On the *Lex Sacra* of the Deme Phrearrhioi

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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.[1] 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 ἱε]ροποιῶν ᾳ[. . . . . τῆι Δή] –
[μητρι Θεσμο]φόρωι ὗν πρ[οθυόντωσαν καὶ τῆc] –
[έορτῆc πρ]οιcτάντωσαν κᾳ[ὶ παρεχόντωσαν μ] –
[ετὰ λαμπ]άδος τῶι λαμπαδεί[ωι λύχνουc· τάδε]
5 [ἱερεώc]υνα· κωλῆν, πλευρόν, ἰ⟨c⟩χ[ίον, I I· οἱ δὲ ἱε] –
[ροποι]οὶ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ δαινύσθω[cαν· ὁμοίωc δὲ]
[τῶι Π]λούτωνι θυόντωcαν κρ[ιὸν ἢ οἶν· τοῖc δὲ]
[δημ]όταιc μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ᵛ [τὰ τιθέμενα ἐ] –
[πὶ τ]ὸν ἐν τῶι Ἐλευ⟨c⟩ινίωι βωμόν· [ὁ δ' αὐτοῖc ἀκ] –
10 [ολ]ουθῶμ ἱεροποιὸc ἀφιέτω τὰc [αὐτοῦ μερίδ] –
[αc· ἐ]πειδὰν αἱ ἱέρειαι ποιήcω[cι τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ τ] –
[ῶν] Φρεα⟨ρ⟩ρίων θυόντωcαν τῆι Δή[μητρι Θεσμο] –
[φό]⟨ρ⟩ωι καὶ τῆι Κόρηι βοῦμ ἄρρε[να καὶ πρόβατ] –
[ον] κᾳὶ ἐάν τι ἄλλο βούλωνται ᵛᵛ [καὶ θύειν νό] –

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15   μι⟨μ⟩όν ἐϲτιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺϲ βωμού[ϲ παρατιθένα] –
     ι μήρουϲ, μαϲχαλίϲματα, ἡμίκ⟨ρ⟩α[ιραν, ϲάρκα, μ] –
     ήρουϲ, μαϲχαλίϲματα, ἡμίκραιρ[αν, κρέα, τὰ δὲ] –
     ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν τῶι Ἐλευϲινίω[ι, τὰ ἐπὶ τῶι τ] –
     οῦ Πλούτωνοϲ βωμῶι· ἱερεώϲυν[α τάδε ἀπὸ ἀμφ] –
20   οῖν τῶν βω⟨μ⟩ῶν τῆι ἱερείαι κα[ὶ τῶι ἱερεῖ· πλε] –
     υρόν, ἰϲχίον, Ι Ι Ι τοῦ ἱερείου [ἑκάϲτου πρὸϲ ξ] –
     ύλα ἐπὶ τὸν χύτρον· παρε[χόντωϲαν δὲ πρὸϲ τῆ] –
     ι αὐλῆι τοῦ Ἐλευϲινίο[υ εἰϲ ἀνάθεμα περιχρ] –
     ύϲ[η]ν δᾶιδα καὶ τῶι ΠΕ[..............τὴν δ] –
25   ᾶιδα διδόντωϲαν· Γ[......... ὁ δὲ τῆϲ Ϲεμέλ] –
     [η]ϲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰάκχου ἱ[ερεὺϲ προκρινέτω τράγο] –
     [ν ἤ] οἶ[ν]· τῆι δὲ ἑβδό[μηι τιθέντων τὸν τῆϲ χορε] –
     [ίαϲ] καὶ μουϲι[κῆϲ ἀγῶνα – – –
     [. πρὸϲ] τὸν βωμ[ὸν τοῦ Διονύϲου – –
30   [μελπόμ]ενοι [τὸν θεόν – –
     [.......]εμι[– –

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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. Δήμητρι Θεϲμ., 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. ἱερεώϲ]υνα, ἰ⟨ϲ⟩χ[ίον, V. 5–6. ἱεροποι]οί, V. 7. κρ[ιόν, V. 8. δημ]όταιϲ, V. 10. τῶν ἀκολ]ούθωμ,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; Φρεα⟨ρ⟩ρίων, V., *cf.* lines 13 and 16. 13. ΙΩΙ, the stone. 14–15. θέ]μι[τ]ον, νό]μι[μ]ον, V. 16. ἡμίκ⟨ρ⟩α[ιρα, V. 18–19. τῶι τ]οῦ Πλ., V. 19–20. τοῖν θε]οῖν, V. 20–21. πλε]υρόν, V. 21–22. ξ]ύλα, V. 22–23. ἐν τῆ]ι αὐλῆι, V. 24. τῶν ηγ, V. I see on the photograph ΤΩΙ, followed by ΠΕ or ΝΕ. 28. μουϲι[κῆϲ, 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 λαμ]βάδοc. On behalf of the restoration cf. *Sylloge*² 588,167: λαμπὰc χαλκῆ ἐπὶ βάcεωc. See also *IG II*² 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 αἰ⟨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 cάρξ means quite frequently in the cult regulations 'beef' while κρέαc 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.[12]

LINE 22. The pot called χύτρος is used in the ceremonies of Thargelia as *Et.Mag.* and Photios explain: θάργελος ὁ τῶν σπερμάτων μεστὸς χύτρος ἱεροῦ ἑψήματος . . . ἧψουν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ (*i.e.* ἑορτῇ) ἀπαρχὰς τῷ θεῷ τῶν πεφηνότων καρπῶν.[13]

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.[14] Unfortunately I am unable to restore line 24, where some sanctuary official is mentioned, perhaps τῶι νε[ωκόρωι or τῶι πε[ρὶ τὸ 'Ελευcίνιον.

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.[15] The scholia to Lucian, p.279,24 Rabe,[16] describe the feast called *Haloa* as follows: ἑορτὴ 'Αθή-νηςι μυςτήρια περιέχουςα Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύςου ἐπὶ τῇ τομῇ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῇ γεύςει τοῦ ἀποκειμένου ἤδη οἴνου. 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.[17] On the other hand the scholia to Ar. *Ran.* 479 report that during the feast of *Lenaia* the official of Eleusis called *dadouchos* addressed to the people the following invocation: καλεῖ-τε θεόν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούςαντες βοῶςι· Σεμέλει' "Ιακχε πλουτοδότα.[18] 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* II² 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.
[17] *LSG* 96,15–26.
[18] Quoted by Deubner, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 124.