Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter know, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Lara Kesler 4-6-12

Altar'd States of Consciousness
Ritual Intoxication in the Boiotian Kabeirion and the
Athenian Anthesteria Festival

by

Lara Kesler

Sandra Blakely
Adviser

Classics Department

Sandra Blakely

Adviser

Peter Bing

Committee Member

Vernon Robbins

Committee Member

2012

Altar'd States of Consciousness
Ritual Intoxication in the Boiotian Kabeirion and the
Athenian Anthesteria Festival

By

Lara Kesler

Sandra Blakely

Adviser

An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Classics Department

2012

Abstract

Altar'd States of Consciousness
Ritual Intoxication in the Boiotian Kabeirion and the
Athenian Anthesteria Festival

By Lara Kesler

The symposium is one of the most widely known images from ancient Greece – the civilized gathering of philosophers who reclined on couches and drank wine while discussing important matters of politics, science, and art. Certainly these festivities occurred frequently and their role in the society of Athens in particular was essential to civic order, however the scholarship on such activities is nearly exhaustive. The religious use of alcohol in Greece, as opposed to social, is indeed a much less studied field and it is precisely this realm which this work seeks to explore. This work is an effort to examine the role of ritualized communal intoxication in Greek religion, using the case studies of the Boiotian Kabeirion and the Athenian Anthesteria festival.

The mystery cult of the Kabeiroi in Boiotian Thebes is a murky one full of far more questions than answers, although there is nearly definitive evidence that heavy drinking occurred en masse as part of the rituals there. The first chapter of this work explores the evidence regarding this cult, beginning first with the fragmentary literary sources, then following with the ceramics. Chapter two examines the Athenian Anthesteria festival beginning with the literature, then looking to the often discussed, yet ill-defined ceramic evidence.

In an effort to contextualize these case studies, chapter three presents a more generalized view of Greek drinking practices through a look at the symposium, libations, and mythological perceptions of intoxication. The final chapter provides several anthropological theories which may be useful when attempting to answer the question of *why* the ancient Greeks were becoming intoxicated as part of the rituals of these cults, with intriguing conclusions.

Altar'd States of Consciousness

Ritual Intoxication in the Boiotian Kabeirion and the
Athenian Anthesteria Festival

By

Lara Kesler

Sandra Blakely

Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Classics Department

2012

Table of Contents

Introduction

The ancient Greeks had no shortage of stories told to examine the double-sided nature of wine, the gift of Dionysus. From the drunken antics of Satyrs and Centaurs to Plato's philosophical *Symposium*, wine and the act of drinking pervaded all of Greek culture. They were a society well aware of the dangers and pleasures that could be inspired by alcohol. Certainly one of the most famous stories of drinking and subsequent intoxication comes from the Homeric epic, the *Odyssey*. Odysseus encounters the infamous Cyclops Polyphemos on his voyage home and outwits the monster with a cunning use of wine. Odysseus offers bowl upon bowl-full of dark wine to greedy Polyphemos. The monster continually accepts and in fact *demands* more of what he calls "straight ambrosia and nectar."[1] He guzzles down more than he should and once he is sufficiently intoxicated, the hero strikes. He tricks the drunkard into believing his name is "No Man," then blinds him with a stake once he has passed out. Although Odysseus' later actions have dire consequences, in this moment, he is a Greek hero. Not only is this a typical story of the wiles of the crafty king of Ithaca, it also neatly illustrates several Greek perceptions of wine and its effects.

Odysseus is represented as a model Greek citizen in his ability to retain his wits in the presence of wine. His counterpart, a monster and barbarian, is overcome by the intoxicant, which results in his downfall. A good Greek man does not over-indulge and stories like this existed to reinforce such temperance. Numerous other ancient authors included mentions of foreigners and non-Greeks succumbing to the allure of alcohol. Most commonly, drunkenness is associated with negative behaviors and even more negative repercussions.

---

[1] *Odyssey*, 9:356.

Herodotus too includes a cautionary tale of alcohol abuse in his work, *The Histories*. In his presentation of possible reasons for the downfall of the Spartan king, Kleomenes, he explains that the Spartans themselves blame the fall of their king on his over-fondness for unmixed wine. From Scythian emissaries, Kleomenes learned the habit of drinking unmixed, or *neat*, wine, the strength of which ultimately drove him mad (6.84). Regardless of the truth of the story, Herodotus nevertheless highlights once again the dangers of drinking and the Greek association of alcohol with harmful results.

Time and time again, Greek poets and authors tell the same story of over-indulgence in wine leading to disaster and suffering. Good Greeks can tolerate wine and know their own limits, per Socrates' example set in Plato's *Symposium*, when the famed philosopher literally drinks his companions under the table by morning. Although drunkenness was not uncommon in Athenian society, drinking would not affect a man's daily actions so long as he abided by the societal norms.

This sort of commonly attested Greek drinking culture has intriguing exceptions, however, which I hope to explore in this paper, two of the most puzzling of these being the Anthesteria festival of Athens and the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi in Boiotian Thebes. In both cases, communal over-indulgence in alcohol was not frowned upon or merely tolerated, but rather *encouraged* in the name of religious celebration. In the case of the Anthesteria, a puzzling three-day festival in honor of the opening of the "new wine" for the year, citizens took part in a city-wide drinking competition, the prize for which happened to be *more* wine. The cult of the Kabeiroi, a more mysterious organization by far, involved some sort of communal intoxication in the name of the little-known daemones at Thebes. While these two case studies in no way represent the entirety of unusual religious uses of drinking, they nevertheless provide

illuminating insights into the enigmatic world of Greek alcohol consumption. These sharp divergences from normal practice surely have some sort of deep-seated implications regarding the nature of these two cults and beg the over-arching question: Why? Why are the celebrants of these two rituals drinking more than they ever do during the rest of the year? What makes this sort of drunkenness acceptable and most other forms taboo? There are no definitive answers to these questions, but several theories, to be examined below, may help us toward an explanation.

In order to examine these question and in an effort to achieve some sort of understanding of the ritual use of alcohol and intoxication, I begin first with a presentation of the evidence from our two case studies. In chapter one, I discuss the ceramic evidence of the cult of the Kabeiroi in Boiotian Thebes, then the literary, followed by an attempt at contextualizing the cult both archaeologically through a look at the cult site as well as socially, by examining the specific cult of Dionysus worshipped at Thebes. Chapter two is comprised of the evidence for the Anthesteria festival and begins with the literary pieces, followed by the ceramic. In chapter three, I provide an overview of that which is generally accepted as normative Greek drinking practice, particularly that of the *symposium*, as well as a look at some of the more commonly attested uses of wine in ritual (libation, ritual mixing, etc). The fourth and final chapter is a presentation of potential anthropological theories through which we might be able to examine and apply meaning to the drinking practices discussed throughout.

This work is, by no means, the first to examine either of these cults. Such scholars as Burkert, Schachter, van Hoorn, and countless others have examined these two ritual celebrations, though rarely looking at the two *together*. Van Hoorn makes a comment on the Kabeiroi in his catalog of Anthesteria-related *choes* iconography, and Burkert draws a thin parallel between the two in his discussion of the Anthesteria in *Homo Necans*. Despite these two instances however,

these two religious practices have not be examined in depth together, using the information from one cult to inform the study of the other. Furthermore, it would seem that the bulk of the research done on either practice has concerned itself mainly with the process of drinking rather than the ensuing intoxication. Scholars including Martha Habash, Greta Ham, and Richard Hamilton have studied the how, where, and when of the drinking competition of the Anthesteria and have indeed referenced the drunken procession which followed, however no one has attempted to answer the question of *why* these revelers were becoming intoxicated. The same shortcoming applies to the study of the Boiotian Kabeirion and it is for this reason that this study becomes a relevant and informative contribution to scholarship. I have approached these cults in a new way, taking the ceramics, iconography, and literary sources together in an effort to produce a cohesive concept of the drinking practices involved in both the cult of the Kabeiroi and the Anthesteria. My methods have included a volumetric analysis of the giant *skyphoi* of the Kabeiroi, new iconographic analysis, and the conception of a new idea of the apotropaic role of laughter in cult, based on several comparisons to other mystery cults and Dionysiac practices.

The findings of this work are not meant to be conclusive, however they are meant to cast light on the under-analyzed process of ritualized intoxication in ancient Greek society. Through examining these essentially *abnormal* drinking behaviors, we can begin to compose an altogether new facet of Greek communal worship and bring forward many new and unanswered questions regarding the real role of wine, alcohol, and intoxication in the ancient Mediterranean.

Chapter 1: The Mystery Cult of the Kabeiroi

The mystery cult of the Kabeiroi holds true to its title – it is absolutely mysterious. The identity, origin, affiliations, powers, appearance, and rites of the Kabeiroi are all so varied as to be almost unknowable. What qualified as a Kabeiric ritual in one area of Greece drastically differed from that of another region and further, from those of other countries as well. In addition, the cult of the Kabeiroi was remarkably long-lasting which resulted in copious variation over time dependent upon the changing political and social atmosphere and developments in a location. All of this is to say that the study of the Kabeiroi is a difficult one based on a corpus of evidence composed of fragments and sherds spread widely across the Aegean. What follows here is a presentation of this evidence, both literary and physical, followed by an attempt to place this specific cult into the much broader context of mystery cults in Greece, as well as the general cult of Dionysus. The arguments made in this chapter are based strongly on the ceramic evidence, while using the literature to substantiate any claims made. While I analyze the iconography of the Kabeiric vases and lean heavily on these images, some of the strongest evidence for the drinking rituals of the cult can be found in the volumetric analysis below. I have attempted to quantify the amount of liquid able to be held in these cups, and from there draw conclusions based on these numbers. Using this in collusion with the analysis of images, I then examine the role of comedy and laughter in the cult with exciting parallels drawn between the mystery cult at Eleusis and other traditions within the religious sphere.

First however it is essential to narrow the scope of the subject of the Kabeiroi. There were four locations with major Kabeiric sites in Greece and the Greek islands: Samothrace,

Imbros, Lemnos, and Boiotian Thebes.[2] Commonly the Kabeiroi are associated with the dominant male deity in each location (Hermes at Samothrace and Imbros, Hephaistos at Lemnos, and Dionysus at Thebes), and these connections serve to distinctly characterize the figures at each location. This paper is to be focused primarily on the Kabeirion at Thebes, where a strong Dionysiac connection suits the ritual of drinking, although the other sites provide substantial evidence as well. From Thebes come the distinctive ceramic vases which so uniquely distinguish the cult. These are the pieces which form the bulk of the extant evidence for these μυστήρια and for that reason, Thebes was chosen as the main site for this work. It should be acknowledged however that the literary evidence has been accumulated from a variety of the Kabeiric cult sites and does not only apply to Thebes.

I. Ceramics

At the site of the Kabeirion at Thebes, hundreds of potsherds have been found. The production of these sherds seems to have begun in the 5th century BCE and continued through the 4th century. Of the ceramic-ware, there are two major types, the black-figure and the black-glaze vases, the latter of which featured no figural representation. Neither type is particularly well-made as the vases are crafted of local clay and show no great skill in either the painting or firing. That these black-figure vases were in production during a time when the red-figure technique had begun to take precedence in Athens can lead to several conclusions. John Boardman blames the late use of black-figure on Boiotia's "bad reputation in Greece for matters of the intellect,"[3] as he so delicately phrases it. Boiotia's potters certainly did not advance at the same rate as those of Corinth and Athens because there is evidence that the Boiotians produced Orientalizing-style

[2] Herodotus mentions the same cult in Egypt (3.37.3) as well, but for the purposes of this paper, only the Greek Kabeiroi will be examined in any sort of depth.
[3] Boardman 2001, 68.

vessels all throughout the black-figure period of other regions. Another possible explanation for the style of the Kabeiric vases comes from the Panathenaic amphorae, a deliberately archaizing vase type on which the black-figure technique was used well into the Hellenistic period.[4] These vases were awarded to the victors in the Panathenaic Games and were a highly valued trophy (that they were full of olive oil made from the sacred grove of Athena certainly helped as well). The traditional and recognizable shape leant history and significance to the vases, linking one victor with all the heroic winners of the past, and the same thought applies to the Kabiric ceramics as well. The distinctive shape and iconography of the vases connects a user to all those initiates who had come before to drink from similar cups.

Essential to the discussion of the role of drinking in the cult of the Kabeiroi is the fact that all the vessels and sherds found at the Kabeirion at Thebes pertain to the consumption of wine. The most distinctive vase shape found is the *skyphos*, a typical drinking cup associated with heavy drinking (compare this with the *kylix*, the typical cup used in Classical symposia, gatherings which were *in theory* the model of responsible drinking). These cups are distinctive not only for their painting style (discussed below) but also for their size. The black-*figured* vases were notably larger than their simple black-*glaze* counterparts and those vases which depicted identifiable human(-oid) figures were larger still, possibly capable of holding multiple liters of liquid at one time.[5] The *skyphos* was already a decidedly hefty vase type, and many of these Kabeiric vessels were abnormally larger still. Based on rough estimates from a catalog of fragments,[6] one vase (KH IV Nr. 74) could hold over five liters of wine. This is equivalent to at least six modern wine bottles. Even if the wine had been watered down as per the Greek custom, this still represents an enormous amount of alcohol.

---

[4] Boardman 2001, 58.
[5] Compare this to the average kylix which typically held approximately 100 mL of liquid.
[6] *KH IV* = Kabeirinheiligtum Bei Theben Volume IV (of VI).

The method of calculating the volume of these *skyphoi* relies heavily on estimation. For the vast majority of vases, at most, the height and diameter of the mouth are the only measurements recorded. Since the vases are relatively cylindrical, the formula for the volume of a cylinder was used and then the final number was rounded down to account for the narrowing of the vase at its base. For example, vase KH IV Nr. 74 is measured at 18.5 cm high, with a diameter of 19.2cm. The volume of the vase as a perfect cylinder would therefore be 5.356 cubic liters, which I have rounded down to approximately 5 liters. This is still a considerable amount of liquid even by a conservative guess. If given the diameter of the foot and the grade of the curve of the cup, a much more precise measurement could be calculated, but as of right now, these numbers are unavailable.

Smaller vases existed as well, although the average of the smaller cups found (of which none have more defined decoration than bands of vegetation and solid stripes) is still over one-third of a liter, or rather, about half of one modern bottle of wine. These smaller vases are particularly rough-made in comparison with the figural ones and perhaps indicate a distinct disparity of wealth between those individuals involved in the drinking aspect of the cult. The largest vases, since they are so markedly different in quality, may also represent ceremonial-ware, or votive offerings to the gods.

The much more eye-catching characteristic of Kabeiric-ware vases is the painting style used to depict human(-oid) figures. The human figures depicted on these vases have been called "pygmoid"[7] or "negroid"[8] or several other variations to be discussed below. The figures are

[7] Schachter 2003, p. 130.
[8] Blakely 2006, p.53.

frequently shown naked with oversized phalloi.[9] Their short, squat bodies have an extremely rounded shape with protruding bellies and backsides and disproportionately thin limbs. This feature has been interpreted as possibly indicating a pygmy race native to Africa or perhaps masked and padded dancers as part of a theatrical performance. The faces of these unique figures certainly have a mask-like quality to them. Frequently, they are shown fully frontal which is a common device used to indicate a theatrical mask. They have wide, round eyes and oftentimes a large, gaping mouth (both also common features of an image of a mask).[10]

The scenes shown in this Kabeiric style vary widely among the vases. Most common are vases which are decorated only with vegetation and geometric patterns (the smaller vases from above). It is interesting to also note that most of the vegetation shown on these vessels resembles the common representation of ivy seen on many Dionysiac vases, perhaps referencing sympotic scenes, many of which also feature this design. If not specifically sympotic however, the ivy nevertheless ties these scenes to wine consumption as ivy was a major attribute of the god of wine. Among the figured cups however, common themes can be identified as cultic scenes (initiation, feasting, processions, etc), hunting, and scenes from heroic myth (most often the *Odyssey*).[11] Most relevant to this discussion are those which depict possible scenes from Kabeiric ritual and those depicting symposia, at both of which it can be assumed or argued that alcohol would have been consumed.

