

# Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval Texts and Contexts

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## Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition

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# Plutarch in the Religious and Philosophical Discourse of Late Antiquity

*Edited by*

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta  
Israel Muñoz Gallarte



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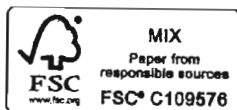
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## IACCHUS IN PLUTARCH\*

Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal

### 1. *Is Iacchus Dionysus?*

Iacchus' figure has raised a great discussion and confusion between ancient and modern scholars. Iacchus is often considered a name of Dionysus, with whom he is identified in art and literature from early times.<sup>1</sup> However, it is a very debated question whether Iacchus is originally an independent deity who emerged in Eleusinian circles and was assimilated later to Dionysus,<sup>2</sup> or on the contrary, he is a mere *epiclesis* of this god.<sup>3</sup>

In the Eleusinian Mysteries Iacchus accompanied Demeter and Kore, and his image presided over the procession that carried Iacchus from Athens to Eleusis on 20th Boedromion—corresponding to 28th or 29th September. In fact, the term Ἰακχος has been associated ever since ancient times with the ritual exclamation Ἰακχεῖ that the initiates cried during the procession.<sup>4</sup> In

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\* This work is part of the Research Project Consolider C "Cosmogony and Eschatology in Eastern Mediterranean Religions: similarities, differences, processes", financed by MEC (HUM 2006-09403).

<sup>1</sup> S., *Ant.* 1151, *Fr.* 959 Radt; *AP* 9.82, 11.59, 11.64; *PMG* 879, 1027d; *Ath.* 15.678a; *E., Ba.* 725; *Luc.*, *Salt.* 39; *Lucr.* 4.1160; *Cat.* 64.251; *Verg., Aen.* 6.15, see O. Kern, "Iacchus", *RE* IX 1 (Stuttgart 1914) cols. 614–622 (619–622); K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm 1992) 65 n. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Höfer, "Iacchus", in W.H.R. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Hildesheim 1965 [Leipzig 1890–1894]) 1–11; L.R. Farnell, *The Cult of the Greek States*, III (Oxford 1907) 148; P. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris 1914) 325; Kern, "Iacchus", cols. 619–622; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 238, 318. Other scholars argue that the growing importance of Dionysus in Athens led to his assimilation with the Eleusinian Iacchus, who was originally an independent deity: H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris 1978 [1951]) 436–439; K. Kerényi, *Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (London 1967 [Zürich 1962]) 156–158.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin–New York 1974) 51–66; N. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 320; A.M. Bowie, *Aristophanes. Myth, Ritual and Comedy* (Cambridge 1993) 232–233; I. Lada-Richards, *Initiating Dionysus. Ritual and Theater in Aristophanes' Frogs* (Oxford 1999) 59, n. 60. A fine *status quaestionis* in Clinton, *Myth*, 64–71.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 127–128.

this field he is always called Iacchus but never Dionysus. Plutarch mentions Iacchus in five passages of the *Lives*, almost all of them linked with the Eleusinian Mysteries, and specially to the procession.<sup>5</sup> This paper examines these testimonies and their possible sources in order to clarify whether the Chaeronean author equates Iacchus with Dionysus, or he considers him to be an independent divinity.

## 2. The Mystery Iacchus

In *Themistocles'* life, Plutarch compares the roar and the light that invade the Thriasian plain during the confrontation between Greeks and Persians in the Battle of Salamis, with the shouting caused by the crowd conducting the mystic Iacchus in procession to Eleusis.<sup>6</sup> Plutarch echoes a famous Herodotean passage, in which Dicaeus, an Athenian exile who had become important among the Medes, and his guest Demaratus heard a sound in the Thriasian plain. The sound was similar to the ritual exclamation, the *μυστικός Ἰακχος*, cried by the initiates expressing their joy when they go in procession to Eleusis.<sup>7</sup> Dicaeus interprets the sound as a divine voice—because the plain is then completely deserted—a cry helping the Athenians and their allies in the battle.<sup>8</sup>

Both texts show remarkable similarities but also some interesting differences. For example, Herodotus and Plutarch use the same expression, τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν. But while the historian seems to describe a sound, φωνήν, Plutarch probably refers to the image of the god taken in procession, as

<sup>5</sup> Plu., *Them.* 15.1, *Cam.* 19.10, *Alc.* 34.4; *Arist.* 27.4; *Phoc.* 28.2–3. Only *Arist.* 27 mentions a temple of Iacchus in Athens, without apparent relationship with the mysteries, but linked to the practice of dream interpretation.

