

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS LIBRARY No 259

KEVIN CLINTON

ELEUSIS
THE INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE
DOCUMENTS
OF THE SANCTUARY OF THE TWO GODDESSES
AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS OF THE DEME

VOLUME II: COMMENTARY



ATHENS 2008

ELEUSIS
THE INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE

II: COMMENTARY

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ABBREVIATIONS

In general the abbreviations employed are those listed in *AJA* 95, 1991, pp. 4-16, or (if not included in the *AJA* list) *L'Année philologique*, with the following exceptions and additions:

<i>Accounts ... Lewis</i>	R. Osborne and S. Hornblower, ed., <i>Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis</i> (Oxford 1994). Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς or Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
<i>AE</i>	
<i>Agora III</i>	R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , III, <i>Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia</i> (Princeton 1957).
<i>Agora X</i>	M. Lang and M. Crosby, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , X, <i>Weights, Measures and Tokens</i> (Princeton 1964).
<i>Agora XIV</i>	H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XIV, <i>The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center</i> (Princeton 1972).
<i>Agora XV</i>	B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XV, <i>Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors</i> (Princeton 1974).
<i>Agora XVI</i>	A. G. Woodhead, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XVI, <i>Inscriptions: The Decrees</i> (Princeton 1997).
<i>Agora XXVI</i>	J. H. Kroll, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XXVI, <i>The Greek Coins</i> (Princeton 1993).
<i>Agora XXVIII</i>	A. L. Boegehold, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XXVIII, <i>The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia</i> (Princeton 1995).
<i>Agora XXXI</i>	M. M. Miles, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XXXI, <i>The City Eleusinion</i> (Princeton 1997).
<i>Aleshire, Asklepieion</i>	S. B. Aleshire, <i>The Athenian Asklepieion: the People, their Dedications, and the Inventories</i> (Amsterdam 1989).
<i>Aleshire, Asklepios</i>	<i>eadem</i> , <i>Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults</i> (Amsterdam 1991).
<i>Amandry, Mantique</i>	P. Amandry, <i>La mantique apollinienne à Delphes</i> (Paris 1950).
<i>Ameling, Herodes Atticus</i>	W. Ameling, <i>Herodes Atticus</i> , I-II (Hildesheim 1983).
<i>APF</i>	see Davies, <i>APF</i> .
<i>Attic Stelai</i>	W. K. Pritchett and D. A. Amyx, <i>The Attic Stelai</i> , <i>Hesperia</i> 22, 1953; 25, 1956; 27, 1958.
<i>BÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> ; J. and L. Robert, in <i>REG</i> , cited by year, followed by inscription number.
<i>Bowersock, Sophists</i>	G. W. Bowersock, <i>Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire</i> (Oxford 1969).
<i>Bowie, Greek Sophists</i>	E. L. Bowie, <i>Greek Sophists and Greek Poetry</i> , <i>ANRW</i> 33.1 (Berlin 1989) pp. 209-258.
<i>Broughton, MMR</i>	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> I-III (Cleveland, Chico, and Atlanta 1968-1986).

ABBREVIATIONS

Brumfield, <i>Festivals</i>	A. Chandor Brumfield, <i>The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year</i> (New York 1981).
Büsing-Kolbe	A. Büsing-Kolbe, Frühe griechische Türen, <i>JdI</i> 93, 1978, pp. 66-174.
Bugh, <i>Horsemen</i>	G. R. Bugh, <i>The Horsemen of Athens</i> (Princeton 1988).
Burkert, <i>Necans</i>	W. Burkert, <i>Homo Necans</i> (Berkeley 1983).
Camp, <i>Agora</i>	J. Camp, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> (London 1986).
Cargill, <i>Settlements</i>	Jack Cargill, <i>Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.</i> (Leiden 1995).
Cavaignac	E. Cavaignac, <i>Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au Ve siècle: le trésor sacré d'Éleusis jusqu'au 404</i> (Versailles 1908).
Cavanaugh, <i>Eleusis and Athens</i>	M. B. Cavanaugh, <i>Eleusis and Athens: Documents in Finance, Religion and Politics in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> (Atlanta 1996).
Chandler	R. Chandler, <i>Inscriptiones antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae; in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis collectae</i> (Oxford 1774).
Chandler, <i>Travels</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Travels in Asia Minor and Greece</i> , ed. N. Revett, II (Oxford 1825).
Clarke, <i>Travels</i>	E. D. Clarke, <i>Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa</i> VI, 4th ed. (London 1818).
Clinton, Eleusis and the Romans	K. Clinton, Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius, in <i>The Romanization of Athens</i> , ed. M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff (Oxbow Monograph 94, Oxford 1997) pp. 161-181.
Clinton, Epidauria	<i>idem</i> , The Epidauria and the Arrival of Asclepius in Athens, in <i>Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence</i> , ed. R. Hägg (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 8°, 11; Stockholm 1995) pp. 17-34.
Clinton, Epiphany	<i>idem</i> , Epiphany in the Eleusinian Mysteries, <i>ICS</i> 29, 2004, 85-109.
Clinton, Hymn	<i>idem</i> , The Author of the Homeric <i>Hymn to Demeter</i> , <i>OpAth</i> 16, 1986, pp. 43-49.
Clinton, <i>Iconography</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Myth and Cult: the Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries</i> (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 8°, 11; Stockholm 1992).
Clinton, Panhellenism	<i>idem</i> , The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens, in <i>The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy, Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992</i> , ed. W. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear, Jr., H. A. Shapiro, F. Frost (Oxford 1994) pp. 161-172.
Clinton, Preliminary Initiation	<i>idem</i> , Preliminary Initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries, in <i>Μικρὸς Ἱερομνήμων, Μελέτες εἰς Μνήμην Michael H. Jameson</i> , ed. A. P. Matthaiou and Irene Polinskaya (Athens 2008) 25-34.
Clinton, Progress and Problems	<i>idem</i> , Eleusis from Augustus to the Antonines: Progress and Problems, <i>Acta, XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina</i> , ed. S. Panciera (Rome 1999) pp. 93-102.
Clinton, Renaissance	<i>idem</i> , Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis, in <i>The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire, Papers from the Tenth British Museum Colloquium</i> , ed. S. Walker and A. Cameron (<i>BICS</i> Suppl. 55, London, 1989) pp. 56-68.
Clinton, Roman Initiates	<i>idem</i> , The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors,

ABBREVIATIONS

- Second Century B.C. to A.D. 207, *ANRW* 18.2 (Berlin 1989) pp. 1499-1539.
- Clinton, *Sacred Officials*
idem, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (*TAPS* 64.3, Philadelphia 1974).
- Clinton, Sacrifice
idem, Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries, in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, ed. R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 4°, 38, Stockholm 1988) pp. 69-79.
- Clinton, Telesterion
idem, The Date of the Classical Telesterion at Eleusis, in *Φύλια 'Επη* (*Studies Mylonas*) II (Athens 1987) pp. 254-262.
- Clinton, Thesmophorion
idem, The Thesmophorion in Central Athens and the Celebration of the Thesmophoria in Attica, in *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis*, ed. R. Hägg (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 8°, 14, Stockholm 1997) pp. 111-125.
- Clinton, Treasures
idem, Eleusinian Treasures in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries, *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984).
- Cooper, *Apollo Bassitas*
DAA
 F. A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*, I (Princeton 1996).
 see Raubitschek, *DAA*.
- Davies, *APF*
 J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971).
- Davies, *Wealth*
idem, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York 1981).
- Davis, *Building Inscriptions*
 P. H. Davis, *Some Eleusinian Building Inscriptions of the Fourth Century Before Christ* (Geneva, N.Y. 1931).
- Davis, Eleusinian Building Contract
idem, An Eleusinian Building Contract, *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton 1936) pp. 86-89.
- Δελτίον
 Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
- Deubner, *Feste*
 L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932).
- Develin, *Officials*
 R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684-321 B.C.* (Cambridge 1989).
- Dilettanti
 Dilettanti Society, *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (London 1817).
- Dittenberger, *OGI*
 W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig 1903).
- Dittenberger, *SIG*
 W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig, 1st ed., 1883, 2nd ed., 1898-1901, 3rd ed., 1915-1924).
- Dodwell
 Dodwell, E., *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece, during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806* (London 1819).
- Dow, *Prytaneis*
 S. Dow, *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 1, Athens 1937).
- Dworakowska, *Quarries*
 A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Ancient Greece* (Warsaw 1975).
- Ebert, *Fachausdrücke*
 F. Ebert, *Fachausdrücke des griechischen Bauhandwerks*, I, *Der Tempel* (Würzburg 1911).
- Elter, *Gesetz*
 A. Elter, *Ein athenischer Gesetz über die eleusinische Aparche* (Bonn 1914).
- Faraguna, *Atene*
 M. Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro: Problemi politici, economici, finanziari* (*MemLinc* ser. 9, 2.2, pp. 165-447) (Rome 1992).
- Ferguson, *HA*
 W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge 1911).
- Ferguson, *Priests*
idem, *The Priests of Asklepios* (Berkeley 1906).
- Follet, *Athènes*
 S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle* (Paris 1976).
- Follet, Ier siècle
eadem, Contribution à la chronologie attique du Ier siècle de notre ère, *BICS* Suppl. 55, 1989, pp. 37-44.

ABBREVIATIONS

Fontenrose	J. E. Fontenrose, <i>The Delphic Oracle, Its Responses and Operations, With a Catalogue of Responses</i> (Berkeley 1978).
Foucart, Grands Mystères	P. Foucart, Les grands mystères d'Éleusis, <i>MemAcInscr</i> 37, 1904, pp. 1-156.
Foucart, <i>Mystères</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Les Mystères d'Éleusis</i> (Paris 1914).
Frantz, <i>Late Antiquity</i>	A. Frantz, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XXIV, <i>Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700</i> (Princeton 1988).
Friedländer	P. Friedländer (with the collaboration of H. B. Hoffleit), <i>Epigrammata</i> (Berkeley 1948).
Garnsey, <i>Famine</i>	P. Garnsey, <i>Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World</i> (Cambridge 1988).
Geagan, <i>Constitution</i>	D. J. Geagan, <i>The Athenian Constitution after Sulla</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 12, Princeton 1967).
Geffcken	J. Geffcken, <i>Griechische Epigrammata</i> (Heidelberg 1916).
Ginouvès-Martin	R. Ginouvès and R. Martin, <i>Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine</i> , I (Paris 1985).
Giraud, <i>Ἑσόδος</i>	Δ. Γ. Ζιζώ, <i>Ἡ κυρία ἑσόδος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἐλευσίνος</i> (Athens 1991).
GöttAnz	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> .
Gonnoi	B. Helly, <i>Gonnoi</i> , II, <i>Les inscriptions</i> (Amsterdam 1973).
Graf, <i>Eleusis</i>	F. Graf, <i>Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit</i> (<i>RGVV</i> 33; Berlin 1974).
Graf, <i>Kulte</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Nordionische Kulte</i> (<i>Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana</i> 21; Rome 1986).
Graf, <i>Pompai</i>	<i>idem</i> , in <i>The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis</i> , ed. R. Hägg (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska intitutet i Athen, Series in 8°, 14; Stockholm 1996) pp. 55-65.
Graindor, <i>Album</i>	Paul Graindor, <i>Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale</i> (Ghent and Paris 1924).
Graindor, <i>Auguste</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Athènes sous Auguste</i> (Cairo 1927).
Graindor, <i>Chronologie</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire</i> (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, 2ème série, VIII, fasc. 2 et dernier, Brussels 1922).
Graindor, <i>Hadrien</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Athènes sous Hadrien</i> (Cairo 1934).
Graindor, <i>Hérode Atticus</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Hérode Atticus et sa famille</i> (Cairo 1930).
Graindor, <i>Marbres et textes</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Marbres et textes antiques d'époque impériale</i> (Ghent 1922).
Graindor, <i>Tibère à Trajan</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Athènes de Tibère à Trajan</i> (Cairo 1931).
Groag, <i>Reichsbeamten</i>	E. Groag, <i>Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian</i> (Vienna and Leipzig 1939).
Habicht, <i>Athens</i>	C. Habicht, <i>Athens from Alexander to Antony</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1997).
Habicht, <i>Aufsätze</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Athen in hellenistischer Zeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze</i> (Munich 1994).
Habicht, <i>Münzmagistraten</i>	<i>idem</i> , Zu den Münzmagistraten der Silberprägung des Neuen Stils, <i>Chiron</i> 21, 1991, pp. 1-23.
Habicht, <i>Studien</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit</i> (Göttingen 1982).
Habicht, <i>Untersuchungen</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.</i> (Munich 1979).

ABBREVIATIONS

Hansen, <i>CEG</i>	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. N.</i> (Berlin 1983-89).
Hansen, <i>LGVI 2</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>A List of Greek Verse Inscriptions 400-300 B.C.</i> (Copenhagen 1985).
Harris, <i>Treasures</i>	D. Harris, <i>The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheum</i> (Oxford 1995).
Heath, Minucianus	M. Heath, The Family of Minucianus, <i>ZPE</i> 113, 1996, pp. 67-70.
Hiller	Hiller von Gaertringen.
Hodge, <i>Woodwork</i>	A. T. Hodge, <i>The Woodwork of Greek Roofs</i> (Cambridge 1960).
Hörmann, <i>Propyläen</i>	H. Hörmann, <i>Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis</i> (Berlin and Leipzig 1932).
Hoffmann	E. Hoffmann, <i>Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum</i> (Halle 1893).
Hondius, <i>Novae</i>	J. H. E. Hondius, <i>Novae Inscriptiones Atticae</i> (Leiden 1925).
Jardé	A. Jardé, <i>Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque</i> (Paris 1925).
Jeffery, <i>LSAG</i>	L. H. Jeffery, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> (Oxford 1961).
Jeppesen, <i>Paradeigmata</i>	K. Jeppesen, <i>Paradeigmata: three mid-fourth century main works of Hellenic architecture reconsidered</i> (Aarhus 1958).
Kaibel	G. Kaibel, <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> (Berlin 1878).
Kajava	M. Kajava, in <i>Roman eastern policy and other studies in Roman history</i> , ed. H. Solin and M. Kajava (<i>Commentationes humanarum litterarum</i> 91, Helsinki 1990).
Kanta	K. G. Kanta, <i>Ἐλευσίνα, ὁ μύθος, τὰ μυστήρια, ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τὸ μουσεῖο της</i> (Athens 1979).
Kerényi, <i>Eleusis</i>	C. Kerényi, <i>Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter</i> (Princeton 1967).
Kirchner, <i>Imagines</i>	J. Kirchner, <i>Imagines inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , rev. G. Klaffenbach (Berlin 1948).
Kourouniotis, <i>Guide</i>	K. Kourouniotis, <i>Eleusis, A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum</i> , tr. O. Broneer (Athens 1936).
Kroll, <i>Allotment Plates</i>	J. Kroll, <i>Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1972).
Kühner-Gerth	R. Kühner - B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> (Hannover and Leipzig 1904).
Kyle, <i>Athletics</i>	D. G. Kyle, <i>Athletics in Ancient Athens</i> (Leiden 1987).
Lattermann, <i>Bauinschriften</i>	H. Lattermann, <i>Griechische Bauinschriften</i> (Diss. Strassburg 1908).
Launey, <i>Recherches</i>	M. Launey, <i>Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques</i> (Paris 1949).
Lawton, <i>Reliefs</i>	C. L. Lawton, <i>Attic Document Reliefs</i> (Oxford 1995).
Lazzarini	M.-L. Lazzarini, <i>Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica</i> (<i>MemLinc</i> ser. 8, 19.2; Rome 1976).
Le Bas	P. Le Bas, <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844</i> , I.1, Attique (Paris 1856/57).
Lehner	H. Lehner, <i>Über die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts</i> (Strassburg 1890).
Lenormant, <i>Recherches</i>	F. Lenormant, <i>Recherches archéologiques à Éleusis</i> (Paris 1862).
<i>LGPN</i>	M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, <i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , II, <i>Attica</i> (Oxford 1994).
<i>LGS</i>	I. von Prott and L. Ziehen, <i>Leges Graecorum Sacrae e titulis collectae</i> , I-II (Leipzig 1896-1906).
Loewy	E. Lowey, <i>Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer</i> (Leipzig 1885).
Loomis, <i>Wages</i>	W. T. Loomis, <i>Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens</i> (Ann Arbor 1998).

ABBREVIATIONS

LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris 1969).
LSS	<i>idem</i> , <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> (Paris 1962).
Maass, <i>Prohedrie</i>	M. Maass, <i>Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen</i> (<i>Vestigia</i> 15; Munich 1972).
Maier	F. G. Maier, <i>Griechische Mauerbauinschriften</i> , I-II (Heidelberg 1959-1961).
Marcadé	J. Marcadé, <i>Recueil des signatures de sculptures grecs</i> (Paris 1953-1957).
Martin I	R. Martin, <i>Manuel d'architecture grecque</i> , I (Paris 1965).
Meiggs	R. Meiggs, <i>Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World</i> (Oxford 1982).
Meiggs and Lewis, <i>GHI</i>	<i>idem</i> and D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> (Oxford 1969).
Meisterhans	K. Meisterhans, <i>Grammatik der attischen Inschriften</i> , rev. E. Schwyzer (Berlin 1900).
Meritt, Archons	B. D. Meritt, Athenian Archons 347/6-48/7 B.C., <i>Historia</i> 26, 1972, pp. 162-191.
Meritt, Vernon	<i>idem</i> , The Epigraphic Notes of Francis Vernon, <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 213-227.
Meritt, <i>Year</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>The Athenian Year</i> (Berkeley 1961).
Michel	C. Michel, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques</i> (Brussels 1900).
Mikalson, <i>Calendar</i>	J. D. Mikalson, <i>The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year</i> (Princeton 1975).
Mitropoulou, <i>Corpus</i>	E. Mitropoulou, <i>Corpus</i> , I, <i>Attic Votive Reliefs of the 6th and 5th Centuries B.C.</i> (Athens 1977).
Mommsen, <i>Feste</i>	A. Mommsen, <i>Feste der Stadt Athen</i> (Leipzig 1898).
Moretti	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni agonistiche greche</i> (Rome 1953).
Moretti, <i>ISE</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , I (Florence 1967).
Morgan, <i>Calendar</i>	J. D. Morgan, The Calendar and the Chronology of Athens, <i>AJA</i> 100, 1996, p. 395.
Morrison and Williams, <i>Ships</i>	J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, <i>Greek Oared Ships 900-322 B.C.</i> (Cambridge 1968).
Mylonas, <i>Eleusis</i>	G. E. Mylonas, <i>Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries</i> (Princeton 1961).
Nachmanson	E. Nachmanson, <i>Historische attische Inschriften</i> (Bonn 1913).
Nilsson	M. P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> , I ² , II ³ (Munich 1961, 1967).
Noack, <i>Eleusis</i>	F. Noack, <i>Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums</i> (Berlin 1927).
Notopoulos	J. A. Notopoulos, Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire, <i>Hesperia</i> 18, 1949, pp. 1-57.
Oliver, <i>Civic Tradition</i>	J. H. Oliver, <i>The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens</i> (Baltimore 1983).
Oliver, <i>Civilizing Power</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>The Civilizing Power</i> (<i>TAPS</i> 58, pt. 1; Philadelphia 1968).
Oliver, <i>Constitutions</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri</i> (Philadelphia 1989).
Oliver, <i>Expounders</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law</i> (Baltimore 1950).
Oliver, <i>Gerousia</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>The Sacred Gerousia</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 6; Princeton 1941).
Oliver, <i>Marcus Aurelius</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 13; Princeton 1970).
Oliver, Roman Senators	<i>idem</i> , Roman Senators from Greece and Macedonia, in <i>Epigrafia e</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Oliver, <i>Ruling Power</i>	<i>ordine senatorio</i> , II (Tituli 5; Rome 1982) pp. 583-602 = Oliver, <i>Civic Tradition</i> pp. 115-136 (this edition is used here). <i>idem</i> , <i>The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century After Christ Through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides</i> (TAPS 53.4; Philadelphia 1953).
Orlandos	A. K. Orlandos, <i>Tà ὑλικά δομῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων</i> , I-II (Athens 1955-58).
Orlandos-Travlos	<i>idem</i> and J. Travlos, <i>Λεξικὸν ἀρχαίων ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν ὄρων</i> (Athens 1986).
Osborne, <i>Demos</i>	R. G. Osborne, <i>Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika</i> (Cambridge 1985).
PA	J. Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> (Berlin 1901).
PAA	see Traill, PAA.
Parke, <i>Festivals</i>	H. W. Parke, <i>Festivals of the Athenians</i> (London 1977).
Parker, <i>Athenian Religion</i>	R. Parker, <i>Athenian Religion: A History</i> (Oxford 1996).
Parker, Festivals of the Attic Demes	<i>idem</i> , Festivals of the Attic Demes, <i>ActaLund, Boreas</i> 15, 1987, pp. 137-147.
Parker, <i>Miasma</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion</i> (Oxford 1983).
Peek, <i>AVI</i>	W. Peek, <i>Attische Versinschriften</i> (AbhLeip 69.2; Berlin 1980).
Pélékidis, <i>Éphébie</i>	Ch. Pélékidis, <i>Histoire de l'éphébie attique</i> (TravMém 13; Paris 1962).
Peschlow-Bindokat	A. Peschlow-Bindokat, Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts, <i>JdI</i> 87, 1972, pp. 60-157.
Petrakos, <i>Oropos</i>	B. Ch. Petrakos, <i>Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ</i> (Athens 1997).
Petrakos, <i>Rhamnous</i> II	<i>idem</i> , <i>Ὁ Δῆμος τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος</i> II. <i>Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές</i> (Athens 1999).
Pococke	R. Pococke, <i>Inscriptionum antiquarum Graecarum et Latinarum Liber</i> (London 1752).
Pouqueville, <i>Voyage</i>	F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, <i>Voyage dans la Grèce</i> (Paris 1820).
Πρακτικά	<i>Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</i> .
Pringsheim, <i>Beiträge</i>	G. H. Pringsheim, <i>Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults</i> (Munich 1905).
Pritchett-Meritt, <i>Chronology</i>	W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, <i>The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1940).
Pritchett-Neugebauer	W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, <i>The Calendars of Athens</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1947).
Rangabé	A. R. Rangabé, <i>Antiquités helléniques</i> (Athens 1842-1855).
Raubitschek, <i>DAA</i>	A. E. Raubitschek, <i>Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1949).
Reinmuth	O. W. Reinmuth, <i>The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century</i> (Leiden 1971).
<i>Rhamnonte</i>	J. Pouilloux, <i>La Forteresse de Rhamnonte</i> (Paris 1954, Annexe, Les inscriptions de Rhamnonte pp. 106-167).
Rhodes, <i>Boule</i>	P. J. Rhodes, <i>The Athenian Boule</i> (Oxford 1972).
Rhodes, <i>Commentary</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia</i> (Oxford 1981).
Richardson, <i>Hymn</i>	N. J. Richardson, <i>The Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i> (Oxford 1974).
RIG	see Michel.
Roberts I	E. S. Roberts, <i>An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, Part I</i> (Cambridge 1887).

ABBREVIATIONS

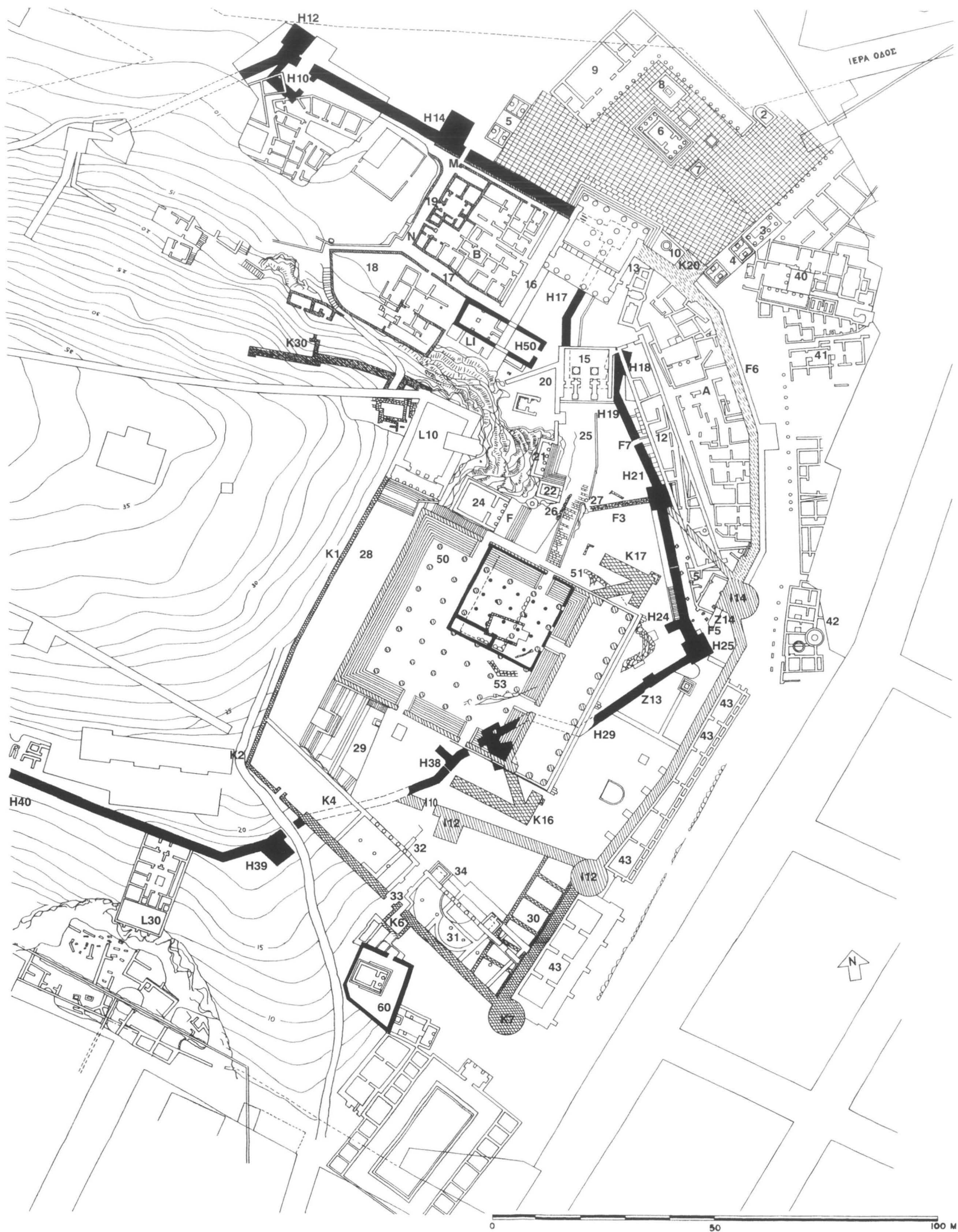
Roberts-Gardner II	<i>idem</i> and E. A. Gardner, <i>An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy</i> , Part II, <i>The Inscriptions of Attica</i> (Cambridge 1905).
Robertson, Proerosia	Robertson, N., New Light on Demeter's Mysteries: The Festival Proerosia, <i>GRBS</i> 37, 1996, pp. 319-379.
Roehl	H. Roehl, <i>Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum Antiquissimarum in Usus Scholarum</i> (3rd ed., Berlin 1907).
Ross, <i>Demen</i>	L. Ross, <i>Die Demen von Attika und ihre Vertheilung unter die Phylen</i> (Halle 1846).
Rubensohn, <i>Mysterienheiligtümer</i>	O. Rubensohn, <i>Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake</i> (Berlin 1892).
Rubensohn, Weihehaus	<i>idem</i> , Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes, <i>JdI</i> 70, 1955, pp. 1-49.
<i>Sacred Officials</i>	see Clinton, <i>Sacred Officials</i> .
Sardemann	W. Sardemann, <i>Eleusinische Übergabekunden aus dem V. Jahrhundert</i> (Diss. Marburg 1914).
Sarikakis, Στρατηγοὶ	T. C. Sarikakis, Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἐλληνιστικῶν χρόνων, <i>Athena</i> 57, 1953, pp. 242-304.
Schwenk	C. J. Schwenk, <i>Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of 'The Lykourgan Era'</i> (Chicago 1985).
Shear, <i>Kallias</i>	T. L. Shear, Jr., <i>Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 17; Princeton 1978).
Shear, Temple	<i>idem</i> , The Demolished Temple at Eleusis, in <i>Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 20; Princeton 1982) pp. 141-154.
<i>SIG</i>	see Dittenberger, <i>SIG</i> .
Simms, <i>Myesis</i>	R. M. Simms, <i>Myesis, Telete, and Mysteria</i> , <i>GRBS</i> 31, 1990, pp. 183-195.
Sironen, Late Roman Attica	E. Sironen, Life and Administration of Late Roman Attica in the Light of Public Inscriptions, in <i>Post-Herulian Athens (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 1; Helsinki 1994)</i> pp. 15-62.
Sironen, <i>Late Roman Inscriptions</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica</i> (Helsinki 1997).
Smarczyk, <i>Untersuchungen</i>	B. Smarczyk, <i>Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delischen-Attischen Seebund</i> (Munich 1990).
Spawforth, Imperial Cult	A. J. Spawforth, The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Some Problems and Ambiguities, in <i>The Romanization of Athens</i> ed. M.C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff (Oxbow Monograph 94, Oxford 1997) pp. 183-201.
Spawforth and Walker, Panhellenion I	A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, The World of the Panhellenion, I. Athens and Eleusis, <i>JHS</i> 75, 1985, pp. 78-104.
Spon, <i>Voyage</i>	J. Spon and G. Wheler, <i>Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant</i> (Lyon 1678).
Stengel, <i>Opferbräuche</i>	P. Stengel, <i>Opferbräuche der Griechen</i> (Berlin 1910).
Stroud, <i>Grain-Tax</i>	R. S. Stroud, <i>The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B.C.</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. XXIX; Princeton, 1998).
<i>Studies Mylonas</i>	Φύλια Ἐπη εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνᾶν, I-III (Athens 1986-1989).
Sundwall, <i>NPA</i>	J. Sundwall, <i>Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica</i> (Helsinki 1911).
Threatte, <i>GAI</i>	L. Threatte, <i>The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions</i> , I, <i>Phonology</i> , II, <i>Morphology</i> (Berlin 1980-1996).

ABBREVIATIONS

Tobin, <i>Herodes Attikos</i>	J. Tobin, <i>Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens: Patronage and Conflict under the Antonines</i> (Amsterdam 1997).
Toepffer	Johannes Toepffer, <i>Attische Genealogie</i> (Berlin 1889).
Townsend, <i>Aspects</i>	R. F. Townsend, <i>Aspects of Athenian Architectural Activity in the Second Half of the Fourth Century B.C.</i> (Diss. Chapel Hill 1982).
Tracy, <i>IG II² 2336</i>	S. V. Tracy, <i>IG II² 2336, Contributions of First Fruits for the Pythais</i> (<i>Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie</i> 139; Meisenheim am Glan 1982).
Tracy, <i>Letter-Cutters</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.</i> (Berkeley 1990).
Tracy, <i>Lettering</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>The Lettering of an Athenian Mason</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 15; Princeton 1975).
Tracy, <i>340 to 290 B.C.</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.</i> (Berkeley 1995).
Traill, <i>Demos</i>	J. S. Traill, <i>Demos and Trittys</i> (Toronto 1986).
Traill, <i>Organization</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>The Political Organization of Attica</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 14; Princeton 1975).
Traill, <i>PAA</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> (Toronto 1992-).
Travlos, <i>Athens</i>	J. Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> (London 1971).
Travlos, <i>Attika</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika</i> (Tübingen 1988).
Travlos, <i>Topography</i>	J. Travlos, <i>The Topography of Eleusis</i> , <i>Hesperia</i> 18, 1949, pp. 138-147.
Vidman, <i>SIRIS</i>	L. Vidman, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae</i> (<i>RGVV</i> 28; Berlin 1969).
Wheler	G. Wheler, <i>A Journey into Greece</i> (London 1682).
Whitehead	D. Whitehead, <i>The Demes of Attica, 508/7-ca. 250 B.C.</i> (Princeton 1986).
Wilamowitz, <i>Glaube</i>	U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, <i>Der Glaube der Hellenen</i> , I-II (Berlin 1926-1932, cited by 3rd ed. Darmstadt 1959).
Wilhelm, <i>Attische Urkunden III</i>	A. Wilhelm, <i>Attische Urkunden</i> . III. Teil (<i>SBWien</i> 202.5, Vienna 1925 [= <i>Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftkunde</i> , I (Leipzig 1974) pp. 463-524].
Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge</i>	<i>idem</i> , <i>Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde</i> (Vienna 1909).
Willers, <i>Vorplatz</i>	D. Willers, <i>Der Vorplatz des Heiligtums von Eleusis - Überlegungen zur Neugestaltung im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.</i> , in <i>Retrospektive: Konzepte von Vergangenheit in der griechisch-römischen Antike</i> , ed. M. Flashar, H.-J. Gehrke, E. Heinrich (Munich 1996) pp. 179-224.
Woloch, <i>Roman Citizenship</i>	M. Woloch, <i>Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite, A.D. 96-161: Two Prosopographical Catalogues</i> (Amsterdam 1973).

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

EM	Epigraphical Museum, Athens.
IAS	The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J.
LH	Height of letters.
NM	National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



The traditional labels on this plan (see Mylonas, *Eleusis*, *passim* and fig. 4) are cited in the text.

INTRODUCTION

The commentaries focus mainly on the life of the sanctuary or the deme, though I have also tried to include explanation of matters that might not be obvious to a non-specialist.

Certain topics addressed by the texts and commentaries can more conveniently be presented here, without aiming in every case to be complete. Several important structures are listed here with references to relevant commentaries.

I. SANCTUARY OF THE TWO GODDESSES

Name: Τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον

The most famous Eleusinion, to modern students of Athens, is the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddesses that was located in central Athens below the Acropolis (*Agora* XXXI). Its full designation was τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει (once qualified as τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει, 638.41). In general, an Eleusinion in Attica was a sanctuary dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses but located outside of Eleusis. Such sanctuaries are attested for Phaleron (30.33), Paiania (*IG* I³ 250.A.15-16, 26, etc.), Marathon (*IG* II² 1358.A.17 = *LSCG* 20), (perhaps) Phrearrhioi (E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 48-53; cf. R. Simms, *Hesperia* 67, 1998, pp. 91-107), and (dubiously) Brauron (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* 242). (The latter passage, probably a conflation of two notices, is of no use for identifying an Eleusinion at Brauron; it should probably be punctuated as follows: Διάκρια· τόπος Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Βραυρῶνα. Ἐλευσίνιον· Δήμητρος καὶ Φερεφάττης ἱερόν. Cf. Deubner, *Weihehaus* p. 1, note 9.) There are several possible references, in addition, to an Eleusinion at Eleusis:

1) 28.29.

2) 159.81.

3) 177.6.

4) 175.1.

5) Aelius Aristides, *Eleus.* 22.9: Πανηγύρεις τοίνυν αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι δι' ἔτους πέμπτου καὶ τρίτου πληροῦνται, μόνη δὲ ἡ τῶν μυστηρίων παντὸς ἔτους ἐνίκησεν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον, μόνην γὰρ ταύτην πανηγύρεων εἰς οἶκος συλλαβῶν εἶχε, καὶ ταύτὸν ἦν τῆς τε πόλεως πλήρωμα καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.

6) *idem*, *Panath.* 197.10: καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος· μόνοι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ποιεῖτε πανήγυριν οὐδεμιᾶς πεντετηρίδος φαυλοτέραν καὶ δέχεσθε τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ πλείους ἢ ἕτεροι τῇ πάσῃ πόλει· καὶ πάντες ἐρίζουσιν ἀεὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἑορτὴν νικᾶν πολυανθρωπία.

7) Plut. *De exilio* 607A: ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὥσπερ τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἑλευσίνιον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον ἅπαντας προσκυνοῦντας; καὶ μὴν ἔφυγε Θησεύς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, δι' ὃν οἰκοῦσι νῦν [εἰς] Ἀθήνας ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πόλιν ἀπέβαλεν ἣν οὐκ ἔσχεν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. τῇ δ' Ἑλευσίνι τί λείπεται καλόν, ἂν αἰσχυνώμεθα τὸν Εὐμόλπον, ὃς ἐκ Θράκης μεταστὰς ἐμύησε καὶ μυεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας;

Rubensohn, “Weihehaus”, argued that in all these passages the “Eleusinion” at Eleusis is the Telesterion. On general grounds, this is a bit difficult, since all Eleusinia otherwise (i.e. outside Eleusis) are not buildings but sanctuaries. In favor of Rubensohn’s view is the fact that the entire sanctuary at Eleusis is normally called in Athenian documents τὸ ἱερόν, or more fully, τὸ ἱερόν τὸ Ἑλευσίνι or τὸ ἱερόν τοῖν Θεοῖν. Against his view is the fact that there is no clear-cut instance where τὸ Ἑλευσίνιον at Eleusis *must* mean the Telesterion. Several passages might be interpreted as references to the Telesterion without doing violence to the sense (nos. 1-3 and 7), but this becomes more difficult in the passages from Aristides (nos. 5 and 6). C. A. Behr, who was apparently unaware of Rubensohn’s article, translates Ἑλευσίνιον in no. 5 as “precinct of Eleusis” (*P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works* II [Leiden 1981]). This is, it seems to me, the most probable translation. Rubensohn misses the point when he compares the size of the Eleusinian sanctuary to those of Delos, Delphi, and Olympia. Aristides indeed exaggerates, but it would be quite heavy-handed to imply that the Telesterion could hold the *entire* citizen body of Athens; on the other hand, it was traditional for the “entire” populace to take part in the procession and festival of the Mysteries (cf. Hdt. 8.65), though not of course within the Telesterion, and so it would not be amiss to proclaim that the entire sanctuary (as opposed to the Telesterion), conceived broadly as including the forecourt, could accommodate τῆς πόλεως πλήρωμα. Passage no. 6 would be less belittling of other cities if Eleusinion meant the sanctuary as a whole. With regard to passage no. 2, which mentions taking a (rejected) column drum back to Mt. Pentelikon ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου, we should bear in mind that the origin or destination of stone in these documents is usually stated as a locality (viz. Pentele, the sanctuary at Eleusis, etc.; cf. 143), not specifically as a building. In passage no. 3 the ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ Ἑλευσινίῳ is of stone or metal, more likely of stone; it could have been put on the Porch of the Telesterion (surely not within the dark hall of the building), but at this date the Porch was not yet finished, and it seems to make more sense to assume that dedications were kept off the Porch at least until it had been completed. Nothing much can be said about passage no. 7 – either the sanctuary or the Telesterion could be indicated – and passage no. 3 may refer either (more probably) to the sanctuary or (like no. 4) to the Eleusinion in the City. On balance, then, although we cannot rule out the possibility that occasionally the term Eleusinion referred to the Telesterion, nothing prevents us from interpreting its use at Eleusis as a term for the entire sanctuary. It was probably a convenient popular usage and not the proper, official term. It was picked up by Aristides and occasionally intrudes even into official documents.

In summary, we may assign the term Eleusinion in passages nos. 1-7 as follows:

- 1) 28.29: the sanctuary at Eleusis.
- 2) 159.81: the sanctuary at Eleusis.
- 3) 177.6: more likely the sanctuary at Eleusis than the City Eleusinion.
- 4) 175.1: probably the City Eleusinion.
- 5) Aelius Aristides, *Eleus.* 22.9: the sanctuary at Eleusis.

6) *idem*, *Panath.* 197.10: the sanctuary at Eleusis.

7) Plut. *De exilio* 607A: the sanctuary at Eleusis or the City Eleusinion.

Administration

The Εὐμολπίδαι and the Κήρυκες were in charge of the religious administration of the sanctuary, but our earliest record concerning the finances of the sanctuary (19) reveals the Polis exercising final control. At this time the deme of Eleusis had no direct jurisdiction over the sanctuary, even though the sanctuary was located within its territory. The deme may still have had some indirect jurisdiction, in that the hieropoioi, who were both religious and administrative officials, were apparently drawn from members of the deme (13). But by the end of the 430's (30) these officials had lost their oversight of the finances (though not certain administrative and religious functions), and it seems reasonable to assume that by this time, too, the deme was no longer involved in their selection. Henceforth there is no evidence that the deme had any regulatory role in the cult or the administration of the sanctuary, though an apparent exception may be the deme's celebration of the Thesmophoria, which were held within the sanctuary (see II.175). The very few extant decrees of the deme that were erected within the sanctuary (68, 80) probably owe their location to special reasons (perhaps the fact that the honorands were military commanders; see below, Αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ). The *AthPol* confirms the traditional role of the Eumolpidae and Keryes. When in 403 the Thirty established at Eleusis a separate state, the status of the sanctuary in relation to the governments of Athens and the Thirty is described at 39.2 as follows: τὸ δ' ἱερὸν εἶναι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Κήρυκας καὶ Εὐμολπίδας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Just as before, in accordance with ancestral custom, the Kerykes and Eumolpidae are to be in charge of the sanctuary. In inscriptions, when a question of sanctuary administration involves the Athenian state, the representatives of the interests of the sanctuary are always the Eumolpidae and Kerykes or their priests (e.g., the epistatai are to ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μά]λιστα δέει μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆς β[ολ]ῆς βουλευόμενος τὸ λοιπόν, 30.28-30). The deme of Eleusis, on the other hand, is never consulted. Thus, whatever the relation of the town of Eleusis to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may originally have been, by the fifth century it seems to have become mainly the accidental one of location.¹

The most critical documents for the administration of the sanctuary in the fifth century are 19, 28, 30, 45, and 52. For a full discussion of the role of the epistatai of Eleusis in the fifth and fourth centuries see Cavanaugh pp. 1-17. For a brief overview of the financial administration in the fourth century see below, p. 113, with further discussion at II.177.Introduction. After the fourth century we have no certain attestation of the epistatai. For the financial administration in the second century A.D. see II.489.

Structures in and around the Sanctuary

Αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ is mentioned in the following Eleusinian documents as the place where they are to be set up: 196, 201, 208, 211, 229. The finding places of all but 229 are

1. This is a revised version of the treatment of this topic in *Sacred Officials* p. 8.

consistent with the supposition that their original site was the court in front of the Telesterion. (229 was found in the the cave precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα [no. 20 on the Plan], in the upper levels of the fill over the *templum in antis*.) 201 was in fact found precisely in the interior court in front of the Telesterion. Although one cannot completely rely on the finding places of stelai even at deep levels as evidence (144, e.g., was clearly removed in antiquity from its original site, viz. by the Propylaea, and carried to the Telesterion and dumped into a pit), the finding places do at least show a pattern reasonably consistent with an original location in the interior court.

IG IV² 84.35-36, an Athenian decree of 38/9 A.D., speaks of setting up statues of a deceased Spartan boy ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ αὐλῇ ταῖν θεᾶν, οὗ καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ ἀνάκεινται. (The corresponding decree of the Areopagus, IG IV² 83.14, says ἐν τῇ ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι αὐλῇ παρὰ τοῖς προγόνοις, which is a bit less precise inasmuch as it designates the courtyard simply “in Eleusis” but παρὰ τοῖς προγόνοις leaves no doubt about the precise location.) It was in fact a common practice in the Roman period to erect statues of deceased priests and priestesses (and others) in the area in front of and alongside the Telesterion (see II.235). As it seems highly likely in this instance that ἡ ἱερὰ αὐλή is the area in front of the Telesterion, so we may confidently identify ἡ αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ in the other examples with this interior court. This court is simply called ἡ αὐλή in 177, where there is no doubt that the one surrounding the Telesterion is meant.

Two of the garrison decrees, 196 and 211, were erected ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The view that this court was inside the sanctuary receives support from a third garrison decree (184): it was erected ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ[ι]. Evidently the soldiers had been given the right to erect stelai and statues within the sanctuary (see II.184.16-17).

Pseudo-Demosthenes’ *Against Neaera* 116 mentions a sacrifice ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσῖνι. An *eschara* in the Roman outer court has in fact been found (Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 169-170), and literary evidence attests the existence of one in the fifth century B.C. (Eur. *Supp.* 290; Clinton, *Sacrifice* p. 71). It therefore seems justified to conclude that in this case the ambiguous ἡ Ἐλευσῖνι αὐλή indicates the outer court. ἡ αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ, on the other hand, should always indicate the interior court.

Bouleuterion. See II.638.39-43. It was, at least in part, roofed; see II.52.A.II.10-17.

Theater of Dionysus. On its location, perhaps on the south side of the hill of Eleusis (Akris) near its western end, see II.71, II.79, II.177.44-46, 55-60, and II.70.34-35. Cf. Travlos, *Topography* p. 139, fig. 1. Some evidence, however, suggests the north side of the hill.

Stadium. See II.174 and II.141.7.

Hadrianic Fountain House, Bath, and Aqueduct. For discussion see II.619 and II.449.

Anthion Well. For discussion of its location see II.70.

For the ἱερὰ οἰκίαι, Οἶκος Κηρύκων, Ἐπιστάσιον, Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, Treasury, Νεωκόρειον, Ἱματιοθήκη, and Κρήνη see II.177. Buildings in the Sanctuary at Eleusis, pp. 179-183.

II. CULTS

1. MYSTERIA

RITUALS

Aparche

It was ancestral custom to donate a tithe (ἀπαρχή) of the annual grain harvest, which took place in late spring, to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. In the period preceding our first full piece of legislation on this topic, 28, often called the First Fruits Decree, contributions from outside Attica probably were rare.

The First Fruits Decree, issued apparently in the mid-430's, insists on contributions from Athens' allies and urges (but does not command) other cities to contribute as well. In the fourth-century the only document that offers evidence on this point, 177.392-429, reveals that contributions came only from Attica and Athenian cleruchies. But Isocrates, *Panegy.* 31, states that contributions came from "most" (or "very many") Greek cities: Αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσιν, ταῖς δ' ἐκλείπουσαις πολλάκις ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια. Καίτοι περὶ τίνων χρή μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ περὶ ὧν ὅ τε θεὸς ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνδοκεῖ καὶ τὰ τε πάλαι ῥηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔργοις συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖ; It may not be right to doubt that at least several ("very many") Greek cities were contributing, for around 380, when the *Panegyricus* was published, the sanctuary was embarking on a new era of prosperity (see Clinton, *Panhellenism*). By 328, the date of 177, the custom had evidently relapsed to being honored only by Athenians.

Other fifth-century documents which mention the *aparche* are 19.C.32-36), 45, and 52.A.5-6, B.4-5, dating respectively to ca. 470-460, 418 and 407. In the earliest document (19) the Athenians are given leave to use the *aparche* as they wish, just as they use the money of Athena on the Acropolis; it gives the impression that the *aparche* belonged to the Treasury of Demeter and Kore, which was kept on the Acropolis and administered by the hieropoioi. In 408/7 the *aparche* is in fact listed (now by the epistatai of Eleusis) as an amount of money included among treasures of the Two Goddesses that were kept on the Acropolis.

The First Fruits Decree (28) describes the procedure of the *aparche*. 1) At the Mysteries the hierophant and daduch announce the obligation of the Greeks to donate *aparche* (κελευέτο δὲ καὶ ὁ hierofántes καὶ [ὁ] δαιδοχὸς μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς ἑλλένας τῷ καρπῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐν Δελφῶν, lines 24-26). This was the normal procedure, though at the moment this decree was passed, close to or during the time of the harvest, it was necessary to send out an emergency delegation of heralds to announce the new policy. 2) The *aparche* was collected in the sanctuary at Eleusis (lines 3-20, 30-36). 3) It was used to provide sacrifices. First, a sacrifice of πελανός, consisting of grain (lines 36-37; later, in addition, προκώνια, according to 177.409, 413). Second, the grain was sold, and from the proceeds (ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν) sacrifices were performed to Demeter, Kore, Triptolemus, Theos, Thea, Euboulos, and

Athena. By 352 a sacrifice to Zeus seems to have been added (142). (177.417-420 lists the money realized from the sale of the grain as well as the cost of the sacrifices: there were many more victims sacrificed in that year.) 4) After the expenses of sacrifice the money left over was used in various ways, depending on current legislation. The procedure according to the First Fruits Decree was to use it to set up one or more dedications with inscriptions that state that they were made from the *aparche*, and that the donors were “the Hellenes” (lines 40-44). In 329/8 only one dedication was set up (177.6, 429). Sometimes, however, presumably in special circumstances, the money was just kept on the Acropolis as income of the Eleusinian sanctuary (52.A.5-6, B.4-5).

We are given the most detail about the procedure in 28 and 177. In its general lines this must have been the normal procedure in the Classical period (at least from the 430's): the hierophant and daduch made the announcement at the Mysteries; the grain was sent to Eleusis shortly after it was harvested; sacrifices were made from it; and the surplus from its sale was used to make one or more dedications. The First Fruits Decree makes no provision for any surplus after the dedication(s), and 177.426-429 confirms that the entire proceeds from the sale after expenses were spent on the dedication. It is nowhere explicitly stated when the sacrifices took place; no festival is mentioned as their venue (whereas the Mysteries are mentioned as the time of the announcement); presumably, therefore, they did not take place within a festival. But there is enough information to infer an approximate date. The *aparche* was brought to the sanctuary soon after it was harvested, viz. in May, Thargelion approximately. There is no indication that it was stored for any length of time at the sanctuary. The sacrifice was therefore offered most likely at some point in Thargelion or Skirophorion. Certain facts given in 177 provide corroboration. Costs for the inscription of the dedication (ἀνάθημα) are listed. The inscribing in the year 329 started in Thargelion – to be exact, on May 23 approximately, i.e. not long after the beginning of the harvest – and it went on for sixty-one days, ending in the following civil year, on 6 Hekatombaion (II.177.6-8). Work on inscribing the dedication (i.e. the slabs that made up its base) therefore started soon after the beginning of the harvest, and continued into the harvest's later stage (wheat was usually later than barley) as further *aparche* was arriving. The *aparche* from Imbros arrived very late, indeed after the sacrifice had already taken place (177.426-429), and the epistatai of Eleusis, who were still in office (therefore sometime before 1 Hekatombaion), accepted this late delivery and gave the proceeds (after expenses) to the hieropoioi, who were also still in office, “for the dedication.” Thus the sacrifice occurred sometime before the end of Skirophorion, at any rate too soon after the harvest for the Imbrians to arrive on time. Anytime from early Thargelion to the middle of Skirophorion approximately would seem to be a reasonable conjecture for the sacrifice.² It is possible, though far from certain, that in the year of the First Fruits Decree and later in the fifth century the sacrifice took place in Hekatombaion (II.28.47-61).

2. On the *aparche* of 329/8 see now Clinton, The Eleusinian *Aparche* in Practice: 329/8 B.C., in *Sanctuaries and Cults of Demeter in the Ancient Greek World, International Colloquium, University of Thessaly, Volos, 4-5 June 2005*, ed. I. Leventi - Ch. Mitsopoulou (Volos 2007). N. Robertson, “Proerosia,” argues that the *aparche* was destined for the festival of the Proerosia, which

was held in autumn, and the sacrifice took place at that festival. According to him, *ibid.* p. 324, the “practical arrangements ... continue throughout the spring and summer”: “the collection and sale” of the *aparche* detailed in 177.392-429 “doubtless took place in the summer and autumn of 329” (*ibid.* note 13). This, however, is extremely unlikely. First, if this operation took

II. CULTS

As mentioned above, the method of dealing with the surplus funds, after the expenses of sacrifice, varied according to the period. We may list the practice by period, according to our incomplete evidence, as follows:

I. Before ca. 435. The *aparche* was evidently just a local, Attic custom. The surplus was kept on the Acropolis by the hieropoioi (19.C.32-36).

II. Ca. 435 through 432: A major innovation occurred ca. 435. The allies were asked to contribute and other cities were invited. The surplus was used for dedications (28.40-44).

III. 431 through 424. The *aparche* was probably suspended on account of the military invasions and the plague.

IV. 423 through 414. The surplus was turned over to the epistatai (45) and presumably stored on the Acropolis (cf. 52.A.5-6, B.4-5).

V. 413 through 404. The Decelean War once again caused the *aparche* to be suspended. 52 attests to the fact that no *aparche* was collected in 408/7.

VI. 403 through 328. What effect the occupation of Eleusis by the Thirty had on the *aparche* is unknown. At some point in this period the custom of making a dedication from the surplus was resumed (177.428-429); other cities were contributing by 380 (Isoc. *Panegy.* 32). But sometime between 380 and 328 contributions from other cities ceased. The custom of making a dedication was still maintained in 328.

VII. 327 to the second century A.D. No information is available except for a brief mention in *IG II² 1035.23* (= *SEG XXVI* 121, *XXXII* 136, *XXXV* 99), of Augustan date (for the date, Habicht, *ZPE* 111, 1996, p. 85).

VIII. After A.D. 131. The Panhellenion, perhaps with the encouragement of Hadrian, resumed making dedications: 504 (177-189 A.D.) and 532. No doubt there were sacrifices, but we have no details about them or the financial arrangements, with which the Panhellenion was involved; cf. Clinton, *Renaissance* (with further bibliography).

Aelius Aristides, writing between 165 and 170 (*Panath.* 35 Oliver = 167-168 Dindorf), speaks of the *aparche* as coming to Athens annually from the Hellenes "in former times". It is possible that the Panhellenion had not resumed the custom by then, or that he did not consider the *aparche* arranged by the Panhellenion as equivalent to the ancient custom.

This picture will undoubtedly change if more information becomes available.

place in the summer and autumn of 329, the dedication that was inscribed over a period of sixty-one days starting ca. 23 May 329 must be the dedication that resulted from the preceding *aparche*, delivered to Eleusis according to Robertson's scheme in the autumn of 328; but this leaves an unexplained gap of over half a year between delivery of the *aparche* and the start of work on the dedication, whereas 177.428-429 informs us that the money for the dedication was in the hands of the hieropoioi shortly after the sacrifice. Second, the lateness of the Imbrians can best be explained by a rather

short interval between harvest of *aparche* and sacrifice. According to Robertson's proposal the Imbrians arrived too late for the "festival," and since he believes the festival to be the Proerosia and to have taken place in Maimakterion (*ibid.*, pp. 324, 344-346), we must suppose that the Imbrians arrived at least six months after the start of the harvest, for in 329 the month of Maimakterion began approximately in mid November (see II.177.6-8 for Hekatombaion 1). Even the Imbrians' proverbial tardiness is insufficient to explain such a lapse.

Myesis

Of central importance for this ritual is 19.C.20-31, 43-46:

- 20 Ε[ὐμολπίδ]ας κα-
 ἰ Κέρ[υκ]ας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] τῷ μ-
 ύστ[ο ἡ]εκάστῳ πέν[τε ὀβολὸς τ]-
 ὦν [ἄρρ]ένον, θελειῶ[ν δὲ τρεῖς·]
 [ἀτελῆ μ]ύστεμ μὲ ἐν[εῖναι μυῆ]-
 25 [ν μεδέ]νῃ πλὲν τῷ ἀφ' [έστίας μυ]-
 [ομέν]ο· Κέρυκας δὲ μυ[ῆν δίχα τ]-
 [ὸς] μύστας ἡέκαστον [καὶ Εὐμο]-
 [λ]π[ίδ]ας κατὰ ταῦτά· ἐ[ὰν δὲ κατ]-
 [ὰ] πλείος εὐθύνεσθα[ι χιλίας]-
 30 [ι] δρα[χ]μῇσι· μὲν δὲ ἡ[οὶ ἂν ἡεβ]-
 ὦσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδὸν·]

 43 [τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἐλε[υσῖνι μυο]-
 [μ]ένος ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ [ἐντὸς τῷ ἡ]-
 45 [ι]ερῷ, τὸς δὲ ἐν ἄστει [μυομένο]-
 [ς] ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ [υυυυυ]³

Foucart and earlier scholars had suspected that lines 43-46 (at that time lines 20-31 were not well edited or understood) implied a ritual called *μύσις*,⁴ but Pringsheim, *Beiträge* pp. 39-40, was the first to note that it was quite separate from the main rituals of the Mysteries: "... soviel ist klar, dass es sich um irgend eine Leistung handelt, die jeder Myste schuldig war, and dass diese Mysten entweder im eleusinischen Heiligtum oder im städtischen Eleusinion die Weihe empfangen haben konnten. ... es verträgt sich damit überhaupt die Anschauung nicht, dass die Myesis ein Bestandteil der Feste selbst gewesen sei."

This separation of *myesis* from the central *telete* of the Mysteries Pringsheim saw further implied in Plutarch's description of the initiation of Demetrius Poliorcetes (*Dem.* 26): βούλεται παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς μνηθῆναι καὶ τὴν τελετὴν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παραλαβεῖν. Although the passage is indeed compatible with the existence of a preliminary initiation, it does not offer conclusive proof.⁵

Pringsheim further noted the references in 159 to *myesis* of public slaves working in the Eleusinian sanctuary: 159.24 ("we initiated [ἐμυήσαμεν] five public slaves cleaning in the sanctuary") and 159.44 (arrival of the public slaves "after the Mysteries"). Line 24 is, again, compatible

3. On the defense of alternative restorations for both of these passages by R. Simms, *GRBS* 31, 1990, pp. 184-187, see below, II.19 *ad locc.*

4. Foucart, *Grands Mystères* p. 115.

5. Simms, *op. cit.* pp. 188-189, understands here "a weak hendiadys: εὐθὺς gives the time, while τὴν ... παραλαβεῖν gives the degree or extent, of the *myesis* desired."

Pringsheim also adduced the entry in 177.269: μύησις δυοῖν τῶν δημοσίων : ΔΔΔ. Here too it is a matter of a sacrifice of a ewe (II.177.269; Clinton, *Sacrifice*, pp. 69-70). This expense is listed in the sixth prytany of 329/8, which ended on approximately 7 Anthesterion, i.e. approximately two weeks before the Lesser Mysteries. The natural conclusion is that this *myesis* took place at least two weeks before the Lesser Mysteries.⁷

40 θύεν δ]-
[ἐ] τὸς ὀρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς]
[μ]ύστας ἡέκαστομ π[ροθύματα,]
[τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἑλε[υσῖνι μυο]-
[μ]ένος ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ [ἐντὸς τοῦ h]-
45 [ιερό, τὸς δὲ ἐν ᾧστει [μυομένο]-
[ς] ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι [vvvvv]

Pringsheim was followed, most notably, by P. Roussel, whose article, L'initiation préalable et le symbole éleusinien, *BCH* 54, 1930, pp. 51-57, was an important contribution to the discussion,

6. Simms, *op. cit.* p. 188, takes the expense of *myesis* in line 62 to be “ancillary costs of the slaves’ *myesis* in line 24.” This is not possible. The slaves in line 24 are described as “cleaning in the sanctuary”; the workers in line 62 are λιθαγω[γοὶ Π]εντελῆθεν.

7. Simms, *loc. cit.*, noting that a sacrificial victim and two measures of wine were purchased in this prytany for the benefit of the public slaves at the Choes (lines 266-267), infers that “the same may well have been

in emphasizing that the member of the Eumolpidae or Kerykes who performed the *myesis* was the candidate's mystagogos,⁸ and by Nilsson, *Geschichte* I p. 656, and AD. Nock, *Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments*, *Mnemosyne* 5, 1952, p. 179 (now also Clinton, *Preliminary Initiation*).

138.A.21 confirms that *myesis* was carried out by a member of the Eumolpidae or Kerykes: ἐὰν δέ τις μυῆ[ι Ε]ὐμολ[πιδῶν ἢ Κηρύκων οὐκ ὦν ἐ]ιδῶς, ἢ ἐὰν προσάγῃ τις μυησόμε[νον]. This passage implies that *myesis* was a ritual carried out by any legitimate member of these two clans, and therefore cannot be identical to the celebration proper, which was performed by a small number of priests. An example of *myesis* seems to be provided by Andocides, a member of the Kerykes, who says of himself (Andoc. 132): ... διὰ τί ποτε τοῖς ἐμοὶ νυνὶ ἐπιτιθεμένοις μετὰ Καλλίου καὶ συμπαρασκευάσασι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ χρήματα εἰσενεγκοῦσιν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τρία μὲν ἔτη ἐπιδημῶν καὶ ἥκων ἐκ Κύπρου οὐκ ἀσεβεῖν ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς, μυῶν μὲν Α< . . . > Δελφόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ξένους ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ εἰσιῶν εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ θύων, ὥσπερ ἐμαυτὸν ἄξιον νομίζω εἶναι; Here Andocides offers as proof of his piety that he "initiated" (μυῶν) some of his guest-friends, and that he entered the Eleusinion and sacrificed. Although μυεῖν is otherwise attested with the sense "to have (someone) initiated" and may imply no more than payment of expenses (Dem. 29.21), it cannot have that limited sense here. As D. MacDowell pointed out in his commentary, "... And(ocides) must have done something else besides pay a bill, for in 132 he is listing actions to which objection might have been made on religious grounds; he must have taken some part in the ceremony of initiation."⁹ Clearly he did not perform a ceremony as a priest but as a member of the Kerykes, namely the pre-initiatory *myesis* and the attendant task of serving as the initiate's mystagogos at the Mysteria.

Myesis is mentioned again in a fragmentary decree of the second or first century B.C., 250.27: πρὸ τοῦ τῆς] μυήσεως καὶ ρ[ο]ῦ ἐξ[ηγῶντα]! τ[ο]ῖς μύστ[αις - - -]. *Myesis* here must refer to a preliminary ritual and not the main celebration of the Mysteries. The passage implies that there was a period of time set aside for the *myesis*, presumably a few weeks before the beginning of the Greater and Lesser Mysteries respectively. *Myesis* cannot be taken here to mean "the Mysteries," since πρὸ τοῦ τῆς] μυήσεως καὶ ρ[ο]ῦ would be an odd way of expressing "before the Mysteries" instead of the correct and easy πρὸ μυστηρίων (so in line 12; cf. line 35, μετὰ τὰ μ[υστήρι]α).¹⁰

The term *myesis* occurs again in a dedication to Asclepius around the end of the first century A.D., *IG II²* 3195:

[Δημ]ήτριος Χάρητος Γαργήττιος
[- - -^{ca.15}- - -] καὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν καὶ τὴν μύησιν οἰκείοις ἀναλώμασι []
[τ]ῷ θεῷ ^{υυ} καὶ τῇ πατρίδι.

Demetrios son of Chares of Gargettos, an official of the cult of Asclepius, financed the Reception and the *Myesis* of the god, which were most likely represented in paint on this stele.¹¹

8. That only members of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes could serve as mystagogoi was recognized by Foucart, *Grands Mystères* pp. 93-95, *Mystères* pp. 281-284.

9. *Andokides, On the Mysteries* (Oxford 1962) p. 156,

following A. D. J. Makink, *Andokides' Eerste Rede* (Amsterdam 1932) p. 10.

10. Cf. Clinton, *Epidauria* p. 26 and note 29.

11. See my discussion, *ibid.* pp. 25-26.

The combination of these two ceremonies suggests proximity, in this case temporal proximity—the Reception and shortly afterwards the *Myesis*. Now according to Philostr. *VA* 4.17, this occurred on 17 Boedromion, the day within the Mysteries that was called Epidauria, “on account of Asclepius, because they initiated him as he arrived from Epidauros late for the Mysteries” (Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἔνεκα, ὅτι δὴ ἐμύησαν αὐτὸν ἥκοντα Ἐπιδαυρόθεν ὁπὲ τῶν μυστηρίων). This initiation on 17 Boedromion of course is not the initiation proper at Eleusis, which occurred on Boedromion 21, but must be a late *myesis*, which was performed within the Eleusinion shortly after the Reception (which commemorates the original Reception of Asclepius upon his arrival on 17 Boedromion 420 B.C.).¹²

Confusion is caused by the fact that the verb μυεῖν can refer to the initiation proper at Eleusis, as Pringsheim noted already in 1905.¹³ In the Roman period priests and priestesses used the same verb to refer to their own ritual activity at the Mysteries.¹⁴ Precisely which sense of the verb is intended in a given instance must depend upon the context, whether it is the old technical sense of μυεῖν, i.e. “perform the *myesis*” (which entails serving as *mystagogos*), or the ritual at the main celebration of the Mysteries.¹⁵

Myesis undoubtedly determined eligibility for participation in the Mysteries. It surely entailed some sort of purification and some, though limited, instruction.¹⁶ The shape of the ritual performed at this moment may be inferred from the basic meaning of μύησις, i.e. “closing,” presumably closing of the eyes, which ought also to be the original sense of μύστης, “one who is closed (with respect to his eyes).”¹⁷ If this is correct, the *myesis* will have provided a foretaste of the experience of the initiate at the Mysteries, in being blinded, by having a hood placed over his or her head. The initiate might have looked rather like the hooded initiate in such representations of the Roman period as the Lovatelli urn and the Torre Nova sarcophagus, even though these representations do not directly reflect Eleusinian ritual.¹⁸

Processions

The sacred objects (τὰ ἱερά) were carried on a wagon (208.17-19), but in crossing the Rheitos in the direction of Eleusis they were carried by “priestesses,” the bridge being too narrow for wag-

12. Clinton, *ibid.*

13. *Beiträge* p. 46. Cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 13, note 15; Simms, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

14. Clinton, *Roman Initiates* p. 1502, note 9; 454, 503.

15. Simms, *op. cit.* pp. 191-195, wishes to limit this technical sense of μυεῖν and μύησις to the *mystagogia*, but the examples adduced above clearly show that a separate ritual was also involved. The phrase in 250.27, πρὸ τοῦ τῆς] μύησεως κἀρ[ο]ῦ, is especially difficult for this hypothesis, for if *myesis* is *mystagogia*, this phrase would have to be a strange, roundabout expression for “before the Mysteries” (see above, p. 10).

Simms argues that “*mystagogos* and its cognates are relatively late words,” but Menander, frag. 714 K. tells against this; furthermore, Menander’s metaphorical use of *mystagogos* (δαίμων ... μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου ἀγαγός) tends to suggest that the word was not a very recent creation. It is conceivable, however, that in the Classical period it was not an official term.

16. Cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*

17. See Clinton, *Iconography* p. 86.

18. Roussel, *op. cit.* Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 137-138, discussing the sarcophagus and urn, does not exclude this possibility.

ons (presumably they went around by a longer route) (41.12-13). On the use of teams and wagons in the procession see II.177.Introduction, “ἐξηγηταῖς εἰς ζεύγη Μυστηρίοις,” p. 178.

In my article “Sacrifice” I noted that apparently contradictory evidence concerning the date of the procession (in favor of both Boedromion 19 and 20) could be understood if we assumed two processions, one for the officials and the sacred objects on the 19th, the second for the initiates, led by the Iakchagogos, on the 20th. This arrangement is also reflected in 95.15-19 (τὰ ἱερά, ἡ πανήγυρις τῶν Ἑλλήνων). For a fuller discussion of the processions see II.638 and II.489.Catalog. The originally full set of regulations on processions at 250.24-44 is unfortunately preserved in a very fragmentary state.

Container for ἱερά τοῖν Θεοῖν

A marble container in the shape of a vase displays the inscription ἱερά τοῖν θεοῖν (106) beneath a relief consisting of three figures – Demeter, a god, and presumably Kore. Exactly which “sacred things” it contained remains obscure (see II.106).

A hollowed out, boulder-like stone now on the cliff at Eleusis, close to the Telesterion, may have been an offering-box or a repository for sacred objects (II.177.429).

Cult Statues

By “cult statues” one usually has in mind statues within the Telesterion, and that is what Otto Kern had in mind when he wrote what is still the most extensive treatment of this subject, *Das Kultbild der Göttinnen von Eleusis*, *AM* 17, 1892, pp. 124-142.¹⁹ He concluded that this cult group depicted Demeter seated on a round seat, the *cista mystica*, and Kore standing next to her, holding torches. Some of our best evidence for this group is now provided by the Ninnion Tablet (Athens, NM 11036) and the Regina Vasorum (St. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 525), which suggest that Demeter and Kore are gazing at each other, Demeter seated upon a throne, holding a scepter in one hand, her other hand touching Kore, who is standing next to her and holding a torch or torches.²⁰ However, we need to reckon with the possibility that there were other images in the sanctuary that also received veneration.

Statues in the Telesterion are not mentioned directly in any inventory or other epigraphic document, but there are indirect indications of their existence.

The images in the Telesterion were extraordinary; they gave the impression that light emanated from them: either their surfaces reflected it or light literally streamed from within them, and they may have stood on a platform (mistakenly called “Anaktoron” by modern scholars) at the center of the building.²¹ Maintaining the brilliance of the images must have required considerable

19. Some of the representations which Kern relied upon are now listed in *LIMC* s.v. *Demeter*, 264-269, 279, 282; cf. p. 888); some are illustrated by I. Jücker, *AA* 1980, pp. 462-463 (= *SEG* XXX 92).

20. For a recent discussion of these scenes see Clinton, *loc. cit.* (next note), and pp. 73-75. It seems

doubtful to me that Demeter is sitting on a *cista mystica*, such as we see being carried by the “Caryatids” of the Lesser Propylaea.

21. On the images see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 78-90, esp. 89-90; on the Anaktoron, *ibid.* pp. 126-132; *idem*, *Epiphany*.

care, and it is not surprising that the first attestation, anywhere, of an official called phaidyntes, “Brightener,” occurs in an Eleusinian document from the end of the sixth century B.C. (7.a.14, b.3).²² Although no incumbent’s name is preserved, the importance of the official is reflected in a couple of documents: in 489.58 he appears just after the principal Eleusinian priests and the hearth-initiates; according to 638.16-22, on Boedromion 14 he announces to the priestess of Athena κατὰ τὰ πάτρια the arrival of the *Hiera* from Eleusis, and on Boedromion 19 orders the cosmēte of the ephebes to conduct the escort back to Eleusis.²³ Thus his duties were not restricted to the care of images (presumably he accompanied the *Hiera* on their journeys from Eleusis to the Asty and back), and we can assume that the images that he took care of included many more than those in the Telesterion.

A Lycurgan law mentions ἱεροὶ κόσμοι τῇι Δήμητρι καὶ τῇι Κόρῃ (IG II² 333.c.28. = Schwenk 21, 334 B.C), most likely decoration for statues at the main sanctuary of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis, but statues elsewhere may have been included (such as those in the temple of Demeter and Kore in the Eleusinion [Paus. 1.14.1]). The dedication on a statue base of the early first century A.D. for an exegete of the Eumolpidae praises him for, among other things, τοῦ περὶ τὰ[ς θεὰς κόσμου] (according to Kirchner’s plausible restoration). The latter expression, however, is a bit vague, and the former reference to the ἱεροὶ κόσμοι τῇι Δήμητρι καὶ τῇι Κόρῃ, even if it refers specifically to the Eleusinian sanctuary, may not be limited to decoration on statues in the Telesterion but may refer also to statues elsewhere in the sanctuary, such as those in the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, where images of Eleusinian deities have in fact been found (e.g., the Lakrateides Relief [239] and a bust of Eubouleus [Athens, NM 181]), and for visitors would have been more suitably displayed there.²⁴

SACRED OFFICIALS

Hieronymy

Hieronymy (the term first appears in a passage in Lucian, printed below) was the Eleusinian practice of substituting a priestly title, such as ἱεροφάντης, for one’s given name, e.g. ἱεροφάντης Νουφράδου Περιθοίδης, for the duration of priestly service (in this case the given name Ἀριστοκλῆς was suppressed). In the case of a Roman citizen his praenomen and nomen would precede, e.g. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος ἱεροφάντης Καλλικρατίδου Τρικορύσιος (the name Οἰνόφιλος was suppressed).

22. On the phaidyntes at Olympia, evidently a much later creation, see Paus. 5.14.5 and K. Hanell, *RE* 19.2 (1938), cols. 1559-1560, s.v. *Phaidryntes*.

23. Of course the fact that he acted κατὰ τὰ πάτρια need not mean that the office of phaidyntes existed continuously since the sixth century B.C. It is conceivable that other officials, such as the neokoros attested at 177.185 or certain sacred officials, handled his

duties in some periods, and that the testimonia in the second and third centuries A.D. represent a revival of the office.

24. Within the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα one possible location is suggested by the cuttings next to the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα itself, another, more likely one, by the interior of the so-called *templum in antis* (for the cuttings see *Iconography* pp. 23-24, fig. 4, no. 3).

I repeat here, for the sake of convenience, the account given in *Sacred Officials* pp. 9-10, slightly revised. It should be noted that hieronymy was evidently not required in judicial proceedings during the Roman empire; see *ibid.*, pp. 60-61, daduch no. 22.

In a particular case all the above elements of a hieronymous name need not be present, but the original Greek name is never present, having been replaced by the title of the priesthood (in the instance given, ἱεροφάντης). The custom was in force from the time the priest was installed until his or her death (but see below, “The Beginning of Hieronymy”). After death the original name could again be used. This custom was not in use throughout the entire history of the cult, and did not begin at the same time for all the priesthoods for which it was eventually adopted. In the case of the hierophant it evidently began to be observed sometime ca. 145-140 B.C. (see below, “The Beginning of Hieronymy”). In the case of the daduch, hieronymy was evidently not observed before the beginning of the first century after Christ, and there is no positive evidence for its observance until the aesisoi lists of the middle of the second century of our era. The sacred herald did not become hieronymous until sometime between 119/20 and 166 A.D. Hieronymy for the altar-priest is first attested for L. Memmius Altar-Priest of Thorikos, who served from 121-124 to 191 or 192 A.D., but no evidence concerning his title is available before 168/9; the altar-priest was not hieronymous at the end of the first century B.C. For the pyrphoros the first evidence of hieronymy comes from the end of the second century A.D; he was not hieronymous at the end of the first century B.C. The first securely datable inscription for a hieronymous hierophantis is from the end of the first century A.D.

Eventually, it became a crime to reveal the real name of a hieronymous priest, so that by Lucian's time a scene such as the following could be described (*Lex.* 10): Εἴτ' εὐθύς ἐντυγχάνω δαδούχῳ τε καὶ ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρρητοποιοῖς Δεινίαν σύρουσιν ἄγδην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἔγκλημα ἐπάγοντας ὅτι ὠνόμαζεν αὐτούς, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξ οὐπερ ὠσιώθησαν, ἀνώνυμοί τε εἰσι καὶ οὐκέτι ὀνομαστοὶ ὥς ἂν ἱερώνυμοι ἦδη γεγενημένοι.

W. R. Paton, in an article of which I was unaware in 1974,²⁵ proposed that a hieronymous priest actually had, in effect, three names: his original name, his “holy name” which he took upon assuming office but which was not revealed until his death, and the title which he used as a name during his priesthood. “This ‘holy name,’” he surmised, “was either derived from the name of some god, or bore some ritualistic meaning.” There is not the slightest evidence for such a name. Indeed, the name of hierophant no. 18, which was revealed after his death, therefore according to Paton's hypothesis his “holy name,” was hardly the sort that would evoke holiness – Οἰνόφιλος. The evidence for daduch no. 23 (*Sacred Officials* p. 61) clearly shows that the same name for this priest, viz. Praxagoras, was recorded epigraphically both before he was priest and after his death.

The Beginning of Hieronymy. In the case of the hierophant the first document attesting the use of hieronymy is *IG II*² 1934, which Kirchner dated to the end of the fourth century. With Tracy's new date of ca. 169-135 for this document (see *II.233*) we are rid of some of the awkward conse-

25. The Holy Names of the Eleusinian Priests, (London 1892). I am indebted to David Lewis for bringing this to my attention.

quences of Kirchner's date, namely that hieronymy for the hierophant began around the end of the fourth century but was not rigorously observed until the last quarter of the second. It is now clear that hieronymy was evidently adopted first by the hierophant Aristokles son of Nouphrades of Perithoidai, whose term as priest lasted from 183/2 to *ca.* 145 (II.233). However, we can only speculate as to what led this energetic promoter of the cult to employ this previously unparalleled practice. The first closely datable instance of hieronymy occurs in the listing of Aristokles' son's name in a Panathenaic victor list in or close to the year 166/5 as Εὐκλῆς ἱεροφάντου (Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, p. 189, col. II, lines 37, 53). It is therefore clear that it was not consistently practiced during Aristokles' priesthood (it is absent in 233).

Method of Appointment

We are best informed about appointment to the *dadouchia*: see the discussion at II.300 and the Appendix to II.621.

Hierophant

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 10-47, with the following *addenda* and *corrigenda*.

Tracy's redating of *IG* II² 1934 and the recognition of the identity of the hierophant Aristokles of Perithoidai (see II.233) require revision of the list of hierophants nos. 9-11. The list should now read:

9. Delete. No. 9 = no. 11.
10. Chairetios Prophetou Eleusinos. In office *ca.* 225 B.C. For the date see II.201.
11. Aristokles Nouphradou Perithoides. Add *IG* II² 1934. In office from 183/2 to at least *ca.* 149/8. He was *ca.* 42-45 years old when he took office. See II.233. No. 11 = no. 9.
13. Menekleides Theophemou Kydathenaieus.
14. Theodotos Eustrophou Peiraieus.
15. Theophemos Menekleidou Kydathenaieus. On the dates of these three hierophants see II.242.
20. Flavius Straton. In office early in the first quarter of the second century A.D. See Follet *Athènes* pp. 249-251; II.487.7-9.
21. Phirmos Gargettios. In office perhaps around the middle of the second century A.D., but this is just a guess. See II.465.
- 23a. (instead of no. 27). L. Nummius Andreas Menidos Phalereus. References in Follet, *Athènes* p. 284 (with stemma). In office from *ca.* 150 to *ca.* 160. For his identity and dates see Follet, *loc. cit.*, and II.459.
25. Iulius Hierophantes. He is probably C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios of Steiria. In office from 168/9 to *ca.* 191 but not later than 192. See II.515-516; on his identity II.645 and *Sacred Officials* p. 80, no. 10.
26. Tib Claudius Apollinarios Tib Claudii Apollinariou (Acharneus). In office from *ca.* 191 to *ca.* 210. See II.631, II.645, and Follet, *Athènes* pp. 260-262.
27. See above, no. 23a.
28. Delete. Claudius Hierophantes is probably the same as no. 26. *IG* II² 1077.III.39 (= *Agora* XV 460.84) probably refers to no. 26. See Follet, *Athènes* p. 262; II.631.

29. Casianus Apollonios Iulii Casiani Apolloniou Steirieus. In office from ca. 210 to ca. 216. On his identification and the dates of his term see II.637 and II.645 (for earlier proposals of this identification, *Sacred Officials* p. 41, and Follet, *Athènes* p. 269).
30. Herakleides. In office from ca. 216 to ca. 225.
31. Logimos. In office from ca. 225 to ca. 230.
For discussion of his identity see Follet, *Athènes* pp. 259-260, and Aleshire, *Asklepieion* p. 59, note 9. Following Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp. 95-97, no. 81, Follet emended the name of Logimos, the hierophant reported by Philostratus *VS* 2.20, to Logi<s>mos and suggested that he is a descendant of Ἰάσων Ζήθου ὁ καὶ Λόγισμος Ἀγνούσιος (*IG* II² 3664). Iason, however, was a member of the Kerykes (*Sacred Officials* pp. 95-96, no. 2), and even though a descendant could have become a Eumolpid through his maternal line, the change in *genos* presents a potential difficulty. Her association of a relief of a hierophant from Hagnous (*Sacred Officials* p. 34, fig. 3) with this hypothetical hierophant is not consonant with the stylistic dating of the relief (though stylistic dating is imprecise, no one, to my knowledge, has dated it so late).
32. T. Flavius Glaukos Marathonios. In office from ca. 230 to ca. 235. See II.637 and II.646.

Daduch

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 47-68, with the following *addenda* and *corrigenda*.

9. Philistides. His term seems to have begun toward the end of the first quarter of the second century; II.300.46-49.
12. Xenokles. His term seems to have extended from the last quarter of the second century to ca. 85; II.300.39-40.
13. Sophokles. His term may have extended from ca. 85 to ca. 65; II.300.39-40.
14. Themistokles. Add 285. His term may have extended from ca. 65 to ca. 55; II.300.39-40.
15. Theophrastos. His term may have extended from ca. 55 to ca. 30; II.300.39-40.
22. P. Aelius Dionysios (of Pallene?). For the evidence see Follet, *Athènes* p. 259, and II.621. In office from shortly before 174/5 (but later than 169) to ca. 182-185.
23. Aelius Praxagoras Meliteus. In office from ca. 182-185 to ca. 191. Follet, *Athènes* p. 278 (with pp. 307-308 on the date of *IG* II² 1798), identified him with the Aelius Dadouchos in the *aeisi-toi* lists of *IG* II² 1798 and 1782, but this Aelius Dadouchos can easily have been daduch no. 22. On the beginning of Praxagoras' term see II.478.
24. Tib Claudius Philippos Meliteus. In office from ca. 191 to ca. 195-200. See II.632, II.645, and Follet, *Athènes* pp. 279-280.
25. Delete. The evidence refers to no. 21, Pom(peius) Dadouchos. See Follet, *Athènes* pp. 277-278.
26. C. (or P.) Fabius Thisbianos of Marathon. In office in 209/10. He was the son of the homonymous archon of 186/7. See Follet, *Athènes*, pp. 280-281, and II.640.

Priestess of Demeter and Kore

See Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 68-76, with the following *addenda* and *corrigenda*.

- 2a. Χοῖρῖνη. B. Freyer-Schauenburg, Zum Grabrelief der Priesterin Choirine, *Festschrift Jale Inan* (Istanbul 1989) pp. 59-65 (with photograph) (= *SEG* XL 246 = *IG* II² 13062).

Her grave stele was removed from Eleusis in 1819 by the French Rear-admiral Halgan and by 1859 was in the possession of Lenormant (*Recherches* no. 95, pp. 356-357), who did not recognize that the image of a woman carrying a key in her right hand represented a priestess. The stele presumably came from a necropolis in Eleusis. This guarantees that Choirine was associated with the deme, presumably as a resident. It does not actually guarantee that she was a priestess of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, but the image suggests that she held a lifetime priesthood, like that of Demeter and Kore, and so it seems likely that this was indeed the priesthood she held. (Lenormant, though he did not recognize that she was a priestess, did associate her with the sanctuary because of her name; but her name, of course, was given to her as a child and does not warrant a specific association with the sanctuary.) Freyer-Schaenburg dates the stele in the 360's. It is not impossible that this priestess is the same as priestess no. 3, whose name is unknown.

4a. Ἀβρυλλὶς Μικίωνος Κηφισιέως. *IG* II² 3477; 6398; unpublished statue base in the Roman Agora. In office ca. 120 B.C.

It has been wrongly inferred from *IG* II² 3477 that she was a priestess of Athena. The unpublished base in the Roman Agora, however, gives her title, priestess of Demeter and Kore. *IG* II² 6398, her grave marker, displays a relief depicting her insignia of office: a key, bound with a *tainia* and a strap; see A. G. Mantis, *Προβλήματα τῆς εἰκονογραφίας τῶν ἱερειῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερέων στὴν ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ τέχνη* (Athens 1990) p. 44, no. 1 (with photographs, pl. 14). For her date see II.300.24.

6. Ameinokleia. She became priestess ca. 95 B.C. apparently; see II.268.

7. Her name was Chairion (282).

8a.? See below, no. 17.

9. Kleo. In office from ca. A.D. 25 to ca. 65. See II.334 and II.364.

10. Instead of 12. Claudia Tatarion. In office after ca. A.D. 70. If Claudia Tatarion is to be identified with the daughter of the archon Menandros son of Asklepíodoros of Gargettos (see II.333), she must have served as priestess immediately (or very soon) after Kleo daughter of Eukles of Phlya (no. 9); see II.369.

11. Claudia Timothea. In office from ca. 90 to ca. 105. For her date see II.373.

12. Instead of 10. Flavia Laodameia. In office from ca. 105 to ca. 145. For her date see II.377.

17. Ithake. This hitherto undated priestess may belong to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the following century; see II.317.

19. Dionysia. In office around the middle of the third century A.D. She is discussed at *Sacred Officials* p. 76, where I was doubtful whether her priesthood of Demeter was held at Eleusis, but upon reflection this seems more likely than not; see II.651.

Sacred Herald

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 76-82, with the following *addenda* and *corrigenda*:

3. T. Coponius Maximos Hagnousios. In office at the beginning of the second century A.D. For the date see Follet, *Athènes* pp. 170-173, 282.

4. L. Nummius Nigreinos Gargettios. In office from ca. 130 (?) to ca. 150. For the date see *ibid.* pp. 282-284, and II.459.

- 4a. L. Nummius Menis Gargettios. References *ibid.* p. 284 (with stemma). In office from ca. 150 to ca. 155. For the date see *ibid.* pp. 282-284, and II.459.
6. P. Herennius Hierokeryx Apolloniou Hermeios. Add the reference under no. 8, *IG II² 1077.42*. His term extended at least until 209/10. See *ibid.* p. 285.
7. Delete. These attestations of Nummius Hierokeryx refer to no. 4a; see *ibid.* pp. 282-284.
8. Delete. Identical to no. 6. See above, no. 6.
9. Iulius Hierokeryx son of Iulius Mousonios Steirieus. In office after 209/10 to ca. 225 (?). See II.633 and *ibid.* pp. 285-286.
10. Casianus Apollonios son of Casianus Apollonios (hierophant no. 29) Steirieus? In office from at least 231/2 to shortly before 238. See II.645 and Clinton, *Hesperia* 73, 2004, pp. 39-57.

On the role of the sacred herald see II.462.

Altar-Priest

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 82-86, and on chronological matters, Follet, *Athènes* pp. 288-291. For the date of *IG II² 3802* see II.653.

Hierophantides

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 86-89, with the following *addenda*.

The highly probable restoration at 19.C.6-9 confirms the antiquity of these priestesses. On their *genos*, most likely the Eumolpidai, see II.379.

1. Hierophantis Amphiou Philadou. For her father see II.288.

Exegetes of the Eumolpidai

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 89-93, with the following *addenda*.

There may be a reference to Eumolpid exegesis in a recently published fragment of a law or decree from the Agora (Woodhead, *Agora XVI* 57).

- 7a. Patron (Berenikides), perhaps son of Menneas. 454; *IG II² 5889* (?). In office before the middle of the second century A.D. See II.454.

Herald Panages

See *Sacred Officials* pp. 95-96, with the following *addenda*.

A reference to this priesthood may lie in Schol. Aeschin. 1.20 (45b Dilts): κηρύκων ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις γένη τέσσαρα, πρῶτον <τὸ> τῶν πανάγων τῶν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις, οἱ εἰσιν ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πανδρόσου τῆς Κέκροπος, κτλ. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 20, 1885, p. 27, corrected the very rare adjective πανάγων to παναγῶν, as R. Kassel, *ZPE* 100, 1994, p. 25, noted; Kassel also pointed out that the manuscripts offered the variant πανάγων. The scholion is more likely using this adjective to indicate the sacred character of this *genos* rather than a particular priesthood.

For another possible incumbent see 443.

Priest of the God and the Goddess and Eubouleus

See *Sacred Officials* p. 97, with the following *addendum*.

3. Furius Markellos. E. A. Kapetanopoulos, *ATHENA* 76, 1977, pp. 182-186 (= *SEG* XXVI 2388); Clinton, *Iconography* p. 56, note 152. In office in the late second century A.D.

Priest of Triptolemus

See *Sacred Officials* p. 97, with the following *addendum*.

Aelius Ch[- - -]. 482.

Lithophoros

On the *Hieros Lithos* and the function of the lithophoros see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 122-123.

Hearth-Initiate: ὁ (ἡ) παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεῖς (μνηθεῖσα)

Boeckh's important discussion of the meaning of ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεῖς in his commentary to 373 (*CIG* 393) was not fully reported by Foucart, *Mystères* pp. 277-279, and was subsequently overlooked by me, *Sacred Officials* pp. 98-100. Boeckh eliminated a number of earlier incorrect hypotheses about the nature of the "initiate from hearth" and produced the most important nineteenth-century treatment of this institution. Although his suggestion that the child was initiated at a hearth in the sanctuary was a more sensible hypothesis than earlier proposals, it is nevertheless a bit hard to reconcile with the actual process of initiation (on which see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 84-87), and we might have expected that initiation *at* a hearth would be expressed ἐφ' ἐστία. Boeckh also adduced passages in Himerius and Themistius, and although he drew the wrong conclusions from them, they did not deserve to be ignored by later commentators. They are, in fact, of critical importance for an understanding of the hearth-initiate. Himerius, 8.65-69 Colonna, in his lament over the death of his son Rouphinos, who was both a Sacred Child of Dionysus and a hearth-initiate, wrote: οἶμοι Δῆμητερ καὶ Κόρη, τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε. τελεῖται μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κάτω τεμένει, οὐ πατρὸς μυσταγωγούντος, ἀλλὰ τινος οἶμαι σκυθρωποῦ καὶ πικροῦ δαίμονος· οὐ τὸ δαδούχων πῦρ βλέπει, ἀλλὰ τὰς Ἑρινύων καὶ Ποινῶν λαμπάδας. This provides the important information that the father of a hearth-initiate was his mystagogue. Passages from Themistius show that the phrase ἀφ' ἐστίας could be used more or less synonymously with οἶκοθεν, a common meaning of ἀφ' ἐστίας, found throughout antiquity: ἅτε οἶκοθεν καὶ ἀφ' ἐστίας τὰ ὄργια τελεσθέντος (Themistius 27.333B; cf. 13.167C.1-2). Another, even more relevant passage: ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν μυσταγωγὸν μοι γενέσθαι τῆς ἐρωτικῆς τελετῆς, οὐ πόρρωθεν τῶν παιδικῶν οὐδὲ ὀθνεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐγγύθεν καὶ ἀφ' ἐστίας (Themistius, 13.165C.5-7). Here too (but this time as a metaphor) reference is to particular kind of mystagogue, viz. one closely related to the initiate, a hearth-associate, ἀφ' ἐστίας. Thus the sense in

which the παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεῖς was initiated "from hearth" was that he was initiated "from home," by his father or, in the absence of a father, presumably by a close relative or guardian.

Additional literary evidence, on the age of the "initiate from hearth" is preserved in the Confession of St. Cyprian of Antioch, martyred in A.D. 304: ἔτι ὧν δέκα ἐτῶν ἐδαδούχησα τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὸ λευκὸν πένθος ὑπέμεινα (*Praxis* 2.2, *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. VII [48], p. 204f.); for the full passage and the metrical paraphrase by the empress Eudocia see Clinton, *Iconography* p. 55, note 145). Although the confession is fictitious, it gives us an idea of the perception of the hearth-initiate in the early fourth century, namely that an age of ten years would be appropriate for this initiate. Himerius' son Rouphinos, on the other hand, was an accomplished orator before he died, which implies that a hearth initiate could also be in his mid to late teens.

A full discussion of the "initiate from hearth" will be published in *The child in ancient Greek cult: proceedings of the seventh International seminar on ancient Greek cult, organized by the department of classical archaeology and ancient history, Göteborg University, 16-18 April 1999*, ed. Robin Hägg.

Addenda and corrigenda to Sacred Officials pp. 100-114:

From literary sources:

Roufinos son of Himerius. See above.

From inscriptions:

Unknown name, *s. II a.?*: 245.

Heliko, *s. II/I*: 252.

Unknown name of boy, *s. II/I*: 253.

Unknown name, *s. I a./II p.*: 319.

Atheno Niketou Hagnousiou, *fin. s. I a./init. s. I p.*: 323.

L. Pompeius [- - -] (probably hearth-initiate), *s. I p.?*: 384.

Unknown name of girl, *s. I p.?*: 391.

Kallisto daughter of Kallimachos (possibly hearth-initiate), *s. I/II*: 399.

Unknown name of boy, *s. I/II?*: 414.

Unknown name of girl, *s. I/II?*: 416.

Unknown name (probably hearth-initiate), *s. I/III*: 429.

Unknown name of girl, *s. I/III*: 431.

Ti. Claudius Attikos Herodes (probably hearth-initiate), *ca. 115 p.*: 438.

Son of P. Aelius Praxagoras Meliteus (probably hearth-initiate), *ca. 160-170 p.*: 480.

Poll[ion?], *s. II p.?*: 551.

Unknown name, *s. II p.?*: 568.

57. *s. I a./s. I p.?* For the date see II.317.

SPONDOPHOROI

In its generic sense the word σπονδοφόρος indicates an assistant who brings a libation to a priest.²⁶ The essential task of the Eleusinian spondophoroi was to announce, to cities throughout

26. K. Latte, *RE* 3A (1929), s.v. *Spondophoroi*, cols. 1847-1848.

the Greek world, the impending festival of the Mysteries and the truce (σπονδαὶ) that was to be observed before and after it.²⁷ They were undoubtedly perceived as following the example of Triptolemus, who travelled throughout the Greek world on his civilizing mission, distributing grainseed (this of course the spondophoroi did not do) and announcing the Mysteries.²⁸ In the law issued ca. 470-460 B.C. there is no mention of spondophoroi or an announcement of the σπονδαὶ of the Mysteries (19.B.8-47), but the regulations concerning the announcement probably occurred in the missing part of the document (a truce would have little sense without announcement of it). The title spondophoroi for these envoys first occurs in 138.1-24, dated to the 360's or 350's, where they are restored with some probability. Prior to this we read in a decree of 367/6 (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 5-12, no. 3.8-14, printed below at II.138.A.9-20) about a mishap that befell members of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes who were carrying out the task that was later done by officials called spondophoroi: τοῦ[ς ἐπαγγε]ίλαντας τὰς σπονδὰς Εὐμολπιδ[ῶν καὶ Κη]ρύκων. Although the Aetolian League had accepted the Sacred Truce, the Trichoneians apprehended two members of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes who were announcing it. (Such violations of the truce apparently were very rare: Aelius Aristides, 2.7 Keil, did not know of any at all.) It is interesting that the men are not called spondophoroi even though they obviously performed the same function. It is conceivable that the name did not yet exist or was not official; i.e. these envoys were simply called "those who announced the Truce of the Mysteries." It may have been incidents like this one that persuaded the Athenians to emphasize the envoys' sacred character by calling them σπονδοφόροι. If this is true, the spondophoroi would parallel the exegetes of the Mysteries in getting their formal name relatively late.²⁹ The use of the term σπονδοφόροι to indicate announcers of festivals is exclusively Athenian (outside of Attica they were called θεωροί).³⁰

After the 350's the term appears with some frequency: Aeschines 2.133-134 (καὶ τοῖς σπονδοφόροις τοῖς τὰς μυστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο...); 150.III.3-4; 177.4, 168-169, 356; 201; *Gonnoi* no. 109; *IG* II² 785; 221; *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 47-51, no. 7.11 (= L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, pp. 92-111). It does not occur after the second century. There are no dedications honoring spondophoroi.

These texts give us some idea of the geographical range of their missions: Aetolia (above), Phocis (Aeschines), Thessaly (*Gonnoi* no. 109), the islands (177.4), Syria (*IG* II² 785; 221; *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 47-51, no. 7); and for the mission of spondophoroi at Alexandria in 169 B.C. Polybius 28.19.4 uses the general Greek term θεωρία. There seems to be no reason not to believe that the

27. The main treatments of the Eleusinian spondophoroi are, in addition to that of K. Latte, *op. cit.*: Foucart, *Mystères* pp. 270-271; Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 61, 1924, pp. 101-104; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, pp. 108-111; G. Rougement, *BCH* 97, 1973, p. 90; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 23; *idem*, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 276-278.

28. Clinton, *Panhellenism* pp. 162-166.

29. On the name of the exegetes of the Eumolpidae see *Sacred Officials* pp. 89-92.

30. On the σπονδοφόροι of Olympia see Latte, *loc.*

cit. (above, note 1). As he observed, the use of the term by Strabo, 2.98, for an envoy of Cyzicus who announces the Koreia does not necessarily attest official usage at Cyzicus; cf. Robert, *op. cit.* (above, note 1), p. 111, note 1. Latte, *loc. cit.* (above, note 1), and Boesch, *Hermes* 52, 1917, p. 139, note 2, suggested that σπονδο[φορ -] in *FD* III 2, 140.I.12, II.5 is an incorrect restoration, but Robert is more cautious; he points out that this is an Athenian decree, with the implication that the term σπονδο[φορ -] may owe its existence to the Athenian context.

spondophoroi would normally attempt to visit all important cities in mainland Greece as well as all such cities in the eastern Mediterranean that were readily accessible by sea. They did this by sending several missions, each to a different area. In the fourth century spondophoroi were apparently sent also to announce the Lesser Mysteries, but it is rather doubtful that this was still the practice by the end of the third century (see below, "Lesser Mysteries").

The names of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes who served as spondophoroi are rarely preserved. The decree of 367/6 (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 5-12, no. 3.8-14) preserves the names Promachos and Epigenes. Polybius 29.19.4 mentions θεωρίαι διτταί, μία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Παναθηναίων, ἥς προειστίηται Καλλίας ὁ παγκρατιαστής, ἡ δ' ἄλλη περὶ μυστηρίων, ὑπὲρ ἧς Κλεόστρατος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν χρηματισμὸν καὶ τοὺς λόγους. It is probably right to assume that there were normally two spondophoroi in each *spondophoria*, one of whom was in charge. At the time that they were chosen for this office they apparently had to undergo a δοκιμασία (138.6).

In the third century the announcers of the Panathenaia and Eleusinia were also called spondophoroi (*Gonnoi* no. 109), and there seems to be no reason not to assume that this was always the case from the inception of the institution of officials called spondophoroi at Athens. The spondophoroi for the Panathenaia we might assume were not taken from the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, but in 221.15 the Eumolpidai and Kerykes refer to themselves, with no qualification, as τὰ γένη ἐξ ὧν οἱ σπονδοφόροι ἐκπέμπονται.

The pairs of spondophoroi would set out at different times, depending on their destinations. 177.356 attests to some spondophoroi setting out in Skiophorion; in line 4, to some doing so in Hekatombaion; and in lines 168-169, to spondophoroi apparently setting out in the fourth prytany, perhaps to announce the Lesser Mysteries (unless they are being reimbursed for a mission on behalf of the Greater Mysteries). I once followed a suggestion of Foucart in thinking that the spondophoroi for the Eleusinia, Panathenaia, and Mysteries conducted their mission together in order to save expense,³¹ but the passage in Polybius (28.19.4) renders this rather unlikely, for it refers to separate θεωρίαι for the Panathenaia and the Mysteries; it does not mention any θεωρία for the Eleusinia, presumably because the Eleusinia were not celebrated at this time of year.

Normally the expenses of the spondophoroi were paid by the state (see 150 and 177), but sometimes the spondophoroi themselves donated the expense, as Kleostratos did in 169 (Polybius).

The speeches which the spondophoroi delivered in the cities they visited were probably written by the spondophoroi themselves or by the προεστῶς of each team (cf. Polybius, 28.19.4). When a hierophant undertook this task, as Chairetios did ca. 225, it was cause for special praise: καὶ τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδοφορίας διατελεῖ μετ' εὐνοίας ἀπογράφων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν (201.6-8). These announcements were λόγοι, rhetorical pieces, and had to be composed with care and skill, each one tailored to the city in which it was to be delivered.³²

When the spondophoroi returned from their journeys they were obliged to προσαποφέρειν εἰς τὸ Μητρῶιον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεωροδοκούντων πατρόθεν, ὅταν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἀποδεξαμένας τὰς σπονδὰς ἀποφέρωσιν (*Gonnoi* no. 109.35-43; cf. 138.22).

31. *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 277; Foucart, *REG* 32, 1929, p. 197.

32. See Wilhelm, Robert, *loc. cit.*, Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 23.

FESTIVAL MARKET

The festival market, which must have been a major institution at Eleusis, functioning at the Mysteries and other festivals, is the principle concern of a letter of Gallienus to the Athenians (655). The importance of this market can be seen in the Hellenistic law on weights and measures (237). Measuring tables found at Eleusis (179 and 553) are to be associated with this market. A special festival coinage was minted for it (Kroll, *Agora* XXVI pp. 27-48). In the Roman period the panegyriarch's duties may have included supervision of the festival market.

2. LESSER MYSTERIA

19.B of ca. 470-460 B.C. with its information on the termini of the Sacred Truce for the Lesser Mysteries gives the impression that this festival was flourishing. This document further informs us that the priestess of Demeter received an obol from each initiate at the Lesser Mysteries (and another obol from each at the Greater, 19.C.9-20). It seems safe to assume that that envoys were being sent out from Athens to announce this truce (see above, "Spondophoroi," and Clinton, *Panhellenism* pp. 162-163). The picture is rather different at the end of the century. In 408 receipts from the Greater Mysteries amounted to Dr 4,394 (or 4,398) Ob 4, those from the Lesser only Dr 45 Ob 2 (52.A.III.23-26). The discrepancy is so great (see commentary *ad loc.*) that it tends to suggest that by this time attendance at the Lesser festival was not a prerequisite for participation in the Greater, even though we do not know the fee charged to individual initiates at this time. The festival is mentioned in a fragment of the detailed law concerning the Mysteries that was issued around the middle of the fourth century (138.B.h.7). In 329/8, the next year for which we have the most complete account of expenditures (177), unfortunately the expenditures in the seventh prytany, which coincided with Anthesterion, the month in which the Lesser Mysteries took place, are missing; there are no expenses recorded in the sixth prytany for this festival. However, mention of expenses in the fourth prytany for the σπονδοφόροι εἰς μυστήρια [τ]ὰ [.¹⁵.] (line 168), though unfortunately indecisive as to which festival, seems to imply, by its designation of one of the two festivals, that the Lesser Mysteries also had their spondophoroi; and the same implication seems to arise from mention of σπονδοφόροι εἰς μυστήρια [τ]ὰ μεγάλα (for the islands) in line 4. Although no expense for spondophoroi for the Lesser Mysteries is listed in either the fifth or the sixth prytany, i.e. during a period of forty-eight days before the start of the truce, the fact that expenses are listed for the spondophoroi for the Greater Mysteries (lines 4 and 356) in the first and tenth prytanies, i.e. presumably at the beginning of Hekatombaion and the end of Skirophorion (in the former case within forty-five days of the Sacred Truce for the Greater Mysteries, in the latter case at an even greater interval before the Truce), allows for the possibility of restoring the Lesser Mysteries in line 168. Confirmation that the festival was at least being celebrated around this time comes from 93, a decree of the Eumolpidai of ca. 325, which refers to a distribution of a share from the proceeds of the Greater and Lesser Mysteries to each of the Eumolpidai. Demetrius Poliorcetes was initiated in both festivals in Mounychion of 302, although his of course was a very special case (Plut. *Demetr.* 26; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 50). Activities of the epimeletai of the Mysteries are attested at the Lesser

Mysteries in the years 266 (181.9-10) and 213 (208.21.23, held twice this year; see commentary). A copy of an Athenian decree published in Gonnoi, honoring foreign hosts of Athenian spondophoroi, apparently in the last quarter of the third century (*Gonnoi* pp. 121-122, no. 109), mentions the festivals announced by the spondophoroi, viz. the Eleusinia, Panathenaia, and Mysteria (cf. II.208.22-26) but not the Lesser Mysteries; this may offer further evidence, though from silence, that the spondophoroi were no longer announcing the Sacred Truce of the lesser festival. The dedication of a phiale at τὰ μεγάλα Μυστήρια by ephebes in 102 (*IG* II² 1028.29) and shortly after 94/3 (*IG* II² 1030.27, reliably restored) would logically seem to imply that the lesser festival was celebrated in these years, but the expression “Greater Mysteries” may simply be a traditional one. At any rate, after this time there exists no further epigraphic testimony of the Lesser Mysteries but only of “Mysteria,” no longer qualified as “Greater.” In 300.4 of 20/19 a meeting of the Ecclesia was held on Anthesterion 21, which probably means that the Lesser Mysteries were not held in this year (see commentary). No reference to the Lesser Mysteries in any imperial writer credibly suggests actual celebration (e.g., Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.11; Julian, *Or.* 8.173B). Although the silence of Pausanias is often not significant, it is nonetheless striking that he does not mention any area at Agrai sacred to Demeter and Kore, where the goddesses’ famous Lesser Mysteries were held, whereas he does note the temple of Artemis Agrotera and the stadium. The most natural supposition is that the goddesses’ sacred area at Agrai and the Lesser Mysteries did not survive Sulla’s sack of the city, if indeed they still existed at that time.

3. ELEUSINIA

For discussion of the trieteric and penteteric celebrations of this agonistic festival and the prizes see II.177.382-384; on the month in which the celebrations were held, II.208.22-26; for a list of the contests, II.227.

4. PROEROSIA

On the involvement of Eleusinian priests and the time of its celebration see II.175.3-7.

5. HALOA

On the festival, its deities, and the role of the demarch (performing a sacrifice) see II.229.7-8. On the sacrifices at the festival and on the altars see 177.178, 186-188, 202-203, 206-207.

The military garrison at Eleusis regularly announced its honors at the πάτριος ἄγών at the Haloa (184.14-15, 196.29-30, 211.46-48).

6. CHLOIA

The demarch could perform a sacrifice at this festival: II.229.7-8.

7. KALAMAILA

On this Polis festival, in which the deme played a significant role (the demarch marched in the procession with the hierophant and priestesses “according to ancestral custom” and performed

the principal sacrifice), see II.229.8-11. The eponymous hero of the festival, Kalamites, was Eleusinian (Clinton, *Iconography* p. 106; *LIMC*, s.v. Kalamites).

8. FESTIVALS OF THE DEME

Dionysia. On the sanctuary of Dionysus, evidently the most important in western Attica, and its relation to the Two Goddesses see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 121-125; on its location, see above, “Theater of Dionysus.”

The festival included both men’s and boys’ dithyrambic contests (II.80.3-15) and tragedy and comedy (53, 66). The demarch marched in the procession and served as agonothele (229.32-34). On the procession see Clinton, *loc. cit.*

The Eleusinians regularly announced honors at their Dionysia (72.22-24, 80.13-16).

Thesmophoria. On the local celebration of the Thesmophoria at Eleusis see Clinton, Thesmophorion, and II.175.

Festival of Herakles in Akris. For this local festival, of unattested name, see 85.

9. CULT OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR AND IMPERIAL FAMILY

The important role that the Eleusinian sanctuary and its priestly clans played in the establishment of the imperial cult is described in my article, “Eleusis and the Romans,” with additional discussion below at II.297 and II.295. On the role of the Eleusinian clans in the mid second century A.D. see *Sacred Officials* pp. 62-63; Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* pp. 137-141.

COMMENTARY

DOCUMENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

1. JUMPING WEIGHT DEDICATED BY EPAINETOS. Philios took ΤΟΔΕ in line 3 as τοῦδε and was followed by Wilamowitz and others (Wilamowitz thought the final hA was a mistaken repetition). Kirchhoff realized that the last two letters of line 3 constituted the beginning of the second verse, which had to continue on a second halter, and ΤΟΔΕ must represent the dual τῶδε.

Halters were weights carried in pairs, one in each hand, by participants in the long jump (for the testimonia see Moretti, Gardiner, Jüthner) and sometimes in the standing jump. “The modern long-jumper depends for his impetus on his pace, and tries to reach his maximum speed at the take-off. The jumper with weights depends for his impetus partly on the swing of the weights, partly on the run. The run is shorter and not so fast” (Gardiner p. 147). We can infer that the long jump was one of the contests in the Eleusinia.

The edges on the long sides of this halter were cut back so as to reduce their sharpness and make them more comfortable to grip.

Date. Kirchhoff assigned a date no later than the beginning of the sixth century, but the letter-forms are not inconsistent with a date about the middle of the century. Tentative assignment to the second quarter is perhaps the best guess (so Lewis).

“Forgery”. A modern imitation was engraved on a stone in Cappadocia, presumably in jest: see H. Gregoire, *BCH* 33, 1909, pp. 77-8; E. N. Dragoumis, *ibid.* pp. 437-438; Gregoire, *ibid.* p. 439; W. Bannier, *PhilWoch* 29, 1909, col. 1164; M. Guarducci I pp. 498-499.

2. DEDICATION. The monument consisted of several blocks, more than 0.37 m. in depth and, judging just from the inscribed blocks (*e*, *b*, *a*), of widths that vary roughly between 0.50 and 0.70 m. They were placed in a high location, probably somewhere in the vicinity of the Telesterion, near where Kourouniotis found *d*, or on the site of the Telesterion, where *b*, *c*, and *e* were found reused in the foundations.

The nature of this wide monument, set in a high location, is obscure. Skias suggested a dedicatory base that held a krater or tripod – an unlikely suggestion, considering the size and the inscription. There may have been two of them – *b* and *d* would be consistent with duplication – or the inscription was duplicated on different sides of a single monument, as Kourouniotis suggested. Skias noticed cuttings for clamps on *b*.

The most likely original setting for these blocks seems to be a crowning course for a building or a peribolos wall. (R. F. Townsend and I are engaged in a study of a possible location.) Frag. *e* is certainly a name; *a* is possibly a name or the adjective κλεινός; *c* could be two names, -]νις Μεν[- -, or ἡὼν ἴσμεν. The closest parallel would be the sixth-century inscription carved on a step of the temple of Apollo in Syracuse (*SEG* XXXI 841; cf. XXXVI 860, XXXIX 987):

Κλεο[μέν]ες: ἔποίησε τόπέλονι: ἡο Κνιδιε[ί]δα:
 κέπικλῆ (οἱ κέπιελε) στύλεια: κα[λὰ] φέργα (οἱ κᾶ[λα] φέργα).

We could conceivably construe our inscription as follows:

[*nomen, rem* π|]οιέσας ἡο| Ναυσικ|[λέος καὶ *nomen, rem*] ποιέσ[ας ἡο *nomen patris*]
 κλεν|[ότατα φέργα ἡδ]|ν ἴσμεν [τοῖν Θεοῖν ἀνέθεσαν.] Many other combinations are possible.

The date is based on the letter-forms; cf. Jeffery pp. 71-74 and pl. 3, and Immerwahr.

The principal significance of the dedication is that it supplies a *terminus post quem* for the Late Archaic Telesterion.

Appendix. Skias, *AE* 1894, col. 192, no. 3, reported a small fragment of the same poros (his Inv. No. 79) which I have been unable to find. On it he read parts of two letters, nu and sigma, though his drawing casts doubt on his interpretation of sigma. He described the fragment as part of a dedicatory base with a cavity on top for the insertion of a dedication. This cavity and the careless nature of the script led him to conclude that this stone was not part of 2.

3. RACEPOST DEDICATED BY ALKIPHRON. Wilhelm was the first to determine the sense of the whole epigram.

Boeckh, Rubensohn, Wilhelm, and Elter understood, correctly in my view, the στῆλαι to be the markers for a race course (cf. Sophocles, *El.* 720, 744): “er setzte die στῆλαι in den Boden und machte so den lieblichen δρόμος” (Elter). However, there was more to making a “lovely” course than simply setting the στῆλαι in the ground. The epigram does not state that Alkiphron made the “lovely” course but that he made the course “lovely.” There seems to be no reason to assume that a race course did not exist before Alkiphron made it “lovely.”

Mansfield based his reconstruction (fig. 1) on *DAA* 326-328 and on stone turning-posts in vase paintings (e.g., Vatican 414 [Beazley, *ABV* p. 343, no. 3, Michigan Painter], Leiden PC 7 [*ABV* p. 407, no. 1, near the Painter of Berlin 1833]), and concluded that the present *dromos* is the hippodrome at Eleusis. I am indebted to him for sharing this information with me and allowing me to use his reconstruction.

Line 1: Elter, who cited several examples of dedications made by archons, preferred ἄρξας, and suggested taking ἄρξας or ἄρχον with δέμοι Ἀθηναίων (citing ἄρξας τῇ πατρίδι, *IG* XII.7 117, Arcesine, Roman period; but more relevant is Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχων in Attic inscriptions; Meisterhans p. 210.32; S. Dow, *Historia* 9, 1960, p. 284).

Line 2: On the form καδ- see Wilhelm; Threatte, *GAI* I 35.03 (b), p. 438.

Line 5: On the restoration see Hansen, who points out that θυγατέρος is not found in verse inscriptions before 400; but of course it is not therefore precluded. καὶ Φερσεφόνες, metrically the best possibility, must be resisted because in no other Eleusinian inscription (in verse or prose) is Demeter’s daughter called Persephone: at Eleusis she is always Κόρη or (in verse) θυγάτηρ. Moreover, Peek noted that there is not enough space for καὶ Φερσεφόνες, and this is apparently confirmed by Mansfield’s drawing (where line 5 is shifted one letter to the right of line 4); but we cannot be sure that Fourmont’s spacing was accurate.

4. DEDICATORY BASIN. Lolling, Kirchhoff, and Hiller associated it with the following fragment (5), which they thought belonged to the same basin. Although the script is very similar, the different curvatures of the fragments render the attribution unlikely.

The text may be in verse. The position of the inscription, on the outside below the lip (rather than on top of it), is unusual. I could find no comparable example in *DAA*. On Raubitschek's restoration see Hansen.

5. DEDICATORY BASIN. See the commentary to the preceding inscription, of which it may be a twin.

6. DISCUS DEDICATED BY AISIMIDES. The epsilon and alpha suggest to me a date toward the end of the sixth century rather than the first half of the century, as Jeffery preferred.

The discus, dedicated by an athlete who was probably named Aisimides (for the name cf. *PA* 307-310; *LGPN* s.v.; *PAA* 114445-114490), was probably given to him as a prize for a victory in the Eleusinia. He in turn dedicated it to the games' patron deities. For this type of dedication see P. Jacobstahl, *Diskoi* (Berlin 1933) pp. 17-23; *IG* I³ 1394-1397.

7. SACRED LAW CONCERNING THE MYSTERIES. CITY ELEUSINION COPY. See the discussions of Jeffery, Sokolowski (who provides much speculative restoration), and Clinton. This is our earliest epigraphic law on the Mysteries. On the phaidyntes see Clinton and above, II.Introduction, "Cult statues," pp. 12-13.

Another law found in the Eleusinion, also boustrophedon but perhaps of slightly later date, *IG* I³ 232, may not concern the Mysteries (hence may not have been published at Eleusis); or if it does concern the Mysteries, it seems to pertain as well to other festivals with which the Eleusinion was involved, including evidently the Thesmophoria; cf. Clinton, Thesmophorion p. 124; Miles, *Agora* XXXI.

10. DEDICATION BY ARISTODAMOS OF METAPONTUM. The form of the monument is that of Raubitschek's Pillar Monument, type B; see especially *DAA* 238. My (hypothetical) arrangement of the text, unlike Kirchhoff's, allows for a patronymic and the names of the deities.

Jeffery decided that the monument belonged in the first quarter of the fifth century because of the stoichedon arrangement in Lolling's drawing, but since the drawing is misleading (see epigraphical commentary), an earlier date may be entertained.

A Metapontine making an offering at Eleusis struck Jeffery as very fitting, in view of the well known worship of Demeter in Metapontum and the city's παράσημον of a barley-ear. In any case, this dedication offers material testimony to the respect the Eleusinian cult was receiving from foreigners toward the end of the sixth century.

11. DEDICATION BY LOCHIOS. The monument resembles several of Raubitschek's "Pillar Monuments, Type B," *DAA* 233, etc. Judging from these monuments, it is unlikely that any letters preceded Λόχιος. The pillar probably supported a statuette. The name Lochios is unattested.

The letter-forms are very similar to those in *DAA* 184 (= *IG* I³ 779), dated by Raubitschek to the beginning of the fifth century and by Lewis to ca. 500-480 (?), and, with the possible exception of theta and epsilon, to those in *Imagines* 14 (= *IG* I³ 683), dated by Kirchner to the end of the sixth century, similarly by Lewis.

12. DEDICATION. The letter forms of Skias' majuscule text seem to indicate a date roughly around the turn of the century. Lewis assigns it uncertainly to the first quarter of the fifth century.

13. DECREE CONCERNING SACRIFICES. The document is a much abbreviated decree. It presents: the prescript, the type of sacrifice ([προτέ]λεια) to be offered, the officials who are to perform the sacrifices (τὸς ἱεροποιοὺς Ἐλευσινίων καὶ [τ.^{c.13}.]), the place of sacrifice, the gods and their victims, and finally the time of the sacrifice (ἐν τῇ ἐορ[τῇ]). It does not tell us such things as the proposer, the source of funds for the sacrifices, the place where the decree was to be set up, how the cost of the monument was to be provided, etc.

To Jeffery the lettering and preamble suggested a date shortly after the reforms of Cleisthenes. Luria believed that the date cannot be later than ca. 487/6. However, the form of the letters, in my view, does not preclude a date ca. 480 or even in the 470's.

The form of the monument is unusual. It was meant to be seen from all sides. Its roughly finished bottom suggests that it stood directly on the ground, and this conclusion is reinforced by the discoloration that appears in front near the bottom edge. The purpose of the cuttings on top is not immediately apparent. Prott suggested that they were meant to hold table supports, which were inserted into them. However, the diameter of the circular cavities (ca. 0.31 m.) is unnecessarily large for table supports; they would be more suitable for holding columns. A precise parallel is offered by an inscribed base of ca. 500 B.C. from the Acropolis (Raubitschek, *DAA* 58), which held a dedicatory column. Raubitschek, *ibid.* p. 4, mentions that many such bases were found; some of these columns may have supported "bronze, stone, or clay vases" (Raubitschek), but most supported marble statues; in our case, therefore, we should expect statues of Demeter and Kore (rather than, say, water basins, such as those illustrated in J.-L. Dunand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne*, Paris-Rome 1986, p. 93, figs 18 d-f, h).

The central cutting, a channel that circumscribed a rectangle, held a vertical object which was hollow, and whose sides were less than 0.015 m. thick (the width of the channel varies from 0.015 m. to 0.025 m.); it must have been made of metal, most probably bronze. The cutting would be just right for a four-sided bronze stele of the sort published by Stroud, *Hesperia* 34, 1963, pp. 138-143 (ca. 450 B.C.); cf. also *idem*, *The Axones and Kurbeis of Drakon and Solon* (Berkeley 1979) pp. 49-57. If this is correct, we may suppose that an earlier (perhaps Solonian) sacred law was inscribed on this bronze stele, front and back, with lengthy regulations, and the regulations on the base should therefore represent a new modification or addition.

Line 1: Παραιβάτες is otherwise unknown. We probably should not rule out ἔρχε in place of ἐγγραμμάτευε (so also Jameson and Lewis), since we know little about the form of early Attic decrees, and the archon of the year 482/1 is unknown.

Line 2: The restoration [προτέ]λεια was challenged by Simms p. 272: “For the ει in τέλειος, from which προτέλεια must be derived, is a false diphthong which is not found in Attic inscriptions before the second century B.C.” He would restore [προτό]λεια or [ἄκρό]λεια. Simms would be correct in saying that the simplex adjective has a secondarily lengthened *e* (= “false” ει) in Homeric and Classical literary τέλειος (though second-century epigraphical Attic τέλειος is something else again). This was regularly shortened in Attic to τέλεος, which is the form found on Attic inscriptions throughout the Classical period (cf. Threatte, *GAI* I p. 317). But simplex τέλε(ι)ος is irrelevant to προτέλεια, which is not “derived” from τέλε(ι)ος but is rather a prepositional governing compound of the type ἐπιχθόνιος (cf. E. Schwyzler, *GG* I, Munich 1939, pp. 436-437, 451; E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*², Berlin 1974, pp. 187ff.). From **pro-teles-iyō-* it developed by regular sound changes to προτέλειο-, in which -ει- is a real diphthong (naturally the spelling in literature is absolutely consistent: προτέλεα does not occur; cf. F. M. J. Waanders, *The History of τέλος and τελέω in Ancient Greek*, Amsterdam 1983, pp. 188-190). (I am indebted to A. Nussbaum for clarification of this point.) Thus there is no linguistic impediment to the restoration [προτέ]λεια.

Although προτέλεια can mean simply “sacrifices or rites performed before some event” (Harpocration, s.v., Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας. τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τελεσθῆναι τι τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφερομένων γινόμενα ἢ διδόμενα καλεῖται προτέλεια; cf. *Anecd.* Bekker p. 295.5), at Athens it seems also to have had a special technical significance in the Mysteries: προτέλεια were not simply προθύματα but rites that took place before τὰ τέλη, the ceremony in the Telesterion; cf. Cratinus frag. 191, *PCG* IV (ἔλεγον δὲ προτελίζεσθαι ... εἰς ἐτοιμασίαν μυστηρίου, ὡς Κρατῖνος δηλαδὴ ἐν Πυλαίᾳ δράματι); Them. 5.71A (ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τὰ προτέλεια μύσας εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα τὴν τελετὴν καταθήσεται); and further metaphorical use cited by Waanders, *loc. cit.* Therefore, of the possibilities proposed, προτέλεια makes the best sense (cf. Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, p. 8 and note 29). It follows that at least some of the sacrifices listed in the following lines are preliminary sacrifices, and it would not be out of the question that they are preliminary sacrifices for the Mysteries.

The festival at which these sacrifices were offered ought to be the Mysteria (not the Eleusinia as is usually assumed) for the following reasons. This enormously heavy base was excavated just inside the entrance to the Classical sanctuary, so was most likely set up not far from where it was found, namely near the entrance to the sanctuary. The principal festival at the sanctuary was the Mysteria (the Eleusinia were held mainly in the stadium). In view of the connection of the document with the sanctuary, the simple designation ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ in line 5 should indicate the Mysteria. So too in 52.A.III.36 ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ cannot (and has never been) taken in any other way but “at the Mysteria”: it occurs within the context of affairs of the sanctuary (viz. among expenses). For a full discussion see Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979.

The hieropoioi here are probably not the hieropoioi of the Eleusinia but the hieropoioi of the Eleusinians. The combination ἱεροποιοί + festival (in the genitive case) has, to my knowledge, no parallel; the genitive should indicate the group from which the officials were drawn (or, not rele-

vant here, the gods whom they served); see Clinton, *ibid.* pp. 3-4, 8. In the lacuna another official (or group of officials) should probably be restored, perhaps [τὸν ἐπὶ βομῷ ἱερέα; on the altar-priest cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 82-86.

Line 3: Rubensohn's restoration, [τῇ 'Ελ]ευσίν[ι αὐλ]ῇ, is preferable to Prott and Ziehen's [τῷ 'Ελ]ευσιν[ίοι : Γ]ῇ. Rubensohn would identify the Eleusinion with the Telesterion, but it is more likely that "Eleusinion" at Eleusis is simply a colloquial term for the sanctuary, and as such only very rarely appears in official documents (see Introduction, "Ἐλευσίνιον," pp. 1-3); hence it would be hazardous to restore it here. More importantly, the goddess Γῆ is unattested at Eleusis.

In support of the restoration αὐλ]ῇ is the fact that the stone was found near the entrance to the sanctuary, just in front of which an αὐλή was situated (see Introduction, αὐλή, pp. 3-4), the principal place of sacrifice at Eleusis (see Clinton, *Sacrifice*).

The Charites and Hermes Enagonios occur in the code of sacrifices edited by Nicomachos at the end of the fifth century, where they appear among sacrifices that were probably offered by the *genos* of the Kerykes (*LSS* 10.78-86); see Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, p. 6. The text of *LSS* 10.60-86 reads as follows, according to the stone (Agora I 727), with my restoration in line 74 (replacing Oliver's θύουσιν and my suggestion in *Sacred Officials* p. 70) and Healey's restorations in lines 84-86:

60	ΔΠ	Θέμιδι οἷς
	ΔΓ	Διὶ Ἑρκείῳ οἷς]
	ΔΠ	Δήμητρι οἷς
		Φερρεφάττη[ι]
	ΔΓΠ	κριός
65	ΔΓ	Εὐμόλπῳ οἷς]
	ΔΓ	Μελίχῳ ἥ[ρωϊ οἷς]
	ΔΓ	Ἀρχηγέτῃ[ι οἷς]
	ΔΓ	Πολυξέν[ωι οἷς]
		Θρεπτῶι [κριός]
70	ΔΓΠ	κριτός
	ΔΓ	Διόκλ[ωι οἷς]
	ΔΓ	Κελέῳ [οἷς]
		Εὐμολπ[ίδαι]
		ταῦτα [ἐξηγῶνται]
75		ἱερέα[ι Δήμητρος]
	Η	ἀπόμ[ετρα]
	<i>vacat</i>	ἐκ τῶν στ[ηλῶν]
	<I>Π	χοῖρ[ος - - - -]
	ΔΠ	Ἑστ[ῆαι οἷς]
80	ΔΠ	Ἀθηγ[αίαι οἷς]
	Δ	Χάρ[ισιν - - - -]
		Ἑρ[μῇ]
	ΔΓ	Ἐν[αγωνίῳ - - -]

	Δ	Ἑρ[μῆι? - - -]
85	ΔΓ	Ἡ[ρακλῆι - - - -]
	ΔΓ	Δ[ιοσκούροις? - - - -]

Of the gods that appear in this list only Hermes Enagonios would offer grounds for surmising that these sacrifices might have been offered at an agonistic festival. (It is therefore not at all clear, from the victims, that the festival was the Eleusinia, as Healey, *GRBM* 10, 1984, pp. 135-141, believed. In addition, the time of the year, apparently Metageitnion or Boedromion, militates against the Eleusinia; see II.208.22-26. The name Φερρεφάττη [instead of Κόρη] and the cost of her victim might suggest rites at the Pherrephattion in the Agora [*Agora* III p. 85, no. 323 = Dem. 14.7-8].) Hermes was the ancestral god of the Kerykes, and some priesthoods of the Charites and (separately) of Hermes were controlled by the Kerykes (Clinton, *ibid.*; *Sacred Officials* 50-52, lines 10, 14). Inasmuch as the journey of the initiates to Eleusis was an ἀγών, a “struggle,” I have suggested that sacrifice to Hermes Enagonios would seem particularly appropriate upon their arrival at Eleusis (*Iconography* p. 83, note 109). Others of course had seen in Hermes Enagonios a sign that the festival included athletic contests, i.e. further evidence that it was the Eleusinia. However, neither view does justice to the association here of Hermes with the Charites, which suggests a setting in which music and dancing took place; cf. *LIMC, Hermes* 342-346 with p. 288. While this would not rule out the Eleusinia, since this festival included a musical contest, it is noteworthy that Hermes Enagonios when he is worshipped at an agonistic festival always appears (so far as I know) alone, without the Graces. We should perhaps keep in mind the broader, more original meaning of ἀγών, viz. assembly, especially a festive assembly – a notion that seems to be inherent in the description of Hermes Enagonios by a scholion to Ar. *Plut.* 1161 as ἐπιστάτης ἀγώνων καὶ πανηγύρεων. There was a panegyris at the Mysteries, and the Reception of Iakchos featured much singing and dancing (Eur. *Ion* 1074-1086; cf. Clinton, *Iconography* p. 28) – a setting that would be most congenial to Hermes and the Charites. (Hermes [of unknown epithet] and the Charites were also worshipped at the Thesmophoria [Ar. *Thesm.* 300]; there too it would not be surprising if at a joyous moment in the festival the women engaged in dancing.) The setting for the Reception of Iakchos was surely just in front of the entrance of the sanctuary, and it is not impossible that Hermes and the Charites were worshipped here, just as they were at the entrance to the Acropolis (Paus. 1.22.8), though Hermes is there qualified as Propylaios.

Sokolowski’s restoration πρὸ Ἐλευσινίων is too short for the space, and the definite article in Jameson’s πρὸ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων is out of place with the festival name at this period (cf. the unmodified festival name in 19.C.10, 13; 28.25; the phrase ἐκ Παναθηναίων, etc.). If a festival were named here, we might rather expect, consistent with the terminology of line 5, πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς. It seems best to assume another sacrifice. Ἀθηναίαι κριόν is too short; Prott’s ἵπποθόοντι κριόν is better for the space, and also because a shrine of Hippothoon existed near Eleusis, along the Sacred Way (Paus. 1.38.4). But κριόν may not be correct. Elsewhere in this document the victim is not repeated if it is the same for two (or more) preceding deities, and this rule would be broken here by the repetition at the beginning of the following line.

Line 4: Poseidon was the ancestor of the Eumolpidae, but certain priesthoods of Poseidon were controlled by the Kerykes (300.16-17). The Kerykes also controlled a priesthood of Artemis

Epipyrgidia (*ibid.*, lines 10-11), but this was probably an Acropolis cult; cf. Clinton, *Iconography* p. 116, note 6. Here the juxtaposition of Poseidon and Artemis suits the fact that these gods shared a temple near the entrance to the sanctuary (Paus. 1.38.6).

Telesidromos, who is not attested elsewhere, has been understood to be a god of an agonistic festival (viz. the Eleusinia). If, as his name indicates, his special power consisted merely in helping one finish a race, he would be of minimal use to an athlete, who was of course much less concerned about *completing* a *dromos* than about completing it ahead of his competitors. (A more aptly named god of a racecourse might be called Eudromos, a name that Homolle restored in a sacred law at the stadion in Delphi, *LSS* 76; but the restoration, [Ε]ὐδρόμου, is unlikely; see now *CID* 3.) A god like Telesidromos, on the other hand, could be of great service to the initiates undertaking the long march to Eleusis, for many of them undoubtedly prayed for the strength to *complete* their walk (δρόμος) of approximately twenty-one kilometers; see Clinton, *Iconography* p. 83, note 109.

Triptolemus, who figured both in the Mysteria and the Eleusinia, was served (probably) by a Eumolpid priest (*Sacred Officials* p. 97). It has been thought that he is perhaps to be identified with Threptos in the Eumolpid sacrifices edited by Nicomachos (cf. Oliver, *op.cit.* p. 26; Körte, *op.cit.* pp. 134-140; Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, p. 5, note 17), but this is quite uncertain (Clinton, *Iconography* p. 101, note 11). Like Artemis and Poseidon, Triptolemus had a temple near the entrance to the sanctuary (Paus. 1.38.6). It is interesting that Triptolemus is paired with Telesidromos here in that both receive a similar victim. Triptolemus's journey was famous, and Telesidromos one can imagine as a natural ally, and not only an ally of Triptolemus but of his human counterparts, the spondophoroi who carried the announcement of the Mysteries to many regions of the Hellenic world (Clinton, *Panhellenism* pp. 163-166).

Line 5: Prott, following a suggestion of Rubensohn, suggested Dolichos, either a separate hero or an epithet of Plouton, i.e. "the god of the Long Course" or possibly "the god of long-lasting (wealth)" (cf. Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, p. 4, note 12, with bibliography). Although Dolichos is one of the Eleusinian princes mentioned in the *Hom. Hymn to Demeter* 155, and a long course (*dolichos*) did exist at Eleusis (177.25), Dolichos is otherwise unattested at Eleusis, either as a god or divine epithet. Such a minor deity seems out of place in the company of Plouton and Demeter and Kore, who here receive the most magnificent sacrifices in the list. Plouton, like Demeter and Kore, had a major altar at Eleusis (177.202).

The τρίττοα βόαρχος, three victims led by a bull, recurs in 28.37 (spelled τρίττοια). (On the formation of the word βόαρχος cf. M. Scheller, *ZVS* 74, 1956, pp. 233-235.) The awkwardness of offering a τρίττοα βόαρχος, viz. three animals, to four deities (Plouton, Dolichos, Demeter, and Kore) is emphasized by Körte, and the oddity of grouping these four by Ziehen (1944). Körte's objection is based on the mistaken assumption that there would only be a single τρίττοα βόαρχος for all four deities, but the pattern in this document is not to repeat the victim if it is the same for preceding deities, as in the case of Hermes Enagonios and the Charites and of Telesidromos and Triptolemos. Thus here we should assume that *each* of the four deities gets a τρίττοα βόαρχος. Note that in 28.38-39 (*IG* I³ 78) *each* of the Two Goddesses receives a τρίττοια βόαρχος.

Ziehen suggested the restoration [Ἐλευσῖνι δ' ἐπ' Ἐ]χοῖ; i.e. these sacrifices are to be performed at the sanctuary of Ἠχώ, the spot where the ephebes met the *hiera* and escorted them to

the City (*IG II² 1011.7-8*); the preceding sacrifices (lines 2-3) were on this view performed in the City Eleusinion. However, there is no evidence that the sanctuary of Ἡχῶ was in or near Eleusis. Even so, the restoration merits attention. It represents the most reasonable attempt to divide the sacrifices into two groups, in providing the grammatically satisfying δέ. If δὲ is correct, then Lenormant's restoration, [ἰάκ]χοι, must be considered. It is indeed tempting to restore δ' [ἰάκ]χοι or possibly δ[ὲ ἰάκ]χοι, a god much more likely to be joined with the Two Goddesses in the προτέλεια (see below, Sacrifices and Occasion). The δὲ would distinguish the special group of gods who were to receive the most magnificent sacrifice.

ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ indicates simply when the sacrifices (presumably all of them) were to take place, during the festival of the Mysteria (on the identification of the festival see above, *ad* line 2).

The coincidences between the text of *IG I² 818* and fragment *b* of this inscription are so great that it seems highly unlikely that the former is a separate inscription. Hiller evidently had another copy of *b*, perhaps made from a squeeze, and did not recognize that it was part of the present document.

Sacrifices and Occasion. The occurrence of the noun Ἐλευσινίον and the gods Hermes Enagonios and Telesidromos suggested that the festival to which this document refers was the agonistic Eleusinia. But the finding place of the large central fragment and the simple reference to "the festival" in line 5 point instead to the Mysteria. The impression conveyed by Ἐλευσινίον and Hermes and Telesidromos fails to stand up to close scrutiny (see the commentary above). This inscription, therefore, most likely concerns sacrifices to be offered at the Mysteria in rites called προτέλεια, rites that were preliminary to τὰ τέλη in the Telesterion. It is interesting that several of the gods honored here had temples or altars in or near the forecourt of the sanctuary. Poseidon, Artemis, and Triptolemos had temples; Demeter and Kore certainly, and Plouton probably, had their altars there. If the restoration of Hippothoon in line 3 is correct, we should keep in mind that he had a shrine on the Sacred Way, perhaps on the outskirts of Eleusis. Telesidromos would be a fitting ally of the initiates on their march, in helping them complete their journey, which ended at Eleusis with the Reception of Iakchos amidst singing and dancing, where Hermes Enagonios and his companion Charites would come into play. The leader of the initiates on their march was of course Iakchos, and it would be fitting that he too receive major sacrifice in these προτέλεια, along with Plouton and the Two Goddesses. The proper moment for these προτέλεια, then, would seem to be the Reception of Iakchos. Although sacrifice to Iakchos is nowhere else attested, it is precisely at this moment, the culmination of his mission, that sacrifice would be most fitting.

This decree is probably an addition to a law inscribed on a four-sided bronze stele that stood in the center of this base. The original law and the full form of the decree no doubt mentioned the name of the festival.

14. DEDICATION. The letter forms suggest a date in the first or second decade of the fifth century; Lewis would allow a date in the entire first quarter. The sigma in line 1 is very similar to the one preserved in line 1 of *DAA 278*.

Line 1: Philios suggested, with some doubt, Ἐλευσ]ίνιος.

15. DEDICATORY BASIN. The letter forms seem to indicate a date roughly in the first two decades of the fifth century; Lewis suggests a date ca. 475, without certainty.

The title ἱεροκῆρυξ is not attested before the Roman period (*Sacred Officials* pp. 11, 76-77); the previously attested titles are ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ and κῆρυξ τοῖν Θεοῖν.

16. DEDICATORY BASIN. There are too few letters to allow more than to guess a date of ca. 480. Very few basins in *DAA* are later than this, but Lewis would date it merely to the fifth century. As the inscription is retrograde, Hiller's restoration is impossible. [- - - - 'Ελευσί]νιο[ς - - -] is possible.

17. DEDICATORY BASE. The stone shows that Croenert's restoration is impossible. Αἰταῖοι appears to be a whole word. The artists' names, if they existed, may have appeared elsewhere on the monument; the most likely position would be on the block attached on the left. Inscriptions within a drafted edge, as here, occasionally appear in dedications of this period: e.g., *DAA* 111, 122, 160, 161.

Aitaioi seems to be an ethnic but it cannot be identified. An error may be involved. Stephanus of Byzantium lists the Laconian city Ataia (s.v.) as well as another "Laconian city" by the name of Αἰθαῖα, though it was actually Messenian (see Bölte, *RE* s.v. *Thuria*). But Ataia does not seem to be the same city; the ethnic of Aithaia is Αἰθαῖεύς (cf. Thucydides 1.101.2), while that of Ataia is Ἀταῖος or Ἀταιάτης or Ἀταΐτης according to Stephanus.

If Travlos' interpretation of the block is correct, the monument was originally quite large, possibly one of the largest dedications of Classical Eleusis, situated on the porch of the Telesterion (where it was found) or just in front of the building or perhaps even within it. The unfinished state of the inscribed side, however, suggests that this side and the (rather incomprehensible) inscription were not meant to be seen. Consequently, it may not have served as a dedication in the fifth century. The finding place suggests that it served some purpose within or in front of the Telesterion after the reconstruction of the building by Marcus Aurelius, though an earlier use cannot be precluded. It deserves further study from an architectural point of view.

19. LAW CONCERNING THE ELEUSINIAN SANCTUARY. CITY ELEUSINION COPY. The preserved sections of this law largely concern various aspects of access, for foreigners and Athenians, to the Eleusinian sanctuary and the Mysteries; in addition, some regulations address in a general way the administration of the sanctuary's funds. The original law no doubt covered a wide variety of matters pertaining to the sanctuary and its main cult.

The broad range of people at whom the law is directed can be seen most clearly in some of the provisions of Face B: τὰς δὲ σπονδὰς εἶναι ἐν τέισι πόλεσιν ἡ[ό]σ[αι] χρῶνται τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἐκεῖ ἐν τέισιν αὐτέσιν πόλεσιν (lines 28-36). And: σ]πονδὰς εἶν[αι] τοῖσι μύστ[εσιν] καὶ το[ῖς] [ἐπ]όπτεισιν [καὶ τ]οῖς ἀκολ[ούθ]οισιν καὶ [χρέ]μασιν τῶν [ὀθ]νείων καὶ [Ἀθε]ν[α]ῖοισιν [h]άπασιν (lines 8-17). In short, it is directed at all Athenians and all residents of foreign cities who wish to "make use of the sanctuary," i.e. take part in the Mysteries.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Face A, despite its poor state of preservation, is the use that is made of prohibiting access to the sanctuary. Denial of access is evidently directed at cities that act in certain undesirable (unfortunately, usually unclear) ways toward the Athenian Polis and individual Athenians (see especially lines 30-43). The implication is that foreigners were desirous of access to the Mysteries, and that denying them that privilege was a significant form of punishment. Thus access to the Mysteries was now a useful tool in Athens' dealings with foreign states, as access to the Olympic games held a similar advantage for Elis (cf. Thuc. 5.49-50).

The careful control over the privilege of access and the fairly elaborate Sacred Truce remind us of the Olympic Games. The similarities suggest that Athens regarded the Mysteries as a Panhellenic festival of similar stature (cf. Sakurai and Raubitschek on the Eleusinian truce and the Olympic *ekecheria*). The fact that the Athenians could set up a law of this sort is a clear indication of the international importance and popularity of the Mysteries, popularity that is also reflected architecturally, for example, in the repeated replacement of the Telesterion from the mid-sixth century to the Periclean period, by ever larger buildings (see Clinton, Panhellenism). The Mysteries indeed attained the status that the Athenians sought for them: in the second century after Christ a Greek from Asia Minor could speak of the Mysteries and the Olympic Games as the two festivals of the Greeks most blessed by the gods: πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι θαύματος ἄξια· μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἑλευσῖνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος (Paus. 5.10.1).

It was probably the increasing popularity of the Mysteries that gave rise to the need for a number of these regulations, and the legislative moment was also opportune for creating others of them (such as those preserved on Faces A and B). So also in the fourth century a new burst of popularity led again to a law with extensive regulations on (apparently) all public aspects of the Mysteries (138). So far as we know, the present law was the comprehensive law that governed the Mysteries in the Classical period (though individual regulations were superseded by later decrees and laws) until it was replaced by 138 ca. 360 B.C.

Face A

Cataldi's restorations, when they depart from his predecessors', are largely speculative; his text is based essentially on Meritt's (now out-of-date) edition.

Lines 30-32: Apparently if a city does not turn over to Athens a resident who owes money to the Athenian state, it is denied access to the sanctuary.

χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ was also used as the technical term for access to the sanctuary at Olympia and its festival (Thuc. 5.50.1).

Lines 36-40: Meritt's restoration of ἡμῶ[ς] βιάσθαι with a passive sense (where we should expect instead βιάζεσθαι) is based on an alleged parallel in Plato *Ti.* 63C (βιάται), but in Plato (*pace* Meritt) the meaning is most likely active. Wade-Gery's ἡμῶ [πρ]ίασθαι eliminates the grammatical objection. Though his restoration of the beginning of the sentence is difficult, he was, I suspect, on the right track. It is conceivable that one or both of the letters at the beginning of line 37 were incorrectly read by Pittakis (he erred also in line 39). We might consider:

: τῶν Ἀθηναίων μέ[λ]-
 [αθ]ῆν[αι τ]ούτον τῶν πόλεον μ[ε]-
 δὲ ἡμῶ [ἀν]ιᾶσθαι ἐὰν μὲ δ[ί]κ[ε]-
 ν ὀφλόν[τα] ἐπιχορίαν ἔξ[ε]ς προ[λ]-
 εμῖος λ[εφ]θέντα·

“Of Athenians (none) is to be expelled from these cities nor anywhere to be disturbed except for those convicted in a local court or discovered among the enemy.”

Lines 40-43: “Whatever one of the cities is not willing shall have recourse to arbitration with the Athenians by agreement” (Meritt). On δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν see P. Gauthier, *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy 1972) pp. 157-205; on this passage, p. 158.

Face B

Lines 5-8: The end of a section on some subject, no doubt other than the truce: this part preserves penalties for violations.

The Spondai. First it is specified *to whom* the spondai are applicable (lines 10-19); second, the *time* of the spondai for the Greater Mysteries (lines 19-29); third, *where* the spondai are to be in effect; and finally the time of the spondai for the Lesser Mysteries. These provisions were repeated with modification in a law of the fourth century: 138.A.14-17.

Lines 8-17: *To whom* the spondai are applicable: of foreigners (τῶν ὀθνηίων), to Mystai, Epoptai, their servants, and their baggage (for protection accorded to servants and baggage cf. *LSCG* 73.3-4; *LGS* 3, *ad loc.*); and to all Athenians. That is, the truce does not apply to all foreigners travelling in Greece but only to those going to the festival; Athenians are more privileged.

The text does not suggest that this truce and its protection are limited to Attica. However, Rougemont, p. 96, strangely, takes χρέμασιν τῶν ὀθνηίων as an indication that the truce applies only to Attica.

Lines 17-27: The *time* of the spondai for the Greater Mysteries: mid Boedromion to Pyanopsion 10. (Rougemont takes this to be an Attic “truce,” not the international one, i.e. a civil and judicial “truce,” or period of inactivity. The suggestion is quite impossible; for civil activity in this period cf., e.g., Mikalson, *Calendar* pp. 54-61.)

Lines 27-36: The *places* where the truce will be in effect: in all Greek cities which make use of the Eleusinian sanctuary, i.e. whose residents attend the Mysteries. The next segment – “and for the Athenians in the same cities” – is logically unnecessary, “all Athenians” having already been specified in lines 17-18; but the framers of the law obviously wanted to emphasize the protection that should be given to Athenians living abroad.

Rougemont, strangely again, takes this section as referring to the “international truce,” the duration of which is (in his view) undefined. His arbitrary division of the truce into an Attic one (of defined length) and an international one (i.e. ἐκεχερία, of undefined length) is, as we have seen, not warranted by the text. In addition, it is hard to see the sense of a special, merely Attic truce of defined length, the main purpose of which is supposedly to protect foreigners within the borders of Athens. It would be a completely superfluous truce, for it goes without saying that for-

eigners travelling to the festival would be protected in Attica (why would Athens want to harm them?). Furthermore, the ample time limits of the truce, starting and ending three or more weeks distant from the festival, surely were not intended for the relatively short amount of travel within Attica but rather for the long distances that some of the initiates would have to cover in order to reach Attica.

Lines 36-47: The duration of the truce for the Lesser Mysteries: mid Gamelion to Elaphebolion 10.

The subject that should logically be addressed next is the announcement of the truce, for without an announcement cities could claim that they did not know it was in effect. (It was just such a difficulty – a late announcement [according to the Spartans] – that caused the Spartans [so they said] to ignore the Olympic Truce in 424 [Thuc. 5.49-50].) We should assume therefore that this matter was taken up next, presumably at the beginning of Face C. The fact that an announcement of the Sacred Truce is not mentioned in 28 is of no relevance, because the heralds that were sent forth by that decree were to make an *emergency* announcement of the *aparche* (ordinarily announced at the Mysteries). Our earliest reference to the announcement of the Sacred Truce for the Mysteries is a decree of 367 B.C. (E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 5, no. 3 = Tod, *GHI* II 137); but there is no reason to think that it did not occur earlier.

Face C

See also the discussion in *Sacred Officials* pp. 10-15. The preserved section regulates various aspects of access to the sanctuary for the initiates, including the cost of admission; and it states who is to administer the admission fees and the *aparche*. Under the democracy these fees obviously could no longer be left to the pleasure of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes.

Lines 5-6: This priest, probably the daduch, received an obol from each initiate. He must have been preceded by the hierophant.

Lines 6-9: The unlikelihood of the restoration $\eta\epsilon\rho[\sigma\pi\sigma\iota\sigma]$ is discussed in *Sacred Officials* p. 11. The restoration is defended by Jameson, *AJA* 81, 1977, p. 249. Although it is theoretically possible that the hieropoioi were paid from initiates' fees at this early date, the later evidence indicates that they were state officials, and it seems at least more likely (though not certain) that at this time too they would have been paid by the state. (Cataldi's restoration, $\eta\epsilon[\rho\acute{o}\nu \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\kappa\alpha$, is impossible if the sacred herald is to be restored in lines 47-48; and so far as I know, there is no evidence for the title $\eta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\chi\varsigma$.)

Since payment of an obol $\kappa\alpha\theta' \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ was not required for the priestess of Demeter nor for the preceding priest, it is an unlikely restoration here. $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ is therefore most probable: the two hierophantides must be indicated. I then first restored:

$[\tilde{o} \mu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\omicron \eta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron : \eta\epsilon\rho[\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota]-$
 $[\delta\alpha\varsigma \lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}[\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \eta\epsilon]-$
 $[\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu [\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau]\tilde{o} \mu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\omicron [\eta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}[\sigma]-$

Michael Weiss later made the happy suggestion of the dual.

Since every other priest or priestess received an obol, the sharing of an obol by the hierophan-

tides tends to suggest that the two of them shared a single function, i.e. acted like a single priest or priestess.

Lines 9-14: Of all the preserved priests and priestesses, only the priestess of Demeter is to collect an obol at *both* festivals. It is tempting to think that the others might not have served at the Lesser Mysteries. Payment at both festivals is not specified for the priests added at the end of this side (lines 47-50).

Lines 14-20: The various expenses of the priests and priestesses, including sacrifices and other cultic necessities, were paid from this fund of 1,600 drachmas.

Lines 20-23: Jameson and Lewis's restorations seem to make the best sense: each male initiate gave 5 obols to the two clans (not to each of them), each female initiate 3 obols. This fee paid to the clans was for the μύησις conducted by members of the clans, as the following lines make clear.

Lines 24-26: The child initiate from the hearth was the only initiate exempted from the fees given to the clans.

Lines 26-31: μυῖν here (and so also in lines 25-26) ought to refer to the preliminary initiation known in the Classical period (and sometimes afterwards) as μύησις: see II.Introduction, "Myesis," pp. 8-11. πλείος in line 29, following upon the immediately preceding quite probable restoration, suggests an opposite condition should be restored in line 26, for which δίχα is appropriate, the point being that μύησις must be limited to a single initiate at a time. Violations against proper μύησις are also the subject of 138.A.27-28. Jameson's tentative proposals for restoration (advocated more strongly by Simms), 1) τοσοῦ[το] or 2) καθ' ἑ[ν]α or κατὰ δ[ύο] *vel sim.*, have serious weaknesses. The first causes the sentence in lines 26-28 to be completely redundant, i.e. essentially a repetition of the sense of lines 20-26, without any apparent reason for such redundancy. The second requires us to take ἑκάστον as modifying Κέρυκας, which seems rather forced, following μύστας; in addition, this would imply that "each" member of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae performed *myesis*, a most unlikely obligation: "each" most naturally pertains to the Mystai, each of whom has to take part in a certain ritual.

Evidently, religious propriety had sometimes yielded to convenience, so that this ritual was conducted for groups; hence the stiff penalty. This must have been one of the difficulties caused by the increasing popularity of the Mysteries.

Lines 32-36: As in 30.12-13 the Athenians use their practice with regard to Athena's funds as a model for this authorization to borrow money from Demeter and Kore.

Lines 36-38: The hieropoioi are to keep the money of the Two Goddesses on the Acropolis and to administer it. 30 takes this power away from them. This money of course includes the fees collected from the initiates (less the 1,600 drachmas used by the priestess for expenses).

Lines 38-42: The Polis evidently takes care that orphans are initiated; the details cannot be restored.

If line 42 concerns sacrifice, π[ροθύματα] should be restored; cf. 159.62.

Lines 43-46: The places where μύησις can be conducted are here specified: in the inner court at Eleusis and within the City Eleusinion. On Sokolowski's improbable restoration of θυομένος in lines 43-44 and 45-46 see Jameson, *ad loc.*, and Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 12.

Lines 47-50: These lines, written out of στοιχηδόν and containing additional letters per line, are clearly *addenda*. Hicks went so far as to say that they show that this is the end of the document;

but the inference is far from certain, for this section simply adds additional priests to the list of the fee-collecting priests already mentioned on Face C, and this is obviously the Face where such *addenda* should be put, regardless whether it is the end of the document.

Lines 47-48: The title ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Θεῶν is attested in 300.11-12. The sacred herald ought to have appeared in the present document (in view of the other priests listed), and here, next to the altar-priest, would be a likely place.

On the Παναγής see *Sacred Officials* pp. 95-96.

The Priests. We learn from this law that the most important priests and priestesses of the Mysteries received fees: [hierophant, daduch] (both of them in the lacuna), hierophantides, priestess of Demeter, altar-priest, sacred herald, and (evidently) panages. At the Greater Mysteries, then, an initiate would have paid 7 obols to them (not 12 obols as I calculated in *Sacred Officials* p. 13, note 13). (In addition, the initiate paid money to the clans for μύησις [lines 20-23].)

The Law in the Eleusinion. Jameson and Lewis agree with Sauppe in regarding this document as the one that was quoted by Andocides, 1.116 from a stele standing in the Eleusinion (it forbade the placement of a suppliant's branch in the Eleusinion, with a penalty of 1,000 drachmas). This has considerable probability, though the quoted regulation may have been part of a later law that amended part(s) of this one.

The Ancient Repair. The repair to this pillar reported above in the Epigraphical Commentary seems to be ancient, and one wonders therefore whether the pillar might have suffered its damage in the attack on the Herms, especially since it is of roughly similar shape.

20. DEDICATION. Skias' suggested restoration, Κοροτρόφοι, remains possible. Meiggs, *JHS* 86, 1966, pp. 91-93, points out that the first securely dated inscription with the letter-form P ("the developed rounded form") was cut in 451 (*IG I³* 261).

The profile of the basin resembles that of *DAA* 363, one of a group of four that Raubitschek assigns to the period after 480.

22. LAW OR DECREE. This appears to be part of a law concerning the sanctuary. The writing on the right side is reminiscent of 19, with its regulations on at least three sides of the stone.

Line 4: It is not so clear that this should be articulated as χερσῶν, as Ziehen first suggested.

Line 5: For the πάτριος ἁγών see II.177.

Line 6: Ziehen speculated that χ[ούλα might be restored; i.e. this is a regulation forbidding the export of wood from the sanctuary; but such a prohibition seems inappropriate to the Eleusinian sanctuary. Prott suggested ἡ[ιερόν τε], to which Ziehen felt Ἐχ[ῶς would naturally follow (see also II.13.5).

Lines 12-13: Ziehen suggested, for the sense: μεδ]ε παριέναι [- - - - εἰς τὸ ἡ[ιερόν ἄλ[λον πλὲν τῷ ἱερέος.

23. ACCOUNT. In this account income is given first, then expenses. The officials in charge of the sanctuary may have been the hieropoioi, while the epistatai in line 3 were a special board whose task was to oversee a particular project (that is, probably not the same officials as the epistatai who were created by **30** to be a general board overseeing the entire financial administration of the sanctuary).

The bulk of the preserved expenses concern building stone. Ships were used to carry the poros from Aegina and Steiria, and some land transport was involved as well (hence the λιθοκομικόν). No transport expense is listed for the black stone of Eleusis, obviously because no transport was needed. The building at this period in which Eleusinian stone was used conspicuously (indeed, as Shear points out, quarried on the spot) would be the Telesterion (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 121). Thus the present document is to be connected with the Periclean construction of the Telesterion under the architect Koroibos or perhaps, as Shear suggests, Ictinus. The letter forms (by no means reliable) suggest a date in the early 440's, but this would accord with either the activity of Ictinus or Koroibos on the Telesterion. **30**, of ca. 432 B.C., indicates that Koroibos was not working at Eleusis at that date, and probably had not been working there for some time. On the date of Koroibos' work on the Telesterion, probably the 440's, see Clinton, Telesterion.

Above line 1: The rubric λέμματα τάδε undoubtedly occurred at some point above the present text.

Lines 1-2: Stables were evidently rented to the shrine of Heros Iatros, perhaps a local hero but not necessarily. In the fourth century there was a shrine of Asclepius at Eleusis, about one kilometer from the sanctuary (see **680**); it is conceivable that this shrine incorporated, or was associated in some way, with Heros Iatros, who is mentioned again in an Eleusinian account of the 420's (**37**); according to *Anecd. Bekk.* I.263.11-12, s.v. Ἡρώς ἱατρός: ἱατρός ὄνομα Ὀρεσίσιος ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τιμὰς ἔχει. The most well known shrine of Heros Iatros was located in central Athens to the east of the Agora, perhaps close to the Eleusinion (*IG* II² 839-840; *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 39, no. 26; *Dem.* 19.249). On the "doctor heroes" in Attica see Parker, *History* p. 176.

Line 8: Much poros was used in the foundations of the Telesterion. The quarry at Steiria has been identified; see Iakovidis, *Περατή* (Athens 1969-70) p. 5. So far as I know, no attempt has been made to identify Steirian poros blocks at Eleusis.

Lines 9-11: Ships took the stone from Aegina and Steiria to Eleusis, and from the harbor λιθοκομικόν was paid for the short distance to the sanctuary. The stone of course was then prepared on the site by the λιθουργοί.

Lines 12-13: The black stone from the Eleusinian Akris (see **85**) needed no transport, having been quarried on the site (Shear p. 168).

Lines 14-17: Of Vallois' restorations χσυλόματα may be correct, but λιθοκομικόν for Eleusinian stone is improbable. Shear's restoration (p. 179) makes better sense:

[θέσις λίθ]ον
[τὸν θεμελί]ον

However, the habit of this stonecutter in keeping entries to a single line if possible (sometimes even wrapping it around the side, as in line 8) renders the restoration unlikely: it is hard to see why the cutter did not put all twenty-one letters in a single line.

Lines 18-19: Cf. 28.11-12: ὅπο ἄν δοκεῖ τοῖς hieropoioῖς καὶ τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι. However, the presence of hieropoioi here is dubious, for the main financial administrators of the sanctuary should not pay a salary to themselves. Note that the epistatai, the main administrators in 408/7, did not pay a salary either to themselves or the hieropoioi in that year. A group of artisans seems more likely here, such as τοιχοποιοῖς or κυκλοποιοῖς.