---

[9] Phalloi of this sort may also indicate a tie to comedy as a form of humor from sexual display. Certainly the mythical sayrs/silens struggled with their phalloi and were frequently laid low by their uncontrollable urges in a comedic way. Further discussion of satyrs and their phalloi is part of chapter 3.

[10] The mask has a double layer of meaning in the context of Dionysiac ritual – it represents of course a connection to theater and performance as well as a visual identification of a changed identity. This latter concept provides a neat option for the question of ritual intoxication when one considers the altered states of consciousness brought on by alcohol consumption, another idea which will be more fully explored in chapter 4.

[11] Schachter 2003, p. 130.

The most well-known Kabeiric ceramic-ware image is a fragment[12] of what appears to be a symposium scene. The fragment, dated to the end of the 5th century BCE,[13] depicts a large reclining figure facing to the left. The figure is labeled ΚΑΒΙΡΟΣ. He holds in his left hand a *kantharos*, typically the cup used by Dionysus. Directly in front of him stands a nude figure labeled ΠΑΙΣ who lifts a small pitcher (presumably of wine) from a large *krater* placed on the floor. This *pais* also faces to the left. In front of him is a shorter figure, also facing left, labeled ΠΡΑΤΟΛΑΟΣ, a name which literally means "first man." This *Pratolaos* figure appears to be emerging from the ground since he is proportionate to the other human-sized figures in the image, but much shorter. The sherd stops just below Pratolaos' torso so it is impossible to know whether he is standing on the same floor as the other figures. He holds his hands below his chin clasped together in something like a position of prayer. Before him stands a pair of figures, labeled ΜΙΤΟΣ and ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ. These two, a male and female respectively, face one another in rather intimate proximity. Their names are relatively common ones in the Boiotian region, so these two may perhaps represent two typical figures involved in the cult. Their names also may mean "seed" and "strength," which could also refer to an Orphic triad with Pratolaos as their son.[14]

The clothing of the *Kabeiros* figure is perhaps the strongest tie to the cult of the Kabeiroi included on the sherd. The reclining man wears a drape over his lower half and his torso is left uncovered. Around his head, he wears a fillet of some sort, one of the most iconic items seen on Kabeiric initiates. Several other sherds discussed below show individuals preparing fillets as part of the ritual ceremony. It is thus plausible to say that the wearing of a fillet on the head of a figure labeled *Kabeiros* can indicate some level of initiation into the mystery cult. It is possibly

[12] KH IV Nr. 302
[13] Schachter 2003.
[14] Blakely 2006, p. 42.

important to also note that the *pais* attending the *Kabeiros* does not wear the fillet of an initiate, potentially indicating his un-initiated status or, more speculatively, perhaps the uninitiated status of youth as a comment on the age at which a person could be expected to participate in the mysteries.

Another fragment is associated with this vessel and shows a female head in the pygmoid/negroid/Kabeiric style labeled ΣΑΤΥ (at which point, the sherd is cut off). Typically, the name is completed as ΣΑΤΥΡ**Α**. This figure is interpreted as a female satyr, a form almost unknown in the visual vocabulary of Greek vases. She wears a garment drawn up over her head, although not into a full veil. There seems to be an excess of fabric which has been thought on other vases to indicate a preparation before an initiation. At the time of the initiation, the excess would be drawn fully over the face.[15] Little else can be interpreted from such a small fragment although a link between the Kabeiroi and the race of satyrs is easy enough to see based on their common nudity, enormous phalloi, and oftentimes silly antics.

The size of this fragment indicates that it was once a part of an absolutely enormous cup. Alone, the sherd measures 10cm in height. The most complete standing figure is cut off at approximately his ankles, so one can assume that the cup would continue to his feet which would stand on some sort of ground line. Other figured cups from the same time period and style show a generous amount of space and decoration between the ground line of the main image and the foot of the cup. Furthermore, the fragment, if it is to be assumed that the fragment is indeed a part of a typical Kabeiric *skyphos*, still slopes outward at the point at which it is cut off. A *skyphos* drops straight or slightly outward from the lip of the cup, then curves inward to the foot at the bottom of the vessel. The corpus of Kabeiric vessels varies significantly in the precise shape of the *skyphos*, but the foot is always narrower than the lip. As this sherd has yet to begin

[15] Blakely 2006, p. 40.

its curve inward, this evidence points to a cup of massive size, possibly double the height of the fragment itself.[16]

A similar scene appears on another fragmentary vase in the National Museum of Athens (no. 10466),[17] which dates to the middle of the 4th century BCE. A reclining, Dionysiac figure much larger than the other characters is seated to the right of the scene, although instead of holding a *kantharos*, he holds a drinking horn, another typical attribute of the god of wine. In front of him is a bull facing in the same direction as the assumed god. Schachter interprets this bull as an identifying characteristic of the Dionysiac nature of the *Kabeiroi* in Thebes,[18] rather than a sacrificial victim due to its orientation towards the worshippers. A very small human stands before this pair as possibly another representation of the birth of the first man, Pratolaos, or possibly simply the child of the figures standing at the left of the vase. He stands at approximately half the height of the other figures in the scene. Three normal-sized human figures stand to the left of the scene. The two left-most figures, both female, appear to be conversing with one another while the other, male, faces the god and bull. The furthest left woman has the typical garment of an initiate pulled over her head, though not over the face yet. Her companion wears a normal chiton and holds gingerly a *skyphos* between the two of them.[19]

Unlike the last vase examined, this scene includes more setting. Above the figures is a winding band of vines and grape clusters, a very typical image on symposium scenes. This also refers to the cult of Dionysus which claimed supremacy at Thebes. The vegetal band below is

[16] It should be noted that a previously mentioned *skyphos* with a height of 18.5cm and a diameter of 19.2cm could hold over 5 liters of liquid. This was a *big* cup.
[17] KH IV Nr 297.
[18] Schachter 2003, p. 124.
[19] This skyphos, which the woman holds so lightly, is depicted as the same size as her head. Greek ceramic is remarkably lightweight so this image is not completely unbelievable.

fairly typical of Kabeiric-ware although this particular band appears much more finely-crafted than those of the purely vegetal vases.

On a final note, the remarkable size of this fragment is decidedly noteworthy. The height of this sherd is 31cm.[20] This would seemingly render the cup too large to be used as a personal drinking vessel, so it is possible that this fragment instead comes from a krater of some sort used for the mixing of wine. It would, however, be interesting to discover if the shape of the vessel matched that of the cup held by the conversing female, only on a much larger scale. The presence of an amphora nevertheless indicates communal participation,[21] in that a large central vessel was used to contain the wine that was perhaps doled out in smaller portions to those involved in the rites. This sort of communality is essential to remember when later discussing the anthropology of the communal consumption of intoxicants.

The best evidence of any sort of initiation ceremony comes from a skyphos from the late 5th to early 4th century BCE.[22] In the center of the scene, a typically Kabeiric figure complete with frontal face, padded torso, and thin limbs dances lightly while holding two torches which may indicate the night-time nature of the rites. To his right, two figures converse with one another while one prepares a fillet, possibly to tie around himself. Both have the excess material on top of their heads which will eventually become a veil. To the dancer's left are three figures: the furthest left is completely veiled and looking towards the center of the scene; the next figure is unveiled but has the fillet of an initiated person around his head and the typical leafy branches as well; the third figure, closest to the dancer, also wears a fillet and branches and holds both a *kantharos* and a pitcher, although his are much more normally sized than the cups on which these scenes are depicted. This last figure has a large, gaping mouth, possibly indicative of a

[20] Braun & Havernick 1981, p 62.
[21] Borgna, 2004, p 128.
[22] KH IV Nr. 292

theatrical mask. It appears that he is carrying wine accoutrements toward the figures who seem to be preparing for a ceremony, which leads to the conclusion that alcohol had some role to play in the practices of this cult,[23] although the specifics have yet to be determined.

Many more vases exist in the corpus of Kabeiric ceramic-ware, dozens of which have recognizable scenes depicted on them. Unfortunately, these cannot be examined fully within the scope of this paper although the most common themes shown are mentioned above.

An interesting connection to the Kabeiric ceramic-ware comes from the cult site of Artemis at Brauron outside of Athens. There, hundreds of fragments of what have been called *krateriskoi*, or "little kraters," have been found in association with the sanctuary. These fragments were also made of local clay and also show no great skill in their manufacture. The mostly black-figure images are amateur-ish, but they provide unique insight into the practices of the cult. Brauron was a possible site of initiation rituals for young girls of Athens and the *krateriskoi* depict nude young girls engaged in either footraces, processions, or dancing among other activities.[24] Older females are shown clothed and perhaps represent some sort of supervision for the rituals, which included dancing, races, and prayer.[25] The frequent identification of this cult of Artemis as a mystery cult leads to informative parallels between Brauron and the cult of the Kabeiroi at Thebes. Both involve distinctive, rough-hewn vessels which oftentimes depict the very rituals their users were taking part in. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in fact argues for the distinctive agreement between literary sources and the images depicted on the *krateriskoi*, by asserting that the literary sources would have been written for a

[23] Dozens more figured Kabeiric vases exist, however these selections are the most useful when examining the role of alcohol in the cult. For a complete listing of Kabeiric vaseware associated with the Kabeirion at Thebes, see Braun & Havernick's *Bemalte Keramik und Glas aus dem Kabeirenheiligtum bei Theben*.
[24] It should be noted here that the cult of the Kabeiroi involved some form of an initiation ritual as well which is to be discussed in depth below.
[25] Lonsdale, 186-187.

readership that would have been familiar in some way with the rituals of the cult, and so would not need a "user's guide," but rather a more general reference to the practices. The images too do not form a comprehensive series of ritual actions, but rather "represent adequately the rite in which Athenian girls indulged…through images which were created as variants of established schemata."[26] The acceptance of these images on the *krateriskoi* of Brauron as direct evidence for the ritual practices of the site solidifies the importance of the interpretation of the Kabeiric *skyphoi*, as well as affirms the potential for the visual evidence of a cult to provide us with information which myth and literature alone cannot. The study of the rites at Brauron exhibits the necessity of examining both ceramics and text together in order to piece together a cohesive concept of Greek ritual.

Another intriguing parallel lies in the transformative aspect of the rites at Brauron where girls supposedly turned into bears throughout the ritual process. Although the mechanisms for this transformation are unknown, a case will be made below for the transformation of celebrants in the cult of the Kabeiroi through alcohol consumption. The absence of drinking on the Brauron vessels also perhaps emphasizes the significance of its inclusion on the Kabriric ware. While communal feasting may have been common practice after important rituals,[27] its inclusion in the ritual itself, and indeed images of the ritual, is rare.

II. Literary Evidence

The extant literary evidence for the cult of the Kabeiroi is regrettably minimal. This was a mystery cult and its initiates managed to maintain the secrecy of their rites admirably. The

[26] Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1990. Her claim of "variants of established schemata" refers to the common image from the *krateriskoi* of nude girls participating in events such as dancing and footraces which would generally have been performed by males instead. The presence of young girls would have been noteworthy, and thus became a common image for the vases. To translate this approach to the context of the Kabeiroi, we can view the images from the ceramics as true images of some of the rites which may have taken place, however they do not provide a comprehensive look at the whole celebration. Instead the images show select rites which were variants of more typical practices.

[27] Burkert, 1985. 107.

concealment of the cult was paramount at all sites from Imbros to Egypt. Much of the literature on the rites of the Kabeiroi comes from later writers and scholiasts[28] since writers contemporary to the cult, who may or may not have been initiates themselves, assuredly maintained their confidentiality. What few fragments remain of the textual evidence of the Kabeiroi further confound the basic question "why?" These far-flung bits of stories from all across the Aegean and spread across centuries paint a puzzling picture with seemingly few commonalities. The Kabeiroi take on new characters in each instance which leave a modern reader unfortunately confused.

The most thorough account of the cult center at Thebes comes from Pausanias writing during the second century CE. His description of the Kabeiroi comes from his *Description of Greece* in the final section on Boiotia.

> Advancing from [Thebes] twenty-five stades you come to a grove of Kabeirean Demeter and the Maid. The initiated are permitted to enter it. The sanctuary of the Kabeiroi is some seven stades distant from this grove. I must ask the curious to forgive me if I keep silence as to who the Kabeiroi are, and what is the nature of the ritual performed in honor of them and of the Mother.[29]

Of key importance in this passage is Pausanias's refusal to share the secrets of the cult. Also alluded to in this reference is the fact that Pausanias seems to be an initiate himself. He believes that he knows the truth of the nature of the Kabeiroi and asks the reader's forgiveness for not sharing it. Also from this passage, several scholars, including Schachter and Burkert, have emphasized the apparent connection between the Kabeiroi and Demeter and Kore. This connection is tentative based on a dearth of archaeological evidence, although later, Pausanias

[28] Later sources include Clement of Alexandra, Hesychius of Alexandria, and Photios of Constantinople among others, few of whom agree on much regarding the nature of the Kabeiroi. Each writer attributes different names, numbers, and powers to the daemones.
[29] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.25.1.

describes the rites of the Kabeiroi as a gift from Demeter to Prometheus and his son who were sometimes called Kabeiroi themselves.

After the brief description of the origin of the cult, Pausanias anecdotally informs the reader of the civic nature of these gods. Their rites were not able to be performed outside of their native Thebes. "For certain private people dared to perform in Naupactus the ritual just as it was done in Thebes, and soon afterwards justice overtook them."[30] The cult of the Kabeiroi was therefore indigenous and immovable. They were deities of a *place* and their vengeance was seemingly not to be trifled with. Pausanias also mentions two separate enemy armies (one of Xerxes and one of Alexander) who attempted to enter and defile the sacred space of these gods. In both cases, the invading army was driven out. In the former, the soldiers were driven mad and raced to the sea (a not inconsiderable distance). In the latter, the soldiers were "destroyed by thunder and lightning from heaven."[31] This sort of vengeance points to the Kabeiroi as protectors of their lands. They expel those who have come to conquer.

Ancient evidence more contemporary with the heyday of the Kabeiric ceramic-ware comes to us from Herodotus writing during the 5th century BCE. In his *Histories*, he mentions the Kabeiroi twice, first amidst his description of the ritual practices of Egyptians and second when telling the story of the rise and fall of the Persian ruler Cambyses.

> And since already at that time the Athenians were considered as Hellenes and the Pelasagians had settled in their land, the Pelasagians, too, were believed to be Hellenes. Whoever has been initiated into the secret rites of the Kabeiroi performed by the Samothracians (who adopted from the Pelasagians) will know what I mean. [3] For the same Pelasagians who settled in Athenian territory had earlier inhabited Samothrace, and it was from them that the Samothracians adopted those mysteries.[32]

[30] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.25.9.
[31] Ibid, 9.25.10
[32] Her. *Histories*, 2.51.2-3.

It is important to note a parallel here between Pausanias and Herodotus. Neither author, despite the fact that they were writing more than half a millennium apart, is willing to share the secrets of the cult. Herodotus seems also to be privy to the secrets of the cult, thereby implying his own initiated status.

The term *Pelasgians* used here is Herodotus' name for the pre-Hellenic peoples of Greece and the Aegean in general.[33] From these pre-Hellenes then the Samothracians learned the mysteries of the Kabeiroi which play into their characterization by Pausanias as indigenous deities tied to the land. After the Pelasgians taught the mysteries to the Samothracians, the secrets were then brought to the Athenians as well, all of which serves to link newcomers to their new place and perhaps legitimize their new occupation. If the Pelasgians were the supposed original inhabitants of an area, by teaching newcomers (the Samothracians and Athenians) the rites of their native gods, the pre-Hellenes transform the foreigners into natives through initiation into the cult of the Kabeiroi.

This passage from Herodotus falls in the midst of a discussion of the god Hermes and distinctly ties the Kabeiroi to him. Hermes occupied the dominant male cult position at Samothrace and the Kabeiroi's associations with him suit their characterization as supporters of the dominant male deity. Also on Imbros the Kabeiroi are typically tied to Hermes who is again the principal male deity there as well. The context of the passage associates the Kabeiroi with the adoption of the *herm* form, that is, the statues with only the face of Hermes and an erect phallus. These much beloved images were commonly used as apotropaic devices in Athens, which again, by extension, possibly associates the Kabeiroi with protection.

