

**THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE
AT ELEUSIS IN THE ROMAN WORLD**

By

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PREFACE

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ABSTRACT

The period of Roman control in Greece has often been considered a time of deterioration of the traditional Greek culture, when Greek ideals were abandoned and the Greek way of life became inhibited due to the loss of independence. Roman rule had, on the contrary, brought prosperity to the Greek world, which continued to flourish under the Roman auspices. The topic of this thesis is the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis in the Roman world. The study of the Eleusinian sanctuary shows that, in fact, Greek traditional institutions could thrive, and even be enhanced in the Roman period. The sanctuary occupied a prominent position in the religious life of Athens and the Greeks in the Classical period and proceeded to prosper under the Roman authority.

Roman individuals, including a number of Roman emperors, exhibited a personal interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries. Many were initiated into the cult and some chose to commemorate the event by erecting various monuments to Demeter and Kore in the sanctuary. The Athenians honoured the Romans in a number of ways connected to Eleusis. They set up statues to Romans, adlected them into the priestly families and awarded them honorary Eleusinian titles. Occasionally, the Eleusinian officials even modified the rules of the cult to accommodate the requests of the Romans. A mutually beneficial relationship

was formed, whereby the Eleusinian sanctuary profited from the privilege of Roman protection and the Romans enjoyed the prestige associated with the Eleusinian cult.

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CHAPTER 1

PRE-ROMAN HISTORY OF ELEUSIS

On the 24th of Boedromion 109 B.C., Lucius Licinius Crassus arrived at Athens. The famous Roman orator, having just completed his quaestorship in the province of Asia, decided to spend some time in Athens, admiring the ancient Acropolis, walking the same streets as Sophocles and Plato, perhaps mingling with the locals in the Agora. He also wanted to experience the spiritual rejuvenation of the celebrated Eleusinian Mysteries, and then return to the city of Rome, eager to share his eastern experiences with his fellow-citizens. To his surprise, Lucius Licinius Crassus found that the ceremonies were just completed two days prior to his arrival. Disappointed, he tried to persuade the Athenian authorities to repeat the Mysteries on his behalf. They refused to grant his request and, infuriated and upset, Crassus left the city. He was bitter and distressed at his experience in Athens, repeating the story so often that it became well-known in the city of Rome and caught the attention of Cicero, who recorded it for the posterity.¹

Less than one hundred years later, in 19 B.C., the circumstances were drastically different. Augustus, who was already initiated into the Eleusinian cult by this time, requested that the Mysteries be repeated for the benefit of some late comers and an exotic guest, the

¹ Cicero, *De oratore* 3.75, reports the incident, which is the first recorded example of the Roman interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries. This is my interpretation of the event.

Indian Brahmin priest Zamaros. Apparently, neither the Eleusinian sacred officials nor the Athenian authorities expressed any uneasiness or indignation at Augustus's wish, but proceeded to oblige the emperor.²

Incidents such as these have led the scholars to consider, at least occasionally, the period of Roman domination in Greece as a period of decline of Greek culture, loss of Greek traditions and deterioration of Classical ideals. Various forms of evidence, however, attest to the contrary. The Greek world, in fact, experienced renewal of its pride, flourishing of its urban and religious centres and prosperity of its citizens, all under the protection and with the acquiescence of the Romans and the Roman emperors.

This general trend in the Graeco-Roman world is evident in the case of the Eleusinian sanctuary as well (figs. 1 and 2). The mythological background for the ancient cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis is best known from the Homeric Hymn of Demeter.³ The cult and the sanctuary became closely associated with the city of Athens, starting in the 7th century B.C., if not earlier.⁴ Once the connection between Eleusis and Athens was established, the

² Dio, LIV 9-10; Strabo, *Geography* 15. I. 73. Neither author records any disagreement of the Eleusinian priests at the request to repeat the Mysteries.

³ Reliefs on figures 4 and 7 are probably artistic depictions of Eleusinian mythological scenes. Figure 6 is the Callichoron Well, where, according to tradition, distraught Demeter was sitting after she lost her daughter.

⁴ G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), chapters 1-6, offers a thorough account of the sanctuary in the pre-Roman period in its different aspects. A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (London, 1983), 317, 334-335 and P. MacKendrick, *The Greek Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Greek Lands* (New York and London, 1981), 96-98, 283-285, provide useful descriptions of the site. The essential modern sources for the study of the rituals at Eleusis include S. Dow and R. F. Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Cambridge, 1965), R. F. Healey, *Eleusinian Sacrifices in the Athenian Law Code* (New York and London, 1990) and H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977).

Eleusinian sanctuary gained in size and prominence, while Athens gained in prestige. The religious and cultural appeal of the Eleusinian cult went beyond Athens and Attica. Later tradition reported that Demeter and Kore presented the Athenians with two gifts, agriculture and the Mysteries, and that the Athenians shared these special gifts with the rest of humankind.⁵ Since the only prerequisite for participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries was knowledge of the Greek language, they attracted the attention of non-Athenians from early on. Roman citizens became interested in the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis from at least the second century B.C. onward.⁶

The greatest problem that we encounter in studying the Eleusinian cult is the fact that we are dealing with a mystery cult. Even though we possess an abundance of both literary and inscriptional evidence dealing with the public aspects of the cult, such as its organization and administration, the essence of the experience and the fundamental principles of the cult remained secret throughout its long history. Although the details of the initiation events are not preserved in any reliable form, many scholars have attempted to envision the content and

⁵ Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 28-29, 31.

⁶ L. J. Alderink, "The Eleusinian Mysteries in Roman Imperial Times," *ANRW* II, 18, 2 (1989): 1457-1498; K. Clinton, "Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius," in: *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska*. (April 1996), eds. M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff, Oxbow Monograph 94 (1997): 161-181; K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries. Roman Initiates and Benefactors, second century B.C. to A.D. 267." *ANRW* II, 18, 2 (1989): 1499-1539; K. Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis," in: *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron, (London, 1989), 56-68.

have produced a range of more or less believable interpretations.⁷ Regardless of how engaging or plausible some of these theories are, they fall beyond the scope of this work.

The Lesser Mysteries were celebrated in spring time, during the month of Anthesterion. They were held at Agrai near Athens. The ceremonies were led by a *mystagogos* and involved the *kernophoria* ceremony, dancing, public sacrifices to Athenian deities, as well as individual initiations.⁸

The Greater Mysteries were the central celebration of the Eleusinian cult. They covered a period of nine days, from the fourteenth to the twenty-second of Boedromion,⁹ with the activities leading to climax on the eighth day at Eleusis. Alderink reconstructs the schedule of the Greater Mysteries as follows:

- 14 Boedromion: *hieria* taken from Eleusis to Athens
- 15 Boedromion: proclamation of hierokeryx, invitation to initiation
- 16 Boedromion: bathing in sea, sacrifice of pigs
- 17 Boedromion: further sacrifices, prayers for city and cult officials
- 18 Boedromion: opportunity for late-comers to join ceremonies
- 19 Boedromion: procession from Athens to Eleusis

⁷ Figures 25-27, from the Torrenova sarcophagus and the Lovatelli urn contain scenes that some scholars have interpreted as depictions of allusions to the Eleusinian Mysteries. Alderink, “Eleusinian Mysteries,” 1484; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 205-208. Other influential scholars in the study of Eleusinian mysteries were P. F. Foucart, *Les Mystères d’Éleusis* (Paris, 1914. Reprint, New York, 1975), 267-457, and C. Kerényi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York, 1967), 45-102, who examined many details of the Eleusinian cult.

⁸ Alderink, “Eleusinian Mysteries,” 1480. Figure 5 shows the Eleusinian *kernoi* vessels, presumably used in the ceremonies.

⁹ The month of Boedromion corresponds to either the late September or early October of our calendar.

–20 Boedromion: night; fast, drinking of *kykeon*

–21 Boedromion: night; final rite of *epopteia*

–22 Boedromion: libation of *plemochoai*; dismissal¹⁰

The ritual acts in the Greater Mysteries can be divided into the events that occurred at Athens, the events during the procession to Eleusis and the acts completed at Eleusis. During the first five days at Athens, events carried through in smaller stages and in public. On the sixth day, a procession known as *pompe* journeyed from Athens to Eleusis. The procession consisted of the Eleusinian and Athenian priests, accompanied by the initiates and was named after the ‘leader’ of the *pompe*, Iacchos. The final, most secret rites took place in the seclusion of the protective Eleusinian walls, probably in the Telesterion. The participants were dismissed from the Eleusinian sanctuary on the ninth day of the ceremonies.

The reverence that the ancients felt for the Eleusinian cult is attested by their rigorous observance of the secrecy demanded of the cult’s initiates. There are, however, a few glimpses of the depth of the personal experience that the initiation into the cult must have afforded its participants. In the following passage, Plutarch, himself a native of Chaeronea who served as a priest at Delphi for more than thirty years, compares progress in philosophy with initiation into the Mysteries.

Just as persons who are being initiated into the mysteries throng together at the outset amid tumult and shouting, and jostle against one another, but when the holy rites are being performed and disclosed the people are immediately attentive in awe and silence, so too at the beginning of philosophy: about its portals also you will see great tumult and talking and boldness, as some boorishly and violently try to jostle their way towards the repute it bestows; but he who has succeeded in getting inside, and has seen a great

¹⁰ Alderink, “Eleusinian Mysteries,” 1481.

light, as though a shrine were opened, adopts another bearing of silence and amazement, and ‘humble and orderly attends upon’ reason as upon a god.¹¹

Plutarch’s account of the Mysteries, written in the second century A.D., attests to the flourishing of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the Roman period. The present study will focus on the non-secret practices and public manifestations of the Eleusinian cult, and its continued and renewed vitality in the Roman period. An outline of the site and its most important buildings, in particular the ones built during the period of the Roman domination (chapter 2), will precede an examination of the of the epigraphic and literary evidence associated with the Romans and Eleusis (chapter 3). Chapter 4 will consider the various priesthoods associated with the Eleusinian mysteries, as well as the traditions connected with their offices. It will also examine the procedural changes and ritual variations that occurred during the Roman era, sometimes directly under the influence of the Romans. The relationship between the idea of Panhellenism and Eleusis will be the topic of the fifth chapter. It will consider the connection between the Eleusinian sanctuary and the Panhellenion, as well as the restoration of traditions such as *aparche*, the offering of the First Fruits, in the Hadrianic period. The possibility of a connection between the Mysteries and the imperial cult will be addressed in chapter 6 of this work. The final chapter will also place the Eleusinian Mysteries in the broader contexts of the

¹¹ Plutarch of Chaeronea, *De profectu in virtute*, 10, as quoted by M. W. Meyer, ed. *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook, Sacred Texts of the Mystery Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean World* (San Francisco, 1987), 38. Plutarch does not specifically name the Eleusinian Mysteries in this passage, but they were the most famous of the Greek mysteries and usually did not need specification. He would have probably named the Orphic, Dionysiac, Samothracian or some other mysteries if he talked about them, since they were not as well-known as the Eleusinian Mysteries.

complex relationship between the Greeks and the Romans and of some of the major cultural trends that influenced the cult.

CHAPTER 2

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD

The basic character and layout of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis was well established by the Classical period and did not change fundamentally for the following eight centuries, until the abandonment of the cult. The sanctuary was located on the eastern flank of the hill, just below the fortified acropolis of Eleusis.¹² By the time of Peisistratos, the sanctuary extended beyond the foot of the hill and was itself enclosed by strong fortification walls. Eleusis was located at a strategically important point, because it was connected to Athens, Megara and Thebes via system of roads, but also turned toward the Peloponnese and the sea with its accessible harbour.¹³ At the heart of the sanctuary was the Telesterion, with the main approach from the Athenian sacred way through the North Pylon, which was replaced with the Greater Propylaea in the Roman period (figs. 1 and 2).

The Roman period saw the reconstruction or enhancement of many of the original features in the sanctuary, as well as the addition of some new ones. The Telesterion was reconstructed. The Lesser and Greater Propylaea were erected. The Fountain House, triumphal arches, altars in the Outer Court, new temples, and other auxiliary structures were built within the sanctuary area and around it. These monuments are individually described and

¹² J. Travlos, "The Topography of Eleusis," *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 138-147.

¹³ Travlos, "The Topography of Eleusis," 138.

thoroughly discussed in Mylonas' Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, and Noack's Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums.¹⁴ More recently, Townsend and Giraud have reexamined evidence for the building phases of the Telesterion and the Greater Propylaea.¹⁵ Other authors also offer recent discussions regarding specific monuments, or overviews of the archaeological remains at the site in general.¹⁶ The architectural modifications and expansions that were accomplished in the Roman period were the result of a need for more physical space for a greater number of initiates, and a reflection of the growing importance of the sanctuary.

The Eleusinian construction phases in the Roman period can generally be divided into two major segments, one preceding the invasion of the Costoboci in A.D. 170 or 171 and one following it.¹⁷ There is occasionally a problem, however, in clearly identifying building materials from these two separated phases because older fragments were regularly used in the later restorations. Difficulties in dating also arise from the fact that most of the Eleusinian remains are in a poor state of preservation and that the early excavators were not familiar with

¹⁴ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155-186 deals with the archaeology of the site in the Roman period, while F. Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), dedicates a section of his work to each of the monuments.

¹⁵ R. F. Townsend, "The Roman Rebuilding of Philon's Porch and the Telesterion at Eleusis," *Boreas* 10 (1987): 97-106; D. Giraud, "The Greater Propylaia at Eleusis, a Copy of Mnesikles' Propylaia," in: *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron, 68-75. London, 1989.

¹⁶ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1499-1539; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 56-68; H. Hörmann, *Die Inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1932; T. L. Shear, "The Demolished Temple at Eleusis," *Hesperia*, Supplement 20: *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography* (1982): 128-140.

¹⁷ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 64; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 156; Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 98.

the stratigraphic approach to archaeology. Moreover, a large portion of the post-invasion reconstruction work was of very high quality, attempting to imitate methods of the Classical workmanship to the smallest detail. This is especially true in the case of the Telesterion and Philon's Porch (figs. 8-10).¹⁸ Since the local Eleusinian limestone comprised the bulk of the building material of the sanctuary complex throughout its history, it is evident how difficulties are likely to occur when attempting to clearly identify different building stages.

The cycle of reconstruction following the Costoboc invasion was quite extensive. There is no evidence indicating the possibility of additional causes for the destruction, such as an earthquake or some other natural disaster at Eleusis in the second half of the second century A.D. The Costoboci, therefore, must have vandalized the sanctuary quite badly. It is not clear, however, whether the invaders pulled the columns apart with ropes and horses, or whether they fell apart after the roofs of buildings were set on fire.¹⁹

The Telesterion.

The Telesterion (figs. 8-10), the central cult building at Eleusis, was restored in the imperial period. The exact extent of damage left behind after the invasion of the Costoboci in A.D. 170 or 171 is unknown, but it must have been quite extensive, since evidence of restoration can be detected even in parts of the foundations.²⁰ Unfortunately, not much of the Telesterion itself is now left above ground, except for the stumps of the interior columns and

¹⁸ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 63; Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 98-99, Giraud, "Greater Propylaia," 70-71.

¹⁹ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 64-65.

²⁰ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 160-161; Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 97, 101-102.

a few orthostates along the outer wall (fig. 8).²¹ It seems, however, that during this reconstruction phase the Telesterion was not enlarged but was rebuilt along the same specifications and at the very spot as the structure it replaced, originally built by Demetrios of Phaleron.²²

The reconstruction of the Telesterion was the most extensive project undertaken at Eleusis in the Roman period.²³ Earlier scholars have often overlooked this fact due to the anachronistically high quality of workmanship and the poor state of preservation. The original excavators recognized that the Telesterion was damaged in the Costoboc invasion, but tended to minimize the destruction and limit it to the columns and portions of the seating and doors.²⁴ In his discussion of the Eleusinian sanctuary in the Roman period, Mylonas acknowledged that the damage to the Telesterion was more extensive than originally thought, but did not clearly differentiate between the Greek and Roman phases of the building or elaborate on either.²⁵ The reuse of inscribed stones in the doors and columns and the mortar on the lining of the seats were recognized as signs of reconstruction by the early excavators of the Telesterion.²⁶ Mylonas realized that the columns of the *naos* had to be built on the new

²¹ Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 101.

²² Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 97; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 131-132, 160-161. Mylonas is the only author who claimed that the Telesterion was extended to the west by some 2.15m at this time and that it can be detected by the cuts into the rock of the hillside. I have not been able to confirm his claim of the Telesterion expansion in the works of other authors.

²³ Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 97-98.

²⁴ Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung*, 95, 107-112, 275-283.

²⁵ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 160-161.

²⁶ Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung*, 107-112.

foundations, but, as mentioned above, did not give a full account of his findings.²⁷ Townsend is the first to argue that the Telesterion and Philon's porch were completely rebuilt in this period, both inside and out.²⁸

Philon's Porch.

Philon's porch, also known as stoa, formed a deep colonnaded front to the Telesterion. Its foundations are massive, due to the slope of the hill and the size of the columns. It was originally constructed in the fourth century B.C. by the architect Philon.²⁹ Its history in the Roman period is more difficult to trace because of the lack of obvious signs of rebuilding. The early accounts of Philon's porch rely almost exclusively on the quality of workmanship. Noack recognized only portions of some of the blocks as dating from the Roman period and attributed them to an extension of the entablature of Philon's porch over the walls of the Telesterion cella. He believed that the entire remains of the Philon's porch belonged to its original Greek construction.³⁰ Mylonas recognized only limited construction in the Roman period and related the repairs only to the surviving fragments of the entablature of the Philon's porch.³¹

Townsend argues that the method of dating according to the quality of workmanship is especially unreliable in the case of the Philon's porch since many of the blocks are

²⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161.

²⁸ Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 98.

²⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 133-135.

³⁰ Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung*, 111, 128-129.

³¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161.

unfinished and retain rough surfaces. Moreover, the Roman builders managed to imitate all aspects of the Greek masonry, including the preliminary ones, and not only the final appearance of Classical work.³² Restoration of both the Telesterion and Philon's Porch was probably undertaken soon after the destruction in the Costoboc invasion.³³ It is not clear whether the reconstruction of the Telesterion was completed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, prior to his initiation into the Mysteries in A.D. 176, or in the reign of Commodus.³⁴ The renovation of the Philon's Porch was also accomplished at this time, since the two were so closely linked.³⁵

The Lesser Propylaea.

The Lesser Propylaea, the monumental North Gate to the Sanctuary, is the oldest building constructed in the Roman period and the only one built in the republican period (figs. 12-16). It was constructed over the Peisistratean inner North Pylon, to the east of the Ploutonion. From the Latin inscription cut on its architrave (figs. 12 and 15) we learn that this monumental gateway had been vowed to Demeter by Appius Claudius Pulcher in his consulship of 54 B.C., but that it was erected or completed after his death by his two nephews.³⁶ The Lesser Propylaea was constructed of Pentelic marble on a foundation of

³² Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 98.

³³ Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 104.

³⁴ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161-162; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 64.

³⁵ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 64; Townsend, "Roman Rebuilding," 97.

³⁶ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 156, n. 7 and 8. The inscription *ILLRP* 401 (= *CIL* I² 775, *ILS* 4041) is discussed in the chapter three of this thesis.

regular Roman concrete, faced by blocks of conglomerate and in the upper parts by blocks of poros stone.³⁷ A broad doorway was symmetrically placed at the end of a paved court and was sheltered by a roofed structure equipped with two columns on the outside and two Caryatids on the inside.³⁸ The entablature supported by the Corinthian columns contains elements of both the Doric and Ionic orders, including a frieze composed of triglyphs and metopes, with emblems of the Eleusinian cult, such as cists and wheat carved on the triglyphs, and bukrania and stylized poppy flowers carved on the metopes.³⁹

The Greater Propylaea.

The Greater Propylaea (figs. 17-18) was the grand entranceway into the sanctuary at Eleusis built in the Roman imperial period. It was built by an emperor in the second century A.D., but the poor state of preservation of the dedicatory inscription and a bust of the emperor (figs. 19-20) who built it make it hard to establish whether it was Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, or Marcus Aurelius that was the builder.⁴⁰ The Greater Propylaea was built over the monumental outer Northern Pylon, dating to the time of Peisistratos. The structure is a

³⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 157; Hörmann, 14-15.

³⁸ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 157. Mylonas provides a detailed discussion of the Lesser Propylaea 156-160.

³⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 158.

⁴⁰ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 162; Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung*, 222; Hörmann, *Die Inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, 114, 118; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 65; Giraud, "Greater Propylaia," 69; K. Fittschen, "Zur Deutung der Giebel-Clipei der Grossen Propyläen von Eleusis," in: *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron, (London, 1989), 76,

faithful copy of the central part of the Propylaea built by Mnesikles on the Acropolis of Athens in Periklean times.⁴¹

The Greater Propylaea stood on a podium, which was elevated above the floor of the outer court of the Sanctuary. It faced towards the northeast, the direction of the Sacred way and Athens. The Greater Propylaea was not placed on the central axis of the court. The podium was built in typical Roman style with a core in Roman concrete, faced with ashlar masonry. The visible part of the building was built of Pentelic marble, like its prototype.⁴² Only the five steps and stubs of the columns are now preserved (fig. 18).

The middle of the Greater Propylaea contained the triangular pediment, with a sculptured bust of the Emperor in a shield (figs. 19-20). Although the features of the emperor have been destroyed beyond recognition several scholars have succeeded in identifying him as Marcus Aurelius.⁴³ The giant, carved on the bust of the emperor, symbolized the enemies of the Empire, the barbarian Marcomanni, whom Marcus Aurelius defeated in A.D. 172/3. The carving of the bust, therefore, and consequently the completion if not the initial construction of the Great Propylaea must be placed after that date. The head of the Gorgon on his chest, defaced by a large cross cut over it in a later period, likens the Emperor to Zeus who destroyed the giants.

⁴¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 162.

⁴² Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 162-163.

⁴³ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 163, cites Deubner, *non vidi*, who was first to point out that on the shoulder strap of the bust was a carved giant, identical to the one in the same position on a bust of Marcus Aurelius now in the Louvre. More recently, K. Fittschen, "Zur Deutung der Giebel-Clipei der Grossen Propyläen von Eleusis." 76, discusses the problem of the emperor's identity and concludes that it was probably Marcus Aurelius.

The Greater Propylaea continued to be used well after the second century A.D., as is evident from the fact that sometime in the course of the use of the Propylaea, the Doric colonnade of the front elevation was closed by a thick wall on which a single door was centred. The grooves of its rollers can still be clearly seen on the marble pavement.⁴⁴ It is possible that this wall, which further blocked the entrance to the Eleusinian Sanctuary, was added when the fortification at Eleusis were strengthened. This was, perhaps, done in anticipation of the invasion of barbarians, maybe the Goths and the Herulians, and could be attributed to the emperor Valerian, who fortified a number of cities, including Athens.⁴⁵

The Greater Propylaea dominates a large court. On this court were the Temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon, as well a number of altars. This court was paved with rectangular marble slabs, probably at the time of construction of the Greater Propylaea.⁴⁶

It is not a coincidence that the Roman-built Greater Propylaea so closely resembles Mnesikles' Propylaea on the Acropolis, built in the Periklean period. This elaborate building was built after the Costoboc invasion as a reaffirmation of the civility and greatness of the Greeks. This was done with the explicit support of the Roman imperial system; the varied implications of such an endeavour are discussed later in this work.

⁴⁴ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 165.

⁴⁵ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 165.

⁴⁶ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 165.

Triumphal Arches.

Two arches, one in the southeast corner of the outer court, the other in the southwest corner of the court were faithful copies of the triumphal arch of Hadrian in Athens (fig. 21).⁴⁷ The southwest triumphal arch is not well preserved and its location can be made out only with some difficulty. Through it one could go from the outer court to the Asty Gates, which were the small gates in the north-west section of the court.⁴⁸

The triumphal arch at the southeast corner of the court is better preserved than the one in the west corner. It is built of pentelic marble and had a single arch, like its prototype in Athens. The lowest part of this entrance is well preserved.⁴⁹ The Corinthian columns stood on each side and were decorated with sculptured crossed torches, the emblems of the Goddess. On the top of the arch and on its curved blocks we have the inscription τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῶι ἀυτοκράτορι οἱ πανέλληνες. “The Panhellenes to the Goddesses and the Emperor.”⁵⁰ This inscription does not name the emperor and does not refer to him as a god, but the architectural elements of the arch indicate a date in 170s, so the emperor was probably Marcus Aurelius.

The southeast arch separated the outer court of the Sanctuary from an open section of the city, beyond the sanctuary, where the initiates could probably find temporary

⁴⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 166.

⁴⁸ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 167.

⁴⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 166-167.

⁵⁰ *IG II² 2958* Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 102, n. 185. This inscription is discussed in chapter five.

accommodation during the initiation period. The road to the east of the southeast arch was flanked on one side by the peribolos wall. On the other side the excavators found the remains of many public buildings among which were thermae, the fountain house and small hostels. All these structures date from the Roman period, the period of expansion when facilities beyond the fortified city had to be provided for the overflowing crowd of pilgrims.⁵¹

The Temple of Artemis and Poseidon.