24. INVENTORY OR ACCOUNT. When compared with our most complete inventories from Eleusis, 52, this looks like part of the list of gold and silver kept at Eleusis (i.e. not the Acropolis or City Eleusinion lists). Of course the character of these lists changed over time, so the comparison may be misleading. The lettering suggests that this is among the earliest of the Eleusinian financial documents. The administrators were presumably the hieropoioi.

Line 1: Perhaps an object of value convertible into money; see 52.A.I.40ff.

Line 2: Cf. 52.A.I.56-58; for the genitive, 52.A.I.8. The following entry is provided by 52. 52 also shows inconsistency in use of grammatical cases.

Line 3: Perhaps either χρυσίο [ἀσέμο συμμείκτο (52.A.I.51) or χρυσίο [στατῆρες Δαρεικοί (52.A.I.48) (so Bannier). For the end cf. 52.A.I.10.

Line 5: Φοκαίδεις should be accompanied by ἕκται.

26. DEDICATION. Hansen observed that this epigram consisted of three hexameters or, if the pillar was wide enough, two elegiac distichs. Peek suggested that the inscription was comprised of “Epigramm und Namensliste.” The last three lines certainly contained some names, but whether it is simply a list is hard to say.

Line 3: Peek and Hansen noted that the interpunct indicates the end of a hexameter.

Line 5: Peek was thinking of the Attic potter Φιντίας, or the painter of the same name (*RE* 20, col. 249, no. 4 or 5). For the loss of the nu he cited P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* 161-162; Hansen added a reference to his own nos. 32 and 404; see now Threatte, *GAI* I 41.011, examples 15-22, p. 486.

27. ACCOUNT OF CONSTRUCTION. The amount of money in line 2 suggests a considerable project, including a tower (line 3) and gates (line 11). A special board of epistatai may have been in charge (as in 23), for whom Glauko- (Glauko[n] or Glauko[s]) served as secretary. A possible project is the wall mentioned in 41 (*IG* I³ 79) of 422/1, but that wall probably did not have towers (see II.41). The new Telesterion begun in the 440's or the earlier abandoned attempt (cf. Clinton, Telesterion) required a new extension of the peribolos (I 10-I 14 in the Plan of the Sanctuary), and Maier made the attractive suggestion that the present document reflects this construction of the peribolos, which did indeed involve the construction of two towers. The lettering would not exclude a date in the 440's.

28a. DECREE/SYNGRAPHE, ELEUSIS COPY. *Line 1:* Timoteles of Acharnai, secretary in this prytany, is otherwise unknown.

Line 2: In this year Kekropis was probably the eighth prytany; see commentary to line 60, below.

Line 3: The regulations published here were drawn up by a committee of συγγραφεῖς who had been charged with submitting them to the Boule and Demos for approval as a decree.

Lines 4-5: On the *aparche* see above, II.Introduction, “*Aparche*,” pp. 5-7. The *aparche* was, as κατὰ τὰ πάτρια suggests, an old custom, but the approval of Delphi (cf. lines 26 and 34) indicates that consultation must have occurred, if not now then surely in the past, when a change in the custom was contemplated (cf. Fontenrose p. 247, H 9; *Sacred Officials* p. 15). The consultation procedure is well illustrated in 144.

The importance of the present set of regulations is clear: the matter was given to a commission of συγγραφεῖς to deliberate upon; the sanction formula, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν, is stated each time those who are to ἀπάρχεσθαι are named (lines 5, 26, 34); and the decree closes with a short but solemn blessing. It would probably not be wrong to assume that Delphi had indeed been consulted at the time this syngraphe was drafted, as Foucart believed. (Ziehen, on the other hand, was of the opinion that, though there probably had been an old oracle, here the main force of the sanction formula was simply to show the support of both ancestral custom and the gods. Schmidt, pp. 688-690, sees as the “original” oracle the one reported in the *Suda* s.v. Εἰρεσιώνη, and argues that this syngraphe is incomprehensible as a sequel to an oracle. However, the oracle mentioned in the *Suda* does not relate to the *aparche* for Demeter and Kore at Eleusis but to sacrifice of *proerosia* for Demeter Proerosia in Athens: see Fontenrose pp. 294-295, Q79.)

We may wonder what request was sent by the Athenians to Delphi on this occasion. Isocrates (4.31) mentions that on many occasions (πολλάκις) the Pythia had to command some cities (ταῖς ἐκλιπούσαις) to send the *aparche*. This was surely one of those times, perhaps the first. The implication of lines 15-16 is that the allies have not been sending *aparche*, or at least not regularly, “since they have to appoint special ‘collectors’ for the purpose and devise the best method” (Mattingly p. 100). At any rate, in order to make so grand an appeal to the allies and the other Greek cities it certainly would have been a help to have the support of a recent oracle. The question the Athenians would have put to the oracle was whether their allies and the rest of the Greeks should, like themselves, give *aparche* to the goddesses κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

Lines 5-10: Each deme is to supply 1/600 of its barley and 1/1200 of its wheat. For the actual figures in the year 329/8 see 177.263-296, which confirms that the amount of wheat planted in Attica in relation to barley was quite small. For a discussion of the ratios 1/1200 and 1/600 see Keil pp. 270-271.

On the hieropoioi see Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1-9: at this time they may still have been drawn from the Eleusinians. In 19.C they are in charge of the treasury of the Two Goddesses on the Acropolis; but 30 takes this responsibility away from them and gives it to a group of epistatai. See also below, under **Date**.

On the architect see below, 30.

Line 10: Noack showed that σιποί traditionally were underground storage chambers for grain, and proposed a location for these new σιποί at Eleusis (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 125-127). For the significance of these chambers in the Eleusinian cult see Cornford; Nilsson, *Geschichte* I pp. 471-

474; Richardson, *Hymn* pp. 284-285; W. Burkert, *Nekans* pp. 259-261. According to Nilsson and Cornford the transfer of the *aparchai* to the underground storage chambers in the late spring represents the descent of Kore, as personification of the seed-grain, to the Underworld. She remains there for the duration of the season when grain does not grow in Attica, viz. the summer. In the fall at the time of the Mysteries the seed-grain is reunited with her mother, Demeter. This interpretation of the myth, however, does not seem to fit the cycle of seasons as described in the Homeric Hymn and is rejected by Richardson. Yet, as it does correspond to the agrarian cycle in most of Greece, Burkert is reluctant to dismiss it altogether.

It is interesting to see that the Eleusinian σιροί were evidently a local tradition, as the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια indicates (no mention of Delphi).

Lines 14-18: On the allies see above, *ad* lines 4-5; on the ἐκλογεῖς τοῦ καρποῦ as being parallel to the ἐκλογεῖς τοῦ φόρου, cf. Meiggs and Lewis.

Lines 18-21: A stiff penalty of 1,000 drachmas is to be levied against the hieropoioi if they do not accept any donation of *aparche* within five days after being notified of its arrival. This suggests that in the past the hieropoioi were occasionally not on hand to receive the grain; i.e. they stayed in Athens and were not diligent in making trips to Eleusis; and this lack of diligence may have caused the grain to be returned to its place of origin or sold.

Lines 21-26: The Announcement is to be made on this occasion by heralds of the Boule as soon as possible, but in the future only when deemed necessary, which may mean, usually, not at all, if the regular announcement at the Mysteries by the hierophant and the daduch should prove sufficient. Now, since passage of this new law is so close to harvest time, speed is critical; for the present prytany is presumably the eighth, and the grain harvest will start in the ninth (see below, 177.6-8). Smarczyk, pp. 184-216, took μυστηρίοις not with κελεύετο but with ἀπάρχεσθαι; that is, the *aparchai* were to be delivered “for the Mysteries”: the Mysteries would serve as the terminus for the deliveries, and the sacrifices would be held at that time. This, however, is refuted by the practice in 329/8 (177.6-8, 392-429). It was understood that delivery would take place during or immediately after the harvest.

Lines 26-30: The unexpressed subject must be the hieropoioi (a similar unsignalled change of subject occurs in 30.27).

The names of the donating demes and cities and the amounts of their donations are to be inscribed on πινάκια, wooden tablets apparently, one in the sanctuary at Eleusis (Ἐλευσίνιον) and one in the Bouleuterion in Athens. (On Ἐλευσίνιον as a term for the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis see above, Introduction, Ἐλευσίνιον, pp. 1-3.) In 329 B.C. the names of the demes were apparently written on the ἀνάθημα (II.177.6-8) in addition to the πινάκια (*ibid.*, line 421, there called σανίδες).

Lines 30-36: The cities that are not allies are to be urged (not commanded) to donate. This clause logically should belong with the announcement described in lines 21-26, but is put here instead, at the end of the procedure regarding the collection. Guillon and Meiggs and Lewis attribute this to committee-work, but it may be that the preceding description of the Athenians' and the allies' method of ἀπάρχεσθαι is first set forth in full in order to serve as the model for that of the other Greek cities. The Boule will not go to the expense of sending heralds to all the Greek cities only hóποι ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτῇ δυνατὸν εἶναι.

Lines 36-40: The Sacrifices. On the πελανός here, see especially Ziehen, *RE* 19, s.v. πέλανος, cols. 246-50; *LGS* II 4; Amandry pp. 86-103; cf. Stengel, *Opferbräuche* pp. 66-72. While the precise meaning of the term as used here is uncertain, what is to be sacrificed is evidently a pottage made from wheat and barley, but it probably had dried sufficiently to resemble a cake. According to Pausanias, 8.2.3, [Κέκροψ] γὰρ Δία τε ὠνόμασεν “Υπατον πρῶτος, καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἡξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῆσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι. In 328 B.C., 15 15/16 medimnoi of barley and 10 medimnoi of wheat (177.409-414) were taken from the *aparche* and used for the πελανός. The source of the grain for the πελανός is not mentioned here, probably because the *aparche* was the customary source, as in 328. The portion of the πελανός to be sacrificed on this occasion is evidently to be determined by the Eumolpidae (on their exegesis cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 89-93). It seems somewhat more likely that θύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελανῶ means a sacrifice consisting of some portion of the πελανός than sacrifices made from the sale of the πελανός. In 328 the πελανός was an amount of grain set aside from the *aparche* before the rest was sold (to provide sacrifices and to cover other expenses). If the hieropoioi in 328 then sold the πελανός in order to provide additional sacrifices we should expect an accounting of this transaction, but none appears. So it seems safe to assume that here too the πελανός was not sold.

In general, a πελανός was originally a small bloodless offering, in the form of a thick, viscous brew, deposited by worshippers on or by the altar. In cases where there was an abundance of worshippers these gifts would not be immediately consumed on the altar but were allowed to form a reserve, called ὁ πελανός; in some cults the priest had a share of the πελανός, which could be converted into money; this practice was sometimes eventually replaced by donations of money or in kind, called ὁ πέλανος (cf. M. H. Jameson, *AJP* 77, 1956, pp. 55-60).

On the τρίττοια βόαρχος see II.13.5: the first of each of the two groups of three victims with gilded horns – one group for Demeter, the other for Kore – was a bull. Each goddess had her own altar at Eleusis (30.17). Dittenberger drew the reasonable inference that χρυσόκερον applies to all three animals of the τρίττοια, and that the other two must be a ram and a he-goat. Triptolemus, the God, the Goddess, and Euboulos each receive a ἱερεῖον τέλειον (a sheep or goat) but Athena receives a bull with gilded horns. In all, there were three bulls with gilded horns, two rams, two goats, and four other animals (sheep or goats). The expense was taken from the grain given as *aparche*, ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν, i.e. from its sale (so Ziehen), or grain was exchanged for victims. (Ziehen conclusively refuted Mommsen’s notion that these sacrifices were merely cakes of wheat and barley in the form of these animals.) The sacrifice in 328 was grander in number of animals – 43 sheep and goats and 3 bulls, for a total cost of 2,490 drachmas (177.418-419) – but in 328 there is no mention of gilded horns. At that time the sacrifice was carried out by the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς, here by the ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσινόθεν.

Robertson, “Proerosia,” proposed that these sacrifices were carried out at the festival of Proerosia, but this is extremely unlikely: see II.Introduction, “*Aparche*”, pp. 5-7. He further suggests (*ibid.* pp. 326-329) that during the Proerosia these sacrifices were performed in two locations at Eleusis, those to Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemus at “an area outside the sanctuary that includes altars of Demeter and Kore and a temple and altar of Triptolemus,” those to Euboulos, Theos, and Thea at the terrace just to the south of the precinct of the *Agelastos Petra* (no. 21 on the

Plan). The altars of the Two Goddesses outside the sanctuary undoubtedly were used, perhaps also an altar by the temple of Triptolemus, but the terrace with its many steps cut in the rock seems an unlikely site for an altar; Mylonas's suggestion (*Eleusis* pp. 143-146, 149) that it was a viewing stand better suits its character. Indeed, a site within the sanctuary seems inappropriate for sacrifices that publicly celebrate the gifts of the Hellenes; they may all have taken place at the altars of Demeter and Kore outside the sanctuary (on the altars, II.30.16-18).

Lines 40-44: The Dedications. From the sale of the rest of the grain, the hieropoioi, in consultation with the Boule, are to set up dedications to Demeter and Kore, the type of dedication to be determined by the Demos. The dedication must state (1) that it was made from the *aparche*, and (2) that it was the Hellenes who gave the *aparche*. (ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀπαρχομένων is to be taken as a genitive absolute [so Foucart, Ziehen, and Clinton, *Sacred Officials* 15 note 25]. The verb ἀπάρχομαι was apparently never used in the passive [*pace* Jameson p. 250]. The καί connects the two direct phrases that are to be inscribed on the stone, but it itself of course will not appear.) The καί emphasizes the importance of including the second part of the statement. The intent of the phrase ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀπαρχομένων, it seems to me, is to ensure that the word ἑλλένων (as opposed to Ἀθηναίων) appears on the dedication – a custom that was repeated in the second century A.D. (cf. 504, 532). Whether the names of the various cities who donated are to be inscribed in the dedication (as they apparently were in 329 B.C.) is not made clear.

The πλάστρα χρυσᾶ τὸ δεμόσιον ἀνέθεκεν in the account-inventory of 408/7 (52.A.I.63) may represent one of these dedications, but if so, it was probably an exception to the usual practice. In 329 the stonecutters τὰ] γράμματα ἐπικολάψαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ (177.6-8), who were engaged in the last two prytanies of 330/29 and the first prytany of 329/8, were undoubtedly at work on the dedication made from the *aparche*. Considering the amount of epigraphical effort, the dedication must have been fairly large, therefore not primarily of precious metal like πλάστρα χρυσᾶ but probably at least partially of stone. In the following year, 328, the hieropoioi spent 387 drachmas and 1/2 obol on the dedication (177.427). We probably ought to suppose that most dedications from the *aparche* consisted of a donation set on a stone base, the sort of dedication that was not readily marketable, therefore not recorded in the Eleusinian inventories. The only surviving dedications, those of the Panhellenes of the second century A.D., are, in fact, stone bases (504, 532).

Since nothing is said about a surplus of money after the dedication is paid for, we are probably to assume that the hieropoioi were expected to spend the total sum available (after the expenses of the sacrifices). This is in fact what happened in 328 B.C. (177.427).

Lines 44-46: In a rather solemn closing of the body of the law blessings of an agrarian nature are invoked upon those who do no wrong to the Athenians. Those who favor the Athenians, therefore, will enjoy the favor of the gods, especially Demeter and Kore, and (as is earlier implied) Apollo.

Line 47: The man who proposed the amendment was most probably the famous Lampon who took part in the foundation of Thurii in 443, who was known as a mantis and, in jest, as an ἐξηγητής (on his “exegetical activity” see J. H. Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 11-13, 24-28). See also below, *ad* lines 59-61.

Lines 47-61: The rider calls for: (1) the publication of the law on two stelai; (2) the addition of a second Hekatombaion by the next archon; (3) certain measures to be taken to protect the

Pelargikon; and (4) a draft of a law on the *aparche* of olive oil to be submitted to the Boule by Lampon in the ninth prytany. Clauses (1), (2), and (4) are clearly related to the main body of the law. The relevance of the Pelargikon (discussed further below) is less clear, though it does seem to have been associated with the Kerykes in some way (see Clinton, *Epidauria* pp. 28-29).

The precise purpose of the second Hekatombaion has not been adequately addressed by commentators. It was not to ensure that the grain would arrive in time for the Mysteries in Boedromion, or even by the end of Hekatombaion, for there was surely time enough for that (at least three months). But without intercalation the grain might not arrive early enough in Hekatombaion, roughly two months away, since the *syngraphe* was probably passed late in the eighth prytany (Lampon's law on the olive oil was to be submitted in the ninth prytany, and the *syngraphe* proper demanded speed in announcing the *aparche*). (The view of Schmidt that ἐμβάλλειν meant "set a time limit" was refuted by Schaefer and Keil, *loc. cit.*) The beginning of Hekatombaion seems to have been the latest possible date for the traditional sacrifice described here. In 421, if MacGregor is correct about 45, the proceeds from the *aparche* were turned over by the hieropoioi to the epistatai around the middle of Hekatombaion. In 328 the sacrifice took place during the ninth or tenth prytany of the term of the epistatai who served in 329/8; those epistatai took care of the accounting for the sacrifice (177.418-419, 426), and from the money left over they paid for the ἀνάθημα (*ibid.*, lines 426-429).

Lines 54-59: The Pelargikon. The location of this area, which surrounded part or all of the Acropolis, is to some extent a matter of speculation; see bibliography in Travlos, *Athens* p. 55; A. Keramopoulos, *PrakAkAth* 7, 1932, pp. 110-124, who fully discussed the literary evidence, showed that it must exist below and near the Acropolis, and argued that it completely surrounded the Acropolis; more recently, L. Beschi, *ASAtene* 29-30, 1967-68, pp. 389-96, S. E. Iakovidis, *Ἡ μυκηναϊκὴ Ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1962) and Travlos, *loc. cit.*, argued with some success for an area that extended roughly halfway around the Acropolis, viz. the western end. At any rate, the present passage shows that it was not an area that was closed off (people were freely able to remove stone and earth), which is also the implication that must be drawn from Thucydides, 2.17.1: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ὥκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς "τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον," ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκλήθη. It is hard to see anything in the measures legislated in the current decree that was intended to address the situation created by the numerous refugees from the Attic countryside who crowded into the Pelargikon to set up living quarters. Although Lampon's statute aims at maintaining the *integrity* of the Pelargikon (the level of concern is reflected in the steepness of the penalty – 500 drachmas), it does not attempt to close off the Pelargikon or even to forbid people from living there. In view of this concern for the physical condition of the area, it seems very unlikely that Lampon could have ignored the condition to which the squatters had reduced it, if this condition actually existed. On the contrary, if this condition did exist, in the face of such massive violations of the oracle, some reaffirmation of the old prohibition μὴ οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ Πελαργικῷ ought to be the starting point, even after the Archidamian War, in any new legislation that aimed at protecting the Pelargikon, ahead of statutes about

boundaries of sanctuaries, altars, and removal of earth and stone. Thus this amendment ought to belong to a time when people were not living in the Pelargikon or when such a problem was not foreseen. The most appropriate time, therefore, would seem to be before the Peloponnesian War. J. A. Bundgaard, *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights* (Copenhagen 1976) pp. 147-148, independently came to this same conclusion, using precisely the same reasoning.

The primary problem with which Lampon is dealing seems to be the removal of earth and stone. This, as Loeschke observed, is more likely connected with a substantial building project than the makeshift dwellings of the refugees within the Pelargikon; he conjectured that the project was the construction of the Propylaea by Mnesicles, beginning in 437. Ziehen agreed with his reasoning (but, for reasons of his own, not the date, on which see below).

The establishment of the boundaries of the sanctuaries within the Pelargikon and the prohibition against building altars were perhaps measures that were related to the removal of earth and stone for a building project. Since the boundaries of various sanctuaries within the Pelargikon were not fixed, evidently anyone could set up another altar on undefined land and thereby create a new sanctuary for a private cult, from which earth and stone could then be removed. The prohibition against removing building stone was still joked about by Lucian (*Pisc.* 47; cf. Foucart, *BCH* 4, 1880, p. 344; Pollux 8.101, mentions a group of officials who were charged with overseeing that this sort of activity did not take place in the Pelargikon).

The measures taken here with regard to the Pelargikon are precisely the sort that one would expect in response to an oracle that decreed “τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἄργον ἄμεινον”. The oracle goes a step further than the old prohibition μὴ οἰκεῖν (μὴ οἰκεῖν would not prevent the quarrying of building stone [λίθοι] or removal of soil). Thus with these measures Lampon is translating into law the directives of the recent oracle, and this is what we should expect of a mantis with his special relationship to Apollo. This oracle was given before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War; Lampon’s proposals ought to have occurred relatively soon after the oracle, before the war.

Foucart believed that this ἀκροτελεύτιον about leaving the Pelargikon unworked was actually attached to the oracle concerning the *aparche*. Thucydides, unfortunately, in transmitting the ἀκροτελεύτιον, does not tell us the main part of the oracle, but Foucart’s hypothesis would explain the connection of such regulations concerning the Pelargikon with this law on the *aparche*.

Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen* pp. 245-252, believed that the dispute between the Kerykes and Telemachos of Acharnae (*IG* II² 4960.20-23) had to do with encroachment of Telemachos’ Asklepieion on the Pelargikon, which would yield 419/8 as a terminus post quem for the present document. But that the dispute had to do with the Pelargikon is by no means clear, and Smarczyk’s view as to which structure in the Asklepieion encroached is very unlikely: on this Asklepieion in this period see Aleshire, *Asklepieion* pp. 21-32.

Lines 59-61: The Aparche of Olive Oil. This ambitious scheme is recorded only here; it almost certainly was never put into effect. It may be, as Foucart speculated, that the oracle said that the Greeks were to consecrate ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ καρποῦ to the goddesses who had given the καρπός to the Athenians, and Lampon then seized upon the ambiguity of καρπός to make a case for olive oil; like the grain the oil was given to the Athenians by a goddess. Presumably therefore it was Athena who would receive the oil-*aparche* that Lampon had in mind; cf. Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen* pp. 216-224.

Date. The problem of the date has been fully discussed by M. B. Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens*. The arguments which seem to me the strongest in favor of the mid 430's are as follows. First, the epistatai are not mentioned here in connection with the finances of the Two Goddesses (lines 10-12); instead, the hieropoioi have access to the Eleusinian treasury on their own authority and appear to be as much in charge of it as they were in 19.C.36-38: τὸ δὲ ἀργυρίον τὸς ἱεροποιὸς τ[ὸ] τοῖν θεοῖν ἐμὶ πόλει ταμיעύεσθ[αι]. However, in 30 this authority is taken away from them. 30 describes the epistatai as having complete control over the finances of the sanctuary – ἐπιστῆναι τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς τοῖν θεοῖν. When they make expenditures they are to do so in consultation with the priests and the Boule (ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μὰ]λιστα δέει μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆς β[ολ]ῆς βουλευόμενος τὸ λοιπόν). Their work is well illustrated in the accounts, from a year of extremely limited activity like 408/7 (52) to a year like 329/8 with its extensive operations (177). In the present document, on the contrary, in connection with expenditures on the *siroi* there is no mention of the epistatai: the hieropoioi appear to have direct access to the treasury. If the present document followed 30, it is incredible that the officials in charge of the funds of the Two Goddesses, the epistatai, would not be mentioned in connection with expenditures of these funds (compare the mention of other financial officials in the amendment, lines 51-52). (Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen* pp. 232-235, misunderstands this argument of Cavanaugh as depending on the fact that in 45 the hieropoioi turned over money from the *aparche* to the epistatai whereas here they do not. The main argument is not this but rather the one I have just described.) Guarducci p. 288, noting the function of the epistatai in 45, of 422/1-419/8, used their existence there and their absence here as a solid argument for dating the present document before 422/1: "Se, insomma, il decreto fosse, come ritiene il Körte, posteriore al resoconto, una menzione degli epistatai vi sarebbe stata presso che inevitabile". But had she been aware of the existence of 30, which decreed that the epistatai would be the sole financial officials of the Eleusinian sanctuary, she no doubt would have realized that her argument requires the present document to be placed also before 30. Accame, pp. 153-156, was the first to realize the critical importance of 30, and in this was followed by Cavanaugh. Since 30 probably belongs to the year 432/1, the present document should be dated ca. 435, a date which Wilhelm p. 15 regarded as epigraphically possible (as do Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI* p. 223).

Secondly, Lampon's regulations concerning the Pelargikon make the best sense as belonging to a time before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and the subsequent desecration of that sacred area (see above, on lines 54-59).

Thirdly, a consideration which is important but more subjective, is that the appeal for *aparche* to the Greek cities not allied to Athens, does not sound like the sort of thing a city would do during wartime, when so many of the cities not allied to Athens were hostile. Even after the war it would require a certain amount of collective humor to include, even if only theoretically, one's enemies or former enemies in a group of possible donors.

Fourthly, again a subjective argument: Lampon's proposal to extend the *aparche* to include olive oil (perhaps intending to do for Athena what the traditional *aparche* of grain did for Demeter and Kore), suggests a period of confidence and exuberance, not the rather straitened circumstances of Athenian cults after the plague (on this period cf. Clinton, *Epidauria*; II.45).

This law, therefore, should be seen as forming an integral part of the Panhellenic role that

Pericles was promoting for the Polis. Cf. Plutarch, *Pericles* 17: Ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄχθεσθαι τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαίρων ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ἔτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν πραγμάτων γράφει ψήφισμα, πάντας Ἑλληνας τοὺς ὅποίποτε κατοικοῦντας Εὐρώπης ἢ Ἀσίας παρακαλεῖν, καὶ μικρὰν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπειν Ἀθήναζε τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ἃς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν.

How successful the present call for *aparche* was we do not know; on the *aparche* in the fourth century see Clinton, Panhellenism.

30. AMENDMENT CONCERNING THE EPISTATAI OF ELEUSIS. *Line 4:* τὸς [h]ει[ρεμέ]γος (see also line 13) ought to refer to (at least) the hieropoioi, in view of the restoration in line 1.

Line 5: Thespheus, the proposer of this amendement, is otherwise unknown. The content of the preceding decree has been the subject of speculation. Kourouniotis maintained that it authorized the Periclean reconstruction of the Telesterion and certain building projects in the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary of Demeter in Phaleron. However, τὸς [h]ει[ρεμέ]γος suggests that the preceding decree concerned the election of officials, either the hieropoioi or the epistatai or both; if just the epistatai, then the amendment of Thespheus should propose a change in their duties, number, salary, and method of appointment; if the hieropoioi, then the intent of the amendment is perhaps to transfer their financial and (most of) their administrative authority to the epistatai.

Lines 6-9: The five men to be elected from the Athenians are not given a title but the description of their function (ἐπισ[τῆ]ναι) leaves no doubt that they are the board which is called in later documents ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι (or Ἐλευσινόθεν). (It is interesting that the decree that establishes the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, *IG* I³ 52 [Kallias Decree], likewise does not state the full title that is later used for these officials.) They were, in fact, the only board at Eleusis with a secretary. Other evidence we have concerning their number shows that from time to time it changed (see Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens* chap. 1): e.g. in 158 of 332/1 B.C., they number eight. Their salary of four obols is not mentioned in the Eleusinian accounts since it was not an expense of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses but was paid to them by the state.

Line 10: They are to have complete control over the financial administration of the sanctuaries of the Two Goddesses, which formerly belonged to the hieropoioi (see 19).

Lines 11-12: The parallel between them and the epistatai ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πόλει ἔργοις, τῷ νεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι (*IG* I³ 436-451 [447/6-433/2 B.C.], Parthenon; *IG* I³ 453-460 [ca. 447/6-438 B.C.], Parthenos) is not exact. These epistatai on the Acropolis were concerned with specific projects, while the new Eleusinian epistatai are to be in charge of τὰ χρέματα; they in fact will be much like ταμίαι, but the point of the allusion to the Acropolis projects is probably that the bulk of their duties will involve supervision of construction and maintenance operations in the sanctuaries of the Two Goddesses.

The use of the imperfect, ἐπεστ[ά]τον, for the activity of the epistatai overseeing the Temple

and the Statue on the Acropolis reveals that the construction of the Parthenon and Parthenos (on the identification of the νεός and ἄγαλμα see especially Mattingly, *Historia*) occurred prior to this document, and that this document must come after 433/2. Meritt and Wade-Gery, however, regarded ἐπεστάτον as an “Imperfect of Points Assumed” (cf. Plato, *Laws* 867D) in order to uphold the view that the epistatai of Parthenon and Parthenos were in office at the time that this document was issued and to refute Mattingly’s argument that the imperfect proves that they had completed their term. Epigraphic usage of the imperfect, however, does not support Meritt and Wade-Gery’s contention, and they offered no parallel for the “Imperfect of Points Assumed” in an epigraphic text. Recourse to the “Imperfect of Points Assumed” is untenable; for a fuller discussion of the imperfect here see Clinton, *Telesterion* pp. 256-257.

Line 13: The epistatai who are elected may not decline the office.

Lines 14-15: One specific duty for the new epistatai will be the collection of debts (cf. 42). This is clearly a matter of great concern. The epistatai are ordered to go to the Boule and announce the debts before collecting. We are led to assume that there had been some carelessness in collecting debts owed to the Two Goddesses. The author of this amendment wished to reestablish this aspect of the Eleusinian finances on a sound basis; he thought it worthy of emphasis and mentioned it before describing such basic facts of their appointment as the length of their term and where they were to be sworn in. Rubensohn, p. 430, note 1, noted that τὸ ὀφειλόμενον τοῖν θεοῖν probably meant debts incurred by the state, as in the Kallias Decrees (*IG* I³ 52); but while it probably did include such loans, we should not forget that the Eleusinian treasury also made loans to private individuals (cf. 47.8).

Lines 16-18: The term of one year was changed to four years by 422/1 (45), back to one year by 408/7 (52), and again to (probably) four years by 360/59 (140).

On the altars at Eleusis, one for Demeter, the other for Kore, see 177.202-203) and *IG* II² 3585; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 82, 85-86; *Sacrifice* pp. 71-72; *Myth and Cult* p. 76: a location just outside the sanctuary, probably in the forecourt, seems most likely.

Lines 19-21: This is their main duty as treasurers: ἐπιμελῆσθαι τῶν ἐπετείων. It is most clearly documented in the account-inventory 52; the preceding accounts reflect the same activity.

Kourouniotis took [ἀ]πολλολός to include buildings that would be declared “destroyed,” yet the sentence clearly refers only to annual income, ἐπέτεια. The formula ἀπολλολός ... ἀνασοίζειν occurs in an inscription at Delphi in connection with recovery of goods stolen from the sanctuary, ἱεροσυλία (*SIG*³ 417).

The ordinary sources of income would be from rental of certain properties, initiates’ fees at the Mysteries, and sometimes the *aparche* (see especially 19.C, 52.A.I.5-6, III.23-27, and 45). The task of the epistatai was to make sure that these revenues were properly collected – by the priests in the case of the fees at the Mysteries (cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 10-12), by the hieropoioi in the case of the *aparche* (cf. 45) – and to see to it that rent and other income were received.

Lines 22-27: The logistai are to go and conduct their audit of the Eleusinian accounts at the three locations in which funds were spent. (1) Eleusis, (2) the Eleusinion in the City, and (3) the sanctuary of Demeter in Phaleron (on this sanctuary, Paus. 1.1.4, 10.35.3, and below, on line 33).

Koroibos is one of the architects of the Telesterion who are mentioned by Plutarch (*Pericles* 13): τὸ δ’ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐδάφους

κίονας ἔθηκεν οὗτος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέζηυξεν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Ζυπεταιῶν τὸ διάζωσμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κίονας ἐπέστησε, τὸ δ' ὀπαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ζενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε.

This fact prompted Kourouniotis and others to imagine this decree to be the Periclean authorization for the rebuilding of the Telesterion that was destroyed by the Persians, with the amendment of Thespieus establishing the epistatai as the overseers of the project. The amendment, according to Kourouniotis, informs us that construction would take place at Eleusis, the Eleusinion in Athens, and the sanctuary of Demeter in Phaleron. If this is true, it is strange that the architect Koroibos is not asked to testify in Eleusis, where supposedly the largest part of this project ought to be. De Sanctis (p. 553) suggested, in order to explain this difficulty, that some work, e.g. carpentry and sculpture, was being done in Athens for the Telesterion at Eleusis. This, however, would be a rather inefficient method of operating; all other evidence from Eleusis suggests that such operations were carried out on the site or nearby. It seems much more natural to assume that Koroibos was stationed at the Eleusinion in order to oversee construction at that sanctuary.

The fact that it was not necessary to interview the architect at Eleusis suggests that at the time of this inscription he was not supervising construction there, as Vallois realized. (Mattingly's view that Koroibos and Lysanias were interviewed also at Eleusis involves a forced reading of the text; see Clinton, *Telesterion* p. 257, note 13). The apparent lack of large-scale construction at Eleusis at this time and in the preceding few years militates against Cooper's hypothesis that Ictinus designed the Telesterion from 439 to 429 B.C. (Cooper p. 379). It is incorrect to claim, as Cooper p. 371, does, that I take "a strictly epigraphical approach to the problem," and that I "displace Iktinos with Koroibos." See the discussion below, in which more than epigraphical evidence is taken into account. It is a matter of following the evidence, and in this case it leads to the probable conclusion that Ictinus was not working on the Telesterion in the 430's.

Nor was the architect involved in construction at the sanctuary of Demeter in Phaleron. In fact, money was not spent Φαλερῶι but Φαλερόνδε, for there was no Eleusinian treasury there. This is consistent with 52, which indicates that the Eleusinian treasury was located at Eleusis and on the Acropolis. It seems therefore unlikely that large-scale construction was taking place at the Phaleron sanctuary; this is consistent with Pausanias' testimony (10.35.2) that the Athenians never rebuilt the sanctuary after it was destroyed by the Persians, and in his day it remained "half-burnt." The reason for this expense, then, must have been some small-scale maintenance so that rituals could take place (cf. the maintenance recorded for Eleusis in 52.A.III.28-48). (In 408/7 no expenses, not even for cleaning, were listed for the Phaleron sanctuary.)

Lysanias is unknown. Kourouniotis' suggestion that he was the Lysanias who was archon in 443/2 is not impossible, but it seems unlikely that the Lysanias of this document was actually archon at the time that this document was issued; if he had been, we should expect to see his title, and there seems to be no good reason to expect that the archon eponymous would be called upon to testify concerning accounts at Eleusis for which he was not responsible. Lysanias may have been the "chairman" of the hieropoioi who have just left office, hence no title here (the hieropoioi had been responsible for the accounts up to now).

Lines 27-28: In spending funds the epistatai are to spend only as much as is absolutely neces-

sary and are to seek the advice and consent of the Eleusinian priests and the Boule; i.e. they are not to act completely on their own initiative. It seems unlikely that the hieropoioi were considered priests; thus the former financial (and religious) officials are no longer to have a say in the administration of the sanctuary, and their function at Eleusis now may have been restricted to the handling of the *aparche* and the sacrifice that was made from it.

Lines 30-31: The auditors are to begin their audit in the year that Ktesias (presumably a chairman of the hieropoioi) took office.

Lines 31-33: A copy of the decree is to be inscribed on stone in each of the three “Eleusinian” sanctuaries. The sanctuary in Phaleron, which we learn here was also called an Eleusinion, may have been used in connection with the celebration ἄλαδε μύσται during the Mysteries, as Rubensohn suggested (*Gnomon*, *loc. cit.*, p. 432).

Line 33: The name of the proposer of the next amendment is unknown. Kourouniotis’ restoration of Lysanias is merely a guess (his question mark was omitted by later editors).

Date and Purpose. Although most editors have dated this document in the 440’s primarily because of the three-barred sigma, the statement in lines 11-12, καθάπερ ἡοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πρό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν] τῷ νεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀ[γ]άλματι, implies that the epistatai of the Parthenon and Parthenos were no longer in office (see on lines 11-12), and that therefore the decree should theoretically be in 432/1 or later. In addition, as Accame (p. 156) and Cavanaugh recognized, the decree concerning the *aparche* (28) most likely preceded the present document, and it is unlikely that 28 is much earlier than 435. It is not impossible in theory that an occasional mason continued to inscribe three-barred sigmas through the 430’s and even into the 420’s. Thus the best evidence suggests that this inscription belongs to 432/1, just before the Peloponnesian War, when the Athenians would still have no hesitation about sending logistai to Eleusis to carry out their annual audit. But by the spring of 431 this opportunity no longer existed, when the Spartans had invaded the Thriasian Plain. At this time any building operations at Eleusis must have ceased and the work force returned to the city.

There is nothing in the amendment that allows us to imagine, with any confidence, that the decree to which it was attached authorized the Periclean reconstruction of the Telesterion (see commentary to lines 22-26). The main concern of this amendment is with financial matters. The new reading in line 4 suggests that the decree (if this part was not itself also an amendment) concerned, at least to some extent, the election of officials, probably the hieropoioi (see on line 4) but perhaps also the epistatai. In any case, the amendment of Thespies makes no reference to construction at Eleusis, and it would be strange if the whole intent of the amendment was to establish the epistatai so that they could supervise construction there when even in the comparison with the Acropolis epistatai (lines 11-12) there is no reference to construction at Eleusis but only to finances. And the architect Koroibos was evidently at work not at Eleusis but only in the City Eleusinion. The evidence therefore suggests that this decree and its amendments were primarily concerned not with construction but with the financial soundness of τὰ χρέματα τὰ τοῖν Θεοῖν. In this respect it resembles *IG I³ 52*, probably of 434/3, which is concerned with the soundness of τὰ τῶν (ἄλλων) θεῶν χρήματα and the recovery of debts owed by the state to these treasuries (cf. T. Linders, *Treasurers of the Other Gods*, Stockholm 1975, pp. 38-57). It is conceivable that the

general audit of the accounts of the Other Gods, including their loans, revealed that a change in the financial management of the Eleusinian sanctuaries was also in order; hence the present decree in 432/1. Recovery of lost receipts and loans was clearly very important to Thespieus.

In the late 430's another concern was the Megarian encroachment on the *ἱερὰ ὀργάς*, land which belonged to the Eleusinian sanctuary (144; Thuc. 1.139.2; Plut. *Per.* 30; Ar. *Ach.* 515-539, *Pax* 605-611). Mattingly proposed that the amendment's command to reclaim lost funds (*ἀπολολὸς ... ἀνασείζειν*) led to an attempt to reclaim the *ὀργάς* that the Megarians were using, then to the Athenian decrees against Megara, and finally war. This is not impossible. It is also possible that this decree and the dispute with Megara were separate results, both touched off by the realization that the administration of the sanctuary was in disarray: the finances needed attention; in addition, it became clear that the hieropoioi had not been safeguarding the *ἱερὰ ὀργάς* against encroachment (the *ὀργάς* was not necessarily revenue-producing but it could be; cf. 144 and *Sacred Officials* pp. 17-18).

As for construction, see the more complete discussion in my article, "Telesterion." The main points may be repeated here. This document shows the presence of the architect Koroibos at the City Eleusinion, and therefore suggests that construction was taking place there. (Unfortunately IG I³ 50, found near the Eleusinion, is too fragmentary to allow a definite connection with this construction.) Given the date, we should not look to the next two or three years for the beginning of the reconstruction of the Telesterion, at the start of military preparations, the plague, and the Spartan invasions of Attica. In addition, it is significant that in connection with the audit of past accounts, which is to start some years back, there is no reference to an architect's work at Eleusis or to interviewing Koroibos at Eleusis. This suggests that in recent years there had been no major construction at Eleusis. The *siroi* called for in 28 do not belong in the category of major construction, but they do at least provide an indication that by the time of 28, viz. ca. 435 B.C., the Telesterion had already been built, for it seems rather unlikely that the Athenians would have given priority to the *siroi* over the Telesterion itself, the center of the cult that was at the heart of Athens' Panhellenic image of itself. A date prior to 435 is in accord with Plutarch's description of the new Telesterion as a Periclean project (quoted in full above, *ad* lines 22-27), undertaken by Koroibos and completed by Metagenes and Xenocles. 23, which probably belongs to the early 440's, lists expenditures that would be appropriate for the Telesterion, and should probably therefore be associated with this project. Thus the most appropriate time for the construction of the Telesterion would be the early 440's, roughly contemporary with the construction of the Parthenon.

The only serious difficulty with this is that Plutarch tells us that it was Koroibos' death that caused the project to be transferred to Metagenes and Xenocles. But in the present document Koroibos is alive and well at the Eleusinion in 432/1. In my article, "Telesterion," I proposed that Koroibos did not die, but simply withdrew from the project and handed it over to Metagenes and Xenocles; an error of some sort, perhaps textual, lay behind Plutarch's account. However, we need not resort to the hypothesis of an error. Although the relative rarity of the name Koroibos at Athens suggested that Plutarch's architect and the architect of this inscription are the same man, it is not inconceivable that they are grandfather and grandson, given the well known practice in Athenian families of passing down expertise in a particular craft from father to son. If Koroibos

was ca. 70 years old when he died in the early 440's, his grandson could easily have been well advanced in his career by 432/1. Thus we should keep open the possibility that the present Koroibos is the grandson of the architect of the Telesterion.

31. DECREE. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios and Wade-Gery recognized that the lettering and content of this decree belong to the beginning of the Archidamian War, rather than to the time of the rule of the Thirty at Eleusis, 403-1, to which Kourouniotis, Kougeas, and Kahrstedt wished to assign it. Mattingly, noting that Wade-Gery identified the cutter of *IG I³ 50* with the cutter of this document, and that both documents share the same letter height and stoichedon size, speculated that *IG I³ 50* is the Eleusinian copy of this decree.

The regulations in *b.5-8* seem to refer to an enclosed area at Eleusis, the obvious ones being the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore or, more likely, the adjacent fortification. The epistatai, who were at this time the chief administrative officials of the sanctuary, would be a more appropriate restoration in line 3 than the hieropoioi (see *II.30*). The guards (line 5) are obviously not intended to keep a hostile force from entering the deme but to deter the unauthorized from entering the enclosed area, clearly an area that was used by civilians. They were less concerned with the deme than the enclosed area, where unauthorized persons might allow the enemy to enter in force.

Ἀρχοντες ought not to refer to a single official: the term seems as inappropriate a designation for the Athenian archon as it is for the demarch of Eleusis. And the necessity of a plurality of Athenian archons for this task is somewhat hard to imagine. But the plural would be appropriate for the archons of both the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes (see *201.20-21*, *638.35*, *II.221.20*; *Sacred Officials* p. 8), though they are not otherwise attested as early as this. These *gene* were in charge of the religious administration of the sanctuary. (The architects of the sanctuary, Wade-Gery's alternative restoration, did not occupy such a position.) Or the term might refer to all the magistrates of the deme.

The decree gives us a glimpse of the emergency measures prevailing at Eleusis at the beginning of the war. This was obviously not a normal period in the administration of the sanctuary. Building operations are of course out of the question.

Line b.8: Wade-Gery's assumption of only four spaces for a name is possible but unlikely.

Lines b.10-11: "To dwell and to enter" is not a logical order. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios' restoration makes better sense, separating passage into and out from habitation, though the article modifying Ἀθηναίων is unnecessary.

32. INVENTORY. Both this inventory and the following precede *46-48, 50*, which are account-inventories. The reasons for the precedence are simply that these two documents are pre-Euclidean, and their inventory, most likely of items at Eleusis (stone in this case), is substantially different from the list of 408/7 (*52*); but that list most probably did not change significantly from 413 to 404 (see *II.50*); and the series of inventories (*46-48, 50*) which preceded that list, year after year, to which the present two inscriptions do not belong, went back as far as ca. 420. Thus, like *34-37*, which are all just accounts, this document belongs to an earlier period, when accounts and inventories were published separately.

The present fragment preserves part of the list of architectural blocks at Eleusis, but the list shows a much greater variety of material than the corresponding list of 408/7 (52.A.II.10-34). Obviously many of the blocks here had been reused or sold by then. I would conjecture that the lower part of this list comprises Pentelic blocks, as is perhaps suggested by the krepis blocks in line 20 (cf. 52.B.II.40).

33. INVENTORY. For the date of this inventory see the commentary to the preceding document (32).

The beginning of the list contains stone (line 1), but by line 10 the list of iron implements has already started. Line 18 certainly contains such implements, and the character of the rest of the list makes sense once we make the assumption that it consists of iron implements. My restorations have been made accordingly. One may compare the list of iron items in 52.A.II.61-III.11. Clearly the two lists are rather different. There acrophonic symbols for the weights are used, but here $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ is written in full.

Line 17: Cf. 52.A.III.30.

Line 36: Cf. 52.A.III.7.

ACCOUNTS, ca. 435 - ca. 420

The following four accounts (34-37) were undoubtedly inscribed by the same hand, and they are further distinguished by the use of a unique interpunct, $\square\square$. From the letter forms we can place these documents roughly in the period ca. 435 - ca. 420, perhaps earlier in it than later (cf. Wade-Gery, *BSA* 33, 1932-33, p. 135). The officials who published these documents were most likely the epistatai who were established ca. 432 (30).

The fact that some of the documents of this series were found in the Athenian Agora or (at least probably) in Athens suggests that copies were set up both in the City Eleusinion and at Eleusis, although it is conceivable that it was more convenient in wartime to set them up only in the Eleusinion.

34. ACCOUNT. If the lacuna below line 17 indicates, as seems likely, the end of the document and not a space separating receipts from expenses, then the expenses were listed above the present fragment (contrary to the order in the following documents, 35-37), or they occurred somewhere in the very last lines (13-17, of which line 17 seems most likely to represent an expense). The latter alternative seems more likely.

Line 1: The sense may have been: $\mu\upsilon\sigma[\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omicron}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\ -\ -\]\tau\tau\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$ Cf. 52.A.III.23.

Lines 4-5: The formula $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \eta[\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\tilde{\omicron}\nu\ \text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tilde{\iota}\nu\iota,$ name, demotic, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ cannot be restored here, but we can construe $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \eta[\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\tilde{\omicron}\ \text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tilde{\iota}\nu\iota$ *nomen* $\text{'}\alpha\lambda\omicron\pi\epsilon\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$. The following delta was the beginning of a sum of money or, more likely, the name of an item which preceded a sum; for we should expect not just a source and a sum, but the purpose for which the

money was received as well. Bannier correctly described the typical formula in these accounts: παρὰ τοῦ δέϊνος τῶν δείνων τιμὴ followed by a sum.

Line 6: Hondius' restoration of a ransom, which he suggested the Athenians gained from their invasion of Megara in 424, seems inappropriate for this kind of document. The sale of ἔλυτρα, some kind of coverings, is more likely here.

Line 7: For the restoration, with its uncertain sense, see II.36.5.

Line 8: This may be a reference to a city; see 36.1-2.

Line 9: Hondius' restoration, χρ]έος τὸ ὑπόλ[οιπον is not inappropriate.

Line 10: See line 8. Lewis suggests as a possibility: παρὰ Κυθ]νίων τῷ κοιν[ῷ μίσθοσις τεμένος. Cf. 52.A.III.26.

Line 11: See 36.1-4; 52.A.III.26.

Line 12: Hondius' restoration of a κοινόν dedicated to the goddess Dione is unconvincing, though not absolutely impossible: although there is no evidence connecting the goddess Dione with Eleusis, such an organization could have simply owed the sanctuary some money. But cf. 36.4; τῆς δί[κες is more likely, as Woodward *apud* Lewis (and I independently) suggested.

Lines 14-15: A demotic probably followed Αἰσχυλίδο, but after the demotic not καὶ συναρχόντων as Hondius suggested (the preserved instances of this formula would lead us to expect a title before Αἰσχυλίδο), but rather a description of goods purchased or debts discharged, etc.

Line 15: The final epsilon looks like the first letter of a title, but ἐ[πιστατῶν seems unlikely; see Epigraphical Commentary.

Line 17: Hondius' restoration, κερυ]κεύοντι, seems unlikely, since our only other evidence for the sacred herald close to this time leads us to expect the noun rather than the participle, i.e. κέρυκι; see *Sacred Officials* pp. 76-77. For σ]κευῶν cf. 52.A.I.20. The epistatai may have sold some unneeded equipment, or this may represent a purchase (see first paragraph).

36. ACCOUNT. Although the preceding fragment (35) has a stoichos of identical size, I hesitate to conclude that both fragments were part of the same document. The next document (37) also has a very similar stoichos. There is no definite indication that the present fragment belonged to a document written in columns (as Lewis arranged it); the following document, also a member of this series, very probably did not have columns.

Line 1: The vacant space above seems to indicate that this is the first line of the document. Therefore we should expect a heading such as λέμματα ἐπέτεια in this line, at the head of the list of receipts. Perhaps only the title of the administrators in charge, the epistatai, was given but not their individual names.

The sanctuary controlled a *temenos* on Kythnos; in the year 408/7 they received a rent of Dr 45 Ob 1 from this property (52.A.III. 26). The *temenos* has evidently been located. A. Mazarakis Ainian, The Kythnos Survey Project: Preliminary Report, in *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology*, ed. L. G. Mendoni - A. Mazarakis Ainian (*Μελετήματα* 27, Athens 1998) p. 371, reported that he discovered a shrine containing finds characteristic of a Demeter sanctuary on the acropolis of Kythnos; kernoi found in it are identical to types found in Eleusis (personal communication); it is undoubtedly the *temenos* listed in 52.A.III.26 as providing rent to the Eleusinian treasury.

Κυθνιό[θεν, restored by Raubitschek, is an incorrect formation; it should be Κυθνόθεν. Woodward's restoration therefore seems best, but with the omission of the genitive plural article, as in Lewis.

Line 2: For the restoration, not certain here, see above, line 1.

Line 3: Perhaps the money came from penalties arising from a lawsuit.

Line 4: Rent from property leased at Styra, evidently owned by the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. For the form Στυρόθεν from Στύρα see Kühner Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I.2.337.4, p. 309; Threatte, *GAI* II 64.041, p. 397.

Line 5: Raubitschek explained (*per litt.*) that he thinks the word Χαρετεί[ον, which Wade-Gery restored with the help of 34.7, is derived from Χάρης, the name of a man whose monies constituted a fund which could be used by the sanctuary.

Line 8: Expenses follow receipts here, just as in 52. The preceding figures are probably the final numbers of the total amount of receipts. This sum was probably preceded by a phrase such as λεμμάτων σύμπαν κεφάλαιον.

Line 9: The Rheitos, the body of water by the sea near modern Skaramanga, is the subject of 41. (Raubitschek, however, warns that ῥε[could be construed as ῥη[τόν].) If Rheitos is correct, we still do not know the nature of this expense.

37. ACCOUNT. From the finding place we might infer that two copies of this document were made, one for the City Eleusinion (the present fragments), the other for the sanctuary at Eleusis. It is also conceivable that in some years during the Archidamian War only one copy was made, and was set up in the Eleusinion.

Line 1: If the top surface is original, then we probably ought to assume just two lines missing above the first preserved line. This first part of the account comprises receipts. After the preamble, there must have been a general heading, such as λέμματα ἐπέτεια.

Lines 5-6: A title of the officials who were associated with ἥρωσ ἱατρός needs to be restored, perhaps τῶν ἐπιστατῶν. For the ἥρωσ ἱατρός cf. 23.

A ταμίας τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν in 418/7 by the name of [Φ]ίλυλλο[ς] Ἐλευσίνιος is listed in *IG* I³ 472.17 (*PA* 14797; 14798 [descendant attested in 325/4]). The name is so rare, and the fit here is so close that the restoration of his name is highly probable. With this restoration the continuous reading of lines 6-7 also becomes possible, and the space of eight letters at the end of line 9 would be right for a man's name, followed by the preserved demotic in line 10.

The tenure of Philyllos of Eleusis as Tamias of the Other Gods in 418/7 is consistent with a date in the early or mid 420's for this document, within the period proposed above, p. 59.

Lines 7-8: Perhaps Δ[. καὶ Πεντελικο[ῖ]ν; in line 8, at the end, perhaps ἐργασμένοιν .] or an additional dimension.

38. ACCOUNT. This is probably part of a financial document in the same series as 34-37. Like them it is continuously written and not arranged in columns like 46-48, 50.

39. DEDICATION BY A HIPPARCH. Andrewes and Lewis accept Kirchner's tentative suggestion (following Brueckner) and equate *PA* 12402 and 12410 as Πυθόδωρος Ἐπιζήλου Ἀλαιοῦς: chairman of the treasurers of Athena in 418/7 (*IG* I³ 329.2: Πυθόδωρος ἡλαιοῦς; cf. I³ 305.3, 370.3,8); general in 414 (Thuc. 6.105.2: Πυθόδωρος); choregos for Aegeis in 414 (*IG* I³ 960: Πυθόδωρος Ἐπιζήλο); and he may well be the same Pythodoros mentioned by Thucydides (5.19.2 and 5.24.1) as among the Athenians who swore to the peace treaty and alliance with Sparta in 421. Cf. Davies, *APF* 12402. (Brueckner contended that he was the same as the Pythodoros son of Polyzelos who was the accuser of Protagoras [Diog. Laert. 9.54], if Polyzelos is emended to Epizelos, but this Pythodoros may be the Pythodoros of Anaphlystos mentioned in *AthPol* 29.1.)

If our dedicant was indeed general in 414, it would be logical to see him as hipparch sometime before this, on the assumption that a man would normally become a hipparch prior to becoming a general. (On the hipparch see *AthPol* 61.4 and Rhodes, *Commentary*, *ad loc.*) Though this was probably not an absolute rule at Athens, it would be unwise to assume the opposite. Therefore, in the absence of further evidence, it seems best to assume that this dedication was a thank-offering for success in some battle in the Archidamian War, though it need not have been erected immediately after the battle. Hölscher and others would see the connection with the Eleusinian sanctuary in the location of the battle: somewhere in the hilly areas on the edge of the Thriasian Plain. For discussion of possible battles see now Bugh.

40. FRAGMENT. The nature of this inscription remains unclear. In line 4 Lewis suggests Ἀρχεγ[ετ]. He dates the fragment slightly earlier, ca. 445-430.

41. DECREE CONCERNING BRIDGE OVER RHEITOS. The finding place is not inconsistent with an original location in the outer courtyard of the sanctuary.

Prepis was the first-secretary in 422/1 (**45**); M. F. McGregor, *AJP* 59, 1938, pp. 158-162; Meritt and McGregor, *Phoenix* 21, 1967, pp. 85-91). This decree was therefore passed in the first prytany of this year, in the summer of 422.

There were two Rheitoi, small lakes off the Sacred Way where the pass over Mt. Aigaleos reaches the level of the Thriasian Plain. They contained fish that belonged to the Eleusinian priests (Paus. 1.38.1); the Rheitos closer to the city belonged to Kore (τῆς νεωτέρας [θεοῦ]), the other one to Demeter (τῆς πρεσβυτέρας θεοῦ; Hesychius s.v. Ῥειτοί). (Only one lake, the one closer to the city, is clearly visible today.) The purpose of the bridge described here was to ensure the safe passage of the priestesses, i.e. the priestess of Demeter and Kore and the hierophantides, over the stream that carried water from the Rheitos across the Sacred Way into the sea. On the location of the bridge see Travlos and his map of the area. Evidently the existing method of crossing had become unsafe. Of course, an accident involving the *hiera* would have been a great calamity (cf. Foucart). It may have been for this reason or some other religious reason that wagons were not allowed to cross the Rheitos, e.g. concern about animals soiling the waters of the Rheitos (cf. Foucart).

For discussion of the relief see U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin 1960) pp. 41-42, with bibliography (= *SEG* XIX 17); M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs* (*AM-BH* 13,

Berlin 1989) p. 266, A 5; Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 75-76; Lawton, *Reliefs* pp. 82-83, with full bibliography, pl. 2; Clinton, *BMCR* 7, 1996, pp. 743-751 (review of Lawton). The only difficult figure is the male who touches Athena's right hand with his right, in a sort of dexiosis. He should represent the festival of the Mysteries, which is being facilitated by the bridge, the gift of the Athenians, who are represented by Athena. The iconography does not fit Triptolemos (as Lawton recently proposed), and Triptolemos is not the appropriate one to represent the cult as a whole. The most likely figure seems to be Eumolpos, who was the cult's first hierophant and founder-hero (see discussion in Clinton, *Iconography* and *BMCR*).

Lines 6-9: The stone for construction is to be taken from the building blocks that were "taken down from the old temple," and "which those who were using (them) for the wall had left behind." Noack identified these blocks (καθειρεμένοι ἐκ τοῦ νεοῦ τοῦ ἀρχαίου) with the large body of building material designated ἀπὸ τοῦ νεοῦ καθειρεμένα in 52.A.II.43-49 of the year 408/7. We can therefore infer that this section of the inventory of 408/7 existed also in the inventory of the current year, 422/1. Noack identified the "old temple" as the Archaic Telesterion built in the late sixth century (see now Shear, *Temple* pp. 128-140; Clinton, *Panhellenism* p. 162).

Line 9: Maier suggested that the wall was an extension of the peribolos wall at Eleusis, and is part of the construction mentioned in 27. Travlos, however, found a wall submerged in the Rheitos that consisted of poros blocks exhibiting lifting holes – the sort of blocks that could have been taken from the Archaic Telesterion.

Accordingly, the easiest interpretation is that the wall was a wall at the Rheitos, the wall that had already been built along one side of the Rheitos to dam it up. It was built of blocks removed from the Old Temple, but the builders of the wall had left behind a number of unused blocks near where they were working; these were apparently the ones to be used for the new bridge.

Lines 10-11: The "priestesses" who actually carried the sacred objects were the hierophantides, though the priestess of Demeter and Kore may have been responsible in some way.

Lines 11-14: A five-foot width would easily accommodate initiates on foot but not wagons, presumably barred from crossing here for religious reasons. Vehicular traffic, in the procession and otherwise, must therefore have taken some other way around the Rheitos. At this point initiates would have dismounted from their wagons (the wagon of the exegetes is mentioned in 177.41, the wagon supplied by the epimeletai of the Mysteries for the transport of the Sacred Objects in 208.17-18) and either walked the rest of the way on foot or rejoined their wagons on the other side. Such a procedure seems to be implied in 250.35-40, the Hellenistic law on the Mysteries.

Lines 14-16: The meaning of κατακαλύψαι τὰς διαρροάς is not completely clear. The διαρροαί may be other, small passages from the Rheitos to the sea, in addition to the main passage that is to be covered by the bridge.

Line 15: On the double rho see Threatte, *GAI* I 43.01351, pp. 519-520.

Line 17: Despite the lack of an aspirate it seems impossible to restore anyone but an architect here. Demomel[es] is otherwise unknown.

42. ACCOUNT. This appears to be an account simply of the collection of monies owed to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. There is no Eleusinian parallel (for the type see *I. Délos* 353).

The limited nature of this document makes it quite unlike the second series of accounts (46-48, 50, 52) as well as the first (34-37), where debts are included along with other income. As a list of sums it resembles 45, which lists the *aparchai* collected in the years 422/1-419/8.

The style of the lettering here is very similar to the second series of accounts (46-48, 50, 52).

45 and the present document demonstrate that specialized accounting documents existed at Eleusis along with annual accounts and παραδόσεις. It is possible that the present document, like 45, also covered four years. It seems to belong to the same period, ca. 420, though an earlier date cannot be excluded. This document follows the columnar format of 46-48, 50, 52.

The formula τάδε ἔπραξαν occurs in Amphictyonic documents on Delos, and Lewis reminds us that an Amphictyonic text was found at Eleusis (167).

Lines 1-2: Probably ἐπὶ δῆνος ἄρχοντος ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν *nomina*, hoῖς - -]|ίδες ἠυβάδες ἐγρ[αμμάτευε (or ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν may have preceded the archon's name). Lewis correctly points out that Attic usage demands that τάδε ἔπραξαν means "collected these monies" rather than "accomplished these things."

Lines 3-4, 5-6: Lewis reads these as single sums, each written in two lines (Dr 9,489 Ob 1 1/2 and Dr 14,197), but this is unclear.

43. ACCOUNT-INVENTORY? The disposition of the numeral on the stone suggests that this is another member of the series of account-inventories of this period.

The distance of the numeral from the left edge resembles the corresponding distance in 52. If this inscription is stoichedon, the width of the stoichos, 0.014 m., is equivalent to that of 46.

44. DEDICATION BY PLATTHIS. Philios restored Κυ[δαθηναίως. Κυ[δαντίδο is also possible. Lewis, noting that Platthis is also a masculine name, restored Κυ[δαθηναίεύς (though, again, Κυ[δαντίδης is possible); a Dionysios Kydathenaieus was Hellenotamias in 410/409 (*IG* I³ 375.15, etc.). Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι or τοῖν Θεοῖν no doubt also appeared in the lacuna. Kirchner assigned a date in the first half of the fourth century, but Mitropoulou and (in a personal communication to Lewis) O. Palagia date the relief ca. 420.

45. FOUR-YEAR ACCOUNT OF FIRST FRUITS. On the *aparche* see above, II.28. Surprising here, however, is the small amount of money that the hieropoioi transferred to the epistatai in 421/0 and 420/19, viz. 6 and 31 drachmas respectively (lines 13 and 20). It is curious that a document detailing such minor transfers was thought to be necessary, since the accounts of the epistatai must also have recorded these transfers; see II.52.A.I.5-7. Körte (*apud* Noack), in commenting on how ridiculously small the sums are in the present document, notes that they hardly seem to be worth the expense of the inscription; they become comprehensible only if they represent a *substantial* traditional act, viz. the handing over of *entire* proceeds from the *aparche*. The publication of these transfers is perhaps one of the results of the stringent control over Eleusinian finances which was given to the epistatai by 30.

The size of the transfers seems to admit of three possibilities: the money represents either (1) the sum that remained after the deduction for the pelanos and the expenditures for the sacrifices and dedication as described in 28 (so Ziehen, *LGS*); or (2) the proceeds from the entire *aparche* (less the grain used for the pelanos), no money from the *aparche* having been spent on the sacrifice or the dedication; or (3) what is left after the deduction for the pelanos and the expenditure for sacrifices, no dedication having been made. The last view is supported by the fact that on the occasions when we know that a dedication was made, the *entire remainder* after the expenses for sacrifices went to the dedication (implied in 28 and in fact done in 177.426-429): it was a simple matter to order a dedication that cost precisely the amount left over after the sacrifice. So it seems safe to conclude that these sums were not the remainders after subtracting the expense for the dedication. But there is an additional consideration. The phrase ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σίτου τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τοῖν θεοῖν suggests that each sum represents the entire amount realized from the sale of the *aparche* (except of course the part of the *aparche* used for the pelanos, which was not sold; cf. 28.36 and 177.409-414). Compare the phrase, virtually the same one, in 177.417: κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίου τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τοῦ σίτου, where the context confirms that this is the sum resulting from the sale of the entire *aparche* (less the grain used for the pelanos). The sacrificial expenses were next deducted from this sum. Therefore, the sums listed here for the years 421-418 represent income from the *aparche* before deducting expenses for sacrifices. Moreover, these small sums demonstrate that there was not even enough money for the sacrifices, which, if they were held in these years, were presumably financed by the state. (This situation may have prevailed also in 408/7: if any sacrifices were held, they must have been financed by the state since no expense for sacrifice is listed in 52; but we cannot discount the obvious possibility that there was no sacrifice to celebrate the *aparche* in 408/7 simply because no *aparche* was collected).

The size of the present sums suggests that even after the transfer there was not enough money to finance a dedication – a reflection, of course, of the effects of the Archidamian War on the *aparche*. There surely was no *aparche* in such years as 431, 430, 428, 427, and 425, when the Spartans invaded Attica. (On the damage cf. P. A. Brunt, *Studies in Greek History and Thought*, Oxford 1993, pp. 96-97.) In these years the Attic harvest must have been very poor indeed; the practice of making dedications from the *aparche* was probably then suspended, and even in better years the custom of giving *aparche* may not have been rigorously enforced. The plague, too, probably had a dampening effect on donations of *aparche* (see Clinton, *Epidauria* p. 32, where it is incorrectly assumed that the sums in this document represented remainders after sacrificial expenses). At any rate, the harvest of 419 at least produced more *aparche* than that of 420.

We see that the ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσῖνι were an annual office at this time, while the term of the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν was four years in length, extending from Panathenaia to Panathenaia.

Line 8: McGregor (*AJP*) showed that Prepis, who appears here as first secretary in 421/0, the year in which Menekles was also first secretary (*IG I² 470.5*), must have ended his term as secretary early in the archonship of Aristion (421/0), as the year of the Boule in which Prepis was first secretary happened to extend into the civil year of Aristion. The transfer of the *aparche*, therefore, occurred in Hekatombaion, in fact, according to McGregor, precisely between Hekatombaion 15 and 20. It seems to me that we must also leave open the possibility that the name Πρέπις was simply a mistake; that is, it already occurred in the formula for 422/1 and was simply repeated here; cf.

the repetition of Ἀντιοχίδος in 177.1 and 36. In any case, these transfers must have taken place at the end of the conciliar year.

If a transfer occurred in Hekatombaion 421, it is difficult to follow Mattingly's view that the hieropoioi's previous transfer occurred late in Skirophorion 422/1. The *aparche* was a tithe of the annual harvest and was donated at the time of the harvest, which in Attica would end sometime in June (see II. Introduction "Aparche" pp. 5-7). Each year, normally, the *aparche* accumulated from all donors would be sold, and the sum of the proceeds from the sale would be given by the hieropoioi to the epistatai. It makes no sense in terms of this institution to have two donations in a single year, one in Skirophorion and another a month later. All other evidence indicates one main transfer per year. There were of course abnormal late donations, small in amount, from donors who arrived late, after the sale of the *aparche* and the transfer of the proceeds to the epistatai; see 177.426-429, but such abnormal donations are not indicated in the present document.

The first transfer listed in the preserved part of this document apparently took place in the summer of 422. (This, incidentally, constitutes an argument against Guillon's dating of 28 to the spring of 421 [BCH 86, 1962, 467-476]: if true, it is very odd that 28 takes no account of the current method of transferring *aparche*-money to the epistatai.)

46. ACCOUNT-INVENTORY. We have the end of the last column (probably the third) of this document. Its significant features relative to 52 are: (1) a phiale is listed here (line 4) among the precious objects on the Acropolis, but not in 52 or 50; (2) the City Eleusinion list of 52 is considerably longer; and (3) the Acropolis and City Eleusinion lists come at the end of this document rather than at the beginning as in 52. The latter feature ought to be of help in determining the date. In 52 there is no activity from one year to the next in the money kept at Eleusis, but just the opposite is true for the money at Eleusis in 47. The activity in the account of 408/7 (52) involves only the money on the Acropolis. The reason for this, I believe, is that the Spartan occupation of Deceleia and their control of the countryside made it more convenient for the Eleusinian epistatai to use their treasury on the Acropolis for their financial operations than the one at Eleusis; and so the list of precious objects and money on the Acropolis appears at the head of the first column in 408/7, and the corresponding categories at Eleusis come at the bottom, with the other Eleusinian inventories filling up the second and third columns. In fact, there is no change in any part of the Eleusis lists (precious objects, money, inventories) from 408 to 407. The operations at Eleusis listed at the end of the third column of 52.A are nearly all of such a sort that they could have been carried out at Eleusis shortly before and after the Mysteries and paid for in Athens from the monies kept on the Acropolis. The Acropolis account was at that time put at the head of the document probably because it was the active one, just as in 47 the Eleusis account came first because it was the most active (or perhaps the only active) one when the center of operations was still at Eleusis. The latter situation seems to be reflected in the present document, where again the Eleusis list is probably first, followed by the lists for the Acropolis and the City Eleusinion. Thus we evidently ought to date this document before the Spartan occupation of Deceleia.

Other elements that suggest a date at some distance from 52 of 408/7 are: (1) the phiale in line 4, which has been sold by 408/7; (2) the object in line 6, here called *hopmískos χρυσός* but in 408

(52.A.II.6) *ὑποδερίς χρυσῆ μελ* (cf. Woodward); (3) the non-opisthographic character of this inscription (52 is opisthographic); and (4) the lack of paragraphoi (cf. 47). Another interesting, though less important feature is the size of the margin for the numbers in the third column. Here we have at least nine stoichoi set aside for them, whereas in the third column of 52 there are regularly only five stoichoi. The left margin of 47 had nine stoichoi as opposed to seven in 52. If wide margins are a feature of the earlier inscriptions in this series, as it appears, then we have further support for a date before 52.

There seems to be no impediment to a date ca. 418. And since its clerical features differ quite a bit from those of the following document, a date closer to 418 seems preferable to 415.

For the restorations see 52.A.I.10-24.

Line 11: Whether the rubric *σκεύε* appeared here at the left is uncertain, I am inclined to doubt it; but certainly *σκεύε ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ* (cf. 52.A.I.20) did not: again, an indication that this document should be dated before 52 with its more developed format.

Note that the list of items in the Eleusinion is considerably shorter than the corresponding list in 52.

47. ACCOUNT-INVENTORY. *Lines 1-4* are identical to 52.A.II.5-9. The fact that in the present document no numbers appear in the margin of the preceding lines allows us to use 52.A.I.60-64 to restore here:

 [ἀναθέματα
 [πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ· ἡόρμος
 [χρυσὸς ἀκύλον : ΔΓΙ
 [πλάστρα χρυσᾶ
 [τὸ δεμόσιον ἀνέθεκεν
 φιλίαλε ἀργυρᾶ χρυσόμφαλος
 Σαλαμ[ινοκλῆς ἀνέθεκε
 κτλ.

In 52.A.II.9 an additional dedication has been added to this list. It is also clear that the arrangement of the present document differs to some extent from that of 52: (1) Here the entries that follow the dedications, viz. lines 5-11, do not appear in this location in 52. (2) Here the dedications are contained within the first column, but in 52 they extend into the second column. With regard to (1), here the annual receipts (*ἐπέτεια λέμματα*) appear in the first column, but in 52 they occur in the third column. Missing here, then, is the list of materials stored at Eleusis that appear in 52.A.II.10ff. Since here all the dedications at Eleusis are inscribed in the first column, considerably fewer entries must have appeared in the preceding part of this column than in the corresponding part of 52.A.I. Therefore it is probably safe to infer that the apparatus (*τὰ σκεύη*) listed in 52.A.I.20-38 as stored in the Eleusinion in the City did not appear here in column I. The following hypothetical reconstructions may accordingly be made of the form of this column:

1) The σκεύη in the Eleusinion were omitted:

ἐμ πόλει, ἀπαρχέ

Money

Precious objects

ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει

Precious objects

Ἐλευσῖνι

Precious objects

ἀναθήματα

Money

λέμματα ἐπέτεια.

2) The list did not start with the Acropolis and Eleusinion inventories but as follows:

Ἐλευσῖνι

Precious objects

ἀναθήματα

Money

λέμματα ἐπέτεια.

Λέμματα ἐπέτεια were undoubtedly followed by ἀναλόματα, as in 52.A.III. The fact that in 50 and 46 the objects on the Acropolis and in the City Eleusinion come *after* those in Eleusis tends to favor the second reconstruction, for it offers the simplest explanation for the appearance of all the Eleusinian dedications in the first column of the present document. If this order is correct, after the present fragment there will have followed the rest of this year's income, then expenditures, and the lists of (1) material at Eleusis, (2) money and precious objects on the Acropolis, and (3) precious objects and apparatus in the Eleusinion.

The one striking entry in this document that has elicited the most comment is the sum of 90 talents and (more than) 1,410 drachmas in coin at Eleusis, for it stands in sharp contrast to the sum of slightly over 1 talent at Eleusis and nearly 3 talents on the Acropolis in the account of 408/7 (52.A.I.9, 59). A sum as large as 90 talents one would, naturally, expect to find at Eleusis before 408 rather than after. Sardemann and Cavaignac both believed a date close to the Peace of Nicias most appropriate; Hondius, however, preferred to date the document before the Peloponnesian War (Mattingly rejected this, without explanation).

A date before 408 has support also from the style of the document. It was carved by the same mason who carved 52, but it shows more irregularity in the stoichedon order, and it lacks the paragraphoi of 52; thus 52, with its better order and helpful paragraphoi, looks like an improved, and therefore later, form of the present arrangement. Furthermore, an additional dedication at Eleusis appears in 52.A.II.9, and since dedications, once deposited at Eleusis, were not withdrawn (Clinton, *Treasures* pp. 57-58), the additional dedication in 408/7 argues for an earlier date for the present document.

Unfortunately, these considerations cannot tell us how much before 52 this document was created. In any case a date as early as before the Peloponnesian War seems rather unlikely. The accounting documents show that the Eleusinian epistatai tended to use a single mason or work-

ship for extended periods (cf. 34-37), but there is no evidence to suggest that, in this turbulent period at Eleusis, they did so for as long as twenty-five years or so. Since the present document was written by the mason who carved 52 of the year 408/7, it seems more reasonable to suppose that this mason worked on these documents for, say, approximately ten years rather than twenty-five. Another fact that militates against the longer period is that the present document has the same type of columnar arrangement as 52; this arrangement succeeded the non-columnar arrangement of 34-37. Thus if we put the present document before the Peloponnesian War, it follows that we must date 34-37 even earlier, and this seems on other grounds hard to justify.

Line 6: The sum of 90 talents and 1410+ drachmas could reflect a period of construction at Eleusis. These funds must have come from the state; cf. 23.4: an amount so large seems unlikely to have come either from the *aparche* (cf. the small receipts listed in 45 for the years 421/0-419/8), or from the fees that the initiates paid at the Mysteries (for even if the amount for 408/7, only Dr 4,394 Ob 4 [52.A.III.24], were tripled, it would have taken nearly half a century to produce 90 talents). Cavaignac pp. 47-48 believed that the 90 talents came from the *aparche* that had accumulated during the Archidamian War, but this is extremely unlikely (see discussion above in the commentary to 28). But he was probably right in suggesting that these 90 talents, which do not appear in the account of 408/7, are a sign that construction was taking place (he pointed also to the construction of the bridge over the Rheitos about this time).

Lines 8-9: The first of these receipts, Dr 563 Ob 3, is probably a debt paid back by Lysiades. Perhaps the correct restoration is:

Λυσιάδ[ες ἀπέδοκε ἡ
ὄφε[λε.

48. ACCOUNT-INVENTORY. The similarity of the stoichos size and the crowding of the same letters in ἀργύριον suggest a date very close to that of the preceding document. This inventory contains the new item ἀργύριον ἄ[σεμον καὶ χσενικὸν ἡομῶ] at Eleusis, listed with the ἀ]ργύρι[ον ἐπίσεμον but *before* the ἀναθέματα. This new item and the diminution of the width of the left margin, which brings the width closer to that of the later documents in this series, suggest that this account-inventory came after the preceding one rather than before.

Sardemann dated this fragment shortly before or after 52 because it has “denselben Wechsel in der Schreibung des Spiritus Asper” as 52, but this is hardly a solid basis for a date.

For the restoration of specific lines see 50 and 52.

49. DEDICATION? This monument certainly consisted of more than one block. The position of the clamps and the fact that the left and right sides are smooth suggest that this document forms part of one side, probably the narrow side, of a large rectangular monument. The anathyrosis on the top surface of this block indicates that it was surmounted by at least one more course.

The letter forms suggest a date in or near the last decade of the fifth century. In 410-404 only the most essential inscriptions were set up at Eleusis (see *ad* 50 and 52), and the activity of the Thirty at Eleusis in 403-401 would tend to preclude normal epigraphic activity for the rest of the

decade. These considerations suggest a date either ca. 415 or very early in the fourth century. The prosopography (see below) precludes the latter.

On this block members of Erechtheis and Akamantis are listed; members of the other tribes presumably appeared on the other blocks. The date would tend to rule out a list of donors of *aparche* (see II.52.A.I.5-7).

Prosopography. This fragment exhibits names of men, including some who held the highest offices, from families that were active in civic matters in the late fifth century and through the fourth century.

Line I.3: Pytheas (or his son) appears in a naval list (*IG I³ 1032.142*) dated by Lewis to the end of the Peloponnesian War; the Demochares son of Pytheas in a naval list of 333 B.C. (*IG I³ 1623.168*) is probably his grandson.

Line I.4: Euphiletos was treasurer of Athena in 420/19 (*IG I³ 353.49*) and epistates at Eleusis in 409/8 (*52.A.3*). His grandson, Aristeides, son of another Euphiletos (probably the son of the present Euphiletos), was active around 340-330 (*PA 1703*; Davies, *APF* 6067).

Line I.9: His son, Glauketes, is mentioned in Pseudo-Demosthenes 59.40 as a guarantor and young man ca. 370 (cf. Davies, *APF* 2954).

Line I.13: Aristokrates was Hellenotamias in 415/4 (*IG I³ 370.66* and 71).

Line I.14: Strombichides son of Diotimos (*PA 13016*; Davies, *APF* 4386) was general in 412/1 (Thuc. 8.15-17, 30, 38, 62, 63, 79) and an important figure otherwise in Athenian military affairs (cf. Lys. 13.13-18, 30, 34-35) until his death under the Thirty in 404 (Lys. 13.34-35, 30.14). The year 404 is therefore a terminus ante quem for this monument.

Line I.15: Klesophos was treasurer of Athena and the Other Gods in 402/1 (*IG II² 1370 + 1371 (Addenda) + 1384*; A. B. West and A. M. Woodward, *JHS* 58, 1938, 78-80), serving as secretary.

Line I.17: His grandson, Aischraios, appears in a catalog of diaitetai of 325/4 (*IG II² 1926.11*).

Line I.18: His grandson, Kallippos, was a trierarch in 322 (*IG II² 1632.258*).

Line II.5: Demodokos (*PA 3464*), general in 425/4 (Thuc. 4.75), was a participant in Plato's *Theages*. He was described by Socrates (127E) as follows: *σὺ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν πρεσβύτερος εἶ ἐμοῦ, ἔπειτα πολλὰς ἤδη ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς μεγίστας Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξας, καὶ τιμᾶ ὑπὸ Ἀναγυρασίων τε τῶν δημοτῶν πολὺ μάλιστα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως οὐδενὸς ἦττον.*

Line II.6: A possible descendant is Andreas son of Antimachos of Anagyrous, on a grave inscription "*post fin. s. IV a.*" (*IG II² 5618*).

Line II.8: An Akryptos without demotic appears in a list of thiasotai "*ante med. s. IV a.*" (*IG II² 2345.8*).

Line II.9: Hippylos may be the man mentioned in Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1301 (422 B.C.), presumably a public figure. Possibly identical is the *ἵππυλος* Ἀ[- -] listed as dedicator of a silver phiale ca. 407/6 (*IG I³ 469.9*).

Relatives of some of these men are probably among those listed in a funeral monument of Erechtheis set up around the year 460 for members of the tribe who fell in battles in Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, Haliaie, Aegina, and Megara (*IG I³ 1147*): the most likely are Koroibos, Apsephes, Phanyllos, Akryptos.

Occasion. A date shortly before the Sicilian Expedition is one possibility (see above). In the period from 410 to 404 about the only known occasion that would lend itself to the sort of display suggested by this dedication would be the celebration of the Mysteries in the fall of 407 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.20), when Alcibiades and the army escorted the procession to Eleusis. In the other years the Athenians were forced to conduct the procession by sea (but see II.52.A.III.42-43).

50. ACCOUNT-INVENTORY. The higher figures in lines 9 and 16 than the corresponding ones in 52 suggested to Sardemann a date after 52. But if these figures underwent no change from 408 to 407, it is rather unlikely that they would have risen in the years 408-404, because the same conditions that kept these figures steady in 408-407 prevailed down to 404 (see II.52.A.I.5-7). Sardemann also pointed to the omission of rough breathings and to the four-barred sigma used as the stater symbol, but these are not reliable indicators of a date; on the rough breathing see Threatte, *GAI* I 42.0111, pp. 493-497; on the sigma, Hiller's comment in the index to *IG* I² p. 370, s.v. *στατήρ*.

The epigraphical features of the stone, described in the Epigraphical Commentary, suggest that, among the Eleusinian documents carved by this mason, this one stands in closer relation to 52 than to 47.

The fact that on Face B the Acropolis inventory is at the end of the document (an arrangement that we should also assume for Face A), rather than at the beginning as in 52, suggests that it should be dated before the year 413/2, when the Spartan fortification of Deceleia denied the Athenians control of their countryside, including Eleusis; see the commentary to 46, which also apparently has the Acropolis inventory at the end.

There are slight differences between the present Eleusis inventory and 52. Here the weight of uncoined gold at Eleusis is Dr 315 Ob 1 1/2 (line 14), i.e. slightly more than the Dr 307 Ob 1 of 52. Here the silver coin amounts to Dr 6,228 Ob 2 1/2 (if the restoration of line 16 is correct), whereas in 52 it is Dr 6,197 Ob 1. Since the difference is rather small, it is reasonable to think (cf. the commentary to 52) that these amounts belong to the last year that the Eleusis account was active before 52, inscribed at the end of 408/7, viz. either 413/2 or 414/3, and of these two years 413/2 would seem to make more sense than the year earlier, for we would expect the balance in the Eleusis account at the end of 414/3, when Deceleia was not yet occupied, to be greater than what we have here, which differs so little from the balance at the end of 408/7.

The Acropolis phiale of 46 is absent here – a sign that the Acropolis account, though not the most prominent one in the document, was not inactive. One of the four *poteria* in B.4, acquired after 46, had been sold by the year 408 (cf. 52).

Lines A.1-2: For the restorations see *IG* II² 1400.37, 1401.20-21, and Clinton, *Treasures* pp. 55-57.

Line A.3: For the beginning of the numeral see 52.A.I.45; for the rest, *IG* II² 1400.36 and Clinton, *Treasures* pp. 55-56.

Line A.4: For the beginning of the numeral see 52.A.I.46. The weight probably did not differ much from the following oinochoe; therefore perhaps [HHH^πΔ]Δ; cf. Clinton, *Treasures* pp. 55-57.

Line A.5: For the numeral see 52.A.I.47; cf. Clinton, *loc. cit.* (My attempt to identify this item

with the *oinochoe* listed in *IG II² 1445.10*, which I made on p. 56, is a mistake, from misreading the latter.)

Line A.11: See 52.B.I.60.

Line A.13: See 52.A.I.55.

Line A.16: The restoration of course is not certain, but is in keeping with the figure for gold in line 10, i.e. slightly more than the corresponding figure in 52.A.I.

Line B.3: The figure is restored from 52.A.I.11.

52. ACCOUNT-INVENTORY. In general see Cavanaugh's commentary. The following comments are intended to provide orientation or to supplement Cavanaugh's discussion.

Side A consists of an inventory of certain property of Demeter and Kore (including money) which the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι of 408/7 received from the preceding board of epistatai, plus an account of their income and expenditures in this year. Side B shows the list of the property that they passed on, at the end of their term, to the epistatai of the following year; this property is the same as that which they received, nothing having been added or removed (on Side B there is naturally no account of income and expenditures). The document is unusual in combining both inventory and account (παράδοσις and λόγος).

The property listed in the inventory does not include everything of value that belonged to Demeter and Kore but evidently only money and salable articles. Statuary and most votives are not included, presumably because the difficulty that would be encountered in selling them obviated the expense of an inventory.

The epistatai of 408/7 served for only a year, just as 30 originally ordained, though we see that in 422-18 this Eleusinian board served for a term of four years. Four years was also their term in the fourth century. See Cavanaugh, chap. 1, for a full discussion.

The inventory on each side is divided into sections, according to location: the Acropolis, the City Eleusinion, and (the sanctuary) at Eleusis. On the Acropolis are listed *aparche* (lines 5-6), money (7-10), and valuable objects with their weight indicated (10-13). In the Eleusinion in the City there are precious objects (perhaps these are actually dedications) (15-19) and σκεύη (21-38). At Eleusis there are (1) precious objects with their weight given where appropriate (40-55), (2) money (56-59), (3) ἀναθήματα (61-69), and (4) various equipment and materials (some categories of which are provided with rubrics). Dedications are listed expressly only for Eleusis. Money was kept only on the Acropolis and at Eleusis. The 6,197 drachmas and 1 obol in Athenian coin at Eleusis went unused in 408/7, undoubtedly because of the Spartan occupation of Attica. It was convenient to use just the money kept on the Acropolis and to leave the treasury at Eleusis inoperative. (The unusual combination of παράδοσις and λόγος evidently has nothing to do with the Spartan occupation, since it occurs also in 47, which apparently was issued before the Decelean War). The occupation hindered the normal operation of the sanctuary to such an extent that the only expenses in this year pertained essentially to work done in preparation for the Mysteries and in support of the festival. Thus the brief λόγος was simply appended to the παράδοσις on Side A, at the end of the Eleusis list, whereas earlier the Eleusis list and the λόγος were the first elements in the document (see II.47).

Festivals at Eleusis in 408/7. Only one state festival was held, the Greater Mysteria. Nearly all expenses relate to that festival; none can be identified for any other. (For a normal year at Eleusis see 177 [329/8].)

Acropolis

Where on the Acropolis the money and precious objects were kept is not stated. The designation ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθοδόμοις in B.14 might appear to suggest that the gold so recorded was not at the same location as the other items, on the theory that if they were all at the same location, there should be no need to mention a separate location for the gold. However, the gold belongs to the Treasurers of Athena and is serving as collateral for a loan made to them by the epistatai of Eleusis; there is no indication that it was put under the physical control of the epistatai; presumably its location was described here so that the epistatai could claim it if Athena's Treasurers defaulted. Thus the location of this gold seems to have no bearing on the location of the property of the Two Goddesses. On general grounds, however, the most likely place on the Acropolis for the storage of the treasures of Demeter and Kore would be the Opisthodomos, since this was the location that was prescribed for the treasures of the Other Gods (*IG I³ 52.24-25*), but the Eleusinian treasures were under the control of the epistatai.

Lines A.I.2: A descendant of Menekles appears in 82.1.

Lines A.I.5-7: As the "paragraphos" indicates, the *aparche* evidently does not include the Aeginetan obols in line 7.

The 1,137 drachmas, 3 obols in *aparche* is the same as the figure given at the end of the year, which shows that in this year there was no *aparche* (and probably therefore no harvest) because of the Spartan occupation. On the *aparche* see II.Introduction, "*Aparche*," pp. 5-7. On the effect of the occupation see Thuc. 7.27, *Hell.Oxy.* 17.4-5, and W. G. Hardy, *CP* 21, 1926, pp. 346-355.

Lines A.I.8-9: The Athenian coin, Dr 17,223 Ob 5 1/2, was reduced to Dr 1,873 Ob 1 1/2 at the end of the year (B.8): both figures are small and bespeak a period of restricted activity at the sanctuary – in contrast to the sum of over 90 talents in the treasury at Eleusis about ten years or so earlier (47).

Lines A.I.10-13: These precious objects could presumably be liquidated if necessary. For example, the *phiale* listed in 50.B.3 was evidently sold prior to the present inventory.

Line A.I.12: As 46 and 50 make clear, the ποτήρια are of silver.

City Eleusinion

Lines A.I.15-19: These objects are not designated as *anathemata* and no donors are listed. Nor are all the silver and gold objects weighed, like all similar objects on the Acropolis or at Eleusis; evidently they were not meant to be sold for coin. Thus funds and resources for operations were not kept in the Eleusinion. While it is possible that these objects were used for religious purposes, none of them is definitely identifiable as belonging to the cult. In fact, cultic apparatus does not seem to be included at all in this document, for a couple of fairly simple reasons. There is, first, the matter of secrecy; but more importantly, as in the case of most dedications, it would be extremely difficult, considering the sacrilege, to sell such objects; hence they were not inventoried, but were simply left in the care of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, the traditional administrators of the cult.

Unlike the precious objects at Eleusis (lines 40-55) the objects listed here were apparently not transferred to the Acropolis at the end of the century (see below, on line 40); in this respect they resemble the dedications at Eleusis, and so are probably, in fact, dedications, even though no rubric or dedicators' names are given.

Lines A.I.20-39: σκεύη, equipment for the maintenance of the sanctuary. The designation τοῖ ἐν ἄστει is not repeated here after Ἐλευσινίοι, but we are clearly still in the City and not yet at Eleusis: the inventory of articles at Eleusis (Ἐλευσῖνι) begins at line 39. This is confirmed by 46.5, where, at the head of the Eleusinian list, Ἐλευσινίοι is qualified by τοῖ ἐν ἄστει.

Line A.I.21: Fifty-one carriage-poles (the number is restored from 46.11). The number is extraordinary; the Eleusinian possessed only two wagons (line 24). Perhaps the poles were left over from a building operation for which they were originally purchased.

Lines A.I.25-38: Note that these items do not appear in the Eleusinian list of 46. They may have been transferred here from Eleusis at the beginning of the Decelean War.

Eleusis

Line A.I.39: There is no change in the Eleusis list between the version on Side A and the other on Side B. This is evident from the preserved portions of the lists and from the fact that no income is reported from the sale of anything at Eleusis.

As in the Acropolis list there is a group of precious objects (lines 40-55); it is followed by unminted and minted silver (56-59). Then, under the rubric ἀναθήματα, there are a couple of dedications by τὸ δεμόσιον and others by two individuals (I.60-64, II.5-9). At this point a list of building stones begins (the rubric λίθοι may well have appeared in the margin). After an initial batch of miscellaneous stones there are lists of Pentelic and Aeginetan stone, each one set off by a rubric. Then follows the rubric χύλα for the list that comprises lines II.36-41. The next rubric, in line 61, is restored (partly from Side B) as σιδήρια. (It is interesting that the rubrics follow the same order in which these commodities are mentioned in Plato, *Euthyd.* 300B: λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ σιδήρια. However, in 177.433-439, which is not an inventory, they appear in the order: wood, stone, iron.) The σιδήρια apparently end at line III.11. However, between the χύλα and the σιδήρια there are: new roof tile (II.42), materials taken down from the Archaic Telesterion (II.43-49 and perhaps 50), and a miscellaneous assortment of articles, largely wooden (II.51-60). After the σιδήρια comes another small group of miscellaneous articles (III.12-15)—and then a list of equipment used for dining (III.15-22).

Precious Objects

Lines A.I.40-55: For the later history of these objects in Attic inventories see my article, "Treasures," which contains a full discussion of all restorations proposed for lines 40-42 and a justification for the restoration given here (probable, I think, but not certain).

All of these objects, except perhaps the ones of least value (the sealstones, *kothones*, and bronze *phialai*), had been transferred, by the end of the first decade of the fourth century, to the Hekatompedon, where they were in the care of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods, evidently as a "permanent loan." The transfer to the Acropolis occurred perhaps ca. 406.

Lines A.I.40-42: My restorations presuppose that there were 21 unweighed *phialai* (presumably of bronze) in the sanctuary, unweighed (like the *kothones*) because of their low value.

Line A.I.43: In addition to the later appearances of the kylix in the documents cited in my article (Treasures pp. 55-57), we may also restore it (reduced by a drachma in weight) in *IG II² 1445.10-11*: κ[ύ]λιξ χρυσῇ ἱερὰ Δήμητρος σταθμὸν] ΗΗΗΗΗ (H is possible where the *Corpus* has N).

Line A.I.44: The silver kylix reappears in *IG II² 1401.20*, etc. with a weight of 105 drachmas (Clinton, *loc. cit.*).

Line A.I.45: This χρυσίς is most probably identical to the χρυσίς κονδυλωτή in *IG II² 1400.36*, etc. (Clinton, *loc. cit.* pp. 55-57), where it is 4 obols heavier (due to inaccuracy in weighing). Hence the restoration of its weight here, in combination with 48.1 and 50.3.

Line A.I.46: This *oinochoe* evidently reappears in *IG II² 1401.19-20*, etc., where my suggested restoration implies that it is 2 drachmas lighter (Clinton, *loc. cit.*).

Line A.I.47: For the restoration cf. 50.5. In *IG II² 1400.36-37*, etc. it is 2 drachmas lighter (Clinton, *loc. cit.*, but it was a slip to say that it is probably identical to the *oinochoe* in *IG II² 1445.10*, which weighs 5 drachmas less).

Lines A.I.48-50: These coins reappear in *IG II² 1401.27-28*, etc. (Clinton, *loc. cit.*). For the restoration of line 50 see *IG II² 1400.44*.

Line A.I.54: I restored this necklace (as unweighed) in the Hekatompedon lists (*loc. cit.*).

Lines A.I.56-59: On the money at Eleusis, a relatively small amount, untouched in this year, see II.46-47.

Ἀναθήματα

Lines A.I.60-64-II.5-9: Unlike the articles listed above the dedications were not transferred to the Acropolis; they are still at Eleusis when they reappear in fourth-century Eleusinian documents (149, 158); see my article, Treasures pp. 57-58.

The name of the dedicator follows the dedication. The state contributed a golden necklace and earrings; Salaminokles a golden phiale; and Pistos a gold ring (the restored weight of 3 drachmas is a guess but about right for a ring), 2 sealstones bound in gold, and something (evidently) of bronze.

Interestingly, no dedications are designated as deriving from *aparche* (ἀπὸ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς), although 28 would lead us to expect that the sanctuary owned at least a few dedications of this sort. We must assume therefore such dedications were treated like the vast majority of dedications set up in the sanctuary: they were regarded as unsalable and so were not inventoried.

Lines A.II.5-6: J. Tréheux, *BE* 1989, 376, pointed out that 178 bis, a fragment of an inventory of unknown provenience published by R. A. Moysey, which lists a φιάλη πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ[ι] ἥ]ν ανέθηκεν Σαλα[μ]ινοκλῆς (lines 8-10), is probably not Delian, as Moysey believed, but Eleusinian and from the fourth century. It is probably the same object as the one listed here, because the *phiale chrysomphalos* reappears in 149.2-3 as φιάλη ἀργυ[ρ]ᾷ χρυσόμφ[αλος πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ] ἀνακειμένη (and apparently again with the same description in 158.30-31). The *escharis* listed in Moysey's fragment (lines 3-4) may be the same as the one listed in 149.11-12 with

a slight loss of weight. Since this new list uses the term ὀλκή (instead of σταθμόν), which otherwise does not occur in the Eleusinian lists, it is presumably to be dated near the end of the Eleusinian series in the fourth century.

Stone

The building stone, mostly left over from earlier projects, was kept for reuse or sale. For an example of a sale see 37.4-5; for reuse 177.438-439. For the purpose of the inventory complete measurement was unnecessary; at most only two dimensions are given.

Lines A.II.10-17: Restoration here relies on comparison with B.II.20-27, which must be an identical list, though the order is slightly different. The present restorations appear to offer the only solution that maintains the equivalency of the lists.

The type of stone listed here is not immediately clear. In 177.438-439 (329/8 B.C.) the order is: Eleusinian, Pentelic, Aeginetan. Some stone here may be Eleusinian. But since in lines 16-17 the eroded blocks on Aegina must be Aeginetan, Aegina should be the source of much (if not all) of the stone in this section. The column drums in line 15, if they were intended for the Telesterion, would also have been Aeginetan (the interior columns of the first storey of the Telesterion were of Aeginetan poros; cf. Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 108-112, assuming the Roman replacement repeated the original material). Additional support for the assumption that these column drums are Aeginetan can be found perhaps in 177.439 of 329/8 B.C.: σφόνδυλοι Αἰγινᾶῖοι παλαιοὶ ΔΙ εἰς τὴν λιθολογίαν κατεχρησάμεθα τοῦ τείχους. From what we know of Eleusinian construction in the fourth century it seems very improbable that any building built then required columns of Aeginetan stone; παλαιοὶ therefore may well indicate columns deriving from fifth-century stock. In that case they are identical either with the σφόνδυλοι listed here or with the σφόνδυλοι listed below in line 45 as “taken down from the (Archaic) temple” (Noack, *Eleusis* p. 63 assumes these columns were of poros) or include some of each. Perhaps the reason for listing the stone in lines 10-17 separately from the Pentelic and Aeginetan stones below had to do with its quality or place of storage.

If *stroma* means “foundation” here, Aeginetan poros would be suggested, for it was in fact used in the foundation of the fifth-century Telesterion; if it means “pavement,” poros is also possible.

In line 13 some forty pieces of this building material were “under the tent,” and an unknown quantity was in the Bouleuterion. Since they were kept under cover, the most likely material would be mud brick. The proximity of ἡμιπλίνθια, half-bricks, also suggests restoration of bricks here, and in fact πλίνθοι fits the space. The primary meaning of πλίνθοι was unbaked brick (the average size of those preserved at Eleusis is 0.46×0.46×0.08 m.): cf. Maier II p. 88, and Orlandos II pp. 75-76. ἡμιπλίνθια are also attested in *IG* II² 463.75 (on the way they were used at Eleusis, see Orlandos, *loc. cit.*). In 329/8 bricks used for the Eleusinion in the City cost 7 1/2 drachmas per hundred (177.244-245).

On the Bouleuterion see also 638.43. The context here is significant. Storage of mud brick within the Bouleuterion suggests that it was, at least in part, a roofed structure.

On the σφόνδυλοι see above and B.II.21, where they appear in a different position.

In line 16 we could theoretically restore more than one “eroded corner block,” but I assume that such blocks were rare. They were purchased by the sanctuary but became unsuitable before they could be transported from Aegina and so were left there, eventually to be sold.

Lines A.II.18-21: These Pentelic blocks are probably not from the Telesterion proper, which was built mainly of Eleusinian and Aeginetan stone. Shear, *Temple* p. 132, suggested that they might have been the “*membra disjecta*” of an abortive attempt to construct a stoa for the Telesterion, a stoa that clearly had been planned much earlier (as is evident from the continuation of the foundation of the Telesterion; Noack, *Eleusis* p. 117). However, the remains indicate that not even the foundation of this “abortive project” was started, and in this inventory very few foundation blocks are listed. Consequently, it seems unlikely, in the absence of foundations, that the administrators of the sanctuary would have proceeded so far as to authorize the final finishing of blocks in the topmost courses (lines 27-28) and would even have had on hand a capital or epicranitis block (line 29); cf. Clinton, *Telesterion* p. 262, note 29. Unfortunately the building (constructed or merely planned) to which these Pentelic blocks belonged has not yet been identified.

Lines A.II.19-20: On Face B the words ἀμφοτέρ[α] and δί[πλο]δα[s] appear and are quite difficult to read; they can be considered probable but not certain.

Line A.II.31: In addition to twelve regular orthostates, there were evidently four that were only two feet high or two feet long.

Lines A.II.32-35: These blocks of Aeginetan stone may have been left over from the construction of the Telesterion (on its date cf. Clinton, *Telesterion*).

In line 35 it should be noted that there are six styliades (evidently small columns) and two blocks 2 feet square. The latter two blocks are not included among the styliades, as the absence of τούτων indicates (cf. above, II.30); in any case we should expect stone destined to be columns to leave the quarry in the round and not squared as here.

Wood

Lines A.II.36-41: The pine and fir timbers of line 36, if we are supposed to distinguish them from the timbers that follow, all of which are modified by adjectives, may be round; if so, they would be rather long, presumably longer than those of wagon-length mentioned below. But it seems much more likely that they are simply miscellaneous boards, and that the larger timbers are those that follow. The two σχιστό are round, I suspect, but cut down the middle. Two other round timbers are uncut and as long as a wagon. The squared timber has been cut in half, in thirds, and in fourths.

Two batches of timber are stored “under the tent”: wagon-length timbers numbering [. . .]ΔΙ (possibly 41; on the figure see A.III.40, *Epigraphical Commentary*) and Thurian timbers.

On the transport of timber see Meiggs pp. 332-346; on the Thurian timber listed here, *ibid.*, p. 354, and Cavanaugh, *ad loc.*

A.II.42: Whether these 400 new tiles are of clay or of marble is not clear, though the following batch is of marble.

Material from the (Former) Temple

Lines A.II.43-49: Similar material is mentioned in 41.6-9: (λίθοι) καθαιρεμένοι ἐκ τοῦ νεοῦ τοῦ ἀρχαίου. Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 57-61 (following Cavaignac), realized that all this material must be

from the (Late) Archaic Telesterion (formerly called Peisistratean; on the date see Clinton, *Panhellenism* p. 162). Shear, *Temple* pp. 128-140, finds in this section of the inventory evidence for the deliberate demolition of the Late Archaic Telesterion by the Athenians (instead of destruction by the Persians). (It should be noted that “Archaic Telesterion” here is not a “translation” of τὸ νεὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον of 41.6-9 [as Cooper pp. 375-376, assumes], but simply the identification of this “former temple” with the Late Archaic Telesterion. The functional predecessor of the Classical Telesterion, i.e. the “former” Telesterion, was the Late Archaic Telesterion, as no successor was brought to completion until the Classical building.)

Noack, *Eleusis* p. 63, assumed that the columns of the Archaic Telesterion were of poros; if this is correct, these column drums and Ionic bases will have been of that stone. Cooper, *loc. cit.*, argues that the Ionic bases could not have come from the Late Archaic Telesterion.

The stoa in line 48 must have been the porch of this Telesterion.

Line A.II.50: The paragraphos in line 49 suggests that these items do not belong with the preceding group of material taken from the Archaic Telesterion. Shear, *op. cit.*, pointed out, however, that a paragraphos does not appear in the corresponding position on Side B, and proposed that the one here may be a mistake; in that case these 3 pairs of doors and 10 timbers also derive from the Late Archaic Telesterion. Although this is uncertain, it makes considerable sense, for these items are of the same character as the preceding but significantly different from those that follow.

Lines A.II.51-60: A list of equipment (largely of wood or stone) for the maintenance of the sanctuary (the three ladders and three wagons suggest maintenance rather than large-scale construction).

In line 58 the possible restorations are very limited; θυρίς appears most likely. The *dromos* is probably the race-course. A *thyris*, usually a window or shutter, was sometimes a door or large plank (cf. Ath. 12.521F). Here it may be a special kind of plank, resembling a door, used for dragging the race course, in order to level it before the races. For the races at the Eleusinia see 227-228. The wooden stelai in the preceding line, the *diskoi* and *skapheion* in the following (possibly even the λέβετε ἀπὸ στηλῶν) should also be athletic equipment; see Cavanaugh, *ad loc.*

Iron Implements

The rubric σιδέρια must be restored. B.III.15 shows that a word extended into the left margin, and therefore that it must be a rubric; the articles that follow are clearly of iron or associated with iron. On the basic categories – stone, wood, and iron – in Eleusinian inventories and elsewhere see above, on A.I.39.

Lines A.II.61-62: The “straps” here must be flat strips of iron; two of them are covered with leather, one has no leather covering (ἀσκήτολος, a *hapax legomenon*).

Line A.II.63: The two skins were, I assume, pouches in which the nails were kept. The doors were presumably bound with iron.

Lines A.III.12-14: After the spheropelekys the list of iron implements ends, and an odd group of commodities and equipment begins. Why it was inserted here is not clear; perhaps it had to do with a common storage place.

Line A.III.14: On σχοινία at Eleusis see 159.

Lines A.III.15-22: Dining equipment, as Cavanaugh recognized. κρεάλγρᾱ or πυράλγρᾱ is therefore probable in line 21. Such equipment, appearing at the end of Brauronian inventories, is there labeled νεωκορικὰ σκεύη. This Eleusinian equipment seems to be in the same category and reappears, augmented, in fourth-century lists: see II.140. It was fairly typical in Attic inventories to have it come at the end.

The small number of tables, eight, indicates that this equipment was not meant for the participants in the Mysteries, who numbered in the thousands. I should imagine that it was for ritual meals served to priests or other sanctuary officials, such as the meals documented in 175. Expenses for officials' meals do not appear in the present document, presumably because they were paid by the state directly to the officials, or they were taken from the fees received at the Mysteries before these funds were transferred to the epistatai (see below, p. 82, Expenditures Authorized by the Epistatai).

The Account

Lines A.III.23-26: There were only three sources of income in this wartime year. (1) The Greater Mysteries, which brought in Dr 4,394 (or 4,398) Ob 4; this represents the money collected from individual initiates less cult expenses (see II.19). If we assume, as 19 seems to suggest, that each initiate paid 7 obols, then the present two figures for income, plus Dr 1,600 for cult expenses (19.C.15-20), would yield approximately 5,140 initiates. However, the amount of fees paid by each initiate according to 19 is likely to be out of date. (2) The Lesser Mysteries (probably not obligatory for attendance at the Greater and not well attended), which yielded only Dr 45 Ob 2. (3) Rent from *temenos* on Kythnos controlled by the Eleusinian sanctuary (see II.36.1), Dr 500.

For the restoration of the various receipts and their total see Cavanaugh. The total includes:

Aparche (I.6)	Dr	1,137	Ob 3
Aeginetan Coin (I.8)			3
Athenian Coin (I.9)		17,223	4 1/2
Greater Mysteries (III.24)		4,394	4
	(or	4,398	4)
Lesser Mysteries (III.25)		45	2
Rent (III.26)		500	
Total		23,301	4 1/2
	(or	23,305	4 1/2)

The fact that the coined and uncoined silver at Eleusis was not included among the *lemmata* offers additional testimony to the complete inactivity of the Eleusinian treasury at this time.

Expenses

Nearly all the expenses relate to activities immediately before or after the Mysteries.

Line A.III.28: In column III an entry is followed by a figure when the entry juts into the left margin. This occurs with the income from the Greater Mysteries (line 23), total income (line 27),

total expense (line 50), the gold accepted as security for a loan (line 60: see photograph), and so also here in line 28, for an unknown sum expended on a boat.

We of course would like to know whether the boat was a traditional feature of the ritual or perhaps a special boat that carried the Sacred Objects in the celebration of the Mysteries in Boedromion of 408 (if we accept the testimony of Plutarch *Alc.* 34.4 and Xenophon *Hell.* 1.4.20, in this year and in previous years during the Decelean War the procession went to Eleusis and back by sea). The special character of the boat is clear also from lines 38-39, which record the installing of 400 *plinthoi* (surely baked brick rather than blocks of stone), “where they would launch the boat,” perhaps a storage area from which the boat was launched. If this is correct, then the boat was most likely kept at Eleusis, and it should have something to do with the cult. An ἄκκατος is also listed in a fourth-century inventory (162.11). Dragoumis col. 61, note 1, wished to see a connection with a boat that Triptolemus used, which was described by Philochorus as resembling a winged snake (*FGrH* III B 328).

Lines A.III.30-31: Removing blocks of stone from the sanctuary costs more than 21 1/2 drachmas. The stones ought to be among those listed in the inventory above. Left over from construction, they perhaps interfered with the movement of the initiates during the rite.

Lines A.III.32-33: The water evidently goes with the cleaning of the sanctuary; no paragraphos separates the two entries.

Line A.III.34: Cf. 177.202: τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Πλούτωνος περιλεῖψαι καὶ κονιάσαι καὶ λευκῶσαι. On the process see Orlandos II pp. 50-54. Περιλεῖψαι should refer to the first coating of cement. Here, since no single altar is designated, I assume that several altars were coated and have so restored.

Line A.III.35: A preserved paragraphos sets this off as a separate entry. For the reading see the Epigraphical Commentary and Clinton, *Myth and Cult* p. 21, note 41; for the restoration cf. 177.232-233: πίττης κεράμια πέντε ἀλεῖψαι τὰς ὀροφὰς τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὰς θύρας. On pitch in general and its application as a preservative see Meiggs, *Trees* pp. 467-471.

Line A.III.36: Opening all the doors involved some labor. Perhaps special measures had been taken to secure the doors during the war for the long period during the year when the sanctuary was untended.

Note that ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ does not specify the festival – a detail that would be unnecessary at Eleusis, for it is *the* festival, the Mysteria (so also in 13.5).

Line A.III.37: The sense is uncertain.

Lines A.III.38-39: See above on A.III.28.

Lines A.III.40-41: On the custom of inscribing the initiates' names see *Sacred Officials* p. 26.

Lines A.III.42-43: Evidently a roof for a structure “at the Sacred Fig,” where the procession for the Mysteries traditionally stopped; on the Sacred Fig see Philostr. *VS* 2.20; Paus. 1.37.2; Foucart, *Mystères* pp. 306, 332. The name belonged to a locality not far (προάστειον) from the Asty; according to Pausanias, before the crossing of the Kephisos, therefore not more than ca. 2.5 km. from the Sacred Gate. The fact that a roof was provided for a structure there may suggest that the procession in this year (408) visited the site, and that therefore the procession may not have gone by sea every year during the Decelean War until the famous procession arranged by Alcibiades in 407, as we have been led to believe by Plutarch, *Alc.* 34.4, and Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.20.4. However,

given the short distance of the Sacred Fig from the central city, it is conceivable that a procession from the Peiraeus might make the short journey to stop there for tradition's sake, if there was no hostile threat.

Lines A.III.44-46: 62 drachmas for preparing a stele (including, presumably, its purchase), most likely the stele for the account-inventory of the previous year, and for cutting and painting the letters encaustically.

The stele should be the one for the account-inventory of the board of the preceding year, since the expenditures in the current account, so far as can be determined, were for operations that took place at the sanctuary right around the time of the Mysteries, viz. in Boedromion, 408, over two months after the end of the preceding board's term. The current board's stele would have been inscribed after the end of their term in 407, so around the time of the Mysteries in that year, and the expense for the stele would have appeared in their successors' account.

Ἐγκυσις was the customary technique for painting the lettering of an inscription (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* I (Rome 1967) pp. 457-458, with references), and was used generally for imparting color to elements of architectural marble; cf. *IG* I³ 476.47-48, 270-272: τὸ κυμάτιον ἐνκέαντι. (The restoration hitherto accepted, ἐ[λάσα]ντι, is without parallel.)

Lines A.III.47-48: Restoration is uncertain. Before omicron the end of a number seems unlikely. Lewis's restoration, σάνι[ς ἐφ' ἑ]ι λό[γον - - -], is ruled out if Cavanaugh's reading is correct.

Only one amount is given here, and one might think that the restoration would follow the pattern of lines 44-46; that is, first (line 47) purchase or treatment of one or more σανίδια or σανίδες, then (line 48) recording on them. But the pattern follows that of the stele just above (purchase, treatment, and writing are included in one charge) and 177.421: σανίδων ΔΙΙΙ τιμή καὶ γραφή.

Line A.III.49: Meritt suggested as a possibility: ὁ τετ[αγμένος]Ἐλευσί[νι]. But it runs contrary to the style of this document. No recipient of a payment in this account is given in the nominative case. Commodities are so listed, but none is modified by an article. Therefore we should expect here neither a person nor a commodity, and so we should articulate: ὅτε τ[- -]. That is, the operation mentioned here is evidently a repetition of the preceding one, at a different time.

Line A.III.51: For the calculation of the total expense, Dr 290 (or 294) Ob 3, see Cavanaugh, *ad loc.*

The individual expenses were:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
28	Boat	?
29	Frankincense, Myrtle	Dr 3 Ob 1
31	Removal of stone	Dr 21+ Ob 3
32	Water	Dr 1+
33	Cleaning the sanctuary	?
34	Coating the altars	?
35	Coating the doors	?
36	Opening the doors	?
37	Ropes	Dr 1+
38-39	Bricks, etc.	Dr 16+

40	Boards	Dr 11+
41	Eumolpidai	Dr 3+ Ob 3
42-43	Tile Roof	Dr 2+
45	Inscription	Dr 62
48	Boards and inscription	Dr 5
49	[Same?]	Dr 1 Ob 3

Total: More than Dr 127 Ob 4

The lacunae contained an additional Dr 162 Ob 5 (or Dr 166 Ob 5). The most expensive operation may have been the inscription of the stele (Dr 62, line 45). For the calculation of the total expense, Dr 290 Ob 3 or Dr 294 Ob 3 see Cavanaugh, *ad loc.*

Expenditures Authorized by the Epistatai. The epistatai's expenses, nearly all of them, have to do with the maintenance of the property of the Two Goddesses (which includes a structure at the Sacred Fig), and carrying out the interests of the state (thus the provision of the sanidia and payment to the Eumolpidai for the registration of the initiates). No purely religious expenses are mentioned. Cult expense must have been in the hands of the priests and the two γένη and was presumably taken from the receipts at the Greater and Lesser Mysteries. These receipts were then handed over to the epistatai, but the epistatai evidently were not responsible for auditing expenses previously deducted from them. This audit would have been carried out by the state, for individual priests and the *gene* of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes had to give an accounting of money received; see Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 18; *Sacred Officials* p. 115.

Side B

Line B.I.52: The stonecutter evidently widened the left margin by one space at the right, and displaced the entry toward the right.

Lines B.III.32 ff.: The restorations reflect Side A; the actual order may differ slightly, but probably not by much.

53. CHOREGIC DEDICATION. One common interpretation of this monument is that the victories of the poets Aristophanes and Sophocles took place in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens, and the choregic monument was set up at Eleusis because the choregoi belonged to this deme. Since the synchoregia evidently lasted only a single year (Aristotle, frag. 630 Rose; cf. Capps), viz. 406/5, these performances would therefore have been put on at the Dionysia of 405, just after Sophocles died; so Mette pp. 23 and 45. Pickard-Cambridge, however, thought it more likely that the monument refers to victories in the local theater of Eleusis. It is, at first sight, not easy to decide between the two views.

The Decelean War severely restricted activities in the sanctuary at Eleusis (see II.52.A.I.1-5), and from this point of view the theater in Athens seems a bit more likely as the venue, but it is impossible to say for certain that Eleusis could not have had dramatic performances occasionally in these years. It is worth noting, with Kirchner (*ad IG II² 3027*) and Pickard-Cambridge, that

fourth-century private choregic dedications do not celebrate victories in tragedy or comedy at the Dionysia but only victories in the dithyrambic chorus (and this holds true also for the fifth century). On the other hand, there are dedications celebrating victories in tragedy and comedy held in the country demes as early as the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth (*SEG* XXIII 102; *IG* II² 3095; etc.). Eleusis, therefore, is the more likely site. It is also significant that the inscription starts with a sentence that suggests only a victory in comedy (line 2). Thus it appears quite clear that at the time lines 1-3 were inscribed only a victory in comedy had been achieved ("as choregoi in comedy were victorious"). The victory in tragedy, as the language of line 4 suggests ("another victory, in tragedy"), happened most likely in a different year. If Capps is correct in his view that the dual choregia at the Dionysia was limited to a single year, 406/5, then this is further evidence that this monument does not concern the Dionysia in Athens but the Eleusinian festival. It was set up either before Sophocles died in 406, or, more likely, the Sophocles in question was the grandson of the famous poet, and the monument was set up around the end of the fifth century, as the post-Euclidean spelling would tend to suggest.

Line 1: A relative of Gnathis son of Timokedes, or perhaps even Gnathis himself, is attested as demarch of Eleusis (70.19); for Timokedes son of Gnathis see 80.1; for a stemma *PA* 3049.

Kirchner identified the grandson of Anaxandrides son of Timagoras with the Anaxandrides son of Anaxandros of Eleusis in *IG* II² 1571.3.

54. DEDICATION BY KYDEIDES KYDISTRATOU PEIRAIEUS, VICTOR IN THE GREATER ELEUSINIA. For other dedications by victors in the Eleusinia see II.227.

55. DEDICATION. The first line, evidently a dedicatory formula in prose, is followed by an epigram, giving the name of the person whose image is dedicated, his or her services, and the names of the donors, viz. the Athenians and (evidently) the children of the honorand.

56. DEDICATION. The dedicant's demotic was probably inscribed in the left half of line 2.

57. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY KEKROPIA DAUGHTER OF KAL[LIAS]. Kirchner recognized that the demotic 'Ιππ[οτομάδο] would not fit the lacuna. His restoration, Καλ[λίστρά]το, however, not only leaves the lacuna in line 2 unfilled, but offers the further anomaly of word-division when there was room in line 2 to complete the word. This restoration therefore must be incorrect. The names suggest father and son from the famous family of the Kerykes. In the early part of the fourth century the daduch Καλλίας 'Ιππονίκου was a wealthy and prominent man in Athens (*Sacred Officials* pp. 49-50, daduch no. 2).

Despite the notoriety of Kallias' marital history, it would not be surprising to find that he gave one of his daughters the name Κεκροπία, for he was proud of his ancestry, and as daduch and leading member of the Kerykes he probably had no reservations about displaying the clan's contention that they descended from Aglaurus and Cecrops. Cf. Clinton, Hymn, *loc. cit.* and note 24.

In view of Kekropia's family one might imagine that her husband Autokles was none other than the general and statesman Autokles son of Strombichides of Euonymon (*PA* 2727; cf. Davies, *APF* 4386); Strombichides appears in 49. However, since the Derkylos son of Autokles of Hagnous who was general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν in 319/8 had a brother named Kallias, it is most likely his father who was the husband of Kekropia; see also below, II.99.

Marcadé would identify the sculptor as Cephisodotus II, son of the famous Praxiteles, and would accordingly date this inscription to the mid fourth century. Although such a date cannot be excluded on epigraphic grounds, the spelling τῶ would tend to favor an earlier one (cf. Threatte, *GAI* I p. 256, 13.023). The earliest surviving base that otherwise can be assigned to Cephisodotus II according to Marcadé is *IG* II² 4390, which apparently dates to 344/3 (but W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, p. 80, would not rule out a date of 354/3; cf. Aleshire, *Asklepieion* p. 117.) Considering the prosopography of the dedicator, we should assign the present base a date ca. 375 (or even earlier) and attribute it to Cephisodotus I.

The relation of the sculptors, father, son, and grandson, would also support this view, if we regard Cephisodotus' active career as spanning the period ca. 400-ca. 370; that of Praxiteles, ca. 370 - ca. 330; and that of Cephisodotus II, ca. 345 - ca. 290. Thus there is no difficulty in seeing the latter as the sculptor responsible for *IG* II² 4390 (cf. A. P. Matthaiou, *Accounts ... Lewis* p. 182.)

Kekropia's father was apparently still alive in 367/6 (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 14, no. 1.64; cf. Davies, *APF* 7826.x). It is impossible to say which of Kallias' wives was the mother of Kekropia, but we might not go wrong in assuming it was his third wife, Chrysilla (on whom see Davies, *APF* 7826.xi-xii).

58. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY DIOPHANTOS CHAIREPHANOUS ELEUSINIOS. Marcadé dated frag. *a* in the last quarter of the century (cf. A. P. Matthaiou, *Accounts ... Lewis* p. 182). In addition, he asked whether *IG* II² 4934 could belong. It seems to me highly probable that it does, despite its unavailability, and is here edited as frag. *b*. It has precisely all the elements that are expected: name in line 1, demotic in line 2, and after a large interlinear space the rest of ἐποίησε (frag. *a* has the left half of pi; Lenormant presumably read the right half on frag. *b*). Lenormant's description of the style of lettering also corresponds to that of frag. *a*: "La forme des lettres, bien que postérieure à l'archontat d'Euclide, est fort belle encore et dénote, *au plus tard*, les premiers temps macédoniens." In addition, Lenormant's location of the beginning of epsilon in line 2 under the right edge of delta in line 1 is also approximately correct: the epsilon should begin just to the right of the delta (provided no upsilon occurred before epsilon).

The original width of the base was probably ca. 1.0 m. With the restoration of Χαίρεφάνο[ς (instead of Χαίρεφάνο[υς) Marcadé's assumption of a date in the last quarter of the century becomes very difficult; see Threatte, *GAI* I pp. 256-259. A date before the middle of the century is called for, possibly early in the third quarter. In support: the style of the lettering is not dissimilar to that of 57, nor is the wide spacing of the lettering in lines 1-2; and both inscriptions *begin* with τοῖν Θεοῖν. An apparent relative of Diophantos is attested: the name Philostratos son of Diophantos of Eleusis appears on a gravestone dated by Kirchner to the middle of the century (*IG* II² 6053), and is no doubt related to the homonym in *Hesperia* 7, 1938, no. 20.56 (*IG* II² 700+).

The sculptor ought to be Cephisodotus the father of Praxiteles rather than Cephisodotus II, Praxiteles' son; see preceding document.

59. STATUE BASE FOR ISOCRATES THE ORATOR, DEDICATED BY TIMOTHEOS KONONOS. The general Timotheos son of Konon (*PA, APF* 13700) died in 354. Presumably it was a few years before his trial, condemnation, and death in this year that he gave his admirer Isocrates (cf. *Antid.*, *passim*) this honor at Eleusis. The reason for choosing the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses as the setting for the honor may have been the orator's good sense (ξύνεσις) in eulogizing the gifts of Demeter, grain and the Eleusinian Mysteries (*Paneg.* 28-29; cf. Clinton, *Panhellenism* p. 161).

Line 3: The sculptor used the same formula for his signature in *IG II²* 4900.

60. COMIC VERSE. The finding place, as Skias saw, suggests that this stone predates Building 31; and indeed the great depth at which it was found further suggests that it belongs to the fill that was laid when the southern corner of the sanctuary was extended around 370-360 (see *II.141*). As the hand is unprofessional, this archaeological context seems to be the best evidence for the date.

The cutter simply used a scrap of stone with rough, untrimmed edges. He wrote out of amusement or perhaps as an apprentice in letter-cutting. As Wilamowitz recognized, the second part of the inscription is iambic verse:

ὅπως δὲ ἄριστόν ἐστι· τὸν γὰρ θύλακον
θεὸν νομίζω, μεστὸς ἂν εἴ, μὴ κενός.

"But it is as good as possible. For I regard the food bag a god, if it is full, not empty." It is hard to agree with Peek (followed by Donderer) in imagining this sloppy and playful piece of work to be a shingle (*Firmenschild*) which a professional letter-cutter put up in front of his workshop (J. and L. Robert noted that Peek's title, "Firmenschild eines Steinmetzen in Eleusis," needed a question mark). For the sentiment cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 335; Wilamowitz, *Glaube* I p. 13.

Line 3: μαθῆν or μάθεν, but the former seems preferable and would be consistent with a date around 360.

61. DEDICATORY STELE. Euktemonides son of Amphichares of Eleusis is otherwise unattested. Raubitschek tentatively identified his brother, from a grave inscription (*IG II²* 6023), as Ἀμφιτέλης Ἀμφι[χ]άρους Ἐλευ[σ]ίνιος and his great-grandfather as the Euktemon of Eleusis who was the victorious choregos in 459/8 (*IG II²* 2318.45).

Raubitschek suggested that since Euktemonides chose to set up this stele at the sanctuary, he was a religious official, and since he was honored by the tribe Hippothontis, "he was appointed to his religious duties as councilor of Hippothontis." An appropriate office, he concluded, would be ἱεροποιός. In that case the office of ἱεροποιὸς ἐκ βουλῆς would be appropriate (cf. *177.350*, *380*, *426*, *431-432*, *II.177.432*, and *II.138.A.29-31*). Hippothontis was the eighth prytanizing tribe in this

year (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 12, no. 4); this time of year corresponds to no major Eleusinian festival but is close to the time of the Eleusinia (see II.208).

This document illustrates the pitfalls of precise dating by the style of lettering. Kirchner, in dating *b* to 322/1, noted that its style of lettering can be found toward the end of the fourth century. Frag. *a* he dated “*post med. s. IV a.*”

62. DEDICATION. Skias was probably right to see this as a dedication rather than a decree. The similarity of the hand to that of 61, the similar letter-height, and στοιχηδὸν arrangement, in addition to the difficulty of restoring the first two lines as the beginning of a deme decree, tend to suggest that this document is the same type as 61; I have so restored it, *exempli gratia*.

63. DECREE OF HIPPOTHONTIS. *Line 7:* We might keep the proper number of twenty stoi-choi by restoring [μελομένος δ' ἄ]νειπῆν.

Line 8: Wilamowitz observed that this Hippothontion is probably the one at Eleusis (Paus. 1.38.4); on this shrine see II.67.

64. DEDICATORY PLAQUE BY [.....]LOS PROMACHOU ELEUSINIOS, VICTOR IN THE SYNORIS. On the συνωρίς at the Panathenaia cf. Kyle, *Athletics* pp. 187-188; Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, pp. 200-201. Restoration of the Eleusinia is consistent with the location of the dedication.

65. STATUE BASE. Dorotheos is probably to be identified with the Dorotheos of Eleusis (*PA* 4610; *NPA* p. 66) who was trierarch in 366/5 and 357/6 (see Davies, *APF* 4610) and whose house is mentioned in [Dem.], *Against Neaera* 39: μεταξὺ τῆς Δωροθέου τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου οἰκίας καὶ τῆς Κλεινομάχου. He is mentioned by Isaeus 3.22, together with his brother Philochares, as a witness to an eviction. (The Phileas son of Dorotheos of Eleusis on a grave inscription, *IG* III 1656, cannot be the son of this Dorotheos, *pace* Davies; this inscription must be dated a couple of centuries later.)

66. CHOREGIC DEDICATION. This dedication is probably to be associated with the theater at Eleusis. Like 53 it informs us that comedy was performed there, in addition to dithyrambic choruses and tragedy (II.70).

67. DECREE OF HIPPOTHONTIS IN HONOR OF METAGENES EUKLEIDOU EROIADES. This was no doubt set up at the Hippothontion in Eleusis (Paus. 1.38.4), as was 63. F. Lenormant, *RA* 10, 1864, pp. 89-91, interpreted ruins near the tomb of Straton (*IG* II² 6596), called Ἀσπρόπυργος, located in the Thriasian Plain on the Sacred Way (modern Ethniki Odos) near the intersection with the road from the town of Aspropyrgos, as those of the Heroon of

Hippothon. Unfortunately Pausanias is rather vague about the location of the shrine: the only thing certain is that he mentions it before arriving at the Eleusinian Cephissus from the direction of central Athens.

Line 2: Polynikos, as Kirchner pointed out, is probably related to the Phokiades of Oion who was Treasurer of Athena in 425/4 (*PA* 15066). If he is his son, the decree is probably somewhat earlier than the middle of the fourth century.

68. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS. This is a fairly typical ending of an Eleusinian decree, except that the decree is to be set up within the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. One must assume, therefore, that there was a very special reason for placing this honorary decree within the sanctuary (perhaps the honorand, like that of **80**, was a military commander), for which permission was received in advance. On the location of deme decrees see above, p. 3.

69. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS (?). When the text of this document was in final proof, a striking similarity of lines 1-2 to I.67.6-7 suggested that this document is not a decree of the deme of Eleusis but rather a decree of Hippothontis, with the restoration of lines 1-2 as follows:

[ἐκρ]ῖνε τ[ὴν Ἰπποθωντίδα φυλὴν νικᾶν Θαργ]-
ήλια περὶ τ[.

Line 7 must be restored accordingly.

70. DECREES OF THE ELEUSINIANS IN HONOR OF DAMASIAS AND PHRYNISKOS OF THEBES. Damasias of Thebes is honored for his generous support of the Eleusinian Dionysia. His honors are the most magnificent of those that are recorded in extant Eleusinian decrees: a gold crown worth 1,000 drachmas, announcement of the honor at the Dionysia, *prohedria*, *ateleia* in the deme, the privilege of making any other request of the demarch, and the opportunity to make a sacrifice of 100 drachmas at the expense of the deme.

According to Tsountas the stele was found “by the so-called Callichoron Well.” However, the Callichoron Well was not discovered until 1892, and his description would put the finding place a bit west of Eleusis on the road to Megara but before the intersection with the road from Thebes. The well was obviously a very significant one if it seemed to be the Callichoron. If it is ancient, it may be the Anthion Well or a successor (Paus. 1.39.1), perhaps the “well” on Dilettanti, pl. 2 in the upper left quadrant.

On the date of the decree see below, *ad* line 20.

Line 2: Kallikrates, the son of the proposer, appears in a list dated “*post med. s. IV a.*” (*IG* II² 2393.6).

Lines 3-15: It should be noted that Damasias’ pupils are also honored. Foucart rightly inferred, since Damasias put on two choruses at the Dionysia, that Damasias was a musician. Why Damasias is praised for his φιλοτιμία both toward the δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων and the δῆμος τῶν

Ἐλευσινίων is not immediately apparent. Perhaps Damasias and his pupils also performed in Athens and contributed to the magnificence of the City Dionysia.

Foucart, mistakenly reading μέλεσι at the end of line 12, understood Damasias' meritorious service to be furnishing songs for the two choruses, and he supported his argument with a Delian inscription in honor of a musician and poet (*BCH* 13, 1889, p. 245). The language of the Delian inscription, however, is not precisely similar to our decree. Most importantly, the verb in line 14, ἐπέδωκεν, clearly indicates that Damasias *donated* the choruses. We should therefore read in line 12 the standard formula for "at his own expense." Damasias equipped and trained the two choruses.

This document thus informs us that men's and boys' dithyrambic contests took place at the Eleusinian Dionysia in addition to tragedy and comedy (cf. 53, 66). The festival, as 229.32 tells us, was led off with a procession. The tragic contest was the usual occasion at which the deme of Eleusis announced honors that it had decreed. See II.Introduction, "Dionysia," p. 25.

The Deme of Eleusis had no control over the festival of the Mysteria or its sanctuary (II.Introduction, "Administration," p. 3; *Sacred Officials* p. 8; *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1-12), and its principal festival at this time was its own Dionysia, its theater the place in which it usually set up its honorary decrees (on the location see below). It is curious, therefore, to see Damasias described as presenting his choruses to Demeter and Kore and Dionysus when they were choruses that performed at the Dionysia. Further, when Damasias is praised elsewhere in the decree for his *eusebeia*, it is for his *eusebeia* to Demeter and Kore, not to Dionysus. Finally, the decree is to be set up in the Dionysion (line 33). Perhaps the subject of the two choruses was the myth of Demeter and Kore, or the choruses simply sang in praise of the Two Goddesses. If this is so, it is possible that the subject included or alluded to the broader Athenian connection suggested in line 10. The story of Demeter and Kore's arrival in Attica could conclude with the theme of Athenian generosity, in sharing the Mysteries and the grain that the Two Goddesses gave first to the Athenians. (Foucart's suggestion that Demeter and Kore are allied with Dionysus here because of their connection with him at the Mysteries is unconvincing: they never had an official connection with Dionysus at the Mysteries. See Clinton, *Iconography* App. 6, "The 'Omphalos' and the Cult of Dionysus at Eleusis" pp. 121-125).

Line 20: The demarch Gnathis may be the son of Gnathis son of Timokedes, the choregos who dedicated 53 at the end of the fifth century, and is probably the father of the Timokedes son of Gnathis who proposed an Eleusinian decree that was assigned by Kirchner to the end of the fourth century (80). If this filiation of Gnathis is correct, the date of the present decree should be somewhat earlier than mid-fourth century. However, the date will be later if the demarch is the grandson of the choregos, or even earlier, if he is the choregos himself, which is not impossible; 80 would then be dated accordingly.

Line 26: This *ateleia* cannot be with respect to ownership of land in a deme other than one's own, τὸ ἐγκτητικόν, because Damasias was not an Athenian and did not have the right to own property in Attica. Hausoullier concluded that it must be ἀτέλεια ἱερῶν, exemption from contributions to the cost of local festivals, which were levied on all who lived in the deme, whether demesmen or not.

Lines 34-35: I assume that the Dionysion is the sanctuary of Dionysus in which the theater was

located, i.e. not necessarily a temple. The theater is often located south of the Eleusinian hill, but most of the inscriptions of known provenance that were set up in it were found, like this one, on the north side (53, 72, 79). On the other hand, the south side is strongly favored by the information provided by Lenormant and Pittakis on the finding place of 71 and by Chandler and Clark in reporting a theater on this side (II.71).

71. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS. The main interest of this fragment lies in that the combined information provided by Pittakis and Lenormant suggests that the theater of the Eleusinians was located on the south side of the Eleusinian hill (Akris), by the western end, for around the middle of the last century Pittakis saw something that looked like a theater in this area. This is consistent with earlier reports. In 1765 Chandler, *Travels* p. 234, noted, after describing the ancient port of Eleusis: "About half a mile from the shore is a long hill, which divides the plain. In the side next the sea are traces of a theater, and on the top are cisterns cut in the rock." The "long hill" is the hill of Eleusis (Akris). In 1802 Clarke, p. 627, in describing the area between the Akris and the sea, reported: "All this plain, between the *Acropolis* and the sea, is covered with the fragments of former works; and upon this side was the *Theatre*; the form of which may be distinctly traced upon the slope of the hill, near the southern wall leading to the sea." (By "southern" he seems to mean "western," as he refers to the eastern wall of the sanctuary as "northern" and the area of the Propylaea as "western.") Cf. Travlos, *Topography* p. 139, fig. 1.

Line 1: The nu may be the end of a formula of the sort that appears in 72.12-16.

72. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS IN HONOR OF THE HIEROPHANT HIEROKLEIDES TEISAMENOU PAIANIEUS. It is not stated how the hierophant, Hierokleides son of Teisamenos of Paianaia, benefited the deme. Perhaps simply his success as hierophant attracted large crowds of initiates (cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 28-29), which brought economic benefit. The fact that this hierophant was honored by the deme on several occasions obviously reflects his excellent relationship with it.

The Teisamenos of Paiania who donated a gold crown to Athena sometime before 334-331 (*IG* II² 1496.60) is presumably Hierokleides' son. His father was treasurer of Athena in 414/3 (*IG* I³ 309.2, etc.). A grave stele that Kirchner assigned to the mid fourth century carries the name Hierokleides of Paiania (*IG* II² 7057), but it is hard to say whether he is our hierophant.

Line 2: Perhaps Εὐθ[ίας Γνά]θωνος Ἐλευσίνιος. Euthias Eleusi(nios) is mentioned in 177.56 and 58 of the year 329/8, and Gnathon Eleusinos, first restored here by Kirchner, appears on a grave monument for his daughter, which Kirchner dates to 365-349 (*IG* II² 6054).

Lines 10-12: Cf. *IG* II² 275.5-7.

Lines 22-24: Cf. 80.15-16. The Eleusinians regularly had their demarch announce honors at their Dionysia. On the Eleusinian Dionysia see II.Introduction, "Dionysia," p. 25.

Line 30: Perhaps προεδρία τῶ]ν δημοτῶν, or τᾶλλα τὰ τῶ]ν δημοτῶν, which occurs, but with a different sense, in 101.12-13.

Line 33: Skias' suggestion, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ἐλευσινίῳ, is without precedent. The deme usually set up its decrees at the theater. Also possible here is εἰς τὸ Διονύσιον; cf. 70.33-34.

74. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS. The decree is probably in honor of the man standing between Demeter and Kore in the relief. The appearance of the Two Goddesses in the relief suggests, like **99**, that the person honored was connected with the sanctuary in some way. The Nausistratos of Eleusis who appears in an Eleusinian mortgage stone in the archonship of Aristonymos (289/8) may be his grandson (*Δελτίον* 14, 1931-32, Παράρτ. 31-32, no. 4; *Hesperia*, Suppl. 9, 1951, no. 26; M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C.*, New Brunswick, N.J., 1952, p. 121, no. 6).

75. STATUE BASE SIGNED BY KEPHISODOTOS. The dedicatory inscription was evidently located on a block above this one.

Marcadé dates the inscription tentatively to the beginning of the third century and identifies the sculptor with Cephisodotus II at a time near the end of his career (and does not rule out a joint signature with Cephisodotus' brother Timarchos). Kirchner's date of *fin s. II / init. s. I*, however, may not be wrong; cf. *IG II² 3876*, dated by Kirchner around the end of the second century. The lettering of the present dedication is not much unlike that of **57** and **58**, both dated ca. 375.

76. DEDICATION. *Line 1:* Cf. *IG II² 2969*. στε[φανωθέντες ὑπὸ is also possible; cf., e.g., **79**.

77. DEDICATORY BASE. *Line 1:* Perhaps: [Δήμητρ]||[ι καὶ Κόρηι] ἄν[έθ]||[εσαν].

In the years 336/5-329/8 there were eight epistatai at Eleusis (**158**). This was probably also true in 340/39-337/6 (**156**). In both cases they are listed in tribal order. Since the number and the arrangement match, the present group are probably epistatai.

Line 5: Develin suggests he may be the same as the Skaphon mentioned in Dem. 25.hypoth. (*PA* 12724).

Line 6: Possibly the same (but certainly of the same family) as Elpines son of Elpinikos of Probalinthos on a fourth-century gravestone (*IG II² 7292*).

Line 10: The name Lysistratos of Melite appears on a juror's tessera (*IG II² 1851* = Kroll no. 68) with the patronymic Kephisodor(os). For the prosopography of the Lysistratoi of Melite at this period see Kroll, *ad* no. 68; cf. *LGPN s.v.*; *PA/APF* 9619.

78. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS. *Line 6:* Hierokleides son of Timostratos of Alopeke also proposed another decree in this year, honoring a man from Naucratis (*IG II² 206*).

79. BASE FOR A STATUE OF DIONYSUS. From Palaaios' description it is clear that the Φυλακεῖον, where the base was found, was on the side of the hill facing the Frankish Tower, viz. the south side; this site was mentioned by Philios, *AM* 18, 1894, p. 183, as a possible location for the theater. For further discussion of the theater's location see **II.71**.

The base probably held a statue of Dionysus.

Line 1: In 332/1 Moirokles leased the quarries belonging to the sanctuary of Heracles on the Akris (85) and in 321/0 proposed an Eleusinian decree (95). For his prosopography see II.85.15.

Line 3: Timokedes may be a relative of the Gnathis son of Timokedes who was a choregos around the end of the fifth century (53) and of the Gnathis who was demarch of Eleusis around the middle of the fourth century (70) and of the Timokedes son of Gnathis who proposed an Eleusinian decree (80) around the time of this dedication.

Line 4: Euxenides son of Antiphanes of Eleusis occurs in a list of Diaitetai (*IG* II² 1927.71-72), which Ruschenbush, *ZPE* 49, 1982, pp. 267-281 (= *SEG* XXXII 170), dates ca. 360, and Traill, *Demos* pp. 115-116, ca. 330; he should be the father of this dedicant. The dedicant may well be the same as the Antiphanes who was priest of Heracles in Akris in 332/1 (85.48-49).

80. DECREE OF ELEUSINIANS IN HONOR OF SMIKYTHION OF KEPHALE, PERIPOLARCH. At the end of the decree the demarch is enjoined to set up the decree ὅπου ἂν δοκεῖ ἐν καλλίστῳ εἶναι. The finding place of the upper fragment suggests that he secured the permission of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes to set it up in front of the Telesterion, ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, where the *gene* later placed 201; see Introduction, “αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4.

Kern and Jucker interpreted the relief of Demeter and Kore, on the basis of similar scenes (among which is 99), to reflect a cult statue group. This pairing of the Two Goddesses, with Demeter sitting and reaching to Kore, occurs in other representations that reflect the scene at the climax of the Mysteries, as I have argued in *Iconography* pp. 78-83.

Line 1: Timokedes is probably the son of the Gnathis who is mentioned as demarch in 70.20. If 70 belongs around the middle of the century; the present decree ought to belong to the fourth quarter; but if it is earlier, then this decree could belong around 340-335 (see II.81). Although Lawton dates the relief to the fourth quarter, stylistic dating of fourth-century document reliefs is not altogether reliable (see Clinton, *BMCR* 7, 1996, pp. 750-751).

Line 2: The peripolarchoi are first mentioned in 144.20-21 among the officials entrusted with the security of the boundary stones of the Sacred Orgas. Foucart concluded from all the evidence that the peripolarchs were a police force in charge of the security of the Attic countryside. Their men, inasmuch as they are designated στρατιῶται, are probably paid foreigners; see Dittenberger, *SIG*³, but Cabanes argues that they are drawn from among ephebes or adult citizens. In the present instance, Smikythion apparently found Eleusis facing a military emergency and saw to it that the deme was provided with a sufficient garrison to handle the threat.

Line 9: Koehler and Kirchner noticed the omission of the verb ἐπεμελήθη before τῶν ἄλλων; according to Wilhelm the omission was ἐπεμελήθη δέ; according to Dittenberger, *SIG*³, it was either περί before τῶν ἄλλων or ἐπεμελήθη after Ἐλευσῖνος.

Line 28: Nachmanson defends the δέ as δὲ ἀποδοτικόν; cf. Kühner-Gerth II.2 pp. 275-278.

81. DEDICATION BY SOLDIERS IN HONOR OF THE GENERAL DEIN[OKRATES KLEOMBROTOU ACHARNEUS] AND THE PERIPOLARCHOI. Wilhelm pointed out the similarity of this inscription to *IG* II² 2968. The στρατιῶται are apparently mercenaries who participated in the

peripolos, under the command of peripolarchoi (see 80). A dedication recently discovered at Rhamnous informs us that Deinokrates son of Kleombrotos of Acharnae was general there in 338/7 (Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II 93), and another, very similar to the present one, that the peripolarch honored with him was Telesippos son of Straton of Kephisia (*ibid.*, 94). Therefore the date of the present dedication should be 338/7 or a year not far removed. David Lewis suggested to me the hypothesis that “dedications by stratiotai to strategos and peripolarch stopped shortly after 336/5 with the ephebic law, so that we moved decisively into the new form of garrison and dedication so familiar to us” (*per litt.*, Dec. 10, 1992). This would require redating *IG* II² 2968, giving Perekleides an earlier first generalship than that (at the Akte) attested for ca. 324. “This is hardly inconceivable” (Lewis, *ibid.*).

Line 4: Wilhelm’s tentative restoration of the title in the nominative seems out of place here. The parallels he cited (*IG* II² 2968 and 92) are found, either most probably or certainly, within crowns. Here there is no crown, so we should expect a title in the accusative; hence my restoration. The title may have been felt to be unnecessary, or it may have followed.

82. DEDICATION (?) BY EPHEBES OF OINEIS. Lewis pointed out that this is probably an ephebic document of Oineis, with the ephebic officers listed ahead of the rest of the ephebes. Its width corresponds to that of another dedication by the ephebes of Oineis around this time (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 273-278 [= Reinmuth 12]).

Line 1: Tracy notes that the epistates of 408/7 should be an ancestor (52.2).

Line 2: Nikostratos appears in *IG* II² 1576.11-12. For the stemma of the family see *PA* and *APF* 12413 and Lewis. The Nikostratos of Acharnai who was a choregos for the boys’ dithyrambic chorus in 330 (*IG* II² 2328.334) could not have been our ephebe, as Lewis pointed out, but was probably his uncle. Our ephebe may be identical with the Nikostratos son of Pythodor(os) who was prytanis “ca. 290” (*Agora* XV 68.20).

Line 3: The Autokles of Acharnai who was prytanis in 360/59 (*IG* II² 1745.45 = *Agora* XV 17.45) is undoubtedly related to our ephebe and to the (evidently) homonymous secretary of the Boule in 327/6 (*IG* II² 356, 357; *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 3, no. 5 [= Schwenk 58, 57, 59]). The secretary cannot be the ephebe’s grandfather, and it seems unlikely (though perhaps not impossible) that he could be the ephebe himself, not yet or just barely thirty years old when he became secretary (though the secretary did not have to be a member of the Boule, it seems unlikely that he would normally be younger than the Bouleutai themselves). It is conceivable (though quite unlikely) that Wilhelm’s reading of the patronymic of the secretary in *IG* II² 356, [Φ]ανίου, was not wrong after all (on the illegibility of the stone cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone*, Berkeley 1963, p. 275, and Schwenk p. 293), and that *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 3, no. 5 should be assigned to a later year, when our ephebe assumed the office of secretary of the Boule. For further documents concerning this family see *LGN* s.v. Αὐτοκλῆς.

Line 4: The Aristophon of Phyle listed as ephebe in a dedication of ca. 330 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, p. 274, line 13 [= Reinmuth 12.13]) is probably not identical to our Aristophon, as Lewis noted.

Line 6: His father is apparently the Athenodoros of Acharnai who was diaitetes in 325/4 (*IG* II² 1926.98).

Line 7: Atrometos was the son of the orator Aeschines; for the stemma of the family see *APF* pp. 544-547.

Line 8: His brother, Theophilos son of Kallimachos of Acharnai, was epistates at Eleusis in 336/5-333/2 (158.4).

83. DEDICATION BY LYSIMACHIDES TO THEOS AND THEA. The identification of Theos and Thea has caused much debate. Rhomaïos accepted Svoronos' hypothesis that they were Asclepius and Hygieia, while Furtwängler saw them simply as a "chthonic pair." Möbius suggested Zeus Meilichos and Meter; Dentzer, Keleos and Metaneira. But Nilsson showed persuasively that Philios' original interpretation, Hades and Persephone, was correct. At Eleusis the underworld gods Hades and Persephone are never so named but are called Θεός and Θεά; only their other, upperworld selves, Kore and Pluto, are given their "proper" names; see Clinton for recent discussion with additional evidence. Another relief representing Theos and Thea, the Lakrateides relief (239 = *IG* II² 4701), was found in the vicinity of this one.

Thönges-Stringaris put the date of the relief around 350 B.C. on stylistic grounds; Dentzer, in the third quarter of the century; Beschi, in the second half; O. Palagia (*per litt.*), ca. 335-320; the letter-forms, which cannot be dated accurately, are not inconsistent with any of these dates.

Brueckner identified the dedicator with the Lysimachides of Acharnai who was archon in 339/8 (he apparently dedicated *IG* II² 4387, also a relief), but there are too many homonyms to be sure of this; one of them is Lysimachides of Hagnous, who delivered *aparchai* from Lemnos to Eleusis in 329/8 (177.407).

84. DEDICATION BY EPHEBES OF HIPPOTHONTIS AND DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS IN THEIR HONOR. A decree of the Boule and Demos may have followed below.

Mitchel's text assumes that the ephebes were not honored by the Demos (which is possible; cf. *IG* II² 1156.64); this helps determine the width of the decree of the Eleusinians as 62 stoichoi (except for 61 in line 12). However, the phrase ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἐλευσινίων would be very strange and is highly unlikely (cf. Rhodes). Additional weaknesses of Mitchel's text: the awkwardness of the phrase καὶ [τῶι σωφρονιστῇ πειθαρχῶντες, the absence of the type of crown in line 7, the separation of τῶι ἁγ[ῶνι from τραγωιδῶν τῶν [Δ]ιονυσίων, and the missing grant of *prohedria*. Weaknesses in the alternative text (besides the vacant space in line 9) are the *exempli gratia* restorations in lines 4-6.

On the date of inscription see Clinton.

Line 2: At first it seemed appropriate to restore just καὶ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων (*vel sim.*); but a longer restoration is necessary here to accommodate the name of the sophronistes. We might restore χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι as in *IG* II² 2827, but καὶ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων seems preferable, as Rhodes urges.

Lines 4-5: For the restoration cf. *IG* II² 649.28-29.

Lines 6-7: ἄ[ποφαίνει κτλ.: *IG* II² 1156.55-56.

Line 10: The value of a gold wreath is usually specified (though not always; cf. *IG* II² 1193.13).

Lines 10-11: The grant of *prohedria* in the theater of Dionysus at Eleusis should occur here, but the words τῶν Διονυσίων show that it is an unusual formula. For other unusual formulas for this grant see 96.9-12 and *IG II²* 1210.4-6 (εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶ[ι καὶ προεδρίαν τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἄγῶνι ὅταν ποιῶ[σι τὰ Διονύσια καὶ καλείτω αὐτὸν ὁ δῆ]μαρχος εἰς τῇ[ν προεδρίαν]). Here too ἄγῶνι seems appropriate but with the qualification πατρίωι that occurs at Eleusis; cf. 201.17-18: Διονυσίων τῶι πατρίωι ἄγῶνι Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳι (here in the formula for the announcement of the crown).

85. TWO DECREES OF THE ELEUSINIANS, ONE IN HONOR OF PHILOKOMOS PHALANTHIDOU ELEUSINIOS AND MOIROKLES EUTHYDEMOU ELEUSINIOS, THE OTHER CONCERNING LEASING THE QUARRIES OF HERACLES. The first decree honors (1) Philokomos, the proposer of the second, which called for leasing the quarries that belong to the sanctuary of Heracles in Akris, and (2) Moirokles, the successful bidder for the lease. The Akris, as Coumanoudis and Gofas recognized, ought to be the Eleusinian hill on the slope of which the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is located. Some statuettes of Heracles in the Museum of Eleusis (Inv. Nos. 5090, 5375, 5170; Kanta pp. 88, 92, 94) may have come from there (Coumanoudis and Gofas mention reliefs, without references). The location of the quarries of Eleusinian stone was indicated by Travlos in his plan in *Attika* p. 104, fig. 105, viz. on the north side of the hill ca. 200 m. west of the sanctuary (cf. his plan in Mylonas, *Eleusis* fig. 32; Travlos, *Topography* fig. 1 and pp. 144-145; the traces of the ancient quarry have been obliterated by modern dynamiting, but the quarry appears in the plan of the Dilettanti, pl. 5). The sanctuary of Heracles was presumably located on the hill above these quarries, which were included in the sanctuary's domain. It may well have had an influence on the mythic association of Heracles with the Eleusinian Mysteries (Clinton, *Iconography* p. 81).

Schwenk, following a suggestion of F. W. Mitchel, sees the care with which the deme fostered the festival of Heracles, through the revenue from the quarries, as an example of the deme following the lead of Lycurgus in the reformation of the religious life of the Polis.

These quarries of course supplied the "Eleusinian stone" often mentioned in documents, e.g., 143 and 177.53-54. For a more complete list see the index and Ampolo, note 17, with bibliography (except that 41.6 is not directly relevant). He discusses these quarries within his larger treatment of the ownership, economics, politics, and use of Athenian quarries. It is interesting that 177.53-54, payment for cutting and transporting Eleusinian stone in 329/8, occurred during the period of Moirokles' lease. The Eleusinian sanctuary had to pay for this service. The price seems to be relatively inexpensive, Dr 7 per unit consisting of one fathom plus a cubit. Whether Moirokles charged the quarriers and transporters is unclear, but we probably should assume that he did.

Line 3: This is apparently the only occurrence of ἄκρις = "hilltop" in prose (it is found mainly in the *Odyssey*, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Apollonius of Rhodes). ἄκρις = "grasshopper" would make little sense in the present context.

Lines 7-9: Moirokles both "purchased" (i.e. rented) the right to quarry (λιθοτομίαν) for five years at Dr 150 per year and made a donation of Dr 100 for this five-year period. Coumanoudis and Gofas' view that the latter sum was for the Ἡ[ρ]ᾱ[κ]ῆ[λ]εια is contradicted not only by the new

reading but by the fact that Moirokles was ordered to give Dr 100 to Philokomos for his gold crown in the presence of the demesmen (lines 12-14). But the deme hardly had the right to order one of its members to pay for someone's crown unless he had offered to do so; this sum must represent Moirokles' donation "for the five years."

Lines 9-10: Philokomos is otherwise unknown. He is honored because his proposal greatly benefited the cult of Heracles in Akris. It seems likely that the quarries previously were not rented out, for if they had been, one would expect some reference to their previous disposition.

Lines 12-14: On this sum of Dr 100 see above, *ad* lines 7-9.

Line 15: Moirokles is fairly well known: 95.5-6; 79; II.177.271-272; on the prosopography of his family see Ampolo, *PP* 34, 1979, pp. 176-178; *idem*, *RFIC* 109, 1981, pp. 187-204; Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 244-245; Matthaïou, *Horos* 5, 1987, p. 18 (= *SEG* XXXIX 147); Faraguna, *Atene* pp. 233-235; Clinton, *Epidauria* pp. 30-31, note 56.

Line 17: Despite his largesse Moirokles receives only an olive crown. Unlike Philokomos he had no private donor to support his crown.

Lines 18-53: The original decree proposing the lease of the quarries of Heracles in Akris.

Line 22: On the unusual spelling, Ἡρακλέως, here and in lines 32, 38, 45, and 48, see Threatte, *GAI* I 12.03, p. 235, and Matthaïou, *Horos* 8-9, 1990-91, pp. 183-189 (= *SEG* XLI 71).

Line 23: The agora of the demesmen must be the local Eleusinian agora; cf. Osborne and Whitehead.

Line 26: It is difficult to say at what time of year the sacrifice took place, but it probably was not very close to the end of the civil year.

Lines 27-28: "in Metageitnion at the time of the elections when the demesmen assemble in the Theseion." Coumanoudis, Gofas, and Osborne understood these to be the election of deme officials, Whitehead of Athenian officials. All associate *AthPol* 62.1 (allotment in the Theseion of Athenian magistracies, which were previously "distributed to the demes") with the present passage. However, the present passage surely does not refer to the same event: election of Athenian officials took place in most cases before the beginning of the archontic year on Hekatombaion 1, probably sometime in the spring, but the present passage concerns elections in Metageitnion, which therefore cannot be those of Athenian but rather of deme magistracies. Thus demarchs (and presumably the other officials) of Eleusis began their term sometime late in or after Metageitnion, most likely from the beginning of Boedromion. In Aixone, on the other hand, the officials quit their office sometime before Metageitnion (*IG* II² 1174.11-12), presumably at the end of Skirophorion, and a similar situation seems to have obtained in Thorikos (*SEG* XXXIII 147). (Whitehead argued that the event in the Theseion was the final sortition of the fifty tribal bouleutai, but that this should happen as early as Metageitnion is hard to believe.)

One might consequently wonder whether the Theseion mentioned here is the one in central Athens or an unknown sanctuary in Eleusis. The fact that a Theseion is unattested at Eleusis does not prove that one did not exist, but the Theseion in the Asty would be a good location for such an important event as deme elections, in helping to ensure maximum participation.

Lines 38-39: Both the hieromnemes and the demarch are empowered to put proposals to a vote. In 196.80 (1299) they are both charged with overseeing the preparation of a statue and a stele. Both therefore must be the principle administrative officials of the deme.

Lines 41-42: On the euthynoi and synegoroi in demes see Whitehead pp. 116-119.

Line 47: καταλύηται, read by Coumanoudis and Gofas, would make perfect sense (cf., e.g., SEG XXI 527.95, the regulations of the Salaminioi), but παραλύηται, the preferred reading, is of course not inappropriate.

Lines 48-49: Antiphanes the priest of Heracles may be the Antiphanes son of Euxenides who is one of several Eleusinian dedicants of an offering to Dionysus (79.4).

Relief. Van Straten pointed out that the high-handled lebes within the crown is found in two other representations (an early fourth-century calyx-crater, NM 14902, and votive relief, Boston MFA 96.696) and is unique to Heracles' cult. In the scene on the calyx-crater Heracles reclines within a pavilion supported by a column at each of the four corners, and a satyr approaches the lebes with an oinochoe in his hand. In the votive relief a similar pavilion surmounted by a similar lebes appears next to a standing Heracles and (probably) Hermes. The pavilion and lebes, which probably served as a mixing bowl, must have been characteristic features of certain Herakleia (the pavilion occurs also in another relief featuring Heracles, Athens NM 2723). On the calyx-crater van Straten would identify a damaged staff-like object as the myrtle staff carried by initiates and suggested that it might identify the scene as that of a Herakleion at Eleusis, namely the one in this document.

Tagalidou and Wolf have associated a Hellenistic relief (probably votive) of Heracles, found by Philios (apparently in the vicinity of the church of St. Zachary; now NM 1462), with the sanctuary on Akris. It shows a drunken, reclining Herakles listening to a satyr playing a flute; in the background can be seen Heracles' various attributes (club, bow and quiver, palm frond) hanging from or leaning against a tree, set in front of a cliff.

86. DEDICATION BY THE EPHEBES AND SOPHRONISTES OF KEKROPIS OF 333/2 AT ELEUSIS. This dedication was apparently set up in what was the most conspicuous place in Eleusis, the entrance to the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses, i.e. παρὰ τὰ προπύλαια (cf. 99.25-26) or ἐν τῇι ἀύλῃι (cf. 196.28). The ephebes of Kekropis chose to make their dedication at Eleusis presumably because they performed some service there, for which, as the right side of the base indicates, they were honored by the deme. Although the entire ephebic corps performed important functions at the Mysteries (cf. Clinton, *Sacrifice* p. 70), this festival and its sanctuary at Eleusis were administered by the state, and by this time the deme had virtually no role in the festival or at the sanctuary (Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 8; *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1-12). The ephebes performed no services specifically for the deme at this festival. We know from *AthPol* 42.4 and *IG* II² 1156.37,46, however, that for part of the second year of their *ephebeia* they were stationed at Eleusis and did garrison duty in its fort. It was surely for their behavior during this service that the ephebes of Kekropis were honored by the deme (and, for a similar stint, by Rhamnous).