The next mention of the Kabeiroi in Herodotus comes from the third book of the *Histories* in which he describes the madness of the king Cambyses.

---

[33] See footnote 1.56.2d from *The Landmark Herodotus*, Strassler, Robert B.

> Cambyses also went into the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi, where no one other than the priest is allowed to enter according to the laws of gods and men. Here he subjected the statues to a long session of mockery and then burned them. These statues resemble that of Hephaistos and they are said to represent his sons.[34]

Cambyses' mockery of the gods is used as evidence of his madness. The Greek word used here is κατασκωπτω which stems from a more neutral term for joking σκωπτω, however with the prefix κατα- attached, comes to mean "making jokes, mostly in a bad sense," according to the LSJ. No sane person should so blatantly mock the gods in their native place, which Herodotus states later: "Only a madman would treat such things as a laughing matter."[35] Unusually for the Kabeiroi, they do not enact immediate vengeance upon the insulting party.

Here, instead of with Hermes, Herodotus links the Kabeiroi to Hephaistos, their local association in Memphis. Earlier he claims that the statues, which those of the Kabeiroi are supposed to resemble, look like the *pataikoi* which Phoenicians attach to their ships. *Pataikoi* are not heroic-looking figures. They are short and squat and oftentimes resemble the Egyptian god Bes. This description then of appearing as unattractive figures fits with the appearance of the Kabeiroi on the vases from Thebes.

The earliest evidence of the name *Kabeiroi* comes from the fragments of a play by Aeschylus eponymously titled *Kabeiroi*. The place of the play in the corpus of Aeschylean works is unknown and even whether the play was a tragedy or satyr play is disputed. The presence of a drunken chorus may seem comedic and the story which is evidently being told, that of the Argonauts arrival to Lemnos, is a happy one. Further potential evidence for a satyr play comes from an article by Gisela Richter who first examines a volute krater on which the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece is beautifully laid out in clear format, and then compares it to a satirical version of the story depicted on another vase with satyrs and Dionysus rather than

[34] Her. *Histories* 3.37.3.
[35] Ibid 3.38.2.

Argonauts and Athena. Richter asserts that this satire-vase may in fact represent Aeschylus's work, or at the very least, refer to its basic storyline. Nevertheless, Aeschylus is called a "tragedian" by Athenaeus in the first piece of evidence regarding this play and tragedians produced both satyr plays and tragedies. Writing in the late 2nd to early 3rd century CE, Athenaeus does not provide a proper fragment of the play, but describes his impressions of the work. Athenaeus asserts that Aeschylus was the first playwright to introduce intoxicated actors on the stage and further believes that he must have been drunk in order to write the piece in the first place. "In fact in the *Kabeiroi*, [Aeschylus] brings the drunks in around Jason."[36] The word here for drunks is "μεθυοντας," a word which truly means "those having become intoxicated by wine." Other uses of this word indicate that this is not a state of intoxication to be taken lightly. In Ody.18, Telemachus wishes that the limbs of his mother's suitors would render them all immobile, hanging loosely like those of a drunkard who is unable to get himself home due to intoxication. Xenophon too alludes to the dangers of the intoxication implied by μεθυω by suggesting that he and his companions should drink cautiously lest they become unable to draw breath or speak sensibly.[37] It is thus evident that some group in the play is intoxicated, and exceedingly so. That Jason is intoxicated is not necessarily precluded, but most scholars argue for the intoxication of the chorus of Kabeiroi rather than the Argonauts.[38] The presence of Jason and the Argonauts alongside the Kabeiroi points to the location of the play being set on Lemnos where an annual festival was held with precisely this cast of characters.[39]

Of the play itself, two of the three remaining fragments point to definite wine consumption on a large scale. The first piece was written by Julius Pollux, a 2nd century CE

---

[36] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 10.33, trans. Sandra Blakely, 1998.
[37] Xen. Symp. 2.26
[38] Blakely, 1998 p. 63.
[39] Blakely, 2003, p. 37.

sophist writing in Athens. "Jars neither of wine nor of water shall fail in the houses of the rich."[40] This piece is a testament to the rampant appetite for wine of the drunken crowd, but the next fragment from Plutarch's *Table Talk* highlights this characteristic further. "We shall make the house to be scant of vinegar."[41] Jokingly, it would seem that one of the drunken crowd threatens to empty a house of its vinegar store. Vinegar made from wine is among the most common types of vinegar found in Mediterranean countries, so a threat to make a house "scant of vinegar" may in fact represent a threat to remove all existing wine supplies. In this way, all materials which may have been used to make vinegar would be removed. Again, the drunken characters of the play indicate their own insatiable appetite for wine, and presumably further intoxication.

Although this play is thought to be set on the island of Lemnos, this association of wine and drunkenness with Kabeiroi in explicit terms (the inclusion of the word *Kabeiroi* with instances of drinking) still strengthens the argument that alcohol had a role to play in the cult of the Kabeiroi which probably transferred to its mainland counterpart at Boiotian Thebes.

A significant theme among several of the texts arises when one considers the actual processes involved in these stories. In Herodotus' *Histories*, an invading army comes to the temple site and ridicules the Kabeiroi, during which time laughter can be assumed to have been involved. In Aeschylus' *Kabeiroi*, it seems that some sort of farcical drama occurs with stumbling drunks on stage. It would appear that *laughter* is one of the strongest tools used by the Kabeiroi. When they are laughed *at*, the enemy faces dire consequences, however when they are laughed *with*, perhaps they take up their protective role as seen in the story told by Pausanias and their association with herms.

---

[40] Pollux *Onomasticon* 6.23
[41] Plutarch's *Quaestiones Conviviales* ii.1.7

Laughter plays an important role in other Greek rituals as well, particularly those of another mystery cult, the Eleusinian Mysteries. During the procession from Athens to Eleusis, at the *gephyrismos*, or the ritual at the bridge, *aischrologia*, or vulgar jokes, are told in the hopes of making the whole party laugh. The remarkable character of Baubo, a plump woman flashing her private parts for all to see, also rides by sitting atop a pig, an image which was sure to have been nothing short of hysterical for somber and exhausted celebrants processing the eleven miles to Eleusis.[42] Furthermore, jokes are made at the expense of a new bride and groom as they make their way to their home for the first time as well, an action which may have served to both lighten the mood before the couple's impending consummation as well as provide some sort of good luck cheer. Comedy has a deep-seated place in Greek religion and it seems to have very powerful apotropaic connotations. If these ideas are added to the already comical appearance of the human(-oid) figures shown on Kabeiric vase-ware, there can be little doubt that the cult of the Kabeiroi included a light-hearted sense of humor. There is a distinct power in laughter and it seems that the Kabeiroi chose to harness this for their role as protectors of place, as exhibited in the literary evidence.

III. The Archaeological Site

The first aspect of the archaeological site at Thebes which must be discussed is its location. Pausanias described it as 25 stades west from the city so it is by no means a sacred space *within* the city. Although it is not a difficult location to get to, it is nevertheless outside of the designated urban space and thus outside of a citizen's regular space. The site is located at the

[42] The night before the procession to Eleusis, the celebrants all partook in the *pannychis*, the all night celebration including feasts, dancing, and sacrifices. In the morning, the procession began, so surely the mystery participants would have been exceedingly tired from their evening of merriment followed by an eleven-mile trek.

foot of a hill which provided a natural theatral area hidden from view. There is also a rock formation which remained integral to the space throughout its many variations.[43] Interestingly, rock formations seem to have been a central feature at more than one mystery cult site,[44] which perhaps indicates a very intentional selection of this space outside of Thebes as a site for the cult.

In the late 6th century BCE, the first permanent buildings were constructed at the site,[45] which are thought to have housed communal dining. A tholos was added in the middle part of the 5th century BCE,[46] but by the middle of the 3rd century BCE, this as well as all the other existing structures were all either destroyed or converted to other uses. The Central Tholos[47] was constructed at this time, although shortly thereafter was converted into the first Anaktoron[48] at which time no real tholoi were left as part of the cult site. Frederick Cooper and Sarah Morris together cite the tholoi of the Theban Kabeirion as excellent examples of a place where dining would have occurred in the round, rather than the traditional rectangular formations of symposia. The diners (and drinkers) in these tholoi would have sat along benches set against the wall and would have sat upright throughout the whole meal in a manner much more similar to our own modern manner of dining.[49] After the destruction and/or conversion of all the tholoi however, "there were no more small private buildings for dining and drinking, and the absence of drinking vessels suggests that these activities now went on at some other place while the sanctuary itself was reserved for serious business."[50] Thus, the heyday of drinking as an integral, on-site part of the cult of the Kabeiroi seems to have been from the end of the 6th century BCE to the middle of the 3rd century BCE.

---

[43] Schachter, 1986, p. 97.
[44] Cf. the "Mirthless Stone" at Eleusis.
[45] KH II, Structures 18 (Middle Tholos), 19 (Lower Tholos), 28, 29, M125
[46] KH II, Structure 12 (Lower Tholos)
[47] KH II, Structure 1
[48] Schachter, 1986, pp 97-105.
[49] Cooper 1990.
[50] Schachter 1986, p. 104.

IV. Kabeiroi in Context

Having glanced at some of the most important pieces of evidence for the role of alcohol in the cult of the Kabeiroi at Thebes, it is perhaps now appropriate to ask the most difficult question: who were the Kabeiroi? Unfortunately, there is no absolute definition of these deities. They vary from culture to culture, from site to site, and from century to century. The cult on Samothrace is perhaps the best-known one, but there, the Kabeiroi are associated with the Dioskouri, possibly another name for the θεοι μεγαλοι, and Hermes. On Lemnos, the Kabeiroi are the sons of Hephaistos. At Imbros, they are again associated with Hermes.[51] These deities seem to always adapt themselves to fit into the cult of the dominant male god of a region. In order to arrive at anything resembling certainty, one must settle on one crystallization of the myth and mystery surrounding the Kabeiroi. In the case of this paper, that crystallization is the cult celebrated in Boiotian Thebes from the 6th century BCE (or possibly earlier) to the middle 3rd century BCE.

At Thebes, the Kabeiroi are associated with the cult of Dionysos. This is evident from the ceramic ware found at the site and at the large burial site nearby, the Polyandreion. The visuals of a Dionysiac Kabeiros reclining on a typical symposiastic couch indicate more of this connection between the two. Another possibly weaker connection to Dionysiac ritual comes from the possible presence of pederasty at the site. The Kabeiroi in Thebes are generally accepted to be two in number, an older figure named Kabeiros and a younger figure labeled simply *pais*, or youth. Most scholars interpret their relationship as that of a father and son.[52] The evidence for these two names and figures comes from more than only the first vase

[51] Blakely, 2003, pp 16-17.
[52] Schachter falls into this camp citing the evidence given by Pausanias (9.25.6): "Demeter came to know Prometheus, one of the Kabeiri, and Aetnaelis his son, and entrusted something to their keeping." Thus Prometheus and his son Aetnaelis would be the two Kabeiroi of Thebes.

mentioned above, but also from votive offerings found at the site. Twenty-two votive bull figurines, 273 vases or sherds, and one bronze diskobolos were found inscribed with the word *Kabeiros* (singular). Three bulls, thirty vases, and one bronze stylos were found inscribed with the word *pais* and two bulls and three vases were inscribed to the Kabeiroi (plural).[53] Hundreds of terracotta figures of young males have also been found in connection with the site and would presumably have been dedicated to the *pais* as well.

Aside from this sort of broad identification as a father and son, little more can be known regarding the identity of these figures. It can be stated conclusively that theirs was a mystery cult, but beyond that, all else is based on conjecture. The initiates maintained their secrecy remarkably well and so very little is known about the deities worshipped there or the manner in which they were worshipped. From the vases, it can be determined that initiates were veiled and wore fillets and branches. The rites possibly took place at night because of the presence of torches. The rites also probably occurred outside or under an open sky due to a lack of monumental architecture at the site of the Kabeirion. Drinking certainly had a role to play, but this role is to be examined more in depth below. Initiates are frequently shown in a procession indicating this ritual type involved in the cult. Interestingly, initiates are also shown as males and females indicating a lack of gender separation in the cult. With these bits of ritual in mind, one can start to imagine the frameworks of the rites at the cult center of the Kabeiroi but there is still much left unknown.

Perhaps one of the most puzzling riddles left in this cult is the connection of the Kabeiroi to Demeter and Kore. Pausanias absolutely connects the two both geographically as well as ritually. Current scholarship seems to agree with Pausanias, citing a tub found beneath the floor of the Lower Tholos (12) as conclusive evidence of the presence of the cult of Demeter at the

[53] Schachter, 1986 p 89, n. 1.

Kabeirion. The tub which dates to the beginning of the 5th century BCE is inscribed along the rim with the word TOΘAMAKO, or rather *to thamako*, which translates to mean "property of the husband."[54] The presence of a husband here allegedly implies also the presence of a wife whom Schachter claims to represent Demeter. The deliberate location of the vase underground implies intentional secrecy, so Demeter would have been a secret consort of some kind. Using this one tub as the main piece of evidence for a cult seems insufficient. Schachter acknowledges "the existence of the goddess can be inferred only from the presence of her consort." It thus seems safer to examine only the cult of the Kabeiroi distinct from that of Demeter and Kore and to acknowledge a possibility that the two may be linked but with heretofore undiscovered evidence.

[54] Schachter, 2003, p 122.

Chapter 2: The Athenian Anthesteria Festival

The festival of the Anthesteria provides another challenging puzzle in the world of Greek religion. At Athens, the annual festival was held, and possibly in the countryside as well, during the month of Anthesterion[55] in celebration of the opening of the new wine. Widely acknowledged as a ritual in honor of the god Dionysus, there are mysterious possible connections to Hermes as well, although those fall outside of the scope of this paper. The body of evidence for this festival is immense and the modern scholarship is extensive as well. Because of this, it is difficult to settle on one concept of the festival. The most essential points of the Anthesteria however, in relation to the question of ritualized intoxication, are as follows: it was most likely a three-day festival (the days called Πιθοιγία, Χόες, and Χύτροι respectively) which involved a wine-drinking competition and a procession to the temple of Dionysus in Limnais. It is this wine-drinking competition which pertains most directly to this work and which provides the true intrigue of the Anthesteria. This is the practice to be examined below, but first an effort to better define the festival must be made.

The names of the three days of the festival all relate to a stage in the process of wine consumption: Πιθοιγία literally means "jar-opening" and refers to the opening of the storage jars which had held the fermenting wine up until this point. Χόες refers to the distinctive jugs into which the wine is poured for individual consumption. Finally, Χύτροι is the least clear day-name, although its literal meaning is definitively "pots." There is much debate over the nature of the pots involved in the third day of this festival, however as will be demonstrated below, the happenings of the third day fall somewhat outside of the topic of communal drinking and so we must leave that mystery for another to solve. Many more rites and acts have been included in the

[55] Anthesterion roughly correlates to the second half of February and the first half of March.

scholarly discussions regarding the Anthesteria, however these are the facts on which most agree.[56]

I must specify here, however, that to attempt to piece together and examine the whole of the Anthesteria would be too large a task for a paper of this scope. With this research, I simply have attempted to put together a rough framework of the events in order to better contextualize the drinking competition of the second day, proposed by several scholars and ancient sources alike. It is this drinking competition with which I am most concerned and which poses the questions central to this work, namely that of "why?" Why were the Athenians encouraged to drink a full *chous* of wine, neat or mixed, on the twelfth day of Anthesterion? What ritual purpose did this communal intoxication serve? Again, the answers are not definitive, however the rites of the cult of the Kabeiroi inform our perception of these actions and cast light onto the possible meanings of this mysterious festival.

