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SCAPEGOAT RITUALS IN ANCIENT GREECE

JAN BREMMER

1. PROBLEM

IN the Old Testament a curious purification ritual occurs of which the final ceremony is described as follows: "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness: And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness" (Leviticus 16, 21 f). It is this ceremony which has given its name to a certain ritual complex: the (e)scapegoat ritual.[1] Similar rituals can be found among the Greeks,[2] Romans,[3] Hittites (5; 3), in India,[4] and even in mountainous Tibet (5; 7). In our study

[1] R. de Vaus, Les sacrifices de *l'Ancien* Testament (Paris 1964) 86 f (with older bibliography); E. R. Leach, *Culture and Communication* (Cambridge 1976) 92 f; D. Davies, "An Interpretation of Sacrifice in Leviticus," Zs. f. *Altt. Wiss.* 89 (1977) 387–398; 13. Tawil, "Azazel the Prince of the Steppe: 4 Comparative Study," ibid., 92 (1980) 43–59.

[2] V. Gebhard. Die *Pharmakoi* in *Ionien und* die *Sybakchoi* in *Athen* diss. Munich 1926 (with older bibliography) and RE V A (1934) 1290–1304 (with additions and changes which are not always improvements); M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte* der *griechischen Religion* I (Munich 1967[3]) 107–110; J.-P. Vernant. in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe* et tragedie en *grèce ancienne* (Paris 1972) 99–131 = *Tragedy and Myth* in *Ancient* Greece (Brighton 1981) 87–119; H. S. Versnel, "Polycrates and His Ring." SSR 1 (1977, 17–46) 37–43; W. Burkert, *Griechische* Religion der *archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977) 139–142 and *Structure* and History *in* Greek *Mythology* and *Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 59–77, 168–176; see also the extensive apparatus to the relevant fragments in the forthcoming Teubner edition of Hipponas by E. Degani.

[3] Burkert, *Structure* and History, 63 f, 170 (with older bibliography); M. A. Cavallaro, "Duride, i *Fasti* Cap. e la tradizione storiografica sulle *Devotiones* dei Decii," ASAA 54 (1976 [1979]) 261–316; H. S. Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice, Compensation, Anonymous Gods," in *Entretiens* Fondation Hardt 27 (1981) 135–194; L. F. Janssen, "Some Unexplored Aspects of the Decian *devotio*," *Mnemosyne* IV 34 (1981) 357–381.

[4] Burkert, *Structure and* History 60.

we will restrict ourselves to an analysis of the Greek rituals, although we will not leave the others completely out of consideration.

The Greek scapegoat rituals have often been discussed. The so-called Cambridge school in particular, with its lively and morbid interest in everything strange and cruel, paid much attention to it.[5] Our own time too has become fascinated once again by these enigmatic rituals: I only need mention here René Girard's *Violence and the Sacred*, which has already reached a fourth printing in two years.[6] Gradually, too, the meaning of these rituals is becoming clearer. Where earlier generations, still influenced by Mannhardt, often detected traces of a fertility ritual in the scapegoat complex, Burkert has rightly pointed out that in these rituals the communitv sacrifices one of its members to save its own skin.[7] Although the general meaning is clear, many details are still in need of clarification. For that reason I shall analyze the ritual complex in a more detailed way, paying special attention to its structure. First, however, I shall present a general survey of the evidence.

2. Evidence

Our fullest evidence comes from the sixth-century poet Hipponas of Kolophon (fr. 5–11 West), who wishes that his enemies be treated as *pharmakoí* or "scapegoats." This evidently implies that they will be fed with figs, barley cake, and cheese. Then, in inclement weather, they will be hit on the genitals with the squill and with twigs of the wild fig tree and other wild plants.[8] Tzetzes (Chil. 5. 737–739), our source for the fragments of Hipponas, adds that the *pharmakós* was finally burned on "wild" wood and his ashes strewn into the sea. However, despite this detailed description Hipponax's information should be used with the utmost care. Invective played an important role in ancient poetry and it is typical of this kind of poetry to disregard the conventions of real life

[5] **J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Studs of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1903) 95–119; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States IV* (Oxford 1907) 268–284; G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Osford 1907[1]) 13–16, 253–258; J. G. Frazer, *Tlze Golden Bough IX* (London 1913[3]) 252–274.**

[6] **R. Girard, *La violence et le sacré* (Paris 1972) = *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore 1977).**

[7] **Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 141 and *Structure and History* 70.**

[8] **For a convincing defence of the transmitted θυμῷ (fr. 10) instead of Schmidt's θύμῳ which is accepted by West, see E. Degani, in *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella I* (Catania 1972) 97–103. L. Koenen. *ZPE* 31 (1978) 86 compares the flogging of Encolpius' penis in Petronius (c. 138). This is highly persuasive, since Petronius evidently was interested in the scapegoat ritual. He is our main source for Massilia (fr. 1) and the only Latin author to use the word *pharmacus* (c. 107).**

by exaggerating the point the poet wants to make.[9] Thus the mention of inclement weather already shows that Hipponax is not describing the real ritual, since the Thargelia took place in early summer, but conjures up a fate even worse than that experienced at the actual scapegoat ritual.[10] Neither does it seem very probable that the scapegoat was hit on the genitals, since this is not mentioned in our sources for any of the other comparable ceremonies. This too looks much like a product of Hipponax's malicious imagination, even though the scapegoat will have been expelled with the squill and twigs of the wild fig tree, just as the slave in Chaeronea (see below) was chased out with twigs of the agnus castus.

As regards Athens, our sources are divided. One group states that in exceptional times, such as a drought or a famine, certain ugly people were selected and sacrificed.[11] Another group states that at the Thargelia, a festival for Apollo, a man with white figs around his neck was expelled from the city as a purification for the men, and another man with black figs for the women.[12] In Abdera, a poor man was feasted once, led around the walls of the city and finally chased over the borders with stones.[13] In Massilia another poor devil offered himself during a plague. He was feasted for a year and then cast out of the city.[14] In Leukas a criminal was cast off a rock into the sea for the sake of averting evil during a festival of Apollo.[15] Another notice reports that every year a young man was cast into the sea with the words "Be thou our offscouring."[16]

From this survey it appears that the ritual was performed during the Thargelia, a festival peculiar to the Ionians, in normal times, but evidently also during extraordinary circumstances such as plague, famine, and drought (events which can of course hardly be separated).[17] With

[9] *G*. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 222–242.

[10] For a convincing defence of the transmitted χειμῶνι (fr. 6), see A. Henrichs, "Riper than a Pear: Parian Invective in Theokritos," ZPE 39 (1980) 7–27, esp. 26 f.

[11] Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1136; Suid. s.v. κάθαρμα and φαρμακός.

[12] Harpoc. s.v. φαρμακός; Helladios *apud* Photius *Bibl.* 534a Henry. Hesych. s.v. φαρμακός wrongly states that the pair consisted of a man and a woman, see Gebhard R E V A (1934) 1291.

[13] Call. fr. 90 Pf.; Ov. *Ibis* 467 f and schol.