The rectangular cavity on the top of the base held the dedication, perhaps a herm; we have an example of such a dedication in the herm dedicated in Rhamnous by the ephebes of Erechtheis of 333/2 (*IG* II² 3105+ = *SEG* XXXI 162), for which see O. Palagia and D. Lewis, *BSA* 84, 1989, pp. 333-344, pl. 48b.

Line 1: In the period to which this document ought to belong, the late 330's, as we learn from the names of the generals (lines 4-5), the only archons' names which fit the space are Ktesikles (334/3) and Nikokrates (333/2); but since ephebes of Kekropis of the year of Ktesikles are attested (*IG II²* 1156 = Reinmuth no. 2), Nikokrates is to be restored here.

Line 2: The sophronistes (*PA* 11809) was mentioned by Polemo (*Ath.* 6.234f): ἐπὶ Διφίλης ἱερείας παράσιτοι Ἐπίλυκος [Νικο]στράτου Γαργήττιος, Περικλῆς Περικλείτου (*sic*) Πιτθεύς, Χαρίνος Δημοχάρους Γαργήττιος. See Kirchner, *Hermes* 31, 1896, pp. 262-263, who assigned the dedication described by Polemo to 350-300 (the excerpts from Polemo are also discussed by R. Schlaifer, *HSCP* 54, 1943, pp. 37-42). The present dedication gives the correct patronymic, and its date is not inconsistent with Kirchner's dating of Polemo's dedication.

Line 4: Konon son of Timotheos of Anaphlystos (*PA* 8708; *RE* 11.1334; *APF* 13700) was general of the Piraeus also in 334/3 (*IG II²* 2970; F. W. Mitchel, *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 349-350; Reinmuth no. 4); further discussion below under **Date**, and Clinton p. 29.

Line 5: Sophilos son of Aristoteles of Phyle (*PA* 13422) was also general of the countryside in 334/3, named with Konon in an ephebic dedication (see above, on line 4); for further discussion of Sophilos, Reinmuth, no. 4, below under **Date**, and Clinton p. 29.

Line 6: The inelegant wording of the dedication has the sophronistes awarding himself a gold crown and several of the ephebes doing the same for themselves. The meaning, I assume, is that the epheboi and Perikles awarded gold crowns to those of their number who were praiseworthy; the honorands presumably did not contribute to their own awards.

Lines 7-10: The taxiarch and lochagoi are ephebes (cadet officers). In the list below they are inscribed first among the ephebes of their respective demes. Their precedence in the deme lists follows that of the list here (lines 7-10). On the taxiarch and lochagoi see F. W. Mitchel, *The Cadet Colonels of the Ephebic Corps*, *TAPA* 92, 1961, pp. 347-357.

Sekunda, pp. 321-330, argues that the taxiarch and lochagoi are not ephebes of the current year but rather men who had already completed their ephebic training, and whose experience is now put to use in training ephebes. This, however, is contradicted by the document. The dedicators are the "ephebes of Kekropis of the year 333/2" (and their sophronistes). Which ephebes, then, are those in the list that is appended below? Naturally those who dedicated this monument, viz. those of Kekropis of the year 333/2 (the sophronistes of course is not included as he is not an ephebe). That ephebes drawn from earlier enrollment years were also included seems quite impossible. The inscription does not state that ephebes of prior years were included among the dedicators, "the ephebes of Kekropis in the archonship of Nikokrates": no prior year is mentioned, nor does it state that the dedicators were "the ephebes of Kekropis in the archonship of Nikokrates and their officers," for there simply was no reason to do so, as the officers were fellow ephebes.

Line 11: Since precedence is obviously carefully maintained in this document, it seems to follow that the didaskaloi, neither of whom is from Kekropis (one is a foreigner), were regarded as less important than the cadet officers. In Reinmuth, no. 9 the same order is followed in the honors: sophronistes, taxiarch, lochagoi, didaskaloi; this decree is especially instructive in that it clearly shows that the order had a very real basis: there is a distinction in the value of the crown given to each rank. The sophronistes receives a gold crown of Dr 1,000; the taxiarch and lochagoi, a gold

crown of Dr 500; and the διδάσκαλοι, an olive crown. In Reinmuth, no. 10 the didaskaloi again appear at the end; in no. 15 a didaskalos appears toward the bottom of the left side of the base. In no. 8 didaskaloi may appear above the lochagoi. On the didaskaloi see *AthPol* 42.3 and Rhodes, *Commentary ad loc.*

Chairestratos of Pallene may be Chairestratos son of Gniphon, a councillor in 334/3 (*Agora* XV 44.40 = *IG* II² 1750); he may be related to Chairestratos son of Thoucharion, diaitetes ca. 360 (*IG* II² 1927.204-205; on the date, E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* 49, 1982, pp. 267-281).

Line 13: An Epikrates was a syntrierarch ca. 323/2 (*IG* II² 1632.249, 275), but his demotic is missing (the demotic Πιθε(ύς) in line 250 ought not to belong to his name). The father of our ephebe was apparently the Archedemos of Pithos who contributed a set of oars in or before 347/6 (*IG* II² 1622.476-477; *NPA* pp. 34-35; Davies, *APF* Ἀρχέδημος Πιθεύς), and who was probably the trierarch on *Lampra* in 366/5 (his demotic is restored in *IG* II² 1609.57; on the date, Davies, *Historia* 18, 1969, pp. 309-333; see also *APF* Ἀρχέδημος).

Line 14: A relative perhaps, Archinos son of Archias of Pithos, is listed in a catalog of Kekropis (*IG* II² 2385.108, “*med. s. IV a.*”); he may be an uncle of the ephebe if the date of the catalog is correct.

Line 17: For an Archinos son of Archias see above, on line 14.

Line 18: Perhaps [Ne]archos or [Eu]archos (Traill *per litt.*).

Line 20: [Thras]ippos son of Phrynaios was probably the Thrasippos of this deme who was the principal trierarch on *Olympias Lysikleous* before 323/2 (*IG* II² 1631.533; Davies, *APF* 7297). The Φρυναῖος [Θρασ]ίππου Ἀθμονεύς who was trierarch of a triakonter which took part in the colonizing expedition to Adria in 325/4 (*IG* II² 1629.113, where I think we can safely restore the name, and similarly in line 94) was evidently his father, who also served as syntrierarch on the *Agreuoussa Archenikou* between 356 and 346/5 (*IG* II² 1622.635). The [Θράσιππο?]ς Φρυναίου Ἀθμο(νεύς) listed in *IG* II² 1580.5 (“*ante med. s. IV a.*”) may be his grandfather.

Line 21: A Simon of Athmonon, perhaps the same man, paid a debt in 323/2 which he owed from a trierarchy served earlier (*IG* II² 1631.662; *PA* 12699). The ephebe's father Theokles is perhaps the Theokles of Athmonon listed as a creditor in a mortgage inscription ca. 350 (ed. D. M. Robinson, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, p. 19, lines 7-8 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. 9, 1951, p. 32, no. 15), who Robinson suggested might be the banker Theokles mentioned in [Dem.] 53.9. For other relatives of Simon see Davies, *APF* 12699. The Theokles in *IG* II² 2385.69 is probably not from Athmonon (his patronymic seems to begin with eta, according to a squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study).

Line 22: A Mnesimachos son of Salaipon (?) of this deme appears in a list around the beginning of the fourth century, *Δελτίον* 21, 1966, p. 135, line 20 (= *SEG* XXIV197).

Line 23: He may well be the Lykophron son of Lykiskos who served as μεράρχης in 325/4 and was honored by the demesmen of Athmonon (*IG* II² 1203.10-11, 23-24). The Lykiskos son of Smikyliion of Athmonon who is listed in *IG* II² 1564.4-5, 8-9, 12-13 (ca. 330 B.C.) is probably a relative.

Line 27: There were apparently at least two related families from this deme in which the names Kallias and Deinokrates appear around this time. Grave inscriptions give us Δεινοκράτης Αἰξωνεύς (*IG* II² 5412, no date), Δεινοκράτης Δεινοκράτους Αἰξωνεύς (5413, “*med. s. IV a.*”), Δεινοκράτης Καλλιάρχου Αἰξωνεύς (5414, “*med. s. IV a.*”), and Καλλίας Καλλιάρχου Αἰξωνεύς

(5430, “s. IV a., ut videtur”). A Kallias of Aixone (without patronymic) is honored “ca. 325/4” (*IG* II² 1199.24) for his service as priest of the local Herakleidai. Euxenos son of Kallias, prytany secretary in 281/0 (*Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 562, no. 40.2; *IG* II² 660.26), may also be a relative. A Kallias of Aixone, perhaps merely a homonym, appears in a list of (perhaps) the following year (Traill, *Demos* pp. 3-5, line 28); see discussion in Clinton pp. 27-30.

For discussion of other possible relatives see Davies, *APF* 9574, pp. 360-361; Traill, *Demos* 8-9.

Line 28: Several members of this family appear on a gravestone inscribed “ante med. s. IV a.” (*IG* II² 5442). This ephebe’s name is perhaps to be restored in the list of (perhaps) the following year (Traill, *Demos* pp. 3-5, line 23).

Line 29: A relative of Demetrios son of Eukles (if the reading of the patronymic is correct) may be the Demetrios of Aixone who was a symproedros in a Samian cleruchy decree of 346/5 (Michel, *RIG* 832.62). For additional Demetrioι of Aixone see *PA* 3371-72.

Another relative may be the Eukles son of Eukleides who was ephebe in the preceding year (*IG* II² 1156.II.13) or the Eukles of Aixone father of Φ[.]ις who appears on a fourth-century grave relief (apparently unpublished) in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (Ernest Brummer collection, no. 3; I owe the information to the kindness of D. M. Lewis and J. S. Traill).

Line 31: A decree of Priene (*I. Priene* 5.18) sends praise to the Athenians ὑπὲρ Διφίλου, τοῦ ἐς Σάμῳ στρατηγοῦ. Kirchner restored his name in *IG* II² 1628.120 (326/5): [στρατη]γῶι εἰς Σάμον | [Διφίλω]ι? Αἰξωνεῖ. Cf. Davies, *Wealth* p. 165. Our ephebe ought to belong to this family, but in 326/5 he would still be too young, normally, to hold a generalship. His father, Nausichares, is most likely the Nausichares son of Nausikrates who appears in a relief on a grave lekythos together with his wife Diphile, daughter of Timokleides of Euonymon (*IG* II² 6166); the son was evidently named after his mother. His older brother may be the Nausikrates son of Nausichares who appears on a gravestone dated by Kirchner in the fourth century (*IG* II² 5440). A descendant appears in *IG* II² 5429.

Line 32: The patronymic is difficult to make out. Παν(α)ρίστου seems likely epigraphically but of course cannot be regarded as certain. Only the feminine form of this name is attested in Attic prosopography.

Line 34: Timostratos son of Menestratos of Xypete, who appears in a list of diaitetai ca. 360 (*IG* II² 1927.19-20; on the date, Ruschenbusch, *loc. cit.* [above, on line 11]), is probably a relative.

Line 36: A relative appears in a list of (perhaps) the following year: Lysikrates son of Chionides of Xypete (Traill, *Demos* pp. 3-5, line 114). Lysikrates may well be the son of the Chionides of Xypete who was a witness in a trial between 343 and 340 ([*Dem.*] 49.33-34); on this family see Traill, *ad loc.*

Line 40: Thougenes may be a relative of the herald of the Boule, Philokles son of Eukles, who was honored before 358 (*IG* II² 145; *Hesperia* 10, 1942, p. 266; Lewis, *BSA* 49, 1954, p. 49). If so, he ought to be the brother of Philokles’ son, Eukles, who was herald of the Boule and Demos in 305/4 - 303/2 (*Agora* XV 58.34-35, 61.106, 62.294-296). For descendants who served in this post see the list in *Agora* XV pp. 14-15.

Lines 42-43: Considering the striking similarity of their names and the fact that both are serving as ephebes in the same year, Synboulos and Euboulos are probably twin brothers. A brother of Synboulos and Euboulos by the name of Nikeratos appears in a list of (perhaps) the following year

(Traill, *Demos* p. 4, line 75); Traill suggests that Nikeratos son of Nikeratos of Phlya, ephebe in 266/5 (*IG* II² 665.III.43), may be this ephebe's grandson.

Line 44: Φαί[δρίας] Ῥ[ό]δωνος fits the space and the traces. A man by this name was Treasurer of Athena in 345/4 (*IG* II² 1443.4; *PA* 13945). Our ephebe may be his nephew. The Antiochos son of Phaidrias of Phlya of the Augustan period may be a descendant (*IG* II² 2997).

Line 46: A possible descendant: Ameinokles of Kekropis who was a councillor ca. 250-230 (*Agora* XV 108.13).

Line 48: Archedikos also appears in a list of (perhaps) the following year (Traill, *Demos* p. 4, line 79); see discussion in Clinton pp. 27-30.

Line 50: Aristomachos son of Demochares also appears in a list of (perhaps) the following year (Traill, *Demos* p. 4, line 101), as does his brother, Demochares (line 102).

Line 51: An Epikrates of Melite appears in a catalog of Kekropis dated "*ante med. s. IV a.*" (*IG* II² 2373.6). Possible relatives from the same deme: Euthydemos son of Euthydomos (*IG* II² 1927.5; 2394.3), Euthydomos son of Euthydomos (*IG* II² 2394.5; Euthydomos the demarchos in this document is presumably the father of Euthydemos and Euthydomos; cf. Whitehead, no. 34 [Prosopography]), and the Euthydomos son of Demetrios (*IG* II² 1668.3; 2825.7) who was the partner of Philo of Eleusis in designing the σκευοθήκη in the Piraeus. A Euthydomos of Melite appears among the craftsmen for the Erechtheum (*IG* I³ 475.247-248).

Line 56: The Sokrates Κ[- - - -] of Halai, councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61.197), may be a relative (his patronymic seems to begin with kappa, according to a squeeze at the IAS.). Other Sokrateis of Halai: Sokrates son of Theotheides (*IG* II² 2820.28; Whitehead, no. 201 [Prosopography]), his father, Theotheides son of Sokrates (*IG* II² 2820.11; Whitehead, no. 208 [Prosopography]), both of whom were honored by their deme for erecting a statue to Aphrodite ca. 360; Pantakles son of Sokrates (*Δελτίον* 11-12, 1927-28, p. 40, no. 4.11; Whitehead, no. 197), honored by his deme ca. 360; Timokles son of Sokrates (*IG* II² 4414, ca. 200; Habicht, *Studien* pp. 159-162).

Line 58: Hedylos son of Dryon should be related to Hedylos the poet (*PA* 6388, 6389a) mentioned in Athenaeus 7.297a-b: Ἡδύλος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἢ Ἀθηναῖος. It is also mentioned that the poet's mother and maternal grandmother were poets: Ἡδύλη δ' ἡ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τούτου μήτηρ, Μοσχίνης δὲ θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰάμβων ποιητρίας, ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σκύλλῃ ἱστορεῖ.... (It is tempting to wonder whether Μοσχίνη could be a corruption of Μυρρίνη. A Myrrine wife of Kallikles of Halai appears on a grave monument together with her husband and daughter, Hedyle [*IG* II² 5492].) Several of Hedylos' poems are preserved in Athenaeus and the *Palatine Anthology*; see A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams* I (Cambridge 1965) nos. 1825-1835; II p. 289 (on his life and work); *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 235-236; cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) pp. 558, 571-575. A Samian gravestone published by E. Fabricius, *AM* 9, 1884, pp. 260-261, names a relative: Ἡδύλος Διογ[- - -] Ἀλαεύς. As Fabricius realized, it helps resolve the difficulty of the poet's ethnic: he was apparently from a family of Athenian cleruchs on Samos. Fabricius thought the poet was perhaps a grandson of the Hedylos on the gravestone; but Wilhelm, *PhilWoch* 22, 1902, col. 1096, a son. In any case we must bear in mind that the poet most likely received his name from his mother, Hedyle (the names Hedyle and Hedylos were rather uncommon in Athens). Thus this will have

been the point at which the name Hedylos came into the family of Dryon of Halai, and therefore the ephebe should be identical with the poet (I overlooked this point in *AE* 1988). Sekounda finds it difficult to suppose that the ephebe, who was born in 351, was active in Alexandria in the 270's. However, we do not have precise dates for the length of his activity in Alexandria. He wrote a dedicatory epigram for a drinking horn dedicated by Ctesibios in the temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Zephyrion, but the date of the temple is uncertain ("apparently about 273" according to Fraser p. 557), and as Gow and Page noted, the epigram "need not necessarily date from the dedication of the temple itself." Thus the ephebe and the poet are probably identical, and the man buried on Samos is evidently a descendant.

Line 59: Bryon was a councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62.216). He may have appeared on a monument edited by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, 276, no. 138, "possibly a grave stele." Sekounda identifies him with a Bryon mentioned by Aelian, *Tact.* 1.2, as the author of a work on the military art.

Line 60: The name Atarbides is otherwise unknown in Attic prosopography.

Line 62: Several Diodoroi are found in this deme at this period: e.g., [Diodoros] son of Theophilos, in a property registration document of 370/69 (*Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 25, no. 33.7-8); Breton son of Diodoros, councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62.214); Diodoros father of the Archedemos who was a councillor in 254/3 (*Agora* XV 89.45).

Line 64: An Epikrates son of Epichares erected a dedication on the Acropolis "ca. 400-350" (*IG* II² 4884).

Line 65: Ν[έ]αῖχ[μ]ος seems to be possible – a name which in Attic prosopography only occurs for the archon of 320/19 (*pace* Kirchner I understand the archon Neaichmos in *IG* II² 1199.16 to be the archon eponymous and not the demarch of Aixone). This ephebe would have been at least thirty years old in 320/19, so that they could be the same person, if the reading and restoration are correct.

Line 66: A member of this family perhaps appears on a grave inscription dated "*med s. IV a.*": Kallias son of Kallimedon of Halai (*IG* II² 5491). A Kallias son of Th<e>ognides is inscribed on a juror's allotment plate from the 360's (Kroll, *Allotment Plates* no. 80); Kalliades son of Kallaischros appears in a grave relief (*JHS*, ArchReports 1985-86, p. 16). The [Ka]llias Kalliadous in the ephebic list of the previous year (*IG* II² 1156.II.9; Reinmuth no. 2) could be a relative if he is from Aixone; see discussion in Clinton p. 27.

Line 67: A possible relative: Philostratos son of Philodemos (*IG* II² 766.30), ephebe in the archonship of Philoneos (243/2; on the date see Habicht, *Untersuchungen* pp. 113-146); cf. *IG* II² 5522. A Nikoboulos of Halai is listed as a councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61.203).

Line 69: Possibly a member of this family: Eukles son of Eukleides (*PA* 5715), who is among the dedicants of *IG* II² 2820 (line 15), "ca. 360-350"; cf. *IG* II² 5481 (= *SEG* XIII 79). The name Euthemon also occurs in the family of Eupolis of Halai, attested from the 360's on; for a stemma and discussion, see Davies, *APF* 5791. The Eukles son of Eukles, ephebe ca. 259/8 (*Hesperia* 7, 1938, 112, no. 20.53) was proxenos at Delphi ca. 246-225 (*FD* III 2.77).

Line 71: A Kallistratos of Halai was a tamias of the stratiotic fund in the second century (*IG* II² 1223.19); cf. *IG* II² 5493.

The Number of Ephebes. Columns I and II each certainly contained 11 names; Column III had 12, a thirteenth being unlikely but not completely impossible; Column IV certainly had 18 names, including one now missing, and a nineteenth is not altogether impossible, for the names in this column are very crowded. This gives us a total of 52 certain names and perhaps two others. For a comparison of the numbers by demes with the list of 334/3 (*IG II² 1156*) see Clinton p. 27.

Date. None of the ephebes listed here recur in the partially preserved list of ephebes of Kekropis in the preceding year, οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκροπίδος οἱ τῆς Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος (*IG II² 1156*; Reinmuth no. 2). Starting from this observation I demonstrated in *AE* 1988, pp. 27-30, that the year of the archon in the ephebes' title indicates their enrollment year, not necessarily the year of the monument on which it appears. The ephebes were normally honored at the end of their service, viz. at the end of their second year. This monument accordingly belongs to 332/1 (other ephebic documents redated according to this scheme are listed in *AE* 1988, p. 29). It follows that Sophilos, the general of the countryside (line 5), under whose overall command the ephebes operated in their second year, served in 332/1, a previously unattested appointment. In *AE* 1988 I assumed that Konon, general of the Peiraeus (line 4), was honored by the ephebes as holding the command when they did their duty in the Peiraeus in their first year of service, viz. 333/2 (an attested generalship for Konon). This I still think true, but I think it equally likely that Konon was still general of the Peiraeus in 332/1, for it seems a bit dubious that the ephebes would not also honor the current general of the Peiraeus (if he were other than Konon).

87. DECREE OF THE GENOS OF THE KERYKES IN HONOR OF XENOKLES XEINIDOS SPHETTIOS. While serving as ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει (in 334/3-331/0, according to Ampolo) he apparently distributed money for sacrifices in such a way that the *genos* of the Kerykes was especially satisfied. This document shows that Xenokles' service to the Mysteries and its *gene* predates considerably his tenure as epimelete of the Mysteries (for which see **95.12**, **97-98**). For Xenocles' career see Meritt, Davies, *APF* 1234, Woodhead, and especially Ampolo and (with new evidence concerning a descendent) Habicht, *Hesperia* 57, 1988, pp. 323-327 (= *Aufsätze* pp. 323-327). The fact that he was granted here πρόσδος to the Kerykes probably indicates that he was not a member, therefore was most likely a Eumolpid. On Xenocles and this document see now also Lewis, *SEG* L 163.

88. STATUE BASE FOR EUBOULEUS. On Eubouleus see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 56-63; Graf, *Eleusis* pp. 171-174; Foucart, *Mystères* pp. 104-106. He is among the most important deities of the Eleusinian cult, and had his own priest (with the God and the Goddess); see *Sacred Officials* p. 97. The famous head of Eubouleus was found nearby, but it does not belong with this base.

Line 2: His father is probably the Apollodoros of Kerameis who was syntrierarch ca. 365 (*IG II² 1609.77*; Davies, *APF* 1419).

Line 3: Diofantos (Davies, *APF* 4435, with stemma; *PA* 4434) performed the εὐταξία liturgy ca. 330 (*IG II² 417.13*); his son Diopethes is mentioned in a decree of the phratry Dyaleis as a phratriarch in 300/299 (*IG II² 1241.7*).

89. DEDICATION BY EPHEBES (?) OF HIPPOTHONTIS. It is possible that nothing was inscribed above line 1; in any case this could be a rather wide base. One may compare it with the dedication of the ephebes of Kekropis (86). The ephebes of Hippothontis also set up a dedication (84) at Eleusis.

Line 4: A very possible candidate is the son of Ἰερ]ομνήμων Τε[ι]σιμάχο [ἐκ Κοίλης?] who is attested in a Delian document of 359/8 (*I. Délos* 104 (5).21-22; *PA* 7505).

Line 6: Koumanoudis suggested that this Myronides is the son of Archinos of Koile (*PA* 2526), the famous statesman at the end of the fifth century; Archinos' son (*PA* 10512) is mentioned by Demosthenes (24.135). However, if this is the correct family, the present individual would have to be a son of this Myronides.

90. BASE FOR BASIN-BEARER. A large rectangular cutting was made in the abdomen of the statue to hold an insert for a piece of marble supporting a basin.

Fullerton assigns a late Classical or early Hellenistic date to the statues, which is consistent with the style of the lettering. The statues have some archaistic features. His suggestion that they were set up when the porch of the Telesterion was completed under Demetrius of Phaleron is an attractive possibility. Equally possible is a date a bit earlier, when the propylon at the main entrance was rebuilt (see II.174).

Unfortunately the finding places of these matching bases have not been recorded, but the fact that they match in the way they do (see the following inscription, 91) suggests that they flanked a road or path, the most likely one being the processional path leading to the Telesterion. This base with its statue would have stood on the right side of the path. Fullerton's suggestion (p. 214) that the bases may have stood *in* the Porch seems improbable, since the unfinished band of marble on the front of the bases suggests that they were placed in the ground; this band was either not meant to be seen or perhaps was meant to give the impression that the bases were cut from the living rock. If they were set up in front of the Telesterion, a location at either corner of that building seems to be required. However, a location in front of the main propylon or along the path leading to the Telesterion seems more convenient; there too the bases could be seen as emerging from the rock.

91. BASE FOR BASIN-BEARER. See the commentary to the preceding inscription. Fullerton has identified an extant statue in the courtyard outside the Museum as the one which originally stood on this base. The angle of the cutting for the plinth suggests that this statue base stood on the left of a road or path.

Fullerton discusses other basin-bearers found at Eleusis which are much later in date. His suggestion that their resemblance to Hekate has to do with the worship of Hekate at the Eleusinian sanctuary is somewhat problematical, since cult of Hekate in the Mysteries is unattested; but it is possible that Hekate was associated at Eleusis with the Thesmophoria; see Clinton, *Iconography*, App. 5, pp. 116-120 (to the discussion there of the "Sacred House" should be added H. Lauter, *Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovouni* (Berlin 1985) [= *AM BH* 12] pp. 163-169 and A. Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece* (1100-700 B.C.), Jonserved 1997, pp. 150-153).

92. DEDICATION BY SOLDIERS HONORING THEIR GENERAL, THRASYBOULOS THRASONOS ERCHIEUS. Thrasyboulos (*PA* 7304; *APF ad* 7305) was general in 326/5 (*IG II²* 1628.40).

93. DECREE OF THE *GENOS* OF THE EUMOLPIDAI, HONORING NEOPTOLEMOS ANTIKLEOUS MELITEUS. The mention of the Eumolpidai in lines 14-15 indicates that this is a decree of this *genos*; the name of the proposer offers further support.

Line 1: If Koehler's reading Ἱεροφάν[της were correct, he would be the hierophant, exercising hieronymy (on the custom, see II.Introduction, pp. 13-15). (For the contraction of Iero- to Iro-, Threatte, *GAI* I 27.01, p. 393, offers a single example, from A.D. 175 [*IG II²* 3606.6]; in the present instance it may simply be a mistake.) But there is no evidence that hieronymy was practiced at this early date. With Wilhelm's restoration, however, there is not enough space for Koehler's reading, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that the final nu of εἶπεν was uninscribed. Thus the restoration Ἱεροφάν[ης imposes itself. Considering the rarity of the name, the man is most likely Hierophanes of Halai, διαίτητης in 325/4 (*IG II²* 1926.109).

Lines 1-2: The services for which this man is honored are the very sort that Neoptolemos son of Antikles of Melite (*PA* /*APF* 10652), friend of Lycurgus, performed elsewhere in Athens: e.g., gilding an altar of Apollo in the Agora, caring for the cult of Artemis Aristoboule in Melite, serving as hieropoios of the Pythais to Delphi (for references see *APF loc. cit.*), dedicating a relief in the cave of Pan on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (Shear, *OpRom* 9, 1973, pp. 183-192). He probably had no official role at Eleusis. He was not a member of the Eumolpidai; otherwise he would not need to be awarded the μερίς that was a prerogative this *genos* (lines 9-13). He does not seem to be an epimelete of the Mysteries; the epimelete was in charge of the administration of the *festival* of the Mysteria, not the sacred things of the sanctuary in general. (Foucart took ἱερά in the narrow sense, the sacred objects of the Mysteries, but Dittenberger pointed out that this is not mandatory.) He might have been a member of the Kerykes. But it is quite possible that this very wealthy man, one of the σφόδρα πλούσιοι (Dem. 21.215), simply took the same sort of pious interest in this sanctuary as he did in others. The present honor was one of many he received: πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε τετίμηται (Dem. 18.114). A date around 325 for the present decree would be consistent with the other information concerning him (for which see *APF loc. cit.*).

The votive relief that Neoptolemos dedicated, probably in the cave of Pan on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (see above), reflects to a great extent the arrangement of the cave sanctuaries on the slope: Pan and the Nymphs, Zeus Astrapaïos, and Apollo Hypoakraios; and Shear sees in the figure of Demeter, standing beyond Apollo, at the edge of the relief, an allusion to the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe. (On Aeschylus' literary allusion to these cave sanctuaries see *AJP* 94, 1973, pp. 282-288.) In the center of the relief, a male figure, not as tall as the deities to his right and left and dressed in a short chiton and chlamys, has raised his left foot and set it on an outcropping of stone behind an altar; and is presenting something to the Nymphs. Shear interprets him as Hermes, perhaps correctly, though the figure lacks such usual attributes as *petasos*, *kerykeion*, and winged sandals, and Hermes is otherwise not specifically attested for the northwest slope. Considering his height, he may be Neoptolemos himself, presenting an offering or sacrifi-

cial animal; his dress perhaps indicates that he is about to set out on a journey, or has just returned.

Lines 5-6: On the sanctuary of Plouton see Clinton.

Line 8: Myrtle was the crown traditionally awarded by the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 23, note 90.

Lines 9-13: Proceeds from a portion of the sacrifices at the Greater and Lesser Mysteria were distributed among the Eumolpidae; 638.35-36; Prott-Ziehen, *LSS* p. 35.

94. DEDICATION BY THE GENERAL CHARIAS EUTHYKRATOU [KYDATHENAIEUS]. Charias, here στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, is attested as trierarch in 326/5 (*IG* II² 1628.54-55; 1629.700) and again in 323/2 (*IG* II² 1632.57). He is probably the same Charias who as hoplite general led one side in the civil war against Lachares (*POxy* 2082, frags. 1 and 2; cf. Davies, *APF* 5604). These hostilities started in 298/7 (Habicht, *Untersuchungen* pp. 16-21). Charias was unsuccessful and was put to death in the following year. Davies, *Wealth* p. 166, assigned his generalship to 322/1, but with no specific justification (cf. Develin, *Officials* p. 411).

95. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS AND ATHENIAN SOLDIERS IN HONOR OF XENOKLES. The bridge that Xenokles built is commemorated in an epigram that has survived in the *Palatine Anthology* (9.147), as Foucart and Hiller recognized:

ᾧ ἴτε Δῆμητρος πρὸς ἀνάκτορον, ᾧ ἴτε, μύσται,
μηδ' ὕδατος προχοὰς δεῖδτε χειμερίους,
Τοῖον γὰρ Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Ξείνιδος ἀσφαλὲς ὕμιν
ζεῦγμα διὰ πλατέος τοῦδ' ἔβαλεν ποταμοῦ.

The manuscripts preserved ὁ Λίνδιος in the third line, which Foucart and Hiller corrected. This epigram, we may safely assume, was inscribed on the bridge. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams* II (Cambridge 1965) pp. 29-30, suggest that it may have been inscribed on the bridge "several years" after the bridge was built, so that the date of composition would fall within the productive years of Antagoras of Rhodes, the poet to whom the poem is ascribed in the MS; cf. H. von Hesberg, *JdI* 96, 1981, p. 62. However, Hiller made the plausible suggestion that the attribution to Antagoras of Rhodes occurred on the basis of a false reading in a manuscript, viz. the corrupt ὁ Λίνδιος (from ὁ Ξείνιδος). Foucart identified the river as the Athenian Cephissus, not the Eleusinian stream of the same name. Philios, however, disagreed, pointing out that the Eleusinian stream had a greater flow, both now and in antiquity, as Pausanias (1.38.5) noted. In Philios' day the stream would often flood at the time of the fall rains and inundate the Sacred Way; cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* II (London 1898) p. 501 (*ad loc.*). Another consideration of great importance, in my opinion, is that the decree was passed by the deme of Eleusis and the Athenian soldiers stationed there; it ought therefore to concern a *local* benefaction of Xenokles; something done on the other side of Mt. Aigaleos would probably not have elicited such a response; and it would scarcely have affected the *soldiers* as temporary res-

idents of Eleusis. The autumnal flooding of the river is alluded to in the poem, and was a great inconvenience to the mystai. The demesmen, too, would be hurt by diminution of the popularity of the festival.

Cf. the Milesian epigram of the fifth century A.D. honoring a consular for having constructed a bridge of similar purpose (H. Philipp, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 29, 1979, pp. 199-203; *ibid.* 31, 1981, pp. 187-189 [= *SEG XXXI* 979]; Habicht, *Tyche* 14, 1999, pp. 96-97, commenting on the edition of R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber).

For a full discussion of Xenokles and other members of his family see Davies, *APF* 11234, Ampolo, and Habicht (with new evidence concerning a descendant). A man of many accomplishments, he was the "friend of Lycurgus" ([Plut.] *Mor.* 841C) who held the office of ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει between the two times that Lycurgus held this office (see 87). Ampolo dates his tenure of this office to 334/3-331/0 (*PP* 34, 1979, p. 171).

Line 2: Two Archippoi were archons of Athens around this time; the one here, as Koehler and Kirchner thought, is more likely to be the one who served in 321/0, since the situation in Athens in 318/7 was rather unsettled and not conducive to such a major undertaking as building a bridge in the countryside. Ampolo, *PP* 34, 1979, p. 170, however, suggests, perhaps rightly, that the unsettled situation is not enough to decide the issue, and points out that the present tense, κατασκευάζει, indicates only that construction has begun; completion came in a later year. Even so, probability tends to favor the earlier date.

Lines 5-6: Moirokles son of Euthydemos was one of four men who made a dedication to Dionysus ca. 340 (79), and in 332/1 he leased the quarry in the sanctuary of Heracles on the Akris (85). On the prosopography of him and his family see II.85.15 (Akris).

Line 7: His tenure as epimelete of the Mysteries occurred most likely during the preceding year. Xenokles commemorated it with some extraordinary dedicatory monuments (97 and 98). On the institution of this office see above, II.138. Habicht pointed out that he is probably the epimelete of the Mysteries mentioned in *IG* II² 749.6, as grandfather of the man honored (Xenokles [II] of Sphettos; cf. Davies, *APF* 11234).

Lines 15-17: On the procession of the ἱερά and the πανήγυρις see above, Introduction, pp. 11-12 and II.638.

Lines 19-21: The punctuation is significant. The panegyris of Hellenes could pass safely to Eleusis and the sanctuary; the people living in the προάστιον and the farmers simply σώιζονται: the bridge allowed them to pass back and forth, no small benefit. Προάστιον, then, apparently means, vaguely, the area around Eleusis (though it theoretically could include all the area outside the Ἄστυ of Athens).

Lines 23-24: This probably refers to Xenokles' tenure ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει; cf. Davies, *loc. cit.*

96. HONORARY DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS. Tracy assigned this hand to his Cutter of *IG* II² 334, whose known working span was ca. 345 to ca. 320, and suggested a date ca. 330 for this decree (but see below).

Line 1: An Onetor was demarch of Eleusis in 321/0 (?) (95.1). For the lacuna a blessing formula such as θεοῖς or τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ is impossible, but [ὁ δήμαρχος Ὀνήτωρ] would fill the space.

Line 2: The name Θύων would fit the space; a Thyon of Phyle was prytanis in 360/59 (*IG II²* 1745.7 = *Agora XV* 17.7).

97. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY XENOKLES XEINIDOS SPHETTIOS. As Lenormant observed, this and the following inscription probably represent separate bases, one carrying a statue of Demeter, the other, Kore, made by the same sculptor. They stood on either side of what was then the main entrance to the sanctuary, which later became what we now call the Lesser Propylaea (outer propylaea, where the Greater Propylaea now stand, apparently did not yet exist), and above eye-level, as the rough upper surface seems to indicate.

For Xenokles son of Xeinis and the year of his service as epimelete of the Mysteries, see **II.95** and the bibliography there cited.

Line 5: The sculptor is otherwise unknown. The patronymic Ἀριστωνύμου, which is not certain, would fit the lacuna.

98. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY XENOKLES XEINIDOS SPHETTIOS. See the commentary to **97**.

99. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS IN HONOR OF THE GENERAL DERKYLOS AUTO-KLEOUS HAGNOUSIOS. Derkylos is honored primarily for his generosity in providing for the cost of educating Eleusinian boys. The fathers of the children, along with the demarch, are to oversee the inscription of the decree and are probably at least partly responsible for the commissioning of the relief (cf. Clinton). It is to be located not in the Theater of Dionysus, as was customary for honorary decrees issued by Eleusis, but next to the Propylaea of Demeter and Kore. The general's concern for the children may have prompted this special location. The cult of the Mysteries was directed, in part, toward the renewal and reproduction of the γένος, and a symbol of this focus was a child, e.g. the child Ploutos and the hearth-initiate (Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 49-55). The deme needed of course the permission of the administration of the sanctuary in order to post their decree in this extraordinary spot, but the special regard for the παῖδες would be appropriate, and Derkylos' connections with the sanctuary probably also facilitated (see below).

Derkylos son of Autokles of Hagnous probably had a special connection with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. He and his brother, Kallias, were guarantors of triremes in the year 334/3 (*IG II²* 1623.179-181). An Autokles of unknown deme was married to Kekropia, the daughter of Callias, the famous daduch (**57**). The fact that Derkylos' brother is named Kallias and is the son of an Autokles, strongly suggests that Derkylos and Kallias are the grandsons of the daduch and the sons of Kekropia and Autokles. This Eleusinian connection no doubt facilitated display of this decree at the gates of the sanctuary.

Derkylos (*PA* 3248-49, *APF* 3249) was one of the ambassadors to Philip in 346 (Aeschin. 2.47) and served in two other embassies at a slightly later date (Dem. 19.175; Aeschin. 2.140). The generalship of the honorand undoubtedly had to do with the region around Eleusis; Dittenberger

deduced that he was the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν (*AthPol* 61.1). Kirchner, *RE* 5 (1905) cols. 242-243, s.v. *Derkylos*, acknowledged the possibility that he was the same Derkylos who served as στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας in 319/8 (Plut., *Phocion* 32; Nepos, *Phocion* 2), but Mitchel realized that he could hardly be anyone else. From Aeschines' account Mitchel argued that Derkylos may have been at least 72 years old in 319/8, an age not at all inconsistent with the genealogy that I presented above. Couvenhes, on the other hand, has argued, largely on the basis of Lawton's (and others') stylistic dating of the relief ("middle to third quarter of the fourth century," Lawton), that the decree probably belongs to the third quarter of the century. Stylistic dating, however, can hardly rule out a date a few years later (cf. Clinton, *BMCR*), and the known dates for the cutter of this document (see Epigraphical Commentary) easily allow a date of 319/8. It is possible, of course, that Derkylos' service as general in 319/8 was not the first time he held this office, and that this decree may honor him for a previous service. In any case, in the absence of any evidence for a grandson of Derkylos, the ambassador to Philip, it is quite likely that the general of 319/8 was the same person.

Mitchel further argued that Derkylos' service to the Eleusinians was the military education of Eleusinian boys at a time when the *ephebeia* was much reduced (321-319), perhaps even suspended altogether; for political reasons therefore this private *ephebeia* could not be acknowledged in a public document. It is curious, however, that if the purpose involved concealment, the document was not simply posted in the theater, the usual place for Eleusinian honorary decrees, instead of one of the most conspicuous places in the Polis, to be seen by all Athenians and Hellenes who attended the Mysteries. Sekunda notes that the term παῖδες was used of boys *under* ephebic age (νεανίσκοι would be the appropriate term for those of ephebic age; but cf. Couvenhes pp. 60-61), and that it was the ephebes themselves, not their fathers, who take care of honoring their instructors; additional doubt is expressed by Couvenhes. All things considered, it seems very doubtful that Derkylos was supporting a crypto-*ephebeia*.

The relief has prompted suggestions that it (and similar ones) were inspired by a cult statue group at Eleusis (on which see 80).

Line 12: On the spelling στεφανῶι see Threutte, *GAI* I 17.03, p. 336.

Line 16: The *ateleia* was an exemption from τὸ ἐγκτητικόν (see above, II.67; cf. Whitehead p. 76).

100. DECREE OF THE KERYKES IN HONOR OF EUTHYDEMOS, PAREDROS OF THE BASILEUS. Epigenes (*PA* 4804), a member of the *genos* of the Kerykes, may be a grandson of Epigenes son of Metagenes of Koile, amphictyon on Delos from 377/6 to 374/3 (*IG* II² 1635.9-10, 61-62). Euergetes son of Epigonos of Koile, ephebe in 119/8 (*IG* II² 1008), is probably a descendant.

Line 3: On Euthydemos and his family see below, II.101. The paredros of the basileus probably played an important role in the administration of the festival of the Mysteries; cf. 138.A.29-37. The *genos* here proclaims its great satisfaction with Euthydemos' performance.

The decree was probably set up παρὰ τὰ προπύλαια.

101. DECREES (?) OF THE ELEUSINIANS AND ATHENIANS (?) IN HONOR OF EUTHYDEMOS MOIROKLEOUS ELEUSINIOS. Lines 8-9 and 20-21 tend to suggest that the decree was originally set up in the precinct of Dionysus at Eleusis, on which see especially II.71 and II.Introduction, p. 4. The fragment that was built into a wall by the Propylaea is not heavy and could easily have been moved relatively far from its original location.

Line 4: Euthydemos was probably the paredros of the basileus honored by the Kerykes (100) and certainly the demarch honored in the dedication by a general (102). For the family see the bibliography listed at II.85.15; for a stemma see Threpsiades. His father, Moirokles, rented the Eleusinian quarry that belonged to the sanctuary of Heracles (85); proposed the Eleusinian decree of 321/0 honoring Xenokles the epimelete (95); and contributed to a dedication to Dionysus at Eleusis (79). His brother, Kallippos, was one of three Athenian ambassadors to the Arcadians honored in a proxeny decree of Orchomenos (*BCH* 38, 1914, p. 451; 39, 1915, p. 125) and was the general who opposed the Gauls at Thermopylae in 279 (Paus. 1.3.5, 1.4.2, 10.20.5); in 266 he served as synedros (*IG* II² 686.23); cf. Habicht, *Chiron* 6, 1976, pp. 8-9 (with further bibliography); *idem*, *Untersuchungen* p. 88.

Line 6: Mention of the Athenians in this decree perhaps has to do with the honorand's tenure as paredros of the basileus (and possibly other civic service). A decree of the Athenians may have followed.

Line 7: Koehler noted that this was evidence that the demarch was chosen by lot.

Line 9: The sacrifice to Dionysus was, it seems, one of the principal religious tasks of the demarch.

Lines 12-13: The deme did well, it appears, during his tenure as demarch; this is probably suggested also by dedication 102. Decree 100 indicates that he was on very good terms with the Kerykes, and we should probably assume the same for the Eumolpidai.

102. DEDICATION BY A GENERAL IN HONOR OF THE DEMARCH EUTHYDEMOS. For this type of pillar monument see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 98-100. The demarch's name may have been painted inside the wreath.

Line 1: It seems more likely that the general is the dedicator than co-dedicatee.

Line 2: On the demarch, Euthydemos son of Moirocles, see the preceding decree of the deme (101).

The general stationed at Eleusis must often have had a close working relationship with the demarch; cf. Clinton and 191, 192, 194, 196. Effective cooperation was presumably a motivating factor behind this dedication.

103. DEDICATION BY DEMONIKE DAUGHTER OF AISCHRAIOS PITHEUS TO DIONYSUS. The location of this monument might be taken to indicate that it was not inappropriate to set up an occasional dedication to Dionysus within the sanctuary. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the base was carried up from below to the terrace in front of the Telesterion (some heavy bases were indeed moved by the excavators and others from the area of the Propylaea to the area in front of the Telesterion [e.g. 334, 341], some even to the courtyard in front of the Museum

[e.g. 195, 500], some from the church of St. Zachary to the area in front of the Telesterion [e.g. 344]). Koehler copied the inscription “*inter rudera fani*,” i.e. somewhere in or near the sanctuary sometime before 1888. On the worship of Dionysus at Eleusis see Graf pp. 40-66; Mylonas, *AE* 1960, pp. 68-115; Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 121-125.

Line 1: The dedicant is otherwise unknown, but Traill suggests that there is some likelihood that her father is to be identified with a bouleutes of ca. 360-340 (*Agora* XV 20.22).

104. DECREE. Kirchner’s date of “*fin. s. IV a.*” is quite uncertain.

105. CURE DEDICATION BY EUKRATES. Rubensohn adduced other instances of Demeter as healing god. Most interesting is the epigram of Antiphilus, *Anthologia Palatina* 9.298 (= A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968) p. 116, Antiphilus 39):

σκήπων με πρὸς νηὸν ἀνήγαγεν, ὄντα βέβηλον
 οὐ μοῦνον τελετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡλίου·
 μύστην δ’ ἀμφοτέρων με θεαὶ θέσαν, οἶδα δ’ ἐκείνη
 νυκτὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν νύκτα καθηράμενος.
 ἀσκήπων δ’ εἰς ἄστνυ κατέστιχον, ὄργια Διοῦς
 κηρύσσων γλώσσης ὄμμασι τρανότερον.

While Demeter at Eleusis was ordinarily not a healing god, on occasion the blazing light at the climax of the Mysteries had the power, it was believed, to cure even physical blindness, in addition to the ritual blindness of the initiate (on which see Clinton pp. 86-90). The rays about Demeter’s head in the present relief must refer to the illumination with which she was surrounded in the Mysteries. (On the light and its description in inscriptions cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 46; Rubensohn, *Weihehaus* pp. 34-49.)

106. MARBLE CONTAINER. This marble monument, which looks like the bottom part of a vase, is unique at Eleusis. Its shape resembles the lower part of a hydria or amphora. In Corinth a marble hydria with dedicatory inscription was found in the sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth (Stroud, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 303-304, pl. 87g, no dimensions given), but it is much smaller in size. If our monument was meant simply to represent a vase, there would be no reason to hollow it out. As for its use, it seems too deep and ovoid to have served as a basin. It is most likely therefore a container for what the label says, ἱερὰ τοῖν Θεῶν, things “sacred to the Two Goddesses.” A θησαυρός, offering-box, seems to be precluded by its shape, which is unlike that of any extant θησαυροί (cf. G. Kaminski, *Thesaurus: Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock*, *JdI* 106, 1991, pp. 63-181). According to 177.429-430 of the year 329/8 there were two heavy θησαυροί in the sanctuary, one for the “elder” goddess, the other for the “younger.” The present container does not seem to be one of these. We may tentatively conclude that it was a repository for some sacred objects or material used in the Mysteries.

In the relief the figure on the right has the right scale for a god (unlike the dedicants in 99 and 80, but unfortunately the absence of his upper body with attributes renders identification impossible; the principal candidates would be Eubouleus and Plouton.

107. CHOREGIC DEDICATION BY HIERON. The contest in which the victory was achieved is uncertain. A victory in a dithyrambic competition cannot be ruled out, although Kirchner, with his restoration -ωδοῖς in line 1, believed it was either tragedy or comedy.

108. DEDICATION BY HEDYLE. The alpha could also be the beginning of a patronymic.

112. DEDICATION. Peek offered his reading from *IG II² 11729*, where it is not clear that Iras is Athenian. The donor of course need not have been Athenian, but Iras is not the only possibility (e.g. Μοιρᾶς, *IG II² 2314.5*).

115. DEDICATION? This is either a dedication or a grave monument.

119. STATUE BASE. Oinoe and Kopros are, with Eleusis, demes of the Coast Trittys of Hippothontis. Presumably a crown with Eleusinioi was inscribed on the front. On the location of Kopros see Traill, *Political Organization* p. 52 and Map 1. The monument probably pertains to military honors.

120. DEDICATION. *Line 5*: Perhaps Γόγ[γυλος, but there are other possibilities. Names beginning in Gog- are otherwise unattested in Attica.

121. DEDICATORY *PLEMOCHOE*. The shape of the vessel was interpreted by Bakalakis (and others) as that of a *kernos*, but F. Brommer, *AA* 1980, pp. 544-549, has shown conclusively that it is a *plemochoe*. On the use of the *plemochoai* in the Mysteries, see Clinton, *Sacrifice*, and *Iconography* pp. 74-75.

122. DECREE OF HIPPOTHONTIS. For other decrees of Hippothontis at Eleusis see 63 and 67. Skias believed that this fragment came from the same stele as 173, but the letters of the latter are slightly smaller.

Lines 3-4: For a similar formula cf. *IG II² 1140.3-4*.

Line 4: 'Ι]π[πο|θωντίδος is only a possibility.

Line 5: It seems better to take κατηγορεῖ as a subjunctive (in a conditional or temporal

clause) than a present or imperfect indicative. On εἰ for ηἰ in the fourth century see Threatte, *GAI* I pp. 369-370.

Line 6: Probably ἀδικεῖν or ἀδικεῖσθαι.

123. DECREE. The slender leaves are the right shape for myrtle, but of course olive cannot be ruled out.

The reference to Demeter in line 2 must be to the sanctuary, where the decree is to be set up.

A Timokrates of Kerameis was syntrierarch on the *PHEME Hierokleous* in 357 B.C. (*IG II²* 1611.305; cf. Davies, *APF* 13769). A possible relative is the daughter of Timokrates, ca. 100 B.C. (*IG II²* 1942.3).

135. DECREE. This seems more likely to be a decree of the Athenians than the Eleusinians or the tribesmen of Hippothontis, but of course the latter possibilities cannot be excluded.

Line 2: τ[ῆς π]όλεως is a possibility, but a name seems a bit more likely: ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] γυν[ή. The patronymic Νεικοπόλεως occurs rather late (*Agora XV* 477.35, third century A.D.).

Line 3: The reference to people or animals dying (the present tense) is intriguing.

Line 4: Mention of the epistatai (of Eleusis) tends to suggest that this is an Athenian decree.

Line 5: Kallias is otherwise unknown. On -λ- for -λλ- see Threatte, *GAI* I pp. 514-515.

Line 9: The restoration is *exempli gratia*, but ἑκαστο]ς is probably right.

Line 15: τ]οὺς φ[υλέτας?

THE FOURTH-CENTURY FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS (DECREES, LAWS, INVENTORIES, ACCOUNTS)

In the commentary to **140** the following hypothesis is offered, which for convenience may be summarized here:

Toward the end of the fifth century the epistatai of Eleusis ceased to function. Their duties were assumed by the tamiai of the Other Gods, who transferred some Eleusinian assets to the Acropolis (see Clinton, *Treasures*). In perhaps 363/2 the epistatai of Eleusis were re-established in the comprehensive law on the Mysteries (**144**), and the tamiai of the Two Goddesses remained in charge of the finances of the sanctuary. The epistatai issued inventories in their own name as well as contracts (**143**), but accounts were issued by both boards (**177**).

This hypothetical scheme will undoubtedly have to be revised when more information becomes available.

136. INVENTORY OF ROPES. The hand, although similar to that of **139**, Tracy has informed me (*per litt.*), is identical to that of his “Cutter of *IG II² 17*,” whose known working dates are 408/7 to 386/5. The name of the board of magistrates occurred in the first line. Ταμίαι is the only title short enough to allow space for the name of the secretary: they would appear to be the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, for it seems unlikely that the later ταμίαι τοῖν θεοῖν, being only two in number, would have one of themselves serve as secretary to the other.

It is curious that a stele is set up to record a list of ropes; yet a stele of nearly identical size, **140**, was set up to record a list of dining equipment, much of it in poor repair. The ropes were actually of considerable value, as we shall see.

The objects named ῥῆγος and ἱμάς in frag. *b*, published as *IG II² 1693* (here, lines 26-32), might not immediately suggest ropes. However, the dimensions given, always thickness and length, suggest cylindrical objects, and the most likely cylindrical objects, in view of their lengths, would be ropes. Line 5 of frag. *a* confirms this: they are τοπεῖα, or they are to be broken down into τοπεῖα. A surprise, however, is the term ῥῆγος, hitherto unattested for rope. In Homer it has been taken to mean some sort of “blanket” or “mattress,” but otherwise the word does not occur. *LSJ*, s.v. ῥῆγος, following earlier commentators, assume that since Homer distinguishes between linen and ῥῆγος, the distinguishing feature of the latter is its material, viz. wool; this assumption is logical, but our text shows that it is incorrect. On the Homeric ῥῆγος see the appendix to this commentary, “ῥῆγος in Homer,” pp. 115-116.

There does not seem to be a significant difference in thickness between ῥῆγος and ἱμάς, although this hypothesis cannot be adequately tested, since the restoration of ῥῆγος as opposed

to ἰμάς is often uncertain: with a difference of approximately a single letter between them the lacuna can often accommodate either word. However, it is difficult to accommodate ῥῆγος in the first lacuna in line 24, so that we are compelled to read here a ἰμάς of 11 *daktyloi*. In line 29 the ῥῆγος has a thickness of 9 *daktyloi*.

The ropes may be listed in descending order of thickness. In line 13, [δέκα δακτύλω]ν could be restored; the next three ropes are presumably of the same thickness, followed by a rope of 8 *daktyloi*. Then we have ropes that are apparently stored ἐν τῷ πύργῳ, again perhaps listed in descending order of thickness; the first is 11 *daktyloi* thick, the second may be 10 *daktyloi*, and the thickness of the third is 9 *daktyloi*.

The only other ancient ropes known to me which come close to these in thickness occur mainly in the Athenian naval catalogues of the 330's and 320's (*IG* II² 1624.117-118; 1626.22-23, 41-42; 1627.122-125, 447-448, 470-472; 1628.586-587, 606-608; 1629.426-428, 430-441, 1061-1063, 1082-1085, 1136-1137; 1631.264-265, 277-278, 328, 419-420; 1632, 4-5), but these large ropes are always called σχοινία and they come only in two thicknesses, 8 *daktyloi* and 6 *daktyloi* (usually listed in decreasing order of thickness). In one instance of a sale, 25 ropes of 8 *daktyloi* plus one other rope fetched a price of Dr 781 Ob 1 (*IG* II² 1629.1139; 1631.328-329); in another instance 28 rotten ropes of 8 *daktyloi* were sold, at an unknown price, and another 28 were bought in their place. Clearly ropes that were no longer of use, even rotten ropes, were of considerable value. In the naval lists τοπεῖα are distinguished from σχοινία and ἰμάντες. According to L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) p. 250, note 10, the σχοινία are "heavy lines as against the *topeia* or lighter cordage of the running and standing rigging." This distinction might not apply in the present document, but the lacuna in line 5 could have specified that these items were to be broken down into τοπεῖα. Casson interpreted the dimensions of "8 *daktyloi*" and "6 *daktyloi*" in the naval lists as the circumference, "since lines of such a diameter would be impossibly bulky" as mooring and anchor lines. The present document, however, makes clear that such large dimensions can represent thickness. Although it is not inconceivable that in everyday speech πᾶχος might refer, in the case of ropes, to circumference, it would be rather surprising to find such usage in an official document (it is unattested according to *LSJ*). Therefore, until further evidence is forthcoming, it seems best to take these dimensions literally. The thickest rope here (line 24) is 11 *daktyloi*, nearly three quarters of a foot thick. The lengths vary from 54 (line 22) to 180 feet (line 20). These great lengths and thicknesses suggest that these ropes were not manufactured for stone-lifting but for naval purposes, though they could of course be reused for lifting stones; cf. 159.12-14 for reuse of rope from the νεώρια.

Herodotus, 7.25,36, does not tell us the diameter of the ropes (called simply ὄπλα) which the Persians used in bridging the Hellespont, but he does say that those of white flax (λευκολίνου) weighed one talent per cubit. This "white flax" is presumably the same as λευκέα, esparto (*stipa tenacissima*); W. W. How and J. Wells, *ad loc.*; N. G. L. Hammond, in *idem* and L. J. Roseman, The Construction of Xerxes' Bridge over the Hellespont, *JHS* 116, 1996, p. 90. Using the royal Samian cubit of 527 mm. and the Attic/Euboic talent of 25.86 kg., Roseman calculated that these ropes had a "nominal diameter of 9 (inches)," which would be approximately 12 *daktyloi* (*ibid.*, p. 99). Although Herodotus' figure may be only approximate, the information does at least indicate that it was possible in antiquity to work with ropes of a diameter greater than 8 *daktyloi*. (The term

ὄπλα was also used of cables for the Panathenaic ship, but we have no information about their size; see Shear, *Kallias* pp. 39-44.)

Lines 2-3: If there is no interruption of the stoichedon order, the only Attic names that fit, apparently, are Ἐξίθεος (*IG II² 2432.4*) and Ἡρόθεος (*IG II² 7015*).

Line 5: Although [τὰς συγγραφαί]ς fits the space, it makes no sense, for at this time συγγραφαί are specifications which form the basis of a contract, and the tamiai or other officials ought not to be fulfilling a contract, at least not with regard to old ropes. Perhaps we have here reference to the arrangement of the ropes, κατὰ [πάχος καὶ μῆκος]; but unless we assume crowding, as in line 7, this restoration is one letter too long for the space.

Lines 7-8: There seems to be no choice but to construe -]οβουλη as the name of a woman. Before this name we should perhaps consider a relative pronoun and a verb, e.g. [ἃ ἐπέδωκε Κλε]οβούλη (whether this is the actual verb is far from certain). An Aristoboule appears in Acropolis inventories of this period as the dedicant of a silver phiale (*IG II² 1425.A.III.323*, etc.). The archon's name follows.

Lines 9-10: The names here may belong to buyers; cf. 139.5; but there are other possibilities.

Line 11: The present location of the ropes may be given here (cf. line 23), but a verb seems more likely, of which the preceding persons are the subjects.

Lines 12-25: The restorations are based on the available space and the order of the dimensions. There seems to be no other solution in lines 15, 17, and 19 but to restore τὸ ἴσον; cf. 159.31, ἑτέρους τοὺς ἴσους; 157.15-17. Conceivably possible is τὸ αὐτόν, “the same”; although correct usage is τὸ αὐτό, we find, e.g., ἡανάλωμα τὸ αὐτόν in an Erechtheum account of 408/7 (*IG I³ 476.182-183*; cf. 475.92); but Threatte, *GAI II* 62.01 (e), pp. 330-331, points out that this usage occurs only before 400 B.C.

Line 14: That a single number occupied the entire lacuna is unlikely; an additional dimension in feet or cubits seems to be required. The distribution of spaces here is hypothetical.

Line 15: A number cannot go in the lacuna; the recurrence of]ον πάχος in line 17, where the shorter space demands ἰμάς, suggests the solution given above: lines 15-20 list ropes of the same thickness but of different lengths.

Line 23: The restoration [τάδε κεῖται] is slightly too large for the space, but not impossible.

Appendix: ῥῆγος in Homer. The word has customarily been taken to be some kind of a blanket or mattress (cf. S. Laser, *Hausrat*, *Archaeologia Homerica II* (Göttingen 1968) pp. 12-14). The principal passage is *Iliad* 24.644-646:

δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
πορφύρε' ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
χλαίνας τ' ἐνθέμεναι οὔλας καθύπερθεν ἔσασθαι.

If ῥῆγος means “blanket,” the difference in function between the ῥήγεα, which ought to be the lowest layer of bedding, and the τάπητες is at first sight unclear. τάπητες are sometimes described as woolen (*Od.* 4.124; *Il.* 16.224; *Schol. Gen. Il.* 9.200; Laser p. 14, note 56), but never ῥήγεα, whose qualifiers – καλά, σιγαλόεντα, πορφύρεα – would be right for linen (Laser pp. 13-

14). τάπητες ought then to serve as a mattress, as Laser logically concludes. But this leaves no clear function to the ῥήγεα. The present document, however, offers illumination. If the ῥήγεα are ropes, then the verb ἐμβάλλειν makes good sense as a reference to the insertion of ropes in the holes of the bed rails (ἐν τρητοῖσι λέχεσιν; on the τρητὸν λέχος see Laser pp. 30-31) to form the mat upon which the “mattress” (consisting of τάπητες) was laid. The ancient definitions call the ῥῆγος a περιβόλαιον or περίστρωμα (see references collected by Laser p. 14, note 50; *Et. Mag.* ῥῆγος· τὸ πορφυροῦν περιβόλαιον.) Both terms could refer to the wrapping of the ῥήγεα around the bed rails. The present document also suggests that the ῥήγεα are not ordinary ropes: they are quite wide. In Homeric times they cannot be thick round ropes but must rather be wide plaited strips, or webbing; see the examples, ancient and modern, in Laser figs 4-6, pl. 1. Individual strands, or cords, of this webbing would pass through the holes in the bed rails (*Et. Mag.* τρητὸν λέχος· παρὰ τὸ τετρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰ ἐνήλατα, εἰς ἃ ἐμβάλλεται ἡ σπάρτος). I would assume that sometimes the mat that was formed in this way would be completely plaited together, as in Laser fig. 5b and pl. Id. Such a whole mat, but of cowhide (a ἱμάς), was placed on Odysseus and Penelope’s bed (*Od.* 23.201): ἐν δ’ ἐτάνυσσ’ ἱμάντα βοὸς φοῖνικι φαεινόν. Like the ῥῆγος it was purple. When Odysseus lay down on a ῥῆγος on the Phaeacians’ ship (*Od.* 13.73,118), it was undoubtedly a whole mat set simply on the rear deck. But in the phrase ἐν λέκτροισι καὶ ἐν ῥήγεσσι καθεύδειν (*Od.* 20.141) the full luxury of the standard bed is expressed with reference to the suspension provided by its webbing, ἐν ῥήγεσσι.

137. ACCOUNT / INVENTORY. Like **52** this financial document is somewhat unusual in combining both inventory and account. The inventory appears to end in line 27. In the rest of the document only expenditures can be identified. There is some reason to think that the administrators here were the treasurers of the Other Gods; see below II.140.

Line 2: For the restoration compare line 51.

Line 5: Perhaps σφραγίδε λιθίνω.

Lines 27-28: Perhaps ταῦτα παρεδώκαμεν τοῖς ταμίαις name demotic [ἀ]δ[δ]ηι κ[αὶ συ]νάρχ[ουσιν· τάδε ἀνήληται.

Line 45: On the altar of Plouton see below, II.177.202.

Line 47: Perhaps the bridge over the Eleusinian Cephissus.

Line 57: Perhaps the priestess of Kalligeneia: see II.489.55; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 296; *Sacred Officials* p. 36, note 177.

138. LAW CONCERNING THE MYSTERIES. The fragments preserve a total of possibly 173 lines, at any rate certainly more than 150 lines. In size therefore the document resembles the famous Law on the Mysteries from Andania (*LSCG* 65), which has a text of 194 lines. Both documents contain the same wide variety of regulations, including details of the public cult and festival and legal procedures for dealing with infractions. The document is probably, like the one from Andania, a law, the work of a committee of nomothetai, rather than a decree (cf. M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 20, 1979, pp. 32-35).

Date. The spelling of the spurious diphthongs EI and OY and the style of the lettering place the inscription approximately in the period 380-350 (Threatte, *GAI* I 9.0121, Tables A.1-A.3; 9.0122, Tables B.1-B.3; 13.021, Table A; 13.022, Tables B.1-B.3; 13.023). The appointment of the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων, lines 29-31 is described in similar terms in the *AthPol*. The earliest date for which these officials are otherwise attested in an inscription is 334/3 (*IG* II² 1496.75); Demosthenes mentions that the Athenians had elected Meidias ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν Μυστηρίων in *Against Meidias* 171, which he delivered, as H. Erbse argues (*Hermes* 84, 1956, pp. 135-154), in 347. If the epimeletai were established for the first time in the present law, then 347 must be this law's *terminus ante quem*. But we cannot be sure that the epimeletai were set up here for the first time; they may owe their existence to a previous law. A *terminus post quem* for the document can be deduced from the office of γραμματεὺς mentioned in A.34, if this secretary is identified with the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. Since the duties of the secretary in line 34 imply a tenure that is longer than a single prytany, and we know that the term of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς was lengthened from a single prytany to a year sometime between 368/7 and 363/2, probably in 366/5 (see S. Alessandri, *ASNP* 12, 1982, pp. 7-70 [= *SEG* XXXII 346]; cf. Develin, *Officials* p. 21), it follows that the law's *terminus post quem* is certainly 368/7 and probably 367/6.

The preserved fragments of this law cover a great variety of topics. Those that can still be determined or roughly conjectured are: the announcement of the Mysteries and the selection and sending of spondophoroi to the other Greek cities (A.1-13), the limits and nature of the Sacred Truce surrounding the festival (lines 14-17), the behavior of the cities toward the spondophoroi and the report of the latter on their mission (lines 20-26), regulations concerning *myesis* (lines 27-29), the appointment of the epimeletai, their duties and those of the basileus in managing the festival (lines 29-38), the duties of the exegetes before the festival (lines 38-40), an unclear selection by lot (lines 41-42), and (after a long lacuna) regulations pertaining to the initiates (B.d, f) and procession (B.g), legal procedures and penalties for various infractions (B.h, a), and the general responsibilities of the epistatai (B.a.23-24). When we compare this law to others on the subject of the Mysteries, it soon becomes apparent that it seems to constitute the most extensive set of regulations we possess from antiquity concerning this cult. Indeed, the original document may have covered every aspect of the Mysteries on which it was appropriate at this time for the Athenian state to legislate.

The motivation for this new code on the Mysteries was probably related to the increased popularity of the cult in the early part of the fourth century. Most of the preserved statutes on this stele can be seen as reflecting a need for legal remedies to cope with difficulties created by very large numbers of initiates; i.e., they reflect a desire to attract them and they reflect a concern for their well-being after their arrival. If the initiates were treated properly they would be more likely to encourage others to attend this Panhellenic festival. The announcement of the Mysteries, selection of the spondophoroi, extension of the Sacred Truce by several weeks over its former length, the report of the spondophoroi on how they were treated during their mission, the regulations concerning false *myesis*, the appointment of additional officials called epimeletai to help the basileus in managing the public part of the festival and in maintaining order, the statute making exegesis available at specific times to Athenians and foreigners, are among the best preserved statutes that support this hypothesis.

The stele seems to have been inscribed in stages.

Line A.1: As ἀπάγγελσις is equivalent to ἀπαγγελία, the restored ἐπάγγελσις, which is otherwise unattested, should be the same as ἐπαγγελία, apparently the regular term for the announcement of the truce of the Mysteries (201.7).

Sometimes, perhaps always, the ἐπαγγελία was written by the hierophant (see II.201.7).

Line A.2: Spondophoroi had to be chosen to deliver the ἐπαγγελία throughout the Greek world. These lines probably describe their selection. A δοκιμασία (for them) is mentioned in line 6. Restoration of an age qualification for the spondophoroi, such as we have in line 31 for the epimeletai, seems appropriate. So we may restore: ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γε]γονότων or perhaps a greater minimum age. 221 indicates that the spondophoroi were taken from the Eumolpidae and Kerykes. A possible restoration of lines 1-2 to fit what appears to be the sense would be: [περὶ τῆς ἐ]παγγέλσεως καὶ συ[γγραφῆς τὸς Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας αἰρεῖσθαι σπονδοφόρους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γε]γονότων. (ὑπὲρ was inadvertently omitted in the *editio princeps*.) Then perhaps: ἐς μὲν τὰ μ[εγάλα Μυστήρια, the date when the spondophoroi for the Greater Mysteries are to be chosen, ἐς δὲ τὰ μικρὰ Μυστήρια, the date when the spondophoroi for the Lesser Mysteries are to be chosen] ἱσταμένου.

Lines A.4-7: Here the process of *dokimasia* for the spondophoroi is described. The Thesmothetai are to bring the *dokimasia* before a *dikasterion*. The law seems to urge (line 5) that it be done by a specific time, but if it cannot be done by that time, then as soon as possible thereafter (cf. Dem. 21.47, *IG* II² 654,54-55). After the *dokimasia* the spondophoroi are to make a sacrifice.

Lines A.9-20: The Sacred Truce of the Mysteries. Cf. 19.B. The term used here occurs in Aeschines, Aristides, and Pollux and in a decree of 367/6 (Miles, *Eleusinion* p. 194, no. 26 = *Agora* XVI 48). I quote this important text in full:

θ [ε] ο ί
 Δημόφιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλή-
 θεν ἐγραμμάτ[ε]υε *vacat*
 Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ[ι] δήμῳ· Οἰνηὶς
 5 ἐπρυτάνε[υ]ε Δημόφιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλήθε-
 ν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Φί[λι]ππος Σημαχίδης ἐπ-
 εστάτει· [Π]ολύζηλος [ἦρχ]ε· Κηφισόδοτος ε-
 [ῖ]πεν· ἐπε[ι]δὴ Αἰτωλῶν [τ]οῦ κ[ο]ινοῦ δεξαμέ-
 [ν]ων τὰς μ[υ]στηριώτιδ[α]ς [σ]π[ο]νδὰς τῆς Δήμ-
 10 [η]τρος τῆς [Ἐ]λευσινίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης τοῦ-
 [ς] ἐπαγγείλαντας τὰς σπονδὰς Εὐμολπιδ-
 ῶν καὶ Κηρύκων δεδέκασι Τ[ρ]ιχονειῆς Πρ-
 [ό]μαχον καὶ Ἐπιγένην παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τ-
 [ο]ὺς κοι[ν]οὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέσθαι τὴν βο-
 15 [υ]λὴν αὐ[τ]ίκα μάλα κήρυκα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπ-
 [ά]ντων ὅσ[τ]ις ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν
 [τὸ Αἰ]τωλῶν ἀ[παιτή]σει τὸς ἄνδρας ἀφεῖ-

[ναι] καὶ [.¹⁸ δικ]άζειν
 [ὅ]πως ἂν μ[.²²]ς κα-
 20 ἰ Αἰτωλο[.²⁴]ρ-
 οι εἰς το[.²⁵]
 αν οἱ ἂν τ[.²¹ Εὐμολ]-
 πίδας κ[αὶ Κήρυκας¹⁷]
 ας βουλ[.²⁶]
 25 ἦσοντ[αι²⁵]
 ους δώσ[ουσι²²]
 ἐς ἐφόδ[ια τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔΔ δραχ]-
 μὰς ἐκ τ[ῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκομέν]-
 ων τῶι [δήμωι].

This decree implies that a pair of spondophoroi visited the League of the Aetolians.

Lines A.9-11: Reference to the Delphic oracle probably indicates an innovation, sanctioned by Apollo either at this time or earlier; cf. 28.34, where all the Greek cities are urged to give *aparchai* “according to ancestral custom and the oracle at Delphi.”

Lines A.12-13 may concern the accounting the spondophoroi have to make of their expenditures. A penalty appears in line 13.

Lines A.14-16: The old spelling ἐπό]πτησιν suggests that this is part of an excerpt from an old law; cf. 19.B.4-13.

Line A.16: In the *editio princeps* I took the month as an indication of the beginning of the Sacred Truce. It now seems to me quite unlikely that it began as early as Hekatombaion. This passage may rather indicate the latest date for the mission of the spondophoroi. In Hekatombaion of 329 a payment is recorded for the spondophoroi ἐπὶ νή[σ]ων (177.4).

Line A.21: For δί]κας cf. B.b.7.

Line A.22: For the restoration cf. B. Helly, *Gonnoi* II (Amsterdam 1973) pp. 121-122, no. 109.35-43; *IG* II² 847.27-29; 212.60-63.

The beginning of line 23 demands a singular subject; the basileus, as the city’s general supervisor of these religious matters, seems most appropriate.

Lines A.27-29: It is illegal for a person who knows that he is not a member of the Eumolpidae or Kerykes to perform *myesis* and for anyone to introduce someone seeking initiation to such a non-member. See further discussion in the *editio princeps*. For the phrase Κηρύκων ὦν, “member of Kerykes”, cf. Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 116, and 19.C.30-31. On *myesis* see above, II.Introduction, “*Myesis*,” pp. 8-11. A prospective initiate, among the hundreds and thousands who came to Athens each year, had somehow, in the days before the Mysteries, to find someone who could give him *myesis*, and he usually had to pay for this service. The fifth-century law 19 (C.26-30) forbade the Eumolpidae and Kerykes from initiating candidates in groups, which of course would have been quite lucrative. People were alert to the opportunities for taking advantage of the prospective initiates. There were men posing as members of either of these clans, and others were ready to introduce people to the impostors.

Phasis in cases of impiety was brought before the basileus. The special advantage for the

denouncer, if he succeeded, was an award of one half of the penalty. So in the lacuna we may expect to read that the Heliiaia is to impose a fine if the man is found guilty. But here it seems that the Boule also has a role, which I thought might have to do with additional sentencing, which would be extraordinary, and in the *editio princeps* I proposed a possible restoration. Stumpf has made a more convincing proposal, namely that the second sentence described action against the basileus in the event that he did not perform his duty: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐσάγηι, περὶ αὐ[τ]ῷ βολευέτω ἢ βολὴ ὡς ἀδικῶντος. A similar provision is found in the Law on Silver Coinage (Stroud, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 158-188, lines 32-34, with M. H. Hansen, *Eisangelia* (*Odense University Classical Studies* 6, 1975, p. 28 = *SEG* XXVI 72). This must be essentially correct, despite the strange lack of an impeachment formula (as in the Law on Silver Coinage) and the spelling ἐσ- (as opposed to εἰσ-, as elsewhere in this document).

Lines A.29-31: This is probably the initial authorization of new officials for the Mysteries who are called epimeletai. The law is repeated in summary form in the *AthPol* 57.1: [ὁ] δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν Μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ὧν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, δύο μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, ἓνα δ' [ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν, ἓνα] δ' ἐκ Κηρύκων. The activity of the basileus and epimeletai is described in the *AthPol* here as ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, and a few lines later that of the basileus as διοικεῖν, which justifies the restoration at the end of line 29. Their concerns were principally the administration of the festival and maintenance of order. The duties of the basileus during the Mysteries are described in more detail in Pseudo-Lysias 6.4. For the epimeletai in action see 181, 202, 208.

It is curious to read first a general description of the duties of the epimeletai (lines 29-30) and then the manner of their election rather than the other way around, which would be normal. If we take προσαῖρεσθαι to mean “choose in addition”, we might eliminate this difficulty by restoring the name of some other officials in the lacuna in line 29, such as καὶ τὸς ἱεροποιοῦς (so Rhodes). But then we would, I think, create a more serious difficulty, namely that specific powers of the epimeletai would be described in lines 31-33, but not those of these other officials. In addition, we would then have only a description of some of the duties of the epimeletai but no description of their general areas of responsibility, the *epimeleia* and the *dioikesis*; for this we would be left only with their name and the references to *epimeleia* in lines 33-34. Furthermore, we have no evidence of the existence at this time of hieropoioi in charge of the *dioikesis* and *epimeleia* of the Mysteries. The only hieropoioi attested at Eleusis in the 4th century were the ἱεροποιοὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, who were in charge of the *dioikesis* of the Eleusinia and certain sacrifices (*AthPol* 54.7; 177.350, 380, 431-432), and the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς (177.409, 413, 418, 424, 428), who were in this instance in charge of matters pertaining to the *aparche* (from its proceeds they performed sacrifices and oversaw the making of the Dedication); the two boards are perhaps identical; see II.177.432. In 341/0 the prytaneis of Aigeis honored ten of their number who had served as ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ τὰ Μυστηρία ἱεροποιήσαντες Ἐλευσῖνι (*IG* II² 1749.80-84), but these men probably just represented the prytany at sacrifices at Eleusis during the Mysteries (which took place when this prytany was in office). The passage in the *AthPol* describing the duties and election of the epimeletai (57.1), strictly speaking, follows the same order as the present inscription: first duties, then election, though the syntax there does not call attention to the anomaly as much as the syntax here. The law here seems to make a general statement about the *epimeleia* and the *dioike-*

sis of the Mysteries, and then goes on to describe the duties of the officials responsible for the *epimeleia*, especially the new ones, the epimeletai, who will assist the basileus. προσαιρῆσθαι, I assume, means “choose an assistant” (to the basileus), a use that is well attested. In mentioning the *dioikesis* of the Mysteries the law implies, of course, that those Eumolpidae and Kerykes responsible for it but who are not epimeletai do not share in the *epimeleia* with the same legal powers that the epimeletai are to have.

177.370-375 lists the officials who let contracts for various services at the Mysteries: the basileus, the paredroi, the epistatai at Eleusis, and the epimeletai of the Mysteries. They are surely the officials who are in sole charge of the *dioikesis* of the Mysteries. If hieropoioi had been given the power that restoration of them in the lacuna here would imply, it is unlikely they would not have been listed in 177.370-375.

Lines A.32-33: Fining the disorderly or bringing them to court was probably the most important function of the epimeletai. The fine they could impose seems to be either 20 or 200 drachmas, unless the sign for 50 occupied two spaces.

Line A.33: For the vacant space at the start of a new regulation cf. lines 36, 37, 38, 44.

Lines A.33-35: “The basileus is to have one of the praktores and the secretary, starting on the first (of Boedromion) until the assembly of initiates is dissolved, and they (the praktor and the secretary) are to record the fines which the basileus or any of the epimeletai imposes.”

The praktores, ten in number, were responsible for registering and collecting overdue public debts (cf. Rhodes, *Boule* pp. 150-151). The secretary is undoubtedly the γραμματεὺς ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν, also called γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. This is most likely not the old secretary of the Boule whose term lasted for a single prytany (it would have been awkward to have to change secretaries approximately in the middle of the festival), but rather the annual secretary, an office which was introduced probably in 366/5 (see above, under **Date**). This secretary is apparently the same as the one mentioned earlier in this law (line 22). The Mysteria were of special importance to the Boule and the Athenian state, so it is not surprising to find that the task described here fell to the secretary of the Boule.

For ἀπὸ νομηνίας compare line 39. The terminal date is the day the assembly of initiates breaks up, probably Boedromion 23.

Lines A.36-38: The δίκαι (line 38) I assumed would be directed at the epimeletai and the other officials named above, who were charged with the imposition and recording of fines, since the dikai are περὶ ἐκάστοῦ αὐτῶν, and ἕκαστος αὐτῶν has just been used (line 37) to refer to these very officials. The accusations would presumably concern improper official conduct in general, but more usually they would charge that inappropriate penalties were imposed or penalties were improperly recorded, or that penalties were imposed on people who were not disorderly. I took δίκαι here to mean lawsuits in general, including both δίκαι in the narrow sense (private suits) and γραφαί, and suggested as a possible restoration: δι[κάζεν τὴν Ἑλῖαίαν | καὶ τὸς ἐ]ννέα ἄρχον-τας τὰς μετὰ τὴν [έορτήν εἰσάγειν] ἕνα περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν: “The Heliaia is to decide the cases. And the nine archons are to introduce the ‘post-festival’ cases, one (archon) concerning each of them (the magistrates).” There could be as many as nine defendants if one counts the four epimeletai, the praktor, the secretary, and the basileus and his two paredroi. The paredroi have not been mentioned earlier, but there seems to be no reason to assume that they would not have

helped the basileus during the Mysteries. The basileus of course would not have been responsible for introducing a case concerning himself.

Stumpf objected that the δίκαι can only be understood in the narrow sense, and he may be right. He further maintained that only εἰσάγειν could refer to suits after the Mysteries; δικάζειν must concern suits that took place during the festival. He accordingly restored δι[κάζειν τὸν βασιλέα. He followed the rest of my proposal but took the final phrase, ἕνα περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν, to refer not to the previously mentioned magistrates but to the nine archons: "... was jeden einzelnen von ihnen betrifft, meint also die übliche Zuständigkeit der Archonten zur Jurisdiktion." To take περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν (presumably αὐτῶν) in this sense strikes me as difficult. But the main problem is that the preceding discussion has concerned actions to be taken by certain officials against those who misbehave. Nothing has been said about wrongs done by one individual against another, and how they are to be handled, or even whether lawsuits could be entertained during the Mysteries. In sacred laws which describe such suits, i.e. at a festival or within a sanctuary, the procedure is carefully described (*LSCG* 65.75-78, 69.13-17). It is unlikely that it would be referred to here so abruptly and briefly.

None of the restorations hitherto proposed is satisfactory. My own suggestion implies an extraordinary manner of bringing charges against magistrates, not before the Boule but directly in the Heliaia (cf. Rhodes, *Boule* pp. 147-171). For judicial procedures concerning the Mysteries in the second or first century B.C. see 250.29-35.

Lines A.38-40: Some other officials seem also to be the subject of ἐξηγεῖσθαι. For ἀρ[χ]ῆ[αμ]έ[νο]ς ἀπὸ νομηνίας see line 34. The month, τ[οῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος], may follow. Ordering exegesis to start as early as the beginning of Metageitnion would be for the convenience of initiates, for they would have to perform their *myesis* before the festival, and some would need exegesis before they could do their *myesis*. 250.27 prescribes that exegesis be available before the start of the period reserved for *myesis*: πρὸ τοῦ τῆς μῆσεως καὶ τ[οῦ] ἐξ[ηγῶντα] τ[οῖς] μύστ[αις]. Since the process of *myesis* would take some time (see above, II.Introduction, "*Myesis*," pp. 8-11), availability of exegesis as early as the beginning of Metageitnion makes sense.

On the exegetes of the Eumolpidae see my discussion in *Sacred Officials* pp. 89-93, and above, II.Introduction, p. 18. This is the first mention of such officials, though references to Eumolpid exegesis occur earlier. These officials may have come into being fairly recently.

Lines A.41-42: There is asyndeton also apparently in line 44; of course a vacant space can be restored before περὶ. It seems doubtful that ἀφ' [ἐστίας] should be restored here. We should expect a description of requirements, such as age. The simple term ἀφ' [ἐστίας] is rather informal for an official document; line B.d.5 gives the sort of designation we should expect. The wording suggests, furthermore, that any male Athenian can apply, and of those who apply one is chosen, not his child. In fact, eligibility was apparently not open to any Athenian but was restricted to children of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes; see above, II.Introduction, "παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας," pp. 19-20.

Line B.a.10: The initiates carried torches during the festival; cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 250, 264; 462.

Line B.a.11: Here begins a series of fines and punishments for various crimes. At the beginning of line 11, a monetary fine for a citizen, and then the penalty for a slave, probably a whipping.

Line B.a.13: Reference is to those delivering the *aparche* to Eleusis. 28.17-19, ordains a penal-

ty to the hieropoioi if they do not accept delivery of the grain within five days after the announcement of its arrival.

Line B.a.16: Perhaps, as Hubbe suggests: εἰς]όβδην καλέσ[αι.

Line B.a.21: Why the line begins here I can only guess: the letters of the first part of the line may have been painted but not inscribed. In any case, this date was probably preceded by Βοηδρομιῶνος μετά], either in this line or the preceding. The date is the twenty-fourth of the month, which in Boedromion happens to be the day after the festival, the day on which a special meeting of the Boule was held in the Eleusinion in Athens to discuss certain charges of misconduct during the festival and to hear a report from the basileus (Andoc., *On the Mysteries* 111; Mikalson, *Calendar* pp. 60-61). It makes sense that lawsuits would be conducted after this meeting – the same series of lawsuits, evidently, as the ones mentioned in A.a+b.37-38.

Line B.a.22: Before ἀπλῆι, either painted in this line or inscribed in the preceding, must have stood ἀκούσια μέν; cf. 19.6.B.6-10.

Lines B.a.23-24: Line 23 describes the functions of the epistatai at Eleusis; line 24 perhaps describes the functions of the tamiai of the Two Goddesses (see 177). We might restore: [τὸς ἐπιστάτας ἐ]πιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἐλευσίνι, τὸς δὲ ταμίας τοῖν Θεοῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ τοῖν Θεοῖν ἀργυρίου. See further discussion at II.140.

Line B.b.4: Cf. 19.B.22-24.

Line B.b.9: The month indicates that these are trials after the Mysteries; cf. A.a+b.38.

Line B.b.12: At the end preferably ἐπ[ιμε]λ[η]ταί, but ἐπ[ιστ]ά[ται] cannot be excluded.

Line B.d.4: The beginning of the line seems to be similar to that of A.21 and 22. We must of course restore περί, the πε coming perhaps at the end of the preceding line, unless it was simply not inscribed.

Line B.d.5: Presumably περὶ] τῷ ἀφ' ἰστ[ί]ας μ[υ]νομένο. Here the “Ionic” ἰστ- may actually owe its existence to the error of a stonecutter who was looking at the iota directly above, in line 4.

Line B.d.7: Barley and wheat were the grains given as *aparche* at Eleusis (28).

Line B.e.1: Cf. 52.A.III.42.

Lines B.g.2-3: This section may concern the procession to Eleusis.

Line B.h.7: Cf. 19.C.10-11.

139. CATALOG OF SALES? The hand is similar to that of 136. It is conceivable that both inscriptions are of the same type. The present document preserves the apellation “buyer” and the beginning of a name and perhaps the same man’s demotic, whereas 136 has only a demotic in line 10. But the type may actually be different, since the form of the present line 2 matches nothing in the other document, and instead of a catalog of sales here we may simply have an account of the administrators of the sanctuary, possibly stretching over more than one year.

In line 2 οἰκοῦ]ντι is possible.

140. INVENTORY OF DINING EQUIPMENT. The stele was presumably set up close to where it was found, i.e. ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, as we know from 201, which was found with it (see above, Introduction, “Αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4).

This diminutive stele contains an inventory of dining equipment that is similar to the list included in the inventory of 408-7 (52.A.III.15-22, B.III.36-51), viz. furniture and utensils used at banquets for the officials and priests or for ritual purposes. Practically all categories of items listed there reappear here. (The two lampstands in line 18 may indeed be the same as the two in 52.A.III.21). If this is the case, a quick glance shows that the inventory has grown considerably during the forty-two-year interval. Yet the size of the banquets may not have changed much. The number of couches and tables ought to tell us, but unfortunately the number of *good* couches in both inscriptions (52.A.III.22; here, line 23) is not preserved. (The number of unusable couches listed here, far more than 12 [lines 23-26] is of course not informative.) There were 8 tables listed in 52.A.III.22; the same number would fit the space here in line 27. Though the restoration is uncertain, it is supported by the same number of lamps, the small number of κανᾶ (2), λεβήτια (2), and bronze platters (2). At the *hestiatorion* at Chorsiai in Boeotia, on the other hand, there were 35 cauldrons, 30 tables, 55 couches (5 κλῖναι and 50 κλιντῆρες) (SEG XXIV 361). R. A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 75, 1980, p. 224, estimates therefore that in the Heraion at Chorsiai there were five rooms with eleven couches and six tables to a room. The information in the present document suggests that there were at most three dining rooms, more likely just two, and this reinforces the notion that the dining was done by the priests or civic officials, the latter most likely in the building called the ἐπιστάσιον (177.74, 155, 169, 184). The use of an ἐπιστάσιον for dining receives further support from IG II² 1651.10-12,¹ of 304/3 (for the date, Harris, *Treasures* p. 256, no. 118). This inventory displays, after a vacant space, the heading ἐπιστάσ[ιον] (letter height, 0.006 m.), followed by a list of objects inscribed in letters of the same height as those of most other objects in this document (0.004 m.). Only two of the objects are preserved on the stone, which I read as follows:

λυχνεῖον χ[αλκοῦν οὐχ ὕ]-
γιές [- - - - -]
ΙΟΣ[- - - - -]

At this point the stone breaks off, but it is clear that an important purpose of an ἐπιστάσιον was dining. This ἐπιστάσιον of the treasurers of Athena was presumably located on or near the Acropolis.

At Eleusis J. Travlos excavated a building with two dining rooms, with space for seven couches in each room (*Πρακτικά* 1955, pp. 62-66; *ibid.* 1956, 55-56; *Ἔργον* 1955, pp. 18-21). It is located at the northern corner of area B on the Plan. However, it is not clear that this structure is the *Epistasion*; see II.177.Introduction, Ἐπιστάσιον.

Otherwise the items in our list can be identified as a group only with the group in 156.7-17. This lack of repetition is probably due simply to the fact that this sublist of furniture and utensils for the *Epistasion* appears in the inventories as an appendix (in the three documents in which the

1. D. Peppas-Delmousou has joined this fragment with IG II² 1485 and will publish it shortly. I am grateful to her for allowing me to examine it.

list is preserved), but the ends of all other Eleusinian inventories are lost. This list was obviously special and therefore kept separate. The similar inventory at Chorsiai (*SEG* XXIV 361) offers a good parallel. A similar list recorded by neokoroi for the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Athens from 413/2 to 406/5 is called *ἱερὰ σκεύε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι* (*IG* I³ 405). Another such list, called *νεωκορικὰ σκεύη*, occurs at the end of the Brauronian inventory of 416/5; D. Peppas-Delmousou, in *Comptes et inventaires dans la Cité grecque*, ed. D. Knoepfler (Neuchâtel 1988) pp. 336-337, mentions “*κρεάγραι, ἐσχάραι, μάχαιραι, etc.*” (a fifth-century inventory on display in the museum at Brauron, inv. no. 443, again lists *νεωκορικὰ σκεύη* at the end: *σμιγύαι, ἄμη, πέλεκυς, ἐπίστατα, θερμαντήρια, λέβητες, ὀβελίσχοι, ζωμηρύσες, χυτρίδες, πνιγεύς, λύχνω, κρεάγραι, ἐξαυστήρ, φιάλια, ἀρύστιχοι*). A fifth-century inventory of the sanctuary of Aphaia in Aegina, published by Athenian cleruchs, lists similar objects again at the end, under the rubric *ἐν τῷ ἀμφιπολείῳ τάδε* (*IG* I³ 1456 = *IG* IV 39).² Clearly it was fairly customary at Athens to record the list of *νεωκορικὰ σκεύη* at the end of an inventory for a sanctuary (the *ἱερὰ σκεύη* of Poseidon Hippios, however, formed a separate list). So it seems that we should regard the list at the end of 52 as *νεωκορικὰ σκεύη*, reproduced here, in augmented form, as a separate list. This equipment was presumably stored in the Neokoreion; on this building see II.177.Introduction, “Neokoreion.” (A fragmentary list at Oropos [*I. Oropos* 319] seems to be of this type, but it is unclear where it stood within the document.)

Why these things were evidently taken from the epistatai sometime after 408/7 and restored to them in the 360's is not immediately apparent. The heading of this document suggests a significant change in the status of these objects at this time. A related question is why Leptines (probably the same man as the subject of Demosthenes' speech *Against Leptines*, who was very active in civic affairs [*PA* 9046; Davies, *APF*]) did not hand this property directly to the epistatai. Presumably he gave it to the treasurers of the Other Gods because it was from them (i.e. either this board or an earlier one) that he received it. The treasurers, however, may not have given it immediately to the epistatai. Lehner pointed out that the epistatai who issued this document would be, according to normal practice, the board that turned this property over to the board headed by Nikodemos in 356, and that such a board (i.e. a board that turned something over to another) could not be nameless and must therefore be Amphiktyon and his colleagues. Assuming that the four-year term for the epistatai that was prevailing in the 330's was also prevailing now, Amphiktyon and his colleagues received this property from the Treasurers of the Gods in 360/59. 356/5, in fact, looks like the beginning of a four-year term, since such a term and three subsequent ones bring us neatly to the dates of the next preserved terms, in 156, viz. 340/39-337/6 and 336/5-333/2. The treasurers therefore held on to these goods, according to Lehner, for three years before releasing them to the epistatai. It is odd, however, that the date of this transfer is not mentioned in lines 4-5, though the other two transfers are dated. As it stands, the document implies that the tamiai transferred the property to the epistatai in 363/2, and that the board of epistatai headed by Nikodemos served for an extraordinarily long term of at least seven years.

We may well wonder why these dining paraphernalia did not remain in the care of the epi-

2. I have profited from a discussion of these neocoric matters with David Lewis.

statai, the board that possessed them in 408/7. And why were they given to Leptines? Nothing in this document suggests that Leptines had some extraordinary position in the financial administration of the city. Control of this batch of furniture and utensils, much of which is hardly in splendid condition, does not bespeak high office, in fact almost just the opposite: a humble task of guardianship, done perhaps out of generosity. Why the epistatai themselves could not have handled the matter is hard to see – unless the epistatai did not exist. There are other peculiarities in the office of the epistatai around this time which possibly suggest non-existence. First, no other fourth-century document shows them solely in charge of financial matters as they were at the end of the previous century; at best they *share* jurisdiction with the treasurers of the Two Goddesses (see 177); much earlier, in approximately the first two decades of the century, 136.2-3, listing evidently a sale of rope, shows that only the treasurers are in charge). Second, the epistatai only appear by themselves in παραδόσεις (and perhaps also in the letting of contracts), the earliest fourth-century example of which (for all the treasures of Demeter and Kore) belongs to the board of 340/39-337/6 (156). Thus no financial account from Eleusis in the fourth century shows the epistatai enjoying complete control over finances, as opposed to the simple administration of day-to-day affairs, such as paying wages, letting out contracts, etc.

To explain all this, the following hypothesis may be offered. Around the end of the fifth century (perhaps as early as 406) the Eleusinian epistatai ceased to function, their duties taken over by the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (a suggestion I made hesitantly in “Treasures” p. 39). A law (138) containing a complete set of regulations for the administration of the Eleusinian sanctuary and its festivals was enacted sometime between 367/6 and (evidently) 347. 138.B.24 can be restored to read: [τὸς ἐπιστάτας ἐ]πιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἐλευσίνι, τὸς δὲ ταμίας τοῖν Θεοῖν | ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ τοῖν Θεοῖν ἀργυρίου. The year may have been 363/2. If so, the epistatai may have been re-established in this year, and this would explain why the epistatai then received the dining equipment.

According to this hypothesis, Leptines was given the dining equipment because the epistatai, who traditionally took care of it, did not exist, and so he undertook the task, perhaps at the request of the tamiai of the Other Gods, whose responsibility for the many duties they had in central Athens did not allow them to make frequent visits to Eleusis. He may himself have been a priest, but was most probably at least a member of the Eumolpidae or Kerykes. When the epistatai were reinstituted he gave this equipment back to the treasurers of the Other Gods.

The remaining question, if 363/2 marks the reinstitution of the epistatai, is why the first re-established board served seven years instead of four. This anomalously long term looks incorrect. It seems better to suppose that the date of the transfer by the tamiai to Amphiktyon and his colleagues was simply omitted (note also that several letters were omitted in the preceding line before the cutter noticed), and that this transfer took place at the beginning of their term in 360/59, as Lehner supposed (cf. Linders, in agreement, discussing transfers from one magistracy to another).

It is, on the other hand, conceivable that the epistatai existed in the first half of the fourth century, and that they and the treasurers of the Other Gods issued account-inventories and were jointly responsible for inventories and accounts in this period; but the hypothesis of the non-existence of the epistatai seems to have more in its favor.

Line 1: On Leptines see *PA* 9046 and Davies, *APF*. He was active politically in the 360's and 350's and was dead by ca. 342/1.

Lines 6-7: This board of epistatai appears also in **143**.

Lines 8ff: The following is a list of the items in the present document and a comparison with **52.A.III.15-22 = B.III.35-51**.

Present document	52
2 bronze sacrificial baskets (κανᾶ) (plus 5 lacking a foot)	1 "basket"
6 strainers	[?]
3 ladles (plus a broken one)	[?]
6 little cooking pots	[?]
6 soup ladles	[?]
1 "meat tray (?) " (κρηστήριον)	[?]
2 bronze platters (πίνακες)	1 platter
1 bowl for sacrificial blood (σφαγεῖον)	[?]
2 libation cups	[?]
4 wine pitchers (οἰνοχόαι)	[?]
1 half-chous	[?]
1 bronze chous	[?]
1 broken "meat tray (?) "	
2 (leaky) wine jugs (κάδοι)	4 κάδοι
2 (broken) small meat hooks (κρεάγρια)	[κρεά?] γρα
1 (leaky) cup (κότυλος)	[?]
1 small (unsound) cooler	
1 torch holder	
"grips" (χειροπέδαι)	[?]
1 bronze scraper	[?]
1 small cauldron (λεβήτιον) (plus 1 leaky one)	[?]
1 large cooking pot (ἐχῖνος)	[?]
12 bronze handles	[?]
1 butt-cap for a spear (στυράκιον)	
1 small spear head (λόνχιον)	
2 water jars (ὕδρια) (plus 1 without a bottom)	[?]
2 iron lampholders	2 lampholders
3 foot basins (plus 1 without a bottom)	4 (?) foot basins
21 spits	[- -] spits
ἐπ[άρματα ..?] (plus 1 lacking a small foot)	
6 [+ ?] spit rests	[- -]
[- - - - -]	
foot basins	
[- - - - -]	

1 forged key	[?]
[- -] couches (plus many whose interlacings were overstretched)	[.] couches
7 head-rests	[?]
[...] tables (plus many unusable ones)	8 tables
2+ small tables (plus several broken ones)	[?]
small couch	
σκ[άφια]	
[- - - - -]	
cooler	
2 kneading troughs (one [defective])	

Several items that do not appear in 52 could have been contained in that document's lacunae.

Lines 9-10: On ἡθμοί cf. Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pp. 261-264. On χύτραι, *ibid.* pp. 211-212. On the κύαθος and ζωμήρυσσις, B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 95, 1975, p. 135 and pl. XVIII f.

Line 11: The identity of the κρηστήριον is not certain. It occurs, not surprisingly, in 156.9, but also in *IG II*² 1424a.277 and (evidently) 1416.12, there along with other dining utensils.

Line 13: On κάδοι see below, II.149.19-22.

Lines 13-14: On the κρεάγρα, Sparkes, *op. cit.* p. 131.

Line 15: χειροπέδα cannot mean "handcuffs" here but something like "grips," I should think, for holding pots.

Line 17: On the στύραξ, "a butt cap for a spear," cf. Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, p. 308. The στυράκιον (which also occurs in *IG II*² 1416.11 among dining equipment) and λόνχιον were the metal parts for a small spear, used probably in cooking of meat.

Lines 19-20: We may consider ἐπ[άρματα . . τὸ ἐν μικ]ρὸν πόδα οὐκ ἔχ[ο]ν. The term occurs in the list of dining equipment from Thespiai (*SEG XXIV* 361), and J. Taillardat and P. Roesch, *RevPhil* 40, 1966, pp. 73-74, argue that it is a platter for serving food. If the present restoration is correct, it is a serving platter that was set on the table and supported by feet.

Line 22: This may have been the key to the *Epistasion* or to rooms within it. The making of keys for the outer door (αὐλεία) of the *Epistasion* is mentioned in 177.184.

Line 23: In each of the *hestiatoria* at Eleusis there was room for seven couches (Travlos, *loc. cit.*).

Lines 23-26: There were many couches with leather interlacings that were stretched out and in need of replacement. On ἐπίκλιντρα see Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 232-233.

Line 27: It is likely that regular tables precede small tables; hence the restoration τράπε[[ζαι . . τραπεζεῖα .]]] κτλ.

Lines 28-29: On the σκάφιον see Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pp. 231-231; B. Sparkes, *JHS* 95, 1975, p. 133.

Line 29: On κάρδοποι cf. Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pp. 239-241.

141. CONTRACT FOR THE STOA BY THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SANCTUARY. For architectural commentary see Lattermann and Noack. The building has not been identified among the ruins. Skias concluded that it was never constructed. Noack, however, pointed out that the carefully drawn contract gives the opposite impression. See *Addendum*, p. 429.

Date. Philios identified the archon with the Diotimos who served in the 280's and who is now dated to 285/4. Koehler, on the contrary, believed that he must rather be the Diotimos who served in 354/3: "*circa annum 286 non ea fuit reipublicae Atheniensium condicio, ut opera publica Eleusine aut alibi confecta esse tibi persuadeas.*" His other argument, concerning the Macedonian occupation of Eleusis, was not quite relevant. But his primary argument (accepted only by Dittenberger), concerning the inability of Athens to undertake such a building project ca. 286, has not been adequately addressed by subsequent scholars. Lattermann essentially ignored it and decided in favor of the later date, which has since been accepted. Consequently this document has traditionally been used as the *terminus ante quem* for the recapture of Eleusis by Demochares (cf. Ferguson, *HA* p. 145 note 4; Shear, *Kallias* p. 85 and note 233, with further bibliography; Habicht, *Untersuchungen* p. 25 note 25 [but see now *Geschichte* p. 134]). On the recovery of Eleusis from Macedonian control see II.180 and Clinton, Macedonians at Eleusis in the early third century, in *The Macedonians in Athens 322-229 B.C.*, ed. O Palagia and S. Tracy (Oxford 2003) pp. 76-81, esp. 80-81.

Setting aside for a moment the question of the date, the document does not seem to provide a secure basis for such a *terminus*. The Macedonians garrisoning Eleusis occupied the fort, not the sanctuary, and would presumably have respected the sanctuary's inviolability. They would, after all, only need to enter it in moments of crisis, i.e. in order to man its walls when the whole προῦριον was under attack. Although the peribolos wall of the sanctuary was a continuation of the circuit wall of the fort, the sanctuary was separated from the fort, so far as we can tell, by walls (Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 136), which must have served to indicate the limits of the soldiers' normal activities. Within the sanctuary only initiates were ordinarily admitted, and the sanctity of this rule was legendary. There seems to be no reason why the Macedonians would have prevented the Athenians from maintaining the sanctuary and constructing new buildings, if they wished. The presence of the Macedonians in the neighboring fort might have tended to discourage construction within the sanctuary, but we need not assume that it prevented it. We have no evidence that the Macedonian garrison interfered with the celebration of the Mysteries or any other Eleusinian festival. A document such as this, therefore, would not be a *definitive* sign that the προῦριον of Eleusis was not occupied by Macedonians.³

At any rate, the financial condition of Athens in the 280's makes this contract for construction a somewhat unlikely document for this period. Shear, *Kallias* pp. 79-86, in his description of Athens at this time emphasizes the impoverishment of the city and the constant necessity of

3. The same argument is even more applicable to the second document that has suggested to scholars the absence of the Macedonian garrison in the late 280's, viz. the decree of 283/2 honoring Philippides for, among other things, instituting in 284/3 an additional

contest for Demeter and Kore, presumably at the Eleusinia in Eleusis (*IG* II² 657.43-45): these contests were not held within the sanctuary but outside it, in the stadium and elsewhere. Participants in the Eleusinia presumably did not even have to enter the sanctuary.

obtaining donations of money and grain from abroad (cf. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 110). The costs listed in the preserved part of this inscription total Dr 2,400 for work on the foundations (Dr 400, line 17) and the roof (Dr 2,000, line 63); in addition, there is a lacuna of five spaces in line 22 which contained the cost of work on sixteen column drums. The missing lines 24-53 contained the expenses for setting up the columns, placing the capitals (and perhaps also their manufacture), and any work on interior walls. The total cost is impossible to determine, but a figure in the vicinity of one talent might not be far from the mark. It is a bit hard to believe that Athens would have undertaken a project such as this at a time when funds were desperately needed to supply the city with such basic necessities as grain, especially since this stoa could hardly be conceived as essential to the functioning of the Eleusinian sanctuary. In the Athenian Agora no significant construction can be dated to the third century (cf. J. Camp, *Agora* p. 166).

We should therefore reconsider whether there is any impediment to assigning this document to the archonship of the earlier Diotimos, viz. the year 354/3, a time when construction had recently taken place within the sanctuary and more was being planned (see 144).

Lattermann (*op. cit.* p. 165) rejected the earlier Diotimos on the grounds that this stoa built by the Southern Wall could not have been built before the middle of the fourth century, since the southern extension of the sanctuary with the Southern Wall was not added until the second half of the fourth century, probably ca. 330 (*op. cit.* pp. 163-164). As this objection was obviously fundamental, it only remained for him to see whether the other data in this document were in harmony with it; and indeed he found that the prosopographical information and linguistic features offered no impediment. The excavations of the 1930's, however, revealed that the southern extension of the sanctuary and the Southern Wall were definitely added to the sanctuary in the first half of the fourth century (Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 131-133), i.e. before the decree concerning the Sacred *Orgas* (144) and most likely, according to Mylonas, ca. 370-360. The architectural objection to the year 354/3, which was Lattermann's fundamental argument, no longer exists, and so we now need to re-examine the other data to see whether they are in harmony with 354/3, which on historical grounds is far more likely than 285/4.

The lettering of this inscription is the small type frequently found in accounts, inventories, and contracts from the 350's to the 320's; our letters are about the smallest of this type, viz. ca. 0.004 m. in height. Their shapes, as S. V. Tracy has kindly pointed out to me *per litt.*, are similar to those of *IG II² 1496A, a-d*, 1514, 1515, and other documents of this period (340's and 330's; the hand is similar to his "*IG II² 234 Cutter*"). There seems to be no reason why the stone could not have been cut in this period, and the question of the lettering has indeed never been a significant factor in the discussion (although it did convince Kourouniotis [1924-25] that the earlier Diotimos was indicated).

Lattermann and earlier editors noticed certain similarities in phrasing with 143, a document which is probably to be dated shortly before 352/1; Lattermann explained them by assuming that the present document was modelled on 143. The similar phrases are here underlined:

κοντα ποδῶν, βάθος μέχρι τοῦ στερίφου, καὶ ἐκφορήσαντα τὴν γ-
 ἦν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταδίου τιθέναι το-
ὺς λίθους τῆς μαλακῆς πέτρας, προσεπιτέμνοντα οὗ ἂν ἦι πέτρ-

α, συντιθέντα τοὺς ἀρμούς στερίφους ἀρμόττοντας πανταχῇ,
 10 μῆκος τετράποδας, πλάτος δίποδας, πάχος τριημιποδίου, καὶ
 ἐπεργάζεσθαι κατὰ τὸν στοῖχον ἕκαστον διανεκῇ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτ-
 ων τιθέναι καταληπτῆρας μῆκος τετράποδας, πλάτος πενθημι-

The similarities unfortunately are not so remarkable as to *prove* anything; but it does at least make a bit more sense to assume that the two documents may be close in date than to assume that the present document borrowed phrases from specifications written ca. sixty-seven years earlier. As it happens, 143 was probably buried in a pit soon after completion of the foundations of the *Prostoon*, so that if one assumes copying in the 280's, the Eleusinian officials then presumably did not copy from the inscription but rather from the original document in the archives. But deliberate imitation of a document which was composed over sixty years earlier and evidently rendered null and void soon after its publication (its specifications were never completely carried out) is hard to believe.

With regard to orthography, the use of O for OY in πεντεπαλάστος (line 13) would be more appropriate in the 350's than in the 280's. Threatte, *GAI* I pp. 258-259, found the use of O for OY very rare after 325, and observed: "No example of O for OY on a stone text of the third century is very convincing."

The next question is the prosopography of the contractors and guarantors. In Lattermann's day the only known relative of Antimachos son of Neokleides of Kephisia (line 17) was the Neokleides of Kephisia who is listed as a contractor at 177.51, 53, 54, 78 of the year 329/8. It is interesting that Neokleides in 329/8 was engaged in laying foundations of walls and supplying stone for them, essentially the same work as Antimachos according to the present contract. Lattermann assumed that Antimachos (in the 280's) would be the son of the Neokleides in the account of 329/8. This is certainly possible, but it is just as easy (or even a bit easier) to assume that an Antimachos of the 350's was the father of the Neokleides of 329/8 (*PA* 10634). The other data for this family shed no light on our problem: Antimachos son of Philokles and Antimachos son of Antikles were councillors in 256/5 (*Agora* XV 86.50, 53).

Relatives of the guarantor Nikostratos son of Aresias of Peiraeus (line 18), who also appears in 145.6-7, are: Aresias son of Lamprokles, ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in the year of Philinos (*Agora* XV 89.4-5), a year which according to Habicht (*Untersuchungen* pp. 126-128) is "somewhat earlier than 254/3" and "hardly later than around the middle of the 250's"; Philistides son of Lamprokles, councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62.249); Philistides (of Peiraeus), preserved as a patronymic in a deme decree of the early third century (*Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 44, no. 33.1; discussion by Whitehead p. 445, no. 307); Lamprokles son of Aresias, treasurer of Athena in 351/0 (*IG* II² 1436.5). Our Nikostratos could very well be the brother of the treasurer of Athena, as Sundwall suggested (*NPA* p. 116). If our document dates to 285/4, he could, theoretically at least, be the uncle of the Aresias who was ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in the archonship of Philinos (so Meritt, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 432-433, note 8).

Unfortunately in the case of the μισ[θωτῆς Κράτ]ης Παμφίλου Λε[υκονοι]εύς (lines 21-22) we cannot be sure of his name. Since the abbreviation μισθω(τή)ς is common in Attic financial documents, we could also restore μισ[θω Ἐπικράτ]ης. For that matter, the name of the guaran-

tor Ἐπικ[ράτης Κράτητος Λευκονοιεύς could also be restored as Ἐπικ[ράτης Παμφίλου, as Kourouniotis suggested on the basis of *IG* II² 4414, a statue base set up by Epikrates son of Pamphilos of Leukonoion, perhaps around the end of the century (so dated by Kirchner, but the letter forms do not rule out a date even as early as the 330's; cf. *IG* II² 2792; Kourouniotis [1924-25] reckoned a date of ca. 320). However, since the most likely restoration of the name in 145.8-9 is Epikrates son of Krates of Leukonoion, and 145 most likely stands in close relation to our document, and the abbreviation μισθω does not otherwise occur in our document, it seems best for the moment to keep the restorations of lines 20-22 as they are. [K]rates son of Pamphilos of Leukonoion is known from a dedication, now missing, which is dated by Koehler "*init. III a.*" but only on the basis of the letter style (*IG* II² 4674); yet the second line could easily be restored to read [Ἐπικ]ράτης Παμφίλου (as Sundwall assumes, *NPA* p. 69). (A relative may be the Kallikrates son of Pamphilos of Leukonoion who was a prytanis in 371/0 [Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, p. 90, line 28 = *SEG* XXVIII 148.28 = *Agora* XV 13a + Pantos, no. 3].) In view of the uncertainty concerning the restoration of lines 22-23 and the fact that Epikrates son of Krates of Leukonoion is not otherwise attested with a firm date, we cannot draw confident conclusions about the prosopography of the contractor and guarantor here. But a date in the middle of the fourth century is certainly possible for them.

The contractor in line 63 is probably Agas[ikles] of Halai. Sphintharos son of Agasikles of Halai is attested on a dedication to Athena "*post med s. IV a.*" (*IG* II² 4332), and Phanistrate daughter of Agasikles appears on a grave inscription dated tentatively by Kirchner to the fourth century (*IG* II² 5521). The guarantor Charias son of Peithias of Phrearrion is to my knowledge otherwise unknown. Kallikles of Halai may be the Kallikles who appears with his wife and daughter on a tombstone (*IG* II² 5492) dated by Kirchner to the middle of the fourth century.

On the whole a date in the middle of the fourth century tends to fit the available prosopographical data a bit better than a date in the 280's, although prosopographical analysis does not allow us to exclude a date in the 280's.

In view of the implausibility of a contract such as this occurring in the late 280's and the fact that nothing hinders – indeed, much favors – a date in the 350's, the document must belong to the year of the earlier Diotimos, 354/3. This is given additional support by 145, which has always been connected with the present one because of the apparent duplication of two of the guarantors, Nikostratos son of Aresias and Epikrates son of Pamphilos. 145 is an unknown type of document but seems to relate to the performance of a contract in a specific year (lines 4-5, 9-10). In line 10 the propenultimate letter of the archon's name must be alpha, delta, or lambda, most likely lambda. In Meritt's list of archons (*Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 161-191) the first archon in the third century to meet this criterion is Euboulos, of the year 274/3, then Lysitheides, of 272/1, then Philippides, of 269/8. On the other hand, such an archon occurs quite close in date to 354/3: Theellos, of the year 351/0. All things considered, these two documents ought to belong to the 350's.

Line 7: τὸ θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταδίου should refer to the seating of the stadium and not the Theater of Dionysus at Eleusis (on the location of the latter see II.71 and II.Introduction, p. 4). The earth taken from the foundation trench was most probably used to build up the embankment for the seating area of the stadium; cf. Travlos, *Topography* p. 146, note 21.

142. DECREE OF THE NOMOTHETAI AMENDING THE LAW OF CHAIREMONIDES CONCERNING THE ΑΠΑΡΧΗ. This decree of the nomothetai is an amendment to an earlier law, “The Law of Chairemonides Concerning the *Aparche*,” probably (as Alessandri argues) of the same year. Though it is difficult to say precisely which measures in this amendment are the innovations, it is clear enough that the responsibilities of the Boule are being distinguished from those of the Demos. The Demos will regulate how the *aparche* is to be collected; the Boule will see to it that the *aparche* takes place, and that all the sacrifices will be performed. The importance placed upon the occurrence of the *aparche* suggests that it may not always have occurred. It is most interesting to see that there is no mention of the Hellenes in this document, unlike 28. The sacrifices are to be carried out ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου (lines 17-18). We may assume that the Hellenes were not donating *aparche* at this time, just as they were not in 328 B.C. (177). (Woodhead, *Agora* XVI 57, restores ἀπάρχεσθαι in a previously unpublished law or decree of around this time, but the restoration is far from certain.)

Lines 2-8: For a discussion of the prescript see Rhodes p. 28; Alessandri.

Line 2: Only πέμπτης, ἑβδόμης, or δεκάτης will fit the space. Alessandri logically argues that the most likely prytany is the tenth, i.e. a date just after the *aparche* of the current year, which normally occurred in the ninth and tenth prytanies (see above, II.Introduction, *Aparche* pp. 5-7). This amendment is presumably to take effect at the next *aparche*, but if the next *aparche* were that of the current year, the amendment should order the Boule of the current year to carry out the measures enacted; instead it addresses the Boule of the following years, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν τὴν αἰὶ [βουλεύουσιν μετ]ὰ Θούδημον ἄρχοντα; therefore, it was passed after the *aparche* of the current year had taken place, viz. in the tenth prytany. This, however, contradicts laws quoted at Dem. 24.27, 39, 71, which were proposed in the first prytany, held by Pandionis, and according to Dion. Hal. *Amm.* 4 the speech was given in the archonship of Thoudemos. Bannier would restore πρώτης^υ πρ], but vacant spaces occur only in connection with the figure in line 37, and Alessandri’s logic concerning the time of year seems impeccable. It is not impeccable if the suggestion made below (*ad* lines 25-27) is valid. In this case the restoration of the prytany should be πέμπτης, ἑβδόμης, or possibly πρώτης^υ.

Line 4: Oikonomos’ restoration puts this meeting in the sanctuary of Dionysus; the subject matter would suggest [Ἐλευσῖνι, but the year 352 is a bit early to find ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι instead of the dative alone; cf. Threatte, *GAI* II 63.03, pp. 379-382.

Lines 10-12: The ἐκλογή of the grain required various officials to collect it within Attica (and the cleruchies) and deposit it at the Eleusisinian sanctuary and others to receive it (cf. 28). In the year 328 the demarchs and other officials collected it and brought it to Eleusis; the epistatai received it, sold it, and paid the hieropoioi of the Boule the money for the purchase of sacrificial victims and some other expenses (177.417-428). From the proceeds of the *aparche* they also paid for the “dedication.”

The present statute gives the Demos the power to change, by simple decree, the proportion of the harvest to be donated as *aparche*. According to 28.5-10 each deme was to donate 1/600 of its barley harvest and 1/1,200 of its wheat harvest.

Line 16: The Boule is to be responsible for the “occurrence” of the *aparche*. This was their assignment also in 28, and indeed, in connection with the *aparche*, their most crucial assignment.

The Boule would presumably have to see to it that the demarchs (and officials in the cleruchies) were reminded to donate *aparche*, and that the epistatai of Eleusis were on hand to receive it.

Line 17: The restoration may not be certain but the general sense seems right; below, in line 27, the Boule is made responsible for the sacrifices.

Alessandri's restoration, which assumes the occurrence of one mason's error and the restoration of another, violates sound editorial practice. Furthermore, as a general statement it would be insufficient. As this document goes on to say, the Boule does more than just see to it that the *aparche* occurs according to the decrees of the Demos: the Boule is charged with performing the sacrifices "according to the *law*," not merely according to the decrees of the Demos.

Lines 19-20: For the *pelanos* and the exegesis of the Eumolpidai, see II.28.36.

Oikonomos' restoration τῶ[ι δὲ Δί, though not certain, is preferable to the awkward τῶ[ν δὲ λοιπῶν. With the latter *type* of restoration one would expect the repetition of ἀπό, as in 28.38. In addition, a substantive to which λοιπῶν refers does not exist. A modern reader is bewildered as to what this phrase should mean. Editors who retain it have in mind τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν of 28.38, but these nouns do not occur in the present document; in fact, the grain is not referred to here in the plural at all.

Zeus is not listed among the gods in 28.37-39 who receive sacrifice after the *aparche*, but it is altogether possible that he has since been added to their number. The priest of Zeus receives a share of an endowment at Eleusis in the second century A.D. (489); cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 35-36. The sky god, it may have been felt, was owed a sacrifice for his contribution to the harvest and *aparche*.

Lines 20-23: All these gods (but Zeus) occur also in the list in 28.37-39. For that reason Athena should be restored; it is unlikely that once having received sacrifice after the *aparche*, she would later be omitted.

Line 24: θύ[ηται ... δ]ήμωι completes the section on sacrifices, which started in line 18: Some sacrifices are to be made from the *pelanos* according to Eumolpid exegesis; the rest are to be made according to the decrees of the Demos, which would mainly be concerned with the type of victim, number, and price. The phrase καθάπερ ἐψήφισται τῶι δήμωι is apparently unparalleled. καθ' ὅτι ἄν δοκῇ τῶι δ]ήμωι is too short for the space. We might consider τὰ ἱερεῖα ἃ ἄν δοκῇ τῶι δ]ήμωι.

Lines 25-27: Elter's restoration, ἐ[λομένη δ' ἱεροποιούς δέκα] is bold. In its favor is the fact these officials are in charge of the sacrifices in 177.413-418. Weighing against it is the fact that it is not said from whom these hieropoioi are to be drawn (those attested later were taken from the Boule itself, ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς), and what their duties will be (cf. Bannier 1918). Sokolowski's solution, ἐ[πειδὴ δ' ἐκλεχθῇ ἅπαντα, is worth considering. However, if we follow it, we should not expect any reference to "sending" the *aparche* anywhere; both 28 and 177 show that the *aparche* was delivered to the sanctuary at Eleusis, and there it was sold in order to finance the sacrifices; once collected at Eleusis, it did not have to be "sent" anywhere.

The reference to the "law" in line 28, presumably the law of Chairemonides, according to which the sacrifices are to be performed is rather odd, coming so soon after the specification that they are to be performed apparently in accordance with the wishes of the Demos. It may be that this sentence in the future indicative marks an exception for the present year: ἐ[πὶ δὲ Θουδήμου ἄρχοντος] ἢ βουλὴ [ἐκλέξεται (*vel sim.*) τὴν ἀπαρχὴν κ]αὶ θύσει.

Lines 28-29: “Not [only in accordance with the oracle]” is hardly a respectful way of referring to the oracle, and the μή is inappropriate with the future indicative. In the present context μή would be less offensive with a participle but most appropriate with an infinitive. μη[δέ plus an infinitive may start a new sentence, as the switch to the infinitive construction either starts in the following sentence or here, which is more likely. The sense may be: And the Boule is not to neglect its commission (ἐπιμέλ]ειαν), just as if it performs a commission for the Demos. τὴν ἐπιμέλεια]ν fits the space in line 29; τὴν ἐπιμέλεια]ν ποιῆσθαι is common in prose.

τὰ τοῦ Ἡφαίστο]ν as a reference to the festival τὰ Ἡφαίστεια would be very strange indeed. If it is supposed to mean τὰ τοῦ Ἡφαίστο]ν (ιερά), then we should expect ποιεῖν, not ποιῆσθαι. Elter cites *IG II² 410.3-6*, but it just presents the standard formula θύειν τὰ ἱερὰ τῶι θεῶι.

Lines 31-35: The intention, expressed here, of putting this decree of the nomothetai on the same stele as the Law of Chairemonides was not carried out, for the stele has only this decree at the top, followed by a large vacant space. Perhaps it was later realized that the stele with the Law of Chairemonides did not have enough space remaining to contain the present decree.

143. SPECIFICATIONS FOR CONSTRUCTION. For details the earlier commentaries should be consulted, especially those of Lattermann, Davis, and Jeppesen.

The specifications presented here were evidently published as a call for bids on contracts for the various parts of the work. The specifications are not arranged in a logical architectural order and therefore do not facilitate a description of the structure. They are arranged, as Davis noted, according to the quarry from which the blocks of stone are derived: Aegina, Pentelikon, Akte, Eleusis. With the quarries as starting points the jobs are usually defined as: (1) cutting, (2) transporting, (3) finishing, and (4) putting the blocks in place and final finishing. This would allow a variety of contractors to handle a particular type of block (e.g., metopes) from their cutting in the quarry to their final placement in the structure at Eleusis. The result is, from an architectural point of view, a rather illogical order of blocks: frieze-backers, triglyphs, metopes, Doric geisa, ashlar blocks, anta capitals, door jambs, Ionic geisa, waterspouts, roof tiles, foundations, euthynteria, and stylobate.

Attempts to reconstruct the porch of the Telesterion from this document have not been successful; see Townsend for a helpful discussion of the various attempts and their weaknesses (he attributes the discrepancies between inscription and remains “to minor modifications undertaken prior to or in the course of actual construction”). In addition, essential parts of the porch are missing from the specifications: column drums, column capitals, architrave, ceiling, roof, and steps. Furthermore, the euthynteria specified in this document, to be made of stone from Akte (B.61-68), is missing in the porch as built.

The only mention of a *Prostoon* occurs in B.53. The sentence is somewhat peculiar in that προστώιου is separated at some length from στρώματος, on which it grammatically depends; and the intervening participle ἀνακαθηράμενον contributes to the awkwardness. Keil’s restoration, [κα]ὶ ἀθραύστους τοῦ π](ρο)[στ]ῶ[ι]ου τοῦ Ἐλευσῖνι, illustrates the problem: in order to avoid the awkwardness he has the sentence end with Ἐλευσῖνι. The slightly awkward *Corpus* text

causes Jeppesen difficulty in his translation: "Clearing out for the Portico at Eleusis, foundations for the front and returns to the wall shall be built, etc." (Davis produces a similar translation.) It should actually be translated: "Having cleared out, he will build the front of the foundations of the Portico and the returns to the wall, etc." This is a minor difficulty, but it illustrates the awkwardness. It may be relevant that the adjectives ὑγιεῖς ἀθραύστους frequently occur in this inscription without being separated by καί. The καί could be eliminated here and πρὸ τοῦ π]ροστῶιου restored, and the sentence could end with Ἐλευσῖνι, as Keil did. On the other hand, it is not at all clear why such a specification (viz. the place of deposit) would be necessary at this point; it is not given in connection with any other deposit of material elsewhere in this document. Therefore, despite the awkwardness the present restoration may be retained. It follows that the work described in B.37-91 is for the foundations, euthynteria, and stylobate of the porch of the Telesterion. The phrase τοῦ π]ροστῶιου τοῦ Ἐλευσῖνι was evidently placed at the head of the sentence for emphasis.

Davis, *Building Inscriptions* p. 18, explains the difficulty of the missing parts by assuming that there was a missing opisthographic stele, indicated by the fact that not all of the blocks for capitals in A.77-94 are to be finished and set in place. This missing information he supposes was on a stele that was meant to be read between Face A and Face B, so that the two stelai would be read in the following order: "A obverse, B obverse, B reverse, A reverse (where A is the preserved stele)." However, it seems quite unlikely that the finishing and laying of the unaccounted-for capitals appeared on this hypothetical stele. Right after the section on capitals there is a complete section on a new set of eight blocks, from their quarrying to transport, finishing, and laying. According to the usual pattern the capitals should not have appeared in a hypothetical lacuna after these eight blocks, but before them, within the preserved text. Thus some other reason for not finishing and laying them must be sought.

It seems extraordinary that the specifications for upper members of the porch could be presented in this document without any provision for the columns and column capitals upon which they rest. There should be no point to proceeding to contracting for the placement of the upper members if a contract for the columns had not already been secured; nor would there be any point to contracting for the placement of the columns if the foundations had not been contracted for. This obvious fact suggests to me (as it did to Jeppesen) that the specifications given in Face A.8-106 and B.1-36 pertain to a different structure. This gains some additional support from the mention of the *Prostoon* in B.54: if the entire document pertained to the *Prostoon*, there should, in theory, be no need to mention it at this point. But it would of course be necessary to state the name of a new structure (viz., the *Prostoon*) if this marks the start of work on it (lines 37-53 specify the production and delivery of blocks, not the actual construction). The name of the preceding structure could have been given in line 8 (see below). Its identity is a problem which awaits solution by historians of architecture. Whatever it was, the specifications in Side A and B.1-36 pertain to the final stages of this building; B.37-91 then concern the start of a different structure, viz. the foundations of the porch, which happened not to need Pentelic marble but stone from Akte and Eleusis. However, some elements of this new structure, viz. euthynteria and stylobate, were altered before actual construction. The columns, in fact, were not made until approximately thirty years later (see 159). This suggests that if these specifications for the foundations resulted in con-

tracts, actual construction in accordance with these specifications proceeded no further than the foundations themselves, i.e. the courses below the euthynteria. In confirmation of this, Davis p. 27, pointed out that the 1,100 blocks specified here for the foundation (B.37) would not have been sufficient even for five courses. And the order for an unspecified number of "larger blocks" (B.39-40) suggests that the depth of the foundation was not known at this time. If a contract was actually let and construction begun on the basis of B.37-91, it is safe to say that not much of the foundation was built. This inference receives further support from a document issued ca. ten years later, **151**, which is a contract for new work on the foundation that will complete "the old" (τὰ παλαιά). At best, the present document could only have led to partial construction of the foundation.

The following document, **144**, tends to suggest that funds for the porch were, at the least, not fully secured; and this is what one would expect from the increasingly difficult financial position of Athens at this time; cf. Noack pp. 113-117. But by the late 340's sufficient resources were on hand to allow, apparently, work on the foundations to resume (**151**).

The difficulty with the hypothesis that the document pertains to two structures is that the measurements for some of the upper members listed in it are on a scale that would be appropriate for the porch of the Telesterion. On the other hand, support for this hypothesis can be found in the fact that, as lines A.41-45 reveal, some metopes for this building had already been made; hence construction had been under way for some time, but only at the end of the present document are the foundations specified! A contract for them had clearly not yet been drawn up. If the structure described in A.8-106 and B.1-36 is the Porch of the Telesterion, then this document demonstrates a curious case of mismanagement, which caused metopes to be furnished even before blocks for the foundation were ordered.

Line 2: This board of epistatai served from 356/5 to 353/2; see **140.6-7**. However, as Davis pp. 53-54, pointed out, the restoration of Νικόδημ[ος in lines 3-4 is uncertain; it rests only on the demotic and the number of letters in the name. (On the family of Nikodemos see *PA* 11838 and Sundwall, *NPA* p. 134; another member appears in *IG* II² 1678.30; perhaps the present Nikodemos is the same as the one in *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 222, no. 9.3.) Against it is the fact that Nikodemos is named at the head of this board in **140** but here he is named third, as an ordinary member. However, it is probable that this inscription is to be dated a bit before **144**; if so, the boards of the present document and **140** ought to be the same.

The term ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίῳ is unattested, and does not agree with the new reading. We should read ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι, followed, apparently, by one of three possibilities: (1) a long name beginning in ΟΙ and a long patronymic; (2) οἱ [ἐπὶ Ἐλπίνο ἄρχοντος¹².] Παιονίδης, assuming a short name and patronymic; or (3) οἷς ἐγραμμάτευεν¹⁵.] Παιονίδης. The last possibility is quite unlikely, since the secretary should be named at the end of the list. The first is somewhat unlikely, since it is difficult to find a name beginning with ΟΙ and a patronymic that require thirty-one letters. Of the four years in which this board served, the one that has the shortest archon's name is that of Elpines, of the year 356/5. And since it is not too difficult to find a name and patronymic that take up only twelve spaces, the second possibility seems to be the most likely *type* of restoration. Restoring ἐπὶ Θουδήμο ἄρχοντος would leave eleven letters for name and patronymic, but would provide a more appropriate date, 353/2. See the discussion of the date at II.144.

Line 6: Judging by 153 and 158 there should be eight epistatai, and the eighth should fall in the lacuna here. Sundwall believed that there were only seven, because he did not count the secretary. 30, however, clearly shows that the secretary was considered a full member of the board: the members were first elected; then they selected one of their own number to be secretary.

Line 7: A verb (or noun) should appear; συνέγραψε (or συγγραφαί) seems most likely; cf. *IG II² 1665*.

Line 8: It is highly probable that the restoration τῆς μαλακῆς πέτρας ὁμαλοῦς is incorrect. It was made by Caskey on the basis of B.37 and 43, but these instances occur in the section on stone from Akte; the same formula does not occur in the present section on Aeginetan stone. The most useful parallel ought to be line 12 because it reports exactly the same operation; it shows clearly that we need only restore ἐξ Αἰγίνης in line 8. In the twenty-three following spaces the name of the structure was probably given.

144. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS CONCERNING THE SACRED *ORGAS*. Above this decree was inscribed the decree of Philokrates (lines 54-55: τὸ πρότερον τὸ Φι[λ]ο[κ]ράτο[υ]ς τὸ περὶ τῶν [ἐ]ρῶν). The present decree, of the year 352/1, concerns the Sacred *Orgas* of Demeter and Kore: (1) the boundary stones of the *Orgas* are to be restored, and (2) the oracle at Delphi is to decide the fate of certain cultivated land, τὰ νῦν ἐνείργασμ[έ]να [τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀργάδος τὰ . .] τὸς τῶν ὄρων. This seems to represent an earlier stage in the history of an affair whose conclusion in 350/49 is described by Philochorus and Androtion (cited in a commentary by Didymus on Demosthenes). Androtion, *FGrH* 324 fr. 30 [Didymus in Dem. 14.37-49 P.-S.]: ὥρισαντο δ(ἐ) κ(αὶ) Ἀθην[αῖοι] πρὸς Μεγαρέας τὴν ὀργάδα δια < > τ[οῖ]ν Θεοῖν ὅπως βούλοιντο· συνεχώρησαν γ(ὰρ) οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ὀριστὰς γενέσθαι τὸν ἱεροφάντ(ην) Λακρατείδην κ(αὶ) τὸν δαιδοῦχον Ἱεροκλείδην. κ(αὶ) ὥς οὔτοι ὥρισαν, ἐνέμειναν. κ(αὶ) τὰς ἐσχατίας, ὅσαι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ ὀργάδι, καθιέρωσαν διαμαντευσάμ(εν)οι κ(αὶ) ἀνελόντος τοῦ θεοῦ λῶιον κ(αὶ) ἄμεινον (εἶναι) μὴ ἐργαζομένοις. κ(αὶ) στήλαις ὥρ[ι]σθη κύκλῳ λιθίναις Φιλοκράτους εἰπόντος. Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 fr. 155 [Didymus in Dem. 13.47-58 P.-S.]: Ἀθηναῖοι δ(ἐ) πρὸς Μεγαρέας διενεχθέντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ τῆς ἱερ(ᾶς) [Ὀ]ργάδος ἐπῆλθον εἰς Μέγαρα μετ' Ἐφιάλτου στρατηγο(ῦν)τος ἐπὶ τῇ χώρῃ, κ(αὶ) ὥρισαντο τὴν Ὀργάδα τ(ὴν) ἱεράν· ὀρίσται δ' (ἐ)γένοντο, συγχωρησάντων Μεγαρέων, Λακρατείδης ὁ [ἱ]εροφάντης κ(αὶ) ὁ δαιδοῦχος Ἱεροκ[λ]είδης, κ(αὶ) τὰς ἐσχατίας τὰς περὶ τὴν Ὀργάδα καθιέρωσαν, τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος λῶιον κ(αὶ) ἄμεινον ἀνεῖσι κ(αὶ) μὴ ἐργαζομ(έν)οις. κ(αὶ) ἀφώρισαν κύκλῳ στήλαις κατὰ [ψ]ήφισμα Φιλοκράτους. These statements seem to refer to the final disposition of the matters treated in this decree and the preceding decree of Philokrates.

We may suppose that the decree of Philokrates concerned, perhaps among other matters, the reestablishment of the boundaries of Attic sanctuaries in general and the property that belonged to them. The second (present) decree on this stele addressed property belonging to the Eleusinian sanctuary, viz. the Sacred *Orgas*. In order to reestablish the boundaries of the Sacred *Orgas*, a committee of fifteen was appointed, who would take advice from all quarters but especially, for obvious reasons, from the Eleusinian priests and clans. The second task was to decide what to do with τὰ νῦν ἐνείργασμ[έ]να [τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀργάδος τὰ . .] τὸς τῶν ὄρων. According to Parker's

restoration this would be the property outside the markers, ἐκ]τὸς τῶν ὁρῶν, viz. the ἐσχατιαί. Our decree has the oracle decide its fate, and in fact the oracle mentioned by Androtion and Philochorus seems to refer just to this property, τὰς ἐσχατίας τὰς περὶ τὴν Ὀργάδα καθιέρωσαν (Philochorus), τὰς ἐσχατίας, ὅσαι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ Ὀργάδι (Androtion), i.e. property which lay outside the *Orgas*, on the boundary between Athens and Megara. Thus the question of cultivating this land was submitted to Apollo. He did not approve. Foucart correctly surmised his decision (before the discovery of the papyrus of Didymus), primarily from the fact that no rent from the Sacred *Orgas* appears in the account of the year 329/8 (177).

There are, however, difficulties with the restoration ἐκ]τὸς τῶν ὁρῶν. The assumption entailed by the restoration is that there were two parts to the Sacred *Orgas*, one part contained within boundary markers, the other “outside the markers,” known also as the ἐσχατιαί. Nowhere else in this decree, however, is there any mention of such a division. The task given to the appointed men was to decide the boundaries of the Sacred *Orgas* (lines 8, 15-16, 74-75), which on the face of it implies putting boundary markers around the *Orgas*, that is, around all of it. The decree does not attempt to define ἐσχατιαί or τὰ ἐκτὸς τῶν ὁρῶν. It is concerned solely with the definition of the *Orgas* and with deciding on the disposition of certain cultivated land. Restoration of ἐκτὸς, however, would imply that part of the *Orgas* remains outside of the boundaries that are set by this commission. According to this restoration the commission produces an inner *Orgas*, enclosed by boundary stones, and an outer *Orgas*, which is left undefined. Such an extraordinary arrangement would surely have to be specified in the decree; leaving part of the *Orgas* unbounded would hardly be conducive to the central aim of the document – protection of this sacred property. In addition, it would be proposed to Delphi, as one alternative, that the Eleusinian sanctuary charge rent on this undefined land. But it seems administratively chaotic to attempt to impose rent on land that is undefined: how is one to determine the limits of the cultivated land within the “Outer *Orgas*” if the “Outer *Orgas*” is not also set off with boundary markers. The correct administrative procedure would be simply to put boundary markers around the *Orgas*, as this decree purports to do. The cultivated land on which rent is to be charged will then be defined. As it lies inside the *Orgas*, an area otherwise uncultivated, this cultivated land, about which the oracle must decide, will be obvious; it will only remain to divide it up, if necessary, according to its farmers.

The literary sources suggest that two sets of land are involved, the Sacred *Orgas* and the ἐσχατιαί (or ἡ ἀόριστος γῆ according to Thuc. 1.139.2), the latter obviously located at the edge of the *Orgas*. The designation in Thucydides, viz. “unbounded,” and the deterioration of the boundary markers that led to the present decree (ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκπεπτωκό[των νέους ὁρούς θεῖναι, lines 74-75), certainly imply that in some areas the boundary of the *Orgas* was not clear, though it must have been clear where the main body of the *Orgas* lay, and of course that area remained uncultivated. Much of the fringe area (the ἐσχατιαί) was under cultivation, including some of the land formerly within the boundaries of the *Orgas*, so that the redefinition of the *Orgas* according to this decree would inevitably result in the inclusion of some of this cultivated land within the newly redefined *Orgas*. Consultation of Delphi was consequently necessary to determine the status of this land, primarily because cultivation would represent an official change in its sacral use (it was supposed to be uncultivated; Harpocration, s.v. ὀργάς), and possibly also in order to forestall complaints from the Megarians if the Athenians had taken this decision solely on their own authority.

The accounts of Androtion and Philochorus (as well as Thucydides) are a bit confusing in that they refer to the status of the land as it existed before the reestablishment of boundaries (*Orgas* and ἐσχατιαί [= Thucydides' ἡ γῆ ἀόριστος]), whereas the decree speaks only about the redefined *Orgas*, which evidently includes part of what used to be the undefined ἐσχατιαί. The issue was precisely that the Megarians, in cultivating the ἐσχατιαί, were cultivating part of the *Orgas*, as [Dem.] 13.32-33 makes clear: οἷον ἃ πρὸς τοὺς καταράτους Μεγαρέας ἐψηφίσασθ' ἀποτεμνομένους τὴν ὀργάδα, ἐξιέναι, κωλύειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. (This speech probably belongs in 353/2 [Cawkwell]. It evidently did not lead to military action against Megara; its principal result must have been the issuance of the present decree, in the following year: before telling the Megarians what land they had to vacate, boundaries had to be drawn up.) We should keep in mind that the term αἱ ἐσχατιαὶ πρὸς τῇ Ὀργάδι (or περὶ τὴν Ὀργάδα), as used by Androtion and Philochorus, was very convenient to the Megarians and others who were cultivating this land, for it might imply that this land was not part of the *Orgas*. (The scholiast to Thucydides makes clear that ἡ ἀόριστος γῆ is actually the *Orgas*: τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ λέγει καὶ ἀόριστον.) Hence we do not find it in the decree, which concerns itself only with what is clear and simple – the extent of the *Orgas*.

The process of defining the boundaries, preparing the markers, and setting them up probably took some time, carrying over at least into the following year (351/0). At some point, most likely in 351/0 or perhaps even earlier, the Megarians disputed the boundary. The matter was finally resolved in 350/49 when the Athenians invaded Megara, and the Megarians agreed to abide by the decisions of the hierophant and daduch concerning the boundaries and the decision of Delphi concerning the status of the land that was formerly in the ἐσχατιαί. By their resistance the Megarians may actually have gained very little; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 38.

The Sacred *Orgas* ("teeming, swelling" land), sacred to the Eleusinian goddesses, tended, from time to time, to be encroached upon by the Megarians, and this encroachment could serve as a pretext for war, the most famous instance being the Megarian decree passed by Athens on the eve of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 1.139.2; Plut. *Per.* 31). We first hear of the *Orgas* in connection with Cleomenes' invasion of Attica in 506 (Hdt. 6.75; Paus. 3.4.2). It is the sort of religious institution whose origin may well go back to the very beginning of the cult.

Kahrstedt locates the *Orgas* just east of the Kandili pass, in a fertile plain watered by the Iapis stream, just to the northwest of Mt. Kerata; *AM* 57, 1932, pp. 8-10, fig. 2; cf. L. Chandler, *JHS* 46, 1926, p. 12. S. Van de Maele, however, locates it west of the Kandili pass, in the valleys Alonaka and Botsika, in the vicinity of which are remains of Attic fortifications (*Mélanges E. Delebecque*, Marseille 1983, pp. 419-433 = *SEG* XXXIII 122); he points out that Kahrstedt's location offers no space for the ἐσχατιαί and in any case is clearly within Attica. On this type of sacred land see Parker pp. 160-166, and Van de Maele, *loc. cit.*

As Foucart emphasized, the document offers us a splendidly detailed picture of the Athenian democracy at work. His edition should be consulted for a detailed defence of the various restorations. On legal matters see Stumpf-Thür.

Sometime in antiquity the stele was dropped into the pit in which the excavators found it; see Clinton, *Sacrifice*. Judging by the worn condition of the stone, Philios thought it was used as a threshold, which seems to me doubtful: it may, in fact, have served for many years as a capping

stone for the pit, which was one of the *megara* into which piglets were dropped at the Thesmophoria and the Mysteria.

Lines 5-6: The formula of selection is a bit unusual, for we expect δέκα ἄνδρας to indicate the total and then to find the bodies from which they are to be drawn: i.e. so many μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, so many δὲ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς (as, e.g., in lines 43-44). However, the space in lines 76-82 demands approximately fifteen names. Koehler's restoration of αὐτικά μάλα is certainly not essential and probably incorrect. So it may simply be a matter of two bodies, δέκα ἄνδρα[[ς μὲν from the first body, πέντε δὲ] from the Boule, but the first body was not the Athenians at large.

Line 7: δικάζειν is unlikely to be correct, as G. Thür has pointed out to me (personal communication).

Line 8: The wording of the restoration may not be precisely correct, but the approximate sense must be that the proper boundaries needed to be restored.

Lines 9-10: The judicial oath (cf. Dem. 57.64.1) would seem to indicate that they will engage in a judicial process; but this is not at all so clear; cf. above, *ad* line 7 and Stumpf-Thür and, for a contrary view, Dittenberger, *ad loc.*

Line 11: Cf. IG I³ 61.54-55.

Line 12: διαδικασθῆι is probably not correct, as G. Thür has pointed out to me; cf. *ad* line 7.

Lines 13-14: The named officials and the two γένη were those most likely to have specific knowledge of the boundaries. The basileus was in charge of the administration of the festival of the Mysteries (see II.138.A.29). The Megarians, however, trusted only the hierophant and daduch to set the boundaries.

Lines 16-23: Ziehen's restoration of line 17, τῶν ἄλλω[[ν ἱερῶν ἀπάντ]ων τῶν Ἀθηνησιν would put this group in charge of every sanctuary in Attica – an apparently enormous task, but which in practice probably amounted to no more than urging the various officials and bodies named here to act on behalf of sanctuaries within their own competencies (τρόπῳ ὅτῳ ἂν ἐπίστωνται). The concern for sanctuaries in the countryside is reflected in the inclusion of the general, the περιπόλαρχοι, and the demarchs. The present restoration ἱερῶν τεμεν]ῶν is redundant; cf. lines 53-54.

Another sacred property over which the Areopagus had jurisdiction: the Sacred Olives (μορίαί); *AthPol* 60.2, Lys. 7.

Lines 24-54: The oracle is requested merely to choose one of the two hydriai, not directly how the Athenians should act. On this interesting process see Amandry; Koerte; Ziehen and Sokolowski, *ad loc.* It shows that the Athenians took great pains to demonstrate that the decision was Apollo's, not theirs; they could not even attempt to influence the oracle, as they were not allowed to present two distinct courses of action to the Pythia, just a choice of urns, the contents of which they did not know. This could not help but to strengthen the Athenians' moral position in the face of Megarian resistance, and of course it would help to settle internal debate about the disposition of the land.

Line 27: There can be no doubt about the restoration προ[στῳίου]. It was surely one of the causes of the internal debate. As Noack and others have pointed out, Athens was in no position to finance the Porch, but the specifications had already been drawn up (above, 143). Obviously at least some Eleusinian officials were eager to get on with it. Renting property in the *Orgas* was proposed

to solve the financial problem; but some must have argued that this would be a dangerous concession to the Megarians; others may have argued that it was tantamount to sacrilege. When Apollo did not approve, work on the Porch was apparently suspended till the late 340's (see below, 151).

Line 31: On this function of the epistates, cf. *AthPol* 44.1.

Line 40: W. P. Wallace, *Phoenix* 3, 1949, pp. 70-73, suggested that this is the first preserved appearance of the Athenian public seal in a document, but Lewis, *ibid.* 9, 1955, pp. 32-34, pointed out that it is attested at *IG II²* 1408.12-13, in 397.

Line 55: He is Philokrates of Hagnous, *PA* 14599, *add.*; cf. Foucart, *Étude sur Didymos*; Koerte; for the purpose of the earlier decree see above. If the present decree was also proposed by Philokrates, we would have agreement with the statements of Androtion and Philochorus that the *Orgas* was set off with boundary markers in accordance with the "decree of Philokrates." Engen uses the fact that the hierophant and daduch (not the board of fifteen described in this decree) settle the boundaries to argue that the present decree cannot be the decree of Philokrates mentioned by Philochorus. However, Philochorus' statement that the hierophant and daduch bounded the *Orgas* in accordance with the decree of Philokrates need not imply more than that the two priests used their influence with the Megarians to impose the boundaries established by the board of fifteen described in this decree.

Lines 58-59: The ἀρεστήριον was not a regular sacrifice but one offered on the occasion of a particular enterprise, especially an innovative one; cf. *IG II²* 839.46; Koehler, *Hermes* 26, 1891, p. 45, note 1; Ziehen, *LS II* 32; further references in Sokolowski, *ad loc.*, and M. H. Jameson, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 218-219; at 177.431 it is called an ἀρεστηρία. The hierophant and priestess of Demeter, as the principal sacred officials of the sanctuary, perform the sacrifice; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 17-18.

Line 60: On the use of καί in this payment formula see A. S. Henry, *ZPE* 78, 1989, p. 258.

Lines 64-65: The members of the commission were paid for their travel and work in pointing out the boundaries; cf. line 70.

Line 68: All previous restorations assume that somewhere two letters were crowded into a single space; but elsewhere crowding occurs only in combination with iota (above, Epigraphical Commentary), and iota is lacking in previous restorations. The present restoration includes an iota and assumes a greater role for the poletai in drawing up the specifications.

Line 75: Arkephon of Halai is otherwise unknown.

Line 79: Kirchner identified him with the Emmenides of Koile who was epistates in 349/8 (*IG II²* 208.4-5). He may be the Emmenides who proposed a decree mentioned in an Eleusinian inventory (158.30). A fifth-century ancestor appears in *DAA* 175.

Line 81: Another Glaukon of Perithoidai, perhaps a grandson, appears in the prytany list of 303/2 (*Agora XV* 62.183).

Line 83: A Eudidaktos who was priest of Asclepius (*IG II²* 1534.47,48,68,91-92) in the 270's (according to Aleshire, *Asklepieion* pp. 212-213) may well be a relative.

Line 84: ἐπαν[ο]ρθοῦται cf. *IG I³* 101.58-59; Kirchner, *ad loc.*

Postscript. P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions: 404-323 BC* (Oxford 2003) pp. 272-281, no. 38, provide important commentary on the consultation of the oracle and

the democratic process reflected in this decree. They restore ἐκ]τὸς in line 26 (so also in line 29) and accordingly reconstruct, in what seems to me an unnecessarily complex manner (including events not mentioned in the literary sources or the document), the process of redefinition of the boundaries of the Sacred *Orgas* and the problem of the cultivated land.

See S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 154, 2005, pp. 132-135, for observations on readings and restorations (= *SEG* LIV 115); A. Scafuro, *SEG* *ibid.*

145. DOCUMENT RELATING TO CONTRACT. [Nikostratos] son of Aresias of Peiraeus and [Epikra]tes son of Krates of Leukonoion are most likely the same as two guarantors restored in 141.17 and 22. Therefore these two documents are unlikely to be far apart in date. For the date see above, II.141, **Date**. There it is suggested that the archon to be restored here in lines 9-10 is probably Theellos: ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Θεέλ[ου ἄρ]χοντο[ς ἐνιαυτῷ] (though we may also consider Θεέλ[λο ἄρ]χοντο[ς, as J. Morgan has pointed out *per litt.*). This date would be consistent with the use of O for OY in line 7.

The nature of this document is obscure, but ἀποδοκιμά[σαι suggests possible rejection of work contracted for, which would be consistent with ἀποδ]οῦναι.

For a discussion of Nikostratos and Aresias see above, II.141, **Date**.

146. SPECIFICATIONS OF CONTRACT. FROM ELEUSIS? *Line 3:* Cf. 151.24 (as Preuner pointed out to Kirchner).

147. ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI. The list of expenses suggests that this fragment most likely belongs to a financial account of the epistatai of Eleusis. A charge for shipping also occurs in 177.188, 221. The fragment could belong to 177, as Kirchner notes.

On the spelling of ναῦλλο[ς, cf. Threatte, *GAI* I 43.0132, p. 518.

148. ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI? The use of the aorist tends to rule out the possibility that this document is a list of specifications or a contract. A financial account remains the most likely possibility.

149. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. The date can be inferred by comparison with 158. Here in line 7 two *meniskoi* are listed while in 158.18 there are three (Kirchner's comparison of the one broken ring in line 8 with the two in 158.17-18 is not apt; see the comparison of the inventories, presented below). It appears that the inventory has increased with the passage of time, but the condition of some items has deteriorated by the time of 158: perhaps the earrings in line 5; apparently one of the wine jars in line 19; likewise one of the coolers in line 22, and another one has been discarded or sold. Differences in the description of items suggests that a significant interval of time separated the two inventories. The consistent use of the dual in this document (it is not used in 158) tends to suggest an earlier date.

This inventory is organized less systematically than 158. Here the principle of arrangement, except for the bronze items (lines 17ff.), is unclear (perhaps it is, in large part, by location), but in 158 it is by class of object (gold, silver, etc.). The more systematic arrangement of 158 may reflect the new administration of Lycurgus (cf. *IG II² 333* [= Schwenk no. 21] of 335/4). Most of the items listed here reappear in 158. The listings in 158 often give a more precise description, though sometimes the reverse is true. On the nature of the items in these inventories see II.158.12 and 54. A comparison of the two inventories follows:

Present inventory	158
φιάλη ἀργυ[ρ]ᾶ χρυσόμφ[αλος πρὸς τι]- [ῶι τοίχῳ] ἀνακειμένη	Lines 30-31
ἀσπιδίσκη χρυσ[ῇ]	Line 17
[καὶ δακτυλίῳ δύο] χρυσῶ	Lines 17 (ἀπείρων), 18
καὶ ᾗγματε δύο δακτυλίων	Lines 18-19 (κατεαγότες)
[καὶ ἐνῳ]δίῳ δύο	Lines 21-22 (συντεθλασμένα)
καὶ δακτυλίῳ δύο λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ	Line 20 (ἀπείρονες)
[καὶ ἔτ]ερον χρυσίον ἀργυρίῳ δεδεμένον	Line 18
μηνίσκῳ δύο	Line 19 (three)
δ[ακτύλ]ιοι ἀπείρονες τρεῖς	Lines 19-20
δακτύλιο[ς] κατεαγώς	Lines 20-21 (χρυσίου λευκοῦ)
[χρυσί]ῳ ἀπύρῳ δύο	Line 21
χρυσίῳ λευκῶ δύο	Line 22? (χρυσία λεπτά)
ἀργυρίου νόμισμα ΔΔΔΗΗΙΙΙC	Lines 13-14 (ἀρχαίου)
ἀσήμο[ν ἀργ]υρίῳ σταθμὸν ΔΓΙ	Lines 32-33
ἐσχαρὶς ἀργυρᾶ	
σφραγῖδε ἰάσπιδε χρυσίῳ δεδεμέν[ῳ]	Lines 26-27
[σφ]ραγίδιον βασανιστὸν χρυσίῳ δεδεμένον	Line 27
σ[αρδί]ῳ δύο χρυσίῳ δεδεμέν[ῳ]	[Line 28]
σ[φραγίς] ἀρ[γ]υρίῳ δε[δε]μένη	[Line 29?]
σφραγῖδες λίθιναι ἄδεσμοι ΓΙΙ	Line 29
ῥυξ ἀπυ[. .]ν ὁ ἐπὶ πέτραν	Lines 29-30
στλεγγίδιον ἐπίτηκτον κατεαγὸς	Line 15
καὶ ἕτερον στλεγγίδιον	Lines 15-16
Bronze equipment: ποτήριον ἄγευ ὥτός	
σφαγεῖον	
κώθωνες ΓΙ, εἰς πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχει	Lines 54-55
οἰνοχόαι ΙΙΙΙ	
κοτύλη ἐρρωγῦα	
κάδοι ΙΙ[Ι], τούτων εἰς ὅλος στέγων, ὁ δ' ἕτερος πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχει, ὁ τ[ρί]τος οὔτε ἄρτημα οὔτε πόδε δύο, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τὸν πυθμένα ὑπέρ[ρ]απται	Line 56 (3 κατεαγότες)
ψυκτήρια ΙΙΙΙ, τῶ δύο οὔτε ὦτα οὔτε πυθμένας ἔχει	Lines 56-57 (3 μοχθηρά)
καρχήσιον	Lines 57-58

κυλιχνίδε δύο, ἡ ἑτέρα ἔχει στέφανον ἀργυροῦν	Lines 58-59
φιάλιον	Line 59? (φιάλη)
κατρόπτω II	Line 59
δακτύλιοι ἱππόδεσμοι ΔΔ[ΔΔ]ΓII ὕγιεις	Lines 60-61

Lines 3-6: This group was presumably in the same location. My restorations allow these items to be identified with those in **158**.

There should be no stop after ἄγματε δύο. These “two fragments of rings” are simply called “two broken rings” in **158.18-19**.

In lines 4-5 seals seem out of place; they occur elsewhere in this document (lines 12-15), and in **158** they are listed under silver items (lines 26-29).

The phrase τὸ ἕτερον (*vel sim.*) should go not with what comes before it but with the words that follow, as elsewhere in this document and **158**. Thus λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ should modify δακτυλίω δύο, and τό must be replaced by καί (which is a letter too long and assumes two letters were crowded into one space or the line is an extra letter long) or a vacant space of two letters.

Lines 9-10: The weight is for the items listed under ἕτερα χρυσία in line 7. In **158.22** the weight of Dr 10 Ob 3 1/2 is for items listed there in lines 17 (end) to 22. These items and the ring in line 17 (Ob 4) have a total weight of Dr 11 Ob 1 1/2, which should correspond to all items here from the miniature shield in line 3 to the two pieces of white gold in line 9 plus an extra *meniskos* listed in **158.19** (and possibly some of the fine gold pieces in line 22). Thus by subtracting the weight given here in line 7, Dr 8 Ob 5 1/2 (for the items in lines 3-6), from Dr 11 Ob 1 1/2, we should have the weight given here in lines 9-10 plus a *meniskos* (and possibly some fine gold pieces). This figure is Dr 2 Ob 2. But since it includes an extra *meniskos* (and possibly some fine gold pieces) it must represent a higher value than the weight here. Thus the weight here is apparently I-II]II, i.e. Dr 1 Ob 4.

Lines 11-12: The *escharis* may be the same as one listed (with a slight reduction in weight) in an inventory of uncertain provenience but probably of Eleusis (*SEG XXXV 1731.3-4*); see **II.52.A.II.5-6**. If this is correct we should restore at the end of line 11 [ῥΔΔΔ].

Lines 17-27: The bronze items, which start here, were largely not dedications but equipment used in the sanctuary, as their character suggests. The special list of dining equipment that was presumably used for the *Epistasion* was probably appended to the inventory, as in **52** and **156**. Some items here appear to be identical to some in those two lists and **140** (the bowl for catching sacrificial blood [line 18], the four pitchers [line 19], water pails [line 19]), but they may just be in different positions in the inventories and so not actually the same.

Line 18: On the *kothones* see below, **II.158.54**.

Lines 19-22: *Kadoi* are often water pots or pails; see D. A. Amyx, *Attic Stelai*, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pp. 186-189 and pl. 47 (where the present passage is not discussed) and B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 95, 1975, p. 127 and pl. xia-b. The information here on the defective *kadoi* tells us that each of these *kadoi* was supposed to have three or four feet (which do not appear in the ceramic versions) and attached rope.

150. ACCOUNT. Unlike 177, this document is not arranged by prytany but apparently by month and day. This might be regarded as an innovation over the prytany-by-prytany arrangement, but this seems unlikely, as the entries for Thargelion are very few. It seems therefore a bit more likely that the principle of arrangement was by *type* of expense and within each type by date. Thus lines III.4-8 evidently give the expense for works on the wall. The use of curtailed words is extraordinary for an Eleusinian document. It is conceivable that the document is not close in date to 159 and 177, which do not use curtailments so extensively.

Abbreviations not resolved in the text: οἰκο(σίτοις), ἐκά(στωι), μισθ(ός), χαλκε(ῦσι), ὑπηρέ(ταις), διακό(νοις), νουμ(ηνίαι), τέκτ(ουσι).

Apparently the wage rate is given in the body of each entry, while the total wage paid is listed in the margin.

Col. III.2-3: On the spondophoroi see above, II.Introduction, "Spondorphoroi," pp. 20-22. Here we must understand: σ[πο]νδο(φόροις) τοῖς τ[ὰς σπονδ(ὰς)] μυστη(ριώτιδας): ἐπαγγ[έλλουσι]; cf. 138.

151. CONTRACT FOR THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE PROSTOON OF THE TELESTERION. This document is probably a contract rather than simply the publication of the specifications: the names in lines 75-79 appear to be those of contractors.