<sup>6</sup> Plu., *Them.* 15.1, see B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives. Themistocles and Camillus, Aristides and Cato Major, Cimon and Lucullus*, 2 (Cambridge 1959) 42–43; R. Flacelière & E. Chambry, *Vies. Solon-Publicola-Thémistocle-Camille* (Paris 1968) 119, 223; J.L. Marr, *Plutarch. Life of Themistocles* (Warminster 1998) 109–110; A. Pérez Jiménez, *Plutarco. Vidas paralelas II. Solón-Publicola. Temistocles-Camilo, Pericles-Fabio Máximo* (Madrid 2008 [1996]) 277–278.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 8.65; Arrianus, *An.* 2.16. See Farnell, *Cult.* 146–151; Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 8–10; Graf, *Eleusis*, 54–59; idem, "Iacchus", *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden–Boston 2005) cols. 662–663; Clinton, *Myth*, 65–66, n. 14 considers Ἰακχε a cry originally common to other cults, especially the Dionysiac ones, so that the name Ἰακχος became a designation of Dionysus.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch sets the prodigy and the battle on the same day. From Herodotus' text can be inferred that the miracle happens on an unspecified date, but in any case days before the confrontation with the Persians. According to Plutarch himself (*Cam.* 19.10), the battle took place on 20th Boedromion, see Flacelière & Chambry, *Vies. Thémistocle*, 223; Marr, *Plutarch*, 109.

suggested by the verb ἐξάγω.<sup>9</sup> The current editions reflect the difference by using capital and lowercase letters. For Plutarch Iacchus is undoubtedly a deity worshipped in the mysteries. Herodotus' text, however, lends itself to ambiguous interpretations. At the end of the passage Herodotus explains that the cry Ἰακχάουσι is uttered at the festival that Athenians observe every year for the Mother and the Maiden,<sup>10</sup> but he does not mention the god Iacchus anymore, neither here nor in any other text.

It has been suggested that for Herodotus Iacchus was not yet a god, but simply a ritual exclamation that had subsequently given rise to the deity.<sup>11</sup> Ἰακχος seems to derive from the exclamation Ἰακχε, derived in turn from Ἰαχῆ, Ἰάχω ("cry, to cry").<sup>12</sup> In Herodotus' text, the expression μυστικός Ἰακχος makes reference to the ritual cry, but it does not prevent Iacchus from being already regarded as a god at this time. In fact, several inscriptions show his presence possibly as early as the 6th BC at Berezan and Olbia.<sup>13</sup> Sophocles, contemporary of Herodotus, considers Iacchus a deity identified with Dionysus, and also Euripides, who knows other meanings of the term Ἰακχος, as we shall see shortly.<sup>14</sup> Most of the later references to the episode narrated by Herodotus present Iacchus as a divinity helping the Greeks in the battle.<sup>15</sup> It seems therefore that Herodotus has wished to give

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 8.65.9–10: καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν; Plu., *Them.* 15.1: ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ πολλῶν τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἰακχόν.

<sup>10</sup> Hdt. 8.65.21, see Kern, "Iacchus", col. 614; H.S. Versnel, "Ἰακχος. Some Remarks Suggested by an Unpublished Lekythos in the Villa Giulia", *Talanta* 4 (1972) 23–38 (23).

<sup>11</sup> U. von Wilamovitz, *Euripides. Hippolytos* (Berlin 1891) 28; Höfer, "Iacchus", 10; Foucart, *Les mystères*, 110–111; Kern, "Iacchus", cols. 613–614.

