

Attic Inscriptions
in UK Collections
British Museum
Cult Provisions

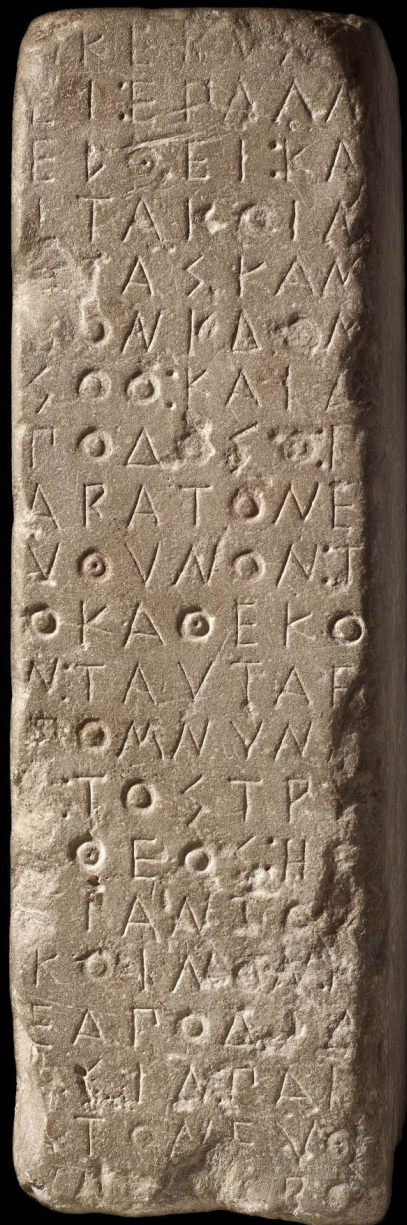
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PREFACE

A new edition of the Attic inscriptions in the British Museum (BM) scarcely requires justification in 2019, for it is nearly a century and a half since the publication by E. L. Hicks of the 135 Attic inscriptions contained in vol. 1 of *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (1874), and over a century since the appearance of F. H. Marshall's 1916 *Supplement*, which published the dozen Attic inscriptions which had been added to the Museum's collection in the meantime.¹ The BM has acquired only a handful of new Attic inscriptions since 1916, but the landscape of Attic epigraphy has been completely transformed by the discovery of large numbers of new inscriptions, including new fragments of inscriptions in the BM, most notably from the excavation of the Athenian Agora, and by the progress of scholarship more broadly. In the years since Hicks' edition the advances in Attic epigraphy have been charted in the Attic volumes of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, published by the Berlin Academy and now progressing through their third edition.²

This new edition of the Attic inscriptions in the BM is being undertaken by Attic Inscriptions Online (AIO), with the collaboration of the Museum, in the context of a project to publish open access editions of all Attic inscriptions in UK collections (AIUK), supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). As with the other volumes of *AIUK*,³ publication of this new edition coincides with the issue on the AIO main site of Greek texts and more lightly annotated translations designed to be accessible to those without knowledge of Latin and Greek and visitors to the Museum. In the case of the BM inscriptions we intend to publish parts of the collection separately as they become ready, following broadly the classification system adopted by *IG*. We begin here with editions of three inscriptions of the fifth century BC containing provisions for religious cult, grouped in *IG I³* in one case among the "Leges publicae et fasti sacri" (1 = [IG I³ 232](#)) and in two cases among the "Documenta phratriarum, gentium, pagorum etc." (2 = [IG I³ 246](#), 3 = [IG I³ 244](#)). Our new editions illustrate both the very considerable achievement represented by Hicks' 1874 edition, and the significant progress of scholarship in the meantime, as well as offering some fresh advances both in readings and interpretation.

Following our usual practice, where we refer to inscriptions which have been published elsewhere on AIO, we embed links to them.

I am very grateful to the staff of the British Museum for facilitating our work, especially to Peter Higgs and Alexandra Villing, to Andrew Liddle and Alex Truscott; to those who commented on a provisional version of this new edition presented at a [conference](#) on the *Corpus of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)* at the Collège de France, Paris,

¹ F. H. Marshall ed., *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum. Part IV. Section II. Supplementary and Miscellaneous Inscriptions* (1916), nos. 935-946.

² *IG I³*, containing Attic inscriptions dating to before 403/2 BC, was published between 1981 and 1998; the first fascicules of *IG II³*, containing the inscriptions dating to after 403/2 BC, appeared in 2012.

³ [AIUK 1 \(Petworth House\)](#), [AIUK 2 \(British School at Athens\)](#) and [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge\)](#), were all published in 2018. 2019 has seen the publication of [AIUK 5 \(Lyne Park\)](#) and [AIUK 6 \(Leeds City Museum\)](#) and, to coincide with this volume, [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\)](#) and [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#).

Preface

May 2018; to Peter Liddel, Polly Low and Robert Pitt, to members of the AIO Advisory Board, especially Angelos Matthaïou, S. Douglas Olson and P. J. Rhodes, to Alexandra Villing, and to two anonymous referees, for their constructive comments on drafts; to Robert Pitt for access to his squeezes of BM inscriptions; and to Peter Thonemann for helpful textual suggestions on **3** and permission to draw in this edition of **2** on his notes on an autopsy of the inscription carried out in 2002. I am grateful to Hugh Griffiths for designing the cover of this *AIUK* volume, as of others; and last but not least to Irene Vagionakis for her tireless work behind the scenes, including setting up the volume for publication and encoding the AIO main-site versions.

ABBREVIATIONS

We use the abbreviations for epigraphical works listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/> and in addition:

Agora X: M. L. Lang and M. Crosby eds., *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. X Weights, Measures and Tokens*

Agora XXXI: M. M. Miles ed., *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. XXXI The City Eleusinion*

Bull. ép: *Bulletin épigraphique*, part of the *Revue des Études Grecques*, published annually

CGRN: J.-M. Carbon, S. Peels and V. Pirenne-Delforge, *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (2016-) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>)

CIG: A. Boeckh ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV *Indices* [H. Roehl] 1877)

Di Cesare 2014a: R. di Cesare, in E. Greco, *Topografia di Atene* vol. 3 (2014), chapter 8, pp. 709-847

Di Cesare 2014b: R. di Cesare, in E. Greco, *Topografia di Atene* vol. 4 (2014), pp. 1259-1260

Clinton 1996: K. Clinton, “The Thesmophorion in Central Athens and the Celebration of the Thesmophoria in Attica”, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis* (1996), 111-25

van den Eijnde 2018: F. van den Eijnde, J. Blok and R. Strootman eds., *Feasting and Polis Institutions* (2018)

Hicks, *GIBM I*: E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum. Part I Attika* (1874)

IALD: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees 352/1-322/1. Epigraphical Essays* (2012)

IALD II: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees in the Age of Demosthenes. Historical Essays* (2018)

IG I: A. Kirchhoff ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores* (1873, Supplementa 1877, 1887, 1891)

IG I²: F. Hiller von Gaertringen ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Editio altera* (1924)

Lambert 1997: S. D. Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum. Sales of Public Land in Lykourgan Athens*

Lambert 2002: S. D. Lambert, “The Sacrificial Calendar of Athens”, *ABSA* 97, 353-99

Leão and Rhodes 2015: D. F. Leão and P. J. Rhodes, *The Laws of Solon. A New Edition with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*

Lebreton 2015: S. Lebreton, “Zeus Polieus à Athènes. Les Bouphonies et au-delà”, *Kernos* 28, 85-110

LGS: J. von Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae e titulis collectae* (1896-1906)

LSAG: L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (revised ed. with supplement, 1990; first ed., 1961)

Abbreviations

- Lupu 2005: E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)*
- Meyer 2016: E. A. Meyer, “The Origins of the Athenian ‘Documentary’ Stele”, *Hesperia* 85, 323-83
- Parker 1996: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*
- Parker 2005: R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*
- Poulou 2016: T. Poulou, “Giovanni Battista Lusieri, Lord Elgin’s Unknown Agent and his Excavations in Athens”, in F. Mallouchou-Tufano and A. Malikourti eds., *200 Years the Parthenon Marbles in the British Museum: New Contributions to the Issue* (2016), 62-81
- Smith 1916: A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and his Collection”, *JHS* 36, 1916, 163-372
- St. Clair 1998: W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles. The Controversial History of the Parthenon Sculptures*³ (first ed., 1967)
- Stoneman 1985: R. Stoneman, “The Abbé Fourmont and Greek Archaeology”, *Boreas* 8, 1985, 190-98
- Stoneman 2010: R. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods. The Search for Classical Greece*,² (first ed., 1987)
- Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1: *Phonology* (1980), 2: *Morphology* (1996)
- Whitehead 1986: D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*
- Williams 2009: D. Williams, “Lord Elgin’s Firman”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 21, 49-76.

1. CHANDLER, ELGIN, AND THE ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

As Charles Newton, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, recorded in 1874 in his Preface to *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, “up to the close of the last [i.e. eighteenth] century the collection was limited to a very few inscriptions, of which the most important were presented by the Society of Dilettanti. By the purchase of the Earl of Elgin’s Collection of Marbles in 1816 upwards of a hundred of highly interesting inscriptions, mostly from Athens, were acquired by the Museum”. The handful of Attic inscriptions presented to the Museum by the Society of Dilettanti in the 1780s and the much greater number acquired by Elgin’s agents still account for the large majority of the Attic inscriptions in the Museum’s collection, and for all three of the inscriptions that are the subject of this first part of our new publication.

The Society of Dilettanti, founded in London in 1733, twenty years before the British Museum itself, may have been an association of gentlemen amateurs, but it made an important contribution to the progress of research in the epigraphy of Greece in general and of Attica in particular in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴ Richard Chandler (1738-1810), having acquired a scholarly reputation by his publication of the Arundel marbles,⁵ obtained funding from the Society for an expedition to Asia Minor in 1764, in the company of Nicholas Revett and William Pars. The expedition’s return journey in 1765-1766 was extended to include a nine-month stay in Athens, which resulted in the publication of an extensive number of Attic inscriptions in Chandler’s *Inscriptiones antiquae plerumque nondum editae: in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis collectae* (1774), and the acquisition of some of these inscriptions, from Athens and the Piraeus, for the Society of Dilettanti, which in turn presented them in due course to the British Museum.⁶ These included our **1** and **3**. In 1776 Chandler published an account of his travels in *Travels in Greece: or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti*.

Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, British ambassador to the Ottoman Porte at Constantinople from 1799 to 1803, is largely known today for his controversial

⁴ See P. Liddel, “The Collection and Publication of Ancient Greek Inscriptions before Boeckh”, in N. Papazarkadas ed., *Oxford Handbook of Greek Epigraphy* (forthcoming); Stoneman 2010, 110-35. An early member of the Society was John Taylor, who in 1743 published the “Sandwich Marble”, brought to Cambridge from Athens by the Earl of Sandwich in 1739 ([AIUK 3 \[Cambridge\], no. 3](#)). Most notably, the Society sponsored the publication of the results of J. Stuart and N. Revett’s 1751 voyage to Greece in their path-breaking and influential *Antiquities of Athens* (4 vols., 1762-1816).

⁵ *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763).

⁶ 1781 is given in *GIBM* as the date of acquisition of the Skambonidai inscription (**3**) by the BM. However, the minutes of the Trustees of the British Museum for January 7 1785 record the acceptance, on the proposal of Sir Joseph Banks, by a committee of the Trustees, of a resolution of the Society of Dilettanti, “that all the marbles, the property of the Society of Dilettanti, on which are inscriptions, be presented to the Trustees of the British Museum”. All the Attic inscriptions collected by Chandler, including **3**, accordingly have the accession year 1785 in the BM’s register.

acquisition of the Parthenon sculptures, a tale often retold, from the obtaining of the relevant permit or “firman” from the Turkish authorities in 1801, through the work on removing the marbles, conducted under the direction of Elgin’s agent, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, to the sinking of a ship conveying part of the shipment of sculptures off Kythera and their subsequent laborious recovery, and the arrest of Elgin on his way home through Napoleonic France in 1803 and his detention there as a prisoner of war until 1806.⁷ Familiar too is the story of Elgin’s return to Britain, the impression made by the marbles on being displayed in London for the first time in 1807, and the protracted attempts of Elgin, further impoverished by an expensive divorce, to secure their acquisition by the British Government. Encouraged by the intervention in Elgin’s favour of Ennio Visconti, keeper of antiquities at the Louvre, in 1816 Parliament decided to purchase the Elgin marbles for a considerable sum.⁸ It is less widely appreciated that the collection of inscriptions was, from the start, part of the enterprise. The firman relating to Elgin’s activities on the Acropolis included permission to undertake excavations “when they find it necessary, of the foundations, in search of inscribed blocks perhaps preserved among the rubble” and required “that no one ... hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone with inscriptions, and figures”.⁹ Elgin’s activities also extended to diggings and removals at sites in Athens outside the Acropolis area.¹⁰ Unfortunately, unlike Chandler’s discoveries, no record seems to have been kept of the findspots of the inscriptions. From the corpus of Elgin’s epigraphical material as a whole it can be inferred that, while some were found on the Acropolis, others, such as the funerary monuments, were collected from elsewhere in Athens.¹¹ Apart from one inscription which is said to have been discovered in Piraeus (Mounychia),¹² none was demonstrably found in Attica outside Athens. In

⁷ For the full story see St. Clair 1998, for a summary Stoneman 2010, 165-79, on the “firman” Williams 2009, on Lusieri Poulou 2016 and Liddel and Low, [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#), pp. 1-2. The detailed narrative of Smith 1916 also remains useful. Elgin’s success in obtaining the crucial “firman” was facilitated by the fact that, in 1801, Turkey and Great Britain were allies who had together successfully defeated French forces in Egypt (St. Clair 1998, 88).