The temple of Artemis of the Portals and of Father Poseidon (fig. 22) was located in the paved outer court, almost directly in front of the Greater Propylaea. The marble temple was built on a high podium and was one metre higher than the floor of the court. The core of the podium, the only part still standing in the court, is built of small stones set in pozzolana and lime (Roman concrete). The roof of the structure was of wood and its tiles of terra cotta. It seems that the temple was built before the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The temple was seen and mentioned by Pausanias who visited the site about the middle of the second century A.D.⁵² It is noticeable that it is not exactly aligned with the Greater Propylaea. This may be a function of its earlier date, but the orientation may have been calculated to permit both sides of the temple to be seen by people entering the court from the Sacred Way.⁵³

⁵¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 167.

⁵² Pausanias, I, 38, 6. His description of the temple indicates that it was earlier in date than the triumphal arches, since he does not mention them. Also, Pausanias, not wanting to offend Demeter and Kore, limits his discussion of the Eleusinian sanctuary to the outer buildings.

⁵³ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 167-168.

The Altars in the Outer court.

In front of the main facade of the temple of Artemis and Poseidon, some 3.85m in front of the temple, the remains of an altar are located. Very little of it is preserved, except for the foundation of the altar, made of small stones set in lime. Beside the temple, some 1.50m from the northeast, only fragments of a second altar survive. Both altars are Roman in date. The position of the altars, as well as their construction, suggest that they belong to the temple and were possibly dedicated to Artemis of the Portals and to Father Poseidon, to whom the temple was dedicated.⁵⁴

A ground altar, called *eschara*, is located near the northeast corner of the temple of Artemis and Poseidon and is separated from the rest of the court by a single row of stones forming a rectangle (fig. 23). The *eschara* was probably not used during the rituals of the Greater Mysteries, but was connected with Thesmophoria, or one of the other minor Eleusinian festivals. The area within the row of stones was not paved and in its centre is a rectangular ground altar built of burnt brick set in lime mortar. Half way down a small shelf projects from all four sides. On this shelf, apparently, was placed the *eschara* or iron grill on which the sacrificial animals, possibly piglets (fig. 24), could be put.⁵⁵ The *eschara* is of Roman date, and perhaps it is contemporary with the paving of the court. The Roman *eschara*, however, is the last in a series of altars built at the same spot in the outer court,

⁵⁴ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 168-169.

⁵⁵ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 169.

perhaps to serve the cult of the Goddess. Perhaps on this *eschara* small pigs were sacrificed, whose flesh had to be consumed entirely by fire.⁵⁶

Other Temples.

Two other temples were also built in the Roman period, in close proximity to the Telesterion. Mylonas designates them as temple F and temple L10.⁵⁷ They are buildings C and D in figure 1. Temple F (building C) is identified as *templum in antis* by Noack.⁵⁸ It was built on a terrace partially cut into the hillside. The original excavators assumed that the ruins of the temple were the remains of a much older structure, possibly the Temple of Demeter. These older building blocks, however, belonged to the Peisistratean Telesterion and were reused during building of the temple. It is not possible to determine either when was this temple built, even though we know that was sometime in the Roman period, or to whom it was dedicated.⁵⁹

Temple L10 (building D on figure 1) was on the hillside almost directly above temple F. It was connected to the lower level of the sanctuary by a set of stairs northeast of the Telesterion. It was built in Italiote style and it can be generally dated to the Roman Imperial period.⁶⁰ Because of its position above the temple F, it is commonly assumed that temple L10 was built after the temple F, although it is not evident to which deity this temple

⁵⁶ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 169-170.

⁵⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 175-181.

⁵⁸ Noack, (1928), 85.

⁵⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 176-177.

⁶⁰ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 177-178.

was dedicated either. Early excavators have postulated the possibility that one or both of these temples were dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter and Kore. Presently, however, there is no evidence for the existence of separate temples to the Eleusinian goddesses, other than the Telesterion. Some have been tempted to carry the identification of these temples one step further and theorize that these temples were dedicated to “New Demeters,” Sabina and Faustina, with temple F being vowed to Sabina, and the temple L10 to Faustina.⁶¹ If such an identification could be established with certainty, it would be of special significance for the purposes of this thesis, since it would demonstrate Roman influence on the Eleusinian cult, as well as the syncretic tendencies of the Roman imperial period.⁶²

Despite the fact that there are difficulties with dating of some of the buildings from the Roman period in the Eleusinian sanctuary, a general picture does emerge. There was a general enhancement of all the different parts of the sanctuary. Major changes in the size and shape of the buildings were, however, limited to the outer areas of the sanctuary. In Roman times, the emphasis was on monumentalizing the gateways and the outer court area. Construction in the inner part of the sanctuary was largely limited to the reconstruction of the Telesterion and the Philon’s porch. This shows that although architects in the Roman period were interested in exhibiting their wealth and talent, they respected the Eleusinian tradition and were unwilling to offend the sensibilities of the Eleusinian establishment, by possible changes to the core of the sanctuary.

⁶¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 179-180.

⁶² The possible implications of this theory will be further explored in chapter six.

CHAPTER 3

ROMANS IN THE LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Roman interest in Eleusis and the Mysteries is manifested through literary and epigraphic evidence from the late second century B.C. down to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The inscriptions from Eleusis are collected in several different volumes of *IG I²* and *IG II²*. Lists of Romans attested in the inscriptions from Eleusis are largely collected in *IG II²* vols. 3 and 4. Most Eleusinian inscriptions appear on dedicatory monuments, such as statue bases, arches and other commemorative landmarks in the sanctuary itself and are now stored in the museum at Eleusis.⁶³ Of the 130 inscriptions honouring Roman males listed in *IG II²* fascicle 4, fifteen were found at Eleusis; of these, ten date to the first century A.D.⁶⁴ Of the 201 inscriptions honouring Roman emperors, twenty were found at Eleusis.⁶⁵ This chapter will examine a portion of this epigraphic evidence dealing with the Roman individuals associated with the sanctuary at Eleusis. The most thorough scholarly treatment of this material may be found in the work of Kevin Clinton, who has discussed Eleusis and many

⁶³ Figure 7 is an example of an inscribed stele now stored in the Museum at Eleusis.

⁶⁴ Kirchner dates inscriptions *IG II²* 4108, 4112, 4165, 4182, 4190, 4195, 4198, 4202–4204 to the first century AD. *IG II²* 2405 is dated to the late first or early second century A.D. Only one inscription, *IG II²* 4213, is dated to the end of second century A.D., while three inscriptions, *IG II²* 4216, 4218 and 4219, date to the third century A.D.

⁶⁵ Those inscriptions are *IG II²* 3236, 3261, 3263, 3272, 3380, 3386, 3397–3402, 3404, 3407, 3408, 3411, 3413, 3415, 3419 and 3422.

aspects of the Mysteries, giving special attention to the epigraphic evidence from the period of Roman domination.⁶⁶ It seems that the a large portion of the all inscriptions at Eleusis dates to the first century A.D., and this proportion holds for the inscriptions honouring Romans as well. The larger number of inscriptions from this one period may indicate greater prosperity and overall activity in the Eleusinian sanctuary. The fact that so many inscriptions are clustered in a relatively short time period may, however, exaggerate the picture of the intensity and changes in the nature of the Eleusinian cult. Prosopographical study of the Eleusinian material, nevertheless, indicates certain organizational and administrative changes that took place in the Roman period. Epigraphic material from Eleusis is not the only kind of evidence for the Mysteries. Literary accounts are also of great importance in studying the character of changes that occurred in the Roman period. This is particularly valuable for periods in which inscriptions are not as abundant as in the first century A.D. It emerges from both the epigraphic and literary evidence that Romans participated at Eleusis not only as initiates, but possibly as benefactors or even honorary officials of the cult as well. We know that many Romans were initiated into the Mysteries, including a number of emperors, beginning with Augustus himself.⁶⁷

The first known example of the Roman involvement with the Eleusinian cult, which is also the earliest known written account connecting a Roman individual to the Mysteries,

⁶⁶ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*; Clinton, "Roman Initiates;" K. Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis;" K. Clinton, "Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius." The bulk of the inscriptions from the site at Eleusis were published in I.G. II² vols. 3 and 4 and are now stored in the museum at Eleusis.

⁶⁷ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1503-1531; E. Vanderpool, "Three Inscriptions from Eleusis," *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 23 (1968): 1-9; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155-186.

dates to the second century B.C. Cicero describes Lucius Licinius Crassus' unsuccessful attempt to participate in the Mysteries.⁶⁸ He failed to be initiated into the Mysteries because he was two days late when returning from his quaestorship in Asia, probably in 109 B.C.,⁶⁹ and the Athenians refused to repeat the ceremonies on his account. Other Romans had probably been initiated into the Mysteries by the second century B.C., but presently there is no evidence for it.⁷⁰

From this time onwards, evidence of Roman involvement in the life of the sanctuary becomes more common.⁷¹ The most prominent Roman benefactor in the first century B.C. was Appius Claudius Pulcher (cos. 54 B.C.),⁷² who was responsible for building the Lesser Propylaea. Cicero mentioned the construction in his letters to Atticus in 50 B.C.⁷³ Pulcher's

⁶⁸ Cicero, *De oratore*, 3.75: *et inde decedens Athenis, ubi ego diutius essem moratus nisi Atheniensibus quod mysteria non referrent ad quae biduo serius veneram succensussem.*

Translation: "at Athens, where I should have made a longer stay if I had not been so angry with the authorities there for refusing to repeat the celebration of the mysteries, for which I had arrived two days late."

⁶⁹ T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. Vol. II, 99 B.C.-31 B.C. (Cleveland, 1952. Reprint 1968), vol. 1, 546.

⁷⁰ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1503-1504.

⁷¹ It seems fairly certain that Sulla (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 16), Cicero, and Atticus were among the Romans initiated into the Mysteries, especially since the Mysteries seem to have left a great impression on Cicero, who referred to them on several occasions (*De legibus*, 2.14.36; *De natura deorum*, 1.119; *Ad Atticum* 1.9.2; *Ad Atticum* 15.25.5; *Ad Atticum* 6.1.26).

⁷² Broughton (1952), 221.

⁷³ Cicero refers to the project twice in 50 B.C., seemingly eager to compete with Appius Claudius Pulcher, thus providing us with an approximate date for the beginning of the work. In *Ad Atticum* 6.1.26, written in February, Cicero says: *Unum etiam velim cogites. Audio Appium πρόπυλον Eleusine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, si nos quoque Academiae fecerimus? 'Puto' inquires. Ergo id ipsum scribes ad me. Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum; odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum.* Translation: "There is one thing I wish you to consider. I hear that Appius is putting up a porch at Eleusis. Shall I look a fool, if I do

death in 48 B.C.⁷⁴ interrupted the completion of the Lesser Propylaea. His nephews, Claudius Pulcher and Marcius Rex,⁷⁵ finished the project, as can be seen from the large inscription placed on its architrave (figs. 12 and 15):

[Ap. Claudi]us Ap. f. Pulche[r] propylum Cere[ri]
[et Proserp]inae cos. vovit, [im]perato[r coepit]
[Pulcher Clau]dius et Rex Mar[cius fec]erun[t ex testam.]⁷⁶

A few other inscriptions from the Republican period connect Roman individuals to the Eleusinian sanctuary.⁷⁷ Among them is an inscription (*IG II² 4108*) honouring Cicero's friend Titus Pinarius,⁷⁸ an inscription honouring the general L. Munatius Plancus (*IG II² 4112*), and an inscription (*IG II² 4231*) honouring Sempronia Atratina, wife of L. Gellius Publicola, the consul of 36 B.C.⁷⁹ These inscriptions were set up on statue bases that were erected by the Athenian demos:

so in the Academy? I dare say you may think so: say so plainly, if you do. I am very fond of the city of Athens. I should like it to have some memorial of myself. I dislike lying titles on the statues of other folk." In another letter, *Ad Atticum* 6.6.2, written in August of the same year, Cicero says *Me tamen de Academiae πρόπυλῶ ιυβες cogitare, cum iam Appius de Eleusine non cogitet?* Loeb translation: "Still do you encourage me in the matter of the porch for the Academy, when Appius has abandoned his design of a porch at Eleusis?"

⁷⁴ Appius Claudius Pulcher died in Euboea, in 48 B.C., while he was the proconsul of Achaëa. Broughton, *Magistrates*, 276; H. J. Mason and M. B. Wallace, "Appius Claudius Pulcher and the Hollows of Euboeia." *Hesperia* 49 (1972): 128-140.

⁷⁵ Broughton, *Magistrates*, 137, 195-196. Marcius Rex was probably the son of Appius's sister, Clodia Tertia, married to Marcius Rex, cos. 68 B.C. Claudius Pulcher was the son of P. Clodius Pulcher, tribune of the plebs in 58 B.C.

⁷⁶ *ILLRP* 401 (= *CIL* I² 775, *ILS* 4041).

⁷⁷ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1504, 1506-1507; provides examples of other possible Roman initiates of the Eleusinian cult from the republican period.

⁷⁸ Titus Pinarius is known from Cicero's correspondence, *Ad fam.* 12. 24.

⁷⁹ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1507, n. 34 and 36.

IG II² 4108: Ὁ δῆμος
Τίτον Πινάριον
Τίτου υἰὸν ἀρετῆς
ἔνεκα.

IG II² 4112: Ὁ δῆμος
Λεύκιον Μ[ο]υνάτιον
Λευκίου υἰὸν Πλάγκον
αὐτοκράτορα ἀρετ[ῆς]
5 [ἔ]νεκ[α] καὶ εὐεργεσί[α]ς.

IG II² 4231: Ὁ δῆμος
Σεμπρωνίαν Λευκίου θυ-
[γ]ατέρα, Λευκίου Γελλίου Πο-
πλικόλα γυναῖκα, ἀρετῆς
ἔνεκα.

IG II² 4202: [Μ]ᾶρκον Τίτιον
Λευκίου υἰὸν
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας.

The fact that the individuals named on the top three inscriptions were honoured with statues at Eleusis probably implies that they were initiated into the Eleusinian cult, and possibly even their personal involvement with the sanctuary through donations and benefactions.⁸⁰ The inscription naming M. Titius, the nephew of the general L. Munatius Plancus, honoured in *IG II² 4202*, does not contain a dedication by the demos, but follows the same format as *IG II² 4108*, *4112* and *4231* and could be missing its first line, from where we could see who is honouring him. On the other hand, inscriptions such as *IG II² 4708*, that came from a large marble bench in the Eleusinian sanctuary were the result of private initiative. In this inscription, C. Creperius is honouring Demeter and Kore as an individual, possibly after his initiation.

⁸⁰ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1504.

IG II² 4708: Γάιος Κρεπέριος Γαίου υἱὸς Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη.

The imperial period attests to the connection of more Romans with the Eleusinian sanctuary. Augustus was the first in the series of Roman emperors initiated into the Eleusinian cult. Dio Cassius tells us that Augustus was initiated into the Mysteries in 31 B.C., after the battle of Actium.⁸¹ Statues honouring Livia and Augustus, erected at Eleusis prior to 27 B.C., perhaps even on the occasion of his initiation, seems to substantiate Dio's claim.⁸² The inscriptions from the statue base follow:

Ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος
Λιβίαν Δρουσίλλαν
[αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος
γυναῖκα

Ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος
Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσα[ρα]
θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς[ν]
τὸν ἀτοῦ σωτή[ρα]
καὶ εὐεργέτ[ην]

⁸¹ Dio Cassius, 51.4 and 54.9. Suetonius (*Augustus*, 93) tells us that Augustus acted as an arbiter in a dispute related to the Eleusinian mysteries, an instance which will be further discussed in chapter 4.

⁸² Vanderpool, "Three inscriptions," 7-9, no. 3 (=SEG XXIV, 212) presents the previously unpublished honorary inscription, found in the vicinity of the chapel of St. Zacharias, situated c. 150 m outside the entrance court at Eleusis. He provides a drawing of the inscription by John Travlos. The inscribed block (Pentelic marble 1.68 x 0.67 x 0.21m) is one of a series of which other, uninscribed, blocks were also noted. Clinton (1997), 165, states that it came from a monument that was "five meters square" and "nearly five meters on a side," hypothesizing that it possibly came from a structure within the Eleusinian sanctuary that "could have housed imperial cult." He does not, however, clarify how an actual building would relate to the statue labeled by the inscription.

Suetonius' report of an attempt to move the Eleusinian mysteries to Rome is the only ancient testimony connecting the emperor Claudius to the Eleusinian cult.⁸³ The fact that the emperor Nero, while visiting Greece in A.D. 66/67, did not visit Eleusis and request initiation in the Eleusinian cult was reason enough to start a rumour that he feared being denied the right of initiation on account of his crimes.⁸⁴ It is not likely, however, that he would have been refused the initiation into the cult, had he requested it, regardless of his crimes.⁸⁵ He was, after all, the emperor, and since the Mysteries were repeated at Augustus' request, the Eleusinian officials would probably not have turned down Nero, if he wished to be initiated.⁸⁶ The lack of inscriptional evidence for the subsequent emperors could be the result of their poor preservation. Literary evidence connecting the emperors and Eleusis in that same time period is also scarce, possibly indicating that the emperors did not exhibit any particular interest in the Eleusinian cult, down to the reign of Hadrian, when the sanctuary experienced a period of revival.

⁸³ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 26. 5: *sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est.*; Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1513-1514. It is not clear whether this was an actual attempt by Claudius to move the Eleusinian cult to Rome, which would have been in accordance with his religious programs, or a part of the historical tradition hostile to Claudius. Details are discussed in chapter 4.

⁸⁴ Suetonius, *Nero*, 34. 4: *Peregrinatione quidem Graeciae et Eleusinis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce praeconis summoventur, interesse non ausus est.*

⁸⁵ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155.

⁸⁶ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 78; Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1514.

During the reign of Hadrian, the Eleusinian mysteries and the sanctuary itself gained a new importance and a clearer political role through the Panhellenion.⁸⁷ The evidence for this period is rich enough to merit separate consideration. Consequently, inscriptions of the Hadrianic period will be examined in the fifth chapter of this work, as they are an essential part in the discussion of the connection between the Eleusinian sanctuary and the Panhellenic League.

Marcus Aurelius was closely associated with the city of Athens and the Eleusinian sanctuary and his benefactions to the city included the repair and rich decoration of the Eleusinian sanctuary.⁸⁸ He was initiated into the Eleusinian cult in A.D. 176, together with Commodus. We are told that he received unprecedented honours on that occasion.⁸⁹ Mylonas thinks that Marcus Aurelius entered the inner sanctum, the Anaktoron, whereas Clinton believes that '*sacrarium*' is the Telesterion and not the Anaktoron (figs. 9 and 10). The type of honours that he received, if he was actually admitted into the Anaktoron and given the title of *lithophoros*, would have been conferred only on a leader who had contributed considerably

⁸⁷ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1516-1525; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 56-57; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 101-103.

⁸⁸ Scholiast of Aristides on the *Panathenaikos*, 183, 2, n.v.; cited by Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161, n. 16.

⁸⁹ *SHA M. Ant. 27: Orientalibus rebus ordinatis Athenis fuit et initia Cereris adiit, ut se innocentem probaret, et sacrarium solus ingressus est.* Loeb translation: "After he had settled affairs in the East he came to Athens, and had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries in order to prove that he was innocent of any wrong-doing, and he entered the sanctuary unattended." Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161-162, n. 17; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 39, n.208.

to the Sanctuary of Demeter, and have probably resulted from his restoration the Telesterion and the erection of the Greater Propylaea.⁹⁰

Romans were occasionally admitted into the Eumolpid family that traditionally held the priesthoods in the Eleusinian cult, as will be discussed in the following chapter.⁹¹ Occasionally, they also functioned as dignitaries of the Eumolpidae, as can be seen from the letter of Commodus to the Eumolpidae, dated to the period after A.D. 182 (*IG II² 1110*) and found at Eleusis:⁹²

[A]ὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μ. Αὐρήλι-
[ος [[Κόμμοδος] Ἄντ[ωνίνος]] Σε-
[βαστὸς Εὐσ]εβῆς [- - - - -]

lacuna

Ἐγὼ μ[ὲν - - - - -]
ὁ πρε [- - - - -]
τῶν ο[- - - - -]
ὕμετ[ερ - - - - -]
[- - - - -]α καὶ
[μυστηρίω]ν κεκοινωνηκῶς
[ᾧ]στε ἐξ ἐκείνου δίκαιος
ἂν εἶην ὁμολογῶν καὶ τὸ
Εὐμολπίδης εἶναι. Ἄναλαμ-
βάνω δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἄρχοντο[ς]
προσηγορίαν, καθ' ἃ ἤξιώσατε,
ὡς τὰ τε ἀπόρρητα τῆς κατὰ τὰ
μυστήρια τελετῆς ἐνδοξό-

⁹⁰ Details of the building projects dating to the reign of Marcus Aurelius are discussed in chapter 2. It is possible that the Athenians bestowed these honours upon M. Aurelius before the completion of the building projects at Eleusis, in order to win his favour.

⁹¹ M. Porcius Cato is mentioned as a Eumolpid on a fragmentary inscription from a statue base (*IG II² 4190*), probably dating to Nero's reign. The inscription does not indicate whether he functioned as an official of the Mysteries, or was an honorary member of the Eumolpid *genos*.

⁹² J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*. Philadelphia, 1989, no. 206, 416–418. The inscription consists of four different fragments of Pentelic marble, two of which were found in a late well. The provenance of the other two is unknown. The version of the text presented here is edited by Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 417–418.

τερὸν τε καὶ σεμνότερον,
 εἶ γέ τινα προσθήκην ἐπιδέ-
 χοιτο, τοῖν θεοῖν ἀποδοθεί-
 η καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ τῶν
 Εὐμολπίδων γένους, ὃν προ-
 εχειρίσασθε, αὐτός τε μὴ δο-
 κοίην, ἐνγραφεῖς καὶ πρότε-
 ρον εἰς τοὺς Εὐμολπίδας,
 παραιτεῖσθαι νῦν τὸ ἔργον
 τῆς τειμῆς, ἣν πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
 [τα]ύτης ἐκαρπώσαμην.
 Ἔρρωσθε.

vacat

Imperator Caesar [M. Aurelius Commodus] Antoninus [Augustus] Pius[- - -]

I [- - - - -] and having shared in [the Mysteries], so that it was only right afterward for me to agree to be a Eumolpid. I accept also the title of archon, as you have asked, in order that if the secret rites of the initiation during the Mysteries receive some additional support, worship may be rendered to the goddesses in a more glorious and reverent manner even on account of that archon of the genos of the Eumolpidae whom you have elected, and in order that after being enrolled among the Eumolpidae I may not seem now to decline the practical obligation of the honour which I enjoyed before this post. Farewell.⁹³

It is interesting to note that Commodus did not have to be present to hold the office of the archon. He fulfilled his obligations by paying for, rather than participating in, festivities of the Eumolpid family.⁹⁴

The epigraphic and literary references that have been discussed in this chapter are but a small portion of the material available on and found at Eleusis, chiefly because the

⁹³ Translation by Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 418.

⁹⁴ F. Millar. *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC–AD 337)*. Ithaca, N.Y. (1977), 450, n. 21, suggests that this letter was not addressed to the Eumolpidae specifically, but to the Athenians in general, as well as that the archonship in question is not the archonship of the Eumolpidae. Since the first portion of the letter is missing, it is possible that Millar's interpretation is valid. However, from the content of the rest of the letter, Oliver's interpretation of the letter seems more plausible.

inscriptions relating to Romans are not as abundant as the ones relating to Greeks. The surviving inscriptions seem to indicate that the Roman interest in the sanctuary was at its height in the first and second centuries A.D. After that period, inscriptional evidence at Eleusis relating to the Romans decreases, following larger Greek patterns. The inscriptions and the literary attestations, however, offer only indirect evidence for the extent of Roman involvement in the life of the Eleusinian sanctuary, since lists of initiates into the Mysteries seem not to have been inscribed on stone. Even these oblique references to the Roman participation in the Eleusinian cult are crucial for the fuller understanding of the complex life of the sanctuary in the period of Roman domination.

CHAPTER 4
PROCEDURAL VARIATIONS IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis flourished in the period of Roman domination. Heightened Roman interest in the Mysteries resulted in the physical expansion of the Eleusinian sanctuary, as discussed in chapter two. The renewed appeal of the Mysteries and the prestige associated with its offices and participation in the rituals led to a number of modifications. Hieronymy was extended to many of the Eleusinian priesthoods, and adlection into the priestly families, notably the Eumolpidae, became more common. The Mysteries were repeated on several occasions, at the request of the Roman emperors. Exceptional ritual allowances were made for a number of emperors, who also occasionally arbitrated in the matters of the Eleusinian cult. This chapter will address all of these themes. In order to be able to fully appreciate the evolution of the practices related to the Mysteries, we first must examine the traditional organization of the Eleusinian priesthoods, as well as the traditions connected with their offices.