<sup>12</sup> H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960) s.v. Ἰακχος; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (Paris 1968–1980 [rev. ed. 2009]) s.v. Ἰακχος. See also U. von Wilamovitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Darmstadt 1959 [Berlin 1931–1932]) 158–159; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I* (Munich 1967) 664; Graf, *Eleusis*, 54–55 n. 20; Pérez Jiménez, *Vidas*, 365 n. 171.

<sup>13</sup> Berezan (6th c. BC): *SEG* 32 (1982) nr. 746; Olbia (5th c. BC): *IGDOb.* nr. 79 (*OF* 565); Olbia (4th c. BC): *SEG* 30 (1980) nr. 914. The interpretation "Iacchus" has been proposed in a zigzag graffito engraved on the back of a bone plate from Olbia (5th c. BC): *IGDOb.* 94b, see M.L. West, "The Orphics of Olbia", *ZPE* 45 (1982) 17–29 (23); A. Bottini, *Archeologia della salvezza. L'eschatologia greca nelle testimonianze archeologiche* (Milan 1992) 153–154; A. Bernabé, "Las láminas de Olbia", in A. Bernabé & F. Casadesús (eds), *Orfeo y la tradición órfica: un reencuentro* (Madrid 2008) 537–546 (540 and n. 13).

<sup>14</sup> As theonym, for example, in S., *Ant.* 1152, fr. 959 Radt., E., *Ba.* 725; for the meaning of "song" in Euripides, see below p. 128.

<sup>15</sup> X., *Smp.* 8.40; Polyæn., 3.11.2; Aristodem., *FGrH* 104 F 18; Aristid., *Or.* 19.258 Jebb (I 418–419 Dindorf) and *Or.* 46.214 Jebb (II 282 Dindorf) and schol. ad loc. p. 648 Dindorf. Aeschylus does not mention, however, Iacchus' intervention when he emphasizes in *Persians* (345–354) the importance of the gods in the Athenian victory against Xerxes' army. Lib., *Decl.* 9.44 speaks of the help of daimones coming from Eleusis, but without naming Iacchus.

priority to the cultic cry over other details of Iacchus' procession that was surely held already in his time.<sup>16</sup>

Other authors also stress the importance of the shouting in this moment. For example, Aristodemus says that the crowd uttered the mystic Iacchus, and he uses the same expression as Herodotus and Plutarch—written with a capital letter in the edition.<sup>17</sup> A scholion to a passage in Aelius Aristides insists that it was Iacchus himself who made a beneficial sound that initiates heard and the uninitiated felt.<sup>18</sup>

In these texts ἰακχος is a kind of cry or ritual exclamation uttered by the initiates. The term can also have the meaning of song or hymn of worship, not necessarily associated with the god. In Euripides' play *The Trojans Women* ἰακχος is a threnody; in *The Cyclops*, it is Iacchus' song in honor of Aphrodite, and in a fragment of *Palamedes*, it refers to the sound of Dionysiac tympani.<sup>19</sup> But the most significant testimony is Aristophanes' *Frogs*, in which the chorus invokes Iacchus and intones a song in his honor.<sup>20</sup> I cannot deal here with the debated question whether it refers to the central role played by this god at Eleusis,<sup>21</sup> or, on the contrary, it is also a possible allusion to Bacchic cults and ephebic rites of passage.<sup>22</sup> In any case, Eleusinian echos are noted and acknowledged by supporters of both hypotheses.

Back to Plutarch, in *Themistocles and Camillus* the expression μυστικὸς ἰακχος refers to the image taken in procession,<sup>23</sup> as indicated by the verbs which it complements. A passage of Clement of Alexandria that I will discuss later confirms this meaning.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the allusions to the roar

<sup>16</sup> On Herodotus' silence about Iacchus as divinity, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 58.

<sup>17</sup> Aristodem., *FGrH* 104 F 1. 8 βοῶντων τὸν μυστικὸν ἰακχόν.

<sup>18</sup> Schol. Aristid. 213.18 and 214.1, 648 Dindorf, see also schol. Aristid. p. 185 Dindorf. Him. 69.7 speaks of making to resound Iacchus, πολλὴν ἤχησει τὸν ἰακχόν, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 57–58.