⁸ St. Clair 1998, chapters 13-22; Stoneman 2010, 198-201. A small number remained in Elgin’s possession at Broomhall, his Scottish seat. See [AIUK 8](#).

⁹ The translation of the firman quoted is that provided by Williams 2009, 54-55.

¹⁰ St. Clair 1998, 99.

¹¹ One of the very few findspots for an inscription acquired by Elgin is recorded for the inscribed sarcophagus, [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\), no. 5](#): in a letter to Elgin Lusieri reported that he found it on 6th March 1811 while excavating in “a field near Athens” (Poulou 2016, 76, cf. Liddel and Low, [AIUK 8 \[Broomhall\]](#), p. 2). Also included in Elgin’s collection were a number of Roman period dedications to Zeus Hypsistos, discovered in 1803 by the Earl of Aberdeen, from the sanctuary on the site of the former meeting place of the Assembly on the Pnyx. See Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 60 with note (= *IG* II³ 4, 1241), cf. Smith 1916, 280. These will be edited, and the history of their acquisition explored more fully, in *AIUK 4 (BM, Dedications)*. Another of these dedications found its way into George Finlay’s collection and thence into the collection of the British School at Athens ([AIUK 2 \[BSA\], no. 7](#) = *IG* II³ 4, 1269). All the dedications to Zeus Hypsistos are now conveniently collected at *IG* II³ 4, 1239-1276.

¹² The funerary *columella* *IG* II² 6465 = Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 87, who records it, following Boeckh, *CIG* I 658 (after Fourmont), as “discovered in Mounychia” (see also Fauvel, cited by Conze IV 1793). This will be discussed in more detail in *AIUK 4 (BM, Funerary Monuments)*.

many cases, however, we are completely in the dark as to an inscription's findspot or at best have to fall back on circumstantial reasoning. As we shall see, our **2** is a case in point. In several cases Elgin collected inscriptions that were included in Chandler's *Inscriptiones antiquae*, but which had not been acquired by Chandler himself.¹³

Boeckh published most of Elgin's Attic inscriptions, together with most of the other Attic inscriptions in the BM, in 1828 in the first volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (*CIG*), relying on other early editions and to a large extent on transcripts made for him by agents in London. However, as Newton notes in his Preface to *GIBM I*, "in many instances a fresh study of the original marbles has led to the correction of errors and the supplying of omissions in the text of Boeckh, who, not having himself access to the originals, was often forced to rely on the collation of transcripts at variance with each other, and made in some cases by persons whose accuracy and intelligence were not to be depended on". The first full professional edition of all the Attic inscriptions in the BM was published in 1874 as volume one of *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. The series editor was Charles Newton, but though *GIBM I* was revised as it passed through the press by Newton, and Newton was specifically responsible for the edition of the Erechtheion accounts, *GIBM I* 35 (= [IG I³ 474](#)), the volume was otherwise the work of The Rev. Edward Lee Hicks (1843-1919), who until 1873 had been Fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.¹⁴ As will be clear from the editions of the three fifth-century inscriptions presented below, Hicks did indeed significantly improve the texts of these inscriptions and the understanding of their historical context. Unfortunately *GIBM I* appeared just too late to be taken into account in Kirchhoff's first edition of *IG I* in 1873, but revised versions of all three texts included here, reflecting Hicks' work, were swiftly published by the Berlin Academy in the *IG I Supplement*.

The display-history of the Attic inscriptions in the BM would make for an illuminating chapter of Classical reception and museum history in the UK, but it is also complex, and, after some hesitation, we decided not to seek to cover this topic in the context of *AIUK*. Arguably any future investigation would more appropriately be conducted across the range of the BM's epigraphical collections, not limited to the Attic material. We have, however, recorded for each inscription its location when we carried out our autopsy for this edition, whether in a gallery (as **3**) or, more often, in store (as **1** and **2**). It is of course very likely that the locations of the inscriptions will change in future, no less than they have changed in the past. Caveat lector.

Some "cult provisions", or "religious measures" (the terminology is necessarily imprecise), in Attica were contained in inscriptions which are formulated as laws or

¹³ There is an example of this in the British Museum fragment of the Assembly decree of 314/3 BC honouring Asandros of Macedon, of which there is also a fragment in the collection of the British School at Athens. Both fragments were recently re-published as [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 1](#).

¹⁴ In 1873 Hicks became incumbent of the parish of Fenny Compton in Warwickshire (a living of which his Oxford college, Corpus Christi, was patron). In 1882 he edited a *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, the first in a series published by Oxford University Press of which the most recent editions are RO and OR. A supporter of progressive political causes, Hicks later became bishop of Lincoln (1910-1919). See most recently G. R. Evans, *Edward Hicks. Pacifist Bishop at War. The Diaries of a World War One Bishop* (2014) (which is largely, however, about his ecclesiastical career rather than his scholarly work).

decrees, whether of the central organs of the city or local bodies and associations, and where there are examples in the BM's collection, these will be included in the relevant later part of *AIUK (BM)*. This applies, for example, fortuitously to both the earliest (BM 1816,0610.291, part of [IG I³ 6](#), of ca. 475-450 BC) and latest (BM 1816,0610.294, part of *IG II² 1078*, of ca. 220 AD) Assembly decrees in the BM, both of which make provisions for the Eleusinian Mysteries. Some cult provisions, however, were not conventionally expressed in the formal structure of a law or decree, most notably those that fall within the category commonly designated "sacrificial calendar", which broadly speaking make provisions for sacrifices or other types of offering to named deities, typically in calendrical order. The city calendar, which was ascribed in origin to Solon, was revised at the end of the fifth century BC in the context of a wholesale revision of Athenian law; see [SEG 52.48B](#) and [SEG 52.48A](#). Numerous local calendars are also extant (detailed in AIO's notes to [IG I³ 232 = 1](#)). The three inscriptions published in this part of *AIUK (BM)* all belong to this genre: all make sacrificial provisions; **1** and **2** are couched in "calendrical" format rather than in the structure and language of a law or decree. The issuing authority is unclear in both cases, though I suggest below that in the case of **1** it may have been (one of?) the Eleusinian genē, in the case of **2** a local group or association, perhaps a deme. **3** was issued by the city deme Skambonidai, and might arguably have been grouped with other deme decrees in the BM, which will be published in a later part of *AIUK* 4. However, the language of its prescript is unparalleled and in its content and structure (and date) it is more akin to **1** and **2** than to other deme decrees in the BM.

2. THE SEQUENCE OF THE ATTIC MONTHS AND THE ATTIC SYSTEM OF DRY AND WET MEASURES

The Athenian calendar was designed in origin primarily to regulate religious observance, and calendrical specifications feature prominently in inscriptions providing for religious rituals, including the three edited here. The year started notionally or actually at the first new moon after the summer solstice. Months, all of which were named for religious festivals, had either 30 days ("full") or 29 days ("hollow"). The sequence of the months was: Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, Maimakterion, Posideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, Mounichion, Thargelion, Skirophorion.

Precise designations of quantities, dry and liquid, also feature prominently in these inscriptions, especially in **1** and **2**. On the Attic system of dry measures see *Agora X*, pp. 2-23, 34-36, 39-48, cf. Lambert 2002, 397-98. 1 *medimnos* = ca. 52 cc.; but only fractions of a *medimnos* are used in these inscriptions, viz. *hekteus* = sixth (**1**, l. 61), *hemiekteon* = twelfth (**1**, ll. 18, 158, 174, seven *hemiektea* of barley?, l. 59), *choinix* = forty-eighth, or quarter of a *hemiekteon* (three *choinikes*, **1** ll. 28-29, 172, five *choinikes*, **1** l. 32, three *choinikes* of white and three *choinikes* of black sesame, **1** ll. 65-66, two *choinikes* of wheat, **2** D30-32).

2. *The Sequence of the Attic Months and the Attic System of Dry and Wet Measures*

For liquids see *Agora X* pp. 44, 58-59. The basic measure is the amphora or *metretes* = ca. 39 litres; again only fractions occur in these inscriptions, viz. (unusual in Attica) the *tetarte* = quarter-amphora (a *tetarte* of oil?, 1 ll. 7-8, of wine, 1 ll. 34 and 37, $\frac{1}{2}$ *tetarte*, 1 ll. 63, 69-70?, three *tetartai* of cheese, 1 ll. 63-64), the more common *chous* = twelfth-amphora (six-and-a-half *choes* of wine, 1 ll. 59-60, $\frac{1}{2}$ *chous* of oil, 1 l. 62, $\frac{1}{2}$ *chous*, 3 l. A22), and the *kotyle* ("cup") = twelfth-*chous* (eight *kotylai* of honey, 1 ll. 61-62, *kotylai*, 1 l. 108, seven half-*kotylai*, 1 ll. 78-79, half-*kotylai*, 1 l. 109, three half-*kotylai* of honey, 2 B8-12, three half-*kotylai*?, 2 C18-19).

3. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1 CULT PROVISIONS FROM THE CITY ELEUSINION. BM 1785,0527.3 (*c*), Ag. I 2253, 4390, 4432, 4721, 4800, 5033, 5318 (*a, b, d, e, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v*), EM 101 (*i*), lost (*h*). Twenty-two fragments (*a-v*) of white marble, *c* found in Athens by Chandler in an unspecified wall, *h* and *i* in unknown locations (one of these may be the second fragment noted, but not copied, by Chandler in a wall in a square near the Capuchin monastery, i.e. the area of Lysikrates' monument). The Agora fragments were found mostly in the area of the city Eleusinion (details at *Agora XXXI*, pp. 200-1 no. 40). All belong apparently to a single monument (altar?), inscribed on two broad faces (*AB*) and one narrow face (*C*), uninscribed on the other narrow face (*D*). *c* and *d* preserve parts of faces *A* and *D*, *n* and *o* of faces *B* and *C*. The other fragments are broken on all sides; *t* apparently preserves the end of the text. The height of the monument was at least 0.245 (*d*) + 0.285 (*c*), the width of the broad face at least 0.54 (*fgh*), max. preserved thickness is 0.31 (*v*). *c* preserves r. edge with part of adjoining uninscribed face. w. 0.07, th. 0.185. Drawing of reconstruction of monument, *Hesperia* 17, p. 102 (below). Attic letters, illustrated *IG I³*, including angular B and some angular P, theta = ⊕, phi = ⊕, Y = V, some chis = +, some angular bars on A and E, significantly forward leaning N and three-bar Ϻ, but tailless P, boustrophedon but not stoichedon, h. 0.012-0.015, vert. spacing 0.0165-0.018. Phot. *a-u* (except *h*) *Hesp.* 17 pl. 30-32, *v Hesp.* 37 pl. 80.

Major editions of *c*: R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* II (1774), no. 28, pp. 54 and xxv; *CIG* I 9; *IG* I 531; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 74 (*IG* I Suppl. p. 53, 531); *IG I²* 839; of *c* with other fragments: *a-u* L. H. Jeffery, *Hesp.* 17, 1948, 86-111 no. 67 (*c* pp. 95-96) (ph.) (*SEG* 12.3; *v* added by B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 37, 1968, 282 no. 18 [*SEG* 25.1]); *a, c, fgh* Sokolowski, *LSS* 2; *a-v* *IG I³* 232; *a, b, c, fgh* *CGRN* 7. Autopsy (*c* only) Lambert 2017. *Fig. 1* (fr. *c*). In store.