[14] Petronius fr. 1; Lactantius on Statius *Theb.* 15.793; Schol. Luc. 10.334.

[15] Strabo 10.2.9; Ampelius 8.

[16] Photius and Suida s.v. περίψημα. The two are connected by Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 109 f.

[17] For the close connection of λιμός and λοιμός, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948) 128; M. L. West on Hes. *Op.* 243; R. Nisbet and M. Hubbard on Hor. C. 1.21.13.

these rituals scholars usually connect a notice of Plutarch that in his home town of Chaeronea every year a ceremony was performed in which *Boúlimos*, or "Famine," represented by a slave, rvas chased out of the city with rods of the agnus castus, a willow-like plant.[18] Finally, it is related in the romance of Iamboulos (Diod. Sic. 2.55) that the Aethiopians, in order to purify themselves, put two men into boats and sent them away over the sea, never to return again.

With these rituals in which the elimination of one or two members saves the whole of the community we may compare those stories in which the death of one or two people saves the city from destruction. This is a motif which we frequently find in ancient Greece. During a war of Thebes with Orchomenos two girls sacrificed themselves, as an oracle required, in order that Thebes should win the war (Paus. 9.17.1). When a plague had struck Orchomenos the daughters of Orion sacrificed themselves in order to stop the plague.[19] When Eumolpos threatened to conquer Athens, the daughters of Erechtheus sacrificed themselves.[20] Just as noble was the behavior of the daughters of Leōs when Athens was struck by a plague or a famine.[21] However, not only girls sacrificed themselves. When Zeus Idaios caused a cleft in the earth, Anchuros, the son of the king, rode into it and, subsequently, the cleft closed up.[22] Even more interesting is the case of the Athenian king Kodros, which will be discussed below (§ 3).[23]

[18] Plut. *M.* 693 f, see H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970) 160 f; J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* I (Paris 1981[6]) 164 f; V. Rotolo, "Il rito della *βουλίμου ἐξέλασις*," in *Miscellanea* di *studi classici in onore* di *Eugenio Manni* VI (Rome 1980) 1947–61. For the chasing of Hunger cf. the late epigram of Termessos (TAM III, 103) in which a certain Honoratus is honored because "he chased hunger to the sea" (*δίωξε γὰρ* cis *Ma λιμόν*).

[19] Anton. Lib. 25; Ov. *Met.* 13.685.

[20] C. Austin. *Nova fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta* (Berlin 1968) 22–40; U. Kron, Die *zehn* ottischen *Phylenheroen* (Berlin 1976) 196 f; P. Carrara. *Euripide: Eretteo* (Florence 1977) 18–27.

[21] Kock, *RE* XII (1925) 2000–01; Kron, *Phylenheroen*, 195–198.

[22] Ps. Call. *FGrH* 124 F 56, see A. Reinach, Klio 14 (1915) 326 f. This case has to be added to Versnel's (above, n.3, 152–156) dossier of people riding into the Underworld. For this motif, see also A. H. Krappe, "La poursuite du Gilla Dacher et les dioscures celtiques," *Rev.* Celt. 49 (1932) 96–108; J. Nagy, History of Religions 20 (1981) 308 f. Versnel (ibid., 154 n.3) wrongly compares the fact that boys and girls are called *πῶλοι*, see C. Calame, *Les choeurs* de *jeunes filles* en grbce *archaique* I (Rome 1977) 374 f.

[23] For other possible examples of kings, see Versnel (above, n.3) 144 n.2.

The close connection of these mythical tales with the historical rituals appears also from the fact that on the island of Naxos the girl Polykrite was honored with sacrifices during the Thargelia festival, because, as was told, she had died after saving the city from destruction.[24]

3. Scapegoats

After this general survey of the evidence I will now proceed to a more detailed discussion, starting with the scapegoats themselves. Who was chosen as a scapegoat, and why these particular people? Some victims were clearly lower class, the poor devils of Abdera and Massilia, for instance, and the *Boúlimos* in Chaeronea who was represented by a slave. The Athenian ***pharmakoi,*** too, are described as "of low origin and useless" (Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1136) and "common and maltreated by nature" (Schol. Ar. ***Ra.* 733).** The Leucadians even went so far as to choose a criminal. According to Tzetzes, too, the ugliest person was selected.[25] But in the fictional romance of Iamboulos the scapegoats are strangers, and in the aetiological myth of the Athenian Thargelia they are young men.[26] Finally, we encounter young women and a king.

Now the question naturally arises whether these categories — criminals, slaves, ugly persons, strangers, young men and women, and a king — have something in common (however ***bien etonnés de se trouver ensemble!).*** Or, to put this question in different terms: do these different ***signifiers*** perhaps possess the same ***signified?*** It seems to me that we can give an affirmative answer to this question, since all these categories have in common that they are situated at the margin of Greek society. For the first categories this is obvious enough. Criminals put themselves outside the community, and strangers naturally do not belong to it.[27] Slaves, poor and ugly persons did not count in ancient Greece. As for young men and women, it has recently been shown that their place was

[24] **G. Radke,** *RE* **XXI** (1951) 1753–59; **Burkert,** *Structure and History,* 72 f.
[25] **Tzetzes** *Chil.* 5.732; **Schol. Aesch.** *Sept* **680.**
[26] **Neanthes** *FGrH* **84 F 16; Diog. Laert.** 1.110.
[27] **A. Dorsingfung-Smets, "Les Ctrangers dans la société primitive,"** *Receuil Jean Bodin* **9 (1958) 59-73; E. Benveniste,** *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* **(Paris 1969)** I. 355–361; **Ph. Gautier. "Notes sur l'étranger et l'hospitalité en Grèce et a Rome,"** *Ancient Society* **4 (1973)**1–21; **J. Pitt-Rivers,** *The Fate of Shechem* **(Cambridge** 1977) 94–112, 179–181; **O. Hiltbrunner,** "Hostis und ξένος," **in** *Festschrift* **F. K.** *Dörner* I, *EPRO* **66** (Leiden 1978) 424–**445.**

not inside but at the margin of society.[28] The king distinguished himself from the rest of the population in that he alone could claim contact with the divine. *Diotrephés*, or "raised by Zeus," is a stock epithet of kings in Homer.[29] Where criminals are marginals at the bottom of society, the king is the lonely marginal at the top.[30] The myth shows, however, that high and low are interchangeable: the Athenian king Kodros who saved the Athenian community by his death was killed dressed up as a wood-worker.[31]

When we now survey our material, we are struck by a curious dichotomy. On the one hand we find the poor, the ugly, and criminals, who only occur in the historical rites. This must have been such a recurrent feature of the scapegoat rituals that the words used to denote the scapegoat — *pharmakós*,[32] *kátharma*,[33] *perikátharma*,[34] *peripsema*[35] — soon became terms of abuse.[36] On the other hand there are the attractive, aristocratic, and royal figures, who are found only in the mythical and unhistorical tales.[37]

We can explain this dichotomy as follows. When a catastrophe can be averted from the community by the death of one of its members, such a member must naturally be a very valuable one. This is continually

[28] Young men: Bremmer, "Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War," *SSR* 2 (1978) 5–38; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (Paris 1981) 151–207. Girls: Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles*, passim; F. Graf, "Die lokrischen Madchen," *SSR* 2 (1978) 61–79.