The highest priest in the Eleusinian cult was the hierophant. He had to be from the Eumolpid family and, once appointed, held his office for life.⁹⁵ Prior to the Great Mysteries, the hierophant declared the sacred Eleusinian peace, similar to the Olympic peace, which lasted

⁹⁵ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 44-45; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 229-230. Aelius Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration* (Or. XXII) 4, states that the Eumolpidae provided the hierophant and the Kerykes provided the dadouchos; all other evidence is in agreement with his statement.

fifty five days. The purpose of this truce was to allow for the safe travel to and from the Mysteries to the potential initiates from all over the Greek world. The hierophant sent special delegates, *spondophoroi*, to various Greek cities to proclaim the commencement of the Mysteries and the sacred Eleusinian peace to non-Athenians.⁹⁶ In addition to inviting private citizens to participate in the Mysteries and become initiates, the *spondophoroi* also asked for the first fruit offerings and official delegations (*theoroi*) to be sent to the Eleusinian goddesses.⁹⁷

Along with the publicly recognized functions, such as sending off the *spondophoroi* and leading the procession of initiates from Athens to Eleusis, the hierophant performed a number of duties more closely associated with the Eleusinian sanctuary. He was the only person who could enter the inner sanctuary, the Anaktoron, and complete the final stage of initiation by displaying the holy objects to the initiates in the Telesterion.⁹⁸ An inscription clearly marked the special throne (figs. 10 and 11) of the hierophant in the Telesterion.⁹⁹ After the Classical period, his personal name could no longer be publicly used once he entered the

⁹⁶ Parke, *Festivals*, 61; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 23; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230, 244; M. Sakurai, and A. E. Raubitschek, "The Eleusinian Spondai," in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΣΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΕΜΥΑΩΝΑΝ* (Athens, 1987) 263-265.

⁹⁷ Epigraphic evidence for *spondophoroi* delegations to Phocians: Aeschines, II, 133-134; and to the Islands: *IG II² 1672*. Evidence for *theoroi* delegations to the Mysteries from Miletus *IG II² 992*; as well as *Sylloge 4*, vol. I, No. 42; and *IG II² 1236*.

⁹⁸ Aelian, *Varia Historia*, Fragment 10.

⁹⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 39. C. Kerényi, in his discussion of the Mysteries, gives a different explanation for the role the hierophant on the basis of etymology. He says: "The nature of his office is expressed in his title: strictly speaking, *hierophantes* means not he who 'shows the holy things' - that would have had to be called *hierodeiktes* in Greek - but 'he who makes them appear,' *phainei*." C. Kerényi, *Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York, 1967) 90.

office, that is, it became hieronymous.¹⁰⁰ The hierophant enjoyed certain privileges that other priests did not. He received a seat in the *prohedria* section, a visible place of honour in the theatre of Dionysus.¹⁰¹ The Prytaneion of Athens maintained a number of public officials and priests at public expense. The list of ἀείσιτοι recorded the names of these individuals, with the hierophant always heading it.¹⁰² Clinton suspects that these lists, at least in the Roman period, reflected the exact order in which the Eleusinian and Athenian priests and priestesses marched in the procession from Athens to Eleusis, during the Greater Mysteries.¹⁰³ The office of the hierophant was the most important and most respected Athenian priesthood, especially in the Roman period. The writings of Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom indicate that fact, especially since Dio Chrysostom refers to the priest in the *prohedria* of the theatre of Dionysus as “the hierophant and the other priests.”¹⁰⁴

The dadouchos was an Eleusinian priest second in importance only to the hierophant. He was chosen from the family of the Kerykes and held the office for life.¹⁰⁵ The dadouchos was closely associated with the hierophant during the Mysteries and probably took part in the

¹⁰⁰ Hieronymy will be addressed in greater detail below.

¹⁰¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* 36, and his Appendix III, 120-121, which deals with the seating arrangement of the *prohedria* as a whole.

¹⁰² Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 35-36, 46, and Appendix IV, 121-124; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230. Other Eleusinian officials appeared on these lists.

¹⁰³ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 36.

¹⁰⁴ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 45-46; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9, 8; Dio Chrysostom (XXXI, 121, ed. Arnim).

¹⁰⁵ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 47, 67; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 232. Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, 4, states that the Kerykes provided the dadouchos; all other evidence is in agreement with his statement.

initiation of the participants, as well as walked beside him in the formal procession of the Mysteries.¹⁰⁶ Although he was not allowed to enter the Anaktoron, his role during the ritual in the Telesterion can perhaps be inferred from his title, *dadouchos*, which means the torchbearer. The *dadouchos* was also entitled to use the “Fleece of Zeus” in purification rites for those tainted with blood.¹⁰⁷ He was regularly listed right after the hierophant on the *aeisitoi* lists, and was maintained by the Prytaneion of Athens. In the Roman period, the *dadouchos* was given a seat of honour in the theatre of Dionysus.¹⁰⁸ There is no conclusive positive evidence for the observation of hieronymy in the case of the *dadouchos* until the *aeisitoi* lists of the middle of the second century A.D., although the custom could have been observed from as early as the beginning of the first century A.D.¹⁰⁹

Special vestments apparently distinguished both the hierophant and the *dadouchos* (figs. 22-29) from the other Athenian priests. Their garment was called *stole* and was accompanied by either a red or purple cloak.¹¹⁰ They also wore a headband, known as

¹⁰⁶ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 232; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 67-68.

¹⁰⁷ Both Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 232, and Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 68, cite the Suda (s.v. Διὸς κῶδιον), but Clinton acknowledges that the connection of the ritual of blood purification to the Mysteries is very disputed, n.176.

¹⁰⁸ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 68, 121; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 232. The seats of the hierophant and the *dadouchos* in the *prohedria* of the theatre of Dionysus were equidistant to the left and the right from the throne of the priest of Dionysus, since the *dadouchos* was probably placed in the first seat of the *cuneus* VIII section, as Clinton suggests in his Appendix III.

¹⁰⁹ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9.

¹¹⁰ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 32-33, cites Athenaeus, I, 21e; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22; Aristophanes, *Clouds*, line 64; and Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 51, where the colour of the cloak is described with the term φοινικιδες.

strophion, a myrtle wreath, and long hair (κόμη) and beard (figs. 26, 28-29).¹¹¹ The literary references to the hierophant and dadouchos indicate that the ancient Athenians could recognize the elaborate costumes of these priests. Modern scholars, however, may incur difficulties when trying to establish a clear distinction between the two. The reason for that is the fact that the ancient written accounts often place their discussions about the hierophant and the dadouchos together. Moreover, the distinctions between the hierophant and the dadouchos are not always explicit in the surviving artistic representations, where they are very similar in appearance.¹¹²

The hierophantides were two priestesses that assisted the hierophant, one devoted to the service of Demeter, the other to that of Kore.¹¹³ It seems that they were instrumental in the initiation ceremonies, perhaps crowning the initiates before the procession departed from Athens.¹¹⁴ Hierophantides, like other Eleusinian priests, were also listed on the *aeisitoi* lists, at least in the Roman period, and were publicly maintained.¹¹⁵ It is not clear whether hieronymy

¹¹¹ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 32-35; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230, 232. Plutarch, *Aristides*, 5, tells us of an incident during the battle of Marathon, when a Persian soldier mistook the dadouchos Kallias for a king because of his distinguished appearance.

¹¹² Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 32-35; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230, 232. Compare figures 23, 25 and 26. Figures 23 and 26 are those of a hierophant, whereas figure 25 represents a dadouchos.

¹¹³ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 86-89; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230-231.

¹¹⁴ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 88-89; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231. Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," *Hesperia*. Supplement VIII (1949): 248-249. A memorial (*IG II² 3632*), dedicated to a hierophantis, without mentioning her name, states that she set crowns on the heads of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. However, the names of her family, including her grandson Glaucus, the Athenian poet who composed the epigram, are given, and Oliver deduces that her name was Eunice. She was the daughter of Isidote, also a hierophantis, and the granddaughter of Isaeus of Melite, discussed below (*IG II² 2897*), who received the Athenian citizenship and was also adlected into the Eumolpidae genos, if that was a prerequisite for the position of the hierophantis.

¹¹⁵ For example, the *aeisitoi* list *IG II² 1092* dates to A.D. 160-170.

applied to hierophantides prior to the period of Roman rule, since the earliest written attestation for this office dates to ca. 250 B.C. and does not include a proper name.¹¹⁶ Starting with the first century A.D., however, the hierophantides appeared more frequently in the epigraphic sources and became hieronymous.¹¹⁷ Although Mylonas maintains that hierophantides were invariably Eumolpids,¹¹⁸ Clinton explains that the information concerning the hierophantides and their fathers is fragmentary or non-existing, and that any definite assertion regarding their *genos* could be misleading. He proposes that the hierophantides were chosen from at least one other *genos*, because some of their fathers were exegetes of the type that excluded Eumolpidae.¹¹⁹ The hierophantides held their office for life and were allowed to marry, as is apparent from a number of inscriptions.¹²⁰

Another sacred office, that of the priestess of Demeter and Kore, 'Ιέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, was also important in the Eleusinian cult. The original title of this office was the priestess of Demeter, but it was by the Roman times expanded to include Kore as well.¹²¹ This

¹¹⁶ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 86, citing Ister of Cyrene, frag. 29.

¹¹⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9, 89.

¹¹⁸ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231.

¹¹⁹ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 88, n. 16, gives the example of the hierophantis attested in the inscription IG II² 3546, whose father was identified by Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*. Baltimore, 1950, 152 as the pythochrestus exegete from IG II² 3549. Eumolpidae seem to have been excluded from this type of exegetes, as well as from the eupatridae exegetes.

¹²⁰ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 87-89. Inscriptions IG II² 3984, IG II² 3585, IG II² 3632, IG II² 3764 attest the fact that hierophantides could marry and have children.

¹²¹ Examples of the full title, including Kore, can be found in inscriptions: IG II² 3495, 4720, 3261, 2954. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 68-76; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231.

priesthood was, perhaps, associated with the Mysteries at an even earlier date than that of the hierophant. The fact that the title of the priestess of Demeter and Kore is the only Eleusinian priestly title that bears the names of the Eleusinian goddesses is a sign of antiquity. Another indication of how long-standing and old-fashioned this office was is the fact that in Athens, at least initially, priests were associated with male deities and priestesses with the female ones.¹²² The priestess of Demeter and Kore, together with the hierophant, was among the most important religious officials of the sanctuary and it seems that she participated in more Eleusinian festivals and sacrifices than even the hierophant himself.¹²³ Several instances of the priestess of Demeter and Kore acting independently from the other Eleusinian priests exist. Plutarch tells us of the priestess of Demeter who would not curse Alcibiades and his companions in 415 B.C. when ordered, protesting that she was “a praying priestess and not a cursing priestess.”¹²⁴ Two disputes between the priestess of Demeter and Kore and the hierophant are reported to have occurred ca. 380 and ca. 300 B.C. The first incident was over the right of celebrating certain sacrifices at the festival of Haloa,¹²⁵ while the second may have resulted over the entitlement to take care of certain statues.¹²⁶ The priestess of Demeter and

¹²² Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 68-76; Foucart, *Mystères*, 216-218.

¹²³ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 76; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231.

¹²⁴ Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22, 4.

¹²⁵ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 16-17, cites Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*, 116, who reports the dispute between the hierophant Archias and the priestess. The priestess of Demeter won the suit, Archias was convicted of impiety.

¹²⁶ Foucart, *Mystères*, 231. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 22-23, discusses a speech falsely attributed to Dinarchus entitled *Diadikasia of the Priestess of Demeter against the Hierophant*, where the incident is reported.

Kore was not hieronymous. She was eponymous, hence the events and inscriptions at Eleusis were dated by her name. She is present on the *aeisitoi* lists in the second century A.D.¹²⁷ Whereas the majority of the Eleusinian priests were either Eumolpidae or Kerykes, it seems that the priestesses of Demeter and Kore could have been drawn from several other families as well.¹²⁸

The hierokeryx, the sacred herald, was an Eleusinian priest that came from the genos of Kerykes.¹²⁹ Not much is known about the religious function of the hierokeryx in the Eleusinian cult, except that he made announcements at some point in the ritual, as can be inferred from his title.¹³⁰ He was listed among the *aeisitoi* in the Roman period and had a prominent seat in the theatre of Dionysus.¹³¹ The few pre-Roman attestations do not use the designation hierokeryx. They always give the title of keryx, herald, instead.¹³² This change in appellation indicates, perhaps, the increased importance of this office in the Roman period. The ruling of Marcus Aurelius in the case of Valerius Mamertinus also demonstrates the augmented prestige of the hierokeryx. Valerius Mamertinus attempted to switch his genos from

¹²⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 68-76. *IG II²* 3608, the *aeisitoi* list from the second century, includes the priestess of Demeter and Kore.

¹²⁸ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231, mentions the Eumolpidae and the Phillaidae, whereas Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 68, specifies the Phillaidae and recognizes the possibility that at least one more genos was involved, without designating it.

¹²⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 81.

¹³⁰ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 81; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233.

¹³¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 81, 121.

¹³² Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 76; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233. Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22, where there is a reference to ὁ κήρυξ, the herald, when the charges are made against Alcibiades for impersonating the hierophant, the dadouchos, and the (sacred) herald.

Eumolpidae to Kerykes in order to become a hierokeryx, which shows that the office was in demand.¹³³ The sacred herald, hierokeryx, did not become hieronymous until sometime after A.D. 166.¹³⁴

The members of the Kerykes family had an ancestral right to yet another office, the office of the altar-priest, ἱερεὺς ἐπι βωμῶ. The religious duties of this office are not clear. The priest was in some way associated with the altars, perhaps of Demeter and Kore, and possibly performed the sacrifices.¹³⁵ He was included among the Eleusinian officials recorded in the *aeisitoi* lists, and his position became hieronymous sometime in the second century A.D. In the second century, L. Memmius of Thorikos, the altar-priest, is the first instance attesting the altar-priesthood as hieronymous.¹³⁶

The Eleusinian Mysteries were also connected with a number of other priestly offices. Although it seems that their religious importance was not as great as the importance of those priesthoods mentioned above, they were, nevertheless, prestigious and desirable. Among them

¹³³ Inscription EM 13366, located on one of the two plaques found in the Roman Market Place in Athens is further discussed in chapter 5. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 81, 116; Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 4, 11-12, 29.

¹³⁴ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9, 78-82. A number of inscriptions from the first and second centuries A.D. contain the names of the current hierokeryx (*IG II*² 1072, *IG II*² 3187, *IG II*² 3798, *IG II*² 4481, *IG II*² 2342, *IG II*² 4069, *IG II*² 4070). Hieronymy appears c. A.D. 166/7, on the *aeisitoi* lists, and is observed on the inscriptions dated after that (*IG II*² 1806, *IG II*² 1790, *IG II*² 1077, *IG II*² 2241, *IG II*² 3814, *IG II*² 3707).

¹³⁵ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 82-86; Foucart, *Mystères*, 205, 372-373.

¹³⁶ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9, 85-86. L. Memmius of Thorikos served as an altar priest from 121-124 to 191 or 192 A.D., but no evidence concerning his hieronymy is available before 168/9, on an *aeisitoi* list *IG II*² 1775. The inscription, *IG II*² 3620, from a statue base, set up in his honour by the Athenian polis, will be discussed further in chapter five.

were the Eumolpid exegetes, who interpreted the ancient rituals and were considered priests in the Roman period.¹³⁷ The Kerykes filled the office of *pyrophoros*, who was in charge of maintaining the sacrificial fire of the Eleusinian altars. This office became hieronymous at the end of the second century A.D.¹³⁸ Some the other sacred officials of the Eleusinian cult included: Φαιδυντής, who took care of statues and other objects of the cult; Παναγής, whose duties are unknown, but he was to receive one obol from each initiate; Ἴακχαγωγός, who carried or accompanied the statue of Ἴακχος; and the hearth-initiates, Παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας, who were boys and girls initiated at public expense, possibly representatives of the city of Athens and in some way connected to the hearth in the Prytaneum.¹³⁹

Although the basic structure of the major Eleusinian priesthoods appears constant from the Classical to Roman times, changes in prestige and perception of the priesthoods did occur. The most notable modification can be seen in the case of hieronymy, which became more widespread and more strictly enforced in the Roman period.

The custom of hieronymy, whereby the personal name of a religious official could no longer be publicly used upon entering the office, was not commonly observed in the earlier times. Hieronymy became more strictly enforced in the Roman period and is attested in a

¹³⁷ R. Garland, "Priests and Power in Classical Athens." In: *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, eds. M. Beard, and J. North, 75-91, (London, 1990), 81; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 89-93, provides a detailed account of this office.

¹³⁸ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9; 94-95 supplies the details for pyrophoros.

¹³⁹ Other priesthoods are described by Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 235-237; and Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 95-114. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 113, notes that the inscriptions commemorating the hearth-initiates were the most abundant form of dedication in the sanctuary at Eleusis, but that only one monument to each known hearth-initiate is preserved, resulting, perhaps, from a desire to restrict the number of unnecessary, repetitious monuments.

number of inscriptions and literary references. This is especially evident in connection with the highest priestly office at Eleusis, that of a hierophant. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, hieronymy was practiced only occasionally.¹⁴⁰ The name of the current hierophant was often disclosed without any apparent uneasiness. Isaeus' *On The Estate of Apollodorus*, for example, openly mentioned Lacrateides, the hierophant.¹⁴¹ In the fourth century B.C., the deme of Eleusis honoured the hierophant Hierocleides, publicly citing his name while he held the office.¹⁴² An inscription dating to mid-third century B.C. reveals the name of yet another hierophant, Chaeretius.¹⁴³ In the Roman period, however, the hierophant became such an exalted person that to mention him by name became a punishable offence, as Lucian notes.¹⁴⁴ Thus in an epigram carved on the pedestal of his statue, Apollonius, who held the office of the hierophant in the first quarter of the third century A.D., asks the initiates and the people not to inquire about his personal name for, as he says, he lost it on entering the sacred office—"the mystic law, *thesmos*, wafted it away into the sea."¹⁴⁵ After his death, however, his children

¹⁴⁰ Prior to the Roman rule, the personal name of the hierophant is not used in *IG II² 1540*, 1544, 1933.

¹⁴¹ Isaeus, *On The Estate of Apollodorus*, VII, 9; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155 n.1; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 17-18.

¹⁴² *IG II² 1188* = *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1897, 33 in Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155, n.1; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 18-20.

¹⁴³ *IG II² 1235* = *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1883, 81. *Sylloge*, vol.3, No.1019 in Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155, n.1; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 23.

¹⁴⁴ Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 10: "The first I met were a torch-bearer, a hierophant, and others of the initiated, haling Dinias before the judge, and protesting that he had called them by their names, though he well knew that, from the time of their sanctification, they were nameless, and no more to be named but by hallowed names." (Translated by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.)

¹⁴⁵ *IG II² 3811*.

disclosed his name, as was customary.¹⁴⁶ As late as A.D. 396, Eunapius believed that he could not disclose the name of the hierophant who initiated him, even though he wrote after the hierophant's death.¹⁴⁷ He was initiated by Nestorius, the last legitimate hierophant, known as a prophet, whose name was made known by Zosimus.¹⁴⁸

In addition to the hierophant, other Eleusinian offices, those of dadouchos, hierokeryx, the altar-priest, pyrphoros and the hierophantis also became hieronymous, but at different times in the period of Roman domination.¹⁴⁹ The public use of the names of the hieronymous priests was sacrilegious and such occurrences were severely punishable.¹⁵⁰ The fact that hieronymy became more widespread and more meticulously observed in Roman times than ever before indicates the increased importance of the cult at this time. The enhancement of the regulations and a stricter ritual and non-ritual control also reflect this growing prestige of the Eleusinian sanctuary. The observance of hieronymy can be associated with the renewal of interest in customs perceived as traditional. Attempts to accommodate wider political and cultural realities did, however, result in occasional suspension and even modifications of the traditional Eleusinian rules.

¹⁴⁶ IG II² 3812 = 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς, 1883, 79 in Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155, n.1; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 40-42.

¹⁴⁷ Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum*, 7. 3. 1: τοῦ δὲ ἱεροφάντου, κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅστις ἦν, τοῦνομα οὐ μοι θέμις λέγειν· ἐτέλει γὰρ τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα. Loeb translation: "The name of him who was at that time hierophant it is not lawful for me to tell; for he initiated the author of this narrative."

¹⁴⁸ Zosimus, 4. 18.; Foucart, *Mystères*, 173-175; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155, n.1; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 43-44.

¹⁴⁹ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9.

¹⁵⁰ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 9; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 155 n. 1, 230.

As demonstrated above, the principal Eleusinian priesthoods were usually associated with the families of Eumolpids and Kerykes, and although other families could hold the Eleusinian offices, they did so on a limited basis.¹⁵¹ The restriction was absolute for the office of the hierophant, who was always a Eumolpid, and the office of the dadouchos, who had to be from the family of Kerykes. These customary traditions, however, underwent occasional alterations in Roman times, in order that individuals who were not Kerykes or Eumolpids by birth could hold Eleusinian priesthoods or be honoured by the sanctuary.

The inscriptions attest a number of individuals who had been adlected into the Eumolpidae genos. Isidote, the hierophantis in 176 A.D. is known from the *IG II² 3632*. Her grandfather (father?) was probably the king archon L. Volusius Isaeus of Melite in *IG II² 2897*. If the prerequisite for becoming the hierophantis at Eleusis was belonging to the Eumolpidae, Isaeus must not only have received the Athenian citizenship after settling in Athens, but also had been adlected into the Eumolpidae.¹⁵² Kirchner suggests *sub IG II² 3763*, dated to c. A.D. 212/213, that Dryantianus of Marathon was the maternal grandfather of Flavius Dryantianus, the archon of the Eumolpidae of *IG II² 1078*, who must have also been adlected into the Eumolpidae.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 231; 235; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 76. As discussed above, Clinton notes that the priestess of Demeter was either from the family of the Eumolpids or of the Phillidae, while for some of the less important priesthoods family connections seem to have been unimportant.

¹⁵² Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, (1949), fig. 2, opposite pg. 248, provides this example, as well as the others that are discussed.

¹⁵³ Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," fig. 2, opposite pg. 248. Flavius Dryantianus could have, of course, claimed the membership in the Eumolpidae through his paternal relatives, a possibility not discussed by either Oliver or Kirchner.

A wide range of epigraphic evidence corroborates that Romans were also adlected into the ranks of Eumolpidae.¹⁵⁴ An inscription from the statue base of the Roman M. Porcius Cato, dating to the reign of Claudius or Nero, makes it clear that he was a Eumolpid.¹⁵⁵ It is not clear whether this was the son of the Porcius Cato, who was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 36, or even the *consul suffectus* himself. M. Porcius Cato probably received the honour of becoming the Eumolpid because he was a major benefactor of the sanctuary.¹⁵⁶ We also know of Julius Apella of Mylasa (*IG II² 2959*), adlected into the Eumolpid genos in the period of the Antonines;¹⁵⁷ and of Quintilianus, proconsul of Asia, (*IG II² 4219*, third century), who was honoured with the membership of the Eumolpidae.¹⁵⁸

The Eumolpid family occasionally adlected Roman emperors into its genos as well. The inscription *IG II² 3592*, dating to sometime between A.D. 162 and 169, was set up posthumously in the honour of Titus Flavius Leosthenes. He was a hierophant, who was also active in the political life of the period and was twice the ambassador to Rome in the reign of

¹⁵⁴ The adlection into the Eumolpidae did not, however, directly result in holding of a priesthood.

¹⁵⁵ *IG II² 4190*.

¹⁵⁶ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1515-1516; Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," fig. 2, opp. pg. 248.

¹⁵⁷ Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," fig. 2, opp. pg. 248.

¹⁵⁸ Quintilianus was honoured with an inscription, in the third century, in the period when the inscriptions became rare at Eleusis. Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1534-1535; Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," fig. 2, opp. pg. 248.

Antoninus Pius.¹⁵⁹ In this inscription, Leosthenes gives an account of how he installed the emperor Lucius Verus as a Eumolpid.¹⁶⁰

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus were initiated into the Eleusinian cult in A.D. 176 and both became Eumolpidae.¹⁶¹ The epistle *IG II² 1110*, by Commodus to the Eumolpidae, dating after A.D. 182, contains his affirmative reply to the request of the *genos* that he become their archon.¹⁶² Later, in A.D. 191 or 192, there is evidence that Commodus also accepted the Eleusinian office of the panegyriarch, which required considerable financial expense at the *panegyris* of the Mysteries.¹⁶³ This is the only available evidence for a Roman emperor holding an office associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Adlections from one *genos* into other did not always come to pass smoothly. We know of Valerius Mamertinus, who in A.D. 174/75 improperly switched his *genos* from Eumolpidae to Kerykes, in order to become a sacred herald. It seems that Valerius Mamertinus may have had claims to membership in both families through his maternal and paternal relatives, but he did not follow the proper procedure for renouncing the membership in one

¹⁵⁹ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 36-37; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1529-1530.

¹⁶⁰ Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," fig. 2, opp. pg. 248; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 36-37; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1529-1530.