The literary evidence for these events comes from a difficult variety of sources, ranging from fragmentary historical texts to the fully extant comedies of Aristophanes to scholia written during the 2nd millennium CE. Consolidating all of these references into a single cohesive presentation of the proposed events of the Anthesteria is nearly impossible, so what follows here is a presentation of the most persuasive evidence, discussed alongside the somewhat less controversial ceramic ware of the same festival. The corpus of Anthesteria-related ceramic-ware is composed primarily of the χόες themselves, a distinctive pouring vessel used on the second

[56] Scholars have included rites of "roaming" and "swinging" with the story of Erigone, the daughter of ill-fated Icarius. There is also a possible ritualized act of mockery and mummery to be discussed below as well as the staging of comedy at the Theater *en Limnais*. A sacred marriage between the wife of the *archon basileus* of Athens and the god Dionysus is well-attested in the literature as well, although where this *hieros gamos* falls in the three-day sequence is a matter of much debate. Walter Burkert's chapter on the Anthesteria in his *Homo Necans* nicely lays out these other ritual processes complete with exhaustive footnotes and is recommended for further reading on the subject (*Homo Necans* pp. 226-247). Parke's chapter on the Anthesteria also neatly outlines the proposed other elements of the festival. He begins with the more generally accepted aspects of the festival (day names and the drinking competition) then delves into the more puzzling actions and concludes with roaming and swinging (*Festivals of the Athenians*, pp. 107-119).

day of the festival. The imagery displayed on these vases is varied, but inspires more consensus than the literature.

I. Literary Evidence

The most complete remaining text which recounts the ritual process of the drinking festival of the Anthesteria comes to us from one of Aristophanes' comedies, *The Acharnians*. During a time of war between Athens and Sparta, the main character, Dikaiopolis, rejoices in an individual peace he has struck with the Spartans by moving away from the city of Athens into his country home and celebrating two different Dionysiac festivals, the rural Dionysia and the Anthesteria. The first festival takes the form of a specific procession in which Dikaiopolis' whole household participates, including the slaves. Even as the entire process takes on a ribald comedic tone, many scholars assert that Aristophanes' treatment of ritual is indicative of the common people's perception of Greek religion.[57]

The Anthesteria portion of the *Acharnians* begins after a celebration of the Rural Dionysia as Dikaiopolis prepares a feast among his family.[58] A herald comes on stage to announce: "Drink your pitchers at the sound of the trumpet, according to the ancient custom; and whoever shall first have emptied his jug, shall receive a skinful of Ctesiphon!"[59] Following this proclamation, the characters prepare for a domestic celebration when a messenger rushes on stage and beseeches Dikaiopolis to quickly come with him in order to attend a dinner held by his master, the priest of Dionysus. A comedic back-and-forth follows between Dikaiopolis, preparing to enter a sympotic scene, and his neighbor and fellow Athenian Lamachus who prepares to engage in battle. In response to each item Lamachus dons in order to prepare himself

[57] See Bowie for a more thorough analysis of Aristophanes' treatment of the drinking ritual in eight of his works.
[58] Although there is no outright reference to the Anthesteria, Habash claims that Lamachus' intent to prepare for a feast (line 960-62), the announcement of the drinking competition (line 1000), and the summons to the banquet of a priest of Dionysus are sufficient to assume that this was indeed a celebration of the Anthesteria.
[59] Aristoph. *Acharnians*, 1000-02.

for war, Dikaiopolis humorously calls for his sympotic accouterments, including an enormous amount of food and his own χους. The items Dikaiopolis calls for have been interpreted by many as canonical preparations for the choes feast.[60] Notably absent from the items which he brings with him is the wine itself, thereby implying that the host provides his guests with wine, but not food.

The bulk of the evidence for the Anthesteria however comes from Dikaiopolis' return to the stage, as he stumbles in drunkenly held up by two hetairai. His first boast comes from his request for a kiss: "Kiss me softly, my two jewels / one kiss broad, one kiss deep. For I am the first to drain my pitcher."[61] Further evidence of his victory by drinking follows later, but at this point it is enough to note that he feels triumphant for drinking his pitcher and is notably intoxicated. His drunkenness is juxtaposed comically against the sober wounded state in which Lamachus returns in the lines just prior.

The Chorus Leader, repeating the drunkard's own praise, calls Dikaiopolis "gloriously triumphant," using the term καλλίνικος, which has somewhat heroic connotations.[62] This exaggerated praise from the Chorus serves both comically as humorous sarcasm as well as a comment on the status of the victor of the Anthesteria drinking competitions. Although the Choryphaeus may have mocked Dikaiopolis with his praise, nevertheless it is acknowledged that the one who drains his cup first is deserving of recognition and the wineskin prize. The play ends as the chorus repeats these congratulations to the victor, escorting Dikaiopolis in a *komos*-esque revel.

---

[60] Bowie 1997, p. 17; Habash 1995, p. 572.
[61] Aristoph. *Acharnians*, 1200-03.
[62] Euripides uses the same term in his *Medea*, as the tragic heroine outlines her plan to exact vengeance on her enemies (line 765). Polybius attributes the term as a surname of Seleucus, the king of Syria (Pl. Hist. 2.71), as does Strabo (*Geography* 16.2.4).

Aristophanes provides another glimpse into the festival of the Anthesteria in his later play, *the Frogs.* As the god of wine himself attempts to cross a lake to the underworld in order to find the soul of tragedian Euripides, he encounters a chorus of frogs who antagonize him with their loud croaking.

> Brekekekex koax koax,
> Marshy children of the waters,
> the harmonious cry of hymns,
> Let us sing, my sweet
> song, Koaxkoax,
> which for Nysian
> Dionysos, son of Zeus,
> *we sang at Limnae*
> *when in drunken revelry*
> *at the Feast of the Pots*
> *the crowd of people marches to my sanctuary.*
> Brekekekex koax koax.[63]

The frogs here solidify the connections between what is called here "the Feast of the Pots" (τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι), drinking, and the Limnaean temple of Dionysus. The word Aristophanes uses to describe the crowd as the process to the temple is κραιπαλόκωμος, which includes the word komos[64] itself. The revelers drunkenly make their way out of the city to the temple on the allotted day in a manner very similar to the komoi which occur following typical Athenian symposia. Generally it has been accepted that the celebrants go to the temple to pour out as a libation to Dionysus whatever wine from their choes which has not been consumed throughout the Χοες day.[65] The Frogs' specification that the revelers process on the day of the Χυτροι is somewhat troublesome. Many scholars have evaded questions of this nature when discussing the schedule of events for this three-day festival by proposing that the *ritual days* began at sundown, so that any event which occurred after sundown on the day of *Choes* technically became a part of

[63] Aristoph. *Frogs*, 210-220.
[64] The drunken revel which followed the typical symposium was known as the *komos* and will be examined more fully in chapter 3.
[65] Robertson, 222.

the day of the Chutroi.[66] It would seem then that here, the entire community of celebrants joins together for an enormous drunken parade to the temple as one of the final ritual acts for the *solar* day, following a long day of banqueting and drinking, and this public drunkenness is fully condoned by society, evidently garnering no pro-temperance backlash.

One of the most widely accepted practices among scholars of the Anthesteria is the opening of the temple of Dionysus in Limnais for one day only, on the 12th day of Anthesterion. Although the temple itself is shrouded in mystery, the evidence for its opening is solid enough. Demosthenes wrote in the *Neaera*, as he explains the origins of Athenian marital law, "they set [the proclamation] up in the most ancient and most sacred sanctuary of Dionysus in Limnae, in order that few only might have knowledge of the inscription; for once only in each year is the sanctuary opened, on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion."[67] Thucydides too wrote that "...Dionysus in the Marshes, in honor of whom the more ancient [Anthesteria] are celebrated on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion."[68] The limited availability of the temple of Dionysus provides a uniquely protected space for the Athenians to set up this proclamation. There is unfortunately very little evidence to suggest the reason for such a limited ritual calendar for the temple, although the proposed aetiological myths for the origins of the festival begin to provide possibilities.

According to many sources regarding the Anthesteria, several of the festival rites lie rooted in the arrival of the matricide Orestes in Athens. Orestes had been sent by Apollo to Athens to seek sanctuary after murdering his mother Clytemnestra. The king Demophon welcomed the man, unwilling to refuse him his guest-rights, but also unwilling to pollute his people with the murderous *miasma*. Demophon therefore permitted Orestes to participate in the

[66] Burkert 1983, pp. 216-220; Parke 1977, p. 111.
[67] Dem, *Neaera*, 59.76.
[68] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian Wars* II.15.4

communal feasts of the city, but provided him with his own jug from which to drink. In order not to appear offensive, Demophon then ordered *everyone* to drink from his own vessel, thus possibly creating the origin of the tradition at the Anthesteria for each person to drink from his own *chous*.[69]

Euripides, writing in the 5th century BCE suggests Orestes' unclean status for the rites of the Anthesteria, in his play *Iphigeneia at Tauris,* and casts a decidedly gloomy tone over the whole affair. Orestes recounts his journey to Athens to his estranged sister Iphigeneia:

> Then Phoebus ordered me
> to Athens…
> When I arrived there, none of all my friends
> Received me. They avoided me at first
> As one unclean. Later they pitied me
> And gave me food in the same room with them
> But at a separate table where they let
> My meals be served when theirs were, sent me a cup
> When their love-bowl was passed, but then would turn
> Away and would not look at me nor speak
> To me – because I was a murderer…
> …
> I am told Athenians commemorate
> My trial with a service of the Pitcher,
> Everyone drinking his own cup in silence.[70]

Here, even the matricide himself acknowledges his uncleanliness. His suggestion that the Athenians commemorate him with silent drinking suits his somber experience in the city, during which time he was put on trial for his life.

How then can we connect these two seemingly disparate accounts of the Anthesteria: Aristophanes presents a light-hearted occasion for over-consumption in the name of Dionysus.

---

[69] Phanodemos FGrHist 325 F 11 = Ath. 437c-d.
[70] Eur. *IT* 947-60.

Euripides suggests a much darker ritual with criminal origins.[71] It is to the more fragmentary sources that we must look in order to reconcile these differences.

Two fragments of Phanodemos' work serve as particularly informative pieces in the puzzle of the Anthesteria. In the first, the historian writes that after the drinking had concluded, the celebrants should wrap the ivy garlands, which they had worn on their heads, around their *chous* jars and deliver them to the temple of Dionysus, instead of laying them in the city's sanctuaries as would have been customary, "since they had been under the same roof as Orestes."[72] It would appear here that his treatment of the ritual acknowledges the dark origins of the festival, but does not become mired in the dire implications of the story. This piece also provides a possible suggestion as to why the temple of Dionysus was opened only once a year. When Orestes arrived in Athens, Demophon also ordered that all the public shrines and sanctuaries in the city be closed so that the murderer might not pollute them. The temple of Dionysus in Limnais, or literally "in the marshes," may have stayed open due to its importance to the festival and its distance from the city center.

His next fragment more fully suits the Aristophanic depiction of the festival which was examined above. Phanodemos writes that "At the sanctuary of Dionysus *en limnais* the Athenians used to mix the wine for the god from the jars which they transported alone there and then taste it themselves…Delighted with the mixture, they celebrated Dionysus with songs,

---

[71] Another sinister story with ties to the Anthesteria comes from the Aelian, by way of the *Suda* (Ael fr. 73, Hercher = *Suda* φ428, χ364). The Aetolians were supposed to have introduced wine to the Athenians, having learned of it themselves from their mythical king *Oineus* (the name literally means "wine-man"). The Suda tells us that it was required each year for Athenians at the festival of the *Choes* to pour out an offering in honor of the deceased Aetolians. This link to Aetolia is unfortunately tentative and so this particular aetiological story has been relegated to footnotes. The myth of Erigone and Icarius however, as told in Erotasthenes' fragmentary work *Erigone*, holds more validity and is reaffirmed by many images on the *choes.* The rites set out by this myth though, namely those of the roaming and swinging, fall outside of the scope of the question of intoxication and so it must be enough to simply note the existence of such stories.

[72] Phanodemos, FGrH 325 F 11.

danced…"[73] Surely this was the sort of celebration with which Aristophanes' audience would have been familiar. This account incorporates all the elements of the Anthesteria which have been examined so far, specifically, the use of the Temple of Dionysus in Limnae on a very particular festival day, the communal consumption of wine, and a joyous procession out of the city.

The aspect of this festival which brooks the most questions amidst a study of ritualized wine drinking is the wine itself. Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians* claims that he drank his wine *neat* or unmixed. This sort of drinking was not considered acceptable and the Greek practice of tempering wine with water was a source of pride for many. Why then did Aristophanes choose to have his main character proclaim with satisfaction that he had drunk his wine neat? Perhaps this was done for comedic effect, showing an exaggerated form of the drinking which normally occurred. This instance could also indicate the specialized form of drinking which celebrants took part in during the festival. Perhaps by drinking differently than their usual customs, the Athenian participants signified a removal from normal day-to-day practices into religious ones, sanctified by the gods.

The rituals which occurred at the temple of Dionysus are the subject of much debate. A sacred marriage between the wife of the *archon basileus* and the god Dionysus occurs some time during the course of the festival, and it is this "queen" as she has come to be known, who officiates over the ensuing ceremonies.[74] Robertson makes a strong case for the sacrifice of a he-goat at the temple on the second day of the festival, based on accounts of later City Dionysia celebrations and the festival's connection to comedy and tragedy.[75] As has been noted before from Phanodemos, the drinkers from the city process to the temple and there each person "offers

[73] Phanodemos, FGrH 325 F 12.
[74] Dem, *Neaera* 59.
[75] The Greek word for goat, "τραγος," forms the root of the word "tragedy," meaning, "goat-song."

the remnants in the shrine." Later scholia and modern scholarship differ on the opinion of whether the wine was libated directly onto the sacrificial victim or if it was instead ritually mixed together by the queen of the temple, then perhaps more cautiously poured in smaller amounts in a more controlled manner, however the latter option seems much more feasible than the former. The full citizenry of Athens would be hard-pressed indeed to each individually approach a single goat within the span of one day. Regardless of this detail, the wine which was not consumed throughout the day was brought to the temple and there formed a single libation en masse to the god Dionysus. The mixing of every drinker's wine potentially holds powerful implications as the mixing of wine played a large role in Homeric oath-taking.[76]

Another aspect of the festival which possibly occurred on this second day provides an intriguing connection to the cult of the Kabeiroi and suggests a theme which until this point has been seemingly neglected by the scholarly field, namely that of laughter. Burkert, Robertson, Slater, and Hamilton (among many others) acknowledge a connection between the festival of the Anthesteria and drama. Slater in fact argues that the temple of Dionysus in Limnais may have in fact held a theater of its own, the *Lenaean* Theater,[77] a theory which directly links the festival with drama. There is abundant evidence regarding Dionysus's connection with the theater in general, however there appears to be a unique relationship between the particular celebration of the god at the Anthesteria and the process of laughter.

Burkert alleges that masked mummers were abroad in the city during the Anthesteria and would mock anyone they came upon. He casts the mummers in a somewhat ominous light although the scholium from which he derives this supposition seems to make no mention of darker intentions. The scholium, from the Suda (which in turn drew this information from

[76] Robertson, 223.
[77] Slater, 260-263.

scholia to Aristophanes), states: "for at Athens at the festival of the Choes the revelers on the carts used to make jibes and insults at those they encountered."[78] While "insults" is far from a positive term, it hardly conveys the menace which Burkert would suggest.[79] This concept of ritually insulting those around you forms a direct parallel with the ritual at the bridge, held as a part of the Eleusinian mysteries, as well as the Athenian marriage traditions discussed in the previous chapter.

Further evidence for linking the Anthesteria with comedy and laughter is tentative at best. Athenaeus tells the story of the wedding feast of Karanos,[80] an admittedly Hellenistic tale. During the opulent feast, a *Choes*-like drinking competition is held complete with a trumpet blast to signal the beginning and a sack of wine for the winner at the end. Directly before this competition, ithyphallic dancers parade around the room as part of the lavish entertainment. Although these ithyphalloi are considered a typically Athenian kind of dancer, and there is the possibility that these padded dancers participated in general Dionysiac festivals, there is insufficient evidence to definitively associate them with any part of the Anthesteria.