Face A (front)

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|----------|
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| | | ε- ----- ← | |

3. The Inscriptions. 1 Cult Provisions from the City Eleusinion

lacuna of unknown extent

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 [- - βο]τύπ- →
 25 οι: χ- - - - ←
 - - - α :: Δ- →
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 30 - - - - - ε : μ- →
 - - - - -

Fragments of uncertain location in Face A

a - - - - -
 - - - - ιν- - - - →
 [- - πέν]τε χ[οίνικες - -] ←
 [- - - ἄλ]φίτο[ν : - - -] →
 [- - - οἴ]νο τε[τάρτε ? -] ←
 35 - - - - ν :: Κορ- - - - →
 - - - - - ηιερέαι - - - ←
 [- - - ο]ἴνο τετ[άρτε ? -] →
 - - - - - ἔτνος | - - - - ←
 [- - - ἄλ]φίτον : η- - - →
 40 - - - ρτε ηε- - - - ←
 - - - γ πέντι[ε - - -] →
 - - - : χριθῶ[ν - - -] ←
 [- φυλοβασι]λεῦσι : γ- →
 - - - ἔ]λυτρο - - - ←
 45 - - - ει : δι| - - - - →
 - - - :: 'Ε- - - - - ←

b - - - - -
 - - - - - ο- - - - - ←
 - - - - - α : - - - - - →

3. The Inscriptions. 1 Cult Provisions from the City Eleusinion

50 [- - - μ]υστε (?) - - - ←
 - - - :: Ἐρε[χθεῖ -] →
 - - - vacat οἶν- - - ←
 - - -εντ- - - - - →
 - - -οινε- - - - - ←
 - - - - - - - - -

e - - - - - - - - -
 - - - -ρο- - - - - →
 55 - - - : ο- - - - - ←
 - - - αλ- - - - - →
 - - - ελ- - - - - ←
 - - - σ- - - - - →
 - - - - - - - - -

Face B (back)

f+g+h

vacat 0.016

60 [- - - χριθῶν ? : ηεμ]ιεκτέα ἡ[ε]πτὰ : οἶνο : χ]- →
 [όες ἡέ]χς : κα[ἰ ἡ]εμίχον [: - - -] ←
 [- - - ηεκ]τεὺς : μέ[λ]ιτος : κο[τύλα]- →
 [ι ὀκ]τὸ : ἐλαίο [:] ηεμίχο[ν - - -] ←
 [- - - ν : ηεμ]ιτεταρ[τ]έον [:] τυρῶ [τρ]- →
 [ῖς] τέτα[ρ]ται : [κ]υάμο[ν - - - σεσά]- ←
 65 [μον λευκῶν ? : τ]ρῖς χο[ίνικες :] μελ[ά]- →
 [νον ? : τρῖς χοί]νικε[ς - - - - - - -] ←
 [- - - - - δ]ύο^{c. 11-12} →
^{c. 11-12} υ- - - - -

lacuna

n [- - - ηεμ]ιτ- →
 70 ετα[ρτέον ? - - -] ←
 - - - -τεο- →
 ς : οἶ[νο ? - - -] ←
 - - -ο : μύ- →
 στο - - - ←
 75 - - - οτ[.] →
 [. .]ν - - - ←

lacuna

3. The Inscriptions. 1 Cult Provisions from the City Eleusinion

| | | |
|----|---------------------|---|
| | ε[.]ι - - - - | ← |
| | [- - - ηεμι]κ[ό]τυ- | → |
| | λα : η[ε]πτά ? - -] | ← |
| 80 | [- - - ἄ]λφίτ- | → |
| | ον : - - - - - | ← |
| | - - - - : συ- | → |
| | - - - - - | |

The remaining 12 fragments, *i-m* and *p-v*, contain very few identifiable words, viz.: l. 88 ὀ]βελ- (spit(s)), 96 ἀλ]φί[τον (barley meal), 108-9 κοτ]υλα - | - ηεμικ[ό]τυλα (cups . . . half-cups), 114 ἐλα[ίο (oil), 120 χρι]θῶν (barley), 130-131 δύ[ο - | - ἀλφ]ίτο[ν (two . . . barley meal), 138-139 γῶρ[ος ? (lentil-cake?), 150 κέρ]υκα- (herald), 158 ηεμ]ιεκτ[έον (half-sixth), 172 τρ]ῖς χ[οίνικες (three *choinikes*), 174 ηε]μικτ[έον (half-sixth).

The text printed above is that of *IG I³* following Jeffery 1948, except 44 ἐ]λυτρο Lambert cf. *I Eleus.* 34 l. 6 (ἐ]λύτρον Clinton), “covering”, λυτρο- previous eds. (see below). I give a detailed apparatus for *c* only || 16-17 Boeckh || 18-19 Hicks || 20-21 Προαρκτ]ουρ[ί]οι[σι Hicks, cf. Hesych. π 3460 s.v. Προηρόσια, or Ἀπατ]ουρ[ί]οι[ς Sokolowski, or Ἐροσ]ουρ[ί]οι[ς Lambert, cf. [SEG 21.541](#), col. 2, 26-31 (Erchia) || 24-25 Hicks || 25-26 χ[σῦ]λ]α Hicks, whose reconstruction assumes a short, variable, line length which Jeffery, 96, showed to be incorrect || 26-27 Jeffery, noting that the two similar clause-openings, ll. 35 and 50, suggest the names of deities rather than festivals (Δηπολ]ίοι[σι Hicks) || 28-29 Jeffery. As Jeffery notes (p. 94), the alternatives in 35 are Κόρ[ει or Κορ]ο[στρόφοι, and in 43 [- φυλοβασι]λεῦσι or [- βασι]λεῦσι. *fgh* was restored by Jeffery on the basis of the provisions for the Thesmophoria in Cholargos, [IG II² 1184](#) = *CGRN* 79.

A . . . (7-8) [a quarter] of oil . . . (11-12) . . . initiate (?) . . . (16-17) . . . of barley . . . (18-19) . . . half-sixth . . . (20-21) . . . at the -ouria (?) . . . (22-23) . . . and for the . . . (24-25) . . . for the ox-slayer . . . (26-27) . . . : For Zeus Polieus . . . (28-29) . . . three *choinikes* . . .

. . . (32) . . . five *choinikes* . . . (33) . . . of barley meal . . . (34) . . . a quarter (?) of wine . . . (35) . . . : For Kore or Kourotrophos . . . (36) . . . for the priestess . . . (37) . . . a quarter (?) of wine . . . (38) . . . pulse soup . . . (39) . . . of barley meal . . . (41) . . . five . . . (42) . . . of barley . . . (43) . . . for the tribe-kings . . . (44) . . . covering (?) . . . (46) . . . : For E- . . .

. . . (49) . . . initiate (?) . . . (50) . . . : For Erechtheus . . . (51) . . . of wine (?) . . .

B . . . (59-67) . . . seven half-sixths [of barley?], six-and-a-half [*choes*] of wine . . . a sixth of -, eight cups of honey, a half-*chous* of oil . . . a half-quarter of -, three quarters of cheese, - of beans . . . three *choinikes* [of white sesame?], three *choinikes* [of black?] . . . two . . .

. . . (69-73) . . . a half-quarter of - . . . of wine (?) . . . initiate (?) . . .

... (78-81) ... seven (?) half-cups ... of barley meal ...

Fragment *c* was among the inscriptions acquired by Chandler in Athens on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti in 1765-6. He published it in 1774, stating merely that he had found it at Athens built into a wall and offering no textual supplements, but recognising that it was inscribed boustrophedon. The fragment was presented to the British Museum by the Society along with its other inscribed marbles in 1785 (see section 1). In 1828 Boeckh published a rather speculative reconstruction in *CIG*, for which he was duly criticised by Hermann,¹⁵ and in publishing the fragment in the first edition of *IG I* in 1873 Kirchhoff prudently declined to print any restorations. Hicks' edition of the following year in the Attic volume of *GIBM* represented the first significant progress towards understanding the fragment. He was first to recognise it as being from a list of sacrificial provisions and he suggested several telling supplements. The discovery of numerous similar boustrophedon fragments in the Agora excavations in 1936 and 1939 enabled Jeffery to re-publish it in 1948, with improved supplements, as a fragment of one of two monuments, both perhaps altars, from the City Eleusinion, containing sacrificial provisions. The first, now [IG I³ 231](#), in relatively larger lettering, consists of four small fragments containing provisions relating to the Lesser and Greater Mysteries. The second, now [IG I³ 232](#), consists of twenty-two fragments. They include the BM fragment (*c*), which Jeffery allocated to the same monument as the other twenty-one fragments, "inscribed as it is boustrophedon on Pentelic marble in letters which correspond in size and shape with those of the Agora fragments, and containing subject matter of the same detailed nature".¹⁶ Jeffery had a cast of *c* made by the BM staff and brought out to Athens for comparison, enabling her to confirm the absence of any join with the other fragments. Like fragment *d*, which preserves the original top, *c* contains a sliver of text belonging to what seems to be the right edge of one of the wider faces *A*, together with an adjoining section of the uninscribed narrower face *D*, and Jeffery's arrangement of it below *d*, as illustrated in her diagram, p. 102, fig. 3, reproduced below, is persuasive. We print also the three fragments tentatively allocated by Jeffery to unknown locations in the same Face *A*, together with the substantial fragments of the other wide face, *B*. The remaining fragments contain very few identifiable words.

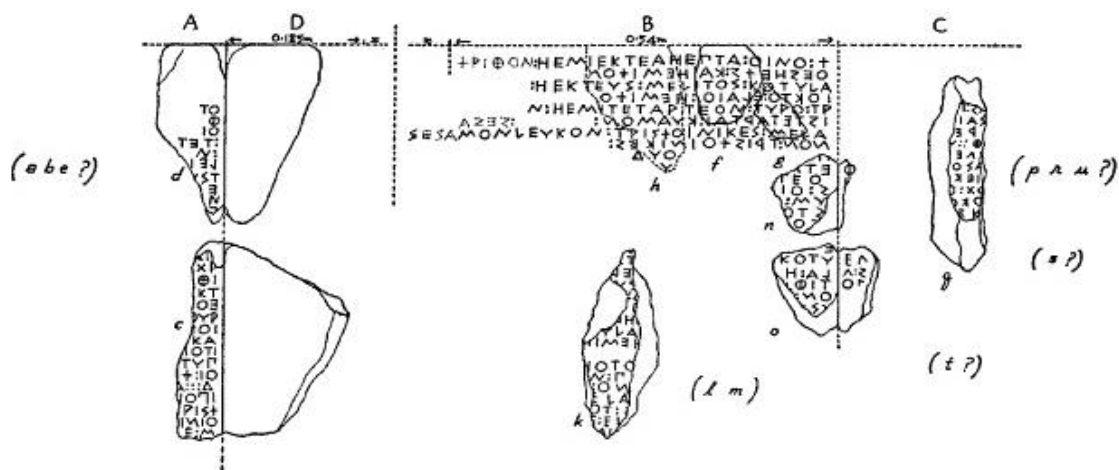
On the basis of datable comparanda Jeffery, 102-3, judged the letter forms of the inscription to indicate a date of ca. 500-480 BC, noting that the boustrophedon style had ceased to be in common use at Athens by ca. 530 BC.¹⁷ She was inclined to explain this by hypothesising that the inscription represented the synthesis of a number of separate earlier provisions which had themselves been inscribed boustrophedon: the compilation was "written boustrophedon from religious conservatism because the inscriptions from which it was made up were written in that way". She suggested that the inscription, together with [IG I³ 231](#), may have been broken up by the Persians in 480/79 BC. She also notes, however (n. 33), that the fragments were all found in modern walls or fill rather

¹⁵ See Hicks *GIBM I*, p. 137 for an account of the controversy.

¹⁶ Jeffery, p. 87.

¹⁷ Cf. *LSAG* 75-76, no. 44.

than the Agora “Perserschutt”. Moreover, following the end of the three-bar sigma controversy, scholars are now generally inclined to bring down the lower chronological limits of letter forms thought to be characteristic of the early fifth century. These two facts might suggest rather a date in the aftermath of the Persian invasion, perhaps in the context of a project of reconstruction of inscribed material destroyed then.



Hesp. 17 p. 102, fig. 3. © Courtesy of Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

The authority responsible for the inscription is obscure. Jeffery noted that the sacrificial calendar of the city as a whole, as revised at the end of the fifth century, contains a provision for “heralds at the Dipolieia”, κέρυχσιν ἠοὶ Διπολιεῖ[ο]ι[ς] ([SEG 52.48B](#) F1 col. 2, l. 14), and inferred a connection with the provision for the Dipolieia in our inscription (c 24-27), which she accordingly suggested might have been issued by the Eleusinian genos Kerykes. More recent scholarship, however, has observed that the city calendar is most likely not referring to the genos Kerykes, but to a separate group of heralds who had specific functions at the Dipolieia.¹⁸ There the issue has been left hanging, and most recently the editors of *CGRN 7* comment: “no definitive solution can be offered and the desperate state of these fragments – originally quite detailed it seems – can only be regretted.” Definitive solutions are not to be expected, but perhaps we may take a further tentative step.

As editors have noticed before, this inscription differs from most making provisions for sacrifices in that there is no provision for sacrificial animals. While it is possible that this is merely a product of the fragmentary character of the inscription, there is probably enough surviving text to imply that it is significant. What is provided in this inscription is the extras, mostly vegetable, but also including objects such as spits and, if my suggested supplement for l. 44 is correct, coverings, commonly used in ritual contexts; the provisions are in that sense supplementary rather than fundamental.

Now it was a feature of the Athenian system that there was a complex intertwining of provision for cult activities, the city’s provisions dovetailing with those of the genē. The locus classicus here is supplied by our fullest document of the workings of a Classical

¹⁸ Parker 1996, 320-21 n. 91, observing that, if the genos Kerykes were intended here one would expect that to be clarified by use of the term genos; cf. Lambert 2002, 386.

Athenian *genos*, the terms inscribed in 363/2 BC of the settlement by arbitration of the dispute between the two branches of the *genos* Salaminioi, [RO 37](#). We learn from that inscription that a major festival of the Salaminioi was a Herakleia celebrated at Porthmos, and in addition to providing for a number of sacrificial animals for the festival, at l. 87 the *genos* provides for wood for the sacrifices, “including those for which the city gives money according to the *kvrbeis*” (the obscure term of art used to refer to the city’s sacrificial calendar). We observe this in mirror image in the city’s calendar, where at one point animals are supplied by the city explicitly for the *genos* Eumolpidai to sacrifice ([SEG 52.48A](#) F3, ll. 73-74).¹⁹ I suggest that, in our inscription, we might have to do not with the city’s side of this system, but with that of the *genē*. This seems consistent with the partial character of the inscription’s provisions (e.g. no sacrificial animals), which, as we shall see below (especially in regard to the Dipolieia), appear to complement the provisions of the city’s calendar in its late fifth century form. In short, Jeffery may be right that the authority behind our inscription was one or more Eleusinian *genē*, but the logic leading to that conclusion may be somewhat different from the one that she articulated. I suggest therefore that, just as the *genos* Salaminioi supplied wood as an adjunct or extra for sacrifices at the city festival, the Herakleia at Porthmos, so in our inscription the Eleusinian *genē* supplied adjuncts or extras for a number of other city festivals.