¹⁶¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161-162 states that Marcus Aurelius was not a Eumolpid, but was made a *lithophoros* and archon of the Kerykes; Clinton says that Mylonas' observation is based on a misunderstanding of *IG II² 3628*.

¹⁶² A. E. Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, (1949), 283-284; Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," fig. 2, opp. pg. 248; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 416-419, inscription no. 206; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1534.

¹⁶³ Commodus acceptance of the Eleusinian office of the panegyriarch is indicated in *IG II² 1792*. Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1534; Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," 284.

genos before claiming the other. That is why Marcus Aurelius had to intervene.¹⁶⁴ His ruling was recorded on one of the two plaques found in the Roman Market Place in Athens, which give Marcus Aurelius' rulings on a number of appeals by the Athenians.¹⁶⁵

The repetition of the rituals connected to the Eleusinian cult is another example of occasional exceptions made in Roman times, specifically for the Roman emperors.¹⁶⁶ The only pre-Roman example of the duplication of the Mysteries occurred in 307 B.C. As Plutarch tells us, Demetrius Poliorcetes demanded that he be initiated into the cult, and the Eleusinian priests, with the resistance of the current dadouchos, Pythodoros, consented to the request by renaming of the months so that they could at least seemingly follow the rules of the cult.¹⁶⁷

Lucius Licinius Crassus, the first Roman connected with the Eleusinian mysteries in the literary evidence, wanted to attend the Mysteries in 109 B.C. or shortly before, but arrived two days too late. As Cicero tells us,¹⁶⁸ the Athenian refusal to repeat the Mysteries infuriated L. Licinius Crassus so much that he left Athens immediately.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 116.

¹⁶⁵ Inscription EM 13366 is examined by Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 366-388, Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 4, 11-12, 29 and Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 122-123.

¹⁶⁶ Eleusinian mysteries were repeated in 19 B.C. at Augustus' request and in A.D. 162 or 166 for Lucius Verus, as Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1507-1508, and 1529-1530 suggests.

¹⁶⁷ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 152, 239; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 37, 50. Plutarch *Demetrius*, 26. The month of Munychion was renamed into Anthesterion, and then into Boedromion, so that the Lesser and the Greater Mysteries could be held and Demetrius initiated. Pythodoros, who was then the dadouchos, was the only person who dared to refuse to participate in the rituals, which were completed without his consent.

¹⁶⁸ Cicero, *De oratore*, III, 75.

¹⁶⁹ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1503.

Roman emperors had more success when it came to repeating the Eleusinian Mysteries on their behalf. Augustus was granted the request for the repetition of the Mysteries in 19 B.C.¹⁷⁰ It seems that Augustus was in Athens, accompanied by some uninitiated friends and the Indian Brahmin priest Zamaros, who was interested in Graeco-Roman religious customs. The Mysteries were repeated on Augustus' request. The ancient sources do not record any resistance or uneasiness on the part of the Eleusinian officials. Shortly after participating in the Mysteries, the Indian Brahmin priest Zamaros set himself on fire in Augustus' presence. It is not clear whether he did it out of admiration for the revelations of the Mysteries, or in hope of manifesting a ritual that was even more impressive, in his opinion, than the Mysteries.¹⁷¹

The inscription dedicated to the hierophant Leosthenes, *IG II² 3592*, is the only document that reports that the Mysteries were also repeated in the reign of Lucius Aurelius Verus, in either A.D. 162 or 166. The text, lines 21-22, reads:

¹⁷⁰ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1507-1508. Dio, LIV, 9, 10

¹⁷¹ Strabo, *Geography* 15. I. 73, provides a detailed account of the event: συνῆν δέ, ὡς φησι, καὶ ὁ Ἀθήνησι κατακαύσας ἑαυτὸν·ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ κακοπραγία ζητοῦντας ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν παρόντων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' εὐπραγία, καθάπερ τοῶτον· ἅπαντα γὰρ κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντ μέχρι νῦν ἀπιέναι δεῖν, μή τι τῶν ἀβουλήων χρονίζοντι συμπέσοι· καὶ δὴ καὶ γελῶντα ἀλέσθαι γυμνὸν ἐπαλημιμένον ἐν περιζώματι ἐπὶ τὴν πυρᾶν· ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τῷ τάφῳ· Ζαρμανοχηγᾶς Ἴνδὸς ἀπὸ Βαργόσης κατὰ τὰ πάτρια Ἴνδῶν ἔθη ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθανάτισας κεῖται. Translation in the Loeb edition: "and they were accompanied also, according to him, by the man who burned himself up at Athens; and that whereas some commit suicide when they suffer adversity, seeking release from the ills at hand, others do so when their lot is happy, as was the case with that man; for, he adds, although that man had fared as he wished up to that time, he thought it necessary then to depart this life, lest something untoward might happen to him if he tarried here; and that therefore he leaped upon the pyre with a laugh, his naked body anointed, wearing only a loin-cloth; and that the following words were inscribed on his tomb: 'Here lies Zarmanochegas, an Indian from Bargaosa, who immortalised himself in accordance with the ancestral customs of Indians.'"

He...initiated the emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus while holding the Mysteries, quite legitimately, twice in one year, and he installed the latter as a Eumolpid, having combined also in this matter, when we had the benefit of his services also as a proposer (of Verus' adlection), propriety with reverence for the gods and great virtue."¹⁷²

Although it claims that the duplication of the Mysteries for Lucius Aurelius Verus was legitimate, the inscription *IG II² 3592* does not explain why they were repeated or on whose initiative. This inscription, then, clearly states that Lucius Aurelius Verus became a Eumolpid, although we are not informed whether or not he held any Eleusinian priesthood.

A number of Roman emperors were also involved in resolving disputes connected to the Eleusinian Mysteries. Augustus acted as a mediator in solving a ritual problem related to the Eleusinian cult. Due to the secrecy of the Mysteries, however, it is not clear what the nature of the dispute was. Suetonius tells us that a delegation of Eleusinian priests ventured to Rome in order to ask Augustus to intervene in a dispute *de privilegio sacerdotum*. Upon receiving the delegation, according to Suetonius, Augustus proceeded to dismiss his retinue, whereby he, as the only initiate present, remained alone with the delegates.¹⁷³

Suetonius reports an attempt of Claudius to move the Eleusinian mysteries to Rome. This is the only ancient account connecting the emperor Claudius to the Eleusinian cult. Suetonius' text claims that *sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est*.¹⁷⁴ It is not clear whether this was an actual attempt by Claudius to move the Eleusinian cult to Rome, which would have been in accordance with his religious programs, or a part of the

¹⁷² Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 36-37.

¹⁷³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 93; Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1509.

¹⁷⁴ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 26. 5.

historical tradition hostile to Claudius.¹⁷⁵ If this was an actual attempt, perhaps it was successfully resisted by the Eleusinian priests.¹⁷⁶ Such an incident, however, would show Claudius' lack of understanding for the traditional immovability of the Mysteries and their attachment to the Eleusinian soil.¹⁷⁷

An inscription dating to sometime between A.D. 162 and 169 was set up posthumously in the honour of Titus Flavius Leosthenes. He was a hierophant who was also active in the political life of the period and was twice an ambassador to Rome in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Although Antoninus Pius was probably not initiated into the Eleusinian cult, it is apparent that he took interest in the Eleusinian matters, since the hierophant Titus Flavius Leosthenes received his *strophion*, the insignia of his priesthood, in the presence of Antoninus Pius. This inscription contains the following excerpt: "He received the *strophion* in the presence of the Deified Antoninus (Pius)."¹⁷⁸ Clinton suggests that the investiture of Leosthenes as the hierophant occurred in Rome because of a possible dispute in which

¹⁷⁵ Modern historians, such as B. Levick, *Claudius* (New Haven and London, 1990), 87, A. Momigliano, *Claudius, the Emperor and His Achievement* (New York, 1961), 28, n.19 and V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, 1940), 155-156, accept the possibility that Suetonius could have reported a genuine attempt on Claudius' part.

¹⁷⁶ Foucart, *Mystères*, 263-264; Momigliano, *Claudius, the Emperor and His Achievement*, 28, n.19.

¹⁷⁷ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1513-1514, points out that the Mysteries were imitated to some extent at Alexandria, but were never given the same prominence as the Eleusinian mysteries, since the priests and the place were an important part of the rituals. Arrian, *Epicteti Dissertationes*, III, 21, 13-16, vehemently opposes any relocation of the Mysteries, probably because of what was perceived as Hadrian's attempt to move them to Rome sometime during his reign.

¹⁷⁸ *IG II²* 3592, line 21. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 36-37.

Antoninus Pius was asked to mediate.¹⁷⁹ Although it is tempting to entertain a theory such as this one, the existent evidence does not substantiate it.

As mentioned above, Marcus Aurelius ruled in the case of Valerius Mamertinus, who seems to have resigned his position in A.D. 174/75, after improperly switching genos from Eumolpidae to Kerykes in order to become a sacred herald.¹⁸⁰

In conclusion, it is evident that the Roman rule resulted in a number of allowances relating to the Eleusinian mysteries. On the one hand, the period produced a more rigorous observance of hieronymy, which now included all the major priesthoods. On the other hand, the administrators of the cult recognized the great power of the Roman emperors and they permitted various types of occasional exceptions on the emperors' account.

¹⁷⁹ Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 1525-1526.

¹⁸⁰ Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 116; Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 5, 28. EM 13366, ll. 8-14. Marcus Aurelius' ruling reads: "Mamertinus shall not be removed from the number of the Eumolpidae, and he shall recover his priesthood."

CHAPTER 5
ELEUSIS AND PANHELLENISM

Despite the fact that the Greeks did not achieve unity in an independent state in ancient times, they recognized their own ethnic affinities that unified them culturally, if not politically. Religion was an important unifying factor and the Eleusinian sanctuary was a prominent centre of specifically Greek religious activity. The attraction of the Eleusinian Mysteries went beyond the borders of Attica, since the only requirement for the participation in the rituals was the knowledge of the Greek language. Furthermore, the Athenians strove to increase their broad appeal. As was noted in chapter four, messengers, known as *spondophoroi*, were sent by the hierophant to different Greek cities to announce the beginning of the sacred Eleusinian peace and of the Mysteries.¹⁸¹ By the first century B.C., and probably even earlier, the Mysteries had become a cultural and religious symbol of Athens for the Romans as well. This occurrence is evident in a passage from Cicero's *De legibus*, referring to the Eleusinian mysteries:

Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tuae peperisse atque in vitam hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus; neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.

¹⁸¹ Parke, *Festivals*, 61; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 23; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230, 244; Sakurai and Raubitschek, "The Eleusinian Spondai," 263-265.

For it appears to me that among the many exceptional and divine things your Athens has produced and contributed to human life, nothing is better than those mysteries. For by means of them we have been transformed from a rough and savage way of life to the state of humanity, and have been civilized. Just as they are called initiations, so in actual fact we have learned from them the fundamentals of life, and have grasped the basis not only for living with joy but also for dying with a better hope.¹⁸²

Prominent Romans of later periods, as well as the individual emperors, shared Cicero's respect for the Mysteries. In the period of their domination over Greece, the Romans exhibited admiration for the cultural achievements not necessarily of their Greek subjects, but certainly of the Greeks' ancestors.¹⁸³ The Greeks shared and elaborated upon this feeling of admiration for their past. They took advantage of opportunities to associate themselves with their predecessors as closely as possible, and to reap the benefits of such an affiliation.¹⁸⁴ This shared respect for cultural accomplishments and institutions of the Greek past provided fertile ground for the foundation of the Panhellenic League in the second century.¹⁸⁵

The Panhellenion was created in A.D. 131/2, probably by the emperor Hadrian himself, who was in Athens that year at the dedication of the temple of Olympian Zeus.¹⁸⁶ The foundation of the Panhellenic League created a political and territorial unit larger than a single province for the first time in the Roman east. It included cities from five provinces: Achaia,

¹⁸² Cicero, *De legibus*, 2.14.36.

¹⁸³ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 78.

¹⁸⁴ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1536-1538; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 100-104.

¹⁸⁵ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 78.

¹⁸⁶ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 92-138; Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1520; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 78-79.

Macedonia, Thrace, Crete and Cyrene and the Aegean provinces of Asia Minor (fig. 30).¹⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that although the Greek and hellenized cities in different parts of the empire demonstrated remarkably consistent cultural values, no member cities are attested from the Greek west, nor from Egypt, Syria and other provinces. As Spawforth and Walker indicate in their discussion, these absences could be the outcome of the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence. However, restrictions of the membership of the Panhellenion could have resulted from Roman reluctance to allow the permanent alignment of a large part of the Greek world, administered by the Greeks themselves¹⁸⁸ The list of known member-cities, especially outside mainland Greece, is, for the most part, limited to locations of some importance in a contemporary, Roman sense. Many of these cities were also closely associated with Athens and Sparta, the two most prestigious members of the Panhellenion, particularly in the post-Hadrianic period.¹⁸⁹

The principal administrative body of the Panhellenic league was the council (*synedrion*) of delegates called the Panhellenes, sent by the member cities, and headed by an archon, who held office at Athens for a period of four years.¹⁹⁰ The surviving inscriptions

¹⁸⁷ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 79-80, provide a list of the cities associated with the Panhellenion, as well the map, which is included in the present work, figure 29.

¹⁸⁸ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 81.

¹⁸⁹ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 81, provide details on some of the member-cities, a few of which were assize centres (Cyrene, Apamea, Sardis, Synnada, Miletus, Tralles and Thyateira), seats of the senatorial families (Aezani), and important administrative or commercial centres (Thessalonica, Perinthus, Rhodes and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander).

¹⁹⁰ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 79; S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle: Études Chronologiques et Prosopographiques*. (Paris, 1976) 140-142, 169, 193; Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 1-42, deals with a long, complex inscription dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, designated as no. 1. The inscription comes from plaques that were found in the Roman

regarding the League disclose the names of thirteen archons as well as the names of other League officials, such as *antarchons*, *agonothetai* and priests. Most of them can be identified as Roman citizens.¹⁹¹

The process of attaining the membership in the Panhellenion was complex and carefully considered by the archon, the council of Panhellenes and even the emperor himself.¹⁹² Two documents disclose the requirements of membership in the Panhellenic league, or at least the determinant factors. The first document is the decree of the Panhellenes admitting Magnesia-on-the-Maeander into the Panhellenion,¹⁹³ the second is a dedication by the Phrygian city of Cibyra in connection with its membership of the league.¹⁹⁴ It is significant that both documents refer to the cities' Greek lineages, to their history of good relations with Rome, and to the benefactions which they had received from Hadrian, in the very same order of appearance. It seems that good relations with Rome were essential for admission, since it is

Agora, now EM 13366 in the Epigraphical Museum. Plaque II, lines 23-4-deal with the terms of the Panhellenic archonship, while lines 16-20 attest that Hadrian himself established the rules for eligibility.

¹⁹¹ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 133; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 86, 79, discuss the known procedures for the election (*χειροτονεῖν*) of the Panhellenic archons.

¹⁹² J. Reynolds, "Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities," *JRS* 68, (1978): 113-119; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 81; and Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 96-99, no.7, where Oliver discusses a letter by Hadrian to Cyrene, dating to A.D. 134/5, in which he refers to a matter which was communicated to him by the Panhellenic archon. Another document, a decree of the Panhellenes about Magnesia-on-the Maeander (*IG II² 1091*) indicates the role of the council in the admission procedures and is discussed by Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 81 and by Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 94-95, no. 5.

¹⁹³ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 81; and by Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 94-95, no. 5, is the inscription *IG II² 1091* cited in the previous footnote.

¹⁹⁴ *OGIS II*, no. 497, no. 6, in Oliver's *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 95-96; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 81.

unlikely that the Panhellenion would have affirmed an application from a city without a history of good relations with Rome, especially because the League was under the direct patronage of the Roman emperor. These documents also show, as does the aforementioned letter of Hadrian to Cyrene, that the League required the prospective member-communities to prove their Greekness in terms of both culture and ancestry.¹⁹⁵ As Oliver points out,¹⁹⁶ it is interesting to note that a similar expression, asserting the ancient origins and service to Rome of the prospective applicants, was used during the reign of Tiberius to substantiate requests for permission to build imperial cult shrines.¹⁹⁷

The case of Cibyra is intriguing for yet another reason. It seems that for the specific purpose of gaining admission into the Panhellenion, the city claimed for the first time in the surviving evidence that Ἡ Κιβυρατῶν πόλις ἄποικος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ συγγενὶς Ἀθηναίων, that it was ‘colony of the Lacedaemonians and related to the Athenians,’ a proclamation with which Strabo must have been unfamiliar, since he classified Cibyra as a non-Greek foundation.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 82, point out that the mother-cities of old Greece and their overseas colonies were thus united in the Panhellenion. The actual process of proving their claims of their Greek ancestry is still unknown, although it could have taken the form of speeches, since similar speeches were characteristic of and well attested in the age of the Second Sophistic.

¹⁹⁶ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 95.

¹⁹⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 55, 22 provides the wording of the formula: ‘*vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum.*’

¹⁹⁸ Strabo, *Geography*, XIII, 4,17. Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 82 comment upon a further lineage elaboration by Cibyra in a Severan document from Oenoanda, *IGRR* III, 500, as well as the fact that other fabricated Greek pedigrees attest to the desire of the hellenized cities of in the Eastern Mediterranean to attach themselves only to the most prestigious cities in old Greece, just as Cibyra did.

The applicants' claims for membership in the Panhellenion, such as the one made by Cibyra, illustrate the cultural significance of the League, as well as the fact that this cultural prestige became particularly attached to prominent centres of mainland Greece, like Athens and Sparta. As we shall see later, Eleusis, a cultural and religious symbol in its own right but also closely associated with Athens, benefitted from such focusing of cultural distinction.

The Panhellenion carried out different functions, ranging from purely administrative to cultural, diplomatic and religious. It is likely that one of the primary roles of the League was self-management, including regulating membership and providing testimonials (*grammata marturias*) for retired officials.¹⁹⁹ The running of the League doubtlessly involved a certain amount of routine expenditure, and it is possible that Hadrian may have granted some revenues to the Panhellenion, at least initially.²⁰⁰

The lengthy and multi-faceted letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians, briefly discussed in chapter four, documents the fact that the *synedrion*, the council of the League, could have occasionally served as a court.²⁰¹ The document reveals that the Panhellenes officiated in a private quarrel between an Athenian citizen and the administrators of the affairs

¹⁹⁹ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 82.

²⁰⁰ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 83; P. Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*. (Cairo, 1934. Reprint New York, 1973), 102; Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 105, no. 18=IG II² 1141, an Athenian inscription that shows that the League was distributing money to the Athenian epebes participating in the Panhellenia. The Panhellenion must have maintained the meeting place of the council, the rooms of the league's officers, and the shrine of the Panhellenion also.

²⁰¹ In his discussion of this complex document, EM 13366 (= no. 1 in Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 1-42), Oliver address the eligibility of the Panhellenes-elect (ll. 23-4), and the terms of the Panhellenic archonship, postulating that Hadrian himself established the rules for eligibility (ll.15-21).

of Herodes Atticus.²⁰² Consequently, it appears that the undertakings of the Panhellenion were not only cultural and diplomatic, but also judicial in nature.

It seems that one of the functions of the Panhellenion was to oversee the setting up of different honours to the ruling emperor on behalf of all the members of the League. Thessalonica set up a statue in honour of Pius “according to the decree decided upon by the Panhellenes and distributed by them to all the cities and peoples belonging to the Panhellenion, having been ratified by the emperor.”²⁰³ Oliver notes that monuments such as this one would have been dedicated at the accession of a new emperor, when Greek cities customarily sent congratulatory embassies to the new ruler. The Panhellenic League eliminated the need for its members to send expensive individual embassies to Pius, because it performed these duties as an integrated organization. This created a direct channel of communication between the Greek cities and the emperor, allowing one voice to speak for the many.²⁰⁴

Among the most important functions of the Panhellenion were religious obligations, as was the case with many similar organizations of the Graeco-Roman world. A close connection between the League and the sanctuary at Eleusis existed from the period of the later Antonines, if not earlier, as will be further explored below.²⁰⁵ We know that the League

²⁰² EM 13366, ll. 23-24, (= no. 1 in Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 14-15); Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 83. The Athenian, Athenodorus son of Agrippa, may have chosen the council of the League as the arbiter in his private quarrel with the associate of Herodes Atticus to avoid partiality or intimidation.

²⁰³ Oliver, “Panachaeans and Panhellenes,” *Hesperia* 47, (1978): 189-90, no. 1, ll. 6-11; translation by Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 83.

²⁰⁴ Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 83; Oliver, “Panachaeans and Panhellenes,” 190.

²⁰⁵ Spawforth and Walker, “Panhellenion,” 82, 100-103.

was in charge of organizing the Panhellenia, a four-yearly festival, and leading the procession associated with the event. The Panhellenion also administered a special form of the imperial cult, namely the cult of Hadrian Panhellenius at Athens, based in a sanctuary called the Panhellenion and associated with the Panhellenic Games.²⁰⁶ At the end of the second century, the League experienced problems in attracting athletes to participate in the Panhellenic Games, at least during the reign of Septimius Severus.²⁰⁷

The Panhellenic League occasionally involved itself in various building projects and setting up of monuments, such as the statue of Pius in Thessalonica, probably through monetary contributions of the member-cities. Among these building projects were the ones at Eleusis and Athens that will be considered shortly.²⁰⁸

The Panhellenic League may also have had a limited role in the imperial response to the growing expansion of Christianity. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius quotes from the *Apology* which Melito, the bishop of Sardis, addressed to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. In this passage, Melito referred to letters on the subject of the treatment accorded to the Christians, written by Marcus Aurelius' predecessors and probably addressed to the Panhellenion. The passage reads:

²⁰⁶ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 82. The League presumably appointed both the priest of the cult of Hadrian Panhellenius and the *agonothetes* of the festival and exercised a general supervision over the Panhellenia.

²⁰⁷ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 82-83; Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 107-109. Two imperial letters deal with athletes who avoided the Panhellenia. It seems that Severus might have 'renewed' the Panhellenia's status as a *hieros agon*, as can be seen from an inscription found at the Roman Market Place, Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 107-108, no. 21, where the term ἀνανεούμεθα is used in l. 15. The inscription *IG II² 1106*=no. 22, Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 108-109, deals with a similar subject matter.

²⁰⁸ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 83.

ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικούντος αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἕλληνας.

And your father, when you were joined with him in managing the affairs of the world, wrote to the cities to take no unlawful measures against us, amongst these letters being ones to the Larissans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians and to all the Greeks.²⁰⁹

Even though early Christians are not always reliable sources when citing official imperial documents, it is unlikely that Melito would in this instance communicate the existence of these letters to Marcus Aurelius, had they never been written.²¹⁰ Spawforth and Walker suggest that the phrase πάντας Ἕλληνας in Melito's letter refers to the Panhellenic League, because the League occasionally received Imperial letters. Moreover, Melito was from Sardis, which was a member city of the Panhellenion.²¹¹ It would be of great interest to scholars to see an Imperial message to Panhellenes regarding the Christians, but, to the best of our knowledge, no such documents survive.

We know that Hadrian, the founder of the Panhellenic League, exhibited a strong interest in both the Eleusinian sanctuary and the League. His personal involvement with Athens and Eleusis predated the foundation of the Panhellenion, and perhaps served as a model for the close connection between the League and Eleusis. Hadrian studied in Athens and was an Athenian archon in A.D. 112/3.²¹² Literary sources tell us that Hadrian visited Greece on

²⁰⁹ Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* IV, 26, 10.

²¹⁰ F. Millar. *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 559-61; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 83-84.

²¹¹ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 84.

²¹² Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1517; Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 1; Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle*, 506.

several occasions after he became the emperor in A.D. 117. During each of his imperial visits to Athens, in A.D. 124, 128 and 131, he also attended the Mysteries. The ancient historians suggest that Hadrian went through the first stage of initiation in 124, and through the second stage of initiation in 128 or 131.²¹³ Modern historians, however, propose that Hadrian was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries earlier, at an unknown date. It is not likely that Hadrian, known as a *graeculus*, would have spent time in Athens as a student, held the office of the Athenian archon in 112, but not have been initiated into the cult.²¹⁴ Moreover, the inscription *IG II² 3620*,²¹⁵ dedicated to Memmius Thorikos, who served as an altar priest at Eleusis from c. 120-124 until his death around 190/1, tells us that he initiated Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus into the Mysteries. He also tells us that he performed the initiation ceremonies in Hadrian's presence, but does not specify that he initiated him.²¹⁶ The fact that

²¹³ A.D. 124: SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 13. 1-7. The section 13.1, regarding his initiation, reads: *et Eleusinia exemplo Herculis Philippique suscepit...* Translation: 'and, following the example of Hercules and Philip, (he) had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.'; A.D. 128: Dio, 69. 11. 1: 'Αφικόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπώπτευσε τὰ μυστήρια. Translation: 'On coming to Greece he was admitted to the highest grade at the Mysteries.'; A.D. 130: Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 119, quotes Jerome, *Ab Abrah.* 2147, which gives an account of Hadrian's reign, starting with the first year of his reign. For the 15th year of his rule, A.D. 131/2, it says: *Hadrianus Atenis hiemem exigens Eleusina inuisit.* Translation: 'Having left Athens, Hadrian visited Eleusis in the winter.'