Plutarch more explicitly speaks of a connection between comedy and the festival in his *Lives of Ten Greek Orators* when he writes, "[Lykurgos] also introduced laws, one concerning the comic (actors?), that they have a contest in the theater during the Chutroi and that the winner be chosen for the city competition…"[81] Again, although this is insufficient evidence to draw broad conclusions, it nevertheless links comedy to the festival of the Anthesteria once more.

---

[78] Suda, τ 19.
[79] The words used in this phrase are "ἔσκωπτόν" meaning "they mocked, or joked at" and "ἐλοιδόρουν" meaning literally "they abused or reviled." The former carries a jesting connotation and the latter has been used in comedic contexts as well. Neither are fully negative terms, though it is interesting to note that the root verb σκωπτω was used in an alternate form, with the prefix κατα- in Herodotus' account of Cambyses' mockery of the Kabeiroi. Κατασκωπτω is acknowledged by the LSJ to have a negative connotation, however no such specification is made for the verb without the prefix κατα-.
[80] Athenaeus 4.128c-130e.
[81] Plutarch, *Vita X Or.*

Perhaps the most obvious connection between this festival and laughter comes from the wine itself. When an entire city becomes intoxicated together, on a sacred festival day during which time it can be assumed that few people would be required to work, surely gaiety will ensue. Drinking, as will be examined below, can help lift spirits and embolden speakers. At least on some, if not many, occasions, this produces comedic results.

While the link between the Athenian festival of the Anthesteria and humor is not the strongest, it still serves to once again bring comedy and laughter into the sacred sphere. This possible ritualized use for drinking and intoxication begins to shed light on the first question posed in this paper, "why?" Although this is only one aspect of an answer to a much broader question, this theory of religious comedy sheds light not only on the actions of the Anthesteria, but also on those of the cult of the Kabeiroi as well.

Although this presentation of the evidence of ritualized drinking in the rites of the Anthesteria is far from exhaustive, leaving much of the scholia to be examined at a later date, I feel that I have presented several important literary pieces which will help in establishing a more solid perception of the drinking rituals of the Anthesteria.

II. Ceramic Evidence

It is now time to examine the remaining physical evidence of the Anthesteria festival. Despite possessing a less stylized appearance than their Kabeiric counterparts, the Anthesteria-ware still provides a corpus of information from which it is possible to draw several conclusions.

Obviously, the bulk of the ceramic evidence from this festival comes to us in the form of the *choes* jugs used during the second day of the festival. The typical *chous* takes the shape of an *oinochoe* "type III" vessel,[82] a squat form of the typical pitcher with a trefoil mouth.[83] A large

[82] Van Hoorn, 53.
[83] ARV, p IX: "a plump shape with a smooth profile and trefoil mouth."

number of the vessels considered in this work were found amidst cemeteries and grave goods, particularly those of children, although the provenance for just as many is regrettably unknown. According to van Hoorn however, this distinct connection to grave goods has been diminished by excavations in Athens which have produced *choes* found simply in trash pits and piles of discarded temple votives. Regardless of their provenance, the Anthesteria-related ceramic-ware provides an intriguing and puzzling image of the festival proceedings.

The first real puzzle presented by the vast corpus of *choes* is the sheer number of vases of this particular shape. The *chous* was simply a pitcher for wine and so was one of the most common vase types in antiquity. This results in an overwhelming amount of material to study as well as many conflicting potential images of the festival. Because the provenance for many of the vessels is unknown, we cannot simply eliminate all those vases found outside of Athens and so we ideally would consider *every* vase. This, however, is absolutely impossible in a work of this size, so what follows here is an effort to examine those vases which most closely follow the canon as established by the literary evidence above.[84]

A great number of the accepted Anthesteria-related *choes* depict children, and in particular naked males. Certainly this seems to stand in stark contrast with the above-described nature of the festival as some sort of drinking revel. Many of these vessels are small and relatively child-sized, as it were. Based on this and the fact that many of the cups have been found in children's graves as a burial good, there would appear to be some role which young children played in the festival. Infants, though, would seem to have little to do with a drinking

[84] I pointedly refrained from including the literary pieces which made reference to the role of children in the festival because their inclusion seems irrelevant to drinking. The literature for this aspect is moreover decidedly negligible, coming mostly from a passage by Philostratus who hails from the 3rd century CE (*Heroicus* 12.2). Because of the frequency of the depictions of children on the *choes* however, to ignore the role of toddlers in light of the ceramic evidence would be imprudent. Therefore, an acknowledgement of the children's involvement in the Anthesteria is obligatory, however provides minimal insight into the question of drinking and intoxication as a ritual act.

festival, since even the Greeks did not serve wine in excess to children as young as those shown on these vases. Several scholars, whose work is examined below, have attempted to solve this puzzle, although only one theory proposed at this point seems to play into the alcoholic nature of the holiday as attributed by the literary evidence. Most of the theories suggest an alternate rite of passage aspect to the festival, during which time three-year-olds were crowned with flowers and presented to the community.[85] Perhaps these vessels were truly used on another day of the festival, separate from the day of drinking, however the fact that these images all come to us from the very *choes* which leant their name to the day itself poses a problem for the disassociation of the vases from the drinking competition.

One vase, which seems to have escaped much scholarly notice, might hint at something of an explanation for how to fit a celebration of young children into the greater context of a wine festival. Gerard van Hoorn's figure 61 (vH61) shows two naked youths playing with what he calls "red eggs" and a tiny *chous* in the foreground and a temple filled with branches far off in the distance. Based on the fact that this image is found on a *chous*, and the temple of Dionysus involved in this festival was considered to be outside the city and thus far away, it might be safe to assume that this distant temple is the temple of Dionysus *en Limnais* itself. The branches which fill the proposed temple *en Limnais* perhaps suggest the timing of the festival since the revelers were said to have gone to the temple once they had finished drinking and crowned their jugs with their wreaths at the end of the *Choes* day. This temple is already full of branches and so may mean that the drinkers have already been to the temple outside the city to deposit their leftover wine and wreaths, and the scene of playing children occurs on the following day. With this explanation in mind, the depictions of children which are so prevalent on many of the

[85] Lending credence to these theories is the fact that the name of the festival literally means, "The Flower Festival," however we have already noted that the *choes* themselves were crowned with wreaths, so the name need not mean any more or less than that action as well.

Anthesteria-related vases belong to the third day of the festival and indicate a decided lack of involvement in the drinking competition and festival with which this paper is concerned.

With the frequency of the images of children in mind, the most remarkable aspect of the Anthesteria ceramics is the distinct lack of displayed intoxication. In light of the blatant drinking shown on the Kabeiric vases, the absence of any sort of wine or sympotic scenes on most *choes* is remarkable. The mere fact that such an infrequently attested cult like that of the Kabeiroi so frequently depicted drinking on its ceramics provides an illuminating comparison when examining the much larger *corpus vasorum* of the Anthesteria and noting its most common depictions. This absence will be more fully examined in Chapter 4, and so for now, it will be enough to *note* this difference from the body of evidence of the Boiotian cult and then attempt to briefly comment on the significance of the pieces which *are* displayed on the Athenian wares. In order to do so, I will touch on several of the most frequently proposed theories, while maintaining the belief that the true importance of the paintings on these vases, with regards to the question of alcohol consumption, lies in their most notable omission.

Gerard van Hoorn, arguably the first to publish a significant catalog of Anthesteria-related images, attempted to put together a somewhat overly inclusive conception of the festival. His publication of over 1,000 vases paints a vivid image of a far-reaching initiation ritual. Unfortunately, many of his assertions remain unfounded in the literary evidence. He excludes so very few iconographic elements found on the vases, even images from vessels found outside of Athens, that his findings are remarkably inconclusive. A striking example of this kind of inclusivity comes from his interpretation of a vase on which a satyr gazes with “rapture” at a fountain to his left, which van Hoorn hypothesizes may indicate a wine miracle of some sort

involved in the Anthesteria rituals or origins.[86] Nowhere else in the literary or ceramic evidence of the Anthesteria has a wine miracle, in which water would have been turned to wine, been attested, and so I have found it best to approach van Hoorn's conclusions with caution.

One truly remarkable observation made by van Hoorn which seemingly goes unnoticed is the fact that not all of the jugs were indeed painted with figural, or even decorative, representations.[87] Plain vases would indicate a pitcher of a much more utilitarian function than those which received elaborate artistic attention, almost like modern-day disposable cups. These plain cups[88] more than almost any others fit with the idea of a drunken festival because their loss would be less significant than that of a painted vase, even one of such amateur make as many of the Anthesteria *choes,* if a user succumbed to the clumsiness that inevitably ensues from intoxication and perhaps dropped the vessel.

In contrast to van Hoorn's inclusive approach, Richard Hamilton uses the imagery of the Anthesterian *choes* to eliminate many proposed elements of the festival and define a very distinctive ritual. Hamilton spends the majority of his efforts analyzing the Anthesterian *choes* on numerical analysis. He places great emphasis on the frequency of specific representations between what he specifies as large and small vessels. The large vessels he qualifies as 15cm in height or greater, and the small vessels as anything shorter than that. He deems the large vessels relatively useless for the interpretation of the ritual activities of the festival because their imagery is more variable than that of their smaller counterparts, whose depictions he catalogues into "the tableau." The tableau is comprised of all the most frequently depicted elements, especially those which are oftentimes portrayed together on the various ceramics. Unfortunately though, his thorough analysis is dedicated only to images which point towards the role of the children in this

[86] van Hoorn pp 30-31, fig. 83-22.
[87] van Hoorn p. 40.
[88] Olynthus Excavations Vol V. pl 170-171, XIII pl. 152f.

festival and has very little to do with the drinking we know to have occurred. The items he includes in this tableau are a naked child, amulets, *choes*, pets, carts, tables and stools, cakes, grapes, and toys such as balls, eggs, and fruit. Most conclusively, he uses these pieces to determine a specific initiation ritual through which these children go as part of the Anthesteria. He also deems the "small" *choes* gifts given throughout the year, although he believes that the small *choes* which specifically reference the competition were given during the time surrounding the Anthesteria.

Hamilton provides another theory for the meaning of these child-related *choes*, though one which he himself calls "highly hypothetical." He proposes that the *choes* which include children and grapes form an analogy to wine. Just as a child is a young human, so grapes are essentially young wine – they have yet to ferment and age.[89] While this theory may seem highly improbable, it is nevertheless noteworthy for attempting to reconcile two such divergent concepts as young children and intoxication.[90]

Greta Ham published a very different theory shortly after Hamilton, in which she points out the intriguingly short time span of the production of the smaller *choes* (deemed in *her* work as 13cm or less) on which Hamilton spends so much time. The larger *choes* were produced for an extended period of time throughout the late Archaic and Classical periods. The smaller vases however were produced for only half a century from the late 400's to early 300's BCE. Based on this timeline, and placing this within the turbulent context of the Peloponnesian Wars, Ham asserts that the iconography of children points to a concern for survival and rebirth because so many Athenians were killed during this time. Her argument is very clearly laid out by

[89] Hamilton 117.
[90] I would like to comment here on the sheer irony of the inclusion of a rite of passage ritual through which babies are introduced to their society and their role as a citizen during a drinking festival in which citizens are expected to become intoxicated and, arguably, act in a somewhat *childish* fashion. Babies are initiated to their community the day after their elders set a less than sterling example.

establishing first the literary information regarding children's role in the festival, followed by an analysis of the *choes* themselves, then concluding with a look at the broader context of Athens during the time of the Peloponnesian Wars and highlighting their population crisis.

Interestingly, Ham identifies a nearly identical set of images as Hamilton to be included in the standard body of Anthesteria vases. Where she differs however is her exclusion of any sorts of toys or playthings with the youths. Ham focuses solely on those vases with young children in the presence of a *chous*, or engaged in what is probably ritual behavior (i.e. the child is wreathed). She asserts that the inclusion of a child and *chous* on the same vase indicates the child's admittance to and participation in the *chous* banquet, even without any other sympotic context on the vessel. Her reasoning for this is that many of these vases are so small that a simple economy of imagery was necessary based on available surface area for decoration. After the scenes which she believes depict the banquet, the bulk of the remaining small *choes* supposedly depict the ensuing procession to the temple *en limnais*. It is here her argument is most convincing as she cites vase vH87 in which two open-cloaked figures approach a seated female seemingly as part of the offering of the wreathed *choes* to the priestess at the temple. Here, I accede that Ham may have a point in favor of her argument, but her following conclusions regarding the participation of children deters from its validity.

Ham theorizes that the children's participation in the banquet and procession foreshadows the symposia in which they will be partaking as mature adults later in life. Through their procession to the temple with the rest of their community, the children would be asserting their initiation into the citizenry. Although Ham acknowledges the fact that many of the *choes* banquets occurred in private households and were not community-wide affairs, the procession afterwards was public and everyone participated, thereby asserting a communal identity.

Unfortunately for this theory, after a typical symposium, which is indeed a more private affair, guests *did* frequently spill out into the streets for a more communal *komos* revel to be discussed more in depth below. With the *komos* in mind, technically these boys could participate in a drunken procession during any time of the year and so become involved in this proposed rite of passage.

While this theory of communal participation and assertion of identity is a tempting and logical solution to the question of such puzzling ceramics, I maintain based on my above interpretation of figure vH61 that the role of young children in this festival was separated from the *chous* banquet. Furthermore, the literary evidence never suggests that the children were present for the drinking. Although Ham points to two sources[91] which make note of children's participation in the festival, neither source mentions their attendance at the banquet. Her theory of the heightened importance of children during a time of war is absolutely reasonable, however, and possibly provides a solid explanation for the multitude of child-related vases produced during this time.

The conclusions which I would like to draw from these child-related vases would then be the following:

1. Children did indeed have a role to play during the Anthesteria festival which was most likely of an initiatory nature.
2. These children participated in an event separate from the *choes* banquet where the bulk of the ritualized drinking occurred.

[91] Philostratus' *Heroicus* 12.2.720 again, and an inscription of the Athenian *Iobacchoi* (*IG* II 1368.127-36), a second century CE source.

3. It is unlikely that the children actually drank wine from the *choes*,[92] although an analysis of the interiors of the small and even miniature jugs would provide more compelling information.

After looking at, and essentially excluding from the relevant data, the child-related vases, the most conclusive evidence to come from the remaining vases is the simple lack of evidence of intoxication mentioned above. Although sympotic scenes are not absent,[93] images of blatant intoxication are notably missing.[94] This will be examined further in Chapter 4 under the heading of "Semiotic Interpretation of the Ceramic Evidence," however for now I would like to hypothesize that perhaps by artistically and visually ignoring the negative, or even in the Greek eyes *shameful*, effects of their ritualized drinking, they deem it acceptable or forgettable until the next year's fest.

Thus concludes the chapter on the evidence for the Athenian Anthesteria. Although again this overview is far from exhaustive, it nevertheless highlights the major points of contention and agreement, namely those of the roles of drinking and children throughout the festival. The Anthesteria in direct comparison with the cult of the Kabeiroi on the surface seems more easily approachable, however with the wide array of ancient evidence and the multitude of conflicting modern scholarly opinions, the question of this festival becomes difficult indeed. Presently, it is intriguing enough to note that while most of the evidence of the Kabeiric ritual more or less agreed with the other pieces regarding the cult, the Anthesteria, as a far more widely celebrated rite, seems to have been a combination of varied ideas, each one individual to the

---

[92] This supposition may, I acknowledge, come from the modern bias which does not permit alcohol consumption until much later in a person's life (legally in America at 21, in England at 18, in Italy at 16, in modern Greece at 18, etc). The lack of scenes of small children actively drinking however also informs this conclusion.
[93] See vH100, vH 105, and vH185.
[94] Van Hoorn does assert that one vase, vH116, includes a personified "Hangover," (*Kraipale*), however one vase in a catalog of over 1000 is far from conclusive.

celebrant. Perhaps this difference springs from the difference between a civic and mystery cult, or perhaps this becomes an instance when too much evidence is *not* a good thing and we are forced to use the less attested cult to illuminate the many questions which arise from the confusion that is the evidence of the Anthesteria.

