On the *Lex Sacra* of the Deme Phrearrhioi

**F. Sokolowski**

**RECENTLY** Eugene Vanderpool published in *Hesperia* (39 [1970] 47-53) an inscription from Attica displaying certain rules of cult. The document has there been fully described, carefully studied and edited with an important comment and photograph. Here I shall try only to restore the inscription and explain certain details of it. Because of the stoichedon writing it is easy to supplement a few lines and thus to get an idea of the size of the lost part. It seems to me that lines 5–7, 11–12, 15, 19 and 21 can be supplemented with great probability, giving a line of 35 letters. Consequently I read the inscription as follows:

**E.M. 13,384**

III CENT. B.C.

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[--- τῶν ἰε]ροποιῶν α[. . . . . . . . τῆι Δή]---

[μητρὶ Θεσμο]φόρῳ ἐν πρ[οθύστωτσαν καὶ τῆς]

[ἐπορτῆς πρ]ομητάτωτσαν κα[ί παρεχόντωσαν μ]---

[ετά λαμπ]ίδος τῶν λαμπαδεσ[iοι λόχνους· τάδε]

5 [ἰερεώς], να· κωλήν, πλευρών, ἵ<e>i[ν, I I· οἱ δὲ ἰε]---

[ροποιο]ι καὶ ὁ κήρυξ διανύσθω[σαν· ὁμοίως δὲ]

[τῶι ΙΠ]οιότωνι θυόντωσαν κρ[ῶν ἦ οἶν· τοῖς δὲ]

[δημι]όταις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ν [τὰ τιθέμενα ε]---

[πῖ τ]ῶν ἤτο Ἕλευ<e>ςινι βωμόν· [ὁ δ' αὐτο[ις άκ]---

10 [ολ]ουθῶμ ἵεροποιός ἀφιέτω τὰς [αὐτοῦ μερίδ]---

[ας· ε]πειδὰν αἱ ἱερεῖαι ποιῆσω[ι] τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ τὰ---

[ὁν] Φραξ<ρ>ήιων θυόντωσαν τῇ Δη[μητρὶ Θεσμο]---

[φό]ρου καὶ τῇ Κόρη θεόμι ἀρρε[να καὶ πρόβατ]---

[ον] καὶ ἐὰν τι ἄλλο βοιλωντα[ν] ν [καὶ θέων νό]---

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1 The following abbreviations are used in this paper: **LSA**= F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l’Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955); **LSG**= Idem, *Lois Sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969); **LSS** = Idem, *Lois Sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément* (Paris 1962). Professor E. Vanderpool has kindly read this paper. His advice and criticism have been helpful to the writer.
ON THE LEX SACRA OF THE DEME PHREARRHIOI

15 μι<μλόν ἐστιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βασμὸν[ει παρατιθέναι] –
i μύρον, μασχαλίσματα, ἥμικρα[ραίνω, κάρκα, μ.] –
ήρους, μασχαλίσματα, ἡμίκρα[ραν, κρέα, τὰ δὲ]
ἐπὶ τοῦ βαμμοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἑλευσινίῳ[ν, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ τῇ] –
oὐ Πλούτωνος βαμμῶν· ἱερεύσων[α τάδε ἀπό ἄφθ.] –
οἷς τῶν βωμῶν τῇ ἱερείᾳ κα[ὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ πλε] –
ὑρόν, ἦρον, ἰχθίον, Π Π τοῦ ἱερείου [ἐκάστου πρός ξ] –
ὕλα ἐπὶ τὸν χύτρουν· παρα[χόρτωσαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ] –
i αὐλή τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου[ν εἰς ἀνάθεμα περιχρ.] –
ὑς[η]ν δαίδα καὶ τοῖς ΠΕ[.. . . . . . . . . . τῆν δ] –
άδα διδόντωσαν· Γ[.. . . . . . . . . . . . . δὲ τῆς Σεμέλ] –
[η]ς καὶ τοῦ Ἱάκχου [ἱερεὺς προκρινέτω τράγο] –
[ν η] οἶ[ν]. τῇ δὲ ἔβδομη μή τιθέντων τὸν τῆς χορο] –
[ας] καὶ μουχι[κής ἀγώνα] – – –
[. πρός] τῶν βωμῶν τοῦ Διονύσου – –
30 [μελτόμ]βουι [τῶν θεῶν – –
[.. . . . . . . ]εμ[– –
– – – – – – – – – – –

Critical notes: Elbow brackets are used in the text to enclose letters only partly cut in the stone, which presumably were completed by paint, as Professor Vanderpool suggests (p.48). 2. Δήματρι Θεεμ., V. 4. Vanderpool observes: “At the left edge, before the alpha, part of a round letter is preserved, theta or omicron.” I see nothing on the photograph. Cf. the commentary. 5. ἱερεύς ἱερον, ἱ<χχ[ένων, V. 5–6. ἱεροποιοι, V. 7. κρ[ένων, V. 8. δημ]τας, V. 10. τῶν ἀκολούθως, V. I accept the reading ἀφιέτω with reservation, because the letter phi seems to me not absolutely sure. See the commentary. 12. ΦΡΕΑΙΡΙΩΝ, the stone; Φρέα<ρ>ριὼν, V., cf. lines 13 and 16. 13. ἩΩΙ, the stone. 14–15. θέμ]μου[ν, νόμου[ν, Ημίκρα[ρα, V. 16. ἡμίκρα[ραν, V. 18–19. των τῶν καρπων, V. 19–20. τῶν τε[neutral]ν, V. 20–21. πλε]νρών, V. 21–22. ξ[x]ολα, V. 22–23. ἐν τῇ]ι αὐλῆς, V. 24. τῶν γνη, V. I see on the photograph ΤΩΙ, followed by ΠΕ or ΝΕ. 28. μουχι[κής, V.