²¹⁴ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1517; Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 119; Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle*, 114-116.

²¹⁵ *IG II² 3620* is dated to c. 177-180 because Commodus is referred to as *αὐτοκράτωρ*, a title that he received in the November of 176, and Marcus Aurelius is not yet called *θεός*, a title that was added to his name soon after his death in the March of 180. Since it is stated in the inscription, set up by the Athenian polis, that it was erected during the fifty-sixth year of Memmius's service to the goddesses (ll. 15-16), the beginning of his service in the office of the altar-priest can be placed sometime between November, 120 and April, 124.

²¹⁶ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1518, n. 92, argues that the inscription would have said *μῆσαντα θεὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἢ μῆσαντα ἐποπτεύοντος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ*, if Memmius had

Hadrian was present, but not among those being initiated suggests that he had already been initiated at an earlier date, prior to early A.D. 120s, when Thorikos became the altar priest.

Whatever the exact date of Hadrian's initiation into the Mysteries, it is certain that he made special allowances to Eleusis. An inscription, *IG II² 1103*, dating to the reign of Hadrian allowed for the direct sale of fish at Eleusis and granted a tax exemption for the fishermen at Eleusis. The inscription was found at Piraeus and was probably set up before the Deigma at Piraeus. Oliver's translation of the text reads:

– – –the two- obol tax – – but for the fishermen at Eleusis there shall be tax exemption on fish when they sell in the market at Eleusis in order that there be a good supply of food and that the aid through imports may amount to a lot. I want the vendors and retail vendors to have been stopped from their profiteering or else a charge to be brought against them before the herald of the Areopagus. The latter shall introduce the cases into the court of the Areopagites; they shall assess what must be suffered or paid. Let the fishermen themselves or the first vendors who buy from them make all the sales, for it raises the price when those who are third in line of purchasers of the same goods sell again.

Have this letter engraved on a stele and set it up at Piraeus in front of the Deigma. Epimelete of the city T. Julius Herodian of Kollytos.²¹⁷

The inscription does not specify whether Hadrian granted this privilege to Eleusis on a permanent or seasonal basis. Even if Hadrian granted this allowance for purely practical reasons and only for the duration of the Mysteries when the regular food supply might have been inadequate for the crowds of visitors and initiates, it still indicates his particular understanding for the operational circumstances at Eleusis.²¹⁸ Furthermore, since Eleusis,

initiated Hadrian. Instead, in ll. 11-12 we can see the phrase *μῆσαντα παρόντος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ*; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 83-85; Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 121.

²¹⁷ Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 193.

²¹⁸ Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 194; John Day, *An Economic History of Athens Under Roman Domination*. New York, 1973, 193; Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 127-129.

unlike Athens, was on the coast and accessible to fishermen, an allowance such as this one made sense, as the middle men performed no essential service.²¹⁹

Hadrian may have bestowed other benefits on the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, as well. He demonstrated a strong interest in different architectural projects in various parts of the Roman empire throughout his reign. Athens was also among the cities that benefitted greatly from Hadrian's patronage. Several building developments in Athens date to Hadrian's reign. They are the Olympieion, Hadrian's Arch, the aqueduct and the Library.²²⁰ None of the buildings at Eleusis bears his name, but a bridge over the river Cephisus (fig. 31), which crossed the Sacred Way near Eleusis, was built during his reign.²²¹ It is possible that some of the Eleusinian structures of an uncertain Roman date could also date to the Hadrianic period.²²² Another inscription, SIG³ 839, links Hadrian and Eleusis. It indicates that in the spring of 129 Hadrian sailed for Ephesus from Eleusis, and not from Piraeus. As Clinton suggests, it is tempting to envision Hadrian supervising building projects at Eleusis, before

²¹⁹ Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 195.

²²⁰ R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*. Princeton, N. J., 1978, 155-174, especially 162, n.20, where he provides a list of ancient sources that deal with these projects.

²²¹ Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 35-35 lists the relevant ancient sources; Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle*, 114; Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1519; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 183-184.

²²² That is especially true for the Temple of Artemis and Poseidon, mentioned by Pausanias, visiting Eleusis sometimes in the middle of the 2nd century, but also for the Fountain House, and maybe even the first building stage of the Greater Propylaea. These structures are discussed in chapter 2 above.

sailing to Ephesus, especially since the time period of the year did not correspond to the known scheduling of the rites at Eleusis.²²³

The possible direct subsidies from Hadrian were not the only source of income for the various architectural projects. The Panhellenic League, perhaps inspired by his initiative, also got involved in diverse building undertakings in Athens and Eleusis. The League financed the cost of the new sanctuary of the Panhellenion in Athens.²²⁴ Among the architectural projects at Eleusis that can possibly be attributed to the Panhellenion are the Greater Propylaea, which probably had two building phases, a Hadrianic and Antonine one, the two arches that are copies of Hadrian's arch in Athens, and buildings used for storage or as treasuries.²²⁵ The south-east arch, the better preserved of the two, contains an inscription which clearly connects the League to the sanctuary: τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῶι αὐτοκράτορι οἱ πανέλληνησ. "The Panhellenes to the Goddesses and the Emperor."²²⁶

In the final third of the second century, building activity at Eleusis was, a natural consequence of the Costoboc invasion in A.D. 170 or 171, since much of the sanctuary

²²³ Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1519, n. 93-94.

²²⁴ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 83; Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, 167.

²²⁵ The building phases of the Greater Propylaea, the two arches at Eleusis, which are the copies of the Hadrian's arch at Athens, as well as the building that can possibly be identified as the storage areas or treasuries associated with the Panhellenion are discussed in the second chapter of this work.

²²⁶ This inscription, *IG II² 2958*, does not name the emperor and does not refer to him as a god, but the architectural elements of the arch indicate a date in 170s, so the emperor was probably Marcus Aurelius. Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 102, n. 185.

required rebuilding after their pillaging.²²⁷ It is not accidental that many of the Roman-built structures at Eleusis, especially the Greater Propylaea, were direct adaptations of the Classical buildings from Athens. The new buildings were not only a symbol of cult unity between Athena and the Eleusinian goddesses, but also a reaffirmation of the civility and greatness of Athens and the Greeks. The Panhellenic League, which functioned within the boundaries of the Roman imperial system, supported such restorative efforts.

Another aspect of the Panhellenion which combined religious and economic factors was the revival of the custom of *aparche*. In his *Eleusinian Oration*, Aristides reports the tradition that the two goddesses gave wheat to the city of Athens and the city, in turn, gave it to all the Greeks and barbarians.²²⁸ This mythical story became the basis for the custom of *aparche*, the offering of the first fruits of wheat and barley to the Eleusinian sanctuary as a thanksgiving for agriculture, one of the gifts of Demeter and Kore, along with the Mysteries.²²⁹ The observation of the *aparche* is first attested in an inscription *IG I² 76* from the fifth century B.C., c.422/1.²³⁰ In his *Panegyricus*, delivered c. 390 B.C., Isocrates talks about *aparche*, and emphasizes its panhellenic character:

For most of the cities commemorate our ancient benefaction by sending the first-fruits of their grain harvest each year to us; and those who are in default have often been told

²²⁷ Chapter 2 of this work deals with the full extent of the Costoboc invasion and the subsequent construction programme, which included rebuilding of the Telesterion and probably completion or renovation of the Greater Propylaea.

²²⁸ Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, Or. XXII, 4.

²²⁹ Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 28-29.

²³⁰ H. B. Mattingly, "Note on *IG I² 76*, (Eleusinian Firstfruits Decree)." *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 83 (1963): 391.

by the Pythian priestess to pay our city her due share of their crops and discharge their ancestral obligations.²³¹

It is not clear for how long or how regularly the custom of *aparche* was observed in the Classical era, but it had fallen out of regular use by the Roman imperial period. The Panhellenic League restored this tradition. Although we do not know the exact date of the restoration, it is likely that it happened shortly after the foundation of the League, in the reign of Hadrian.²³²

We know of two dedications of the *aparche* by the Panhellenic League. They connect the office of the Panhellenic archons with the contributions of *aparche*, possibly only as a dating formula.

*IG II² 2957:*²³³

Οἱ ἐπὶ Φλαοῦ-
ου Ἐμφικλέ-
ους ἄρχοντος
Πανέλληνες
5 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δη-
μητρίου καρ-
ποῦ ἀπαρχῆς

*IG II² 2956:*²³⁴

Οἱ Πανέλληνες [ἐπὶ...]
Ἄρισταί[ο]υ ἄρχοντος]
ἐκ [τῆς τοῦ Δημητρίου]
καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς

²³¹ Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 31.

²³² Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1520-1521; Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution," 57; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 100.

²³³ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 103-104, *IG II² 2957*= no. 15; Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle*, 128.

²³⁴ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 104, *IG II² 2956*= no. 16.

Both of these dedications are dated by the term of archonship of the League. *IG II² 2957* can be dated to Flavius Amphicles' term in the office, in A.D. 177-181 or 181-185. *IG II² 2956*, on the other hand, cannot be precisely dated, since the date for Aristaeus' archonship is unknown.²³⁵ Because we know that the Panhellenic archon held his office for the period of four years, these inscriptions seem to suggest that the *aparche* was offered once every four years. This is in contrast to the passage of Isocrates quoted above, which indicates that in the Classical period the *aparche* was an annual contribution. No existing records describe the procedures surrounding the custom of *aparche* or the possible reasons for the apparent change in frequency from the Classical to the Roman imperial period. Consequently, we do not know if the collected grain was stored at Eleusis, in presently still unidentified storage areas, if it was sold in the Athenian markets and the proceedings used for setting up of dedications, or if it was disposed in some other fashion.

Another Panhellenic archon, Flavius Xenio of Gortyn, in the office from A.D. 165-169, was closely associated with the Eleusinian sanctuary.²³⁶ *IG II² 3627* identifies him as the Panhellenic archon.²³⁷ An independent inscription, *IG II² 1092*, also attested the connection between Flavius Xenio and Eleusis.²³⁸ From it, we find that Flavius Xenio bequeathed a

²³⁵ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 133; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 100; Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 125-127.

²³⁶ Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 133; Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle*, 127; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 101.

²³⁷ *IG II² 3627* (= no. 12), Oliver, *Civic and Cultural Policy*, 102; K. Clinton, "Inscriptions from Eleusis." *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1971): 116-117; Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 101.

²³⁸ J. H. Oliver, "The Eleusinian Endowment." *Hesperia* 21 (1952): 381-399.

private endowment to the Eleusinian sanctuary and to his native city, Gortyn, shortly before his death sometime between A.D. 177–182. The endowment provided for the distribution of monetary funds, probably during the Mysteries, to the Eleusinian priests and officials, starting with the current hierophant, and to the members of Areopagus and priests of other prominent Athenian cults. Xenio himself was listed first among the beneficiaries.²³⁹ This document refers to a surplus revenue collected shortly before it was written, which led Oliver to assume that the document referred to a reorganization of an old, well-established endowment.²⁴⁰ Spawforth and Walker, as well as Follet, propose that the accumulation of surplus could have resulted from another source, and that Flavius Xenio himself was responsible for the establishment of the Eleusinian endowment, perhaps due to the period of relative inactivity caused by the Costoboc invasion.²⁴¹

The shared cultural environment of Greeks and Romans in the second century A.D. enhanced the respect for the Eleusinian Mysteries and was the impetus behind the founding of the Panhellenic League in A.D. 131/132. The initiative for the establishment of the League came from Hadrian himself, whereby Athens was confirmed as the cultural capital of the Greek world.²⁴² Eleusis had a long association with the cultural achievements of Athens and was a prestigious and well-established focus of religious activity in the ancient world. Because

²³⁹ *IG II² 3627*, ll. 44-55, where the beneficiaries are listed.

²⁴⁰ *IG II² 3627*, ll. 25-26. Oliver, "The Eleusinian Endowment," 385.

²⁴¹ Spawforth and Walker, "Panhellenion," 101; Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe Siècle*, 127.

²⁴² Day, *Economic History of Athens*, 193-194; Graindor, *Athènes Sous Hadrien*, 52-53, 102-111.

of its pervading appeal, and because the Mysteries were considered a part of the twofold gift of Demeter and Kore, it is not surprising that Eleusis came to be closely associated with the Panhellenion.²⁴³ In even stronger terms, Aelius Aristides reinforced the connection of the Eleusinian sanctuary with Greek cultural identity, and indeed with Greekness itself. His *Eleusinian Oration*, delivered shortly after the Costoboc invasion of Greece and partial destruction of Eleusis in A.D. 170/171, demonstrates this view.²⁴⁴ Aristides, a Smyrnian himself, listed the traditions associated with the Mysteries and their importance for Athens, but also for the Greeks. He ended his speech with a lamentation:

In what sort of day have you [the Mysteries] ended! Who should grieve more, the uninitiated or the initiates? The one group has been deprived of the fairest sights which they have seen, the other of what they could have seen. O you [the barbarians] who evilly betrayed the Mysteries, who have revealed what was hidden, common enemies of the gods beneath and above the earth! O you Greeks, who were children of old and are now truly children, who stood idly by at the approach of so great an evil! Will you not now, dear sirs, at all events get control of yourselves? Will you not even save Athens?²⁴⁵

It seems that for Aristides and other Greeks, Eleusis had, by this point, become the focus of rallying against the barbarians and everything that was not Greek. It is conceivable that in the period to come, when Christianity was becoming stronger, Eleusis also became the place of summoning forces against Christians, the place of nurturing for paganism. The Greek cultural renewal, at least in the second and early third centuries, enjoyed the support of the

²⁴³ Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 28-29, 31. Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, Or. XXII, 4.

²⁴⁴ C. A. Behr *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works*. Vol. II. Leiden, 1981, 363, n. 1, states that the speech was delivered in Smyrna between June 23-25, 171. Although it is possible that Aristides' indignation at the event stemmed, at least partially, from the fact that he himself was an initiate, such claim cannot be affirmed with certainty.

²⁴⁵ Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration* (Or. XXII) 12-13.

Roman imperial circles, who felt that they were a part of the greater Graeco-Roman tradition, as we shall see in the concluding chapter of this work.

CHAPTER 6

ELEUSIS: JUNCTION OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD

In the period of Roman domination, the Eleusinian Mysteries were the focus of an ancient and well-established popular tradition. The Mysteries were one of the preeminent Athenian festivals, essential for the religious well-being of the Athenians. Some scholars argue that “the Athenians were, as a rule, *mystai*,”²⁴⁶ that most of the adult Athenians were initiated into the Eleusinian cult. The attraction of the Mysteries went beyond the borders of Athens and Attica. The spiritual appeal of the Eleusinian cult enticed numerous citizens of the Roman empire and many came to Athens for initiation. Philostratus reports that the number of people that came to Athens during the Greater Mysteries exceeded the number of people at any other Greek festival:

ἐς δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐσπλεύσας περὶ μυστηρίων ὥραν, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι πολυανθρωπότατα Ἑλλήνων πράττουσιν, ἀνήει ξυντείνας ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προίων δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐνετυγχανε Φάληράδε κατιούσιν.²⁴⁷

but having sailed into the Piraeus at the season of the mysteries, when the Athenians keep the most crowded of Hellenic festivals, he went post haste up from the ship into the city; but as he went forward, he fell in with quite a number of students of philosophy on their way down to Phalerum.

²⁴⁶ W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*. (Berkeley, 1983), 253-254.

²⁴⁷ Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana*, IV, 17.

The occasion of initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries was primarily a personal experience for each initiate. We know that the Romans displayed an individual interest and participated in the Mysteries as private citizens, for personal, purely religious reasons from the second century B.C., if not earlier. Over time, the relationship that the Romans formed with the sanctuary at Eleusis often transcended the individual level and took on a more public character. The Romans, most notably the emperors, formed a mutually beneficial connection with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, occasionally influencing the ritual and changing the customs as a result of their personal initiative or political will. The most notable examples of the emperors' leverage were the occasions when the Mysteries were repeated on their behalf, as was the case with Augustus and Lucius Verus.

The Eleusinian mysteries had a dual role, both religious and political. On the one side, they helped to strengthen and unite the Greek elements of the Roman empire, as envisioned by the emperors. On the other, they served to demonstrate the benefits of Roman rule to their Greek subjects. In return, the sanctuary achieved the protection and the prestige that was associated with the Roman emperor, in addition to the greater material wealth, displayed by the architectural expansions of this period.

The interdependence of all these factors, in connection with the Eleusinian mysteries, is somewhat similar to the relationship of the emperor and the Greek city-states, formed through the imperial cult. That is why Simon Price's observations regarding the imperial cult and Greek religion as a part "of the system (that) was modified to accommodate the

ambiguous figure of the emperor within the traditional division between god and man,²⁴⁸ a system that was not declining, but vital and flexible, are pertinent to the study of the Eleusinian mysteries. This is especially recognizable in the subtle and more overt inferences to the divine nature of the ruling emperors, as well as in the syncretic tendencies that were occasionally exhibited at Eleusis. We know that emperors and members of their families were occasionally represented in the guises of the deities associated with Eleusis. Hadrian was periodically associated with Ploutos, Antinous with Asclepius (fig. 34), Faustina and Sabina with Demeter and Kore.²⁴⁹ As mentioned in chapter 2, some have ventured to identify temples L 10 and F as dedicated to ‘New Demeters,’ Faustina and Sabina.²⁵⁰ Although there is presently no evidence to confirm this theory, this type of honours given to the members of the Roman imperial family would be consistent with the religious syncretism of the time period. Incorporation of such typically Roman imperial characteristics into some aspect of the Eleusinian cult would be a clear sign of flexibility in religious matters that are often perceived as archaic and rigidly unchanging.

To the Eleusinian cult, as we have seen, the period of Roman rule brought architectural elaboration, as well as variation in the ritual and administrative activities. Ritual practices traditionally associated with the Eleusinian cult were renewed, and they regained

²⁴⁸ S. R. F. Price, “Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult,” *JRS* 70 (1980): 42.

²⁴⁹ Clinton, “Hadrian’s Contribution,” 57-58.

²⁵⁰ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 179-180.

importance in the Roman age, fulfilling multiple religious and political roles.²⁵¹ In his discussion of the Spartan traditional education, Kennell suggests “the possibility that the ancients were just as likely to reshape their own histories in light of their present circumstances as modern societies.”²⁵² I believe that the same was true when it came to remodeling of the religious traditions. The cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis was a part of the flexible system that accommodated current political and cultural realities of the Roman empire. It managed to reinvent and rejuvenate itself, while drawing strength and prestige from the age-old spiritual principles.

Eleusis and Athens continued to act as cultural and religious symbols of the Greek way of life. A number of Roman emperors were closely associated with the Eleusinian sanctuary and Athens, and went as far as accepting Athenian citizenship. Hadrian was the first emperor to make Greekness an overtly acceptable characteristic of the Roman emperor.²⁵³ Other emperors followed his example, more or less successfully. Gallienus was the last emperor who accepted the Athenian citizenship and was probably initiated into the Mysteries.²⁵⁴ As Oliver notes, the emperor had to appear “as a perfect Greek,” and represent

²⁵¹ The renewal of the custom of *aparche*, as well as the Panhellenic appeal of the Eleusinian sanctuary, are discussed in chapter 5.

²⁵² N. M. Kennell, *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta* (Chapel Hill, N.C. and London, 1995), 4.

²⁵³ Oliver, “Athenian citizenship of Roman emperors,” *Hesperia* 20 (1950): 349. Oliver provides a list of the Roman emperors who became Athenian citizens: Hadrian (*IG II²* 1764, 1832); Commodus (*IG II²* 1832); Caracalla (*IG II²* 1824, 1825); Elagabalus (*IG II²* 1825); Severus Alexander (*IG II²* 1832); Gallienus (*Vita Gallieni* 11.3-6).

²⁵⁴ S. H. A. *Vita Gallieni* 11.3-6.

a synthesis of Greek and Roman elements of the empire to the citizens in both halves of the empire.²⁵⁵

The reciprocal relation of mutual enhancement of prestige is a part of the connection between the Romans and the Athenians and Greeks of this period. Eleusis played an integral role in this framework. It bestowed religious benefits and distinction to the political endeavors of the Romans and their emperors. In return, its own standing was enhanced and the Eleusinian cult continued to demonstrate its ancient religious relevance with a renewed vibrancy.

²⁵⁵ Oliver, "Athenian citizenship of Roman emperors," 349.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

ARCHITECTURAL DEDICATIONS:

- *ILLRP* 401 (= *CIL* I²775, *ILS* 4041): dedicatory inscription on the Lesser Propylaea.
- *IG* II² 2958: dedicatory inscription on the Triumphal Arch at Eleusis, by the Panhellenes.

HONOURS TO ROMANS:

Inscriptions set up by the Athenian demos:

- *IG* II² 4108 (Titus Pinarius)
- *IG* II² 4112 (L. Munatius, L. f., Plancus)
- *IG* II² 4231 (Sempronia Atratina, wife of L. Gellius Publicola)

- *IG* II² 4202 (M. Titius)

- *IG* II² 4708 (C. Creperius)

Inscription honouring Augustus and Livia, known from Vanderpool (1968), 7-9, no. 3 (=SEG XXIV, 212)

- *IG* II² 1110 –letter of Commodus accepting archonship of the Eumolpidae.

CULT OFFICIALS AND HIERONYMY:

Aeisitōi Lists:

- *IG* II² 1092 (dating to A.D. 160-170)
- *IG* II² 3608 (the second century A.D.)

Inscriptions revealing the name of the hierophant:

- *IG* II² 1188 (Hierocleides)
- *IG* II² 1235 (Chaeretius)

Inscriptions dealing with hierophant Apollonius:

- *IG II² 3811* –asks for the application of hieronymy while in the office.
- *IG II² 3812* –his name revealed by his children after his death.

Inscriptions regarding delegations:

- *IG II² 1672* –delegation of *spondophoroi* to the Islands.
- *IG II² 992, 1236*–delegations of *theoroi* to the Mysteries from Miletus.

Inscription regarding a hierophantis:

- *IG II² 3632* (probably Eunice)
- *IG II² 3546* attesting a hierophantis, whose father was probably a pythochrestus exegete from *IG II² 3549*.
- *IG II² 2897* –L. Volusius Isaeus of Melite, grandfather of hierophantis Eunice (*IG II² 3632*), who was probably adlected into the Eumolpidae genus.

ADLECTION INTO THE EUMOLPIDAE:

Greeks:

- *IG II² 2987* (L. Volusius Isaeus of Melite, mentioned above as the grandfather of hierophantis Eunice *IG II² 3632*)
- *IG II² 1078* (Claudius Dryantianus)
- EM 13366—a letter of Marcus Aurelius, found at Agora, lines 9-11; an unsuccessful attempt by Valerius Mamertinus to switch genus from Eumolpidae to Kerykes.

Romans:

- *IG II² 4190*—Porcius Cato, inscription dating to the reign of Claudius or Nero.
- *IG II² 2959*—Julius Apella of Mylasa, inscription dating to the period of the Antonines.
- *IG II² 4219*—Quintilianus, third century.
- *IG II² 3592*—Lucius Verus, lines 24-25.
- *IG II² 1110*—Commodus, inscription dating to after A.D. 182.

ROLE OF EMPERORS:

- *IG II² 1792*—Commodus, accepting the Eleusinian office of the panegyriarch.
- *IG II² 3592*, lines 21-22 hierophant Titus Flavius Leosthenes accepting his *strophion* in the presence of Antoninus Pius, presumably at Rome.

PANHELLENIC LEAGUE:

EM 13366 plaque II, lines 23-4: terms of the Panhellenic archonship

plaque II, lines 16-20: Hadrian's establishment of the eligibility rules for archonship

Requirements of membership in the Panhellenion:

- *IG II² 1091*–Magnesia-on-the Maeander
- *OGIS II*, no. 497–Cibyra
- *IGRR III*, 500 I–Severan document from Oenoanda documenting the lineage elaboration by Cibyra.

Distribution of money:

- *IG II² 1141*–inscription documenting distribution of money to the Athenian ephebes for participating in the Panhellenia by the Panhellenion.

Imperial letters concerning athletes who avoided the Panhellenia:

- *IG II² 1106*= no. 22 (Oliver, Civic and Cultural Policy)
- No. 21 (Oliver, Civic and Cultural Policy)

Inscriptions dealing with the First fruit offerings:

- *IG II² 2957*
- *IG II² 2956*
- *IG I² 76*–a fifth century B.C. inscription dealing with the Eleusinian first fruit decree

Inscription dealing with the Eleusinian endowment:

- *IG II² 1092*.

Inscriptions connecting Eleusis and Hadrian:

- *IG II² 1103*–an inscription dating to the reign of Hadrian permitting the sale of fish at Eleusis.
- *SIG³ 839*–an inscription indicating that in 129 Hadrian sailed from Eleusis.
- *IG II² 3620*–inscription dedicated to Memmius Thorikos, an altar priest, who initiated Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. He officiated in Hadrian's presence, presumably since Hadrian had been initiated, prior to 120s, when Thorikos became the altar priest.