Two observations may perhaps support this interpretation. First, there is the absence of pricing in our inscription, and indeed of any financial information or reference to financial accountability at all. This is arguably more consistent with this being a *genos* inscription than a product of the city as a whole or its Cleisthenic subdivisions, for it is clear enough that a concern with financial aspects was present in the city’s sacrificial calendar already in its “Solonian” version.²⁰ It is clear too that a concern with such aspects and with financial accountability in general infuses the two other major fifth-century inscriptions making sacrificial provisions which predate the revision of the city’s calendar, but which, significantly perhaps, and ex hypothesi in contrast to our inscription, are based on Cleisthenic demes, the Thorikos calendar, [OR 146](#), and the ordinances of Skambonidai, [3](#) below. Assuming that one or more Eleusinian *genē* were the authority responsible for our inscription, they must have funded the provisions made in it, and inscribing them served as a public guarantee of their commitment to do so, before gods and men, but the precise expenditure of the Eleusinian *genē* was not a matter of public interest or record in the same way as the expenditure of the polis or the demes.

Second, it would seem quite natural for the Eleusinian *genē*, under the aegis of Demeter, the goddess of agriculture par excellence, to have had a general function of supplying products of the earth for religious rituals of the city as a whole. Such a function would have an obvious religious logic.

¹⁹ Thus too in a fourth-century Assembly decree relating to sacrifices in the cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus, [IG II² 47](#), *hieropoioi* are charged in relation to meat distribution with “taking care of the festival with respect to what comes from the People” (10-13).

²⁰ Plut. *Sol.* 23.3-4, Leão and Rhodes 2015, 139-40.

I suggest, therefore, that the authority issuing this inscription is not the city, or its Cleisthenic structures or officials, but Eleusinian, most likely the major *genē* Kerykes and/or Eumolpidae, perhaps both *genē* operating in concert.²¹

Turning to the detail, no date is preserved in the inscription, no festival name securely preserved. As Hicks was first to realise, *c* 20-21 might be Προαρκτ]ουρίοι[σι, “at the Proarktouria”, apparently an alternative name used in public documents for the pre-ploughing festival Proerosia,²² a suitably Eleusinian rite (cf. [IG I³ 250](#)), announced at Eleusis on 5 Pyanopsion.²³ Ἀπατ]ουρίοι[ς (Sokolowski), “at the Apatouria”, the phratry festival in Pyanopsion, cannot be ruled out, but if the Eleusinian *genē* were the issuing authority, the implication would seem to be that they were supplying materials for their own phratry,²⁴ rather than phratries in general, which would run counter to the broad, public character of this inscription argued for here. Another possibility is Ἐροσ]ουρίοι[ς, “at the Erosouria”, though this festival is attested otherwise only as the occasion of a sacrifice to Athena on 9 Gamelion in Erchia.²⁵ If any of these supplements is correct, it yields an event several months distant from the Dipolieia, the archaic festival of Zeus on the Acropolis on Skirophorion 14, to which Hicks acutely detected reference in *c* 24-25, βο]τύπιοι, “the ox-slayer” (officiant at the festival, drawn apparently from the *genos* Thaulonidae²⁶) and 26-27, Δι Πολ[ιεύ -], “for Zeus Polieus”. This would seem to suit the interpretation of this inscription suggested above, since it is implicit in the entry for the Dipolieia in the polis calendar that the city’s provision complemented provision by other groups, e.g. the city supplies the first six bovids for the ritual ([SEG 52.48B](#) F1 col. 2), and there is also provision for the festival in the calendar of Skambonidae, below 3, A, 18.²⁷

The most extensive continuous passage of the inscription was created by Jeffery’s tentative association of fragments *f*, *g* and *h* to create a block of text at the top of Face B, ll. 59-67, restored in light of the provisions for the Thesmophoria in the deme Cholargos in [IG II² 1184](#). The restored text includes not only the ubiquitous wine, honey and oil, but also beans and cheese (63, for cheese cf. [IG II² 1184](#), 13) and white and black sesame seeds (64-66, cf. [IG II² 1184](#), 11-12). The reconstruction was brilliant, though, as Jeffery herself recognised (97-98), there are uncertainties: fragment *h* is lost, and known only from an early nineteenth-century transcript by Ludwig Ross; there are no physical joins; and the white and black sesame seeds which seem particularly characteristic of the Thesmophoria are almost wholly restored (μέλ[άνον in ll. 65-66 is crucial for this part of the reconstruction, but it is difficult to rule out the commoner μέλ[ιτος]). The amounts provided for are relatively large, but it would be unclear what celebration is intended. So far as we know the Thesmophoria was a diffused rite, celebrated separately in individual

²¹ For a joint decree of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae, most likely originally set up in the City Eleusinion, see [IG II² 1236](#) = *Agora* XXXI p. 208 no. 72, ca. 180 BC.

²² Hesych. π 3460 s.v. *Proerosia* = *FGrH* 323 Kleidemos F 23: προηρόσια· τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρότ[ρ]ου θύματα. καὶ ὁ δῆμος δὲ αὐτὰ προαρκτούρια καλεῖ.

²³ But perhaps taking place later in the month, cf. [LEleus. 175](#), ll. 3-7, Parker 2005, 479.

²⁴ Compare the provision for the Apatouria made by the *genos* Salaminioi, [RO 37](#), l. 92.

²⁵ [SEG 21.541](#), col. 2, 26-31; Parker 2005, 470.

²⁶ Hesych. β 998 s.v. *boutypon*, cf. Parker 1996, 299.

²⁷ Cf. Lebreton 2015, 92.

demes, and we know of no central observance by the city as a whole.²⁸ Clinton (pp. 123-25) speculated that the observation of the festival by the city deme Melite attested for the early second century by the deme decree honouring their priestess, *Agora XVI 277*, might have taken place in the City Eleusinion. An alternative theory might be that the provision in our inscription was for some celebration of the festival by the Eleusinian genē themselves, whether in the City Eleusinion or at Eleusis.²⁹ In any case, given the uncertainties, it would be unwise to press any particular interpretation; as Jeffery herself noted, p. 98, “whether they [the offerings] are to be connected specifically with the Thesmophoria is uncertain”. The Thesmophoria took place on Pyanopsion 11-13; no calendrical logic would be apparent with respect to the Dipolieia on Face A, in Skirophorion.

On Face A at least separate entries are marked off with hektuple punctuation, ∷, and seem to begin with the name of a deity: in 26-27, Zeus Polieus; in 35 the specifically Eleusinian Korē or the ubiquitous Kourotrophos are equally possible; Erechtheus, in 50 (possibly also in 46), like Zeus Polieus, is associated with the Acropolis. At the Eleusinian festival Skira (again an Eleusinian rite), the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus processed to Skiron with the priest of Helios and the priestess of Athena under a parasol carried by members of the genos Eteoboutadai.³⁰ It is quite plausible that the Eleusinian genē provided “extras” on this or some other occasion at which Erechtheus was worshipped.³¹ In some cases at least the “extras” are supplied to specific officiants: we have already noted the *boutypos* at 24-25; at 43 the recipients are the *phylobasileis*, heads of the four old Ionian tribes who feature otherwise in Athenian religion in the city calendar, as one of the sources of authority (ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν, “from the tribe-kingly”, [SEG 52.48A](#) *passim*) and as recipients, e.g. at the Synoikia ([SEG 52.48A](#) F3 col. 2 with n. 8). Again it is very plausible that the Eleusinian genē would also have contributed “extras” at the Synoikia or another city rite involving these archaic officials. In 36 there is reference to a priestess, most likely in context (35) either the priestess of Demeter and Kore (on whom see [IG I³ 953](#)) or the priestess of Kourotrophos, who was probably supplied by the genos Salaminioi (cf. [RO 37](#), l. 12). In 73-74 there is reference to a *mystes* or *mystai*, initiates in the Eleusinian Mysteries (probably also at 11-12, and possibly at 49); it is not implausible that initiates in the Mysteries should have played some role in these provisions, though we can scarcely guess what. A herald is perhaps mentioned at 150.

The “extras” provided for are, as commonly in ritual provisions, barley (χριθῶν, 16-17, 42, 59, 120) and barley meal (ἀλφίτον, 33, 39, 80, 96, 131), olive oil (ἐλαίον, 7, 62, 114), wine (34, 37, 51?, 59, 72?); less common, and perhaps related specifically to the Thesmophoria (see above), are beans (κυάμον, 64), cheese (τυρῶν, 63), and white and black sesame seeds ([σεσάμον λευκῶν] and μελ[άνον], 64-66). These materials may in part have been adjuncts to animal sacrifice (as e.g. wine for libations, cf. Theophrastos ap. Porph. *Abstin.* II 20-21 = Leão and Rhodes 2015, 141 F 85a), in part for making cakes and

²⁸ On this see Clinton 1996, cf. Parker 2005, 271-83.

²⁹ Other evidence for celebration of the Thesmophoria at Eleusis is opaque, cf. [I Eleus. 175](#) with Clinton 1996, 114.

³⁰ *FGrH* 366 Lysimachides F 3 ap. Harp. Σ 29 s.v. *Skiron*.

³¹ Cf. [SEG 52.48A](#) F1 ll. 3-5 and nn. 2-3 for polis provision for Erechtheus perhaps at the Genesia.

other compounds, such as *pelanos*, for offerings and/or consumption by human participants (cf. Plato *Laws* 6.782 c; for *pelanos* in an Eleusinian context see [OR 141](#), 36 with n. 6). For ἔτνος (38), pea or pulse soup, in a ritual context cf. [IG I³ 250](#), 37 (offering to Hekate in Paiania?), and connected with the Pyanopsia festival (Phot. π 1499, 1500 s.vv. *Pyanopsia*, *Pyanepsion*). Of a piece with this would be γοῦρος, a type of cake flavoured with lentils mentioned in Solon's poems, Athen. 14.645f = F38 West, if that is the correct reading at 138-139, γ|ορ-. Since there are no other monetary amounts, ὀ]βελ-, 88, probably has the meaning, "spit", i.e. for roasting, as at 2, 33-34, and 3, C6. λυτρο, 44, is probably from ἔλυτρον, "covering", "sheath" or "basin". The specific meaning here is unclear, but it would be appropriate in various senses as a sacrificial adjunct or extra, and that the word might be used in this type of context is suggested by Clinton's plausible restoration of it as an item sold in the Eleusinian account of ca. 430-425 BC (?), *I Eleus.* 34, 6: ἐ]λύτρον ΗΗΔ[- ("some kind of coverings").



Fig. 1. 1 fr. c = BM 1785,0527.3. © Trustees of the British Museum.

2 SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR. BM 1816,0610.272. Elgin collection. Post-like stele of white marble, inscribed on four sides, broken at the top and bottom, h. 0.21, w. 0.32, th. 0.10. Attic lettering, as illustrated in *IG I*³, including angular B and P, some angular bars on A and E, significantly forward leaning nu, phi = ⊕, Ϻ, but (not noted in *IG I*³) four-bar sigma l. 25, tailless P, h. 0.015. Stoich. grid h. 0.0193, w. 0.016.

Eds. *CIG I* 72 (C only, from transcript of Rose); (*IG I* 3); Hicks, *GIBM I* no. 73 (*IG I* Supp. p. 5, 3; Prot, *LGS I* 2 + Add. p. 45); *IG I*² 842 + (from Crönert, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1908, 1018-19); Sokolowski, *LSCG* 2; *IG I*³ 246; *CGRN* 20. Autopsy (Thonemann 2002, Lambert 2017), squeezes of Pitt. *Figs.* 2-5. In store.

A (front?)

ca. 470-450 BC

 ερϵ[.....¹⁶.....] stoich. 19
 AN[~]Υ[.....¹⁵.....]

 5 Υ .. NA/[.....¹³.....]
 θαι ἐὰν [.....¹²..... ἄ]-
 νδράσι / [.....¹².....]

B (right side)

 [.] αι: μέ- stoich. 6
 [λ]ιτος τ-
 10 [ρ]ιηεμι
 [κο]τύλ[ι]-
 [α φ]ρύγ[α]-
 [να ἔ]στο
 [τῶ] ἱερέ-
 15 [ος]: Τριτ-
 [ο]πατρε-
 [ῦσ]ι τέλ-
 [εον - -]

C (back?)