Chapter 3: Drinking Beyond Festivals: Alcohol in Daily Life

Having examined the enigmatic examples of alcohol consumption in these two Greek cults, it is now useful to think about the "normal" role of alcohol in Greek society. There can be little doubt that the kind of drinking which occurred in the cult of the Kabeiroi and during the Anthesteria could not be sustained on a regular basis, and so it is informative to compare regular drinking practices.

A fragment by Alcaeus, the 7th century lyric poet of Mytilene, is an appropriate source to begin our study of the Greek drinking culture. He wrote, as quoted by 12th century poet John Tzetzes, "wine is a window into a man's soul."[95] So succinctly the poet summarizes much of the Greek perception of alcohol and intoxication. Drinking lowers inhibitions and allows a person to possibly become his or her true self without the constraints placed by every day society. Alcohol, and more specifically here wine, enables one's peers to see the truth of one's character, be that positive or negative. Wine was used to more fully understand both oneself and others.

The best known occasion of wine consumption in ancient Greece is the symposium, a male-dominated drinking party held in private homes for small groups of invitees. This form of social drinking, made famous for the modern reader by Plato's and to a lesser extent Xenophon's *Symposium*, typically consisted of all male participants with female entertainers invited. The symposiasts all drank wine from a communal *krater* which held wine cut with water, mixed at a previously determined ratio (usually anywhere from 3:1 to 5:3 parts of water to wine).[96] Slaves or attendants drew wine from this larger vessel via ladles and pitchers (not unlike the *choes*) and poured it into individual drinking cups called *kylikes*. The krater occupied a place of pride in the symposium and drinkers arranged themselves around it on couches. Typically two men reclined

[95] Alcaeus 333 = Tzetzes *Alex.* 212. "οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπω δίοπτρον."
[96] Ath. 10,426b-f; Lissarrague, 8.

on each couch, or *kline*, and propped themselves up on one arm. Frequently, the relationship between the two men sharing a couch was somehow romantic or sexual in nature as Athenian men maintained a tradition of pederasty, in which older men took younger men as lovers and quasi-apprentices. The symposium is among the most well documented settings for this sort of relationship, and the proposed presence of pederasty at the cult site of the Kabeiroi in Thebes (evidenced by the παις in the presence of an adult καβιρος on several of the *skyphoi*, the two examined above being notable examples) may indicate a connection to this form of drinking.

Drunkenness was not necessarily the order of the day at these events. Based on Plato's telling of a drinking party attended by Socrates, Agathon, Aristophanes, and other notables, the wine merely facilitated easier, better conversation. The participants in this particular setting had over-indulged the night before and were perhaps still feeling the wine's ill effects, and so the decision was made to drink weaker wine at a slower pace for the evening. Pausanias addresses the group:

> "Well gentlemen, how can we arrange to drink less tonight? To be honest, I still have a terrible hangover from yesterday, and I could really use a break. I daresay most of you could, too, since you were also a part of the celebration. So let's try not to overdo it."[97]

This decision was heartily accepted and so the tone of the night was set. The symposiasts proceeded to drink considerably less wine than the night before and the drinking facilitated elevated discourse on the nature of love. Plato's example serves to demonstrate one of the more commonly depicted perceptions of Greek wine, that of a social lubricant.

Countless other examples show another aspect of the ancient practice of drinking, that of demonstrating one's tolerance to alcohol. It seems that a man's ability to drink more alcohol than his peers without becoming intoxicated was a measure of prowess. Greeks prided themselves on their ability to maintain proper decorum while drinking. Beyond the

[97] Plato, *Symp* 176A.

philosophical discussions of the symposium, this is evidenced in their drinking games. The most notable game was called *kottabos* in which drinkers were expected to flick the dregs of their wine at a target with hopes of knocking a target off the top of a pole or landing their missiles in a cup floating in a basin of water. This would have been extremely difficult to perform accurately, therefore a successful *kottabos* player would demonstrate his ability to hold his alcohol and perhaps to out-drink his companions. An unsuccessful *kottabos* player would also have very possibly soaked his fcompanions with off-target wine lees and would therefore not have been a favored drinking companion. The physical evidence for this game abounds in paintings found on ceramic vases intended for use at the symposium such as the *kylikes* and *oenochoai,* which solidifies the cultural precedent that specialized drinking vessels were required for specialized drinking. This notion directly relates to the *choes* of the Anthesteria, the *skyphoi* of the Kabeiroi, and even the *krateriskoi* of Brauron as distinctive vessels for specialized functions.

Other drinking games included balancing on a greased wineskin (*askoliasmos)* to demonstrate a drinker's physical prowess even while intoxicated. Players could choose to stand atop or sit astride the wineskin, but regardless of their choice, the game was apparently very difficult. Any variation on a balancing act could also be performed to demonstrate a drinker's coordination including balancing cups and pitchers on various parts of the body. A well-known image of a satyr parodies this sort of game in which a satyr balances a kylix on his erect phallus.[98] It is clear from these sorts of games that drinking regularly incorporated an agonistic quality which definitively carried over into the religious sphere, as in the example of the drinking competition of the Anthesteria.

Another sort of friendly rivalry also sometimes occurred during the symposium, during which time men would recite snippets of witty poetry in rapid-fire exchanges. These verses,

[98] Lissarague, 79.

known as *skolia*, included a variety of topics from the gods and goddesses to Athenian history to gentle jabs at one's present drinking companions. The name *skolia* literally means, "crooked things," which possibly refers to the crooked path the verses would take as they wound between the different speakers. As the symposiasts took up the song or verse, they demonstrated their ability to improvise and entertain and thereby proved they could maintain their mental faculties even while at a drinking party. A skilled skoliast made for a much sought-after drinking partner.

None of this is to say that drunkenness was completely unknown or taboo in Greek society. Frequently after the symposia had drawn to a close, the drinkers spilled out into the streets and became a part of the drunken revel known as the *komos*. During the komos, men from many different drinking parties processed throughout the city laughing, telling dirty jokes, and possibly approaching the homes of their young lovers. This case of drunkenness seems not to have been frowned upon by the public, although it appears to be much less emphasized in literature than the formal proceedings before it.

As stated in the introduction to this work, examples of the negative repercussions abound in the literary sources from ancient Greece. Herodotus, writing in 5th century, relates the tale of the wedding feast of the daughter of Kleisthenes. Her father had arranged a competition for all her suitors to determine the best man among them and Hippokleides was the favored to win. Unfortunately, in the process of competing with his fellows, he consumed too much wine and embarrassed himself with his drunken antics. Kleisthenes could take no more and could not tolerate having such a drunkard as his son-in-law. He exclaimed, "You have just danced away your marriage!" To which Hippokleides replied, "no problem."[99] This story illustrates nicely that intoxication was permitted only to a certain extent. While the other suitors also partook in

[99] Herodotus 6.129.

the drinking, none of them made such a show of themselves and so were rewarded for their temperance.

For a more historical example of the Greek response to the negative effects of intoxication, we can turn to a law passed by Pittacus, the 6th century BCE tyrant of Mytilene. According to Aristotle's *Politics*, Pittacus mandated that violent acts performed while intoxicated should be punished more harshly than those performed while sober.[100] This sort of legislation demonstrates the fact that Greeks were indeed familiar with the loss of control that stems from over-drinking and did not encourage or condone such actions.

It must of course be noted that drinking did not only occur within the somewhat regulated environment of the aristocratic symposium. Drinking existed for the lower classes as well, mostly in taverns and households. The natural effects of wine were widely acknowledged in Greek culture by the wealthy and common people alike. Euripides accurately explains the near-universal love of wine in his tragedy, the *Bacchae*. Following grain, the product of Demeter, wine is the gods' greatest gift to humans.

> But after [Demeter] there came the son of Semele
> who matched her present by inventing liquid wine
> as his gift to man. For filled with that good gift,
> suffering mankind forgets its grief; from it
> comes sleep; with it oblivion of the troubles
> of the day. There is no other medicine
> for misery. And when we pour libations
> to the gods, we pour the god of wine himself
> that through his intercession man may win
> the favor of heaven.[101]

This passage comes from the blind prophet Tiresias's efforts to convince the stubborn king Pentheus of Thebes of the powers of wine. He sings the praises of the liquid for all mankind, from those who need to forget the hardships of their day to those in need of divine attention.

---

[100] Aristot. Pol. 2,1274b 13; Schulze, 2012.
[101] Eur. *Bacchae*, 277-286.

Wine was indeed consumed by all Greeks and was considered a staple in the triad of the Mediterranean diet (grain, olive oil, and wine).[102]

Because wine held such a crucial place in the society of Greeks, its production became part of a vast series of trade networks, both within Greece and across the Mediterranean. Greek wine was widely acknowledged as the best in the region, but was relatively limited due to Greece's rough topography. Because of the scarcity of wine, good Greek wine became a luxury.[103] The heavily resinated Chian wines were some of the most expensive and could cost up to fifty obols (a sixth of a drachma) for a single chous.[104] This was an exorbitant price which could not be afforded by an average Greek citizen, and so less wealthy Greeks could sometimes only afford a *deuterias*, a wine made from the pressing of wine skins that would have been of very poor quality.[105] Their willingness to drink wine of such poor quality illuminates however the apparent essentiality of alcohol in this society.

The next step in examining the "normal" role of alcohol in Greek society is to look at the use of wine in ritualized and religious settings, to more effectively contextualize the consumption discussed above. The best-attested practice of wine consumption in ritual is of course the libation. Libations were not always, however, made of wine. A worshipper might offer libations of milk, honey, or even simply water to the gods, although only the libations of wine offer insight in this instance, but it is nevertheless important to note the variety of ritual types involved in Greek religion. The verb σπενδειν, to libate, is the Greek term most particularly associated with wine, although χεειν, the more general term for pouring or libating, could refer to wine as well. One of the earliest pieces of evidence of wine libation comes from Homer's *Iliad* during

[102] Garnsey, p 119.
[103] MacMillan, p 90.
[104] Younger, p 115.
[105] Unwin, p 99.

the funeral of Patroclus. Achilles addresses the Greeks and says, "Nightlong they piled the flames on the funeral pyre together and blew with a screaming blast, and nightlong swift-footed Achilles from a golden mixing-bowl, with a two-handled goblet in his hand, drew the wine and poured it on the ground and drenched the ground with it, and called upon the soul of unhappy Patroclus."[106] Burkert asserts that libations poured to the ground are offered for the dead to drink, a sort of chthonic offering,[107] which fits into the scenario in which Achilles pours wine in mourning for dead Patroclus. It would not appear however that an exorbitant amount of wine is being poured during this act. No mention is made of the size of the vessel used for pouring this libation and one might assume that had the offering been something extraordinary, the goblet might have received another epithet to reference its capacity.

A more Classical example of libation demonstrates the practice's prevalence in daily ritual. Trygaeus,[108] the central character of Aristophanes' *Pax*, calls upon the Chorus to pour out a libation in order that they might get on with their business.

> **Trygaeus:** Quick, reach me your cup, and let us preface our work by addressing prayers to the gods.
> **Hermes:** Libation! Libation! Silence! Silence!
> **Trygaeus:** Let us offer our libations and our prayers, so that this day may begin an era of unalloyed happiness for Greece and that he who has bravely pulled at the rope with us may never resume his buckler.[109]

This sort of cursory reference to the ritual act points to its regularity and frequent use. Examples of more rare sacrificial acts are much more sensationalized and do not receive such off-hand remarks. While the playwright spends only these five lines on the pouring out of wine to the gods, he uses dozens and dozens of the following lines to illustrate the act of pulling rocks from

---

[106] *Iliad* 23:217-221 – It is perhaps interesting to note that Homer here uses the term χεειν rather than σπενδειν, although both seem to be used fairly interchangeably with reference to wine throughout the Homeric epics.
[107] Burkert, p 70.
[108] Interestingly, the name Trygaeus comes from the Greek word τρύξ, which according to the LSJ means "wine not yet fermented," or "must," thereby implying an innate connection to wine before the character even speaks.
[109] Aristoph. *Pax*, 431-437

the mouth of a cave. This libation was poured for the purpose of appeasing all the gods who had seemingly abandoned the Greeks. The pourers ask for divine assistance and favor with this very simple action. All of this is pointed out to emphasize the point that libations of wine were extremely common to the Greek audience and needed no lengthy explanation to convey their religious intentions.

The use of wine in the Homeric epics also points to another function of alcohol and communal drinking in Greek culture. The characters of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* use wine and the act of drinking together to solemnize oaths taken and called upon. In Book 9 of the *Iliad*, Nestor calls upon the Achaeans to rally their courage and "take their positions" when all hope seems lost after suffering a devastating loss. He asks that Agamemnon divide up a feast which includes wine because "here is the night that will break our army, or else will preserve it."[110] There is an inherent power to this drinking as called for by the eldest and most trusted advisor of the Greeks on the eve of great battle. This act of feasting and drinking together somberly brings the soldiers together and reminds them of their bonds and oaths to one another.

A final issue to be addressed when attempting to put together an impression of the Greek use of wine is the mythological Greek response to over-indulgence. As has been addressed in the introduction, cautionary tales abound with of the dangers of alcohol. Odysseus' deception of the Cyclops and Kleomenes' fall from grace due to Scythian drinking are only two of dozens of instances in which Greek authors chose to condemn intoxication and endorse moderation.

A common image of intoxication can be found in the representations of many hybrid creatures throughout Greek mythology. The race of Centaurs straddled the line between human and animal and as such, formed a perfect illustration of the savage nature that could be assumed when one over-indulges in alcohol. Diodorus Siculus tells us that the centaurs were driven

[110] *Iliad* 9.78.

absolutely mad by the mere scent of wine when Herakles opened a jar at Mt. Pholoe. Incensed by the prospect of the intoxicant, the creatures rushed at the cave in which Herakles was dining and attempted to fight the hero to get to the wine. He battled them off and killed many. The rest of the centaurs fled, but in the process brought with them their own downfall as retribution for their hasty and wild actions.[111]

The wedding feast of Pirithous further illustrates the savagery made possible by wine and tells one of the most famous stories in Greek myth, better known as the Centauromachy. The Centaurs had been invited to the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodameia, but unused to the effects of wine, became intoxicated and attempted to rape the bride. This transgression resulted in a battle between the beasts and the wedding guests, the people of Thessaly, known as the Lapiths, and ultimately resulted in the slaughter of all the centaurs. This story was prominently displayed in the southern metopes of the Athenian Parthenon and therefore had to have been known by most of the Greek audience.

Satyrs too were hybrid creatures who highlighted the dangers of over-consumption. The half-horse, half-man companions of Dionysus formed most of the retinue of the god of wine. Their imagery is prominent on many sympotic vessels, showing the creatures as drunkards with comically erect phalloi and even more comical attempts to seduce nymphs. The satyrs serve as a comedic warning – they appear foolish in order that regular citizens might not have to. Their leader Papposilenus became the butt of a warning tale when King Midas tricked him by turning a well to wine. Papposilenus, unable to resist the lure of alcohol, drank himself into a stupor and was then captured by the king who desired to know the satyr's semi-divine knowledge.[112] Many

[111] Diod Sic, *Library of History* 4.12.3.
[112] Her, *Histories* 8. 138; Ath, *Deipnosophistae,* 2. 45c.

variations of this story exist, but the essence of each one is that the satyr, even the oldest and wisest of his race, was overcome by wine and suffered negative consequences.

It becomes evident the more one looks at Greek drinking culture that moderation was valued much more highly than intoxication. From demonstrations of monstrous over-indulgence to philosophical gatherings of the Athenian elite, wine was to be consumed within boundaries. Although no one can deny that drunkenness did occur, again and again, the ancient authors and painters and sculptors tell us that the ideal drink is a mixed one, not served to excess, and consumed in an appropriate environment. How is it possible then that the rites of the Anthesteria and Kabeiroi were able to persist throughout centuries? The theories for this are numerous, but each must be considered with the traditional role of wine in Greek society in mind.

Chapter 4: An Anthropological Analysis of Communal Intoxication in Greek Religion

With the evidence of communal intoxication having been examined and the process of over-indulgence in alcohol more or less confirmed in the context of these two religious practices, it is at last time to attempt to answer the original question: Why? Why were the initiates of the cult of the Kabeiroi drinking to excess as a part of their religious experience? And why did average Athenians for three days throw caution to the wind and partake in drinking competitions with one another? While the answers are unknowable in any definitive sense, there are several modern theories which suit these ancient practices and shed light on their mysterious implications.