ATHENIAN CITIZENSHIP OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS:

- *IG II² 1764, 1832* (a catalogue of Hadrianis)–Hadrian
- *IG II² 1832* (a catalogue of Hadrianis)–Commodus
- *IG II² 1824, 1825*–Caracalla
- *IG II² 1825*–Elagabalus
- *IG II² 1832*(a catalogue of Hadrianis)–Severus Alexander

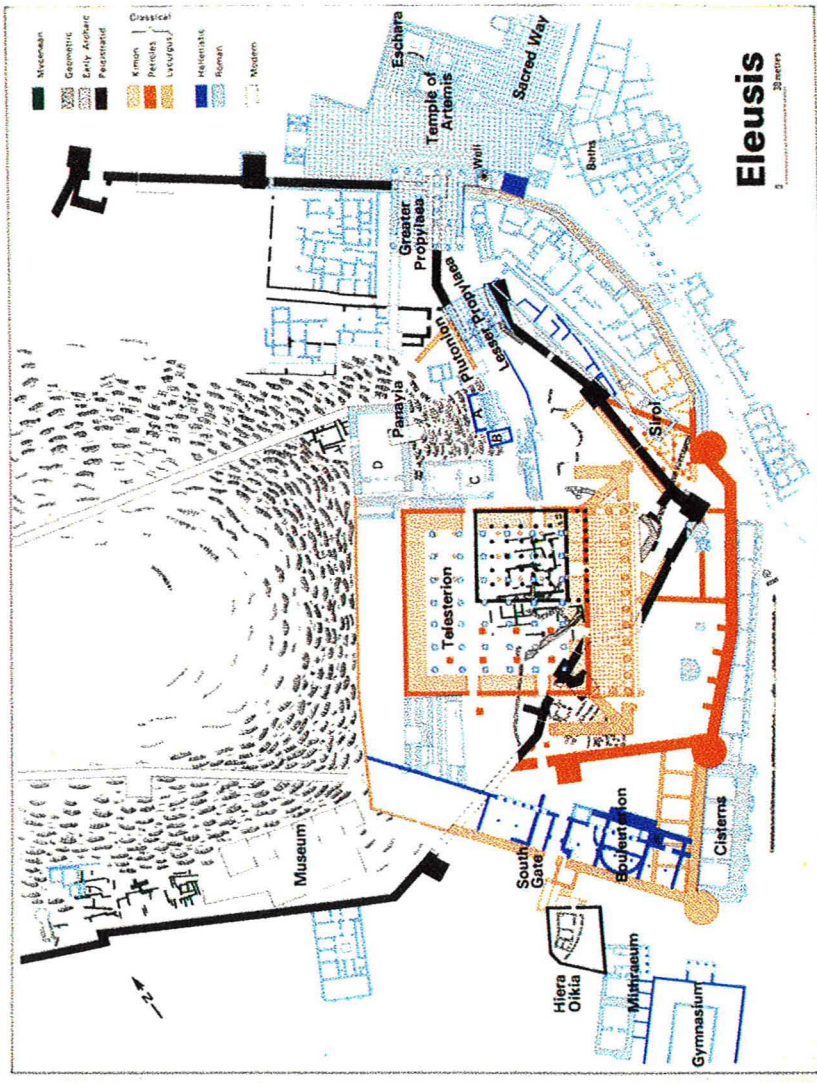


Figure 1 Diachronic map of Eleusis.

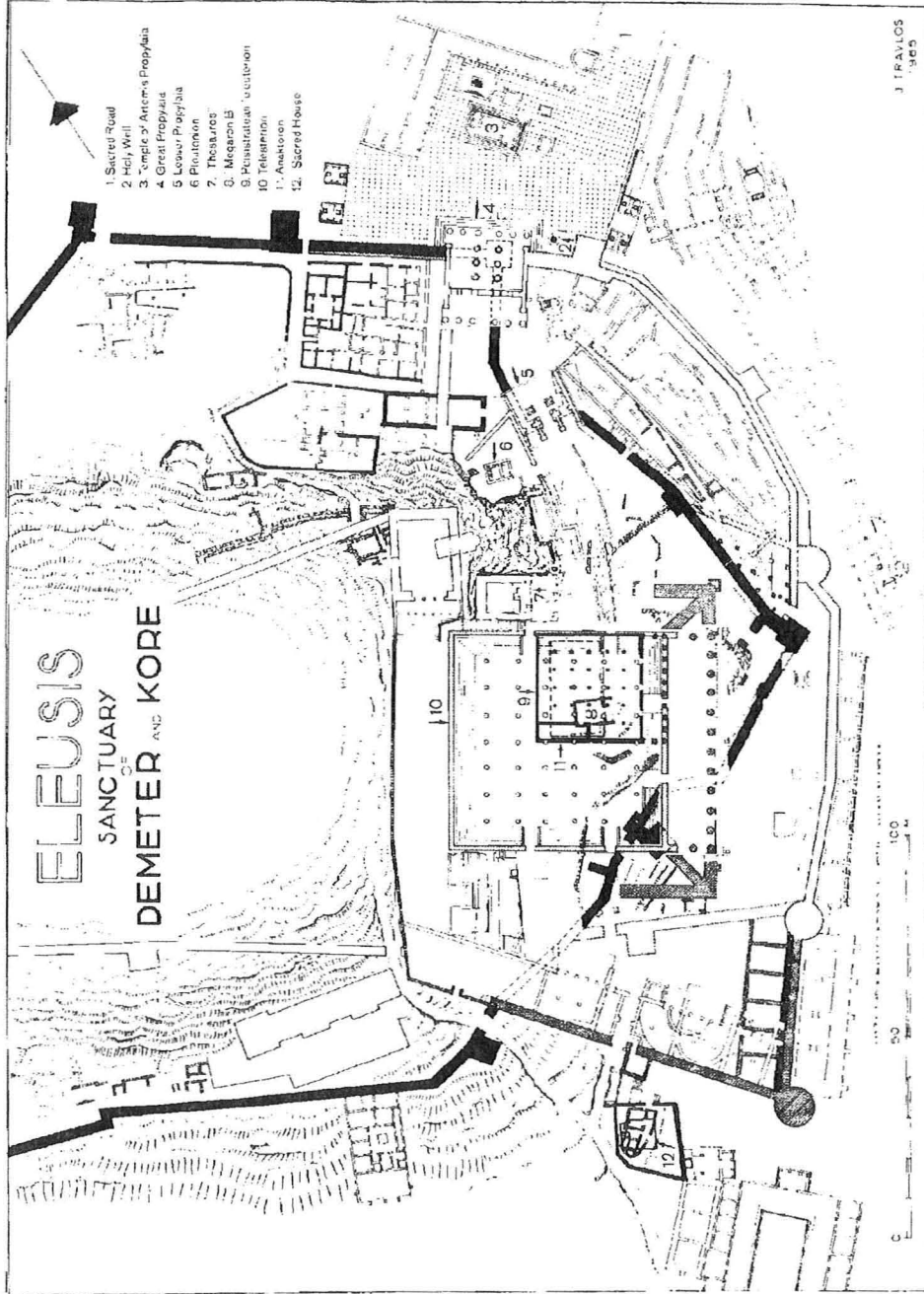


Figure 2 General plan of the sanctuary.

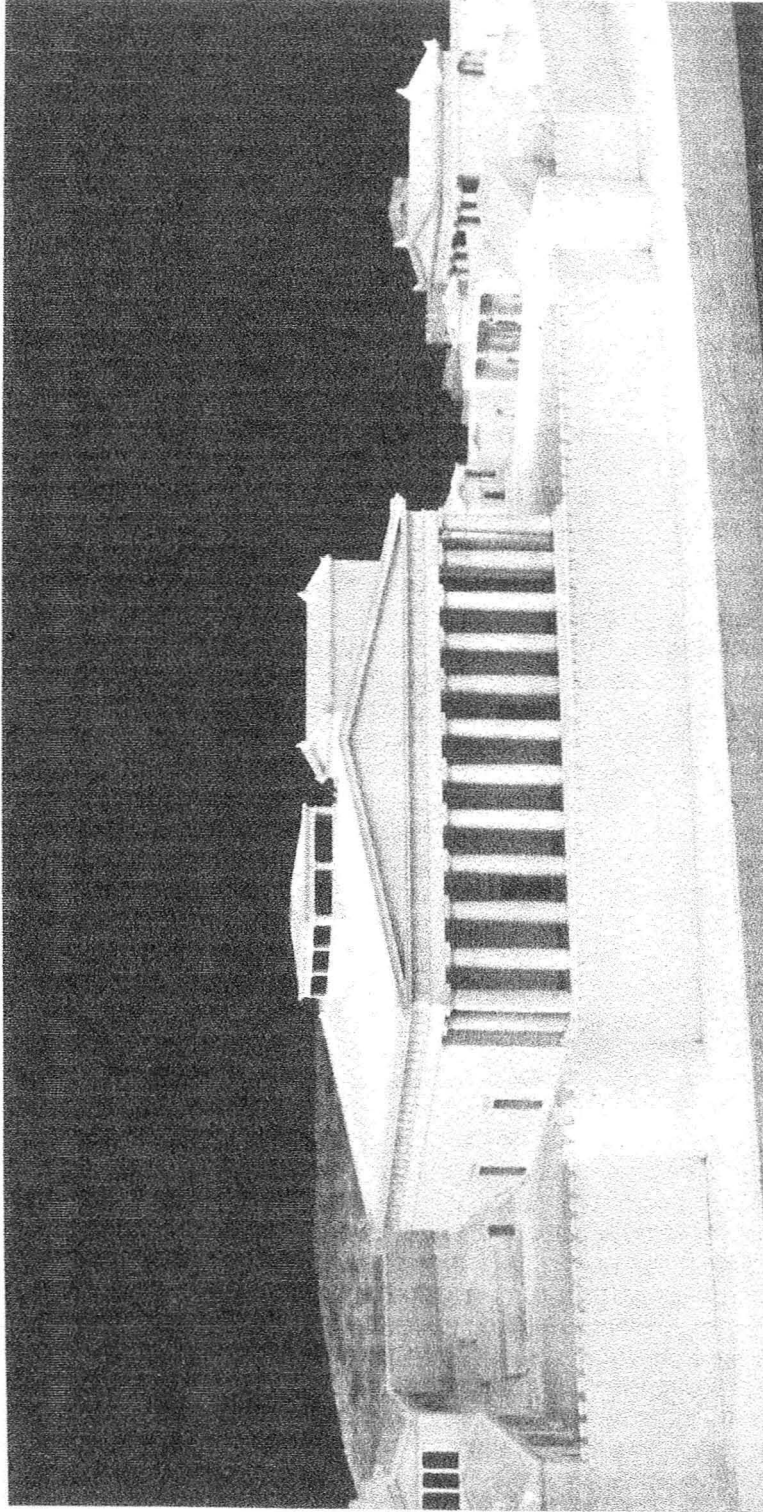


Figure 3 Model of the Eleusinian Sanctuary during the Roman Period.

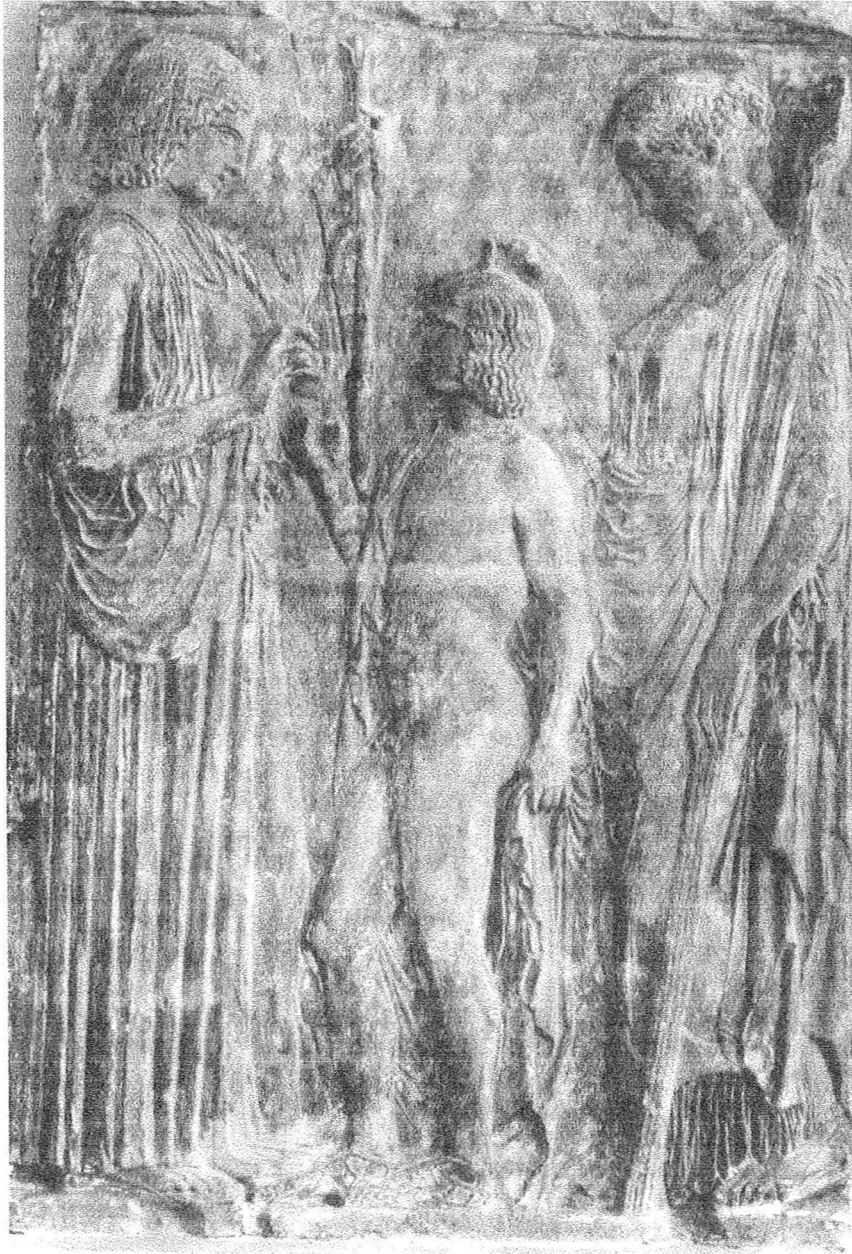


Figure 4 Relief of Triptolemos between the Two Goddesses.

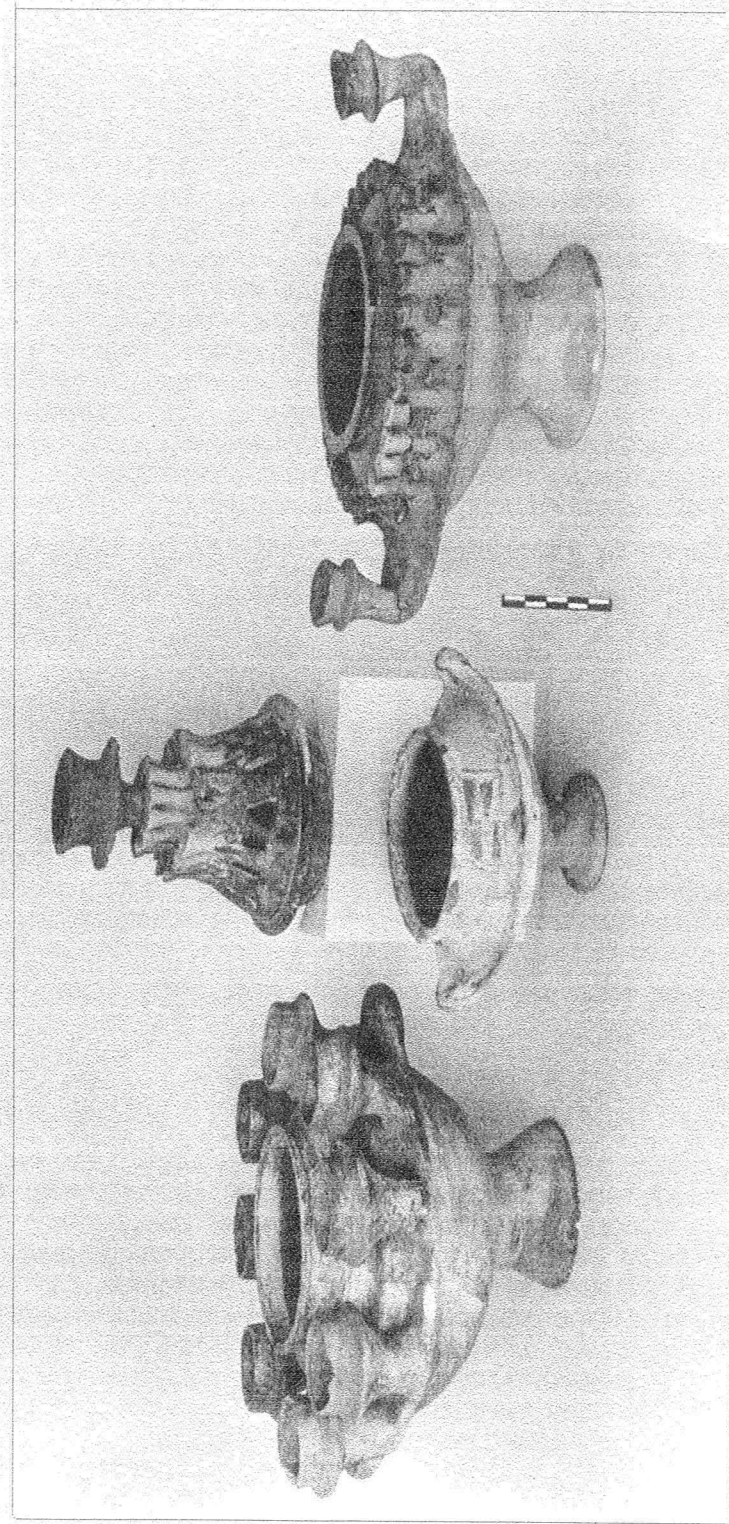


Figure 5 Eleusinian kernoi.



Figure 6 The Callichoron Well.

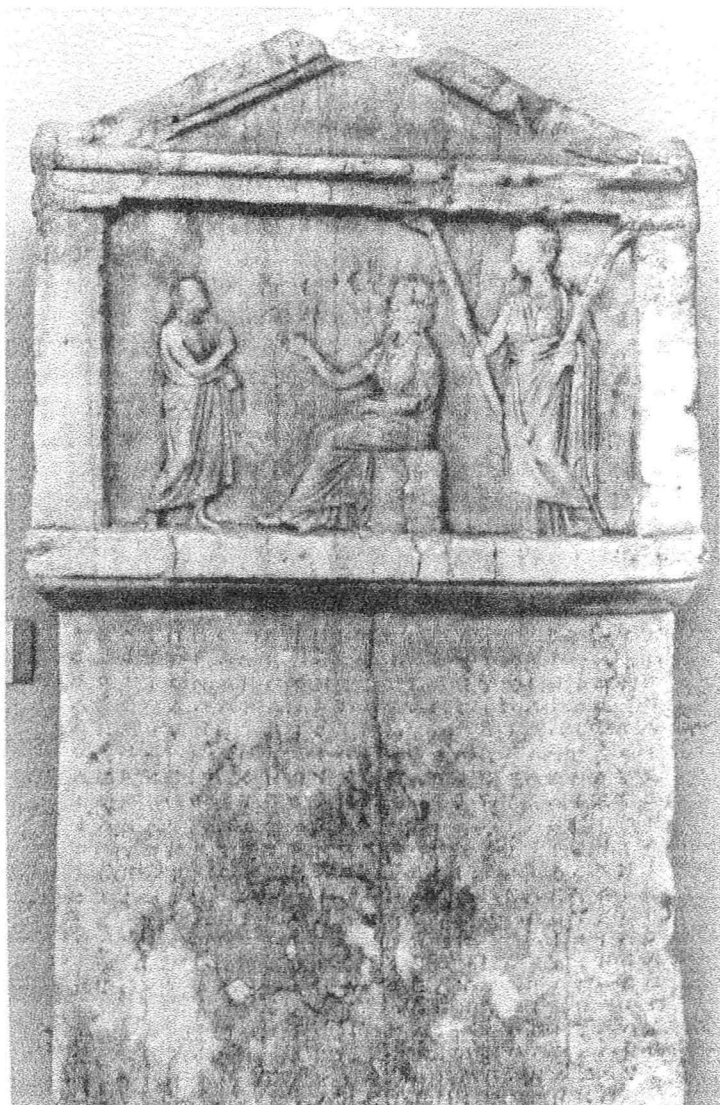


Figure 7 An Inscribed Stele from the Museum of Eleusis.

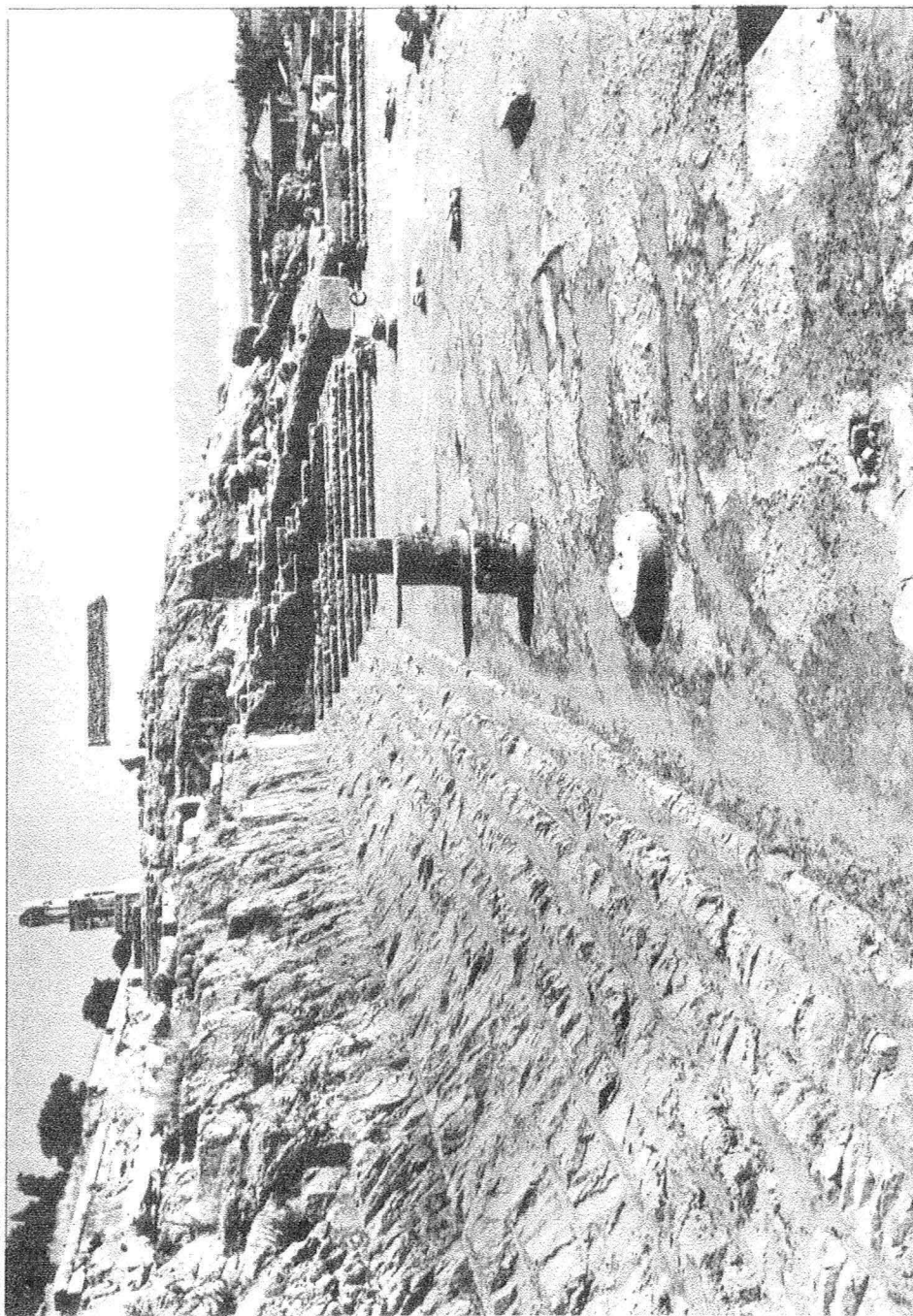


Figure 8 Remains of the Telesterion, Western Part.