[29] *Il.* I.176, 11.98, etc.

[30] Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 12; see also G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin 1969) 360–393; C. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization* (Cambridge. Mass. 1981) 43 ff.

[31] Scherling, *RE* XI (1922) 984–994; Burkert, *Structure and History* 62 f. There existed a monument picturing Kodros' death, cf. *IG* II^2 4258 with the comments by A. Wilhelm, AAWW 87 (1950) 366–370. The name Kodros already occurs in the Linear-B tablets, cf. C. A. Mastrelli, "Il nome di Codro," in *Atti e Memorie 1/11 Congr. Intern. di Scienze Onomast.* (Florence 1963) III.207–217.

[32] Ar. *Eq.* 1405; Lys. 6.53; Petr. *c.* 107.

[33] J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* II (Amsterdam 1752) 114 f who could not yet know Men. *Sam.* 481.

[34] F. Hauck, *Theol. Wtb. z. Neuen Test.* 3 (1938) 434.

[35] G. Stahlin, ibid. 6 (1959) 83–92; C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie 1160-testamentoire* II (Gottingen 1978) 681 f.

[36] As was already shown by H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Leipzig/Berlin 1913) 258; see also Gebhard, *Pharmakoi*, 22–24.

[37] We find a similar dichotomy in Rome. although this has not yet been recognized. According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.9.9) *dictatores imperatoresque soli possunt devovere*, but he does not give a single historical instance of such a *devotio*. Similarly, all the examples adduced by Versnel (above, n.3) — Curtius, Decius, and the *seniores* at the Celtic invasion of 390 BC — belong to the world of legend,

stressed in the mythical tales. The oracle, for example, asks for the death either of the person with the most famous ancestors (Paus. 9.17.1), or of the daughters of the king, as in the case of Leōs (Ael. VH. 12.28) and Erechtheus (Lyc. Leoc. 98 f), or for the most precious possession, as in the case of Anchuros. In other cases the beauty of the scapegoat is stressed. The youth who sacrificed himself in Athens is described by the aetiological myth as a "handsome lad,"[38] and Polykrite, the name of the girl who saved Naxos, means "she who has been chosen by many."[39]

In real life, during the annual scapegoat ritual, there was of course little chance that the king (if any) would sacrifice himself or his children. Here, society chose one of its marginals. Nevertheless the people realized that they could not save their own skin by sacrificing the scum of the polis. For that reason the scapegoat was always treated as a very important person. In Massilia he was kept by the state — a treatment usually reserved for very important people — for one year and then chased from the city, dressed in holy clothes.[40] In Abdera (Call. fr. 90 Pf.) he was treated to an excellent dinner before being chased away. In Athens (Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1136), too, he was kept by the state, and in the end led out of the city in fine clothes (Suid. katharma).

In Kolophon the *pharmakós* received in his hand figs, barley cake, and cheese.[41] Hipponax mocks the simplicity of the food, but the ritual is older than his time, and we find a striking parallel in a Hittite scapegoat ritual, which we quote in full:

> When evening comes, whoever the army commanders are, each of them prepares a ram — whether it is a white ram or a black ram does

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as Versnel (pp. 142 f) himself recognizes. Livy (8.10.11), however, explicitly says *licere consuli dictatorique et praetor;, cum legiones hostium devoveat, nolit utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romana scripta civem devovere.* We may safely assume that the members of the Roman élite rather sacrificed a common *legionarius* than themselves. For the Greek inspiration of the Decius legend, see now Cavallaro (above, n.3).

[38] Neanthes FGrH 84 F 16 *μειράκιον εὔμορφον.*

[39] Burkert, *Structure and History* 73. Versnel (above. n.3), 144 f appropriately compares the Roman examples of Curtius (Liv. 7.6.2) and St. Caesarius (*Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. 1, 106 f). Note that J. Toutain. *Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes* 1916–17, 1 ff, which is quoted by Versnel 14j n.2, has been reprinted in Toutain, *Nouvelles études de mythologie et d'histoire des religions antiques* (Paris 1935) 126–148; also add to Versnel's bibliography on St. Caesarius: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* III (Rome 1963) 1154 f.

[40] Petr. fr. 1; Schol. Statius *Theb.* 10.793.

[41] Hipp. fr. 8 West, cf. Tzetzes *Chil.* 5.734. Barley was considered to be slave's bread: Hipp. fr. 26.6, 115.8 West; Aesch. *Ag.* 1041; Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum* I.876 f; Bremmer, ZPE 39 (1980) 32.

not matter at all. Then I twine a cord of white wool, red wool, and green wool, and the officer twists it together, and I bring a necklace, a ring, and a chalcedony stone and I hang them on the ram's neck and horns, and at night they tie them in front of the tents and say: "Whatever deity is prowling about (?), whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now I have tied up these rams for you, be appeased!" And in the morning I drive them out to the plain, and with each ram they take 1 jug of beer, 1 loaf, and 1 cup of milk(?). Then in front of the king's tent he makes a finely dressed woman sit and puts with her a jar of beer and 3 loaves. Then the officers lay their hands on the rams and say: "Whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now see! These rams are standing here and they are very fat in liver, heart, and loins. Let human flesh be hateful to him, let him be appeased by these rams." And the officers point at the rams and the king points at the decorated woman, and the rams and the woman carry the loaves and the beer through the army and they chase them out to the plain. And they go running on to the enemy's frontier without coming to any place of ours, and the people say: "Look! Whatever illness there was among men, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, and donkeys in this camp, these rams and this woman have carried it away from the camp. And the country that finds them shall take over this evil pestilence."[42]

In this ritual the scapegoats evidently also receive food which we would not term particularly exquisite; nevertheless it is clearly considered as something special. In this prescription of a certain Ashkella we are also struck by the adornment of the scapegoats. This must have been a recurrent feature of the Hittite scapegoats, since in the prescription of Uhhamuwa a *crowned* ram has to be sent away, and in the one of Pulisa the god has to be content with a "lusty, decorated bull with earring."[43] We find a similar adornment in Israel where a crimson thread was bound around the horns of the goat, the least valuable of the domestic animals.[44] In all these cases a cheap or relatively superfluous animal — for the continuation of the herds only few male animals need be kept from the many that are born — or a woman is sent away after being made more attractive than it originally was. This structural similarity with our Greek material is a welcome corroboration of our interpretation.

[42] *O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (Oxford* 1977) 49.

[43] Uhhamuwa: *Gurney*. 48. *Pulisa: Gurney* 48 = *H*. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale fiir den hethitischen König* (Wiesbaden *1967)* 111 ff.

[44] *Thread: Burkert, Structure and History 64. Value: G*. Dalman, *Arheit und Sitte* VI *(Gutersloh* 1939) 99.