<sup>19</sup> E., *Tr.* 1230, *Cyc.* 68–71, fr. 586. 4 Kannicht, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 56 n. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 316–320, 324–336, 340–353, 394–413.

<sup>21</sup> So Clinton, *Myth*, 66–67; R. Martin & H. Metzger, *La religión griega* (Madrid 1977) 197–199; K. Dover, *Aristophanes. Frogs* (Oxford 1993) 40, 61–62; idem, "The Chorus of Initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs*", in E. Degani et al. (eds), *Aristophanes. Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* (Vandoeuvres–Genève 1993) 173–201 (176–177, 182–184).

<sup>22</sup> Graf, *Eleusis*, 55–58; Lada-Richards, *Initiating Dionysus*, 50 and n. 18, 59 n. 60. See also L. Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche* (Vienna 1967) 184–186, 197–199; Richardson, *Homeric Hymn*, 320; Bowie, *Aristophanes*, 229–233.

<sup>23</sup> Plu., *Them.* 15.1, *Cam.* 19.10. E. Suárez de la Torre: "Dioniso y el dionisismo en Plutarco", in J.G. Montes – M. Sánchez & R.J. Gallé (eds), *Plutarco, Dioniso y el vino* (Madrid 1999) 29–55 (49).

<sup>24</sup> Clem.Al., *Prot.* 4.62.3, see below, p. 130.

and shouting invading the Thriasian plain indicate that Plutarch was well aware of the sense of the expression in the original text that he paraphrases. The references in *Alcibiades*<sup>25</sup> to the dances performed by the initiates during the procession suggest also that the shouting quoted in *Themistocles* is nothing other than the hymns or exclamation in honor of Iacchus.

Neither Herodotus nor the other authors who cite the episode of Iacchus' prodigy mention the Eleusinian procession, although there may be implicit allusions to it in the references to the dust of some of them. Plutarch, however, seems interested in highlighting the procession and specially the day that it is celebrated and the rituals and dances that are performed.

### 3. The Procession to Eleusis

#### 3.1. On Boedromion 19th/20th

Four of the five passages of Plutarch quoting Iacchus refer to the procession to Eleusis. In *Camillus* and *Phocion*, Plutarch says that Iacchus was carried from Athens to Eleusis on 20th of Boedromion.<sup>26</sup> A late inscription shows that the procession started actually on the 19th, so that the initiates likely left Athens that day and came to Eleusis in the early morning of the 20th.<sup>27</sup> On the morning of the 19th priests and priestesses took the sacred objects from the Eleusinion, where they had been sheltered since their arrival in Athens.<sup>28</sup> They probably followed the Panathenaic Way, traversed the agora and came to a temple, in which the crowd of the initiates joined them in order to set out to Eleusis.<sup>29</sup>

This temple has been identified with a Demeter's sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias, in which the images of the Eleusinian goddesses and Iacchus himself were kept. It was probably located near the Pompeion, at the

<sup>25</sup> Plu., *Alc.* 34.4.

<sup>26</sup> Plu., *Cam.* 19.10, see Perrin, *Lives. Themistocles*, 140–141; Flacelière & Chambry, *Vies. Themistocle*, 174–175, 235–236; Pérez Jiménez, *Vidas*, 365. Plu., *Phoc.* 28.2–3, see R. Flacelière & E. Chambry, *Vies. Phocion-Caton Le Jeune* (Paris 1976) 43–44, 159; B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives. Sertorius and Eumenes Phocion and Cato the Younger* (Cambridge 1989) 207–208; C. Alcalde Martín, *Plutarco. Vida de Foción* (Madrid 2001). See also schol. Ar., *Ra.* 324.

<sup>27</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1078, 18–22 (ca. 220CE), see K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscription on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme* (Athens 2005) nr. 638. On the procession, see Foucart, *Les mystères*, 324–327; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 252–258; Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 60–66. On the date, see also S. Dow, "Athenian Decrees from 216 to 212 BC", *HSCPh* 48 (1937) 105–126 (113–115). Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 62.

<sup>28</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 81, 10, see Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 62.