 [.] Ε .. Ο ... [.....⁷..... τρι?]- stoich. 19

20 ηεμικοτύλ[ια] φρύγα[να τ]-
 [ῶ]ι [h]ιερεῖ . Ε . . Δ . Α . Κ . [.]
 [.] διδόνα[ι] τ[.⁹ . . .]
 [. Θα]ργελι[ῶν]ο[ς] ἡέκ[τει h]-
 ισταμέ[ν]ο [. .] [. . ηερο]ίγ-
 25 εσι: τέλε[ον] . . ΡΛΛ . . ΕΣ ἔ-
 μισυ ἔ τῶι ἡέροι (?) καὶ φρύ-
 γανα: Πλυντερίοισι Ἄθε-
 [να]ίαι οῖν: Σκιροφοριῶν-
 [ος - - - - - - - - - -]
 - - - - - - - - - -

D (left side)

 [.]: Ἡέρ[με]- stoich. 6
 30 ι πυρῶν
 δύο χοί-
 νικε: τρ-
 ες ὀβε[λ]-
 οί: ἡέρο-
 35 ιν ἔμ πε-
 δίοι: τέ-
 λεον ηε-
 κατέρ[ο]-
 [ι - - - -]

Early editions were based on a transcript by Rose of Face C only. Hicks was the first editor to publish all four faces. *IG I³* reflected contributions by Crönert, Prott, Hiller and Sokolowski, but the most significant progress on the text since Hicks has been made by Thonemann, who carried out a fresh autopsy in 2002, resulting in important improvements in readings, most of which I was able to confirm in 2017, and cogent new restorations. 1 [h]ιερεῖ[ι] Sokolowski || 4-5 φ[ρ]ύγ[α]ν[α] Sokolowski, YOINA/ *IG I³* || 6-7 ἐὰν [τοῖς | *number* ἄ]νδράσι δ[ο]κῆι Hiller, or perhaps the men are recipients, cf. παραδιδότω δὲ τῶι ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν μερίδα, [Agora XVI 161](#) l. 22 || 8 [κοτ[ύ]λα: Thonemann, καὶ previous eds. || 9-13 Thonemann after Sokolowski, cf. 18-19, τ[ρ]ιημι[κο]τύλ[ιον] Hicks || 13-15 Hiller || 15-17 Τριτ[ο]πατρει[ῶ]σι Crönert || 17 τέλι[εον] Thonemann, τῆι previous eds. || 18 [.]εξ . ο . . // [*IG I³*, [.]εξ . ΟΕ . Λ[Lambert || 19-21 τρι]ημικοτύλ[ια] φρύγα[να τ]ῶι [h]ιερεῖ . Ε . . ΔΕΑ . ΚΡ . Thonemann after Sokolowski, (γέ[ρα] δὲ δ[ί]κ[ρα]ς διδόνα[ι καὶ Sok.), ηεμικοτύλ[ια] ΟΙ . Α/[. . | .]Ι . ΙΕΡΕΙΔΕ . . ΔΕ . ΝΙ [.] *IG I³* || 21 τ[ὸ]ς ἄρχο[ν]τα[ς] Thonemann || 23 ηερο]ίγ[ν]εσι Thonemann after Prott p. 45, cf. ἠρωίνησι Θορίκο, [OR 146](#), ll. 18, 30, ἠρωίνησι Κορωνέων [OR 146](#), left

face at l. 58, [τῆ]ι[σι ἡερόιυ]εσι Protz, | /εσι IG I³ || 24 . . ΠΑΛΟΞ ἐς Thonemann, . . P / / . ΤΕΞ IG I³, . ΕΡΑΛΟΨΕΞ Lambert, γ[λ]όσσες Sokolowski, γλόσσες ? IG I³ || 25 ἔ τῶι ἡεροι Hicks, ἐ τῶι ἡεροι Sokolowski, ἐ(ν) τῶι ἡεροι Thonemann, cf. Threatte I 486 || 29-30 ἡερ[μει]ι Thonemann, ἡερ[οι]ι IG I³ || 37-39 Crönert.

A . . . (6) if . . . (7) men . . .

B . . . (8) cups (?). (8-15) Three half-cups of honey, firewood, shall be for the priest. (15-18) For the Tritopatreis a full-grown animal . . .

C . . . (18-22) [The officials?] shall give to the priest . . . [three?] half-cups of -, firewood. (22-26) On the sixth of Thargelion, for the heroines [of -?] a full-grown animal; . . . half as much as for the hero, and firewood (?). (26-28) At the Plynteria for Athena a sheep. In Skirophorion . . .

D . . . (29-34) For Hermes two *choinikes* of wheat, three spits. (34-39) For the two heroes in the plain, a full-grown animal for each . . .

This was among the inscriptions acquired in Athens for Lord Elgin. As with nearly all such inscriptions its precise findspot is not recorded.³² It is an early Attic example of the sacrificial calendar, later perhaps than **1**, which was inscribed boustrophedon on what was apparently an altar, but quite closely comparable to **3** in that it is inscribed orthograde on both the broad and the narrow sides of what is in effect a thin pillar or thick stele, which, as we shall see in relation to **3**, is suggestive of a date before ca. 450 BC. The lettering on the two inscriptions is also of a broadly similar style, both of them displaying some “archaic” features, such as the angular nu and the three-bar sigma, though ours shows two “progressive” features absent in **3**: the rhos are tailless and there is one four-barred sigma. There seems little reason to dissent from the conventional date of ca. 470-450 BC.

Like **1**, as Protz saw, this is patently not part of the city’s calendar ([SEG 52.48A](#) and [B](#)). The offerings are on too small a scale and mostly, it seems, local. IG I³ followed Protz in suggesting our calendar was issued by a tribe, phratry or genos, but tribes and phratries did not for the most part control multiple sanctuaries and cults and no sacrificial calendars of such groups are extant. It might be a genos calendar (compare the calendar of the genos Salaminioi, [RO 37](#), ll. 80-97); but a deme is perhaps more likely. There are close parallels in content with the other major fifth-century deme calendar, that of Thorikos, [OR 146](#), with other deme calendars, and with the cult provisions of the deme Skambonidai, **3** below; and, as we shall see, unlike genos calendars, it adheres to the normal Attic year (see further below) and lacks the dovetailing with city provisions that is characteristic of the Salaminioi calendar and of **1**. Like **1** and for the most part the Thorikos calendar it is not specific as regards the financial aspects of the provisions,

³² There seem no grounds for the assertion made in some editions that it was found on the Acropolis. Some of the Attic inscriptions in Elgin’s collection were collected from other locations in Athens and at least one is from the Piraeus. See above section 1.

though it is possible that, like both the Thorikos and Skambonidai inscriptions, a concern with accounting was reflected in a part of the text now lost. Given the lack of information about findspot, speculation on the identity of the deme (if it is such) responsible for the inscription would seem fruitless.

Face B begins with provision of “extras” for a ritual event now lost, and is followed by an offering to the ubiquitous ancestral figures, the Tritopatreis, whose worship is attested in the city calendar, as well as the calendars of the demes Erchia and Marathon, see [SEG 52.48B](#) F5 with n. 5. The offering of a “full-grown animal”,³³ which can now be read here, is comparable with the single sheep offered in Marathon, [SEG 50.168](#), 32, and in Erchia, where the offering is specified additionally to be “wineless” (*nephalios*) and not to be taken away, [SEG 21.541](#), col. 4, 43. Face C also begins with provision of “extras” for a now lost event, but we then have an offering to heroines on 6 Thargelion, followed by a description of the “extras” for it, perhaps, if Hicks’ reconstruction of the text is correct, specifying that provision should be half that provided for the hero. Two major ritual events are attested in Attica on this date, which was the eve or first day of the Thargelia: a festival of Demeter Chloe on the Acropolis,³⁴ and a purification of the city,³⁵ doubtless the expulsion of “scapegoats” that was part of the Thargelia. No connection is apparent between either of these events and our offering, which looks like a specific local observance.

The Plynteria (“Washing”) was a major Ionian rite, marking in Athens the cleansing of the ancient wooden statue of Athena (cf. [OR 108](#), [SEG 58.145](#)). Fragmentary provisions in the city’s calendar for the end of Thargelion appear to relate to it or the associated Kallynteria (“Beautification”), [SEG 52.48B](#) F3, col. 1, 5-17 with n. 7. The offering of a sheep in our calendar finds a close parallel in the offering of a select sheep to Athena at the Plynteria in Thorikos, [OR 146](#), l. 53. The city observance of this festival took place at the end of Thargelion³⁶ and that timing is consistent with the implication that the offering in our calendar fell in Thargelion after 6th. In Thorikos the festival occurred in Skirophorion, which coincided with its timing in some other Ionian cities, and perhaps we should envisage there some ritual cleansing of a local statue of Athena. It is not clear what the local rite would have consisted of in our deme (if it is such), beyond the offering of the sheep. The fact that Thargelion, the penultimate month, occurs at this point on the stone and is followed by Skirophorion, the last month, suggests that the issuing group followed the normal Attic year, which is suggestive that it was a deme; the genos Salaminioi had a year starting in Mounichion, and the group that issued [IG I³ 234](#), which may also have been a genos, apparently also had an unconventional year (Gamelion after Thargelion). It also confirms that the ordering of the faces, *ABCD*, adopted in [IG I³](#) is

³³ This is now the accepted meaning of τέλει(ι)ον in sacrificial contexts (cf. Lupu 2005, p. 129). The designation might cover a sheep or goat.

³⁴ *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 61, with schol. Soph. *OC* 1600.

³⁵ D.L. 2.44 = *FGrH* 244 Apollodoros F 34.

³⁶ Veiling of the statue on 25 Thargelion, Plut. *Alk.* 34.1, cf. designation of this day as one on which no Athenian would undertake serious business, Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.12; related events apparently on 29 Thargelion, [SEG 52.48B](#) F3, col. 1, 5-17, cf. Phot. κ 124 s.v. *Kallynteria kai Plynteria*. For another possible allusion to ritual washing cf. [IG II³ 4, 635](#) with notes.

probably correct. Face *D* will in that case contain events from the end of Skirophorion. The first of these, as now convincingly read by Thonemann, was for a festival of Hermes. Offerings to Hermes, Hermaia, were characteristically made by young men in gymnasia. They are rather sketchily attested in Attica, and without indications of date in the year,³⁷ but in other Greek cities they frequently occurred, as apparently here, at the end of the year.³⁸ Wheat is a less common extra than barley, but it is difficult to grasp the significance of that. The spits may, as perhaps in 1 but not 3, be for meat supplied from other sources. This is consonant with the impression given by Plato's *Lysis* 206c-207a, 207d, that the young gymnasium users would supply their own *hieropoioi* and sacrifice on their own account. In short, what we should perhaps envisage here is an end-of-year "party", organised in the local gymnasium, with the animal to be sacrificed supplied by the users, and the local deme supplying the spits for roasting it on.

The final entry is for another full-grown offering, this time for each of a pair of heroes "in the plain", reminiscent again of the offerings to heroes in other Attic deme calendars, e.g. Thorikos ([OR 146](#)) and the Tetrapolis ([SEG 50.168](#)).



Fig.2. 2 = BM 1816,0610.272, face A. © Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁷ Cf. [IG II³ 1, 1281](#) with AIO note 6; Parker 2005, 251 and 473; [IG II³ 4, 357-364](#).

³⁸ P. Gauthier and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarque de Beroia* (1993), 96-97.

3. The Inscriptions. 2 Sacrificial Calendar



Fig. 3. 2 = BM 1816,0610.272, face B.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

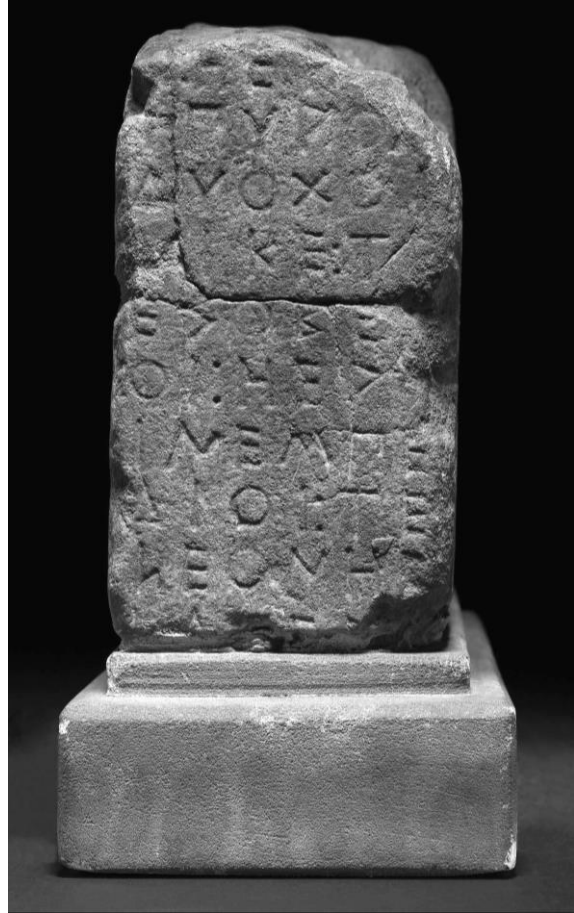


Fig. 4. 2 = BM 1816,0610.272, face D.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

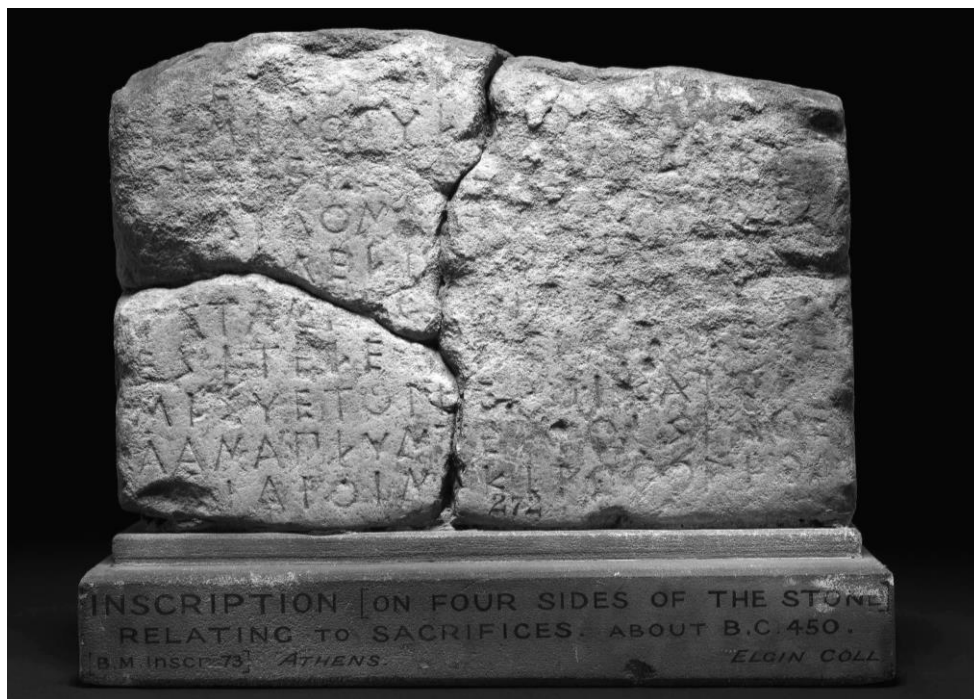


Fig. 5. 2 = BM 1816,0610.272, face C. © Trustees of the British Museum.