Summing up, we conclude that in historical reality the community sacrificed the least valuable members of the polis, who were represented, however, as very valuable persons. In the mythical tales one could pass this stage and in the myths we always find beautiful or important persons, although even then these scapegoats remain marginal figures: young men and women, and a king.

4. Voluntariness

According to Petronius (fr. 1) the scapegoat offered himself spontaneously in Massilia. Such behavior is the rule in our mythical examples, where the victims always sacrifice themselves voluntarily.[45] Thus Origen (*c. Cels.* 1.31) can compare these mythical examples with Jesus:[46]

> They [the apostles] not only dared to show to the Jews from the words of the prophets that he was the prophesied one, but also to the other peoples that he, who had been recently crucified, voluntarily died for mankind, like those who died for their fatherland, to avert plague epidemics, famines, and shipwreck.[47]

However, according to another source the scapegoat in Massilia was lured by "rewards,"[48] and in Abdera (Call. fr. 90 Pf.) he had to be bought for money. These reports must surely be nearer the historical truth; yet the mythical tales, as so often, give a valuable insight into Greek sacrificial ideology. In Greece, as Karl Meuli has brilliantly demonstrated, sacrifice had to be conducted on a basis of voluntariness.[49] People pretended the victim went up to the altar of its own

[45] J. Schmitt, *Freiwilliger Opfertod bei Euripides* (Giessen 1921); P. Roussel, "Le thème du sacrifice volontaire dans la cragedie d'Euripide," *RBPhH* (1922) 225–240; Versnel (above, n.3) 179–185 with an interesting discussion.

[46] It is interesting, as Charles Segal points out to me, that Eur. *Bacch.* 963 μόνος σὺ πόλεως τῆσδ' ὑπερκάμνεις, μόνος, which Dionysos says to Pentheus and in which Dodds (*ad loc.*) rightly sees an allusion to the scapegoat ritual, in the *Christus Patiens* (1525) is said of Jesus: μόνος σὺ φύσεως ὑπερκάμνεις βροτῶν. See also S. K. Williams, *Jesus' Death as Saving Event* (Missoula 1975); M. Hengel, *The Atonement* (London 1981).

[47] For human sacrifice at sea, see L. Rohrich, "Die Volksballade von 'Herrn Peters Seefahrt' und die Menschenopfer-Sagen," in *Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung. Festschrift F. von der Leyen* (Munich 1963) 177–212; H. Henningsen, "Jonas. profet og ulykkesfugl." *Handels- og Søfartsmuseets Årbog* (Helsinki 1966) 105–122.

[48] Schol. Statius *Theb.* 10.793 *proliciebatur praemiis.*

[49] K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II (Basel 1975) 993–996; see also W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (New York 1972) passim. For examples outside Greece, see, besides Meuli and Burkert. I. Tolstoi, *Ostrov Belyi i Tavrika na Jevskinskom Ponte* (Leningrad 1918) 35 n.2; F. Cumont, "L'archevêche de Prédachtoé et le

accord, and even asked for its consent. Whenever the animal did not shake its head in agreement, wine or milk was poured over its head. When, subsequently, the animal tried to shake this off its head, this was interpreted as a sign of its consent! In myth or legend such a trick was not necessary and it was often said that animals went up to the altar voluntarily. Sometimes it was pretended that the animal had committed a crime, but in that case its death was its own fault! We meet this line of reasoning in the aition of a scapegoat ritual in an unknown Ionian city. Here it was related that a man, whose very name was Pharmakos, was stoned (§ 6) by the companions of Achilles for stealing holy cups belonging to Apollo.[50] We find a similar line of reasoning in the legend of Aesopus who is pictured as a *pharmakós* and who is thrown over a cliff (cf. the case of Leukas in § 2) after having been accused of stealing a golden cup.[51]

5. Plants

According to Tzetzes (*Chil.* 5.736 f) the *pharmakós* was whipped with squills, twigs of the wild fig tree, and other wild plants, and finally burned on a fire made of "wild" wood. Why this insistence on wild plants, and what is the connection between these wild plants, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the squill and the agnus castus, which was used in the Chaeronean ritual? For the discussion of this problem we will take our point of departure in Rome, where the point we want to make is rather more obvious.

In Rome a distinction was made between the fruit-bearing tree, ***arbor felix,*** and the unproductive one, ***arbor infelix.*** The latter category comprised not only the unproductive trees — although they constituted its main part — but also those trees which were thorny, had black fruit, or blood red twigs.[52] It was on an ***arbor infelix*** that the traitor was hung

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sacrifice du faon," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 521–533; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York 1962²) 158–160; F. J. Oinas. *Studies in Finnic-Slaoic Folklore Relations* (Helsinki 1969) 193–201 ("Legends of the voluntary appearance of sacrificial victims"); A. M. di Nola, *Anthropologia religiosa* (Florence 1974) 201–262.

[50] Istros *FGrH* 334 F 50 and Jacoby *ad loc.*

[51] Cf. A. Wiechers, *Aesop in Delphi* (Meisenheim 1961) 31–36; F. R. Adrados, "The 'Life of Aesop'," QUCC 30 (1979) 93–112; Nagy (above, n.9) 279–282.

[52] Most important evidence: Macr. *Sat.* 3.20.3, cf. J. André, "Arbor felix, arbor infelix," *Hommages à Jean Bayet* (Brussel 1964) 35–46; A. Dihle, *RhM* 108 (1965) 179–183; J. Bayet, *Croyances et rites dans la Rome antique* (Paris 1971) 9–43; Th. Köves-Zulauf, *ANRW* II.16.1 (1978) 262 f.

and scourged to death; monstrosities and prodigies were burned on its wood.[53] The idea seems clear.[54] Trees useful for the community could not be used for persons and animals which had situated themselves outside the community. For the modern city dweller such a distinction has probably lost most of its significance, but in the Middle Ages it was still of great importance, since the unproductive trees, called mort-bois, were free to be taken away from the woods.[55]

We meet the same idea in Greece. Monstrosities like the snakes who had tried to strangle Heracles were burnt on "wild" wood.[56] Theocritus (24.89 f) mentions that the wood had to be of thorny material which in Rome too was considered as an arbor *infelix*, and even in the Middle Ages was thought to be *mort-bois*.[57] Whenever one of the Locrian Maidens — girls who lived in a state of marginality — died, she had to be burned on "wild" wood.[58] A connection between death and a wild tree also seems to follow from a fragment of Euripides' Sciron (fr. 679 N^2) where there is a reference to impaling on the branches of the wild fig tree. Unfortunately, we do not know for whom this unpleasant treatment was meant. It will now hardly be surprising that the pharmakbs too was reported to have been burnt on "wild" wood. Ancient Greece evidently made the same connection as ancient Rome between wild trees and persons who had to be removed from the community.

Hipponax tells us that the pharmakbs was hit on the genitals with the squill.[59] Even though this particular anatomical target seems unlikely (§ 2), the hitting of the body with squills does not seem improbable, since the Arcadians, when returning home from an unsuccessful hunt, used squills to whip the statue of Pan, the god closely associated with the hunt.[60] It seems that the squill was chosen because this plant too was an unproductive one. The status of the squill was very low, as appears from the words of Theognis (537 f) to the effect that a free child will never be born from a slave, just as neither a rose nor a hyacinth will be born from

[53] Traitor: Liv. 1.26.6 and Ogilvie ad *loc.*; Cic. *Rab.* perd. 13. Monstrosities: Luc. 1.590f.; Macr. *Sat.* 3.20.3.