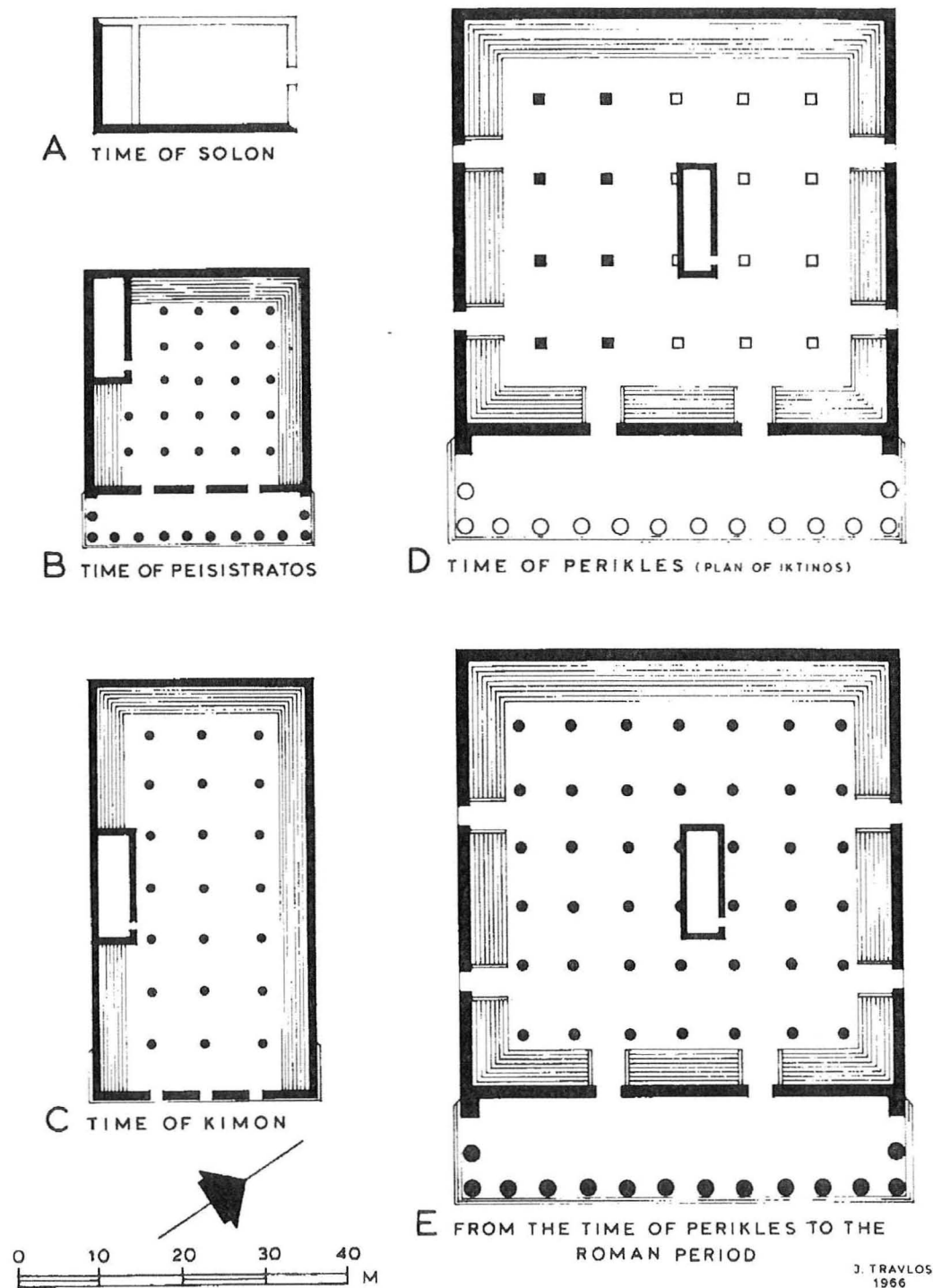


Figure 9 Ground Plan of the Telesterion in Various Periods.

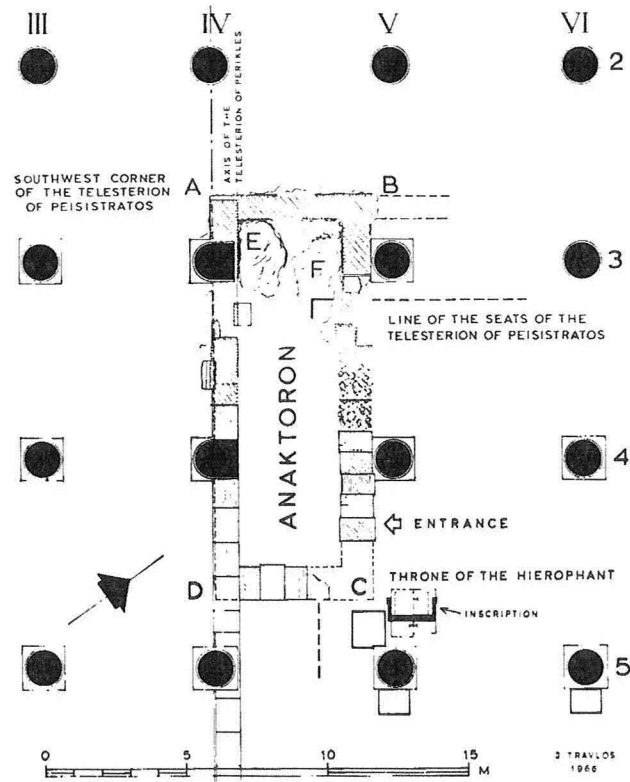


Figure 10 Ground Plan of the Anaktoron in the Telesterion.

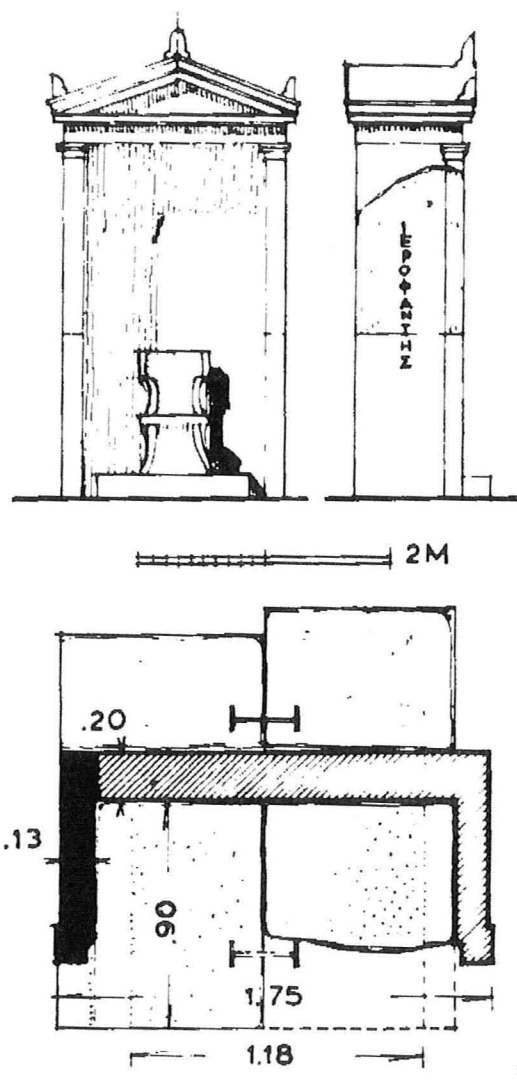


Figure 11 Reconstruction of the Hierophant's Throne.

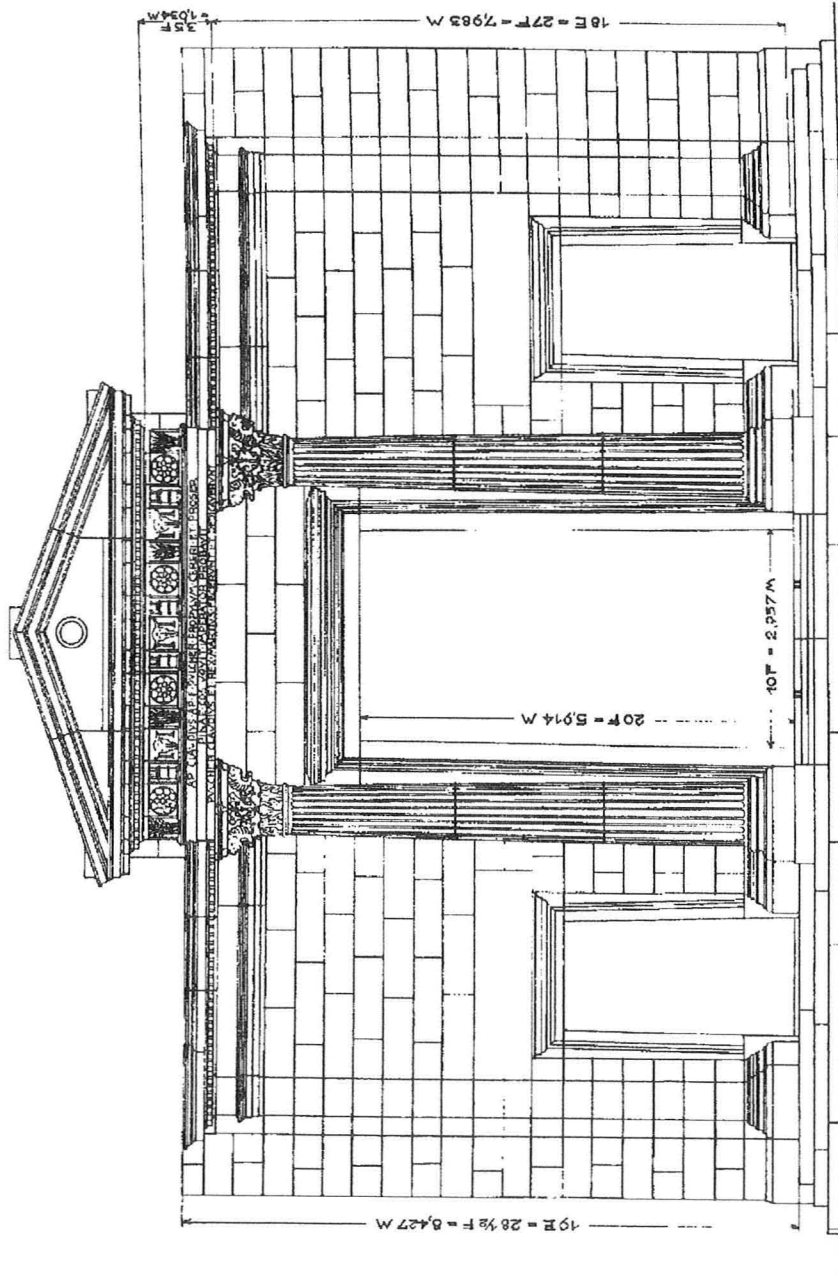


Figure 12 The Lesser Propylaea, Northern Side, Restored Elevation.

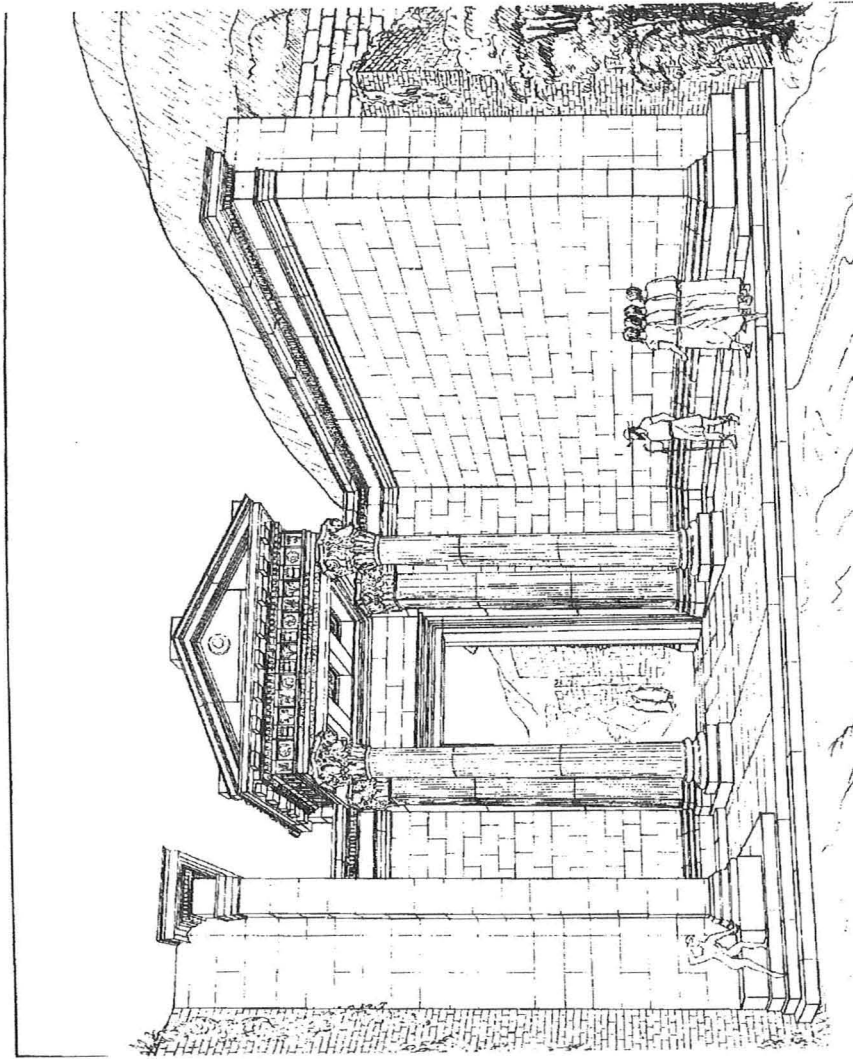


Figure 13 The Lesser Propylaea, Northern Side, Reconstruction.

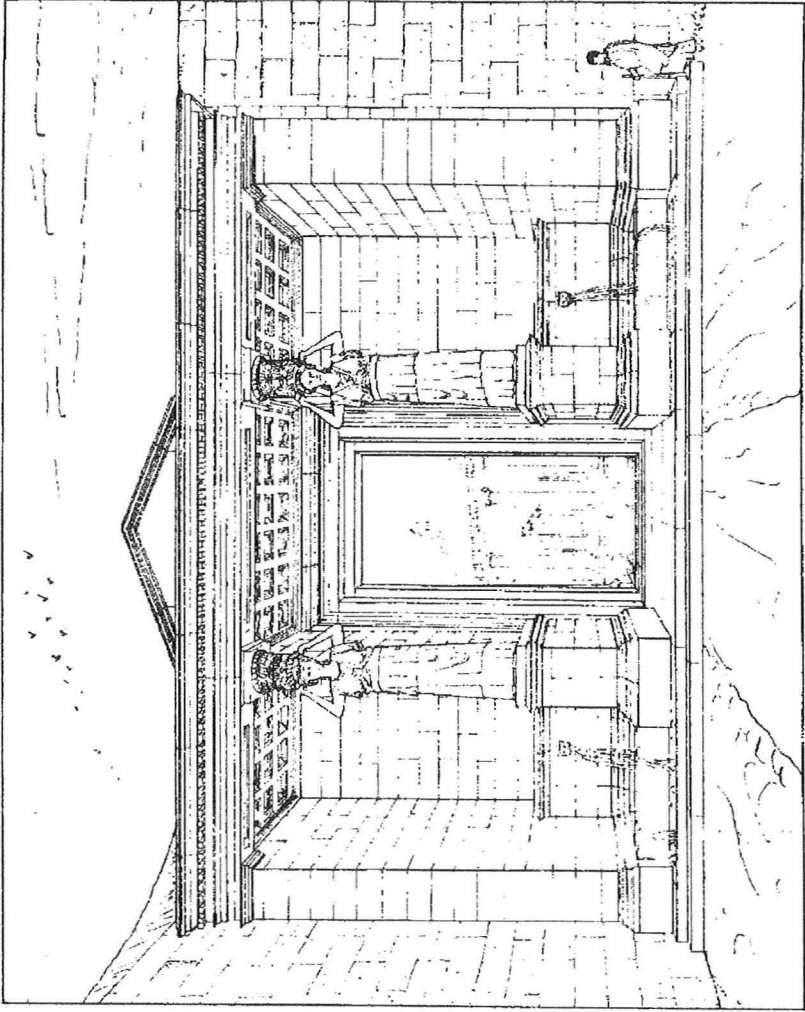


Figure 14 The Lesser Propylaea, Southern Side, Reconstruction.

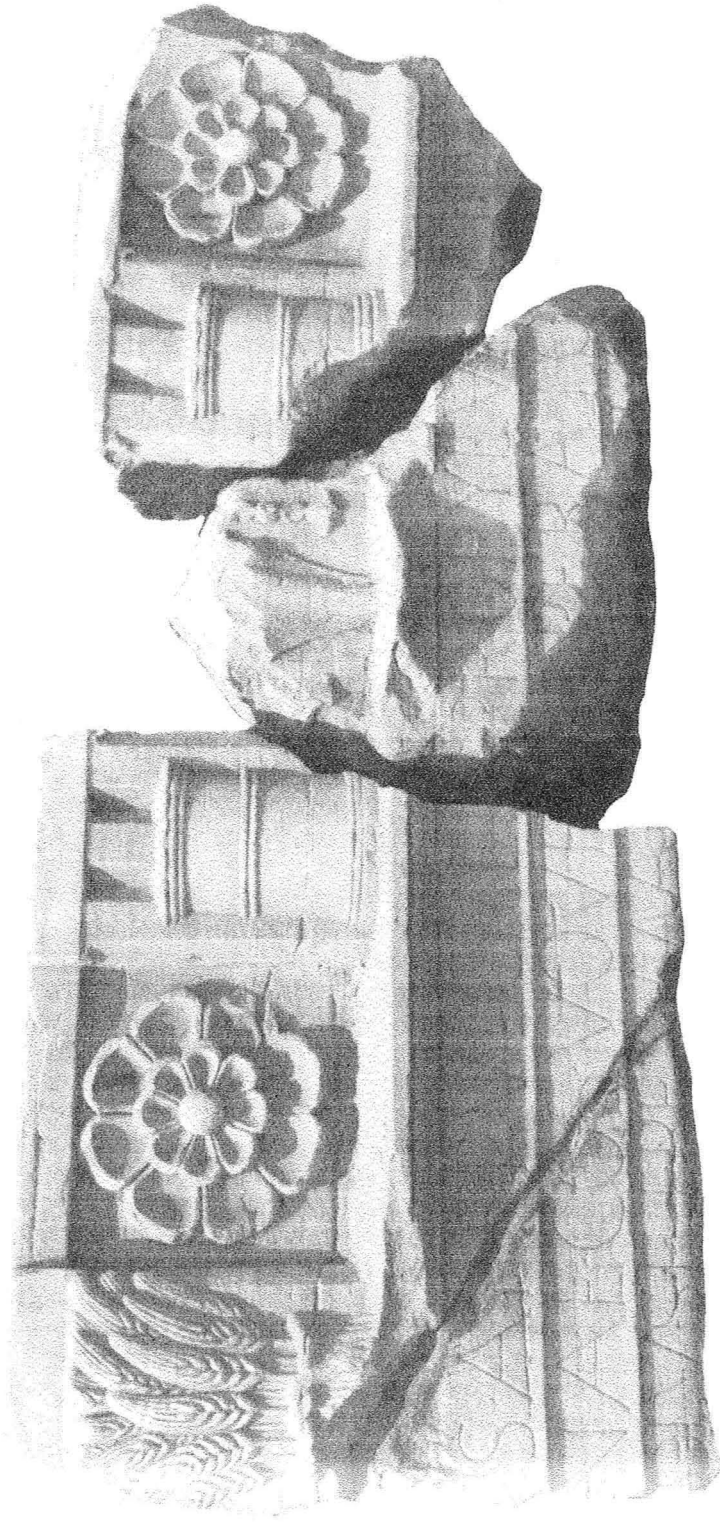


Figure 15 The Lesser Propylaea, Dedicatory Inscription.

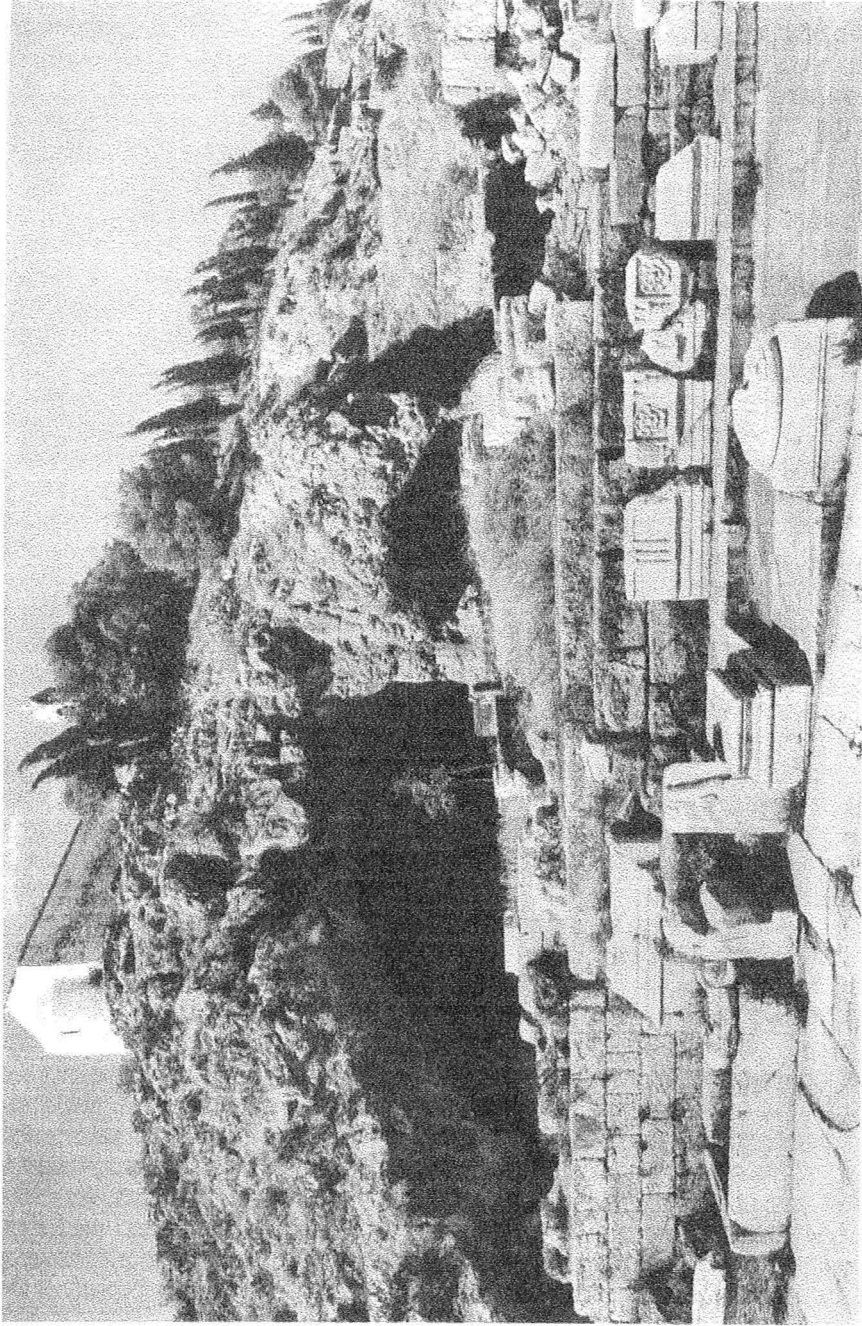


Figure 16 The Ploutonion, with the Lesser Propylaea in the Foreground.

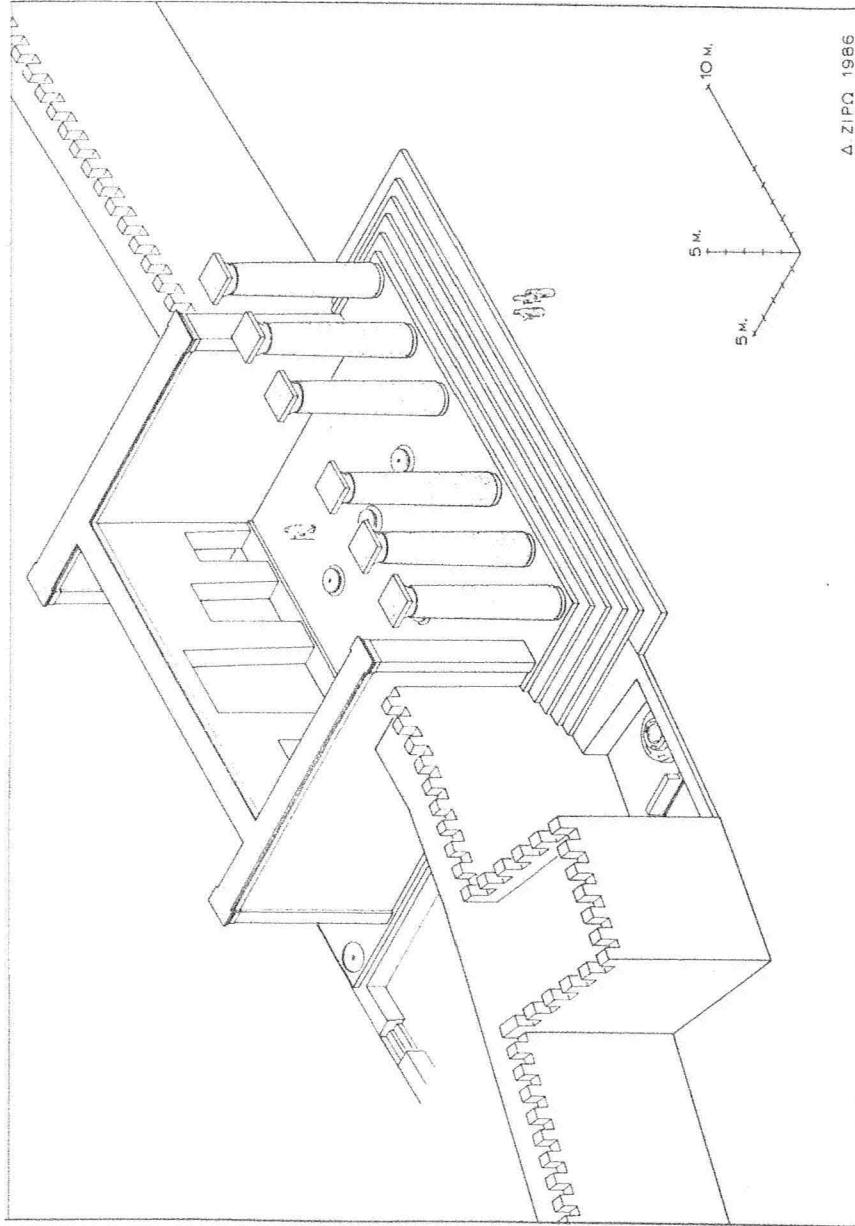


Figure 17 The Greater Propylaea, Reconstruction.