3 ORDINANCES OF SKAMBONIDAI. BM 1785,0527.2. Found by Chandler in the floor of a house in Athens near the “Theseion” (= Hephaisteion) and presented to the BM by the Society of Dilettanti, 1781 (or 1785?, see section 1). Post of white marble, top, inscribed front (C), left side (B) and back (A) preserved. Right side (D) and bottom not preserved. H. 0.41, w. 0.246, th. 0.123. Attic letters, illustrated *IG I*³, some angular bars on A (but not E), theta = ⊙, significantly forward leaning N, tailed rho, ς, Y = V, X, slightly more archaic in style on Face C, including narrow A with angular bar, B with angular bars, X = +, h. 0.010-0.011 (C), 0.014 (AB). Stoich. grid A 0.0166-0.0168 h., 0.0183 w., B 0.0192 h., 0.017 w., C 0.0172 h., 0.020 w.

Eds. R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* II (1774), no. 27, pp. 54 and xxv; *CIG* I 70 (from transcripts of Müller and Rose); *IG* I 2 (using drawing of Curtius); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 1 (*IG* I Supp. p. 4, 2); Ziehen, *LGS* II 9 (using squeeze of Caecilius Smith); Crönert, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1908, 1023-25 (mainly A); *IG* I² 188 (using notes of Crönert); Sokolowski, *LSCG* 10; *IG* I³ 244; OR 107; *CGRN* 19.

Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 22, 1887, 254-56 (= *Kl. Schriften* V 1, 337-39); S. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods* (2004), 145-46; S. Wijma, *Embracing the Immigrant* (2014), 103-109. Autopsy, Lambert 2017, squeezes of Pitt. *Figs.* 6-8. Gallery 78, Classical Inscriptions.

C

| | |
|----------------|---|
| ca. 475-450 BC | [θ]έ[σ]μια: Σ[καμβονι]- stoich. 14 [δ]ῶν: τὸν δέ[μαρχον] [κ]αὶ τὸς: ἡ[ε]ροποι]- [ὀ]ς: τῷ Λεῶ[ι δρᾶν τ]- |
| 5 | [έ]λεον: λῆχ[σιν . . .] [ὀ]βολῶν: ἡε[κάστοι] [Σ]καμβονι[δῶν καὶ] [τ]ὸς μετοί[κ]ος λαχ]- ξεν: ἐν ἀγορᾶ[ι τῆι Σ]- |
| 10 | [κ]αμβονιδῶ[ν:] [.]οισι: δρᾶν [τέλεο]- [ν]: νέμεν δέ: ε[. . . ⁵ . . .] [.]α[.]τα: τῷ: σ[. . . ⁵ . . .] [.]ο[.]ειον: κα[. . . .] |
| 15 | [. . .]οντα: ἐπι[. . . .] [.]εν: Χσυνοι[κίοι]- [ς]: ἐ[μ] πόλει: τέ[λεον] [τ]ὰ [δ]ὲ κρέα: ἀπο[δόσ]- θαι: ὀμά: Ἐπιζε[φύρ]- |
| 20 | [ο]ισι: ἐμ Πυθίο [τέλ]- [ε?]ον: τὰ <δ>ὲ κρέα [ἀπο]- [δ]όσθαι: ὀμά: [. . .] [.]οι[ς] κατὰ τ[αὐτά?] |

D

Missing

A

[.....¹¹.....]μεν: [.] stoich. 15
 [.....⁸.....] τ[ὸ] τέλος
 [.....⁷.....]εν: νέμεν δ-
 5 [ἔ τὰ κρέα] μέχρι ηελ-
 [ίο δύσε]ος: [ἔαν] δὲ με
 [.....⁷.....]ὸ ...: [ε]ύθυ-
 [ν.....⁵.....]: [.]ο[.....⁵.....]μα
 [.....¹³.....]αι
 [.....⁶.....]: [ἔ]ν ἄ[γ]ορᾶι: ἄ-
 10 [ποδό?]σθ[αι]: [ἀπ]ο[μ]ισθ-
 [ῶσαι?]: [.....⁵.....]τα : τάδε
 [.....⁵.....]: [π]λὲν τῷ κομα-
 [.....]ο[.....]τοδε: τῷ δεμά-
 15 [ρχο] ἕναι τὸ δέρμα: δ-
 [.....⁵.....]ος: ἠοποίαν δ'
 [ἄν ἠαρμ]όπτεσθαι: δ-
 [ἔει θυσ]ίαν: διδόνα-
 [ι Διπολ]ιείοις: καὶ
 [Παναθ]εναίοις: νέμ-
 20 [εν ἐν] ἄγορᾶι: τῆι Σκ-
 [αμβο]νιδῶν: ἡόσα δὲ
 [.....]ΑΞΕΞ: ἠεμίχον
 [.....⁷.....]ΡΕΝ[.]ΟΜ[.]Ο

B

ν κερυχ[θ]-
 ἔι: ἔπαγγ-
 ελθῆι: κα-
 ἰ τὰ κοιν-
 5 [ἄ] τὰ Σκαμ-
 βονιδῶν
 σοῶ: καὶ ἄ-

ποδόσο: π-
 ἀρὰ τὸν ε-
 10 ὕθουνον: τ-
 ὀ καθέκο-
 ν: ταῦτα ἐ-
 πομνύνα-
 ι: τὸς τρῆ-
 15 ς θεός: ἡό
 τι ἄν τῶ[v]
 κοινῶν: μ-
 ἐ ἀποδιδ-
 ὄσιν: παρ-
 20 ἀ τὸν εὔθ-
 υνο[v π]ρὸ

The stone has been studied intensively by a number of scholars since its discovery in the 18th century. I have silently made some minor adjustments to *IG I*³'s record of legible letters, none of which affects the sense. The designation of the faces *ABCD* became conventional before it was recognised that *C* must actually be the front face. *C2-5* Kirchhoff *IG I* Suppl., *A13-14* Kirchhoff *IG I*, *C4* δρᾶν, *C5-6*, *C8-9* λαχ[ε]v, *C11-12* [τέλεολv], *C16*, *C23* Wilamowitz, *C7-10*, *C18-22*, *C19-21* Boeckh, *C17*, *A16-17* Hicks, *C19* Ἐπιζε[φύρο]ισι, *A4-5* Crönert-Hiller., *A18* Wackernagel, *Rh. Mus.* 45, 1890, 480 || *C1-2* Lambert after Humphreys, [. . .]μια : κ[. . . ? . . . | .]ον *IG I*³, *ΓΜΜΙΑ CIG* (Müller), *N[.]MIA* Crönert || *C5* fin. δύο Wilamowitz, τῶν ? Lambert || *C10-11* Κρονί[ο]ισι ? Humphreys || *C12-13* ἐ[ς] ἴσον | π[ι]ά[v]τα Sokolowski || *C13-14* Θ[ε]σεῖον Hicks, σ[φραγεί | χ]ο[ρδ]εῖον Sokolowski || *C14-15* κα[ὶ] τὰ πλερίοντα ? Hicks || *C15-16* ἐπι[λαγχ]άνεν ? Lambert || *C20-21* Thonemann *per ep.*, cf. *IG II*² 17, 10 (ἐν Πυθίῳ), Πυθίο[ι κρη]όν Hicks, ἀμ]βλόν Crönert-Hiller || *C21* ΤΑΑΕ stone || *A5* Thonemann *per ep.*, cf. *IG IV* 597, 16-17, *IG IV* 602, 11, *I Priene* 114 + p. 311 (McCabe, *Priene* 34), 14-15, δυσμ[ῶ]v Hicks, δύντ[ος] Cr.-Hiller || *A7-8* τ[ὸ]v δὲ δέ[μα]λ[ρχον] Crönert-Hiller, τ[ὸ] [δὲ δέρ]μα Sokolowski || *A9-11* ἀ[ποδό]σθ[αι]: [ἀπ]ο[μ]ισθ[ῖ]σθ[αι]: [ἡάπαν]τα Sokolowski || *A12-13* κομ[ά]λ[ρχο] Hicks, κόμ(μ)α[λ]τος Crönert-Hiller. It is difficult to construe ll. 12-13 and an inscribing error cannot be ruled out, perhaps resulting in the repetition of the sequence ΤΟΔΕ three times in 2 lines || *A15* δι[ιδόντ]ος Hicks || *B2* (= ἔ + ἐ)παγγ- Matthaiou, personal communication.

Face C

Ordinances of Skambonidai. The demarch and the sacred officials shall [sacrifice] (5) a full-grown victim to Leos, allocation (?) of [the?] spits to each of the Skambonidai, and the metics shall have a share, in the agora of (10) Skambonidai; to (deities) *or* at (festival) they shall sacrifice [a full-grown victim?] and distribute (15) ; at the Synoikia on the Acropolis a full-grown victim and sell the meat raw; at the Epizephyria (20) in the Pythion a [full-grown victim?] and sell the meat raw; at the - (?) in the same way (?) . . .

Face D

Not preserved

Face A

. the end *or* contribution . . . distribute the meat until (5) sunset; but if they do not . . .
. . . audit-. [sell] (10) in the agora; rent out *or* contract for . . . these . . . except for . . .
this (?); the skin is to belong to the demarch (15) . . . whatever sort of sacrifice is needed
to be appropriate, offer at the Dipolieia and the Panathenaia, (20) and distribute in the
agora of Skambonidai (*or* appropriate to offer . . . (20) distribute); but as much as . . . a
half-chous . . .

Face B

. . . let it be declared, (or?) let it be announced: “and I will preserve (5) the common
property of Skambonidai and I will hand over what is proper (10) in the presence of the
auditor”; and they are to swear these things by the Three (15) Gods; whatever of the
common property they do not hand over in the presence of the auditor before . . .

This inscription is of considerable interest as the most substantial surviving deme “decree”
conventionally datable to before 450 BC and our fullest fifth-century document of a deme
within the city of Athens.

Both *CGRN* and Osborne and Rhodes follow the conventional date, ca. 460 BC, which was established as long ago as *CIG* (“prima Pericleae aetatis tempora”, Boeckh). To judge from the lettering illustrated by Tracy in his 2016 study of Athenian lettering of the fifth century BC, the style of this inscription is characteristic of the generation before 450 BC, including for example substantially forward-sloping nu, which I note is a feature of no cutter working significantly later than 450 BC identified by Tracy (and is also a feature of **1** and **2**). There are slight differences between the lettering on *Face C* and the other *Faces*. The cross-bars on the alpha are mostly more slanted, for example, and chi is + rather than X. It is also notable that *Face C* begins with three-dot punctuation, but already in the first few lines this gives way to a two-dot style maintained for the rest of the inscription. There is apparent continuity in the flow of the sense from *C* through *A* to *B*; and the careful stoichedon layout, including slightly tighter spacing on *A* to fit in one more letter in each line than on *C*, suggests that the whole inscription was planned from the start to fill the space available on the stone. It seems most likely that the inscription was cut all at the same time, but that perhaps two different cutters were employed on it, with the cutter of *C* deploying one or two more old-fashioned features than the cutter of *A*. The physical form of the inscription, a pillar or post with two wider and two narrower faces, probably originally inscribed on all four sides, is also characteristic of a date before mid-century. After ca. 450 BC this form gave way to the Classical “stele” format, less thick than the “pillar” and usually inscribed on one or sometimes two sides only.³⁹ I conclude that a date for this inscription of ca. 475-450 BC is likely.

³⁹ See Meyer 2016, 359, table 1, showing that the only “post” inscribed on more than two sides datable to after 450 BC is *IG I³ 383*, an inventory of the Other Gods of 429/8 BC.