[54] Graf (above, n.28) 70.

[55] G. Rabuse, "Mort Bois und Bois Mort," in Verha et *vocabula. Ernst Gamillschegg zum* 80. *Geburtstag* (Munich 1968) 429–447.

[56] Phryn. PS. p. 15.12; AB 10.26.

[57] Rome: André (above, n.52) 40 f; K. Lembach, Die *Pflanzen* bei Theokrit (Heidelberg 1970) 75 f. Middle Ages: Rabuse (above, n.55) 442–444.

[58] Lyc. 1157 and schol.; see also Graf (above, n.28) 67–72.

[59] For the squill, cf. Steier RE A III (1929) 522–526; Lernbach (above, n.57) 63–65.

[60] Schol. Theoc. 7.108, cf. Ph. Borgeaud, Recherches *sur le dieu Pan* (Rome 1979) 107–114; for a medieval parallel. see Jacob de Voragine *Legenda Aurea* 3.8.

a squill. The plant had the effect of a stinging nettle,[61] and Artemidorus (3.50) informs us that the plant was inedible, as is also illustrated by an anecdote from the life of the Palestinian monk Kyriakos (Cyr. Alex. ***Kyr.*** 227). When Kyriakos had withdrawn into the desert and one day could not find his customary food, the roots of wild plants, he prayed to God to make the squill edible, because, as he argued, God can turn bitterness into sweetness. The Suda (s.v. *skilla*) even calls the plant "death-bringing." Now, when we see that in Rome the parricide was whipped with the red twigs of the cornel tree, an ***arbor infelix***, the conclusion seems evident.[62] Not only for the execution of criminals but also for whipping them wood was chosen which belonged to the category of the unproductive trees.

The squill was also used for fighting. We know that in Sicily and Priene the ephebes fought with squills.[63] This probably meant that they pelted each other with the bulbs, although a fight with the leaves cannot be excluded. The connection of the ephebes with the squill will hardly be fortuitous. Just like the *pharmakós* the ephebes too are marginal persons (§ 3).

The distinction between fruit-bearing and unproductive trees also helps throw light on the chasing away of Famine with rods of agnus castus in Chaeronea. The willow is already called "fruit-destroying" by Homer (Od. 15.510) because the willow was thought to lose its fruit before ripening. During the Thesmophoria the Athenian women slept on twigs of the lygos or agnus castus — a tree usually identified with the lygos — because the plant was thought to promote infertility.[64] Pliny, too, mentions the plant as a means to induce infertility.[65] For the early

[61] Arist. fr. 223 Rose; Nic. ***Alex.*** 254.

[62] Mod. ***Dig.*** 48 tit. 9.1 prooem. *virgis sanguineis verberattrs,* cf. Bayet (above, n.52) 36.

[63] Sicily: Schol. Theoc. 7.106/8d *τῶν ἐφήβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ γίνεται ἀγὼν ἐν σκίλλαις.* The reading *ἐν Σικελίᾳ* is unnecessarily doubted by Wilamowitz *apud* C. Wendel, *Scholia in* Theocritum *vetera* (Leipzig 1914) 104. Priene: I. ***Priene*** 112.91, 95 *ἀγῶνα τε σκιλλομαχίας.*

[64] Thesmophoria: All sources (although repeatedly misinterpreted): E. Fehrle, ***Die kultische Keuschheit im Alterttrm*** (Giessen 1910) 139–141; see also M. Detienne, ***The Gardens of Adonis*** (London 1978) 79–81. Lygos/agnus castus: Plin. ***N.H.*** 24.9.38; Eustath. p. 834.34; Fehrle 152; D. Page, ***Sappho and Alcaeus*** (Oxford 1955) 202; L. Robert. ***Journal des Savants*** (1961) 134; G. J. de Vries on Plato *Phdr.* 230b.

[65] Plin. N.H. 16.26.110. This aspect of the plant was taken up by medieval medicine and still in our day by homeopathy which prescribes the plant to promote libido, although scientific tests (as perhaps could have been expected) do not indicate great effectiveness, cf. O. Leeser, ***Handbuch der Homöopathie*** B/II (Heidelberg 1971) 585–596.

Christian writers the tree has even become the symbol of chastity.[66]

This *arbor infelix* aspect of the lygos will help us understand its role in some other Greek myths and rituals. In Sparta Artemis was worshiped under the epithet Lygodesma, or "willow-bound," because her statue was reputed to have been found in a thicket of willows, and a willow supported her statue (Paus. 3.16.11). The statue was a dangerous one, as appears from the fact that Astrabakos and Alopekos became crazy when they found it (Paus. 3.16.9). In Samos Hera was said to have been born near a lygos tree in her Heraion (Paus. 7.4.4).[67] The local historian Menedotus (*FGrH* 541 F 1) even tells a complete aition of Hera's connection with the lygos tree. From this tale it appears that her statue was fastened onto a mat made of willow. The lygos also occurs in mythical tales. In the story of Dionysos' kidnapping by pirates the god is bound with twigs of the lygos (h. *Bacch.* 7), as was Hermes by Apollo (h. *Merc.* 410).[68]

All these gods — Artemis, Hera, Dionysos, and Hermes — have in common that myths and rituals of reversal play a role in their cults. The late Karl Meuli, to whom we owe a first analysis of this aspect of these gods, even called them "die gefesselten Cotter," because their statues were often fettered and sometimes only untied once a year.[69] A connection of precisely these gods with an *arbor infelix* like the lygos seems therefore completely understandable.

We are, however, not yet finished with the lygos. It was a plant from which wreaths were made. What kind of people wore such wreaths?

[66] Cf. H. Rahner, "Die Weide als Symbol der Keuschheit." *Zs. f. Koth. Theol.* 56 (1932) 231–253 and *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zurich 1945) 361–413. In the Middle Ages the tree became the symbol for infertility and the "world" as opposed to the Christian way of life, Cf. W. Fraenger, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Gutersloh 1975) index s.v. *Weide;* M. Bambeck, "Weidenbaum und Welt," *Zs. f. franz. Sproche und Lit.* 88 (1978) 195–212.

[67] For the Samian Hera, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien itnd Syrien, EPRO* 35 (Leiden 1973) 202–223; Meuli. *Gesommelte Schriften* II.1059–64; H. Walter, *Das Heraion von Samos* (Munich 1976); Fleischer. *Festschrift Darner* I.343 f; Burkert, *Structure and History* 129 f.