Lattermann p. 57 noticed that this document refers to old and new work on the foundations of the Porch of the Telesterion, and that the παλαιά and ὑπάρχοντα (e.g., lines 31 and 43) probably refer to materials delivered and work begun as a result of 143, apparently from the year 353/2. Apollo's prohibition against using the Sacred *Orgas* to finance the Porch no doubt caused construction to be suspended. Lattermann assumed a construction hiatus of about twenty years and therefore assigned a date of ca. 330 to the present document. However, since 159, which lists the transport of column drums, was probably issued in 336/5 or 333/2, the present document must be earlier; and it also ought to be earlier than 152, which refers to work on the *krepis*.

For detailed architectural commentary the reader should consult the editions of Davis and the discussions of Jeppesen and Noack.

Line 75: Kirchner restored -τέλης on the basis of 159.28. The Lysias son of Damophanes of Eitea in line 78 is apparently his brother.

It is unclear whom this list of names represents. They seem to be contractors, since the son of Damophanes in line 75 was paid in 159.28 for moving stone blocks.

152. CONTRACT FOR THE CLAMPS AND DOWELS AND THE FINISHING OF THE KREPIS OF THE TELESTERION AT ELEUSIS. For detailed architectural commentary see Lattermann's edition and the discussions of Davis and Jeppesen. Townsend notes the great similarity of the specifications in lines 6-11 to those of the actual *krepis*.

Line 10: Townsend notes that δυεῖν fits the space as well as Lattermann's τρισί and corresponds to the actual number of clamps used at the corner of the *krepis*. (Since δυσὶν is the correct reading in line 7, it rather than δυεῖν would be appropriate here.)

Line 34: It is not clear which unit has a price of Dr 30.

Lines 34-35: Reference to a hearing before a court held in the Stoa Poikile; cf. Stumpf, Boegehold.

Date. The use of ο for ου tends to suggest a date before 325; cf. Threatte, *GAI* I 13.023, c. The use of ει for ε before a vowel (ἀναγραφείας, line 22) is common in the period 360-320 but occurs also in the first half of the third century; *GAI* I 7.03. The use of οι for ο as in μολυβδοχοιῆ (line 5) is rare but other examples occur in the second half of the fourth century; *GAI* I 17.022. The assimilation of final ν is found throughout the fourth century, though more frequently in the first half; *GAI* I 48.0542. Nor does the treatment of ἐκ in ἐ]γτριβεῖ (line 18) offer a precise indication of date; *GAI* I 48.0211.

The epigraphical hand of **153** of the year 341/0 is not noticeably dissimilar, but **153** is so badly worn that it is hard to come to a definite conclusion. The name of one of the contractors, Sokrates, is the same in both documents. **153** of the year 336/5 or 332/2, which documents the transport of column drums, serves as a *terminus ante quem*. A date around 341/0, therefore, seems probable.

153. BUILDING CONTRACT. At the end of his article Davis, p. 89 note 8, mentions the possibility, after Meritt's inspection of the stones, that this fragment and **152** may belong to the same stele. The different stoichos sizes, however, militate against this. The mason's style may be the same, but the small size of this inscription and its worn condition make an identification of style difficult.

Davis' restorations are hypothetical; his readings sometimes do not agree with the traces. The restoration in line 23 leaves a space of only eight letters for the name of the month, which is impossible, and so tends to cast doubt on his estimation of the width of the stele. However, his discovery of the archon's name is of the greatest significance. It dates the document securely to 341/0, and reveals that construction was taking place in the sanctuary at this time. Although the structure cannot be identified with certainty, it is most likely the *Prostoon* of the Telesterion, which is the subject of **152**. It is unlikely that more than one major building project was going on in this period. In both documents a Sokrates appears as contractor.

154. ARCHITECTURAL SPECIFICATIONS. The lettering suggests a date in or near the Lycurgan period. The document is perhaps to be associated with the Porch of the Telesterion.

155. ACCOUNT. The occurrence of ἐκ[στ in line 2 (cf. **159**), the oil in line 4, and the receipt of some commodity in line 7 suggest that this document is, at least in part, an account. The hand is not much different from that of **159**, so that a date in the 330's seems not inappropriate.

156. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. On this dining equipment, in the third column in this list, evidently placed at or near the end of the list see II.149.

157. CONTRACT FOR THE *POLOI* AND *EMPOLIA* OF THE COLUMNS OF THE *PROSTOON* OF THE TELESTERION. Varoufakis discusses the *poloi* and *empolia* from a technical point of view: their dimensions, construction, and chemical composition. On their architectural use see Orlandos II pp. 192-195; Martin pp. 291-296. They were usually made of wood. The use of bronze suggests that strength was of great importance, and therefore that one of the main purposes of the system of *poloi* and *empolia* was support.

Line 6: τὰ μὲν κάτω τὰ πρῶτα are the *empolia* at the bottom-most joint, viz. between the stylobate and the first drum, if indeed they were used here in the Classical Porch.

Line 7: They are to be six *daktyloi* on each side, “square.” Varoufakis assumes they are cubes, six *daktyloi* on a side, but this is not stated, and in any case seems unlikely, for the *empolia* need only be slightly deeper than the *poloi*. The depth may simply have been omitted, or it may have been fairly standard, and did not need to be expressed. If we assume, with Varoufakis, that the *empolion* was a cube, 6 *daktyloi* on a side, then its *polos*, 5 *daktyloi* long, would require the cavity in the *empolion* to be only 2.5 *daktyloi* deep, i.e. less than half the depth of the *empolion*, which would entail a great waste of metal in the *empolion*. We may assume therefore that the depth of the *empolion* was either three *daktyloi*, i.e. just half a *daktylos* greater than the depth of the cavity for the *polos*, or perhaps even less, i.e. just barely deeper than the 2.5 *daktyloi* of the *polos*.

The smallest *empolion* was 5 *daktyloi* on a side; its cavity (determined by the length of its *polos*) had a depth of 2 *daktyloi*; if we again assume the *empolion*’s depth to be half a *daktylos* greater than this, then the depth will again be equal to one half the side of the base. Thus Varouphakis’ calculations of the volume of the *empolion* will be too high by a factor of two.

Lines 7-8: τὰ δὲ ἄνωτάτῳ are the *empolia* at the topmost joint, between the top drum and the capital.

Lines 8-10: “and the rest graded evenly from the largest to the smallest” (Davis). The *empolia* in between the highest and lowest will differ from each other by an equal increment. Therefore the *empolia* in the middle joint will measure 5 1/2 *daktyloi* on each side of its base.

Lines 10-12: These *poloi* will correspond to the ἐμπόλια τὰ μὲν κάτω τὰ πρῶτα (line 6).

Lines 15-17: “and the rest graded evenly, in length and width, from the largest to the smallest” (Davis); cf. lines 8-10. Therefore the *polos* in the middle joint will measure 4 1/2 *daktyloi* long, 1 3/4 *daktyloi* thick.

Varoufakis ignored the gradation called for in lines 8-10 and 15-17 and incorrectly concluded that the lower measurements applied to *all* the *empolia* and *poloi* below the topmost joint. Therefore, for this reason too, his calculations of the total volume and weight of the *poloi* and *empolia* are too high. The correct calculation can be made simply by multiplying the *average* dimensions of the *poloi* and *empolia* by the number of joints, viz. 11 per column, or 154 in all. The average dimensions have to be those of the *poloi* and *empolia* of the middle joint, and their weight of course will represent the average weight. Since the volumes and weights calculated by Varoufakis have to be divided in half (see above, *ad* line 7), the weight of the bottom *empolion* is 5,385.66 g., that of the top *empolion* 3,142.81 g.; hence the average *empolion* weighed 4,264.24 g. The weight of the bottom *polos* is 815.41 g., that of the top *polos* 366.5 g.; hence the average *polos* weighed 590.96 g. All 308 *empolia* weighed 1,313.39 kg.; all 154 *poloi*, 91.01 kg.; the total weight of the *poloi* and *empolia* is 1,404.4 kg. This of course is only an approximation, since the depth of the

empolion and the precise length of the *daktylos* are unknown. (Varoufakis' assumption that the cavity of the *empolion* was one millimeter deeper than half the length of the *polos* seems acceptable.)

Line 18: The city of Marion in Cyprus was famous for the high quality of its copper; cf. *RE*, s.v., and *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v.

Line 21: ἀστραφῆ: here "rigid" (not "immovable," *pace* Jeppesen).

Line 22: With regard to the use of the lathe, Varoufakis notes that it must have had a cutting edge "harder than bronze," i.e. probably of "heat-treated hard steel."

Line 27: The contract is let according to a unit of weight, in this case the μνᾶ. The contractor will be paid according to the weight of the *poloi* and *empolia* at the time of delivery. This implies that the price must be higher than the price for the metal itself, since the labor for producing them is included, as in 159.31.

Lines 28-29: Evidently when none of the epistatai nor the architect was present, affairs were left in the hands of one of the public slaves, presumably the foreman or more likely the scribe (see 177.6-7, 12), who would check the weight of the *poloi* and *empolia* when they were delivered.

Varoufakis notes that the tin content needed to be checked as well, for otherwise fraud could be quite profitable. In the fifth century a talent of tin was worth 230 drachmas (over six times the value of copper); *IG* I³ 472.144-145. Even though the total amount of tin is much less than Varoufakis calculated, viz. ca. 4.25 talents, it is still a very significant amount. No doubt checks for tin content were made, but since the contract is silent on this subject, they may have been carried out only occasionally, when there was cause for suspicion. Varoufakis discusses two possible methods of testing, by checking the color of the bronze, which would be similar to the touchstone method of checking gold (cf. Thphr. *Lap.* 45-47 ed. Eichholz), or by testing its hardness, which would be much more difficult; cf. J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978) pp. 210-211.

Line 31: If the entire number of *poloi* and *empolia* was produced, amounting to ca. 1,404.4 kg. (see above, *ad* lines 10-12), we can calculate the total cost, at 5 3/4 obols per mna. As the mna is equivalent to ca. 431 g., the cost comes to ca. 2,900 drachmas.

Line 32: The contractor, Blepaios son of Sokles of Lamptrai, was also a banker; see *PA* 2876; Traill, *PAA* 266895, 266905, 266910.

Line 33: Kephisophon son of Kephalion of Aphidna: see *PA* 8410; Davies, *APF* 8410. He was ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν in 343/2 and served as general in several expeditions ca. 340. His name is restored as proposer of *IG* II² 244 in 337/6, the law concerning fortification of the Peiraeus. "This is his last known public act, and he may have died soon afterwards" (*APF loc. cit.*).

Date. Since Kirchner followed Noack in connecting this document with 159, which he assigned to 327/6, his date of ca. 337/6 must be a misprint; cf. *AE* 1971, p. 108. But, as it happens, this date is actually correct, since 159 must be assigned to 336/5 or 333/2, and column drums may have been delivered in prior years. This is also consistent with what is known of the guarantor's career.

158. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. This is the most completely preserved of the fourth-century inventories. The preserved part is organized according to metals, each section

headed by a rubric: gold (lines 12-22), silver (lines 23-46), additional items of gold and silver received during the officials' term (lines 46-53), bronze (lines 54-71), iron (lines 72-?).

Presumably other categories such as wood and stone followed, with a list of dining equipment at the end (cf. 52 and 156). Many of the items occur in 149, an earlier inventory; for a comparison of these two inventories see commentary to 149. On the nature of the items see below, *ad* lines 12 and 54.

There are eight epistatai (including the secretary) serving a four-year term. They are listed in tribal order (except of course for the secretary), but their tribal affiliation does not seem to have played a role in their selection; for in the board that took office in 332 there are two instances of a pair of members belonging to the same tribe (cf. Kirchner, Cavanaugh). Most of the epistatai are not attested elsewhere.

Lines 3-4: Demokleides son of Philokles of Eitea may be the Demokleides of Eitea who was a member of the Boule in 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42.306).

Line 4: The brother of Theophilos, viz. Kallimachos, was an ephebic officer ca. 335 (82.8).

Line 5: The father of Aleximachos was treasurer of the Other Gods in 375/4 (*IG* II² 1445.8, 1446.3-4). Aleximachos is mentioned in a financial transaction in 329/8 (177.379).

Line 11: Thoukritides was a member of the Boule ca. 340 (*Agora* XV 39.9; on his family, Davies, *APF* 7865).

Line 12: The list of gold items starts here.

The golden earrings and the acorns, originally belonging to a necklace, were among the dedications at Eleusis in 408/7 (52.A.I.61-64); cf. Clinton, *Treasures*. The silver phiale in line 30 was also among the dedications in 408/7 (52.A.II.5-6). In addition, some items are listed here with their donors (lines 16, 47-51). So presumably all the gold and silver items (except perhaps the coin) were dedications. It is interesting that the donors' names that were attached to the items listed in 408/7 have by now disappeared.

Lines 13-14: The description of the gold coin as "old" does not appear in 149.10, where the same sum is listed.

Lines 16 (end)-22: On this group see the comparison of the inventories in the commentary to 149 and the discussion of 149.3-10. Thus I see no need to assume with Koehler that some things were omitted in line 19 following δύο.

Line 23: The list of silver items begins here. The adjective ἐξάγιστοι Woodward took to mean "banned" here, i.e. these items were proscribed to worshippers and had been taken from those who had them in their possession despite the ban (in which case we might expect to see more such items). Parker, *Miasma* p. 328, rightly takes the word to mean either "untouchably sacred" or "accursed". Harris, *Treasures* p. 49, V.22, chooses the latter meaning (for mixed gold in the Hekatompedon), but it seems most unlikely that religious sanctuaries would have wanted to keep on hand material that was accursed. Thus "untouchably sacred" ought to be close to the mark (cf. Peppas-Delmouzou, *Annali dell' Istituto italiano di Numismatica* 7-8, 1960-61, p. 29).

With Woodward I assume the σίγλοι are earrings (Photius, *s.v.* σιγλοφόρος) and the ἄσκοί some small gold ornament. Perhaps both are earrings, the former in the shape of the Persian shekel, the latter looking like a small pouch. They may have been used as ornaments for one or both of the goddesses.

Line 25: ἄνερμα is “that on which objects are threaded, here probably a silver chain or wire used to attach the objects to a temple wall” (Chadwick).

Line 27: For the restoration cf. 149.12-13.

Line 29: The stone seals may be identical with those in 52.A.I.52-53 (cf. Clinton, *Treasures* p. 57).

Lines 30-31: This phiale appeared in 52.A.II.5-6 (408/7, where it is the dedication of Salaminokles) and 149.2-3 (described [πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ] ἀνακειμένη); for the restoration here see *Treasures* p. 58); for further discussion of this object and its probable appearance in 178bis, a later fourth-century inventory, see II.52.A.II.5-6.

Lines 33-34: This item was presumably “discovered” (ηὐρέθη) by the workmen; see Harris, *Treasurers* pp. 128-129, V.79, 81 for comparable “finds” in the Hekatompedon inventories.

Line 36: The hierophant is otherwise unattested; *Sacred Officials* p. 20, no. 6.

Line 37: Evidently “socket (rising) from the butt-cap (of a spear),” and its metal is specified. For a bronze butt-capp see II.140.17. Presumably this is part of a larger figure, which perhaps includes the staff in the following line; indeed, this may be the butt-cap of this staff.

Line 39: Perhaps a leaf (φύλλον) was removed from the poppy-head.

Line 46: The *prochois* could be used as an ἀμῖς, a chamberpot; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8.10, Ath. 11.496c; on the *amis* see B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 95, 1975, p. 128.

Line 47: My restoration of the rubric ἀργυρᾶ is one letter too long for the space, but two letters may have appeared in the first stoichos or the first letter was in the margin as in line 23.

Line 54: The bronze items, which start here, were largely not dedications but equipment used in the sanctuary, as their character suggests. The special list of dining equipment that was presumably used for the *Epistasion* was probably appended to the inventory, as in 52 and 156.

The *kothones*, in slightly worse shape than they were in 149.19, may well be identical with several of the seven that appear in 52.A.I.55. On the problem of the shape of the *kothon* see B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 95, 1975, pp. 128-129.

Line 56: On the *kadoi*, water pails, see 149.19. A fourth presumably was listed in the lacuna, unless it had been eliminated.

Lines 60-61: For the restoration see 149.25.

Line 65: Perhaps the kappa is a mistake for chi: <χ>ερνι[βεῖον].

Line 68: Perhaps the handle has fallen out, as in the item in line 69.

Lines 70-71: A silver comb is highly unlikely in this section; it may be a rake, modified by a different adjective.

Line 71: The category of iron items must begin here, as the clamps and bars indicate.

Line 73: A group of four bars, possibly the same, appears in 52.A.III.5.

159. ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. The following is an abbreviated and revised version of the commentary given in *AE* 1971, pp. 88-113.

Several of the craftsmen, vendors, and workers that appear in this document appear also in 177. For a list see II.177, Introduction, “Craftsmen, Vendors, and Workers in 159 and 177.” On wages that appear in this document see now Loomis, *passim*.

This inscription is an account of the epistatai of Eleusis, perhaps also of the Treasurers of the Two Goddesses (see 177). Although no titles are preserved, a board is referred to in lines 12, 13, 24, and 53, and the only board in this period which supervised the physical maintenance of the sanctuary was the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν. Unlike 177, which lists expenditures by prytany, this account lists them for the entire year. The costs of particular items are sometimes given in one place for the entire year, but sometimes the same type of item is mentioned more than once at intervals. Related items are occasionally grouped together. Chronological order is followed within the account of the transport of column drums from Mt. Pentelikon to Eleusis, beginning in Metageitnion (lines 64-90), but this follows by several lines an activity mentioned (line 44) as occurring “after the (Greater) Mysteries”, which took place in Boedromion; and much earlier, an operation in Thargelion is mentioned (line 9). While chronological order was sometimes followed within a grouping of the same or similar items, it was not necessarily followed between such groupings. This view is reinforced by the fact that recurring individual items appear side by side with non-recurring groups of items tabulated just once for the year. It looks as though the mason inscribed a number of lists that were arranged in a somewhat arbitrary order by the antigrapheus.

Lines 1-6: These operations need not be related to the transport of column drums (below, lines 64-90).

Line 4: The ὑπόνομοι are water pipes or conduits that pass under the road or alongside; cf. *IG II² 2491.11*, *LSJ s.v.*; especially Orlandos-Travlos, *s.v.* ὑπόνομος; not ruts or grooves in the road, as Raepsaet p. 108, suggests.

Line 8: Operations, including festival activities, in the deme of Ptelea, which evidently was on or close to the Sacred Way.

Line 9: The date refers to an expense; it does not go with the decree of Charikleides; see Hansen.

Line 11: ἀμαξίς: see line 40.

Lines 12-14: ὑποζώματα and τόνοι (for other occurrences of ὑποζωμάτων τόνοι see *AE* 1971, p. 89, *ad loc.*): The *hypozyoma* was a rope that tied the stem of a ship to its stern on the inside; J. S. Morrison and J. F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme* (Cambridge 1986) p. 171; J. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 64, 1995, p. 211.

In naval use τόνοι are braces that applied tension to the *hypozyomata* and must have been another type of rope (Morrison and Coates, *loc. cit.*; cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 10.2, “strands” of rope).

Lines 13-14: In the lacuna of line 13 procurement of the *hypozyomata* was probably mentioned. The thick ὑποζώματα (cf. Morrison and Williams, *Ships* p. 295) are here divided into smaller ropes, ἀρτήματα (see also lines 19 and 41), which were used for suspension, perhaps for lifting building blocks at Eleusis. Raepsaet, p. 109, suggests “cordes de traction de l’attelage,” which he believes were used for the teams of oxen in place of draught-poles (*ibid.*, p. 128). However, the ropes listed in 136 might be more suitable for this purpose.

Line 15: Perhaps Σύρος στυππειοπλόκος, listed in line 41 as having woven ἀρτήματα, though a different kind of rope is listed here.

Line 16: κίρκοι: iron rings; cf. Raepsaet p. 109; Vanhove p. 289.

Line 17: Six beams to be used as crowbars (in moving stones); cf. Orlandos II p. 130, note 1; Raepsaet p. 109.

ὀβελίσκοι: see Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 312-313, with bibliography; here they are perhaps nails; but cf. Raepsaet p. 109.

Line 18: In Philo, *Belopoeica* 75.46, a καταγωγίς is the winding mechanism of a torsion engine. Here it may be the winding mechanism of apparatus used to raise blocks of stone. Mention of ἀρτήματα and ὑποζώματα in the next two lines is not inconsistent with this, but is not decisive. Raepsaet, pp. 109-110, believes that the καταγωγίς was used “dans l’assemblage d’une charpente de vehicule lourd et le maintien de la charge vehiculée,” but Vanhove, p. 288, is more likely correct in implying that the *katagogis* was employed in the lifting the block of stone.

Line 20: Pitch also appears in 177.69. It could be used to protect wood or as a lubricant for an axle; cf. Raepsaet p. 110.

Line 21: The teams for which the drinking troughs were provided were probably those involved in the hauling of the column drums below, lines 64-90.

Line 23: ῥυμοί: perhaps draught-poles, or poles used somehow in construction; if so, then the restorations μεσ[ομνῶν and τελε]στήριον ought to be considered; χηλαί is an obscure term; cf. Raepsaet p. 110.

Lines 24-25: The μύησις need not have cost much more than twelve drachmas; see below, *ad* line 62. These five slaves were probably added to the sanctuary work force for the first time this year.

Line 25: οὗ τὰ ξύλα κείται τὰ Ἐλευσῖνι: the designation of the storage area for wood at Eleusis. J. D. Morgan suggests (*per litt.*) that Εὐακίδης may be an error of haplography for Εὐαλκίδης, in which case he might be a relative of Eualkos of Phaleron (*PA* 5264; *LGPN* II s.v.).

φορμοί: see D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pp. 274-275.

Line 26: τύχος: see Orlandos II pp. 118-121; Martin pp. 153-154, 179; Orlandos-Travlos s.v. τύκος; A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Ancient Greece* (Warsaw 1975) pp. 119-120; G. Roux, *L’architecture de l’Argolide aux IVe et IIIe siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris 1961) p. 91.

This is the Timotheos of Aphidna who supplies τύχοι and their hafts in lines 55-57. τύχοι weighing 39 staters at Dr 1 Ob 4 per stater should amount to Dr 65, i.e., Dr 1 1/2 more than the amount actually paid. The number of hafts was probably six, one for each τύχος, at Ob 1/2 apiece; the price in line 56 of one haft from the same supplier is Ob 1.

Lines 27-28: Kirchner’s restorations are merely possible. The contractor reappears in 151.74.

Lines 29-30: Lattermann’s restoration is merely possible.

τιμὴ ἣν ἔλαβεν may indicate that the supplier (probably the same in both cases) received slightly more than the rate called for. In line 30 the cost should be Dr 159 Ob 4 1/2, but the price paid (τιμὴ ἣν ἔλαβεν) is Dr 160 drachmas. In line 29 the spacing is right for a restoration of ΤΤΔ [ΓΣ:], so that here the same man received 1 1/2 obols too little. The overpayment balances the underpayment. The phrase τιμὴ ἣν ἔλαβεν would then signify that these two payments are to be regarded together. In slight support of this is the fact that the single underpayments in lines 26 and 50 are not marked out by this phrase.

The object sold here is probably the same in each case, because of the almost identical rate per stater of metal (Ob 5 and Ob 4 1/2) and the apparently identical supplier. The pattern of each entry appears to be the same: name of object, quantity, supplier, total weight, price per stater, total price, handles, price of handles. The metalworker is apparently the same for all three entries,

Ἀγάθαρχος ἐγ Κολλυτῶι οἰκῶν; he also appears in line 53 as supplying drills and receiving metal from worn-out δίκηλλαι. The fifteen ΑΠΙΑΙ here are probably not fifteen holm-oaks, for it is hard to conceive that a toolmaker would supply so much wood. In addition, it is difficult to construe the beginning of line 32 in any other way but that a weight in staters appears before τιμή, following the pattern in the previous two lines. (Raepsaet p. 105, understands fifteen drachmas worth of holm-oak, but this is very unlikely, since the plural is used, and the word τιμή, which normally follows the purchase of a commodity, does not appear here.) Therefore ΑΠΙΑΙ ought to be the name of a tool, probably the same as in the two previous instances. It is tempting to amend to ἀρίδε<ς>, the epsilon being left incomplete and the sigma confused with the interpunct (cf. the sigma represented by two marks in line 43), or to think that ἀρία was an alternate form for ἀρίς, the bow-drill (cf. ἄκρα and ἄκρις).

Strongylion also appears in line 39 as a supplier of handles.

Line 31: The first letter after τιμή is either Η, Ϝ or Γ. Following the pattern of the previous two lines, this price (of ca. three spaces) ought to be preceded by the weight in staters and followed by στελεοί and a price, of which the end is preserved.

Lines 31-33: ἀμφιδέαι were evidently the iron rings by which the axles were fastened to the wagon (see below, line 43). For ἀμφιδέαι as bracelets see D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, p. 197; as metal rings, Maier I 91, and II 92. To replace each axle it costs Dr 2 to remove the ἀμφιδέαι and Dr 5 to install each new axle; seventeen axles were affected, and the total of Dr 119 (line 33) is correct. On the operation, see Raepsaet p. 110. Judging by the wage of two drachmas, viz. the same as the architect's daily wage (line 60), it probably took about a day to remove each axle and two and a half days to install a new one. Mnesilochos (line 32) is also mentioned in lines 37, 43, and 51, as a metalworker. The axles were most likely made of metal; cf. line 34.

In the lacuna at the beginning of line 32 are probably mentioned the operations involved in the installation. The adjective may have something to do with the connection of the axles to the wheels. (The lack of an article seems to argue against the division διὰ τροχοῦ or διὰ τροχῶν.) For the new axles new nails were required as well as four new ἀμφιδέαι; in addition, broken ἐπιρ[- - -] (perhaps identical with τὰς ἐ[- - -] in line 31) were replaced. Apparently the metal for all these additional items had the same price per stater, viz. Ob 5, and so only the total price is stated.

Line 34: On ships the ἐπωτίς was the "earlike plank projecting on each side of the ship in the bows and forming the forward termination of the παρεχειρεσία, cathead" (Morrison and Williams, *Ships* pp. 49, 338); in medical terminology it could mean "bandage for the ear" (*LSJ Suppl.*, s.v., citing Galen 12.488 ed. Charterius). The next line reveals that some ἐπωτίδες were fashioned from fragments of discarded axles and were measured in staters; hence they were most likely of metal; and sawing would not be an inappropriate operation to perform on them. Perhaps the pattern for the beginning of line 35 was: τ[ὸν στατήρα: - - -: τιμή: - - -]Δ|. Ariston of Cholleidai (*PA* 2182) both supplied new ἐπωτίδες and made others from discarded axles. Raepsaet p. 111, on the assumption that the ἐπωτίδες were of wood, suggests that they served as chocks for the protection of the drum. But since they were most likely of metal and used εἰς τὴν λιθαγωγίαν, they were probably the devices called κνώδακες which Vitruvius, 10.2, mentions in connection with hauling columns at Ephesus directly along the ground. The κνώδαξ was an iron

pin (called ἄξονίσκος by Orlandos II p. 96) inserted in either end of a column (or column drum); the other end of the κνώδαξ slipped into a hole in a wooden framework pulled by the animals. The κνώδαξ acted like an axle, and of course projecting as it did from either end of the column or column drum it looked earlike. The ἐπωτίδες, made from axle fragments, seem to have precisely the same characteristics. If this identification is correct, it indicates that the same system of hauling was used occasionally in the transport operations at Eleusis, not for the long road transport, of course, but for short distances after the stone was unloaded from the wagons.

Lines 35-36: “Four main beams for tie beams.” Raepsaet p. 111, and Vanhove p. 288, suggest that they were used in the framework of the stone-transport wagon.

Lines 37-38: The usual meaning of ξύσματα, metal filings, is inappropriate here. A clue to the solution is offered by the name Ἡφαιστίων ἐν Ἐλευσίνι οἰκῶν. He is mentioned in 177.183 as receiving payment for “sharpening” iron tools (ὄξυντρα σιδήρου), “with which the public slaves work”. Since it seems unlikely that ξύσματα here are parts of drills or τύχοι, the term here may signify “filings” as operations. For θερμαντήριον and θερμαντήρ, a kettle or a pot for boiling water: D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pp. 218-219, and G. A. Stamiris *ibid.* pp. 326-7.

The handles cost slightly less than one obol apiece. Strongylion is a supplier of handles also in line 29.

Line 40: ἡ πυλὶς ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ is also mentioned in 177.184. Travlos is probably correct in identifying it with the postern in the wall between point A and the Lesser Propylaia in fig. 2, *Topography* pp. 141 and 147, note 24. (For the πυλίδες of the fortification wall at Eleusis see 174.) For the lacuna at the beginning of line 40, the restoration στομώματα is possible; cf. 174.25. Moschion is perhaps the same artisan as in 177.247.

ἄμαξις, a small wagon, or perhaps rather a sled of the type used for transporting stone up or down inclines, such as the one illustrated by Orlandos II p. 92, for the slope of Mt. Pentelikon; the use of the ropes is, in that case, clear. The term occurs also in line 11. (Raepsaet p. 111, and Vanhove p. 288, would not exclude identification with the main vehicle of stone-transport. However, in this document that vehicle is called a σκεῦος [lines 72, 74].)

Line 41: ἀρτήματα: see above, line 13. Syros the tow-maker: perhaps also in line 15.

φάλαγγες: “logs,” so Orlandos I p. 26, II p. 89, who believes they were used as rollers in moving stone blocks by hand over short distances. It is also possible that they were used as rollers under a sled, if that is the meaning of ἄμαξις. See also the following line.

Lines 41-42: Perhaps: παρὰ Πιτθίδ[ου ἐπειδ]ὴ οἱ ἐνόντες ἀπώλ[οντ]ο ἐν τοῖς μυσ[τηρί]οις. “Two nails for the *phalanges*, from Pitthides, since those (previously) in them were lost during the Mysteries.” The preposition ἐν governing the temporal dative of a festival is unusual at this date (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler pp. 208-209, no. 24; Kühner-Gerth I p. 445), but it does occur in Plato (cf. Kühner-Gerth, *loc. cit.*): *Lysis* 223B, *Resp.* 354A. These two nails, costing over a drachma, are obviously quite special. The φάλαγγες were evidently used during the Mysteries. If they were used as rollers, these big nails were probably fastened to their flat ends, presumably in order to attach a rope. In 52.A.III.39-40 reference is made to an ἄκατος that was apparently dragged, at the Mysteries, over a way paved with πλίνθοι.

For χαλκῆι instead of χαλκεῖ: Threatte, *GAI* I 22.011 b, p. 356. The man may be Mnesiclochos, mentioned in the next line. On ἄμαξήποδες, axle-blocks, see Raepsaet p. 111.

Line 43: For the spelling διανεκής, usual in Attic inscriptions: Threatte, *GAI* I 6.041, p. 132; another example, 174.30.

The ἀμφιδέαι were evidently the metal rings (see above, line 31) that secured the axles to the axle-blocks, one of which is mentioned in the previous line; thus the two lines probably reflect the same operation. But the technical meaning of “continuous nails” is a bit unclear. They were not ordinary nails, for the six of them weighed four staters. Probably they somehow secured the axles to the iron rings, hence “for the axles and the rings.” The nail evidently went through the ring and the axle and emerged on the other side of the ring; cf. Raepsaet p. 111. In this case, the axle evidently did not rotate, the wagon being the type that was technologically more advanced than the one in which wheels and axle rotated together (cf. J. H. Lorimer, *The Country Cart of Ancient Greece*, *JHS* 23, 1903, p. 147; Raepsaet p. 112). Vanhove, pp. 288-289, associates these ἀμφιδέαι and nails with the heavy vehicle that transported blocks of stone from Mt. Pentelikon.

Line 44: The new reading shows that my earlier suggestion (*AE* 1971, p. 97) is incorrect.

The epistatai, then, hired four trusted men to repair the σκεύη after the celebration of the Mysteries but before the slaves connected with the sanctuary arrived to resume their tasks. Apparently the σκεύη were such that they could not be seen and handled by any but a select few. While σκεῦος is later used of the vehicle for stone-transport (lines 72, 74), it seems preferable to understand it here as equipment or apparatus which the public slaves of the sanctuary were not allowed to handle; otherwise it is hard to see the necessity for specifying μετὰ μυστήρια, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς δημοσίους Ἐλευσινόθεν. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that these hirelings simply were performing, in the interim, work on the wagons that the slaves would ordinarily have done.

Line 45: Ἀμεινίας ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου supplied ten baskets, at Dr 1 apiece, in the second prytany of 329/8 (177.65-66), and Ameinias of Kydathenaion supplied ten more at the same price in the sixth prytany of the same year “for the slaves raising the (level of the ground in the) Eleusinion in the City” (177.229-230). Probably all three references are to the same person, otherwise unknown. Either the price of baskets changed in the interval between 329/8 and this inscription, or different types or sizes of baskets are involved.

Lines 45-49: Twenty-eight slaves are equipped with ἐξωμίδες, leather jackets, caps, and shoes. These twenty-eight were the basic work force for the year (in 329/8 the number of slaves was seventeen [177.5, 42, 71, 179, 203-204]). Nine of the twenty-eight were involved in transport operations, and their shoes are mentioned in line 50 as having been mended twice during the year while the shoes of the others were mended only once. The nineteen were probably the regular slaves attached to the sanctuary for its maintenance, the nine added to help with the transport. Thus, the δημόσιοι Ἐλευσινόθεν, the regular sanctuary slaves, numbered two more in this year than in 329/8, before being further increased by οἱ λιθαγωγοῦντες (though the increase may not have been made for the first time in this year).

The number of ἐξωμίδες bought from a given dealer is in an inverse relation to the price charged. The same order holds true for the jackets. (A Σύρος ἐγ Κολλυτῶι οἰκῶν is mentioned in line 23, but his different trade seems to indicate that he is not the same person.) Bettalli p. 271,

notes that the Megarian origin of two of the dealers supports Xenophon's observation that the production of *exomides* was a principal Megarian industry (*Mem.* 2.7.6).

The inverse relation between price and quantity is not completely followed with regard to the slaves' shoes. The least number of shoes is bought at the most expensive price, but the largest number, fourteen, is bought at a price $3/4$ obol more than the least expensive price. Each pair of shoes required one obol's worth of nails.

Line 50: λιθαγωγέω: not attested by *LSJ*. For the δημόσιοι λιθαγωγοῦντες see the commentary above. The total price for mending the shoes should be Dr 67 Ob 5, viz. one obol more than is recorded (cf. Kirchner, *ad loc.*).

Line 51: One obol's worth of patches was required for each repair. The only figures that can be restored here are $\Gamma[\text{H}]\text{II}$ or, less probably $\Gamma[\text{II}]\text{II}$, but thirty-seven repairs (twenty-eight plus nine) should cost $\Gamma[\text{H}]\text{I}$. Perhaps we should read $\Gamma[\text{V}]<\text{H}>\text{I}$, or perhaps the one obol underpayment in the previous line for nails was rectified here.

One and one half staters of metal were added to the twelve δίκελλαί. The δίκελλα, a two-pronged "trimming hammer": Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 290-291, who adds, on the basis of the present instance, that it is an instrument of stone-quarrying; but this is unlikely, for stone-quarrying was not the subject of this account, the blocks having been already quarried at the time of their purchase by the epistatai.

Mnesilochus is also mentioned in lines 32, 37, and 43.

Lines 52-54: "Having weighed out six of the old δίκελλαί and fourteen of the drills worn-out on their cutting edges, at Ob $2\frac{1}{2}$ per stater, to Agatharchos, we purchased etc." For the calculations see Kirchner, *ad loc.* The same Agatharchos is the supplier in line 30. τόρος: Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 303-304; G. M. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* pp. 144-145; S. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* pp. 202-213. (For corrections to some of Pritchett's statements see *AE* 1971, p. 100.) The price of each new drill is Ob $25\frac{1}{3}$.

Line 55: Perhaps: "old (parts) of the wagons," τὰ παλ[λαί]α τὰ τῶν ἀμαξῶν, in need of repair or replacement. Vanhove, p. 288, regards these wagons as the stone-transport vehicles, but these vehicles are called σκεύη in lines 72 and 74.

Lines 56-57: Each handle costs one obol.

Timotheos, undoubtedly the same man, is listed also in line 26 as supplying τύχοι, where they cost Dr 1 Ob 4 per stater. Here the στομώματα cost Dr $3\frac{1}{2}$ per stater, but the τύχοι cost approximately the same as in line 26, Dr 1 Ob 3 per stater. Apparently, therefore, a labor charge for affixing the στομώματα is included here in the price for each stater of their weight. The average weight of each στόμωμα is one stater, of each τύχος six staters (in line 26, six and one half staters).

Lines 57-59: On the wages for the tamias for the public slaves and the epistatai of the public slaves cf. Loomis p. 101. Though the rate is not calculated per day, the daily rate amounts to Ob $1\frac{2}{3}$.

Two of the epistatai are foreigners, the other a metic (originally perhaps a slave), whereas in 177.4-6, etc., the single, unnamed epistates is a slave. In 329/8 the epistates received a wage of Dr 10 per prytany plus maintenance (τροφή) at Ob 3 per day.

Lines 59-62: In giving daily wages for the architect and scribe, the number of months (13), and the total wages for the year, it is here implied that there were thirty days in each month, ignoring

the distinction between full and hollow months. Although a thirty-day month was a popular notion (see Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone*, Berkeley 1963, pp. 326-328), it seems a strange way to reckon wages for the year when the per diem wage is given.

Lines 59-60: The architect for the year, Athenodoros of Melite, was also architect for the first prytany of 329/8, 177.11. This man may be the Athenodoros son of Theodoros of Melite mentioned in a manumission list of ca. 320 B.C., *IG II² 1557* (= Lewis, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, p. 219, lines 505-509) together with his brother Theodoros, on the occasion of the liberation of their slave Demetria; but in the absence of the architect's patronymic a certain identification cannot be made.

Lines 60-61: Eukles the scribe received Ob 3 per day, but in 329/8 the scribe received Ob 1 per day (177.12). The scribe in 329/8, however, was a public slave and also received a maintenance (τροφή) of Ob 3 per day; see II.177.363-364. Eukles therefore was probably also a slave and received clothing and food like the other public slaves in the sanctuary.

THE TRANSPORT OF COLUMN DRUMS FROM MT. PENTELIKON TO ELEUSIS

Line 62: These "transporters from Mt. Pentelikon" (perhaps slaves but in any case not the same as οἱ λιθαγωγοῦντες δημόσιοι [above, lines 49-50], who, it seems, served at Eleusis for the entire year) had to be "pre-initiated" (i.e., receive μύησις) so that they could enter the sanctuary. On μύησις see above, II.Introduction, "Myesis," pp. 8-11.

Punctuation in earlier editions has caused difficulty in interpretation; it was impossible to reconcile this passage with 177.269, where the cost of "pre-initiating" two slaves is Dr 30. With the present punctuation we see that the transporters sacrificed only a ewe for the μύησις, at a cost of Dr 12. But in 177.418 we learn that the price for sacrificial sheep in that year, as set by the Demos, was Dr 30. So the two passages can easily be reconciled: in the current year a single ewe was sacrificed for μύησις and it costs Dr 12; in 329/8, again a single ewe was sacrificed, but the cost had risen to Dr 30 (Sacrifice pp. 69-70). In *AE* 1971, p. 101, I was concerned that the rule against group μύησις (19.C.26-30) was violated. However, the correct interpretation of this passage reveals that it does not address the question of group μύησις. The stone transporters could have been "pre-initiated" individually, but made sacrifice as a group.

The three drachmas εἰς ἱερά were probably intended for the incidentals of sacrifice; i.e., εἰς ἱερά is a short notation for what is called in the Decree of the Salaminioi of 363/2 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα, Dr 3 (*LSS* 19.87,88,89,92) (but Dr 3 1/2 in line 90), or εἰς τὰ ἄλλα (91), or ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, again Dr 3. The prices are clearly comparable because a ewe in this decree costs 12 or 15 drachmas.

The other sacrifices to Demeter and Kore listed here were not made on the occasion of the μύησις. When they were made is simply not stated; from the corresponding passage concerning *myesis* in 329-8, 177.269, it is clear that these additional sacrifices were not necessary for *myesis*. On Simms' view (*Myesis* p. 188) that the expenditure here represents "ancillary costs of the slaves' *myesis* in line 24" see II.Introduction, "Myesis," pp. 8-11.

Lines 62-63: The καθάρσιον was probably done for the benefit of the stone-transport, which

probably passed through Phlya on the way to and from Mt. Pentelikon and Eleusis. On the location of Phlya: Traill, *Organization* p. 51. The term καθάρσιον evidently means primarily “cleaning” here, perhaps also “purification.” Ὀξυθύμια, refuse that was deposited at crossroads, by shrines of Hecate (see *LSJ* s.v.), was evidently hindering passage; and presumably there was the danger that the wagons and drivers would become polluted. So the Ὀξυθύμια were carried off and the road cleaned. In connection with this operation “bird-lime” may have been used to alleviate any (contaminating) stench that remained even after the cleaning.

The ἐσχάρρα λιθηγός (*IG* XI 2.203.B97) was evidently a sled for transporting stone down slopes (Orlandos II p. 90; Raepsaet p. 112). (This may also be the meaning of ἐσχαρὶς ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον, which may be a slip for ἐπὶ τὴν λιθαγωγίαν [cf. the ἀμαξίς, above, line 40]). Vanhove, p. 288, suggests that it is the platform of the stone-transport wagon.

Lines 64-90: The separate status of this section is indicated by the vacant spaces in line 64.

Each preserved entry consists of the following information: ἡρξάμεθα κομίζειν, followed by the date on which the transport was begun (though sometimes the date appears after the name of the quarrier), the name of the quarrier, the number of teams, the number of days required (always three or less), and the salary paid for the teams. In the present edition space for the date is always so designated in the lacunae: among the better preserved entries there is no instance in which a starting date is not given, and in every partially preserved entry there is sufficient space for restoring the date.

It is interesting that neither the owners nor drivers of the teams were named. The owners and drivers were presumably identical: the λιθαγωγοὶ Πεντελῆθεν (line 62). It is conceivable that several took part in each transport and were paid according to the number of their teams. They may well have been helped by servants or hirelings. In this case it is even conceivable that only a single owner supplied teams for each transport. Indeed arguments about the performance of teams would be obviated by employing a single owner for each transport. For a discussion of the problem see Loomis p. 110, note 15.

The hauling of the stone started in Metageitnion, during the driest time of the year, when the roads were in the best condition. At Delphi and Epidaurus the time for transporting stone was also always the summer; cf. G. Glotz, *REG* 31, 1918, p. 218. The first precise date preserved in this section is the tenth of Metageitnion (lines 72-73). Before that day, seven drums were transported in the month of Metageitnion, so that one must assume that from the first to the tenth of Metageitnion sometimes an interval of less than two days separated successive pick-ups; but in the period from the tenth of the month (line 73) to the next to the last day of the month (lines 80-81), each departure of a wagon (or wagons) from Mt. Pentelikon was separated by two- or three-day intervals. The intervals of departure from Mt. Pentelikon need not have anything to do with the length of time taken to traverse the distance between there and Eleusis; surely more than one work team was involved, so that one delivery could be under way while the preceding one was somewhere on the road ahead or returning. The distance between Mt. Pentelikon and Eleusis is ca. 35 km. (cf. Raepsaet p. 118). After the next to the last day of Metageitnion six more drums were delivered. Therefore the last delivery took place very close to the beginning of the celebration of the Mysteries (Boedromion 15), when naturally construction could not be resumed until

the festival was over (Boedromion 24), but by then the first rains could be expected very soon, and resumption of transport operations would probably not be worth while. The length of the account of the stone transport suggests that this operation had indeed ceased by the time of the Mysteries.

A total of one hundred forty drums was required for the portico (Noack, *Eleusis* p. 126). In the administrative year of this document only twenty-three were delivered. Either it took six years to deliver the full number, or in this year fewer than usual were delivered. Considering the length of the journey and the magnitude of the operation, there can be no doubt that the destination of the columns was the Porch of the Telesterion; cf. Raepsaet p. 118.

The wagons (σκεύη, according to lines 72, 74) were naturally limited to one drum apiece; the average volume of each drum was ca. 2.75 m.³ and the average weight ca. 7.5 tons; Raepsaet p. 118; Burford pp. 6-7, note 12; Stanier, *JHS* 73, 1953, p. 70; for the dimensions of the drums, Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 124-126. Orlandos gives a hypothetical drawing of such a wagon; see also Raepsaet pp. 118-133, and Vanhove, who finds Raepsaet's hypothetical wagon unconvincing and offers her own. Raepsaet estimates the total load (including wagon) to be ca. 9 tons.

Lines 64-66: The first entry. Perhaps the first of Metageitnion is to be restored, but other days are possible as well.

Only the first entry explicitly states the daily wage; Philios' restoration of Dr 4 Ob 1/2 is shown by lines 67-70 to be slightly too much. The equations that are now either completely preserved or at least fairly certain are:

<i>Lines</i>	<i>Teams</i>	<i>Total Salary</i>	<i>Days</i>
64-6	3[3]	402	3
66	33	402	3
67	33	40[2]	3
68	[3]2	390	3
69	[3]0	36[6]	3

(The table dressed by Burford p. 14, which is quite hypothetical and confuses certain with uncertain restorations, cannot be used as a basis for a discussion of transport operations.) For detailed calculations see *AE* 1971, pp. 104-105: they show that straightforward calculation does not produce a meaningful result. A more productive method is to examine the differences. Considering the total salaries, it is clear that between the total salaries for 33 teams (Dr 402) and for 32 teams (Dr 390), there is a difference of 12 drachmas, and between the latter and the salary for 30 teams (Dr 366, preferable to any higher figure because of the space), there is a difference of Dr 24. One team produces a difference of Dr 12 in the figures for the total salaries. But multiplying 12 by 33 yields 396; $12 \times 32 = 384$; and $12 \times 30 = 360$. In each case, consistently, the total is Dr 6 short of the actual total wage. For some reason, the sum of Dr 6, or Dr 2 per day, was added to the wage. This increment could have been mentioned in line 65 immediately following the statement of the daily wage of Dr 4 per day. Perhaps the phrase to be restored is (at least in sense): [λιθαγω]γῶν ἐν τρισ[ὶν] ἡμέραις : Ἑϛ: τῆς ἡμέρας].) Certainly the lacuna did not contain the wage for three days: the wage for one day having already been given, it would have been superfluous to state the wage for three days, especially since some teams took two and a half days (lines 73

and 79) and some perhaps only two days. The phrase ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις means “in (or within) three days,” not a wage “of three days,” τριῶν ἡμερῶν (cf. 177.30, 32, 34, 46, 62). The most likely interpretation of this passage seems to be that Lycurgus not only set the daily wage per team but also provided the transporter a wage of Dr 2 per day. (My earlier interpretation that this sum was a bonus for delivery within three days has been justly rejected by Loomis pp. 109-110, note 14.) Repetition of the formula ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις (or less) suggests that this was a requirement, which had to be certified by the epistatai. Repetition of ἡρξάμεθα (“we began...”) shows that the operation was indeed under their supervision. There could be no argument about the duration of each delivery. When delivery took less than two days, the time of departure evidently was stated (lines 72-73, 78-79).

Further evidence for a standard price of four drachmas per team per day around this time may be found in a decree of 330/29 proposed by Lycurgus, *IG II²* 351; for discussion, *AE* 1971, p. 105; Burford p. 17; Loomis pp. 110-111, who disagrees.

Line 71: Total wage: Dr 366: $(28 \times 12) + (3 \times 8) + 6 = 366$.

Lines 72-73: Possibly ἀπὸ μέσου ἡμέρας is to be restored after the date, since the only instance of a journey that (probably) took two and a half days (with this section of its entry preserved) has ἀπὸ μέσου [ἡμέρας] after the date (see lines 78-79). There is nothing to compel Glotz's restoration of additional teams on the second day; in fact, his omission of the suppliers would rather seem to rule this out; it is more likely this line has the same form as line 74.

The use of the term “double wagons” (instead of “two wagons”) suggests that they were linked together. Perhaps they carried drums of the smallest diameter. Thirty-four teams for two and a half days would produce a cost of Dr 345: $(33 \times 4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}) + (2 \times 2\frac{1}{2}) = 345$.

Line 77: προτεραία: Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 32.

Lines 78-79: ἀπὸ μέσου [ἡμέρας]: cf. Xen. *An.* 1.8.8: ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, pointed out by Glotz (1923) pp. 34-35; the restoration was made by Kirchner.

For two and a half days, the rate, as determined above, will be ten drachmas per team. If twenty-four is the correct number of teams, $10 \times 24 = 240$, and with a wage of Dr 2 drachmas per day for the transporter, the total is Dr 245.

Lines 81-82: The only way for the figure of Dr 228 to fit the wage rate adduced above (unless teams were added after the day of departure) is to assume that the trip lasted only two days. A total wage of Dr 8 per team for a total number of twenty-eight teams yields 224, and the addition of Dr 4 for two days gives a total of Dr 228.

This drum was returned from “the Eleusinion” to the supplier. “Eleusinion” here most likely refers to the *sanctuary* at Eleusis (*pace* Rubensohn, *Weihehaus* pp. 22-23, 39); see II.Introduction, “τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον,” pp. 1-3. At the beginning of the section on the transport of column drums no destination for the drums is given, but since this is an account primarily of expenditures for the Eleusinian sanctuary, the reader naturally assumes that the drums were used there (and the assumption is reinforced by the amount of time taken by the teams). If they were used at the Eleusinion in the City, we should expect at the beginning of this list mention of τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει. Hence there is no real basis for Davis' doubts (*Building Inscriptions* pp. 57-59) about the destination.

On the unlikelihood of Glotz' restoration of Dr 424 for the cost of the return journey, see *AE*

1971, p. 106. If twenty-eight teams were used for the two-day journey to Eleusis, thirty teams for two days may be the correct restoration for the return journey: $(30 \times 8) + 4 = 244$.

Line 83: The total wage is either 308 or 408 drachmas. If it is 308, then perhaps thirty-eight teams for two days: $(38 \times 2 \times 4) + (2 \times 2) = 308$. So also Loomis, *loc. cit.*

Line 84: Perhaps thirty-eight teams in two and a half days: $(38 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 4) + (2\frac{1}{2} \times 2) = 385$.

Line 85: Perhaps twenty-six teams in three days: $(26 \times 3 \times 4) + (3 \times 2) = 318$.

Line 86: No number of teams, for two, two and a half, or three days, at the rates suggested above, will yield Dr 371. Perhaps additional teams were added on the second day, as in lines 70-72. For example, if the journey took two and a half days, with thirty-five teams for the entire period and two additional teams for the last two days, the cost would be Dr 371: $(35 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 4) + (2 \times 2 \times 4) + (2\frac{1}{2} \times 2) = 371$.

Line 87: Perhaps Dr 378, if thirty-one teams pulled for the three days: $(31 \times 3 \times 4) + (3 \times 2) = 378$. If so, two more digits should be restored at the beginning of the following line.

Line 88: Thirty-one teams for three days seem more likely than forty-one teams. Perhaps the cost was Dr 378: $(31 \times 4 \times 3) + (3 \times 2) = 378$.

Lines 89-100: Several entries concern stone transport, possibly also at the end of line 97, so that we may infer that this whole section down to the vacant space dealt with various details of the operation.

Line 89: It is possible that Aristokritos of Cholleidai supervised the entire transport operation (ἐπιμελουμέν?]ωι τῆς ἀγωγῆς), for which he received compensation for certain expenses. He may have been one of the epistatai.

Line 91: The name Antikrates of Hermos, father of Apollonios, occurs on an undated grave columella, *IG II² 6071*.

The smallest number of teams used on a single trip may have been [24], though thirty is the smallest number that can be regarded as certain, and the largest certain number is thirty-three, though as many as thirty-eight *may* have been used (lines 83, 84). Since one wagon departed every two or three days, no more than two wagons need have been on the road (going or coming) at any time, leaving the rest of the teams a chance to rest, so that the maximum number of teams need not have been more than ca. 100; so Burford p. 17. There seems to be no support in this document for the notion that heavy transport was organized at Athens on a *voluntary* basis, as Burford p. 17 suggested.

Date. Since this account was issued in an intercalary year (lines 57-62), and since the decree of Lycurgus concerning the rates for the transport of marble (line 65) was more likely proposed by him during his financial administration rather than at some other time, the date of this account should probably be limited to the following intercalary years during (or slightly later than) his administration: 336/5, 333/2, 330/29, 328/7, 325/4 (for these years as intercalary see Meritt, *Year* pp. 78-104; Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone* pp. 279-283, who disagrees with regard to 328/7; and Meritt, *TAPA* 95, 1964, pp. 217-226).

The most likely destination of the column drums was the portico of the Telesterion. Line 60 informs us that the architect in this year was Athenodoros of Melite. He is the second of three known architects who were involved with the porch at one time or another, Philagros being the

first (143) and Philo son of Exekestides of Eleusis the last, finishing the porch in the reign of Demetrius of Phaleron (Vitr. 7. praef. 16-17).

The problem is to determine in what temporal relation this document stands to the other documents concerning this building and most importantly to 177 of 329/8, which does not mention this building but does mention its architect, Athenodoros of Melite (as having received his salary in advance for the first prytany [line 11]; he is not mentioned in the second or in any other preserved prytany of this year). The first step is to decide whether our inscription comes before or after 177. There are certain critical differences between the two documents.

Glötz first called attention to the different systems of accounting. In the present inscription there is no overall chronological order (see above, beginning of Commentary), but in 177 the system is very orderly, arranged prytany by prytany. Glötz plausibly suggests that it is unlikely that a financial board such as the epistatai of Eleusis would proceed from a system as in 177 to the more unwieldy system, as exemplified by the present document, of a whole year account. However, such a change is not entirely inconceivable; see discussion in *AE* 1971, p. 110.

Glötz noticed (*REG* 31, 1918, p. 214) another important difference between 177 and the present inscription, namely the manner in which food for the slaves is furnished. In the present document their food is apparently supplied in kind, by the ταμίαι τῷ [ἀγ]οράζοντι τοῖς δημοσίοις (line 57), whereas in 177 they are paid a fixed amount to buy it themselves, viz. a τροφή of three obols per day, listed at the beginning of each prytany. Glötz pointed out that it is economically implausible for payment in money to precede chronologically payment in kind, citing an example from Delos. In the year 282 the hieropoioi supplied food and clothing for the stone-masons as well as a salary (ὀψώνιον) of Dr 10 a month (*IG* XI 2, 158.37-50). In the following year (*IG* XI 2, 159.59-60) the workers received clothing, the same ὀψώνιον, no food but approximately Dr 10 a month εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, a sum which was clearly intended as a food allowance. Glötz did not call attention to the cause of this change of procedure. In the previous year, 282, when food was still being supplied to the stone-masons, the cost of food was less than Dr 10 per month per person – until the month of Apatourion, when the price of wheat jumped from its previous rate of Dr 7 or less per medimnos to Dr 10 per medimnos: for the rest of the year, the masons ate barley. In the year 279 (*IG* XI 2, 161.A.83-84) they received Dr 20 per month εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, a himation, but no ὀψώνιον (since it had evidently now become part of the εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια). In 278 it is simply stated that they received Dr 20 per month (*IG* XI 2, 162.A.46); in 273, Dr 20 per month and a himation (*IG* XI 2, 199.C.58-60); and in 269, Dr 20 per month and a himation (*IG* XI 2, 203.A.60). This example from Delos shows why at Athens in 329/8 money instead of food was distributed to the slaves: as in the incident on Delos, from about 330 to 320 there was a serious grain shortage in Athens (M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and economic History of the Hellenistic World* I p. 95; M. N. Tod, *GHI* II pp. 273-276; Camp, Drought and Famine in the 4th Century B.C., *Hesperia*, Suppl. 20, 1982, pp. 9-17, with further bibliography; Garnsey, *Famine* pp. 154-164), and the cost of feeding a slave became inordinately expensive. It is therefore unlikely that our inscription, in which food is supplied to the slaves, can be dated to this period.

Another significant difference between the two inscriptions concerns the prices of the same or similar commodities. κόφινοι are Ob 3 1/4 each in the present inscription (line 45) but sold by the same man in 329/8 they cost Dr 1 each (177.65-66), by another man (line 65) Ob 5 each. πῖλοι for

the slaves are three quarters of an obol each in the present inscription (line 48), but Ob 1 3/4 each in 177.71. διφθέραι for the slaves are Dr 2 1/2 and Dr 3 apiece in the present inscription (line 47), but Dr 4 1/2 each in 177.166. Shoes vary from Dr 1 Ob 4 1/4 to Dr 2 Ob 1 1/4 a pair in the present inscription (lines 48-49), but are Dr 6 a pair in 177.167. Mending of shoes costs Dr 1 Ob 5 in the present inscription (line 50), but Dr 4 in 177.252. Since the price increase is so large for the latter two items, it may be a matter of very different types of footgear; likewise it is possible that the difference in the prices of the baskets is due to a difference in size. But a significant difference in type seems improbable in the case of the πῖλοι and the διφθέραι. Although the number of examples is small, they nevertheless reveal that inflation, or at least a rise in prices, has taken place and that the present inscription probably belongs before 177 rather than shortly after it. This rise in prices may be a reflection of the increased Greek trade with the East at this time and the attendant increased demand for Greek goods from an insufficient supply (see M. Rostovtzeff *op. cit.* I pp. 165-169). But much of it must have been due to grain shortage, as the treatment of food for the slaves indicates (see above), though not necessarily a shortage due to crop failure (on the cause see Stroud's discussion).

There is an additional argument in favor of a date earlier than 177. In line 62 of the current document prices of sacrificial victims are listed: Dr 12 per ewe, Dr 17 per ram. In 177.418 we read the following concerning the price of sheep and goats: ὅσον ὁ δῆμος ἔταξεν τοῦ προβάτου καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς ἐκάστου ΔΔΔ. This was the governing price for these animals, and the calculations show that it was in fact used. The increase no doubt relates to the grain shortage. It was ordained by the Demos. Considering the severity of the shortage it seems highly unlikely that this increase was rescinded before 325. But our inscription has the earlier, cheaper price: the new statute of the Demos is not yet in effect.

It is therefore hardly possible to argue for a date later than 329/8. Of the intercalary years before 329/8, the year 330/29 is not attractive, because the differences between this inscription and 177 would seem to demand an interval of a few years, so that the preferable years are 333/2 and 336/5. Glotz hesitated to accept so early a date as 336/5 because he felt that the times were too unsettled; but there is no indication that Athens was actively preparing for war in the summer of 336, when Philip died, and incapable of maintaining construction operations at Eleusis. The care that was taken in organizing 177 of 329/8 happens to coincide with the careful financial management of religious sanctuaries under Lycurgus, which seems to have begun in 335/4 (*IG II² 333* = Schwenk no. 21). The more disorderly character of the present document would be consistent with a prior date, viz. 336/5. A similar change can be seen between the inventories 149 (ca. 350-340) and 158 (333/2).

In 329/8 construction activity on the Telesterion seems to have been abandoned or in the process of abandonment. The same architect as in the present document is in charge, but in 329/8 he apparently does not oversee any work on this building. Work was resumed during the regime of Demetrius of Phaleron (317-307) under the architect Philo, who finally brought the project to completion (though not in all details). Perhaps with him is to be associated 165, the contract for the transport of the column capitals.

160. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. This fragment belongs to the list of iron items in an inventory; cf. **158.71ff.** With no Eleusinian financial document of this period securely dated later than the 320's it seems better to suppose a date around this time than (with Kirchner) a date as late as the end of the century.

Line 3: For σιδηροῖ see **162.3.** Since the θ]υρίς in **52.A.II.58, B.III.12** was not within the list of iron items, it seems a bit risky to restore it here, though not impossible, since not all iron items in **52** were in that list.

Line 4: Cf. **158.71.**

Line 10: Cf. **52.A.III.10** with Cavanaugh's commentary.

161. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. This fragment, at least from line 5, belongs to the list of iron items in an inventory; cf. **158.71ff.** On the date see **II.160.**

Line 8: Cf. **140.22.**

Line 9: Cf. **162.9.**

Line 10: ζυγίσκα occurs only here and in **162.9-10.**

162. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. This fragment belongs to the list of iron items in an inventory; cf. **155.71ff.** and **160-161.** On the date see **II.160.**

Line 3: See **II.160.3.**

Line 8: "Small anchors"; cf. Theodoridis.

Line 9: Cf. **161.9.**

Line 11: See **II.52.A.III.38-39.**

Line 14: This person may have been secretary of the epistatai, who are apparently mentioned here.

163. DOCUMENT OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. The nature of this rather illegible document is unclear. Side A seems to contain a series of transfers. Kirchner dated the stone to the end of the fourth century, but no other fourth-century financial document at Eleusis is securely dated so late in the century.

164. CONTRACT. Lines 5-6 clearly indicate a contract. The items in lines 6-8 are to be supplied by the contractor.

On the date see **II.160.**

165. CONTRACT FOR THE TRANSPORT OF FOURTEEN COLUMN CAPITALS FOR THE PROSTOON OF THE TELESTERION, FROM MT. PENTELIKON TO ELEUSIS. In its dimensions the stele resembles **157**, the contract for the *poloi* and *empolia*.

Line 3: The meaning of the new clause is a bit elusive. Davis translates: "three when he has

received them from the stonecutter.” It is not clear whether this means that he is to wait until three are ready and bring them in one shipment, or whether three are already on hand and he should pick them up immediately (cf. line 18). A word or phrase may have been omitted.

Lines 5-10: Davis notes that the dimensions of a preserved capital (of the Roman rebuilding) are virtually identical in the length of the abacus and the diameter of the neck.

πλίνθο]ν: cf. Vitruv. 4.3.4, Hesychius s.v. πλίνθος. Caskey translates: “The size of the twelve blocks: length and breadth above, *at the abacus*, 6 feet, 2 palms, 3 dactyls; below, *at the necking*, narrower, (viz.) 5 feet, 2 dactyls in diameter.”

Line 16: ἐπὶ σκευῶν is a merely possible restoration.

Line 17: The conjunction ἥ fits the space and the sense better than Preuner’s ἐὰν καί.

Date. The date could be as late as the reign of Demetrius of Phaleron, when, according to Vitruv. 7. praef. 16-17, the Porch was completed, but it could be as early as the 330’s, when the column drums were being delivered (see 159). A date before 325 would be more in harmony with the use of ο for ου; cf. Threatte.

166. SPECIFICATIONS FOR FINISHING FOURTEEN CAPITALS OF THE PROSTOON OF THE TELESTERION. The number in line 3, in the context of column capitals, is probably correctly restored. This document is then the contract for their final carving, ἐξεργάσασθαι. Its date must be later than 165, but possibly only slightly.

Kirchner’s restoration in line 2 is of course *exempli gratia*, following the designation in 165.

Line 4: προσ[τώιου is also possible.

167. INVENTORY OF THE DELIAN AMPHICTYONES. It is extremely unlikely that this document was originally set up at Eleusis. It probably was brought there in post-antique times. Evidently in similar fashion two colossal marble heads wandered from the Odeion of Agrippa to Eleusis (*Agora* XIV p. 113).

The restorations are based on *I. Délos* 101.32-41, 103.50-62, 104.107-119, 104-11.B.4-14, 104-12.84-93, 104-24.6-19, 104-30.4-21. For further commentary see Couprie.

168. INVENTORY OR ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. As Skias restored and Kirchner recognized, this may be an account: [λόγος ἐπιστατῶν κτλ. Though Kirchner thought this document belonged to the early third century, no Eleusinian financial document of this type can be securely dated after the 320’s.

169. ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. This appears to be an account organized by prytany like 177 of 329/8. However, the phrase in line 6, περὶ ὃν ἐκ, if this reading is correct, is not the formula used in 177 at the end or beginning of a prytany.

170. ACCOUNT. This part of a financial document has to do with expenses for construction.

Line 1: Perhaps γε[φύρας].

Line 4: Perhaps ἀπὸ τῶν νε]ωρίων.

171. INVENTORY. This fragment of a list resembles **136** with respect to the length of the items inventoried, and is therefore most likely a list of ropes, which forms part of a general inventory of accountable objects belonging to the sanctuary.

Line 4: The adjective, indicating a length of 15 *orgyai*, occurs only here; it was presumably preceded by μῆκος.

172. ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. The purchases suggest that this is an account.

Line 6: For the restoration cf. **177.271**.

Lines 7-8: This may also be tile; cf. **52.A.II.42**. Perhaps κέραμον κ]αινόν, ζ[εύγη]. But there are other possibilities, such as a new pair of doors, θυρῶν κ]αινόν ζ[εῦγος; cf. **52.A.II.63**.

174. SPECIFICATIONS FOR REPAIR OF GATES OF THE FORTIFICATION WALL OF ELEUSIS. The document gives specifications and instructions for the repair of gates and a propylaion. Since the stone was found at Eleusis, these structures must have been located there. The style of the lettering suggests the Lycurgan period; Tracy has attributed the hand to his “Cutter of *IG II² 244*,” whose known dates are 340/39-ca. 320; Maier speculated that the repairs belong shortly after the battle of Chaeronea. See further below, under **Date**.

The structures. The description of each structure begins with a quincunx (when preserved) on the stone, as follows:

- 1) Unnamed Gate, lines 1-9.
- 2) Megarian Gate (τὰς πύλας τὰς Μέγαράδ' ἐξιόντι), lines 9-23. See Travlos, *Topography* fig. 1; Maier I p. 85, Plan, Q.
- 3) Probably a [Pylis], near the Corner [Tower] by the Sea, lines 23-25. Not attested archaeologically.
- 4) Gate by the Stadium (ταῖς πύλαις ταῖς κατὰ τὸ στάδιον), lines 25-29. See Travlos *ibid.*; Maier *ibid.* S. Not attested archaeologically.
- 5) South Gate (τῶμ πυλῶν τῶν νοτίων καλουμένων), lines 29-35. See Travlos p. 143 and fig. 1; Maier *ibid.* U.
- 6) Pylis nearby (τῇ πυλίδι τῇ πλησίον τούτων), lines 35-37. See Travlos *ibid.*; Maier *ibid.* V. In the basement of the Guard's House, according to Travlos p. 146, note 22.
- 7) Evidently a [gate] with a Propylaion, lines 37-45+. Travlos, *Topography* pp. 146-147, believed that lines 37-44 pertained to a propylon located on the inner face of the South Gate of the sanctuary (**177.434**), and that lines 45-47 pertained to the “Propylaia of Demeter and Kore in the position now occupied by the Lesser Propylaia.” It seems more likely (see below) that this

whole section refers to a Propylaion at the main gate of the sanctuary, under the present Lesser Propylaea.

Kourouniotis realized that the structures are listed in a counterclockwise order as one looks at the plan. Travlos believed that the unnamed gate, no. 1, was the same as the one he called "Asty Gate," but Maier pointed out that there may have been another gate between the "Asty Gate" and the "Megarian Gate." Travlos thought that the Propylaion mentioned in line 45 was separate from no. 7, but this seems unlikely, since τοῦ δὲ προπυλαίου (line 45) is not preceded by an inter-punct. This Propylaion, in any case, ought to belong to a gate of the sanctuary; the peribolos of the sanctuary was a continuation of the wall of the fort and was clearly meant to be part of the fortification of Eleusis. While there may be enough space for a propylon inside the South Gate, no traces of one have been found (at K6 on the Plan), so that the most likely gate seems to be the main, north gate of the sanctuary, located under the present Lesser Propylaea. Kourouniotis' restoration of line 45 implies that this gate had both an inner (ἐντὸς τείχους) Propylaion and an outer one; this arrangement would indeed be appropriate to the main gate of the sanctuary.

Maier presents a full discussion of the technical terms, which the reader should consult for details and documentation. On ancient doors and gates the following treatments were most helpful: Maier II pp. 76, 91-92; A. Büsing-Kolbe, *Frühe griechische Türen*, *JdI* 93, 1978, pp. 66-174; Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 234-236; D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus VIII* (Baltimore 1938) pp. 153-156, 249-263; H. Diels, *Antike Technik* (Leipzig and Berlin 1924) pp. 40-56; *idem*, *Parmenides* (Berlin 1897) pp. 117-151; R. M. Dawkins, *BSA* 9, 1902-3, p. 184, fig. 4.

Line 2: These doors, most likely of a gate, are evidently the subject of the section that ends with the quincunx in line 9.

Line 3: Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* pp. 53-54, takes the ζυγά to be the horizontal cross-pieces of the door, and argues that when ζυγά occur on both sides of the door, the corresponding pieces are ἀντίζυγα (occurring here in line 15). Kourouniotis, however, thinks it hardly likely that two different words can refer to the same object. In my view the ζυγά are horizontal cross-pieces, the ἀντίζυγα diagonal cross-pieces; see the discussion at II.177.213-217.

Line 4: For the restoration cf. *IG* II² 376.159.

Line 5: For the restoration cf. lines 18, 28, 32. Kourouniotis deduced that the ληνός is the brass socket that was set into a cutting (τορμός) in the threshold. The pivot of the door, or στροφεύς, rested in the ληνός; cf. Maier, *ad loc.*

Line 6: ἐμμόχλιον: the socket for the bar, μοχλός, of the door.

Line 7: A bar nine feet long shows that the width of the doorway was considerable.

Line 8: The nature of the λαβὰς ... διχθεῖ is not clear to me. τρήματα: Slots in the bar that will receive wooden pegs (βάλανοι) when the door is locked. For Maier's restoration, ἀρμόττοντα εἰς τὰ ἐμμόχλια, cf. line 20.

The Megarian Gate (Lines 9-25):

Line 10: Presumably doors ten (to twelve) feet high, but the dimensions of the doors seem rather to follow in the next line.

Lines 12-13: For the restoration cf. line 42. In line 13 we should perhaps restore: θήσει περὶ

γόμενοι. Cf. *IG* II² 1665.17. These lines apparently concern the doorposts, which are to be fastened possibly to the lintel (rather than to the stone wall, as Maier suggests), with pegs (γόμενοι) of ash or elm, half a foot long; on the use of wooden γόμενοι see Orlandos I pp. 59-62.

Line 14: The glue was no doubt also used for the fastening; cf. Orlandos I 63-64. Perhaps: κολλήσει κόλλει κατὰ τ[οὺς ἀρ]μούς.

Lines 15-17: On the ζυγά and ἀντίζυγα see above, *ad* line 3. Perhaps: τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀντιζυγοῖς - - - ἥλοις σιδηροῖς -]δεκα.

Line 18: If my reading of the first letter is correct, perhaps: χοινικί]δ[α]ς, bronze coverings for the στροφεῖς; cf. Kourouniotis, *ad* line 5; Maier II p. 88, note 7. But Kourouniotis' suggestion, read as ληνοὺς ποιή]σ[α]ς, is not impossible.

Lines 19-20: Kourouniotis' restoration is probably correct in general, though the dimensions may not be exactly right. For the rest see *ad* line 5.

Line 21: Kourouniotis suggested that the στροφεῖα are the ropes that hung through a hole in the door for pulling the bolt shut from outside (as in H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, Leipzig and Berlin 1924, p. 50, fig. 14).

Line 22: These items evidently are to be replaced.

Another gate (*Lines 23-25*):

This gate not as wide as the preceding, was perhaps a πυλῖς, near the "corner tower by the sea." Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.8 mentions a πυλῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν at Eleusis, but Travlos, *Topography* pp. 145-146, note 20, doubts that it is the same one. καταστῆσαι: here perhaps "restore" rather than "set in place."

The Gate by the Stadium (*Lines 25-28*):

Line 25: στομώματα: evidently metal fittings to protect the edges of the doors.

Line 26: κανονίδα: Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* p. 53, takes κανονίς to mean the board along the long vertical edge of the door, but see II.177.213-217.

Line 27: Wood is added above the pivot, presumably to strengthen it.

The South Gate (*Lines 29-35*):

Line 30: See *ad* lines 25, 26.

Line 32: χοινικί?]δ[α]ς: see *ad* line 18.

Pylis (*Lines 35-36*).

Another structure, including a Propylaion (*Lines 37-45+:*) (line 45).

Line 37: Kourouniotis' restoration, τὸ προπύλαιον, is uncertain. πυλῶ]ν is also possible, in which case the structure would be a gate with a Propylaion. This may be the South Gate of the sanctuary (see above p. 167, *The Structures*), but is more likely to be the main gate, which I assume (with Noack, *Eleusis* p. 210) was the gate that lies under the present Lesser Propylaea. Some of the work specified here for the main gate was carried out in 329/8 (177.25-30).

Perhaps: καὶ τὰ [ἐξ]ύλα. Cf. 177.29.

Line 40: For the phrase σὺν τῷ ἐπικράνῳ cf. *IG* II² 1668.43; 1685.B2.4, 9. In the lacuna there may have appeared a dimension of the column including the capital, e.g., ὕψος τῶν κιόνων

– Measure – σὺν] τῷ ἐπικράνῳ. The column is to consist of three drums; next, the dimensions of the drums are given.

Line 41: The καταφορά should refer to the slope, or diminution, of the column; cf. Rubensohn p. 433, note 1. For the term see Orlandos-Travlos s.v. Perhaps we should restore: καταφοράν τοῦ κίονος.

Line 42: Further description of the column drums.

Line 43: The first word is a dimension ending in -πάλαστα, modifying a neuter plural noun. Then follows a description of the capital, extending apparently into the next line. The capitals of the main Propylaion of the sanctuary were Doric.

Line 45: If Kourouniotis' restoration is correct, there was a Propylaion inside the wall as well as outside it.

Date. Tracy has dated the lettering from 340 to ca. 320. Some of the work specified here (in line 37) seems to have been carried out in the year 329/8 (177.25-30), so that a date shortly before this time seems reasonable.

175. SACRED LAW. Dow and Healey took the document to be a supplement to the state code, "drawn up and adopted by Eleusis for the benefit of Eleusinians" (p. 45), and they further suggested that it represents a change in practice: the deme of Eleusis now assumes payment of expenses that were previously covered by private persons. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the deme of Eleusis ever assumed responsibility for expenses incurred by sacred officials at festivals administered by the Polis, including Polis festivals held in the Eleusinian sanctuary, which was administered by the Polis (see II.Introduction, "Administration," p. 3; *Sacred Officials* p. 22, note 82). (Whitehead and Robertson, in supposing that this document was issued by the deme, do not observe that the deme had no role in the administration of the sanctuary.) Furthermore, the reference to the priestesses in line 16, ἱερείαις ταῖς ἐξ Ἐλ[ε]υσῖνος, does not look like the sort of reference that a deme would use in referring to its own priestesses; it would be an appropriate way, on the other hand, for a document of the Polis to refer to priestesses of the Eleusinian sanctuary. (In *Sacred Officials* I suggested the Eleusinian γένη as the issuing authorities of this document, but such an extensive sacred calendar as this is unattested for them.) With regard to Dow and Healey's second suggestion, Richardson (p. 281) and Pouilloux (pp. 441-442) rightly questioned why this document must represent a *change* in the administration of finances. Some changes may have been incorporated, but nothing in the document specifically suggests that a major change lay behind it. It remains now to determine its scope.

With the exception of one priest, evidently of Pythian Apollo (line 13), all the priests and priestesses in this document can certainly or plausibly be identified as those who serve the sanctuary at Eleusis. The entry which contains expenses for the priest of Apollo, viz. Pyanopsion 7 (lines 8-19+), also includes expenses for the hierophant and the priestesses from Eleusis. We may assume therefore that this document lists all expenses incurred at religious events at which Eleusinian priests officiated, and that these expenses were naturally paid from a single fund. Some of these events most likely did not take place at Eleusis. The document, accordingly, ought to be

an "Eleusinian" excerpt from a list of expenses for all Polis festivals, an excerpt that was set up, for the sake of convenience, at the sanctuary in Eleusis. An alternative hypothesis that has been suggested, namely that this document lists only expenses incurred by Eleusinian sacred officials for duties performed while away from the Eleusinian sanctuary (Roux p. 573), is awkward. What purpose would be served, in the case of a festival such as the Mysteries, by listing expenses that occurred in central Athens (e.g. in the City Eleusinion and elsewhere) separately from expenses that occurred at Eleusis? Such an arrangement of expenses would be far more complex, and needlessly so, than a list of *all* the "Eleusinian" expenses that had to be taken from a particular fund.

The hypothesis that the document is an "Eleusinian edition" of the general state calendar, i.e. a listing of expenses for only those religious events in which Eleusinian personnel participated, is not contradicted by the entries, and even helps shed light on some of them. It must be emphasized that this "edition" is rather abbreviated. We are not told, for example, where the *Prorhesis* of the Proerosia took place, or where the ritual for Apollo Pythios took place, etc.

Line 2: This and the preceding line(s) may have to do with the sending of the hierophant and sacred herald to the Eleusinion "in preparation for the *prorhesis* on the next day," as Dow and Healey suggested (p. 14), but it may just as well refer to some ritual at the Eleusinion or transfer of cult material to the Eleusinion.

Lines 3-7: Pyanopsion 5, the *Prorhesis* of the Proerosia. As Dow and Healey correctly point out, this is not the Proerosia proper but merely the day on which the hierophant and sacred herald announced the festival, including perhaps some ritual requirements; this event presumably took place in central Athens, perhaps at the Eleusinion. They receive for this effort an ἄριστον, a morning or mid-day meal.

Robertson, Proerosia pp. 320-325, 331-337, 346-347, expresses the view that *aparchai* for this festival were requested in the announcement. However, none of the sources he cites (*ibid.*, p. 322, notes 9-10: Lycurg. *Menesaechnus*, FGrH 401c F1-4, 9; Hyperides, FGrH 401b F9; Hippostratus, FGrH 568 F4; Crates, FGrH 362 F1) mentions *aparchai* in connection with the Proerosia. Lycurgus, F1, states that the *eiresione* consists of *aparchai* (θαλλὸν μέγαν ... εἰρεσιώωνην ὀνομάσαντας, ἀπαρχὰς ποησαμένους τῶν γιγνομένων πάντων τῆς γῆς), but that is a different matter and for a different festival. The references to *aparchai* by Aelius Aristides (*Panath.* 35 Oliver, *Eleus.* 4 Keil) pertain to those announced by the hierophant and daduch at the Mysteries, to be delivered in late spring, the proceeds providing for sacrifices shortly afterwards and a dedication: see above, II.Introduction, "*Aparche*," pp. 5-7.

Since lines 8-19 concern Pyanopsion 7, Dow and Healey infer that the Proerosia proper took place on Pyanopsion 6. But if my hypothesis about the scope of this document is correct, this inference is unlikely. The Proerosia, a state festival, took place at Eleusis (cf. *IG* II² 1028.28, 1029.16-17; Dow and Healey p. 17). We should therefore expect participation by Eleusinian priests. If the hierophant's and herald's participation in the *Prorhesis* incurred expense, a fortiori we should expect to find expenses for Eleusinian personnel at the festival itself. For Pyanopsion 6, however, not a single item of expense is given. It seems to follow therefore that the festival did not take place on Pyanopsion 6 but at a later date, just as the critical part of the Mysteries took place several days after their *Prorhesis* (the parallel of course is not exact, since at the Mysteries several days of cultic events intervened between the *Prorhesis* and processions to Eleusis, but some of

these days evidently could be omitted by latecomers). It would further follow that the main festival took place sometime after Pyanopsion 7, the last day preserved on this fragment of the document. But the Theseia took place on the 8th, the Stenia on the 9th, the Thesmophoria at Halimous on the 10th, the Thesmophoria in general on the 11th to 13th. Did the Proerosia, then, follow the Thesmophoria? This does in fact seem to be the case. A decree of the Peiraeus, *IG II² 1177*, lays down regulations for use of the Thesmophorion at times other than festival gatherings: ἢ ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων καὶ πληροσίαι καὶ Καλαμαίοις καὶ τὰ Σκίρα καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην ἡμέραν συνέρχονται αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Since the Thesmophoria, Kalamaia, and Skira are listed in chronological order, it is natural to assume that this holds true also for the Proerosia (here spelled Plerosiai). Thus these various indications point to a date after the Thesmophoria for the celebration of the festival by the Polis. In this document, accordingly, the expenses for the Proerosia would have been listed in the missing section below line 27. (There is no secure warrant for Dow and Healey's belief that the document probably ended at line 27; but if they are correct, these expenses could have appeared at the top of column II.) The festival occurred before the ritual ploughing of the Rarian Field, and so a date as late as Maimakterion is not impossible: Richardson noted that a ritual ploughing is depicted in Maimakterion in the Hagios Eleutherios frieze (Deubner, *Feste* pl. 36, no. 8; on the date cf. Ziehen, *RE* 21, cols. 233-234). Robertson, *Proerosia* pp. 333-334, 344-346, has come to a similar conclusion.

Lines 8-19: Pyanopsion 7. On this day the Pyanopsia took place. Here it is not stated where the sacrifice and other rites occurred, but it would be reasonable to suppose, with Dow and Healey, that the locale was the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo in central Athens (for its location see Travlos, *Dictionary* pp. 100-103); although we cannot absolutely rule out a local sanctuary at Eleusis, reference to the "priestesses from Eleusis" tends to suggest a journey. At the Thargelia something similar happened: the hierophant, daduch, and other officials from Eleusis took part in the procession for Pythian Apollo (*LSS* 14.36); in this instance they were members of the general contingent of state priests.

The expense of Dr 20 evidently covered all the items listed: goat, *progonion*, τὰ μετὰ τούτου, setting the table, and *hiereosyna* for the priest. The erasure of line 14 was probably due to a mistake; see Roux pp. 565-566.

τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς: perhaps minor offerings, such as honey, meal, and wine, as Ziehen suggested (cf. Hesychius, s.v. ἐφιέρεια· τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερείοις ἀποθυόμενα), but more likely simply "the things for the sacred proceedings" (Dow and Healey), i.e. incidentals of the goat-sacrifice, such as wood, wine, etc. (cf. *LSS* 19.87, 88, 89, 91, 92; Clinton, *Sacrifice* p. 71, note 24).

προγόνιον καὶ τὰ μετὰ τούτου: Roux seems to be correct in taking these as offerings for the τράπεζα mentioned next. This corresponds to practice at Delphi: first a sacrifice, then the offering of a victim for the τράπεζα. Roux demonstrated that the rare word προγόνιον must indicate a suckling lamb (cf. Hesychius s.v. πρόγονοι· οἱ πρωτόγονοι ἄρνες).

The *hiereosyna* according to Roux are for the priest, hierophant, and priestesses for the activities that follow, viz. supplying libations, etc., in the *pannychis*; but if that were the case, no *hiereosyna* would be provided for the sacrifice of the goat and the other rites that precede. It is no solution to understand the *hiereosyna* for this sacrifice to be for the priest, hierophant, and priestesses, for it would be rather awkward to suppose that all these officials were in charge of the sacrifice

and the other preceding rites. It seems more reasonable to assume that the preceding rites were administered by the priest but were ritually connected with the presence of Eleusinian officials (perhaps as participants in the rites). The “priestesses from Eleusis” will have been the priestess of Demeter and Kore, the two hierophantides, and perhaps also the priestess of Plouton (on the imaginary *ἱέρειαι παναγεῖς* see *Sacred Officials* p. 98).

Below line 19 a sum would have been inscribed in the margin for the expenses of the hierophant and priestesses in providing libations, cakes, and perhaps other offerings at the *pannychis*. Robertson, pp. 336-337, apparently did not realize this and assumed that the erasures of lines 14 and 20 (he assumed a *definite* erasure in line 20 even though Dow and Healey called it only “probable,” and the stone does not provide clarity) indicate that the entire remaining section (lines 15-19) was no longer valid. This seems very unlikely: it would be confusing to leave standing several lines of invalid regulations; to erase them was a simple and trivial task. If line 20 was in fact erased, the amount of expense for lines 15-19 could have been inscribed in the margin of line 21 or a later line. There is therefore no reason to assume that a date was inscribed in the erased line 14, and there is no evidence at all to support Robertson’s proposal that this entry (lines 15-19) reflects a (second and unmentioned) Proerisia of the Proerisia, which was held at Eleusis and followed by a *pannychis*.

Lines 22-27: The Thesmophoria apparently, which were celebrated almost everywhere else in Attica on Pyanopsion 11-13 (cf. Clinton, Thesmophoria). The beginning of the entry is not preserved. A major question has been the location of these rites, Eleusis or central Athens. Dow and Healey favored the former; Roux the latter. Richardson assumed it was Eleusis but questioned whether the *μέγαρον* was really the ritual pit at the Thesmophoria and suggested it might be the Telesterion. Although a passage in a document of the Peiraeus, *IG II² 1177.5-7*, has usually led scholars to assume it was the pit, he agreed with Rubensohn (*Weihehaus* p. 28) in believing that the *megaron* referred to in *IG II² 1177.5-7* was a temple: *μηδὲ καθαρμούς ποιῶσιν μηδ[ἐ] πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν ἄνευ τῆς ἱερέας*. This, however, seems unlikely. These regulations aim at preventing cultic activity in the absence of the priestess. “They are not to approach either the altars or the *megaron*.” A temple is not normally a place in which one performs ritual, and if it is forbidden for some reason to enter it, one would expect *μηδ[ἐ] πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς προσίωσιν μηδὲ εἰς τὸ μέγαρον εἰσίωσιν*. Instead, the parallel positions of “altars” and “*megaron*” and the prohibition against “approaching” them strongly suggest they are similar structures, i.e. places at which sacrifice takes place. The “*megaron*” therefore ought to be the pit into which piglets were sacrificed at the Thesmophoria.

Robertson, Proerisia pp. 337-343, takes this entry as pertaining to the Proerisia. This is conceivable – a *megaron* played some role in the Plerisia in Peiraeus – but the reference to the “Two Thesmophoroi” naturally suggests, *par excellence*, the Thesmophoria. It is not clear that Demeter and Kore would be called Thesmophoroi if the context were the Proerisia.

For the *megara* at Eleusis see Clinton, Sacrifice; on *megara* in general, A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 4, 1968, pp. 31-37. Since a celebration of the Thesmophoria did take place at Eleusis (Clinton, *Iconography* p. 29, note 72; Thesmophoria pp. 114-115), as did a celebration of the Proerisia, Eleusis is the most likely location of this *megaron*. (Robertson’s objection to the existence of Thesmophoria at Eleusis, namely that the story in *Aeneas Tacticus* 4.8-11, about an attack by

Megarians on women celebrating the Thesmophoria at Eleusis, is unhistorical is irrelevant: an Eleusinian celebration was regarded by Aeneas and his source as credible.) From a survey of evidence concerning *megara* Henrichs, *op. cit.*, concluded that they were characteristically built of stone blocks. Robertson's identification, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330, of a possible *megaron* at Eleusis, namely a pit in the precinct of the *Agelastos Petra* (formerly called "Ploutonion"), with an internal diameter of 0.90 m. and slightly less than two meters deep, built of smallish stones, and of uncertain date (Kourouniotis regarded it as modern; Philios thought it an attempt to construct a well) is unpersuasive (see Rubensohn, *Weihehaus* p. 25). (Robertson *ibid.* note 28, confused the pit that I discussed, *Sacrifice* p. 73, note 43, with this one.) Philios, *Πρακτικά* 1887, p. 51, note 4, who excavated this "pit," only noted the cavity in the bedrock and said nothing about a lining for a pit (so also Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 147); I assume therefore that the present smallish stones that form its walls were placed there by Philios to mark the spot and make it accessible; that is, he did not excavate a pit with a wall of small stones but merely found a cavity in the bedrock. Noack, *Eleusis* p. 80, compared this "pit" to the structure in the sanctuary of Demeter at Priene which is often identified as a *megaron*, but the Prienian structure is an imposing one, built of stone blocks.

The priestesses here must be priestesses attached to the Eleusinian sanctuary; it seems unlikely that at the time of the Thesmophoria (or Proerosia) they would leave Eleusis to perform rites elsewhere.

The rites that these priestesses performed at Eleusis probably did not belong to the secret part of the Thesmophoria, since this central part was most likely financed by the deme (Clinton, *Thesmophoria*). The expenses listed here ought therefore to be for rites financed by the state *at the time of* the Thesmophoria (if that is the correct festival), and were perhaps for the benefit of the public.

The simple title τῇ ἱερείᾳ suggests "the" priestess at Eleusis, viz. the priestess of Demeter and Kore (cf. Dow and Healey p. 34; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 68-76), but a bit of caution seems advisable: her full title was probably given in the lacuna above, and we do not know whether there was a separate priestess of the Thesmophoroi at Eleusis as there was at the Eleusinion in the City (for the latter see Clinton, *Thesmophoria*). The payment called ἀπόμετρα is difficult. Judging from the earliest document that gives us the term in context, viz. the *lex sacra* from Paiania (*IG* I³ 250), it seems originally to have been payment made by measuring out a certain amount of grain to a priestess (or priest, though none is attested). The verb is frequently used of distributing or measuring out foodstuffs. By the time of the present document payment in kind had evidently been replaced by money.

The priestess of Plouton is otherwise unattested.

Line 25: The reading is uncertain. Robertson's restoration is incompatible with the traces. Lewis's interesting but tentative restoration does not seem right for Athens, where the cult of the Thesmophoroi is based in the demes; there is no sign of a cult that pertains to the whole ἄστυ (Clinton, *Thesmophoria*). Robertson, *Proerosia* pp. 359-360, note 117, finds Isaeus 6.49-50 as "decisive" against the existence of celebrations in the demes: "The disreputable woman Alce joined the procession of the Thesmophoria and entered the sanctuary and observed the secret rites." The passage, however, does not mention the name of a festival. There seems to be no reason why it could not have been the Haloa. In any case, the civic laws on impiety could be brought

to bear against Alke whether she violated a festival of the deme or the Polis; cf. the application of civic law to violations of the Thesmophorion and its festivals in the Peiraeus, *IG II²* 1177.14-21.

Lines 28-38: Dow and Healey took these lines as a panel of expenses for the Skira, the women's festival that took place on Skirophorion 12. This would be about the right place on the stone for this date. Brumfield, however, urged caution, considering how little we know about the gods worshipped in this festival and about its general plan. Although the evidence is much less abundant for it than for the Thesmophoria, it seems likely that this festival too was held in various demes and was administered by them (Clinton, Thesmophoria). The occurrence of Poseidon in line 37 was taken by Dow and Healey as confirmation of the Skira, but at best it may reflect a state rite that occurred at the time of the Skira. According to Harp. s.v. Σκίρον: Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας. Σκίρα ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ μὴν Σκιροφοριῶν. φασὶ δὲ οἱ γράψαντες περὶ τε μηνῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Λυσιμαχίδης, ὡς τὸ σκίρον σκιάδιόν ἐστι μέγα, ὑφ' ᾧ φερομένῳ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τινα τόπον καλούμενον Σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἥλιου κομίζουσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑτεοβουτάδαι. According to Pausanias 1.37.2, at Skiros there was a shrine of Demeter and Kore at which Athena and Poseidon also received worship. These two testimonia are our evidence for the connection of Poseidon with the Skira. At most they suggest that at the time of the Skira there was a procession from the Acropolis to Skiros in which the priestess of Athena and the priest of Poseidon took part. But whether Poseidon and Athena actually played any role within the deme celebrations is unclear. At any rate the present expenses might have been incurred in the context of the public rites and the procession from the Acropolis to Skiros, in which Eleusinian officials were involved. On the various problems concerning the Skira see especially Brumfield pp. 156-181.

Date and Significance. Although the letter-forms allow a date from ca. 330 to ca. 270, the most likely time for the creation of this document would have been during the period when Lycurgus was influential in bringing about administrative and financial reforms (cf. *IG II²* 333, 334 [= Schwenk 21, 17], etc.). If the hypothesis suggested above is correct, namely that this document includes expenses for all Polis cults in which the sacred officials of the Eleusinian sanctuary officiated or participated, this was an extremely important document. It should have contained, for instance, all the expenses of the priests at the Mysteries. Posting this excerpt from the state code would have simplified the administration of these finances, for Eleusinian officials and their auditors would not have to search through the state code to find what applied to them. It would all be conveniently tabulated on this stele, in abbreviated form, without such details as place of sacrifice (this information would be well known, or if not, presumably documented elsewhere). Its careful form certainly suggests a calendar to serve the future rather than a simple list of expenses already incurred, for which this columnar format with dates standing on separate lines would be unnecessary.

176. LEASE. Preuner's restorations adopted by Kirchner imply (if I understand them correctly) a συνοικία, or συνοικισμός, between the demes of Eleusis and Thria – an extremely unlikely phenomenon, which Kirchner does not attempt to justify (nor does Whitehead pp. 81, 378). In fact, the Thriasians are not mentioned in any of the preserved fragments. We should assume,

therefore, that the document concerns the only deme that is mentioned, Eleusis, and that συνοικία has the meaning that it commonly had, viz. “tenement-house” or “*insula*” (for attestations at Athens see Davies, *Wealth* p. 51, note 25). The inscription then should follow the typical pattern of a lease (cf. *IG* II² 2492-2499 and Behrend).

The document is of considerable importance, since it is the only document, to my knowledge, concerning leasing of buildings by a deme (except for the lease of a theater by Peiraeus [*IG* II² 1176]), whereas leases of other property are known (cf. 85 and Whitehead pp. 152-154).

Line 1: The deme evidently owned several tenement-buildings that it wished to lease. The regulations here seem to deal with them one by one.

Line 2: Perhaps the location of the tenement-building is given here, e.g. τὴν πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων. The ἀγορά is mentioned again in line 9.

Line 3: The length of the lease needs to be mentioned, and this seems to be the most appropriate place for it (cf. *IG* II² 2492.2-3). [τετάρτῃ] is also possible for the date of payment.

Lines 3-5: The months have been restored largely in accordance with the available space.

Line 6: Ἐ[κατομβαι]ῶνος is also possible.

Line 8: The renter, however, was not allowed, it appears, to plow the ἀγορά. Preuner suggested ἢ ὅτῳ ἂν τρόπῳ παραβῇ τὰς συνθήκας. In that case presumably the deme would cancel the lease.

Line 10: Preuner restored μὴ διαιρ[εῖσθαι] τὴν συνοικίαν. Perhaps the meaning is that the building is not to be subdivided differently than it was at the beginning of the lease.

Line 12: The deme evidently did not wish to permit animal husbandry within or next to the tenement-house.

c + f and o + p + l: Catalogs of movable property are appended, presumably to list the things that the tenant may not remove or abuse. In *IG* II² 2499.12-14 the tenant is allowed to take with him at the end of the lease “the boards, the roof tiles, and the door panels” but nothing else. In the present document the furnishings are listed apparently apartment by apartment, including shops (*o*, line 3).

177. ACCOUNT OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS AND TREASURERS OF THE TWO GODDESSES. (*Discussion:* Jardé, pp. 36-51, was inadvertently omitted.)

Introduction

Contents of the Document. This financial account lists (1) money on hand at the beginning of the year, in the first prytany, (2) all income (if any) and expenses prytany by prytany, (3) funds remaining at the end of each prytany, (4) expenses for wages paid for services at the Mysteries held in the years 332 and 331 (lines 370-376), inserted within the tenth prytany (which ends at line 377), perhaps by mistake, instead of after it, (5) the balance at the end of the year that was turned over to various officials of the following year (lines 377-381), (6) income in grain from the Rharian Field over the four-year term of the epistatai and its distribution (lines 381-391), (7) the *Aparchai* of the spring of 328, including proceeds from their sale, expenses, and amounts turned over to the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς (lines 392-429), (8) donations taken from the θησαυροί and expenses paid

from them (lines 429-432), and (9) commodities which the epistatai received from the preceding epistatai but which were put to use during the current four-year term, therefore no longer available to be handed over to the succeeding epistatai (lines 432-440). In short, this document purports to be a complete accounting of every type of income received and expenditure disbursed by the epistatai. It must have been accompanied by another document, viz. an inventory (παράδοσις) of all salable items which the epistatai received from their predecessors and passed on to their successors, such as 149, 158, etc.

Inscribing the Stele. The cost of inscribing this document is not listed among the expenses of the tenth prytany, nor is the cost of inscription of the preceding year's account listed among the expenses of the first prytany of this document. Presumably the expense for the present inscription was disbursed by the next board, in 328/7, and listed among the expenses for that year; but the expense for inscribing the account of 330/29 must have been listed in that year's account. Our account seems therefore to be anomalous in this respect.

Financial Administration. On the appointment of the two treasurers of the Two Goddesses and their relation to the epistatai see above, pp. 113, 126; both are named here in line 378.

In every preserved prytany (except probably the first) the balance on hand at the beginning contains two figures that always remain the same, viz. (1) Dr 1,565 Ob 2 Ch 3 and (2) Dr 32 Ob 3. The first sum is always listed as παρά ταμίαιν τοῖν Θεοῖν, the second as παρά ταμίαι τοῖν Θεοῖν Νικοφίλωι Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. They seem to represent (1) an account that both treasurers controlled and (2) an account that only Nikophilos controlled. Apparently neither account was used in this year.

With the exception of the first prytany (see commentary on line 3) income was paid directly to the epistatai by the apodektai (lines 178, 201); in the second prytany (lines 39-40) the entire income was described as τὸ προσδανεισθὲν εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τὸ Ἐλευσῖνι παρά ταμίου [σ]τρατιωτικῶν καὶ παρ' ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ παρά τοῦ τραπεζίτου. For the arrangements at the end of the year, see the commentary on lines 376-381.

Organization of the Prytany List. Following the statement of cash on hand and income (if any), the expenses are listed, usually headed by a few sacral expenses, then the cost of τροφή for the public slaves, the salary of their foreman, and the salary of the scribe who copied the expenditures. Sometimes some sacral expenses follow these expenses. And sometimes there are exceptions: in the first prytany the scribe's salary comes somewhat later (line 12); in the fourth prytany expenses for sacrifices and the spondophoroi are given near the end (lines 167-169); in the tenth prytany the expenses for the slaves, foreman, and scribe occur later than the beginning (lines 362-364), though in this case it is possible that all of the preceding expenses were sacral or for maintenance of the slaves.

Calendar. 330/29. According to lines 6-8 the ninth and tenth prytanies of 330/329 were Leontis and Oineis. The calculation of the expense for engraving the ἀνάθημα in Oineis shows that the tenth prytany of that year had 38 days, not 39 days as Meritt assumed (*Year* p. 94). This would lend support to Pritchett and Neugebauer's view (p. 37) that the first four prytanies each had 39 days. In addition, it implies that the last two months each had 29 days if we follow the equation given in *IG II² 352*: Thargelion 14 = Prytany IX 3[2] = 340th day (Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 50).

329/8. Prytanies: I, Antiochis; II, erroneously inscribed Antiochis; III, Hippothontis (*IG* VII 4254); IV, Aigeis (*IG* II² 353); V, Kekropis; VI, Pandionis; X, Akamantis.

The calculation in line 5 for the food for the public slaves requires a prytany of 36 days: $3 \times 18 \times 36 = 1,944$ obols = 324 drachmas. The same number of days occurred in the second prytany (lines 42-43), but the fifth and sixth prytanies were 35 days long, as the calculations demonstrate (lines 180, 204); cf. Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 36.

Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 51, saw that the calculation in lines 32-34 for the period from Hekatombaion 4 to Metageitnion 13 requires 40 days; Hekatombaion was therefore a full month.

Sacrifice and Cults

Sacrifice. The epistatai of Eleusis sacrifice a number of times, the cost each time being 20 drachmas (when preserved): (1) at the Mysteries (lines 41-42), (2) for the Boule (line 167), (3) at the Dionysia in the Peiraeus (line 168), and (4) at the Lenaia (line 244). It is suggested in the commentary (on lines 41-42, 182, 190-191) that the victim is a piglet.

Purifications with piglets are carried out at Eleusis for the Rharian Field (line 182), for the sanctuary and the house of the priestess (lines 188-190), and once again (apparently) for the whole sanctuary (line 361).

An ἀρεστηρία is sacrificed to Demeter and Kore in the tenth prytany (line 352) and again at the end of the year (line 431); on this type of sacrifice see II.144.58-59. The second one costs Dr 70: probably Dr 60 for the cost of two animals (each being a sheep or a goat) plus incidentals.

Regular sacrifice is mentioned in the tenth prytany (line 354) and at the time of the ἀπαρχή (lines 418-426); see also II.Introduction, “*Aparche*,” pp. 5-7.

Mysteria. 1) μύησις: The pre-initiation (μύησις) of the public slaves (line 269) involved the sacrifice of a ewe, which in this year cost Dr 30; see Clinton, Sacrifice.

2) σπονδοφόροι: see II.Introduction, “Spondophoroi,” pp. 20-22.

3) ἐξηγηταῖς εἰς ζεύγη Μυστηρίοις (line 41). This would seem to be relevant to the law quoted in [Plut.], *Vit. Decem Orat.* 842a: ἐπὶ ζεύγους μὴ ἀπιέναι γυναῖκα Ἐλευσινάδε, ὅπως μὴ ἐλαττωῦνται <αἱ δημοτικά> ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσιῶν· εἰ δέ τις φωραθείη, ἀποτίνειν δραχμὰς ἑξακισχιλίας. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ πεισθείσης, τῶν συκοφαντῶν φωρασάντων, τάλαντον αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε. The law does not prohibit a man from riding in a wagon, and it may have applied only to the procession of the initiates on Boedromion 20 and not to the πομπή of priests, priestesses, and civic magistrates which went to Eleusis on Boedromion 19 (on this πομπή see II.638, II.Introduction, “Processions,” pp. 11-12). It is unclear whether the old woman in Ar. *Pl.* 1013, seen at the Greater Mysteries ἐπὶ ἀμάξης, is to be imagined in the procession at that moment. The decree of 422/1 (41.12-13) forbids the use of ἄμαξαι over the Rheitos nearest the Asty, but this prohibition probably did not extend to the rest of the route (cf. Foucart, *Mystères* p. 337). In 215 B.C. the epimeletai of the Mysteries donated the cost of the team that carried τὰ ἱερά (208.17-20); a team was most likely not a recent innovation but a custom of considerable antiquity. In 329 the epistatai of Eleusis paid for the rental of teams to carry the exegetes, presumably because this expense was not otherwise provided for by the state in its expenditures for the πομπή in this year.

4) Sacred Medimnos: see commentary on line 349.

5) Sacred Threshing Floor: see commentary on line 362.

6) Wages for services procured by basileus, paredroi, epistatai, and epimeletai during the festival: lines 370-376.

See also below, **Buildings in the Sanctuary at Eleusis**, Τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος and Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.

Eleusinia. See commentary on lines 382-384.

Other Festivals. Dionysia in Peiraeus: see commentary on lines 167-168.

Haloa: see commentary on lines 186, 202-207.

Lenaia: see commentary on line 244.

Anthesteria: see commentary on line 266.

Buildings in the Sanctuary at Eleusis

Location of buildings and other structures mentioned in this account is normally not specified unless the structure is not at Eleusis, e.g. ἐν τῷ ἐν ἄστει Ἐλευσινίῳ. Once the location of a structure not at Eleusis is given, it is often not repeated if the structure is mentioned again in the next few lines.

ἱερὰ οἰκίαι

1. *Lines 17-18*: εἰς τὸ ἀνάλημμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τῇ<ν> Ἐλευσῖνι τῆς ἱερείας.

2. *Line 69*: πίττα παρὰ Τιβείου : κερά :III: εἰς τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἱεράς.

3. *Line 70*: σταθμὰ ταῖς θύραις ἐπὶ τὰς ἱεράς οἰκίας.

4. *Lines 73-74*: ἀχύρων σάκοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ τείχους ... καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς ἱερείας καὶ ἐπιστάσιον.

5. *Lines 74-75*: μισθωτέ[ι ...]ίαι Ἀλωπ οἰκοῦτι τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν οἰκοπέδων τῆς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας.

6. *Line 77*: τῷ λιθολογήσαντι τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς ἱερείας.

7. *Line 148*: στρωτῆρες - - -]! : εἰς τὰς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας.

8. *Line 153*: τὸ κλεισίον τῆς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας.

9. *Line 156*: - - -]ω τὰς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου ἐκ Σκαν.

10. *Line 189*: κα]ὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἱεράν, οὗ ἡ ἱερεα οἰκεῖ.

11. *Lines 422-423*: εἰς τὰς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας ταῖς ἱερείαις θυρώματα ΔIII καὶ σταθμὰ ταῖς θύραις καὶ ὑπερτόναια.

12. *Lines 433-434*: ξύλα τετράγωνα τῶν Μακεδονικῶν . . . εἰς τὰς θύρας τῆς ἱερείας καὶ τοῦ δαιδούχου.

The house in which the priestess, i.e. the priestess of Demeter and Kore, lived was called “sacred” (no. 10), as were houses for the “priestesses” (no. 11); and there seems to be no reason to think that priests’ houses were not called “sacred” as well. Since some of the expenses for

“sacred houses” occur in proximity to expenses for the “sacred house” or “the house of the priestess,” we may at least tentatively assume that all these sacred houses were located in the same vicinity in Eleusis. Our best clue for the location of the priestess’s house ought to be the retaining wall mentioned in line 17 (no. 1). An obvious location on the site is the substantial wall on the north side of the street labelled no. 17 on the plan. This street lies west of the Greater Propylaea; its north retaining wall, constructed in Archaic polygonal masonry, includes much later repair. However, as Kourouniotis pointed out (*Δελτίον* 15, 1934-35, Παράρτ., p. 9, note 1), line 18 calls for 831 blocks of stone, each at the same price; but stones used in polygonal masonry are not uniform; hence it is highly unlikely that the wall in line 17 is the polygonal wall in question: the house of the priestess must be sought elsewhere. The only other possibility seems to be the wall that extends from the Periclean tower I 14 to the Archaic tower H 21. During the construction of the Porch of the Telesterion in the second half of the fourth century (cf. II.159 under **Date**) the area previously used perhaps for *siroi* (“S” on the plan) was filled in and this wall (viz. I 14-H 21) became a retaining wall. It now consists of conglomerate blocks (cf. on line 21). In line 17 the type of stone for this wall is not stated, but the price for cutting, transport, and placement is Dr 3, Ob 1, the same price as the conglomerate blocks in line 21. We should therefore look for the house of the priestess, and perhaps also the houses of the priestesses, in the area labelled “A” to the north of the wall I 14-H 21, where now Roman ruins cover the earlier remains.

The “priestesses” must be, in addition to the priestess of Demeter and Kore, the hierophantides (less certainly the priestess of Plouton [*Sacred Officials* p. 97]; see II.175.22-27).

In view of the 14 θυρώματα (door valves) listed in line 422 (no. 11) and other expenses for doors (lines 70, 434) for all the sacred houses, there must have been at least seven doors, possibly as many as 14 or so. Woodwork for the roofs of the “sacred houses” appears in the fourth prytany (no. 7); the roofs therefore must have been put on in that prytany (around line 150) or in the seventh, eighth, or ninth prytany. The doors, which are listed at the very end of the year, indicate that the buildings were essentially complete by then.

Work on the house of the priestess, i.e. on replacing it, commenced in the second prytany, probably toward the end of it (nos. 5-6); the doors for the priestess’s house were probably installed in the fourth prytany (line 158), thus signalling at least near-completion of the structure.

Οἶκος Κηρύκων

For its general location see the commentary on lines 24-25, where it is suggested that it lay in area B on the Plan near the peribolos wall. (In line 439 it is called Κηρυκεῖον.) For a possible identification with a building in this area see below, Ἐπιστάσιον.

Ἐπιστάσιον

This headquarters of the epistatai at Eleusis underwent a certain amount of repair: lines 74, 155, 169, 184. Its precise location is unknown, but it may have been situated in the vicinity of the House of the Priestess, which seems to have been located in area A on the Plan, inside and to the left of the Greater Propylaea (see above, ἱερὰ οἰκία). An inventory of dining equipment (II.140) may be associated with this building. A building with two dining rooms was excavated by J. Travlos

in the north corner of area B on the Plan; *Πρακτικά* 1955, pp. 62-66; *ibid.*, 1956, pp. 55-56; *Ἔργον* 1955, pp. 18-21. Although he associated this building with the epistatai, it may be the House of the Kerykes, which was probably located in this general area; see above.

Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα

See Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 14-27.

Treasury

Expenses for this building (to be distinguished from the *θησαυροί*, or offering boxes, of lines 429-431) begin in the sixth prytany and are as follows:

Lines 207-209: cedar doors and pivots.

Lines 210-211: wood for the roof.

Lines 222-223: glue.

Lines 263-265: *χοινικίδες* for the doors.

Lines 271-272: roof tiles.

Line 272: transport of the roof tiles to Eleusis.

The laying of the tiles (with the supporting layer of reeds and mud) will have followed in the seventh prytany. In the fifth prytany there is no mention of the building; so it seems to have only needed repair of its principal wooden elements – the doors and the roof. The doors were apparently installed in the tenth prytany, at which time other repairs were carried out (lines 353-360). There can of course be no doubt that it was located in the sanctuary at Eleusis, for the tiles were brought there. In view of its purpose – to house precious objects – it was most likely of stone, except for the roof. In the commentary on lines 210-211 it is suggested that it may have been a precursor of the Roman Building F on the Plan. Since the work in the sixth and seventh prytanies probably represents a repair, we can surmise that the building was constructed at a much earlier time, perhaps as early as the fifth century, to house the precious objects listed in the inventories of that period (52, etc.).

Νεωκόρειον

This building is mentioned four times:

Lines 226-227: three *κανόνες* for the lintel of the *Neokorion* and for the *prothyron*.

Lines 242-244: payment to Dieitrephes of Potamos for “having propped up the *Neokorion* and having supplied the timbers and having taken the timbers down again.”

Lines 263-264: *χοινικίδες* for the doors.

Line 270: *ιμάντες* and *θρᾶνοι* for the *prothyron* of the *Neokorion*.

The first two passages reveal that the *Neokorion* needed a new lintel, and that scaffolding was needed to support the building and its porch (*prothyron*) while the lintel was installed. (Strangely, Davis, *Building Inscriptions* pp. 63-64, takes the second passage as a reference to “wrecking” the *Neokorion*.) The last two listings give materials for the repair of the doors and *prothyron*. The actual work was probably carried out in the following prytany, but Dieitrephes was apparently paid in advance for the removal of his scaffolding.

We have to assume, in the absence of any indication otherwise, that the *Neokorion* was located at Eleusis. It must have held much of the equipment and materials for the cleaning and upkeep of the sanctuary. A possible location is the large, still unexcavated structure discovered in front of the outer court of the sanctuary; Kourouniotis and Travlos, *Πρακτικά* 1938, pp. 36-40, suggested this might be a *Pompeion*, although a *Pompeion* is not attested for Eleusis (Travlos, *Attika* p. 95, has since suggested the sanctuary of Triptolemus mentioned by Pausanias).

On equipment that appears to be νεωκορικά σκεύη see II.140.

Ἰματιοθήκη

See commentary on lines 358 and 438.

Κρήνη

See commentary on lines 434 and 438. The wood and stone used for it suggest that it was a fountain building, but it has not been identified archaeologically. A κρήνη is also mentioned at 204.2.

Τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος

See Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 18-22. This sanctuary was located in central Athens in the vicinity of the Eleusinion, and a considerable amount of work was carried out on it in the sixth prytany, in conjunction with work on the Eleusinion. The focus of operations in this prytany was mainly on Eleusinian installations in the Asty.

For discussion of the possible site of the Ploutonion, in or near the Eleusinion, see Miles, *Eleusinion* pp. 101-102.

The Eleusinion in the City

In the sixth prytany much work was carried out in the City Eleusinion (along with work on the Sanctuary of Plouton; see above). Among the principal projects were: (1) the creation or replacement of an entranceway, clearly a major one (lines 191-196), and (2) the making of doors and the construction of a πρόθυρον for an entranceway, perhaps in the peribolos wall of the sanctuary (lines 224-225, 227-229).

In lines 191-196 four purchases of stone are listed in connection with the first project:

- 1) *Line 191*: a threshold block of poros.
- 2) *Line 192*: two blocks of poros, 5 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, 2 ft. thick.
- 3) *Lines 193-194*: four blocks of unspecified type (probably poros) εἰς τὰς παραστάδας, each 5 ft. long, [0.75 ft. thick], 3 ft. wide.
- 4) *Lines 194-195*: two blocks of unspecified dimensions and type (probably poros) for the γείσα.

The purpose of purchase no. 2 is not stated, but Glotz, *CRAI* 1928, p. 156, believed that these blocks formed the lowest course of the παραστάδες (door jambs). In his drawing he showed each jamb as consisting of one of these blocks surmounted by two blocks from purchase no. 3. However, his restoration of two feet for the thickness of the blocks of purchase no. 3 is unlikely and should

probably be changed to three palastai, i.e. 0.75 ft. (see commentary on lines 191-196). According to his scheme, then, each jamb would be 15 ft. high and 3 ft. wide; the thickness would vary from 2 ft. in the first course to 0.75 ft. in the two upper courses. But this scheme of three blocks per jamb (rather than the two, as implied in purchase no. 3), with a reduction in thickness from 2 ft. to 0.75 ft. between the lowest block and the one above it, is a bit dubious. It seems better not to regard the blocks of purchase no. 2, unspecified as to purpose, as belonging to the jambs. The door jambs therefore were 10 ft. high, 3 ft. wide, and 0.75 feet thick.

The stonework was done by the metic Daos at a cost of Dr 169 (lines 195-196).

The preserved peribolos wall of the Eleusinion happens to have a thickness of 3 ft. (ca. 0.90 m., *Hesperia*, 29, 1960, p. 336; cf. Miles, *Eleusinion* fig. 8 and plan 2), and on the basis of measurement alone it would seem a natural inference that the monumental doorway which received the above purchases of stone was located in the peribolos. The obvious doorway would be the one which was found in the western wall of the peribolos, a doorway with a *propylon*; Miles, *Eleusinion* pp. 70-75. However, as Miles points out, evidence suggests that this entranceway was created in the second century, to replace one or more major entranceways in the southern wall of the peribolos. In theory, therefore, a more likely candidate for our monumental entranceway would be one of the southern entrances. However, as she also points out (pp. 61-62), the text suggests otherwise: purchase no. 1, the threshold block, is for ταῖς θύραις οὗ ἔστιν ἃ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἐν ἄστει Ἐλευσινίῳ. Although a crucial word here has apparently been left out (see commentary), there seems to be no good reason to regard the entire string of words as mistaken. They do not suggest an entranceway to the sanctuary itself but to a building or area within it (see commentary to line 191).

The second project mentioned above, doors and a *prothyron*, may belong with the first, or it may concern an entranceway in the peribolos (see commentary to lines 224-225), perhaps one of the entrances mentioned above in its southern wall. Lines 227-229 clearly imply that the πρόθυρον was a wooden structure (see commentary); it was most likely a roofed area in front of the doorway. The doors and *prothyron* were made by the joiner Pamphilos of Otryne at a cost of Dr 86, the doors from logs that were on hand (line 435). Nails for the doors cost three obols apiece (lines 224-225), and the finished doors were coated with pitch (lines 232-233).

During this prytany the public slaves were at work filling in an excavated area in the Eleusinion (lines 229-230), perhaps around the foundation of a wall newly built or repaired. The load of 1,600 bricks brought from Mirthless Rock at Eleusis may have been used in this wall (lines 244-245, 246-247). Later we learn that a wall base had been put down for a kitchen (ὀπτάνιον, lines 251-252), no doubt the same structure as the ἱπνός mentioned shortly afterward (lines 255-256). Although the wall base appears later in the document than the bricks and bricklaying, it is not out of the question that the bricks were laid on this base, since chronological order is not always maintained. Some of the wood for the roof of this structure as well as the reeds to be placed below the roof tiles are listed next (lines 255-256). The roof must have been finished in the following prytany, but the wall was coated and stuccoed in this one: materials for this work appear in lines 257-262, the contractor in line 265. Some of these materials are of rather high quality and would seem suitable for the stuccoing of the poros blocks of the entranceway discussed above.

Roofs in the Eleusinion were coated with pitch in this prytany (lines 232-233).

Workers, Vendors, and Contractors

Slaves

At least three types of slaves can be seen in this document.

1) Public slaves: The sanctuary supplied the public slaves with an allowance for τροφή (Ob 3, line 5, etc.). The foreman (ἐπιστάτης) of the slaves received a μισθός of Ob 10 per prytany (line 6, etc.) in addition to the τροφή. Telephilos the scribe was also a public slave (see *ad* lines 362-364) and received Ob 1 per day (lines 12, 44, 181, 205, 363-364) in addition to the τροφή.

The state's solicitousness went so far as to provide the public slaves with a sacrificial victim and wine for the festival of the Χοαί (lines 266-267). Less surprising is the fact that the epistatai paid for the sacrificial victim at the pre-initiation (μύησις) of two of the public slaves (line 269), in the sixth prytany, i.e. well before the Lesser Mysteries and of course about eight months before the Greater. It was probably necessary for the slaves to undergo μύησις in order to work within the sanctuary. The number of slaves is constant in each of the preserved prytany lists, so that it is a bit surprising that only now, in the sixth prytany, two of them receive μύησις; perhaps these two were recent replacements for two who were removed.

2) Independent slaves living apart from their owners (χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες) who pay their owners part of their earnings, an ἀποφορά (Aeschin., *In Tim.* 97; E. Perotti, *Actes du colloque 1972 sur l'esclavage*, Besançon 1974, pp. 47-56; cf. Y. Garlan, *Les esclaves en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1995, p. 77): These are not clearly identified but may be suspected among bearers of such names as Thettale, Karion, Kyprios, etc. They received either payment for their merchandise or μισθός for their work or both.

3) Οἰκόσιτοι: Men so labeled (lines 28, 29, 32, 33, 46, 62, 173, 222, 240) are not named (whereas other workers are almost always named), and they are in each case a plurality. In this context the term undoubtedly refers to the class of slaves known as μισθοφοροῦντες, who are hired out by their masters (Dem. 53.20, 21; Isaeus 8.35; E. Perotti, *Actes du colloque 1973 sur l'esclavage*, Besançon 1976, pp. 181-194; cf. Y. Garlan, *Les esclaves en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1995, pp. 76-77). In this document sometimes the name of their profession is stated, sometimes they are simply called hirelings, μισθωτοί (lines 28, 32-33, 45, 60). (Other μισθωτοί are listed [lines 220, 421, 428], but only a single sum is given next to their job; unlike the *oikositoi* they are not paid by the day; those in lines 421 and 428 are paid according to quantity of *medimnoi* transported.) In 150.A.13-15, C.7-13 *oikositoi* are also listed as groups together with a daily wage, but in the preserved instances their profession is always named (χαλκεῖς, τέκτονες, ὑπηρέται, διάκονοι). Since the *oikositoi* were not independent slaves, their owners were evidently responsible for (just) their food, just as the Polis was responsible for the entire maintenance, τροφή, of their public slaves.

On wages for the *oikositoi* in this document see Loomis, *Wages* pp. 111-112.

4) The engravers of the ἀνάθημα (lines 6-8): The fact that they receive σιτία, a food allowance, and food is otherwise a factor only in connection with slaves (the *oikositoi* get theirs from their owners; the public slaves from the epistatai, as an allowance for τροφή), raises the question whether they too are slaves. They are a plurality, unnamed, and paid their food allowance by the day. A μισθός is not listed for them, but as they are skilled workers, it would be

surprising if they did not receive one; it may have been paid by the hieropoioi of the preceding year, who were in charge of procuring the ἀνάθημα (cf. lines 426-429 for those of the current year); if so, it may have been paid as a lump sum, the typical mode of payment for inscribed documents. It is possible that they are slaves who since they have to work at Eleusis, i.e. far from home, were hired out on condition that the sanctuary administration would provide a food allowance.

Wages and Prices

The document provides a large body of economic information, some of which is organized in the following tables, which list (1) wages, but mainly those for which a rate can be determined, or which relate to certain categories of construction, and (2) prices of commodities.

BRICKS AND BRICKWORK

<i>Line</i>	<i>Maker</i>	<i>Operation</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Number</i>
1. 23	Lykourgos of Melite	Transport		Dr 15, per 1,000	26,000
2. 25-26	Daos, metic, Eleusis	Making & transport	Πυλών	Dr 38, per 1,000	5,000
3. 55-56	Euthymides, metic, Kollytos	Making 1.5 ft. bricks	"Fallen tower" & walls	Dr 36, per 1,000	14,000
4. 56-57	Euthias of Eleusis	Making 1.5 ft. bricks	Same	Dr 40, per 1,000	9,000
5. 58	Same	Transport of no. 4	Same	Dr 25, per 1,000	Same
6. 57-58	"Last-year's"	Transport	Same	(Dr 25.5, per 1,000)	1,500
7. 59-60		Laying of nos. 3, 4, 6	Same	Dr 17, per 1,000	24,500
8. 60-62:	see Meiggs p. 439, Table II				
9. 244-245		Making and transport	City Eleusinion	Dr 7.5, per 100	1,600
10. 246-247	Same as no. 9	Laying	Same	Dr 20 Ob 2	

Euthymides (no. 3) used the clay from discarded bricks, but Euthias (no. 4) had to supply his own; this is reflected in the price.

STONEWORK

<i>Line</i>	<i>Stone (dimensions)</i>	<i>Operation</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Cost</i>
1. 9	Unknown	Entire job	Wall foundation	Dr 8, ὄργυα	Dr 250?
2. 17-19	Unknown	Cutting, transport, placement	Retaining wall	Dr 3, Ob 1, stone	<Dr 2631.5>
3. 77-78	Unknown	Placement	House foundation	[- -], ὄργυα	Dr 15[.?.]
4. 19-21	Poros	Placement	Retaining wall	Dr 1, 4 feet	Dr 370
5. 52-53	Poros	Placement (probably)	"Fallen tower" (no. 7)	Dr 1, stone	Dr 34
6. 21-22	Conglomerate	Cutting, transport, placement	Backers for retaining wall (no. 4)	Dr 3, Ob 1, stone	Dr 490, Ob 5
7. 49-50	Conglomerate	Cutting	Foundation of "fallen tower"	Dr 1, stone	Dr 304

8.	50-51	Same	Transport	Same	Dr 1.5, stone	Dr 456
9.	51	Same	Placement	Same	Dr 1, stone	Dr 304
10.	51-52	Same (?)	ἐξαγωγή	Same		Dr 27[.]
11.	53-54	Eleusinian	Cutting, transport	"Fallen tower"		Dr 78 (perhaps mistake for 77)
12.	54-55	Same	Placement	Same	Dr 4.5, ὄργυα + πῆχυς	Dr 48.5 (perhaps mistake for 49.5)
13.	159	[- - - -]	Placement	Wall foundation	Dr ?, ὄργυα	[- - -]
14.	191-192	Poros (Akte)	Cutting	Threshold in Eleusinion	Dr 20+, stone	Dr 20+
15.	192-193	Same 5 ft.×3 ft.×2 ft.	Cutting	Eleusinion		Dr 10+
16.	193-194	Same 5 ft.×?×3 ft.	Cutting	Doorposts in Eleusinion	Dr 10, stone	Dr 40
17.	194-195	Same	Cutting	Geisa in Eleusinion		[- - -]
18.	195	Same	Transport of nos. 14-17	Eleusinion doorway		Dr 60
19.	195-196	Same	Placement of nos. 14-17	Eleusinion doorway		Dr 169
20.	236-237	Poros?	Cutting	Threshold of τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος		Dr 21
21.	237-238	Same	Transport, finishing, placement, etc.	Same		Dr 25
22.	421		Repair	Tower for the grain		Dr 21

Related Construction Operations

19	Cleaning of ἐνδεσμοί	Retaining wall (above, no. 6)	Dr 115
23-25	Removal of debris	Διατείχισμα, tower, πυλῶν, etc.,	Dr 300
46-47	Clearing	Foundation of "fallen tower" (above, no. 7)	Dr 48
74-75	Clearing	Site of ἱερὰ οἰκία	Dr 125
75-76	Removal of soil	Same	Dr 60
76-77	Removal of foundations	Same	Dr 67
169	Plastering	Walls of <i>Epistasion</i>	Dr 45
171-172	Sifting and carrying sand	Walls of <i>Epistasion</i> ?	Dr 4
247-248	Finishing anta capitals	τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος	Dr 50

248	Encaustic painting of antae	Same		Dr 40
248-249	Fashioning moldings of antae	Same		Dr 17
249-250	Painting moldings	Same		Dr 5
251-252	Laying foundation	Optanion in Eleusinion		Dr 5
259	Sifting and carrying sand	Eleusinion	Dr 3, load	Dr 15
265	Plastering	Eleusinion		Dr 80
357-358	[- - - - -]	ἱματιοθήκη		Dr 78[+?]
367	Encaustic work	[- - - - -]		Dr 40, Ob 1.25
367-368	Plastering	[- - - - -]		Dr 100

Wood and Woodwork. See the tables compiled by Meiggs pp. 433-440, App. 4, Tables I and II. To be added to his Table I are (1) the στρωτήρες and δοκίδες in lines 147-149, (2) hypothetical ἱμάντες and ἐπιβλήτες in line 155, (3) δοκοί in line 161. To Table II may be added (1) the installation of doors in line 158 (price not preserved), (2) the removal of roof tiles and laying of θρ[άνοι] in lines 172-173, (3) (probably) repair of the θακείον in line 207; (4) propping up the *Neokorion* with timbers and removing the timbers in lines 242-243. Some corrections should be made to individual items: In Table I no. 18, the wood costs Dr 1.5 per talent, the vine-prunings Ob 0.5 per bundle, and the olive-wood Dr 1 Ob 2 per talent; in no. 21, Dr 30 is not the price per piece but the total price; in no. 22, the new reading gives a price of Dr 17.5 per piece. In Table II, the price for no. 9 may be Dr 100.

OTHER WAGES IN ASCENDING ORDER
(for which a daily rate is given or can be inferred)

<i>Line</i>	<i>Operation</i>	<i>Operator(s)</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Number of Units</i>
12, etc.	Secretarial: copying expenses	Telophilos	Ob 1, day	Entire year
5-6, etc.	Supervision	ἐπιστάτης δημοσίων	Dr 10, prytany (ca. Ob 1.7, day)	Entire year
4-5, etc.	Public slaves, τροφή		Ob 3, day	
6-8	Inscription of ἀνάθημα		Ob 7(-8), day σιτία	61 days
31-32	Ἐπιξέστης		Ob 7.5, day οἰκοσίτ.	17 days
31-32	Ἵπαγωγεύς		Ob 7.5, day οἰκοσίτ.	17 days
32	Μισθωτοί		Ob 9, day οἰκοσίτ.	40 days
46	Μισθωτοί		Ob 9, day οἰκοσίτ.	4 days
11-12	Architect	Athenodoros	Ob 12, day	36 days
172-173	Carpenters		Ob 12, day οἰκοσίτ.	2 days
239-240	Smoothing παραστάδες		Ob 12, day οἰκοσίτ.	2 days

OTHER RATES IN ASCENDING ORDER
(not daily rates)

<i>Line</i>	<i>Operation</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Number of Units</i>
421-422	Μισθωτοί, carrying out the grain	Ob 4 per 100 med.	1,113 <i>medimnoi</i>
420	Προμετρητής	Ob 7.5 per 100 med.	1,113 <i>medimnoi</i>
428	Προμετρητής	Ob 12 per ca. 80 med.	ca. 80 <i>medimnoi</i>

Μισθωτοί were normally used for odd jobs, which are sometimes described (cf. text of each entry). The number of μισθωτοὶ οἰκόσιτοι employed for each job is not noted in the above table.

OTHER WAGES FOR TRANSPORT

<i>Line</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Objects</i>	<i>Transporter</i>	<i>Wage</i>
1. 16	Eleusis		Pitch, etc.	Diokleidas	Dr 7.5
2. 71-72	Eleusis		100 Rooftiles		Dr 40
3. 72-73	Eleusis	Corinth	200 Rooftiles		Dr 6 Ob 4
4. 188	Eleusis	Peiraeus?	Firewood, 67 talents, etc.	Melanthios, ferryman	Dr 7.5
5. 221	Eleusis	Corinth	Wood worth Dr 383.5	Kleon, ferryman	Dr 56
6. 259-261	Eleusinion		Plaster, 30 <i>medimnoi</i>		Dr 5
7. 269-270	Eleusis		λατύπη, 60 <i>medimnoi</i>	Thoudes	Dr 40
8. 271-272	Eleusis		25 pan tiles	Moirokles	Dr 8

Nos. 3 and 4 vividly illustrate the economy of transport by sea (no. 5 is apparently a much larger load). Otherwise it is hard to evaluate the costs, since the distances are usually unknown.

OTHER PRICES

(The total cost follows "Description" if a unit price is not given or deduced)

<i>Description</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Supplier</i>	<i>Price per unit</i>	<i>No. of Units</i>
Ἀκτίτις	261		Dr 1.5, medimnos	6
ἄμμος	259	Sosias	(Dr 3, load)	5
ἀμφιδέειαι ταῖς θυροκινκλίαιν	253-254	Philon ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου	Ob 5	4
ἄχυρα	73-74	Artimos, Manos	Dr 1.5, σάκος	120
ἄχυρα	170	Artemon of Thria	Dr 1.5, σάκος	9
ἄχυρα καὶ χνοῦς: Dr 30	258-259			
γῆ Λουσιάς	257	Charias of Hermos	Dr 2.5, load	30
γῆ Σκιράς	258	Arrhenides of Paiania	(Dr 4 Ob 1, load)	3
διφθέραι δημοσίαις	166	Attes	Dr 4.5	17
ἐπισπατήρες	185	Philon ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου	Dr 1.5	2
ζεύγη ἐξηγηταῖς	41		Dr 8?	3?
ἥλοι περὶ τὸ τεῖχος	30-31	Philon ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου	Dr 2 Ob 1, stater	27
ἥλοι ταῖς θύραις	68-69	<Philon> ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου	Ob 1	190
[ἥλοι ταῖς θύραις?]	159	Philon	[Ob 1?]	[36?]
ἥλοι ταῖς θύραις	224-225	Apollodoros, metic, Kollytos	Ob 3	206
ἥλοι	228-229	Philon ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου	Dr 2 Ob 1, stater	3

ἥλοι εἰς τὰς θυροκλινκίδας	235-236	Philon, metic, Alopeke	Ob 1 3/8?	1<60?>
ἱερεῖον (ἀρεστηρία)	431		Dr 35	2
ἱερεῖα (βοῦς)	419		Dr 400	3
ἱερεῖα (πρόβατα/αἴγες)	419		Dr 30	43
ἱερεῖον δημοσίοις εἰς Χόας	266		Dr 23	1
ἱμάτια δημοσίοις	164-165	Antigenes the Megarian	Dr 18.5	17
κάδοι χαλκοῖ	365	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	4
καλαμίδες: Dr 70	64	Artemid<as?> ἐκ Πειραῶς		
καλαμίδες	163-164	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	[- - -]
καλαμίδες: Dr 8	251	Ergasos of Ikaria		
καλαμίδες	256-257	Ergasos of Ikaria	Ob 4, bundle?	3
κάττυσις ὑποδημάτων	252	Apollophanes of Tyrmeidai	Dr 4, pair	17
κάττυσις ὑποδημάτων	359	[- - - - -]	[Dr 4?, pair]	8?
κεραμίδες ἀγελαῖαι	271-272	Moirokles	(Dr 1, Ob 1)	25
κεραμίδες Κορίνθιαι	71-72	Demetrios, metic, Lakiadai	Dr 1	100
κεραμίδες Κορίνθιαι	72	(?) from Corinth	Ob 5	200
κεράμου Λακωνικοῦ ζεύγη	250	Simos	Ob 4	50
κηκίς	15	Pamphilos	Ob 3, Choinix	12
[κηκίς?]	151	Pamphilos		
κιβωτός	254-255		Dr 20	1
κλειῖδες	184-185	Menon, metic, Kollytos		[- - -]
κόλλα ταῖς θύραις: Dr 4	68	Agathon		
κόλλα ταυρέα	223-224	Agathon	Dr 8.5, stater	22
κονία	170	Telestes the Boeotian	Dr 1, medimnos	13
κονία μέλαινα	259-260	Sopolis of Ptelea	Dr 1 Ob 1, medimnos	30
κόφινοι	65	Agathon of Alopeke	Ob 5	5
κόφινοι	65-66	Ameinias ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου	Dr 1	10
κόφινοι	229-230	Ameinias of Kydathenaion	Dr 1	10
κροταφίς σημάντ[ριον?]	182-183	Sannos	Dr 5	1
λατύπη	262		Dr 1 Ob 4, medimnos	6
λατύπη	269	Thoudes?	Dr 1.5, medimnos	60
λεκάναι	246		Ob 1.5	8
μελαντηρία	14	Pamphilos	Dr 8, medimnos	2
μελαντηρία: Dr 10	69-70	Artemon		
μίλτος	12-13	Pamphilos	Ob 3.5, stater	25
μίλτος: Dr 7	69	Artemon		
μίλτος	246	Soteridas of Prospalta	Ob 3, stater	5
μολύβδου τάλαντον καὶ χώνης μισθός	238-239		Dr 2 Ob 4	1
οἶνος	266-267		(Dr 8, metretes)	2
πίλοι τοῖς δημοσίοις	70-71	Thettale	Ob 1.75	17
πίττα	69	Tibeios	Dr 10, κεράμιον	3
πίττα	13	Pamphilos	(Dr 12.5, κεράμιον)	2
πίττα	232-233	Pamphilos	Dr 12, κεράμιον	5
πλινθεῖα τοῖς πύργοις	265-266	(μισθός for Archias)	(Dr 2.5)	4

Πυκνίτις	261-262		Dr 3, medimnos	6
σανίδες (incl. γραφή): Dr 52	421			14
σίδηρος: Dr 3.5	186	Sophilos, metic, Alopeke		
σχενδύλη	164	Philon	Dr 3	1
σχοῖνοι ἐπὶ τὰς ὀροφάς	163-164			[- - -]
ὑποδήματα δημοσίοις	167	Apollophanes of Tyrmeidai	Dr 6	[17]
χνοῦς καὶ ἄχυρα: Dr 30	258-259			
χοινικίδες ταῖς θύραις	263-264	Hedylos, metic, Kydathenaion	Dr 2, mina	40
χοῖρος	182		[Dr 21]	1
χοῖρος	189-190	Pataikos of Eleusis	Dr [2]1	2
χύλωμα	262		Dr 1, chous	5
χώνης μισθὸς καὶ μολύβδου	238-239		Dr 2 Ob 4	1
τάλαντον				

The preposition ἐκ following a vendor's name, as in ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου, indicates the quarter in which he had his shop. Philon ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου (lines 30-31), who supplied iron hardware, especially nails, is actually a metic, for he is also listed once with his proper name, Φίλων Ἀλωπεκῆσιν οἰκῶν (line 236); and Ameinias ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου, the vendor of baskets in lines 65-66, is undoubtedly the same as the Ameinias of Kydathenaion listed as a vendor of baskets in lines 229-230.

Craftsmen, Vendors, and Workers in Documents 159 and 177

On the preposition ἐκ following a vendor's name see above.

- Ἀγάθαρχος, metic, Kollytos, 159.29-30, 53 (evidently to be restored in line 29 and once in line 30), tool-maker, supplier of handles, ἄριαι, drills.
- Ἀγάθων, 177.68, 223, supplier of glue. If the text of line 65 is incorrect, he may be the supplier of baskets there.
- Ἀγάθων, metic, Alopeke, 177.18, 65, stonemason and (if the text of line 65 is correct) supplier of baskets.
- Ἀγάθων, metic, Skambonidai, 177.241, contractor for scaffolding.
- Ἀγάθων, son of Philetairos, 177.63, supplier of wood.
- Ἀγίας the Corinthian, 177.219, 232, supplier of wood.
- Ἀθηνίων, metic, Kerameis, 159.59, ἐπιστάτης δημοσίων (public slaves).
- Ἀθηνόδωρος, of Melite, 159.60, 177.11, architect.
- Αἰγύπτιος, 177.251-252, stonemason (λιθολόγος).
- Ἀλκιάδης, of Anagyrous, 159.48, cobbler.
- Ἀμεινίας ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου, of Kydathenaion, 159.45, 177.65-66, 229, supplier of baskets.
- Ἀνθεύς, of Hamaxanteia, 159.47, ἱματιοπώλης.
- Ἀντιγένης, from Megara, 177.165, ἱματιοπώλης.
- Ἀπολλόδωρος, metic, Kollytos, 177.225, supplier of nails.
- Ἀπολλοφάνης, of Tyrmeidai, 177.167, 252, cobbler.
- Ἀρίμνηστος, 177.205-206, carpenter.
- Ἀριστοκράτης, 177.362.

- Ἄριστόκριτος, the Troezenian, 159.57, ταμίας τοῖς δημοσίοις (public slaves).
 Ἄριστόκριτος, of Cholleidai, 159.89-90.
 Ἀριστοτέλης, of Cholleidai, 159.36, carpenter.
 Ἀρίστων, metic, Kollytos, 177.10-11, woodworker.
 Ἀρίστων, of Cholleidai, 159.34, 35, metalworker.
 Ἀρρενείδης, of Paiania, 177.258, supplied Skiran earth. Davies, *ATP* 2254.
 Ἀρτεμίδας? > ἐκ Πειραιῶς, 177.64, supplied reeds.
 Ἀρτέμων, 177.70, supplied μίλτος, μελαντηρία.
 Ἀρτέμων, of Thria, 177.171, supplied chaff.
 Ἀρτέμων, metic, Kydathenaion, 177.249, carved moldings.
 Ἀρτίμας, 177.59, 74, transported bricks, supplied chaff.
 Ἀρχιάδης, metic, Skambonidai, 177.370, hauler.
 Ἀρχίας, 177.50, 362, hauler.
 Ἀρχίας, 177.266, supplied πλινθεῖα for the towers at Eleusis.
 Ἀρχίας, of Eleusis, 177.357.
 Ἀρχίας, the Samian, 177.64, 65, 155-156, supplier of wood.
 Ἄττης, 177.166, ἔμπορος, supplied διφθέραι.
 Βίων, of Paiania, 177.157, hauler, probably same as hauler of stone, 177.195.
 Δα|[- -], 159.83-84, quarrier at Pentele.
 Δᾶος, 177.54, hauler.
 Δᾶος, metic, Eleusis, 177.25-26, brick manufacturer.
 Δᾶος, metic, Kydathenaion, 177.19, 47, 195-196, stonemason.
 Δεξιθεός, metic, Melite, 177.250, drew moldings.
 Δημήτριος, 177.49, cut conglomerate stone.
 Δημήτριος, metic, Alopeke, 177.59-60, bricklayer.
 Δημήτριος, metic, Lakiadai, 177.71, supplied roof tiles.
 Διειτρέφης, of Potamos, 177.243, propped up the *Neokorion* with timbers.
 Διόδωρος, metic, Eleusis, 177.190-191, supplier of olive wood.
 Διοκλείδης, from Megara, 177.157, hauler, also 177.16 (without indication of origin).
 Διονύσιος, of Eleusis, 177.67, carpenter.
 Δουρικτονίδης, of Kolonos, 177.52, carried out ἐξαγωγή τῶν λίθων.
 Ἐργασίων, 177.49, 54, supplier of building stone (conglomerate, Eleusinian), perhaps the same as the encaustic painter, 177.248.
 Ἐργασίων, 177.248, encaustic painter.
 Ἐργασος, of Ikaria, 177.251, 256, supplied reeds. Davies, *APF* 5048.
 Ἐρμαῖος, 159.35, ξυλοπώλης.
 Εὐακίδης, of Phaleron, 159.25, built wall.
 Εὐαρχος, 177.49, cut conglomerate stone.
 Εὐθίας, of Eleusis, 177.56, 58, brickmaker.
 Εὐθυμίδης, metic, Kollytos, 177.8-9, 56 stonemason, brickmaker.
 Εὐκλῆς, 177.59, transported bricks.
 Εὐκλῆς, probably a slave, 159.60, elected to copy the expenses.
 Εὐκτήμων, 159.67, 71, 74, 77, quarried Pentelic marble.
 Εὐξιππος, 177.50, transported conglomerate blocks.
 Ἑγίας, the Corinthian: see Ἀγίας.

- Ἡδύλος, metic, Kydathenaion, 177.264, supplied χοινικίδες.
 Ἦνυτος, metic, Skambonidai, 177.194, supplied stone blocks from Akte.
 Ἡρακλείδης, 177.237, supplied threshold blocks.
 Ἡρακλείδης ἐκ τοῦ Θησέου, 177.9-10, supplied olive wood.
 Ἡρακλείδης ἐκ Σκαν, 177.156.
 Ἡφαιστίων, metic, Eleusis, 159.38, 177.183-184, sharpened tools.
 Θεοκλῆς, metic, Peiraeus, 159.18-19, supplied rope.
 Θέρσων, 177.161.
 Θεττάλη, 177.71, supplied πῖλοι.
 Θουδῆς, 177.270, transported λατύπη. Perhaps the same as *PA* 7249 (= *Agora* XV 55.41).
 Θραι|κ-, 177.158-159, installed windows.
 Καλλιάναξις, metic, Peiraeus, 159.19, supplied rope.
 Καλλίας, metic, Kydathenaion, 177.226, carpenter.
 Καλλίας the Megarian, 159.45, supplied ἐξωμίδες.
 Καλλικράτης, 159.16, σιδηροπώλης. Possibly the same as:
 Καλλικράτης ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου, 177.366, supplied ληνοί. Possibly the same as:
 Καλλικράτης, of Thorikos, 159.64, supplied an ἐσχαρὶς ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον. See the two preceding entries.
 Καλλιφάνης, 159.17, ξυλοπώλης.
 Καρίων, 177.59, 67, hauler, sawyer.
 Καρίων, 159.22, λιτροπώλης.
 Κ[εφαλί?]ων ἐγ Πειραιῶς, 177.187, supplied firewood.
 Κηφισόδωρος, 177.162, craftsman?
 Κλέων, 177.221, πορθμεύς.
 Κόνων, 177.59, hauled bricks.
 Κύπριος, 177.49, cut conglomerate stone.
 Κύπριος, 159.20, 177.59, ὀρεωκόμος, hauled bricks (177.59), rope (159.20).
 Κώνωψ, 177.152, ἔμπορος.
 Λεπτίνης, metic, Melite, 177.242, applied pitch to roofs.
 Λεύκων ἐΣκαμ, 177.367, performed ἔνκαυσις.
 Λύκης, of Perithoidai, 177.430-431, opened treasuries.
 Λυκοῦ(ρ)γος, of Melite, 177.23, brickmaker.
 Μάνης, 177.74, supplied straw.
 Μάνης, metic, Pentele, 159.37, sharpened tools.
 Με|[- -], 177.142-143.
 Μελάνθιος, 177.188, πορθμεύς.
 Μελάνωπος, 159.74, 75, 76, quarrier of Pentelic marble.
 Μένων, metic, Kollytos, 177.184-185, supplied keys.
 Μίδας the Megarian, 159.46, supplied ἐξωμίδες.
 Μίλακος, 177.49, cut conglomerate stone.
 Μνησίλοχος, metic, Kollytos, 159.32-34 (*bis*), 37-38, 43, 51, metalworker.
 Μοιροκλῆς, 177.271-272 (*bis*), supplied and delivered roof tiles.
 Μοσχίων, 159.40.
 Μοσχίων, 177.247, finished anta capitals. Possibly the same as the preceding.
 Μοσχίων, of Oa, 159.63, supplied ἰξός.
 Μῦς, of Phaleron, 159.6, performed some operation with building stone.

- Νεοκλείδης, of Kephisia, 177.51, 53, 54, 78, set conglomerate, Aeginetan, and Eleusinian stone in place for the tower, and laid the wall foundation of the house of the priestess. *PA* 10634.
- Νίκων, metic, Eleusis, 177.181, removed a corpse from the Rharian Field.
- Ξάνθιππος ἐκ Περαιῶς, 177.235, supplied wood for doorposts.
- Πάμφιλος, of Otryne, carpenter, 177.227-228, 234, 358, 364, probably identical to Πάμφιλος ἐγ Περαιῶς, 177.208.
- Πάμφιλος ἐγ Περαιῶς, 177.208, supplied door pivots; probably identical to Pamphilos of Otryne.
- Πάμφιλος, σκηνίτης, 177.13, 14, 15 (*bis*), 151 (?), 233.
- Παρμένων, 177.160, stonemason.
- Παρμένων, 177.169, stuccoed and plastered the *Epistasion*.
- Πάταικος, of Eleusis, 177.189-190, supplied piglets for purification. Davies, *APF* 11678.
- Πέρσης, νεωκόρος, 177.185.
- Πιστίας, of Sphettos, 177.51-52, performed ἐξαγωγή τῶν λίθων.
- Πιτθίδης, 159.41-42, supplied nails.
- Πολύευκτος, 177.438, stonemason, constructed the κρήνη.
- Πυρρίας, son of Antikrates, of Hermos, 159.91.
- Σάννος, 177.183, supplied a κροταφίς.
- Σίκων, of Boeotia, 177.179, supplied a κανοῦν for the Two Goddesses.
- Σίκων, metic, Skambonidai, 159.11.
- Σιμίας, metic, Kerameikos, 159.14, ropemaker.
- Σιμίας, ἔμπορος, 177.209, supplied wood.
- Σίμος, 177.250, supplied Laconian roof tiles.
- Σόλων, 177.265, stuccoed and plastered the Eleusinion.
- Σοφοκλῆς, of Knidos, 177.253, supplied cypress logs.
- Στέφανος, ἱματιοπώλης, 159.46.
- Στρογγυλίων, 159.29-30, 39, supplied tool handles.
- Συρίσκος, 159.49, cobbler.
- Σύρος, 177.70, ἔμπορος, supplied doorposts.
- Σύρος, 159.41, στυππειοπλόκος.
- Σύρος, metic, Alopeke, 177.203, stuccoed and plastered the altar of Pluto, painted the altars of the Two Goddesses.
- Σύρος, metic, Kollytos, 159.23, 47, supplied διφθέραι, *inter alia*.
- Σώπολις, of Ptelea, 177.260, supplied black κονία.
- Σωσίας, 177.259, sifted and transported sand; see the following.
- Σωσίας, ὀρεωκόμος, 159.18, perhaps identical to the preceding.
- Σωσίδημος, 177.267, performed σιδήρωσις on the block-and-tackle equipment.
- Σωτηρίδας, of Prospalta, 177.246, supplied λεκάναι, μίλτος.
- Σωτίων, metic, Melite, 177.182, supplied a piglet for purification.
- Σώφιλος, metic, Alopeke, 177.186, supplied iron.
- Τελέστης, of Boeotia, 177.154, 170, supplied κονία.
- Τηλόφιλος, public slave, elected to copy the expenses, 177.12, 43, 180, 205, 363 (restored).
- Τίβειος, 177.69, supplied pitch.
- Τίβειος, metic, 177.171-172, sifted and transported sand.
- Τίβειος, κεραμοπώλης, 159.21-22, supplied troughs.
- Τιμόθεος, metic, of Aphidna, 159.26, 56, 57, supplied τύχοι and repaired them.

- Φερεκλείδης, of Boeotia, 177.23, 50 (without ethnic), transported bricks and conglomerate stone.
 Φιλοκλῆς, metic, Kor<y>(dallos), 177.25, stonemason.
 Φιλόνικος, 177.50, transported conglomerate stone.
 Φιλόξενος, 159.48, cobbler.
 Φίλων ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου, metic, Alopeke, 177.159, 164 (simply Φίλων), 30-31, 185, 229, 236, 254, supplier of hardware; see the following.
 Φίλων, 177.256, 270, supplied wood; probably the same as the preceding Philon.
 Φορμίων ἐγ Πειραιῶς, 177.62, 212, 227, supplied wood.
 Χάνης, metic, Eleusis, 159.38, sharpened τύχοι.
 Χαρίας, 177.206-207, carpenter.
 Χαρίας, metic, Agryle, 159.50, cobbler.
 Χαρίας, of Hermos, 177.258, supplied Lousian earth. *PA* 15342.
 Χρέμων the Megarian, 159.59, ἐπιστάτης δημοσίων (public slaves).

Broken Names

Metics

- Alopeke: [...]ίας, 177.74-75, cleared site of the house of the priestess.
 [- - -]κλείδης, 177.144.
 [- - -], 177.146.
 Kydathenaion: [- - -], 177.143-144.
 Skambonidai: [- - -], 177.158.
 Peiraeus: [- - -], 177.150.

Foreigners

- Troezen: [...]ογένης, 159.58, ἐπιστάτης δημοσίων (public slaves).

Citizens

- Eitea: [- - -]τέλης, son of Demophanes, 159.28, stonemason, 151.75.
 Kephisia: [- - -]αρχίδης, 159.1.

COMMENTARY

Maier's commentary should be consulted for details of construction and the repair of walls and towers, though the present commentary occasionally differs in interpretation and in the identification of some structures.

First Prytany

Line 1: The dual in the following line gives us the number of the treasurers of the Two Goddesses; their names appear in line 378 (249): Nikophilos of Alopeke and Keramon of Phlya. On their appointment and relation to the epistatai, see above p. 177 Introduction (to this document), "Financial Administration." They must have served, like the epistatai, for a four-year term; for if they served for only a single year, we ought to see here a transfer of money from the preceding treasurers; instead, only a surplus (περίον) from the preceding year is listed; compare line 378.

The names of the eight epistatai are listed in 158.6-11. This is the last year of their four-year term, as is clear from lines 255-257.

Antiochis is also inscribed as the name of the second prytany (line 37). Harzbecker noticed that the mistake probably lies in the second Ἀντιοχίς. The heading λόγος ἐπιστατῶν Ἐλευσινόθεν καὶ ταμιῶν τοῖν Θεοῖν precedes both the first and sixth prytanies; in each case it happens to occur at the top of a column. All other preserved prytanies lack this heading; e.g., the fifth prytany begins simply with [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας (line 176). The only exception is the heading of the second prytany. This suggests that the error lies here: the secretary (or cutter) recopied at the beginning of the second prytany much of the heading of the first, continuing through the name of the prytany, omitting only the archon-dating formula.

Lines 2-3: On the static sums of Dr 1,565, Ob 2, Ch 3, see the introduction to this document, “Financial Administration.”

With the new reading ΤΓΡΗ (instead of XXX, read by Koehler and Tsountas) it becomes possible to balance the account, provided that we restore [φίλωι Ἀλωπε: ΓΙΙΙΧ: καὶ π] (for Ἀλωπε see line 36) and, at the beginning of the following line, ΔΔΓ. Though these restorations are not certain (different combinations coming to the same result are possible), I include them in the text to indicate the sort of figures to be expected, on the assumption that the officials would not have put on display errors of the magnitude that have appeared in previous editions of this document. The sum of Dr 6,700 held by Nikophilos was listed separately to distinguish it for some reason at the beginning of this year. It was nearly exhausted by the expenses of Dr 6,677, Ob 2 1/2. Of these expenses, Dr 4 Ob 1 3/8 were paid by the epistatai out of their 25 drachmas, leaving them at the end with Dr 20, Ob 4 5/8 (line 37). The remaining expenses of Dr 6,673, Ob 1, Ch 1 were paid by Nikophilos out of his 6,700 drachmas; this left a small balance of Dr 26, Ob 4 7/8, which he combined with his other small reserve of Dr 5, Ob 4, Ch 1 to leave him with a small final reserve of Dr 32, Ob 3, and this reserve remained static, or nearly so, for the rest of the year.

Line 3: The nu of ταμίαιν, if inscribed, is an error; compare the additional nu's in lines 138, 141. The Dr 6,700 listed with Nikophilos is, however, not an error but an additional, active account of which he has control. Note that at the beginning and end of each prytany the inactive account is listed first. So here the Dr 6,700 is in the right position for an active account. This sum does not appear at the end of the prytany, and must therefore have been spent.

Line 4: “To the spondophoroi on the islands for the Greater Mysteries, Dr 250.” On the spondophoroi see II.Introduction, pp. 20-22.

Lines 5-6: This epistates is the foreman for the public slaves. Slaves and foreman all receive money to buy food and whatever other necessities may be meant by τροφή; they do not receive the food itself as in 159; and the foreman receives Dr 10 in addition as *misthos*. The calculation for the τροφή requires a prytany of 36 days: $3 \times 18 \times 36 = \text{Ob } 1,944 = \text{Dr } 324$. The same number of days occurred in the second prytany (lines 42-43), but the fifth and sixth prytanies were 35 days long, as the calculations demonstrate (lines 180, 204).

Lines 6-8: Inscription of the ἀνάθημα. (Cf. the verb ἐγκολάπτειν in 52.A.III.45.) The inscription clearly is a large task, and the only such dedication at Eleusis that can be imagined is the one made from the *Aparche* (see below, lines 426-429 and 28.40-44). In addition, the dedication, as lines 426-429 and 28 imply (see II.Introduction, “*Aparche*,” pp. 5-7), must be made shortly after

the harvest, which (normally) took place around the middle of May, give or take a week or two. This situation agrees with the information here, which shows expense for the inscription starting towards the end of May (approximately May 23; see below): (1) for only 17 days in Leontis, the ninth prytany (cf. *IG* II² 351+624); (2) for the entire Oineis, the tenth prytany, viz. 38 days; and (3) in the first prytany of the new year, Antiochis, for probably only six days (at Ob 8 a day; but Loomis, *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, and *Wages* p. 113, note 26, suggests that the wage may be still Ob 7 a day, and the cutter may have inscribed an extra drachma here by mistake). The cost of food for the stonecutters was only paid now when the dedication was finished. This procedure is confirmed at the end of this document: the proceeds remaining from the *aparche* after expenses for sacrifices (and some other things) are turned over to the hieropoioi for the ἀνάθημα; the cost of food for the inscribers is not listed there because it would be paid at the beginning of the new official year, as it is here. On the possibility that the inscribers are slaves, and that they were also paid a μισθός see the Introduction (to this document), “Slaves,” p. 184. If they were slaves, then their daily cost for food was over twice as much as was given to the public slaves for τροφή (Ob 3, line 5); and this raises the possibility that two of them may have been working simultaneously, which would bring their food allowance more in line with the public slaves’ τροφή.

The approximate Julian date for the start of the inscription, within a day or two, may be calculated as follows. At this time Athens was closely following the rule, mentioned by Plato, *Leg.* 767c, that the new year should begin with the first new moon after the summer solstice (see J. D. Morgan, *AJA* 100, 1996, p. 395). For the first new moon after the summer solstice in 329 H. H. Goldstine, *New and Full Moons 1001 B.C. to A.D. 1651* (Philadelphia 1973) p. 57, gives 16 July 3:05 (Babylon), or 0:05 (Greenwich). According to F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* I (Leipzig 1906) p. 547, the differential between Greenwich and Athens is 1:35. So at Athens the new moon occurred on 16 July at 1:40 A.M. 15 or 16 July should then be *hene kai nea* of Skirophorion 329 and 16 or 17 July will have been 1 Hekatombaion. If the letter cutters worked on the *anathema* at Eleusis for 55 consecutive days in the last two prytanies of 330/329 (including the entire tenth prytany), they started work on 22 or 23 May 329. Much of the harvest should already have occurred; in any case, the entire harvest need not have been completed for the first fruits to be sent to Eleusis. This date accords reasonably well with what is reported by ancient literary sources for the grain harvest in Greece: barley in May, wheat starting later, but with a possible variation of several weeks from year to year (Brumfield, *Festivals* pp. 39-41).

From the length of the work on the inscription we may infer that the names of a very large number of donors were inscribed (among them of course the names of all the demes). It is therefore conceivable that all donors were listed, presumably by deme or other locality. No expense is listed for painting the letters (cf. 52.A.III.45); it was presumably included.