Skambonidai was one of five Cleisthenic demes within the city of Athens. Two of them were relatively large, returning twelve (Kydatheiaion) and seven (Melite) members to the Athenian Council in the fourth century, while Koile, Kollytos and Skambonidai were smaller, each returning three councillors, probably implying an adult male citizen population at this period in the low hundreds. Skambonidai also gave its name to the city trittys of Leontis.⁴⁰ The evidence for the precise location of the deme is scanty, but in combination with what is known or can be surmised about the locations of the other urban demes it seems that it occupied the north-westerly sector of the city and that the findspot of our inscription in secondary use near the Hephaisteion was close to its southern boundary.⁴¹ Pausanias 1.38.2 reports an opinion of the demesmen of Skambonidai about the mythology of Krokon, eponym of the genos Krokonidai and of the so-called “kingdom of Krokon” on the way to Eleusis, which might tend to confirm that the deme was located close to the Sacred Way and the Dipylon and Sacred Gates out of the city to the north-west. Our inscription was probably originally set up in a deme sanctuary, but we cannot identify which. There was a lane in Skambonidai called Μύρμηκος ἀτραπός, “Ant’s lane”, associated also with the hero Myrmex, father, according to Hesiod, of the eponymous heroine of another urban deme, Melite.⁴² This perhaps suggests that Skambonidai and Melite were neighbours. Cleisthenes’ demes were largely based on pre-existing geographical and community units, and this seems also to have applied to the urban demes. There are indications that the river Eridanos, which might have formed the southern boundary of the deme, functioned as a spatial marker already in the Bronze Age;⁴³ and “Skambonidai”, a name of patronymic form, whose eponym is wholly obscure, and the archaic festivals provided for in the inscription, confirm that, like other demes that produced comparable fifth-century inscriptions, Thorikos for example ([OR 146](#)), it was a functioning community long before Cleisthenes restructured it into a deme. If Hicks’ uncertain restoration of line A12-13, [π]λὲν τῷ κομάρχῳ, “except the komarch (= village-chief)”, is correct, this may reflect the continuing existence of the old order alongside the new. Compare, for example, the ancient association, the *Tetrakomia*, consisting of four “villages” which shared names, but not precisely the same membership, with the demes, Piraeus, Phaleron, Xypete and Thymaitadai.⁴⁴ In other cases the new system seems to have completely overlaid the old, so that in the Marathonian Tetrapolis (Marathon, Oinoe, Probalinthos and Trikorynthos), for example, the name of the association and its component communities and cults were patently of pre-Cleisthenic origin, but authority for them was vested in the relevant demes ([SEG 50.168](#)).

Characteristically of deme decrees at this period the subject matter is provision for cult, together with accountability of deme officials. The same concerns are apparent, for example, in the sacrificial calendar of Thorikos, [OR 146](#). Accountability is one of the

⁴⁰ *IG I³* 1117.

⁴¹ Cf. Di Cesare 2014a, 713, 722, and for earlier bibliography on the deme’s topography, 740.

⁴² Hesych. μ 1904 s.v. *Myrmekos atrapous* and Phot. μ 606 s.v. *Myrmekos atrapous*, cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 100; *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 27 and Hesiod F225 Merkelbach-West. ap. Harp. M 20 s.v. *Melite*.

⁴³ Di Cesare 2014a, 713; S. Privitera, *Principi, Pelasgi e Pescatori. L’Attica nella Tarda Età del Bronzo* (2013).

⁴⁴ [Rationes stele 2A](#) col. 1 F9 with Lambert 1997, 190-92; [IG II³ 4, 225](#) with AIO’s note.

three key elements in democratic ideology in the earliest piece of extended political theorising in Greek literature, the debate on the constitutions dramatically set in Persia in 522 BC by Herodotos,⁴⁵ and it was believed that, in Athens, this principle went back to Solon at least.⁴⁶ Accountability in the context of our inscription has a religious aspect in two senses: in that expenditure on religious observance is central to the inscription's substantive provisions (Faces C-A); and in that religious sanctions, as represented in this inscription by the officials' oath, play a crucial role in securing it (Face B). The factors driving inscription of this text operate in parallel. Inscribing the *thesmia* of the deme in a religious sanctuary was patently appropriate to their substantive provisions, having the effect of endowing them with a solemn permanence before gods and men (C-A); and inscribing the oath of the officials also endowed that sanction with a solemn permanence (B, though we do not know whether officials entering office would in practice have read the oath directly from the stone, or even while holding it). The connection between the terms of the oath (B) and the substantive provisions (C-A) is not, however, direct. What the officials swear is not precisely that they will enact the provisions set out in C-A, but that they will, to paraphrase, properly manage the deme's funds. This is both a narrower and a broader commitment than the provisions in C-A, narrower in that some of the provisions in C-A are not specifically financial (continuing the meat distribution until sunset, for example), broader in that there will have been aspects of the deme's financial management that went beyond accounting for the sacrifices provided for in C-A. Nothing is said in C-A, for example, about management of the deme's capital, which, to judge from other fifth-century deme decrees, will have been either held in land, or loaned out, or a combination of the two (see e.g. [OR 159](#) which gives a vivid picture of the complexity of the overall financial management of the small deme Plotheia). Two other features, however, are noteworthy in this context: unlike some other Attic ritual provisions, in particular the city's own sacrificial calendar ([SEG 52.48A-B](#)), but also the extant fourth-century calendars (Tetrapolis, Erchia, Teithras, Eleusis, Salaminioi), there is no detailing of prices and costs of sacrifices. To this extent the deme's officials in Skambonidai in the first half of the fifth century are given more discretion than their fourth-century counterparts in other demes; but they remain accountable for the overall management of the deme's finances. If the demarch and the *hieropoioi* spend too much, for example, on the full-grown sheep or goat for sacrifice to Leos, or fail to raise a reasonable sum in the sale of raw meat from the sacrifice at the Synoikia, they may be held accountable for that in a general way under the provisions of B. Second, it is interesting that there is an official specifically responsible for audit, the *euthynos*. We do not know his precise function or how he carried it out. One may perhaps assume that he would make a report to the deme as a whole; but his very existence emphasises the importance ascribed to this function in this deme, and in a general way that is consonant with the impression given by other deme

⁴⁵ Hdt. 3.80. In the "rule of the mass" = democracy, officials are accountable, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει.

⁴⁶ Ar. *Pol.* 2.1274a, 15-18 (Solon bestowed on the People the power of choosing the officials and holding them to account, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν), cf. 3.1281b, 32-34 (Solon bestowed powers of election and calling of officials to account on those who were not eligible for office themselves).

inscriptions (cf. the arrangements made in the deme Halai Aixonides in 368/7 BC, [IG II² 1174](#)).

The specifics of the inscription have been discussed recently in the commentaries of OR 107 and [CGRN 19](#). What follows complements and develops those treatments. The heading, in Humphreys' persuasive reading, states clearly what the inscription contains: the *thesmia* ("ordinances") of the Skambonidai, a term which, perhaps significantly, occurs elsewhere in an Athenian context in *Ath. Pol.*'s citation of the traditional Athenian law against tyranny.⁴⁷ Words from the same root were used to denote the legislation of Draco (*thesmoi*) and the title of the six archons who were primarily responsible for the administration of justice at Athens, the *thesmothetai*. *Thesmia* had solemn, archaic connotations, therefore, consonant with the substantive provisions. The phraseology notably differs from that later current in the Classical democracy: this is not a *psephisma*, enacted by popular vote, nor was it explicitly a decision of the demesmen. Such language does not appear in deme decrees until after ca. 450 BC.⁴⁸ What drove the inscription of these provisions at this particular time is unclear. It might have been the need to transfer old provisions on a perhaps decaying wooden post to the medium of stone; or the need to clarify the entitlement of metics to shares of the sacrifices, or to clarify arrangements for the size of sacrifices and the distribution of meat in general in response to pressures caused by increases in the deme's population. But the use of the term *thesmia* implies that these provisions are, and should for the future be regarded as, the established "ordinances", the accrued custom and practice, of the deme. It implies nothing in particular about the extent to which those "ordinances" were the result of a popular decision. To judge by the political ideology implicit in this inscription, it belongs to a stage in the development of democracy in which accountability was a much more marked feature than the equal participation of all in decision-taking.

There follows a series of sacrificial provisions, specifying what offerings the demarch and the *hieropoioi* are to make to what deities and/or on what occasions, with a particular emphasis on how they are to be distributed. Five entries are preserved on Face C, and we may assume the text continued in similar vein at the bottom of C and most likely on D, the narrow face to the right, now broken away. When the text resumes at the top of A we are in the middle of detailed provisions about distribution of sacrificial meat, and of perquisites to officials. A1-15 are very fragmentary; A16-21 contain more

⁴⁷ *Ath. Pol.* 16.10 (law in force at time of Peisistratids). The restoration θεσ[μὸς at [IG I³ 243, 30](#), is unsound (Matthaiou, in a forthcoming paper).

⁴⁸ Thus [ἔδοχσε]ν Ἰκαριεῦσι, [IG I³ 254 = SEG 54.58, 2](#) (before 431 BC?), [ἔδ]οξε Πλωθειεῦσι, [IG I³ 258](#) = OR 159, 11 (ca. 420 BC ?). Contrast this with the prescript of what is probably the very earliest inscribed decree of the Athenian Assembly, [IG I³ 1](#) (510-500 BC?), ἔδοχσεν τοῖσι δέμοι. Robert Parker points out to me the parallel between the heading of our text and the Athenian Assembly decree confirming the privileges of the gens Praxiergidai, ca. 460-420 BC, [IG I³ 7](#) = OR 108, which uses the not dissimilar term *patria*, "ancestral traditions", to introduce them (13): [τάδε] πάτρια Πραχσ[ιεργίδ-]. The "heading" in this case, however, is preceded by a substantial preamble, bringing the decision under the aegis of the democracy ([ἔδοχσεν τῆ]ι β[ο]λ[ῆ]ι καὶ τοῖσι δέμοι, 1) and making clear also that it accords with an oracle of Apollo. In general it seems there was some timelag between the appearance of democratic modes of formulation in Assembly decrees and their being adopted by the demes.

intelligible provisions for two city festivals, the Dipolieia and Panathenaia, and Face *A* concludes with provision of a liquid “extra”, probably wine or oil. Then on *B* the provisions are rounded off by the oath, unstated by whom, but presumably the demarch and the *hieropoioi*.

As noted above, there is no specificity about costs in *C-A*; and, again unlike some other comparable inscriptions, there is also no specificity as regards time, no allocation of the events to seasons, months or days. In a small group this would perhaps be well-known and did not require stating, though our knowledge of the festivals provided for is such that we cannot infer that they are in fact listed in chronological order. The only event on Face *C* that we can date is the Synoikia in mid-Hekatombaion (first month of the year). It seems to be the third event listed, but we cannot confidently infer that the previous two took place in the first half of Hekatombaion.⁴⁹ The principle of organisation may have had more to do with categories of offering: the first distributed in a particular fashion; the second in a different fashion; while the meat from the third, fourth and perhaps fifth are to be sold raw. That we do not have to do with a strictly calendrical organisation is rather confirmed at *A17-19*, where we have provisions for festivals in both the last month, Skirophorion (the Dipolieia), and the first, Hekatombaion (the Panathenaia).

The first offering is to Leos, eponym of the tribe Leontis, to which Skambonidai belonged, a somewhat shadowy figure known principally as father of girls who gave their lives to save the city.⁵⁰ It was in the vicinity of their sanctuary, the Leokoreion, that the killing of the tyrant Hipparchos took place as he was organising the start of the Panathenaic procession.⁵¹ Its precise location remains unknown, but it may well have been in or close to the southern side of Skambonidai. We cannot, however, be certain whether this sacrifice to Leos took place in the Leokoreion or a separate sanctuary of Leos;⁵² or whether it took place as an independent observance of the deme, or as part of a wider festival, perhaps tribal. A full-grown animal, sheep or goat, was sacrificed, and its meat, it seems, distributed on spits to each deme member and with a share also for the metics, in

⁴⁹ Restoring the archaic festival of 12 Hekatombaion, the Kronia, Κρονί]οισι at *C10-11*, would suit chronologically before the Synoikia, on 16 Hekatombaion, *C16*, but such reasoning has doubtful logic here.

⁵⁰ [Dem.] 60.29 etc.

⁵¹ Thuc. 1.20.2, 6.57.1; testimonia collected by Wycherley, *Agora III*, pp. 109-13; cf. U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen* (1976), 194-201; E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (1989), 181; Di Cesare 2014b, 1259-60. The precise location ascribed to the Leokoreion in some older literature has been abandoned.