[68] Dionysos: S. Eitrem. "Heroen der Seefahrer," *SO* 14 (1935) 53–67; Burkert, *Homo necons* 222 f; *U.* Heimberg, *JDAI* 91 (1976) 260–265; L. Kahn, *Hermès passe* (Paris 1978) 113–117; H. Herter, "Die Delphine des Dionysos," *Archaiognosia* 1 (1980) 101–134. Hermes: Kahn 75–117. L. Radermacher. *Der homerische Hermeshymnus* (Leipzig 1931), 145 f already connected this binding with Artemis Lygodesma and Hera of Samos. S. Eitrem, *RhM* 64 (1909) 333–335 also explained the epithet Polygios of Hermes in Trozen as Poly-lygios, or "with much willow," which is not impossible.

[69] Meuli, *Gesommelte Schriften* II.1035–81 and the critical observations by F. Graf, *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 209–216.

From our analysis so far we may expect that a lygos wreath was worn by marginal people. This is indeed what we find. In the cult of Hera of Samos it was the Carians, that is to say non-Greeks, who had to wear a lygos wreath (Menedotus, *loc. cit.*).

According to myth, Prometheus, too, had to wear a lygos wreath, and Prometheus was a kind of culture hero, a being always situated at the margin of society.[70] Our last example is less clear. We have a fragment of Anacreon which says: "the friendly Megistes has already been wearing a lygos wreath for ten months and is drinking honeysweet new wine." Unfortunately, this is all the fragment says, but it seems to us that Gow and Page rightly conclude that Anacreon describes the behavior of Megistes as being odd."[71] Given this dubious status of the lygos it can hardly be chance that the inhabitants of Magnesia reserved a spot for their cow dung in a place full of willows.[72]

Finally, our classification of the lygos as an *arbor infelix* does not mean that the tree should be considered a useless one. On the contrary, we know that the tree was used for all kinds of basketry. It does mean that the early Greeks in their struggle for survival distinguished primarily between fruit-bearing trees and unproductive ones.

However, we have not yet discussed all the relevant plants. In Athens the *pharmakoi* were led out of the city, one man with black figs around his neck, the other with white ones. Burkert has rightly pointed to the "marginal" quality of the fig.[73] The fruit has obscene connotations and is in opposition to the fruits of cereal agriculture. We find this symbolic quality again in the rites involving Athenian girls. Aristophanes in his *Lysistrata* (641–645) describes their "career" as follows:

> At the age of seven I immediately became an *arrephóros*.
> Then, at ten, I was an *aletrís* for the presiding goddess;
> then I was a bear at the Brauronia with the saffron-robe;
> and, being a beautiful girl, I carried the basket with a necklace of dried figs.[74]

[70] A. Brelich, "La corona di Prometheus." in *Hommages à Marie Delcourt* (Brussels 1970) 234–242; M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence* (Paris 1978²) 95 f; Bremmer in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden 1979) 14.

[71] Anacr. fr. 352, 496 Page; A. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965) II.421.

[72] I. *Magnesia* 122 fr. e, 12 ἐν χω(ρίῳ) Λυγωνίῳ, cf. Robert (above, n.64), 135–137.

[73] Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 140.

[74] The exact text is disputed, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, CQ 65 (1971) 339–342; T. C. W. Stinton, *CQ* 70 (1976) 11–13; G. T. W. Hooker, *JHS* 98 (1978) 191.

We do not have many details about this necklace or about the girls who carried the basket (kanephbroi), but a fragment of the Athenian comedian Hermippos (fr. **26** Kock) speaks of "kanephbroi covered with white flour."[75] This white flour cannot be separated from the mythical tales of young girls covered with scurvy, as Burkert has demonstrated.[76] Where myth spoke of a real illness, ritual characteristically (§ **7**) required only white flour. We infer from this fragment that the carrying of a basket was a duty for girls in a state of marginality and the figs will have signified this state, as the squills did in the case of the ephebes.

The reader may, however, object that the fig tree is a useful and fruit-bearing tree. This is certainly true, and I would therefore add to Burkert's explanation that the black fig came from a wild fig tree (Theophr. HP. **2.2.8;** Plin. **NH.** 17.256), as did the white one (Athenaeus **3.76** cde). This means that these fruits, too, fit into the pattern we have explored: marginal persons are connected with marginal plants.

6. Leaving the City

The elimination of a citizen from the polis was a serious matter. How exactly did it happen? The Greek scholar Keramopoullos has persuasively argued that the *pharmakós* was led out of the city in a procession.[77] In Chaeronea this procession started from the public hearth, as Plutarch (M. **693** e) informs us. This hearth was situated in the prytaneion, the Greek town hall. Since people who were kept by the state, as happened with the scapegoats in Athens and Massilia, were also entertained in the prytaneion,[78] the conclusion seems reasonable that normally the procession started from the prytaneion. Elimination from the community started from the heart of that community.

While the procession left the city, flutes played a special melody which was called the "melody of the wild fig."[79] We do not know anything more about that melody, but the analogy with folk music does perhaps suggest something about the nature of the music. It has recently been

[75] For the *kanephóroi*, see A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 274–290.

[76] Burkert, *Homo necans*, 189–191 (with all sources); see also Calame, Les *choeurs* 1.214–218.

[77] A. D. Keramopoullos, Ὁ Ἀποτυμπανισμός (Athens 1923) 116–119 who compares Aesch. Cho. 98; Plato Crat. 396e and Schol. Leg. 9.877; Lys. 6.53.

[78] F. Gschnitzer, RE suppl. XIII (1973) 805; S. G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley 1978) 13 f; M. J. Osborne, "Entertainment in the Prytaneion at Athens," ZPE 41 (1981) 153–170.

[79] Hipp. fr. 153 West; Hesych. s.v. κραδίης νόμος.

pointed out that music in traditional rites can be divided into harmonious and unharmonious.[80] The latter kind of music was played especially during the removal of persons from the community, as in the case of a charivari. Now Hipponax (fr. 153 West) tells us that his fellow poet Mimnermus (T 5 Gentili/Prato) played this melody. Given the malicious nature of Hipponax he will hardly have meant this as a compliment. It seems therefore not unreasonable to assume that in this case too the music will not have been particularly harmonious.

Plutarch (M. 518b) tells us that cities had special gates for those condemned to death, and for purgations and purificatory offerings. Similarly, the public prison in Athens had a special gate, the gate of Charon, for those condemned to death." The scapegoats, too, will have left the city by a special gate, since at least for Abdera we hear of such a gate, the Prauridian gate (Call. fr. 90 Pf.).

After the passage through the special gate the scapegoat was led around the city in a procession. This is certain for Massilia and Abdera, and probable for Athens. The Cynic Diogenes too alluded to this custom. He was supposed to have said during a visit to the Isthmian games: "One should lead around those potbellies (the athletes!) and purify (the place) all round, and then chase them over the border" (Dio Chr. 8.14). Deubner denied the circumambulation and thought that the procession only touched upon as many points as possible within the city.[82] However, he had overlooked the text from Dio and, moreover, the two types of procession — going around and staying within the city — are not mutually exclusive, since both rites were performed during medieval and more recent plague epidemics.[83] A circumambulation is a ritual which can be performed in different contexts: apotropaic, cathartic, and as rite of aggregation.[84] In the scapegoat ritual the cathartic aspect was most prominent, since the ritual was called ***perikathairein***, or "to purify around," and the scapegoat ***perikátharma***.