I. Drinking as a Rite of Passage

There is clear evidence that the ingestion of alcohol in modern-day American society functions as a rite of passage for many youths on their way to adulthood. Alcohol plays a major role in the social life of thousands of young people at America's universities, and the 21st birthday, the time at which a person is legally allowed to drink, commonly provides an occasion for raucous celebration. In the distinct space of a college campus, alcohol and intoxication play a large role in the social transition from youth/high school student to college student to eventually a graduated adult.[113]

An analysis of a uniquely well-defined drinking ritual among the youths of Norway provides an informative example of the specific role communal drinking can play in a rite of

[113] It will perhaps be useful to outline the three accepted phases of a rite of passage, as determined by anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep in his landmark text, *The Rites of passage* (1909). The first, the separation phase, occurs when an initiate is removed from his/her normal surroundings and brought into the distinct space of the ritual. The second phase, the transition itself, comprises the processes through which an initiate must go in this new space. The final phase is the reintegration during which time an initiate joins normal society once again in their new role as a full member of an organization, having been transformed in some way.

passage.[114] The process called "russefeiring" is an annual tradition held throughout the country by young people as they graduate from what is essentially Norwegian high school. Through this process, celebrants transform from students to adults as they celebrate a last hurrah and say goodbye to their youth.

Russefeiring takes place over a 17-day span of drinking, public intoxication, and violation of societal norms. Celebrants begin the festivities with a "baptism" and are then given a nickname which will be used for the duration of the revelry. For the following two and a half weeks, these school leavers, as Sande calls them, drink nearly continuously and reward one another for breaking social norms. Tasks such as kissing a policeman, providing unsolicited sex education to minors, and binge drinking merit honors and special symbols to adorn a young person's clothes. The heaviest drinking occurs at an outdoor concert held at the beach outside of town during the final weekend of the celebration. The young people drink themselves into a frenzy, and then once the weekend is over, reintegrate themselves into normal society once again as the whole country celebrates its National Independence Day on May 17. The new adults join in the parades held on that day and take up their new place in society.

In this example, alcohol plays two roles in facilitating a rite of passage. The first comes from the process of the festivities themselves. Young people separate themselves from normal society and its rules upon their baptism and re-naming. They occupy a liminal version of their society throughout the 17-day ritual during which time they perform a series of rule-breaking tasks in order to earn the respect of their peers. At the end of this ordeal, the school leavers reintegrate themselves into their society in the national parades and take up their new roles as law-abiding adults. They cease to further violate taboos and are transformed into contributing

[114] Sande, 277-303.

members of the Norwegian workforce. Having rid themselves of their childish urges, they can now accept full responsibilities for themselves and their actions.

The second theory of the rite of passage ritual, the form more directly relevant to the context of the cult of the Kabeiroi, is composed of the actual process of drinking and becoming intoxicated. This more theoretical approach to the three phases of an initiation ritual is championed by a variety of scholars, both anthropologists and Classicists alike. An initiate is removed from normal society in the process of taking a first drink. The transition phase is distinctly transformative in this version of the rite of passage because the initiate becomes decidedly altered in the process of becoming intoxicated. An intoxicated person is a person most certainly outside of his/her normal self. The reintegration phase occurs as a person becomes sober once again and returns to normalcy albeit changed in some way, be that physically by a hangover, or mentally by revelations or discoveries made during the course of intoxication.[115]

An initiate into the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi can easily be seen to follow these steps of a rite of passage in the process of learning the secrets of the group. Participants were removed to a specific site located outside of the town, at which time mysterious rites occurred probably involving the consumption of alcohol. After their intoxication, the initiates were reintegrated into society having been changed through these acts. Once initiated, it is possible that a person became a member of a small, secret organization, as the attestations of Pausanias and Herodotus could be thought to indicate their own initiation into the group. An initiate was thereafter privy to all the benefits and responsibilities associated with membership. Pausanias and Herodotus both alluded to just such expectations of affiliation by staunchly maintaining their silence with regards to the secrets of the cult.

[115] Sande, p 281; Bedigan, 2007.

It is indeed more difficult to fit the practices of the Anthesteria into the phases of a rite of passage. While the initiation of young boys into the Athenian community has been established by the images shown on the *choes*, still the concept of a rite of passage is more difficult to apply to the other celebrants of the festival, the drinkers. Most often, a rite of passage is not an act which a person should repeat, as in the modern cases of baptisms, Bar/Bat Mitzvahs, Debutante Balls, or many others of the numerous examples.[116] Once a person has been accepted into their next stage of life, they, in theory, should not return. The Anthesteria, however, was an annually occurring festival, at which observers of the rites participated in the same drinking competition each year. One should note though that the festival did mark a passage of its own as a spring-time holiday. By celebrating the opening of the new wine, the festival marked the passage of another seasonal year. Its celebrants were therefore perhaps ushering in the beginning of a new year and transforming themselves, their city, and their society along with it. As each festival was held, everyone and everything aged and was changed by the simple passage of time. This is not to propose that the Anthesteria was any sort of formal celebration of the new year, but like any annual holiday, the Anthesteria could provide an opportunity for retrospection and remembrance of time past.

II. Alcohol as a Community-Builder

Perhaps the most self-evident role of alcohol in society is that of a community-builder. Selden Bacon asserts in his work on the function of alcohol in what he called (admittedly outdated-ly) "complex" societies that drinking serves as a necessary social lubricant. The consumption of alcohol relaxes people and promotes group socializing, which leads to contacts and connections between disparate individuals of a community.[117] Alcohol consumed up to a certain amount

[116] It should be noted however that a person could repeatedly become go through a rite of passage at the Eleusinian Mysteries and gain a deeper level of initiation each time.
[117] Bacon, 1962.

lowers inhibitions and can produce a state of semi-euphoria for a participant which facilitates positive interactions between drinkers.

In less "complex" societies, alcohol nevertheless serves a similar role in the creation of a stronger sense of community among individuals. Alcohol consumption is a decidedly social activity, and anti-social drinking is frequently associated with problem-drinking. The use of alcohol to facilitate social bonds is common throughout the world because of its inhibition-lowering and mood-altering abilities. By facilitating social connections, alcohol aids in the definition and functioning of community solidarity. In societies like those of modern rural Guatemala, communal drinking fosters such solidarity which is essential in order to cultivate relationships by which individuals can receive help for tasks too large for one individual such as harvesting a field or building a house.[118]

Wine drinking also helps to delineate a community by outlining the community's regulations and acceptable practices for the consumption of alcohol. Athenian society accepted only the consumption of mixed wine and so anyone who drank unmixed wine was not considered a part of that community. Fuller writes with regard to specifically religious groups that regulations of this sort "provide members with symbolic means of distinguishing between in-group and out-group membership." Those who subscribe to one idea of the consumption of alcohol become a sort of "us" and those who do not become "them."[119]

A more sinister method of community-building also exists in the process of communal intoxication, that of shared shame. It is no secret that people can (and do) embarrass themselves while intoxicated. Drunkenness lowers inhibitions both in speech and action, and therefore people tend to do or say things they would typically avoid while sober. If all the members of a

[118] Adams, 1995, p 107.
[119] Fuller 497-8.

cult become intoxicated together, they all witness one another's drunken actions. In the case of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, an initiate may be less likely to reveal the secrets of the cult if everyone else was able to reveal shameful things about him/her to the uninitiated public. This parallels the belief that at Samothrace, in the temple to the Great Gods, initiates to the mysteries were required to confess their sins before a priest and others. The knowledge of secrets can bind a group together almost as communal blackmail. The participants in the Anthesteria perhaps did not experience this feeling of blackmail in particular, but there can be no doubt that the shared experience of communal intoxication and communal embarrassment facilitates bonds even without fear of revealing secrets. David Konstan provides a thorough analysis of the Greek perception of shame in his article, "Shame in Ancient Greece," which indicates that the Greeks had a well developed, multi-faceted concept of shame. He reviews Aristotle's description of shame (αἰδώς) from his Rhetoric, and cites Aristotle's comment that one feels shame more intensely when the acts that evoke it are "in the eyes [of other] and in public, whence the proverb that "αἰδώς is in the eyes."[120] This concept directly supports the idea of using communal shame to fuel the cycle of secrecy. Celebrants may have felt shame because of their drunken actions, and this feeling was compounded by partaking in the ritual directly "in the eyes" of their peers.

To conclude this particular theory for communal intoxication, let me reiterate the points of this argument. By participating in the same act of drinking, drinkers state that they are of the same society, that they abide by the same cultural norms which dictate that which is to be ingested, and the amount of drinking to be declared acceptable (which in these cases was remarkably large). Whether by affirming social customs or creating a cycle of shame and

[120] Konstan 2003, p. 15

secrecy, the act of drinking alcohol binds drinkers together and this fact may form part of an explanation for our two puzzling case studies above.

III. Alcohol as an Escape/Catharsis

Another explanation for communal over-intoxication is so simple as to be almost overlooked. Alcohol consumption is among the most common of today's tension-relieving behaviors. Its mild euphoria-producing abilities render alcohol an escape from normal worries and cares. Joseph Gusfield looked at the role of alcohol in American society in the 1970's and observed that alcohol serves to set a tone of "play" as he called it, or recreation as others have distinguished it.[121] Alcohol, as something decidedly absent from work-day environments, has an association with "play" and brings with it the mentality of free time. Even without causing intoxication, alcohol sets a tone of leisure.

Eric Robertson Dodds takes this role of alcohol a step further and asserts that Dionysiac rites such as those of the Kabeiroi and the Anthesteria functioned as a communal catharsis for the collective desire to over-drink.[122] The civically sanctioned and regulated environments of these two cult rituals serve as a socially controlled, and most importantly, socially *accepted* outlet for the urge to revert to this leisure mode inappropriately. The accepted practice of infrequently (once a year in the case of the Anthesteria) over-indulging in a structured way prevents these desires from building up and ultimately spilling over into an uncontrollable frenzy.[123] Further, by sanctioning one over-indulgence, activities such as the rites of the Kabeiroi and the Anthesteria serve to uphold normative social and religious drinking behavior throughout the rest of a person's daily actions by allowing them the opportunity to let loose, as it were, even if only infrequently.

---

[121] Gusfield, 73.
[122] Dodds, 76.
[123] Dodds, 77.

IV. Alcohol as a Method of Divine Inspiration

The consumption of mind-altering substances as a method of communicating with the divine is not uncommon throughout the world. Paolo Nencini draws a parallel between the ancient Greek use of wine and Asiatic shamanists' use of psychotropic drugs in order to induce an altered state of consciousness for the purpose of performing some sort of religious rite.[124] For a more specific example, one can look to the society of the Batuque people in northern Brazil where, on specific nights each year, groups of mediums gather together or hold all-night festivals at which the mediums invite the gods (*encantados* – enchanted ones) to possess their bodies. It is thought that the gods desire human comforts occasionally so in exchange for the use of their body, the human may receive particular protection or healing from the god. It is while the encantados are in possession of a human form that the ritual drinking occurs. The gods are thought to enjoy dancing, feasting, and drinking alcohol, so while a person is possessed, it is believed that not he but the god is doing the drinking. Over the course of one night, a medium may be possessed by several different deities and each one may desire drinks so that it is entirely possible that by morning, the medium is noticeably intoxicated.[125]

This ingestion of alcohol relates nicely to the ancient Greek belief in *enthusiasm* and *ecstasy*. The consumption of alcohol was literally taking the god (*theos*) of wine, Dionysus, inside oneself (*en-*), thus the state of enthusiasm was to have the god inside you.[126] The Greeks did acknowledge that the human was the one doing the drinking, but when enthused, they understood a person to be other than him-/herself. The consumption of alcohol led to a state of ecstasy, literally a standing outside of oneself. This parallels the Batuque idea that when

---

[124] Nencini, p 364. Nencini also, however, notes the distinct difference between these two practices as well. The Asiatic shamanists ingest psychotropics in order to enable their spirits to *leave* their bodies and commune with the divine, whereas the Greeks ingest alcohol as a method on ingesting the god himself.

[125] Leacock, 1964.

[126] It is essential to remember that the cult of the Kabeiroi at Thebes was closely tied to that of Dionysus. At Thebes, there was much more symposiastic imagery and ritual involved than at other Kabeiria.

possessed by the god (which would be at the time of the consumption of alcohol), a celebrant is absent, replaced by a divine spirit.

Both the Anthesteria and the cult of the Kabeiroi (specifically at Thebes) have remarkable connections to Dionysus. To literally take the god inside oneself seems a fitting mode of worship for the deity and a readily apparent method of perhaps discerning his will. We can return to Euripides for an example of such behavior, albeit in a somewhat skewed form. When Dionysus comes to the people of Thebes, initially most of the citizens deny the authority of the wine god. He punishes them, and in particular their leader Pentheus, by possessing their women and turning them into wild maenads, capable of great destruction. While these women may not have directly consumed wine (although this is somewhat unclear[127]), they are nevertheless possessed by Dionysus and forced to do his will.

V. Semiotic Interpretation of Intoxication

There is also inherent importance in the imagery of intoxication (or lack thereof) involved in the two cults discussed above. While it can be argued that many of the unique human(-oid) figures included on the Kabeiric ceramic ware are involved in some aspect of drinking and intoxication, the Anthesteria vessels interestingly show no drinking whatsoever.

Sociologist Pekka Sulkunen believes that a community can define itself, at least in some way, by its perceptions and depictions of drinking. According to the semiotic view of alcohol consumption to which she subscribes, intoxication is one side of a social dichotomy. Intoxication represents nature and the "unnamed," an untamed, essentially wild side of humanity. When a person is intoxicated, they have separated from normal society and transgressed their regular boundaries, even when the act of alcohol consumption is a socially sanctioned or

[127] Pentheus says to Dionysus that he would see the women "drunk," or in the Greek, "ἐξοινόομαι," implying that the women may have consumed alcohol after all.

ritualized one as in the case of the religious intoxication discussed above. The reverse of this is *culture*, or rather, normal sober society.

A culture's representation of this duality can help to define the community because the images articulate how one group perceives themselves in relation to others. "Intoxication in any cultural milieu evokes images of "us" and "the others" because it is inherently both a symbol of belonging to a culture – i.e. a collectivity – and a symbol of transgressing the boundaries of that culture."[128] This theory of cultural definition in a society's drinking habits and imagery leads to useful conclusions when brought to the contexts of the Theban Kabeiroi and the Athenian Anthesteria. At Thebes, the vast majority of the human(-oid) figures from the Kabeiric vases are associated in some way with the act of drinking. Most unique to this corpus of images are the distinctive squat figures with mask-like faces. It can be argued that at least some of these figures are intoxicated, most notably the ones involved in the scenes which depict initiations. Based on the above-mentioned three-stage rite of passage facilitated by alcohol, the celebrants involved in the second phase of the initiation would have been intoxicated, and these pygmoid, negroid, or human(-oid) figures could possibly represent that. The distinct character of the Kabeiros figures may indicate an assumable persona which the participants in the mystery rituals take on. These sorts of figures are found nowhere else in Greek vaseware, and therefore may represent a perception of intoxication unique to the initiates of the cult of the Kabeiroi. The mask-like quality of the face could indeed represent a mask and the rotund figure could be assumed with simple padding. Perhaps in the consumption of alcohol, these celebrants perceive themselves as becoming the figures on their vases, if only for a short time. This suggests an interesting response to the original question of "why," because this may demonstrate that these worshippers believe themselves to be entirely not themselves while partaking in this ceremony. Their

[128] Sulkunen 270.

alteration into something that is not human in the name of this ritual may not only suggest the intensity of the transformation experienced by the cult members, but also an explanation for why this sort of over-consumption seems to have been found acceptable. At the time of the over-indulgence, these otherwise normal Greek citizens were not themselves and therefore could not be held to the same societal standards.