⁵² The location of the tribal sanctuary of Leontis has not been determined, but it might have been in or close to Skambonidai. For a dedication of 333/2 BC to “the hero” by ephebic officers and a tribal decree of Leontis found in the north-east of the Agora, see *Hesp.* 9, 1940, 59-66 no. 8, col. 1, ll. 32-33, col. 2, l. 5. Cf. [IG II³ 4, 25](#) and [207](#) with AIO’s notes. It is not clear that this Leos had anything to do with the Leos whose worship in the deme Hagnous (not in Leontis, but Akamantis) was mentioned in Solon’s axones, St. Byz. s.v. Ἀγνοῦς: . . . ἐν τοῖς ἄξοσιν, “ἐπειδὴ Ἀγνοῦντι θυσία ἐστὶν τῷ Λεῶ . . .” (“Hagnous: . . . in the axones, ‘when the sacrifice to Leos takes place in Hagnous’”), and who had a different mythical personality, connected with Theseus, Plut. *Thes.* 13.

the deme agora, the implication apparently being that shares of the meat could be claimed without attending the sacrifice itself.⁵³

Though it cannot be ruled out that “metic” here is used in an informal sense to comprehend Athenians who were members of other demes but resident in Skambonidai, this text is usually taken as our earliest epigraphical evidence for the existence at Athens of the formal status of metic = resident foreigner,⁵⁴ a status to which Aeschylus perhaps alludes in his *Suppliant Women* of the late 460s (609-14), and in the *Eumenides* of 458 (1028-31). There are certainly indications that an unusually high proportion of metics in the formal sense resided in this deme, as in other urban demes. No less than five metics resident in Skambonidai appear in the building accounts of the Erechtheion, [OR 181](#); and in his 1986 study of the demes Whitehead counted 28 metics attested in Skambonidai, a total exceeded only by the figures for other, mostly larger, urban or suburban demes, Melite (75), Kollytos (42), Alopeke (31), Kydathenaion (31) and the Piraeus (69).⁵⁵ Some of Skambonidai’s metics might have resided in “Ant’s Lane” (see above) and/or in the apartment block and other property at Skambonidai owned by Axiochos son of Alcibiades of Skambonidai, and sold by the city following confiscation in 414 BC after his conviction for mutilation of the Herms and profanation of the Mysteries, *IG I³ 424*, 10-11, 24-30. We cannot quantify precisely the total population of citizens and metics in Skambonidai, and it is obscure whether women are included in the distribution; but in any case the number will have run into the hundreds, rather large to be fed from one sheep or goat. One wonders if the provision of a single animal might be a relic from a time when the deme was a smaller community than it had become at the time these *thesmia* were inscribed, though doubtless not all claimed their due shares; and the sacrificial animal supplied by the deme will have been supplemented by other sources of food, private and perhaps communal also (e.g. supplied by the tribe).⁵⁶

The same type of animal was sacrificed at the unknown festival which follows (C10-11).⁵⁷ Its distribution is also described in some detail, unfortunately not now recoverable. There follow two events (and probably a third) at which the deme sacrificed an animal at city festivals in locations in Athens, at the Synoikia on the Acropolis, the festival celebrating the synoecism of Attica by Theseus for which provision is also made,

⁵³ For obols = spits, cf. **1**, l. 88, and **2**, ll. 32-34, where, however, it perhaps means the spits without meat.

⁵⁴ [OR 107](#) points out that they are not mentioned in an inscribed Assembly decree until 421/0, *IG I³ 82*, l. 23. There too they are recipients of sacrificial allocations, probably at the festival of Hephaistos. For an earlier informal designation of a *metaoikos*, on the funerary monument for Anaxilas of Naxos, *IG I³ 1357*, see J. Blok, *Citizenship in Classical Athens* (2017), 268. In general on metics as honoured participants in Athenian festivals see Wijma 2014.

⁵⁵ Whitehead 1986, 83-84.

⁵⁶ That meat from the sacrificial animal itself was typically supplemented in post-sacrificial dining by food from other sources has been emphasised in the important ongoing work of G. Ekroth, e.g. *Food and History* 5, 2007, 249-72; in V. Pirenne-Delforge and F. Prescendi eds., *Nourrir les dieux? (Kernos Suppl. 26, 2011)*, 15-41; G. Ekroth and J. Wallenstein eds., *Bones, Behaviour and Belief* (2013); cf. J. Whitley and R. Madgwick, in van den Eijnde 2018, 125-48 (variety of animals in contexts of ritual feasting on Crete). It is unclear how far the meat distributed in the Skambonidai agora was consumed on the spot or taken home.

⁵⁷ See above on the uncertain theory that the festival was the Kronia.

as we saw in the notes to 1, in the sacrificial calendar of the polis as a whole ([SEG 52.48A](#) F3 col. 2 with n. 8); and in the Pythion (near the Olympieion) at the otherwise unknown festival Epizephyria. It is specified in both cases that the meat from these animals ἀποδόσθαι ὀμά, usually understood as “is to be sold raw”. This perhaps implies that the rites at which the animals were sacrificed were not very popular (the city’s provision for the Synoikia was also modest, and organised in terms of obsolete units of community, the pre-Cleisthenic tribes), and presented an opportunity to replenish the deme funds with which our inscription is closely concerned.⁵⁸

We cannot be certain that the fragmentary provisions of A1-15 do not relate to the generality, or to a specific group of, deme sacrifices, but they may also contain provisions for the distribution of a single specific sacrifice, like C5-10 and 12-16. In any case the provision that the officials – presumably the demarch and *hieropoioi* are still in view – should distribute the sacrificial meat through until sunset (if that is the correct restoration at A4-5⁵⁹), or else be penalised at their *euthynai*, reflects the same concern with proper distribution as is apparent in C5-10 and 12-16, and seems to be designed to head off potential sharp practice with the sacrificial portions. A similar concern perhaps underlies A9-10, where the emphasis seems to be on requiring the sale (?) of something, perhaps again the meat from the sacrifice, in the deme agora, as opposed to anywhere else that the deme officials might have personal interests in disposing of it, the underlying intention of which might be as much that deme residents should have a chance to purchase the meat, as that the best market price should be obtained for it. We cannot tell what exactly is to be rented or contracted for, [ἀπ]ο[μ]ισθ[ῶ]σαι, if that is the correct restoration of A10-11; one might, however, compare the provision for τὰ μισθώματα τῆς πομπῆς in the decree on the Little Panathenaia, [IG II³ 1, 447](#), 54. In A13-14 the demarch is to be given the skin from one or more sacrificial animals, a common perquisite for religious functionaries.⁶⁰

A15-21 concern sacrifices at the Dipolieia and Panathenaia, festivals similar in principle to the Synoikia and (presumably) the Epizephyria in that we have to do with deme contributions to city festivals. They differ, however, in that there is no specification of the number or type of victims to be offered – some discretion on this point seems to be allowed the deme’s officials – and while the meat from those sacrifices was to be sold raw, on these occasions it is to be distributed in the agora of Skambonidai, like the meat from the sacrifice to Leos. The Panathenaia and perhaps the Dipolieia were, we may imagine, livelier events in which deme members could be expected to take a more active share. Under the new arrangements for meat distribution at the Little Panathenaia of the late 330s BC in [IG II³ 1, 447](#), 52-53, shares are to be allocated by the number of participants in the procession provided by each deme; it would seem from our inscription

⁵⁸ Humphreys, 145, suggests that ἀποδόσθαι here may mean “distribute” rather than “sell”, but in that case one might have expected the verbs used elsewhere in this part of the text for “distribute”, νέμειν or λαχῆν.

⁵⁹ Humphreys, 145 n. 40 thinks alternatively of sun[rise] following a *pannychis*.

⁶⁰ Cf. e.g. [IG I³ 255](#) (skins for priests and priestesses [in Tetrapolis?]); [OR 137](#), l. 10 (skins for priestess of Athena Nike); [IG II² 1359](#) (skins among priestly dues, *hiereosyna*, in fragmentary context); [SEG 54.214](#) (skins for priests and priestesses [in Aixone?]); [21.541](#) (skins for priestesses in Erchia, and at col. 5, ll. 52-58, unspecified perquisites, *gera*, perhaps including skins (?), for the demarch, cf. Whitehead 1986, 202); [RO 37](#), ll. 32-38 (priests in genos Salaminioi).

that in the case of some demes at least this supplemented provisions made by the demes themselves.⁶¹ We have already noted in our discussion of **1** that the Dipolieia was also a festival in which the city's provisions supplemented those made by other groups (cf. [SEG 52.48B](#) F1, col. 2).⁶²

A21-22 makes provision for a liquid sacrificial "extra" of some description; cf. the extras of this type provided for in **1**. The oath by "the three gods" specified at B14-15 is probably by Zeus, Apollo and Demeter.⁶³

Unlike most local Attic ritual provisions, this inscription demonstrates a marked emphasis in this urban deme on religious observances with a focus outside the deme, and a marked lack of locally specific and agriculturally related offerings.⁶⁴ Of the five offerings or festivals mentioned, the Epizephyria is unknown; but the first offering is to Leos, eponym not of the deme, but of the tribe, Leontis, to which Skambonidai belonged, emphasising the deme's status as component of a larger unit. The next legible offering, at A16, is at the Synoikia on the Acropolis, just outside the deme itself, a festival celebrating the binding together of the various communities of Attica by Theseus in the synoecism. The two festivals named on Face A have similar connotations: the Dipolieia and the Panathenaia, festivals celebrating the two deities who presided over Athens' Acropolis, Zeus and Athena, again emphasising what bound Skambonidai together in common purpose with other Athenians: in the universal experience of sacrifice itself, thematised at the Dipolieia, and in the celebration of Athens' distinctive common identity at the Panathenaia. For the members of Skambonidai, an urban deme with a perhaps more fluid population of citizens and foreigners than a typical rural deme, it seems to have been more important to emphasise what bound them together with others, whether other Athenians or metics, than the distinct local identity that is so apparent in the sacrificial provisions of other Attic demes.

⁶¹ Cf. the provision for the Panathenaia made by the genos Salaminioi at [RO 37](#), l. 88.

⁶² OR p. 46 notes that "the feature that is perhaps most relevant here is the insistence that the whole community is involved in the killing of the working ox: deme participation in the Dipolieia played that out for the new Cleisthenic political structure."

⁶³ OR p. 46, cf. [OR 121](#), l. 16, A. H. Sommerstein and A. J. Bayliss, *Oath and State in Ancient Greece* (2013), 164.

⁶⁴ Contrast for example the provisions of the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, [SEG 50.168](#), discussed most recently by Lambert, in van den Eijnde 2018, 149-80; and **2** above.

3. The Inscriptions. 3 Ordinances of Skambonidai

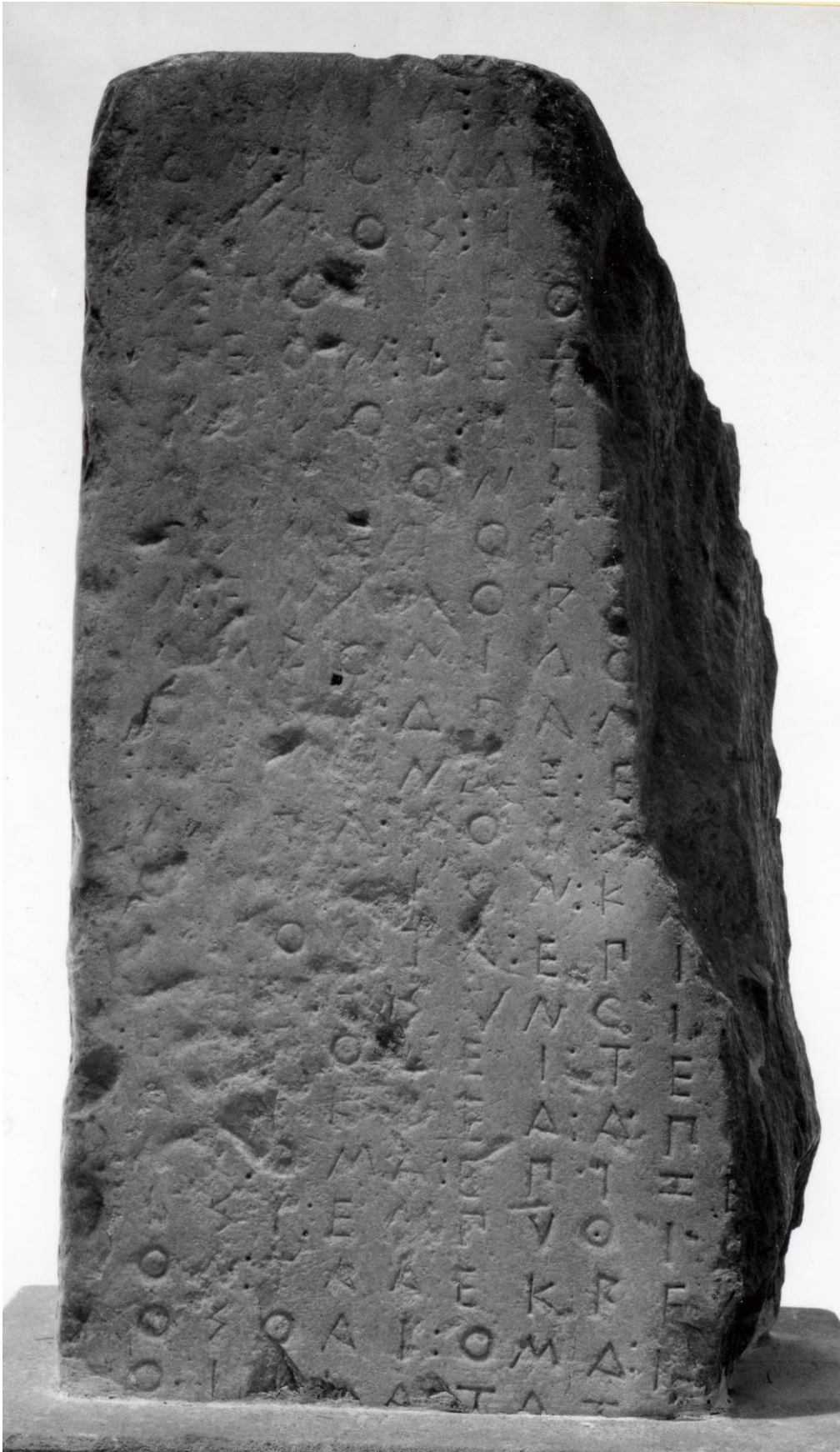


Fig. 6. 3 = BM 1785,0527.2, face C. © Trustees of the British Museum.

3. The Inscriptions. 3 Ordinances of Skambonidai



Fig. 7. 3 = BM 1785,0527.2, face A. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 8. 3 = BM 1785,0527.2, face B. © Trustees of the British Museum.