[80] C. Marcel-Dubois, "Musiques cérémonielles et sociétés rurales," *Proc. 8th Inter. Congr. Anthrop. et Ethn. Sciences* (Tokyo *1968)* II.340 and "Fêtes villageoises et vacarmes ceremoniels," in J. Jacquot and E. Konigson, *Les fêtes de la Renaissance III* (Paris *1975)* 603–615.

[81] Poll. 8.102; Zen. *6.41;* H. Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 41 (1981) *28.*

[82] L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 181.

[83] J. Delumeau, *Lo peur en Occident* (Paris *1978)* 139 f.

[84] Cf. V. Hillebrandt, "Circumambulatio," *Mitt. Schles. Gesells. f. Vkd.* 13/4 (1911) *3–8;* S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (Kristiania *1915) 6–29;* E. F. Knuchel, *Die Umwandlung in Kult, Magie und Rechtsbrauch* (Basel 1919); Weinkopf, *Handw. deutschen Abergl. 8* (1936–37) 1315–46; *W.* Pax. "Circumambulatio," *RAC 3* (1957) 143–152; H. *S.* Versnel, "Sacrificium lustrale: The Death of Mettius Fufetius (Livy I.28)," *Med. Ned. Instit. Rome 37* (1975, *1–19)*5–8.

Finally, the *pharmakós* was chased over the border. In Athens and Massilia this happened by means of pelting with stones, and the aetiological myth of the killing of Pharmakos and the story of Polykrite also presuppose a stoning. In a most interesting discussion of this horrific ritual D. Fehling has pointed out that stoning was not always meant to kill; it was often only a kind of ***Imponier*** behavior.[85] Whether this was the case with the scapegoat we will discuss in our next section.

It was typical of stoning that everybody present took part in it, and Fehling has suggested that this participation of all people involved was necessary, because those who kept themselves aloof could still think of the expelled person as one of the group; such a thought could become responsible for heavy conflicts within the community.[86] This suggestion is highly persuasive, but there is another aspect too to be considered. The involvement of all persons in the expulsion of one member of the group helps reconstitute that group, and this fits in well with the general meaning of the Thargelia festival.

After chasing the scapegoats over the border people probably returned without looking back, as was the rule in the case of purificatory offerings.[87] A prohibition on looking back is typical for the moment of separation: as with the wife of Lot from Sodom, and in modern Greek folklore the bride when leaving the parental home.[88] The person who is looking back still has a tie with what is lying behind him; the prohibition therefore is a radical cut with all connections with the past. It is, to use the terminology of Van Gennep, a typical rite of separation. By not looking back the citizens definitely cut through all connections with the scapegoat.

7. Death?

The final fate of the *pharmakós* has, understandably, fascinated (and divided) scholarly opinion. According to some they were killed, according to others not, and Nilsson even stated that this was a matter of indifference, since in both cases the goal — the expulsion from the community — was reached. This is of course true, but does not solve the

[85] D. Fehling, ***Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde*** (Munich 1974) 59–82.

[86] Fehling 72 f.

[87] Aesch. ***Cho.*** 98; cf. Keramopoullos (above, n.77) 116.

[88] For the prohibition on looking back, see E. Samter, ***Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod*** (Leipzig 1911) 147–150; Th. Gaster, ***Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament*** (New York 1969) 159 f (Lot's wife); A. S. Pease on Cic. ***Div.*** 1.49; A. F. Gow on Theoc. 24.96; F. Bomer on Ov. ***Fa.*** 5.439; J. K. Campbell, ***Honour, Family and Patronage*** (London 1964) 136 (modern Greece).

problem. We will therefore once again look at the evidence in a systematic way.

We start with Abdera. Till 1934 it was commonly believed that in this city the scapegoat was stoned to death, since this was reported by our only source, Ovid (*Ibis* 467 f and scholion *ad loc.*). In 1934, however, a papyrus with a fragment of Callimachus (fr. 90 Pf.) was published, which stated unequivocally that the scapegoat was chased over the border with stones but certainly not killed.

We meet a similar discrepancy in Massilia where the scapegoat was expelled from the city according to Petronius (fr. 1),[89] but according to later scholia (on Statius *Theb.* 10.793) was stoned to death. In Leukas the criminal was, it is true, thrown from a rock, but birds and feathers were fastened to him to soften his fall and in the sea boats were waiting for him to pick him up and transport him over the border. The other source which reports the hurling from a rock speaks of a sacrifice. In Athens the scapegoats were expelled over the border in historical times, but in the aetiological myth the scapegoat was killed. Finally, the scapegoats in the romance of Iamboulos were put into boats, of which it is explicitly said that they were seaworthy (Diod. Sic. 2.55.3).

When we discount the death of the scapegoats in the myths, since it is now generally accepted that the myths are not always an exact reflection of the ritual, we are left with two cases. In Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (4.10) it is described how during a plague in Ephesus Apollonius pointed to a squalid beggar and ordered him to be killed, since he was an enemy of the gods. Burkert considers the possibility of a historical background for this tale, and Apollonius is indeed often connected with plague epidemics;[90] yet the passage looks rather novellistic.[91] The eyes of the beggar are full of fire and after his death his body

[89] Petr. fr. 1 *et sic proiciebatur*. Thus all the manuscripts, but Stephanus (who has frequently been followed), on the basis of Schol. Statius *Theb.* 10.793, emended *proiciebatur* into *praecipitabatur* "was hurled from a height." Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* 253 n.2, however, already noted that this change was not supported by the textual tradition, and the recent editions of Servius, our source for Petronius' fragment, and Petronius have both returned to *proiciehatrrr.* For *proicio* "cast out of a city," cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2.2 *quod (urbs) tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit*; Ov. *Met.* 15.504 *immeritumque paler proiecit ah urbe.*

[90] Burkert, *Structure and History* 70. For plague epidemics and Apollonius, see E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and reality," *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978) 1652–99, esp. 1687.

[91] Cf. G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament* (Leiden 1970) 126 f; D. Esser, *Formgeschichtliche Studien zur hellenistischen und zur frühchristlichen Literatur unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vita Apollonii des Philostrat und der Evangelien* Diss. Bonn (1969) 59 suggests an "aetiologischer Lokallegende."

has disappeared. In its place a dog is found as big as the biggest lion. Although this story follows the scapegoat pattern — this is clear and has often been recognized — the event can hardly be considered historical.

The only case left to be discussed is the death of the scapegoat in Hipponax. This death has been much debated, even though our evidence points to a clear solution. Wherever we have a good picture of the historical events, as in Abdera, Athens, Leukas, and Massilia, it appears certain that the scapegoat was not killed but expelled. But in the aetiological and later versions the scapegoat was often killed. When we confront this conclusion with Hipponax, our inference can hardly be otherwise than that Hipponax also has derived his description of the end of the scapegoat from an aetiological myth or a legendary version, if it is not his own invention — a possibility which is not at all improbable. An alternative solution, however, is also not completely improbable. The burning of the scapegoat on "wild" wood, which is not mentioned in any of the Hipponax fragments, may also be Tzetzes' own invention.[92] Should this be the case, the burning probably derived from the ritual of the Locrian maidens, since a description of this ritual immediately follows the one of the ***pharmakbs*** (Chil. 5.738 ff). But whichever solution we choose, in either case our conclusion must be that the ***pharmakbs*** stayed alive.