Lines 8-9: “To the contractor for the foundation of the wall, Euthymides residing in Kollytos, who supplied the stones himself, Dr 8 per fathom (ὄργυα), Dr 250.” Euthymides completed 31 1/4 *orgyai*, i.e. 31 *orgyai* and 1 πῆχυς. This is a very significant stretch of wall, ca. 187 feet (Maier’s calculation of 24.5 m. is incorrect). We must rule out the so-called “Lycurgan *diateichisma*,” K 1 on the Plan, since this wall did not have a foundation but rested on the rock face of the hill. For work done by the *orgya* see Maier I p. 99.

Giraud, *Εἰσοδος* p. 96, ignoring Koehler’s and Kirchner’s reading ὑπολογ[ῆ]ς, accepted,

strangely, Tsountas' inaccurate ὑποδο[χ]ῆς and regarded τεῖχος τῆς ὑποδοχῆς as the designation of part of the fortification wall, by the entrance to the sanctuary, which of course is quite impossible. (Whether this fortification wall, the so-called "Cimonian extension," even existed by this time has not been satisfactorily demonstrated.)

Lines 9-11: "Olive wood for wedges, from Herakleides from the Theseum, 10 talents for wedges, Dr 1 Ob 2 per talent, total, Dr 13 Ob 2; (for) sawing the wedges, to Ariston residing in Kollytos, Dr 10." The wedges were presumably used for shifting the stones along this wall into position. Ten talents, which appears to be a large amount, may not have amounted to much more than ca. 1 cubic meter (see below, *ad* line 186). Note that the wedges arrived at Eleusis as wedges (line 16); they were therefore sawn at Herakleides' shop.

Line 11: The architect Athenodoros served for a whole year, according to 159.60, i.e. shortly before the present year, and at that time the major operation for the sanctuary was the transfer of columns from Mt. Pentelikon for the porch of the Telesterion. Here there is no mention of such work, presumably because it is now in abeyance. Athenodoros receives his salary of Dr 2 per day, Dr 72 for the whole prytany, in advance, an extraordinary procedure, which needed the approval of Lycurgus; on the significance of the procedure see Faraguna, *Atene* p. 204. Athenodoros was presumably elected, as noted in 159.60. There is no mention of an architect in any other preserved prytany in this year.

Line 12: The expense for Telophilos, "elected to copy the expenses," an obol a day, appears early in each prytany. Lines 363-364 show that he was a public slave. His obol per day should be his *misthos*; several times in this document his obol follows the *misthos* of the epistates of the slaves; cf. Loomis, *Wages* pp. 101-102. As a public slave he would have received the τροφή given to the other public slaves working in the sanctuary (lines 4-5).

Lines 12-13: "25 staters of miltos, Ob 3 1/2 per stater; total, Dr 14, Ob 3 1/2, from Pamphilos the stallkeeper." Miltos, a red earth, was mixed with oil and used for drawing guide lines on wood or stone; cf. Orlandos I p. 47, II pp. 140-143; it was also used to make red paint; on miltos from Keos, E. Photos-Jones *et al.*, *BSA* 92, 1997, 359-371 (with further bibliography). For purposes such as these, 25 staters, ca. 50 lbs. (23 kg.), could be a year's supply, but here it was likely used to give color to the plaster for walls.

Lines 13-14: "2 κεράμια of pitch to coat the wood for the wall, from Pamphilos the stallkeeper, 25 drachmas." Pitch was frequently used to seal exposed wood; cf. Meiggs, App. 7, "Pitch." The new reading of Dr 25 (instead of 12) shows the price here was close to that of other purchases: 3 κεράμια (probably amphoras), at Dr 10 apiece, in the second prytany (line 69); five in the sixth prytany, at Dr 12 apiece (lines 232-233). Meiggs, p. 453, gives a table of pitch purchases at Delos, from ca. 310 to 169 B.C.; the price per amphora or μετρητής varies from Dr 9 to 40, but typically from Dr 15 to 28; however, it is not clear that the Delian measure is the same as the κεράμιον here.

Line 14: "Two *medimnoi* of black ink, price per medimnos, Dr 8, total, Dr 16." It was used for guide lines or to make black paint, or to color plaster, like the μίλτος above.

κηκίς was a black dye made from oak gall (Thphr. *HP* 3.5.1, 3.7.3, 4; *LSJ* s.v.).

Lines 15-16: "To Diokleides, for carrying the wedges, the pitch, the black dye, and the red dye to Eleusis, salary, Dr 7, Ob 3." On this transport see Meiggs p. 439: "Pamphilos' stall was probably

in Athens.” Meiggs suspects Diokleides used a mule. Interestingly, transport from the Peiraeus cost the same amount (line 188); thus it could be cheaper to ship goods from the ἄστυ by land, as here.

Lines 17-18: “To the contractor for the cutting of the stones and their transport and placement in the retaining wall by the house of the priestess at Eleusis, to Agathon residing in Alopeke, Dr 3 Ob 1 per stone, total of stones, 831, total payment <Dr 2,631 Ob 3>.” The number of stones is rather large, and suggests a sizeable wall. For its identification see above, *ἱερὰ οἰκία*, pp. 179-180. The type of stone, unstated, has the same cost as the conglomerate (ἄρουραῖοι) in line 22, viz. Dr 3 Ob 1. The secretary or stonecutter forgot to write the total cost at the beginning of line 19. No brickwork is specified for this wall.

Line 19: The meaning of ἀνακάθαρσις τῶν ἐνδέσμων (cf. line 308) is unclear. Maier I p. 100, suggests that it should be taken as part of the following operation rather than with the preceding, and he understands ἐνδεσμοί to be the joining points (Anschlußstellen); see also, *op. cit.*, II p. 84. The ἀνακάθαρσις, however, could have taken place in both operations; the ἐνδεσμοί, accordingly, may be the parts of the old wall that are to join the new (cf. Kourouniotis and Travlos, *Δελτίον* 15, 1934-35, p. 85, fig. 18).

Lines 20-22: Kourouniotis and Travlos, *Δελτίον* 15, 1934-35, pp. 82-87, and Maier I *loc. cit.*, take this to be the repair (since no foundation is mentioned) of the wall I 14 - I 15 (see plan in Kourouniotis, *Guide*; present Plan, I 14 - H 21), in effect a retaining wall at this date, running northwest from the round Periclean tower I 14. In this section a repair consisting of *conglomerate* blocks can indeed be seen today. However, there are serious problems with the identification, for this repair consists only of conglomerate blocks. The text, on the other hand, states that these blocks were used as ἀντίθημα, i.e. as backing blocks on the inside of the wall (cf. Kirchner, *ad loc.* and Maier I, *loc. cit.*), which implies that the poros blocks from the Peiraeus (Ἀκτὴ) and Aegina are used for the exterior face. Since the present face has no poros blocks (and could never have had any), the identification is impossible. On the other hand, the exterior face of the wall just to the south of the Periclean tower I 14 is composed, above its original sockle, of various sorts of material put down in the late Roman period, but on closer inspection, one sees in the first course above the sockle poros blocks of good workmanship; they can be distinguished from the Roman repair (and are visible in Mylonas, *Eleusis* fig. 39): they have a uniform height of 74 cm. They can also be distinguished from the original Periclean poros blocks by their dimensions and lack of drafted margins. Three of them still survive in the corresponding course of tower I 14, both below and side by side with the Roman repair. We can therefore suggest that the present passage refers to the wall *south* of tower I 14. (Conglomerate backers of course cannot be seen; as the present face of the wall is still intact, it is impossible to know how the backers fared during the Roman repair; on the inside face of this wall only poros blocks can be seen today.) This further suggests that a repair, from which only three poros blocks survive, was also carried out on tower I 14 shortly before 329/8, for according to this inscription it was customary for towers to be repaired before the adjoining walls.

Lines 22-23: “To the contractor, Pherekleides the Boeotian, for the transport of the bricks, which Lykourgos of Melite made, Dr 15 per thousand, for 26,000, Dr 390.” (On the spelling Λυκοῦργος see Threatte, *GAI* I 40.22, pp. 481-482.) These bricks were of course not destined for

the retaining wall in the preceding lines but for the free-standing walls listed below. The transport was local; see Loomis, *Wages* p. 198, note 28, who supposes either within Eleusis or from Melite to the City Eleusinion, but the latter, if so, would have been specified.

Lines 23-26: "To the contractor Philokles residing in Kor<y>(dallos), for having removed the debris of the *diateichisma* and the towers and the large gate (πυλών) and the <wall?> by the house of the Kerykes up to the little gate (πυλῖς) opposite the long-distance racetrack (δόλιχος)." There are textual and topographical problems. A word has clearly dropped out between τοῦ and παρά. Kourouniotis, *Δελτίον* 15, 1933-35, Παράρτ. cols. 2-12, identified the building H 50 as the House of the Heralds. If between τοῦ and παρά we restore διατειχίσματος, then the terminal point of this construction must be the Archaic tower that lies beneath the Greater Propylaea, for it is at that point that the wall ceases to be a *diateichisma*, if we assume the existence of the "Cimonian extension" (F 6). The *pylis* must then be sought next to that tower, as Kourouniotis, *op. cit.*, col. 14, and Maier supposed, i.e. under the Greater Propylaea. This *pylis* must also be the one "opposite the δόλιχος." However, a *pylis* under the Greater Propylaea would be opposite not a racetrack but the temple of Artemis, as Travlos observed (Topography p. 141, fig. 2). A more appropriate *pylis* would therefore have to be the one by the next tower (H 14), further to the northwest. But in that case the stretch of wall from the Greater Propylaea to H 14 would be called a διατείχισμα, which can hardly be right. It seems therefore that we should read not καὶ τοῦ <διατειχίσματος> τοῦ παρά but τοῦ <τείχους> τοῦ παρά τὸν Κηρύκων οἶκον κτλ. But if H 50 is the House of the Kerykes, then this wall should be the entire wall from the Lesser Propylaea to H 14, for the phrase implies that the House of the Kerykes is next to (παρά) this wall, viz. the wall H 17 to the tower under the Greater Propylaea and on to the tower H 14. In this case, considering the position of H 50, it would have been more straightforward to write something like: καὶ <τείχους> τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυλώνος ἄχρι κτλ. A more probable alternative, consequently, is to understand: (1) διατειχίσματος as referring to the διατείχισμα from H 21 to the tower H 18 under the Lesser Propylaea if we assume the existence of the "Cimonian Extension" (or perhaps the wall from H 21 to H 25 if it did not exist, as is apparently the case [see *ad* lines 44-60]); (2) <τείχος> as referring to the τεῖχος from a point somewhere beyond the tower under the Greater Propylaea to the *pylis* next to H 14 (unless it is some other stretch of wall farther to the west, but this seems much less likely); and (3) the οἶκον τὸν Κηρύκων as referring to a building next to this τεῖχος in the area labelled B in the Plan (or, less likely, farther to the west). This conclusion is consistent with the fact that the debris is taken from πύργων, i.e. from two or more towers, but the debris from tower H 21 cannot be meant because it is cleared in the following prytany (lines 45-47): the debris ought to be from the tower H 18 and the one under the Greater Propylaea. The building identified by Kourouniotis as the House of Kerykes, H 50, should be something else (for a suggestion see II.638.39-43). (Travlos later took H 50 to be a Peisistratean storage building for grain [Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 96-97]; in *Πρακτικά* 1953, pp. 72-76 [cf. *idem*, *Attika* p. 122, fig. 136], he situated the House of the Kerykes west of this building.)

A wall excavated in Hodos Persephonis by the Third Ephoreia (T. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *Δελτίον* 33B, 1978 [1984], pp. 28-29) was identified by Travlos as belonging to the Hippodrome (see his plan, *Attika* p. 104, fig. 105), which he apparently assumed was the same as the *Dolichos*. But a *dolichos* must be a long-distance racetrack, not a hippodrome, and the exca-

vators of this wall dated it to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century. It seems therefore premature to identify the structure to which the wall belonged.

The removal of debris, costing Dr 300, was a relatively large operation. By comparison, the removal of bricks and earth from the “fallen tower” costs Dr 180 (line 46).

Lines 25-30: Brickwork for the *pylon* and tower, i.e. tower H 18 and the *pylon* under the Lesser Propylaea. Maier, *loc. cit.*, gives a good explanation: “... dann werden für πυλών und πύργος (sicher H und H 1, vgl. Z.31) 5,000 Ziegel, drei Maurer zum Ziegelversatz (πλινθοβολεῖν), sechs Hilfsarbeiter zum Ziegeltragen, Mörtelmachen (πηλοδευστεῖν), und Gerätetransport (Gerüstholzer, Wasserkrüge), ein Quantum Nagel, und schliesslich ein ἐπιξέστης, Spezialarbeiter für Glättung der Mauerfläche ..., und ein ὑπαγωγεύς, Gipser für den Verputz, bezahlt. Der Lohn ist grundsätzlich für οἰκόσιτοι, sich selbst verpflegende Arbeiter, berechnet. Turm und Tor erforderten demnach nur gerinfügige Reperaturen am – nicht erhalten – Lehmziegeloberbau. Umfangreicher sind die Arbeiten am ‘alten eingefallenen Turm.’” The ξύλα, which he takes to be for scaffolding and the κέραμον, is more likely to be the wood and tiles for the wallcap (so also Noack, *Eleusis* p. 210), which was built later. The ἐπιξέστης was no doubt employed to smooth the surface of the brickwork in preparation for the coating of mud plaster. (At this late stage it is unlikely that he would be employed to remove the rough working surface of the stones in the sockle [*Abarbeitung des Werkzolls*, which Maier suggests as a possibility].)

The cost of the bricks for the πυλών is only Dr 38 per 1,000, *including transport*, a much cheaper price than that of the bricks of 1.5 feet listed in lines 55-57 (see also the list *Bricks and Brickwork*, above, p. 185). The bricks made by Daos must be considerably smaller.

Lines 32-34: The period from Hekatombaion 4 to Metageitnion 13, as the calculation shows, covered 40 days; Hekatombaion was a full month; cf. Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 51.

Lines 34-36: Totals and balances.

The expenditures for the first prytany are:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Expense</i>	<i>Sum</i>
4	spondophoroi	Dr 250
5	public slaves, τροφή	Dr 324
5-6	overseer of slaves	Dr 10
6-7	stonecutters, σιτία	Dr 8
7	stonecutters	Dr 19 Ob 5
7-8	stonecutters	Dr 44 Ob 2
8-9	wall foundation	Dr 250
10-11	wedges	Dr 13 Ob 2
11-12	sawing wedges	Dr 10
12	architect	Dr 72
12	copyist	Dr 6
12-13	μίλτος	Dr 14 Ob 3 1/2
13-14	pitch	Dr 25
14	black dye	Dr 16
15	κηκίς	Dr 6
15-16	transport	Dr 7 Ob 3

17-19	retaining wall	Dr <2,631 Ob 3>
19	cleaning joints	Dr 115
20-21	retaining wall	Dr 370
21-22	retaining wall	Dr 490 Ob 5
22-23	transport of bricks	Dr 390
23-25	clearing debris	Dr 300
25-26	bricks	Dr 190
26-28	bricklaying	Dr 187, Ob 3
30	various	Dr 225
30	nails	Dr 58 Ob 3
31-32	smoothing, etc.	Dr 42 Ob 3
33-34	workers	Dr 600
TOTAL		Dr 6,679 Ob 2 1/2

This comes to two drachmas more than the inscribed total (line 34). Given the present condition of the text, it is hard to say where the error occurred.

Second Prytany

Line 37: Ἀντιοχίδος is probably a mistake: see above, *ad* line 1.

Lines 39-40: Income. The only new income for this prytany is described as an “additional amount lent for the dividing wall,” τὸ προσδανεισθὲν εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τὸ Ἐλευσῖνι παρὰ ταμίου [σ]τρατιωτικῶν καὶ παρ’ ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τραπεζίτου. (On the use of military funds and on the “banker” see Faraguna, *Atene* pp. 180, 185.) It is not clear why it was given as a loan, or how it was to be paid back. The διατείχισμα is not mentioned again in the preserved part of this document. The magnitude of the amount set aside for it, over Dr 13,700, and the sources of funds suggest that this is a significant fortification wall. The *diateichisma* K1 on the Plan is a possibility worth considering. The *diateichisma* mentioned here is apparently not to be confused with the one mentioned in line 24.

Lines 41-42: Some expenses for the Mysteria, the celebration of which started on 13 Boedromion, which coincided with the last day of this prytany: The “sacrifice” could not have been a sacrificial victim as large as a sheep or goat, for which the price this year was Dr 30 (below, line 418), twice or more than the cost of such animals in normal times. A bull (line 419) cost the staggering sum of Dr 400. Dr 20 would be right for a piglet; though normally at Dr 3 or slightly more, it costs several times this amount in this year; cf. lines 182, 190 (apparently Dr 21 for a piglet). The sacrifice was presumably the one that took place on (evidently) 15 Boedromion, at the Agyrmos (on the date for the sacrifice, Clinton, *Epidauria* p. 18).

The teams (ζεύγη) were presumably used in the procession. It is possible that one team served each of the three exegetes of the Eumolpidae (on their number see *Sacred Officials* pp. 89-90). At any rate, if the teams were indeed used in the procession, the exegetes did not walk.

Expenses for those services (μισθώματα) performed in preparation for or at the Mysteries but not covered by the state were covered by donations from private individuals: see lines 370-375. The sort of expenses for the Mysteries that appeared in 52.A.III.28-49 (408/7) may have appeared

in this document mainly at the beginning of the next prytany, in which nearly all of the festival took place.

Lines 44-60: Replacement of the “fallen tower.” Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 211-214, identified this tower as H 21 (see Plan), and gives a full discussion of this replacement operation and the actual remains; cf. Maier, *ad loc.* Replacement of the “fallen tower” with a new one tends strongly to suggest, though it does not absolutely prove, that the so-called “Cimonian extension” did not exist, for if it had existed, there would have been little point in going to the expense of recreating a tower *within* the sanctuary (instead of replacing it with a simple wall).

Lines 44-46: “For the wall.” The old brick is removed from the fallen tower; it is broken down in the theater; from it and the dirt removed with it, new brick is made (ἐλκυσθεῖσαι, line 55) for the wall. If the theater was approximately where Pittakis and Chandler have indicated (see II.Introduction, “Theater of Dionysus,” p. 4), and where Travlos tentatively places it on his map (Topography p. 139, fig. 1), on the south side of the Akris, the workers carried the brick and dirt for at least half a kilometer. This material is destined not for the tower but “for the wall,” apparently the wall which we restored in line 24 and we see in line 30.

Lines 46-53: The following operations then take place on the fallen tower:

1) Removal and clearing the sockle down to bedrock (τὸ στέριφον). This does not specifically say that the sockle itself is to be removed (as does line 76), but it certainly implies that the interior filling of the tower was removed; Noack shows that the old limestone sockle was retained.

2) Laying the στρῶμα of the tower and filling its interior, with 304 blocks of conglomerate, up to the level of the αὐλή, i.e. the interior courtyard surrounding the Telesterion. The στρῶμα, then, acts as a retaining wall. The required services consist of quarrying, transport, placement, and ἐξαγωγή (which Maier understands as the removal of the rough, working surface of the stone; Harzbecker, the removal of old, useless stone). Noack reconstructed the tower with a στρῶμα of 304 blocks; he assumes that the interior filling (ἀντίστρωμα) was done with unspecified stone. However, line 48 clearly states that these 304 blocks are to be used *both* for στρῶμα *and* ἀντιστρῶσαι. Therefore Noack’s reconstruction cannot be correct; this has been confirmed by the new excavations of Kourouniotis, who gives a full description of the remains of this tower (*Δελτίον* 15, 1934-35, Παράρτ., cols. 41-47).

3) Laying a course of Aeginetan poros on top of the conglomerate στρῶμα, 34 blocks.

4) Laying a course of Eleusinian stone, the final course below the brickwork. The cost of the stone and transport is given (but see *ad* line 54).

Lines 52-53: Neokleides, no doubt the same as Neokleides of Kephisia in line 51 (and the Neokleides in lines 54 and 78), is paid here for a job not stated in connection with the Aeginetan poros, but at the same rate as for the placement of the conglomerate, therefore probably the same type of job, viz. placement. Since the cost of the cutting and the transport of the Aeginetan stone is not given, these operations must have been carried out in a previous year. For the prosopography of Neokleides (*PA* 10634) see II.141 under **Date**.

Lines 54-55: Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 211-214, understands “fathom and cubit” to be the running length of the surface paved by these blocks, which are one cubit wide. This unit, fathom + cubit, at Dr 4.5 does not divide evenly into Dr 48.5, but if this figure is a mistake for 49.5, we have an even number of 11 “units.” Similarly the cost of cutting and transport, Dr 78, may be a mistake for

Dr 77, which would yield a cost of Dr 7 for cutting and transporting a fathom + cubit of Eleusinian stone.

Lines 55-60: 24,500 bricks were used: 14,000 were made by Euthymides from the old bricks and clay taken from the tower; 9,000 new bricks by Euthias, requiring the purchase of new clay (γεώμιον); and 1,500 left over from last year. The latter 10,500 (9,000 plus 1,500) were transported to the site, apparently for the reconstruction of the tower. Maier assumes that this number was too great for the tower, and that a good portion of them was used to repair the walls where they joined the tower.

Nothing is said about transporting the bricks made by Euthymides. The material from which these bricks were made had been placed εἰς τὸ θέατρον (line 45). All this material had been assigned εἰς τὸ τεῖχος (line 44). The bricks presumably were made in or near the theater, and perhaps no special transport was necessary; the bricklayer Demetrios simply fetched them as needed. But the theater may be located on the north side of the hill, not far from “the wall”. (The copyist or stonecutter erroneously added a delta to Demetrios’ wage.)

Lines 60-62: “For the contractors who broke up the earth and sifted it for the mud plaster (ἐπαγωγεύς) of the wall and for the towers and for the outer finish (περιαλιφή) of the wall, 10 men, 13 days per man.” One of towers is of course the replacement for the “fallen tower.” For the other towers see above, *ad* lines 24-26.

Lines 62-65: Wood and other materials for roofs, undoubtedly of “the wall and towers.” The wooden members are: 12 roofbeams (δοκοί), at Dr 17 apiece; 93 rafters (στρωτήρες), at Ob 10 apiece; 40 slats (ἱμάντες), at Dr 1 apiece; 400 ἐπιβλήτες for Dr 40; and reeds. The ἐπιβλήτες, which cost Dr 1 per ten, were very light pieces of wood which presumably were placed directly under the reed mats.

On κόφινοι see II.159.45, where they are less expensive. Ἀρτέμιδος should perhaps be emended to Ἀρτεμίδα; cf. the mistake in line 246. It is curious that Agathon resident in Alopeke who built the retaining wall (line 18) was also a vendor of baskets. Perhaps the text here is faulty, or it is a question of separate individuals.

Lines 66-70: The doors belong apparently to the ἱερὰ οἰκία; jambs for these houses are listed in line 70, and pitch, probably for their doors, in line 69. As the “priestess’s house” was also called a “sacred house” (line 189), we can assume that these “sacred houses” serve both priests and priestesses; and this is at least partially confirmed by line 422: εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς οἰκίας ταῖς ἱερείαις θυρώματα. The nails are probably from Philon; cf. line 30; the secretary or cutter omitted his name.

On the pitch see above *ad* lines 13-14.

The πῖλοι were cheaper a few years earlier (159.48).

Lines 71-73: The tiles should be for either the “towers” or the “sacred houses” or both. The low cost of transport by sea is illustrated here: the cost from Corinth for 200 tiles is Dr 6 Ob 4, while transport within Attica for 100 costs Dr 40.

Line 73: ἄχυρα, straw, was used in making mud brick and in the mud used for binding the bricks; cf. Orlandos I p. 70, Martin I p. 49. The ἄχυρα for the “wall” is probably for the mud that was plastered on the reed mats (cf. *IG* II² 463.68) that underlay the roof tiles; that for the house of the priestess and the *Epistasion* may have been used for the other purposes as well.

Line 74: On the ἐπιστάσιον see Introduction (to this document), Ἐπιστάσιον. The use of straw tells us that it received at least a new mud brick wall at this time, the expenses for which must have been listed in the lacuna below, lines 79-139; further work in line 155.

“The house of the priestess” (lines 73-74) is also called (in line 75) “the sacred house” and (in line 189) “the sacred house where the priestess lives.” (Despite *Sacred Officials* p. 71, this house need not have been located within the sanctuary proper.) Whereas the “sacred houses” seem to be nearly complete but for the doors, the repair of the priestess’s house has just begun in this prytany, as is indicated by the clearing of the building site of the sacred house (line 75) and then the laying of the stone sockle of its walls (line 77).

Lines 79-139: On the extent of the lacuna here see the Epigraphical Commentary. Operations listed in this lacuna – end of the second prytany, all of the third, beginning of the fourth – must have included: 1) carpentry for most of the roof of the wall and towers; 2) laying the roof tiles for the towers; 3) laying the mud brick wall of the priestess’s house; 4) laying the mud brick wall of the *Epistasion*; 5) putting on the roof of the priestess’s house including the tiles (cf. line 153); 6) most of the work on the διατείχισμα. No work on the *diateichisma* is mentioned in the second prytany so far, even though a large sum has been set aside for it (line 40). Considering the size of the sum, Dr 13,771 Ob 4 3/4, it seems highly unlikely that the διατείχισμα is the same as the τεῖχος on which so much work has been done in this prytany: the expenses for the τεῖχος do not come close to approximating the amount of money set aside for the διατείχισμα. The expenses are as follows:

removal of bricks, etc. (line 46) from the “fallen tower”	Dr 180
making from them 14,000 new bricks (lines 55-56)	Dr 504
laying these bricks (included in line 60: 14×Dr 17)	Dr 238
part of the cost of coating (line 62: [(14/24.5)×Dr 195=ca. Dr 110]; straw [line 73])	Dr 120

The wood and roof tiles listed, presumably for various structures, amount to only slightly more than Dr 800.

The preserved expenditures for the second prytany are:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Expense</i>	<i>Sum</i>
41	teams for exegetes	Dr 24
41-42	sacrifice by epistatai at Mysteries	Dr 20
42-43	public slaves, τροφή	Dr 324
43	overseer of slaves	[Dr 10]
43-44	copyist	Dr 6
44-46	“For the wall”: removal and breaking down of old brick	Dr 180
46-47	removal and clearing foundation of fallen tower	Dr 48
48-50	cutting conglomerate stone εἰς τὸ στρῶμα of the tower and for filling its interior	Dr 304
50-51	transport of conglomerate stone	Dr 456
51	placement of conglomerate stone	Dr 304
51-52	ἐξαγωγή	Dr 27[.]

52-53	laying poros on top of στρώμα	Dr 34
53-54	cutting and transport of Eleusinian stone for the tower	Dr 78 (or 77?)
54-55	placement of Eleusinian stone	Dr 48.5 (or 49.5?)
55-56	14,000 1.5 ft. bricks made by Euthymides	Dr 504
56-57	9,000 1.5 ft. bricks made by Euthias	Dr 360
57-58	transport of 1,500 “last year’s” bricks	Dr 25.5
58-59	transport of 9,000 bricks made by Euthias	Dr 225
59-60	laying of 24,500 bricks	Dr 416.5
60-62	breaking and sifting the earth for mud plaster of the wall, for towers, and for outer finish of wall	Dr 195
62-63	δοκοί	Dr 204
63-64	στρωτήρες	Dr 155
64	ίμάντες	Dr 40
64	καλαμίδες	Dr 70
64-65	ἐπιβλήτες	Dr 40
65	κόφιννοι from Agathon	Dr 4 Ob 1
65-66	κόφιννοι from Ameinias	Dr 10
66-67	sawing boards for lintels and door panels	Dr 23
67-68	making doors	Dr 65
68	glue for the doors	Dr 4
68-69	nails for the doors	Dr 31 Ob 4
69	pitch	Dr 30
69	μίλτος	Dr 7
69-70	μελαντηρία	Dr 10
70	posts for the doors	Dr 28.5
70-71	πίλοι for the public slaves	Dr 4 Ob 5.75
71-72	100 Corinthian tiles	Dr 100
72	transport of tiles	Dr 40
72-73	200 Corinthian tiles	Dr 166 Ob 4
73	transport of tiles	Dr 6 Ob 4
73-74	straw	Dr 180
74-75	clearing the building site of the sacred house	Dr 125
75-76	removal of soil	Dr 60
76-77	removal of foundations	Dr 67
77-78	laying of stone for the priestess’s house	Dr 150[.?.]
78	bricks	[- - -]

Fourth Prytany

Lines 142-143 (80-81): Perhaps Μέ[νωνος ἐν Κολλυτῶι οἰκοῦντος: in lines 184-185 he is the supplier of keys for the πυλῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ and the outer door of the *Epistasion*.

Lines 145-150 (83-88): Stuccoing and plastering walls, perhaps of the sacred house of the priestess, less likely of the “sacred houses,” for their roofs have not yet been put on (see below). (Stuccoing and plastering the *Epistasion* is listed in line 169.) The στρωτήρες, rafters, and δοκίδες, planks, indicate a roof, probably that of the “sacred houses.”

Line 149 (87): With the new readings it seems clear that there are 17 δοκίδες. The δοκίδες, at Dr 6 apiece, are heavier boards than the στρωτήρες, at Dr 2 Ob 3 apiece, but not so heavy as δοκοί, at Dr 17 apiece (line 63); the δοκίδες are perhaps joists.

Line 151 (89): In line 15 Pamphilos was the supplier of 3 *hemiekteia* of κηκίς, black dye, perhaps also here.

Line 153 (91): τὸ κλεισίον, a shed, suggests that the sacred house of the priestess was by now finished; most of its expenses were probably listed in the lacuna above (following the work on the foundations in lines 75-78).

Line 154 (92): Τελέστης Βοιώτιος: In line 170 he is the supplier of κονία, but the commodity supplied here is much more expensive.

Line 155-156 (93-94): In lines 64-65 Archias of Samos is the supplier of ἱμάντες and ἐπιβλήτες (types of light planks), perhaps here too, for the roof of the *Epistasion*.

Line 157 (95): Bion and Diokleidas are probably transporters, the same men as the Bion and Diokleidas in lines 195 and 16 respectively.

Lines 158-159 (96-97): Installation of doors, perhaps for the priestess' house (wood for these doors is listed in line 434); they are certainly not the doors of the "sacred houses for the priestesses," for which see below, line 422. Philon ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου is listed in lines 30-31 as a supplier of nails; so here perhaps ἥλοι ταῖς θύραις should be restored.

Lines 159-161 (97-99): This wall is a long one: $75 \times 6 = 450$ feet. One possibility is the wall on the Akris (K 30 on the Plan); on the excavation of this wall see Kourouniotis, *Δελτίον* 15, 1934-35, Παράρτ., cols. 21-23; he dated it around the end of the fourth century; but its length as excavated is much shorter than 450 feet. Although the length of the present wall is reasonably close to that of the "Lycurgan *diateichisma*" (K 1), that wall was built upon the leveled rock of the hill and did not have a foundation. The present "wall" may be that of a rather large building or those of several buildings.

For the restoration τῆς ὀργυᾶς compare line 9.

Lines 161-162 (99-100): The δοκοί (costing slightly more than those in line 63) are presumably roof beams for the roofs mentioned below.

Lines 162-163 (100-101): The παῖς of Kephisodoros is a slave, who like the public slaves (above, line 6) may have received a τροφή of three obols per day; therefore in the course of two prytanies he worked for only 30 days and received a total of Dr 15; cf. Loomis, *Wages* pp. 113-114, for a calculation on the assumption that he may have worked for the entire prytanies.

Line 163 (101): These roofs are perhaps those of the "sacred houses for the priestesses" and *Epistasion*. Reeds, perhaps tied with rope, were laid below clay tiles; for a diagram of a similar roof see Hodge, *Woodwork* p. 63: between the reeds (which lay perhaps on top of the ἐπιβλήτες [see above, lines 64-65]) and the tiles a layer of clay was laid. The decree concerning the Gallery on the Walls, *IG II²* 463.68-71 also assumes such a system. As E. Vanderpool pointed out to me, many such roofs existed in Messenia before the widespread use of cement: a layer of reeds, bound together with rope, was laid on the rafters; on top of this there was a layer of clay, and finally the tiles. Hence the expense for rope here. Such roofs can still occasionally be seen in Greece (e.g. in a family crypt located above the Asklepieion near Paroikia on Paros).

The roofs of these buildings were probably finished in the seventh, eighth, or ninth prytanies.

Line 164 (102): The σχενδύλη, a pincer, was perhaps used in lifting heavy pieces of wood (cf. Martin I p. 45), though, in view of its price and the fact that large nails cost Dr 2 Ob 1 per stater, it is not likely to have weighed significantly more than 1 kg.

Lines 164-167 (102-105): clothing for the slaves. The restoration of shoes, which is certain, depends on line 252. The leather garments and shoes are more expensive here than in 159; for a discussion of causes, see above, II.159, *Date*. Harzbecker suggested that the clothing is for the winter: it is now the fourth prytany. Bettalli p. 264, made the same suggestion: the *himatia* ought to be of heavy wool. They do not appear in 159, where instead *exomides* are purchased (lines 45-47), perhaps because the existing *himatia* did not need to be replaced. In 159 two of the dealers are Megarian, here the sole dealer is from there – another indication of the importance of this industry in Megara, as Bettalli pointed out.

Lines 167-168 (105-106): It is not clear why the Eleusinian sanctuary had to contribute to a sacrifice for the Boule. On the Dionysia in the Peiraeus see Deubner, *Feste* pp. 137-138. He and Foucart (*Le culte de Dionysos en Attique*, Paris 1906, pp. 86-87) assume that there was some religious connection between the Eleusinian deities and Dionysus in the Peiraeus, but the restoration here is by no means certain (we are reminded, nevertheless, of Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 479, of uncertain validity, which describes a role played by the daduch at the Lenaea). The fact that the epistatai of Eleusis sacrificed at this time suggests that other Eleusinian priests did so as well (their expenses would be paid directly to them by the state and therefore would not appear here). In the fifth-century there was an Eleusinion in Phaleron that was administered by the epistatai (above, 30.26-27). The sacrifice costing Dr 20 may have been a piglet; see above, *ad* line 42.

On the spondophoroi see above, *ad* line 4 and II.Introduction, “Spondophoroi,” pp. 20-22. Considering the time of year, after the celebration of the Greater Mysteries, this payment might represent reimbursement for past expenses, but the beginning of the present (fourth) prytany occurred thirty-seven days after the Mysteries and twenty days after its Sacred Truce. On the other hand, we could restore [τ]ὰ μικρά (or the synonym ὀλείζω or ἐλάττω). According to 19.B, the Sacred Truce for the Lesser Mysteries began in the middle of Gamelion, which in this year would be approximately forty-nine days later than the end of the present (fourth) prytany. In lines 356 and 4 expenses are paid to the spondophoroi, evidently late in Skirophorion (for the islands) and early in Hekatombaion respectively, when the truce was forty to fifty days away, in the latter case actually within approximately forty-five days of the truce. Thus restoration of [τ]ὰ μικρά here would not be inappropriate.

Lines 169-172 (107-110): On the *Epistasion*, see Introduction (to this document), Ἐπιστάσιον, and II.140. Here its brick walls are coated with rough mud-plaster and a finishing coat of finer plaster. On the straw cf. *ad* line 73.

Line 172 (110): For “the wall” see *ad* lines 24-26, 45-46, 55-61, but the present wall is probably not the same; see below, line 173. The πάροδος was probably the walkway on top of the peribolos wall (but cf. Maier I p. 102). This would be consistent with an identification of the wall as part of the outer peribolos.

Lines 172-173 (110-111): The correct restoration here is probably θρ[άνους θ]εῖσιν. The θρᾶνοι were transition beams between the brick wall and the woodwork of the roof; Martin I pp. 359-360. The term occurs also in line 270. The stretch of roof involved here must have been rela-

tively short; only 6 man-days were spent on it. The order of the operations, ἀποκεραμώσασιν καὶ τοὺς θρ[άνους θ]εῖσιν, would of course be wrong for constructing a new roof: placement of θρᾶνοι should precede laying down the tiles. ἀποκεραμοῦν, which occurs only here, must therefore mean “to remove tiles” (*pace* Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* p. 42; *LSJ* s.v.). This operation is a repair. The old θρᾶνοι must have become rotten. To replace them it was first necessary to remove the tiles.

Line 175 (113): On the figure of Dr 42 1/2 see above, *ad* line 2. Here and in line 177 it may be an error for 32 1/2 (compare lines 39 and 201).

The preserved expenditures for the fourth prytany are as follows:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Expense</i>	<i>Sum</i>
140-141	μισ[θός]ς .]	?
141-142	ἰμάντ-	?
145-146	τῶ]ι διαλείψαντι καὶ κ[ονιάσαντι	?
146	?	Dr 5[+ ?]
147-148	στρωτῆρες	?
148-149	στρωτῆρες - -]! εἰς τὰς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας	?
149	17 δοκίδες	Dr 102 (+ Ob 2?)
150	?	Dr 35
151	κηκίς	Dr 6 Ob 4
152	?	Dr 30
153-154	ξύλα εἰς τὸ κλεισίον τῆς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας	?
154	?	Dr 210 [+ ?]
157	?	Dr 14
158	?	Dr 80
158-159	installation of doors	?
159	?	Dr 6
159-160	placement of stone wall foundation	?
161	Θέρσωνι μισθωτεῖ	Dr 150.5
161-162	4 δοκοί	Dr 72
162-163	τροφή τῶι παιδὶ τῶι Κεφισοδώρου (for two prytanies)	Dr 15
163-164	ropes for the roofs and reeds	Dr 30
164	σχενδύλη	Dr 3
164-165	ἱμάτια for public slaves	Dr 314.5
166	διφθέραι for public slaves	Dr 76.5
167	[ὑποδήματα] for public slaves	Dr 102
167-168	sacrifice by the Boule	?
168	sacrifice by the epistatai at Dionysia in Peiraeus	Dr 20
168-169	For the spondophoroi for the Mysteria	?
169	plastering walls of <i>Epistasion</i>	Dr 45
170	[κονία]	Dr 13
170-171	straw	Dr 13.5
171-172	sifting and carrying sand	Dr 4
172-173	carpenters	Dr 12

Fifth Prytany

Line 178 (116): The κανοῦν might have been needed for dining in the *Epistasion* (140.8-9 lists two sound κανᾶ and five broken ones among dining equipment). But other equipment belonging to the Two Goddesses is not designated τοῖν Θεοῖν in this document; so the basket was more likely *for* the Two Goddesses, i.e. to be used at a sacrificial rite in a festival, perhaps the Haloa.

Line 181 (119): The corpse was polluting the Rharian Field (on the Field see below, *ad* line 382). Harzbecker compared *IG XI 2, 145.8* (302/1 B.C.): τῶν νεκρῶν [ἐξα]γωγοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς Νήσου καὶ καταορύξασι μισθωτοῖς Δ, χοῖρος καθάρασθαι Γ.

Line 182 (120): Harzbecker argued that, by comparison to Delian documents (of the third century) Dr 21 may be too high; sheep and goats cost Dr 30 in line 418, and so he would prefer Dr 16; but see line 190. At Delos in the third century the price fluctuates between Dr 8 and Dr 1 Ob 3; see the list of prices in Hondius, *Novae* p. 99, note 41.

Hesychius, s.v. κροταφίς: σιδηρᾶ σφῦρα. διπλῇ <ἐκ> τοῦ ἑτέρου ὀξὺ ἔχουσα, ἐκ δὲ ἑτέρου κρόταφον (ed. Latte). Pollux 7.106 Bethe: κροταφίδες· σφῦραι δ' εἰσὶ σιδηραῖ, ἐκ θατέρου ὀξεῖαι. Apparently a pointed hammer or pick-hammer (Ginouvès-Martin p. 67); discussed by Dworakowska, *Quarries* pp. 119-120; Kirchner *ad loc.*; Martin I p. 43 and fig. 15.

Line 183-184 (121-122): Another payment to Hephaistion for sharpening tools occurs in 159.38.

Line 184 (122): "Keys for the *pylis* of the sanctuary and the outer door of the *Epistasion*." The *Epistasion*: above, lines 169-172.

Line 185 (123): Evidently these same doors for which the keys were provided were each equipped with a handle, ἐπισπαστήρ. On the missing sigma: Threatte, *GAI* I 42.021, p. 506.

Lines 185-186 (123-124): Kirchner evidently did not regard Perses the neokoros as an Athenian (no mention of him in *PA*), perhaps incorrectly. A father and son by this name occur, without demotic, on a mid fourth-century family gravestone in Eleusis (O. Alexandri, *Δελτίον* 27B, 1967, pp. 122-124 with photograph = *SEG XXV* 309). In view of the rarity of the name Perses in Athens, the neokoros is most likely a member of this family.

ἐντερ|[α seems to be the only possible restoration. Perses does something to it. The sense is therefore: "For Perses the Neokoros, in order to [do something to] the guts, iron from Sophilos, etc." Perses did not receive money; hence σίδηρος must be in the nominative.

Lines 186-188 (124-126): If a talent of wood is based on the coinage weight standard, one talent is equivalent to ca. 25.9 kg. = ca. 57 lbs., and so 67 talents of wood amounts to ca. 1.9 short tons, which happens to be close to the weight (2 tons) that dealers and wood specialists in the United States assign to one cord (ca. 128 ft.³, or 3.6 m.³) of dry firewood, carefully stacked. Meiggs pp. 479-480 believed that even this weight seemed too high for a talent of wood. However, there is no evidence at Athens that any other talent was in use for commercial weights. (Meiggs pp. 450-451, Table I, offers three lists of firewood for festivals on Delos, month by month for the years 224, 200, and 179; for a different list see Pritchett, *Attic Stelai* pp. 296-297.)

A cord of wood (i.e. a stack 4 feet high, 4 feet wide, and 8 feet long) and 60 bundles of kindling

(vine-clippings) would provide sufficient fire for a good feast at a festival frequented by several hundred people. Vine-clippings are frequently used today in Greece for roasting lamb on spits. For ancient practice Harzbecker cited *IG XI 2*, 203.A.51 (209/8 B.C.): εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τῇ Δήμητρι προσαναλώσαμεν: ΔΔΔΗΗΤ: ξύλα καὶ κληματίδες καὶ ῥυμοὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐψῆσαι: Η||. According to *IG XI 2*, 199.A.71 (275 B.C.), also cited by Harzbecker, seven talents of wood are needed for the sacrifice of a bull, a ram, and a boar; the information is given in the following form: ψηφισαμένου τ[οῦ] δήμου καθάρασθαι τὸ ἱερόν, ἐπριάμεθα ταῦρον, supplier, Dr 50, κριόν, supplier, Dr 16, κάπρον, supplier, Dr 16· ξύλων τάλαντα ἑπτὰ· [ΔΙ]||. (This price of firewood is comparable to the price at Eleusis.) On the sacrifice and feast at the Haloa in Eleusis cf. Deubner, *Feste* 61-63, and Schol. Lucian. p. 280, 20-22 (Rabe): ἐνταῦθα οἶνος τε πολὺς πρόκειται καὶ τράπεζαι πάντων τῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης γέμουσαι βρωμάτων πλὴν τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ. There were apparently separate feasts for the women celebrating within the sanctuary and the citizens who dined outside; cf. 196.11 (*IG II²* 1299): παρεκάλεσεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν, οἰόμενος δεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν γεγονότων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετασχεῖν (where the term πολῖται of course refers only to men.) The Delian sacrifice was merely for the purpose of purification and did not entail a feast, nor was it on the scale of the Haloa sacrifice, but it at least tells us that these three animals – a bull, a ram, and a boar – required 7 talents of firewood. At the Haloa, considering the popularity of the festival (“all citizens” were invited to the sacrifice), we should expect a sacrifice of 27, or probably more, sizeable animals (i.e. a number *at least* nine times that of the Delian sacrifice, which probably involved complete immolation, unlike the sacrifices at the Haloa). Such a quantity of animals would provide a fine feast for several hundred people, perhaps even thousands if the portions were not so grand as modern appetites are accustomed to. (I see therefore no grounds for taking this firewood to be for bonfires at a fire-festival, as N. Robertson does, *CQ* 34, 1984, p. 5.) The Haloa took place on Poseideon 26 (Photios s.v. Ἀλῶα; Deubner, *Feste* 61), which of course normally fell in this prytany.

Reference to sacrifice at the Haloa occurs in [Dem.] 59.116, where it is mentioned that during the festival the hierophant Archias sacrificed (illicitly) ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσῖνι, and this must have taken place in the court in front of the sanctuary (see II.Introduction, “αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4), i.e. the normal place for divine sacrifice at Eleusis; Clinton, *Sacrifice* pp. 71-72.

The wood and vine-clippings had to be carried down to the boat in the Peiraeus. μισθός is a more probable reading than μισθω[τοῖς] (see *Epigraphical Commentary*).

Lines 188-90 (126-28): If we keep Tsountas' restoration, καθῆ|[ραι τὸ ἱερ]ὸν Ἐλευσῖνι, the house of the priestess ought to be not in the sanctuary but near it. But the other, unrestored lacuna advises caution.

Lines 190-191 (128-129): Although the end of the price of the piglets is no longer visible, there is no reason to doubt the readings of Tsountas, Koehler, and Harzbecker, which call for the restoration ΔΔ]ΔΔΗΗ, as Hondius recognized (*Novae* p. 100, note 42). Therefore a single piglet costs Dr 21 in this year of grain shortage and high prices. See above, line 182.

The supplier of the pigs, Pataikos of Eleusis, was eponym of a navel symmory between 356 and 340 B.C. and priest of Asclepius ca. 345/4 (on the date of the priesthood, Aleshire, *Asklepieion* p. 370); for references and further discussion see Davies, *APF* 11678, and Aleshire, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Davies infers from the present transaction that Pataikos owned grazing land in or near Eleusis, but pigs do not necessarily have to be raised on grazing land.

This firewood and kindling were probably used, as Bannier, *BPW* 35, 1915, col. 1616, suggested, for these piglets; and perhaps also for the piglet above (line 182). Purificatory sacrifice of piglets often did not involve burning (Parker, *Miasma* 21-22; Jacoby, *FGrHist* 334 fr. 16 and commentary, with testimonia); but sometimes they did; cf. especially the Delian example, *IG XI* 2, 199.A.71 (275 B.C.), printed above, *ad* line 186. The price of the firewood is slightly high; if calculated at the price of firewood for the Haloa (line 186), it should amount to Dr 5 Ob 1.

Lines 191-196 (129-134): Construction of a doorway in the Eleusinion in the City (see also above pp. 182-183, Introduction (to this document), "The Eleusinion in the City," and below, *ad* lines 224-233). Kourouniotis, *AM* 46, 1941, p. 240, takes the curious letters ουνεστιναιεστιν to read οὗ 'νεστιν ἃ ἐστιν, which Wycherley, *Agora* III 80, suggests "might be taken to imply that the doors belong to a building in which certain sacred objects, which are not named, are kept." Even so, the building must have had a name, and it is hard to see why its name would not be used here. To bracket this stretch of text, on the other hand, seems to be unjustified, since as far as it goes, and unusual though it is, it does make some sense. (The apparent prodelision here may be a careless omission rather than true prodelision; Threatte, *GAI* I 33.02, p. 426.) With the addition of a single word, such as ἱερά, the phrase would make reasonable sense, viz. οὗ 'νεστιν ἃ ἐστιν ἱερά. What the omitted word actually was of course it would be hazardous to conjecture. The phrase may designate a structure but it is at least equally possible that it designates an *area* set off within the Eleusinion. The following location, ἐν τῷ ἐν ᾧσται Ἐλευσινίῳ, may refer to an entrance in the peribolos to the Eleusinion, but if we give credence to the preceding text as I am inclined to do, the entranceway is more likely to be somewhere within the Eleusinion.

The purpose of the two blocks in line 192, 5 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet thick, is unclear.

The jambs (lines 193-194) were 10 feet high, each jamb consisting of two blocks 3 feet wide. This is a monumental doorway.

In line 194 τέτταρες πόδες (or τεττάρων ποδῶν) fits the space but would make the thickness greater than the width, which is improbable; τριῶν ἡμιποδίων (Harzbecker) is too long by one letter but nevertheless possible; Glotz's ἐπτὰ παλαισταί fits the space (he presents a drawing of the door in *CRAI* 1928, p. 156), but the form παλαισταί does not occur in Attic inscriptions; cf. Threatte, *GAI* I 15.011d, p. 269. τρεῖς παλασταί, on the other hand, conforms to the space, Attic usage, and the sense: this dimension is not unreasonable for the thickness of a door jamb.

For the γεί[σα blocks Glotz restores a length of 12 feet and a price (perhaps too high) of Dr 50 (see below).

On the relation of this doorway to the *Prothyron* described below (lines 224-229) see above p. 183, Introduction (to this document), "The Eleusinion in the City."

Daos residing in Kydathenaion, the mason, appears in lines 19 and 47.

Certain or probable expenses in the fifth prytany:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Cost</i>
178-179	basket	Dr 4
179-180	public slaves, τροφή	Dr 315
180	overseer of slaves	Dr 10
180-181	copyist	Dr 5 Ob 5
181-182	removal of corpse	?
182	piglet	Dr [21]
182-183	κροταφίς	Dr 5
182	purification	Dr 6
183-184	sharpening	Dr 1[+ ?]
184	keys	?
185	door handles	Dr 3
186	iron	Dr 3 Ob 3
186-187	firewood	Dr 100 Ob 3
187	vine-clippings	Dr 5
187-188	land transport	Dr ?
188	sea transport	Dr 7 Ob 3
188-190	2 piglets	Dr 42
190	purification	Dr 2
190-191	firewood	Dr 7 Ob 2
191	vine-clippings	Ob 2
191-192	stone threshold	Dr 2[0 + ?]
192-193	stone blocks	Dr 2[0 + ?]
194	stone blocks	Dr 40
195	transport	Dr 60
196	stonework	Dr 169
TOTAL		Dr 848 [+ ?]
The lacunas are:		
181-182	removal of corpse	[Dr 1 or 5]
183-184	sharpening	Dr 1[+ ?]
184	keys	[?]
187-188	land transport	[?]
191-193	blocks for doorway	Dr [40 + ?]
195	blocks for <i>geisa</i>	[?]

With the restoration of an additional Dr 70 for the blocks, it would seem possible that the combined lacunas held a sum of ca. Dr 102, and that the total was Dr 950 Ob 1 1/2 Ch 1, as it is given in line 196. However, the other figures in lines 196-198 only make sense if the total expense came to Dr 860 Ob 1 1/2 Ch 1: of the funds on hand, the epistatai held Dr 850 Ob 1 1/2 Ch 1, and Nikophilos held Dr 42 Ob 3. Subtracting expenses of Dr 860 Ob 1 1/2 Ch 1, the fund of the epistatai is completely expended, and that of Nikophilos becomes Dr 32 Ob 3. This corresponds pre-

cisely with what is inscribed on the stone. (The fund of Dr 1,565 Ob 2 1/4 Ch 1 in the hands of both treasurers was of course unaffected.) So we must keep open the possibility that a mistake was made. Perhaps in the figure for the total expense the 50-drachma and ten-drachma symbols were interchanged, and then, since the ten-drachma symbol no longer made sense, it was “corrected” to H, giving us a sum of 950 instead of the correct 860. If this is the case, then the lacunas in the prices amounted to only ca. 12 drachmas. On the other hand, the obol held by the epistatai (line 175) may be a mistake for Dr 100 (I inscribed instead of H); this is the easier of the two possibilities. In this case the lacunas contained prices amounting to ca. Dr 102, and Glotz’s restoration of Dr 50 in line 196 would be possible.

Sixth Prytany

Line 199 (137): The heading, at the top of its column, is in the full form; cf. line 1 and commentary.

Line 201 (139): On the amount given by the apodektai, see below, *ad* line 273. In the vacant spaces at the end of the line the cutter evidently forgot to inscribe ΓΗΗΗΙΙΙ.

Lines 202-203 (140-141): The altars of Plouton and the Two Goddesses were restuccoed, plastered, and painted; on the process see Orlandos II pp. 50-55, and cf. II.52.A.III.34. The altars of the Two Goddesses were located in the forecourt (Clinton, Sacrifice pp. 71-73); Plouton’s may have been nearby, or it may have been in the precinct of Plouton, in which work was carried out in this prytany (see Introduction to this document, “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος,” p. 182. This beautification was perhaps done in preparation for sacrifices at the time of the Lesser Mysteries, which were celebrated at Agrai in the middle of Anthesterion; or perhaps for the festival of the Haloa (cf. above, *ad* line 186); in the latter case, the work on the altars would have been done in the fifth prytany but paid for in this one. Militating against a connection with the Haloa (but not decisively) is the fact that testimonia about this festival mention Dionysus but not Plouton (Foucart, *Le culte de Pluton dans la religion éleusinienne*, *BCH* 7, 1883, p. 396, assumed Dionysus *replaced* Plouton in this festival, but such a replacement seems unlikely).

Lines 206-207 (144-145): Meiggs p. 440, understands the wooden προσβάθραι to be “seating” for the Haloa. Whatever it was, it was probably located in the forecourt and used in connection with the sacrifice and dining at the Haloa. The work must have been done in the preceding prytany.

In *Sacred Officials* p. 20, I suggested that the θακεῖον may be the ἱεροφαντικὸς θρόνος. In any case it was probably the seat of a priest or some other official. The sum of Dr 5 represents a substantial amount of work. Perhaps the προσβάθραι were a platform for the θακεῖον, on which an official sat at the Haloa.

Lines 207-209 (145-147): The pair of door pivots (cf. line 263) were for the cedar doors of the treasury. Meiggs p. 437 believes they were made of “specially selected elm” and, as they came from the Peiraeus, were probably imported. Although the price cannot be read clearly (only pi can be made out), Dr 5 seems much too low for these special pieces.

The three cedar boards, if cut in half and joined, would yield a door panel 6 feet high and 2 1/4 feet wide.

Lines 210-211 (147-148): The sawn wood is heavier than the preceding: 12 feet long, 10 daktyls wide, and half a foot thick. If we assume one door apiece for the πυλίδες, each door could consist of three of these boards arranged vertically, thus producing doors 12 feet high, almost 2.5 feet wide, and half a foot thick, not inappropriate for a door of a small gate in the peribolos wall. The *pylis* E 1 (Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 264-265) is about 1.67 m. wide (ca. 5 feet); it could have been equipped with two such doors. If six of these boards were used per *pylis*, then four would be available for the treasury roof. Since no wood for rafters is mentioned between this point and the payment for roof tiles (line 271), it seems to follow that these (four) boards must be rafters or a substitute. As they seem to be too heavy for rafters (they cost around twice as much as the roof beams in line 63), they may be what Hodge (*Woodwork* pp. 49-50) calls “tilted purlins,” on which sheathing and/or roof tiles could be set, to form a type of roof which he calls a “Gaggera roof.” On the treasury roof the reeds (followed by mud) were evidently placed directly on the purlins. If this is correct, the structure’s interior dimensions can be estimated to be approximately 12×12 feet. (If the timbers listed here, however, represent only part of the woodwork, then this calculation is of course incorrect.) These dimensions would in fact suit the area of Building F on the Plan, where Travlos once suggested (*Δελτίον* 16, 1960, pp. 58-59) that a building of the second century A.D. replaced a Classical treasury. (Travlos then believed the Roman building to be a treasury as well, but later retracted that view [cf. *Attika* p. 97] in favor of a temple of Sabina the new Demeter, following H. Möbius, *Gnomon* 35, 1963, pp. 818-819, and Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 180.) The earlier building, if the suggestion here is correct, was significantly smaller; and when its Roman successor was built, a large area of the bedrock had to be quarried away, leaving no trace of its predecessor. In any case, this interpretation of the use to which these boards were put and Travlos’s view on the location of the Classical treasury are hypothetical.

Lines 211-212: “Wood for the bases for the doors for the *pylides*, 4 κανόνες”: Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* p. 54 takes these κανόνες to be the lowest of the horizontal boards (ζυγά) that bind together the door’s vertical boards. However, Dr 26 is a high price for a piece of wood only ca. 2.5 feet long. βάθρον τῇ θύρᾳ might not indicate *part* of a door but something on which a door rests. Its use, instead of ὁδός, might indicate a board that serves as a threshold but extends beyond either jamb; cf. the city gate of Troy on the François Vase (drawing in Büsing-Kolbe p. 145, fig. 28); but Ebert is probably right in concluding that a wooden threshold is unlikely in a πυλῖς. If it was the lowest ζυγόν, then it was perhaps a rather heavy piece, made to withstand the heavy use that the lowermost member of this door would receive; still, the price seems expensive.

Lines 213-217 (151-155): ἀντίζυγα, according to Ebert, are ζυγά which occur on both sides of a door; Kourouniotis is probably right in disputing this (see II.174.3), but his suggestion that ἀντίζυγα are the vertical boards if ζυγά are the horizontal or vice versa seems to leave no place for the κανονίδες. The latter, according to Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* p. 53, are vertical boards that are set along the door’s long vertical edges and abut the horizontal ζυγά. This may be true, but it was based on Dittenberger’s interpretation (*SIG*² 587, note 110) of the κανονίδες in *AthPol* 64.2 as frames (“door-frames” was the meaning picked up by *LSJ*). When S. Dow identified the κληρωτήρια excavated in the Agora, it was clear to him that κανονίδες must be the vertical columns of slots, with which the meaning “door-frames” could be reconciled but somewhat awkwardly (*HSCP* 50, 1939, pp. 5-8; cf. Rhodes, *Commentary* p. 706). Ebert’s definition of κανονίδες,

insofar as he sees them as vertical members, at least makes some sense with respect to the columns in the κληρωτήρια; but *AthPol* 64.2, in the light of the excavated κληρωτήρια, suggests that here κανονίδες are simply the basic vertical boards of the door, which in fact look like columns. The ζυγά, as we know from *IG II²* 1457.13-15, which refers to the two “lowest” ζυγά of a door, are the horizontal cross-pieces, which “yoke” together the vertical boards, or κανονίδες. The ἀντίζυγα, consequently, ought to have a related function. In the door panel of the city gate of Troy on the François Vase (drawing in Büsing-Kolbe p. 145, fig. 28) there are three ζυγά binding together three vertical boards, presumably the κανονίδες. Just under the ζυγά are two diagonal boards running from the bottom corners to the opposite corners at the top; they are similar to the ζυγά in that they too show broad heads of nails, and of course they too yoke together the vertical boards; they ought to be the ἀντίζυγα.

Lines 218-219 (156-157): “Two wooden boards to attach to the pulleys.” See Appendix to this document, “ἡ τροχιλεία.”

Lines 219-221 (157-159): Procurement and transport of the preceding wood. See Meiggs pp. 437, 438-439; on διακαλίνδω, Mulliez, *BCH* 106, 1982, pp. 109-111: rollers were used, though not to move the wood from the forest, as Mulliez supposes, for the logs have already been processed into boards, but to move the load across the Isthmus to Cenchreae; cf. Loomis, *Wages* p. 198, note 29. Most likely also included are the ash boards from Hagias the Corinthian listed in lines 230-232. The total cost of the wood from Hagias comes to Dr 383 Ob 3. For the cost of the sea transport Harzbecker reckoned Dr 156 on the assumption that an eta was mistakenly omitted in the blank space before the cost. However, in that case the total cost of transport would be Dr 173 or ca. 45% of the value of the wood, which seems much too high. Cf. Meiggs pp. 363-364, 438-439. The cost of transporting roof tiles from Corinth, on the other hand, was only Dr 6 Ob 4, or 4% of the value of the tiles (line 73). Sea transport of 67 talents of firewood and 60 bundles of vine-prunings, from an unknown place, costs Dr 7.5, or 7.1% of the value of the commodities (lines 186-188).

Lines 222-223 (160-161): On “bull glue” see Orlandos I pp. 63-64. It was probably used for joining the planks of the treasury’s door (above, lines 207-209) and other such tasks.

Lines 224-225 (162-163): Work on a doorway, apparently *within* the Eleusinion, took place in the preceding prytany (lines 191-196). The doors for which nails are supplied here are εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον, hence perhaps doors to the sanctuary itself; but this phrase may mean simply “for the Eleusinion” and so may refer to doors for the doorway of lines 191-196. The fabrication of these doors and the *prothyron* (not to be confused with the *prothyron* of the *Neokorion* mentioned in line 227) is listed in lines 227-229.

The cost of each nail is three times that of nails in line 61; these are heavy nails, as indeed the doors of the πυλίδες demanded (cf. 174.22).

On the missing sigmas in line 224: Threatte, *GAI* p. 640, 48.08.

Lines 226-227 (164-165): “Three κανόνες, for the lintel of the *Neokorion* and for the πρόθυρον.” Presumably one κανών for the lintel and two “κανόνες for the *prothyron*” (on κανόνες for doors see above, *ad* lines 211-212).

On the *Neokorion* see Introduction (to this document), “*Neokorion*,” pp. 181-182.

Lines 227-228 (165-166): As the same craftsman made both the doors of (or for) the Eleusinion and the *prothyron*, the *prothyron* was most likely made of wood. This Pamphilos of Otryne is

paid for carpentry also in lines 234, 358, and perhaps also 364. Some of the wood listed in lines 213-216 may have been for the *prothyron*. Since the *prothyron* is mentioned together with doors for the Eleusinion, it seems right to associate this *prothyron* with the Eleusinion and distinguish it from the *prothyron* of the *Neokorion* (above, line 227). The *prothyron* was a roofed space in front of the doorway; cf. Orlandos-Travlos s.v. πρόθυρον. On the location of this *prothyron* see p. 183 Introduction (to this document), “The Eleusinion in the City.”

Lines 228-229 (166-167): The nails are probably for the doors and *prothyron* of the Eleusinion. They are large nails, costing the same as those for the peribolos wall at Eleusis (line 30). Three staters, however, should amount to Dr 6 Ob 3, not Dr 8 Ob 3 as here. Since both the number and the total price are not in harmony with either three or four staters, both figures seem to be in error, unless the number was four staters but the weight did not in fact quite reach that amount. Tsountas and Harzbecker assumed four staters and a total price of Dr 8 Ob 4.

Lines 229-230 (167-168): On the price of these baskets see II.159, **Date**. The public slaves evidently filled in some part of the Eleusinion.

Lines 230-232 (168-170): τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος: see Introduction (to this document), “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος,” p. 182.

Lines 232-233 (170-171): Pitch for the roofs of the Eleusinion.

Concerning further work on the roofs in this prytany see Introduction (to this document), “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος” p. 182; on the cost of pitch, above, *ad* lines 13-14.

Line 234 (172): Pamphilos of Otryne, who is probably a joiner (Davis, *Building Inscriptions* pp. 65-66), also made doors and a *prothyron* for the Eleusinion (lines 227-228). τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος was probably located in the vicinity of the Eleusinion; above, Introduction (to this document), “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος;” Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 19-21.

Lines 235-243 (173-181): See Introduction (to this document), “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος.”

Line 236 (174): Harzbecker notes that nails in line 68 cost 1 obol apiece. Reading here 250 nails, he follows Körte’s suggestion that the total price of 250 nails at 1 obol apiece is actually Dr 41 Ob 4, and the inscribed price of Dr 36 Ob 4 should be emended. However, since we cannot exclude the reading ΗΡΓΓ, Körte’s solution is difficult in that it would emend two figures. If the correct unit price is Ob 1 3/8, we need only emend 155 to 160, a much easier change.

The plurality of threshold blocks suggests a rather large doorway.

Lines 237-238 (175-176): The τόρμοι are the cuttings in the threshold for the sockets of the door-pivots. Although the reading of the following noun in the dative dual is uncertain, this word ought to refer to mortices in the threshold to hold the tenons at the base of the doorposts (τὰ σταθμά).

Line 244 (182): A donation (ἐπαρχή) by the epistatai to Demeter, Kore, and Plouton. On the term ἐπαρχή: Wilhelm, *Beiträge* p. 188; W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 142-144; cf. *IG* II² 1215.13-15; Rubensohn, *Mysterienheiligtümer* p. 116. (In lines 397 and 417 below, ἐπαρχή is confused with ἀπαρχή.) The circumstances of this donation are unclear. Pringsheim, *Beiträge* p. 114, called attention to a religious event on Mykonos, which took place on 10 Lenaion (equivalent to Attic Gamelion) and may have had a similar purpose: ἐπὶ ὥδῃ ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ὕν ἐνκύμονα πρωτοτόκον, Κόρηι κάπρον τέλεον, Διὶ Βουλεῖ χοῖρον (*SIG*³ 1024 = *LSCG* 96.16-17). This was the time of year when the young stalks of grain were dormant.

The Dr 20 for sacrifice at the Lenaea must be for the same type of victim as was sacrificed by the epistatai at the Mysteries (line 41) and the Dionysia in the Peiraeus (line 167); it may well have been a piglet; see commentary to lines 41-42, 182, 191-192.

The fact that the Eleusinian epistatai sacrifice at the Lenaia (which took place in Gamelion) suggests that there is a cultic link between the Mysteries and the Lenaia, and this lends some weight to the scholion to Aristophanes, *Ra.* 479, which reads: ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναϊκοῖς ἁγῶσι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δαδοῦχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει· καλεῖτε θεόν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσι· Σεμελήι' Ἰακχε πλουτοδότα. The scene suggests an epiphany, as at Eleusis; cf. Apollodorus, *Περὶ θεῶν*, *FGrHist* 244, frag. 110 b: τὸν ἱεροφάντην τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλουμένης ἐπικρούειν τὸ καλούμενον ἠχεῖον. The Aristophanes scholion has been difficult to evaluate; cf. Foucart, *Mystères* p. 198; Parke, *Festivals* p. 105.

Lines 244-245 (182-183): Bricks for the Eleusinion in the City, brought in from Mirthless Rock. The bricks are for a wall, apparently, in the Eleusinion. On their relation to Mirthless Rock, see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 21-22. The cost of their transport, Dr 75 per thousand, is naturally much more expensive than that of the bricks transported within Eleusis, above, line 26, viz. Dr 38 per thousand.

Line 246 (184): The λεκάναι were used for carrying mud in bricklaying, as Tsountas pointed out, adducing *Ar. Av.* 838-840:

καὶ τοῖσι τειχίζουσι παραδιακόνει,
χάλικας παραφόρει, πηλὸν ἀποδὺς ὄργασον,
λεκάνην ἀνένεγκε...

Cf. *ibid.* 1142-1143:

Πι. ἐπηλοφόρουν δ' αὐτοῖσι τίνες; Ἀγ.^α ἐρωδιοὶ
λεκάναισι.

The μίλτος here appears to be for an operation that followed not long after the bricklaying, i.e. imparting color to the stucco or plaster; on μίλτος see *ad* lines 12-13. The name and demotic of the supplier – παρὰ Σωτηρίδος Ἄπρο – make no sense. Soteris is a woman's name, and no demotic begins with Apro-. The stonecutter here realized he had made a mistake after carving ΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΟΣ instead of ΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΑ, the genitive of Σωτηρίδας; he then added the correct alpha, either intending to erase the letters ΟΣ or not to paint them in. An apparent descendant of Σωτηρίδας Προ(σπάλτιος) appears in ephebic documents of the second century A.D. (*IG II*² 2128.39, 2129.10).

Lines 248-249 (186-187): The κανονίς is presumably a straight molding.

Lines 250-251 (188-189): Work in the Eleusinion. The Laconian tiles and reeds are probably for roofs in the Eleusinion (mentioned above, line 233). 50 pairs at Ob 4 per pair amount to Dr 33 Ob 2; either the price per pair or the total is wrong. The ὀπτάνιον, or kitchen in which roasting is done, is presumably the same as the ἱπνός (lines 255-256). This structure first receives a stone sockel (line 251); its walls may have been constructed of the bricks mentioned above, lines 245-247; some of the wood for the roof is listed in lines 255-266 as well as the reeds that will be placed below the tiles. The work was evidently finished in the following prytany.

Ergasos son of Phanomachos of Ikaria (*PA* 5048) together with his two sons erected a choregic

monument for a victory in tragedy *ante med. s. IV a.* (IG II² 3095 = SEG XXXII 249); if Kirchner's date is correct, he should be the grandfather of the present Ergasos.

Lines 252-253 (190-191): Seventeen pairs of shoes are resoled.

Line 254 (192): The lattice doors must be those of the Sanctuary of Plouton; see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 19-20. The ἀμφιδέαι are probably the attached rings through which the bar of the door passed; Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* p. 57; cf. IG II² 1627.317.

Lines 254-255 (192-193): "The box in which the things from the columns will be put" is an enigma. Evidently things that were attached to columns. Dittenberger suggested the παραδείγματα according to which columns were made, but Harzbecker rightly pointed out the awkwardness of ἀπό and rejected the idea; he drew attention to line 351, which could be restored: τοῖς τὰ τῶν κίωνων καθελοῦσι. Perhaps it is a question of things attached to interior columns of the Telesterion.

Lines 255-256 (193-194): ἐπιβλήτες were used for an ἱπνός on Delos, IG XI 204.40, as Harzbecker pointed out. The reeds would go on top of the ἐπιβλήτες.

Lines 257-262 (195-200): Materials for stuccoing and plastering walls in the Eleusinion; the contractor who does the work is listed in line 265.

Lousian earth: The deme Lousia is located west of central Athens in the Kephisos valley; cf. Traill, *Demos* p. 133. The vendor, Charias of Hermos (PA 15342) was a member of the Boule in 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43.130). Skiran earth: Skiron was a locality (χωρίον) not far outside the city wall of Athens along the Sacred Way to Eleusis (Paus. 1.36.4; cf. *RE* s.v. *Skiron*); Skiran earth was apparently a white clay especially useful for plaster (*Suda* s.v. σκίρρα). The vendor, Arrhenides son of Charikles of Paiania, was quite wealthy; Davies, *APF* 2254. Since the prices for Lousian and Skiran earth include the cost of both the earth and transport, the transport cost cannot be extracted and compared (Loomis, *Wages* p. 201, note 41, in comparing the prices, wrongly assumes that these reflect just transport, and that there is a place called Skiras in Phaleron, though no such place is attested [but only a temple of Athena Skiras]).

On ἄχυρα see above, on line 73. χνοῦς· τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν ἀχύρων (Hesychius); cf. Dittenberger *ad loc.* κονία, plaster; cf. line 170. The material from Akte sold by the bushel is most likely ground up poros stone. Likewise the *pyknitis* is ground up stone from the Pnyx; cf. *RE* XXI s.v. *Pnyx*; col. 1110; Dworakowska, *Quarries* p. 13. λατύπη: marble chips. χύλωμα: the nature of this liquid is unknown; it occurs only here.

Line 263 (201): On χοινικίδες see II.174.18. Probably of bronze, they cost Dr 2 per mina; but a few years earlier, bronze *poloi* and *empolia* cost 5 1/2 obols per mina. Here, with labor included, the higher cost may reflect the difficulty in manufacturing these pivot covers; we should also bear in mind that 329/8 was a year of high prices (see II.159, *Date*).

Line 265 (203): The materials for Solon the contractor are listed in lines 257-262.

Lines 265-266 (203-204): "Frames for the towers at Eleusis." The meaning is unclear; perhaps the πλινθεῖα are molds for bricks; cf. Ginouvès-Martin p. 53.

Line 266 (204): The victim that the public slaves sacrifice at the Χοαί, the second day of the Anthesteria (12 Anthesterion), may be a piglet; see above on lines 41-42, 182, 190-191.

Lines 266-267 (204-205): "5 clay containers of wine, 2 measures." The wine was essential to this festival (on which cf. Deubner, *Feste* pp. 93-123; Burkert, *Homo Necans* pp. 213-243; R.

Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual*, Ann Arbor 1992). In this year 12 Anthesterion occurred in the seventh prytany, four days after the start of the prytany (on 8 Anthesterion). These payments therefore are for purchases made in preparation for the festival, presumably just a few days away. κεράμια οἴνου here are amphoras (cf. Xen. *An.* 6.1.15, 6.2.2, Hippoc. *Morb. Sacr.* 13). On this entry cf. Körte, *RhM* 52, 1897, p. 170. Two measures of wine are equivalent to ca. 78 liters (*Agora* X pp. 44, 58); if the wine was just for the 18 slaves, each received ca. 4 1/3 liters of unmixed wine, more than enough to produce festive cheer. (Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 32, wonders whether the πῖ following κεράμια might be the price, viz. Dr 5, for 18 choes, one chous for each slave, because the wine meted out, ca. 4 1/3 liters per slave, would be “not much more than an official chous-measure [3.28 liters]”. This is perhaps not impossible, but if this is so, we may wonder why the simple term χόες was not used (cf. line 262); in addition, in this case the document would have recorded neither the total number of choes nor the unit price, which would be extraordinary, since it would be so easy to do here; cf. the list “Other Prices” in the Introduction to this document, p. 189. Hamilton, furthermore, takes this entry to indicate that the festival of the Choes was celebrated in Eleusis in addition to the central city; but this cannot safely be inferred from the present entry, for the slaves were working mainly in the Asty in this prytany, on the Eleusinion and the precinct of Plouton; see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 19-20.)

The wine containers are apparently amphoras used for local trade and not export amphoras, which range in size from 20 to 40 liters (on the capacities of amphoras see V. R. Grace, *Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 175-189; M. B. Wallace, *Progress in Measuring Amphora Capacities*, *BCH*, Suppl. 13, 1986, pp. 87-94.)

Lines 267-268 (205-206): For iron-work (presumably sheathing and other iron parts) on block-and-tackle equipment Sosidemos was supposed to receive Dr 3,560 Ob 1/2 in the preceding year, but he evidently only received Dr 1,991 Ob 1/2 then, payment of the balance (Dr 1,569) being postponed until now. See Appendix to this document, “ἡ τροχιλεία,” pp. 240-241.

Line 269 (207): The pre-initiation (μύησις) of the public slaves entailed the sacrifice of a ewe, which in this year cost Dr 30; see II.159.62; Clinton, *Sacrifice* pp. 69-70.

Lines 269-270 (207-208): Marble chips, for some building at Eleusis, perhaps the *Neokorion* or Treasury; cf. line 262 for their use in the Eleusinion.

Lines 270-271 (208-209): On the *Neokorion* see Introduction (to this document), “*Neokorion*,” pp. 181-182. These boards are for the roof of its *prothyron*. The κέλῃς and κερκίδες evidently do not belong to the *prothyron*, but the nature of these wooden structures is unclear.

Thoudes, a rare name, may be the same person as Thoudes son of Thoudiades of Alopeke, member of the Boule ca. 321 (*Agora* XV 55.41).

Lines 271-272 (209-210): The destination of the pan tiles (on the term, Ebert, *Fachausdrücke* p. 42) shows that the Treasury was located at Eleusis; on this building, see Introduction to this document, “Treasury,” p. 181. In *AE* 1971, p. 127, I suggested that the Moirokles who is paid for tiles here may not be the same man as the Moirokles of 79, 85.15, and 95.5-6. On Moirokles cf. Ampolo, *Tra finanza e politica: carriera e affari del signor Moirokles*, *RFIC* 109, 1981, pp. 187-204, who argues, pp. 192-193, that the supplier of tiles is indeed the same man. Two other suppliers of tiles in this document – Demetrios, a metec (line 71), and Simos (line 250) – are not citizens. Such company urges caution against the conclusion that Moirokles is a citizen; he may

have been a slave in the family of Moirokles of Eleusis. The tiles were not manufactured at Eleusis.

The following expenses were incurred in the sixth prytany:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Expense</i>	<i>Amount</i>
203	coating the altar of Plouton and the altars of the Two Goddesses	Dr 27
204	public slaves, τροφή	Dr 315
205	overseer of slaves	Dr 10
205	copyist	Dr 5 Ob 5
206	making προσβάθραι	Dr 60
207	repair of θακείον	Dr 5
208	pair of door pivots	Dr 50
209	cedar planks	Dr 210
211	wood for the doors of the <i>pylides</i> and the roof of the Treasury	Dr 512
212	κανόνες for the βάθρα of the doors of the <i>pylides</i>	Dr 104
213	elm boards for ἀντίζυγα	Dr 98
215	4 elm boards	Dr 54
217	3 elm boards	Dr 61
218	3 ash boards	Dr 51
219	2 elm boards	Dr 47 Ob 3
220	transporting the wood on rollers	Dr 7
221	carrying the wood to the sea and loading it onto boat	Dr 10
221	sea transport of wood	Dr 56
222	salary of three sawyers	Dr 105
223	bull glue for Treasury	Dr 187
225	nails for doors	Dr 103
226	making and installing doors of <i>pylides</i>	Dr 85
227	3 κανόνες for lintel of <i>Neokorion</i> and <i>prothyron</i>	Dr 75
228	making doors of Eleusinion and <i>prothyron</i>	Dr 86
229	<4?> staters of nails	Dr 8 Ob 3
230	10 baskets for the public slaves	Dr 10
232	8 elm boards for the doors of the Sanctuary of Plouton	Dr 72
234	5 measures of pitch for the roofs of the Eleusinion and the doors	Dr 60
234	making the lattice doors for the Sanctuary of Plouton	Dr 60
235	wood for jambs for the lattice doors	Dr 30
236	250 (or 160?) nails for the lattice doors	Dr 36 Ob 4
237	stone threshold blocks for the lattice doors	Dr 21
238	finishing, transporting, and placing the threshold blocks and cutting the door-pivot sockets and [mortices?] and pouring lead	Dr 25
239	talent of lead and rental of a melting pot	Dr 2 Ob 4
240	polishing the <i>antae</i> in the Sanctuary of Plouton	Dr 16
241	scaffolding for those polishing the <i>antae</i> and for those smearing the roofs with pitch	Dr 100 (?)
242	smearing the roofs with pitch	Dr 26

244	propping up the <i>Neokorion</i> with timbers and removing them	Dr 45
244	donation to Demeter and Kore and Plouton	Dr 5
244	sacrifice by epistatai at Lenaia	Dr 20
245	1,600 bricks for the Eleusinion, including transport from Mirthless Rock	Dr 120
246	8 basins	Dr 2
246	5 staters of μίλτος	Dr 2 Ob 3
247	laying the bricks	Dr 20 Ob 2
248	making the <i>antae</i> capitals	Dr 50
248	painting the capitals encaustically	Dr 40
249	fashioning the moldings and the κανονίς (frame molding)	Dr 17
250	painting the moldings	Dr 5
250	50 pairs of Laconian roof tiles	Dr <33?> <Ob 2>
251	reeds	Dr 8
252	laying the stone sockle of the kitchen	Dr 5
253	resoling 17 pairs of shoes for the public slaves	Dr 68
253	4 cypress κορμοί	Dr 200
254	4 ἀμφιδέαι for the lattice doors	Dr 3 Ob 2
255	box for τ[ά]πὸ τῶν κιόνων	Dr 20
255	2 timbers and ἐπιβλήτες for the kitchen of the Eleusinion	Dr 13
256	3 (loads?) of reeds	Dr 2
258	30 loads of Lousian earth	Dr 75
258	3 loads of Skiran earth	Dr 12 Ob 3
259	straw	Dr 30
259	5 loads of sand, plus sifting and transport	Dr 15
260	30 bushels of black plaster	Dr 35
261	transport of the plaster and sacks	Dr 5
261	6 bushels of stone powder from Akte	Dr 9
262	6 bushels of stone powder from the Pnyx	Dr 18
262	6 bushels of marble chips	Dr 10
262	5 χυλώματος χόες	Dr 5
265	door-pivot covers for various doors, weighing 40 minae	Dr 80
265	plastering and stuccoing the Eleusinion	Dr 80
266	4 brick frames (?) for the towers at Eleusis	Dr 10
266	sacrificial victim for the public slaves at the Χόαι	Dr 23
267	2 measures of wine	Dr 16
268	additional money owed for adding iron to the block-and-tackle equipment	Dr 1,569
269	μύησις for two public slaves	Dr 30
269	60 bushels of marble chips	Dr 90
270	transporting them to Eleusis	Dr 40
271	ἱμάντες and beams for the <i>prothyron</i> of <i>Neokorion</i> , etc.	Dr 17 Ob 3
272	25 roof tiles for the Treasury	Dr 2[9 Ob 1]
272	transporting the tiles	Dr 8
TOTAL EXPENSES		Dr 5,678 Ob 5

This total is Dr 20 less than the inscribed total in line 273. The stonecutter occasionally made mistakes in carving the individual prices, and so it is difficult to know which prices are mistaken besides those that are so identified in the commentary (see *ad* line 250). An additional mistake of Dr 5 may lie in the price of Dr 36 Ob 4 given in line 236, which would reduce the discrepancy to Dr 15. Harzbecker calculated a total of Dr 5,699, but this was based in part on the assumption that the door pivots in line 208 cost only Dr 5 and sea transport in line 221 Dr 156, both of which sums are probably erroneous. Kirchner accepted Harzbecker's calculations but did not incorporate these individual sums into his text, so that his text will not yield Harzbecker's total for the sixth prytany.

Line 273 (211): The total income here must be restored as Dr 5,708 Ob 3 in order to be consistent with line 201, where evidently the stonecutter omitted Dr 8 Ob 3.

Line 274 (212): Since the two accounts of the tamiai most likely did not change, the balance left with the epistatai can be obtained by subtracting total expenses from total income: Dr 5,708 Ob 3 - Dr 5,698 Ob 5 = Dr 9 Ob 4, which must be restored at the end of the line.

Seventh Prytany

Line 275 (213): Of the remaining tribes the only one that fits the space is Erechtheis; hence the restoration.

Tenth Prytany

Lines 345-346 (216-217): The list of funds on hand and funds received is shorter than usual.

Line 347 (218): The reading makes no sense.

Lines 347-348 (218-219): Aleximachos son of Teisamenos of Koile was ἐπιστάτης Ἐλευσινόθεν from 336/5 to 333/2, a member of the preceding board 158.4. See line 379: he continued to play a role in Eleusinian finances.

Line 349 (220): The Sacred *Medimnos* is intriguing. In this prytany the bulk of the ἀπαρχή was delivered to the sanctuary; see II.Introduction, "*Aparche*," pp. 5-7. One might suppose that the Sacred *Medimnos* was a measure of this grain which was not sold like the rest but kept for ritual purposes. However, a complete accounting of the *Aparche* is given in lines 392-425 and no mention is made of the Sacred *Medimnos*. It seems more likely that the Sacred *Medimnos* was harvested from the Rharian Field by the priests or officials. It was no doubt threshed on the Sacred Threshing Floor (see below, line 362), and may have been made use of in other ritual contexts, such as at the Proerosia.

Line 350 (221): On the ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν see II.138.A.29-31, and below, *ad* line 432.

Line 351 (222): Cf. above, *ad* lines 254-255.

Line 352 (223): On the nature of an ἀρεστηρία see II.144.58-59.

Line 353 (224): The phrase σπονδῶν γενομένων suggests not simple libations but an event, viz. a truce.

Line 354 (225): These are apparently not the same sacrifices as those in lines 418-420.

Line 356 (227): The Sacred Truce for the Mysteries started at least as early as mid Metageitnion; 19.B. The spondophoroi would set out several weeks in advance; see II.Introduction,

“Spondophoroi,” pp. 20-22. If the full title of the festival was given here, it was μυστήρια [τὰ μεγάλα.

Line 358 (229): Tsountas connected the ἱματιοθήκη with Ar. *Pl.* 844-846:

Δι. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναθήσων ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

Κα. Μῶν οὖν ἐμυήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα;

Δι. Οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐνεργίῳσ' ἔτη τριακαίδεκα.

And he suggested that it was a building that housed the ἱμάτια dedicated by initiates. The inference, however, that the initiates dedicated their himatia at Eleusis cannot be drawn from this Aristophanic passage; in fact, just the opposite is implied. Rubensohn suggested that the ἱματιοθήκη was a building (see below, line 438) for storing the garments which the priests wore during the δρώμενα (*Mysterienheiligtümer* p. 76) – a reasonable suggestion. Pamphilos of Otryne: the joiner who did work on the Sanctuary of Plouton (see Introduction (to this document), “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος,” p. 182).

Line 359 (230): If at Dr 4 per pair as above, line 252, 8 pairs of shoes were resoled.

Line 360 (231): On the Treasury at Eleusis see Introduction (to this document), “Treasury,” p. 181.

Line 361 (232): The purification of the sanctuary may have been in preparation for the great sacrifices that took place toward the end of this prytany (see lines 418-420).

Line 362 (233): E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 20, 1982, pp. 172-174, made the attractive suggestion that the Sacred Threshing Floor was located within the sanctuary, in front of the Telesterion. It is to be distinguished from the Threshing Floor of Triptolemus in the Rharian Plain (Paus. 1.38.6). As a threshing floor is a very simple construction, the job here probably involved merely the addition or replacement of some of its stones. Aristokrates and Archias probably were the transporters. We find transporters listed in this way in lines 50 and 59; Archias may be the same as the person listed in line 50. Robertson, *Proerosia* pp. 327-328, note 24, insists that the sanctuary would not have been a suitable place to catch the breeze (for the winnowing process) in late spring; personal experience, however, as Vanderpool well knew, proves the opposite: the site does not lack abundant breezes at this time of year.

The local mill documented in a security *horos* of 309/8 (*SEG* XXXV 136) is a private mill and therefore cannot be associated with the Sacred Threshing Floor (as suggested by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (Athens 1988) pp. 143, 151, note 47 [= *SEG* XXXIX 199]).

Lines 362-364 (233-235): For the restorations compare lines 44, 179-181, 203-205. The public slaves worked only twelve days in this prytany. It appears that the foreman of the slaves did not receive his full wage of Dr 10, perhaps just roughly one third, viz. Dr 3. The scribe also worked twelve days at his usual wage of an obol a day (cf. line 205, etc.), so that here he receives a total of Dr 2. It is interesting that he does not receive his full title as previously (lines 12, 43, 180, 205), perhaps because the stonecutter realized he was running out of space. It is clear at least that he is a slave. In three previous listings of his μισθός (evidently the correct term for it), it follows directly on payments of τροφή to the public slaves and their foreman and the foreman's μισθός. Here too a payment follows directly upon those same payments, and it is precisely the same amount per day (Ob 1) that was paid to the scribe in those instances. It is hardly likely that there was any other reason for singling out a public slave at just this rate of pay than that he was the scribe, here given

without his title. On this matter cf. Nebe (following Tsountas, col. 128), p. 140, citing Schol. Dem. 2.19, which notes that in wartime slaves were regularly sent out with treasurers and generals ἵνα ἀπογράφοιεν τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα (since the power to beat them would secure the truth), and noting that Telephilos has no patronymic (not, however, a sure indication of slave status).

In 159.28-29 too the recorder of expenses is referred to just as ὁ δημόσιος.

Line 364: On the joiner, Pamphilos of Otryne, see Introduction (to this document), “τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος,” p. 182. Here he presumably worked on some wooden parts of this equipment. Kirchner understands μισθω(τεῖ). The entry may have ended with τροχιλεί[ας, the beginning of the following line making up the end of the next entry (Loomis, *Wages* p. 292, considers this all a single entry).

Lines 368-370 (239-241): The τροχίλοι, pulleys in block-and-tackle equipment, received additional iron, which evidently amounted to 3 talents. Körte *apud* Harzbecker assumed an error in the recording of the price per stater. As it stands, with 8 1/2 obols per stater, the calculation is incorrect, but if we assume the price per stater was 9 obols, it tallies: $90 \times 9 = \text{Ob } 810 = \text{Dr } 135$. The teams transported the pulleys to the workshop; this equipment must have been quite heavy.

Here end the expenses for this prytany.

The following expenditures are preserved for the tenth prytany:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Expense</i>	<i>Sum</i>
349	? of the Sacred <i>Medimnos</i>	Dr 2 Ob 2[+ ?]
350	hieropoioi	?
350-351	? τῶν κίωνω[ν] καθελοῦσι	?
351-352	?	Dr 80
352	ἄρ[ε]στηρία	?
353	?	Dr 62
354	sacrifice	?
355	?	Dr 5 Ob 5.25 Ch 1
355	ξύλα ?	?
355-356	μισθός	Dr 40
356	spondophoroi	?
356-357	? σ]τρογγύλους	Dr 35
357-358	ἱματιοθήκη	Dr 78[+ ?]
359	resoling shoes	Dr 32
360	repairs to treasury	?
360-361	?	Dr 12
361	purifying the sanctuary	?
362	[stones added to?] threshing floor	Dr 23[+ ?]
362-363	public slaves, τροφή	Dr 96
363	overseer of slaves	?
363-364	copyist	Dr 2
364	[carpentry on] τροχιλεία	?
365	? for the towers	Dr 100
365	? κάδων χαλκῶν	?

366	?	Dr 40
367	encaustic work	Dr 40 Ob 1.25
367	hauling	?
367-368	plastering	Dr 100
368-369	adding iron to τροχίλοι	Dr 135
369	teams	?
369-370	transport of the τροχίλοι	?

Lines 370-376 (241-247): “For the Greater Mysteries Euthykrates son of Drakontides of Aphidna and Kallikrates son of Kallikratides of Steiria gave to the two treasurers of the Two Goddesses, when no funds were allocated by the apodektai, [in the archonship of Niketes (332/1)], for the contracts that were let by the basileus, the paredroi, the epistatai of Eleusis, and the epimeletai of the Mysteries, the sum of [...]. For the Greater Mysteries in the archonship of Aristophanes (331/0), for the contracts that were let by the basileus, the paredroi, the epistatai of Eleusis, and the epimeletai of the Mysteries, Aischylos son of Hippiskos of Paionidai gave the two treasurers of the Two Goddesses 220 drachmas, when no funds were allocated by the apodektai.” Since Euthykrates, Kallikrates, and Aischylos have no official titles (parallel structure demands that Euthykrates and Kallikrates not be taken in apposition with ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων), I assume that they are private individuals who donated funds to cover expenses of the Mysteries, presumably expenses that could not be covered by the receipts from the Mysteries (cf. those in 52.A.III.23-24 for the year 408), or by the Polis. These three men took care of the deficit (μισθώματα here are not rents paid by these men, but salaries or the price of contracts for services at the Mysteries which were contracted for by officials of the Mysteries; for this use of μίσθωμα see 144.67, *IG II²* 334.28, 1678.A.25; Rhodes, *Commentary* p. 552, *ad AthPol* 47.2.)

The father of Kallikrates of Steiria is probably the Kallikratides son of Kallikrates who was a member of a commission ca. “*med. s. IV*” (*IG II²* 2825.3) if Kirchner’s date is correct, and his son may be the ἀναγραφεύς honored in *IG II²* 415.23 ca. 330 (?); on his family cf. Raubitschek, *RE* 17 (1937), cols. 2253-2257, p. 30; Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 134; Osborne and Byrne, *LGPN II* pp. 248-249, *s.v.* (though some of their identifications are not sufficiently supported); Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 30, note 133. Euthykrates son of Drakontides was ἐπιστάτης of the πρόεδροι in 337/6 (*IG II²* 242.5-6, 243.5, 276.6 [with Schwenk, no. 12.6]) and honored in a bouleutic document of 328/7 (*Agora XV* 49.5, etc.); cf. *IG II²* 1594.32; *LGPN s.v.* Aischylos son of Hippiskos was a naval *synteles* before 323/2 (*IG II²* 1631.497) and choregos for Leontis in the boys’ dithyramb at the Dionysia in 331/0 (*Hesperia* 37, 1968, 374, no. 51.8); see Davies discussion of his family, *APF* no. 450; *LGPN II s.v.*

Expenses for the Mysteries were presumably listed in the third prytany (with perhaps some paid in advance at the end of the second prytany and some paid after the festival at the beginning of the fourth), though for the current year, 329/8, this section of the document (from the end of the second to the beginning of the fourth prytany) is not preserved. The special contributions listed here in lines 370-376 may have appeared among income in the prytanies in the years in which they were paid, but are repeated here at the end of the four-year term of the epistatai and treasurers in order to emphasize the special nature of this income. The years in which these special

contributions were made were 331/0 and (evidently) 332/1. (Harzbecker restored in line 371 ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχο(ν)τος), which even with the abbreviation assumes some crowding, but in essence it is probably correct.) We may assume therefore that these special payments were not necessary in 330/29 and 329/8.

At any rate, all the officials named here hired workers before and during the Mysteries to carry out tasks related to the administration of the festival. On the participation of these officials in the administration of the festival see especially II.138.A.29-31.

Lines 376-377 (247-248): Logically the expense and income for the tenth prytany should have preceded the special payments for the Mysteries. In general, the order in this prytany is not as consistent as that in the earlier prytanies.

The total income for the tenth prytany should be, in order to accommodate the figures of expense (ἀναλώματος) and surplus (περίεσιν), XXXHHHHH^ΔΓ^ΗICX or XXXHHHHH^ΔΗ^ΔICX. The small space available suggests the restoration with the fewer symbols, viz. Dr 3,461 Ob 1.5 Ch 1, and restoration of the surplus as Dr 469 Ob 1.25.

Lines 377-381 (248-252): “Of this sum (Dr 469 Ob 1.25) the treasurers of the Two Goddesses, Nikophilos of Alopeke and Keramon of Phlya, turned over to the two treasurers of the Two Goddesses in the archonship of Euthykritos (328/7), [.] and Kallaischros of Aphidna, Dr 125, which Aleximachos son of Teisamenos of Koile paid, and to the epistatai of Eleusis and the hieropoioi κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν in the archonship of Euthykritos, to Kritoboulos of Kolonos and to Nikomachos of Steiria and their colleagues, Dr 344 Ob 1 Ch 1, according to the decree of the Demos concerning [- - - -].” Nikomachos of Steiria is later mentioned as the head of the board of hieropoioi (lines 431-432). Kritoboulos must therefore be the head of the epistatai, for it is precisely here that he ought to be named. There was no need to repeat καὶ συνάρχουσιν; the phrase collectively designates the colleagues on both boards. On the role of the hieropoioi at Eleusis in this period see II.138.A.29-31, and below, *ad* line 432.

The first transfer, to the treasurers of the following year, was actually paid by Aleximachos. I assume that (for whatever reason) he happened to possess 125 drachmas on which the tamiai had a claim, and the tamiai simply requested him to make the payment with these funds. Aleximachos is mentioned also at the beginning of the tenth prytany (line 348); he was a member of the preceding board of epistatai (158.5).

The purpose of the second of these two sums is not clear; the decree concerned sacrifices, if the readings and restorations of previous editors are correct.

Line 382 (253): The renter of the Rharian field, Hyperides son of Glaukippos of Kollytos, was the famous orator (*PA* 13912). According to [Plut.] *X orat.* 849 D, he owned some sort of an estate at Eleusis; perhaps it bordered on the Rharian Field. This is the field where grain first grew, sown by Triptolemus (τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ῥάριον, Paus. 1.38; ἡ Ῥαρία, *Marm. Par.*, lines 24-25). Pausanias says that its produce was used as οὐλαί (barley-groats thrown on the heads of sacrificial victims) and to make πέμματα (cakes) εἰς τὰς θυσίας. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.160 confirms that barley was used as a prize in the Eleusinia. This document tells precisely how much.

Lines 382-384 (253-255): The *medimnoi* of barley collected amounted to:

ὁ διαμετρηθεὶς σῖτος	2,476 (619 per year)
<i>Epimetra</i>	256
<hr/>	
TOTAL	2732 <i>medimnoi</i>

Lines 384-387 (255-258):

Distributions to priests and priestesses:

332/1	61
331/0	61
330/29	[61]
329/8	61
<hr/>	
TOTAL to priests and priestesses:	244 (line 387)

Lines 387-391 (258-262):

Other distributions:

Trieteric celebration of Eleusinia	70
Penteteric celebration of Eleusinia	[96?]
Prizes for additional horserace	70
<hr/>	
TOTAL, all distributions	4[80?] <i>medimnoi</i>

Foucart, *BCH* 8, 1894 (followed by Kunst), proposed 70 *medimnoi* for the penteteric festival, but the figure has the disadvantage of leaving four spaces vacant. The highest amount that can be restored is 96 *medimnoi*; cf. Woodward, *BCH* 51, 1956, p. 4, note 3; but it is hard to say what the figure might be, since in this section of the document the cutter sometimes left several vacant spaces after numbers at the ends of lines (cf. lines 418, 420). What became of the remaining 2,252 or so *medimnoi* of barley from the Rharian Field is not stated. This amount of grain would therefore have to be listed in the παράδοσις of this year, as handed over to the succeeding epistatai, unless it was taken for granted that it was used for festival purposes.

Hyperides of course gave only the portion of the produce that was called for in his contract and kept the rest for his own use.

In addition to the Rharian Field there was a Sacred Orgas; see 144.

The *epimetron* represented grain for which the vendor was not paid, as is clear from the other passages in this inscription where this term appears (lines 410-411, 414-415). Here, where it is not a question of a sale but payment of a contract, it is an amount added to what was measured and turned over. It must have to do with the fact that a volume measure for grain can be unreliable, in that the amount of grain in a given volume depends on how much it is compacted. Jardé, p. 31 (quoting Risler, *Physiologie et culture du blé*, Paris 1886, p. 179 [*non vidi*]) points out that a hectoliter of wheat weighing 79 kg. uncompacted can reach 86 kg. after several shakings. Compactment can increase the quantity ca. 10%. That this was realized to be a problem and that the term ἐπίμετρον was used to indicate an additional amount to compensate for lack of compactment can be seen from passages in Plutarch and Theophrastus: “Clay mixed with wheat ripens and distends the grain by means of heat and thereby causes (ποιεῖ) ἐπίμετρον,” i.e. “hyper-measure” (Plut. *Mor.* 676B). “This same thing [viz. ripening and swelling of grain] happens also when it is stored in

heaps in houses, and because of this it causes the excessive measure (ἐπίμετρον)” (*De Causis Plant.* 4.13.1). (Metaphorical use: ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πυρὸς εἰς ἀγγεῖον κατακλεισθεὶς τῷ μὲν μέτρῳ πλείων εὐρίσκεται τῇ δὲ χρειᾷ μοχθηρότερος, οὕτω λόγος εἰς ἀδόλεσχον ἐμπεσὼν ἄνθρωπον πολὺ ποιεῖ τοῦ ψεύδους ἐπίμετρον, ᾧ διαφθείρει τὴν πίστιν [Plut. *Mor.* 503D].) It seems to have a similar meaning in papyri; cf. *P. Tebt.* 92.11. There was evidently a way of ascertaining the compactness of grain and therefore how much “excess measure” was present, probably by weighing after determining that the grain was sufficiently dry. (This is now confirmed by the “Grain-Tax Law” of 374/3, *Agora* I 7557, lines 22-24, published by Stroud, *Grain-Tax: 5/6 medimnos* of (dry) wheat had to weigh a talent, 1 *medimnos* of dry barley likewise.) The vendor would receive no payment for the “excess volume,” and a payment in grain (as in the case of Hyperides) had to include the ἐπίμετρον in order to reach the proper number of compacted bushels. The figures for the ἐπίμετρα in this document in relation to the measured amount are: 9.37% (line 383), 5.77% (line 411), 5.36% (line 414). The Romans, on the other hand, set a fixed percentage as *epimetrum*, *levandi dispendii causa* (cf. Daremberg-Saglio II 695, s.v. *epimetrum*; *RE* s.v. ἐπίμετρον).

The trieteric festival took place in the first year of the Olympiad (here in 332/1), the penteteric in the third year (330/29); see Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 9-12; Morgan, *Calendar*: this periodicity emerges from the fact that in lines 391-392 we learn that one trieteric festival and one penteteric festival took place in each Olympiad, and that in 211 the πανήγυρις τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τῶν μεγάλων took place in the third year of each of three successive Olympiads (Morgan *loc. cit.*). The “Great” Eleusinia ought to be the penteteric festival, which as we see here probably received a greater amount of grain for prizes than did the trieteric festival.

In each celebration there were gymnastic and musical contests, a horserace, and the πάτριος ἄγών. In addition, the penteteric had a horserace “added by decree.” (A. M. Woodward, *BSA* 51, 1956, pp. 3-5, took *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 294-296, no. 2 [= *SEG* XVI 55] to be the decree that authorized this race, but his interpretation was rightly rejected by J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1959, 130, and L. Robert, *AE* 1977, pp. 211-216 [summarized in *SEG* XXIX 88].) In the second-century victor lists (227-228) various gymnastic contests and horseraces are named. (On the agrarian character of the festival cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.150, p. 302.9-10 Drachmann). Triptolemus sowed grain in the Rharian Field in the reign of Erechtheus (*Marm. Par.*, *loc. cit.*). Aristides (*Eleusinos* 4 Keil) calls the Eleusinia the oldest agonistic festival in the Greek world; the *Marm. Par.* (line 30) puts the inception of a gymnastic contest at Eleusis in the reign of Pandion. On the Eleusinia see Deubner, *Feste* pp. 91-92; below, II.208.22-26; above, II.Introduction, “Eleusinia,” p. 24.

Aparche (*Lines* 392-429 [263-300]).

Ἀπαρχή is here spelled (mistakenly) ἐπαρχή (except in line 426). On the Eleusinian ἀπαρχή in general see II.Introduction, “Aparche,” pp. 5-7. For a full discussion of this section of the document and the question of grain production in Attica and Greece, see Jardé and Garnsey (with further bibliography). However, their assumption that the ratio of *aparche* to total production as defined in 28 remained constant over more than a century may not be correct. We do know that in some years (during wartime) the *aparche* was entirely omitted (see II.52 and

II. Introduction, “*Aparche*”). It does not seem unreasonable therefore to think that the Athenians may have allowed a decrease in contributions in years when crops were failing. Hence it would be dangerous to base calculations of Attic grain production and yields on the assumption that the ratio of *aparche* to total production remained constant (see now also Stroud, *Grain-Tax* pp. 32-35). Thus, for example, Garnsey uses the present *aparche* to calculate for Attica yields of 2.25 hl./ha. of wheat and 4.25 hl./ha. of barley, with 20% of Attica under grain, and for Lemnos yields of 8 and 16, with 24.9% of the island under grain, but such a large difference in yields (by factors of 3.55 and 3.76) is difficult to explain. It certainly is right to think that Attica had a bad year, for other information points in the same direction: the artificial price set for grain (lines 412, 416), the high prices for sacrificial animals (lines 190, 418-419), the increase in prices of some commodities relative to a few years earlier (see II.159, under **Date**, and Garnsey pp. 24-25, 158). But such large discrepancies in yields between Attica and Lemnos, by a factor of 3 to 4, are not paralleled in the figures for the years 1921-38 published by E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* 72, 1988, pp. 144-149; even in a bad year for Attica/Boeotia, such as 1924, the yields do not differ from those elsewhere in Greece by such large factors (except with respect to Rethymnon, where the figures may be erroneous). Thus the relatively large donations, especially of wheat, from Lemnos and Imbros probably require some other explanation. Legislation on the *aparche* ratio only specified *minimum* donations; it may be that Lemnos and Imbros, experiencing a good year and desirous of making a display of their good will, donated more than the minimum. For general scepticism on the use of the *aparche* in calculating yields cf. Cargill, *Settlements* pp. 197-198; Stroud, *Grain Tax* pp. 32-35, with an excellent discussion of recent studies that rely on the *aparche* figures. Furthermore, we should keep in mind that the amendment to the Law of Chairemonides on the *Aparche* (142) left it up to the Demos to decide by decree how the *aparche* should be collected, which in theory would allow the proportion of the *aparche* to be changed fairly easily (i.e. without resort to creation of new law).

The present list of donations of first fruits reveals that Isocrates’ statement that most Greek cities (αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων, *Panegyricus* 31) contributed ἀπαρχαί, if true in his time (cf. Clinton, *Panhellenism* pp. 161-170), was certainly not true by the year 328.

Jardé believed that these donations came from the harvest in the spring of 329. If so, the accounting should be tidier. Here the donation from Imbros, appended because their representatives were late for the sacrifice, can be most easily understood as an addition to the account at the end of the year, when the document was already in final form. There was no thought now of going to the trouble of redoing the calculations in lines 411-417, whereas if all the donations had been made at the beginning of the official year, it would have been a relatively simple task to include the donation from Imbros: this donation would have appeared in line 408. The fact that the ἀνάθημα made from the *aparchai* is inscribed in the spring and early summer (see above, *ad* lines 6-8) is consistent with this interpretation.

The time for harvesting, collecting, and delivering the *aparche* need not have taken as long as Jardé imagined. I would assume, for simplicity of administration, that it was known in advance approximately how much grain would be produced on each piece of property in production, and therefore how much each producer would have to contribute: this amount could be collected and delivered to Eleusis shortly after the beginning of the harvest. The notion of waiting until the end

of the harvest and measuring the entire grain crop seems quite impractical. If the harvest started in early May of 328, as it evidently did in 329 (see above, *ad* lines 6-8), there would then be time to collect and deliver the *aparche* to Eleusis by the end of May, in time for the sacrifice, but a distant island like Imbros might not be able to get its contribution there in time.

In this regard I would imagine that cheating on the donation of *aparche* ought not to have been a serious problem (for a different opinion see Stroud, *loc. cit.*). The amount of grain donated by deme and tribe was listed year after year. If there was a significant discrepancy, surely it would be a relatively easy matter to find out the cause. In fact, it seems quite likely that in this year even individual donors were recorded on the ἀνάθημα (see above, *ad* lines 6-8).

The donations for barley and wheat are as follows:

BARLEY *APARCHAI*

Donor	<i>Medimnoi</i>	<i>Hemiekteia</i>	<i>Choinikes</i>
Erechtheis	[46?]*		
Aegeis	84		
Pandionis	51	7	3
Leontis	8[6?]	11	
Akamantis	68	5	
Oineis	47	2	3
Kekropis	38	3	
Hippothontis	56		6
Aiantis	43	4	
Antiochis	5[6?]	8	2
Drymos	1		2
Amphiaraon area	20		
Salamis	40	10	2
Skyros	48		
Myrine	162		
Hephaistia	252	2	2
TOTAL	1,102**	9	
TOTAL ON STONE	1,108	4	2
Imbros (line 426)	43	4	

*Other restorations are possible.

**1,115, 1,109, and even 1,108 are possible as totals if different restorations are made in the lacunas.

WHEAT *APARCHAI*

Donor	<i>Medimnoi</i>	<i>Hemiekteia</i>	<i>Choinikes</i>
Erechtheis		[11?]	2
Aegeis	2		7
Pandionis	1.5		2
Leontis	3		10

Akamantis	3		2
Oineis	2	11	2
Kekropis	1		
Hippothontis	4.5		[2?]
Aiantis	2	1	
Antiochis	1	9	2.5
Drymos	2	5	1
Amphiaraon area	5	9	
Salamis			
Skyros	8		
Myrine	23	5	
Hephaistia	23	10	2
TOTAL	86	9	0.5
TOTAL ON STONE	8[6]	10	1
Imbros (lines 426-7)	36	10	

Jarde's figures are slightly erroneous because he mistook the first part of line 403 to be a separate entry; but the genitive ὧν in the preceding line is surely partitive: this amount was included in the entire donation from the land controlled by the Amphiaraon (ἡ ἐπ' Ἀμφιαράου): "of which they themselves delivered 17 *medimnoi* of barley and 3 half-*medimnoi* of wheat, though no one collected it." This note calls attention to their good faith.

In restoring the missing figures for barley from Erechtheis, Leontis, and Antiochis and those for wheat from Erechtheis and Hipponthontis I have closely respected the limits of available space on the stone. None of them can be regarded as certain, but they ought to be reasonably accurate. However, it is impossible to restore the lacunas so that the total of the individual payments equals the totals *as inscribed*. The present restorations yield totals slightly less than the inscribed totals. This situation may not be inappropriate for grain, if the inscribed totals were taken from a measurement of all the grain in storage, since the volume of stored grain is not stable. It shrinks somewhat from being compacted, but biochemical processes cause it to expand; see the passages cited above in connection with the ἐπίμετρον; in addition, it is worth noting that Pliny noticed that grain in storage expands (*N.H.* 18.308; his connection of this phenomenon to the waxing moon simply shows his ignorance of the cause). It would in fact be more correct for the epistatai to compute their totals from the total amount of stored grain than from the figures for deliveries, for it is the stored grain that they have to sell, and it is the proceeds from this sale that are finally the most critical figures: the epistatai were accountable for these figures and had to be able to show upon what they were based. That this is in fact the case we can see from the relevant figures for the distributions and sales, which are as follows.

The prices of barley and wheat as set by the Demos, Dr 3 and Dr 6 per *medimnos* respectively, correspond (in their relation to each other), to the values implied in the ratios for donating the *aparche* as given in 28: 1/600 for barley, 1/1200 for wheat; cf. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*. These prices set by the Demos are actually rather low, evidently in response to the grain shortage; see Garnsey, *Famine* pp. 154-162.

DISPOSITION OF BARLEY

Purpose	<i>Medimnoi</i>	<i>Hemiekteia</i>	<i>Choinikes</i>
εἰς προκώνια	1		
εἰς τὸν πελανόν	15	11	1
Sale	1,027	2	2.5
ἐπίμετρα	64	2	2.5
TOTAL	1,108	4	2

DISPOSITION OF WHEAT

εἰς <προκώνια>	1		
<εἰς τὸν πελανόν>	10		
ἐπιβολή		5	
Sale	72	2	1
ἐπίμετρα	3		3
TOTAL	86	8	

The total for barley agrees exactly with the inscribed total for barley (line 408) discussed above, and the total for wheat is close to the previously inscribed total (lines 412-413), viz. 8[6] *medimnoi*, 10 *hemiekteia*, 1 *choinix*. The difference in the case of wheat may be due in part to stonecutter's errors. At the end of line 414 there should probably be 2 *choinikes* (see below). The letters EKTETIA are probably a misspelling of ἐκτέα. Thus the end of the line is a bit garbled. Jardé p. 40, therefore is not justified in restoring 87 *medimnoi* in line 412 for the inscribed total for wheat. His restoration also seems a bit large for the space. It seems just possible to restore ΓΙ, as the photograph and Tsountas' drawing suggest. If we amend χοίνικα to δύο χοίνικες, there is still a discrepancy of 2 *hemiekteia* between the total calculated and the inscribed total in lines 412-413.

The money from the sale of the barley should have been approximately Dr 3,081 1/2, but is actually 3,082 1/2, perhaps because, as Jardé, p. 38, note 1, suggested, they rounded off 4 *hemiekteia* and 2.5 *choinikes* to a half-*medimnos*. The figure for the sale of 62 *medimnoi* of wheat at Dr 6 per *medimnos* should be Dr 372, but the inscribed figure is Dr 373 Ob 1 1/2. The inscribed figure actually represents the sale of 62 *medimnoi*, 2 *hemiekteia*, 2 *choinikes*, so that with the 10 *medimnoi* sold at Dr 5 apiece, a total of 72 *medimnoi* 2 *hemiekteia* 2 *choinikes* of wheat appear to have been sold. Yet the figure inscribed for the total sold is 72 *medimnoi* *hekteus* 1 *choinix*. It should probably be amended as suggested above. The remaining discrepancy of two *hemiekteia* is perhaps to be sought in the amount used for the πελανός, where it is already clear that some words were left out.

Line 392 (263): At present the stone would allow the figure for barley to be restored in many ways (see Epigraphical Commentary). Jardé's restoration of 6 *hemiekteia* of wheat is unlikely; such a figure occurs nowhere else in this document: 6 *hemiekteia* is expressed as a ἡμέδιμνον (lines 394, 398, 403). ΔΙ fits the space, but Harzbecker's δέκα is not impossible.

Line 400 (271): Drymos, identified by Foucart, *BCH* 8, 1884, p. 208, is the area of the modern plain of Skourta on the border of Attica and Boeotia: Harpocration s.v.; Hesychius, s.v.; Dem.

19.326. The general Philon was probably in charge of the garrison stationed at Panakton (on its location see II.196.38-39) or Phyle. Dem. 19.326 mentions Drymos and the area around Panakton separately (περὶ Δρυμοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πανάκτω χώρας), which led Munn and Zimmermann to infer, since they assume that Panakton was located in Skourta, that Drymos constituted only “some part of the greater Skourta basin”; but there are reasons to doubt this assumption about Panakton (II.196.38-39).

Line 402 (273): The sanctuary and territory of Amphiaraos was part of the whole area of Oropos which Philip handed over to the Athenians in 338/7. It appears that the demarch of the new deme created in Oropos kept his original demotic, here Σουνιεύς. On the question of the status of Oropos as deme cf. D. Whitehead, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 40-42 (with bibliography), who believes that Prokles was demarch of Sounion. But we may ask, if that is the case, why his title is given in this context, and why, as demarch of Sounion, he was chosen for this task. It is more natural to suppose that his function here was precisely the same as that of the other demarchs: they collected the *aparche* from their respective demes and had it delivered to Eleusis (28). Prokles therefore was demarch of Oropos; he may be related to the [. . .] κληῖς Προκλέους of Sounion who was councillor “post 250 a.” (*Agora* XV 88.8).

Langdon argued plausibly that the “territory of Amphiaraos” was land owned by the sanctuary in the coastal plain extending west from the port at Skala Oropou.

On the clause ὧν αὐτοὶ κτλ. see above, on the *Aparche* (lines 392-429).

Lines 403-408 (274-279): The Athenian cleruchies of Salamis, Skyros, Imbros (lines 426-427), and Myrina and Hephaestia of Lemnos contributed *aparche*. (Foucart, *op. cit.* p. 210, noted the surprising absence of Samos. The Samian *aparche* may, however, have arrived even later than the *aparche* from Imbros and was therefore not included in this account.) Foucart argued that the generals listed here, who help deliver the *aparche*, were not magistrates in the cleruchies but were perhaps sent along to assist in defending the grain shipment against pirates. However, the general Philon, who brought the *aparche* from Drymos, was surely not needed for such defensive purposes; hence it is much more likely that the generals, like the demarchs, came, formally or informally, as officers of the areas that they served (see above, *ad* line 402). On the officers and government of the cleruchies see F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum (Zetemata 17)* (Munich 1958) pp. 104-105; Cargill, *Settlements* pp. 138-157.

Line 408 (279): On the total see above, *Aparche* (lines 392-429).

Line 409 (280): On προκώνια, cakes made of barley or wheat, cf. Foucart, *BCH* 8, 1884, p. 205; *LSJ* s.v.; Harpokration s.v.; Dittenberger, *ad loc.*; Ziehen, *RE* s.v. *Opfer*, col. 584; Robertson, *Proerosia* p. 342.

Lines 409-410 (280-281): On the *pelanos*, a pottage made of wheat and barley, see above, II.28. Here the barley for the *pelanos* was given to the hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς. We should resist the notion that the barley was given to the hieropoioi as compensation, like the sums recorded εἰς πέλανον in the document of the Salaminioi (*LSS* 19.29-30, 34-35), for here the grain is for *the* πέλανος, i.e. grain that was given, as we see in 28.36, to Demeter and Kore, some of which (at least) was consumed by sacrifice. Nor is it likely that this grain εἰς τὸν πέλανον was sold to cover expenses of sacrifice; see above, II.28.30-36.

Lines 411-412 (282-283): On the calculation see above, on the *Aparche* (lines 392-429).

Lines 413-414 (284-285): The purpose of the additional 10 *medimnoi* is not stated, so that a mistake seems to have occurred in the text here. The one *medimnos* would be appropriate for *prokonía*, as in line 409; the 10 *medimnoi*, for the *pelanos* (for which nearly 16 *medimnoi* of barley were used). In addition, τοῖν Θεοῖν should qualify προκώνια, not τὸν πελανόν, as in line 409. We should read: εἰς <προκώνια> τοῖν Θεοῖν μέδιμνος καὶ <εἰς τὸν πελανόν> τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς κτλ. The sacrifice from the *pelanos* was made according to Eumolpid exegesis; see 28.34-36 (where, however, no *prokonía* are mentioned).

Line 414 (285): On the ἐπιβολή cf. the discussion of the ἐπίμετρον, above, *ad* lines 382-384. The ἐπιβολή was, I think, judging by the three examples here (this one and those in line 427), an amount of grain added, without having the grain weighed, as a rough substitute for the ἐπίμετρον, to bring the grain being sold up to proper weight; here the ἐπιβολή is an even 1/24 of the 10 *medimnoi*. ἐπίμετρα, on the other hand, would be imposed by a buyer, quite precisely, at the weighing scale. In line 427 it is merely stated: ἔχοντες τὴν ἐπιβολήν, “with the ἐπιβολή.” No volume amount for the ἐπιβολή is given, because the only important figure here is the cash that the epistatai received from the sale (the *epibole* provided was a standard rate, presumably 1/24, and so one can calculate the amount of grain actually provided by the Imbrians), whereas in the case of the preceding *Aparche* the epistatai had to account for the entire volume of grain that they had received.

Lines 414-417 (285-288): For the calculation for the wheat see above, on the *Aparche* (lines 392-429). The price of wheat, six drachmas per *medimnos*, was set by decree in this year of scarcity; this price also occurs in *IG II*² 1356.

The sum of money realized from both barley and wheat is too high by Dr 5, Ob1:

Money from barley (line 411): Dr 3,082 Ob 3.

Money from wheat (line 416): Dr 373 Ob 1 1/2.

Money from wheat (line 417): Dr 50.

In line 417 we should probably read: XXXϞ<Γ>IIII{I}C.

Lines 418-419 (289-290): 28 called for a sacrifice of a bull, sheep, and goat (τρίττοια βόαρχος) to Demeter and Kore individually and a ἱερεῖον τέλειον (presumably either a sheep or a goat) to Triptolemus, the God, the Goddess, and Eubuleus, and a bull to Athena. Thus the animals required amounted to three bulls and eight sheep or goats. Here in the year 328 the number of bulls remains the same (no mention, though, of gilded horns), but there are 35 additional sheep or goats. This would allow five more animals per deity, but we do not know if they were distributed in this way. A sacrifice to Zeus seems to have been added since 28 (see 142). The cost of bulls is quite high, no doubt because of the grain shortage (cf. II.159, *Date*).

The sacrifices are evidently carried out by the hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς. Mommsen, *Feste* p. 200, and Harzbecker argued that they are to be identified as the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα of *AthPol* 54.6, an identification which assumes that *AthPol* does not give a complete description of these officials. On the hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς see below, *ad* line 432.

Line 420 (291): On the *pelanos* see above, *ad* lines 409-410. Here money (not grain) is given for the *pelanos*, and is probably, therefore, as mentioned above, not a sacrificial *pelanos*, like the one above, but a form of compensation given to the priest (cf. Amandry, *Mantique* p. 49).

Participation of the priest of Hippothon in the sacrifice is an innovation (compare 142 of

353/2). The coastal trittys of the tribe Hippothontis included Eleusis and the western portion of the Thriasian plain; and according to Pausanias (1.38.4) there was a shrine to Hippothon at Eleusis (which may have been the same as the one mentioned in *IG II*² 1163.26).

The prometretes' wage indicates that he was paid for measuring ca. 1,100 *medimnoi*, the amount sold (but not including the *epimetra*). On the prometretai in Athens, who are public slaves, see Stroud, *Grain Tax* p. 60.

Line 421 (292): The boards, probably whitened, were probably used in recording the deliveries of *aparche*; considering their number, they must have recorded deliveries by deme, just as was called for by 28.26-29 (there not on σανίδες but on a πινάκιον, a different term for the same thing). But the present document only gives a summary by tribe.

The πύργος is problematic. In the late fifth century the grain was stored in three underground chambers, σιροί, believed to be located near the eastern corner of the Telesterion (see II.28.10). When the porch of the Telesterion was constructed in the second half of the fourth century, these *siroi* had to be filled in to create a new terrace. Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 214-215, argues that the underground rooms labeled "30" on the Plan, in the southern corner of the sanctuary, were built as replacements. The πύργος therefore may be either a temporary storage place for the grain, as Noack believed (in which case it need not have been of stone), or perhaps, simply, the old tower I 12, which abutted these new *siroi* and needed some repair, in order to avoid possible destruction of the grain.

Lines 421-422 (292-293): Unlike the prometretes (line 420), who was not paid for the *epimetra*, the μισθωτοί who carried the grain from Eleusis to the point of sale naturally had to carry the *epimetra*, and so were paid for transferring ca. 1,200 *medimnoi* (rounded off).

Line 422 (293): While the repair to the tower is an expense clearly linked to the *aparche*, the doors for the priestesses' house can claim no such justification. Perhaps the accounts were already closed for the year, and regular funds had already been transferred to next year's officials.

The operation here concerns several doors (as few as seven or as many as fourteen). The θυρώματα are the wooden doors themselves, which required of course jambs (σταθμά) and lintels (ὑπερτόνια); the stone thresholds were already in place. (Some of the necessary σταθμά had evidently already been purchased; see line 70.) If we assume the θυρώματα are single doors, we have here the expense for 14 doors (7 doors, if the θυρώματα are half-doors), including all materials (wood, glue, and nails) and labor. The average cost per complete door was Dr 33. On the identification of the ἱεράϊ οἰκίαι see above, *ad* lines 66-70.

Line 424 (296): The identity of the offerings that comprised the ἐπιθύσιμα is not clear. Sometimes ἐπιθύσιμα involved frankincense (*AM* 32, 1907, p. 262, no. 8.II.29-30) or other bloodless offerings (cf. *LSCG* 157 A.3-4); sometimes they were simply additional sacrifices (expiatory, evidently, in *LSS* 115 B.5, 14), i.e. "Nachopfer" as Kunst called them. (Elter, col. 42, took it as "wohl das übliche Dankopfer am Schluss der Amstätigkeit," but his parallel examples, *IG II*² 223 and 410, call such a sacrifice simply θυσία.) The price of Dr 90 would be the equivalent of three sheep or goats (see line 418). The hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς are in charge of the ἐπιθύσιμα, like all other sacrifices connected with the *aparche*. Perhaps we should not exclude the possibility that they are expenses for wood and other incidentals of sacrifice; cf. ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα, *LSS* 51.88, etc.; but Amandry, *Mantique* p. 94, made the reasonable suggestion that they are such

things as offerings of grain and libations that accompany the sacrifice. The hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς are perhaps identical with the hieropoioi κατ' ἐνιαυτόν (mentioned in lines 350, 380 and 431-432); see discussion *ad* line 432.

EXPENSES FROM THE MONEY FROM THE APARCHE (*lines 417-425 [288-296]*)

1) Victims sacrificed by the hieropoioi at the sacrifice held after the <i>aparche</i> was collected (43 sheep and goats, at Dr 30 apiece)	Dr 1,290
2) 3 bulls for this sacrifice (at 400 drachmas apiece)	Dr 1,200
3) Pelanos for the priest of Hippothon	Dr 49 Ob 2
4) Salary for man who measured the grain (Ob 7 1/2 per 100 <i>medimnoi</i> – total of nearly 1,100 <i>medimnoi</i> sold: thus 7 1/2×11)	Dr 13 Ob 4 1/2
5) 14 boards plus writing	Dr 52
6) Repair of the tower for the grain	Dr 70
7) For the workers who carried out the grain (Ob 4 per 100 <i>medimnoi</i> , total of ca. 1,200 <i>medimnoi</i> [rounded off]: 12×4)	Dr 8
8) 14 door panels and posts and lintels, plus installation, for the Sacred Houses for the priestesses	Dr 462
9) For the ἐπιθύσιμα	Dr 90
TOTAL, Expenses from <i>Aparche</i>	Dr 3,235 Ob 1/2
Income from <i>Aparche</i> (Stone: Dr 3,510 Ob 5 1/2)	Dr 3,505 Ob 4 1/2
Balance (Stone: Dr 2[8]5 Ob 5)	Dr 270 Ob 4

ADDITIONAL GRAIN, FROM IMBROS (*lines 426-429 [297-300]*)

Dr 221 in wheat and Dr 166 Ob 1/2 in barley = Dr 387 Ob 1/2 but the stone has	Dr 377 [Ob 1/2]
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ADDITIONAL EXPENSES

1) For the grain-measurer (probably a minimum charge)	Dr 2
2) For the workers (who carry the grain, probably a combination of minimum charges)	Dr 1 Ob 5 1/4
3) Rent (for storing the grain somewhere outside the sanctuary)	Dr 1 Ob 1
TOTAL, Additional Expenses	Dr [5] Ob 1/4
Additional Balance:	Dr 382 Ob 1/4

Lines 426-428 (297-299): The *aparche* from Imbros. On the calculations see above; on the delay in making this *aparche*, above, *Aparche* (lines 392-429 [263-300]) (Imbrian lateness in getting to Athens for official functions, especially trials, was proverbial; cf. Eustathius, *ad Il.* 21.43; *RE s.v. Lemnos*, col. 1930); on the ἐπιβολή above, *ad* line 414. The grammar in this sentence is confused; the intent was probably to write οἱ ὕστερον ἦλθον τῆς θυσίας. The price of barley, Dr 3 Ob 5, has risen sharply since the earlier sales, probably only a month earlier (line 412), but it is unclear whether the current price is also an artificial one.

Line 427 (298): On the figure for the income see the commentary to the following line.

Line 428 (299): The balance of Dr 382 Ob 1/4 confirms that the figure for the income (line 427) was incorrectly inscribed and should be Dr 387 Ob 1/2 (also noted by Loomis).

Kunst noted that the wage of the grain-measurer is much higher than that reported in line 420, and the μισθωτοί who handle the grain also receive more pay here. Although Kunst attributes the rises to the economic conditions in this year, in the first case it may rather be a matter of a minimum charge for a special trip (to Eleusis and back); in the second, a greater distance may have been involved (i.e., the point of sale has changed). The rental fee was required evidently because the late arrival of the grain (after the sale of the rest) rendered deposition in the sanctuary inconvenient; storage outside the sanctuary was arranged.

Lines 428-429 (299-300): καὶ τοῦτο παρεδώκαμεν repeats τοῦτο παρεδώκαμεν of line 426 and completes the sense with εἰς ἀνάθημα τοῖν Θεοῖν. The total amount available for the ἀνάθημα would be Dr 285 Ob 5 (or Dr 270 Ob 4) + Dr 382 Ob 1/4 = Dr 667 Ob 5 1/4 (or Dr 652 Ob 4 1/4). Thus all the money left over after the sacrifices and other expenses was used for the dedication. On the dedication see above, *ad* lines 6-8.

Line 429 (300): These two θησαυροί, one for each goddess, should not be confused with the θησαυρός mentioned above (see Introduction to this document, “*Treasury*”, p. 181), which is a building. The θησαυροί here are stone containers into which worshippers dropped coins offered to the Two Goddesses. On this type of θησαυρός see now G. Kaminski, *Thesaurus*, *JdI* 106, 1991, pp. 63-181 (= *SEG* XLI 1846); for a new offering-box from Athens, K. N. Kazamiakis, *Horos* 8-9, 1990-91, pp. 29-44 (= *SEG* XLI 182). It has been proposed to identify one of our two θησαυροί with a large boulder-like stone now on the cliff at Eleusis, close to the Telesterion; Tsountas, *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) pp. 531-535; Noack, *Eleusis* pp. 269-270. This stone must originally have been set in the bedrock of the hill, just to the north of the Telesterion, but it has since broken loose (or perhaps was deliberately removed when the bedrock was cut down for the terrace of the Roman treasury building). A cavity in it is preserved that could have received the coins, but the nearby capstone does not have quite the right shape to belong to it (Noack, *ibid.*); in addition, it has no slot into which offerings could be dropped. Giraud, *EΔAE* 13, 1990, pp. 134-137, taking up an idea of Svoronos, *JIAN* 4, 1905, p. 150, argued that it was similar in function to the Petroma at Pheneos, which contained sacred writings read at the rites (Paus. 8.15.1-2). Though I rather doubt that the Eleusinian stone contained writings, it is entirely possible that it was a repository for one or more sacred objects. In the absence of the original capstone, however, it cannot be excluded that it served as an offering-box.

The wage of 4 drachmas paid to Lykes (lines 430-431) confirms that opening the two treasury boxes was not an easy task.

Line 430 (301): νόμισμα: Attic coin. Kore received approximately 40 Attic drachmas more than Demeter. The value of the gold and foreign coin, given mostly to Demeter, is Dr 50 Ob 5 1/4. J. R. Melville-Jones, *AJAH* 3, 1978, pp. 184-187, calculated the ratio of gold to silver as 9 1/2:1, an extraordinarily low rate, which he attributed to a depression in the value of gold brought about by Alexander's acquisition of the Persian treasuries at Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae and the circulation of this gold by the Greek soldiers returning from Asia.

Line 431 (302): On the ἀρεστηρία see II.144.58-59. It may have been performed here by the hierophant and priestess of Demeter and Kore. Each animal (most likely a sheep or goat) seems

to have cost Dr 35, a considerable rise over the price in line 418. Kunst, p. 500, suggests that like the rise of barley in line 427, this is yet another effect of the economic crisis in this year. However, it seems more reasonable to think that the decree of Lycurgus mentioned here (though only called a decree of the Boule) is the same as the one mentioned in line 418, which called for a price of Dr 30 per victim; the Dr 10 would be the cost of wood and other incidentals. Faraguna, *Atene* p. 357, suggests that the ἀρεστηρία was “necessario per legitimare il trasferimento dei fondi di fronte alle due dee.”

The balance here should be 1 obol more, viz. Dr 1,018 Ob 4 1/8.

Line 432 (303): Nikomachos and his colleagues are the hieropoioi κατ' ἐνιαυτόν of the following year (see lines 379-381). It is of course quite possible that the two titles, hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς and hieropoioi κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, designate different boards (for a complete list of occurrences of these titles in this document see II.138.A.29-31), but it seems best to assume that they designate the same board, in the absence of proof to the contrary, because of the following considerations: 1) It is clear that the current hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς are headed by Demophilos of Acharnai (lines 428-429). They receive all the proceeds from the *aparchai* in order to make the Dedication, an activity which is carried out in the current year (329/8): καὶ τοῦτο παρεδώκαμεν ἱεροποιοῖς ἐγ βουλῆς Δημοφίλῳ Ἀχαρνεῖ καὶ συνιεροποιοῖς εἰς ἀνάθημα τοῖν θεοῖν. Cf. line 426: τοῦτο παρεδώκαμεν ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς ἐγ βουλῆς καὶ ἐξ Ἰμβροῦ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς. 2) After this accounting for the proceeds of the *aparchai* is complete in lines 428-429, the document takes up a new topic, the opening of the treasuries and the accounting of the monies found therein (lines 429-432). Concerning the balance we read (lines 431-432): καὶ τοῦτο ἱεροποιοῖς κατεβάλομεν κατὰ ψήφισμα δήμου, ὃ Λυκοῦργος εἶπεν, Νικομάχῳ Στειριεῖ καὶ συνιεροποιοῖς. Nikomachos and his colleagues are the board of hieropoioi κατ' ἐνιαυτόν for the following year (328/7); see *ad* lines 377-381. But καὶ τοῦτο ἱεροποιοῖς κατεβάλομεν seems to parallel καὶ τοῦτο παρεδώκαμεν ἱεροποιοῖς ἐγ βουλῆς of line 426 and καὶ τοῦτο παρεδώκαμεν ἱεροποιοῖς ἐγ βουλῆς of line 428, as if it is a matter of the same board, though of different years. The proceeds from the *aparchai* go to the current board; the monies from the treasuries, available only at the very end of the year, to next year's board. 3) According to lines 377-381 the epistatai of the following year and the hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς of the following year jointly receive a single sum. This joint administration seems consistent with the close collaboration of the epistatai with the hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς that we see in lines 413-428 concerning the *aparchai*. 4) It is reasonably clear that from the proceeds of the *aparchai* the hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς carry out many sacrifices (in addition to overseeing the fabrication of the Dedication), precisely the sort of activity that *AthPol* 54.6 assigns to the hieropoioi κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. (It also assigns the administration of the Eleusinia as well as other festivals, but the section of this document in which the accounting for the Eleusinia fell is missing.)

The hieropoioi ἐγ βουλῆς are probably not the same as the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα of *AthPol* 54.6; see above, *ad* lines 418-419.

Materials Consumed (Lines 432-440 [303-311]).

This is not an inventory of all goods of value kept at the sanctuary but merely a list of items of

value that were consumed in this year and are no longer available to be passed on the next board of epistatai. A complete *traditio* of goods would have been given in a separate document. The present λόγος accounts not only for the money spent (lines 1-432) but also for pre-existing supplies and materials that were used in this year (lines 422-440). The latter are divided in the following way: 1) conversions of worn-out tools into tools of a different type (lines 432-433); 2) wood (lines 433-438); 3) stone (lines 438-439); 4) iron (lines 439-440).

Conversions

Line 432 (303): Eight fragments (τρίνματα for τρίμματα) of bars were turned into wedges of unspecified number.

Line 433 (304): The meaning of κατανκτηρία is unclear (on the lack of assimilation cf. Threatte, *GAI* I 48.0412, p. 598); it ought to be related to ἀγκτηριάζω, “bind with an ἀγκτήρ” (*LSJ* s.v.). These bars were used to make wedges, hammers, and tongs.

Wood (lines 433-438 [304-309])

ξύλα τετράγωνα: squared timber also occurs in 52.A.II.41, B.II.52. The following list of these squared timbers includes at least two “logs” (κορμοί), which are presumably squared. The list comprises not all ξύλα Μακεδονικά that were on hand but only those pieces that were consumed for various purposes; the complete list of ξύλα Μακεδονικά will have been presented in the annual inventory (παράδοσις). According to the rubric 47 τετράγωνα were consumed and therefore listed here, but the numbers add up to 50, including the restored number, 2, for the squared timbers used for “the tower.” Since this is the only number restored, we can allieviate the inconsistency by restoring just a single timber for the tower. (Enough space is barely available for restoring another digit, but there is an occasional irregularity in the inscription of this part of the document.) The rest of the inconsistency would seem to lie with the absence of two digits of the total.

1) “Of these (sc. ξύλα τῶν Μακεδονικῶν) one (presumably squared) log (was used) for the tent together with those sawn in half and the one lying on the ground: 20.” Evidently one log in addition to 19 squared timbers, 18 of which were sawn in half, and one had been (or was left) lying on the ground. A tent also occurs in 52.A.II.40, B.II.51; it was used for storage.

2) 6 timbers were used for the κρήνη. The location of this fountain is unknown. If it were the Callichoron Well, we should expect it to be so designated, and the references to κρήνη below imply that it is indeed not a well (line 438).

3) 2 timbers for the ἱμάντας. These were light boards used below the roof tiles; cf. line 270.

4) 9 timbers for the Amphiarakon; evidently a transfer for which the sanctuary was not reimbursed.

5) [1] for the tower, perhaps for the repair of the tower mentioned in line 421, but other towers were also repaired in this year. For the restoration here of 1 (rather than 2) see the discussion above, introducing this list.

6) 2 timbers for the *pylon*, the main gate of the sanctuary (cf. line 24).

7) 1 timber for the south *pylon*, which Travlos, *Topography* fig. 1, identified as the present south gateway (“33” on the Plan).

8) 3 timbers for the doors of the priestess and the daduch.

9) 1 timber and a (presumably squared) log for the conduits of the towers and covers for the conduits. The purpose of the conduits is not immediately clear, perhaps drainpipes.

10) 2 timbers for the doors of the Eleusinion in the City.

Line 436 (307): μονόβολον here ought to mean “pointed on one end,” δίβολον “pointed on both ends.”

Line 437 (308): The meaning of αὐχένες and ἐσχαρεῖον here is obscure. On ἔνδεσμος see above, *ad* line 19. On the αὐχένες and the ἀναβαζμοί of the τροχιλεία, below, Appendix, “ἡ τροχιλεία.”

Stone

Line 438 (309): The 35 blocks of Eleusinian limestone suggest that the fountain was a substantial structure.

This stone and the woodwork above (line 358) suggest that the ἱματιοθήκη is a building; see commentary to line 358.

Lines 439-440 (310-311): On the House of the Kerykes see Introduction (to this document), Οἶκος Κηρύκων.

Poros drums were used for the columns of the Periclean Telesterion. These “old” ones are probably from the preceding century and are likely to have come from one of the earlier Telesteria, i.e. either the Late Archaic (the so-called Peisistratean) or one of the unfinished Telesteria from the first half of the fifth century. Therefore these drums ought to represent part of one of the groups of drums listed in the account of 408/7: a group of poros drums (52.A.II.15, B.II.21) or the group of 54 drums removed from the Late Archaic Telesterion (A.II.45, B.II.56).

The term ὀβελεία occurs also in *IG II*² 1631.408 and 1695.14-15, but its meaning is unknown. For τοπεῖα at Eleusis see 136.

APPENDIX: ἡ τροχιλεία

For the sake of convenience we list here all references to block-and-tackle equipment in the present document. In the year 408/7 the sanctuary owned a pair of “big” τροχιλεῖαι and a pair of “small” ones (52.A.II.52, B.III.4-5). The τροχιλεία which appears in the present document, as will be clear, must be the large type. We also learn from 143.B.90-91 (*IG II*² 1666) that the Polis would, at least sometimes, make a τροχιλεία available to a contractor at no charge; and we can surmise that the τροχιλεία to which 143 refers, in view of the structures involved, is the large type.

The present document:

1) *Lines 218-219* (sixth prytany): “Two elm boards to attach to the pulleys, length 15 ft., width 12 *daktyloi*, thickness 4 *daktyloi*.”

2) *Lines 267-268* (sixth prytany): “Payment of balance due to Sosidemos for iron work (σιδήρωσις) on (the) τροχιλεία, undertaken in the preceding year (archonship of Aristophon) for 8 1/2 obols per stater: 83 talents, 23 staters.” (The figure for “50 talents” is erroneously printed in the text; see pl. 86, 177-11.) Sosidemos added or replaced 83 talents, 23 staters of iron in the block and tackle. With a talent equivalent to 25.86 kg., this amounts to ca. 2,166 kg. of iron.

3) *Line 364* (tenth prytany): “To Pamphilos of Otryne, contractor for the τροχιλεία” Pamphilos was a joiner; here he is paid evidently for assembling some of the woodwork of the block-and-tackle equipment.

4) *Lines 368-369* (tenth prytany): “For iron-work (σιδήρωσις) on the pulleys, ... 3 talents.” Three talents of iron amount to 77.6 kg., or ca. 170.7 lbs.

5) *Lines 369-370* (tenth prytany): “To Archiades resident in Skambonidai for transporting the pulleys (to the workshop) and back again (to Eleusis)” Transport for the heavy pulleys of no. 4.

6) *Line 435* (unspecified prytany): “... three poles have been used for the τροχιλεία.” As these poles are called ἱστοί, they may be masts acquired from the shipyards.

7) *Line 436* (unspecified prytany): “Of the elm timbers pointed on one end which we received, we used 26 for the τροχιλεία.”

8) *Lines 437-438* (unspecified prytany): “Other (αὐχένες) of ash for the τροχιλεία, in addition to which we ourselves purchased also another elm timber, this one too for the ἀναβαζμούς of the τροχιλεία.” Martin, p. 202, and Ginouvès-Martin, p. 120, understand these “necks of elm” to be pulley blocks. However, if we read the passage literally, the αὐχένες ought not to be associated with the pulley blocks but with the ἀναβασμοί. In any case, the thick elm boards listed in no. 2 probably did form part of the blocks. Martin, p. 204, takes the ἀναβασμοί to be a platform on which the τροχιλεία was erected in order to raise the blocks of the superstructure.

The term τροχιλεία appears in the singular throughout; hence these operations concern a single hoisting machine. The amount of iron used in operation no. 2 is impressive: ca. 2,166 kg., or ca. 4,765 lbs. The pulleys themselves (no. 4) required 77.6 kg. This shows that iron formed an important part of the structure of the hoist, along with wooden members (nos. 6, 7), and gave it considerable mass. In view of all the wood and iron which went into its repair the machine must have been truly μεγάλη. It took several teams of oxen (line 369) to transport the pulleys.

The nature of the repairs suggests that the block-and-tackle equipment was receiving heavy use in recent years. The major iron-work on it (no. 2) was done in the preceding year. Why Sosidemos the iron-worker had to wait at least six months for his final payment we are not told, but it is possible that the work was completed only just now.

178. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS. Kirchner’s restoration of lines 1-2 and 8-9 is rather hypothetical. The amalgamation of the two boards, the epistatai of Eleusis and the tamiai of the Two Goddesses (the members of both boards are here listed together, apparently without differentiation), is unparalleled. Both boards appear together in 177, the account rendered in 329/8, but as separate boards; and in no other Eleusinian παράδοσις do the tamiai of the Two Goddesses appear at all. Moreover, the board to whom these epistatai hand over the material in this document consists apparently only of epistatai (lines 8-9), and there seems to be no room for a date for either board. Thus we should consider a text along the following lines:

[τάδε παρέδωσαν ἐπιστ]άται Ἐλευ[σινόθεν οἱ ἐπὶ - - - - - ἄρχον]-
 [τος¹⁵.....] Οἶν, Φίλ[ω]ν [- - - - -]
nomina
 7 [.....²¹.....]ς Σφ[ή]ττ[ιος οἷς - - - - - ἐγρ]α]-
 [μμάτευεν ἐπιστάταις τ]οῖς ἐπὶ [- - - - ἄρχοντος - - - - -]
 [.....¹⁹..... Ἑσ]τιαεῖ, Σ[- - - - -]

An arrangement of this sort eliminates the anomalies described above and allows restoration of additional epistatai.

Kirchner assigned this document to the end of the century, which is certainly possible on the basis of its lettering, but there is no secure indication that the epistatai of Eleusis were still functioning then.

Line 2: For the demotic Οἶναῖος curtailed to Οἶν see *IG II²* 450.8, 1632.100, and *SEG XXXV* 130.78-79, 81-82.

178 bis. INVENTORY OF THE EPISTATAI AT ELEUSIS? Moysey had reason to associate this fragment with the accounts of the hieropoioi of Delos in the third century, but Treheux's argument that it probably came from Eleusis seems stronger. However, the use of ὀλκή for "weight" does not occur in any of the preserved documents of Eleusis; if it is Eleusinian, it may belong very late in the series of the documents produced by the epistatai. See II.52.A.II.5-6 for discussion of some of the items. S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 186, notes that the marble of this inscription is "Hymettian", and that the drachma-sign should be read at the end of line 1 instead of kappa.

179. MEASURING TABLE. Metal volume measures in the shape of funnels were set into the cavities, and each funnel was secured in place by three metal tabs projecting from its top, which were inserted into the three depressions around the cavity and probably set in lead. The hole in the bottom of each cavity shows that the funnel was emptied through the bottom after its contents were measured. This is in fact typical of measuring tables; for Delian and other examples see W. Deonna, *Le mobilier délien*, *Délos XVIII* (Paris 1938) pp. 167-185; *idem*, *Tables à mesures de capacités*, *REA* 15, 1913, pp. 167-180; for two of a series of Thasian measuring tables for wine, J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I*, *Études Thasiennes III* (Paris 1954) pp. 405-406, no. 153, and II, *Études Thasiennes V* (Paris 1958) pp. 101-102, no. 194; for an example from Gythion, *IG V* 1, 1566.

As ἡμιχοινίκιον indicates, this table holds dry measures, most probably for grain (μέτρα σιτηρά), and the relatively large holes in the bottoms of the cavities are suitable for the outflow of grain. The circular collars that surround these exit holes probably served to facilitate placement of a bowl-shaped stopper next to a hole while the grain was measured.

The measures increase in size from right to left, with smaller measures in the lower row. In the upper row, to the left of the cavity labelled ἡμιχοινίκιον the right edge of another cavity appears, at least 0.12 m. in diameter; to the right of the ἡμιχοινίκιον the left edge of a third, slightly smaller cavity is visible. In the lower row, the missing measure to the right of the *hemikotyliion* was prob-

ably half of it, viz. a τετάρτιον (a term otherwise unattested for a quarter-*kotyle*, but the very similar τεταρτημόριον is attested for this measure in Hippoc. *Int.* 26), while the measure to the left was apparently half again as large. The next larger measure, no longer preserved, was probably the κοτύλη, which I think more likely appeared in the upper row, as the first measure on the right. It was presumably followed to the left by a measure of 1 1/2 *kotylai* (as indicated in the text). To the left of the *hemichoinikion* there was probably a measure half again as large, viz. the *trikotylon*, and it was no doubt followed by the *choinix*. It is hard to say how many more measures followed to the left, but there must have been several: the position of the inscription ἡμιχοινίκιον, with so much blank space above and below it, can best be explained by assuming that the width of the table was taken up by rather large measures to the left, but here, where the measure was considerably smaller, this arrangement caused an abundance of space to be left unused between the measure and the upper edge of the block.

These measuring tables have been called σηκώματα (so, e.g., DarSag s.v. *sekoma*), probably incorrectly, evidently on the basis of a Delian dedication of a σήκωμα (by an epimelete of Delos, *I. Délos* 1820, perhaps ca. 100 B.C.):

[- - - -]δη[μ]ος Διοδότου
Μαραθώνιος, ἐπιμελητῆς
Δήλου γενόμενος, σήκωμα
σιτηροῦ ἡμεδίμνου Ἀπόλλω[νι].

The block contains a single cavity with no exit hole and no depressions for the insertion of the projecting tabs of a metal funnel. This appears to be simply a votive, not a device actually used for measuring grain, though it may originally have contained such a device (i.e. a σήκωμα) within its cavity. It is very slender evidence for identifying the many preserved measuring tables as σηκώματα.

The most informative passages regarding σηκώματα occur in a law on weights and measures, passed toward the end of the second century, 237, in the first two (unnumbered) lines and lines 10-12, 16-18, 37-43, and 54-58. It is clear from these passages that particular weights and measures had varying degrees of status. Most important were the official standard measures and weights (μέτρα καὶ στάθμα) kept in three places – the Agora, Peiraeus, and Eleusis – in special οἴκοι, from which they were not to be removed (lines 38-49). These weights and measures are σύμβολα, for they were used to make and certify σηκώματα, the actual weights and measures employed in the marketplace by merchants (lines 7-12). Many of these certified σηκώματα were found in the excavation of the Agora and are described by M. Lang in *Agora* X. (It is not clear, despite the restoration in line 43, that σηκώματα had to be of metal; most of the certified liquid and dry measures from the Agora are terracotta vases. The restoration χαλκῶν may not be correct.) None of the Agora examples, to my knowledge, is funnel-shaped, nor is the σήκωμα dedicated by the epimelete of Delos (*I. Délos* 1820, quoted above; Deonna, *op. cit.* [*Délos* XVIII] p. 175, no. 5).

The present measuring table is most likely the stone receptacle for one of the official sets of measures, the σύμβολα (as were, presumably, most other Greek measuring tables). Such a fixed stone block would have been too cumbersome for repeated measuring of quantities of produce,

but ideal, on the other hand, for certifying the validity of the official measures that were in actual use, the σηκώματα.

In the law of 374/3 on the Grain Tax there seems to be a reference to the funnel-shaped official measure. According to lines 25-27 (Stroud, *Grain-Tax* p. 4) the tax farmer who supplies grain must measure it “having measured the σήκωμα on the funnel, like the other traders” (τὸ σήκωμα ἐπὶ τῇ [ι χ]ώνῃ σηκώσας, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔμ[π]ορ[ο]ι). The tax farmer does not measure his entire quantity of grain by means of the official measuring table but presumably checks his measuring device, σήκωμα, against the appropriate [χ]ώνη in the official table of measures. Stroud, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59, discusses the various restorations of this one-letter lacuna but does not come to a definite decision; it seems to me that [χ]ώνη is the most probable.

DOCUMENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER (CONTINUED)

180. HONORARY DECREE OF SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS. The document seems to date between the time of liberation of the Eleusinian fort from Macedonian control and the beginning of the Chremonidean War. Habicht (as well as other scholars) once put the date of the liberation ca. 284 (*Untersuchungen* p. 25, note 25), understanding the building activity described in **141** and the additional contest that Philippides instituted at Eleusis in 284/3 (*IG II²* 657.43-44) as evidence for the free status of Eleusis; but **141** is no longer relevant (cf. Habicht, *Athens* p. 129), and there is no reason to think that Philippides' additional contest could not have taken place in the stadium during the Eleusinia while the Macedonian garrison held the fort (see **II.141**). The decree excerpted by [Plutarch] concerning Demochares (*Mor.* 851D-F) associates the liberation with Demochares' embassy to "Antipatros," who would have to be Antipatros Etesias, during his brief reign in 279. However, it had long been suspected that "Antipatros" was a slip in transmission for "Antigonos" (Clinton, *Macedonians at Eleusis in the early third century*, in *The Macedonians in Athens 322-229 B.C.*, ed. O Palagia and S. Tracy (Oxford 2003) pp. 76-81, esp. 80-81, quoting J. D. Morgan). This has now been confirmed by a garrison decree from Rhamnous which B. Ch. Petrakos has kindly shared with me in advance of publication: Aristides son of Mnesitheos of Lamptraí, in the company of "fellow ambassadors," recovered Eleusis and a sum of money on an embassy to Antigonos while the king was "in Asia." An expedition to Asia against Antiochos by the king is known for 279/8 (W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford 1913, pp. 161-163), and this appears to be a not unreasonable date for Aristides' embassy, the "fellow ambassadors" presumably including Demochares, who died before 271/0. Thus, but for the slip about "Antipatros," the account in [Plut.] *mor.* 851D-F is not inconsistent with the data in the new decree. However, as Ch. Habicht has pointed out (*per litt.*), an unattested later expedition to Asia by the king cannot be ruled out.

The most interesting information about the honorand, besides his sojourn at the court of "the king," probably Ptolemy Philadelphus, is that as general he had a fortification constructed at a site (or sites) in his area, viz. western Attica, perhaps in or near Eleusis. Unfortunately the general Aristo[---], (probably) son of Hermaiskos, is otherwise unknown.

The restorations are partly *exempli gratia*; the most likely are those of line 8, which yield a stoichedon line of 57 spaces, which would also be appropriate to line 1.

Line 1: Various restorations are possible: 1) ἀγαθεῖ τύχει ἔδοξεν Ἐλευσινίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων. For ἀγαθεῖ τύχει in this position cf. *IG II²* 1286 (= Petrakos, *Rhamnous II*, no. 11); for a (much later) decree of both the Eleusinians and the garrison, **197**. However, nothing in the preserved part seems particularly relevant to the Eleusinians. 2) In view of the honorand's work on

behalf of the Polis in his international dealings it seems logical to think that he was honored here both by the city and the soldiers: ἀγαθεῖ τύχει· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων. However, no other example of a joint decree of the Demos and a garrison exists, to my knowledge. 3) An archon date may have been given: ἐπὶ¹⁴. ἄρχοντος ἔδοξεν Ἀθηναίων (*vel sim.*). In this case he was honored only by the garrison. However, it seems unlikely that the garrison would describe his accomplishments abroad instead of focusing mainly on how he benefitted those under his command.

The first restoration seems most likely. Although the decree begins by narrating the honorand's achievements on the international scene, we can see a similar pattern in the Eleusinian decree honoring the general Aristophanes (196.51-80 [1299]), in that Aristophanes' earlier achievements on behalf of the entire city, as gymnasiarch and phylarch, are described (lines 51-59) before the decree moves on to his generalships and his accomplishments in that office, which directly benefitted the deme, including such matters as repair of the walls and securing the survival of many Eleusinians during the war (lines 59-69). In the present decree similar accomplishments begin to be described after his election as general of the Eleusinian command: he fortified some position with a palisade, probably in or near Eleusis (line 11).

Line 2: It may be correct to restore καὶ Πανάκτωι καὶ Φυλῆι, but the first preserved joint dedication by the three garrisons of western Attica occurred ca. 240 (195) and the first preserved joint decree in 235 (196).

Line 4: His specific services on behalf of the city are mentioned here. The king with whom he stayed was most likely Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was Athens' ally at this time. διατρίβων probably refers to an event in the past, as Habicht pointed out to me. The man was an Athenian who was in the service of the king before returning to Athens and becoming a general; in this respect his career is similar to that of Kallias of Sphettos (Shear, *Kallias*). Though the king's title usually precedes his name in Athenian documents, the reverse order is displayed in *IG II*² 646.9-10.

Lines 9-10: If the last stoichos of line 8 was blank, τῶν πολιτῶν καθ' ἰδίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον would fill the space in line 9, though the order of the phrasing is unusual; but cf. *IG II*² 1225.5.

181. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS IN HONOR OF EPIMELETAI OF THE MYSTERIES. There is a good chance that a copy of this decree was set up at the Eleusinian sanctuary (see below, *ad* lines 31-32). The occasion that prompted the decree, passed on Anthesterion 29/30, was the report of the epimeletai of the Mysteries on the sacrifice that they had performed a few days earlier at the Lesser Mysteries (lines 7-10) at their own expense (lines 23-24). The motion to honor them, which was introduced in the Boule by the brother of one of the epimeletai, mentioned also their supervisory role earlier, at the sacrifice that took place at the Greater Mysteries (lines 20-22), and referred generally to all their other activities (lines 24-25).

Line 1: On the date cf. H. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1972) pp. 110-117; on the calendar year, an ordinary one, Pritchett-Neugebauer (with references to earlier discussions of the year, for which see also *SEG XVI* 67).

Lines 6-7: Kallistratos son of Glaukon of Kropidai was probably also the proposer of *Agora XV* 81 in this same year. He was the brother of one of the epimeletai (see line 26). Cf. the hon-

orary decree in honor of the priestess of Aglauros, in which the proposer may be the husband of the priestess (G. S. Dontas, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 48-63, with Lewis, *ZPE* 52, 1983, p. 48 [= *SEG* XXXIII 115]).

Lines 26-28: The father of the epimelete, Glaukon of Kropidai, must be the Glaukon son of Philoktemon of Kropidai who was bouleutes in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61.299), and the epimelete's name must surely be Philoktemon (it is now safe to remove Kirchner's question mark).

Lines 31-32: I was unable to read more than the shape of a lambda or alpha in line 32, and suspect that Koehler saw no more (in addition, he restored too many letters in the first lacuna). Since this decree, like **208** and **202**, was probably set up both at Eleusis and in the Asty, I am inclined to restore: ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις δυσ|ῖν καὶ στῆσ]α[ι τὴν μὲν κτλ.

182. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF DIONYSIOS, SCRIBE. The grain-rationing to soldiers, for the administration of which the honorand receives special praise, is consistent with a state of war (the Chremonidean War had begun in the preceding year), but does not constitute certain proof that it existed.

Line 2: Koehler reckoned, no doubt from the lack of a demotic, that Dion was a public slave or a foreigner. The lack of an ethnic, however, suggests that he was a slave. For public slaves performing secretarial duties for the epistatai of Eleusis see **II.177**. Introduction, "Slaves," and **159.60-62**, where in each case the slave is κεχειροτονημένος.

Lines 3-4 suggest that Dion had been secretary to the ταμίαι τῶν σιτωνικῶν and οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει over a period of several years.

Lines 10-15: In the current year Dion evidently was very effective in helping with the administration of grain-rationing and the distribution of τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά τὰ διδόμενα ἐπὶ τὸν σῖτον, which Koehler realized were tokens (σύμβολα) given to soldiers, entitling them to rations.

183. DECREE OF SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS. On the career of Thoukritos son of Alkimachos of Myrrhinous, who later was elected general four times, see Habicht; for the date of the archon Philinos, viz. 259/8, Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG* XLIX 8). To the evidence for Thoukritos now add the Rhamnountian decree published by Petrakos, *Rhamnount II*, no. 10.

Line 1: Amphikleides son of Amphikleides of Sounion is evidently related to (perhaps the grandson of) Sophokles son of Amphikleides who proposed the law in 307 which forced philosophical schools to leave Athens (*PA* 12835).

184. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF SOSIKRATES, TAMIAS ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΩΝ. The ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν honored here, Sosikrates son of Miltiades of Sphettos, was appointed proxenos by the Aetolians ca. 245-236 (*IG* IX.1² 25.69).

For the year of the archon Philinos see Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG* XLIX 8).

Line 14: On the soldiers announcements at the Haloa cf. II.196, “The Festivals,” p. 254.

Lines 16-17: The erection of the stele within the sanctuary is consistent with the other military decrees from Eleusis, which call for erection of the stele ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (196.28,45, 211.46): the Athenian soldiers stationed at Eleusis clearly had the right to erect stelai and statues within the sanctuary.

Line 19: Probably a secretary chosen by the soldiers; cf. 210.90 and 211.49.