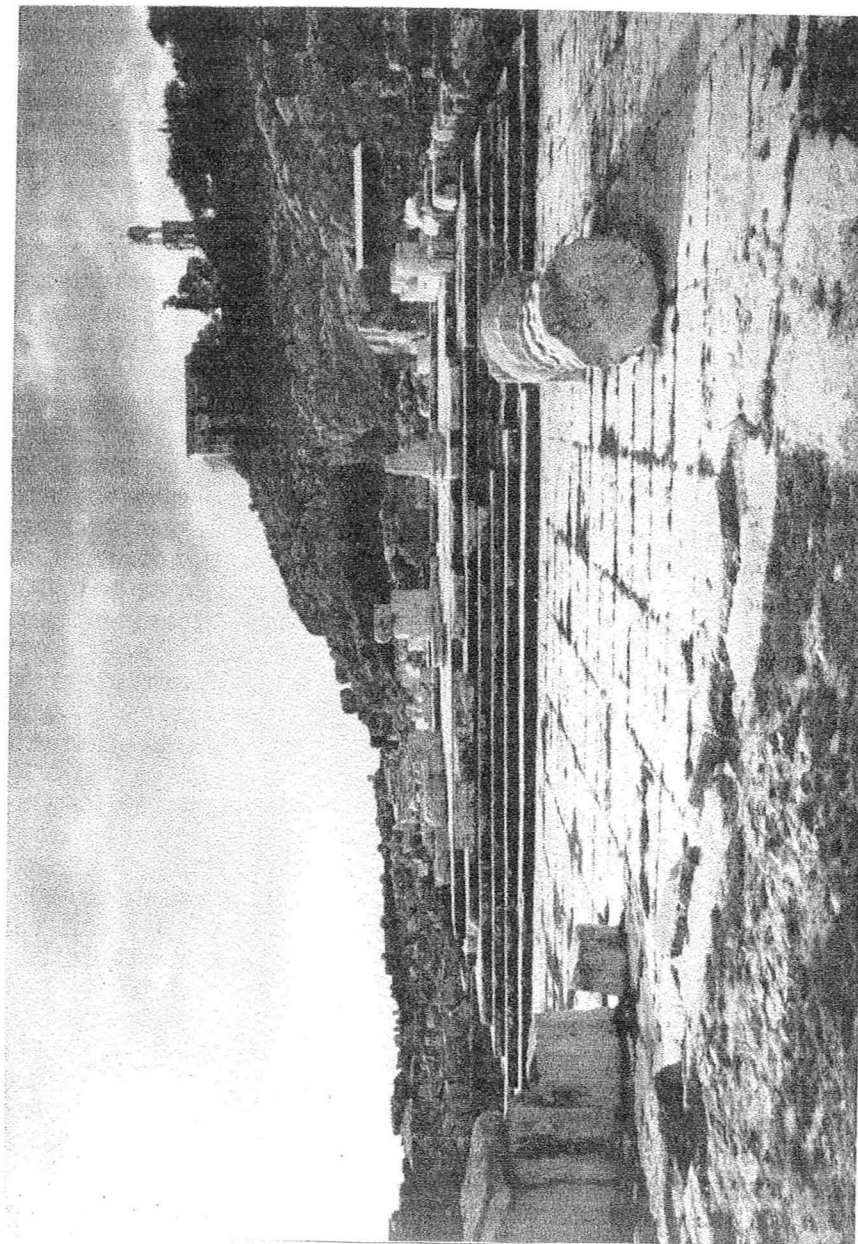


Figure 18 The Greater Propylaea, Remains.

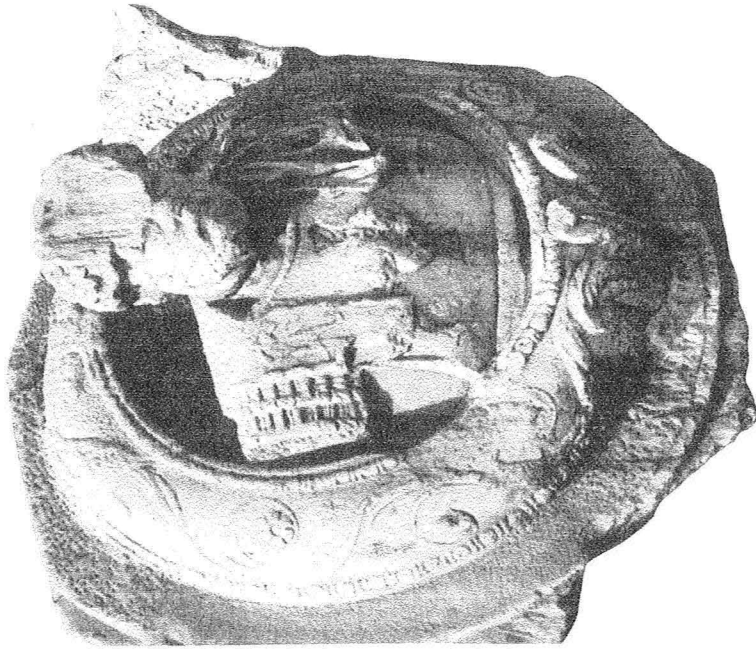


Figure 19
Imago clipeata of Marcus Aurelius
on the pediment of the Greater Propylaea.

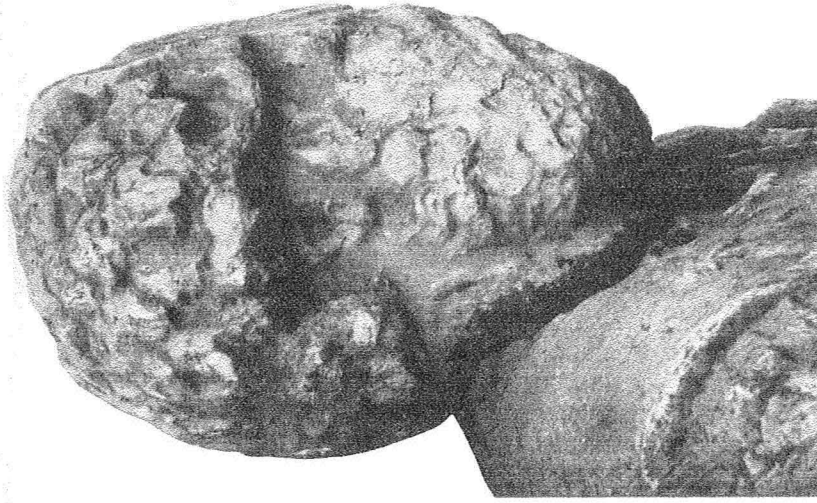


Figure 20
Detail of the imago clipeata.

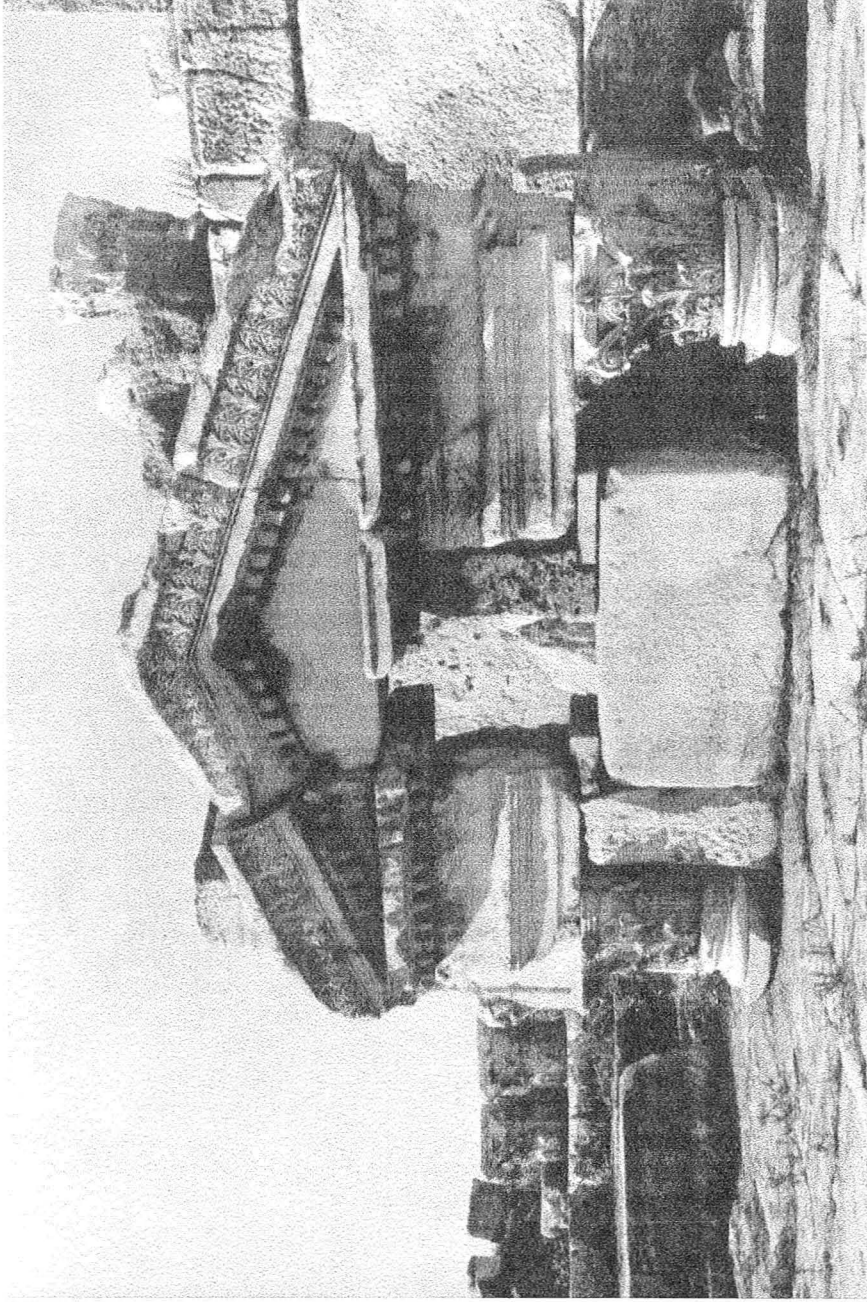


Figure 21 The Triumphal Arch, Pediment.

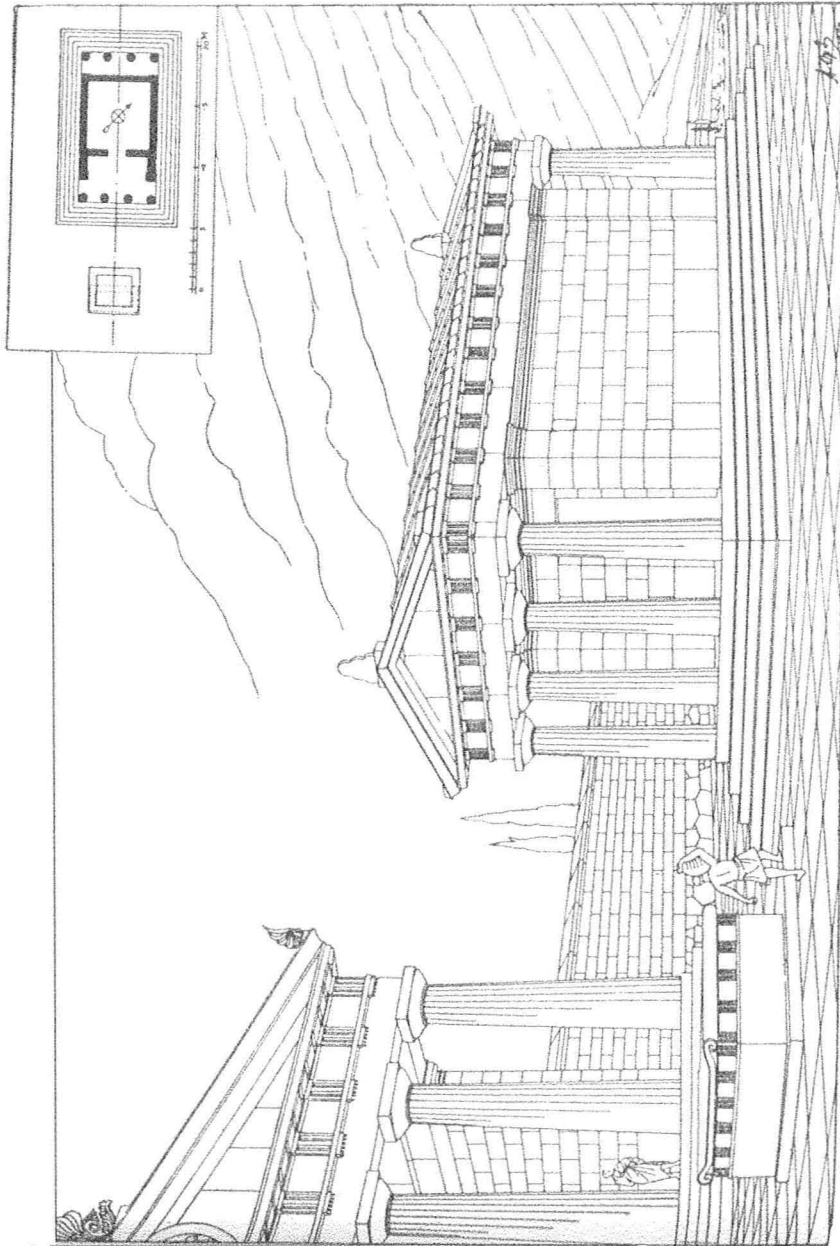


Figure 22
The Temple of Artemis Propylaea,
the Eschara and Corner of the Greater Propylaea, Reconstruction.



Figure 23 The Eschara, Remains.

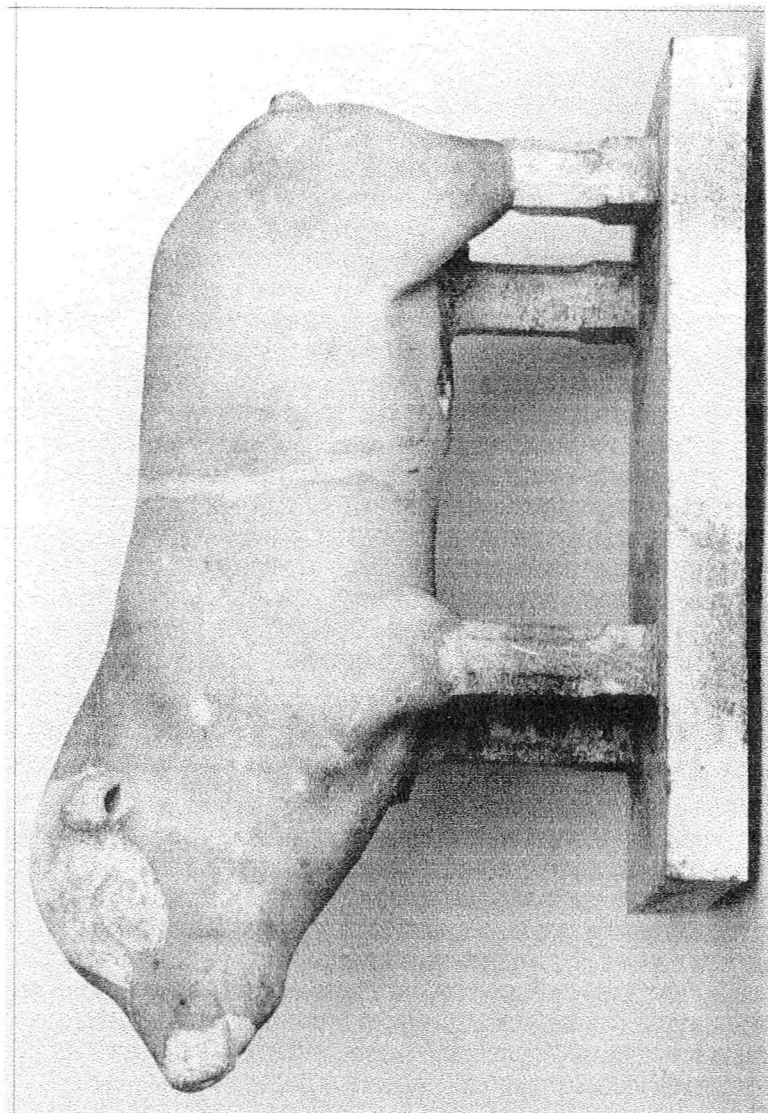


Figure 24 Statuette of a Sacrificial Pig.



Figure 25 Sarcophagus from Torrenova, the Hierophant is the Third Figure from the Right.



Figure 26 Detail of the Head of the Hierophant
from the Torrenova Sarcophagus.



Figure 27 Relief from the Lovatelli Urn, the Hierophant is the Second Figure from the Right.



Figure 28 Dadouchos in a Procession.



Figure 29 Hierophant

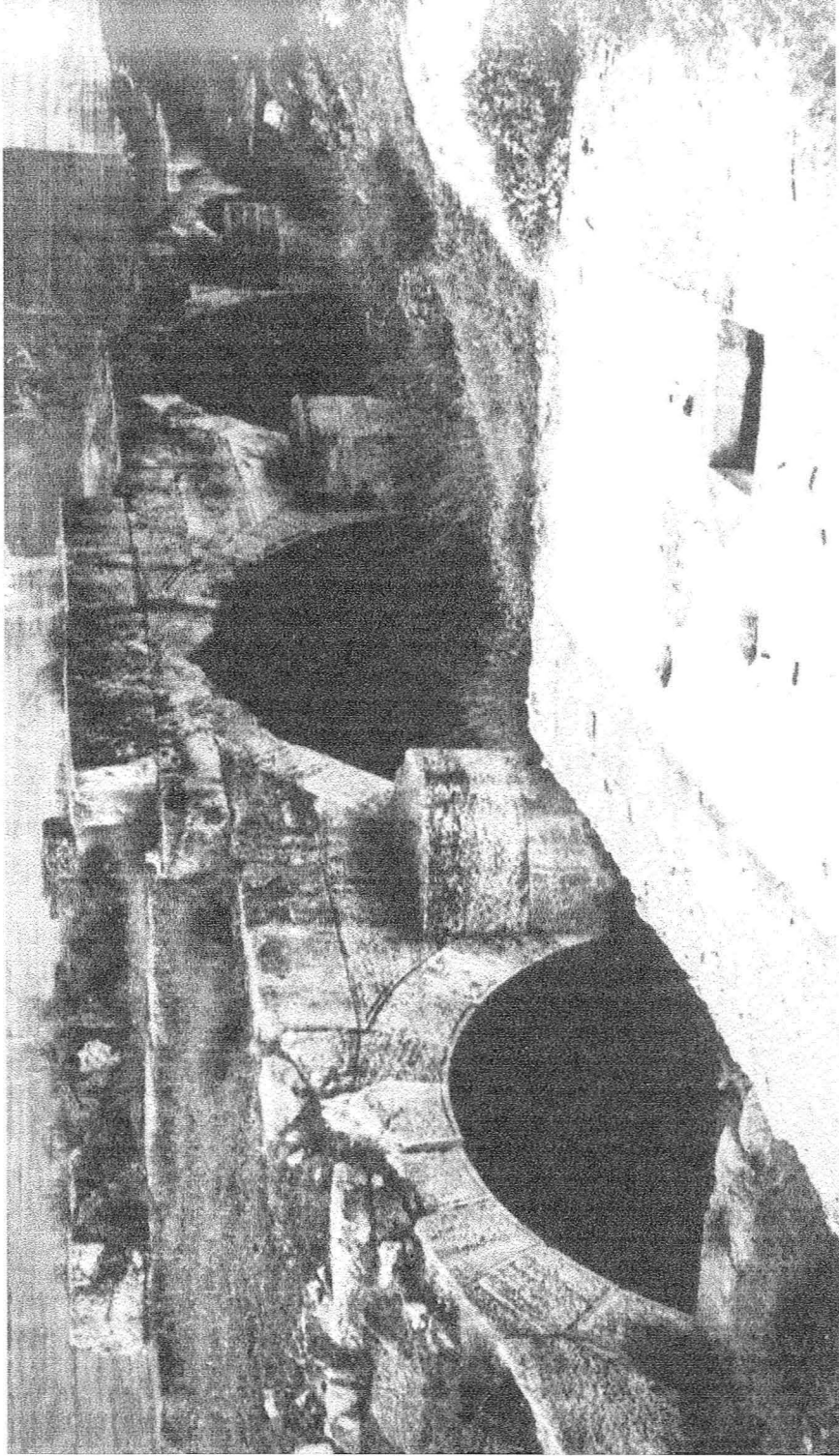


Figure 31 Hadrianic Bridge over the Cephissus.

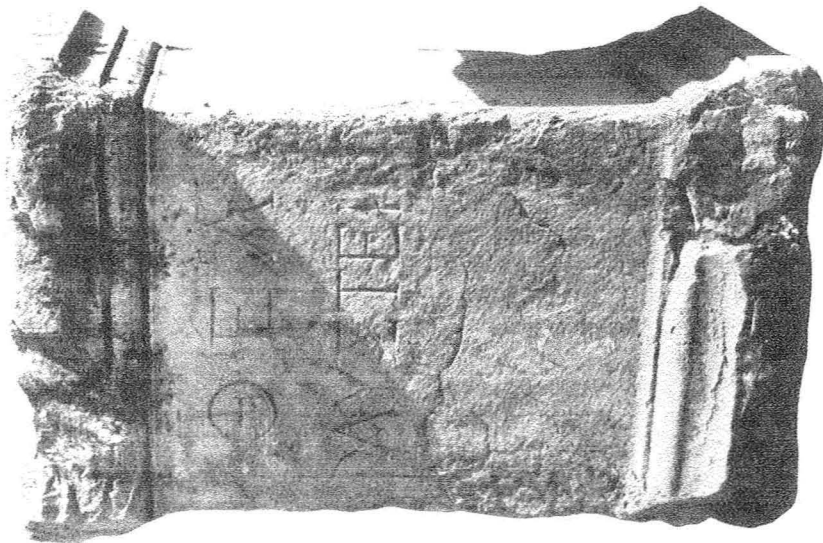


Figure 32
Base of Faustina's Statue
at Eleusis.

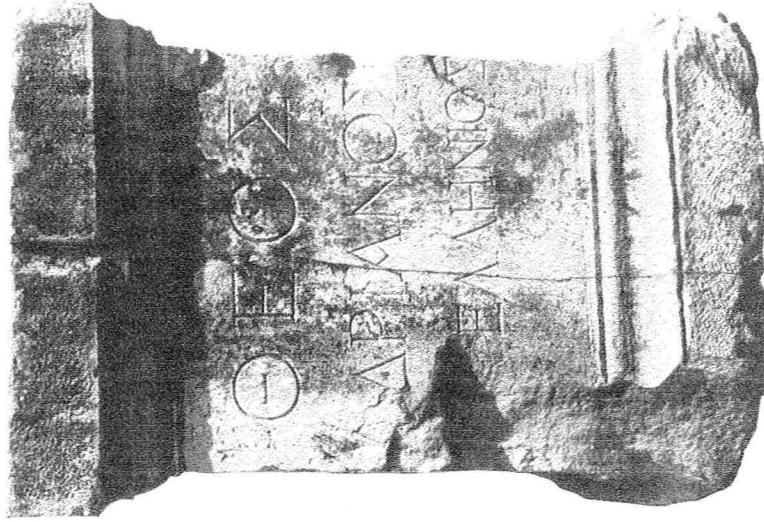


Figure 33
Base of Hadrian's Statue
at Eleusis.



Figure 34 Statue of Antinoos at Eleusis.

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