵ adduced the following passage of Strabo (393): *ἀφ' οὗ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ τε λέγεται Σκίρας, καὶ τόπος Σκίρα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, καὶ Ἐπισκίρωσις ἱεροποιία τις, καὶ ὁ μῆν ὁ Σκιροφοριῶν*. Here there seems to be mentioned a place called *Σκίρα*. If there were such a place, the phrase *τοῖς Σκίροις* could mean “at Skira,” rather than “during the feast of Skira.” But the place-name is always given as *Σκίρον*, not *Σκίρα*, in other sources,¹⁶ and Rohde himself admits that the word *Σκίρα* in Strabo is probably just an error. Some authors have suggested that the word *Σκίρα* could refer to any festival in honor of Athena Skiras and could thus be used to refer to the Oscophoria which was held in her honor.¹⁷ But it does not seem likely that two quite different festivals held at different times of the year with different rituals would be given the same name. Finally, Mommsen emended the whole phrase *τοῖς Σκίροις φησὶν Ἀθήναζε* to read *τῇ Σκιράδι φησὶν Ἀθηνᾶ*.¹⁸ His emendation has not received wide approval, but it does bring the text of Aristodemos into agreement with the other sources. It removes the wrong direction from the text and names Athena Skiras as the goddess honored in this festival.

The remaining sources are more easily reconciled. As part of the festival of the Oscophoria, which took place early in Pyanepsion, a race was run from the temple of Dionysus to that of Athena Skiras. It is uncertain which temple of Dionysus is meant. A few commentators suggest the theater of Dionysus, but most pick the Lenaeum as the starting point.¹⁹ In fact, however, none of our sources says more than *τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερόν*. No temple of Dionysus is known to have existed at Phaleron,²⁰ and so one of the temples in Athens must be meant, but no definitive argument can be made from the present state of our evidence.

The goal of the race must have been the sacred enclosure of Athena Skiras at Phaleron. We hear of an *oscophorion* at this

¹⁵ E. Rohde, “*Σκίρα. ἐπὶ Σκίρωι ἱεροποιία*,” *Hermes* 21 (1886) 116–19.

¹⁶ E.g., Lysimachides, *FGrHist* 366F3; Paus. 1.36.4; Photius *s.v.* *Σκίρον*; Plut. *Mor.* 144B; Pollux 9.96–97; Steph.Byz. *s.v.* *Σκίρος*.

¹⁷ Mommsen 283; Ferguson 37.

¹⁸ A. Mommsen, *Heortologie* (Leipzig 1864) 287–88.

¹⁹ See esp. Jacoby (*supra* n.5) 221 n.182.

²⁰ Cf. Ferguson 39; Jacoby (*supra* n.3) 294.

site.²¹ The only other Attic temples of this goddess were at Skiron and on Salamis. None of the sources makes reference to either of these. Only Jacoby considers Skiron the goal of the race,²² but this error is a result of his mistakenly assigning the race to the festival of the Skira. There is no evidence to support this supposition.

A race was run, then, from a temple of Dionysus in Athens to the *temenos* of Athena Skiras in Phaleron (Aristodemos, Σ Nicander). The contestants in this race were epebes chosen from the *phylai* (Aristodemos, Proclus, Σ Nicander). There has been much strange discussion on the number of runners thus chosen and the number of victors.²³ Again our sources are not specific, and the theories of the commentators are simply speculation. Whether one or two runners were chosen from each phyle, whether the number of *phylai* was the pre-Cleisthenic four or the later ten, we simply do not know. The sources seem to say that there was only one victor (Aristodemos, Proclus).

One might notice, with respect to this last question, the name used by part of the clan of the Salaminioi. This clan, which was intimately involved with the cult of Athena Skiras,²⁴ was divided into two sections, the Salaminioi ἀπὸ Σουνίου, and those ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν. Might it be possible that the *phylai* mentioned in the race were, at one time, these seven *phylai* of the Salaminioi? There is no proof of this possibility, but it is at least a possibility which has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned.

The winner of the race was awarded the right to taste a drink called the *pentaploa*. This drink consisted of five ingredients: wine, honey, cheese, barley, and olive oil (Aristodemos, Proclus). We now know, owing chiefly to the Salaminioi inscription and the excellent commentary on it by Ferguson, that the divinity Skiras, before her metamorphosis into Athena Skiras, was a goddess worshiped on the island of Salamis.²⁵ She was a fertility goddess attended by a male counterpart named Skiros or Skiron, and her particular concern was agriculture, especially it seems the fruition of the crops. Thus the *pentaploa* may be a type of *panspermia* representing, as Ferguson says (40), “the finished products of most

²¹ Hesychius *s.v.* Ὀσχοφόριον; *Anect. Bekk.* 318 *s.v.* Ὠσχοφόριον.

²² Jacoby (*supra* n.5) 215 n.125.

²³ Stengel, *Sakralaltertümer* 158, *Kultusaltertümer* 229; Preller 208; Mommsen 283–84; Heeg 999–1000; van der Loeff 412; Jacoby (*supra* n.5) 219.

²⁴ See esp. Ferguson 12–15, 18–20; M. P. Nilsson, “The New Inscription of the Salaminioi,” *AJP* 59 (1938) 385–93.

²⁵ Ferguson 19, 40; Jacoby (*supra* n.5) 203.

of the arts of Attic husbandry.”²⁶ The grape boughs carried by the runners would also symbolize the fruition of this most important crop.

Finally the victor reveled with a chorus (Aristodemos). Where this occurred, whether at Phaleron or on the return to Athens, we do not know. But we do hear of oscophoric songs (Proclus) and of oscophoric dances which were danced by naked men.²⁷ These may have formed part of the choric revels in which the victor participated.

As part of these same rituals of the Oscophoria, there was also a procession with a chorus from the temple of Dionysus to that of Athena Skiras, led by youths dressed as women, who, like the racers, bore grape boughs and were called *oscophoroi* (Proclus, Plutarch). If our texts are correct and do not conceal further corruptions, then the race and the procession followed the same route, from Athens to Phaleron. The most likely way to combine the two activities is to assume that the race was run first, and that the victor waited to dance with the chorus after it had arrived at Phaleron.²⁸

What we observe, then, in this festival is a doublet, the repetition of one cult observance in two slightly different ways. The Oscophoria was a harvest festival, and the purpose of these two rituals was to bring grapes to the temple of an old goddess of agriculture who had become identified with Athena and renamed Athena Skiras. These grape boughs were brought to the goddess in two different ways, by a race and by a procession. Participants in both events were called *oscophoroi*.

The picture of this festival is by no means perfectly clear and unambiguous. There remain many gaps in our understanding of its actual contents and their significance. But the calendar frieze proves that both the race and the procession did take place on the same day in Pyanepsion, as rituals in the festival of the Oscophoria. If we are ever to understand this festival more fully, we must begin by correctly assigning to it those rites of which we are informed by the sources.

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²⁶ Jeanmaire, on the other hand, considers the drinking of the *pentaploa* a trial undergone as part of a rite of passage (348). This interpretation would fit better with the contests of the Theseia; there is no connection between Athena Skiras and the rites of manhood.

²⁷ Ath. 14.631b. See also K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum* (Giessen 1913) 76.

²⁸ Jeanmaire 351, giving too much weight to the word *Ἀθήναζε*, has the procession going from Phaleron to Athens. This direction cannot be correct.