185. DECREE HONORING [PHILOK]OMOS OF ELEUSIS. This document appears to be a decree of the Eleusinians in honor of one of their own, [Philok]omos, who was evidently responsible for improving the security of Eleusis, but it is also quite possible that it was a decree of the soldiers stationed at Eleusis or even of both bodies. Cf. 191. Whether Philokomos was actually a general or simply cooperated with the general in charge of the region (line 3) is unclear.

Line 5: Perhaps τῶν μυστηρίων γίγνηται.

Line 6: Perhaps φρουρίων. Cf. 196.5, 60, 65.

Line 9: ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν μετὰ Π[- - - ἄρχοντα is another possibility.

Line 10: στρόφιον, one of the insignia of priests of the Mysteries (cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 32-33), seems the most likely possibility.

Line 11: Philokomos son of Phalanthides of Eleusis proposed an Eleusinian decree of 332/1 concerning the local limestone quarry and was himself honored for this in a subsequent decree (85). This [Philok]omos could be his grandson.

186. DEDICATION IN HONOR OF A GENERAL. On the date of the archon Antimachos, viz. 256/5, see Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG* XLIX 8). Sarikakis wished to identify the general in the year of Antimachos (V-VII) with the general Demetrios who was honored in 194, but Demetrios was phylarch in this year, not general (194.4-5).

Habicht's suggestion that this inscription might belong to the same stone as 187 is improbable. Both Foucart and Koehler call the present monument a base (*piédestal*, *basis*), but 187 is a stele; and as Stroud pointed out, the style of the lettering, as reported by Foucart and Koehler, is quite different from that of 187.

Crowns I and II refer to previous offices held by this man, the *epimeleia* of the Mysteries and the *strategia* ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. Presumably the missing third crown referred to another previous office. Crowns IV-VII refer to his current service, that of general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος. Each crown is awarded by a different body (VII by the foreign mercenaries). We may surmise therefore that the missing crown V was by another such body, most likely οἱ Ἐλευσίνιοι.

187. DECREE OF FOREIGN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS. Kirchner's title for this decree, *DECRETUM MILITUM ATHENIENSIVM*, is a slip. His restorations require it to be a decree of the foreign mercenaries stationed at Eleusis.

Line 2: Habicht proposed [ἐπ' Ἀντιμάχου ἄρ]χοντος, which of course is quite possible (but read ἐπὶ Ἀντιμάχου); of the archons around the middle of the century, Antimachos best suits the space. His suggestion that **186** belongs to the same stone is unlikely (see Stroud and II.186), but the present decree may well be the one which authorized the dedication of the στρατιῶται in **186**.

Line 9: It is interesting that the mercenaries were concerned about the sacrifices.

188. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS CONCERNING AN ARCHITECT. Leonardos' restorations are mainly too short for the line, the length of which is almost certainly fifty-one letters. Anacharis son of Proxenos was proxenos for the Boeotians (so Leonardos), but he is probably not the proposer of this decree.

On the date of the archon Thersilochos see Habicht, *Untersuchungen* pp. 133-146, and Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG* XLIX 8).

The most important piece of information provided by this fragment is that an architect was present at the Eleusinian sanctuary in this period, probably in order to oversee repairs and maintenance. He may have been ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, who was at work in other sanctuaries around this time: *IG* II² 840-841 (Heros Iatros); Papademetriou, *Scientific American* 208.6, 1963, p. 118, fig. (Brauron, photograph only); *IG* II² 841-842 (restored).

Line 2: Μεταγεινι]- or Μαιμακτηρι]- would fit the lacuna.

189. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS. Beyond the fact that this is a decree of the Eleusinians hardly anything can be said about its content. Reports have to be made about something. Penalties are prescribed in lines 14-17.

190. DEDICATION BY SOLDIERS (?) STATIONED AT ELEUSIS. The mixture of citizens, ἰσοτελεῖς, and foreigners suggests that this is a list of soldiers in the Eleusinian garrison, and that the document may be a dedication in honor of their general, like **210**. On the mixture of Athenians and foreigners in the garrison around the middle of the century cf. Habicht, *Studien* pp. 56-57. Such lists as this are often not so finely carved as their headings.

Line 4: Either a vacant space occurred between patronymic and demotic, or -πτοριος is the end of an ethnic.

191. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS AND ATHENIANS RESIDING IN ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF [A GENERAL?]. Garlan was tempted to date this decree in the last quarter of the third century in accordance with his hypothetical restoration of line 2. Tracy, however, has identified the stonecutter as the "Cutter of Agora I 3238," whose known working period is 286/5 to 245/4, and

this of course renders Garlan's proposal impossible. It seems best to adhere to Kirchner's mid-century date. The designation οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἐλευσῖνι Ἀθηναίων does not appear in any Eleusinian document prior to the Chremonidean War (nor does the corresponding term at Rhamnous; *Rhamnonte* 15, 17, 19; Whitehead pp. 405-406).

The honorand is most likely a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος. He performed a variety of benefactions at Eleusis, including religious services (line 7) and the construction of a πυλῶριον (line 18) πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ χωρίου.

Lines 7-8: Perhaps ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἔλ[αιον] ἐκ τῶν ιδίων; cf. *Rhamnonte* no. 17.7, *IG II²* 1227.9.

Line 10: συνετ[έλεσεν] or ἐπετ[έλεσεν] seems preferable to Skias' διετ[έλεσεν]. Perhaps also: αἴτιος γεν[όμενος].

Line 17: Perhaps κ[ι]νδυν-.

Line 18: It would be interesting to know where the πυλῶριον was located. τοῦ χωρίου should refer to the district of Eleusis (not to the fort), as in *IG II²* 1312.8 it clearly refers to the district of Rhamnous. The guard-house may have been built on the plain close to the residential area of the deme, where the πυλωροί could exercise police duties. On πυλωροί and the πυλῶριον see 200 and L. Robert, *RPhil* 18, 1944, pp. 17-18.

Line 22: "The Athenians living in Eleusis" may now have outnumbered the demesmen.

192. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS HONORING EPIMELETAI OF THE MYSTERIES. On the year of the archon Hieron see Habicht, *Untersuchungen* pp. 133-143, and Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG XLIX* 8).

Here in the intercalated month of Poseideon, the epimeletai of the Mysteries are honored for their service in the preceding year, that of Polyeuktos. It is interesting that several months elapsed between the time of their service and this decree in their honor, whereas in 208 the epimeletai are honored in the final month of their service. The description of their service here seems fairly routine, in comparison to the numerous details given in 208, but their special Eleusinian services may have been described in the missing section.

Line 9: Thrasyphon, the proposer, also proposed a decree of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes (201), and was therefore a member of one of these clans, from which two of the epimeletai were drawn. According to 138.31 four epimeletai were chosen each year, two from the citizens at large, one from the Eumolpidae, and one from the Kerykes. However, in the late fourth or early third century their number was reduced from four to two (see II.138.31). It is tempting to take the present decree, proposed by a member of these clans, as a sign that the two epimeletai from the citizens at large were the ones who had been eliminated. This on general grounds seems probable. The epimeletai had to be quite knowledgeable about the cult, as 208 demonstrates, and the Kerykes and Eumolpidae would have doubtless preferred to work with members of their own clans in the ἐπιμέλεια of the festival and would have insisted on their retention on this board.

On Thrasyphon and his family see Dow and below, II.201.

193. DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS AND THE ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF KING ANTIGONUS. Habicht has plausibly identified this visit by a king Antigonos to be one which Antigonos Gonatas made on his journey to Corinth to arrange (ostensibly) the marriage of his son to Alexander's widow (Plut. *Arat.* 17), a trip that took place at the earliest in 245, at the latest in 243.

Line 1: Ameinokles son of Tachyllos of Kudathenaion is attested as councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61.64). If Habicht is correct, he must be the grandfather of the man who proposed this decree.

Lines 5-6: We should normally expect a destination (rather than the place of departure) to be given after ἀφικόμενος, and this is confirmed by the new reading. Since Eleusis had its own harbor, Antigonos need not have stopped anywhere else in Attica on this journey. (The emperor Hadrian once sailed directly from Eleusis to Ephesus [*SIG*³ 838].)

194. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF THEIR GENERAL, DEMETRIOS (PHANOSTRATOU PHALEREUS). Habicht recognized that Demetrios had a typical military career, starting as phylarch (line 4). He was elected general of the Eleusis region at least twice. His *phylarchia* occurred in the year of Antimachos, viz. 256/5 (Habicht, *Untersuchungen* pp. 128-133; Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG* XLIX 8)); therefore his second generalship occurred several years later.

The general is Demetrios son of Phanostratos of Phaleron, grandson of the regent Demetrius of Phaleron (see II.195).

Line 5: Habicht's restoration, which may be right, requires the phrase ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου which does not otherwise occur in this document with the participle signifying appointment.

Line 19: For the restoration cf. 196.64.

Line 23: The announcement of these garrison decrees could be made at the Apatouria in Panakton and at the Haloa in Eleusis; 196.29-30. Perhaps reference is made to the Haloa in the first part of the line, although here it is not a matter of an announcement but contributions to festivals. The general Aristophanes contributed to sacrifices at the Haloa (196.9-14).

195. DEDICATION OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS IN HONOR OF THE GENERAL DEMETRIUS PHANOSTRATOS PHALEREUS. Tracy's discovery that the cutter is his "Cutter of *IG* II² 788" necessitates a date in the period ca. 262-235 and dissociates this document from the famous Demetrius of Phaleron, for whom there is no other evidence of a generalship (problematic, however, is a date for this cutter earlier than 255, as R. Oetjen has pointed out, for whose work see below). There can be no doubt therefore that the present base honors the grandson. This also accords well with the fact that the dedicators here are the garrisons of western Attica, which were separated from those of the coast after 290 B.C. (but before 267/6) and put under the command of the new στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος. Habicht, *Studien* pp. 15-19, identified the grandson with the Demetrios, ἀπόγονος of Demetrius of Phaleron, whom Antigonos Gonatas appointed as thesmothete (according to Hegesander, quoted in *Ath.* 4.167E-F), i.e. actually regent of Athens, for the period 262-255, just as Cassander had done for his grandfather.

The date of the base and the fact that it honors a Demetrios who was hipparch before becoming general make it highly likely that the honorand is the same Demetrios who was honored by the garrison in a decree (194) close in date to this one; he too was hipparch (and previously phylarch) in some year after the archonship of Antimachos, before being elected twice to the generalship. The present honorand appears to have served three times as general (crowns *e, f, g*).

The base was probably set up, as its finding place indicates, between what was in the third century the main entrance of the sanctuary (now the Lesser Propylaea) and the Telesterion, thus in a very prominent position near the entrance to the central building of the sanctuary. It was a large and striking monument, up to this time (viz. the second half of the third century) the largest known base for a living person that was set up in the sanctuary; it could have held at least a life-sized statue (cf. 505-510).

These circumstances do not well suit the exuberant life style of the Demetrios whom Antigonos made thesmothete (Ath. 4.167e-f), one of whose extravagances occurred in this very place: he set up a "throne" next to the Telesterion for his hetaira, Aristagora, perhaps on the side facing the sea (cf. Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 128-129, no. 5), or here, in the immediate vicinity of this enormous monument in his honor, where she could watch the progress of sacred rites as they proceeded from the *Agelastos Petra* up to the Telesterion (*Iconography* pp. 87-90). It is hard to believe that a person who committed such sacrilege would be rewarded with such great honor within the sanctuary. Hegesander also reported that Demetrios when hipparch set up a platform for Aristogora in front of the Herms in the Agora, "higher than the Herms," at the time of the Panathenaia, evidently so that she could have an excellent view of the Panathenaic procession. Yet this statue base tells us that the Boule and Demos honored him for his service as hipparch. It is therefore difficult to believe that the Demetrios honored by this great base (and statue) could be a regent such as the one described by Hegesander.

Furthermore, Morgan pointed out (*per litt.*) that it was rather strange that a man whom the king appointed regent of Athens would afterwards pursue a military career beginning at the low rank of phylarch and, though he had apparently treated the Areopagus outrageously, be crowned with success. It is also strange, in my view, that a former regent of the city ran for membership, toward the end of his career, in a central democratic institution: a list of members of the Boule published by Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 280-281, no. 8.14, informs us that a Demetrios son of Pha[nostratos] of Phaleron, undoubtedly the former general, served in that body around 240 B.C.

Thus it would seem unlikely that our honorand, even though he was a grandson of Demetrius of Phaleron, could also have served as regent. Yet the testimony of Hegesander does seem to concern our honorand, for Hegesander refers to a Demetrios who is both a descendant of Demetrius and a hipparch.

One solution would be to suppose that Hegesander's Demetrios was a different descendant of Demetrius of Phaleron from our honorand, but the coincidence that both were hipparchs and both participated in the Panathenaia stands in the way. Another solution is to follow earlier scholars in the view that Antigonos appointed Demetrios as an actual thesmothete (e.g. Ferguson, *HA* p. 183), a view that has been cogently defended by R. Oetjen (first in a *Staatsexamensarbeit* at the University of Hamburg, later in *ZPE* 131, 2000, pp. 111-117). The traditional difficulty with this view is that it supposed that this appointment by Antigonos indicated that he made nearly all

appointments to civil offices – an inference which Habicht rightly rejected. Another difficulty is that it has left unexplained the reason for the appointment of Demetrios to such a powerless office as that of thesmothete (Habicht's solution, which assumes that a traditional title was used for a very different sort of office, avoids this difficulty, but ignores the confusion such a title would have caused: one thesmothete [a seventh?] had supreme power, while the traditional six had virtually none). Further difficulties have to do with Demetrios' treatment of the Areopagus and his offensive life style on the one hand and the honors that he received from the city on the other.

It seems to me that appointment of Demetrios as a regular thesmothete is the correct solution, as Oetjen has now argued convincingly. But the difficulties need to be overcome. Appointment to a relatively powerless office like that of thesmothete is really not the issue. The Areopagus had summoned him in order to chastise him for his extravagant behavior, but he countered by naming those of their number who were guilty of behavior that was not just offensive but positively illegal. Antigonos evidently then appointed Demetrios thesmothete not for any power or glory that this office conveyed but for the simple reason that it automatically made him a member of the Areopagus at the end of his year in office. This may be regarded as Antigonos' ironic revenge on the Areopagus for their abuse of Demetrios, or the king may also have reckoned that it was useful to have someone in the Areopagus who would not hesitate, from time to time, to remind the members of their obligations. In any case, the point of the appointment was that it guaranteed membership in the Areopagus for Demetrios.

As for Demetrios' actions at the Panathenaia and the Mysteries, it may be a question of some embroidery. Hegesander was fond of anecdotes (*FGrH* 4.412-422) and can hardly be relied upon for having eschewed sources that lacked reasonable accuracy. It is probably also true that Demetrios did not worry much about causing offence to those who did not care for his style. The temporary viewing stand that he erected for his girlfriend at the Panathenaia (it would be surprising if he alone took such measures to view the procession) was felt to be offensive because it was "higher than the Herms." The θρόνος at the Mysteries need not have been more than a seat, and the preposition παρά need not mean that it was right next to the Anaktoron (i.e. Telesterion). He and Aristogora may have attended the festival as epoptai, when as hipparch he may have had the privilege of viewing the rite from the special viewing area along the processional path (no. 21 on the Plan), where he provided a seat for Aristogora. Such "offences" would not be inconsistent with the many honors he received from the city, the deme of Eleusis, and his soldiers.

196. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS AND FOREIGN MERCENARIES AT ELEUSIS AND DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS IN HONOR OF THE GENERAL ARISTOPHANES. These two decrees in honor of Aristophanes son of Aristomenes of Leukonoion were passed shortly after he served his most recent term as στρατηγὸς ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος, viz. in the archonship of Ekphantos (lines 64-65; 235/4 according to Morgan, Calendar) or near the end of this term (the latest event mentioned is the grain harvest, i.e. May to early June, lines 66-67). The Eleusinian decree recounts his political career (gymnasiarch, phylarch, an unclear office, and twice general), and presumably the decree of the garrison did the same, in the lacuna above the preserved section (which relates only to his most recent term as general). The Athenian soldiers in the garrison were

evidently the ones primarily responsible for initiating the decree; the foreign mercenaries are mentioned only in the δεδόχθαι formula (lines 21-22) and in connection with raising funds for the statue; otherwise the decree reads as if it were written only with the Athenians in mind. The leader of the foreigners, Gnosias the Phocian, and many of his men contributed to the cost of the statue (lines 95-141). Presumably all the Athenian soldiers contributed, but the Athenians listed only the eleven members of the committee who supervised the making of the stele and statue.

The Archons: See especially Kolbe; Ferguson, *Priests*; Habicht, *Untersuchungen*; Morgan, *Calendar*.

The Festivals. In the year of Ekphantos Aristophanes sacrificed at the Haloa in Eleusis (and probably at other festivals as well, mention of which occurred in the lacuna). The impression given by a Lucian scholion (Rabe p. 280, lines 28-29) and 177.186-188 is that the entire citizen body was invited to a grand sacrifice at the Haloa. However, in the year of Ekphantos, a year of great financial need, with Athens under attack, Aristophanes supplied this great sacrifice himself: παρεκάλεσεν δὲ [καὶ το]ύς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν, οἰόμενος δεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν γεγ[ον]ότων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετασχεῖν (lines 11-13). Approximately twenty years later the decree honoring the general Demainetos (211) says nothing about sacrifices at the Haloa. They were probably once again being supplied by the City.

The Haloa were congenial to the Athenians stationed at Eleusis, no doubt because of the abundance of τὰ ἀγαθὰ, and other decrees mention that the garrison customarily made their honorary announcements at that time (184, 211), during the πάτριος ἁγών. The Mysteries and the Eleusinia were evidently too Panhellenic in character to serve as a setting for such local, military purposes. The Eleusinians normally made announcements of honors at their Dionysia, but at this time, for the benefit of the soldiers, they did it at the Haloa, the traditional venue for the soldiers' announcements.

We learn here that the garrison at Panakton made its announcement at the sacrifice at the local Apatouria, and that in Phyle it was done at the sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera (line 30).

The Honors. The garrison awarded Aristophanes a gold crown, a bronze statue in the αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, i.e. the inner courtyard of the sanctuary (see II.Introduction, "Αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ," pp. 3-4), announcement of the honor at the three festivals mentioned above as well at the Dionysia in the City, and publication of the decree on a stele next to the statue. The deme of Eleusis also awarded him a gold crown, announcement of the award at the Haloa, and publication of the decree in the αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. This last is a high honor indeed, an unusual one for the deme to offer, for which they undoubtedly had the assistance of the garrison in persuading the Eumolpidae and Kerykes and the Demos to allow it. It reflects the high regard in which Aristophanes was held by the sacred and secular officials of the sanctuary.

The benefactions that he performed for the sanctuary are only partly preserved: sacrifice at the Haloa; perhaps his repair of the walls (line 65) included the peribolos of the sanctuary. In summing up, the garrison decree mentions his sacrifices to Demeter and Kore and other gods (lines 22-23), from which we may infer that in addition to the preserved sacrifice at the Haloa, the lost part of the decree probably mentioned sacrifice at other Eleusinian festivals, such as the Eleusinia and the Mysteria.

Line 3 mentions a gold crown for some service that he apparently performed earlier in the year.

His Service to the Deme. In short, he saved many lives: πολλοῖς [τε τῶν Ἐλευσινίων] ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γέγονεν αἴτιος τῆς σωτηρίας (lines 68-69). And that is sufficient to explain the great honor that they gave him. The theme of the war, viz. the Demetrian War, recurs in the deme's description of the various years of his military career. Aratus' invasions into Attica severely affected the Thriasian Plain (Plut. *Arat.* 33-34). When war broke out, in the archonship of Lysias (238/7, according to Morgan, Calendar), Aristophanes seems to have been in charge of provisioning the forts (below, *ad* lines 57-58), a task which put him in some danger. In the archonship of Kimon (236/5, according to Morgan, Calendar), he performed his usual duties, namely seeing to it that the forts were properly defended; perhaps there was no invasion in this year. In the following year he had the walls of all three fortresses repaired, and he saw to it that the grain harvest proceeded safely. Aristophanes was responsible not only for the lives of the people living in the deme but also for their well being.

Lines 11-12: Although some scholars state that the name of Demetrius II was erased, the fact is that we do not know for sure. His *title* was not erased, and in line 36 his name was not erased. Phthia's name, on the other hand, was definitely erased (see Epigraphical Commentary), but the erasure of just her name and not her title is extraordinary. When the Athenians attempted in the year 200 to obliterate all mention of the Macedonian royal house, they removed their titles in addition to their names and all references to ἑγγονοί (although they overlooked many documents and even some names in documents that they did not overlook; for lists of documents see Dow, *Prytaneis* pp. 48-50, and Habicht, *Studien* p. 148, note 137). We may infer from the roughness of the present erasure that it was not done at the same time as the two others in this document, which are relatively neat. No explanation for the partial character of this erasure has been put forward. It is the only example at Eleusis of the erasure of a Macedonian. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the obliteration of the royal family in Eleusinian inscriptions was carried out with the same fervor as in the Asty.

On Phthia see now Tarn and Le Bohec.

Lines 21-22 suggest that in western Attica foreign soldiers were stationed only at Eleusis (i.e. not at Panakton and Phyle).

Lines 38-39: The ratio of representatives on this committee suggests that the Athenian forces at Eleusis and Panakton were about equal, and that they outnumbered the force stationed at Phyle by about five to one. (The names of the eleven men chosen appear in lines 82-92.)

This parity or approximate parity between the soldiers at Eleusis and those at Panakton is not without relevance to the question of the location of Panakton. The main sites under consideration are Gyphtokastro just below the Kaza Pass, by ancient Eleutherai, or the fort near the village of Kavasala (now Prasinon) at the southwestern corner of the Skourta plain; cf. J. Ober, *Fortress Attica* (*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 84, Leiden 1985) pp. 223-225 (with bibliography); on Kavasala, E. Vanderpool, *CSCA* 11, 1978, pp. 227-245. Panakton, as the present document suggests, held a force roughly equivalent to that at Eleusis. It and Eleusis therefore constituted the two most important fortifications in western Attica, and so it is natural to assume that Panakton's fortress

was of similar strength as the one at Eleusis. To situate the second major defensive force in western Attica at the edge of the Skourta plain while leaving the major route from Boeotia through the Kaza Pass less well defended would make little military sense. In fact, Gyphtokastro is the most imposing extant fortress in Attica; in strength and scale it is rather similar to the fortress at Eleusis (on the strength of its walls cf. Ober, *op. cit.* pp. 160-163). Thus the physical qualities of the fortresses at Eleusis, Gyphtokastro, and Phyle are roughly consistent with the five to one ratio, reflected in this decree, between the forces at Eleusis and Panakton and those at Phyle: the fortress at Phyle is considerably smaller than the other two. At any rate, these were the three permanent garrisons of western Attica. The hypothesis that Kavasala is Panakton requires that we assume that Gyphtokastro was of such minor importance that it did not possess a permanent garrison and therefore, under the name of Eleutherai, went unmentioned in the garrison decrees, and indeed in virtually all historical accounts of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.7.9, mentions simply “fortresses” in connection with the road to Eleutherai and Attica). This is impossible to believe. Pausanias, 1.38.9, notes the ruins of houses and a fortress at Eleutherai, and his omission of the name Panakton has been taken as a principal argument that Panakton must be sought elsewhere. We have to assume that while he was well aware of the historical role of Panakton (cf. 1.25.6), he may not have been aware of its precise location (i.e. next to Eleutherai), or he may simply have omitted its name at this point in his travels.

The recent discovery of a couple of ephebic inscriptions in the fortification above Kavasala by Prof. M. H. Munn and his team (*Boeotia Antiqua* 6, 1996, pp. 47-58) does not change the picture. Ephebes no doubt stayed there for short periods in their patrol of the countryside (περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν; *AthPol* 42.4). Prof. Munn believes that the fortress was located there to protect the farmland from the Boeotians, but that hardly requires a permanent garrison.

Line 42: Gnosias, the commander, was a Phocian, as we learn in line 95.

Line 53: The agonistic contest is relatively new, established when Aristophanes was a gymnasiarch, therefore probably in the 240's; Ferguson's suggestion that it was the Demetrieia, in honor of Demetrius II, seems unlikely, since it was probably established before his accession.

Lines 57-58: In this year he assumed a special duty, ἡ [τῶν . . . δίων ἐπιμέλεια. Despite doubts expressed by Dittenberger and others about Pantazides' restoration of ἐφο]δίων, there is hardly any other possibility. The term ἐφόδια, in the sense of military provisions, is unparalleled in Attic epigraphy, to my knowledge, but occurs frequently enough in the historians; cf. Polyb. 3.24.8, 8.26.4, 11.26.6, etc. The provisioning of the forts would, at times, have involved personal risk.

Line 65: ἡ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευή: the term can indicate large-scale restoration or minor repair; see Maier.

Lines 82-93: The eleven Athenian soldiers in charge of the statue and stele (see above, lines 38-39).

Line 82: Hephaistodoros is probably the Hephaistodoros of Leukonoion who was councillor in the archonship of Archelaos, viz. 212/1 (*Agora* XV 129.84); he or a relative appears in a third-century grave inscription (*IG* II² 6735).

Line 85: Xenophon or a relative was councillor *ca. med. saec. III a.* (*Agora* XV 102.4).

Line 86: A relative of Mynniskos proposed a decree in 266 (*IG* II² 665.6).

Line 88: A possible ancestor: Chairion son of Pollis, councillor in 370/69 (?) (*Agora* XV 13.82-83).

Line 89: Possible ancestors: Antiphanes of Euonymon who was ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in the tenth prytany in 337/6 (*IG II²* 240 and 241); Antiphates son of Antiphanes of Euonymon in a fourth-century grave inscription (*IG II²* 6159).

197. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS, PANAKTON, AND PHYLE AND ATHENIANS RESIDING AT ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF THRASYKLES. Thrasykles, presumably a general, is otherwise unknown.

Line 3: Perhaps Τίμαν[δρος Φ]ε[ι]δ[ο]κράτου.

198. DECREE OF THE ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS, PANAKTON, AND PHYLE AND THE ΥΠΑΙΘΡΟΙ. *Line 3:* For the ὑπαῖθοι see II.211.2.

Line 7: Perhaps λαχοῦσ[αν]. It is unlikely to refer to a priestess as in *IG II²* 1314.5, 1315.5, etc.

Line 11: Cf. *IG II²* 1008.30-31.

199. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS. For the date and the calendar see Meritt, Archons, and *Agora XV* pp. 113-114; Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 73; Morgan, Calendar, assigns the archon to 227/6. *Agora XV* 120 shows that Hekatombaion was intercalated in this year, and there were eight more days added by the time of Hekatombaion II 25. Hippothontis was the first or the seventh prytany, according to the last preserved letters of line 2. From frag. *b* and the list of the proedroi Dow deduced that the prytanizing tribe must be Hippothontis or Kekropis. On the assumption that Kirchner's and Dow's reading of omicron in line 5 is correct, I have restored the month as Hekatombaion I, since in that month the prytany date and the calendar date would be identical; but of course this restoration cannot be regarded as certain. Morgan noted, *per litt.*, that calendar equations for the seventh prytany can also be restored.

Line 8: The attested names at Athens that can be restored here are Athenotimos or Xenotimos; cf. *LGPN* p. 503. Given the cutter's predilection to start lines in this list (lines 8-13) with undivided names and the greater frequency of Xenotimos, it seems preferable to Athenotimos.

Line 11: A Nikokrates of Sounion, possibly a descendant, was priest of Zeus Kynthios on Delos in the period after 166 (*I. Délos* 2422; *PA* 10919).

Line 12: In addition to the names Timokles (which cannot be ruled out, despite the spacing), Demokles, and Hermokles, we might consider Thymokles.

Line 13: On Chares son of Eucharistos of Aphidna and his father see Habicht, *Untersuchungen* p. 136. He was the proposer of a decree in this same year (*Agora XV* 120) and again in 220/19 (*Agora XV* 130), in the archonship of Menekrates (for the date see Morgan, Calendar); cf. Rhodes, *ZPE* 41, 1987, pp. 101-102 (who surmised that the present decree and *Agora XV* 120 may belong to the same year). In 221/0 he appears as one of three Areopagites serving on a committee charged with fashioning a dedication to Heros Iatros (*IG II²* 839.52). A lead tablet ca. 250 (or shortly before) from the Ceramicus reveals that he was a hippeus (*AM* 85, 1970, p. 206, no. 27).

200. DECREE OF THE HYPAITHROI. As no editor was able to ascertain the original thickness of this monument, it is probably safe to conclude that it is a stele rather than a base. Rangabé's and Lenormant's reading of lines 8-9 is undoubtedly correct, for with Koehler's text we would have duplicate dedications, which makes little sense.

The fact that the stone was found on the "Acropolis" of Eleusis unfortunately cannot be used as evidence for the original location of the πυλῶριον; if the stone was a stele, it would not have been very difficult to bring it up from the foot of the hill.

Line 3: L. Robert was probably correct in reading π[υ][λ]ωρίωι. Ross read pi before upsilon, and his reading of TO following upsilon, in contrast to Rangabé's and Lenormant's kappa, suggests that this letter was difficult to read.

Line 5: Nikanor also served under the general Ekphantos son of Euphanes; **210.56**.

Line 7: For the date of the archon, 224/3, see Morgan, Calendar.

Line 10: On the ὑπαῖθροι see **II.211**.

Lines 12-13: Kirchner assumed that he was Asklepiades son of Xenon of Phyle (*PA* 2618) who participated in the *Epidosis* in the archonship of Diomedon, 244/3 (*IG* II² 791.II.55-57; on the date, Habicht, *Studien* pp. 26-28) and corrected accordingly. But now that we know that an Asklepiades son of Zenon was an Athenian ambassador to Egypt, possibly in 215/4 (P. M. Frazer, *Berytus* 13, 1959-60, pp. 158-161, no. 14 [= *SEG* XX 505; *BE* 1962, 352; cf. *SEG* XXXIX 316]), and that an Asklepiades son of Zenon was a knight in the second quarter of the century (*AM* 85, 1970, p. 208, no. 70.1-3), Kirchner's assumption seems unjustified.

201. DECREE OF THE KERYKES AND EUMOLPIDAI IN HONOR OF CHAIRETIOS PROPHETOU ELEUSINIOS, HIEROPHANT. On Thrasyphon son of Hierokleides see Dow. Since Thrasyphon also proposed **192**, which is dated near the middle of the third century, this decree should probably be dated to the earlier part of the active period of Tracy's "Cutter of *IG* II² 1706," therefore tentatively "ca. 225."

This decree is unusual in that it is a joint decree of the Kerykes and Eumolpidai; indeed in line 4 they are accidentally called a single *genos*. The precedence given throughout to the Kerykes suggests, as Dow saw, that the initiative must have come from them; hence Thrasyphon is most likely a member of that clan. Dow also suggested that Hierokleides the altar-priest (*Sacred Officials*, altar-priest no. 2) and Hierokleides the daduch (*ibid.*, daduch no. 6) might be the same man and a son of Thrasyphon. One or both may indeed be related to Thrasyphon, but they cannot be the same man. Hierokleides the altar-priest served for life, as did the homonymous daduch.

The hierophant Chairetios son of Prophetes of Eleusis is otherwise unknown. E. Schweigert (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 10-11) and Dow suggested he was a descendant of the Πρ[οφήτην] who was a spondophoros in 367/6, but Wilhelm (*AbhBerl* 1939, no. 22, pp. 25-27 = *Akademieschriften* 1.3, pp. 13-15) read Πρ[οφάνην] here, which also was incorrect (see **II.138**). On the meritorious services performed by Chairetios see *Sacred Officials*.

Lines 6-8: On the ἐπαγγελία prepared by the hierophant for the σπονδοφόροι see *Sacred Officials*. On the σπονδοφορία, *II*.Introduction, "Spondophoroi," pp. 20-22; **II.138**.

Line 15: On the traditional myrtle crown, cf. *Sacred Officials*.

Lines 18-19: It is interesting that the Kerykes and Eumolpidai announce the award in the theater of Dionysus at Eleusis at the ancestral festival of the *deme*. From the only other decree of these *gene* we may infer that their awards were not normally announced at a festival. In this case it is striking that they announced it at a festival of the *deme*, which normally had no formal or legal relation to the sanctuary and its major festival of the Mysteries (see above, II.Introduction, “Administration,” p. 3). We may suppose that it was done at the festival of the demesmen in this case because Chairetios was a member of the *deme*, indeed the only priest of the Mysteries who, to our knowledge, was an Eleusinian (*Sacred Officials* p. 8 note 4).

Line 23: The inscription was in fact found in the ἀὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ; on the ἀὐλή see II.Introduction, “Αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4.

202. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS IN HONOR OF EPIMELETAI OF THE MYSTERIES. Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* p. 46, assigned this hand to his “Cutter of *IG II*² 1706,” whose known working period is 228/7 to ca. 203, and dated this text ca. 215, presumably to indicate a year within this range. I would be inclined to put it at some distance from 215, preferably earlier. The description of the services of the epimeletai is not very close to that of **208** of 215/4. Moreover, in 215/4 they did not make a report to the Boule concerning their sacrifices, as they did here and earlier, in 266 (**181**). The custom of making such a report may have lapsed by 215. On the epimeletai and their activities see II.138.29-33 and II.208.

Lines 30-31: The same concatenation of broken names, but with demotic preserved, occurs in *Kerameikos* III A 10.3 (= *IG II*² 2838+) for a hieropoios of 325/4: [Πολύε]υκτος [.]. [.]δίο Θη-μακεύς.

Line 31: The only attested Attic names in -kosmos are Kosmos and Theokosmos (cf. *LGPN*), of which the former fits the spatial requirements better.

203. DECREE. Unfortunately, beyond the mention of construction and the astynomoi nothing of the sense can be made out. The fact that Euphantos is a demesman of Berenikidai suggested to Traill that this is a decree of that *deme*; Whitehead pointed out that this is by no means clear; in fact, it could be a decree of the soldiers stationed at Eleusis and Athenians resident at Eleusis (cf. **197**) or of the Eleusinians and other Athenians resident at Eleusis (**191**) (no decree passed solely by Athenians resident at Eleusis is preserved).

Line 1: On Euphantos and his son see II.211.53. Since his son proposed decrees in the first decade of the second century, it seems best to regard this document as belonging to the early part of the working period of the Cutter of Agora I 7181. The son’s gravestone, *IG II*² 5888, was found at Eleusis, which may in fact have been where he settled, for he was there as a soldier.

Line 8: It is unclear whether ἀστυνομῶν should be construed as the participle (so Kirchner) or the noun.

204. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS? The ταμίας is more likely to be the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν than the ταμίας elected by the soldiers stationed at Eleusis (211.49), whose duties must have been largely clerical. The deme of Eleusis is unlikely to have had significant dealings with the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, who was honored in 184 by the soldiers stationed at Eleusis.

Unfortunately it is impossible to say whether the κρήνη is the same as the one mentioned in 177 (see II.177.Introduction, κρήνη, p. 182).

Line 2: Ἐ[λευ]σίνι is also possible.

Line 3: In restoring ἐξωικοδόμηκεν Kirchner no doubt had in mind *IG* II² 338.14-15, but the restoration ἐπισκεύασεν of course cannot be excluded.

205. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS. The decree undoubtedly honors a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνοσ, and presents his military career starting with his service as phylarch (*a*, line 4).

a: Lines 2-3: General praise, including reference to non-military services. Other possible restorations: λειτουργίας instead of (or together with) ἐπιμελείας; or ἄνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπεΐνεσεν (211.11).

b: Line 5: The mention of Panakton here and in line 3 of this fragment suggests that the honoree performed specific services for the fort at Panakton (on the location of which see II.196.38-39).

206. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS. The restorations of lines 2-4 are *exempli gratia*. The document is clearly an honorary decree with a list of the members of a committee appended to it. The committee may have been responsible for the repair of dedications. Sometimes these lists of members indicate those drawn from the entire citizen body with the phrase ἐξ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων, but ἐκ τοῦ δήμου occurs in *IG* II² 1539.6, which is close in date.

Line 4: Possibly ἐπὶ τὸν [ἐπὶ - - - ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτόν]. Cf. *IG* II² 878, which seems quite similar, and is close in date (Cutter of *IG* II² 1708: Tracy, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 257-258).

Lines 6 and 8: These may be the Xenon son of Asklepiades of Phyle and Asclepiades son of Xenon of Phyle, the father and son who in 244/3 contributed 200 drachmas apiece εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας (*IG* II² 791.55-8 = *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 290-291, no. 56; see Habicht, *Studien* pp. 128-133).

207. DECREE OF THE ATHENIAN SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS, PANAKTON, AND PHYLE IN HONOR OF THEIR GENERAL, THEOPHRASTOS. Theophrastos' career – gymnasiarch, hipparch, general of the Eleusinian district – is fairly typical; cf. 196. His generalship was held in the year 217/6; the decree was therefore passed in 216, or a later year if the lost part of the decree concerned a second generalship. For the archon dates see Morgan, *Calendar*.

Lines 8-11: On the contests see Moretti.

Line 11: On the νεανίσκοι cf. Sacco.

Line 15: On supplying feed for the horses see Wilhelm and Moretti. The latter rightly questions Wilhelm's view that Theophrastos' generosity consisted in providing feed for his cavalry's horses, for the expense would have been enormous, ca. 18 talents per year for 300 horse. He suggests instead that Theophrastos is praised simply for seeing to it that his cavalymen regularly received their σιτηρέσιον.

Line 17: The λ[οχ]α[γ]οί must be cavalry officers, not ephebic lochagoi.

Lines 17-18: On the reception provided for the Boule see Wilhelm.

Line 24: Wilhelm questioned Ferguson and Dow's reading of the end of this line. Perhaps the εὐ[δαιμονί]α[ν] is that of the demesmen of Eleusis.

208. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS IN HONOR OF EPIMELETAI OF THE MYSTERIES.

Lines 1-6: The congruence of prytany date and day of the month of course indicates an intercalary year in this year of thirteen phylai; cf. Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 90. Morgan assigns the archonship of Diokles to 214/3.

Line 11: On the epimeletai of the Mysteries: *AthPol* 57.1; II.138.29-33; Clinton, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 280-283.

Lines 16-19: This supplies the important information that the sacred objects were transported on a wagon, presumably both from Eleusis to the Eleusinion under the Acropolis and back again to Eleusis (see II.Introduction, "Processions," pp. 11-12). The epimeletai would normally prepare the team of oxen. The wagon must have belonged to the sanctuary, but each year the team had to be rented, the rent normally paid for by the Boule. But these epimeletai returned the money allocated and paid it themselves. The honorands of 202 acted in a similar way.

Other *normal* duties of the epimeletai: sacrifice of προθύματα at the Greater Mysteries (as we see here), supervision of the main sacrifice at the Mysteries (181.20-22), and performance of a sacrifice at the Lesser Mysteries (181.7-10, 202.24-28). The main sacrifices at the Greater and Lesser Mysteries are not specifically mentioned in this document but must be assumed to be among the sacrifices donated (lines 31-32). Additional duties of the epimeletai at this period are mentioned in lines 20-23: supervision of the March to the Sea, the Reception of Iakchos, and the Lesser Mysteries.

Lines 20-21: On ἡ ἄλαδε ἔλασις, which took place on Boedromion 16, see especially: Foucart, *Mystères* pp. 314-317; Dow, *HSCP* 48, 1937, pp. 111-120; Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 249-250. On the Reception of Iakchos in Eleusis: Foucart, *Mystères* pp. 338-339; Clinton, *Sacrifice* pp. 70-71; *idem*, *Iconography* pp. 27-28, 37. The Reception took place in the evening of Boedromion 20, whereas the κομιδὴ τῶν ἱερῶν occurred on Boedromion 19. These epimeletai apparently accompanied the ἱερά to Eleusis on the 19th, and then prepared for the Reception of Iakchos, which took place when the initiates arrived the following day.

Lines 22-23: For some reason the Lesser Mysteries were held twice this year. An obvious parallel is the renaming of the month Munychion to Anthesterion in 302 so that Demetrius Poliorcetes could be initiated in the Lesser Mysteries (Plut. *Demetr.* 26.1-5; *Sacred Officials* p. 50).

In 303 too Anthesterion was apparently intercalated and then cancelled (A. P. Matthaiou, *Horos* 4, 1986, p. 19, lines 1-5 [= *SEG XXXVI* 165], with Woodhead, *Hesperia* 58, 1989, pp. 297-301).¹

The phrase διὰ τὸ συντελεῖ[σθ]αι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια should probably be taken with the following sentence, for the Eleusinia had nothing to do with the Lesser Mysteries.

Lines 22-26: The epimeletai of the Mysteries had no duties at the Eleusinia, as is clear from their title and the description of their duties in 138.29-33. Their dispatch of a bull to the Eleusinia was a gift on their part. The transition from their regular duties, described above in lines 13-22, is marked here by the phrase διὰ τὸ συντελεῖ[σθ]αι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια; i.e., we should put a comma after ἐνιαυτῶι so as to read διὰ τὸ συντελεῖ[σθ]αι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια θῦμα ταυρόν. A satisfactory general sense is then attained: they sent a bull to be sacrificed at the Eleusinia in order for the Eleusinia to be celebrated. However, the conjunction combination δὲ καὶ is excessively postponed (though in literary prose δέ is sometimes similarly postponed (J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, Oxford 1954, pp. 188-189); in inscriptions it usually appears in second position in its clause or sentence, so that here it should more properly come after συντελεῖ[σθ]αι. We may therefore suppose that some sort of mistake occurred: either the phrase with the articular infinitive was inserted late into the text in the wrong place or δὲ καὶ was misplaced.

1. Woodhead argued that *SEG XXXVI* 165 reflects the actual effect of Demetrius' initiation on the calendar, namely the temporary renaming of Munychion to Anthesterion (the tenth prytany, corresponding to Munychion, can be restored in line 2 and Anthesterion in line 4). However, he neglected the fact that according to the narrative of Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus (20.120.1) the initiation of Demetrius occurred in 302. Although it is possible that these two authors are incorrect, it seems to me that better evidence than the fragmentary text of *SEG XXXVI* 165 is needed before assuming such an error. (Lines 2-3 might also be restored Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐνάτης, corresponding to Elaphebolion.) The following considerations actually militate against this conclusion. (1) The decree states that Demetrius had recently sent the honorand (καὶ ν]ῦν ἀπέσταλκεν) to announce to the Athenians his decisions about places that he had captured (presumably the Attic forts that had been under the control of Cassander), but Diodorus tells us that Demetrius at the time of his initiation was sojourning in Athens; it is therefore somewhat odd that he felt it necessary to send an emissary to Athens shortly before this. (2) More serious is the fact that, if his initiation into the Lesser Mysteries occurred at the time of this decree, namely on intercalated Anthesterion 9, we are forced to conclude that a meeting of the Demos was held at the

same time as the Lesser Mysteries; traditionally such a meeting, coinciding with a major festival, was extremely unlikely, and one would suppose that religious scruples would have prohibited it also for a second celebration. While meetings did occur on certain days within the Greater Mysteries, viz. Boedromion 14 and 18 (Mikalson, *Calendar* pp. 54-57), the first of these was probably not a festival day, and the second was a day of rest (Clinton, *Sacrifice* p. 70). (Given Demetrius' wish for a speedy initiation, we should probably assume that only significant festival days were celebrated for his initiation. Like Asclepius he could have allowed the earlier part of the festival to be missed [the sacred objects need not have been transported to Athens for him] and could simply have gone to Eleusis on Boedromion 20, the traditional day for the initiates' procession [Clinton, *Sacrifice* pp. 70-71], and returned on the twenty-third.) It seems unlikely that even a regular celebration of the Lesser Mysteries, given their lesser status, lasted much longer than three or four days. The central period of the festival probably occurred about Anthesterion 20-22 (the Diasia occurred on the 23rd; Mikalson, *Calendar* pp. 116-117, 120; cf. II.300.4-5); Anthesterion 9 was most likely not a day within the festival. It does not seem to make sense that the Athenians, in playing with the calendar in such a dramatic way, would have held the special celebration on an incorrect day.

The Eleusinia were held in the month of Metageitnion, according to van der Loef pp. 74-82, and Foucart, *REG* 32, 1929, pp. 199-200, followed by Deubner, *Feste* p. 91. The present passage is then most curious, because the chronological sequence of the narrative is broken without apparent reason. The events are as follows:

- 1) Preparation of the team, early Boedromion;
- 2) Supervision of the ἔλασις ἄλαδε, Boedromion 16;
- 3) Supervision of the ὑποδοχὴ τοῦ ἱλάκχου, Boedromion 20;
- 4) The Lesser Mysteries, mid-Anthesterion;
- 5) One other celebration of the Lesser Mysteries;
- 6) The Eleusinia.

If one did not know that van der Loef and Foucart dated the Eleusinia in Metageitnion, the natural inference would be that the festival occurred sometime between mid-Anthesterion and the date of this decree (Skirophorion 3). A scholion to Pindar, *Ol.* 9.150, tells us that the prize in the contest at the festival was barley, and that the festival was held at Athens μετὰ <τὴν> τῶν Δημητριακῶν καρπῶν συλλογὴν τῇ Δήμητρι εὐχαριστήρια. (A scholion to Aristides' *Panathenaikos* p. 333 Dindorf [= Arist., frag. 637 Rose], states simply that the Eleusinia were founded διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς Δήμητρος.) Since the harvest took place in May (cf. II.177.6-8), the most likely time for a post-harvest festival would seem to be late in the month of Thargelion or early in Skirophorion. Thus it seems natural to think that the Boule passed this decree soon after the Eleusinia, while their memory of the most recent kindness of these epimeletai, viz. sending a bull to the Eleusinia and distributing meat to all the members of the Boule, was still fresh. So too in 181 the Boule passed their resolution shortly after the most recent benefaction of the epimeletai.

A date for the festival in the month of Thargelion or early in Skirophorion would also be in harmony with information contained in an Athenian decree of the third century published at Gonnoi; there reference is made to τοὺς σπονδοφόρους τοὺς ἐπαγγέλλοντας τὰ τε Ἐλευσίνια καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια καὶ τὰ Μυστήρια (*Gonnoi* pp. 121-122, no. 109.35-38). This order of the festivals does not seem to be haphazard; it is observed also in lines 26-29 of the same decree: ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς ἀποδεδειγμέναις σπονδὰς τῶν τε Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Μυστηρίων. The festivals are named in a particular order, most likely because it is chronological and so refers to the activities of the spondophoroi in the proper order over their span of service.

The argument put forward by Foucart and van der Loef for assigning the festival to Metageitnion is based on the position of the receipts from the sale of hides (τὸ δερματικόν) from animals sacrificed at the Eleusinia in the year 332/1. In this list the receipts from the Eleusinia occur after the Panathenaia but before the sacrifice to Demokratia, the Asklepieia, and the Theseia (*IG* II² 1496.130). Now the Theseia took place in Pyanopsion, the sacrifice to Demokratia apparently on Boedromion 12 (Mikalson, *Calendar* p. 53), and the Asklepieia on Boedromion 17 or 18 (*ibid.*, p. 56), so that Metageitnion would seem right for the Eleusinia. But this produces a curious anomaly. The name Asklepieia in this document is attached to two separate festivals, one in Elaphebolion (*IG* II² 1496.78, 108, 150) and one in Boedromion (*ibid.*, lines 109, 142). But it is highly improbable that two festivals of Asclepius had the same name; the various festivals of Dionysus, on the other hand, are carefully distinguished in this inscription. In fact, we know that

the festival which took place on Boedromion 17 or 18 (more likely the 17th) in honor of Asclepius was not called the Asklepieia but the Epidauria (Philostr. *VA* 4.17 and Paus. 2.26.8); *Agora* I 7471 confirms the name for the fifth century B.C. (see Clinton, Epidauria). It seems unlikely, therefore, that *IG* II² 1496 is referring to two separate festivals of Asclepius; the Asklepieia to which it refers are the festival held in Elaphebolion. (Another consideration is that the Epidauria are part of the Eleusinian Mysteries; no receipts from the Mysteries appear in *IG* II² 1496, and so it ought to follow that none should appear from the Epidauria.) It seems that, for whatever reason, there are two sets of receipts from the Asklepieia. As preserved, they are from separate groups of officials, the βωωναί and the ἱεροποιοί. It would be hazardous, therefore, to rely completely on the arrangement of receipts within this document for the date of the Eleusinia; the receipts seem to be largely in chronological order but not completely. (We also have no warrant for expecting the sacrifice to the goddesses Eleusinia and Kore in Metageitnion as recorded in the calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis [cf. Mikalson, *Calendar* p. 46] to be secure evidence for the date of a festival at Eleusis.)

However, the duties of the epimeletai of the Mysteria concerned the Mysteria, evidently not the Eleusinia. Consequently, while chronological order holds true in the present decree for events at the Mysteria, we cannot be sure that their donation to the Eleusinia is also contained within the same chronological order: as an unrelated activity it may simply have been added at the end of the list. And the Pindar scholion may be merely a rationalization from the fact that the Eleusinia were celebrated in honor of the grain goddesses. These considerations are confirmed by new evidence, contained in a letter of Hadrian to the Dionysiac Artists (G. Petzl and E. Schwertheim, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler: Drei in Alexandria Troas neugefundene Briefe des Kaisers an die Künstler-Vereinigung* [Bonn 2006]), issued late in A.D. 134, in which he lays out the order of major international agonistic festivals over the course of an Olympiad (lines 60-71); the order for A.D. 133-134 is as follows (lines 60-65):

ὥς ἔδοξέ μοι τετάχθαι τοὺς ἀγῶνας ... ἐπιστέλλω τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίων ἐποιήσασθαι, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος ὁ ἀγὼν οὗτος καὶ ἐνδοξότατος τῶν γε Ἑλληνικῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἰσθμια ἔστω, μετὰ δὲ Ἰσθμια Ἀδριάνεια, ὡς ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα παυσαμένης τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι πανηγύρεως τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη κατὰ Ἀθηναίους νομηνία τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος· τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι Ἀδριανείων ἔστωσαν. ὁ δ' ἐν Τάραντι ἀγὼν μετὰ Ἀδριάνεια ἀγέσθω τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνός, ἀπὸ δὲ Καπετωλείων, ὡς μέχρι νῦν ἐπετελέσθη, ἀγομένων ἐν Νεαπόλει ἀγώνων· εἴτα Ἀκτια ἀρχόμενα μὲν τῇ πρὸ θ' καλ(ανδῶν) Ὀκτων(βρίων), συντελούμενα δὲ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις. ἐν παράπλῳ δὲ ὁ ἐν Πάτραις ἀγὼν, εἴτα Ἡραῖα καὶ Νέμεια ἀπὸ Καλ(ανδῶν) Νοεμβρ(ίων) εἰς καλ(άνδρας) Ἰανουραρίας.

Thus the order of agonistic festivals is as follows: Olympia, Isthmia, "Panegyris in Eleusis" Hadrianeia ("on the day after the cessation of the Panegyris in Eleusis: this day is Maimakterion 1, lasting 40 days"), Agon in Tarentum (in January), Capetolia, Agones in Naples (i.e. the Sebasta), Aktia on September 23 (lasting 40 days), "in passage by ship the Agon in Patrai, then the Heraia and Nemeia, from November 1 to January 1." In this letter and another published on the same stele Hadrian is only concerned with agonistic festivals (no non-agonistic festival is named); he usually refers to them as ἀγών/ἀγῶνες but sometimes as πανήγυρις/πανηγύρεις (in lines 15, 52, 62 [quoted above], 72, 80), rather than the Classical term ἑορτή/ἑορταί. Sometimes he

gives the actual name of the festival, sometimes just the name of the city in which it takes place. The “Panegyris in Eleusis” therefore ought to be a well known agonistic festival in Eleusis. That festival can only be the Eleusinia. According to Hadrian’s description it ended on the last day of Pyanopsion, followed by the Hadrianeia on the following day, Maimakterion 1. In arranging the schedule of the festivals Hadrian clearly intended to leave enough time between festivals so that the distance between them would not prevent contestants from taking part in any of them: in some cases he specifies the time for travel between contests (e.g. lines 67, 68, 69). He does this implicitly in the case of the Eleusinia and Hadrianeia: they are in such close proximity that the Hadrianeia in Athens can begin on the following day.

The Truce of the Mysteria ended on Pyanopsion 10 (19.17-27). With the Thesmophoria ending on Pyanopsion 13, the Eleusinia should be assigned to the second half of the month (when no major festivals are attested with certainty; cf. Mikalson, *Calendar* pp. 73-79), but in the Classical period the Eleusinia probably were not held on the last day of Pyanopsion, when the Chalkeia took place. Hadrian’s letter confirms the order of the festivals as given in the Gonnoi decree: Eleusinia, Panathenaia, Mysteria.

In the current year (214/3) the *penteteric* festival of the Greater Eleusinia was held; see Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 9-12, and Morgan. This is the third year of the Olympiad; but in A.D. 133 the Eleusinia were held in the first year of the Olympiad, and evidently there was no longer a *trieteric* celebration but only a *penteteric*.

Line 29: The *euthynai* were given by the epimeletai not at the end of the civil year but upon termination of their duties for the year (before Skirophorion 3).

Lines 43-45: The number of epimeletai conflicts with 138.30-31 and *AthPol* 57.1, where it is stipulated that there are four. Their number may have been reduced early in the Hellenistic period (cf. *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 282), with only those from the Eumolpidai and Kerykes retained. Only two epimeletai of the Mysteries appear in each of the other third-century honorary decrees (181, 202).

Lines 43-44: Thrasykles of Auridai is most likely the father of a woman who appears in a dedicatory inscription dated by Kirchner “*init. s. II a.*”: [Λυσ]ίππην Θρασυκλέους Αὐρίδου θυγατέρα (*IG* II² 4031). The dedication was set up by her husband Alexion and their sons; for the family of Alexion II son of Speusippos of Azenia see Habicht, *Studien* pp. 185-188. Alexion II was an accomplished diplomat who was entrusted by the Polis with important missions, and he assumed a leading role in the affairs of the city. He was born ca. 240, his children shortly before 200. His wife therefore was probably born shortly before Thrasykles served as epimelete of the Mysteries. We may assume that Thrasykles was around 40-45 years old in the year of this office.

Line 44: Niketes son of Niketes of Pergase is no doubt the son of the Niketes of Pergase who contributed to the Epidosis of 244/3 (*SEG* XXXII 117.I.74 [= *IG* II² 791+]; on the date, Habicht, *Studien* pp. 26-28). An age of ca. 40-45 in 214 for the son would be consistent. His name recurs in the following document, which may actually be part of this one. His son, Protagoras, was priest of Asclepius, in 165/4 if this is the correct year for the archon Pelops (*SEG* XVIII 22 [= *IG* II² 950]).

Line 54: Erection of the stele in the ἀύλῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (on which see II.Introduction, “ἀύλῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4) was a great honor. The inscription was found within this courtyard.

Line 55: Unfortunately the site of the second stele is difficult to restore; it was not the Acropolis; see Epigraphical Commentary.

Below this text a crown may have been painted within which Niketes' name was inscribed. The following document (209) may represent that crown.

209. DECREE OR DEDICATION IN HONOR OF NIKETES NIKETOU PERGASETHEN. It is not clear whether the stone is part of a stele or dedicatory base. It may have appeared at the end of the preceding decree, which was inscribed on a stele.

On Niketes son of Niketes see the preceding document.

210. DEDICATION OF SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS IN HONOR OF THEIR GENERAL, EKPHANTOS EUPHANOU THRIASIOS. Ekphantos son of Euphanes of Thria (*PA* 4660) was a member of the Boule and proposer of decrees (*Agora* XV 129.7, 42, 51, 121-123) in the archonship of Archelaos, which Habicht has dated to 212/1 (Morgan, Calendar, to 211/0). Ekphantos' generalship is likely to have occurred around this time. His soldiers set up his statue here surely because it was where they served (not because Ekphantos was a demesman of Thria, as Launey suggested).

There were at least sixty-five soldiers, of whom at least 10 were foreigners (lines 10, 16, 17, 23, 46, 48, 49, 65, 70, 83).

Line 22: Nikomachos of Lamptraí may be the same as the Nikomachos son of Kineas of Lamptraí who appears together with his father in a list around this time (*Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 60, no. 49.4); on this family see Davies, *APF* 12883, with stemma.

Line 38: The Kephisodoros son of Aristodemos of Xypete who proposed a decree in 228/7 (*IG* II² 832, with Morgan's date) may be related. Habicht assumes that he is indeed the same person as the soldier listed here, and also identical to the Kephisodoros who was honored in 184/3 for his thirty-year career as politician (Moretti, *ISE* 33 = *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 419-428 [date, A. Matthaiou, *Horos* 6, 1988, pp. 13-18]; *PA* 8353; Habicht, *Studien* pp. 124-127). If this is correct, Kephisodoros was a member of the Boule before the thirty-year period for which he was honored; later, when he was at least forty years old, served as a common soldier at Eleusis; and finally, at the age of at least seventy-five, was honored for his thirty-year career. While this is theoretically possible, military service as a common soldier at such an age seems a bit unlikely. Earlier members of this family appear on a grave stele, *IG* II² 6932, dated by Kirchner to "med. s. IV a".

Line 71: Nikanor was serving as soldier at Eleusis already in 224/3 (200.2, with Morgan's date).

Line 72: Habicht suggests (personal communication) that Epixenos of Oion is the father of Ἀνδράγαθος Ἐπιξένου, whose name he restores as the prohedros of the Demos in *Agora* XV 94.5, a document which must belong to the late third or early second century (Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 71, 74); and he points out that a grave inscription for this Andragathos was found at Eleusis (S. N. Koumanoudis, *Νέον Ἀθήναιον* 3, 1958-60, p. 9, no. 4 = *SEG* XVIII 107).

Line 89: Launey suggested that the secretary (cf. also 184.49) was chosen by the state, but this is uncertain.

211. DECREE OF ATHENIAN SOLDIERS AND ΥΠΑΙΘΡΟΙ IN HONOR OF THEIR GENERAL, DEMAINETOS HERMOKLEOUS ATHMONEUS. For the archon dates see Morgan, Calendar. The document ought to date shortly after Demainetos's last generalship, viz. after 210/09, since his services in this office are described in past time. The decree was therefore most likely passed early in 209/8, but in any case before the celebration of the Haloa in Poseideon (line 47).

Line 1: On the location of Panakton see above, II.196.38-39.

Line 2: The ὑπαίθροιοι were evidently citizens recruited to patrol the frontier regions of Attica; see Y. Garlan, *BCH* 102, 1978, pp. 105-106, commenting on a suggestion of J. H. Kent, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 342-350, who saw them as third-century successors to the περίπολοι (for the latter's presence at Eleusis cf. 80). Garlan points out that the documentation suggests, rather, that they were created after the liberation of Athens in 229, and that they were recruited from the citizen body; in the present document lines 1-2, 42-43, 55-58 certainly indicate that they were citizens. In the decree edited by Garlan the phrase Ἀθηναίων [τ]οῖς στρατευόμενοις ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι [τῶν ὑπαίθρων] reveals that not all ὑπαίθροιοι served as soldiers in the fort at Rhamnous (an analogous situation at Eleusis is reflected in 200); and line 10 suggests that those who did, lived in tents. In the present document of the year 209, the dedications at the end (lines 55-66, originally inscribed within painted crowns) show that ὑπαίθροιοι at this time had joined the soldiers at Eleusis but not those at Panakton or Phyle.

Demainetos son of Hermokles of Athmonon is attested only in this document.

Lines 3-13: Here are described Demainetos' many (other) services to the city, in advance of the section that describes his three terms as general. Ferguson assumed that these (other) services, which include several embassies to the Aetolians and to Philip (V of Macedon), chronologically preceded Demainetos' first generalship, but Habicht demonstrated that this is impossible: the embassies must have taken place in the course of the Social War, from 220 to 217; this section is not chronological but simply describes Demainetos's *other* services to the state, before the decree moves on his three terms as general, i.e. the specific services that prompted this decree.

Lines 13-25: In his three years as general – 218/7, 214/3, and 210/09 – Demainetos apparently did not face any unusual perils but kept the forts and soldiers in western Attica in a good state of readiness and earned the respect of the men who served under him.

Lines 25-39: Here are described the more specific services which Demainetos rendered during his generalships.

Lines 25-28: This information reveals that the Greater Eleusinia (the penteteric celebration) took place in the third year of the Olympiad; see Clinton and Morgan.

J. Mansfield advised me that the expression τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ought not to mean "the Eleusinians" (as I translated in *AJP*) but "the soldiers stationed at Eleusis." However, this may also be too restrictive; the phrase seems to indicate all those currently at Eleusis: civilians (demesmen, other Athenians and foreigners) and the soldiers and ὑπαίθροιοι, i.e. perhaps even a broader group than Ἐλευσίνιοι καὶ οἱ οἰκ[κ]οῦντες Ἐλε[υσί]νι Ἀθηναῖοι (188.21-22).

Lines 28-30: The Mysteries were of course an annual festival. The soldiers were on hand to provide security, whether or not it was actually needed.

Lines 32-36: Demainetos saw to it that the soldiers' material needs were taken care of: their

salary (ὀψώνια), food supply, and clothing. On ὀψώνια as salary cf. Launey, *Recherches* II p. 726, etc. προδιδούς indicates (as Dittenberger pointed out) that Demainetos advanced the money for the clothing, for which he was later reimbursed by the state.

Line 46: αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ: probably the courtyard in front of the Telesterion; see II.Introduction, “αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4.

Line 47: On the Haloa and the announcement of honors during it see II.196.Introduction, “The Festivals,” p. 254.

Line 49: On the secretary see II.210.90.

Line 53: A Philoumene daughter of Kleitophon of Iphistiadai on a *columella*, “init s. II a.” (IG II² 6301), ought to be this soldier’s daughter.

Xenophon son of Ekphantos of Berenikidai proposed decrees in the first decade of the second century (*Agora* XV 165, 187; on the dates, Habicht, *Studien* pp. 172, Meritt, *Archons* p. 180). His grave was in Eleusis (IG II² 5888). His father, as restored by Habicht, proposed 203.

Lines 57-58: The ὑπαῖθοι appear only together with the soldiers stationed at Eleusis; they are not mentioned in the dedications of the soldiers at Panakton or Phyle. We should probably conclude that at this time in the western Attica district only the fort at Eleusis was making use of the temporary services of the ὑπαῖθοι.

212. DEDICATION SIGNED BY BATON OF HERACLEIA. On the sculptor, whose name appears on two other bases, IG II² 4280-4281, see Loewy no. 61, and C. Robert, *RE* 3 (1897), col. 144. In Pliny’s time his statues of Hera and Apollo stood in the temple of Concordia at Rome (*Nat.* 34.73), and he was known to have made *athletas et armatos et venatores sacrificantesque* (34.91).

213. DEDICATION. It is not clear that the demotic belongs with the name directly above it.

216. STATUE BASE? The crowns are evidently of myrtle. The stone undoubtedly came from the Eleusinian sanctuary, given the subject matter and the fact that all other ancient inscriptions found at the Monastery were brought from Eleusis.

The closest parallel to the language of the central crown is offered by 236. One of the Eleusinian γένη was probably named in the first line of this crown, and the man’s office, probably a priesthood, was given in the second.

217. HONORARY BASE DEDICATED BY SOLDIERS STATIONED AT ELEUSIS? This monument presumably honored a commanding officer. The crown may be one of three, representing the garrisons of western Attica (Ἀθηναίων οἱ τεταγμένοι), οἱ Ἐλευσῖνι, οἱ ἐν Πανάκτῳ, οἱ ἐπὶ Φυλῇ (cf. 211.54-65), though these short formulas do not occur elsewhere, to my knowledge. The usual formula for the garrison at Eleusis is οἱ Ἐλευσῖνι τεταγμένοι.

219 bis. CROWN. Skias did not attempt restoration.

Line 2: [ἐκ] Κερ[αμέων]?

220. DECREE. This is most likely a decree of the Boule and Demos, but the most one can say about its subject matter is that it concerns construction, perhaps of a fortification wall (lines 7-8).

Line 3: This may be a proper name, Πολίτου.

Lines 9-10: Perhaps ὑπερτιθέμε]νος ἑαυτ[όν.

Line 11: Perhaps Ἀ]γαθίαι. So Skias.

Line 12: Perhaps Ἀγαθία[ς. So Skias.

221. DECREE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI AND KERYKES IN HONOR OF PHILONIDES OF LAODICEA AND HIS SONS. The decree honors Philonides and his two sons, Philonides and Dikaiarchos, primarily for their hospitality toward the Eleusinian spondophoroi (line 13). Their treatment of the spondophoroi must have been described in the lost beginning; the preserved part recounts their earlier good relations with Athens. The Eumolpidae and the Kerykes reinforce the significance of the honorands' benefaction by referring to themselves as τοῖς γένε]σιν ἐξ ὧν οἱ σπονδοφόροι ἐκπέμποντα[ι, and by putting this definition of themselves in the δεδόχθαι clause (line 14), instead of simply Κήρυξι καὶ Εὐμολπίδαις (as in **201**). Philonides and his sons were from Laodicea-on-the-sea in Syria: a Delphic list of θεωροδοκοῦντες mentions ἐν Λαοδικεῖαι ταῖ π<ο>τ[ῖ θάλασσαι Φιλωνίδας Φιλωνίδα καὶ ὁ ἀ[δελφὸς αὐτοῦ] Δικαίαρχος Φιλωνί[δα] (*BCH* 45, 1921, p. 24, lines IV.78-80), and a Delphic decree of 168/7 honors Δικαίαρχον Φιλωνίδα Λαοδικέα for his hospitality toward Delphic θεωροί (*OGIS* 241 = G. Daux, *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècles*, Paris 1936, p. 512, ed. Nikitsky; for the date, H. Pomtow, *PhilWoch* 30, 1910, cols. 1080-1082, using the arguments of Nikitsky; cf. Daux, *op. cit.* p. 511). It is a bit difficult to decide which Philonides, father or son, was the Epicurean philosopher whose biography is preserved in *PHerc* 1044 (the edition of Crönert, *SBBerl*, has recently been replaced by that of I. Gallo, with a good account of his life); cf. R. Philippson, *RE* 20 (1941) cols. 63-73, s.v. *Philonides*, with the comments of Toomer p. 187, note 46, and Gallo). Koehler, *SBBerl*, believed that the question was decided by the mention of a Dikaiarchos in the papyrus (twice), whom he took to be the philosopher's brother. In one instance Gallo has now restored Δι]καίαρχον ἔχω τ[ὸν ἀδελφ]όν (frag. 22, lines 25-26). Even if the restoration were certain, it would not solve the problem. It is quite possible that the elder Philonides had a brother by this name. See the discussion *ad* line 2.

What is of most interest with regard to the Eleusinian Mysteries is the fact that in the first half of the second century the spondophoroi were travelling as far abroad as Syria. They apparently did so as a matter of course, for *IG* II² 785.20 of 184/3 (the date, Lewis, *Horos* 6, 1988, pp. 19-20) attests their presence in Antioch. If the Philonides and Dikaiarchos in the Delphic inscriptions are the sons of the man honored here, it seems safe to assume that the sons did not limit their hospitality to the θεωροί from Delphi but continued their father's custom of offering hospitality to the spondophoroi of the Mysteries as well. In view of their regard for the spondophoroi and the

esteem in which they were held by the Eumolpidai and Kerykes we may reasonably infer that Philonides and his sons were initiates. Therefore, no matter whether the Epicurean was the father or the son, this document preserves the interesting fact that an Epicurean philosopher was an Eleusinian initiate and entertained Eleusinian spondophoroi in his home. On Epicureans as initiates see II.291.

The broader role of this family is well summarized by Koehler, *SBBerl*: “Philonides der Ältere und seine beiden Söhne haben zu den vornehmen Griechen gehört, welche in der Gunst oder dem Dienst hellenistischer Könige stehend, diplomatisch gewissermassen die Fäden zwischen den griechischen Staaten und den Königen in der Hand hielten, und die im Ganzen genommen eine nicht ganz unwichtige Stelle in der Zeitgeschichte einnehmen.”

Other possible members of this family are suggested by Wilhelm, *Beiträge*.

Line 1: 'Ε]λεϋ[σιν is possible.

Line 2: There is some probability in assuming that the kings, presumably Seleucids, are Seleucus IV Philopator (187-175) and Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164), because the stonecutter of this inscription is attested for the years 199/8-176/5. However, an assumption of a working span of forty years for the stonecutter is not impossible, so that we cannot altogether rule out identifying one of the βασιλεῖς with Demetrius I (162-150).

If one of the βασιλεῖς is Demetrius I, the question of the identity of the philosopher becomes simpler to answer. He ought to be the person honored in this decree, a man who was an active and skillful diplomat. He ought not to be the son, for the son is not the person honored in the first instance; he merely accompanied his father on one of his trips to Athens – hardly a role that seems right for a man who was as close to Demetrius as the philosopher was.

There is an additional consideration. If we assume that the βασιλεῖς are Antiochus and Demetrius, and the philosopher is Philonides the younger, then the father, if he married at the customary age, should be at the time of this document around seventy-five years old, since the son ought to be *at least* forty. This, too, does not make a great deal of sense and reinforces the unlikelihood of combining a date in the reign of Demetrius with the assumption that the son is the philosopher.

The assumption that the son is the philosopher would make better sense if the date of this decree were ca. 180 (or earlier), when the son was a young man. In this case the βασιλεῖς would be Antiochus III and Seleucus IV. Indeed, a date ca. 180 would most easily accommodate all our data. But a date ca. 180 would also be consistent with identification of the father as the philosopher. Since the sons were named in the grant of citizenship to their father and themselves, they ought to be of sufficient age to exercise Athenian citizenship, i.e. eighteen or older; cf. Osborne p. 151. The grant seems to have occurred on an earlier visit. Thus ca. 180 Philonides the son could be in his early twenties, Dikaiarchos a bit younger. The father could therefore be ca. fifty years old now, ca. seventy years old in 160.

If the father is the philosopher, then a date as late as ca. 160 would be theoretically possible for this decree. In this case the βασιλεῖς could be Antiochus IV, Antiochus V, and Demetrius I, but the sons are then not likely to be the θεωροδοκοῦντες who appear in Delphic inscriptions in 168/7.

Line 7: Koehler, *SBBerl*, suggested that Philonides may have been captured on a sea voyage by Cretan pirates; but other possibilities are imaginable.

Line 8: Philonides was clearly a skilled speaker and diplomat.

Line 13: For the restorations see *Sacred Officials*.

Line 15: On the spondophoroi, see II.Introduction, "Spondophoroi," pp. 20-22.

Line 19: The kindly disposition of the honorands ought to be toward the bodies that moved this decree, hence the restoration τὰ γένη.

Line 20: Toepffer made the reasonable suggestion that the singular ἄρχοντα was written by mistake instead of the plural. It is perhaps not altogether impossible, however, that there was only one archon at this time for both clans; 201 refers to the clans as τῶι γένει τῶι τε Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶν (though they have separate archons).

222. DEDICATION. The honorand's name starts at the end of line 2; his patronymic and demotic, the ends of which are preserved, follow in line 3, written in letters slightly larger and more widely spaced.

Line 1: The only patronymic and demotic that fit are Krates of Marathon, otherwise unknown.

Line 2: [τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ]ν is also possible, which would require correspondingly longer lacunas in lines 1 and 3.

223. STATUE BASE. The name Βοίδιον Λυσιφῶντος Ἀλιμουσίου θυγάτηρ, known from a late fourth-century grave inscription (*IG II² 5534*), would fit the space in lines 3-4, but in view of the chronological distance it remains only a possibility. The demotic [Σφηττ]ίου, on the other hand, would avoid word division.

Kapetanopoulos speculates on a possible association with the daduchic family from Acharnai in which the names Xenokles and Leontios occur (see 298).

224. LIST OF DONORS. The style of the letters and the prosopography of this list of donors yield a date somewhat before the middle of the second century. The precise purpose of their donations is, unfortunately, unknown, but it must have had to do with repair or construction of structures at the sanctuary. At this time the sanctuary could not count on funds from the Polis, which lacked its own resources for such projects and relied heavily on foreign gifts; cf. Habicht, *Athens* p. 227.

The amounts donated appeared to the left or right of the donors' names, more likely to the left. There were of course additional columns of names to the left.

Line 10: His son, Epigenes (*PA* 4812), proposed a decree in 124/3 (*Agora XV* 251.5) and was epimelete of Delos before 126/5; his grandson, Epigenes son of Dios, was ephebe ca. 80 B.C. (*IG II² 1039.88*) and thesmothete in 56/5 (*IG II² 1717*); cf. S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 1, p. 159.

Line 14: Kirchner identified him with Sosimachos son of Meneclēs of Alopeke who appears in a catalog "ca. 140 a." (*IG II² 2445.1*).

Line 15: Kirchner identified him with Aristomachos son of Sthenelos of Melite who was one of the epimeletai of the procession at the Dionysia in 186/5 (*IG II² 896.43*).

Line 19: He appears in other lists of donors around this time (*IG II² 2332.322* [his father was donor], 2334.47); his father supervised on Delos the dedication of statues of King Pharnaces of

Pontos and his wife Nysa in 196/5 (*I. Délos* 1497bis. 45); see stemma *ad IG* II² 2334 and Tracy, *AM* 107, 1992, p. 310.

225. DEDICATION (?) IN HONOR OF NOU[MENIOS HALAIEUS], EPIMELETE OF THE PROCESSION AT THE DIONYSIA. The ivy suggests a Dionysiac context. The deme of Eleusis had a sanctuary of Dionysus (see above, 70, etc.), but the deme is not known to have issued ivy crowns. The crown is unlikely to refer to the office of epimelete of the Mysteries, since the appropriate crown in that case would be myrtle. The office is that of epimelete of the procession at the Dionysia; *AthPol* 56.4; see Rhodes, *Commentary*, *ad loc.* The crown therefore would be one of several presenting the various offices held by a man who was honored here for some Eleusinian service, perhaps for having been epimelete of the Mysteries.

Lines 3-4: The man is Noumenios son of Menandros of Halai, who was epimelete of the procession in 186/5 (*IG* II² 896.47).

227. LIST OF VICTORS IN THE ELEUSINIA. This and the following document are undoubtedly lists of victors at the Eleusinia, as Dow and Kirchner recognized. They offer our most extensive testimony concerning the athletic contests at this festival.

We know from 177.387-390 that both the penteteric and trieteric celebrations of this festival had gymnastic, musical, and horse-racing contests, in addition to a πάτριος ἀγών of unknown type. A herald's contest is attested for the Greater Eleusinia by *I. Délos* 2552.

The following athletic contests are attested for the Eleusinia:

CONTEST	DOCUMENT
mule team	227.2, 20; 228
σφαλεῖ	227.5
spear-throwing (παλτόν)	227.7
long jump	1
discus	6
wrestling	227.9; <i>IG</i> II ² 3124; Moretti no. 51
wrestling for ἀγένειοι	Moretti no. 51
pa[n]cratation?	227.14
pancratation	Moretti no. 51
pentathlon	1; Moretti no. 61.4
long distance race (δόλιχος)	<i>IG</i> II ² 3143; Moretti no. 66
diaulos	Moretti no. 59
hoplite	Moretti nos. 45, 59
horserace of thoroughbreds (ἵππος κέλῃς)	227.11
two-horse sulky (συνωρίς)	64
race of war horses	227.22; 228
race of war chariots	228
straight-course (ἀκάμπιον)	<i>IG</i> II ² 3148; <i>SEG</i> LII 172
processional chariot	<i>SEG</i> LII 172

The long jump attested by 1 was probably part of the pentathlon. The contests attested by 64 and Moretti nos. 59 and 61 were held at the Greater Eleusinia. The gymnastic contests at the Eleusinia were undoubtedly divided into the typical groupings by age: παῖδες, ἀγένειοι, ἄνδρες. If the restoration of line 20 is correct, then the contests in the first column were presumably open to a different category of Athenians (e.g. cavalry); Strasser, *RPh* 75, 2001, pp. 273-286 (= *SEG* LII 147), assumes that the second column represents a different year, and that all the contests listed in 227 and 228 are equestrian; but in the absence of a much more complete list of victories at the Eleusinia, certainty is impossible for either view.

Comparison with the next document suggests that line 23 is the end of the entire list, for the last four contests in the second column here seem to be the same as those listed last in the next list.

Line 2: The mule-team race is attested for no other festival except the Olympia for a period in the fifth century (Paus. 5.9.2), and apparently the Panathenaia in the sixth century (Kyle, *Athletics* p. 187).

Line 3: Perhaps an adopted son of the man listed in lines 19 and 21.

Line 4: Perhaps γόνωι δ]ὲ Διονυσίου.

Line 5: Hsch. s.v. σφαλλός (σφαλός): δισκοειδές τι σκεῦος μολύβδινον ἔχον κρίκον, ὃ δεσμοῦντες ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ῥίπτουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι (Poll. 8.72). This contest is not attested epigraphically; its name, presumably σφαλή, occurs only here. Cf. Dow and Kirchner and Strasser, *op. cit.* p. 281, who prefers the correction σφαλῶι.

Line 7: Throwing a light spear according to Dow and Kirchner, not otherwise attested as a gymnastic contest; Strasser, *op. cit.*, argues that it was an equestrian contest.

Line 9: Strasser, *op. cit.*, assumes that this is an equestrian contest and presents the hypothesis that the word is from an unattested πᾶλος, πάλους, meaning “pike”: this would be a contest in which a rider drives a pike into a target. However, πάλει is a common spelling at this period for the dative of πάλῃ. The hypothesis depends on the assumption that only equestrian contests occur on this fragment.

Line 12: The same man, apparently, won ἵππῳ δίαυλον in the Panathenaia ca. 166 (*IG* II² 2316.38-39); for the prosopography of the family see Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, p. 228, who date *IG* II² 2316 a few years later, *ibid.* p. 218.

Line 13: Perhaps Ἡράκων Π[ε]ρίθωνος Ἰπποθωντίδος φυλῆς], victor in παῖδας πυγμὴν τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας at the Theseia of 161/0 (*IG* II² 956.II.65); if so, then our document must be dated a few years later.

Lines 19, 21: A descendant of Φυλεὺς Πανσανίου Οἰναῖος, honored in 335/4 (*IG* II² 330), proposer of a decree in 328/7 (*IG* II² 360.59), councillor ca. 314/3 (*Agora* XV 72.204). For the prosopography of the family see *LGNP* s.v. He is listed as a victor in the following document, apparently in a different contest.

Line 23: Identified by Dow and Kirchner with the victor in ἵππῳ πολεμιστῇ δίαυλον ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχων at the Theseia ca. 158/7 (*IG* II² 957.71) and with Θεόδωρος Χαρικλέους Φαληρεὺς in a list of prominent men set up ca. 125 (*IG* II² 2452.5); for other references to his offices see *LGNP* s.v. He appears twice in the preserved portion of the following document, as victor in different contests.

228. LIST OF VICTORS IN THE ELEUSINIA. On the contests see commentary to the preceding document and *SEG* LII, 148-149. Although the finding place of this document is unknown, the fact that it was stored in the Eleusis Museum when Kirchner and Dow found it tends to confirm that the contests belong to the Eleusinia. Comparison of victors here with those in the preceding document shows that they belong to different years, but are not far apart.

Side A

This seems to be the end of the list of victors.

Line 1: Perhaps the same person as Πολυκλῆς A[- -], 227.15.

Line 3: See II.227.19, 21.

Lines 5, 7: See II.227.23.

Side B

Unfortunately the sense of this decree or law is unclear.

229. DECREES OF THE ATHENIANS AND ELEUSINIANS IN HONOR OF PAMPHILOS ARCHONTOS ELEUSINIOS, DEMARCH. The Athenians honor Pamphilos son of Archon, demarch of the Eleusinians, for performance of favorable sacrifices at the Haloa and the Chloia, participation in the Kalamaia, and financial contributions to that festival. In the decree of the deme he is also praised for sacrifices and other services at the local Dionysia; this festival is not mentioned in the Athenian decree, presumably because it was not a state festival. Thus the Athenian decree makes clear that the Haloa, Chloia, and Kalamaia were all state festivals held at Eleusis in which the demarch could participate, but were unlike the Mysteria and Eleusinia, state festivals in which there is no attested participation by the demarch.

Line 1: For the year of Pelops see Meritt, Archons p. 182, and Habicht, *Studien* pp. 162-163.

Line 5: An ancestor and a descendant of the proposer are attested; see *ad IG* II² 5865.

Lines 7-8: On the Haloa see Deubner, *Feste* pp. 60-67. The present passage confirms that Demeter and Kore were the principal deities. A scholion to Lucian p. 279, line 25 states that Dionysus was also a major deity. The ἄρχοντες who, according to the scholion, administered the festival were more likely local officials, such as the demarch, than the Athenian archons, but it is of course possible that the basileus had a role.

On the Chloia see Deubner, *Feste* p. 67; Foucart *op. cit.* p. 328. The festival probably took place in the late winter or early spring; so Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum* 55: περὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ τῇ Χλόῃ Δήμητρι θύουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ χαρᾶς, ἰδόντες χλοάζοντα καὶ ἀφθονίας αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδα ὑποδεικνύντα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλοῦτος τῆς Δήμητρος υἱὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

Lines 8-11: The Kalamaia, the festival of the grain stalks, probably took place later on in the spring; for the festival, Deubner, *Feste* pp. 67-68; Foucart, *op. cit.* pp. 328-329. (At Miletus and some of its colonies the month Kalamaion roughly corresponded to the Attic Skirophorion; A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972 [= *HdA* I.7]) pp. 114-118. The present document is our main source of information. There was a procession κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, in which the demarch participated along with the hierophant and the “priestesses.” We can easily assume that the latter group included the priestess of Demeter and Kore, but it is impossible to be precise about the others. At any rate, this was an ancestral festival of Eleusis, and local officials probably

shared in its administration long before Eleusis formally became a Cleisthenic deme. The eponymous hero of the festival, Kalamites, was Eleusinian (Clinton, *Iconography* p. 106; *LIMC* s.v. *Kalamites*).

On the αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ see II.Introduction, “αὐλή τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4.

Lines 18-19: Myrtle crowns were worn by the priests of the Mysteries; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 32; but they were also awarded to benefactors of cults of Demeter and Kore; cf. *ibid.* p. 71.

Line 30: Xenokrates (*PA* 11248) also proposed decrees in 184/3 (*Agora* XV 180.6) and 169/8 (*Agora* XV 212.6 = *IG* II² 910); for the prosopography see *Agora* XV p. 435, s.v. *Ξενοκράτης Ἐλευσίνιος*.

Lines 32-33: On the local Dionysia see II.Introduction, “Dionysia,” p. 25. The demarch’s functions in this festival, which was the most important one celebrated by the Eleusinians alone, show that he was the principal religious official of the deme; on the procession, see Clinton, *Iconography*.

230. DECREE IN HONOR OF [---]MEDES DEMETRIOU HAMAXANTEUS. It is possible that the honorand, [- - -]medes son of Demetrios of Hamaxanteia, was a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, but τὴν χώ[ραν] in line 4 may be construed in other ways. Unfortunately it is unclear which civic body passed this decree, and this is reflected in the restorations.

Line 3: This seems to be more likely part of a formula such as ὅπως ἂν [ο]ῦν εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εὐχάριστος ὢν διατελεῖ τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν φιλοτιμουμένοις (*IG* II² 908.7-8) rather than the type εὐχρηστον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζει.

Line 6: Perhaps he was honored together with (σύν) some relatives.

Lines 7-12: The type of formula here is akin to that found in some prytany decrees: στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ὧι πάτριόν ἐστιν στεφανοῦν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἐπικεχωρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν καὶ τοῖς αἰσίτοις ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος ἀνάθεσιν ἐν ᾧ αἰτοῦνται τόπω ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐπιγρ[αφὴν] τήνδε. Cf. *IG* II² 1048-1050. However, the present text does not appear to be a prytany decree.

The type of crown, θαλλοῦ in prytany decrees, is here uncertain. In line 8 we do not know which group received permission to set up the statue. The location of the statue, unlike that in the prytany decrees cited, appears to be a definite place, in relation to a temple. In line 11 the inscription is for the statue base and would bear the name of the civic body which honored this man.

231. DEDICATION SIGNED BY EUCHEIR AND EUBOULIDES KROPIDAI. This father-and-son team of sculptors was active around the middle of the second century. The father, Eucheir son of Euboulides, made a statue for the temple of Hermes at Pheneus (Paus. 8.100), and according to Pliny, *NH* 34.91, created *athletas ... et armatos et venatores sacrificantesque*. Several statue bases by the father alone, by both father and son, and by the son alone are preserved; see *ad IG* II² 4291 and *PA* 6151; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 164, no. 63; 30, 1961, pp. 256-257, no. 5; and especially Despinis. Euboulides alone signed the following statue base (232).

232. DEDICATION SIGNED BY EUBOULIDES EUCHEIROS KROPIDES. The dedication must have been inscribed on the block above.

This sculptor appears with his father, also a sculptor, in the preceding inscription (**231**). He was an epimelete in Peiraeus ca. 150-140 (*IG II²* 1939.64; for the date, Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* p. 140). For the prosopography of the family see *IG II²* 4291, *PA* 5331, and especially Despinis (with stemma, note 79), who discusses the work of the sculptor.

233. DECREE (OF THE EUMOLPIDAI?) HONORING ARISTOKLES OF PERITHOIDAI, HIEROPHANT. For a full commentary see my previous edition and Woodhead's. There is some likelihood that this is a decree of the Eumolpidae. In any case, a copy of this sort of document would ordinarily be set up also at Eleusis. **234** may represent yet another copy of this document, set up in the center of Athens. If so, then the present copy would be the one set up in the Eleusinion. Woodhead suggests the possibility that the delta in line 3 is an error: [Ἐλευσι]ν(δ)ίωι. Secure examples of Ἐλευσινίωι without a preceding article, however, are rare: **638.41**, ἐν Ἐλευσινίωι τῶι ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει; *LSCG* 18.B.3-4 (= *SEG* XXI 541), ἐν Ἐλευσινίωι ἐν ἄστει, in a sacred law where curtailment is typical.

On the year of the archon Lysiades see Habicht, *Hesperia* 57, 1988, pp. 237-247 (= *Aufsätze* pp. 311-322).

New information is now available about the age of this hierophant. Tracy identified the hand of *IG II²* 1934 as that of his "Cutter of Agora I 6006," whose known working dates are 169/8 to 135/4 (*Letter-Cutters* pp. 155-156). The hierophant who dedicated this monument is [ἱεροφάν]της Νουφράδου Περιθοίδης. Habicht and Tracy realized that this man must be identified with the Aristokles son of Nuphrades of Perithoidai who was ephebe in the archonship of Sostratos, viz. ca. 210/09 (*Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 90-91, no. 3, line 25; the year is possibly 207/6 according to Morgan) and with the Aristokles of Perithoidai honored in the present decree. This provides the welcome information that this hierophant, who was appointed in the archonship of Hermogenes, viz. 183/2, was ca. 42-45 years old (depending on the date of the archonship of Sostratos) at the time of his appointment and ca. 76-80 years old at the time of the present decree. For discussion of Aristokles and his family see *Sacred Officials*; for new prosopographical details, Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, pp. 207-208.

The custom of hieronymy is first attested during the *hierophanteia* of Aristokles (see above, II.Introduction, "Hieronymy," pp. 13-15). Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* p. 156, note 10, associates with this hierophant *IG II²* 736, which concerns "repair" and τεμένη.

234. DECREE (OF THE EUMOLPIDAI?) HONORING ARIS[TOKLES OF PERITHOIDAI], HIEROPHANT. This decree was evidently issued by a γένος (line 13), probably the Eumolpidae, and this is reflected in my restorations. The restoration of the end of line 12 is given *exempli gratia*, and in line 6 εὐσεβείας is merely a possibility.

In my previous edition I suggested that **233** may represent another copy of this decree. Difficulties seemed to be posed by the hand and the length of the lines. Tracy has now removed

the former difficulty, and the latter is not a serious one, since the length of the lines in the present decree is not absolutely certain, and in any case the widths of the three stelai may have differed.

235. DEDICATION (?) OF AMYNOMACHOS EUKLEOUS HALAIEUS, HIEROPHANT. For discussion of this hierophant see *Sacred Officials* p. 27, hierophant no. 12. (Tracy identified him as the dedicant of another base, of which we can only read [- - -]μαχος Εὐκλέου[ς - - - -] [Agora I 6200 = *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 269, no. 97 = *SEG* XXI 809].) He most likely succeeded his brother Aristokles, probably not long after 149 B.C. (see II.233). He is probably to be identified with the hierophant honored in the following monument (236), in which case he served as epimelete of the Mysteries in 169/8.

There may have been a third line, with [ἀνέθηκεν] centered in it. On the other hand, the absence of hieronymy would suggest, at least according to later practice, that this monument was set up after his death in commemoration of his service; cf. 242, 462, 465, 466 (possibly), 630, 631, 646, 650. It also became customary to honor in this way deceased persons who had some special association with the sanctuary: e.g., 345, 349, 399, 476, 659, 661.

236. DEDICATION IN HONOR OF A HIEROPHANT. The dedication may have been inscribed on an upper block which is now missing.

The γέννη τὰ περὶ τῷ Θεῷ were the Eumolpidae and Kerykes acting together; see Clinton.

The working span of the letter-cutter, viz. ca. 169-135, overlaps with the term of the hierophant Aristokles, who served from 183/2 to at least ca. 148 (see II.233). However, the hierophant honored in the present monument cannot be Aristokles: the present hierophant served as epimelete of the Mysteries in 169/8 (A.10-14), and it would be impossible to assume both offices simultaneously. Therefore, the honorand must be a successor of Aristokles, most likely his immediate successor, viz. Aynomachos son of Eukles of Halai (see 235), who happened to be his brother. He may be the same as the man who was honored by a monument in the Agora (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 82-83, no. 30 [= *SEG* XVI 162]) for his service as epimelete of the Mysteries in 169/8 and 184/3.

Line A.3: The uppermost crowns are symmetrical in that they honor the incumbent hierophant: the two combined *gene* on the front, but separately on either side.

Line A.8: The bronze statue is the result of the *combined* efforts of the two *gene*.

Lines B.1-6: The restorations assume symmetry with Face C.

Lines B.7-10: A past office, as the aorist participle indicates.

Lines B.14-16: The following restoration may be considered:

[ἐπὶ Ἡρα]κλεί-
15 [του ἄρχου]ν-
[το]ς

Thus an honor for an office held in 137/6. It seems likely that all past offices were dated, as in lines A.10-14.

237. DECREE CONCERNING MEASURES AND WEIGHTS. It is not impossible that the οἶκος at Eleusis ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ κεῖται, where this decree was displayed (lines 56-57, 62), was within the walls of the sanctuary. At any rate, the document bears important witness to the market at Eleusis and to its supervision by the hierophant and men appointed (perhaps by him) (lines 48-49). As it is beyond the scope of this edition to offer technical commentary on weights and measures, the following comments are largely limited to matters concerning the sanctuary and its main festival.

The market at Eleusis may have been quite important in western Attica because it was undoubtedly supplied through the local port, but it was of critical importance at the time of the πανήγυρις of the Mysteries (655): a special coinage was minted for the festival and its market (Kroll, *Agora* XXVI pp. 27-48). Thus it is no surprise that Eleusis was one of three sites in Attica where the master weights and measures (τὰ σύμβολα) were kept (lines 1, 39-42, 56-57). The οἶκος at Eleusis apparently was created after the third quarter of the fourth century, for only the Asty and the Peiraeus are mentioned in the *AthPol* (51.2) as official sites of weights and measures. The fact that all fines are dedicated to Demeter and Kore (line 13) perhaps reflects an effort to procure funds for the sanctuary in this period.

Line 8: The σηκώματα, equivalents of the master weights and measures, were the ones actually used in trade; cf. Viedebantt and Kirchner *ad loc.* and the discussion above, II.179.

Line 10: Several words are missing here: this stipulation should not be limited to liquid measures but include them all. Thus the cutter or Fourmont evidently omitted, following ὕγρὰ: <καὶ τὰ ξηρὰ καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ>.

Line 43: χαλκῶν may not be correct. σηκώματα of other materials surely existed; e.g., in line 25 wooden *choinikes* and in *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 73-76, no. 1 (= *SEG* XXIV 157) bronze grain measures are mentioned.

Lines 48-49: The task seems an appropriate duty of the epimeletai of the Mysteries (on their establishment and duties, II.138). That it is done instead by the hierophant suggests that the epimeletai of the Mysteries no longer exist, and that the hierophant is now the chief administrator of the sanctuary.

238. STATUE BASE FOR LYSIAS ARTEMONOS PAIANIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. *Line 1:* The honorand is probably identical with the homonymous ephebe in 107/6 (*IG* II² 1011.I.106); see Clinton. Therefore his year as παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας was a bit earlier. His grandfather was priest of Apollo διὰ βίου in the last quarter of the century (*IG* II² 2452.21; *FD* III 2, 5.7; H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 20, 1971, p. 33; but Kirchner and Follet, *Topoi* 8, 1998, p. 254, identified him with the initiate from hearth).

Line 3: For the prosopography see Kirchner *ad loc.*; *IG* II² 6920; stemma *ad IG* II² 3488; Tracy, *IG* II² 2336, p. 201. Dositheos was thesmothete in 100/99 (*IG* II² 2336.156).

Line 4: See stemma *ad IG* II² 3488. Theodote and Onesako were evidently cousins.

239. RELIEF DEDICATED BY [LAKRATEIDES SOSTRATOU IKARI]EUS. This, the largest relief found at Eleusis, is of great importance for our understanding of the cult and its gods: see my discussion in *Iconography*.

The figures in the relief are, from left to right: a boy standing and holding ears of wheat, probably Ploutos; behind him a woman, to right, standing; Demeter, to right, seated; Kore, to left, standing, holding a torch; Plouton, to left, standing, holding a scepter; Triptolemus, to left, sitting in his chariot drawn by snakes; Thea standing; Theos, to left, sitting, with a scepter; Lakrateides, to left, standing in the background in flat relief; Eubouleus standing, holding a torch, dressed in a short tunic.

Line 1: The date of this document can be approximately ascertained from the documentation for Lakrateides and his family.

Lakrateides son of Sostratos of Ikaria (*PA* 8971; stemma, 13354; *NPA* p. 59), here priest of the God, the Goddess, and Eubouleus (*Sacred Officials* p. 97), was thesmothete in 98/7 (Tracy, *IG II²* 2336, line 200, and cf. p. 208; *FD III 2*, 2.11 = Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* p. 50, line 24). His younger son Dionysios was ephebe in 106/5 (*FD III 2*, 25.I.9); hence the present dedication ought to be earlier than this year, i.e. when Dionysios was still a παῖς. His elder son Sostratos was pythaist in 106/5 (*IG II²* 1941.7; *FD III 2*, 14.9), hence older than an ephebe, which would suggest a date for this monument some years prior to 106/5, before Sostratos' *ephebeia*.

On the priesthood of the God, Goddess, and Eubouleus see *Sacred Officials* p. 97; *Iconography* pp. 51-52, 56, note 152, 114-115. Since neither the priesthood nor any descendants of Lakrateides are mentioned among the Kerykes in 300 (the decree in honor of Themistokles the daduch), the Eumolpidai probably controlled this priesthood.

Here the lacuna after Εὐβουλέω[ς seems to indicate that Lakrateides was priest of another god as well. καὶ Πλούτωνος would fit the space, but at Eleusis Plouton was served by a priestess (175.24; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 97). This difficulty is not insuperable, since the only evidence for the priestess shows her functioning at the Thesmophoria; it is conceivable that she had nothing to do with the Mysteria, so that we may be free to conclude that in the Mysteria Plouton was served by a priest. A stronger objection is that, although the evidence is not abundant, the title of the priesthood held by Lakrateides otherwise does not include more than the three gods (in one case only Theos and Thea). Another difficulty is that a priestly title that ends καὶ τῶν συμβῶμων, i.e. a group of unnamed gods added to named ones, is unparalleled, to my knowledge. In addition, the phrase τούτοις θεῶν is completely unnecessary as an addition to συμβῶμων, and naturally does not occur. Finally, it seems otiose to refer to gods to whom one is dedicating a χαριστήριον as εὐεργέται.

If εὐερ]γετῶν does not refer to gods, it must relate to Lakrateides or his family as benefactors. The title εὐεργέτης τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, like that of priest, was a mark of pride. Here the restoration is most likely τοῦ | δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων εὐερ]γετῶν, with reference to ancestors of Lakrateides. Reference to ancestors as benefactors is not made in this way, to my knowledge, in Athenian dedications (though of course there are numerous decrees, especially proxeny decrees, honoring εὐεργέται, and some that refer to ancestors as such, e.g. *IG II²* 110.21-22), but it does occur in Ionian documents of the Roman period (e.g. *I. Didyma* 232.A.II; 259.7; 345.22-23). One might then restore, *exempli gratia*: Εὐβουλέω[ς, ἔγγονος ἱερέων] καὶ τῶν [μεγίστ]ων τοῦ [δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων εὐερ]γετῶν – in any case reference to the fact that Lakrateides' ancestors held important offices, such as priesthoods, and that they were benefactors of the city.

Heberdey made the important observation that the sculptor distinguished Lakrateides from the gods not by the common method of making him smaller but rather by rendering him in relatively flat relief, as opposed to the higher relief that characterizes the gods here.

While it might be tempting to see the woman on the left as a human being (viz. the wife of Lakrateides) because she is in the background, her relief is actually not as flat as that of Lakrateides, and she seems to be too closely engaged with Demeter to be a human being. Heberdey's suggestion that she is Eleusis is hypothetical but plausible.

The boy in the foreground must be Ploutos; Heberdey p. 116; Clinton, *Iconography* p. 53. If his name was inscribed, it would have appeared above Demeter's head (see above, Epigraphical Commentary).

The figure on the far right, in high relief, must be a god, specifically Eubouleus. It would be incredible for Lakrateides to have depicted the other two gods he served but not the third, on a relief which he dedicated to all three, and which included the other major gods of the cult. On the identification: Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 52-53; G. Schwarz, *LIMC* s.v. *Eubouleus* 2; Heberdey p. 115.

240. INVENTORY. Frag. *a* reveals that an inventory was made around the end of the second century. Since there is no evidence of the existence in the second century of officials such as the old epistatai of Eleusis, annual accounts and παραδόσεις with their inventories were probably no longer made at this time. The inventory may therefore have consisted simply of a list of dedications and other assets of the sanctuary that were to be melted down for some purpose, perhaps to make new objects (as, for example, in the shrine of Heros Iatros, *IG* II² 839-840).

Line 1: Reference to an object located next to the wall of the Anaktoron. Anaktoron was one of the terms used for the Telesterion (see Clinton).

Line 2: ἄλλη: Probably a female statue or statuette. For the restoration ἐπιγέγραπται, which is quite common in inventories, cf., e.g., *IG* II² 1443.131-133, where the weight is inscribed on the *phiale*; but the dedicator's name and a variety of other inscriptions occur; cf. *IG* II² 1474, 1492, etc.

Frag. b: Line 1: Perhaps Πολυκλείτου. On Polykleitos son of Alexandros of Phlya see Tracy, *IG* II² 2336, pp. 212-213.

Line 2: Apparently a number, possibly the value of an object in an inventory.

241. STATUE BASE FOR APOLLONIOS AGENOROS ERIKEEUS, EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. Previous editors overestimated the length of lines 1, 3-5.

Lines 1-2: On the family of Apollonios son of Agenor of Erikeia see Clinton; H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 20, 1971, p. 33, note 46. He was evidently pythaist at Delphi in 106/5 (*FD* III 2, 15, where no demotic is preserved).

Line 3: Frag. *b* shows that θυγάτηρ cannot be restored at the end of the line. Therefore her husband's name was probably used instead of her patronymic. The same redundancy occurs in lines 4-5 with regard to her son's patronymic, apparently from a desire to honor Apollonios all the more by repetition of his name.

Lines 4-5: Agenor was apparently ephebe in 119/8 (*IG* II² 1008.100, restored in *Sacred Officials*) and boy pythaist at Delphi in 128/7 (*FD* III 2, 12, line 5, with no demotic). Either his

name or that of a relative (cf. *Sacred Officials*) is to be restored in *IG II*² 2272.7; this document is associated by Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 245-246, with *IG II*² 2450 and dated by him ca. 125.

242. STATUE BASE FOR MENEKLEIDES THEOPHEMOU KYDATHENAIEUS, HIEROPHANT. Menekleides is probably to be identified with Ἱεροφάντης Θεο[φήμου Κυδαθηναίεύς], the name that appears as line 48 of *IG II*² 2452, which is a list of distinguished men, inscribed by many hands, obviously at different times, over a period that extended from sometime ca. 125 to the very end of the century or the beginning of the first (on the hands, Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 214-215; on the names, Mattingly, *Historia* 20, 1971, pp. 33-34). Two other hierophants appear in this list:

Ἱεροφάντης Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς (line 53)

Ἱεροφάντης Μενεκλείδου Κυδαθηναίεύς (line 59).

Because of the lifetime nature of his priesthood Menekleides was dead when line 53 was inscribed, and the hierophant of line 53, probably Theodotos, was dead at the time line 59 was inscribed. Unfortunately we do not know the occasion for each inscription, but unless these priests died in extraordinarily quick succession, the three inscriptions of their names should be quite a few years apart, especially since the first and the third were most likely father and son. Menekleides' father was probably the Theophemos of Kydathenaion who was bouleutes in 155/4 (*Agora* XV 225.103); his great-great-grandson was the Menekleides son of Theophemos of Kydathenaion who was kosmete in 13/2 (*IG II*² 1963.3-4), whom Philios and Kirchner, despite the absence of evidence, identified with the hierophant. Menekleides could have become hierophant ca. 130; he was succeeded by Theodotos son of Eustrophos of Peiraeus, who probably did not take office before 116/5 (cf. *IG II*² 1228.19, 23-24); and Menekleides' son, Theophemos, is not likely to have taken office much, if it all, before 100 B.C.

Since the present statue base does not observe hieronymy, it was probably set up after Menekleides' death.

243. DEDICATION BY GLAUKE DAUGHTER OF MENEDEMOS KYDATHENAIEUS, PRIESTESS OF DEMETER AND KORE. On the priestess and her date of office see *Sacred Officials* p. 72.

244. STATUE BASE FOR PHILISTION DAUGHTER OF DIONYSIOS HALIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Kirchner mistakenly republished the lefthand fragment as *IG II*² 3570 with a date "s. I/II p." The priestess should be dated around the end of the second century or the beginning of the first; the letter forms offer no impediment; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 72.

246. STATUE BASE FOR (?) HIEROPHANT OR HIEROPHANTIS. The title in line 2 could be that of the hierophant or hierophantis.

The phi is the only letter that might provide a clue to an approximate date, but I have not found an exact parallel to its bean-shaped central part.

247. DEDICATION. The space is right for [οἱ Κήρυκ]ες in line 1 and ἑαυτῶν in line 3.

250. DECREE CONCERNING THE MYSTERIES. Line 11 and the length of the preceding part suggest that this document is a decree rather than a law. The regulations in lines 19-35 seem to concern the duties of officials (including mystagogues and exegetes) before, during, and after the Mysteries, fines, and judicial proceedings. From the end of line 35 to the end of the document we have regulations concerning the procession.

Since some of the same sort of regulations recur here as were in the comprehensive fourth-century law concerning the Mysteries (**138**), this ought to be a rather similar document, regulating many if not all of the public aspects of the festival. Over the course of time it was inevitable that new circumstances and new modes of behaviour would require the addition of new regulations and revision of others of long standing, especially as legal procedures changed, and different penalties became desirable.

Oliver dated this document, plausibly, in the first century before Christ, but I doubt that we can rule out a date in the second century. The existence of epimeletai of the Mysteries (lines 20, 29, 31, etc.) tends to imply that this document is earlier than **237**; see **II.237**.

Line 15: Perhaps [τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐκ Δελφῶν. Cf. **28.4-5**; but there are other possibilities.

Line 17: For the restoration cf. *IG II² 1358.II.5 (= LSCG 20)*. The function of the tribes at the Mysteries is unclear; perhaps Athenian initiates were arranged by tribes.

Line 19: The association of the mystagogues and an ecclesia is tantalizing. There was a meeting of the Demos on Boedromion 18, the day before the escort of the *Hiera* to Eleusis; this would be a natural time for discussing business concerning the Mysteries (*IG IV² 84*; cf. **II.208.22-23**).

Line 20: On the paredroi of the basileus and the epimeletai of the Mysteries see **138.29-31, 36-38**.

Lines 24-44: Regulations regarding processions. On the question of processions see **II.Introduction, "Procession,"** pp. 11-12. It is not clear whether these regulations apply to the procession of initiates to Eleusis or ἡ ἄλαδε ἔλασις or both; more probably, I suspect, both. It is possible that in lines 24-25 ἐλάυνειν is not the correct verb.

Line 26: This implies that sometimes mystagogues would not march with the initiates.

Line 27: μύησις is the term for the pre-initiation and cannot serve as the equivalent of Μυστήρια. Evidently at this time the μύησις was restricted to a certain period of time before the festival. Here provision is made for the candidates to receive any exegesis they might need in advance of their *myesis*. On *myesis* see **II.Introduction, "Myesis"** pp. 8-11; on exegesis before the Mysteries and before the *myesis*, **II.138.38-40**.

Line 29: For a similar regulation in the fourth century see **138.31-33**.

Lines 30-31: The process of ἐνδειξις was perhaps aimed at those who were ineligible to take part in the festival. For a discussion of the procedure see A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: Procedure* (Oxford 1971) pp. 229-232.

Lines 33-35: In the fourth century too the epimeletai were responsible for bringing these cases: 138.32-33. The restoration πάντα τὰ δικαστήρια is unparalleled and probably incorrect.

Line 39: Space and the traces rule out κο[μιδῆς τῶν ἱερ]ῶν, and the *Hiera* in any case were supposed to be transported to Eleusis the day before the initiates marched (638.19-27). It is possible that κο[μιδῆς is not the right restoration.

Line 41: Since the deme of Eleusis had no gates, the “gates” here, one would think, are those in the circuit wall of central Athens, through which the initiates passed, on Ἰαλῶν Μύσται (see *IG I³* 84.35-36) and on the day they set out for Eleusis (the Sacred Gate). However, the regulation μηδ’ εἰσιέναι κατ’ ἄ[λλα]ς πύλας ἢ καθ’ ὡς πάτριόν ἐστι would seem to pertain to the gates of the city that the initiates enter on their way back from the Ἰαλῶν ἑλασις, perhaps also on their return from Eleusis. (Eleusis had no gates, and the journey through the deme surely was simply along the Sacred Way.) The ὁδοὺς here would seem to be the streets along which they marched on their way to the sea.

Lines 43-44: This section describes a festival event, the Reception of Iakchos, and the initiates’ behaviour during it.

251. STATUE BASE FOR DAUGHTER OF [- - - PYTH]ONAKTOS AZENIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Kirchner’s scheme of restorations (which I followed in *Sacred Officials*) makes restoration of the dedicators very difficult. In this period we should not expect a civic body to be the dedicator, but as is typical in these dedications of hearth-initiates, the parents. Neither of their names could have appeared in line 1.

Leon son of Pythonax of Azenia was ephebe in 102/1 (*IG II²* 1028.II.137); he is restored here as the girl’s father, *exempli gratia* (the date of this inscription is rather uncertain). A relative evidently, Aropos son of Leon of Azenia, is also attested around this time (*IG II²* 4936; *I. Délos* 1657.6, 1762.13-14).

If Leon was the hearth-initiate’s father, it is not easy to see which Diodoros of Halai from this family might be the hearth-initiate’s maternal grandfather (see 268 and Lazzarini’s treatment of the first-century members of this family), for Leon was born ca. 121 B.C. and the only attested Diodoros in this generation was born ca. 110-100, so could not have had a daughter much before 80 B.C. However, if the hearth-initiate’s father was also the father of Leon the ephebe of 102/1 and was the son of a Pythonax, then the mother of the hearth-initiate could be Eurydike, daughter of Ameinokleia the priestess of Demeter and Kore (see 268): Pythonax could have been born ca. 160 B.C. and Eurydike ca. 145 (see II.268). Their daughter could then have been born ca. 120, and this inscription would then date to ca. 110-105, close in fact to the date of the base, evidently cut by the same hand, which Eurydike set up for her mother (268). The inscription might then be restored as follows:

[- ^{ca. 12} - - Πυθῶνακτος Ἀζηνιέως θυ[γα]-
[τέρ]α ὁ πατήρ Πυθῶναξ Πυθῶνακτος Ἀζην[ι]-
[εὺς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Εὐρυδίκη] Διοδώρου Ἀλαι[έ]-

These restorations fit the space requirements nicely; but they can make no claim to probability.

252. STATUE BASE FOR HELIKO, HEARTH-INITIATE (?). Restoring the title of hearth-initiate in line 4, though uncertain, allows roughly the same number of letters (21-22) in lines 3-5, with room for patronymic and demotic in each of the first two lines.

Line 2: Possibly Ἑλικῶ Θεογένου Λευκονοέως θυγάτηρ, Ἀθηνοδώρου Αἰξωνέως γυνή, *IG II² 6728*, dated by Kirchner to “*init. s. I a.*” (cf. *PA* 4663 and stemma at *PA* 8021); her husband was herald of the Areopagus in 99/8 (Tracy, *IG II² 2336*, line 181). If this is correct, she belonged to a prominent family, which gives reason to believe that Μικίω[ν was a member of the well known family of Mikion son of Eurykleides of Kephisia.

256. STATUE BASE. If restoration of the noun in line 1 (rather than the adjective) is correct, it may have been part of the title of the thiasotai. They may have been one of several corporations who put inscriptions on this monument.

259. STATUE BASE? The lack of syllabic division militates against μνηθεῖς]αν ἀφ’ [έστίας. It seems rather to be a person’s name, such as Demetria or Demetrios, followed by patronymic and demotic. A grave inscription cannot be ruled out.

262. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY A PRIESTESS AND (?) MENEDEM[OS]. Conceivably this is a dedication by Menedemos of Kydathenaion and his daughter, Glauke, the priestess of Demeter and Kore (*Sacred Officials* p. 72, no. 5):

[Με]νέδημ[ος Ὁ Ἀρχοντος Κυδαθηναίου ὁ πάπ]-
[π]ος καὶ Γ[λαύκη Μενεδήμου Κυδαθηναί]-
[ως] ἡ ἱέρ[εια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἡ μήτηρ]
[. .]ο[- - - - -]
- - - - -

There are other possibilities. The following inscription (**263**) may be by the same hand; it does not seem to be part of the same document.

263. STATUE BASE. This may be by the same hand as the preceding document (**262**), but it does not seem to be part of it.

264. STATUE BASE. Hieron may well have been a hearth-initiate, inasmuch as his statue was dedicated by his mother, but there are of course other possibilities.

265. STATUE BASE? *Line 1*: Probably part of a name: Εὐ]ξενίδ[- - or Θεο]ξενίδ[- -.

266. STATUE BASE FOR GLAUKE DAUGHTER OF MENEDEMOS OF KYDATHENAION, PRIESTESS OF DEMETER AND KORE. The reading of line 1 causes a bit of difficulty in that it is quite rare to find the nominative article preceding a man's patronymic in Attic inscriptions; it is also possible that the initial theta of the patronymic was inadvertently repeated (see Epigraphical Commentary).

The man is most likely the Theodosios of Lakiadai who was archon in 100/99 (Tracy, *IG II²* 2366, lines 137, 152, and p. 204; *PA* 6762). The Demetrios son of Theodosios of Lakiadai who appears in the same document, evidently as agoranomos and probably in the year 99/8 (*ibid.*, line 226 and p. 198), was most likely his brother. His father seems to be the Theodosios son of Dios of Lakiadai who was priest of Apollo Patroos and of a mystic cult of a *genos* (*IG II²* 2871). *IG II²* 2870 offers another first-century example of a dedication by an archon (date: Tracy, *op. cit.* pp. 212-213).

A descendant (possibly a grandson) of Kallimachos of Philaidai: Kallimachos son of Nikanor of Philaidai, herald to the archon of 14/3 (*IG II²* 1721.17).

For the priestess Glauke see **243**, **244**, *Sacred Officials*.

267. STATUE BASE FOR A KANEPHOROS. For this type of dedication cf. *IG II²* 3554. On the priestess see Clinton and the following document (**268**). The honorand was probably a hearth-initiate at Eleusis; this service was probably recorded in the lower crown, where the text is not preserved.

Lines 1-6: As the final letter is a sigma, it should be the name of a festival, either Ἐλευσινίοις or Ἐπιδαυρίοις (cf. *IG II²* 3554), or the entire restoration should be μνηθεῖσαν ἀφ' ἐστίας (cf. *IG II²* 3477), but the space seems to suit better the former.

Lines 11-12: The name of the festival at which she served Asclepius is not mentioned, presumably either the Asclepieia or the Epidauria.

Lines 16-17: The festival for the Mother of the Gods at which she served as kanephoros (cf. *IG II²* 3489) ought to be the Galaxia (Deubner, *Feste* p. 216).

Lines 22-23: The cult of Aphrodite at Alopeke: a kanephoros is honored in *IG II²* 3636, a priest in 3686.

268. STATUE BASE FOR AMEINOKLEIA PHILANTHOU PHYLASIOU, PRIESTESS OF DEMETER AND KORE. In *Sacred Officials* p. 72, no. 6, I identified the daughter of Philanthes as Ameinokleia, with the help of information in **267**. At that time it seemed, according to Sundwall's stemma, *NPA* p. 39, that either of two members of the family could be her father; depending on the correct choice of father, she was priestess either around the middle of the second century or the beginning of the first.

Lines 2-3: Since ἡ θυγάτηρ precedes her daughter's name in line 3, οἱ υἱοί ought to precede her sons' names. Theophilos, a name that does not occur in her father's family, ought to be the name of her first son and therefore probably also the name of her husband's father. This is confirmed by documents at Delphi, which also supply the name of her third son, Diopeithes. All three

brothers, Θεόφιλος Διοδώρου, Φιλάνθης Διοδώρου, Διοπείθης Διοδώρου, were hippeis in the Pythais of 106/5 and are listed together (*FD* III 2, 28.II.26-28), and they were theoroi of Kekropis in 98/7, again listed together (*FD* III 2, 10.II.2-4 = Tracy, *Lettering* p. 50, 7b.III.33-35). Their father is undoubtedly Διόδωρος Θεοφίλου, pythaist in 98/7 (*FD* III 2, 17.I.12 = Tracy, *Lettering* p. 54, 7c.II.24 (*LGN* 73). Philanthes' son, Διοπείθης Φιλάνθου 'Αλαιεύς, was ephebe ca. 79 (*IG* II² 1039.II.87; on the date see II.272. Thus their deme was Halai Aixonides.

Line 4: A statue of Ameinokleia's daughter was set up in the City Eleusinion by her parents; its inscription (Geagan, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 155-161, nos. 1-2 = *SEG* XXXIII 197) can now be restored as follows:

ca. 135 a.

[Διόδωρος Θεοφίλου 'Α'λα[ιεύς καὶ 'Αμεινόκλεια]
[Φιλάνθου Φυλα]σίου θυγά[τ]ηρ [ῥ' Εὐρυδίκην τὴν ἑαυ]τῶν
[θυγατέρα μνηθεῖσαν ἀφ' ἑσ[τ]ίας [καὶ κانهφορήσασ]αν
[τὴν Πυθαίδα τῶι] 'Απόλλων[ι] τὴν [ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ Τιμάρχου]
5 [ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτ]ῶι ῥ' Δήμ[η]τρ[ι] ῥ' καὶ ῥ' Κόρηι ἀνέθηκα]ν

At this time Ameinokleia's daughter was still rather young, and Ameinokleia was apparently not yet the priestess of Demeter and Kore. Geagan restored Eurydike here (in one of his two alternative texts) on the evidence of *FD* III 2, 29.3-4: a Εὐρυδίκη Διοδώρου was a kanephoros in the Pythais of 138/7. In view of the great rarity of feminine names in Εὐρ- in Attica, the probability of the identification of the kanephoros Εὐρυδίκη Διοδώρου with Εὐρ[, the daughter of Diodoros on our Eleusinian base, is very high. If Eurydike was about seven years old at the time she was kanephoros, her year of birth was ca. 145 B.C. On the assumption that she was Ameinokleia's first child, and Ameinokleia was about 15 years old when she married, then Ameinokleia was born ca. 160. Ameinokleia's father must therefore be Philanthes son of Xenon of Phyle: he was probably less than 20 years old in 183/2 when his father made a contribution on his behalf in the *Epidosis* of that year (*IG* II² 2332.102).

Diodoros could have married Ameinokleia when he was about thirty years or even slightly younger; hence he was born ca. 175 B.C. or perhaps a bit later. His father is undoubtedly the Θεόφιλος 'Αλα[ιεύς] who was a hieropoios of the Athenaia shortly before 150 (Habicht, *AM* 97, 1982, p. 172, I.13 = *SEG* XXXII 216; the Διοπείθης 'Αλα[ιεύς] who follows in this list is most likely Theophilos' brother), and he may be the Theophilos son of Theophilos (demotic not preserved) who helped the hierophant "make up the couch for Plouton" ca. 170-150 (*IG* II² 1934.13, dated by Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 155-156, 262); descendants of Theophilos performed the same sacred task (*IG* II² 2464.3-4 = *IG* II² 1935). We first hear of Diodoros when he was honored in 112/1 for his service as ἐπιμελητὴς ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα (*IG* II² 1012.21-22); his appointment for the production of weights and measures, perhaps around this time, is not precisely dated (237.39). A bit later he appears in a list of distinguished Athenians (*IG* II² 2452.56), which Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 214-215, 262, dates to 105-95. Finally, in his early seventies, he was a pythaist (see above). The pythaist who follows him in the list of 98/7, Asklepidēs son of Philanthes, may be his nephew (see stemma, p. 288, note 1).

We may assume that the sons of Ameinokleia and Diodoros were born a bit later than Eurydike, viz. ca. 140 B.C., and this is certainly consonant with their appearances at the Pythais of 106/5 and 98/7. Ameinokleia's son Philanthes may be identical with the archon of this name who served in 87/6.

It is now also reasonable to think that the Aristippe daughter of Theophilos who was a kanephoros at the Pythais of 98/7 (*FD* III 2, 31.5 = Tracy, *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 375-379, no. 31.6 = *idem*, *Lettering* p. 54, no. 7c.6) was Ameinokleia's granddaughter.

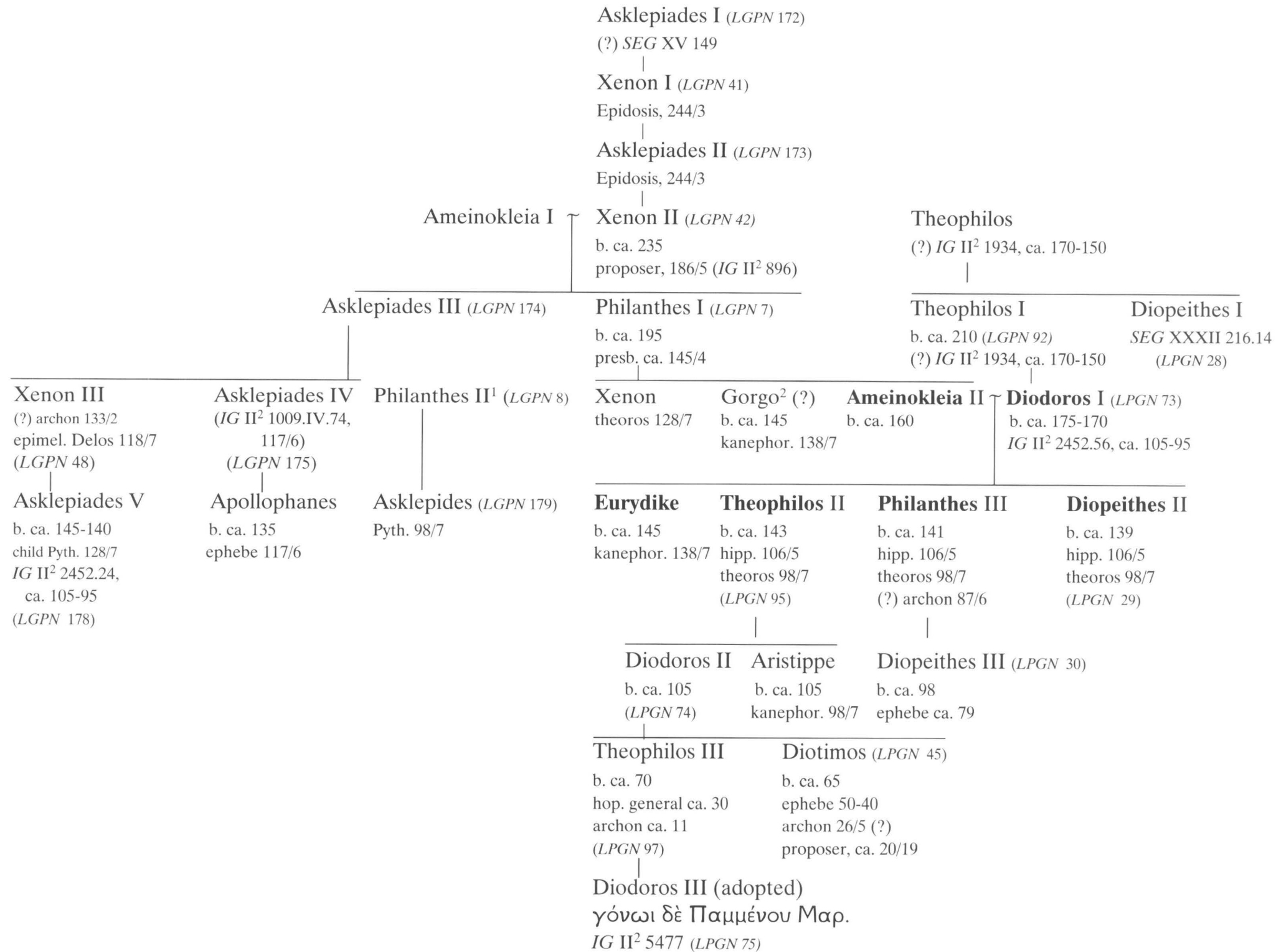
The family of Diodoros has recently been treated by Geagan, in his publication of the Agora base, and Lazzarini, *RFIC* 112, 1984, pp. 331-337, both of whom updated the stemma published by Sundwall, *NPA* p. 56, but without knowledge of Diodoros' marriage to Ameinokleia. This information, together with Tracy's new dating of certain documents, allows us to compile a revised stemma with greater precision. The birth dates in Lazzarini's stemma for the second century are rather lower than the ones I have adopted; Geagan's dates are significantly closer to mine (and seem to allow for the possibility of dates just as high). But Lazzarini's dates for the first century are in very close agreement with my own. Geagan hesitated to identify Eurydike the kanephoros with the daughter of our Diodoros and so assumed an unknown Diodoros as father; but the slightly higher dates for earlier members of her family make the identification possible, and the evidence of the present inscription makes it highly probable.

Ameinokleia became a priestess of Demeter and Kore probably around 95 B.C., since another woman was priestess around the end of the second century (Glauke the daughter of Menedemos of Kydathenaion: *Sacred Officials* p. 72, no. 5), and it seems more likely that Ameinokleia followed her and became priestess at the age of sixty-five approximately; for if she preceded her, she died before she was sixty, and that on general grounds seems less likely.

Her ancestors can be traced back to the end of the fourth century, as the stemma illustrates. Tracing the family of her husband as far back is more difficult; there are several possible ancestors, whom Lazzarini has discussed, but in each case not enough of the name is preserved or the name is not distinctive enough to make an identification, except perhaps for a son of Theophilos of Halai who owned land in Lemnos in 370/69 (*Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 25, no. 33.8 = *Agora* XIX P 4.8). (Ameinokleia's son Theophilos may have had a Lemnian connection: a Theophilos of Halai was appointed hieropoios to the Kabirion in Lemnos in the year 75/4 [*ASAtene* 3-5, 1941-43, p. 84, no. 6.20].)

The marriage of Ameinokleia and Diodoros is another instance of a fairly common occurrence at Athens, intermarriage between families who played a distinguished role in the civic and religious life of the Polis. The present families had a long history of this sort. Furthermore, Ameinokleia's greatgrandson, Diotimos, was a member of the Kerykes. He may have received that status from his mother, whoever she was, but it is much more likely that he received it through the family of Ameinokleia's husband, Diodoros. Ameinokleia, as priestess of Demeter and Kore, also belonged to an old *genos*, most likely the Philleidai. Thus we actually have here an example of intermarriage between two Eleusinian clans, the Kerykes and Philleidai. Their offspring continued the prominent role of their ancestors in civic and religious affairs until we lose track of the family in the beginning of the first century A.D.

STEMMA
The Family of Ameinokleia, Priestess of Demeter and Kore



1. Attested by *FD* III, 2 17 (= Tracy, *Lettering* p. 54, 7c.25) as the father of Asklepides, it is unclear whether he is the son of Asklepiades III or Philanthes I.
2. Attested by *FD* III, 2 29.2, she would be a late child of Philanthes I, if she is indeed his child.

269. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. *Lines 1-2:* The dedicatee evidently has to be a daughter, for a son would require an awkward blank space after the patronymic in line 1: either completely blank or following the first one or two syllables of the demotic (which would then end in the dotted alpha of line 2). The father's name may well be Theodorides: a [Εὐ]θοῖνος Θεοδωρίδου Δεκελεύς, perhaps a relative, appears in a list of officials inscribed at various times in the last quarter of the second century B.C. (*IG II²* 2452.37, date: Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 214-215; the person: *PAA* 431860).

270. STATUE BASE FOR EPIPHANEIA DAUGHTER OF ATHENAGORAS MELITEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Kirchner identified the maternal grandfather of Epiphaneia, the hearth-initiate (*Sacred Officials* p. 100, no. 5), with the Dionysios son of Dionysios of Sphettos who was priest of Sarapis on Delos in 116/5 (*PA* 4249; *NPA* p. 62; cf. *ad I. Délos* 2057, 2610.28; *PAA* 37400), and the father of Epiphaneia with the Athenagoras son of Athenagoras of Melite who was priest of Sarapis in 126/5 (*PA* 4249; *NPA* p. 5 with stemma; cf. *ad I. Délos* 2093, 1871, 2610.16; *PAA* 108750). An inscription from Delos, unknown to Kirchner, however, shows that the latter identification cannot be correct, unless Epiphaneia was born of a second wife of Athenagoras: his attested wife is [...]lote daughter of Satyros of Myrrhinous (*I. Délos* 2094; stemma, *NPA loc. cit.*; Kapetanopoulos); but the present document shows that the mother of Epiphaneia was the daughter of Dionysios of Sphettos. According to the stemma the appropriate father of Epiphaneia ought to be the Athenagoras who was Zeno's son, ephebe in 106/5 (*FD III* 2, 25.I.6; *PAA* 108760) and nephew of the priest of Sarapis in 126/5. Epiphaneia's mother will then have been, as Kirchner suggested, the daughter of the Dionysios of Sphettos who was priest of Sarapis in 116/5 (her name was perhaps Nympho, his only attested daughter, who was a kanephoros, probably in 100/99; *I. Délos* 2237-2238; Kapetanopoulos).

The present dedication was not the first erected around this time by a member of Epiphaneia's maternal line in honor of a descendant's role in religious affairs. Her great-grandfather, Dionysios of Sphettos (*PAA* 347395), proud of his son's tenure as priest of Sarapis, erected a statue of him in celebration (*I. Délos* 2058).

Epiphaneia's brother, Dionysios son of Athenagoras of Melite, was honored by the Demos in **286**.

271. DECREE OF THE SYNOD OF DIONYSIAC ARTISTS IN HONOR OF THEIR EPIMELETE PHILEMON. On the Dionysiac Artists and their decrees see the treatment in Pickard-Cambridge pp. 279-321.

The first ten lines describe things done not by Philemon but by the Athenian Demos and the Synod of Dionysiac Artists. αὐτὸς ... ἐψηφίσατο (line 5) has to refer to a civic body, viz. the Demos. Its legislative activity is paralleled by that of the Synod, ἐψηφίσατο καὶ αὕτη (line 8).

The services to the gods decreed by the Demos – θυσίας δὲ καὶ μυστήρια κ[αὶ - - καὶ ἀγῶνας] - - are categories of service which the Demos decided to perform. The Synod, in addition to joining with the Demos in these activities ("to the extent that it can"), decreed various sacrifices and other acts of reverence which it alone would perform for the Two Goddesses at Eleusis.

There is no implication in any of this that the Dionysiac Artists put on plays at Eleusis. (This and the complete absence of any reference to Dionysus or the theater at Eleusis may suggest that the theater [see above, II.Introduction, "Theater of Dionysus," p. 4] was no longer functioning.) Even less is any reason given here for thinking that the Dionysiac Artists had a role in the dramatic performance of the secrets at the Mysteries (as, e.g., Lenormant pp. 110-111, believed).

But one may ask why reference is made to the general religious activity of the Polis. Comparison with another document concerning the Dionysiac Artists, *IG* II² 1134, from about 40 years earlier, provides the answer. There the argument for restoration of certain religious privileges to the artists begins with a description of Athens' famous Civilizing Mission: she brought mankind out of a brutish existence through the introduction of the tradition of the Mysteries (τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν); by passing on to the rest of mankind the gift of agriculture (τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ παραδόσεως); and by bringing together the Dionysiac Artists and founding musical and theatrical contests (θυμελικούς καὶ σκηνικούς ἀγῶνας ἐποίησεν). A similar preamble is given in the present document to explain the activities of the Dionysiac Artists at Eleusis, but here of course the purpose is not to justify the restoration of privileges but to urge that the recent efforts made by Philemon, against the background of the disaster that occurred at Eleusis (τὴν κοινὴν περίστασιν, line 12), be seen as continuing the venerable tradition of the Dionysiac Artists, in contributing to the religious life and civilizing mission of the Polis, in which the worship of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis played a central role. Thus the decree, in honoring Philemon, honors also the Dionysiac Artists.

In line 2 therefore the reference is probably to mankind's escape from its previous impoverished existence: perhaps ἐνδ<ε>λιῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες (Hesychius in fact records the variant ἐνδια, s.v.). Hence also in line 4 παράδοσιν. In line 5 θυμελικούς probably should be restored, as in *IG* II² 1134.24-25, instead of Koehler's γυμνικούς καὶ μουσικούς. γυμνικούς is not relevant (deleted also by Rigsby); although μουσικούς has the right sense, θυμελικούς gives better reference to the orchestra of the theater of Dionysus.

Lines 9-10: ταῖς μυστηριώτισιν ἡμέραις: see II.138.A.9.

The sacrifices were evidently of the sort that individuals and groups would make at the festival. In addition, the Synod built an altar and temenos, presumably near the sanctuary; here they made their libations and sang their paeans.

Lines 10-12: After the κοινὴ περίστασις, most likely Sulla's sack of Athens in 86, in which the altar and temenos of the Artists were destroyed, sacrifices were suspended for a rather long time, i.e. approximately eight years (ἐπὶ ἔτη καὶ πλείονα).

Lines 12-13: Given the special character of the preamble (lines 1-10), this is probably the first mention of the specific services of Philemon, the vacant space here drawing attention to his name.

Whether the temenos and altar were deliberately or accidentally destroyed during Sulla's attack on Athens we do not know. Lenormant may well be right in thinking that it was a deliberate act against the Dionysiac Artists, in reprisal for their enthusiastic support for Athenion when he arrived from Mithridates to win over the city to the side of the king: ὑπήντησαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ νέου Διονύσου καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτην εὐχὰς τε καὶ σπονδάς (Ath. 5.49, 212D). In any case there are no grounds for assuming that the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses suffered damage.

Lines 17-19: “And he apportioned funds from the common treasury (of the Synod) for two other days...” Since only two or three days of the Mysteries were celebrated at Eleusis, these two days were either altogether separate from the Mysteries or occurred right after the festival. The latter seems more likely, since this was a time of considerable festivity: ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια τῆς πανηγύρεως ἀκμαζούσης εἰσιτιώμεθα κτλ. (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 635A).

Line 22: Here the altar is called ἐστία.

Lines 29-33: “and at the end of his term as epimelete he passed on a portfolio of loans much increased in value, so that through his energetic effort income accrued to the Synod not only for the sacrifices which he renewed to Demeter and Kore but also for many others.”

Line 30: For the form ἐπευξημένον see Threatte, *GAI* I 24.02, p. 384.

Lines 36-37: Probably not “in” but “at the sanctuary,” for sacrifice evidently took place in the forecourt; see Clinton, *Sacrifice*.

The *temenos* and altar are of course the ones which he rebuilt, not the original ones.

Philemon clearly did much to help the Synod not only by his own donations and administrative service but also by shrewd management of the Synod's funds, so that now there was a steady source of income for religious festivities. Philemon's efforts clearly benefitted the Synod's affairs and installations at Eleusis, and that of course was why this document was set up there.

272. STATUE BASE FOR [ARIOBARZANES II] OF CAPPADOCIA AND HIS FAMILY. The inscriptions were carved in the reign of Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos of Cappadocia (ca. 96/5-ca. 63). On the man and his dynasty see Th. Reinach, *Trois royaumes de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1888) pp. 56-66; most recently, R. D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome* (Toronto 1990) pp. 54-58; *idem*, *ANRW* II 7.2 (Berlin 1980) pp. 1125-1149 (with further bibliography); on the dates of his reign, Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 59-60; E. Badian, *Athenaeum* 37, 1959, pp. 279-333 (= *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (New York 1964) pp. 157-178); A. N. Sherwin-White, *CQ* 27, 1977, pp. 173-183; H. B. Mattingly, *Chiron* 9, 1979, p. 166 (= *SEG* XXIX 124); Sullivan, *ANRW* II 7.2 p. 1132, note 33; on his portrait, R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) pp. 130-131.

This statue base appears to be for a family group, and so I have restored an inscription (IV) for the father.

Eusebeia and Athenais, daughters of Ariobarzanes II and Athenais, are hitherto unattested. It is clear from the inscription that Athenais, the wife of Ariobarzanes II, is the daughter of Ariobarzanes I, a fact which is in apparent contradiction with Appian, *Mithr.* 66.280, where we are told that in 81 B.C. Mithridates betrothed his four-year-old daughter to Ariobarzanes (παῖδιον τετραετὲς ἐγγυήσας τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ). Therefore this betrothal must later have been cancelled. Although Reinach *op. cit.* pp. 63-64, inferred from this passage that the wife of Ariobarzanes III was the daughter of Mithridates, it has generally been assumed that the husband of this girl was Ariobarzanes II. However, this inscription makes clear that Ariobarzanes II was married to his sister. One value of Appian's remark is the information that Ariobarzanes II was unmarried in 81, and his marriage to the daughter of Mithridates was expected to take place ca. 10 years later. His marriage to his sister followed Persian custom, as E. Badian has noted *per litt.* (I am indebted to him for discussion of this episode and other matters in this document).

A list of ephebes from the first half of the first century contains the names [Ἀ]ριο[βαρζάνη]ς καὶ Ἀριαράθης | [Σ]υπ[αλήττιο]ι Φιλορωμαῖοι (*IG* II² 1039+ = *AE* 1964, pp. 36-49, col. II, lines 99-101 [= *SEG* XXII 110]); it was dated by Notopoulos, p. 24, to 79/8, by Mattingly, *loc. cit.* to 65/4, rightly rejected by Follet, *Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 9, 1988, pp. 19-32, esp. 24-25 (= *SEG* XXXVIII 117), whose date of 80/79 must be approximately right.¹ These ephebes (more likely of 79/8 or 80/79 than 65/4) ought to be the sons of Ariobarzanes I, viz. Ariobarzanes II and an unattested brother (perhaps the brother was the Ariarathes who bought Mithridates' sword-belt at Amisos in 63/2 [Plut. *Pompey* 48]; perhaps he is also attested in *ILLRP* 181a-b, as tentatively suggested by E. Badian, *JRS* 58, 1968, p. 249). Mattingly would restore an epithet in place of their demotic in line 101, viz. [Ε]ὺσ[εβεῖς καὶ] Φιλορωμαῖοι, but Mitsos' photograph clearly shows that the third letter of this line cannot be sigma but rather gamma, epsilon, or pi, and in any case a demotic is needed, in this list of citizen ephebes. The two ephebes were evidently given the epithet of their father, Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos. The present inscription, in which Ariobarzanes II is still a prince and has no epithet, suggests that the epithet Philopator, which appears in documents when he was king, he adopted upon his accession; the stories about the transfer of power (Val. Max. 5.7, Ext. 2) make this choice of epithet quite understandable. (On the use of *philos*-epithets by Eastern kings around this time cf. D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, London 1984, pp. 105-107; on this one, Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome* p. 175.)

Ariobarzanes II Philopator became king on the abdication of his father, in 64, 63, or 62 B.C., and ruled until shortly before Cicero became governor of Cilicia in 51 B.C. (Cic. *ad fam.* 15.2.4). It is impossible to say whether his two sons, Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes were born by the time the statue group of the family was set up in Eleusis. In any case, Ariobarzanes III was most likely born before 68 (Reinach *op. cit.* p. 63, note 4, put his birth around the year 72); in 51 Cicero refers to him as an *adulescens* (*ad fam.* 15.2.5), which should mean that he was at least eighteen years of age (see E. Badian, *Klio* 66, 1984, pp. 302-303, on Cicero's use of the term *adulescens*).

Ariobarzanes II and his family clearly had a strong attachment to Athens and Athenian culture. He no doubt became an initiate at the time of his *ephebeia*, and the present dedication sug-

1. Cf. Habicht, *REA* 100, 1998, p. 488, note 6, for whom the reference to the Sylleia (*IG* II² 1039.59) stands decisively against a date later than the death of Sulla in 78, as it does also for Follet. Follet also mentions prosopographical difficulties with Mattingly's date but does not provide details. Several are provided by M. T. Mitsos, *AE* 1964, pp. 40-41, but are not discussed by Mattingly. The most significant: the fathers of the ephebes Aristaichmos Philotadou Phylasios (II.84) and Nikias Philoxenou Sounieus (IV.88) were pythaists at Delphi in 106/5 (Philotades again in 98/7). Assuming that they were at least in their thirties ca. 100 B.C., a date ca. 80 B.C. for their sons' *ephebeia* would be about right, but 65/4 somewhat late. In addition, we are better informed about the father of Diopeithes

Philanthou Halaieus (II.84, not mentioned by Mitsos), hippeus in the Pythais at Delphi in 106/5 and theoros in 98/7 (*FD* III 2, 28.II.28, 10.II.4). Philanthes was probably born ca. 141 (see my discussion of the family and stemma at II.268), but a date of 65/4 for *IG* II² 1039 requires him to have fathered a son at an approximate age of fifty-six, which though not impossible is unlikely. Furthermore, Mattingly's chronology requires the ephebes Epigenes and Xenon to be mint officials when they were approximately twenty-one years old, which is perhaps not impossible but certainly improbable. Epigenes was thesmothete in 56/5 (*IG* II² 1717.12), which would be quite early for an ephebe of 65/4 but fairly normal for one of ca. 80 B.C.

gests that his wife had also taken part in the Eleusinian cult. During his reign he restored the Odeum (*IG II² 3426*), which had been burned by Aristion when Sulla took Athens (Appian *Mithr.* 38.149; cf. Vitruvius 5.9.1). A dedication set up by the Demos (*IG II² 3427*) commemorates him as εὐεργέτης, probably in thanks for the reconstruction of the Odeum (and possibly for other benefactions as well). On Samos he was honored simply ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας, but as P. Herrmann, *AM* 75, 1960, pp. 98-100, no. 8, suggests, here too he may have made important contributions in the wake of the Mithridatic War.

With the help of the present document a revised stemma of the family can be drawn:

Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos	└	Athenais I Philostorgos	
Ariobarzanes II Philopator ephebe ca. 79	└	Athenais II Philostorgos	Ariarathes X (<i>IG II² 1039+</i> , etc.)
Ariobarzanes III Eusebes Philoromaïos born before 68		Ariarathes XI Eusebes Philadelphos	Athenais Eusebeia

273. STATUE BASE FOR TIMOTHEA DAUGHTER OF MEDEIOS MEDEIOU PEIRAIIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. On Medeios son of Medeios of Peiraeus, the exegete of the Eumolpidai, see **275**. On the hearth-initiate Timothea: *Sacred Officials*. Her father and mother were first cousins (stemma: *PA ad 10099*).

274. DEDICATION IN HONOR OF A TAMIAS. The fact that this inscribed crown occurs near the top of the stone strongly suggests that this monument is a base rather than a stele.

On the archonship of Aristaïos: S. Dow, Archons of the Period after Sulla, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 118-125.

275. STATUE BASE FOR MEDEIOS MEDEIOU PEIRAIIEUS, EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. On the exegete of the Eumolpidai see *Sacred Officials*, pp. 89-93. On Medeios son of Medeios of Peiraeus (*PA 10099*): Tracy, *IG II² 2366*, p. 210; Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 146-147, I 19. He was eponymous archon ca. 65 B.C.; his grandfather was also an exegete of the Eumolpidai (Oliver, *Expounders* p. 137, T 30 = [Plut.] *X Orat.* 842F-843C).

The priestess Kleokrateia: *Sacred Officials* p. 73, no. 8.

276. STATUE BASE FOR T. PINARIUS. T. Pinarius T. f., friend of Cicero (*Ad fam.* 12.24.3; *Ad Q.F.* 3.1.22), was probably initiated shortly before this; cf. Clinton, *Roman Initiates* p. 1504.

277. STATUE BASE FOR SOPHOKLES XENOKLEOUS ACHARNEUS, DADUCH. See the commentary to the following document (**278**).

278. STATUE BASE FOR SOPHOKLES XENOKLEOUS ACHARNEUS, DADUCH. This is the second statue that Ktesikleia dedicated (δῖς ἀνέθηκεν) in memory of her deceased husband, the daduch Sophokles. On Sophokles see *Sacred Officials* pp. 54-55, daduch no. 13, and below, II.300.24-25, 39-40. He evidently died sometime in the second quarter of the century. Ktesikleia was one of the *parthenoi* who in 103 B.C. “worked” Athena’s robe (*IG* II² 1034.25).

The inscription reads the same as the preceding, except for the adverb δῖς, so that the strange ΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΗΣ recorded by Spon (and Wheeler) must be a mistake. Spon (and Wheeler), having read the initial two letters incorrectly, then tried to make sense of the word and took little note of the traces on the stone. “The word ὀργιαστὶς in our lexica, which depends on these two texts alone ..., should be deleted” (Meritt p. 225).

279. STATUE BASE. The dedicatory inscription was cut near the top of this block or on a superior block.

For the eponymous priestess (of Demeter and Kore) see *Sacred Officials* p. 73, no. 8.

280. STATUE BASE FOR KLEO DAUGHTER OF DIONYSIOS LAKRATEIDOU IKARIEUS. Her grandfather was Lakrateides son of Sostratos, priest of Theos and Thea and Eubouleus, who shortly before 100 B.C. erected the largest relief found in the sanctuary (**239**). At that time Dionysios, Kleo’s father, was alive but still a boy. For the family see II.239.

281. STATUE BASE. Kleokrateia was priestess of Demeter and Kore in the middle of the first century B.C.; her father was basileus in 88/7; see *Sacred Officials*.

282. STATUE BASE FOR HEARTH-INITIATE. Dow, partly on the basis of the lettering, assigns this base to the mid first century. The hearth-initiate’s name was presumably inscribed on the block above. The crown on the left, with two more clusters of leaves than the one on the right, was probably meant to be myrtle.

Kirchner suggested that the priestess, otherwise unknown, might be a member of the family of the Dionysios of Marathon whose stemma is given in *PA* 4213; but there was also at least one other family from Marathon which used the name around this time (see *NPA* p. 85, stemma; but the Dionysios son of Zenon who was priest of Sarapis on Delos in 109/8 [*PA* 4190; *NPA* p. 60] is now

known to be a demesman of Kephisia [P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (BEFAR 217), (Paris 1970) pp. 458-459]). At any rate it seems likely that Chairion's service as priestess was later than Ameinokleia's (see II.268).

The same hearth-initiate may be the honorand in the following document (283).

283. STATUE BASE FOR HEARTH-INITIATE. Milchhöfer calls the crowns olive, but a myrtle crown is more likely for the hearth-initiate.

Dow dated the stone tentatively to the mid first century. Skias, who evidently had seen a stone lying for some time by the Lesser Propylaea, of about the same size and of the same marble as the preceding base (282), but "now completely disintegrated," thought that it was a matching (ἀντίστοιχον) base to the preceding one and "perhaps" carried the present inscription. But since he did not know that the present stone had been carried off to Mandra, this seems unlikely. He also proposed that the following fragment of a base (284) belonged to the damaged base by the Propylaea.

284. STATUE BASE. Skias believed that this fragment was part of the preceding base (283; see commentary) but apparently without good reason.

285. STATUE BASE FOR DADUCH OF HAGNOUS. On the daduchic family from Hagnous see 300. The honorand is probably either Theophrastos or Themistokles, the restoration in line 1 therefore either Θεμιστοκλῆν Θεοφράστου or Θεόφραστον Θεμιστοκλέους. Of the two possibilities the disposition of the text, if it is correct, makes the former more likely, since the absence of a title suggests that the father was not a daduch: the honorand therefore should be daduch no. 14.

286. STATUE BASE FOR DIONYSIOS ATHENAGOROU MELITEUS. Most examples of the spelling ἑατόν for ἑαυτόν occur in the period ca. 50 B.C. to ca. 30 A.D.; Threatte, *GAI* I 24.01, p. 383.

A Dionysios son of Athenagoras of Melite probably resulted from the marriage of Athenagoras son of Zeno (ephebe in 106/5; *FD* III 2, 25.I.6; above, II.270) and a daughter of Dionysios son of Dionysios of Sphettos, the priest of Sarapis in Delos in 116/5 (the daughter may have been Nympho; see above, II.270); his sister would be the hearth-initiate Epiphaneia (270). This Dionysios will have been born ca. 95-90, and an honor such as the present dedication would be appropriate to his mature adulthood, approximately in the third quarter of the century. This seems to be the most likely identification in the present state of our knowledge of this branch of the family.

287. STATUE BASE FOR AION. In view of the potential significance of Aion for the Eleusinian cult, the date of this document is of unusual importance. Although the lunate lettering

could be as late as the second or third century A.D., Dittenberger was surely right in insisting that the absence of cognomina and any reference to an emperor suggest the most appropriate date to be the first century B.C., at the latest early in the reign of Augustus. The lunate lettering would better suit the third or fourth quarter of the century than earlier (the earliest example of such lettering known to Graindor was *IG II² 2338*, from 26/5-19/8), but it is not decisive.

The Pompeii have proved difficult to identify with precision. Philios (followed by Graindor and, most recently, Zuntz) thought that since Q. Pompeius A. f. “made” the statue “with” his brothers, he was a sculptor and his brothers possibly colleagues in the craft. But the notion of a group of Roman sculptors, in the first century B.C., going on a trip to the East or plying their trade in Greek cities has nothing to recommend it. The verb ἐποίει must be causative (“had it made”), and σύν ought to indicate that while Quintus included his brothers in this act of devotion, it was he who took the initiative and bore the cost (for this use of σύν in dedications, less common at Athens than in Ionia, cf. *IG II² 3163*, 3667.27, 3756). This receives confirmation from *IG II² 4314*, which must be another dedication by the same man:

vac.
[Κόι]ντος Πομπ. . . 7. . . .
. . . ἐποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκεν]
[σ]ύν τῇ γυναικί. *vac.?*
vac.

The fragment, of white marble “offenbar zu einer Basis gehörend,” as R. Bohn, *AM* 5, 1880, p. 265, reported, is now missing, but Bohn’s transcript shows lunate lettering. The above restorations by Dittenberger must be right (Graindor, *Chronologie* p. 184, note 2, attempted, unconvincingly, to restore [ἐπὶ ἄρχο]ντος Πομπ.). The uniqueness of the predicate ἐποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκε, attested (to my knowledge) only for these two Attic dedications, together with the name of the dedicator and the use of σύν, make it all but certain that the dedicator is our Q. Pompeius; hence I would restore:

[Κόι]ντος Πομπ[ήιος Αὔλου]
[υἱὸς] ἐποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκε]
[σ]ύν τῇ γυναικί.

The wife of course cannot be a fellow sculptor. Quintus takes principal credit but lets his wife share in the donation. In the case of the Eleusinian dedication Quintus’ brothers were presumably too young to contribute financially. In both dedications the unusual formula ἐποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκε calls attention to the greatness of the effort, like the similar formula in *IG II² 3177*: ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ποιήσας τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀνέθηκεν.

Cichorius identified the Quintus of the Eleusinian dedication with Q. Pompeius A. f. Bithynicus, friend of Cicero and legate to Bithynia in 75 (or early 74), who acquired his cognomen as a result of his success in organizing the administration of the province (Lambertz, *RE* 21.1 [1952], col. 2061, s.v. *Pompeius*, no. 25; Broughton, *MRR* II p. 100; III, Suppl., p. 161). G. V. Sumner, *AJAH* 2, 1977, p. 14, suggested that he made this dedication on his way to Asia Minor,

before he received the cognomen; and nothing in the dedication offers a decisive argument against a date in or shortly before 75 B.C. Cichorius also proposed that Quintus' brother, Aulus, be identified with the A. Pompeius A. f. who was eulogized in *CIL* XI 4213 (= *ILS* 6629, *ILLRP* 364) for saving the town of Interamna Nahars from danger, and that this document dates from the time of Sulla. (A brother named Sextus is unattested.) Graindor, however, showed that Cichorius' arguments for the date of the Latin inscription were not cogent, and more recently A. Degrassi, *ILLRP*² p. 327, decided that the style of the inscription best suited the early empire. This led Sumner, *op. cit.* p. 15, to infer that the Aulus of the Latin inscription should be the *nephew* of Q. Pompeius Bithynicus. In any case, these Pompeii ought at least to be related to the wealthy Q. Pompeius who set up our monument in Eleusis. That he is Q. Pompeius A. f. Bithynicus is an attractive possibility, but Zuntz pointed out that we cannot preclude that our Quintus and his brothers were descendants of freedmen.

Graindor preferred to regard Αἰών as a translation of *saeculum* and so interpreted the monument as a reference to the new *saeculum* heralded by the *ludi saeculares* of 17 B.C. This is conceivable but not so easy to reconcile with the philosophical language used of Aion here, which clearly refers to an immutable eternity, *without a beginning*. Zuntz in his valuable study of Aion imagined the god to be an invention of Augustus, which was intended to inspire in the Greek East something akin to what *saeculum* and *salus* meant to the West: "Der Gott Aion verkörpert im Osten, was *salus* und *saeculum* dem römischen Westen bedeuten und was durch die *ludi saeculares* der Mitwelt vor Augen gestellt wurde. Also ist die Proklamation des neuen Gottes Aion ein Element der gleichen augusteischen Renaissance, inspiriert durch den Princeps" (p. 66). He went on to suggest that it may have been precisely at Eleusis that Augustus first proclaimed the new god. All this, it seems to me, is less likely than the hypothesis that Aion emerged as a god in the milieu of mystery cults or simply as a personification of a philosophical concept.

The disposition of the text draws our attention to the words Αἰῶνα ... Μυστηρίων, and suggests an association. In fact, there was a rather old association of Eternity with the Mysteries. Isocrates, *Paneg.* 28-29, notes that those who took part in the rite had "sweeter hopes concerning the end of life καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος." Here the notion ὁ σύμπας αἰών probably includes the eternal earthly existence of the clan and the race (Clinton pp. 1510-1512). In addition, the language of our text closely resembles Plato's description of τὸ καλόν in the *Symposium*, where he alludes repeatedly to the initiates' experience in the Mysteries: their experience and that of the seeker of τὸ καλόν are essentially similar in that both involve contemplation (θεωρία) and lead to one's becoming θεοφιλής and indeed, in the case of the philosophic contemplator, ἀθάνατος, a quality that is available also, in a certain sense, to the initiate (Clinton pp. 1512-1513). (Specific language used of τὸ καλόν in the *Symposium*: πρῶτον μὲν αἰεὶ ὄν καὶ οὔτε γιγνόμενον οὔτε ἀπολλύμενον, ... οὐδὲ τοτὲ μὲν, τοτὲ δὲ οὔ, ... (211A) ... ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μεθ' αὐτοῦ μονοειδὲς αἰεὶ ὄν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα καλὰ ἐκείνου μετέχοντα τρόπον τινὰ τοιοῦτον, οἷον γιγνομένων τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων μηδὲν ἐκεῖνο μήτε τι πλεον μήτε ἔλαττον γίγνεσθαι μηδὲ πάσχειν μηδέν (211B). Like Aion τὸ καλόν is divine (211D); and whereas Aion is θείας φύσεως ἐργάτης αἰωνίου πάντα, τὸ καλόν causes the viewer to τίκτειν οὐκ εἶδωλα ἀρετῆς, ... ἀλλὰ ἀληθῆ (212A).) Zuntz emphasizes Peripatetic features of the description of Aion.

Our text alludes to the relation of the Mysteries to Eternity, but its specific request is for the eternal duration of the *imperium Romanum* and the Mysteries. Both were important to Romans who valued Athenian culture; both promoted a vision τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος.

On representations of Aion see, most recently, *LIMC s.v. Aion*; Zuntz, *Αἰὼν im Römerreich: die archäologische Zeugnisse* (*AbHeid*, Heidelberg 1991).

Line 12: See Festugière; Clinton p. 1512; Zuntz pp. 44, 54, 67, who points out that the notion of divine Physis is Stoic.

288. STATUE BASE FOR HIEROPHANTIS AMPHIOU PHILADOU. She is evidently the first hierophantis attested by name; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 86, no. 1. The date is suggested, in part, by the use of -η- for -ει-; see **281**. Furthermore, Morgan pointed out to me that the basileus of 85/4, [- -]φίας Μενεμάχου Φιλα[ίδης] (*IG II² 1715.3*), should probably be restored as [Ἀμ]φίας. He is therefore probably the father of the hierophantis.

289. STATUE BASE FOR L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS. The general L. Munatius L.f. Plancus visited Eleusis and became an initiate in 40 B.C. or slightly later (Clinton). He received the title αὐτοκράτωρ in 44 B.C., and his first visit to Greece after this occurred in 40; the following year he was in Asia as proconsul (cf. Broughton, *MRR I* p. 546).

290. PROPYLON DEDICATED BY AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Appius Claudius Pulcher was consul in 54 and received the title *imperator* during his proconsulate in Cilicia in 53-51 (Broughton, *MRR II* pp. 261, 276). Construction of the *propylon* therefore was begun in 51 (or possibly a bit earlier), and it was clearly progressing well by August of the following year (Cicero, *Ad Att.* 6.1.26, 6.6.2; Clinton p. 1505). It was of course still unfinished when he died in 48, and we do not know how much time elapsed before his two nephews were able to bring it to completion. Since we do happen to know that Pulcher Claudius was still young in 52 B.C., it is conceivable that its completion took as long as fifteen to twenty years, but Rex Marcius may well have been older and might have assumed responsibility for the construction soon after the death of his uncle (Clinton, *ibid.*; on Pulcher Claudius, see T. P. Wiseman, *HSCP* 74, 1970, pp. 207-221; on Rex Marcius, Mommsen; on Claudius Pulcher's death on Euboea, H. J. Mason and M. B. Wallace, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 128-140).

He may have been initiated either in 61, when he was in Greece collecting statues to bring back to Rome, or on his way back from Cilicia in 51 or even on both occasions (initiation and *epopteia*; Clinton p. 1506). On the latter occasion the Demos and Areopagus honored him by setting up his statue (*IG II² 4109*).

The most recent discussion of the *propylon* (called in modern times the "Lesser Propylaea") is Giraud, *Εἰσοδος* pp. 107-114.