<sup>29</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1078, 14–15, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 49. See also Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 253.

entrance to the city by the Dipylon Gate.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps it is the same sanctuary that Plutarch mentions in *Aristides* as “the so-called Iaccheion”, near which a grandson of Aristides made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet.<sup>31</sup> Plutarch attributes this information to Demetrius of Phalerum, but in fact only Plutarch himself and another late author, Alciphron, who probably is paraphrasing him, speak of a Iacchus’ temple.<sup>32</sup>

Let us continue with the procession. The retinue was led by the statue of Iacchus, the real protagonist of the festival. In a cultic calendar from late 5th c. BC, the name ἀρχηγέτης, “leader-in chief”, is probably referred to Iacchus,<sup>33</sup> as suggested by a passage of Strabo who gives the same name to Iacchus, the genius of Demeter.<sup>34</sup> The lexicographers Hesychius and Photius highlight the importance of Iacchus so much so that the term designated the day when the god was carried in procession.<sup>35</sup> Several inscriptions from late 2nd c. BC require the Ephebes to accompany and escort Iacchus.<sup>36</sup> Pausanias says that his image held a torch and was the work of Praxiteles.<sup>37</sup> Clement of Alexandria confirms this news with an interesting specification: he talks about the “mystery Iacchus”.<sup>38</sup> It is possible, as a text from Aristophanes suggests, that the statue was crowned with myrtle.<sup>39</sup> Several priestesses and a special priest known as the Ἰαχχαγωγός accompanied the

<sup>30</sup> Paus. 1.2.4, see Foucart, *Les mystères*, 113, 329; Wilamovitz, *Glaube*, 159; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 253; Graf, *Eleusis*, 49 and n. 43 with bibliography (see also 55 and n. 22); A.H. Sommerstein, *Frogs* (Warminster 1996) 184.

<sup>31</sup> Plu., *Arist.* 27.4, Perrin, *Lives. Themistocles*, 296–297; R. Flacelière & E. Chambry, *Vies. Aristide-Caton l’Ancien. Philopomen-Flaminius* (Paris 1969) 54, 218; J.M. Guzmán Hermida & O. Martínez García, *Plutarco. Vidas paralelas. Aristides-Catón. Filopemén-Flaminiño. Pirro-Mario* (Madrid 2007) 62.

<sup>32</sup> Demetr. *FGrH* 228 F 45 (4th c. BC); Alciphron 3.23 (4th c. CE). See also the news transmitted by Aelius Aristides’ scholiast (schol. *Aristid.*, 213.18, at 648 Dindorf), whereby Iacchus left his sanctuary in order to ally himself with the Greeks in the Battle of Salamis.

<sup>33</sup> F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément* (Paris 1962) nr. 10. 67, at 28–30.

<sup>34</sup> Str. 10.3.10.

<sup>35</sup> Hsch. and Phot. s.v. Ἰαχχος, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 44.

<sup>36</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006.9; 1008.8; 1011.8; 1028.9, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 44, n. 24.

<sup>37</sup> Paus. 1.2.4. Later (1.37.4) the *Periegeta* tells that Iacchus’ image was dedicated by Mnesitheus. We suppose he is referring to the same image, but he does not specify, neither says where the statue is or the material that was made. Cic., *Ver.* 4.135 mentions a marble statue of Iacchus in Athens.

<sup>38</sup> Clem. Al., *Prot.* 4.62.3.

<sup>39</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 324–336. On the use of myrtle crowns at Eleusis, see Graf, *Eleusis*, 44, n. 27, with bibliography. Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 64, relates its use to the story of Dionysus rescuing her mother from Hades because he offered myrtle to the Chthonian god (see schol. Ar., *Ra.* 330).

image.<sup>40</sup> They were joined by the initiates and many Athenians who begun overland the way to Eleusis.