The editor of the inscription is right in stating that the regulations are related to the Eleusinian divinities, Demeter, Kore and Plouton, and in his assumption that they prescribe rites for the Eleusinion of the deme Phrearrhioi, not those to be performed in Eleusis itself or in the Eleusinion (a shrine of Eleusinian gods) in Athens. The rules had been set up for the celebration of the Thesmophoria in this country
deme. The regulation of cults of the deme Erchia prescribes for sacrifice to Demeter in the Eleusinion of Athens.² According to the rules of cults in the deme Paiania certain sacrifices of agrarian character are offered in the Eleusinion of that deme.³ The demarchos of Marathon offers sacrifices to Eleusinia in his deme, probably in the Eleusinion.⁴ The new inscription informs us that an Eleusinion existed also in the deme Phrearrhioi.

Line 2. The sacrifice of swine to Demeter is considered as an introductory ceremony preceding the main feast. The feast of Stenia had the same character in the ceremonial of the Thesmophoria in Athens.⁵

Line 4. If the remark of the editor is right, I should conjecture the vulgar spelling λαμπάδος. On behalf of the restoration cf. Syllogê² 588,167: λαμπάδις χαλκῆς ἐπὶ βάθεως. See also IG II² 1541,15 and 1543. The night festival of Thesmophoria had been held usually by lamplight and torchlight.⁶

Line 10. I have some doubt about the reading ἀφιέτω. This verb can mean 'give up', and the official in question could be required not to pick up his portion from the common meal. But such a rule seems to be unusual, and I suspect that the reading should be ἀι(ρ)έτω.⁷ Plouton is closely connected with Demeter and Kore in many cults and places.⁸ According to the calendar of Myconos the sacrifices in the month Lenaion are offered to Demeter, to Ge Chthonie and to Zeus Chthonios.⁹ The trinity of Eleusis comprised Demeter, Kore and Zeus Euboulos, corresponding to Plouton.¹⁰

Lines 16–17. The main ceremonies in honor of Demeter and Kore are celebrated with great solemnity. The wording of both lines is almost identical, and I thought at first of dittography. I realized later that it is a question of portions related to the two victims mentioned in lines 13–14. Indeed, the term κρέας means quite frequently in the cult regulations 'beef' while κρέας designates 'lamb'.¹¹

² LSG 18, B 4–5.
³ LSS 18, A 9 and 30; B 15–18,26.
⁴ LSG 20, B 41–43 and 48.
⁵ L. Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin 1932) 53–54.
⁶ Cf. LSA 61; LSS 124,15–16.
⁷ Cf. LSG 51,122.
⁸ See M. P. Nilsson, Opuscula selecta II (Lund 1952) 544ff.
⁹ LSG 96,17 and 25.
¹⁰ LSG 5,38–39; LSS 13,23. See also Hes. Erga 465ff.
¹¹ LSA 24, A 16 and the commentary; LSS 59,16; LSG 30,8.
LINE 19. Plouton has a share in the sacrifice offered to Demeter and Kore. This rule recalls the similar disposition in the lex sacra of Apollo and Asclepios from Erythrae. 

LINE 22. The pot called χύτρος is used in the ceremonies of Thargelia as Et. Mag. and Photios explain: θάρυγκος ὁ τῶν σπερμάτων μεστὸς χύτρος ἑρόδ ἐφήματος... ἡψουν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ (i.e. ἐφρήτῃ) ἀπαρχὰς τῷ θεῷ τῶν πεφηνῶτων καρπῶν. 

LINES 23–25. On the occasion of the feast the authorities dedicated in the Eleusinion as a memorial of their devotion a gilded torch. We know from the inventories of the temples different kinds of golden or gilded objects offered by private citizens or officials. The accounts of the epistatai of Eleusis mention an ἐπαρχή presented to Demeter, Kore and Plouton. Unfortunately I am unable to restore line 24, where some sanctuary official is mentioned, perhaps τῶι νε[ωκόρων or τῶι πε[ρι τὸ Ἐλευσίων.

LINES 25–26. The regulation mentions the priest of two divinities, who seem to be Semele and Dionysos-Iakchos, connected with Demeter in Eleusis and other centers of the cult. The scholia to Lucian, p.279,24 Rabe, describe the feast called Haloa as follows: ἐφρήτῃ Ἀθηναίαι μυστήρια περιέχουσα Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου ἐπὶ τῇ τομῇ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῇ γεύσει τοῦ ἀποκειμένου ὥδη ὁινοῦ. In the calendar of Myconos the sacrifices in the month Lenaion are prescribed not only to Demeter, Kore and Zeus Bouleus, but also to Semele and Dionysos Leneus. On the other hand the scholia to Ar. Ran. 479 report that during the feast of Lenaia the official of Eleusis called ἐκδοχοῖς addressed to the people the following invocation: καλεῖτε θεόν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶς: Σεμέλει Ἐακχε πλουτοδότα. These parallels can explain for us the connection between Demeter-Kore and Semele-Dionysos-Iakchos.

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12 LSA 24, A 8–25.
13 Cf. Deubner, op.cit. (supra n.5) 189.
14 IG III 1672,182. See W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (Cambridge 1902) 403ff.
15 Cf. Deubner, op.cit. (supra n.5) 124ff.
16 Quoted by Deubner. op.cit. (supra n.5) 61ff.
18 Quoted by Deubner, op.cit. (supra n.5) 124.