Lenormant, *Recherches* pp. 49-50, believed that he found a fragment of the inner architrave of the *propylon* bearing two letters, ΚΛ, of a Greek dedicatory inscription which he restored: [ΑΠ]

ΚΛ[ΩΔΙΟΣ ΑΠ ΥΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΧΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ]. The fragment is not known to me, nor was it mentioned by Hörmann. Lenormant's description of the architrave, however, suggests that it did not belong to the propylon: "le fragment ... n' occupe que la grande face de l'architrave corinthienne; les moyenne et petite faces sont entièrement lisses." This describes reasonably well the position of the inscriptions on the commemorative arches set up by the Panhellenes (448). Lenormant therefore probably did not see an entire lambda but only the upper part; the word should probably be restored as κῶ[ι. See figure on p. 428.

291. STATUE BASE FOR [PHAIDROS LYSIADOU] BERENIKIDES, Q. CAECILIUS POM-
PONIUS ATTICUS, AND MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY OF PHAIDROS. The monument was
splendidly elucidated in Raubitschek's edition of frag. *a*, where he identified Phaidros as the head
of the Epicurean school at Athens.

The θυγάτηρ of the new fragment is undoubtedly Chrysothemis, who figures so prominently on this monument: she is responsible also for dedication II, and was herself dedicated in IV. The fact that her entire name was written here in one line, as opposed to two in II, indicates that this inscription was rather wide. Such a width will be right for the most prominent statue of the entire group, that of her father, and this suits the restoration of line 2 rather well, assuming that the letters were a little more widely spaced than in line 1 (or vacant spaces occurred, as in lines 13 and 16).

If we label the blocks alphabetically from left to right, calling the block that holds frag. *b* Block A, then the Block that is frag. *a* cannot be B, which is missing, but is most likely C; C was followed to its right by the missing Block D. Block A, with the inscription centered on it, held a single statue, that of Phaidros; Block B must have held a statue to the left of the one whose inscription runs over onto Block C; and Block D must likewise have held a final statue set off center to the right. The entire base would then be at least 4 meters wide, with two inscriptions missing.

The size of the monument reflects the stature of several of the individuals honored. They happen to be linked in various ways to Cicero. For the full story one must turn to Raubitschek's article; only the main points can be given here. Phaidros, whose Athenian ancestors can be traced back to the third century (see Raubitschek's stemma), was the head of the Epicurean school in the early first century, and died in 70 B.C. Cicero attended his lectures during his visit to Athens in 79 and became very fond of the philosopher (*De Finibus* 1.16). Several of Phaidros' pupils, including Cicero's good friend Atticus, dedicated statues of Phaidros in Athens.

The second preserved inscription is the dedication by Phaidros' daughter Chrysothemis of a statue of Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus, none other than Cicero's famous friend, using the name he took after his adoption in 58 B.C. by Q. Caecilius. Atticus was an Eleusinian initiate and an enthusiastic partisan of the sanctuary (see Clinton, *Roman Initiates* pp. 1504-1506, where this statue base was overlooked). The fact that he and his teacher are celebrated on this monument at the sanctuary suggests that Phaidros was not unsympathetic to the Eleusinian cult. Another pupil of Phaidros, Ap. Saufeijs, dedicated a statue of him in the City Eleusinion (Raubitschek p. 101, no. 1). On Epicurus' respect for cult see now Phld., *On Piety*, lines 723-1022 Obbink, with the editor's commentary; cf. M. F. Smith, *ZPE* 112, 1996, pp. 127-130. Epicurus, in fact, was initiated in the Mysteries (*ibid.*, lines 556-559, 807-810). (In lines 557-559, the festival is referred to as τῶν

Ἀθήνησιν ... μυστηρίων; in lines 808-809, as [τὰ] μυστήρια τὰ[ττι]κά. These designations are equivalent expressions and refer to the most important mystery festival at Athens, τὰ μυστήρια. The expression τὰ ἀστικά μυστήρια [which Obbink prefers in lines 808-809, i.e. τὰ[στι]κά] as indicating the Lesser Mysteries is unparalleled, to my knowledge.)

The philosopher's son, Lysiades, was among the men appointed by Marc Antony as *iudices* before 43 B.C. (Cicero *Phil.* 5.5; see Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 147-148, for discussion of this passage and Lysiades' career). He was evidently appointed pythochrestos exegete at Athens about 41 B.C., in any event certainly before the Battle of Actium. This provides the approximate date of this monument.

We know very little otherwise about Chrysothemis. She evidently married a demesman of Melite; one of their sons was named Phaidros, and a granddaughter was given her grandmother's name, as we learn from her grave inscription of the first century A.D.: Χρυσόθεμις Φαίδρου Μελιτέως θυγάτηρ (*IG* II² 6877).

As was shown above, at least two inscriptions are missing from our base: certainly a dedication for a statue placed between Phaidros and Atticus and another for a statue at the far right. The latter was probably another member of Chrysothemis' family, perhaps her mother; the former may have been another pupil of her father's (in addition, Atticus' wife, Pilia, is a possibility, as Raubitschek suggested, but this does not suit the apparent hierarchy of statues from left to right). At any rate, Atticus, friend of the Eleusinian sanctuary and Chrysosthemis' φίλος καὶ εὐεργέτης, may well have contributed to the cost of this great monument.

292. STATUE BASE FOR SEMPRONIA L.F. (ATRATINA). Sempronia L. f. Atratina (*PIR* III¹ S 280), wife of L. Gellius Publicola, the consul of 36 B.C. (*PIR* II¹ G 79), was doubtless an initiate (cf. Clinton, *Roman Initiates*). A very similar dedication in her honor was set up on the Acropolis (*IG* II² 4230). On her family see M. Kajava, *Roman Senatorial Women and the Greek East: Epigraphic Evidence from the Republican and Augustan Period*, in *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History, Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvärminne, 2-3 October 1987* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 91, 1990) pp. 72-74.

293. BENCH DEDICATED BY C. CREPERIUS C.F. C. Creperius C. f. may well have been a businessman; cf. J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (Paris 1919) p. 42; Clinton, *Roman Initiates* p. 1507.

According to Hörmann the bench was originally located just inside the Lesser Propylaea, in the outer forecourt by the west wall, where he identified three markings that were left on the pavement by the feet of the bench (p. 31, pl. 4). If this is correct, the bench most likely does not predate the Propylaea. The bench may have been used at the Mysteries by priests and other officials.

294. STATUE BASE FOR M. TITIUS L.F. M. Titius L. f. was consul suffectus in 31 B.C. For his career in the East, which lasted most of his life, see G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek*

World (Oxford 1965) pp. 21-22; Broughton, *MRR* II p. 626, III p. 206. Given the length of his career, it is difficult to date this statue base with accuracy, but we would perhaps not be wrong to put it closer to the beginning of his career than the end. He presumably was an initiate. In a recently published inscription of Claros, “probably of 34-32 B.C.,” the Demos honors him, when he was proconsul of Asia, as “benefactor of the *kathegemon* of our polis, Apollo Klarios, and the Demos” (J.-L. Ferrary, *BCH* 124, 2000, pp. 353-357).

295. STATUE BASE FOR KALLIKRATIDES SYNDROMOU TRIKORYSIOS, HOPLITE GENERAL. Kallikratides son of Syndromos of Trikorynthos: see Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 135, no. 9; for the entire family, pp. 134-137. It used to be thought that he served in the office of herald of the Boule and Demos for several years in the period ca. 45-30 B.C. (*Agora* XV 282 [= *IG* II² 3502], 286.1 [= *IG* II² 1757 = Dow, *Prytaneis* no. 106], 287 [= *IG* II² 3503]). Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 104-106, however, made a good case that in the post-Sullan period this office was an annual one. Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 290-292, no. 19 [= *SEG* XXVIII 160], in editing a new fragment of *Agora* XV 284, which includes honors for Kallikratides as herald of the Boule and Demos, argued, on the basis of this new fragment and additional evidence (*loc. cit.* pp. 297-299, no. 22), that all the prytany documents that mention Kallikratides as herald belong to a year shortly after 30 B.C. In 297 Kallikratides is restored with high probability as priest of [Augustus Caes]ar Zeus Boulaioi, herald of the Boule and Demos, and holder of an additional office (perhaps agonotheite); and if [Augustus] is correct, its date is 27 B.C. or slightly later. Kallikratides’ year as herald, then, was rather special. Concerning *Agora* XV 286, which displays in its first two lines, above a list of bouleutai of Erechtheis, the inscription [κηρυ]κεύοντος βουλῆς [κ]αὶ δήμου Καλλικρατίδο[υ] Τρικορυσίο[υ], Dow pointed out: “The block served as the base of a statue, doubtless of Kallikratides. No decree was published on the monument: we have nearly the entire block.... Kallikratides and his title – the title compressed and patronymic omitted to save space – were inserted after the list had been cut.”

Dow and Geagan noted the low status of the herald of the Boule and Demos in the pre-Sullan period, in contrast to that of later heralds, starting in the late first century B.C. The first post-Sullan herald known (to me) is in fact Kallikratides, and he is given fairly prominent honors in the three prytany documents in which he appears, especially so, as we have seen, in *Agora* XV 286. His personal prestige and accomplishments, including his imperial priesthood, may have had much to do with the increased prestige of this office and the special honor he received in *Agora* XV 286. The hoplite-generalship he may have held just a bit earlier, for if he had held it later than his heraldship, we might expect the present inscription to have included his title as priest of the emperor (there is no evidence that this priesthood was ever anything but a lifetime one at Athens).

Kallikratides evidently did for the public part of the festival what in later times was the task of the panegyriarch (see 483). In earlier centuries some of this will have been done by the epimeletai of the Mysteries (cf. II.138.29-31), but by the end of the preceding century the epimeletai were evidently no longer functioning, to judge by the similar activities the hierophant and his “appointed men for the *panegyris*” were then performing (237.48-49). So at the time of the present inscription there may not have been a systematic *epimeleia* of the *panegyris*: it depended on the voluntary

efforts of individuals like Kallikratides. On the *panegyris* at the Mysteries cf. II.271.17-19. Kallikratides was probably a Eumolpid: his great-grandson was hierophant (433).

296. LARGE MONUMENT BEARING STATUES OF AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA. Curiously, the two dedicatory inscriptions are crowded together, in spite of the fact that this course consisted of several blocks. Vanderpool, p. 9, note 25, saw five blocks in the vicinity of the church, one of them with the letters Λ-A, and therefore reckoned that there were eleven in this course; but it is conceivable that the symbol stigma was used, so that there were actually twelve, in which case the monument may have been square, approximately 5 meters to a side. This size would be comparable to that of the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis. The structure deserves further study.

Augustus was initiated in the Mysteries in 31 B.C., shortly after the battle of Actium (Clinton, *Roman Initiates* p. 1507), and it seems reasonable to suppose that this monument was erected not long afterwards. The inscription must in any case be earlier than 27 B.C. when he adopted the title Σεβαστός.

297. STATUE BASE FOR [AUGUSTUS CAES]AR AS ZEUS BOULAIOS. The three initial letters in line 1 should belong to the god's name, and it is hard to see what else they might be but part of Καίσ]αρχα. The closest parallel is Σεβαστὸν Καίσ]αρχα Νέον Ἀπόλλωνα on a base published by D. Peppas-Delmousou, *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 132 (*IG* II² 3262 + 4725 = *SEG* XXIX 167). The words in line 3 ought to be part of the title of the herald of the Boule and Demos, and this is happily reinforced by line 4, which contains, as Skias saw, the demotic Trikorysios. It so happens that this demotic belongs to a herald of the Boule and the Demos, viz. Kallikratides son of Syndromos (*Agora* XV 282 [*IG* II² 3502], 286 [*IG* II² 1757], 287 [*IG* II² 3503]), whose tenure in this office occurred shortly after 30 B.C. (see above, II.295). He therefore is most likely the dedicator of this base. He was a member of the Eumolpidae and the great-grandfather of Oinophilos son of Syndromos, who served as hierophant at the beginning of the second century A.D. and herald of the Boule and Demos at a prior time (433.16; *Sacred Officials* pp. 29-30, no. 18).

It is conceivable that the honorand was Iulius Caesar, but as we have no other record of him being worshipped as a god at Athens, prior consideration should be given to Augustus. The restoration, accordingly, will be αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ]αρχα or, if the dedication was made after he received the title of Augustus in 27, the short form of his title, Σεβαστὸν Καίσ]αρχα. If this is correct, then his assimilation to Zeus Boulaios was largely due to the enthusiasm of Kallikratides, as herald of the Boule and Demos. Zeus Boulaios is associated with the Bouleuterion. (Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia: *IG* II² 1813 [= *Agora* XV 445, Zeus Boulaios [and Athena Boulaia?]]; 3543, 5054; their shrine in the Bouleuterion, Antiphon 6.45. Zeus Boulaia and Hestia Boulaia: Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 64-66, no. 17 [= *Agora* XV 269]; Geagan, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 161-162, no. 3 [= *SEG* XXXIII 198]. Cf. Wycherley, *Agora* I 128.) The Athenian Bouleuterion at Eleusis was still functioning at this time (II.Introduction, "Bouleuterion," p. 4), and presumably this base with its statue(s) was set up in or near it.

Lines 2-3: It is unlikely that the dedicator was the priest of Augustus assimilated to Zeus Boulaios and of Athena Boulaia, i.e. ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ ὡ καὶ Ἀ[θηνᾶς Βουλαίας, since the imperial priesthood at Athens is never joined with that of another Greek god. Nor is ἀρχων likely, since the archonship and heraldship were not held simultaneously. Therefore ἀγωνοθέτης should be considered. In any case, “his” (αὐτοῦ) refers to Sebastos Kai]sar Zeus Boulaios.

Lines 3-4: Eleusis became a center of imperial cult at Athens (see Clinton), and Kallikratides, evidently the first imperial priest at Athens, may have played a key role in helping to bring this about. He was particularly well placed to do so. A Eumolpid, he took care of the κόσμος of the *panegyris* of the Mysteries, which must have been a considerable expense, when he was hoplite general (295). He clearly therefore was an enthusiastic supporter of the sanctuary and its cult. The preceding document (296) was inscribed on a major monument at Eleusis in honor of Augustus and Livia, set up ca. 30 B.C. We do not know the individuals who were responsible for setting it up at Eleusis, but it would not be surprising if Kallikratides had a hand in it. In dedicating the present monument to Augustus as Zeus Boulaios at Eleusis, in the year of his heraldship of the Boule and Demos, he associates the emperor with the institution he serves and with the sanctuary he is so fond of.

298. STATUE BASE FOR THEOPHRASTOS THEMISTOKLEOUS HAGNOUSIOS, DADUCH.

The date of this base is evidently close to that of 301 (see Epigraphical Commentary); if it is earlier, then Theophrastos should be the father of Themistokles, the daduch honored in 20/19 (300); if later, he is the son, who is otherwise unattested as a daduch. In view of the absence of evidence for the *dadouchia* of the son, the honorand is more likely the father.

299. STATUE BASE FOR LAMIDION DAUGHTER OF APOLEXIS EX OIOU, HEARTH-INITIATE.

A Lysandros first appears in the family of Apolexis of Oion toward the end of the first century B.C. (he is the son of Apolexis: *IG II² 3909*; cf. stemma by O. Reinmuth, *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 98). Since Kirchner's description of the lettering of frag. *a* as Augustan seemed correct, the present document suggested to me that he was named after his mother's father and was therefore the son of the parents who dedicated this base for Lamidion, viz. Apolexis of Oion and Ladameia daughter of Lysandros of Peiraeus. Ladameia's father would then be Lysandros IV of Reinmuth's stemma (*op. cit.* p. 99), archon in 50/49; Apolexis of Oion, her husband, would seem to be the Apolexis of Oion who was archon in 20/19 (Reinmuth's Apolexis III; cf. 300).

Kapetanopoulos, however, raised two objections: (1) the lettering of the present document seemed to him to be from the second century B.C., and (2) he restored the names of Ladameia daughter of Lysandros of Peiraeus and her daughter Lamidion in a dedication, *IG II² 4034*, which Kirchner dated to the second century on the basis of its lettering. Kapetanopoulos's restorations of *IG II² 4034*, however, are far from certain: among other things, his right margin is unconvincing (the right side of the base is not preserved); placement of [νέθηκεν] below the lower molding, with its first letter above it, is highly unlikely (we may tentatively restore line 3 to read Ἀ[θ]ηνᾶς). And Kirchner's ascription of 4034 to the second century is not secure. Therefore I see no reason to

change my previous proposal, although of course it cannot be regarded as certain, since it rests in part on an impression of the lettering. In addition, there is much uncertainty about Reinmuth's stemma, which Kapetanopoulos properly stressed: Reinmuth's Apolexis IV, if he is the grandson of the archon of 20/19, can hardly have been archon himself as early as 8-1 B.C., and there is a serious difficulty with Reinmuth's suggestion that Apolexis son of Apellikon, the cousin and synephebos of the archon of 20/19, was the archon of 46/5 (see *ad* 300.20-21).

The fact that the archon Apolexis, who is usually assigned to 8-1, is inscribed with his patronymic, Philokrates (*FD* III 2, 63.1-2; *IG* II² 2997.3-5), tends to suggest that he is being distinguished from Apolexis son of Apellikon, his cousin and fellow ephebe, for as ephebes they appear right next to each other in their list (*IG* II² 2461A.4-5). Furthermore, it is quite possible that Reinmuth's Apolexis IV is the same as his Apolexis III, and the Apolexis who was archon in 20/19 was Apolexis the son of Apellikon (or he was another Apolexis). In this case Apolexis III (= IV) was archon somewhat later, though evidently not as late as the period to which he is usually assigned, viz. 8-1 B.C., for such a late date for *FD* III 2, 63 seems unlikely on other grounds: the same set of four officials in *FD* III 2, 59-63 will have served together for the remarkable length of 20 years or more; cf. Oliver, *Expounders* p. 149, I 21.

300. DECREE IN HONOR OF THEMISTOKLES THEOPHRASTOU HAGNOUSIOS, DADUCH. *Date.* See discussion in *Sacred Officials* p. 50, note 30. I follow W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 194, note 40 (with bibliography), though 21/0 cannot be ruled out. J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, p. 12, suggested 21/0, on the basis of a hypothetical tribal rotation of secretaries; on the difficulties see Geagan, *AJP* 100, 1979, p. 65, with bibliography; J. D. Morgan (*per litt.*) would prefer it because of the intercalary nature of the year of Apolexis.

This decree, one of the most important of all those recovered at Eleusis, sheds light on the appointment of members of the Kerykes as daduchs and on the succession of daduchs and other priests in the first and second centuries B.C. In addition, it gives us a glimpse of the multifarious religious and administrative activities of an energetic daduch around the time of the initiation of Augustus. It happens also to give us what is probably a complete list of priesthoods controlled by the Kerykes at this time (lines 7-20).

On the method of appointment to the *dadouchia* in this period see *Sacred Officials* pp. 52-53, 58. This priesthood was rotated between two prominent families, passing from the one to the other when it came open, if, as it seems, someone of suitable qualifications in the other family was available; if not, it stayed in the same family for another term. I assumed that the manner of appointment was election. Aleshire has since proposed that appointment was made by sortition from a restricted list of preselected candidates (in *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, ed. R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (Oxford 1994) pp. 325-337): "Such a method of selection might well, under the circumstances indicated by our evidence, produce a list of sacred officials indistinguishable from one produced by election or by inheritance" (*ibid.* p. 333). This method was also favored by Foucart (*Mystères* pp. 192-193). It cannot be ruled out. Frag. 2, if genuine, of the Aristotelian *AthPol* (Chambers) suggests that sortition was used, at least sometimes, in the Classical period. But sortition even from a short list seems less

likely than election for the appointment of the daduchs of the second and first centuries. The quality of εὐγένεια was a particularly important requirement in the case of the current honorand: παρειληφότα τὴν εὐ[γ]ένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερεωσύνην ἐγ διαδοχῆς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφράστου κτλ. (lines 37-39). There follows a list of other relatives who held this priesthood and the altar-priesthood (lines 39-52). From this we should probably infer that this type of εὐγένεια is attained through appointment to these priesthoods; that is, it becomes attached to one by blood, through relatives who have served in these positions. Even so, appointment of an εὐγενῆς does not seem to have been automatic, for the boast of the present daduch that the priesthood remained in his family for "many generations" (lines 64-65) implies accomplishment, as if one's εὐγένεια had to withstand scrutiny, and other qualifications (such as age, health, etc.) had to be satisfied as well. At any rate, to those outside the *genos* εὐγένεια appeared to be the paramount qualification. From *IG* IV² 86.11 (= *SEG* XXXV 305.4-5) we learn that daduchs are taken from τὸ ἐνδοξότατον Κηρύκων γένος, ἀφ' οὗ δαδουχοῦσιν οἱ εὐγενέστατοι. This state of affairs is unlikely to obtain through sortition. This emphasis on εὐγένεια is consistent with the language of the present decree. Thus election seems to be the most likely method of appointment. It certainly was the method in the second century A.D. (Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* p. 4, E.4-15; cf. *ibid.* pp. 43-44; below, II.621, Appendix). If sortition was the method in the Classical period, it seems to have fallen out of use for the priesthoods of the Kerykes by the second century B.C.

With regard to the age requirement for the *dadouchia*, normally ca. forty years, see Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 67, and *Iconography* p. 70, note 38 (against Geomini's assumption of a much more youthful age). Presumably, if the age requirement was not met, εὐγένεια alone would not suffice for appointment.

Line 2: Roussel compared *IG* II² 888 (Anthesterion 18 = Prytany [VIII] 30) and correctly concluded that Anthesterion 21 here must be the first day of the ninth prytany in an intercalary year. Cf. Pritchett-Neugebauer p. 75.

Line 3: The secretary, Metrophanes son of Dionysios of Athmonon, was a member of the *genos* of the Arynandridai (*IG* II² 2338.76).

Lines 4-5: This meeting of the Ekklesia is of great importance to the religious calendar, for it shows that the Lesser Mysteries, which we know were celebrated around this time of the month in the fifth century (19.B.36-47; cf. Mommsen, *Feste* p. 406) could not have been celebrated on Anthesterion 21 in 20/19. Two conclusions seem possible: 1) The festival, which probably covered several days, was celebrated on Anthesterion 14-17 or on Anthesterion 24-26 (Anthesterion 18-19, 27-28 are meeting days, Anthesterion 23 the festival of the Diasia; Mikalson, *Calendar* pp. 115-119). 2) In 20/19 the Lesser Mysteries were no longer celebrated at all. This seems more likely. On the basis of the sacrificial calendar of Erchia M. H. Jameson (*BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 159-172) suggested that there were links between the Lesser Mysteries and the Diasia, both of which were held at Agrai. If this is the case, it seems justified to infer that when the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated, the date of their celebration was rather close to Anthesterion 23, more likely the preceding three or four days than the more distant 14th to 17th or the stretch from the 24th to the 26th, which seems too close to the end of the month to fit the symmetry of the Sacred Truce (Gamelion 16 to Elaphebolion 10): an end of the festival on the 26th would be rather close to the end of the Truce, while its beginning would be well over a month from the beginning of the Truce. Furthermore, the

Lesser Mysteries are unattested epigraphically after the early second century B.C. (in an unpublished Agora decree), unless we are to understand the reference to the Greater Mysteries in *IG II*² 1028.29, honoring the ephebes of 102/1, and the possible reference in *IG II*² 1030.27 as implying the existence of the Lesser.

Line 7: The proposer, Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai, also appears at the head of the group of men appointed by the Kerykes to testify before the Demos on behalf of Themistokles (line 20). We cannot be sure whether Diotimos was a member of the Boule, since the enactment-formula and motion-formula of this decree are missing. The description used of the testifying Kerykes, ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πρόσδοον ἐμφανίζουσιν, suggests, if it is correct, that the decree originated in the Demos; and since these Kerykes did not make an appearance before the Boule, the Boule may not have been involved in the making of this decree: another indication that the usual procedure of the Classical and Hellenistic period was no longer rigorously adhered to. Under the Roman empire the Ekklesia and the Boule often acted independently of each other (Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 83-90).

On Diotimos see Oliver, *Expounders* p. 149, and Lazzarini (whose stemma of this family in the first century is preferable to the one compiled by Geagan, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, p. 161). He was exegete of the Eupatridai (*FD III* 2, 59 = *Expounders* I 21), bouzuges and priest of Zeus in Palladion, and a member of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi and also the Bouzugai (Oliver, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 40-41 = B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 86-96 = *IG II*² 1096). He was ephebe ca. 50-40 B.C. (*IG II*² 1961.3 = *SEG XXXIV* 153.3), therefore was probably in his forties at this time.

Lines 7-8: The names of the twenty men from the Kerykes are given below, lines 20-30. First comes a list of priests, also Kerykes, who accompanied them in their appearance before the Demos.

Lines 8-9: On the altar priest, Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoion, a very prominent Athenian, see *Sacred Officials* p. 83, no. 10.

Lines 9-11: This pyrphoros, Leontios son of Timarchos of Kephisia (*Sacred Officials* p. 94, no. 1), was also priest of Artemis Epipyrgidia and the Charites (cults by the entrance to the Acropolis; Travlos, *Athens* p. 148 and fig. 200). Leontios ought to be the grandson of the Leontios son of Timarchos who appears in a list of pythaists of 106/5 (*FD III* 2, 15.III.15 = Tracy, *BCH* 99, 1975, pp. 201-205, 217). (It has been proposed that this list comprises only child pythaists, but that seems unlikely [Clinton, *Iconography* p. 70, note 38]: Sophokles son of Xenokles (line 17), daduch no. 13, could not have been a child at this time; Apollonios son of Agenor ought to be an incumbent exegete of the Eumolpidai [*Sacred Officials* p. 92; 241].)

Lines 11-12: The sacred herald, Dionysios son of Demonstratos of Pallene: *Sacred Officials* p. 77, no. 2. His son, Demonstratos, was one of the men appointed by the Kerykes (line 25). His father and grandfather were mint-magistrates in 67/6 (Habicht, *Münzmagistraten* p. 15). An earlier member of this family: Demonstratos son of Demonstratos of Pallene, ephebe in 118/7 (*I. Délos* 1926.6).

Line 13: On the panages herald see *Sacred Officials* p. 95.

Lines 14-15: Gorgippos son of Eudemos of Melite: *PA* 3079 with *add.*; *NPA* p. 46 (stemma). He was treasurer of the prytaneis ca. 29/8-22/1 (*Agora XV* 290.3-7, [34-35]; cf. 288.19). Delphic documents also attest him as herald of Apollo Pythios and priest of Hermes Patroos (*FD III* 2, 59.5-6, 60.5, 61.5, 62.8-9, 63.7-8). He did not hold an Eleusinian priesthood at this time. The cult

of Hermes Patroos surely belonged to the Kerykes, as Hermes was the progenitor of the *genos*; and the office of herald of Apollo Pythios also looks like one controlled by this *genos*. This is confirmed by *FD* III 2, 59.6 and 62.8-9, which call him ἱερεὺς Ἑρμοῦ Πατρώου Κηρύκων, and by *FD* III 2, 63.7-8, which gives his other title as κήρυξ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ γ[ένους] τοῦ Κηρύκων.

The decisive qualification for inclusion in this group of sacred officials (lines 8-20) was therefore simply tenure of an office controlled by the Kerykes (it did not have to be an Eleusinian priesthood). Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai, who was priest of Zeus in Palladion, was not a member of this group, evidently because that priesthood did not belong to the Kerykes; hence he appears among the “appointed” (lines 7, 20, with no mention of his priesthood).

For each of the sacred officials in this list (lines 8-20) the first title is that of an office controlled by the Kerykes; whether we can conclude that any additional priesthoods listed (such as that of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia, Zeus Horios, etc.) also belonged to the *genos* is unclear: these other offices may simply be listed for honorific reasons (*Sacred Officials* p. 77, note 8, does not make this distinction).

Lines 15-18: On the lithophoros and the *Hieros Lithos* see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 121-123; on Dositheos son of Kleomenes of Marathon, *Sacred Officials* p. 98, no. 1. He was basileus around the end of the century (*IG* II² 1727.4 = *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 147, as read by E. Kapetanopoulos, *AE* 1968, p. 177). His grandfather may have been the Kleomenes son of Mantias of Marathon who contributed to a statue honoring his sister (*IG* II² 3488 with stemma).

The other priesthoods listed for Dositheos probably have no direct connection with the *lithophoria* but just happen to have been held by him at this time. Yet they seem to belong to related categories. The cults of Athena Horia and Zeus Horios (cf. Nilsson I² 205) also concerned stones of a sacred character; indeed, possibly all of the cults served by Dositheos had something to do with boundaries or entrances. Understandably, someone might accumulate priesthoods that require expertise in a relatively narrow area. This sort of consideration led Roussel and Vallois to read Ποσειδῶνος Προσβατηρίου, taking the epithet as a cognate of προσβαίνω (cf. Ἐπιβατήριος / ἐπιβαίνω), the god therefore as one whose domain was boundaries (Vallois) or entrances (Roussel). This is undoubtedly correct: the epithet προσβατήριος is now attested at Delphi (Jacquemin, *op. cit.*). For Poseidon's role in connection with entrances see Graf, *Kulte* pp. 175-176, noting that Poseidon Asphaleios had this function at Ionian Erythrae. The epithet Themeliouchos (attested for Delos, *I. Délos* 290.116) is very similar in sense to Asphaleios, as Cornutus notes (*ND* 42-43). In any case, the present cults of Poseidon should not be equated with the cult of Poseidon Pater, whose temple was located in front of the sanctuary (Paus. 1.38.6): Pater suggests Poseidon as progenitor, which in turn suggests that this cult was most likely administered by the Eumolpidae, who worshipped Poseidon precisely in this capacity (Toepffer p. 30).

Lines 18-20: The hymnagogoi undoubtedly served the cult of the Mysteries (cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 97-98), probably both during the procession to Eleusis and in the rite itself (singing in the procession, II.638; in the rite, Clinton, *Iconography* p. 90). For the present incumbents see *Sacred Officials loc. cit.* with the following corrections: on the assumption that the hymnagogoi were not over fifty years old, Philemon should not be the son but is perhaps the grandson of the Philemon who was a knight in the Pythais of 106/5 (*FD* III 2, 28.II.29; on the family cf. Tracy, *IG* II² 2336, pp. 213-214). Aristodemos ought not to be the son of Argeios the archon of 98/7 but, again, perhaps

the grandson; a homonym occurs on an undated grave inscription recorded on Salamis (*IG II²* 7545), and a prytanis of ca. 50 B.C. from the same deme survives as Ἀριστόδ[ημος?] (Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 289-290, no. 18.11 = *SEG XXVIII*, 158). Menneas is probably a relative of Apollonios son of Menneas of Azenia who was a victor in a torch race around the middle of the next century (P. A. Pantos, *AE* 1973, pp. 176-180, no. 2 [= *SEG XXXVIII* 176]).

Kerykes' Priesthoods

Of the priesthoods held by the preceding group the following definitely belonged to the Kerykes: altar-priest, pyrphoros, sacred herald, panages herald, priest of Hermes Patroos, herald of Apollo Pythios, lithophoros of the Sacred Stone, and the hymnagogoi. We cannot be sure about the administration of the other priesthoods mentioned.

Lines 20-30: To the above group, who are not given a generic title but who surely were οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κηρύκων (cf. line 63), were joined twenty other members of the Kerykes, οἱ καταστα[θέν]τες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ Κηρύκων γένους, to make up a total group of twenty-nine members to testify before the demos about Themistokles. The extraordinary size of this delegation is evidently meant to reflect the achievement of Themistokles in bringing extraordinary honor to the *genos*.

Among the first members of the latter group, i.e. those from Diotimos to Dionysodoros (line 23), are some who are fairly advanced in age (Diotimos, Demochares, Dionysodoros) and distinguished (Diotimos, Apolexis, Demochares); none of those who follow Dionysodoros are demonstrably as old (i.e. as old as Diotimos, Demochares, or Dionysodoros), nor are any, so far as we know, of comparable distinction, and some are quite unknown to us. Some sort of order of precedence seems to be at work.

Line 20: On Diotimos see above, on line 7.

Lines 20-21: Apolexis son of Apellikon of Oion: cf. stemma of the family by Kirchner, *ad PA* 1361, and O. Reinmuth, *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 98-99 (both rely on incorrect dates for the mint-magistrates). He is most likely the son of the mint-magistrate Apellikon of the year 60/59 (Habicht, *Münzmagistraten* p. 17). Reinmuth identifies him with a homonymous archon whom he dates to 46/5; but this is inconsistent with his date for the *ephebeia* of this Apolexis, viz. ca. 50/49 (*IG II²* 2461A.4); cf. II.299. The name Apellikon in this family apparently goes back to a much earlier period (*IG II²* 6993, s. III/II a.).

Line 21: Demochares son of Menandros of Azenia: stemma of ancestors *ad PA* 9864 (cf. 3711). He was a prytanis ca. 50-40 (*Agora XV* 280.3 = *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 237-238, no. 47, with discussion of Demochares); herald of the Areopagus evidently early in the reign of Augustus (*IG XII* 8, 26); and, toward the end of the century, archon and priest of the Consul Drusus (*IG II²* 3176). (So he is probably not the Demochares who was archon in 49/8 or the homonymous mint-magistrate of 66/5). His son appears below, line 26; *IG II²* 5315 is apparently the epitaph of his daughter, Philistion.

Lines 21-22: Sarapion and Diokles the sons of Diokles of Melite: on the family see Tracy, *IG II²* 2336, pp. 215-216; *PA* 4040, *ad* 10010 (partial stemma), 12564, *NPA* p. 149. Diokles the father was evidently the son of the Sarapion son of Sarapion of Melite who was ephebe in 98/7 (*FD III* 2,

26.6 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. 15, p. 57). The brother of this Sarapion was also Diokles, whose homonymous son was hoplite general ([Plut.] *X orat.* 834B), but as a glance at the stemma shows, it is highly unlikely that the hoplite general was the father of our Sarapion and Diokles. (It seems best, in the absence of decisive information, to assume that the hoplite general was the Diokles of Melite who was mint-magistrate in 55/4 [Habicht, *Münzmagistraten* p. 17] and archon ca. 40 B.C. [*IG II*² 1343.19-20], though the mint-magistrate and archon need not be the same person.)

Line 22: Architimos of Sphettos was probably the son of the homonymous mint-magistrate of 62/1 (Habicht, *Münzmagistraten* p. 16). Kirchner's date for *IG II*² 4714, a dedication to the Mother of the Gods by Megiste daughter of Architimos of Sphettos, would suggest that our Architimos is her father (W. Geomini, *AM* 100, 1985, pp. 367-375, dates the statue to the second century B.C., a date which, in Attica, seems incompatible with the lunate lettering).

Line 23: Themistokles son of Xenokles of Hagnous, the cousin of the daduch honored in this decree: see stemma, *Sacred Officials* p. 58.

Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai: see Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 223-234, Table XI (stemma). The Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros who was gymnasiarch εἰς Δῆλον in 101/100 (*IG II*² 2336.118, with discussion by Tracy, *IG II*² 2336, p. 199) is probably his father, as Aleshire assumes; if he was born ca. 95 B.C., he would be ca. 75 in 20/19, which seems right, especially if we identify the Iophon who appears below (line 28) with his son.

Line 24: Kichesias son of Leon of Aixone: stemma in Habicht, *Studien* p. 196. This important family's known history begins in the time of Alexander the Great; see Habicht, *op. cit.* pp. 194-197. Kichesias is the first member attested from the first century; he ought to be the grandson of Kichesias IV, who was hippeus of Kekropis at Delphi in 128/7 (*FD III* 2, 27.II.15) and shortly thereafter joined the brothers Mikion and Eurykleides of Kephisia in dedicating a statue of (evidently) his wife, Habryllis, daughter of Mikion, priestess of Demeter and Kore (not of Athena, as has wrongly been inferred from *IG II*² 3477; her correct title appears on an unpublished base, built into a Byzantine wall in the Roman Agora, as M. Hoff has informed me); see II.Introduction, "Priestess of Demeter and Kore," no. 4a.

Lines 24-25: Apollonios son of Ktesikles of Acharnai: *Sacred Officials* p. 55; Kapetanopoulos, *BCH* 92, 1968, pp. 493-518, Stemma D. He was the grandson of Sophokles of Acharnai, daduch no. 13 (*Sacred Officials* p. 55, col. 1, where the first sentence of the second paragraph is a slip and should be deleted). His grandmother, Ktesikleia, was one of the *parthenoi* who worked Athena's robe in 103; hence Ktesikles would have been born ca. 95, and so Apollonios would have been ca. 40 years old in 20/19.

Line 25: The father of Demonstratos was most likely the current sacred herald (above, line 12).

Lines 25-26: Timarchos son of Timosthenes of Kephisia was evidently the brother of the pyrophoros (above, lines 9-11).

Line 26: Menandros's father was also a member of this delegation (line 21).

Lines 26-27: Aristaichmos son of Ammonios of Anaphlystos: possibly the son of the Ammonios son of Demetrios who was ephebe in 80/79 (*IG II*² 1039.frag. w.23). The family: *NPA* p. 12 (stemma); P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (Paris 1916) p. 104 (stemma); Tracy, *IG II*² 2336, pp. 186-187.

Lines 27-28: Sophokles son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai, adopted by Philotas of Sounion:

his father was also a member of this delegation (above, lines 23-24); his adoptive father was polemarch in 88/7 (*IG* II² 1714.4). On Sophokles and his family see Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 233 and Table XI. He was priest of Aminos ca. 50-20 B.C. If he was, as Aleshire believes, the son of the Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai who was gymnasiarch in 101/100, then in the year of this decree he should be at least 70 years old; and this is not impossible. However, of the men in this part of the list – lines 23 to 30 – none is demonstrably as old as some of the preceding members of the delegation (see above, on lines 20-30); here younger and less distinguished members of the group seem to be listed; and so it seems reasonable to assume that Sophokles was the son of the Dionysodoros of line 23, like Iophon who follows.

Lines 28-29: Iophon son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai: probably the son of the Dionysodoros who appears in line 23. Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 232, no. 9, and Table XI, assumes that he is the brother of this Dionysodoros. However, if so, we should probably expect to find them listed in the form Διονυσόδωρος καὶ Ἰοφῶν οἱ Διονυσόδωρου Δειραδιῶται, as in the case of the two brothers from Melite (lines 21-22). Iophon was ephebe ca. 50 B.C. (*IG* II² 2461.38; cf. Kapetanopoulos, *AE* 1968, p. 188, no. 15), so that his father should now be about seventy-five years old.

Line 29: Alexandros son of Agathokles of Leukonoion: tamias of the Military Fund sometime in the preceding decade (*Agora* XV 290.105-113) and tamias of the Dodecais in this period as well (*FD* III 2, 61.7; cf. 248.5); his son was an ephebe in 13/2 (*IG* II² 1963.45).

Lines 29-30: Euphron son of Euphron of Marathon is otherwise unknown.

Line 30: Seleukos son of Demeas of Halai: his father (or another ancestor) was the Demeas son of Hikesios who was epimelete of Delos ca. 90 (*I. Délos* 2045.2, 2255.9-10). Stemma of the family of Demeas son of Hikesios: Tracy, *IG* II² 2336, p. 197.

Mikion son of Philokrates of Peiraeus, otherwise unknown, may be the brother of the Mnasis daughter of Philokrates of Peiraeus whose statue was dedicated by her mother to the Mother of the Gods (*IG* II² 4038, “*init. s. I p.*”).

Line 31: See above, on line 7.

Line 32: The daduch Themistokles son of Theophrastos of Hagnous: *Sacred Officials* pp. 56-57, no. 16, p. 58 (stemma); cf. stemma compiled by Kapetanopoulos, *BCH* 92, 1968, p. 518, Stemma D (where the birth dates are too low). Habicht, *Münzmagistraten* pp. 13-14 (following Lewis, *NC* 1962, p. 292), proposes to identify the mint-magistrates of 75/4, ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, with our Themistokles and his father. However, his father was born ca. 100 B.C. (his father’s mother, working on Athena’s robe, was still a virgin at the end of 103); therefore he could not be much older than 25, if at all, in 75/4, and his son, the future daduch, was probably not yet born. The mint-magistrates of 75/4, then, are most likely Theophrastos, the father of the daduch of 20/19, and his father, Themistokles, who was a pythaist in 106/5. (The mint-magistrates of 81/0 also consisted of a son/father pair [Habicht, *ibid.*].) This Themistokles became daduch no. 14 (*Sacred Officials* p. 55).

The present daduch was probably about forty years old at the time of this document.

Lines 34-37 are of great interest, in that they make clear that the cult (τὰ ἱερά) had changed to its disadvantage, so that older forms of the ritual had to be revived. “And by the excellence of his service as daduch increases the solemnity and dignity of the cult; thereby the magnificence of the

Mysteries is felt by all to have greater ἐκπληξίς and its proper adornment." On ἐκπληξίς, a quality that was of critical importance to the cult, see Roussel p. 834; *Sacred Officials* p. 56, and *Iconography* p. 86.

Lines 38-56: There follows a list of all daduchs over the course of the last two centuries as well as members of this family who held the altar-priesthood (see stemma, *Sacred Officials* p. 58).

Line 39: On Themistokles' father (*Sacred Officials* pp. 55-56, no. 15) see above, on line 32: he was mint-magistrate in 75-4.

His grandfather, Themistokles, daduch no. 14 (*Sacred Officials* p. 55), was mint-magistrate in 78/7 and 75/4 (Habicht, Münzmagistraten p. 13). The father of this man, Theophrastos son of Kephisodoros, hieropoios in 156/5 (if the identification with the Theophrastos of Hagnous in *IG II²* 1937.11 is correct), was not a daduch; he may have been the Theophrastos who was mint-magistrate in 137/6, 135/4, and 130/29 (not the years given in *Sacred Officials loc. cit.*). Habicht, Münzmagistraten p. 7, argues that the mint-magistrate of 137/6 was Theophrastos of Kephisia, but Lewis, *NC* 1962, pp. 291-292, regards all three to be the father of the Themistokles who was daduch no. 14. The Themistokles who was mint-magistrate in 133/2, 121/0, 118/7, and 117/6 ought to be a member of the family (the symbol on the issue of 117/6, when he is listed first, a trophy on a prow, points to the famous Themistokles, regarded as an ancestor of this family [Paus. 1.37.1]), but it is hardly likely that he is the same Themistokles as the mint-magistrate in 78/7 and 75/4 (i.e. daduch no. 14): he seems to be an otherwise unattested member, probably an uncle of daduch no. 14.

Lines 39-40: Sophokles son of Xenokles of Acharnai was daduch in the first quarter of the century (*Sacred Officials* pp. 54-55, no. 13; and above, on lines 24-25).

Xenokles son of Sophokles: *Sacred Officials* p. 54, daduch no. 12. Xenokles, the mint-magistrate in 98/7, 95/4, 92/1, and 90/89, may or may not be the same person. If he is, then his term as daduch extended at least to 89 B.C. Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* pp. 214-215, would date *IG II²* 2452, in which this daduch appears, to ca. 105-95, reasonably close to the terms of this mint-magistrate. Thus it seems advisable to assume that Xenokles' term as daduch extended from the last quarter of the second century to ca. 85. Sophokles' term followed down to, say, 65; the term of his successor, Themistokles, might have ended ca. 55; and Theophrastos, his successor, died not long before the date of this decree.

Lines 41-42: Leontios son of Sophokles of Acharnai: *Sacred Officials* pp. 82-83, altar-priest no. 8.

Sophokles son of Leontios of Acharnai: *Sacred Officials* p. 83, altar-priest no. 9.

Lines 42-43: Philoxenides son of Philistides of Hagnous: *Sacred Officials* p. 54, daduch no. 11, p. 82, altar-priest no. 6.

Lines 44-45: Kephisodoros son of Philistides of Hagnous: *Sacred Officials* p. 82, altar-priest no. 7.

Lines 45-46: Sophokles son of Leontios of Acharnai: *Sacred Officials* p. 54, no. 10 (but omit the reference to *IG II²* 2452).

Lines 46-49: Philistides: *Sacred Officials* p. 54, daduch no. 9. He took office, it seems, toward the end of the first quarter of the second century.

Lines 49-51: Antiphon: *Sacred Officials* pp. 53-54, daduch no. 8.

Lines 51-52: Leontios: *Sacred Officials* p. 53, daduch no. 8.

Lines 53-54: Hermotimos and Hierokleides: *Sacred Officials* p. 53. It is not clear how they are related to their successors, or whether they directly preceded them.

Around the end of the third century the Kerykes evidently started keeping a record of their priests (ἀναγραφὴ εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον).

Line 55: These altar-priests are otherwise unknown (*Sacred Officials* p. 82).

Lines 56-61: Not a single one of these statue bases has survived, from a period of approximately two centuries.

Lines 61-68: See Oliver's translation (*Expounders* p. 50, quoted in *Sacred Officials* p. 56).

The Accomplishments of Themistokles. Themistokles was praised above (lines 34-37) for his success in increasing the grandeur of the Mysteries by giving them greater ἐκπληξις. Now we get a fuller description of that effort, an effort that led to increased dignity for the *genos* as a whole and for each of its priests in particular (lines 61-63). It involved recovery of πάτρια, ancestral practices that had fallen out of use (lines 66-67). The memory of these practices was apparently still alive, in some measure, within his family, but a certain amount of research was necessary in order to complete the task. Less clear is the meaning of the "investigation, which fell upon (them), concerning the ἀπογραφαί." An ἀπογραφή could be a registry of some sort, here perhaps declarations of property; Oliver, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 43-48 (= *Civic Tradition* pp. 13-20; on the term ἀπογραφή, note 32), saw a connection between these ἀπογραφαί and political reorganization that was taking place at this time: the ἀπογραφαί have to do with eligibility for office under a revised constitution. Although Oliver's hypothesis of a system based on thirty γένη is unlikely to find favor, it is clear that the γένη enjoyed a special importance in Roman Athens, as evidenced by the publication on stone of lists of members, and so it seems right to infer that this unusual interest in recording members of γένη indicates that membership conveyed certain privileges, such as eligibility for office (thus the mention of τῶν προσηκόντων τιμίων in line 62). Judging by the use of the ἀπογραφή in connection with membership in the Iobakchoi (*IG II²* 1338.32-37), we may infer that the ἀπογραφή in this context is a written declaration (not necessarily of property but) of eligibility for membership which an applicant gives to an officer of the corporation; a scrutiny (δοκιμασία) of the applicant and his ἀπογραφή then follows before he is accepted. What is suggested by the present passage and Oliver's discussion is that there was a sudden need, motivated by a political reorganization prompted shortly before this by Augustus (cf. his prohibition against the sale of Athenian citizenship, Cassius Dio 54.7), for verification of membership in the Kerykes, and this required an investigation of the members' ἀπογραφαί, a task which fell upon Themistokles to carry out, as one who was eminently qualified, perhaps because he had already been engaged in research on the cult, but in any case because he was an energetic and effective promoter of the privileges of the *genos*. Nothing, however, in the preserved part of the document at least, suggests that Themistokles engaged in "sweeping reforms" (as Schmalz proposed).

301. STATUE BASE FOR FOUR MEMBERS OF THE DADUCHIC FAMILY FROM HAG-NOUS. The only known Themistokles whose father and grandfather were daduchs and who was

himself a daduch is the priest who was honored by a decree of the Boule and Demos in 20/19 (300).

Since inscription I takes up the right portion of the missing left block (and the very left of the preserved block), it is highly likely that another inscription was carved on the left portion of the missing block. The restorations that fit best in inscription I would be for a male member of the family, most likely Themistokles' father, and the missing inscription to the left should then be a dedication for his grandfather. Thus the current daduch holds a central position of honor, with his ancestors on his right and his brother on his left (this arrangement seems more appropriate than the one I suggested in *Sacred Officials* p. 57 [no. 17] when the stone was unavailable to me).

The monument was quite spectacular, standing along the processional path by the entrance to the Telesterion, and it stood there to the end of antiquity.

Lines 1-6: Essentially the same dedication as in 298.

Lines 7-12: On Themistokles, the current daduch, see above, 300, and *Sacred Officials* pp. 56-57, no. 16.

Lines 13-15: Sophokles, brother of the current daduch, was ephebe ca. 50-40 B.C. (*IG* II² 1961.19 = *SEG* XXXIV 153). His inscription compared to the others is striking in its simplicity, with no reference to the priesthood of his father.

302. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE, SON OF THEMISTOKLES HAGNOUSIOS.

Lines 2-5: In line 2 either of the sons of the daduch Themistokles who are reported in [Plut.] *Xorat.* 834, viz. Diokles or Theophrastos, might be restored. Spacing slightly favors Diokles but is not decisive.

Diokles was hoplite general for the second (or subsequent) time around A.D. 40 (cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 57, note 74; Oliver's restoration of Lollia (Paulina) in *IG* II² 4176 as the $\mu\nu[\eta\sigma]\tau\acute{\eta}$ of Memmius Regulus, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 150-153, would date this document more precisely, but it was rightly rejected by J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1967, no. 196).

The lettering is very similar to that of 301; it ought therefore to be not too distant in date.

The arrangement of lines 5-6 is unusual. Line 5 seems to begin at the same point as line 4. Line 6, on the other hand, with its larger letters, seems likely to have accommodated the names of both goddesses; this seems a better solution than to suppose Demeter's name was carved in smaller letters in the preceding line.

303. STATUE BASE? The honorand may be Sophokles (IV) son of Theophrastos (II) of Hagnous (see Kirchner's stemma, *ad IG* II² 3510), but there are other possibilities, such as Sophokles (V) son of Theophrastos (III) (*ibid.*; 301). In each case a daduch Themistokles was the grandfather.

304. STATUE BASE SIGNED BY ANTIOCHOS SON OF DEMETRIOS OF ANTIOCH. Lenormant wanted to associate the father of Antiochos with a Demetrius of Antioch named in a grave inscription (*IG* II² 8145), but there are many other Demetrioι of Antioch attested in Attica.

305. STATUE BASE FOR POLYAINOS NIKANDROU SOUNIEUS. (*IG II²* 3887/8). Fragment *b* confirmed Graindor's restoration. Polyainos was archon in 14/3 (*IG II²* 1713.28; 1721.2). For the later history of his family see Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 187-189 with stemma, Table X.

306. ALTAR FOR KOUROTROPHOS, DEDICATED BY THEOPHILE. Four small altars dedicated to Kourotrophos, at least three of them by women, have been found at Eleusis. The others: **328**, **401**, **668**. The consistent association of women with the Eleusinian altars and the importance of Kourotrophos in the Thesmophoria (Ar. *Thesm.* 295-300) suggests that the altars are to be associated with the Thesmophoria rather than the Mysteria (Clinton, *Iconography*).

On the form χαριστήριον (for χαριστήριον) see Threatte, *GAI* I 28.01, pp. 400-402.

307. STATUE BASE FOR [DIO]TIMA, HEARTH-INITIATE. This may be the only occurrence of the name Diotima in Attic inscriptions. The restoration seems virtually certain, as the lacuna contained only 2 1/2 letters.

Line 1: A name such as Ἡρακλείδης Διονυσίου Φλυεύς would fit the space reasonably well; he was an epimelete in the Peiraeus ca. 150-140 (*IG II²* 1939.66; 1940.56; Tracy, *Letter-Cutters* p. 149). Either he or, better, a grandson is a possibility.

308. STATUE BASE FOR DIODOTOS KALLIPHONTOS PAMBOTADES. In the late second century B.C. Kalliphon of Pambotadai, who is either the honorand or an ancestor, was one of the men chosen for the task of remaking various precious objects in the sanctuary of Ἡρώς ἱατρός (*IG II²* 840.35).

309. STATUE BASE SIGNED BY SOSIBIOS. The sculptor may well be the same Sosibios (*PA* 13185) whose signature appears as Σωσίβιος | Ἀθηναῖος ἐπο[ίησεν] on an altar now in the Louvre, previously in Italy (Loewy 340).

311. LETTER OR DECREE. The most that can be said about this text, whether law, decree, or letter, is that it is about the Mysteries.

Line 4: It is unclear whether this is the verb, ἐπιγνώσιν (cf. the sacred law concerning Isis at Teithras, *SEG XXIII* 77: ὅσους ἂν ἐπιγνώσιν), or the noun, τήν ἐπίγνωσιν (cf. **300.63-64**: τήν τῶν πατρίων ἐπίγνωσιν).

315. DECREE? This seems to be a decree, but a dedication cannot be ruled out.

316. STATUE BASE. *Line 1:* Perhaps ἡ πόλις Οὐε[-], i.e. a Roman name, such as Vespasianus (in the accusative).

317. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. Given the rarity of the priestess's name at Athens, the Ithake daughter of Bakchios of Aixone who appears on a grave marker excavated in the Ceramicus (*AA* 1975, p. 461) may well be the same person or a relative. The marker is evidently later than the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C. A Bakchios son of Aristoboulos of Aixone appears on a gravestone (*IG* II² 5411) dated by Kirchner to "s. I/II."

It is a bit odd that a patronymic does not appear in line 4; it may have been illegible, and it is unclear whether the indication of a vacant space was made by Skias or Kirchner.

319. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. *Line 2:* [θεῖσαν or [θέντα.

320. DEDICATION? The type of monument (perhaps a grave marker) is not clear. The person is surely not Herodes Atticus, who would not have referred to his father in such an inconspicuous way.

321. STATUE BASE? *Line 2:* Probably a patronymic.

323. STATUE BASE FOR ATHENO NIKETOU HAGNOUSIOU, HEARTH-INITIATE. The persons are unknown. The only clue to the date of the inscription is the spelling Ἀρήου for Ἀρείου, rather frequent in the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 50; cf. Threatte, *GAI* I 9.031, pp. 202-205.

324. STATUE BASE FOR PAMMENES PAMMENOUS MARATHONIOS, EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. The γένος in line 3 is undoubtedly the Eumolpidae, and the exegete one of their own, i.e. an exegete of the Eumolpidae. On Pammenes and his family see Oliver; Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 86-95 (stemma of ancestors: *NPA* p. 85). He belonged to the Gephyraioi (Oliver, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 40-42) and the Erysichthonidae in addition to the Eumolpidae. His father (*PA* 11520, *NPA* p. 140) was a hoplite general and priest of Rome and Augustus (*IG* II² 3173; Oliver, *Expounders* p. 92) as well as ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ βίου ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἐρυσιχθονιδῶν (*I. Délos* 2516-2518). His mother was most likely Phila daughter of Menneas of Phlya (*IG* II² 7712); her brother was archon after 9/8 B.C. (*IG* II² 1722.2). The restoration of Pammenes' name in **336** seems to be incorrect.

Line 7: Kirchner's (quite probable) restoration of the end of the line is of considerable importance for our knowledge of the sanctuary, for it is the first piece of epigraphic evidence at Eleusis suggestive of cult statues. For further discussion see above, II.Introduction, "Cult Statues," pp. 12-13.

325. STATUE BASE FOR A HIEROPHANTIS. Hieronymy was not observed; hence the monument was probably set up after her death.

The use of -η- for -ει- is consistent with a date early in the first century after Christ; it is quite common from 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. (Threatte, *GAI* I 9.031, pp. 202-205).

328. ALTAR FOR KOUROTROPHOS. On the original context of this altar and others like it at Eleusis, probably the festival of the Thesmophoria, see II.306; Clinton, *Iconography*.

Προσῆθεν as demotic or ethnic is unknown. It is possible that a syllable was omitted from Προσπαλτῆθεν, a form that is unattested, to my knowledge, but similar to Ἀφιδνῆθεν (*IG* II² 5750, 5759). Only women born of Athenian parents were admitted to the Thesmophoria (Deubner, *Feste* pp. 53-54; Clinton, *Iconography* p. 35, note 109), so Dione takes care to indicate her respectable standing, by giving her deme of origin and her husband's name attached to a word for "wife" that had respectable antiquity.

329. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE, DAUGHTER OF POLYCHARMOS OF AZENIA. For the prosopography of the family see Oliver, *Expounders* p. 148, and the following additional documents: *AM* 67, 1953, p. 22, no. 25a; *SEG* XV 104.5 (= *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 220-239). The father of this hearth-initiate was probably the Polycharmos son of Polykritos who was archon in the Augustan period (*IG* II² 3120); her grandfather was a pythochrestos exegete.

330. STATUE BASE FOR POLYCHARMOS POLYKRITOU AZENIEUS. He is apparently the Polycharmos son of Polykritos of Azenia who was archon in the Augustan period (*IG* II² 3120), and whose daughter was a hearth-initiate (329; on the family see II.329).

331. STATUE BASE FOR THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS. Theophilos son of Eudoxos of Eleusis is otherwise attested as a priest of Asclepius (*IG* II² 4474-4475). Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 132 (with discussion of other members of his family), assumed that his priesthood was the annual one and dated his term sometime in the period from ca. 25 B.C. to ca. A.D. 9. The beginning of line 4 of the present document, however, is best taken as the end of the title for a lifetime priesthood, and in the case of Theophilos son of Eudoxos it is most likely the priesthood of Asclepius. Theophilos evidently was one of the first holders of the lifetime priesthood of this god, and his term extended into the reign of Tiberius. *IG* II² 4474 omitted διὰ βίου, as it was of no concern to the dedicator. (The priest Diophanes son of Apollonius of Azenia also looks like a lifetime priest of Asclepius, inasmuch as he is attested in five separate documents, *IG* II² 4482-4485 [= 4485a] and *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 75 [*PAA* 366490]: such a large number of surviving monuments would be more likely for a lifetime priest than an annual one. When I reported this to Sara Aleshire she replied *per litt.* that she agreed with this analysis: "No annual priest has nearly so many. In fact, if we exclude those priests known only from the inventories and those priests whose names are wholly or partially lost, no annual priest has more than two documents dating from his priesthood, and the vast majority have only one. When we turn to permanent priests the average number of documents from a sin-

gle priesthood is as we would logically expect higher.... Thus Diophanes Azenieus is the best attested priest in both the annual and permanent categories" [30 May 1992]. She would place Diophanes' term shortly after 21 B.C., the approximate date that she [with Oliver] assumed for a reform of cults at Athens, and the end of his term shortly after the turn of the millennium, succeeded by Zenon Leukiou Rhamnousios and then by Theophilos.)

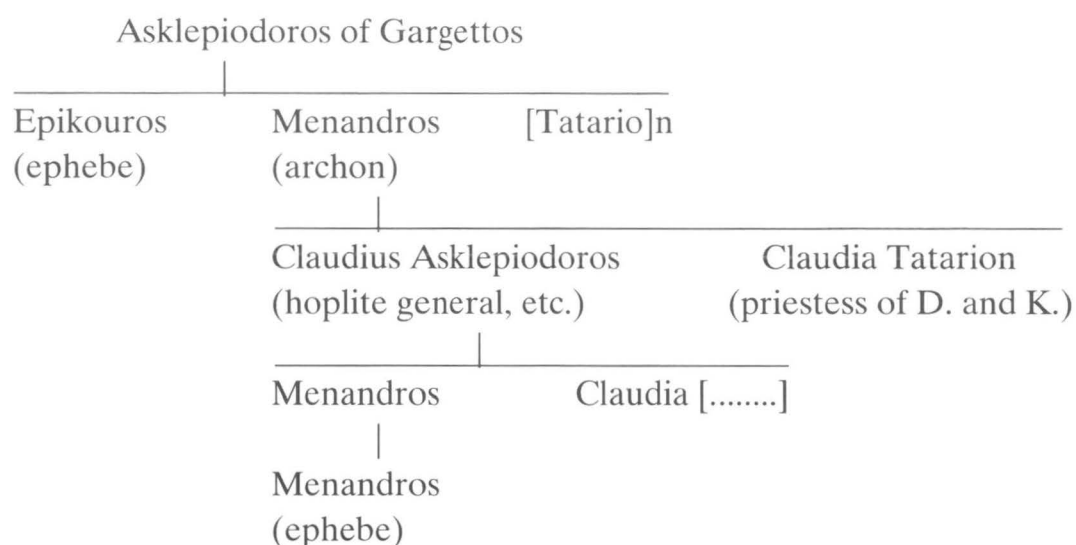
The titles at the beginning of line 3 may also belong to Theophilos. We might even restore: ἄρχων ἐπὶ πῶν[υ]μος καὶ κ[ῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ διὰ]. The first two offices could not have been held concurrently, of course, and it is possible that both titles refer to past offices; a Theophilos, in fact, was archon in 11/10 (*IG* II² 1713.31). This restoration would in turn permit restoration in line 1 of a title, name, and patronymic of the first dedicator; in line 4, of a title and full name of the last dedicator.

Line 5: The stone shows that Skias' restoration of [τῇ] Δ[ήμητρι] (which, if correct, should be followed by τῇ Κόρηι) is impossible (see Epigraphical Commentary). Furthermore, we should not expect the goddesses' names to be modified by the article, nor would it be normal at Athens to dedicate a statue of the emperor to (other) gods. For τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην in reference to an emperor see *IG* II² 3284 (Trajan), 3310, 3314, 3316, 3318 (Hadrian). (The indentation in line 5 of the second two words of the phrase with τὸν left at the end of the preceding line may strike one as odd; but the designer of this document so rigorously justified the right margin that he divided off a single letter of the words that begin lines 2 and 3, so that it is likely that he maintained this consistency at the end of line 4.)

332. STATUE BASE? The size of the lettering suggests an emperor, either Tiberius, Claudius, or (if this is a genitive) Caligula. **331** represents a more modest dedication in honor of Tiberius.

333. STATUE BASE FOR MENANDROS ASKLEPIODOTOU GARGETTIOS. *Line 1:* On the cult of the Roman Senate see Forni.

Lines 4-6: Menandros was apparently not a Roman citizen, like the Menandros of Gargettos who was father of Claudia Tatarion, priestess of Demeter and Kore (**369**; *Sacred Officials* p. 74, no. 12), and so we may assume that they are the same person. The Epikouros son of Asklepiodoros of Gargettos, ephebe in 13/2, may be his brother (*IG* II² 1963.31). The Claudius Asklepiodoros who held distinguished offices and was honored by his daughter ca. A.D. 50-60 (**358**) may well be his son. Menandros son of Menandros of Gargettos, ephebe after A.D. 102 (*IG* II² 2017.17), may be his great-grandson. (His grandfather is conceivably the Menander who was archon in the third quarter of the preceding century; cf. Follet.) Follet would associate *IG* II² 3241, which honors Livia Augusta, with this family. The dedicator of this monument was [. . .] Ἀσκληπιό- [δώρου - - - θυγά]τηρ. [Τατάρ]ιο would fit the space perfectly. These assumptions can be expressed by this hypothetical stemma:



334. MONUMENT FOR THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS. The stone needs further study to determine the type of monument or structure to which it belonged. P. Le Bas, *RA* 1, 1844, p. 45, saw it in 1843 and described it as follows: "... la dédicace d'un édicule consacré à Tibère. Cette dernière consiste en cinq lignes dont la partie droite manque; elle est gravée sur l'architrave même du monument." (He did not provide a text.) Though no aspect of the block suggests an architrave, the monument is very interesting. The anathyrosis on the left indicates that it consisted of at least two blocks, probably in fact at least three in order to be symmetrical; thus it was at least 4.5 m. wide. There was certainly at least one more course below it. The rough-picked top with its channel of obscure purpose (to hold a relief or screen wall?) was not meant to be seen.

Lines 2-3: The eponymous priestess of Demeter and Kore, Kleo daughter of Eukles of Phlya: *Sacred Officials* p. 73, no. 9. Since she was priestess when Livia was still alive (335), and when Claudia Alkia was initiated (364), evidently ca. A.D. 65, it is not likely that she was appointed much before 25, if at all.

Line 3: Instead of ἀναθέσεως we could restore κατασκευῆς.

Lines 4-5: On the priesthood of the emperor see Clinton, *Eleusis and the Romans*, and II.336. Oliver took Papios to be a resident "Italian," but this is very doubtful (see Spawforth, *Imperial Cult*); he may have been a Eumolpid (II.336). The curtailment of his name is very strange. Bradeen, *Agora* XVII 224, wondered whether the patronymic of Rotilia Onesime Papou Marathonion could be a mistake for Papiou.

335. MONUMENT [FOR IULIA AUGUST]A. The name of the honorand precedes the name of the honoring corporation. On Athenian dedications this unusual order usually indicates that the honorand is an emperor or a member of his family. This is reinforced here by the fact that the identical style and size of the lettering and treatment of the face are found on 334, a monument honoring Tiberius. Here the honorand is a woman, and the appropriate woman during the reign of Tiberius is Iulia Augusta, the name Livia received upon the death of Augustus (*PIR*² L 301). The text follows the order of 334, with the formula for the eponymous priestess (here with the name of her biological father) following the dedicating corporations. As in 334 line 2 has a vacant space on the right, and lines 3-4 have increased indentation.

On the cult of Livia at Eleusis see Clinton.

For the date see II.334.2-3.

The fourth bracket in line 3 should be deleted.

336. STATUE BASE FOR A PRIEST OF TIBERIUS AND EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI.

The pattern of the inscription resembles 344: 1) honorand's priestly titles, 2) name of honorand, 3) name of dedicator, 4) τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην. In 344 the priestly titles are:

τὸν ἀρχιερέα Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ ἱερέα πατρῶου
Ἀπόλλωνος.

In the present case it is hard to see what the honorand's connection with Tiberius might be other than that he was his priest. The space in the first line would be perfectly filled if we restore:

[τὸν ἱερέα θεᾶς Ῥώμης καί].

The father of Pammenes the exegete held the priesthood of Rome and Augustus among others (*IG II² 3173*), and Kirchner quite sensibly restored Pammenes as the honorand here, but it is probably not correct. In its favor are temporal proximity and the demotic, but there was more than one exegete of the Eumolpidae, and the demotic is a frequent one. Furthermore, the present text requires shorter lacunae in lines 5-6, which preclude restoration of Pammenes. [Πάπιον] would fit the space perfectly in line 5. He is attested in 334 as priest of Tiberius for life. So we may consider for line 1 the restoration [τὸν ἱερέα διὰ βίου], either centered in the line or with slightly larger letters than those below. For the approximate date see II.334.

Lines 2-4: Tiberius' name at Athens is Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός (not Αὐτοκράτωρ). This restoration demands shorter lacunae in lines 2-6.

Line 6: Aulos also dedicated other statues at Eleusis (337, 338).

337. STATUE BASE FOR AN EXEGETE. The text seems similar to 336, but the height of the letters indicates that the present fragment is not part of that document. The style of the lettering is quite similar. 336 apparently celebrated the honorand's priesthood of Tiberius; this base may refer to a different honor or simply the office of exegete.

On Aulos see II.336.

338. STATUE BASE. The hand is very similar to that of 336 and 337. But this fragment does not belong to either of those documents.

On Aulos see II.336.

341. EPISTYLE OF BUILDING DEDICATED BY THE PRIESTESS KLEO EUKLEOUS OF PHLYA. *Line 1:* Priestess of Demeter and Kore no. 9, *Sacred Officials* pp. 73-74, in office from ca. 25 to ca. 65 (see II.334 and II.364).

Line 2: The first two preserved letters must belong to a title, such as ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου (as I suggested in *Sacred Officials*), but since the dedication is made to the god Demos, it seems reasonable to expect that a priest of Demos made the dedication. A priest of Demos alone (as opposed to Demos and Charites) is otherwise unattested at Athens, to my knowledge.

Line 3: The cult of Σεβαστὴ Δικαιοσύνη is evidently derived from a cult of *Iustitia Augusta* established by Augustus; on the latter see K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960) p. 300, and the discussion in *Sacred Officials*. On cults of Dikaiosyne see L. Robert, in *Mélanges Dussaud II* (Paris 1939) pp. 731-732; *Documents de l'Asie méridionale* (Geneva and Paris 1966) pp. 25-29; in the latter study he mentions a statue base for Dikaiosyne, dedicated to Demos, at Iasos (= *I. Iasos* 228). For the iconography of Dikaiosyne see J. C. Balty, *LIMC* s.v.

342. MONUMENT DEDICATED BY (?) THE PRIESTESS KLEO EUKLEOUS OF PHLYA. Skias and Kirchner suggest that the monument may have been an altar. It is possible that Kleo did not dedicate this monument, but that her name appeared on it as eponymous priestess of the sanctuary, i.e. [ἐπὶ ἱερείας κτλ.

Line 1: Priestess of Demeter and Kore no. 9, *Sacred Officials* pp. 73-74, in office from ca. 25 to ca. 65 (see II.334 and II.364 [3604A]).

343. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY THE PRIESTESS KLEO EUKLEOUS OF PHLYA. Kleo was priestess from ca. 25 to ca. 65 (see II.334 and II.364).

344. STATUE BASE FOR POLYCHARMOS EUKLEOUS MARATHONIOS, HIGH PRIEST OF TIBERIUS. On the development of the high-priesthood at Athens see Clinton, Eleusis and the Romans, and Spawforth, Imperial Cult. Oliver argued that the imperial cult was grafted onto the cult of Apollo Patroos, but this seems unlikely. Polycharmos' tenure as priest of Apollo Patroos overlapped his term as high-priest of the emperor. On the date of his high-priesthood see Clinton.

Lines 5-6: Polycharmos was herald of the Areopagus and probably eponymous archon between 8 B.C. and A.D. 22/3 (*IG II²* 1728.6; 1730.2; Ameling, *Herodes Atticus II* pp. 49-50, nos. 17-18, with discussion of other possible members of his family). He is usually taken to be a member of the Herodes-Eukles family of Marathon.

Lines 6-9: Heimertos is most likely the son of Polycharmos, but a son would not normally call his father τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην (Ameling suggested that he might be a freedman of Polycharmos). He is probably an adopted son, as Lenormant believed, the adoption being the benefaction that elicited this monument. A Himertos of Marathon is attested in the second century A.D. (*Agora XV* 322.I.38; *IG II²* 2193.7; 4759; 6761).

345. STATUE BASE FOR T. STATILIUS LAMPRIAS. Lamprias, an Epidaurian, had ancestors in Athens and several other cities. When he died at the age of eighteen, the Athenians expressed their condolences to his family and his city by sending decrees of consolation from the Areopagus (*IG* IV² 83) and the Boule and Demos (*IG* IV² 84), in which they ordered that a statue of Lamprias be set up on the Acropolis, at Eleusis in the Sacred Court of the Two Goddesses “near his ancestors” (on the court, see II.Introduction, “Αὐλὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,” pp. 3-4), and at Epidaurus in the precinct of Asclepius.

Both decrees give the precise wording of the dedicatory inscription to be carved on these statue bases. The Areopagus referred to Lamprias as ἥρωα at the end of the inscription (line 17), but the decree of the Boule and Demos instead wrote ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν (line 38), a sentiment more in accord with Athenian practice (and most likely the one that appeared on the Athenian monuments). The Epidaurians, however, preferred the version given by the Areopagus and wrote ἥρωα in the dedicatory inscription at Epidaurus (*IG* IV² 82). The inscription at Eleusis ended, I assume, with ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν.

At Athens Lamprias was related to “daduchic and hierophantic families” according to *IG* IV² 84.30, but a decree of the Lacedaemonians set up at Epidaurus, *SEG* XXXV 305.4-6 (= *IG* IV² 86), emphasizes only the daduchic connection – through his uncle, i.e. his mother’s brother, L. Volusenus Aristokrates. Spawforth, following an idea of Hiller’s, made the reasonable conjecture that the similarity of the name of Lamprias’ mother, Timosthenis, to that of one of the Athenians who delivered the decrees to Epidaurus, Timosthenes, may indicate that they were relatives, viz. cousins. This Timosthenes, son of Kallistomachos of Anaphlystos, and another delegate, Kallistomachos, were most likely brothers. No trace of this family has survived, however, in the epigraphic record at Eleusis. The only otherwise attested members are two pompostoloi on Delos early in the first century B.C. (*I. Délos* 2607.12,32) and Kallistomachos son of Kallistomachos in an undated grave inscription (*IG* II² 5669).

The connection with Eleusis is further emphasized by the meetings of the Areopagus and the Demos at which the decrees were passed. The Demos met on 18 Boedromion, the day before the procession of the Mysteries to Eleusis, and the Areopagus met at Eleusis shortly after the festival was over, on Boedromion 25.

For the date of the Athenian decrees see Spawforth.

346. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY KLEOPATRA IOPHONTOS DEIRADIOTOU AND HER SON. The name of the honorand, presumably Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion, the husband of Kleopatra and father of Dionysodoros, stood elsewhere on this large monument, which consisted of at least three blocks.

On the family see Aleshire. Dionysodoros, the husband of Kleopatra, served as hoplite general three times and was appointed permanent priest of the emperor under Claudius (*IG* II² 3274 with Raubitschek, *ÖJhBeibl* 37, 1948, p. 37, and Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 86-87 = *SEG* XXII 153). He was a member of the Kerykes (see 300.27-29), and this dedication may have celebrated his imperial priesthood, like so many other monuments at Eleusis honoring holders of this office.

Line 1: Kirchner's construction of this inscription as a dedication *to* Kleopatra (in the dative), as if a goddess, is out of the question.

Line 2: For the restoration cf. 435.

347. STATUE BASE FOR P. PAPINIUS ST[ATIUS]. It is tempting to take *b* as the right side of *a* and edit:

ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρχοῦ πά[γου καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος
Πόπλιον Παπίνιον Στ[. . . .]ον ἀνθύπατον
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ε[ὐν]ορίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν

However, in addition to the difficulties mentioned in the Epigraphical Commentary, this association seems to be ruled out by the grammatical awkwardness of having the singular reflexive pronoun refer to a plural subject. Although this combination of plural and singular is not uncommon in dedications in Asia Minor (cf. L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale*, Geneva and Paris 1966, p. 70, note 3), we should not expect it of Athens without secure examples, and in fact I have been unable to find any certain example. (There are two *restorations* of ἑαυτὸν referring to the Boule and Demos, *IG* II² 505.43 and 3446.4, but in each case ἑαυτούς can be restored; in 505, which is stoichedon, three letters are carved several times in the space for two.)

The position of [ὁ δῆ]μος looks a bit strange in not being centered, but *IG* II² 4162 provides a somewhat similar example. In the two inscriptions on that base (each below a statue) ὁ δῆμος is set much to the left over the left inscription and much to the right over the right inscription. Of course it is conceivable that the present document offers our first Athenian instance of ἑαυτὸν referring to a plural subject, and that the two corporations should be restored in lines 1 and 4 (with ἑαυτὸν also in line 3).

The only known Papinii with a cognomen beginning with ST are the poet Publius Papinius Statius and his father. Statius evidently never left Italy, but his father won victories in poetry at the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games (*Silvae* 5.3.141-145), victories which ought to have occurred around the middle of the first century (Clinton). Thus it seems likely that the father is the honorand. For the (less certain) restoration ποιητὴν cf. *IG* II² 3791.

There was most likely a third statue on the missing block to the left.

348. STATUE BASE FOR DIOKLES THEMISTOKLEOUS HAGNOUSIOS. On the ancestors of Diokles see 301. He was hoplite general for a second (or subsequent) time ca. A.D. 40 (*IG* II² 4176; see II.302.2-5).

The titles φιλόκαισαρ and φιλόπατρις were bestowed on Diokles probably by the Polis, perhaps by acclamation. On the title φιλόκαισαρ see P. M. Frazer, in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien: Festschrift für F. K. Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Feb. 1976* (EPRO 66), ed. S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim and J. Wagner (Leiden 1978) pp. 369-371, and G. H. Horsely, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Sydney 1983) pp. 87-89; on φιλόπατρις, L. Robert,

Hellenica XIII (Paris 1965) p. 215; on both titles, Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 87-89 (his association of the titles with the high-priesthood, however, does not seem to be justified; see 358 and II.503.18)

349. STATUE BASE FOR ATHENAIS DAUGHTER OF DIOKLES HAGNOUSIOS. Athenais is otherwise unknown. Her influential father, hoplite general for a second (or subsequent) time ca. A.D. 40 (see II.302.2-5), was no doubt responsible for the erection of this monument for his deceased daughter. It was evidently fairly common at Eleusis to erect statues of deceased persons who had a close association with the sanctuary (see II.235 for a list).

Line 7: It was quite rare at Athens to call the deceased a ἥρως or ἡρώϊνη (the feminine form apparently only here).

350. STATUE BASE FOR M. PORCIUS CATO. He may have been the M. Porcius Cato who was suffect consul in A.D. 36 and *curator aquarum* in 38, as I suggested, or the son of this man, as Graindor and Groag argued.

On the Acropolis he set up a statue of a man who was hoplite general for the seventh time (*IG* II² 3542). His epitaph is evidently *IG* II² 10163 (see Bodnar's edition; Bradeen, *Agora* XVII 1054): [M. Por]cius [M.f. Cato Tus]culus [Μᾶρκος Πόρκιος [Κάτων 'Ρ]ωμαῖος. The Boule and Demos honored his daughter by setting up a statue of her on the Acropolis (*IG* II² 4241; see my discussion, *loc. cit.*).

351. STATUE BASE FOR SEILON APOLLONIOU MELITEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. As Follet noticed, this hearth-initiate is undoubtedly related to the Apollonios son of Seilon who was ephebe around the beginning of the second century (*IG* II² 2030.35). Since the present inscription was set up before the Hadrianic reforms in the early 120's, it is a bit more likely that the ephebe was the son of our hearth-initiate than his father (it may also be significant that the hearth-initiate's father spelled his father's name without an epsilon). Hence the date of this inscription would be around the middle of the first century or shortly thereafter. A possible ancestor of this hearth-initiate is the Apollonios son of Silon who won a victory at the Ptoia as a kithara player, attested in a victors' list (*IG* VII 4147.19; *PAA* 146525), which P. Roesch, *Études Béotiennes* (Paris 1982) p. 226, no. 3 (= *SEG* XXXII 443), would date around the middle or in the second half of the first century B.C., but only on the basis of the lettering, whereas the original editor, M. Holleaux, suggested a date later than the dictatorship of Iulius Caesar and possibly as late as the beginning of the first century A.D. The kithara player may be the father of our hearth-initiate.

353. STATUE BASE FOR DAUGHTER OF STATILIUS OF SPHETTOS. Skias' restoration of Pasichareia and Timokrates in lines 4-5 is highly improbable, because it assumes that an Epidaurian family (see *IG* IV² 86) had Athenian citizenship and belonged to the deme of Sphettos, but there is no evidence of this: the family's Athenian relatives were probably from

Anaphlystos (see II.345 and the study of Spawforth cited there). The Statilii of Sphettos are, to my knowledge, otherwise unattested.

354. ARCHITRAVE WITH DEDICATION BY T[**I.** CLAUDIUS] EUKLES SOSTRATOU, PRIEST OF IULIA [AGRIPPINA] SE[BASTE]. The lettering would suggest a date from the Augustan period to sometime late in the first century A.D. The building is dedicated to a Iulia Augusta who suffered *damnatio memoriae*, and this must be Iulia Agrippina (*PIR*² I 641), mother of Nero and wife of Claudius. She received the title of Augusta in A.D. 50. Line 3 should therefore read:

[**Ι**]ουλίαι [**Α**[γριππείνη]] Σε[βαστῇ]

The restoration of the last lacuna of line 1 is assured by the trace of the last preserved letter and the last two preserved letters of line 1 in the next document (**355**): the praenomen and nomen were carved in the lacuna. The similar formula, ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ, occurs on a dedication for Claudius (*IG* II² 3274).

Eukles son of Sostratos set up the following monument (**355**) in honor of his brother, but he is otherwise unattested. The name Eukles alternates with Herodes in successive generations of the famous family from Marathon, but the last attested Eukles was active from the time of Iulius Caesar to late in the reign of Augustus (documentation: Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* pp. 42-49, nos. 7-16), so that we have no specific warrant for connecting Eukles son of Sostratos with this family, though it is of course possible that Sostratos is an unattested son of Eukles (IV) of Marathon.

The document reveals the interesting fact that Claudius and Agrippina were each served by a priest. Claudius' priest was Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion, a member of the Kerykes (*IG* II² 3274; Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 86-87; above, II.346; Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 231, no. 5).

The building on which the text was written was undoubtedly located in or near the sanctuary, considering the size of the block; for a possible location see Clinton. The cult of Claudius presumably was also served by this building.

355. STATUE BASE FOR THE BROTHER OF THE PRIEST **TI.** CLAUDIUS EUKLES SOSTRATOU. The preceding document (**354**) confirms that the second name in line 2 ought to be his patronymic, and it reveals his priesthood here to be that of Iulia Agrippina. The inscription was wider than Boeckh assumed.

356. STATUE BASE FOR [TI. CLAUDIUS NOUIOS PHILINOU OF OION]. The honorand was an agonothete apparently of two agonistic festivals called Sebastia. The same combination of festivals was served by Ti. Claudius Nouios son of Philinos of Oion (*IG* II² 3535 = *SEG* XXI 742), ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων Σεβαστῶν καὶ Καισαρήων Σεβαστῶν, in 47/8 or 51/2 (on the man and the date, Geagan, *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 279-287; Follet, *Athènes* pp. 160-161). Thus the reference to the imperial family in lines 1-2 cannot be to a festival but most probably to an imperial priesthood. The man is probably Claudius Nouios, hoplite general for the eighth time

by ca. 61 (*IG II² 3277*; Follet, *loc. cit.*). In that case the imperial priesthood would most likely be that of Antonia Augusta (attested for Nouios in *IG II² 3535*) rather than that of the οἶκος τῶν Σεβαστῶν, which he later assumed.

This reconstruction results in quite even line lengths, ca. 17 letters, in lines 3-6.

Line 7: The participle indicates of course that he was not hoplite general in this year. The phrase ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας would make this a rather long line, viz. 20 letters, while ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα would conceivably allow enough room for τὸ and an alphabetic numeral.

357. STATUE BASE FOR TI. CLAUDIUS DEMOSTRATOS TI. CLAUDII NEIKOTELOUS SOUNIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. The honorand, Ti. Claudius Demostratos of Sounion, went on to a distinguished career: he was archon, hoplite general, gymnasiarch, herald of the Areopagus, agonotheite of the Panathenaia and Eleusinia, exegete of the Eumolpidai (*Sacred Officials* p. 92, no. 6), and priest of Poseidon Erechtheus. For the documentation (largely **463**) and the family see Kapetanopoulos, *loc. cit.*, and Woloch pp. 181-183 (missing this document), and their stemmata; for his gymnasiarchy, ca. 87-95, Follet, *Ier siècle* p. 39. He was of course a member of the Eumolpidai, and his priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus indicates that he also belonged to the Eteoboutadai (cf. Toepffer pp. 115-116), a membership which he more likely inherited through his mother (her father's name, Lykourgos, suggests possible descent from the famous orator, whose family belonged to this *genos*). His father probably received his Roman citizenship under Claudius.

Lines 4-6: His father, mother, and grandfather are otherwise unknown.

358. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIUS ASKLEPIODO[ROS] GARGETTIOS. The eponymous priestess, Kleo daughter of Eukles of Phlya, served from ca. A.D. 25 to ca. 65 (see **II.334**), which provides a rough *terminus ante quem* for the document. Asklepiodo[ros] undoubtedly received his Roman citizenship from the emperor Claudius.

A Menandros son of Asklepiodoros of Gargettos, eponymous archon and priest of the Roman Senate and Demos and the Charites, is attested for the first century (**333**); he may well be the father of the honorand. Klaudia Tatarion daughter of Menandros of Gargettos, who was a priestess of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, may well be a sister (*Sacred Officials* p. 74, no. 12; above, **II.333**).

Lines 6-7: On the titles see **II.348** and **503**.

Line 8: Ἀσκληπιόδοτος of course cannot be ruled out, but Ἀσκληπιόδωρος is better attested around this time. If this is Asklepiodoros, he was not yet archon, an office he held around the middle of the century (first attested on a dedicatory base edited by P. A. Pantos, *AE* 1973, pp. 176-180, no. 2 [= *SEG XXXVIII* 176]).

359. STATUE BASE FOR AN EXEGETE. Skias' association of this fragment with **338** is incorrect, as Kirchner evidently realized. The horizontal disposition of the lettering is different, and the hand, though similar, may not be the same. The letters are also significantly smaller than those in **337**.

The nomen points to a date in the reign of Claudius or later. The first known exegete with this nomen is attested around the end of the century: Ti. Claudius Demostratos of Sounion (*Sacred Officials* p. 92, no. 6).

360. CONTRACT CONCERNING IULIUS NIKANOR. A reasonably faithful copy of this document was set up somewhere in the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 68-71, no. 13). (*IG II²* 1069, however, seems to be a different document, viz. a decree honoring Iulius Nikanor; Geagan, *Constitution* p. 23, note 43; Kapetanopoulos p. 220.) Three of the Agora fragments overlap the Eleusis copy, and this has provided the basis for much restoration in the present text. Unfortunately the precise sense of the bulk of the document remains elusive, though it certainly concerned a contract (lines 6-7), in which Salamis and Iulius Nikanor figure prominently. The role of Eleusis is obscure, but the reference in line 27 suggests that it was an important market for produce grown on the island.

This monumental contract, published in more than one copy on stone, concerning Nikanor and Salamis naturally associates itself with a statement about Nikanor made by Dio Chrysostom (*or.* 31.116, in the context of extravagant honors bestowed by the Athenians on unworthy foreigners): λέγειν δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ διασύροντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικάνορος εἰκόνης, ὃς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἐωνήσατο. Kapetanopoulos convincingly rejected the view that this passage should be taken to mean that Nikanor *purchased* Salamis for the Athenians. Moreover, the dative here, he argued, can indicate the source of the purchase, and he translated: “(Nikanor) bought Salamis from the Athenians.” His examples of this use of the dative are all drawn from Aristophanes, and it may be objected that we should expect in Dio the normal prose usage, viz. παρὰ and the genitive. But there is a more important consideration than the precise grammatical definition of the dative. In associating the present document with Dio’s statement we should keep in mind that the document concerns a *lease* (μίσθωσις), and it would be consistent with this fact to understand Dio as referring not to an outright purchase but a lease (with a dative of advantage): “Nikanor who also *leased* Salamis for (the benefit of) the Athenians” (for ὠνέομαι in the sense of lease cf. 85.6). In this case, whether we translate the dative as “for” (which I think is more accurate) or “from,” the result is essentially the same.

Nikanor was called at Athens νέος Ὅμηρος καὶ νέος Θεμιστοκλῆς (*IG II²* 3786-3789; *SEG* XXVI 166.15 [= *IG II²* 1723+]; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1984, 183, on the alteration of a statue base for Themistocles, reported by Paus. 1.18.3). New Homer should indicate that he was the author of one or more epic poems. But what caused the Athenians to call him the New Themistocles has been the subject of considerable speculation (cf., e.g., L. Robert, *BE* 1955, 79, on Raubitschek and Bowersock). Dio’s passage and the present document perhaps offer sufficient clues: it may well be that just as Themistocles took advantage of Salamis to benefit Athens, so too Nikanor’s exploitation of the island, through his lease, was expected to bring enormous benefit, of a financial sort, to the Polis. The Athenians, in fact, made it a practice in this period to benefit from their island possessions. Cassius Dio, 54.7.2, reports that the Athenians, at the time when Augustus took Aegina and Eretria away from them, ἐκαρποῦντο ... αὐτάς, i.e. were presumably profiting from rent.

Nikanor’s other title, New Homer, is probably related to the other matter that was, as Dio tells us, the object of ridicule: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικάνορος εἰκόνης. In the preceding sentence Dio referred to a statue of a hack poet which the Athenians set up next to Menander: τὸν δεῖνα δὲ τὸν εὐχερῇ λίαν ποιητήν, ... οὐ μόνον χαλκοῦν ἐστάκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Μένανδρον.

The statue bases of this poet and Menander, in fact, have been found near each other: *IG II²* 3777 and 3800. Thus it would not be surprising if “the epigram on Nikanor’s base” also concerned

poetry. And so Raubitschek identified this epigram with an epigram on a base found in the Agora, which alludes to a New Homer (published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 62-65 = *SEG* XXIX 192): Ἰλιάς ἢ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρ[ου] | πάρστατις ἴδρυμαι τῶι μὲ τεκόντι νέω[ι].

The epigram has been translated in a variety of ways, but the one offered by Thompson, *loc. cit.*, and C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 39, 1985, pp. 30-35, makes the best sense (I cannot follow Kapetanopoulos, *Prometheus* 13, 1987, pp. 1-10), except for their interpretation of the last word, which I have changed: "I, the Iliad that was after Homer and before Homer, | have been set up alongside the New One that begot me."

Their version, "alongside him that begot me in his earlier years," is certainly possible, but it is at least as possible – even easier, it seems to me – to take νέωι as a substantival adjective, modified by τεκόντι in attributive position, as in my translation. "The New One" of course is the New Homer. It is hard to see the point of a conclusion that emphasizes Homer's youthfulness, since the sense of the epigram does not move organically in that direction (and despite the passages that Jones adduces, it is by no means clear in any case that Homer was conceived of as a young man when he produced the Iliad). The first line of the epigram alludes to the long existence of the Iliad, and at the same time emphasizes, by repetition of Homer's name and by opposing temporal prepositions, Homer's precise relation to the Iliad's existence: the Iliad existed before him and after him. The Iliad that was after him was of course his creation; from the moment that he created it the Iliad began a new phase of its existence, indeed a whole new existence. Homer's role, against the backdrop of the Iliad's long existence, was that of creator of a new (form of the) Iliad out of the old. This sense then finds completion at the end of the next line: the Iliad now stands next to its *new* (its latest) creator, and can be seen as entering upon the next stage of its existence, again as a new creation, just as it did after the original Homer. This of course would be immediately obvious to the spectator: next to the statue of the Iliad stood a portrait of the New Homer. Thompson, *The St. John's Review* 32, Winter 1981, pp. 9-14, identified statues of the Iliad and Odyssey found in the vicinity as the ones that most likely flanked the statue of the poet, whom he took to be Homer himself.

Understood, however, as I have suggested, namely as a reference to the New Homer, the epigram's equation of Homer with the New Homer is quite outrageous and would well deserve the ridicule that was eventually heaped on τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικάνορος εἰκόνης. A similar epigram undoubtedly stood beneath the statue of the Odyssey. Local ridicule was unleashed, perhaps only when Nikanor's scheme for amassing a fortune for Athens failed, and his titles on many monuments were erased.

Line 8: Perhaps ἐξέστ]ω.

Date. L. Robert (*Stele Kontoleon*, Athens 1980, pp. 15-16; *REG* 94, 1981, pp. 348-349) distinguished the C. Iulius Nikanor, the son of Areios the Alexandrian philosopher who was a friend of Augustus (*IG* II² 3785; Raubitschek, *loc. cit.*), from the Iulius Nikanor, the New Homer, who came from Hierapolis (Bambyke) in Syria (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἱεράπολις).

Thompson (*loc. cit.*) associated the statues of the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the poet with the Library of Pantainos, which was donated at the beginning of the second century; but the association, though not unreasonable, is uncertain.

Nikanor is also listed as a hoplite general in an *archontum laterculus*, *SEG XXVI* 166.15 (= *IG II²* 1723 [EM 9641] + EM 13215), which Kapetanopoulos has made a strong case for dating between 60 and 110 A.D. Mitsos, who published the new fragment, edited lines 12-20 as follows:

Ἐστὶ ἀρχ[ος . . .] του Φλυεύ[ς]
 Δημοκρά[της)] Ἀθμονεύ[ς]
 στρατηγὸς [ἐπὶ τὰ] ὄπλα Ἰούλιος
 15 Νικάνωρ, νέος [Ὀμηρο]ς καὶ νέος Θεμισ[τοκλῆς]
 κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀ[ρείου Π]άγου βουλῆς Τί[τος(?)]
 Θε[ο . .] νης Παιανιεύς
 κηρυκίσκος Ἀτ[τικὸς] Διοδότου Μαραθώ[νιος]
 αὐλητῆς Νικίας) Φλυεύς ΛΥ
 20 λιτουργὸς Ἰσίδ[ο]τος Ἰσιγένους Μιλήσ[ιος]

The date is based in part on Kapetanopoulos' restoration, *RivFil* 104, 1976, pp. 375-377, of the name of the herald of the Areopagus as Τί[β Κλ] Θε[ογέ]νης Παιανιεύς (lines 16-17), who should be the same Theogenes who held this office in 61/2 (*IG II²* 1990.2). Jones, *Phoenix* 32, 1978, pp. 227-228, in objecting to the restoration, took the tau in line 16 as the continuation of νέος Θεμισ[from the line above and read in lines 15-16 Θεμισ[τ[οκλῆς], arguing that there was insufficient space for the last two syllables at the end of line 15. My inspection of the stone, however, showed that the lacuna at the end of line 15 must have been at least 0.035 m. wide (measured against line 13), sufficient therefore to accommodate at least τοκ, so that the argument that the tau in the following line must belong to Θεμιστοκλῆς cannot stand. In addition, if the tau did belong to Θεμιστοκλῆς, we should expect it to be distinguished in some way from the letters that preceded it in line 16 so that there would be no confusion (just as, e.g., the division of νεανισκάρχης between two lines in *AE* 1972, p. 60, no. 4, line 11, is absolutely clear), but this is not the case; it appears to belong simply to the next word after βουλῆς and ought therefore to be the beginning of a name. Furthermore, there is a certain trace of the upper part of a vertical stroke after the tau. Kapetanopoulos' restoration is fully justified.¹ The entry for the herald of the Areopagus in lines 16-17 parallels that for the hoplite general in lines 14-15 in that the Roman name of the incumbent occurs at the end of the first line of the entry, with the Greek name following in the next line.

1. With regard to the vacant space in front of the name I observe the following: The inscription of lines 13-20 is somewhat peculiar. The lettering is consistent to the end of line 12. The following line is written in larger letters. Then lines 14-15, the entry for Nikanor, are smaller but consistent. Line 16 has larger letters. Line 17 has vacant spaces at the left and right and significantly smaller letters. Line 18 has much larger letters than lines 14-17 and by a different hand. Further peculiarities follow in lines 19 to 20, including a *vacat* in the center of 19 and a vacant space between lines 19 and 20. Some of these lines appear to have been

inscribed at different times. It seems that line 18 stood on the stone before lines 16 and 17 were carved, and that the cutter had to add these lines in the space that remained between 15 and 18. After he finished line 16, he had to decide how to arrange the rest of Theogenes' name in the space that remained, now in necessarily smaller letters; evidently he decided to put it in the center than at the left edge. A similar sense seems to have motivated the cutter of line 19 to stretch out the name of the auletes and leave a vacant space in the center. Here too the line may have been carved after line 20.

(In line 12, however, his [Ἐ]στῆ|ακλ[ῆς must be rejected in favor of Ἐστῆ|αρχ[ος.] Habicht, pp. 83-84, in discussing the arguments of Kapetanopoulos and Jones, concluded that a post-Augustan date for this document was secure.

Another document that places Nikanor after Tiberius is *IG II² 1069*, the decree in his honor. It refers to Nikanor as an agonotheite of the Sebasta, but the *first* agonotheite of these games was Claudius Nouios, in A.D. 41 (*IG II² 3270*; cf. 3535; Follet, *Athènes* p. 161; Kapetanopoulos, *loc. cit.*; Jones, *loc. cit.*, arguing against, unpersuasively). A date after 41 B.C. is therefore certainly indicated for the present document.

Unfortunately Dio Chrysostom's speech, in which Nikanor is described very much like a contemporary, cannot be dated with certainty. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge Mass. 1978) p. 133, attributed it with hesitation to ca. 70-75 A.D. (similarly P. Desideri, *Dione di Prusa*, Florence 1978, pp. 110-111). A date in the sixties and seventies for Nikanor's activities would not violate any of the evidence, though the attempt to associate the base for the statue of the Iliad with the Library of Pantainos would have to be abandoned. Recently, however, H. Sidebottom, *The Date of Dio of Prusa's Rhodian and Alexandrian Orations*, *Historia* 41, 1992, pp. 407-419, presented a strong case for dating Dio's speech in the reign of Trajan; and S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50-250* (Oxford 1996) pp. 428-429, has also offered arguments in support of this. A Trajanic date of course would be perfectly in line with the association of the base with the library.

All of the statue bases but one (*IG II² 3788*) show that the titles New Homer and New Themistocles were erased (cf. 362), when Nikanor had fallen out of favor with the Athenians. The Iliad base seems to have met a similar fate: it was found in some sixty pieces – for a statue base, extraordinary destruction.

Postscript. S. Follet, *Iulius Nicanor et le statut de Salamine (Agora XVI 337)*, in *L'hellénisme d'époque romaine: nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (I^{er} s.a.C. – III^e s.p.C.)*, ed. S. Follet (Paris 2004) pp. 139-170 (with photographs of *Agora XVI a, b, c, d, g* in position and *b* by itself), presents an edition of the text and much valuable discussion, with proposals that will generate much debate. It is not possible to present here an evaluation of her interpretation of the document as regulating a co-proprietorship of Salamis by Nikanor and heirs on one side and Athens on the other, involving the Roman state (inasmuch as Salamis belonged to the *ager publicus* of the Roman people). However, her discussion of the date of *IG II² 1723* does not take into account the precise reading and disposition of lines 16-17.

361. STATUE BASE FOR [TI. CLAUDIUS NOVIOS OF OION?]. Dittenberger recognized that αὐτῷ must refer to a sanctuary devoted to imperial cult. Oliver argued that the honorand should be Ti. Claudius Atticus, father of Herodes the sophist, as the title “high priest of the Sebastoi” is first attested for him at Athens. Spawforth pointed out that the first such priest was actually Ti. Claudius Novios of Oion (see 356): though his title was ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, not literally ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν, it had the same meaning.

Oliver noted that the inscription probably did not originate in Salamis but in Attica. I pointed out that its place of origin was most likely Eleusis, and the precinct in which the honorand placed

the statues may well be a colonnaded structure just outside the southern corner of the sanctuary, opposite tower K7 on the Plan.

Line 1: Instead of the honorand's name we expect here a description of the sacred precinct (αὐτῶ, line 2).

362. STATUE BASE FOR IULIUS NIKANOR, NEW HOMER AND NEW THEMISTOKLES. On Iulius Nikanor, the honors he received from the Athenians, and his *damnatio memoriae* see above, II.360.

363. ENTABLATURE. In September, 2007 Margaret Miles kindly informed me that this monument is located under a tree growing in the southeast corner of the Telesterion (figs 1-3).

The symbols depicted on the frieze – bucranium, κίστη, grainstalks, pitcher, initiates' wands, poppies – suggest that the structure, erected evidently in the first or second century A.D., served the cult at Eleusis, perhaps in connection with sacrifices (indicated by the bucranium and pitcher) in which the initiates took part. If so, it may have been located somewhere in the vicinity of the Greater Propylaea, the principle site of sacrifice. A location in the eastern part of the sanctuary, however, would be consistent with its size and with Lenormant's statement about its location (but this may just be speculation). As it is unlikely to have been a joint dedication of an emperor and a high priest, it was most probably a dedication by a high priest in honor of an emperor. The first high priest of the Sebastoi was, as Spawforth has shown (Imperial Cult pp. 188-191), Ti. Claudius Nouios, who established a precinct at Eleusis for the imperial cult (361) under Claudius or Nero, a precinct perhaps to be identified with the colonnaded structure just outside the southern corner

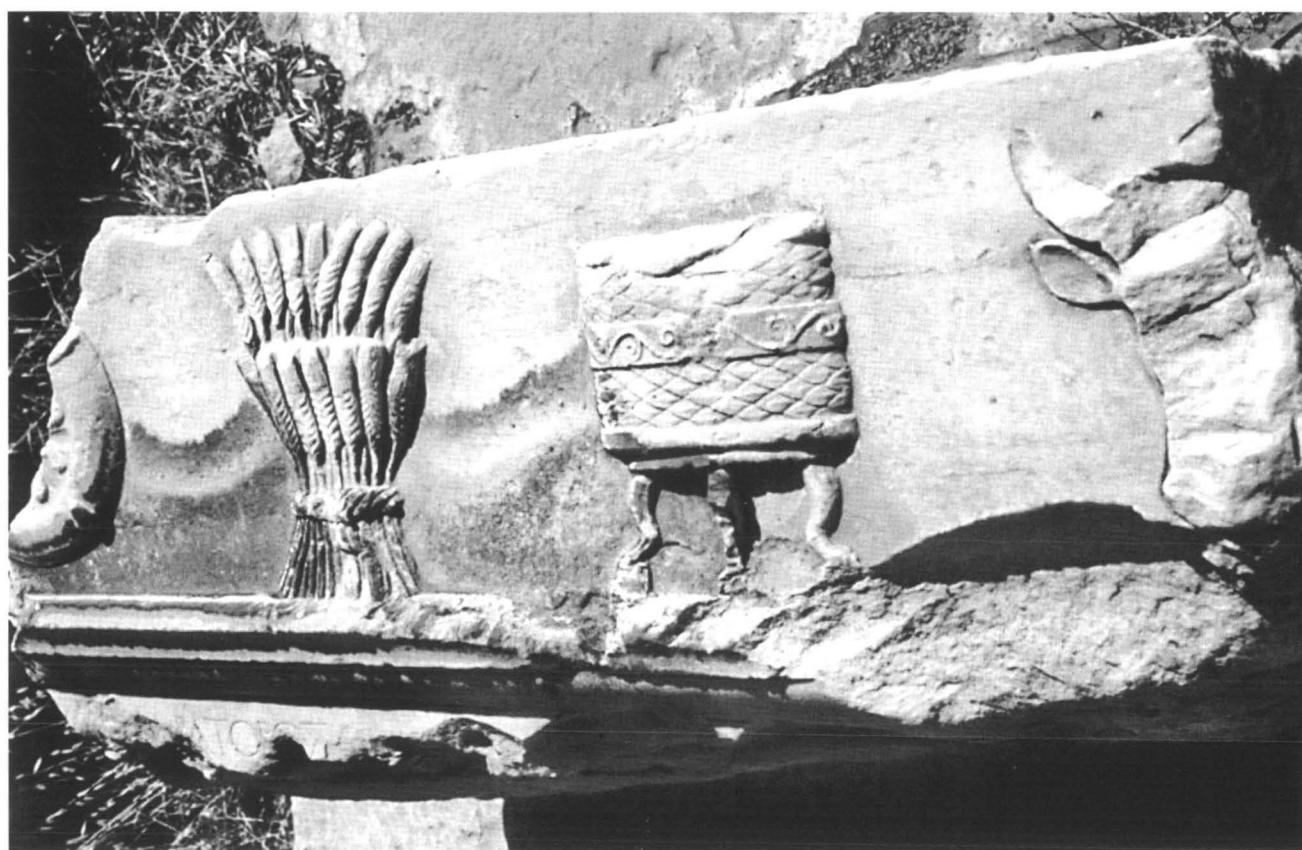


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

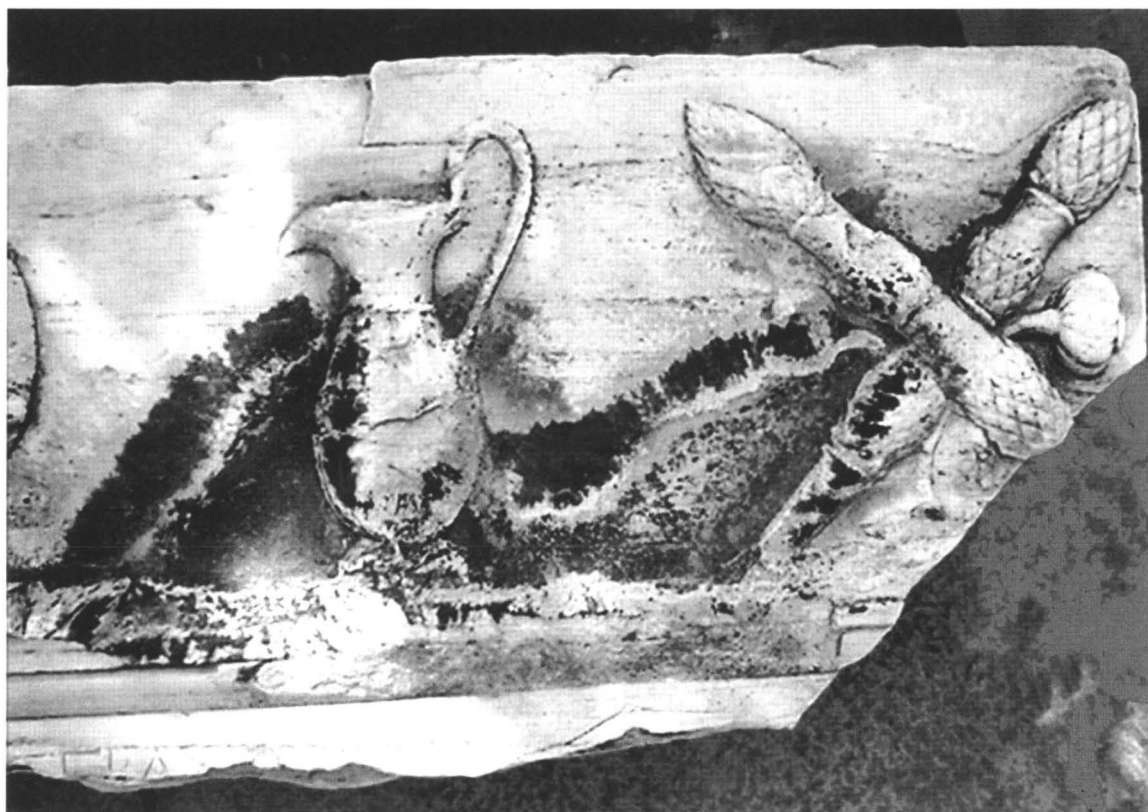


Fig. 3.

of the sanctuary, opposite tower K7 on the Plan. Nouios can be given prime consideration as the dedicator of this monument, but Ti. Claudius Atticus, the father of Herodes the sophist, who was prominent as a high priest of the Sebastoi under Trajan and Hadrian, would be another leading candidate (Ameling I p. 30, with documentation).

364. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIA ALKIA DAUGHTER OF TI. CLAUDIUS HIPPARCHOS MARATHONIOS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Claudia Alkia, honored here as hearth-initiate (*Sacred Officials* p. 108), was the sister of the father of Herodes Atticus. She is not otherwise attested and may have died at a young age. Her brother Atticus was consul suffect in 108, therefore was born in 68 or probably earlier, and this would suggest a rough date of ca. A.D. 70 for the initiation of Alkia. But since the eponymous priestess, Kleo, was serving in this office under Tiberius and evidently even when Livia was alive (335), i.e. before A.D. 30, the odds are that her priesthood did not extend much beyond the year 65.

The base was reused for a statue of her nephew, the famous orator, with a new dedicatory inscription cut on the face to the left (438). Ameling, following Foucart, supposes that the statue of Alkia was destroyed after the condemnation of Hipparchos under Domitian, but this need not have been the case.

365. STATUE BASE FOR T. FLAVIUS SOPHOKLES T. FLAVII KONONOS SOUNIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. The distinguished family to which the hearth-initiate T. Flavius Sophokles of Sounion belonged, was the subject of Raubitschek's study, and has recently been discussed at length by Aleshire, with more precise dating. Sophokles may have been the T. Flavius Sophokles who was archon in 100/1-105/6 (as dated by Follet, *Athènes* pp. 150-152, 179-181, 507; *Ier siècle*, pp. 40-41).

Flavia Sophia also dedicated statues of her sons at Eleusis (366, 367).

366. STATUE BASE FOR T. FL. KONON KONONOS SOUNIEUS. Flavia Sophia also dedicated at Eleusis a statue of her other son, Sophokles (367), and a statue of her grandson Sophokles, after he served as hearth-initiate (365). For a discussion of this distinguished family and the problems of dating see Aleshire and the remarks by Follet, *Ier siècle* pp. 40-41. The grant of Roman citizenship to the family can hardly have occurred before the reign of Vespasian. Her dedications (including one on the Acropolis, *IG II²* 3952) surely celebrate, at least in part, their new citizenship.

367. STATUE BASE FOR T. FL. SOPHOKLES KONONOS SOUNIEUS. (*IG II²* 3954). See the preceding document (366).

Kirchner probably used Skias' squeeze and notes and may not have seen the stone. The form of the text is so similar to the preceding dedication, which originally had another block attached to its right side (and perhaps also to its left), that it is probably right to conclude that the present dedication is to be identified with one of those blocks.

368. STATUE BASE. Skias suspected that the dedicator was the same Flavia Sophia who set up the three preceding statues. In any case this fragment does not belong to any of these monuments.

369. BUILDING DEDICATED BY CLAUDIA TATARION, PRIESTESS OF DEMETER AND KORE. The length of the first line and the sense of the second suggest that the inscription stood on a structure, and this is confirmed by Fourmont's drawing, which shows a concave entablature.

If Claudia Tatarion is the daughter of the archon Menandros son of Asklepiodoros of Gargettos (see II.333), she must have served as priestess immediately (or very soon) after Kleo daughter of Eukles of Phlya (*Sacred Officials* p. 73, no. 9). Her name is inscribed in the nominative case on a base found in the Agora excavations (Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 257, no. 42, pl. 54), perhaps as the dedicator of a statue of a child who served as hearth-initiate, since the space for the plinth is only 20 cm. in diameter.

370. STATUE BASE FOR P. FULVIUS METRODOROS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Fulvius Metrodorus was archon in the period 113/4 to 124/5, evidently ca. 120 (*IG II²* 2021.13-14; for the date see Follet). He is also mentioned in a list of property owners of the 130's or 140's (*IG II²* 2776.193, with Dittenberger's restoration). His initiation "from hearth" should have occurred about the middle of the last quarter of the preceding century. His father celebrated it by dedicating a very small statue in his honor.

371. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIA PHILOXENA, HIEROPHANTIS. The title of Navarro's treatise describes the modern history of the stone. Victor de Rohan was no doubt attracted to this monument by the demotic Μελιτεύς, which he may have confused with the ancient ethnic of the Maltese.

The document can be dated by the eponymous priestess, Claudia Timothea, who was in office from ca. 90 to ca. 105 (see II.373). The hierophantis Claudia Philoxena is otherwise unknown (cf. *Sacred Officials*). Strangely, her father and husband are homonyms, which may indicate, as Boeckh suggested, that her father adopted his son-in-law. The name of her son, Claudius Lysiades of Melite, suggests a possible connection with the famous Claudii of Melite (cf. *Sacred Officials*; Woloch).

Lines 1-2: Foucart correctly interpreted τῆς νεωτέρας as Kore.

Lines 5-6: The altars of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis stood next to each other; 30.16-17.

372. STATUE BASE. For the date of the eponymous priestess, Claudia Timothea, see II.373.

373. STATUE BASE FOR C. CLAUDIUS SEILIANOS POLYKRITOS, HEARTH-INITIATE. This document helps to date the eponymous priestess, Claudia Timothea. C. Claudius Silianos, as an adult, set up a statue of Hadrian Olympios ca. A.D. 132 (*IG II²* 3315); it follows that his initiation as a child from the hearth ought to belong to the time of Trajan, as Follet pointed out, or possibly even earlier. Claudia Timothea therefore preceded Flavia Laodameia as priestess of Demeter (see 377), and since Laodameia evidently began her service shortly after the turn of the century, it seems best to assume that Timothea's term started ca. A.D. 90 or even earlier.

On Boeckh's discussion of the initiate from the hearth see II.Introduction, "Παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεῖς (μνηθεῖσα)," pp. 19-20.

374. STATUE BASE FOR ZOPYROS ZOPYROU PIRAIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. For the date of the eponymous priestess, Claudia Timothea, see II.373).

The size of the base would suit a statue of a child. Zopyros is otherwise unknown, but [. . .]ρίζω[ν Ζωπ]ύρου Πειραι(εύς), ephebe ca. 84/5 (*IG II*² 1996.28 = *SEG XXXII* 209), may be a relative.

375. STATUE BASE. For the date of the eponymous priestess, Claudia Timothea, see II.373.

376. STATUE BASE. According to Skias the fragment showed by its upper edge a small portion of a relief of a "coil, perhaps from the body of a snake." (The squeeze evidently did not capture this area.) Below the coil Skias noted another relief of an indeterminate object, which shows up on the squeeze.

For the date of the eponymous priestess, Claudia Timothea, see II.373. The restoration is of course conjectural.

377. STATUE BASE FOR THE WIFE OF AMMONIOS OF CHOLLEIDAI. Ammonios, the father of Thrasyllus, was identified by Graindor with the philosopher Ammonios who was the teacher of Plutarch. Kirchner's restoration of his wife here as Flavia Laodameia is based in part on Graindor's misidentification of M. Annius Thrasyllus, the ephebe of 112/3, as the son of the Thrasyllus of this document (the father of the ephebe was actually M. Annius Pythodoros [*IG II*² 2024.2-3], as Jones pointed out): Flavia Laodameia, the priestess of Demeter and Kore, is most likely the wife of Pythodoros and mother of the ephebe (cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 74, no. 10). The name of the wife of Ammonios is unknown; she may have been a priestess at Eleusis, but in any case ought to have had a special relationship with the sanctuary.

Kapetanopoulos objected to Jones's identification of Flavia Laodameia as the mother of the ephebe of 112/3: Jones' stemma requires her to have lived till at least A.D. 145 in order to celebrate her great-granddaughter's service as hearth-initiate (458). Although this is unusual, it is of course not impossible. If Flavia Laodameia was born in A.D. 70-80 and became priestess at a relatively early age, ca. A.D. 105, she could have lived to the middle of the century. (The term of the priestess Claudia Teimothea, which Kirchner, *IG II*² 3586, and I, *Sacred Officials* p. 74, no. 11, assigned to the reign of Hadrian, is more likely Trajanic; so Follet, *Athènes* p. 122, note 6; see II.373.) The fact that she is attested in a relatively large number of inscriptions would be consistent with a lengthy term; cf. Follet, *Athènes* p. 163, note 5.

Line 2: A prytany list of ca. 70-80 A.D., edited by Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, p. 300, no. 24.16-19, honors the antistrategos Ammonios son of Ammonios of Cholleidai, perhaps the philosopher but more likely his son.

Line 3: The language suggests that his wife is deceased but is not inconsistent with the possibility that she is his second wife, as Follet points out.

Line 5: Follet would identify Thrasyllus with the archon of 60/1 or 61/2, but in Jones' scheme he would be too young.

378. STATUE BASE FOR ERATON ERATONOS BESAIEUS. A relative, Eraton son of Antigonos of Besa, was secretary of the thesmothetai in the reign of Domitian (*IG II² 2893*; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 80).

379. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY A PRIESTESS. Kirchner assumed that the honorand's name occurred in line 4, but this makes restoration of lines 2-3 extremely difficult, requiring an additional title for the priestess; hence it seems safe to conclude that the honorand's name appeared on another part of the monument.

The inscription is of potentially great importance because it tells us that the priestesses were taken from more than one *genos*. According to Photius s.v. Φιλλεῖδαι, the Philleidai supplied the priestess of Demeter and Kore (*Sacred Officials* p. 68), and the present inscription seems to say that there was also another *genos* from which they were drawn (as I assumed in my previous edition). However, involvement of two *gene* in supplying a single priestess is on general grounds unlikely (a consideration which renders unlikely the alternative restoration, ἡ ἱέρεια γίγνεται). The priestess of Demeter and Kore was not the only priestess who served the Mysteries; the two hierophantides were of course also priestesses (*Sacred Officials* pp. 86-89). Since line 3 of our text evidently does not refer specifically to "the priestesses of Demeter and Kore" but only to "the priestesses," we should therefore understand it to refer to all the priestesses who served the Mysteries – the priestess of Demeter and Kore and the two hierophantides. (In *Sacred Officials* p. 98, I followed Dow and Healey's suggestion that the priestess of Plouton also served the Mysteries, but this is dubious: she is only attested for the Thesmophoria.) Thus the other *genos* named here should be the one that supplied the hierophantides.

It seems plausible to think that the hierophantides were taken from the same *genos* as the hierophant, the Eumolpidai. Though we have no formal proof of this (cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 88, no. 10), **464** tends to suggest that a hierophantis was a granddaughter of an exegete of the Eumolpidai (see **458** and **501**). These priestesses were closely associated with the hierophant in the most critical part of the rite (Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 84-90), so that it would make sense to assume that this essential part of the rite emanated from a single *genos* and was performed by members of that *genos*. It is therefore very tempting to restore Εὐμολπίδαι in line 3.

A problem, however, is caused by Pausanias, 1.38.3, who mentions that τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν Θεοῖν Εὐμολπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ (cf. *Suda*, s.v. Εὐμολπος), and he gives the names of the three of them as they appear in Homer and Pamphos. Now these three ought to be the mythic prototypes of the three priestesses at Eleusis, just as Eumolpos is the prototypical hierophant; but it is surprising that all three are sisters, none of them apparently related to Eumolpos. Yet if the hierophantides were taken from the Eumolpidai, we might expect their prototypes to be

related to the progenitor of the clan. A mythic relationship may have existed of which we are ignorant. The Eumolpidae sacrificed to Keleos (II.13 = *LSS* 10).

380. STATUE BASE FOR ATHENAI, GRANDDAUGHTER OF A HIEROPHANTIS. Athenais, granddaughter of a hierophantis, is most likely a hearth-initiate (as Lenormant and I pointed out).

The text is an acceptable distich (*pace* Lenormant). Athenais and presumably also her father were so famous that further identification was unnecessary. At Athens in the first and second centuries after Christ the most famous Athenaidēs (and their fathers) were Athenais the daughter of Hipparchos, the grandfather of Herodes Atticus, and Athenais the daughter of Herodes (*IG* II² 4073-4074; *FD* III 3, 69; *IvO* 625; Follet, *Athènes* p. 176). If Kirchner is correct about the date of this inscription, our Athenais is probably the former (*IG* II² 3980, 3594; *PIR*² C 1076; Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* II p. 62, no. 29). Graindor and Ameling, however, preferred the latter. The lettering does not suffice to decide the matter. Since Regilla, the wife of Herodes, was not an Athenian, and a hierophantis was probably a daughter of a Eumolpid father or mother (see II.379), and the unknown identity of the wife of Hipparchos leaves open the possibility that her father was a Eumolpid, the former Athenais is the stronger possibility.

381. STATUE BASE FOR [- -]PPOS HERAKLEITOU GARGETTIOS. Herakleitos is otherwise unknown. A Furius Herakleitos of Gargettos is attested in the second century A.D. (*Agora* XV 365.5; *IG* II² 2041.12).

Kirchner dated this base to the beginning of the first century A.D., but a later date also seems possible.

382. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIUS THEOPHILOS AND CLAUDIUS S[- -]. Kapetanopoulos suggested a possible identification with a man honored in an Agora inscription (I 839; Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 95, no. 24), Tib. Claudius [So?]stratos son of Dioteimos of Besa; the name of his brother was Theophilos.

383. STATUE BASE FOR T. FLAVIUS. The honorand may have been a member of the Flavii of Sounion (cf. 365-367), but there are of course many other possibilities.

Line 1: The Boule of the Six Hundred should probably be restored among the dedicators, for otherwise the base would scarcely be wide enough to exhibit the honorand's full name.

384. STATUE BASE FOR L. POMPEIUS (HEARTH-INITIATE). The size of the base suggests that the honorand was a hearth-initiate. For the name see also the following document (385). Despite my discussion in "Roman Initiates," there is no indication that the honorand was not an Athenian.

385. STATUE BASE FOR L. POMPEIUS. For the name see also the preceding document (384). Kirchner's construction of the margins would make this an impossibly narrow base; Skias correctly recognized, judging from the size of the letters, that it must have been rather large. Despite my discussion in "Roman Initiates," there is no indication that the honorand was not an Athenian.

386. STATUE BASE SIGNED BY AGATHOKLES (SON OF AGATHOKLES) KEPHISIEUS. A family from Kephisia, some of whose members were named Agathokles, is known from the second and first centuries B.C. (*PA* 62). There is a grave stele, dated by Kirchner to the first century A.D., for Philoumene daughter of Agathokles of Kephisia, perhaps identical with or a relative of our sculptor.

387. ALTAR DEDICATED BY DAUGHTER OF DIONYSIOS PHALE[REUS]. Perhaps she is a relative of the Dionysios son of Agathokles of Phaleron whose grave monument, dated by Bradeen "*I/II p.*," was found in the excavation of the Agora (*IG* II² 7601 = *Agora* XVII 326); but Dionysios is too common a name to permit an identification.

388. STATUE BASE. Skias and Kirchner connected this Themistokles with the great Themistokles because of the demotic (cf. *PA* 6667), but the demotic in line 1 should complete a name inscribed to the left. The name in line 2 looks like the patronymic of the honorand. The demotic Φρεαρριο[- - ought to belong to the dedicator, and so there is no warrant for thinking of the great Themistokles.

Line 3: Perhaps ἀ]φ' [ἐστίας.

389. STATUE BASE FOR SON OF TRYPHON PHYLASIOS. Since the names in lines 3-4 cannot be the subjects or the objects they have to be in the genitive case, as the petitioners or the supervisors (ἐπιμεληθέντων) of the dedication, but the supervisory formula would be too long for the space.

Line 4: Peek, *AM* 67, 1942, p. 211, no. 2, restored Abas as the name of a member of Acharnai in *IG* II² 5781 ("*s. IV a., ut videtur*" according to Kirchner): Ἀνδραφίλ[η?] | Ἀ[β]α[ν]τ[ι]ος | Ἀχαρνέως | γ[υνή].

390. ALTAR DEDICATED TO ARTEMIS. There was of course a temple of Artemis in front of the sanctuary (Paus. 1.38.6; cf. 13).

392. CATALOG? This may be a list, but a dedication by several people is also possible.

Line 2: The name Mystes is not infrequent in the second century A.D. An ephebe, Μουνδίκιος Μύστης, is listed in *IG* II² 2128.II.211 and 2129.19.

Line 3: A name of course is also possible here.

393. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. Not enough is preserved to make a probable restoration, but a member of the family suggested by Skias is a reasonable possibility; cf. **329**.

394. DEDICATION. The girl was a kanephoros at the Lenaia. A dedication to Dionysos Lenaios (rather than Lyaaios) is what we should expect in Athens; cf. *IG II²* 2854.2. **283** represents another dedication of a kanephoros by, it seems, the Boule alone (rather than Demos and Boule).

395. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. The fragments come from two different sides of the same base or two bases made in the same workshop.

Ameling's restorations have no independent support; in theory they are merely possible (except for the mistake, *ἐαυτοῦ*, in line 1), but his overall scheme, with the eponymous priestess in line 3 rather than at the end of the inscription, is improbable.

On the priestess, Dione, see *Sacred Officials* pp. 74-75, nos. 14-15.

397. STATUE BASE. The family cannot be identified with certainty. Spacing suggests that the honorand's father is more likely Zosimos than Onesimos; the demotic is Kydathenaieus or Kydantides. Possible relatives are: 1) Νίκων Ζωσίμου Κυδαθ(ηναίεύς), an ephebe, *IG II²* 2211.61, dated by Kapetanopoulos, *Δελτίον* 30A, 1975, p. 132 (= *SEG XXVIII* 193) ca. 130; 2) Ζώσιμος Ἰσιδότου (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *Agora XV* 376.II.25, ca. A.D. 168, *Agora XV* 378.39, 169/70; 3) homonym, possibly a grandson, *IG II²* 2066.4, dated by Follet, *Athènes* p. 229, to 182/3-195/6; 4) Ἀλέξανδρος Ζωσίμου Κυδα(θηναίεύς), *IG II²* 2097.A.61, ephebe in 169/70; 5) Ὀνήσιμος (Ὀνησίμου) Κυδαντίδης, paianistes for Asclepius ca. 200, *IG II²* 2481.16 = Oliver, *TAPA* 71, 1940, pp. 302-304 (= *SEG XXXII* 220) = Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 34, line 18. Of these names Νίκωνα or Ἰσίδοτον would best fit the space in line 1.

398. STATUE BASE FOR CU[R]TIA STRATONIKE. *Line 1:* Since Spon, Wheler, and Vernon attest upsilon, and Κουιντίαν will not fit the space, it seems best to restore rho.

Line 5: Demetrios may have been the dedicatee's father. Two Demetrioι of Besa are listed in second century ephebic catalogs, *IG II²* 2033.34 and 2011/12.22-23, and another appears in a prytany catalog, *Agora XV* 419.23.

399. STATUE BASE FOR KALLISTO DAUGHTER OF KALLIMACHOS (HEARTH-INITIATE?). The statue base was dedicated by Kallisto's mother, Kallikleia, following upon a successful request to the Areopagus (line 5) by her father, Kallimachos, to set up the statue here, by the entrance to the Telesterion (ἀγχιθύροι Δηοῦς καὶ Κούρης). None of the three can be otherwise identified.

Judging from the size of the base and the absence of any mention of a husband or children, Kallisto died when she was still a young girl. She may have been a hearth-initiate, though the epigram gives no indication.

Lines 5-6: “This (privilege of dedication) the Areopagus granted to my father for me, as a prize of the immortals.” The sentiment that the initiate at death joins the company of the immortals is found in other Eleusinian monuments to the dead in the Roman period: 502.27, 646, 649.12. And occasionally in grave inscriptions, without reference to initiation: *IG II*² 11952, 12403, 13173.

Lines 7-10: Her statue stands next to the Telesterion of Demeter and Kore.

Lines 10-12: In this position (by the Telesterion) the brilliant radiance from the Telesterion on the night of initiation will always be seen by her. For a recent discussion of this light see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 87-90; *idem*, Epiphany.

400. BOMISKOS FOR IAKCHOS. This is our only dedication to Iakchos. According to an early fifth-century sacred law (13), as restored, he received a sacrifice before the main sacrifice at the Mysteries, probably shortly after the initiates arrived at Eleusis, during the ὑποδοχὴ τοῦ Ἰάκχου. On Iakchos and the festival see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 64-71, with bibliography.

An Apollonios son of Apollonios of Phlya is attested for the second century A.D. (*IG II*² 7665), but Apollonios is too common a name to permit an identification.

401. BOMISKOS FOR KOUROTROPHOS. On the original context of this altar and others like it at Eleusis, probably the festival of the Thesmophoria, see II.306; *Iconography* p. 31. The naked male figure on either side, evidently a child (*koros*?), seems to interact with the heavily damaged relief in front, of which it is possible to make out what appear to be wings and a leaf.

Flavia Pamphile is otherwise unknown.

402. STATUE BASE. The honorand's name begins in line 4 with his praenomen, T(itus). The style of the lettering is somewhat similar to that of 457, which may belong to the mid second century.

404. STATUE BASE. The first line of this unusual dedication seems to be taken up with the various deities to whom the monument is dedicated. The second line evidently contains the name of the dedicator. The nature of the third is unclear.

Line 2: The patronymic suggests the family known to us as the “Flavii of Sounion” from the time they received Roman citizenship; see the recent discussion by Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 223-234. Not enough of the name is preserved here to allow a probable restoration.

405. STATUE BASE? *Lines 1-2:* [ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ [ἡ βουλή τῶν is possible.

Line 2: Since the meaning of an epigraphical diaeresis is not uniform (see Threatte, *GAI* I pp. 94-97), its occurrence on the last letter here does not provide illumination.

Lines 3-4: διάδο|χον is more likely than Διαδο|υμενοῦ, which violates syllabic division. Furthermore, Skias' restoration would require a very narrow inscription. The formula for the eponymous priestess, however, does seem appropriate in the last line.

406. STATUE BASE. The priestess is not otherwise attested. Cf. **560**.

407. STATUE BASE. *Line 3:* Evidently a name, such as Χαρῖνον.

408. DEDICATORY BASE. *Line 2:* Perhaps the name of an agonistic festival, such as Παναθηναίων Μεγάλων.

Line 4: Some form of the name Kineas.

410. STATUE BASE? Given the paucity of preserved letters the restoration is somewhat hypothetical. If correct, it may have included the Council of Five (or Six) Hundred.

411. MONUMENT. Though little is preserved, this clearly was a very substantial monument.

412. STATUE BASE. The two types of sigma (see Epigraphical Commentary) tend to suggest that the fragments do not belong to the same document. In addition, the first line of *a*, if restored correctly, tends to suggest that it concerned an emperor or a priest of the imperial cult, whereas if the third letter of *b* is phi, the honorand is most likely a hearth-initiate.

Line 1: We have here a man's name, Areios. Cf. *IG* II² 2892, Areios son of Nikanor of Oion, archon in the mid first century.

413. STATUE BASE. Perhaps Αἰο|λίωνα Φ[λυέα. On the person see **II.455**. A name in the nominative without patronymic or demotic, followed by ἀφ' ἐστίας, seems unlikely.

414. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. *Line 2* perhaps continued with ταῖν Θεαῖν, and line 3 with καὶ τοῦ δήμου. For the latter formula see *IG* II² 3605; without καὶ τοῦ δήμου, 3609.

417. STATUE BASE? Perhaps πρεσβεύσαν]τα προ[ῖκα (cf. **624.5**) rather than, say, τὰ προ[πύλαια.

419. STATUE BASE. Ἀντιστράτηγος is the Greek term for *propraetor*, but it also occurs at least once for an officer at Athens, viz. someone who served as an assistant to the hoplite general or as a replacement; Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, p. 301. If this person was an Athenian, he was associated with the imperial cult or imperial games.

420. STATUE BASE? The size of the letters suggests a very large monument. Among the possibilities is C. Iulius Antiochos Epiphanes Philopappos (*PIR*² I 151).

423. STATUE BASE. Skias related frag. *a* to an inscription on two baked bricks, [Ἐ]πιφάνο[υς | β]ασιλέω[ς] (*IG* II² 3450, not included in the present collection), and thought of a king, perhaps the same one, Antiochus Epiphanes of Commagene, the father of Philopappus; but it seems to me more likely to be the title of the basileus archon, the first of a series of titles, and this is evidently supported by the new fragment (*b*).

424. STATUE BASE FOR AN EMPEROR (?). The honorand is an emperor, unless Σ]εβαστ[ο belongs to the title of a priest of the imperial cult who is honored here.

425. STATUE BASE. *Line 1*: Probably the names of the two dedicators, who are perhaps not the parents of the honorand.

Lines 2-4: Titles of the father of the honorand or (less likely) the father of one of the dedicators.

426. STATUE BASE. Most of the restorations are tentative.

Line 3: Whether Λ|Σ^vΣΑ should be divided is not clear.

429. STATUE BASE (FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE?). The honorand is most likely a hearth-initiate. Line 3 is surely the last.

432. DEDICATION BY A WOMAN ON BEHALF OF HER FAMILY. The priority given to the members of her family is extraordinary: the dedicator puts herself and her children ahead of her husband. In spirit it is reminiscent of the Thesmophoria, which may have been the context of this dedication; see II.306; Clinton, *Iconography* p. 31.

Line 6: The θρέμματα, clearly of lower status than children and husband, will have been slaves.

433. STATUE BASE FOR HIEROPHANTIS DAUGHTER OF PERIKLES OF OION AND FOR TI. CLAUDIUS HIEROPHANTES KALLIKRATIDOU TRIKORYSIOS. The priestess of Demeter and Kore, Flavia Laodameia (*Sacred Officials* p. 74, no. 10), took office early in the second century; see II.377.

Col. I

The hierophantis (*Sacred Officials* p. 87, no. 4) practiced hieronymy, therefore was alive at the time of this inscription. Oliver, *Expounders*, suggested that her father might be the Perikles who was a pythochrestos exegete (*IG II² 3549*). Her granddaughter is otherwise unknown.

The title ἱερόφαντις Νεωτέρας, here serving as her name, indicates that she served Kore.

Col. II

The name of the person or body responsible for the statue of the hierophant may have been inscribed on the block above.

Ti. Claudius Hierophantes (*Sacred Officials*, hierophant no. 18, pp. 29-30) was, as we learn from a later document, Oinophilos (*IG II² 3548a*, as restored by Wilhelm, *Wiener Anzeiger* 72, 1935, pp. 83-90). Since his father does not have a Roman gentilicium in the present document, Oinophilos must have been the first member of his family to receive the Roman citizenship; and since his tribe was Quirina, it seems safe to infer that this occurred under Nero (cf. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus* p. 10); so he could not have been born much later than A.D. 40 (if at all). He had an important Roman career, as one of the first Athenians to become a member of the equestrian order (cf. Woloch pp. 193-195, Claudius no. 70). The bulk of his distinguished career at Athens (eponymous archon, herald of the Areopagus, herald of the Boule and Demos, epimelete of the city, agonotheite, gymnasiarch, hoplite general) must have been behind him when he was given the *hierophanteia*, though some of these offices, certainly his ambassadorships, could have been held while he was hierophant. In his will he adopted Calpurnia Arria, the wife of C. Bellicus Tebanianus, *cos.* 87 (Oliver, *AJA* 55, 1951, pp. 347-348; *GRBS* 14, 1973, *loc. cit.*). His father and grandfather are probably also to be identified with archons; cf. stemma compiled by Raubitschek, *RE* 17 (1937), cols. 2253-2257 (with my comments, *Sacred Officials* p. 30, note 133, and those of Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 300-301, no. 24.12-14).

Lines 12-13: *Praefectus fabrum*, a military office leading to an equestrian career. *Praefectus cohortis II Hispanorum*, an equestrian post. On the offices cf. Woloch, *loc. cit.*

Line 14-16: Upon taking up the archonship he distributed a *medimnos* of wheat and fifteen drachmas, and upon becoming herald, two denarii to each citizen. On these distributions see Kirchner *ad loc.* The denarius was the equivalent of the current Attic silver drachma, whereas the bronze “drachma” was the equivalent of one-sixth of the denarius; see Kroll and Walker, *Agora XXVI* pp. 118-119. Thus the 15 “drachmas” were the equivalent of 2.5 denarii.

Line 17: Oliver, *GRBS*, showed that his *epimeleteia* belongs in the Neronian or Flavian period.

Line 19: The designation Ἐλευσίνια Θεαί is normally not found at Athens; it is normally used abroad to make clear the connection with Eleusis.

434. STATUE BASE SIGNED BY SOTAS AND[- -]. The dedication must have appeared on a crowning block.

Flavia Laodamia was in office from ca. 105 to ca. 145; see II.377 and II.373.

Line 6: The sculptor is otherwise unknown.

435. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY THE EUMOLPIDAI AND LYKOMIDAI. Most editors have assumed that the dedicatee was a priestess, but no Eleusinian priestess had διὰ βίου in her title (there was no need of it, as these priesthoods had been for life since time immemorial). It seems more likely that a priest was honored here, perhaps a high-priest of the imperial cult: τὸν ἀρχιερέα (with a designation of the emperor or imperial house) διὰ βίου. His actual name, for which there is hardly sufficient space in line 1, must have appeared on a block above. It is *a priori* unlikely that the duties of a single priest included service to the Haloa and a cult in Samos; thus it seems likely that the dedicatee performed important services for these separate cults on his own initiative. We might restore, *exempli gratia*: ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι μὲν [ἐπιμεληθέντα τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν Ἀλῶων, ἐν Σάμῳ δὲ τῆς [Ἡρας Ἀρχηγέτιδος τῆς πόλεως]. The second restoration was suggested by Kirchner. (For the title Ἡρα Ἀρχηγέτις τῆς πόλεως in Samos cf., e.g., *AM* 75, 1960, pp. 70-72, no. 1.B.15-16.) However, the second phrase does not parallel the first and is probably incorrect for that reason alone (not to mention the improbability of overseeing Hera).

Interestingly, the connection with Samos may lie not with the *genos* of the Lykomidai (on this *genos* see now Parker, *Athenian Religion* p. 305) but with the Eumolpidai. L. Vipsanius Aiolion, an exegete of the Eumolpidai (**455-456**) who was also an eponymous archon was honored on Samos for an *agonothesia* and other services (he was called ἀπόγονος εὐεργετῶν); see P. Herrmann, *AM* 75, 1960, pp. 152-154, nos. 44-45; *ZPE* 10, 1973, pp. 79-85. Although it seems unlikely that he was the man honored by the present monument, it is clear that his Eumolpid family had a tradition of munificence toward Samian institutions. It is possible, consequently, that the gratitude expressed here by the Lykomidai had to do with the honorand's services to the Haloa. The Eumolpidai seem to have had some role in this festival (see *Sacred Officials* p. 17, on an illegal sacrifice by a hierophant at the Haloa, where I was perhaps too hasty in concluding that the hierophant had absolutely no role in the festival). If the honorand's contribution to this festival prompted the debt of gratitude that bound the two *gene* in this instance, they may simply have felt it appropriate to mention the honorand's benefaction in Samos as well. There was perhaps more to it than this (perhaps informal connections between Samos and the Eumolpidai and Lykomidai, as between, e.g. Lerna and the Eumolpidai [see *IG* II² 3674; *Sacred Officials* pp. 42-43, no. 34]), but this is all that our information, at present, seems to allow us to conclude.

The date of this document is provided by the term of the eponymous priestess of Demeter, Flavia Laodameia; see II.377 and II.373.

436. STATUE BASE. The inscription can be dated by the term of the eponymous priestess, Flavia Laodameia, on which see II.377 and II.373.

437. STATUE BASE? The inscription can be dated by the term of the eponymous priestess, Flavia Laodameia, on which see II.377 and II.373. It most likely included her patronymic.

438. STATUE BASE FOR TI. CLAUDIUS ATTIKOS HERODES CLAUDII ATTIKOU (MARATHONIOS), "SON OF HELLAS". The dedication was made while Herodes' father was still serving as high-priest of the imperial cult, therefore certainly before A.D. 138, but the fact that the statue was of a child (more likely than of an adult who was less than life-sized) suggests a much earlier date. Ameling has argued cogently that the full name of his father with titles (as opposed to the shorter version in later inscriptions) and the name of his mother, which does not occur in any other document pertaining to Herodes, suggest that he was still a child; and the full title for his father also suggests that the Corinthians were primarily honoring him rather than Herodes. Moreover, the only time that the title "Son of Hellas" otherwise occurs in documents concerning the family is on a base honoring Bradua as "hearth-initiate," viz. when he was a boy. Ameling is therefore probably right to think that the occasion for this dedication was Herodes' service as "hearth-initiate."

Line 2: ἀπὸ προγόνων indicates that the high-priesthood was hereditary in his family; cf. Ameling for discussion of the term. (361 [= Ameling II p. 69, no. 39], a dedication recorded on Salamis, probably does not refer to his father's work as high-priest; see II.361.)

Lines 3-6: The title "Son of Hellas" was not bestowed by the Corinthians; what they decreed was this dedicatory monument for Herodes. On the title see J. and L. Robert and the full discussion by Ameling, who argues convincingly that it was granted to Herodes by the Koinon of the Achaeans with much support from Corinth, probably as a favor to, or because of favors done by, his father. It was a boyhood title and does not reappear in the titulature of Herodes.

Line 6: Cocceius Censorinus is otherwise unknown; but cf. *Corinth* VIII 2, no. 118.

439. STATUE BASE FOR AGRIUS SATURNINUS. Agrius Saturninus, evidently an orator from abroad, is otherwise unknown. A statue of him was also set up on the Acropolis (*IG* II² 4194). The title ὁ κρᾶτιστος for members of the senatorial order first appears at Athens under Hadrian and for high-ranking members of the equestrian order in the Severan period; see Oliver, *Roman Senators* pp. 126-132.

There was a long-standing tradition, going back at least to Isocrates (59), of dedicating statues of orators in the sanctuary, presumably for speeches in which the Two Goddesses and the Mysteries were praised. In this case the dedication expressly refers to Saturninus' λόγοι.

440. DEDICATORY BASE HONORING AELIA LYS[ISTRA]TE. *Line 1:* For a similar sanctioning formula at the beginning cf. *IG* II² 3605.

Line 2: The gentilicium suggests a date after the beginning of Hadrian's reign, as Follet noted.

Line 5: The beginning of a cognomen is preserved.

441. STATUE BASE FOR ATHENAIOS ATHENAIΟΥ PHLYEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Athenaios and his father are otherwise unknown. As lines 10-14 indicate, the monument was set up several years after he was hearth-initiate.

On the use of the name Athenophilos by his parents cf. Premierstein.

442. STATUE BASE FOR T. VIPSANIUS [- - -] FLAVIANOS KEPHISIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. On the family of Vipsania Lailiane see II.455. Her son, T. Vipsanius [- - -] Flavianos of Kephisia, otherwise unknown, seems to have been born ca. 115-125; he will have been hearth-initiate around the age of ten to fifteen years.

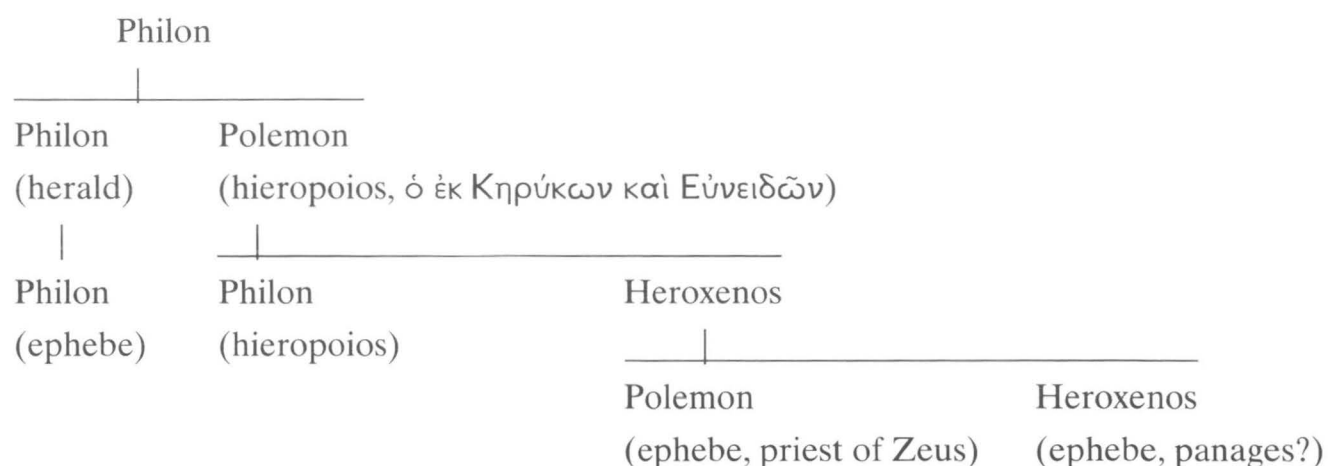
Line 1: In the lacuna an additional cognomen seems preferable to ἐκ Φλυέων, since her father's demotic is given below.

Lines 6-8: On the eponymous priestess and her term see II.377 and II.373.

443. STATUE BASE FOR SON OF HEROXENOS OF MARATHON. Kirchner took the name in line 2 to be that of a woman; but the name of the dedicator stands in line 5, rendering a second name in the nominative case out of place in line 2.

Lines 1-2: At the beginning of line 2 a name as short as four to five letters and ending in -εα, seems to be out of the question. A priestly title, used hieronymously, would be appropriate at Eleusis. The title τὸν ἐπὶ βωμῷ ἱερέα, seems to be ruled out, since the priesthood was held by another man in this period, and this leaves the panages priest as virtually the only possibility (*Sacred Officials* pp. 95-96). No attested example of the title gives it in the order παναγῆς ἱερέως (it is normally ἱερέως παναγῆς), but the examples are relatively few, and there seems to be no reason to exclude this version.

Heroxenos and Polemon of Marathon are listed as ephebes in a year between 102/3 and 110/1 (*IG II²* 2017.29-30,36-37; on the date, Follet, *Athènes* pp. 56, 202, 363, 365). It is naturally tempting to think that they are brothers, identical to the two sons of Heroxenos in the present document. A related family occurs in Delphic documents of the late first century. *FD III* 2, 65.4-6, A.D. 84/5-92/3, attests (1) Philon son of Philon of Marathon, herald of Apollo Pythios and priest of Hermes Patroos of the Kerykes, and (2) Polemon son of Philon of Marathon, hieropoios. *FD III* 2, 66.21-29, attests, a few years later: 1) Philon son of Philon of Marathon, priest of Hermes Patroos of the Kerykes and herald of Apollo Pythios, (2) Philon son of Polemon of Marathon, hieropoios, and (3) Polemon son of Philon of Marathon, ὁ ἐκ Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐνειδῶν. It would seem that the hieropoios of the earlier year relinquished the post to his son in the later year and served now in a new post, as representative of the Kerykes and Euneidai. The Philon son of Philon of Marathon who was ephebe (*IG II²* 1966.78) in the same year as the first document is probably the son of the herald of Apollo Pythios. I would assume that Heroxenos, the father of the ephebes Heroxenos and Polemon, was the brother of the second hieropoios, Philon son of Polemon. This may be expressed by the following (somewhat hypothetical) stemma:



If this stemma is correct, then the two brothers of the present document belonged to the *genos* of the Euneidai in addition to the Kerykes and Bouzygai (or Gephyraioi; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 40-42).

Line 4: It is quite possible that [καὶ Βουζύγης] was not part of his title (see II.489.62); in fact there may not have been enough space for it here.

444. HONORS FOR C. MEMMIUS SABEINOS PEISANDROS. Kapetanopoulos's restoration is based on his restoration of Memmius Peisandros in *IG II² 2040.2-3* as archon in the year 127/8: ἐπὶ Μεμμίου | [Πεισάν]δρου Κολ[λυτέω]ς (= *SEG XXXIV 156*). This is not impossible, but since key parts of the name are missing in both documents, it seems inadvisable to put it in the text as a probable restoration. On the prosopography see Follet.

445. STATUE BASE FOR THRASYLLOS OF CHOLLEIDAI. There can hardly be doubt about the name of the honorand. Thrasyllus son of Ammonios of Cholleidai dedicated a statue of his mother at Eleusis (377), but the father of the Thrasyllus of 377 was probably the teacher of Plutarch, and his mother was probably not Flavia Laodameia as has often been assumed (see II.377). Flavia Laodameia, priestess of Demeter and Kore (evidently for approximately forty years starting in the early second century) was the grandmother of a woman whose father was M. Annius Thrasyllus of Cholleidai (458), evidently the ephebe in 112/3 whose father was M. Annius Pythodoros. This Thrasyllus, the ephebe in 112/3, is most likely the honorand here, his statue dedicated by his mother, priestess of the sanctuary. If this is correct, then the present monument, set up after Thrasyllus' archonship and heraldship of the Areopagus (both otherwise unattested), should be dated ca. 130-140.

It is curious that the patronymic of the honorand is not given. It is conceivable that Laodameia also dedicated a statue of her husband on the same base; this would obviate a patronymic for her son.

Line 1: [Μ Ἄννιον would adequately fill the space.

Line 4: The lacuna is too short for the name of Laodameia to have been given as the eponymous priestess.

Line 5: Presumably her title occurred here, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης.

446. ALTAR DEDICATED TO HADRIAN. The altar resembles many others that have been associated with honors to Hadrian on the occasion of the foundation of the Panhellenion in 131/2 (see Benjamin).

447. ALTAR DEDICATED BY ACHAIOI. The Achaioi were the Achaean League, and it would have been appropriate for them to make a dedication to the Eleusinian sanctuary when the Panhellenion was administering the sanctuary, especially if, as Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* p. 130, believed, the Achaean League was a constituency of the Panhellenion. But there is no specific evidence in support of such membership; cf. Spawforth and Walker, *Panhellenion I* p. 81. Thus we perhaps should not preclude an earlier date. On the Achaean League in the first and second centuries, up to the founding of the Panhellenion, see Oliver, *Panachaeans and Panhellenes*, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 185-191.

A similar altar to this one, also located in the forecourt of the sanctuary, is illustrated in pl. 193. Altars of various sorts were set up in the forecourt, as well as, apparently, the main altars of the sanctuary; see Clinton, *Sacrifice* pp. 71-72; Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 169.

448. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO ROMAN ARCHES. The inscription was so arranged that the word Αὐτοκράτορι stood precisely in the center of the arch. The Panhellenes erected these arches clearly to glorify the living emperor. He is not named but simply associated with the Two Goddesses. The arches are close copies of the Arch of Hadrian in Athens, and were evidently made in the same workshop (Willers).

Next to the arch were found statue bases for the deified Hadrian Panhellenios (453) and for the deified Marcus Aurelius and his family (505-507, 509-510). They clearly are associated with the arch in some way, and Travlos, *Athens* p. 252, noted that they originally stood on the second storey of the arch, though without providing evidence from the monument itself. (Skias stated that the bases were not attached [συνδεδεμένα] to the arch, but it is not clear whether he checked their bottoms for dowel holes, or whether he simply had their rear surfaces in mind.) A second set of bases for Marcus and his family, of which only one (508) is preserved, was apparently associated with the western arch. Features of the bases (e.g. the size of the letters, unfinished parts) suggest that they were not placed on ground level; and the nominative case of the names of the honorands indicates that the names served merely as labels, i.e. these were not normal dedicatory bases but should belong to a larger dedicatory monument with a proper dedicatory inscription, such as this arch; see full discussion in Clinton, *Roman Initiates*, and more briefly at II.453.

The base (453) with its statue of the deified Hadrian Panhellenios, which of course was created after his death, was created specifically for this arch, where evidently a statue of the emperor had not previously existed; for if there had been a statue of him there while he was alive, there would seem to be no reason to replace it now with a new one. The most likely candidates for the αὐτοκράτωρ of the present inscription are Hadrian, the founder of the Panhellenion, and Marcus Aurelius, the great patron of the Panhellenion. However, if the emperor is Marcus, then we have to suppose that the statue of the deified Hadrian was added to the arch during or after the

reign of Marcus, at which time no statue of Marcus existed on it, for again we must assume, following the same reasoning that we applied to Hadrian's posthumous base, that the posthumous statue base for Marcus (505) did not supersede a base for him set up while he was alive. But if the statue of Hadrian was placed on the arch during Marcus' reign, it would be confusing and very strange indeed to have a dedicatory inscription stating that the arch was set up for "the emperor," viz. Marcus, when the only imperial image associated with it was Hadrian. There then remains the possibility that the arch was created during Marcus' reign, but all the bases with their images were added after his death. If this was the case, then it is odd that Hadrian at this late date was given such special prominence, with the epithet *Panhellenios* (whereas Marcus had none), on an arch that had not long before been dedicated to Marcus. Another difficulty of this hypothesis is that several features of the base distinguish it from the others and suggest that it was made in a different workshop or at a different time; see Clinton, *Renaissance* p. 61, and 453. Therefore the most likely hypothesis is that the unnamed *Αὐτοκράτωρ* of the present inscription is Hadrian, whose association with the *Panhellenes* and *Eleusis* was so obvious that he did not need to be named. It is also possible that it suited the *Panhellenes* to honor the *Αὐτοκράτωρ* generically; thus every emperor would be commemorated and associated with *Demeter* and *Kore*: imperial favor toward the league and the sanctuary is assumed for all time.

The base with the statue of the deified Hadrian was added after his death. (In "Renaissance" I suggested hypothetically that the upper storey of the arch was constructed after the carving of the dedicatory inscription, but on further reflection it seems more likely that the inscription would have been carved at the end of the project.) Likewise, shortly after the death of Marcus Aurelius, his statue, along with those of members of his family, was added in recognition of his own benefactions to the *Panhellenes* and their sanctuary.

For further discussion of the arches, the *Panhellenes*, and the sanctuary see Clinton, *Eleusis and the Romans*.

Postscript. The article by Willers, "Vorplatz", an important contribution to the study of the forecourt of the sanctuary, came to my attention after submission of the manuscript. In his examination of the surviving blocks of the eastern arch he found cuttings for statue bases on the first storey (p. 187, figs 47-50), which confirm my arguments from the bases themselves for high placement on the arch. Stylistic differences between Hadrian's arch in central Athens and the Eleusinian copy, namely decorative elements of a baroque style and certain finishing techniques (surface treatment, use of the drill, etc.), suggested to him a late Antonine date for the arch. There can be little doubt that the date of the arch *as completed* is Antonine (Clinton, *Renaissance* p. 63); but the question whether it is early or late Antonine remains: stylistic elements were found by W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Korinthische Normalkapitelle* (RM-EH 16) (Rome 1970) pp. 72-74, and S. Walker, *AA* 94, 1979, p. 122, to be not inconsistent with a date in the 160's and with the (incorrect) assumption of a similar date for the inscriptions on bases 505-510. More definitive evidence may be needed to decide the question.

Willers postulates that the arches were begun and completed under Marcus, and that the only statues originally contemplated for each of the arches were those of Hadrian and Marcus (p. 189). Later, under Commodus, this arrangement was converted to a massive celebration of the family of

Marcus (505-510). However, as stated above, it is difficult to see why, if a statue of Marcus with its base was placed on the arch during the lifetime of the emperor, it needed to be changed after his death. The hypothesis that the arch was originally intended to honor only Hadrian, and included therefore only a statue of Hadrian, avoids this problem.

Willers also postulates that construction of the Propylaea and the largely unified arrangement of the forecourt also occurred under Marcus. Here too we need more definitive evidence. It would be very surprising to find that such an important sanctuary to Hadrian's Panhellenion (see. II.489) as Eleusis did not receive such treatment during the reign of the emperor.

449. DEDICATION OF AN [AQUEDUCT] BY AN EMPEROR. The imperial patronage and the final verb suggest the restoration τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν. Boeckh listed the finding place as "prope rudera templi Cereris et Proserpinae," but Spon's and Wheler's accounts make clear that what they took to be the "Temple" was what we now know to be the Greater Propylaea. In fact, the inscription preceding this one in Spon's edition is 471, which is built into the tower (K 20) to the left of the Greater Propylaea, and the heading given for the present inscription is "Près de là," i.e. close to 471 and therefore also to the Roman fountain house (no. 3 on the Plan). (Wheler's transcript, preserved in British Museum MS. Add. 35,334, no. 135, with the heading "in templo Cereris in Epistyllo, ut videtur" is in agreement.) Thus there is a high probability that this inscribed block belongs to the fountain house. This structure was published by A. K. Orlandos, 'Η κρήνη τῆς Ἐλευσίνος, in *Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton 1936) pp. 282-295, where he called attention to similar features in the Library of Hadrian at Athens. Though he dated the fountain house to the mid second century approximately, it must actually predate the nearby commemorative arch, and is therefore most likely Hadrianic, as I showed in "Renaissance," p. 63 (Ziro, *Εἰσοδος* p. 127, also favors a Hadrianic date). Ziro, *ibid.*, assumed that the aqueduct that brought water to it, and whose remains can still be seen at a distance from the sanctuary, was also built by Hadrian. Inasmuch as circumstantial evidence links the present inscription with the fountain house, and this structure is probably Hadrianic, I have restored accordingly. Whether it is indeed a fragment of this building will have to be confirmed by architectural study.

The aqueduct has been a conspicuous feature of the Eleusinian landscape in Renaissance and modern times. Niccolò da Martoni was struck by it in passing by Eleusis in the fall of 1394: "... et aqua fluebat ad dictam civitatem [sc. Eleusinem] per quosdam conductos fabricatos cum pilieriis et archis per quos descendebat a quibusdam montibus ad ipsam civitatem" (text in J. M. Paton, *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* [Gennadeion Monographs 3], Princeton 1951, p. 35). Its route can be seen in the plans of Eleusis and environs published by the Dilettanti (Chap. 1, pls 1-2), and it is remarked on at length by Pouqueville p. 121. Thus it is no surprise to read in Clarke, *Travels* p. 600, that in 1802 it was the most imposing relic of antiquity then to be seen at Eleusis: "The first thing we noticed was an *Aqueduct*, part of which is entire. Six complete arches are yet to be seen. It conducted towards the *Acropolis*, by the *Temple of Ceres* [sc. Greater Propylaea]. The remains of this *Temple* are more conspicuous than those of any other structure, excepting the *Aqueduct*." For sections of the aqueduct recently excavated in and near Eleusis: *AR* 40, 1993-1994, p. 9; K. Pappangeli, *Δελτίον* 42, 1987 [1992], pp. 28-30, fig. 5, pl. 28; *AR*

41, 1994-1995, p. 7; K. Pappangeli, *Δελτίον* 43, 1988 [1993], pp. 46-47; *AR* 42, 1995-1996, p. 5; K. Pappangeli, *Δελτίον* 45, 1990 [1995], pp. 53-54, pl. 23β.