### 3.2. τὰ δρώμενα on the Road

In *Alcibiades* Plutarch tells that the vicissitudes of the Peloponnesian War forced to hold the procession by sea.<sup>41</sup> We have only other testimony of this exceptional circumstance in Xenophon.<sup>42</sup> The route change caused the suspension of sacrifices, dances and other rituals usually held on the road. Although silence about these rites was required, some aspects could be revealed, maybe with propaganda purposes.<sup>43</sup> In fact, there is some literary and epigraphic evidence about sacrifices, dances and other rites such as the *krokosis* and the *gephyrismos*.<sup>44</sup>

The *krokosis* was handled by the Krokonides, a family of priests, descendants of the mythical king Krokos. They had the privilege of tying a ribbon of saffron color (κροκή) around the right and the left leg of the *mystai*.<sup>45</sup> *Gephyrismos* (γεφυρισμός) is the rite by which the initiates crossed the bridge over the Kephisos while common people ridiculed them with satirical ditties.<sup>46</sup> There are no testimonies about Iacchus’ role in these rites. His presence was, however, crucial in the dances of the initiates, according to literary evidence that describes the god leading the chorus. Euripides, in the *Ion*, underlines the cosmic power of the dances that the god of “many hymns” (πολύμνον θεόν) leads in honor of the Maiden with golden crown and her revered Mother the night 20th of Boedromion. The tragedian

<sup>40</sup> This official had a place reserved in the theater: *IG III* 262; Pollux 1.35, see Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 236, 253–254.

<sup>41</sup> Plu., *Alc.* 34.3, see B. Perrin, *Plutarch’s Lives. Alcibiades and Coriolanus, Lysander and Sulla* (Cambridge 1968) 99–100; R. Flacelière & E. Chambry, *Vies. Périclès-Fabius Maximus-Alcibiade-Coriolan* (Paris 1969) 157–158, 248; A. Pérez Jiménez & P. Ortiz, *Plutarco. Coriolano-Alcibiades. Paulo Emilio-Timoleón. Pelópidas-Marcelo* (Madrid 2006) 186.

<sup>42</sup> X., *Hell.* 1.4.20.

<sup>43</sup> See A. Bernabé, “Los misterios de Eleusis”, in F. Casadesús Bordoy (ed.), *Sectes, ritus i religions del món antic* (Palma de Mallorca 2002) 133–157.

<sup>44</sup> It even seems that Polemon wrote a book about the ceremonies held on the sacred way, see Foucart, *Les mystères*, 331.

<sup>45</sup> See Foucart, *Les mystères*, 337; Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 65; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 256 thinks that the rite would offer the initiates the chance to rest; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 77 says that the *krokosis* was held before leaving Athens, between 15th and 19th of Boedromion. Plu., *Phoc.* 28.5, seems to refer to the same rite. On *Krokos*, see Paus. 1.38.2.

<sup>46</sup> Hsch., s.v. γεφυρίς–γεφυριστάι, see Foucart, *Les mystères*, 333–335; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 256 considers apotropaic the purpose of these rites, so that insulted people would be humbled and would not be visited by evil spirits; Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 65.

does not mention the name of Iacchus, but the Athenian audience would have no doubt of his identity.<sup>47</sup>

Aristophanes, in *Frogs*, speaks of songs and dances in honor of Iacchus. The scene has been considered by many scholars a transcript of the Eleusinian procession, even if Aristophanes mixes elements of several rituals, including Eleusinian ones.<sup>48</sup> The action takes place in Hades, but the rites held by the initiates are similar to those performed in life, just as an advance and learning of afterlife experience. The chorus invokes Iacchus and invites him to dance with their sacred *thiasoi*.<sup>49</sup> Some details suggest a Bacchic experience: for example, the initiates organized in *thiasoi* or the wild dance in which the god, as a Bacchant, shakes his myrtle-crowned head. A few verses later, the chorus describes how the devotees dance at night, in the light of torches, in a flowery meadow. They invite the god to lead the group.<sup>50</sup> Some lines later, the choryphaeus exhorts the chorus to call with its songs to Iacchus, its partner in the dance, and then, the chorus intones in honor of the god a three-stanzas-song ending with the same refrain: "Ἰαχχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπε με, "Iacchus, lover of the dance, join in escorting me".<sup>51</sup> In the first stanza Iacchus is celebrated as the "inventor of this delightful festive song" and he is asked to show how he completes a long journey without fatigue, perhaps in reference to the great distance that the worshippers had to cover.<sup>52</sup> In the second one, there are references to the ragged clothing dressed during the procession. This allusion can be interpreted in different ways. The initiates considered sacred the clothes worn at one's initiation and they used them year after year, or the clothes were worn out by the inclemency of the travel.<sup>53</sup> The motif of ragged clothing