The case of the Anthesteria too may allude to an explanation for the communal binge drinking which occurred during the festival. As has been noted above, the vast majority of the vases associated with the Anthesteria depict rather innocuous images of children, pets, and household items. The absence of drinking scenes is remarkable. I would like to suggest that perhaps in their abstaining from including human images of intoxication, the participants in the festival of the Anthesteria may not have considered *themselves* to have been thoroughly intoxicated, despite the fact that the festival centered around the communal consumption of wine. On many of the largest vessels, images of satyrs and maenads, the well-known companions in Dionysus's *thiasos*, abound. These figures too may represent an assumable identity, which the celebrants of the Anthesteria festival take on as they ingest wine, and by proxy the god of wine himself. Satyrs form the chorus of the comedic satyr plays, a light-hearted shorter drama performed after a tragic trilogy. These chorus members are dirty-minded hybrid creatures with prominent phalloi and ribald humor. The actors who portrayed these creatures attached enormous erect phalloi and pointed horse-ears to themselves and so became the satyrs. Maenads are a race more difficult to define because they are the female companions of Dionysus, which is a decidedly less clear role. Their name, which literally means "mad women," is most frequently used with the raving, destructive behaviors of women possessed by Dionysus,[129] illustrated best by the women of Thebes in Euripides' *Bacchae* who, under the influence of Dionysus, run and

[129] Hedreen, 50.

dance through the forest and ultimately murder a family member and fellow citizen. Their distinction as "maenads" however, instead of simply intoxicated women, implies their non-human, or *other* status, similar to that of a satyr. This all serves the purpose of distinguishing a normal intoxicated person from those who are involved in the festival of the Anthesteria. The pointed absence of any images of intoxicated people in a familiar setting (such as a symposium) highlights the transformation which occurs as celebrants partake in these particular rites. The people of Athens perhaps perceived themselves simply as zealously participating in a civically sanctioned festival thereby rendering all their actions, particularly those which would otherwise have been considered taboo, acceptable.

Conclusion

There can truly be no definitive answer to the puzzling question of ritual intoxication in Greek religion. Using the evidence and theories presented here, we can only draw informed hypotheses in our attempts to understand the motivations and effects of alcohol consumption in the religious context. Each theory provides valuable insight into the possible inspiration for and acceptance of these actions taken by the Greek participants. But just as one person drinks alcohol in a modern bar for different reasons than the person sitting next to him or her, so too did the ancient Greeks drink for perhaps a multitude of reasons.

The ancient evidence, when permitted to speak for itself, does reveal a great deal about these mysterious practices. While the evidence for one festival may not explain the entirety of its rites, when viewed in comparison with another, we can use one celebration to cast light on the other, and from there draw conclusions about the larger practice of drinking.

As has been observed throughout, the cult of the Kabeiroi was absolutely mysterious. Its practices and even its deities are relatively poorly documented in comparison with the better-attested Anthesteria festival, however what little evidence remains makes itself clear enough. The mystery cult of Thebes involved heavy drinking in what was very probably a semi-Dionysiac context. The Kabeiroi were little-known daemones who seemed very connected to their *place* and the worship of them involved an initiation into their mystery rites. Perhaps the alcohol was used in the cult in order to facilitate the rite of passage of the initiates, ushering them from a state of sobriety into a liminal phase of intoxication. Perhaps by drinking together, the celebrants of the cult built a community of fellows whom they could call on at a later date for assistance of some kind. Perhaps the alcohol was thought to transform the drinkers into an altogether different state of being, during which time those participating could take part in a truly

unique form of worship. Perhaps all these are correct, and perhaps there are other unexplored explanations for the ritual drinking which occurred in Boiotia. Without more complete sources, we cannot know for sure.

The Anthesteria too is a festival which scholars have puzzled over for years. The testimonia for the festival are almost overwhelming and so to isolate only the drinking aspect of the ritual is to approach the Anthesteria in a much more accessible way. Again, the reason for this deviation from cultural norms by drinking excessively cannot be conclusively determined. By looking at the ancient evidence for the festival in light of the more socially accepted drinking behaviors of the time, and even in comparison with modern drinking habits, we can begin to piece together an image of an annual festival at which celebrants and citizens let loose for a day in celebration of their god of wine.

In much of the previous scholarship on either of these cults (because very rarely is one brought up in depth in the discussion of the other), scholars have tended to consider only the process of drinking. They examine the vessels which held the wine, they examine the texts which mention wine, and they even attempt to piece together where the wine may have been consumed. Many seem to neglect the simple fact that drinking often leads to intoxication, and drinking on the scale as seen in both of these cults almost certainly does. The question at this point ceases to be *how* were these people drinking, but as has been stated throughout, we must ask *why* were they drinking.

Through my analysis of the evidence for drinking at each cult, I believe I have demonstrated the alcohol consumption present at each. In the context of the Kabeiroi, we can now point to the fragmentary texts, a semiotic interpretation of the imagery included on the vases, as well as a new comparative study of mystery cult practices from Brauron to Eleusis and my

introduction of volumetric analysis to the corpus of Kabiric ceramics to conclude that rampant drinking occurred and played a central role in this cult. When looking at the Anthesteria, we can begin with complete texts like those of Aristophanes, but also examine fragments left to us in sources like the Suda to draw conclusions very similar to those from the Kabeiroi: that alcohol was an integral part of the ritual process of this festival of the new wine and that communal over-indulgence became the accepted norm. When looking at these cults together, we can see that alcohol can transcend its role as merely an intoxicant and can become a tool for communal religious experience.

I cannot presume that I have exhaustively explored either of these cults. There is much more investigation that can be done, but I hope to have provided insight into the ritual processes of drinking and intoxication through these case studies, of which the analysis of both can assuredly be pushed further. I most certainly would like to measure the volumes of both the Kabiric *skyphoi* and the Anthesterian *choes* more accurately, as well as attempt some sort of residue analysis of the miniature *choes* as a method of perhaps determining whether the small children truly did participate in the banqueting or not. There is also room to build upon the readings of laughter involved in both cults which could perhaps be incorporated into a larger study of comedy in Greece.

On a final note, it must be mentioned that these two festivals by no means represent the extent of drinking in Greek religion. Certainly by studying the other numerous examples of ritual drinking (which unfortunately fall outside the scope of an undergraduate thesis), we may find new commonalities which can and surely will productively inform the study of Greek drinking practices.

With these steps for future research in mind, we may content ourselves now with drawing conclusions based on the theories and evidence presented here. Though each person may individually interpret the evidence in a different way, this research affirms the fact that Greek drinking was a multi-faceted process with deep-seated implications which are still echoed in our modern use of alcohol today.

Translations of Primary Works Cited:

Aristophanes. *Acharnians.* Trans. Alan Somerstein. Aris & Philips Ltd: Wilts, England, 1980.

Aristophanes. *Frogs*. Trans. Alan Sommerstein. Aris & Philips Ltd: Wilts, England, 1996.

*Aristophanes, *Peace.* The Complete Greek Drama, vol. 2. Trans. Eugene O'Neill, Jr. New York. Random House. 1938.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*. From "Daimones, Metallurgy, and Cult." Trans. Sandra Blakely. PhD. Diss. University of Southern California, 1998.

*Demosthenes, *Neaera*. Trans. Norman W. DeWitt, Ph.D., and Norman J. DeWitt, Ph.D. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1949.

Euripides, *Bacchae*. Euripides V. Trans. William Arrowsmith. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1959.

Euripides, *Iphigenia At Tauris*. Euripides II. Trans. Witter Byner. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1956.

Herodotus, *Histories*. The Landmark Herodotus. Trans. Andrea L. Purvis. Anchor Books: New York, 2007.

Homer, *Iliad*. Trans. Richmond Lattimore. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1951.

Homer, *Odyssey*. Trans. Stanley Lombardo. Hackett Publishing: Indianapolis, 2000.

*Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. Trans. W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D., and H.A. Ormerod, M.A., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1918.

Pollux, *Onomasticon*. From "Daimones, Metallurgy, and Cult." Trans. Sandra Blakely. PhD. Diss. University of Southern California, 1998.

Plato, *Symposium*. Trans. Alexander Nehamas & Paul Woodruff. Hackett Publishing: Indianapolis, 1989.

*Plutarch's *Quaestiones Conviviales*. Trans. William W. Goodwin, PH. D. Boston. Little, Brown, and Company. Cambridge. Press Of John Wilson and son. 1874.

*Plutarch, *Vita X Or.* Trans. William W. Goodwin. Boston. Little, Brown, and Company: Boston, 1874.

Suda. Trans. David Whitehead. From *Suda On Line: < http://www.stoa.org/sol/>*.

*Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*. London, J. M. Dent; New York, E. P. Dutton. 1910.

*The starred works were all accessed online via the Perseus Digital Library.
Perseus Digital Library Project. Ed. Gregory R. Crane. Tufts University.
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

Bibliography

1. Adams, Walter R. "Guatelamala." *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture*. By Dwight B. Heath. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995. Print.
2. Bacon, S.D. (1962). Alcohol in complex society. In D.J. Pittman and C.R. Snyder (eds.), *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
3. Bedigan, Kristen. "Intoxication and Initiation: Alcohol and the Cult of the Kabeiroi." *Food and Drink in Archaeology I* (2008): 11-19. Print.
4. Beekes, R.S.P. "The Origin of the Kabeiroi." *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 47.4 (2004): 465-77. *JSTOR*. Web. 28 Nov. 2011.
5. Blakely, Sandra. *Daimones, Metallurgy, and Cult*. Diss. University of Southern California, 1998. Print.
6. Blakely, Sandra. *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. Print.
7. Boardman, John. *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters, and Pictures*. New York, NY: Thames & Hudson, 2001. Print.
8. Borgna, Elisabetta. "Aegean Feasting: a Minoan Perspective." *The Mycenaean Feast*. Ed. James C. Wright. American School of Classical Studies, 2004. 127-160. Print.
9. Bowie, A. M. "Thinking With Drinking: Wine and the Symposium in Aristophanes." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 (1997): 1-21. *JSTOR*. Web.
10. Braun, Karin, Thea E. Haevernick, Ursula Heimburg, W. Heyder, and A. Mallwitz. *Kabeirenheiligtum*. 6 vols. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter &, 1981. Print.
11. Burkert, Walter. "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos. A Study in Myth and Ritual." *The Classical Quarterly* 20.01 (1970): 1. Print.
12. Burkert, Walter. *Homo Necans: the Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*. Trans. Peter Bing. Berkeley: University of California, 1983. Print.
13. Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1985.
14. Clark, A.J. "Some Practical Aspects of Attic Black-Figure Olpai and Oinochoai." *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases: (7th- 4th Centuries B.C.) ; Proceedings of the Symposium Held at the Universitee Libre De Bruxelles, 27 - 29 April 2006*. By Laurent Bavay and Athena Tsingarida. Bruxelles: CReA-Patrimoine, 2009. 89-109. Print.
15. Daumas, Michèle. *Cabiriaca Recherches Sur L'iconographie Du Culte Des Cabires*. Paris: De Boccard, 1998. Print.
16. Dodds, E. R. *The Greeks and the Irrational.* Berkeley, Calif. Etc: University of California, 1964. Online.
17. Fuller, Robert C. "Wine, Symbolic Boundary Setting, and American Religious Communities." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* LXIII.3 (1995): 497-518. *JSTOR*. Web.

18. Garnsey, Peter D. A. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge [u.a.: Cambridge Univ., 2002.

19. Gusfield, Joseph. "Passage to Play: Rituals of Drinking Time in American Society." *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology.* By Mary Douglas. London [u.a.: Routledge, 2003. Print.

20. Habash, Martha. "Two Complementary Festivals in Aristophanes' Acharnians." *The North American Journal of Philology* 1116.4 (1995): 559-77.

21. Ham, Greta. "The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered." *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*. By Mark William. Padilla. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1999. 201-21. Print.

22. Hamilton, Richard. "A New Interpretation of the Anavysos Chous." *American Journal of Archaeology* 82.3 (1978): 385-87.

23. Hamilton, Richard. *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1992. Print.

24. Heath, Dwight B. *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture*. Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel, 2000. Print.

25. Hedreen, Guy. "Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 114 (1994): 47-69. *JSTOR*. Web.

26. Herodotus. *The Landmark Herodotus: the Histories*. Ed. Robert B. Strassler. Trans. Andrea L. Purvis. New York: Pantheon, 2007. Print.

27. Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker. (FGrHist.)* Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999.

28. Jellinek, E. M. "The Symbolism of Drinking: A Culture-Historical Approach." Ed. Robert E. Popham and Carole D. Yawney. *Journal on Studies of Alcohol* 38.5 (1977): 849-66. *JSTOR*. Web.

29. Leacock, Seth. "Ceremonial Drinking in Afro-Brazilian Cult." *American Anthropologist* 66.2 (1964). *JSTOR*. Web. 5 Dec. 2011.

30. Lonsdale, Steven. “Rehearsals for Womanhood.” *Dance and Ritual Play In Greek Religion.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000.

31. Konstan, David. "Shame in Ancient Greece." *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 70.4 (2003): 1031-060.

32. McGovern, Patrick E. *Ancient Wine: the Search for the Origins of Viniculture*. Columbia, Calif. [u.a.: Univ. of California, 2007.

33. McGovern, Patrick E., Stuart James. Fleming, and Solomon H. Katz, eds. *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1995.

34. Murray, Oswyn. *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*. Oxford [England: Clarendon, 1990. Print.

35. Nencini, Paolo. "The Rules of Drug Taking: Wine and Poppy Derivatives in the Ancient World. III. Wine as an Instrument of Aggressive Behavior and of Ritual Madness." *Substance Use & Misuse* 32.3 (1997): 361-67. Web.

36. Nencini, Paolo. "The Rules of Drug Taking: Wine and Poppy Derivatives in the Ancient World. II. Wine-Induced Loss of Control and Vigilance." *Substance Use & Misuse* 32.2 (1997): 211-17. Web.

37. Parke, H. W. *Festivals of the Athenians*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1977. Print.

38. Pickard-Cambridge, Arthur W. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968. Print.

39. Richter, Gisela. "Jason and the Golden Fleece." *American Journal of Archaeology* 39.2 (1935): 182-84. *JSTOR*. Web.

40. Robertson, Noel. "Athens' Festival of the New Wine." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993): 197-250.

41. Sande, Allan. "Intoxication and Rite of Passage to Adulthood in Norway." *Contemporary Drug Problems* 29 (2002): 277-303. *ProQuest*. Web.

42. Schachter, Albert. *Cults of Boiotia*. Vol. 2. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1981. Print.

43. Schachter, Albert. "Evolutions of a Mystery Cult: The Theban Kabiroi." *Greek Mysteries: the Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*. Ed. Michael B Cosmopoulos. Psychology Press, 2003. 112-42. Print.

44. Schulze, Christian (Bochum). "Intoxicating substances." *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and ; Helmuth Schneider . Brill, 2012. Brill Online. EMORY UNIVERSITY. 04 April 2012 <http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e1019200>

45. Sexton, Rocky L. "Ritualized Inebriation, Violence, and Social Control in Cajun Mardi Gras." *Anthropological Quarterly* 74.1 (2001): 28-38. Print.

46. Simon, Erika. *Festivals of Attica*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1983. Print.

47. Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane. "Ancient Rites And Modern Constructs: On The Brauronian Bears Again." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 37.1 (1990): 1-14. Print.

48. Spicer, Paul. "Toward a (Dys)functional Anthropology of Drinking: Ambivalence and the American Indian Experience with Alcohol." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 11.3 (1997): 306-23. Print.

49. Steel, Louise. "A Goodly Feast…A Cup of Mellow Wine: Feasting in Bronze Age Cyprus." *The Mycenaean Feast*. Ed. James C. Wright. American School of Classical Studies, 2004. 161-80. Print.

50. Sulkunen, Pekka. "Between Culture and Nature: Intoxication in Cultural Studies of Alcohol and Drug Use." *Contemporary Drug Problems* 29 (2002): 253-76. Web.

51. Van Hoorn, Gerard. *Choes and the Anthesteria*. Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1951. Print.

52. Wasson, R. G. *Persephone's Quest*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1986. Print.