The Greeks then expelled a living scapegost as did, e.g., the Hittites. For this expulsion we also have a hitherto neglected parallel from Tibet which shows a striking resemblance with the Greek ritual — the occasion of the performance around New Year, the selection of a lower-class person who is treated as very special,[93] the unharmonious music, the stoning — as appears from the following description:

> At Gyanese, the person selected to act as the scapegoat is fed and clothed at State expense for a year previous to the ceremony. On the appointed day (just before New Year) with a bloody sheepskin bound round his head, yak's entrails hung round his neck, but otherwise naked, he takes his position in the local Jong, or Fort. In his right hand he carries a fresh sheep's liver, his left being empty. After blasts from long trumpets, beating of drums, clashing of cymbals, and incantations by the officiating lamas, the scapegoat scratches the ground with a stick, to indicate that the season of ploughing and sowing is at hand, flings the sheep's liver among the crowd, and rushes down the

[92] Cf. W. J. W. Koster on Tzetzes Ar. ***Ra.*** 733a who notes Tzetzes' careless handling of the sources in this specific case; Gebhard, ***Die Pharmakoi*** 3 ff; Deubner, ***Attische Feste*** 184.

[93] The person selected is often a beggar: G. Tucci and W. Heissig, ***Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*** (Stuttgart 1970) 197.

hill on to the plain below. The people fling after him stones and dirt, taking, however, great care not to wound him severely, or prevent him from reaching the open country. Should the scapegoat not succeed in making good his escape, the devils would remain in the place. Shots from the prong guns fired into the air increase the pandemonium that accompanies his flight, in the midst, once he has reached the plain, the lamas perform a solemn dance of triumph, concluding by burning *torma* offerings.[94]

If, however, the scapegoat was only expelled in historical reality — why do the mythical tales often speak of a killing? In our analysis we have repeatedly shown that the myth clarified the meaning of the ritual. Symbolic acts in the ritual became reality in the myth.[95] This will also have been the case with the scapegoats. The expulsion of the scapegoats in practice amounted to a killing, since, like the dead, they disappeared from the community, never to return. In a way, therefore, Nilsson was right in considering death and expulsion as having the same effect. However, we may wonder whether the historical scapegoats will have shared his academic indifference as regards choosing between these two modes!

8. Thargelia

We will finally consider the place of the scapegoat ritual in the Greek religious calendar. The scapegoats were expelled on the sixth of the month Thargelion, the first day of the two-day festival of the Thargelia. It is rather surprising to note that on the same day that the scapegoats were expelled the Greeks also celebrated the fall of Troy,[96] the victories at Marathon and Plataea, and even the victory of Alexander the Great over Darius (Ael. VH. 2.25). Evidently the expulsion of evil was felt so intensely that this seemed to be the appropriate day to celebrate these victories.

On the second day of the Thargelia a first-fruit sacrifice was celebrated and a kind of May tree, the *eiresióne*, was carried around.[97]

[94] D. Macdonald, *The Land of the Lama* (London 1929) 213 f.

[95] Cf. Graf (above, n.28) 66 on a similar discrepancy: "Der Mythos stellte das Ritual weniger abgemildert dar, estrapolierte sozusagen vom tatsachlichen Geschehen zum Verständnis dieses Geschehens in den Augen der Praktizierenden."

[96] Damastes *FGrH* 5 F 7; Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 152a.

[97] For the Thargelia, see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Munich 1906) 105–115; Deubner, *Attische Feste,* 179–198; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 146–149; W. den Boer, *Private Morality in Greece and Rome* (Leiden 1979) 129–132.

Choirs of men and boys competed in singing hymns and we know of the Thargelia in Miletus that large amounts of undiluted wine and expensive food were consumed. The *eiresióne* and the first-fruit sacrifice are typical signs of seasonal renewal: the first signs of coming prosperity after the scarceness of the winter period.[98] There is a large amount of ethnological material showing that the beginning of a new year — which often coincides with a first-fruit festival — or the arrival of a period of plenty is often celebrated with an ***orgia alimentare***: people take an advance on the new harvest.[99] From a psychological point of view the "orgy" is a kind of collective relaxation by the community, which for a while need not worry any more about the often precarious food situation. In Greece the exceptional character of the meal was stressed by the drinking of undiluted wine, for in normal circumstances wine was always diluted with water.[100]

Since the Thargelia was a festival for Apollo we may expect that the god also shows a connection with seasonal renewal. Such a connection seems indeed to exist. In a hitherto neglected text Athenaeus (10.424 f) informs us that the Thargelia in Athens was the festival of Apollo Delius. Although the epithet was most likely added after the Athenians concerned themselves with Delos in 425 BC (Thuc. 3.104), it seems reasonable to assume that they must have seen a connection between Apollo Delius and the Apollo of the Thargelia. The main festival of Apollo Delius, the Delia, was a festival of ***renouvellement saisonnier*** and was connected with the growth of the adolescents.[101] This coincides to a large degree with the festival of the Thargelia where, as we have seen, seasonal renewal and the boys also played an important role. Apollo Delius will thus have been chosen because of the similarity of the Delia and the Thargelia.

This study has thus shown that the expulsion of the scapegoat in the religious calendar preceded a day of seasonal renewal. A similar structure could also be found in Tibet (§7) and in Rome where the ancient

[98] **For the *eiresióne*, see Burkert, *Structure and History* 134 (sources and bibliography); add W. Klinger,** "L'irésione grecque et ses transformations postérieures," *Eos* **29 (1926) 157–174 (with interesting Caucasian material);** S. Follet, *RPh* **48 (1974) 30–32 (epigraphical examples).**

[99] **V. Lanternari, *La grande festa* (Bari 1976²) passim. Add Greg. Tur. *VP.* 6.2.**

[100] **For the opposition of mixed and neat wine, see F. Graf,** "Milch, Honig **und Wein," in G. Piccaluga, *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome 1980) 209–221; add Bremmer, *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 295 n.49 and *ZPE* 39 (1980) 32 f.**

[101] Calame, *Les choeurs* I.202.

New Year (the first of March) was preceded by a month full of purificatory rituals. The same alternation could still be found in the carnival rites of Western Europe where at the beginning of the year society expelled all kinds of evil.[102] The pattern is fully understandable: no new beginning before a complete *kátharsis* of the old situation. This applies of course to the fixed date of the Thargelia as well as to special occasions when a new beginning had to be established after the disturbance of the seasonal and cosmic order through drought or plague. However, it remains enigmatic why the Greeks had to use a human being, whereas the Hittites sometimes and the Israelites always found an animal sufficient. Evidently, to be more civilized does not always mean to be more humane.[103]

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[102] E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Carnaval* de *Romans* (Paris 1979) 342–344.

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