<sup>47</sup> E., *Ion* 1074–1086, see Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 9. The expression πολύμυκον θεόν involves in a way the identification of Iacchus and Dionysus, since there is no evidence of hymns celebrating Iacchus—at least in 5th c. BC, except the hymn in the *Frogs*—unlike Dionysus. The terminology of the passage also reflects the Bacchic frenzy of the initiates.

<sup>48</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 324–336 and 394–411, see Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche*, 199; Graf, *Eleusis*, 48 n. 38; Lada-Richards, *Initiating Dionysus*, 100. See also J. García López, *Aristófanes. Ranas* (Murcia 1993) 104.

<sup>49</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 324–336.

<sup>50</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 340–353.

<sup>51</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 394–413. Graf, *Eleusis*, 44 compares Aristophanes' vocabulary (συμπρόπεμπε) to that of the inscriptions in which the Ephebes escort Iacchus (see above, p. 130 and n. 36): IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006.9 προέμεψαν αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ ἱερά) καὶ τὸν Ἰαχχὸν ὡσαύτως.

<sup>52</sup> A distance of approximately 22 km. separates Athens from Eleusis. On the long road, see also Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 252–253; Dover, *Aristophanes. Frogs*, 71.

<sup>53</sup> See Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 64; Dover, *Aristophanes. Frogs*, 62; Sommerstein, *Frogs*, 192. Some evidence suggests that the initiates dedicated εἰς θεοῦ τιμῆς the clothes in which they had

becomes obviously comic in Aristophanes' text.<sup>54</sup> The detail contrasts with the pomp and ostentation of the procession described by Plutarch in *Alcibiades*. We know that the procession was more regulated in late Hellenistic period than in classical one,<sup>55</sup> so Plutarch could have included contemporary features, alien to Alcibiades' times. I omit the commentary of the third stanza, because its content is not relevant for our study.

We do not have detailed information on whether the dances were held during the procession or to the entrance into Eleusis at sunset. Anyway, details such as the use of torches suggest that the celebration continued at night. In *Themistocles*, Plutarch mentions a great light flamed out from Eleusis.<sup>56</sup> The image probably evokes the torches carried by the initiates in imitation of Demeter's search for Kore by torchlight.<sup>57</sup> Other testimonies describe the faithful ones dancing and led by the god in the light of torches at night. In a chorus of Sophocles' *Antigone* Iacchus is invoked as "leader of the chorus of the stars whose breath is fire, overseer of the chants in the night".<sup>58</sup> The passage is a laudatory hymn to Dionysus who is celebrated with different names in several places, including Eleusis. It is therefore one of the oldest literary testimonies identifying Iacchus with Dionysus in Eleusinian cult. Another chorus of Aristophanes' *Frogs* stresses greatly the brightness of fire torches and Iacchus is invoked as "light-bringing star of our nocturnal ritual".<sup>59</sup> Pausanias also describes the statue of Iacchus holding a torch in its hand.<sup>60</sup>

been initiated: Ar., *Plu.* 844–845 and schol. ad loc; Melanth., *FGH* 326 F 4. Apparently the clothes were kept at Eleusis: IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 229.

<sup>54</sup> Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche*, 198–199, interpretes it humorously.

<sup>55</sup> See F. Sokolowki, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) nr. 15 (1st c. BC), see Graf, *Eleusis*, 57 and n. 37.

<sup>56</sup> Plu., *Them.* 15.1. Another reference to the same light can be seen in Plu., *Ages.* 24. 5.

<sup>57</sup> Hom., *h.Cer.* 47–48, see Flacelière & Chambry, *Vies. Thémistocle*, 223; Lada-Richards, *Initiating Dionysus*, 99 and n. 211.

<sup>58</sup> S., *Ant.* 115–152 (1146–1148: "ὁ πῦρ πνεόντων/ χοράγ' ἄστρων, νυκτῶν/ φθεγμάτων ἐπισκοπε), see P. Vicaire, "Place et figure de Dionysos dans la tragédie de Sophocle", *REG* 1968, 351–373 (358–365); R.P. Winningtom-Ingram, *Sophocles. An Interpretation* (Cambridge 1980) 110–116; C. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization. An Interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge 1981) 201–206; A. Bierl, *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie. Politische und "metatheatralische" Aspekte im Text* (Tübingen 1991) 127–132. J.M. Macedo: "In between Poetry and Ritual: the Hymn to Dionysus in Sophocles' *Antigone* (115–154)", *CQ* 61 (2011) 402–411.

<sup>59</sup> Ar., *Ra.* 340–353 (343: νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ), see also schol. ad loc. On the importance of fire in Eleusinian ritual, see Lada-Richards, *Initiating Dionysus*, 99 and n. 211. See also Richardson, *Homeric Hymn*, 233.

<sup>60</sup> Paus. 1.2.4, see above, p. 130 and n. 37. There are also many iconographic representations of Iacchus holding torches in Eleusis, see Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 54 and fig. 12a–12d and 11; 64. 79 and fig. 15; 156–159 and fig. 45a–b; 165 and fig. 52a–c.



The procession ended with the reception of Iacchus' statue into Eleusis, where the god did not have its own temple.<sup>61</sup> This significant detail might support the identification of Iacchus and Dionysus, a thorny question that we have dealt with in the beginning and can take up again when examining the findings.

#### 4. Findings

As I initially pointed out, Iacchus is identified with Dionysus in art and literature from early times. However, it is difficult to resolve the question as to whether Iacchus has become the representative of Dionysus in Eleusinian circles or he is originally an independent deity. Iacchus has a deep Dionysiac character in most of the texts showing his function in the Eleusinian procession—the main theme of Plutarch's passage.<sup>62</sup> Euripides speaks of a Bacchic phenomenon the night 20th of Boedromion, Sophocles identifies Iacchus with the Dionysus of the Maenads and Aristophanes' choruses suggest also orgiastic rites during the procession. Those who defend the original individuality of Iacchus and Dionysus think that the identification appears only in literary passages, but not in cult, where both were always separate figures. This hypothesis is, however, not definitive at all, since the identification is also found in ritual texts as the paeon of Philodamus Scarpheus, in which Dionysus is called Iacchus when he arrives into Eleusis.<sup>63</sup> That means that the explanation could be just the opposite: Dionysus is worshipped as Iacchus at Eleusis.

The preponderance of Demeter and Persephone in all Eleusinian celebrations (not only in the Mysteries) would have favored the consolidation of Iacchus' epicleris at Eleusis, so that the loss of Dionysus' prominent role would not cast a shadow over the god's prestige. This alterity, that fits perfectly with Dionysus' nature, would explain the Dionysiac and festive atmosphere of the Eleusinian procession<sup>64</sup> and would also clarify why, while

<sup>61</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 847 (ca. 215–214 BC) 20–21, see Foucart, *Les mystères*, 339.

<sup>62</sup> Graf, *Eleusis*, 54–57.

<sup>63</sup> Philod. Scarph., *Coll. Alex.* p. 166, 27–36 (4th c. BC), see Foucart, *Les mystères*, 450–451; L. Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (Berlin–New York 1992) 207–287; I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford 2001) 131–135. Iacchus appears wearing hunter boots and an animal skin tied around his waist, in the Dionysiac way, in an Eleusinian relief from the middle of 4th BC found in Mondragone, near Naples, see Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 152–153 and fig. 43.

<sup>64</sup> R. Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey. Plato, Aristophanes, and the 'Orphic' Gold Tablets* (Cambridge 2004) 139 n. 79.

Dionysus could be called Iacchus out of Eleusis, an Athenian initiate in the Mysteries would not normally call Eleusinian Iacchus Dionysus.<sup>65</sup> Plutarch calls the god by the name he considers suitable for the Eleusinian procession's deity, that is Iacchus.

<sup>65</sup> Clinton, *Myth*, 66–67 n. 23.

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