450. ARCHITRAVE. The absence of a full architectural study of the building to which this architrave belongs compounds the difficulty of restoring these fragments (Skias's description of the building, *Πρακτικά* 1895, pp. 181-191, is tentative and hypothetical). Further architectural study is also needed to determine whether the following two inscriptions (**451-452**) belong to the same architrave. The present separate arrangement, suggested by the smaller size of the letters of **451-452**, is tentative.

A possible subject of καθιέρωσεν would be the emperor (cf. the following inscription, **451**) or someone of wealth. Frag. *b* evidently refers to the traditional contests of the Eleusinia. ἀγῶνας in frag. *a* should therefore refer to other contests which someone instituted at Eleusis. In the second century these ought to be the Ἀντινόεια τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, the festival founded, probably in 131/2, in memory of Antinous (on the festival, Follet, *Athènes* pp. 322-323). If this is the case, the subject of the sentence may well be Hadrian.

As we expect the names of gods to whom the games were dedicated to be in the dative, the phrase εἰς τοῦ[ς- - - should refer to the purpose of the dedication (cf. *Lys. Or.* 19.39; *I. Tralles* 18.6-7). It is conceivable that a single block intervened between *a* and *b*, and that one or more epithets of ἀγῶνας appeared here, for example:

[- - - - ἀγῶνας καθιέρωσεν εἰς τοῦ[ς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶ]ν Ἐλευσινίων ἀγῶνας.
Also worth considering are more technical epithets, such as ἱερούς, στεφανίτας, etc.

It is interesting that the Eleusinia disappear from epigraphic documents from apparently sometime in the reign of Hadrian to the middle of the third century. The last mention of these games in the second century occurs in a dedication honoring an agonothete (*IG* II² 3605), the date of which is Hadrianic or Antonine according to Follet (*Athènes* pp. 123, 331), while Meritt and Traill date the honorand's service as bouleutes around 120 (*Agora* XV 322.30). The next mention occurs in an athlete's list of victories in the 250's (*IG* VII 49 = Moretti 88; on the date, L. Robert, *CRAI* 1970, pp. 12-13). The ephebic Antinoeia at Eleusis, on the other hand, are abundantly attested in Eleusis during this period: see the list compiled by Follet, *Athènes* p. 323. So it is especially puzzling that such a major festival as the Eleusinia is unattested in over a century's span of documents. We may hypothesize that the Antinoeia had something to do with this, as the present document could imply.

453. STATUE BASE FOR THE DEIFIED HADRIAN PANHELLENIOS. The fact that the emperor has been deified indicates that the base was set up after his death. It was associated with the eastern arch, evidently set on its upper storey (see **II.448**). Its rough-picked top surface with the lewis cutting and the lack of care in the rendering of the base molding on the sides suggest that it was not meant to be seen on ground level; the tall lettering is also consistent with high placement. Similar features occur on the other bases associated with the arch (on **506** and **507** parts of the base molding were left unfinished, on the latter also part of the lower left side). The names in

the nominative case on all these bases are not proper dedicatory inscriptions but merely labels: the actual dedicatory inscription appeared on the arch.

The arch evidently lacked a statue during the lifetime of Hadrian, for had it existed, there would be no reason to replace its base after Hadrian's death. As argued at II.448, it was placed on the arch not long after his death, and the bases for Marcus Aurelius and his family (505-507, 509-510) were placed there shortly after that emperor's death.

454. STATUE BASE FOR A HIEROPHANTIS, DAUGHTER OF DEMETRIOS. The hieronymous hierophantis, daughter of Demetrios, dedicated this monument, perhaps just a statue of herself, but since the epigram primarily celebrates her initiation of Hadrian, it was more likely a representation (relief?) of her crowning Hadrian at his initiation; cf. 502: ἀρχομένη τελετῶν ἔσπεφε μυστιπόλους. Hadrian was initiated most likely when he was archon at Athens or earlier (Clinton, *Roman Initiates* pp. 1516-1517; Renaissance pp. 56-57). The epigram was composed after he was emperor and had showered benefactions on Athens and other cities. Since this activity is described in the past tense (κατέχευε), Hadrian may well have been dead by this time.

Line 1: The priestess has not been identified.

Lines 2-4: Her name was hidden when she took office; on hieronymy see II.Introduction, "Hieronymy," pp. 13-15. In a special ceremony at this moment a priest wrote his name on a tablet (θεσμός), presumably of metal, and cast it into the sea; cf. 637: θεσμός ἐκείνο μυστικός ᾧχετ' ἄγων εἰς ἄλα πορφυρέην.

Lines 5-8: In the Classical period the Dioscuri and Heracles (as well as Dionysus) were famous as divine initiates (cf. Clinton, *Iconography*, chaps. 2-3); Asclepius was initiated in 420 B.C. (Clinton, *Epidauria*) but is not depicted as an initiate in any preserved Classical work of art.

Lines 9-12: On Hadrian's contributions to Eleusis see Clinton, Renaissance, and to Athens and Eleusis, Spawforth and Walker, *Panhellenion I* pp. 78-104.

Lines 11-12: On coins Hadrian is sometimes shown with the iconography of Ploutos; here he acts like Demeter in dispensing Ploutos to mortals (Clinton, Renaissance pp. 57-58), although the Ploutos the priestess primarily has in mind is not the agrarian type (the verse is an echo of II. 2.670: καί σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων).

Pausanias also uses an agrarian metaphor in describing Hadrian's benefactions to Athens (after the damage wrought by Sulla): Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἦνθησαν (1.20.7; cf. 1.3.2, 5.5).

455. STATUE BASE FOR L. VIPSANIUS AIOLION PHLYEUS, EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. Herrmann correctly identified the honorand as L. Vipsanius Aiolion son of L. Vipsanius Lailianos of Phlya; he recognized him as the man who was honored in two Samian inscriptions recently published by him (*AM* 75, 1960, pp. 152-154, nos. 44-45); the identification is confirmed by the new fragment E 300.

Aiolion's patronymic does not appear in lines 3-4, probably because it appears elsewhere in the document; this is corroborated by frag. c, which presents offices held by his children: the doc-

ument is similar to 483 and 523 in that it lists offices held by relatives, so his father's offices were most likely listed right after his own. In lines 15-17 I present a partial restoration of his father's offices, without pretending to claim that the words occurred precisely at this point on the stone (the same is true of πατέρα in line 19); but the relative position should be correct.

The document can be dated by reference to 442, which honors Aiolion's grandson as hearth-initiate, when Flavia Laodameia was priestess of Demeter. The term of this priestess began early in the second century (*Sacred Officials* p. 74, no. 10), and seems to have extended to the 140's (see II.377). Traill identified Vipsanius Aiolion of Phlya, the prytanis in 156/7 or 157/8 (*Hesperia* 47, 1978, p. 306, no. 30.28-29), with the present honorand, but if Herrmann is correct in his identification of the honorand with the Aiolion who was archon around the end of the first century (*IG II²* 1998), this cannot be right. Given the rarity of the name Lailianos in Athens, it is quite likely, as Herrmann recognized, that Aiolion's father should be identified with the homonymous archon at the end of the first century (*IG II²* 1759, variously dated: 91/2, Follet, *Athènes* p. 303; 108/9, Kapetanopoulos, *AAA* 7, 1974, p. 392; 90-100, Kirchner, following Graindor). Since Lailianos was ephebe shortly after the middle of the century ("post med.," Kirchner; "vers le milieu," Follet, *Athènes* p. 180; ca. A.D. 68, Kapetanopoulos, *AAA* 7, 1974, p. 393, without indication of evidence), he became archon relatively late in his life. (His grave monument is Peek, *Attische Grabinschriften* II [*AbhBerlin* 1956, 3] p. 40, no. 148, as restored by me, *AE* 1971, p. 131.) His son will have been born ca. A.D. 65-70 and could well be the Aiolion who was archon around the end of the century. It is therefore preferable to identify our Aiolion, who is actually attested as archon, with this archon. Consequently, his daughter Lailiane, will have been born ca. 100-105, and his grandson ca. 115-125. Thus the present inscription, set up after his son's hoplite generalship and when his daughter was holding (or had held) sacred offices, should be ca. 140-150, relatively late in Aiolion's life. The Aiolion who was prytanis ca. 157 may be his son.

Lines 11-12: The Greater Asklepieia (presumably a grander celebration every fourth year, like the Greater Panathenaia) are also attested in 478.6-7.

Lines 19-20: His son Aiolion (see above) was no doubt listed here; these offices will be his, if not a brother's.

Lines 23-24: On Lailiane see above and 442. The offices she held are no doubt listed here: perhaps ιερατευσά]σης (or ιερατευού]σης, ζακορευσά]σης, or ζακορευού]σης). In lines 24-25 then ιερατε]υού]σης or ζακορε]υού]σης.

456. STATUE BASE FOR A RELATIVE OF [L. VIPSA]NIUS AIO[LION], EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. For L. Vipsanius Aiolion and his family see II.455. The present inscription honors a relative, presumably his wife, child, or grandchild.

457. DEDICATION BY THE SAMIANS. The erection at Eleusis of this monument by the Samians, with reference to an embassy that they made, suggests a connection with the activities of the exegete L. Vipsanius Aiolion and his family (455-456). The style of the lettering is strikingly similar to that of 456.

458. STATUE BASE FOR IUNIA [- - -] MELITINE DAUGHTER OF IUNIUS PATRON OF BERENIKIDAI, HEARTH-INITIATE. On the date of the priesthood of Flavia Laodameia, ca. 105-145, and the date of this document see II.377. For a revised stemma of the family see Jones p. 210. This hearth-initiate (*Sacred Officials* p. 109, no. 28) later became a hierophantis (see 501).

459. STATUE BASE FOR NUMMIA KLEO, HEARTH-INITIATE. A statue of Kleo was dedicated by her parents on at least two other occasions, with very similar inscriptions (*IG II²* 4069-4070).

Lines 1-3: Follet pointed out that the name Phaidreas, Dittenberger's restoration for Kleo's father in *IG II²* 4069-4070, does not occur at Athens in this period and suggested that we restore Andreas, on the basis of the juxtaposition of Menis and Andreas in *SEG XXXII* 204.11-13 (= *IG II²* 1947+ = Mitsos, *AE* 1970, p. 122, no. 3), a list of names of uncertain type (Kerykes perhaps, according to her):

[. . .] ἐροκῆρυξ
[. . .] Ἀνδρέας
[. . .] Μῆνις.

These three, all from Aiantis, may well be relatives, and Follet suggested that the sacred herald here might be Nummius Menis of Phaleron, father of Andreas (husband of Nummia Bassa) and Menis. While this is not certain, it does have several advantages, including a relatively easy explanation for Bassa's two marriages. According to *IG II²* 2342.7-9 she married the daduch Praxagoras, who served from ca. 180-185 to 191 or 192 (*Sacred Officials* pp. 61-63, no. 23; Follet, *Athènes* p. 278). Her other husband, Nummius Andreas son of Menis of Phaleron, Follet would identify with the hierophant known hieronymously as Nummius Hierophantes of Phaleron, who occurs in *aeisitoi* lists ca. 150 to 160 (*IG II²* 1806, 1789, 1790, on her dating; now also restored by Traill in *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 304-306, no. 29, dated by him to 148/9 = *SEG XXVIII* 166). Now this hierophant had to have died before 161 (his successor, Flavius Leosthenes, *Sacred Officials*, hierophant no. 24, took office under Antoninus Pius). It makes good sense to suppose that Bassa was born ca. 125, married Andreas ca. 140, and when he died ca. 160, married Praxagoras. Her father, Nigrinos, was still alive when she dedicated the other two statues of her daughter, and probably also when she dedicated this one, when Kleo was ca. 7-10 years old; but at this time her husband had not yet become hierophant (therefore was hierophant for at most 10-12 years).

Follet reasonably assumes that Menis succeeded Nigrinos as sacred herald, but puts the archonship of Menis in 137/8-159/60 (p. 492), which seems rather late for the father of an ephebe of ca. A.D. 120. Menis will probably have died in the 150's, after a relatively short term in office. (Traill's restoration of his name in *Agora XV* 484 is, accordingly, appropriate [*loc. cit.*], but in accordance with hieronymy it should be [ἐ]π[ὶ] [ἄρχο]ντο[ς Λουκίου Νουμμίου] ἱερο[κ]ῆρυκος Φ[αληρέως].)

Line 7: We cannot be completely sure that Nigrinos was still sacred herald at this moment, though it makes for easy restoration. If he had died, we would expect to find here his regular name

(surely also his title), and – according to Follet’s scheme – ἱεροκήρυκος would replace Μήνιδος in line 3.

460. STATUE BASE FOR TI. CLAUDIUS ATTIKOS OF MARATHON. The honorand is the father of Herodes Atticus, the famous sophist (*PIR*² 801).

461. STATUE BASE FOR ANNIA FAUSTINA WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY. As the title Καῖσαρ in line 6 indicates (Αὐτοκράτορος is too large for the space), the monument was set up before Marcus became emperor. The base comprised several blocks and must have held other statues in addition to the two whose dedications are preserved.

The name of the person represented to the right of Faustina began with a delta, therefore either Marcus’s mother, Domitia Lucilla, or his daughter, Domitia Faustina, but if it were a daughter, one of the elder daughters would be more appropriate here. The fact that the last letter of line I.4 is of standard size suggests that there was no line II.4; thus his mother’s patronymic may not have been given. She was still alive in 155 but deceased by 161 (*PIR*² D 183). Faustina was married to Marcus in 145 (*PIR*² A 716).

Line 7: ἀνθύπατος ὁ ἔπαρχος seems to be the most likely combination.

462. STATUE BASE FOR NU(MMIUS) NIGREINOS, SACRED HERALD. Wheeler’s drawing, though not reproducing the flowing quality of the marching initiates nearly as well as Spon’s, fortunately gives a three-dimensional view of the stone from above (Spon presents only one side clearly), which shows that the line of initiates extended around at least two sides, thus confirming the identification with the base that presently lies in the courtyard in front of the museum.

Since the sacred herald’s name is given in the nominative case and without hieronymy, it follows that he was no longer alive at the time of dedication. This monument, like many others in the sanctuary (see II.235), was set up as a tribute to the honorand after his death. The relief provides graphic illustration of a primary role played by the sacred herald in the Mysteries – directing the initiates.

Nummius Nigrinos of Gargettos was succeeded by another sacred herald before 151/2 (*IG* II² 1806, dated by Follet p. 254) but evidently was still alive ca. 145-150 (see II.459).

463. STATUE BASE FOR MENANDRA OF EPHESUS. Menandra’s mother Philippe was the daughter of Claudius Demonstratos son of Nikoteles of Sounion, whose offices, political and religious, are listed at the end of the document (357 celebrates his initiation from hearth and reveals his patronymic). It is unlikely that Philippe was born much before A.D. 100, if it all, so that Menandra is unlikely to have been born much before A.D. 115. Menandra’s father was an Ephesian, as Oliver inferred from this document, and Follet reasoned with considerable probability that Philippe’s marriage to the Ephesian was her first (her next was to Sospis the daduch).

The lack of ethnics for Menandra's paternal blood relatives and the use of the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος for her maternal grandfather demonstrate that this document was composed by citizens of her father's city, viz. Ephesos.

Lines 15-19: Mindius Aminos and C. Claudius Titianos may be Menandra's great-grandfathers on her father's side.

Lines 19-21: C. Claudius Titianos had a distinguished senatorial career: tribunus militum, decemvir, quaestor of Achaëa, tribune of the plebs, praetor, governor of Crete (and Cyrene) (*PIR*² C 1044; Groag, *Reichsbeamten* cols. 119, 171). Groag identified him with C. Claudius Titianos Demonstratos, governor of Crete and Cyrene in 161 (*AEpigr* 1919, 95). This, however, seems unlikely. J. Mansfield pointed out (*per litt.*) that Demonstratos most likely took his name from Menandra's *maternal* grandfather; so he is unlikely to have been her father's brother. In addition, if Menandra was born ca. 115, it is unlikely her uncle was governor of Crete and Cyrene in 161. Therefore the governor of Crete in 161 ought to be her brother; her uncle must have held the same post some time earlier (unless ἀδελφιδῆν is a mistake for ἀδελφῆν, which seems less likely). (The governor of Crete in 161 was also a prytanis at Ephesos [*I. Ephesos* 1213 = Vidman, *SIRIS* 302]. Another prytanis, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, Ti. Claudius Demonstratos, may be a relative [*I. Ephesos* 643 = Vidman, *SIRIS* 301].)

Lines 22-27: On Claudius Demonstratos of Sounion see II.357, Oliver, and Follet. It seems to me that he would be too young in A.D. 65 (*pace* Follet and Woloch) to be identified with the Demonstratos who was archon in that year.

The title ἐξηγητῆς μυστηρίων (instead of ἐξηγητῆς Εὐμολπιδῶν) is extraordinary, though the sense is clear, and is to be explained by the fact that the composer of this document was an Ephesian.

On the appointment of Demonstratos to the priesthood of Erechtheus Poseidon see II.357; on the fusion of Erechtheus and Poseidon in cult see Lacore.

464. STATUE BASE FOR D. IUNIUS MENNEAS D. IUNIOU PATRONOS (BERENIKIDES), HEARTH-INITIATE. His sister Melitine was also a hearth-initiate, ca. A.D. 145, and his maternal great-grandmother was Flavia Laodameia, the priestess of Demeter and Kore (458). Considering the substantial width of this base Menneas may have become a hearth-initiate relatively late in his boyhood.

His father was archon (*IG* II² 3745; cf. Follet, *Athènes* p. 165).

In this Eleusinian context the notation that his grandfather was an exegete suggests that his grandfather was an exegete of the Eumolpidae; indeed, the document puts emphasis on this office by noting that he was the "grandson of the exegete Patron." The Patron Menneou Berenikides commemorated in *IG* II² 5889 may be his grandfather, even though Kirchner dated this grave-stone to the first century B.C.

His daughter Nikostrate was also a hearth-initiate, and he evidently died when she was a child, before her initiation (522).

465. STATUE BASE FOR FIRMOS GARGETTIOS, HIEROPHANT. The base was set up after the death of the hierophant (his former name is revealed in line 2), probably by his grandson, Mousonios. The family may be related to Firmoi of Gargettos who appear in second-century inscriptions; cf. Kirchner, Clinton, and Follet. But a firm identification is impossible. A date in the third century cannot be ruled out. If the date is the second century, the hierophant evidently was not a Roman citizen.

The inscription takes the form of a *tabula genealogica*, but the monument is a base intended to hold a posthumous statue, like many others in the sanctuary (see II.235).

466. STATUE BASE FOR D. IU[NIUS?] PEIRAIUS, HIEROPHANT. The *praenomen* suggests that the hierophant's *nomen* was more likely Iunius than Iulius, but no such hierophant is attested. The monument was probably set up after his death, for the position of ἱεροφάντην, ahead of the praenomen, indicates that hieronymy was not being followed (according to hieronymy the title should appear after the gentilicium, as a cognomen). In addition, if no name followed the gentilicium, there probably would not be enough room in the line below for both the name and patronymic of the dedicator. For the form of the name cf. 465.

Line 2: A Cornelia Philoumene is attested on a grave marker of the Roman period (*IG* II² 12979a). Follet calls attention to Cornelia Polytrophon from Azenia, attested in a list of Athenian mystai and eoptai in Samothrace (*IG* XII 8 216).

467. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE, RELATIVE OF THE DADUCH [TI. CLAUDIUS LYSI]ADES. The honorand could be the son, grandson, or even some other relative of the daduch Claudius Lysiades. This daduch evidently held office in the early second century, possibly as early as the end of the first century, and served till sometime in the reign of Hadrian. Follet assumed that he was the homonymous proprietor mentioned in *IG* II² 2776.205 (Hadrianic) and archon in 3776.6-7 (perhaps early Antonine), and so inferred that he could not have become daduch before 120/1. However, the person in these documents is most likely the Claudius Lysiades who later became high priest (Woloch, Claudius no. 64, Lysiades III).

Since we do not know when the custom of hieronymy began in the case of daduchs, it is not clear whether Lysiades was still alive when the honorand became a hearth-initiate.

468. STATUE BASE FOR AELIUS PRA[XAGORAS OF MELITE?]. The document evidently honors Aelius Praxagoras, the later daduch (see 478-479), perhaps on the occasion of his assumption of the *panegyriarchia*. His father's name must have been inscribed within the first lacuna.

Line 4: Skias would have a patronymic immediately after ἀνέθηκε, which would be extraordinary in this period. A woman's name should occur here, viz. that of the mother of Praxagoras. Follet noted that Praxagoras' maternal grandfather was Praxagoras of Thorikos, archon in 138/9 (*IG* II² 1765, etc.), and this document comes very close to confirming it. The traces would allow us to restore Σανγού[ς τῆς Πραξα]γόρου, but in view of the rarity of the name I hesitate to put it in the text.

469. STATUE BASE. This seems to concern members of the Claudii of Melite. Line 3 may be restored to read Φίλιπ]πος.

470. STATUE BASE FOR KLEMENTIANE DAUGHTER OF ARRIAN. As Graindor recognized, either the father or the grandfather of Klementiane must be Flavius Arrianus, the famous historian (Graindor opted for the grandfather). Klementiane seems not to have been a hearth-initiate but just a regular initiate. The Arriani may have been members of the Eumolpidai or Kerykes (Graindor saw them as members of the latter), but we do not have definitive evidence (cf. Follet and Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 85, no. 14). The inscription, filling as it does only a small part of the face of the monument, is, in this respect, like the honorand, modest. The monument may have been set up after her death.

471. STATUE BASE FOR AN EMPEROR. It seems that at least one line of the inscription was carved on the crowning molding. The name of the emperor must have been clear from the context in which the base was placed, unless it occurred on another block.

Previous editors may have misread the first letter of line 4 (just as they misread the last letter of line 3). Restoration of a bare name, Ἀνδ[ρί]αν (impossible here in any case, on account of the trace), without further identification, looks rather strange on such a grand monument. Hence I suspect that this is a name in the nominative, the editors having misread the first letter of line 4. A name such as Ἀν[α]ξί[ω]ν may have stood here.

Follet's identification of Krateros with the Krateros who is mentioned in 483.19 as an ancestor of the hierophant Flavius Leosthenes or with one of the Krateroi in *IG II²* 3398 is rather tenuous, it seems.

472. STATUE BASE FOR ONE OF THE CLAUDII OF MELITE? The honorand may well be a descendant of Claudius Leonides of Melite, the daduch (*Sacred Officials* pp. 57-58, no. 18). The restorations of lines 1 and 3 are *exempli gratia*.

473. STATUE BASE FOR SERGIUS [SALVIDIENUS] SCIPIO ORFITUS, HIS WIFE, AND TWO SONS. L. Sergius Salvidienus Scipio Orfitus was consul ordinarius in A.D. 149. On the man and his family see Oliver's discussion and documentation with stemma and his corrections to *PIR²* C 317, 1447 and to the stemma opposite p. 54. However, there is no independent evidence that he was *curio maximus*; furthermore, Oliver's restoration of the title in line 4 is rendered somewhat improbable by the fact that there is no room for the iota of κούριωνα at the beginning of the line (as is clear from comparison with line 3). The letters at the beginning of line 4 therefore appear to belong to an additional cognomen, e.g. Πεί[σ]ωνα. This in turn suggests an additional gentilicium in line 3, which requires of course that a patronymic be restored in line 2 (the patronymics of his wife and sons are also given) and ἔνεκεν (as is to be expected) in line 4 (or perhaps another noun, such as καὶ εὐνοίας).

His wife (*PIR*² C 330) is attested on a grave inscription, *CIL* VI 1980: Calpurnia Luci filia Lepida Orfiti (uxor). The restoration in line 5 reverses the order of her husband's cognomina; it is possible, however, that the second cognomen here is not Scipio but the one that occurred in frag. a, line 4.

His two sons, Ser. Calpurnius Scipio Orfitus (*PIR*² C 316-317) and L. Calpurnius Piso (*PIR*² C 295), held the consulate in 172 and 175 respectively. Scipio Orfitus was born in A.D. 139 and died in 191. As Oliver recognized, their names indicate that an adoption has occurred. He suggested perhaps a "testamentary adoption," although it may rather be a case of maternal inheritance, the sons' names given here in abbreviated form, with only the maternal nomen (on nomenclature resulting from "testamentary adoption" and maternal inheritance see B. Salway, *JRS* 84, 1994, pp. 131-133; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* IV (Oxford 1988) pp. 159-173 = *Epigrafiā e ordine senatorio* IV, Rome 1982 [1984], pp. 397-410). In any case, it looks as if the father also took on names from his wife's line (on the phenomenon, Syme, *op. cit.* p. 166), which were given in line 3, viz. Καλπούρνιον Πεί[σ]ωνα.

The monument was undoubtedly among the most conspicuous of all those set up in front of the Telesterion. On the occasion of this visit the Eleusinian sanctuary presumably benefitted from this wealthy Roman's generosity, and the parents (not called mystai here, they were perhaps initiated on a previous visit) took the opportunity to have their sons initiated.

Line 4: For μεγαλοψυχία cf. *IG* II² 1326.25 and 4193.19 (where ἔνεκεν is omitted).

Lines 6-7: The restoration could and perhaps should be lengthened to read, e.g., εὐνοίας | ἔνεκεν καὶ δικαιοσύ[ν]ης.

474. STATUE BASE FOR P. AEL(IUS) TEIMOSTHENES BERENIKIDES AEL(IOUS) ZENONOS, HEARTH-INITIATE. On the exegete Aelius Zenon of Berenikidai, father of the hearth-initiate, and other members of his family see Oliver and Follet. Kirchner and Oliver understood the Aelius Zenon of Berenikidai who was priest of Apollo Patroos and client of the consular M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leuros ca. A.D. 230 (*IG* II² 3697-3698) to be the homonymous pythochrestos exegete of the present document. Follet, on the other hand, took the exegete to be the grandfather of a homonymous ephebe of 201/2 (*IG* II² 2193.27, etc.), and the ephebe to be the one who later became a client of Eubiotos. This seems preferable to Oliver's interpretation, as the client of Eubiotos carries the title priest of Apollo Patroos but not pythochrestos exegete, a venerable office that should not have been omitted from his sacerdotal title (cf. **531**: a priest of Apollo Patroos and exegete of the Eumolpidai). Follet also restored the exegete and his son in *Agora* XV 469.9-10, a list of prytaneis of ca. A.D. 220, as follows:

[Βερε]νικίδαι
[ὁ πυθό]χρηστος [ἐξηγητῆς Αἴλ Ζήνων]
10 [Αἴλ Τει]μοσθέν[ης]

While the restoration of Teimosthenes is brilliant, that of Ael(ius) Zenon creates some problems. If Zenon is the father of Teimosthenes, he would at this time be a centenarian; if he is the son of Teimosthenes, then there is the difficulty mentioned above, namely that the homonymous

client of Eubiotos does not appear to be a pythochrestos exegete. In addition, the restoration of line 9 looks as if it might be too wide for the column of names in which it stands. It seems best therefore not to restore Αἶλ Ζήνων and to assume that Teimosthenes, like his father, was a pythochrestos exegete.

475. STATUE BASE FOR ELPINIKE DAUGHTER OF HERODES ATTICUS (HEARTH-INITIATE?). This simple form of Elpinike's parents' names occurs on other monuments in her honor (*PIR*² A 706), but a fuller form occurs, naturally enough, on her grave monument (*IG* II² 12568/9 = Ameling, *op. cit.* p. 140, no. 136). Since it is unlikely that Elpinike was a priestess, coming as she did from a family of the Kerykes, she may well have been honored here as a hearth-initiate. If so, since she was born ca. 144, this monument can be dated roughly ten years later.

476. STATUE BASE FOR REGILLA WIFE OF HERODES ATTICUS. The monument was undoubtedly erected after Regilla's death around A.D. 157 and joined many other such monuments at Eleusis that honored illustrious worshippers or members of their families after their death (see II.235). Regilla's full nomenclature (*PIR*² A 720) and her father's Roman titles proclaim her as a great Roman lady, as do her husband's titles, which also (as Oliver realized) must both be Roman. If ἐξηγητοῦ referred to one of the Athenian expounderships, it would detract from this impression. Oliver identified the office as that of *XV vir sacris faciundis*, whose tasks involved interpretation of the Sibylline oracles (*Graecus ritus*), for which ἐξηγητής would not be an implausible translation: reference to this office, one of the four great priesthoods at Rome, would make fitting symmetry with Regilla's father's title ποντίφικος.

477. STATUE BASE FOR TI. CL(AUDIUS) APPIOS ATEILIOS BRADOUA SON OF CL(AUDIUS) HERODES, HEARTH-INITIATE. Bradua was probably born in (or close to) 152/3 (Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* II p. 21), and so his initiation "from hearth" should be approximately ten to fifteen years later. By this time his mother would no longer have been alive (Ameling).

Lines 4-5: The title υἱὸς Ἑλλάδος was also given to his father when he was a boy; see 438.

Lines 6-8: It seems to me more likely that a formula of authorization appeared here rather than one regarding erection of the monument; cf. 438 for Herodes as υἱὸς Ἑλλάδος and *IG* II² 3607 for Regilla: e.g. ψ[ηφισαμένης τῆς πόλεως] τῆς Δ[ελφῶν καί. 438 was authorized by a non-Athenian civic corporation (the Corinthian Boule), and so we might expect to find a similar corporation here.

478. STATUE BASE FOR AELIUS PRAXAGORAS THEMISTOKLEOUS MELITEUS. Aelius Praxagoras was archon in 154/5 (*IG* II² 2067); his other civic offices are listed in this and the following document; for discussions of his career see *Sacred Officials* pp. 61-63 and Follet; see stemma, "Claudii of Melite," at II.622. In my view he became daduch ca. 182-185, since the letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians (Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* p. 4, lines 1-7) shows that Aelius

Dionysius was in office in 174/5 but says nothing about cancellation of his appointment; Follet, *Athènes* p. 279, however, assumes that his election was annulled, and that Aelius Praxagoras was elected at this time. If the daduch Aelius Praxagoras is the same person as the Aelius Praxagoras of Melite who was prytanis in 181/2 (Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 317-320, no. 36.9 = *SEG* XXVIII 174.9 = XXXIV 132), as Traill believed, then Praxagoras could not have been daduch at this time (because of the lack of hieronymy). Although it is conceivable that the prytanis was the daduch's son, he was probably not a son by his wife Nummia Bassa, whom he married ca. 155-160 (see II.459), for a son by her would not have attained the minimum age for prytanis by 181/2. Thus the prytanis of 181/2 is most likely the later daduch.

This base seems, by comparison to the following, to have been set up shortly after Praxagoras' *agonothesia* of the Greater Asklepieia, whereas the following base may have been stimulated by his generosity at the Panathenaia.

Lines 7-9: Deploying some similar arguments, Aleshire and I defended the restoration here of the Greater Asklepieia, which is confirmed by the stone.

479. STATUE BASE FOR AELIUS PRAXAGORAS THEMISTOKLEOUS MELITEUS. On the honorand, Aelius Praxagoras, see the commentary to the preceding document (478). As 478 does not mention his *agonothesia* of the Panathenaia but only that of the Greater Asklepieia, it follows that the latter occurred first, and we are obliged to restore it here in line 10 (without the epithet *μεγάλων*).

480. STATUE BASE FOR A SON OF P. AELIUS [PRAXAGORAS] MELITEUS [HEARTH-INITIATE?]. The praenomen, nomen, and demotic suggest the famous daduch, Aelius Praxagoras (see II.478). The honorand may well be his son. The narrowness of the monument would be right for a child's statue, and so I tentatively restore a hearth-initiate.

481. STATUE BASE FOR FLAVIUS XENION MARATHONIOS, HEARTH-INITIATE (AND OTHERS). Fränkel called the stone a "Marmorplatte," evidently because of its preserved thickness, but it is surely part of a statue base. The fact that the inscription continued beyond the right edge (the edge is indicated by vertical lines in the text) shows that the base consisted of more than one block, probably several.

Oliver identified Flavius Xenion with a Xenion mentioned in a document concerning an Eleusinian endowment (489) (probably the donor), who also served as archon of the Panhellenion (491) in 165-169, and who left a bequest in Gortyn (his *πατρίς*) to support the celebration of birthdays of members of his and the imperial family (*I. Cret.* IV 300). He died between 177 and 182.

Follet suggested that the honorand might rather be the grandson of this Xenion, but I see no necessity for such an assumption. Xenion, in establishing his endowment, obviously had a special affection for the Mysteries, and it would be natural to assume that such a strong interest had not

arisen relatively recently but went back many years, starting in his case, when, as a child, he received the special honor of being “initiate from hearth.” If we assume that he died at an age of around seventy, his service as hearth-initiate will have occurred around A.D. 120. Thus it would follow that his family’s close connection with Athens, and probably their residency there, began near the beginning of the century.

The present inscription, however, does not seem to be contemporary with his hearth-initiation. The predicate of rank ὁ κρᾶτιστος does not occur elsewhere for someone as young as a ten-year-old (the youngest otherwise cited by Oliver, “Roman Senators,” are ephebes). The fact that other statues were set up on the same base suggests that we have here a family group – a not uncommon occurrence in the sanctuary – and in such a case it is unlikely that the hearth-initiation of one member was the occasion for the dedication of the entire group. (A focus on the whole family is also a theme of the bequest Xenion left in Gortyn.) Furthermore, it was by no means necessary for a monument mentioning a hearth-initiation to be set up close to the event, as 645 confirms: it honors a sacred herald toward the end of his career and refers to him as τὸν ἀφ’ ἐστίας μύστην.

Line 1: The fuller form of the title may have been given. Line 3 is no guarantee of the length of the line, as the inscription avoids word-division, and Μαραθώνιον may have exceeded the available space in line 2.

Lines 4-5: On the length of the line see above, *ad* line 1. For the restoration of line 4 cf. *IG II*² 3702.

482. ALTAR (?) IN HONOR OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS. Raubitschek suggested that the monument was an altar. We do not know its original location.

Line 2: Kirchner took “victory” as a reference to the emperors’ hoped-for victory over the Parthians and therefore dated the monument to the year before that victory, but νίκη in this formula need not refer to a particular victory.

Lines 4-5: Follet took the absence of the titles *Armeniacus Parthicus Maximus* as an indication that the monument should be dated in 162-165, but it is quite possible that the author of this document simply chose not to use the emperors’ victor titles.

Line 6: The title “priest of Rome and the Demos” (as opposed to “priest of Demos and the Charites and Rome”) is unattested to my knowledge and in any case too long for the line. On the priest of Triptolemus see *Sacred Officials* p. 97.

Line 7: At Athens the cavalry is unattested after the end of the first century B.C. (as J. Mansfield reminded me *per litt.*); hence ἵππαρχος may be a Roman office, such as *praefectus equitum*; cf. *IG II*² 3640.2. The end of the line may have contained a praenomen.

483. STATUE BASE FOR T[ITUS FL(AVIUS) HIEROPHANTES] PAIANIEUS SON OF TITUS FL(AVIUS) ALKIBIADES. The special value of this document lies in lines 21-26, which inform us that this hierophant received the insignia of his office in the presence of Antoninus Pius, initiated Lucius Verus, and presided over Lucius’ adlection into the Eumolpidae. The initiation of Lucius

took place in 162 (discussion and bibliography in *Sacred Officials*). The monument was set up before Lucius' death in February 169 (he is not called θεός here), but in view of the fame that came to the hierophant from his induction in Rome and his initiation of an emperor at Eleusis, we might expect this monument to have been erected not long after these magnificent events.

The composition is a bit careless in places; see below.

Line 2: In accordance with the practice of hieronymy ἱεροφάντην must be restored: the hierophant was still alive (cf. lines 20-21). His name was most likely Leosthenes (*Sacred Officials*); on his family see *Sacred Officials* and especially Follet.

Lines 4-8: Follet assigns the archonship of Alkibiades, the father of the hierophant, to the reign of Hadrian.

Line 7: The conjunction evidently indicates that he held the hoplite generalship concurrently with the gymnasiarchy. On the practice cf. Geagan, *Constitution* p. 129.

Lines 8-13: Leosthenes, the grandfather of the hierophant, may have been archon around the beginning of the century, as Follet suggests.

Line 11: As in the case of his son Alkibiades (above, line 7) he evidently held the gymnasiarchy concurrently with one or, more likely, all of his three terms as hoplite general.

Lines 12-13: He was appointed agonothete by Hadrian, most likely when the future emperor was archon, viz. in 111/2 or 112/3 (Follet p. 334; J. Mansfield, *per litt.*; cf. Clinton, *Roman Initiates* pp. 1517-1518; on the date of the archonship, K. K. Carroll, *The Parthenon Inscription*, Durham, N.C. 1982, pp. 54-57).

Lines 13-15: Flavius Alkibiades may have been the homonymous archon of 139/140; Follet pp. 181-183.

Line 16: ἄρξαντα, unspecified, ought to refer not to the eponymous office but to a lesser one; it is conceivable, though, that the omission was accidental. If he was archon, a date in the 130's would be appropriate; Follet p. 183; Woloch p. 229.

Lines 16-17: How the gymnasiarchy with bowls differed from the regular gymnasiarchy is unclear; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 36, note 183.

Lines 18-20: On these relatives see Follet pp. 182-184. Krateros cannot be identified (on the Krateroi in *IG II² 3998* see the edition of J. Bousquet, *BCH* 101, 1977, pp. 451-452 = *SEG XXVI* 256).

Lines 19-20: The relative clause could refer to ἔγγονον, viz. the honorand, but it more likely refers to Krateros, following the nearly consistent pattern in this document: relative's name, relation, description of relative's achievements. Therefore: "(maternal) grandson of Krateros, who preserves to the present time his allegiance to the city through what he bequeathed (to it)."

Lines 20-21: ἱεροφάντοῦντα: As this document indicates, he became hierophant during the reign of Antoninus Pius, therefore before March, 161; his successor was already in office in 169; see *Sacred Officials* and Follet.

Lines 21-27: "Bestowing favor on the city by the brilliance of his lineage and all his achievements, having received the *strophion* in the presence of the deified emperor Antoninus and in initiating the emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus having performed the Mysteries twice in one year (and this according to propriety), and having installed him as a Eumolpid, when we had the benefit of his services also as the proposer (of the adlection), securing favor also in this matter through the

greatness of his virtue and his reverence for the gods.” The last clause is difficult, but this translation seems preferable to the version in *Sacred Officials*.

Lines 22-23: The receipt of his *strophion* must have taken place in Rome (Antoninus never visited Eleusis), perhaps as the result of a legal proceeding (so Clinton) or during one of the honorand’s embassies there (so Follet).

Lines 23-25: Alföldi wished to emend μύσαντος to μύσαντ(α), but this is perhaps unnecessary, for, though the style is awkward, the meaning is clear. The author of the document evidently wished to subordinate the initiation to ἀγαγόντα, and as he wanted a participial expression, he employed a genitive absolute, even though it did not have a different subject – a usage that occurs often enough (though usually not so awkwardly displayed as here); see Kühner-Gerth II pp. 110-111, no. 494b.

The emperor arrived after the regular celebration of the Mysteries, or so much in advance that he did not wish to wait; the hierophant, obligingly, held an extraordinary celebration; see *Sacred Officials*.

Line 27: The singular ἀνέθηκεν is of course a mistake.

484. POEM CONCERNING HERODES ATTICUS. Peek was probably right in seeing here a memorial of a meeting of Herodes Atticus and Lucius Verus at a moment in the latter’s journey to the East in 162. (A moment during this journey is much preferable to one during his return from the East; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 37.) The journey was briefly described in the *Hist. Aug., Vita Veri* 6.9: *et apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symfonias et cantica navigabat*. From **483** we can surmise that it was also on this trip that Verus was initiated into the Mysteries, at an extraordinary time of year. Possibly the initiation occurred during a stop on his voyage from Corinth to Athens; we can imagine that he put in at the harbor of Eleusis, ἐνθ’ ἀνέμων σκέπας ἦ[ν, and had a pleasant conversation with his old teacher, Herodes, λέσχη τερπέσθην; and that the poem, most likely composed by Herodes, was set up on a marker near where their meeting took place. The character of the stone is more suitable to a marker than a formal monument within the sanctuary. Bowie suggests that the poem may be a *propempticon* for Lucius: “The stone would then preserve the text of a poem that Herodes had composed – and perhaps declaimed – to mark Verus’ departure from Athens to the East” (Bowie p. 234).

The poem (more likely distichs than dactylic hexameter) plays upon Homeric language.

Line 1: Peek suggested [ἐν συν]όδῳ καὶ τῇδε [φίλῳ παρ’ ἀνάκτορα Διοῦς] or [τῷ συν]όδῳ = συνοδοιπόρῳ ... [φίλῳ]. His restoration of the first lacuna makes good sense, but a reference to the Anaktoron is unlikely: the other poems that refer to it in this way were set up right next to it (**511**, **659**, **661**; Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 126-127); this poem was most likely set up somewhere outside the sanctuary, perhaps by the sea.

Line 2: τερπέσθην: cf. Hom. ψ 301, τερπέσθην μύθοισι. λέσχη: cf. Callim. *Epigr.* 2.3.

Line 3: Cf. Hom. ε 443, η 282, ζ 210, μ 336.

Line 4: Perhaps the object was φιλίαν (Peek) *vel sim.*

Lines 5-6: Peek recognized that the contrast consisted in the one friend staying home, the

other going off to war. The play is on the well known verse, *μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων* (Hom. I 443), which applies to Achilles. (Cf. Cicero's translation, *De Or.* 3.15: *oratorem verborum actoremque rerum*.) But here the "rhetor" is evidently the one who stays in his country, while the "doer of deeds" goes off to war.

Ameling suggested, e.g., *ἐν πάτρῃ [μῖμνων μύθων μελέτησεν]* – a suitable sense, though it does not fit the traces.

Since the *ἔργων πρηκτῆρ* cannot be different from *τῷ δ(έ)*, Peek suggested that "doer of deeds" should indicate what he is (or will be) *known* as; the sense of a restoration might be: [*ἔπλετ' ἐπωνυμίῃ*] (though this does not fit the trace).

Line 7: Possibly, according to Peek: *πολέμ[οιο νέφος δεινός τε κυδοιμός]*.

Line 10: Peek suggested *ἀντιχαριζόμενος* (cf. 498).

485. STATUE BASE (?) FOR M. AUR(ELIUS) MILTIADES SON OF AGATHOKLES OF MARATHON, HEARTH-INITIATE. Follet identified the honorand as the son of the Agathokles son of Miltiades of Marathon who was ephebe ca. 140 (*SEG XXIX 152.I.15*; on the date, Mitsos, *AE* 1977, pp. 12-22), if Mitsos' view of the date is correct. Father and son received their Roman citizenship under Marcus Aurelius, though it is conceivable that the absence of the gentilicium in the father's name here indicates that only the son received citizenship, and that the father set up this dedication long after his son's hearth-initiation. In any case, the son's new citizenship is proclaimed on the present monument. For other members of the family see Follet.

If Pittakis' copy is correct in line 4, a different restoration of the father's name would be required, namely *Σωτήρ Ἀγαθοκλ[έους]*, but a Soter of Marathon is unattested to my knowledge.

486. STATUE BASE(S) FOR THE SAVIOR GODS/GODDESSES OF THE BROTHERLY EMPERORS. Skias observed that after excavation most of the fragments were stored in the vicinity of the eastern corner of the Telesterion, which suggested to him that the monument was originally located near the entrance to this building, possibly to the left of the processional path, on the remains of a foundation excavated in this area. He also thought it not impossible that the base was set up within the Telesterion and held the principal statues of the Two Goddesses.

At present some of the heavy blocks are not accessible on all sides and cannot be properly studied. Provisionally, in view of the probable location of the monument near the processional path, it seems best to assume that it consisted of duplicate bases, one on either side of the path.

The language of the dedication is extraordinary. It is extremely rare for the gods of the sanctuary to be called *σωτῆρες*, and absolutely unique for them to be called on a monument "the gods of so-and-so," here the "saviors of the brotherly emperors." The statues that stood on these bases should be those of the gods themselves (not of the emperors, for in that case the names of the emperors would be given in the accusative). If we are to take *Θεοῖς/Θεαῖς* literally, on the one base we should expect the goddesses Demeter, Kore, and possibly Thea, on the other the gods

Triptolemos, Eubouleus, and possibly Theos; cf. 28.38-39. If Θεοῖς and Θεαῖς are equivalent, then probably only Demeter and Kore are meant; see further below, on line 2.

On the date see Ameling: it is safest to assign it simply to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. It is conceivable that the visit of Lucius in 162 was the occasion for the dedication, but see below, on line 2.

Line 2: The epithet φιλαδέλφων seems especially appropriate in the context of the Mysteries. The Athenians found in this cult proof that μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς χρῆσις τε καὶ πίστις (*IG II² 1134.20-21*). But why the dedication calls the Eleusinian gods “saviors” of the two emperors is, at first glance, less clear. It seems unlikely that an eschatological sense is intended, if only because Marcus had not yet been initiated. The great size of the monument suggests a political motive. Presenting the Goddesses of Eleusis as saviors of the rulers is reminiscent of their role in the naval battle of Salamis and the famous story of the Iakchos song and the cloud of dust that appeared as a portent from the Two Goddesses and finally descended upon the Persian fleet, signalling their destruction (*Hdt. 8.65*; cf. *Aristides, Eleusinos 6*): the Two Goddesses were hailed as saviors of Athens and the Greeks. Since Lucius Verus stopped at Eleusis on his way to the East with his army, and presumably secured the blessing of the Two Goddesses, it seems most natural to suppose that this monument refers to the fact that the Goddesses were once again saviors against an eastern enemy, namely the Parthians and Medes, over whom Lucius triumphed in 165-166 (Parthicus Maximus and Medicus were then added to the titles of the two emperors). This monument would then have been erected by Athens in 166 or slightly later to call attention to the critical role that their ancestral goddesses played in the recent success of the emperors. If this is correct, then Θεοῖς and Θεαῖς may be equivalent in meaning on this monument, i.e. Demeter and Kore; but we cannot exclude the possibility that in this case not just Demeter and Kore but all the gods of the Mysteries were believed to be involved in the victory.

Line 3: Herodes is doubtless the famous sophist; cf. Graindor. Here he is epimelete of the city (on the office see Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 117-119; *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 279-287; Oliver, *GRBS* 14, 1973, pp. 389-405; *GRBS* 17, 1976, pp. 369-370), as he was also on a later occasion when the city dedicated a statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Acropolis (*IG II² 3409* = Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* II no. 96).

487. STATUE BASE FOR TITUS FLAVIUS EUTHYKOMAS PAIANIEUS. On the prosopography of the family see Follet and Clinton.

Lines 3-6: Flavius Euthycomas was eponymos of his prytany in 166/7 (*IG II² 1773.8*). Since his son Menandros was ephebe in 165/6 (see **488**), he was married ca. 145 or earlier.

Lines 6-7: Flavius Straton the altar-priest served in the first quarter of the century but before 121-124; *Sacred Officials* p. 83, no. 11.

Lines 7-9: Flavius Straton the hierophant must have held his sacred office early in the first quarter of the century (rather than the end of the quarter, as stated in *Sacred Officials*; see Follet, *Athènes* pp. 249-252).

Lines 9-11: It seems likely that the first syllable of the hierophantis' name was inscribed at the

end of line 9, since the lines above and below are longer. She is otherwise unknown. She ought to be the maternal grandmother of the honorand, as explained in *Sacred Officials*. (In line 11 the space suits [ἐγ]γονον better than [ἀπό]γονον.) Her *genos* was most probably the Eumolpidae, and if she had been married to Flavius Straton the hierophant, it evidently would have been impossible for their son to transfer to the Kerykes and become an altar-priest.

Lines 11-13: Pompeia Polla dedicated the following base (488) in honor of her son. Her father the philosopher is otherwise unknown.

488. STATUE BASE FOR TITUS FLAVIUS MENANDROS PAIANIEUS. On the prosopography of the family see Follet and Clinton and the commentary to the preceding document (487).

Flavius Euthycomas was eponymos of his prytany in 166/7 (*IG II²* 1773.8), and his son, Menandros, was ephebe in 165/6 (*IG II²* 2090.68, as identified by Follet).

489. DECISION OF A SYNHEDRION AND DECLARATION OF THE PREFECT SEVERUS, CONCERNING AN ENDOWMENT. The text was essentially constituted by Dragoumis in his edition of 1900, but Foucart made an important contribution (overlooked by Kirchner) to the text of the Catalog. Oliver's fundamental studies constituted a major advance in our understanding of this document, and remain indispensable.

The fragmentary nature of the text leaves much obscure, but at least it is clear that it concerns an endowment and distributions therefrom, evidently to members of the Athenian Boule (line 16) and to the sacred officials appended (lines 43-67). Less clear is the body that issued the first document. Skias and Dragoumis saw a reference to the Panhellenes in line 6 and assumed it was their decree. Oliver, however, found their restorations unconvincing and was further struck by the fact that the affairs treated in the document were purely Athenian, not Hellenic. The document therefore should, he reasoned, emanate not from the Panhellenion but the Areopagus. The fact that a surplus is mentioned (lines 25-26) suggested to him that this is an old endowment, and that what we have here is a reorganization after the accrual of surplus funds. The Xenion mentioned in the initial document, and who also heads the list of recipients, therefore might not be the donor but a descendant. And Oliver plausibly identified him with the T. Flavius Xenion who by testament established an endowment in Gortyn sometime between A.D. 177 and 182 for the celebration of birthdays of members of the imperial family and his own (*I. Cret.* IV 300). He dated the present document around A.D. 165 and thought the original endowment was established much earlier, perhaps around 135 or 140.

New fragments that I added to 491, a portrait herm dedicated by the Panhellenes, revealed that Xenion had served as archon of that body, and on completion of his office was honored by them as ὁ ἄριστος πολειτευτής. Spawforth and Walker pointed out that the latter honor is unparalleled in extant records of the Panhellenion and should signal a special service that Xenion performed while archon. They made the logical suggestion that in the light of Xenion's Panhellenic connection and extraordinary service the question whether the first document on this stele was issued by the Panhellenion should be reconsidered, and they saw no reason why it could

not have been issued by that body. Indeed, as they pointed out, the dedicatory herm constitutes positive evidence in favor: “Xenio’s Eleusinian portrait-herm implies a connection with the sanctuary arising from his term of office; and the reference on this monument to his exceptional achievement perhaps acknowledged his activity while archon as a benefactor of Athens. The Eleusinian endowment, then, could be attributed to Xenio himself.” We should also bear in mind that the document concerns the financial administration of the sanctuary (lines 26-30), and there is some evidence (with regard to the institution of the *Aparche*) that the Panhellenion had replaced the Polis in its traditional role as overseer of the finances of the sanctuary (Clinton, *Renaissance* p. 57). Thus we need not regard the subject of the first document as exclusively Athenian, as Oliver did; the matter actually lay within the purview of the Panhellenion. In view of this and Xenion’s connection with the Panhellenion and Eleusis (see below, *The Donor*), I think it highly likely that the Panhellenes produced this document. Another fragmentary document, a letter from a Roman magistrate to a σεμνότατον συνέδριον, apparently the Panhellenion, also concerned matters of Eleusinian administration (Oliver, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 78-82, no. 34; cf. Geagan for further discussion); it was set up just to the right of the Eleusinion (Miles, *Eleusinion*, document no. 64). The fundamental relationship between the Panhellenion and the Eleusinian sanctuary is now further confirmed in a new edition of a decree of Thyatira (*IG II² 1088+*) published by S. Follet and D. Peppas Delmousou, *BCH* 121, 1997, pp. 291-309. Lines 14-16 refer to Hadrian’s establishment of the Panhellenion as follows: ὁ βασιλεύς, συναγα[γώ]ν ἐξ αὐ[τῶν] ἐκεῖνο τὸ συνέδριον, ὡς φιλο[τε]μίσαν κοινήν, εἰς τῇ[ν] λαμ[π]ροτάτῃ[ν] Ἀθη[ναίων] πόλιν, τῇ[ν] Εὐεργέτιν, καρπ[ὸν] τῶ[ν] Μυστηρίων ὁμ[οῦ] πᾶσι διδοῦ[σ]αν. The editors comment (p. 303): “Les raisons données pour expliquer l’installation du Panhellénion à Athènes prouvent que le lien avec Éleusis est fondamental dès la création de cet organisme.” (See now the improved text edited by C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 29, 1999, pp. 1-21.)

Although the type of document remains unclear, it seems to be a decree, in part praising Xenion for establishing the endowment (lines 1-6), in part settling many details regarding its administration.

The provision in lines 25-30 concerning surplus shows that the present document represents a modification of the original endowment with the purpose of taking care of future surpluses and no doubt other matters as well. It is also clear that the administration of the original endowment was in the hands of the hierophant and daduch. This fact alone suggests that the original purpose of the endowment was to benefit the Eleusinian sanctuary; i.e., it was not simply set up to provide various distributions some of which went to priests of the sanctuary. This is corroborated not only by the language of lines 29-30 (τι τῶν ἐγ[κριθέντων] ἅπαξ καὶ θεοῖς καθιερωμένων) but also by references to the endowment that are contained in the Declaration of the Prefect. There Xenion is congratulated for his φιλοτιμία πρὸς τοὺς θεούς; an alteration of the terms of the endowment is to be regarded as an offense prosecutable as *sacrilegium*; and of course the hierophant and daduch are confirmed as the overseers of the endowment. Thus it seems likely that the main and original purpose of the endowment was to provide funds for the operation of the sanctuary and the celebration of its festivals, especially the Mysteries (cf. line 6). As Oliver noted in *Ruling Power*, the recipient of the endowment must have been the Eleusinian sanctuary rather than the city of Athens. One of the ways in which the first document on this stele expanded the original

purpose of the endowment may have been through institution of distributions to bouleutai and those in the appended list.

The Donor. Xenion was archon of the Panhellenion most likely in the years 165-169 (Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* p. 133). This office may be the archonship mentioned in line 5. No sign is apparent in this document of the devastating effects that the Costoboc invasion of 170 had on the sanctuary. Therefore I tentatively assign the document to the period between the end of Xenion's archonship and the sack of the sanctuary by the Costobocs.

Xenion was most likely the Flavius Xenion of Marathon who was honored, probably along with other members of his family, in 481, which mentions that he was a hearth-initiate; thus he had a long-standing connection with the sanctuary.

He left funds in his testament for the celebration of the birthdays of members of his and the imperial family (*I. Cret.* IV 300). Here too the emphasis on the celebration of family is striking. But his selection of imperial members is interesting, as Oliver noted: "The commemoration of the birthdays of Lucilla and even of Lucius Verus, who was now dead for many years but still forgotten, has particular significance. The failure to mention Antoninus Pius and the long loyalty to Lucius Verus probably indicate that the career of Flavius Xenion blossomed under Lucius Verus, perhaps that Flavius Xenion stood close to the latter emperor during his sojourn in the East" (p. 399).

Line 1: The heading remains obscure. In view of the appended list of priests Skias' restorations would seem to be on the right track. '[ε]ρεῖς Θε[οῖν], however, would be better than just Θε[ῶν], for Θε[ῶν] (instead of specific deities) is otiose, unless an epithet followed. Perhaps the lefthand lacuna contained the beginning of the heading, such as [τιμαὶ εἰς].

Line 3: If the hypothesis is correct that this document is a decree of the Panhellenion we should expect τῶν Πανελλήνων at the beginning of the line.

Line 4: The word before Ζεν[ίωνος may well be a dative.

Line 5: At the beginning of the line Xenion's patronymic and demotic might have occurred, though κρατίστου is equally possible (see below). Next, it seems, come the titles of offices he held; but, considering his background (see below), Asiarch is unconvincing and calls the reading into question. Perhaps some letters were omitted but not then detected as in line 22 (see Epigraphical Commentary), so that we might read <γυμν>αρχ[ί]αρχον.

Line 6: The restoration Πα]νελλήνων cannot be ruled out, but Oliver's proposal makes better use of the end of the line and has attractive parallels (see his discussion, p. 385), especially 95.17-18. The dative may actually be better than the genitive, viz. τοῖς εἰσ]αφικνουμένοις; that is, the pilgrims are beneficiaries of Xenion's support of the sanctuary.

Line 8: λα]μπράς: bright, unworn coins (Wilhelm *apud* Laum).

Lines 10-11: This may refer, as Oliver thought, to reinvestment of a surplus (see below, lines 25-27).

Lines 14-15: Distributions are to be made, as one would expect, from the annual interest. It seems (though it is not certain) that 12 drachmas is the amount of each share distributed.

Line 16: The members of the Boule of Five Hundred will have been recipients of shares, as Oliver assumed.

Line 17: ὑπ[ο]τέτακτα[ι] should refer to the appended list (Oliver).

Line 22: Dragoumis' restoration, συνήθ[εις τε], is logical but it is doubtful that a category of priests could be so described, and the restoration does not fill the space. A restoration like συνήθ[ει τρόπω τε] (cf. *IG II*² 1121.33) would fill the space but the lack of an article is difficult.

Lines 25-30: Provisions in the event of a surplus: see above, introduction to this commentary, p. 366. The surplus should be used to make censers for the sanctuary, under the direction of the hierophant and daduch, for they were the officials in charge of the financial management of the endowment.

The mention of a past surplus indicates of course that the endowment had been in operation for at least a few years, but not necessarily, as Oliver thought, that it was an old endowment.

Lines 30-31: See Oliver for justification of the restorations; he realized that the basic sense must be "just as the prefect ordered in his declaration." πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν = *ad omnium notitiam*.

Declaration of the Prefect. Oliver's translation (*Ruling Power* p. 966):

"Severus said: 'I too approve the act of generosity which he has displayed in respect to the gods. If anyone should dare to misapply any of the consecrated monies, property of twice the value shall be vindicated to the *fiscus* from the person who has so dared, a penalty being levied as for *sacrilegium*. It is especially understood that the hierophant and the daduchus shall have complete charge in order that this capital investment be never endangered and in order that the amount of the consecrated interest be never reduced by a single denarius. For it is clear that it is not at all safe for them if they overlook any misapplication of the funds.'"

Oliver argued that this was an extract, stating only the final decision, from a prefect's *commentarii*. (For the restorations and justifications of his translation see Oliver.) In *Ruling Power*, Oliver speculates on the type of prefect and hesitantly suggests that he is a praefectus aerarii, perhaps C. Iulius Severus, who was proconsul of Achaia ca. 135, and who around this time was sent to Bithynia as corrector and logistes (*PIR*² I 573); but in *AJP* 84 he admitted other possibilities. I rather doubt that the original endowment was established as early as the reign of Hadrian. Follet suggested that the prefect might be Cn. Claudius Severus (*PIR*² C 1024), honored by Herodes Atticus with *SEG* XXIV 228.

Line 33: The ligature was identified by Oliver as *dixit* (here of course standing for εἶπεν), which typically occurs in an announcement of a prefect's *apophasis*.

The Catalog. *Lines 43-44:* "Those to whom this honor is distributed even though not of buletic rank are". "For the thought and the verb Lucian, *Deor. Conc.* 3, διανομὰς νέμονται. The double portion had been a privilege of the Spartan kings and was familiar at all periods of Greek history as a mark of special honor [see H. C. Youtie, *The Kline of Sarapis*, *HThR* 41, 1948, pp. 9-29, esp. 21-22]" (Oliver).

Oliver assumed that the members of this list were added to the endowment in the wake of the new opportunities created by the surplus (above, lines 25-27, 10-11); this is certainly plausible but must remain hypothetical.

Naturally Xenion takes pride of place, at the very head of the list. It should not be thought that the priest of (Apollo) Daphnephoros is next; this entry was undoubtedly added later, in the blank

space at the end of this line, after lines 55-67 had been inscribed (see Epigraphical Commentary). In fact, what seems to have happened during the inscription of the second column of the catalog is the following: 1) The inscription of lines 66-67 was coordinated with the inscription of lines 55-56. After the inscription of line 55, lines 66 and 67 were inscribed. This necessitated the curtailment of one letter at the end of line 56, when it was inscribed next. The other possibility is that as line 56 was being inscribed, it was realized that lines 66-67 had to be inserted to the right, and so line 56 had to be shortened slightly. In either case, it was evidently necessary to put the entry for the archon of the Eumolpidae on the level of line 55 because it rightfully belonged at the top of column II but had been mistakenly omitted. 2) Line 57 was inscribed, which carried across into the space below line 67, apparently because no entries were contemplated beyond those of the second column.

In *Sacred Officials* I suggested that the order of the priests and priestesses here may have reflected their arrangement at the Mysteries in the procession to Eleusis. This hypothesis must be modified since now it is clear that there were two processions (Clinton, Sacrifice; and below, II.638). The first procession, an escort of the Sacred Objects by priests and magistrates, left the city on Boedromion 19. On the following day the initiates marched out with Iakchos at their head, i.e. presumably with the Iakchagogos carrying an image of the god (cf. Graf). If the hypothesis is correct, then only the first column here can reflect the order of priests in the procession of Boedromion 19. Those listed in the second and third columns may have formed part of the second procession (the hearth-initiates surely did).

Lines 45-46: The hierophant and daduch were not only the most important priests of the sanctuary but also the highest ranking priests in Athens. Plutarch, *Numa* 9.8, equated the position of pontifex maximus with that of the hierophant.

Line 47: The high priest of the imperial cult held a very special position of honor in the city, and many of them had associations with the Eleusinian sanctuary; see Clinton, *Eleusis and the Romans*, and Spawforth, *Imperial Cult*.

Line 48: Probably the pythochrestos exegete; Oliver, *Expounders* p. 42. His seat in the theater of Dionysus was right next to the priest of Dionysus.

Line 49: The exegetes of the Eumolpidae; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 89-90.

Lines 52-54: The fact that priestesses follow priests is not surprising.

Line 53: If the suggested restoration for line 55 is correct, we see that a priestess of a goddess associated with the Thesmophoria (Kalligeneia) is present here but not the priestess of the Thesmophoroi themselves. Since it is highly unlikely that Kalligeneia but not the Thesmophoroi themselves would be represented here, it would follow (if the restoration is correct) that the priestess of Demeter and Kore served as the priestess of the Thesmophoroi at the Thesmophoria.

Line 54: The hierophantides were very old priestesses; see 19.C.6-9 and Clinton, *Iconography* p. 89, note 133.

Lines 55-65: The amount of shares each beneficiary was to receive undoubtedly appeared in columnar format as in Column I (lines 45-54). Since relatively minor priesthoods in this Eleusinian context are listed, they probably received only a single share apiece.

Line 55: The best possibility seems to be priestess of Kalligeneia, a goddess worshipped in the Thesmophoria (Ar. *Thesm.* 295-300; Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 31, 33). If so, a curtailment occurred (as in line 53), perhaps Κᾱλ[λιγεν(είας) ὡ ἀπλῆν].

Line 56: The number of shares was displaced to the right, obviously by encroachment of the title of the priestess. Since *ἱέρεια Μοιρῶν* is not long enough to encroach, a longer title should be restored, perhaps *ἱέρεια Μοι[ραγέτου]*, the epithet being sufficient as at the end of line 44. Although a priestess instead of a priest for Zeus Moiragetes is surprising, it is of course not impossible, and since in this cult at Athens he is associated not only with the Moirai but also with Ge, i.e. goddesses, it becomes perhaps more understandable. The cult is only attested, to my knowledge, by *IG I³ 7.11-12*: the Praxiergidai sacrifice to [Moi]rai, Zeus Moiragetes, and G[e]. Pausanias reports an altar of Moiragetes at Olympia (5.15.5), a relief of Zeus Moiragetes and the Moirai at Lycosura in the sanctuary of Despoina (8.37.1), and statues of Zeus Moiragetes, the Moirai, and Apollo Moiragetes at Delphi in the temple of Apollo (10.24.4).

Line 57: The plural is significant. If only the hearth-initiate of the current year received a share, the plurality would be unnecessary. There is in fact evidence that hearth-initiates of previous years took part and formed a chorus (Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 113); the present entry confirms it.

Line 58: On the priest, *Sacred Officials* p. 95.

Line 59: Zeus generally plays a relatively inconspicuous role at Eleusis. Here the specific cult is not stated. See further below *ad* line 61.

Line 60: On the Iakchagogos, see above, “The Catalog”; on Iakchos, Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 64-71 (with bibliography).

Line 61: The *genos* of the Bouzygai had a role at the Eleusinian Sacred Plowing: *Βουζύγαι καλοῦνται οἱ τὰς ἱερὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀροτριώσας τρέφοντες* (Schol. Aristides III p. 473 Dindorf). The priest called Bouzyges was responsible for the ritual ploughing beneath the Acropolis – a local tradition that was altogether distinct from the Eleusinian (Schol. Aesch. 2.78; cf. Toepffer pp. 136-140). It seems unlikely that the Bouzyges performed the Eleusinian plowing, but since his *genos* had a share in it he appears in this list perhaps as their representative. **443** shows us, furthermore, a family of Kerykes who were also members of the Bouzygai, in the second quarter of the century, and **300.7** attests another, from the Augustan period. It is interesting that his title here is simply “bouzyges” and not “bouzyges and priest of Zeus in Palladion” as in *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 86-96 [= *IG II² 1096+*], *IG II² 3177* (perhaps of the same period, *pace* Maass, *Prohedrie* p. 125). That may be simply a matter of abbreviation, but in *SEG XXVIII 225.Right.12-13* (with Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 181) a [*ἱερεὺς Β*]ουζύγης appears in a list of paianistai of 200-210 where there was no need of abbreviation (full titles occur; cf. *ibid.*, frag. *h*). It therefore seems entirely possible that occasionally both priesthoods, bouzyges and priest of Zeus in Palladion, were held by the same person. (So it is difficult to assess the two *prohedria* inscriptions in the theater of Dionysus: *βουζύγου | ἱερέως Διὸς ἐν | Παλλαδίῳ* [*IG II² 5055*; Maass p. 125] and *ἱερέως | Διὸς Τελείου βουζύγου* [*IG II² 5075*; Maass pp. 136-137]. For it is unclear whether *βουζύγου* here indicates the priesthood or simply the clan.)

Given the connections at this time between Eleusis and the Bouzygai, it is tempting to think that one of the Zeus priesthoods on these theater seats was the one listed in line 59 above, in particular that of Zeus Teleios, in view of both his association with marriage, fertility, and plowing (Toepffer pp. 146-147) and the presence in this list of the priestess (it seems) of Kalligeneia (line 56).

Lines 62-65: On these priests, *Sacred Officials* pp. 94-97; on the God and Goddess, *Iconography* pp. 114-115.

Lines 66-67: On the inscription of these lines see above, p. 310. It is curious that no entry appears for the archon of the Kerykes. Perhaps the office was vacant at this time.

490. STATUE BASE FOR M. IULIUS APELLAS MARATHONIOS, ARCHON OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. M. Iulius Apellas, archon of the Eumolpidai, was originally a citizen of Mylasa, as his patronymic indicates. This is confirmed by inscriptions of Epidauros and Labraunda. The Epidaurian document (*IG IV² 126*), his record of the cure he received, gives him two ethnics, Ἰδριεὺς Μυλασεύς. The inscriptions at Labraunda (*I. Labraunda* II 58.4-5, 59.27 [94.3, apparently an ancestor]) give his ethnic as Ἰδριεύς, which of course suggests that the family originated in Idrias (cf. Crampa p. 171). After he received his cure at Epidauros (dated by R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros* [= *Philologus*, Suppl. 22.3], Leipzig 1931, p. 31, to ca. 160), he acquired Athenian citizenship and was adlected into the Eumolpidai.

It is interesting that in his description of his cure at Epidauros he mentions that Asclepius told him to sacrifice to Asclepius, Epione, and the Eleusinian goddesses. In view of his successful cure it is altogether possible that he later made a generous donation to the Eleusinian sanctuary, which could have had much to do with his adlection. Other adlections: M. Porcius Cato (**350**); Lucius Verus (**483**); Commodus (**513**).

491. STATUE BASE FOR (FLAVIUS) XENION (OF MARATHON), ARCHON OF THE PANHELLENES. On Flavius Xenion of Marathon see II.481 and II.489. He was archon of the Panhellenes in 165-169 (Oliver). His *aristopoliteia* for which he is honored here was probably the endowment he established for the Eleusinian sanctuary (**489**).

492. STATUE BASE FOR IULIUS APOLLODOTOS MELITEUS SON OF THE SOPHIST IULIUS THEODOTOS, ARCHON OF THE KERYKES. On his parents, Iulius Theodotos the sophist and Aelia Kephisodora, see II.493. He did not join his siblings in setting up **493** in honor of their mother. The Iulius Apollodotos who was epebe around the middle of the century (*IG II² 2059.14*; "144/5?" Follet) is either the same person or a younger brother of his father (cf. Graindor, *Chronologie* p. 242, note 2). This base may have been set up as early as ca. 170, approximately the same time as **493**.

493. STATUE BASE FOR AELIA KEPHISODORA DAUGHTER OF THE DADUCH CLAUDIUS LYSIADES. Iulius Theodotos (*PIR² I 599*) held the sophistic chair at Athens for two years starting in 173 or 174 (Philostr. *VS* 2.2; Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* pp. 81-83). If Philostratus correctly recorded his age at death as "over fifty," he was born ca. 120. His wife Aelia Kephisodora was evidently born around the same time (my suggestion; Kapetanopoulos would put her birth ca. 130, perhaps in a second marriage). There is no reference in this document to the sophistic chair

(καθέδρα) held by Theodotos, and so a date shortly after his son's *ephebeia*, viz. ca. 170 (so Follet) seems appropriate.

The offices given here for Theodotos confirm Philostratus' description that Θεόδωτος μὲν προὔστη καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου κατὰ χρόνους οὓς προσέκρουον Ἡρώδη Ἀθηναῖοι. In his campaign against Herodes he was in league with his nephew, Claudius Demonstratus, and others; cf. *Sacred Officials* pp. 61-63.

Lines 11-12: His son Iulius Theodotus was ephebe ca. 166/7 (*IG* II² 2094.39), therefore was born ca. 146. An elder son, Iulius Apollodotos, who did not take part in this dedication, may have been ephebe around the middle of the century (*IG* II² 2059.14; II.492), and later was elected archon of the Kerykes (492). It is possible that he was no longer alive at the time of this monument.

494. HERM IN HONOR OF HIEROPHANT WHO SAVED THE HIERA DURING THE INVASION OF THE COSTOBOCS. Like the grave epigram 516 this poem is about the hierophant who saved the sacred rites during the hostile attack on Athens by the Costobocs. In general see II.515.

This monument was presumably set up not long after the event.

On the name of the hierophant, C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios of Steiria, see II.516 and II.645. Peek was on the right track in assuming that it was given in line 1. However, we should not expect the actual name, for this hierophant was most probably still alive, but his hieronymous name: Iulios Hierophantes, which is impossible here, or simply his title.

Line 3: The Polis rewarded the hierophant with a crown and this herm.

Line 7: None of the restorations is entirely satisfactory. Μητ]ρὸς is possible epigraphically but is unattested as an official appellation of Demeter at Eleusis.

495. STATUE BASE FOR MARCUS AURELIUS. The date of the document is determined by the fact that Marcus took the title *Germanicus* in 172 and *Sarmaticus*, missing here, at the end of 175.

On the Apolloniates, Iulius Praxis, and the Panhellenion see Oliver's commentary.

496. STATUE BASE FOR MARCUS AURELIUS. Marcus took the title *Germanicus* in 172.

497. STATUE BASE FOR MARCUS AURELIUS (?). The form of the title, viz. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα with the epithet *Germanicus*, suggests Trajan or Marcus Aurelius; cf. *IG* II² 3284-3285, 495, 496. At Eleusis the latter is the more likely.

498. BASE FOR STATUE OF ASCLEPIUS, SET UP BY HERODES. Herodes, as Graindor recognized, must be Herodes Atticus. He evidently made a vow to Asclepius as a fellow initiate, and

in return for receiving a cure dedicated a statue of the god on this base in the sanctuary of Demeter (Δηοῖ; not in the Asklepieion, as Ameling incorrectly states). (On Asclepius as initiate see Clinton, *Epidauria*.) The illness was probably the one that Herodes contracted on his return from Sirmium, and which detained him at Oricum (Philostr. *VS* 2.1.12; cf. Graindor). On cures brought about through the Mysteries see Clinton, *Iconography* p. 90, and above, 105, but Herodes' cure was not of this type.

499. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF THE GREATER PROPYLAEA. The leaf strongly suggests that the mu is to be divided from the alpha; i.e., it is the praenomen. The bust of the emperor in the pediment is Marcus Aurelius (K. Fittschen, in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire, Papers from the Tenth British Museum Colloquium* [BICS Suppl. 55], ed. S. Walker and A. Cameron, London 1989, p. 76), and so it is natural to interpret this fragment as the beginning of his name. The other two fragments have been understood to contain other letters of the name: Μ ϐ Α[ὐρήλιος Ἀντ]ω[νί]νος [- - -]. However, we do not in fact know whether fragments *b* and *c* came from the inner or the outer architrave; Lenormant felt certain that *b* belonged to the inner façade. Giraud, *Εἰσοδος* pp. 120-127, has adduced strong arguments in favor of attributing the outer court and its buildings to a single program under Hadrian (the fountain house was a later addition; cf. Clinton, *Renaissance* p. 63; Giraud believes it too was included in the design of the court, though not in the initial construction, but this seems unlikely to me). The names of both Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius should therefore appear on the architrave; see Clinton, *Renaissance*. And it would be reasonable to assume that his bust also appeared, on the inner pediment. Thus we may assume two inscriptions, one on each architrave. Giraud, however, believed that the inscription on the outer architrave was written in two lines. This seems a bit difficult for the space but not impossible. In any case, the inscriptions may have read approximately:

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς ἀνέθηκε τοῖν Θεοῖν Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος συνετέλεσε τοῖν Θεοῖν. (Of course τοῖν Θεοῖν would not be repeated if both inscriptions occurred on the same architrave.) Giraud, *Εἰσοδος* pp. 270-272, believes that the decoration on the *imago clipeata* of Marcus indicated that he had already died, but this need not have been the case; see Clinton, *Renaissance*.

Lenormant published two other mutilated fragments, no longer extant, which he believed came from the architrave, one of which may read: [- - -] τοῖν [Θεοῖν].

500. BLOCK OF AEDICULA WITH HIEROPHANT'S TITLE. Travlos restored the block as the upper of two blocks making up the left side of an aedicula that housed the hierophant's throne (Travlos p. 9, fig. 6). A cutting in two blocks just to the north of column V 5 in the Telesterion seemed to him to match the dimensions of the restored aedicula, and he concluded that this was the original location. When I inspected the cutting, it was by no means clear to me that this conclusion was inevitable; the matter needs further study. The hierophant possessed a special seat at Eleusis (see *Sacred Officials*), but we do not know where it was located. It does not seem impossible that it was located in the outer court, where this block was found. If it was located within the

Telesterion, then it should be later than the restoration of this building by Marcus Aurelius. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios suggested that the original location of this block was outside the sanctuary, where in fact it was found, and that it belonged to the jamb of the entranceway of the House of the Hierophants, the ἱεροφάντ[εῖον], a hitherto unattested building that presumably did exist, since houses for other priests and priestesses were located at Eleusis (see II.177).

Preuner (*apud* Noack) believed the lettering to be Hadrianic, but lettering style, especially in this period, is an unreliable indicator of date.

501. STATUE BASE FOR [IUNIA] MELITINE, HIEROPHANTIS. There are too many possibilities to permit a probable restoration; e.g. her full title may have appeared in the present first line.

Iunia Melitine, daughter of D. Iunius Patron of Berenikidai and Annia Aristokleia, was a hearth-initiate ca. 145, therefore born ca. 135 (458). If her grandfather was an exegete of the Eumolpidai as 464 tends to suggest, her father was a Eumolpid.

502. STATUE BASE FOR (ISIDOTE) DAUGHTER OF ISAIOS, HIEROPHANTIS. Curiously, the epigram gives us the hierophantis' patronymic but not her own name, even though she was deceased. It is conceivable that it was displayed somewhere else on the monument, but where that would be is not at all clear. We learn from *IG II² 3709* that she is Isidote.

For the prosopography of her family see Oliver, Clinton, Follet, and Aleshire. She was the granddaughter of the sophist Isaïos of Syria, who, as this document reveals, was a teacher of Hadrian. He or his son became an Athenian citizen, and one of them either was adlected into the Eumolpidai or married a daughter of a Eumolpid; presumably by one of these routes Isidote acquired eligibility to be a hierophantis (on the *genos* of this priesthood see II.379).

On the literary qualities of the epigram see Oliver and Bowie. It was most likely written by Glaukos, the hierophantis' grandson, who was one of the dedicators (line 26) and happened to be a poet.

Isidote was present at the initiation of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and at the beginning of the rite crowned the emperors (with a myrtle crown); this, as the poem tells us (lines 19-20), was one of her most splendid accomplishments. The event took place in Boedromion, 176 (cf. Clinton, *Roman Initiates* p. 1531).

Among the most interesting aspects of this poem is what it reveals about the eschatology of the Mysteries. Demeter, we learn, brought Isidote to the Isles of the Blessed, "beyond pain of any sort" (lines 14-15); this is echoed in line 27 but there the destination "Isles of the Blessed" is replaced by "immortals" (ἀθανάτοις). In the Classical period the reward for the initiates consisted of a better lot in the afterlife but nothing so grand as explicitly joining the "immortals," i.e. the gods (cf. Graf, *Eleusis* pp. 79-83). Compare the roughly contemporary documents 646, 649, which suggest that the initiate was believed to achieve divine status; the honorand joined the ἀθανάτους.

Line 1: The decoration flanking ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ is similar to that flanking the same phrase on 621), a statue base set up not long after this one.

Line 2: The correct reading, “wheat-bearing,” solves the metrical difficulty posed by πυρφόρου, and is most appropriate for Demeter in her Eleusinian iconography.

Lines 15-17: On death sweeter than sleep cf. Plato, *Apology* 40C-E (Oliver). γλυκερώτερον, as Bowie urges, may allude to *Odyssey* 9.27-28 and suggest “death to be Isidote’s natural home”. He adds: “... while φέρτερον in line [17] may allude to *Iliad* 6.156-8, spoken precisely by the Lycian hero Glaukus as he narrates his genealogy, that does not exclude allusion in Ἀργείων ... ἡιθέων to the famous anecdote of Cleobis and Biton.” Though all this is true, it should also be kept in mind that the basic sentiment about benefit in death for initiates was part of the Mysteries from (so far as we know) their very inception.

Line 18: The mention of Commodus escaped notice at the time of his *damnatio memoriae*. In any case the inscription must have been inscribed before that moment.

Line 21: The diaeresis in Ἀρηῖ indicates a third syllable, so Herrmann’s Bridge is maintained (the iota was not an adscript; elsewhere in this document iota adscript does not occur). The second μὲν is odd; Herwerden’s πρὶν is a bit of an improvement; ψῆφον πρὶν is also possible.

Line 26: On the career of Glaukos (poet, rhetor, philosopher, *fisci advocatus*) and on other poems by him see especially Oliver.

503. STATUE BASE FOR L. MEMMIUS ALTAR-PRIEST OF THORIKOS. This document was inscribed between the end of November, 176, when Lucius Verus received the title αὐτοκράτωρ, and April, 180 (here Marcus is not yet called θεός, a status that he received shortly after his death on March 17, 180).

The honorand, the altar-priest L. Memmius of Thorikos, is discussed in full by Clinton and Follet. His Greek name has not yet been discovered – which is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that his ancestors included daduchs, archons, (hoplite-) generals, agonothetai (lines 2-3), and high-priests (lines 17-18). A connection with the famous daduchic family of the Claudii of Melite can be suspected through his mother. Memmius Pothos of Thorikos, an ephebe of the year 142/3 (*IG II²* 2049.71), is probably a relative, quite possibly a son.

Lines 5-7: He was eponymous archon in 161/2 (*IG II²* 2085.4).

Service as archon of the Kerykes is not mentioned here, and Geagan’s restoration (*ZPE* 33, 1979, pp. 93-115; cf. Oliver, *Roman Senators* pp. 134-136) of him as holding this office in a catalog from the Eleusinion (*IG II²* 2339.1-2 = Geagan, *Consitution* pp. 163-170) is impossible, for the catalog must belong to the late 240’s or later (see II.645).

He served as prytanis in 168/9 (*IG II²* 1775.51) and eponymos of Akamantis at an earlier date (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 43-44, no. 12; on the date, Clinton, *Sacred Officials* and Follet).

Lines 7-8: Follet puts his hoplite-generalship between 162/3 and 178/9.

Lines 8-9: Graindor showed that this title indicates that Hadrian created an endowment to support the gymnasiarchy in the event that an incumbent gymnasiarch did not have sufficient financial resources of his own. On endowed magistracies cf. the fuller discussion by L. Robert, *REA* 62, 1960, pp. 294-296, esp. 295, note 5 (= *Opera Minora* II, 1969, p. 811, cited by Follet).

Lines 10-11: Oliver assumes that the embassy about the Gerousia concerned the establishment of the Sacred Gerousia at Athens, ca. 176/7; cf. Follet, *Athènes* pp. 140-141.

Lines 11-12: See Clinton, *Sacred Officials* and Roman Initiates. Memmius did not initiate Hadrian but performed initiation in his presence. Since he served the Goddesses for fifty-six years (line 17), surely as altar-priest (no other office is mentioned), he assumed this priesthood between 120 and April, 124. Thus when Hadrian attended the Mysteries in Boedromion, 124 he did not do so as an initiate-to-be but either as an epoptes or simply as a spectator.

Lines 13-14: Lucius Verus was most likely initiated in 162; cf. Clinton, Roman Initiates pp. 1529-1530, with bibliography. The erasure of his titles probably involved the correction of an error.

Lines 14-16: Commodus and Marcus were initiated in 176; cf. Clinton, Roman Initiates pp. 1530-1532. The erasure of Commodus' name was the result of *damnatio memoriae* after his death at the end of 192, but it was reinscribed (in a different hand) after his elevation to deified status in 195.

Line 17: He served as altar-priest for fifty-six years (see above, on lines 11-12). In all appearances in Athenian documents his name always carries the hieronymous title of altar-priest. For his name in *aisitōi* lists see Clinton, *Sacred Officials* and Follet (her study resulted in revision of the dates of three lists): the earliest occurrence is in 168/9 and the latest, according to Follet's new dating, in 182/3 (*IG II²* 1788.41-42). How long after this he remained alive is unclear, but it was not later than ca. 191, when a new incumbent is attested.

Line 18: τὸν [ἀ]π' ἀρχιερέων, "descendant of high-priests," was added after the entire text was inscribed, obviously because it was realized that ἀρχιερέων had been mistakenly omitted from lines 2-3. For a defense of the restoration and meaning of the phrase (against Oliver's view) see Clinton, *Sacred Officials* and Follet.

On the title φιλόπατρις see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII (Paris 1965) p. 215; Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 87-89. Oliver's view that the title was associated in various ways with the high-priesthood of the imperial cult was based in large part on its juxtaposition here with τὸν [ἀ]π' ἀρχιερέων; but as we have seen, this juxtaposition was purely accidental. Some of the examples of the use of both φιλόκαισαρ and φιλόπατρις do not involve high-priests at all (including 358). These titles do not occur at Athens after the third quarter of the first century, to my knowledge, except for the present instance of φιλόπατρις. Memmius the altar-priest was clearly very special. His greatest services to his πατρίς were no doubt his successful embassies to the emperors.

504. BASE FOR DEDICATION FROM APARCHE. Graindor identified the archon here, who should be archon of the Panhellenes, with Amphikles of Chalcis, a student of Herodes Atticus (Philostr. *VS* 2.8.1-2, p. 84 and 2.10.1-2, p. 90 Kayser; Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* I pp. 131-133). Oliver assigned the date of the archonship to 177-181 or 181-185; Follet simply to the period 177-189.

On the *aparche* see II.Introduction, "*Aparche*," pp. 5-7; on its use by the Panhellenion, Clinton, *opp. cit.*

505. STATUE BASE FOR THE DEIFIED MARCUS AURELIUS. This base was one of a series honoring several members of the imperial family (505-510). The emperor was mistakenly identified by Kirchner with Antoninus Pius. But since one of these bases (509) is for Sabina, a daughter

of Marcus (Antoninus Pius did not have a daughter by this name), the emperor must be Marcus. The deified status of the emperor indicates that the base was set up after his death, presumably at the same time as the other bases; the *terminus ante quem* for 506 is ca. 182. This base and those for other members of his family were set up by the Panhellenion, apparently on the commemorative arches flanking the forecourt, presumably to honor the emperor's benefactions to them and the Eleusinian sanctuary; see discussion at II.448.

506. STATUE BASE FOR [LUCILLA] DAUGHTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS. Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla (*PIR*² 707), daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, was caught in a conspiracy against Commodus ca. 182 and died shortly afterwards; this of course provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of this base. Her name was also erased on a monument at Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 287-288). On the circumstances of the erection of this base see II.505. It may owe its well preserved state, the best in this series of bases, to its removal from the arch in antiquity.

507. STATUE BASE FOR THE DEIFIED FAUSTINA, WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS. Annia Galeria Faustina (*PIR*² 716), wife of Marcus Aurelius, died in 175 and was deified shortly thereafter. For the identification of the Faustina of this base with the wife of Marcus and on the circumstances of the dedication see II.505.

508. STATUE BASE FOR THE DEIFIED FAUSTINA, WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS. The base is a duplicate of 507, and provides good evidence that the western arch, which has been almost completely destroyed, was decorated with a similar program of imperial statues as the eastern arch. For further commentary see II.448.

509. STATUE BASE FOR SABINA, DAUGHTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS. Sabina must be the daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina (*PIR*² A 697; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les gendres de Marc-Aurèle*, *JSav* 1961, pp. 37-39) rather than an unknown daughter of Antoninus Pius as Kirchner assumed. On the circumstances of the erection of this base see II.505.

510. STATUE BASE FOR FAUSTINA, DAUGHTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS. This Faustina is the eldest daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina (*PIR*² 714), and she may no longer have been alive when this base was set up. For the identification of the Antoninus of this base with Marcus Aurelius and on the circumstances of the dedication see II.505.

511. STATUE BASE FOR PRAXAGORA DAUGHTER OF DEMOSTRATOS OF MELITE, HEARTH-INITIATE. That the honorand is a hearth-initiate is suggested by lines 7-11.

Lines 1-2: The ξεῖνοι are visitors to the sanctuary, perhaps initiates but not necessarily, who after gazing upon the most important building, survey the various monuments, among them this

one and others honoring older members of this family. The term ἀνάκτορα should therefore refer to the Telesterion as a whole, not to an internal part of it; see Clinton, *Iconography*.

Lines 3-5: Both of Praxagora's parents were children of daduchs; Demonstratos was the son of Claudius Sospis, and Philiste the daughter of Aelius Praxagoras; see stemma "Claudii of Melite," p. 398. Praxagoras became daduch ca. 180-185 (see II.468), which gives us a *terminus post quem* for this monument. Praxagora's son became a hearth-initiate in turn (628), and her brother Claudius Philippos was appointed daduch ca. 192.

Lines 7-10: The hearth-initiate was crowned in front of the other initiates by a choros of children, presumably former hearth-initiates; see *Sacred Officials*. It is conceivable that this scene was represented in the sculpture on this base; if so, the figures in the group would have been much smaller than life-sized.

512. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY AELIA PHIL[ISTE]. Aelia Philiste, daughter of Aelius Praxagoras the daduch, was the wife of Claudius Demonstratos of Melite and mother of Claudia Praxagora and Claudius Philippos (see 511; IG II² 2342.9; and stemma, "Claudii of Melite," p. 398).

Line 1: The combination OH may be the end of a woman's name, such as Ἀριστονόη, etc., if it is not the demotic Ὁῆθεν.

Line 2: Perhaps τὴν ἐ[αυτῆς or ἐ[αυτῶν.

513. LETTER OF COMMODUS TO THE ATHENIANS. Wilhelm recognized that frag. *a* belonged with *b*, and, from the erasure, that the emperor had to be Commodus. The letter was written after 182 (around the end of that year Commodus received the epithet Pius) and most likely before ca. 191, when he was panegyriarch at Athens (514, where there is no reference to his archonship of the Eumolpidai). It was written in response to an invitation by the Eumolpidai to serve as their archon.

Lines 1-3: Oliver notes the absence of victory titles, but they may well have appeared in the lacuna. It seems safer to assume that the letter was written to the Athenians (rather than just to the Eumolpidai, as Oliver proposed).

Line 4: The striking use of the personal pronoun is perhaps to emphasize the personal honor paid to Commodus by the Eumolpidai and the personal quality of his reponse. Perhaps: Ἐγὼ περὶ ᾧ. Only one main verb occurs in the preserved part of the letter; perhaps it was the only one.

Line 9: Reference to his initiation; cf. Clinton.

Lines 10-12: This justification for acceptance of membership in the Eumolpidai suggests that his adlection into the *genos* may have occurred more recently than his initiation. In the case of Lucius Verus membership followed immediately upon initiation (483), but Commodus was only fifteen years old when he was initiated in 176, rather young even for initiation, and so the matter of membership in the Eumolpidai may not have arisen at that time; on the other hand, if his father was adlected into the *genos* at that time, it may have seemed appropriate to do it also for him.

Lines 13-14: The archonship is that of the Eumolpidae, as is confirmed below (lines 20-21).

Lines 15-20: Several officials and organizations (e.g., the Panhellenion [489], perhaps the Sacred Gerousia) contributed to the production of the festival, but the archon of the Eumolpidae was quite important (638), and he no doubt contributed whatever he could. With the emperor contributing, the festival would have been quite special. (For a list of men known to have been adlected into the Eumolpidae see Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, opp. p. 248.)

Lines 22-27: See Oliver *ad loc.* and Clinton. The τιμή was of course membership in the Eumolpidae, the ἔργον the service to be rendered in return. The verb ἐκαρπώσαμην may allude to Demeter's καρπός in the context of the Mysteries.

514. CATALOG OF THE PRYTANEIS OF ANTIOCHIS. The restorations of the heading are not certain but probable. It is unlikely that anything was inscribed above line 1, and so the emperor's name ought to go with πανηγυριαρχοῦντος. The most appropriate restoration for the space that follows is the archonship; hence in the following line the sigma before the lacuna ought also to belong to the name of an office.

The emperor's assumption of the financial obligations of panegyriarch caused this office to appear, extraordinarily, at the beginning of the document. Since the prytaneis took their honorific action (lines 5-7) in the month of Boedromion and set this document up in Eleusis, they presumably did so at the time of the Mysteries, perhaps in conjunction with the meeting of the Sacred Boule there on Boedromion 23 (cf. *IG* II² 1072.1-3). On the date of the document see Follet and Clinton.

Line 3: Kapetanopoulos' restoration is without parallel and redundant (the panegyriarch always serves "on behalf of the entire city"). For the formula ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς πόλεως see *IG* II² 2338.2.

Lines 4-5: Restoration of the title of hoplite general seems to preclude restoration of a Roman nomen for Aiolion, a name attested only for Phlya. For the family see above, II.455, Follet, Kapetanopoulos, and Traill.

Lines 9-16: Kapetanopoulos wished to dissociate frag. c from this document, but it seems highly unlikely that Skias made a mistake. The fragment was round; Skias implies that it was found in the same area as the rest of the fragments; and his majuscule transcript shows a similar style of lettering.

Skias did not suggest that frag. c joins a (as Kirchner's and Meritt-Traill's texts imply), and in fact the text of frag. c demands the rubric Παλληνεῖς somewhere above it.

Lines 10-11: Kapetanopoulos identified the eponymos with an ephebe of 175/6 (*IG* II² 2104.7; *SEG* XXIX 152.III.16). Here the demotic is redundant, serving merely to give emphasis to the entry. It was of course unnecessary to inscribe the name of the eponymos also in line 8, but this eponymos clearly enjoyed calling attention to himself. A similar duplication occurs in *Agora* XV 359 and 369, though without the superfluous demotic. Leukios was also eponymos early in the third century (*Agora* XV 472.12).

Lines 12-13: Demosthenes and Attikos, sons of Anthos, are listed as ephebes in 169/70 (*IG* II 2097.235-236).

Line 14: Kapetanopoulos suggests [Πραξ]ιτέλης (cf. *IG* II² 2103.164; 2193.37).

Line I.22: Kapetanopoulos noted the homonym in *Agora* XV 438.5, *fin. saec. II* p.

Line I.39: On the hierophant see II.494, 515, 516, *Sacred Officials* pp. 38-39, no. 25; Follet pp. 257-259.

Line I.40: On the daduch see II.468; *Sacred Officials* pp. 61-63, no. 63; Follet p. 278.

Line I.41: On the sacred herald see Follet p. 285; *Sacred Officials* p. 79, nos. 6 and 8 (probably identical, as Follet showed).

Line I.42: On the altar-priest see *Sacred Officials* p. 85, no. 13; Follet pp. 290-291.

Line II.27: Diphilos Chareisiou Alo(pekethen), ephebe in 154/5 (*IG* II² 2067.174), may be the same person.

515. STATUE BASE FOR THE HIEROPHANT WHO SAVED THE HIERA DURING THE INVASION OF THE COSTOBOCS. The monument was recorded by Chandler outside the sanctuary, somewhere along the Sacred Way, probably not far from the current intersection of the Ethniki Odos with the road from Aspropyrgos. Both the location of the monument and the language of the epigram indicate that it marked the grave of the hierophant (therefore Kirchner should not have included it among dedicatory inscriptions, nor, in theory, should I have included it here). Chandler, *Travels* pp. 231-232, explicitly infers that it belonged to a tomb: "In the plain beyond the Rhiti [sc., west of them], an hour from the village [sc., Eleusis], is a small heap of ruins, probably of one of the sepulchres seen by Pausanias, on which a church has been erected; some traces remaining. A long piece of marble, fixed as a side jamb for the doorway of the latter edifice, is inscribed in large characters, and informs us, that the lofty monument belonged to a hierophant exceedingly renowned for his wisdom; who, by his intrepidity, had preserved the mystic rites from hostile violence, an exploit, for which he had been honoured with a crown by the people." Features of the stone – the lifting hole and dowel holes for another block above – also suggest a grand monument, which is corroborated by the words of the epigram, [μ]νημα τόδε ὑψιφανές.

The epigram tells us that the man was a hierophant (lines 3-4) and he saved the sacred objects from desecration at the time of hostile attack (lines 5-7). The invaders were undoubtedly the Costobocs, as Philios realized, who attacked Athens in the year 170 or 171. (D. Armstrong's suggestion that they might have been the Herulians is highly unlikely. Inscriptions after the Herulian invasion are quite rare; there is nothing at Eleusis from that period on the scale of this monument; and there is no evidence that the Herulians attempted to attack Eleusis [the wall there is post-Herulian: Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora* XIV pp. 208-210; Frantz, *Agora* XXIV pp. 2-3; below, II.655.)

The hierophant's hieronymous name is Iulius Hierophantes. He served as hierophant from 168/9 to ca. 191 or 192; see Clinton, Follet pp. 257-259, and, on his death (before 193), the following document (516). His father may be Iulius Sekoundos (*Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 29-32, no. 37.9), but this is not completely clear; cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 128. Follet would identify him with the hierophant Hierokleides who was praised by Philostratus *VS* II.20, but it seems to me more likely that Hierokleides was in office in the third century when Philostratus was composing his *Lives*. The full name of our hierophant was undoubtedly inscribed in some other part of this monument, perhaps

in the missing part of the epigram or on the block above. He was most likely C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios of Steiria; see II.645.

The monument was, as noted above, set up over the hierophant's grave. (Bowie dated the epigram before 176 because it does not mention Marcus' initiation, but it most likely adhered to the pattern of 516 and mentioned events in chronological order, according to which the initiation of Marcus would have appeared in the lacuna.) We happen to have two other monuments that bear witness to this hierophant's achievements. One of them (516) was set up in the sanctuary, undoubtedly after his death, like other posthumous monuments commemorating priests of this period (see II.235). The third is a herm (494) which was most likely dedicated in the sanctuary shortly after the Costobocs withdrew.

Line 1: On ὑψιφάνες see above. The appellation Δη[ιοῦ]ς ἑτάροιο suggests of course a particular closeness to the goddess, with the implication, in this Eleusinian context, that the goddess is looking after him in death as constantly as he served her in life. It is interesting that in the *Iliad* every instance of this genitive form, ἑτάροιο, refers to a dead comrade.

Line 2: The following epigram (516) also mentions that he was famous for his wisdom.

Lines 3-4: A typical description of the hierophant's role; cf. *Sacred Officials*.

Lines 5-6: As the other epigrams confirm, he did not organize a resistance to hostile attack but somehow managed to save the sacred objects from harm. On the Costobocs and their invasion see the bibliography cited in Clinton, *Roman Initiates* p. 1530, note 160; Follet, *Athènes* p. 258, note 1; further discussion of the situation at Eleusis by Clinton, *Renaissance* pp. 64-65; D. Giraud, *BICS*, Suppl. 55, 1989, pp. 73-74; R. Townsend, *Boreas* 10, 1987, pp. 97-106. It seems reasonably clear that there was no resistance at the sanctuary as the Costobocs occupied it and did considerable damage.

Line 7: This crown is the main subject of 494.

516. STATUE BASE FOR THE HIEROPHANT WHO SAVED THE HIERA DURING THE INVASION OF THE COSTOBOCS. Like the grave epigram 515 this poem is about the hierophant who saved the sacred rites during the hostile attack on Athens by the Costobocs (Sauromatoi). In general see II.515.

This monument too was set up after the hierophant's death: his activity as hierophant is described in the past tense, and the formula ὁρᾷς is reminiscent of sepulchral epigrams. It was of course not set up at the hierophant's grave but within the sanctuary, like many other memorials of deceased Eleusinian priests and devotees.

On the name of the hierophant see II.515. It was undoubtedly given elsewhere on this monument, perhaps in the missing part of the epigram.

Line 6: In saving the Mysteries he achieved renown similar to that of Eumolpos, the first celebrant of the rite, and Keleos, the contemporary king of Eleusis whose famous deed was accepting Demeter as his guest. The special closeness of this hierophant to the goddess is emphasized in 515: he was her ἑταρος.

Line 7: The purpose of the erasure was most likely to accommodate the *damnatio memoriae* of Commodus. The original text surely read Αὐσονίδας. The elimination of Commodus evidently

entailed rewriting the rest of the line, and also affected the following line (but it was not felt necessary to replace it). In any case, the monument was set up before the news of Commodus' death at the very end of 192 reached Athens.

517. STATUE BASE? The superscript line over the lambda indicates that it is $\Lambda[\text{ούκιον}]$. If the second line is correctly restored, then the name in the first should be that of an emperor or a member of his family (it was customary to have the emperor's name stand first in a dedication), and the obvious emperor would be Septimius Severus.

518. DEDICATION HONORING SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND IULIA DOMNA. The name of the honorand seems to appear in line 1. Caracalla is a logical choice, but Lenormant's restoration is impossible.

Line 4: Σεβασ]τοῦ does not belong in this position within the emperor's name.

Lines 5-6: Εὐσεβοῦς would be out of place after Περτίνακος; normally it precedes Περτίνακος; but if Εὐτυχοῦς is present, it then normally precedes this epithet (for the present position of these two epithets cf. *I. Cret.* 3 iv 20.2-3). Septimius Severus received the titles of *Arabicus Adiabenicus* in summer, 195, and *Parthicus Maximus* (not present in this document) in January, 198.

519. STATUE BASE FOR IULIA DOMNA. Iulia Domna (*PIR*² I 663) received the title *mater castrorum* on April 14, 195, and Septimius Severus the title *Parthicus Maximus* in January, 198; hence the date of this inscription.

Postscript. The inscription, now located in the garden of Chatsworth House (Bakewell, Derbyshire, England), has been republished in D. Boschung et al., *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth sowie in Dunham Massey und Withington Hall. Monumenta Artis Romanae* 26 (Mainz 1997) p. 113, no. 133 (with photograph, pl. 95.5) (= *SEG* XLVII 223). Dimensions (G. Petzl): H. 1.265 m.; W. 0.53-0.65 m. (below molding); Th. 0.62-0.69 m.; L.H. 0.023-0.037 m. Damage to the text since Cockerell's edition is noted.

520. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIA THEMISTOKLEIA DAUGHTER OF THE DADUCH CLAUDIUS PHILIPPOS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Like Claudia Menandra, her sister, Claudia Themistokleia was probably born around A.D. 190 (on Menandra see **521**, **632**, **645**). This inscription honoring her hearth-initiation, presumably shortly after the event, is virtually identical to the one honoring Menandra. Her own daughter, Honoratiane Polycharmis, also became a hearth-initiate (**639**). See stemma, "Claudii of Melite," at II.622.

521. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIA MENANDRA DAUGHTER OF CLAUDIUS PHILIPPOS THE DADUCH, HEARTH-INITIATE. On Menandra see **632** and **645**. She was born ca. 190, there-

fore must have been hearth-initiate ca. 200. This statue base in honor of her hearth-initiation ought to have been set up soon after the event. Her father, the daduch Claudius Philippos of Melite, who took office ca. 191, was already dead, having served evidently only a short time. See stemma, "Claudii of Melite," at II.622.

522. STATUE BASE FOR NIKOSTRATE MENNEOU BERENIKIDOU, HEARTH-INITIATE. It has usually been assumed that Neikostrate was the daughter of another hearth-initiate, D. Iunius Menneas of Berenikidai (*Sacred Officials* p. 109, no. 31), who was the son of an exegete and great-grandson of Flavia Laodameia, priestess of Demeter and Kore (see 464). Follet, however, pointed to the absence of a gentilicium in the present document and the style of the lettering as indicating that the date is more likely the first century. Since the style is by no means a reliable indicator of date in this period, and the lack of an inscribed nomen does not necessarily mean that it did not exist, the question must remain open, though her guardian's simulation of a Roman name tends to suggest that he at least might have had an interest in seeing it used.

Lines 5-7: The guardianship (of Gaios Kasios of Symachidai, a man otherwise unknown) implies that Menneas was deceased by this time; whether he was still alive at the time of his daughter's initiation of course is not clear.

523. STATUE BASE FOR AELIA EPILAMPSIS DAUGHTER OF AEL(IUS) GELOS OF PHALERON, PRIESTESS OF DEMETER AND KORE. For the prosopography of the family of Aelia Epilampsis, who is not otherwise attested, see Follet and her bibliography (a possible but uncertain mother of Epilampsis: *Agora* XVII 69). The priestess's family belonged to the *genos* of the Philleidai (cf. *Sacred Officials*). Since this monument was erected when her grandson was archon (probably in the last decade of the second century), she must have lived to quite an advanced age, and may have served as priestess at Eleusis for a large part of the second half of the century.

Line 3: Follet identified Aelius Gelos (I) with a homonymous prytanis of ca. 120-140 (*IG* II² 2065.11; 3742). Woloch, *Roman Citizenship* p. 257, no. 30, suggested that he was the first priest of Zeus Olympios after Hadrian inaugurated the Olympieion in A.D. 132.

Line 9: Aelius Alexander was archon in 142/3 (*I. Délos* 2538) according to Follet.

Lines 10-15: Aelius Ardys was archon in 150/1 (*IG* II² 2065.11).

524. STATUE BASE FOR THE DAUGHTER OF T. FLAVIUS LEOSTHENES OF PAIANIA, HEARTH-INITIATE. The honorand, a relative of the hierophant T. Flavius Leosthenes (483), cannot be identified (Kapetanopoulos suggested as a possibility Flavia Eisdora), nor unfortunately the dedicator (*pace* Kirchner): ἱεροφάντης, Λεωσθένης, and Ἀλκιβιάδης are equally possible.

525. DEDICATORY BASE. It is unclear whether Aelius Sossianos of Prospaltos is a relative of the dedicator or the honorand. Sossianos was ephebe in 142/3 (*IG* II² 2049.27).

526. LIST OF MEN AND WOMEN. This might be a list of initiates, but lists of initiates on stone are otherwise unknown at Eleusis. (Wilhelm rejected Skias' view that this is a list of dramas.) A patronymic occurs in line 9 and evidently belongs to Euodos. An ethnic may have been inscribed in line 1 or above.

Line 4: The name is very rare at Athens: otherwise attested only in *SEG XXIX 152.V.86* (= *IG II² 2045+*, ca. 175/6).

527. DEDICATION BY NEOKLEIDES, VICTOR IN THE ELEUSINIA. The possibility that the dedicator is related to Pyrros son of Neokleides who dedicated *IG II² 4340*, of uncertain date, is rather remote.

The inscription may predate a change in the status of the Eleusinia, if the suggestion advanced at II.452 is correct. The lettering suggested to Kirchner a date in the second century.

528. HERM IN HONOR OF IUNIOS AGATHOPODOS MARATHONIOS. Iunios son of Agathopous of Marathon dedicated a small bronze censer to Dionysus Parapaizon, which was found in the nineteenth-century excavation in Eleusis (*IG II² 4787*, whether inside or outside the sanctuary or in a public sanctuary of the deme is not clear; cf. I.Introduction, p. 1): [ἰ]οῦνιος Ἀγαθόποδος Μαραθώνιος Διονύσῳ παραπαίζοντι.

529. HERM HONORING DEMETRIOS APOLLONIOU MARATHONIOS. It seems best to accept Lenormant's text, for he states that he read the stone several times, was surprised by the discrepancies with respect to Ross's text, and admitted that his reading was grammatically unsatisfactory – to him it was a *lectio difficilior*. Iatrides may have been misled by the apparent nominative in line 2 into expecting the following name to be in the accusative. (It is not clear whether Ross ever saw the stone, i.e. whether his testimony has independent value.) Demetrios son of Apollonios of Marathon is unknown. Dittenberger and Kirchner, however, assuming that Ross and Iatrides' text was correct, tentatively identified Demetrios "the Marathonian" with Demetrios Miltiadou, ephebe in 139/40 (*IG II² 2044.50*) and sophronistes in 169/70 (*IG II² 2097.179*).

530. RELIEF DEDICATED BY ALKAMENES, PYRPHOROS. Kourouniotis suggested that it most probably stood at the temple of Artemis Propylaia in the forecourt of the sanctuary.

On the pyrphoros see *Sacred Officials* pp. 94-95. He practiced hieronymy by the end of the second century A.D. (thus Follet's date after 212 is unlikely), and the letter forms and ligature are consistent with a date in this century.

531. STATUE BASE FOR AN EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. "The complete inscription contained the name of the man, probably with indication of the Roman tribe, then a record of the posts he held in the service of the empire, then the indication of his Athenian tribe and deme, and

finally the offices he held at Athens” (Oliver, *Expounders*). The preserved offices are: quaestor in Macedonia, aedile at Rome, praetor, [proconsul] in Macedonia; at Athens, priest of Apollo Patroos, exegete of the Eumolpidae. He may have come from a city of Macedonia (Oliver, *Roman Senators*).

Line 3: Eck pointed out that the proconsulate of Macedonia never followed directly upon the praetorship in a full *cursus honorum*; but as [ἀνθυπατεύ]- suits the space somewhat better than [πρεσβευ]-, it is possible that this *cursus* was not complete.

Line 5: The deme, Acharnai, suggested to Oliver (“*Roman Senators*”) a possible connection with a hearth-initiate from Acharnai honored in a list, evidently of Kerykes (*SEG XXXI* 139), published in the Eleusinion, which he dated toward the end of the second century (but is in my view much later; see II.645). For other possibilities see Follet.

Lines 5-6: Like the exegete of the Eumolpidae the priest of Apollo was one of the most important priesthoods in the Polis; he sat in a prominent position in the *prohedria* in the Theater of Dionysus (*IG II²* 5061; Maass, *Prohedrie* p. 128).

532. BASE FOR DEDICATION FROM *APARCHE*. **504** is a similar document. On the *Aparche* see II.Introduction, “*Aparche*,” pp. 5-7; on its use by the Panhellenion, Clinton, *opp. cit.*

Tod and Oliver are undoubtedly right in seeing the name of an archon (of the Panhellenion) in line 2, for a simple name without patronymic or office would be very strange. In addition, we should not expect a statue of a person to be made from the *aparche*. The archon has not been identified.

533. STATUE BASE FOR A [HIGH-]PRIEST. The honorand I have not been able to identify. The priesthood at the beginning of line 1 is more likely the high-priesthood, for it were a different priesthood, we should expect, on an Eleusinian monument, also the name of the god served.

534. STATUE BASE FOR [--]MMIOS. As Follet pointed out, Μέ]μμιον is merely a possible restoration, along with several others.

535. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. Lines 8-9 indicate that the dedicator is a woman. Oliver saw that the name in lines 1-2 is probably the honorand’s second name, and restored accordingly. Kirchner’s misreading of the name as Agathopous led him to think of Iunios Agathopous of **528** and to attempt to see this man’s name (or a relative’s) in lines 5-6.

536. STATUE BASE FOR LOLLIA[NE] DAUGHTER OF GLAUK[OS]. The first lacuna presumably holds the gentilicium (or perhaps a title) of the honorand, the second the gentilicium of her father Glaukos, whose patronymic follows in the beginning of the next line. The remains of her name conform better with the cognomen Lolliane than the gentilicium Lolliia (in this case we

would have to restore her father's gentilicium as *Λολλίῃου*, which would be too short for the space, though an abbreviated praenomen could fill it). She evidently donated certain things to the sanctuary, perhaps doors and other furnishings.

Line 4: Early in this line the relationship of the honorand to the dedicator may have been expressed. The text evidently does not divide words at line end, so a short name beginning in *Θαλ-* seems to be called for. The man may be (*Κύντος Φάβιος*) *Δασούμιος Θαλῆς Κυδαθηναίεύς*, who set up around 160 A.D. a statue of his benefactor, C. Iulius Scapula, son of the suffect consul of 138 or 139. Thales was evidently ephebe in 112/3 (*IG II² 2024.32*) and twice bouleutes in the 160's (*Agora XV 362.8, 369.33*).

537. STATUE BASE. The entire inscription, not just lines 6-16, may be metrical. Mention of the *Anaktoron* (lines 10, 12) would suggest that the honorand is a hierophant or hierophantis or a relative. The date is unclear; Kirchner assigned the document to the early first century A.D.

Line 1: *Ἐλευσινίᾱς* as epithet of Demeter would be unique at Eleusis, to my knowledge.

Line 15: There are other possibilities besides *τελεταῖς*.

538. STATUE BASE? The "famous" initiates in this dactylic verse might be the *Dioscuri*; they are mentioned also in **454** and **661**, not by name but as children of Leda (on their artistic representation in Eleusinian scenes see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 68, 69, 82-83). If this is correct, the subject of the verb is Leda.

540. STATUE BASE. *Line 1:* Either the Eleusinian demotic or the Eleusinia, in which case the man was an agonothele for this festival.

Lines 2-3: *στρα[τηγόν]* is also possible.

541. STATUE BASE. The participles modify either the honorand or, if they are restored as genitives, a relative. If the latter, then the relationship may have been specified in line 4. If the former, then we should expect *οἰκοθεν* in line 4.

543. STATUE BASE FOR A CL(AUDIUS). Although Kapetanopoulos restored Claudius Demonstratos of Sounion as the honorand (see **II.357** for discussion and references), he admitted that a member of the Claudii of Melite could also be restored.

Line 5: *Ἀσκληπιείων* is also possible.

544. STATUE BASE FOR AN EX[EGETE?]. The restorations are tentative. If the letter in line 4 is indeed phi, then the Roman nomen seems unavoidable. In this case consideration should be given to L. Flavius Flamma, archon around the end of the first century A.D. (*IG II² 3543*), since the praenomen Lucius is quite rare for a Flavius at Athens.

545. STATUE BASE FOR AN EXEGETE OF THE EUMOLPIDAI. *Line 2:* For a gymnasiarch at his own expense cf. 483.

Line 7: Perhaps ἐτη] ξ; cf. 503.17 (altar-priest).

546. STATUE BASE FOR PRAXAGORAS OF MELITE? On the gymnasiarchy of the deified Hadrian see II.503.8. The honorand seems to be Aelius Praxagoras of Melite (*Sacred Officials* pp. 61-63, daduch no. 23; II.468) or a relative.

547. STATUE BASE? Skias recognized that a member of the Claudii of Melite is mentioned here. He is evidently a father or grandfather of the honorand.

Lines 3-4: Skias saw here the title δαδοῦχον, but then it becomes difficult to make sense of the following το. Thus it seems more likely that we have here a title that modifies the preceding name in the genitive.

Line 5: Evidently the end of a feminine personal name, presumably the honorand's mother or grandmother.

548. STATUE BASE. The unusual combination διτ seems to demand Aphrodite's name, highly unlikely here, or a theophoric personal name.

551. LARGE MONUMENT IN HONOR OF A HEARTH-INITIATE. The form of the dedicatory inscription, with the apparent dedicator and the honorand in separate columns, is unusual, and may have to do with the shape of the monument. The *genos* of the Kerykes apparently erected this monument, which evidently served as a base for a statue of a hearth-initiate. The size of the base suggests that unlike most bases for hearth-initiates this one was for a grown man (645 is another example of this type).

The Sacred Boule is not, as Kapetanopoulos proposed, the Sacred Gerousia (whose main concerns were not the Eleusinian sanctuary) but the designation of the Athenian Boule meeting at Eleusis during the Mysteries: βουλή ἱερὰ ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι (*IG* II² 1072.3 = *SEG* III 105). The Kerykes had to seek its permission in order to erect this monument in the sanctuary.

552. REGULATION (?) CONCERNING DEDICATIONS IN THE SANCTUARY? The end of frag. *a* looks like a regulation about setting up dedications in the sanctuary; i.e. to those following a certain procedure (e.g., making a request of the proper civic corporations) ἀν]ατιθέναι ἔξε[στι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. The first line looks like a heading, e.g. κατὰ τὰ δόξαν]τα ὅ [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ].

b: Line 1: εἰκ[όνα?

553. MEASURING TABLE. This block of marble evidently held measures, for one of which the cavity is partially preserved in back. The Eleusinian market was an important enterprise at the time of a festival, especially during the Mysteries; see **179, 237, 655**, II.Introduction, “Festival Market,” p. 23.

Line 1: Evidently the type of measure is specified, e.g. ξηρῶν (the space, however, seems larger than four letters), if the hypothetical restoration in line 2 is correct.

Line 2: συμβόλοις might also be considered; see II.237.

554. ARCHITRAVE. Although only two letters are preserved, they are the largest at Eleusis. The block needs to be examined to determine if it belongs to the Telesterion.

555. STRUCTURE. Although I cannot make out a single word, I include this grand monument because it deserves further study, at least from an architectural point of view.

556. STRUCTURE? The monument might have something to do with the Eleusinian games, but it can equally well be restored simply ἐν Ἐλευσίνι.

c: Line 1: πᾶγοις is possible.

Line 2: Ἀϋρήλιον is of course possible.

557. STATUE BASE. Perhaps: nomen, γυνή and [nomen ἱεροκήρυκος συγγενῆ, i.e. “wife of so-and-so” and “relative of so-and-so Hierokeryx.” I know of no certain example at Athens where a relationship on a dedication is expressed simply as “relative,” but the practice is more common in other cities. Schmidt’s restoration cannot be ruled out.

560. STATUE BASE. *Line 1:* Perhaps ἐπιμελείας ἕνεκα.

Line 2: Perhaps ἐπὶ ἱερείας Εὐφάμας τῆς - - - - -] Κυδαθην[αίως θυγατρός, without attempting to determine line ends. For an Annia Euphama daughter of Pythodoros (of Cholleidai?) see Meritt, *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 223-224 (= *SEG* XXI 764); cf. C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 71, 1966, p. 210; Follet, *Athènes* p. 163. For a possible identification at Eleusis cf. **406**.

561. STATUE BASE. *Line 2:* A Vipsania with a cognomen beginning in alpha is unknown. For the family of the Eumolpid exegete L. Vipsanius Aiolon of Phlya and its connection with Eleusis see II.455.

562. STATUE BASE. *Line 2:* Probably Poulchros and, considering the rarity of its occurrence at Athens, perhaps Cn. Cornelius Poulchros of Corinth, priest of Hadrian Panhellenios and

archon of the Panhellenes, honored at Athens in 131/2 (*Δελτίον* 25A, 1970, pp. 54-55, no. 1 [= *SEG* XXVI 253]).

565. STATUE BASE. The first word seems to be the end of a name, perhaps Flaminias.

566. STATUE BASE. *Line 2:* This probably represents the end of the formula for the eponymous priestess: ἐπὶ ἱερείας - - - - τῆς - - - - - θυγατρός.

572. STATUE BASE? The small size of the fragment renders the restoration somewhat hypothetical.

577. HERM. On the formula cf. Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 45-47.

582. STATUE BASE. *Line 2:* Perhaps ἀγ]ων[οθέτ.

Line 3: Perhaps κηρυκεύσαντα τῆς Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς.

Line 5: Perhaps κατὰ τ]ᾶ δ[όξαντα τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ].

583. STATUE BASE. Although not a single word can be restored with certainty, there are tantalizing similarities to the text of **463**:

Line 3: ἀδελφιδῆν Γαίου Κλ Τιτιανοῦ (**463.19**).

Line 4: θυγατέρα Φιλίππης (**463.21-22**).

Line 5: Κλ Τιτιανοῦ.

This is certainly not a copy of **463**, but it may pertain to the same family.

584. DEDICATION? In line 1 we probably have part of a name, such as Kalliphron. In fact, there were two archons by this name, father and son, in the first half of the third century (Follet, *Athènes* pp. 94, 512), and it is tempting to restore Καλ]λίφ[ρονα (or ρονος) Γαργήττιον τὸν ἐπώνυμον] τῆς π[όλεως ἄρχοντα (the following]αρχ[would have to belong to a separate office).

585. STATUE BASE. The vacant areas at the ends of three distichs confirm that the fragment belongs to the right side of the poem, presumably in honor of one of the priests of the sanctuary.

Line 1: πολυό[λβου?

Line 2: Cf. *IG* II² 4841 concerning a daduch at Lerna: ἐν Λέρνη δ' ἔλαχεν μυστιπόλους δαΐδας; *IG* II² 3734.1-2 concerning a Iakchagogos: [Ἰάκχο]υ | εἰροπόλος νυχίων μυστιπό[λων

δαί]δων (my restoration; Peek, *AVI* 13: μυστιπό[λος δαί]δων; Buecheler: μυστιπό[λος συνό]δων; Keil: μυστιπό[λων συνό]δων).

Line 4: Κουροτρό]φου?

The μέγαρα should be the Telesterion; see Clinton, *Iconography* p. 127, note 8; but if the correct restoration is Κουροτρό]φου, μεγάροις, the pits in which piglets were deposited cannot be excluded; see *ibid.* pp. 30-36.

586. EPIGRAM. The epigram seems to honor a foreigner (line 3), perhaps, as Skias believed, an emperor. It seems to describe his appearance in the procession to Eleusis, led by the god Iakchos. It is even possible that it described the initiation of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (line 3) in the company of Herodes Atticus (line 4); on this event cf. Clinton, *Roman Initiates* pp. 1530-1532.

Line 2: θήσα[σθε seems less likely than θήσα[ντο (my restoration, omitted by mistake).

Line 3: μεδέο[ντας] is also possible.

Line 5: Cf. Strabo 10.3.10: "Ιακχον ... τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμονα. On the iconography and function of Iakchos, Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 64-84 (with bibliography).

587. STATUE BASE FOR TIT(US) FL(AVIUS) ATEIMETOS SON OF TIT(US) FL(AVIUS) AGATHON OF PEIRAIEUS, HEARTH-INITIATE. The honorand and his father have not been securely identified; for some possibilities see Follet (but the father of Phainerete, a dedicator of **307** is unlikely). The epithet σεμνότατοι for the Areopagites starts to occur in the second half of the second century (Geagan). Papius Attikos of Besa, herald of the Boule and Demos in 168/9 (*Agora* XV 373.43 = *IG* II² 1775), is probably a relative of the mother of the honorand.

588. STATUE BASE FOR SABEINIANE HAMILLO, PRIESTESS OF ATHENA POLIAS. The priestess of Athena Polias, Sabiniana Hamillo, is otherwise unknown. Lewis dates her term after ca. 150.

The base, with its references only to Athena, was probably not set up originally in the Eleusinian sanctuary. Some of the bases in the area where it was found were used as building material in modern houses (Philios). Also in this area the excavators found a Byzantine tower constructed of various ancient blocks including many inscriptions (Philios, *Πρακτικά* 1883, p. 55, note 1). So it is not impossible that this base was transported to Eleusis from Athens, like other marbles in the nearby church of St. Zachary (cf. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Agora* XIV p. 113). A dedication by the Praxiergidai in honor of service to Athena Polias would be most appropriately expected on the Athenian Acropolis. **619**, however, suggests some role for the priestess of Athena Polias at Eleusis.

589. BASE WITH INSCRIPTION OF PHILOI. This monument may have little to do with the sanctuary. It may be a group of ephebes (cf. *IG* II² 1982 etc.), a dedication of members of an *era-*

nos (cf. *IG* II² 1369.27, *SEG* XXI 634), or even something less formal (cf. *IG* II² 4736). That they were a group of initiates, as Kourouniotis proposed, is of course possible but unlikely inasmuch as they do not refer to themselves as such.

590. STATUE BASE FOR THE DAUGHTER OF A PYTHOCHRESTOS EXEGETE. A clue to her identity is given by her husband's nomen, Herennius, for it is likely that his status at Eleusis, or his son's, had something to do with erection of her statue there (her father, a pythochrestos exegete, had no official status at Eleusis). The only Herennii otherwise attested at Eleusis were the Herennii of Hermos, the family to which the historian Dexippos belonged. Dexippos himself was a panages (*Sacred Officials* p. 96, no. 3); his grandfather was a sacred herald (*ibid.* p. 79, no. 6). The present honorand may well have been the wife or mother of either of them or another member of their line who served the Eleusinian cult.

591. STATUE BASE FOR A HEARTH-INITIATE. *Line 1:* In 1935 Körte expressed scepticism about his reading of the name Κυκ]λοβόλου. But his transcript is clear, and the name does occur at Athens in the late second and the third century after Christ: *IG* II² 2116.5, 2117.5, 2245.17, 282, 283.

Line 2: Ἰάλυσος ὁ καὶ Κυκλοβόλος A[- -] is listed as an ephebe in *IG* II² 2116.5; his demotic may be Ἀ[γνο(ύσιος)].

The reading θύτην is impossible in a document of this type; hence my attempt at correction. The demotic in the genitive suggests a woman.

592. STATUE BASE. There may be more than one honorand, unless line 1 read κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου[υ πάγου βουλῇ].

Line 2: Evidently a woman from Halieis.

Line 3: One honorand is evidently Mem(mios) The[- -], otherwise unknown at Athens.

Line 4: Perhaps τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν] τῆς π[όλεως.

593. STATUE BASE FOR POMPEIA A[- - -]. If my (merely possible) restoration should be correct, she could be a daughter of T. Pompeius Dionysios of Paiania, holder of a philosophical chair in the early third century (*IG* II² 1826, 3810; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 191-196).

595. STATUE BASE (?) CELEBRATING A VICTORY. This is a poem in honor of someone's victory. Although a victory in the Eleusinian games is conceivable, a military victory is also possible, e.g. an imperial victory (cf. **486** for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus over the Parthians) or even the victory of Dexippos over the Herulians (**656-657**).

Line 3: Perhaps ἐν π[ολέμῳ].

597. STATUE BASE (?) FOR AN EMPEROR. Like **471** this stone was built into the post-Herulian fortification to the left of the Propylaea. Its date of course is quite uncertain.

598. DEDICATION. This dedication is a poem, evidently dactylic or elegiac.

Line 5: δίοι[ς] is also possible.

Line 10: πλείτω is also possible.

Line 11: We might construe ἄ τάδε κε[- - -].

Line 12: ἰῶν: violets, perhaps, or ἰῶν, arrows.

599. STATUE BASE FOR P. A[ELIUS - - -]. On the use of the predicate ὁ κράτιστος to indicate senatorial and equestrian rank in the second and third centuries see now Oliver, *Roman Senators* pp. 126-132.

600. DEDICATORY BASE. This is the only dedication at Eleusis set up κατ' ὄναρ. The name Apollonios is too common to permit identification.

601. STATUE BASE FOR AN OFFICIAL. The first line seems to contain the dedicating corporations and may be the first line of the document; the second line may contain the name of the honorand, who may have had both a Roman and an Athenian career of great distinction.

Line 3: This may indicate a Roman position; cf., e.g., **463.21**; but it could just as well refer to a local leader, such as Dexippos (**656-657**).

Lines 5-6: Perhaps στρατηγήσαντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ [- - -] ἄρχοντος.

Line 8: Since syllabic division is adhered to in this document, a comparative or superlative adverb, such as ὀλιγοχρονώτατα (or its opposite), probably occurred here.

Line 10: Probably the comparative or superlative of ἐπίσημος.

602. STATUE BASE? Lysiades is a well known name in Eleusinian documents of the second century A.D.; cf. **493**.

613. STATUE BASE? *Line 2:* Φ]λαβ[ι?

Line 3: Πρ]όκλ[α? Cf. *IG II² 12518-12519*.

614. STATUE BASE? *Line 3:* There are many possibilities, among them Vipsanius Aiolion (see **455**).

616. STATUE BASE? I include this fragment because of the large size of the letters and the number of lines, at least three. The last word seems to indicate that the dedicator was the father, mother, or daughter of the honorand.

617. STATUE BASE. *Line 2:* Also possible: a name such as Θρά]συλλ[ος/ν.

618. DECREE? The text seems to be prose, but too little is preserved to allow us to determine the precise type of document.

a: Line 5: τ]ὸ 'Ατ[τικόν?

b: Line 2: ἄ]ντὶ ᾧ[ν?

Line 6: Cf. 601.8.

619. DEDICATION OF A BATH. The dedication concerns, it seems, two monuments: a bath and something next to it. A bath was excavated near the entrance to the sanctuary (Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 167, fig. 4, no. 40), just behind the Roman fountain house (*ibid.* pp. 165-166, fig. 4, no. 3; A. K. Orlandos, in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* [Princeton 1936] pp. 282-294). If we have construed lines 1-2 (frags. *c* and *a*) correctly, the buildings were dedicated by a woman and someone else. Therefore the emperor mentioned in frag. *g* cannot be the dedicant but ought to be a recipient. If so, the dedication has a parallel on the monumental arch standing nearby (448): τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Πανέλληνες. As on the arch the Two Goddesses ought to be co-recipients. The fountain house is probably Hadrianic; it predates the arch (Clinton, *Renaissance* p. 63). We do not know of course whether this dedication concerns the original construction of these buildings or a repair.

a: Line 2: For the epithet occurring before the goddess's name (rather than following) cf., e.g., 588. The title cannot be that of the dedicant and must therefore be that of the eponymous priestess of Athena Polias, and this is consistent with its occurrence in smaller lettering in the last line. This is the first instance at Eleusis of the formula for the eponymous priestess of Athena; perhaps it was accompanied by the formula for the priestess of Demeter and Kore. Considering that 588, a statue base for a priestess of Athena Polias, was found at Eleusis, perhaps a shrine for Athena existed near the entrance to the sanctuary (if 588 was originally set up at Eleusis).

The priestess's name apparently began with an epsilon. Hermippis, who married into a Kerykes' family (642), was a priestess of Athena in the early third century (*IG* II² 2342.B.31; cf. Oliver, *Expounders* p. 164).

621. STATUE BASE FOR POPLIA AELIA HERENNIA DAUGHTER OF P. AELIUS APOLLONIOS, HEARTH-INITIATE. The chief interest of this monument lies in what it tells us of the honorand's relatives. Her father, P. Aelius Apollonios, served as archon eponymous, basileus, hoplite general, epimelete of the gymnasiarchy (on the office cf. Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 130-131), and herald of the Areopagus, but unfortunately his archonship cannot be dated more accurately than

the last decade of the second century or the first decade of the third. Kirchner identified him with the P. Aelius Apollonios of Antinoeis who was prytanis ca. 180 (*IG II² 1793.14 = Agora XV 397.14*). This seemed to receive further support from the fact that a cosmète ca. 217 who was a “descendant of daduchs” was named Aelius Apollonios (*IG II² 3764*), and in another document of around this time I thought the cosmète’s name could be restored [Aelius A]pollonios of An[tinoeis] (*IG II² 2219.3*). But this proved incorrect; a new fragment revealed his nomen to be Flavius (Mitsos, *AE* 1973, pp. 91-92, no. 4; cf. Follet p. 238). The family is more likely from Pallene, as Follet proposed. A P. Aelius Dionysios of Pallene was ephebe in 150/1 (*IG II² 2065.38-39*), and we may also consider the Aelius Apollonios of Pallene who was ephebe in 154/5 (*IG II² 2067.166, 213*) as possibly his brother and the grandfather of the present honorand. The father of these two ephebes may be the Aelius Dionysios of Pallene who was prytanis in 138/9 (*Agora XV 333.36*).

In 174/5 a suit that aimed at stripping the daduch Aelius Dionysios of his priesthood was decided by Marcus Aurelius (Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* p. 4, lines 1-7; revised by Follet, *RPhil* 53, 1979, pp. 29-43 = *SEG XXIX 127*; cf. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* pp. 184-185), and as a result he kept his priesthood. He served from shortly before 174/5 (i.e. later than 169) to ca. 180-185. If he is correctly identified as Aelius Dionysios of Pallene (the ephebe in 150/1, as above), the following persons may be related to him either as son or nephew: the Aelii Apollonios and Dionysios of Antiochis who were prytaneis ca. 205 (*Agora XV 447.14, 16*). This Aelius Apollonios could be the cosmète who was called a descendant of daduchs and of a hierophantis on a herm set up A.D. 217 by his homonymous son, the ephebic archon (*IG II² 3764*; see above). At any rate, whatever the deme of Aelius Apollonios the cosmète, he was undoubtedly the son of the daduch Aelius Dionysios. The ephebic archon may well be the ephebic agonothete and systremmatarch listed in *IG II² 2222.2, 7*.

Line 1: The decoration flanking the inscription is similar to that flanking the identical line on 502, a statue base set up not long before this one.

Lines 12-13: Publia Aelia Herennia became a hierophantis, as noted above (and cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 88, no. 11). This must have occurred sometime after the monument was set up.

Lines 13-14: On descent from famous men of the Classical era cf. 648. Both Callimachus, the general at Marathon, and Canon belonged to different demes from that of Aelius Apollonios (if we are correct in surmising his deme to be Pallene), so that if this descent is correct, it could not have occurred solely in the male line.

Line 14: παρὰ indicates that this base was set up next to one that honored her great-uncle, the daduch P. Aelius Dionysios, who was no longer alive. The fact that he died before 192 gives us a *terminus post quem* for the present document.

Appendix. The emperor’s decision in the suit brought against Aelius Dionysios (see reference above) gives us some information about procedures in sacerdotal elections at this time. The relevant parts are as follows:

[ἐκκλητοὶ ἄς] ἐποίησαντο Αἴλ Πραξαγόρας, Κλ Δημόστρατος, Αἴλ Θεμίσων πρὸς Αἴλ Διονύσιον δίκαιοι εἶναι φ[αίνονται· τού|των οὖν τῶν] ἐφέσ[ε]ων ἐδέησεν ἀκροάσασθαι· ἐξαρκεῖν ἔδοξεν τὸ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐνθέσμως ἀχθείσας εἰδέναι (?). [Πρὸς] | γε

μὴν τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον], ἵνα μή τι ἀμφίβολον καταλειφθῇ, τοὺς μὲν δαιδουχίαν ἢ τινα ἑτέραν ἐθέλον[τὶ με|τιόντας ἱερ[ε]ωσύνην μέζ[ο]να ἥς φθάνουσιν ἔχειν προκατατίθεσθαι δεῖ τὸ στροφίον ἐννόμως· εἰ δέ τις [ὑπὸ] τοῦ δήμου καλοῖτο, οὐκ ἔσται πρὸς τοῦτον ἀμφισβήτησις ἐὰν μὴ προκαταθῇται τὰ πρότερα σύμβολα πρὶν ἀ[πο]δειχθῆναι· χειροτονηθεὶς μέντοι καὶ οὗτος τὸ προϋπάρχον αὐτῷ καταθήσεται (lines 3-8).

“[Appeal suits which] Aelius Praxagoras, Claudius Demostratos, Aelius Themison brought against Aelius Dionysios appear to be justified, and so it was necessary to hear these appeals. It seemed to me sufficient to [know?] that the elections were held in a regular way.” “With regard to the future, lest any doubt remain, those who voluntarily pursue the *dadouchia* or any other priesthood greater than the one they now have must lay down in advance their *strophion* in accordance with the law. But if someone is nominated by the Demos, a case against him will not be allowed in the event that he does not lay down in advance his former insignia before he becomes a candidate, but if he is elected he too shall lay down what belonged to him formerly.”

Those seeking Eleusinian priesthoods must have been of the first type – they sought them on their own initiative. (Follet p. 34, in commenting on this passage correctly gives as an example of a priest proceeding from a lower to higher priesthood three instances in 300.42-43, 47-49, 49-51. This particular progression [from altar-priest to daduch], we should bear in mind, would not be possible in the Antonine period, since at this time the altar-priesthood was evidently a lifetime office, and presumably one could not simply lay it down.) The second type of situation occurred for priests who were appointed by the Demos; in this case nomination could be proposed by someone other than the candidate. Eleusinian priesthoods, however, would not fall into this category (*pace* Follet), since, as far as we know, they were elected not by the Demos but by their γένη.

622. STATUE BASE FOR A GRANDSON OF TIB. CL. SOSPIS THE DADUCH. Kapetanopoulos recognized that the eponymous archon in line 2 must be the honorand’s father and restored the correct filiation in lines 2-4. However, his restoration of the demotic of the daduchs is unnecessary and creates a lacuna in line 2, for which he suggested ἐν τῇ πατρίδι – quite impossible in an Athenian inscription.

Line 6: ἀνέ[θηκεν] is out of place there, and in any case there is no room for a subject. Follet realized that a filiation is indicated, and her suggestion, συνκλητικῶν ἀνε[ψιάδην], is certainly possible, but I think “cousin” a bit safer. συνκλητικῶν is probably modified at the end of line 5, perhaps by πολλῶν; cf. *I. Eph.* 810.14-15, 986.13.

Lines 6-7: Boeckh took “nineteenth” to refer to the honorand’s generation from a famous Athenian, in the case of this family therefore quite possibly Themistocles. Other references to famous ancestors in Eleusinian documents (433, 621, 648) do not specify the distance in generations. Although a base in the Agora (see II.645) might at first sight suggest such a specification, the space here is adequate only for ἀπό and a short name of an ancestor. It seems more likely, given the position of “nineteenth” (at the beginning of a list of accomplishments), that it refers to the number of times an office was held or a benefaction performed.

Lines 7-8: The title of an office ought to occur here, διπλῶ τῶ π[perhaps referring to special insignia (unless this phrase belongs with the following office).

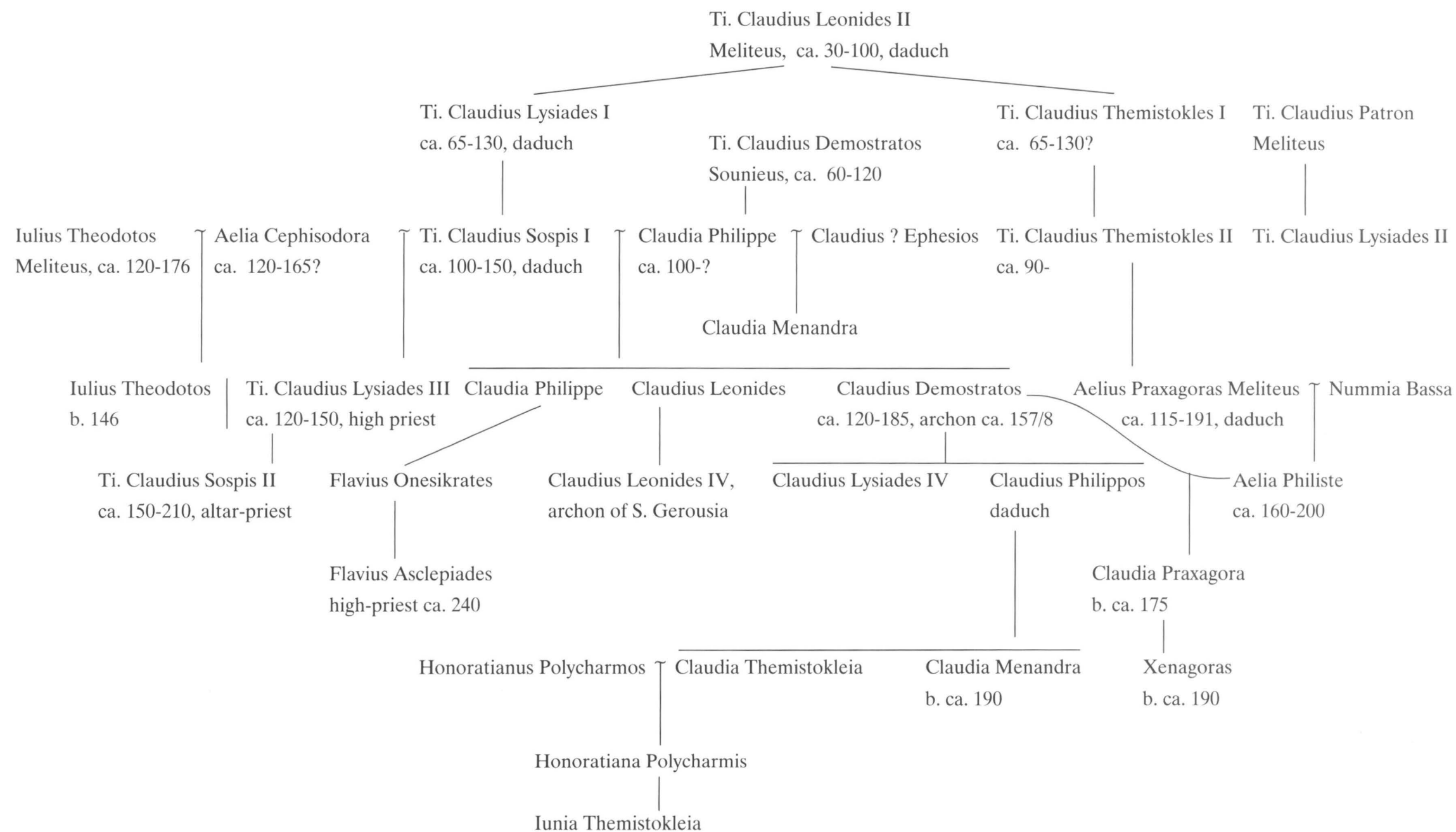
Lines 9-11: He was a *curator* who served several cities in a circuit; the names of three others occurred in the lacunae.

Lines 11-12: For the formula cf. *IG II² 3544.10-13*.

The Honorand. Since the honorand was the grandson of Sospis the daduch, who died ca. 150 (*Sacred Officials* daduch no. 20; Follet, *Athènes* p. 277), his father might have served as archon ca. 140-160 (cf. the known archonships of Sospis' sons, Lysiades and Demostratos). Therefore the present inscription, set up when the honorand's career was well advanced, should date around the end of the century.

Five grandsons of Sospis are known (see stemma, "Claudii of Melite," below, p. 398): 1) Ti. Claudius Sospis, altar-priest around the end of the century (*Sacred Officials* altar-priest no. 13; Follet, *Athènes* pp. 290-291); 2) Ti. Claudius Leonides, archon of the Sacred Gerousia under Commodus (Oliver, *Gerousia* no. 24.3-6); 3) Ti. Claudius Lysiades, perhaps archon ca. the end of the century (Follet, *Athènes* pp. 277, 512); 4) Ti. Claudius Philippos, daduch at the end of the century (*Sacred Officials*, daduch no. 24; Follet, *Athènes* pp. 279-280); 5) Flavius Onesikrates of Diomeia, permanent priest of Asclepius at the end of the century (Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 165-166, though his demotic is not completely preserved). Nothing in the documentation for the first four, grandsons in the male line, suggests that they were related to Roman senators, although the documentation is far from sufficient for us to rule it out. In any case Sospis (1) and Philippos (4) can be eliminated, since they were respectively altar-priest and daduch from ca. 191; in addition, either Leonides (2) or Lysiades (3) should probably also be eliminated, since one of them was archon in this period; and also weighing against Leonides (2) is the fact that his father was evidently not an eponymous archon. Thus the more probable candidate is Flavius Onesikrates. "He should have been born ca. A.D. 160 ... and probably became priest [of Asklepios] ca. A.D. 190.... He served as priest until ca. A.D. 215-220" (Aleshire, *loc. cit.*). His father, Flavius Asklepiades, married Claudia Philippe, daughter of Sospis the daduch (it was her second marriage) and held the archonship evidently ca. 175 (Follet pp. 237-238; Aleshire p. 166). He could have been related to senatorial families; his homonymous grandson was high-priest of the Augusti and the imperial family and was extremely wealthy (*IG II² 2773*). Onesikrates held the lifetime priesthood of Asclepius, the title for which fits the space in line 4: ἱερέα Ἀσκληπιοῦ διὰ βίου. (The exact title used in the Asclepieion at this period was ὁ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου or ὁ διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ [Aleshire, *Asklepieion* p. 86], but the simple mention of Asclepius would be sufficient for a monument at Eleusis.) If Onesikrates is the honorand, then only his father's name could have fit the space in line 1: [... Φλαβίου Ἀσκληπιάδου Διομαιέως]. (The demotic of this man is not completely certain.) His own name and that of the dedicator would have been inscribed together on another part of the monument.

Claudii of Melite



623. STATUE BASE FOR SEKOUNDOS, EUMOLPID. Kapetanopoulos correctly saw that the honorand's name could not be Sekoundos Attikos Eudoxou Sphettios, and that the dedicator's name was concealed in lines 3-4. Attikos son of Eudoxos of Sphettos is probably to be identified with the homonymous ephebe of 169/170 (*IG II² 2097.83*). Around the time of the present dedication, he commissioned, on behalf of the Sacred Gerousia, the statue of a prominent member of the other great Eleusinian *genos*, the lithophoros and ex-archon of the Kerykes, M. Aurelius Prosdektos (**624**). He appears in a list of prytaneis of the early third century (*IG II² 1820.8 = Agora XV 440 = SEG XXXIV 135*).

Kapetanopoulos suggested that the honorand might be the Iulius Sekoundos whose name appears in the so-called Opisthodomos Inscription, a document of disputed type, consisting of a list of names to each of which an amount of money, in denarii, corresponds (Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 29-32, no. 37 = *SEG XIX 172*). In line 9 Iulius Sekoundos appears in the genitive, followed by Iulius Hierophantes in the nominative – a combination of cases that recurs several times in this document. According to Oliver, in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne* (Paris 1965) pp. 126-128 (= *SEG XXIV 196*): "The inscription is a drastically abbreviated record of real estate in a certain area or category. The real estate is recorded with the name of the titleholder in the genitive and the name of anyone else who paid in the nominative." Although I doubt that this is a record of real estate, it does seem likely that there is usually a special relationship between a name in the genitive and the one following in the nominative. Thus Sekoundos is likely to be a close relative of the hierophant and therefore a Eumolpid, and may consequently be the honorand of the present document. (Oliver's interpretation of this document rests in large part on his observation that the sums of money are not in Attic drachmas but in denarii. In fact, denarii were the standard silver coinage of Athens at this time and were even called "Attic drachmai": see Kroll, *Agora XXVI, The Greek Coins* pp. 118-119).

624. STATUE BASE FOR M. AURELIUS PROSDEKTOS PISTOKRATOUS KEPHALETHEN, LITHOPHOROS. On the date see II.623. The reference to the deified Commodus in lines 6-7 shows that this monument was erected no earlier than 195, when Septimius Severus had Commodus elevated to *divus*.

Line 2: On the Sacred Gerousia see Oliver.

Lines 2-4: The lithophoros was in charge of transporting the Hieros Lithos (**300.15-16**); cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*; on the function and appearance of the Hieros Lithos, see *idem*, *Iconography*.

Prosdektos was a prytanis in 167/8 (*Agora XV 371.50 = IG II² 1774*), thus at the time of the present document was over sixty years old. He was probably the father of Perikles and Akamas, ephebes in 195/6 (*IG II² 2130.78,134*, dated by Follet, *Athènes* pp. 230-231). The placement of the title λιθοφόρον within his Roman name, where the cognomen usually occurs, is consistent with the Eleusinian practice of hieronymy, but inconsistent in that his cognomen, or Greek name, is not suppressed. Hieronymy is either being imitated to a degree, or Prosdektos may already be deceased; in either case the arrangement of his name and title is unusual.

Lines 5-8: He presumably served as ambassador to Commodus, from whom we learn that he

received his Roman citizenship. Follet points out that this is our only direct reference in an Athenian document to a grant of citizenship by a Roman emperor.

Line 12: On Attikos son of Eudoxos of Sphettos see II.623. He was surely a member of the Sacred Gerousia. The term ἐποίησε does not indicate that he was a sculptor but rather that he oversaw the commissioning of the statue and its erection on behalf of the dedicator, the Sacred Gerousia (on this use of the term cf. II.287 and Boeckh, Neubauer, Loewy, and Toepffer); presumably he made a significant financial contribution, perhaps the entire amount.

625. STATUE BASE FOR M. GAVIUS GALLICANUS, *PROCONSUL ASIAE*, EUMOLPID. The new frag. *a* reveals the honorand to be not (Iulius Proculus) Quintilianus but M. Gavius Gallicanus (the reading of nu in Κνιν[τιλιανῶ was in any case unlikely). G. Alföldy, Gallicanus noster, *Chiron* 9, 1979, pp. 507-544, greatly elucidated the prosopography of this Veronese senatorial family, which rose to be among the most important in the Roman empire in the second and early third century. His study started from a reedition of *CIL* V 3223, a statue base in Verona set up *pro salute Gal[l]icani n(ostri) | co(n)s(ulis), flamin(is) Aug(ustalis), proco(n)s(ulis), | pontif(icis), sodalis | Aureliani Antoniniani* by a freedman of Gallicanus. Alföldy identified this Gallicanus, who was a proconsul of either Africa or Asia, as (M. Gavius) Gallicanus, son of M. Gavius M. f. Pob. Squilla Gallicanus, *consul ordinarius* in 150, and grandson of M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, *consul ordinarius* in 127 (Alföldy's stemma of the family is given *ibid.*, p. 542). Gallicanus the proconsul was born, according to Alföldy's calculation, ca. 147-152, became suffect consul ca. 180-185, and held the proconsulate ca. 195-200. It should be noted that his father too served as proconsul of Asia in 164/5, when his brother was *legatus proconsulis* there. He became *sodalis Aurelianus Antoninianus*, a priest in the cult of Caracalla, after the emperor's death in 217. In view of the coincidence of the right proconsulate and the probable restoration of the name Squilla in the present document for the father and grandfather of the honorand, an identification of our honorand with the Gallicanus of *CIL* V 3223 is highly probable.

Of interest to the Eleusinian context of this dedication is the fact that several members of this family served as officials in a mystic cult of Bacchus attested by the famous inscription honoring the priestess of this cult, Agrippinilla; the inscription, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, came from the vicinity of Torre Nova, near where the family had its estate (A. Vogliano, *AJA* 37, 1933, pp. 215-231 = *IGVR* I 160). Some of the officials were identified as members of this family by Vogliano, and several additional identifications were made by Alföldy, who ascertained that two of the priests named Gallikanos were most likely the consuls ordinarii of 150 and 127 (viz. our honorand's father and grandfather), and made a strong case that a homonymous theophoros was the son of the *consul ordinarius* of 150 and honorand of *CIL* V 3223 (viz. our honorand). Thus our Gallicanus' interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries, for which he was honored by the Eumolpidai with adlection into their *genos*, gives further testimony of his own and his family's abiding fondness for mystery cults. A branch of this family, as Alföldy noted, was related to the Cornelii Scipiones Orfiti (*ibid.* p. 536; Stein, *PIR*² C 1442ff.). Relatives of the latter family, namely Sergius [Salvidienus] Scipio Orfitus, his wife, and two sons, had earlier been honored at Eleusis by the Athenians: statues of the four of them stood on a very large base in front of the Telesterion (473).

Lines 2-3: Gallicanus' father's and grandfather's names have been abbreviated.

626. STATUE BASE FOR THE SOPHIST P. HERENNIUS PTOLEMAIOS SON OF P. HERENNIUS HIEROKERYX. Herennius Ptolemaios (*PIR*² H 122) was the father of Dexippos the historian. He may be identical with the Herennius Ptolemaios who was ephebe ca. 189/90 (*IG* II² 2116.11), prytanis after 212 (*IG* II² 1820.3). For his prosopography see Follet pp. 38, 270; for a stemma and discussion of his family, Kirchner *ad IG* II² 3665, F. Millar, *JHS* 59, 1969, pp. 19-21, E. A. Kapetanopoulos, *AE* 1972, pp. 133-172. His father served as sacred herald from at least 177/8 to at least 209/10 (Follet p. 285; above, II.Introduction, "Sacred Heralds" no. 6).

627. STATUE BASE FOR P. [HERENNIUS] PT[OLEMAIOS OF HERMOS]? The honorand is most likely the sophist P. Herennius Ptolemaios, son of P. Herennius Hierokeryx and father of Dexippos the historian, less likely the Ptolemaios who was the son of the historian (for the persons, *LGPN* Ptolemaios 13, 14; stemma *ad IG* II² 3665). The Polis honored the sophist at Eleusis with **626**. The present base ought to have been set up by a relative or friend; other such bases honoring members of this family are headed by ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (*IG* II² 3667, 3670).

628. STATUE BASE FOR XENAGORAS SON OF XENAGORAS AND PRAXAGORA, HEARTH-INITIATE. The emphasis on παῖδα and the naming of both parents suggests that the honorand, Xenagoras, is probably a hearth-initiate (cf. *Sacred Officials*). His father was archon in 172/3 (*IG* II² 1793.13; cf. Follet, *Athènes* p. 272). He himself was archon after 212 ("peu après 212," Follet *ibid.*). Since his mother, Claudia Praxagora, can hardly have been born much before 175 (her mother, Aelia Philiste, was born ca. 160; see II.432), a date early in the third century for his hearth-initiation seems appropriate. His archonship is not likely to have occurred before 220.

629. STATUE BASE FOR SISTER OF LICINIUS KALLISTOMACHOS. The dedication for this woman gave first her name and patronymic, possibly offices held by her father, then her husband's name and his offices, of which we have the final two. Since her brother's name is Kallistomachos, her great-grandson's name (line 11) probably comes from her family and not her husband's.

Lines 1-3: For a possible restoration of the beginning of line 1 see below. On the *procurator fisci Asiatici* cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) p. 568.

Lines 3-5: Wilcken's restoration, τοῦ σε[μνοτάτου], is meaningless. The "chair" in Rome ought to be that of a professor, namely the Greek Sophist. καθέδρα is used of the one in Athens (*IG* II² 3814, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας σοφιστῆς, Nikagoras). (Philostratus *VS*, on the other hand always uses θρόνος for professorial chairs.)

Line 8: A Lic(inius) Kallistomachos of Gargettos was ephebe in 201/2 (*IG* II² 2193.53).

Line 11: This Claudius Kallistomachos is probably not the [Clau]dius Kallistomachos who is known to have been both a proprietor under Hadrian (*IG* II² 2776.48 = S. Miller, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 67-93) and perhaps prytanis, viz. Cl(audius) Kallistomachos of Kropidai (*Agora* XV

323.4). A date in the reign of Hadrian for the great-grandson of a holder of the sophistic chair at Rome is unlikely; it is not clear whether the chair of rhetoric created by Vespasian [Suet. *Ves.* 18] is the same chair, or whether it lasted beyond his reign; but even if the great-grandfather had held this chair as early as Vespasian's reign, it is unlikely that his great-grandson would have been old enough to be identified with a proprietor or prytanis under Hadrian.

The Honorand's Husband. He was probably not an Athenian by birth (no native Athenian is known to have held the chair at Rome), but a foreigner who spent some time in Athens and acquired Athenian citizenship and an Athenian wife. This pattern of citizenship and marriage fits Valerius Apsines of Gadara (Oliver, *Expounders* p. 78 = *IG* II² 4007+) and, with respect to citizenship, Hordeonius Lollianos of Ephesus (*PIR*² H 203), but neither held the chair at Rome. The obvious candidate is Hadrian of Tyre (though Pausanias of Caesarea in Cappadocia cannot be absolutely ruled out). Hadrian came to Athens at the age of eighteen to study under Herodes Atticus and soon became a star pupil, clearly destined for a great career (Philostr. *VS* 585). In 175 or 176 he succeeded to the chair at Athens (*VS* 588; Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* pp. 81-82) and in the early 180's he was elevated to the chair at Rome (I. Avotins, *HSCP* 79, 1985, pp. 320-322). But before he went to Rome he delivered the funeral oration for Herodes. Sometime before 175 he was active at Ephesus (cf. *PIR*² H 4). It would be surprising, given his long stay and career in Athens, if he did not receive the citizenship; surprising, too, if he did not take an Athenian wife. He was about eighty years old when he died, under Commodus (Philostr. *VS* 590). Since he was a pupil of Herodes, we should expect him to have been about ten years younger than his teacher (so C. P. Jones, *GRBS* 13, 1972, p. 480, note 24), and since Herodes was evidently born in 103 (Amelung, *Herodes Atticus* II p. 2, note 13), Hadrian was born ca. 113 and died in 193 or shortly before. If he is the sophist husband of our honorand, then this base should be dated somewhat later than his death, after she returned to Athens. An appropriate date for a great-grandson (as a young man), such as Claudius Kallistomachos, to be among the dedicants would be ca. 225, but that seems rather late for honoring Hadrian's wife. It is more likely, if the preceding analysis is correct, that the base was set up earlier, perhaps ca. 200-210. The carving in lines 10-11, in fact, appears a bit deeper than in the preceding lines and may well have been added later, when the great-grandson was of suitable age. Another sign that his inscription may have been done at a different time is the fact that he, unlike the honorand's brother, included his praenomen. His gentilicium is the same as the one which Groag suspected was given to Hadrian (cf. *PIR*² H 4).

According to the *Suda*, s.v., and Philostratus *VS* 590, Hadrian was appointed to the post *ab epistulis Graecis* at the end of his life (ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, *Suda*; αὐτῷ ... ἐψηφίσατο μὲν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Κόμμοδος). It is possible, in fact, to restore the first line of our dedication to read τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀντιγραφ[έως]. On sophists who were appointed to the office of *ab epistulis* see Bowersock, *Sophists* pp. 50-56; Bowie, *YCS* 27, 1982, pp. 29-59, with a list (Appendix 4) of "Greeks with the title *ab epistulis* or *ab epistulis graecis*."

The Licinius Kallistomachos who was ephebe in 201/2, may be the homonymous grandson of the honorand's brother.

Jones, *op. cit.* pp. 478-483, argued that Hadrian was the sophist attacked by Lucian in his *Pseudologista*; but one may wonder whether Hadrian, before coming to Athens at the age of eigh-

teen, could have done as much as Lucian attributed to the Mistaken Critic before *he* came to Athens: beginning his career as a prostitute, a minor actor, and a schoolmaster; then going to Antioch for a while and after acquiring large debts proceeding to Alexandria.

630. STATUE BASE FOR FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS. The honorand, C. Fulvius Plautianus (*PIR*² F 554), was the ἀναγκαῖος (*necessarius*) of Septimius Severus and his sons, but was also called οἰκεῖος (see Spawforth). Praefectus praetorio in 197, he became consul ordinarius in 203, which would be his second consulate, the *ornamenta consularia* which he received in 197 with his appointment as praetorian prefect counting as his first. Thus the date of the inscription lies between 203 and early 205, when (on January 22) he was killed and his memory condemned (hence the erasure in line 7; an identifiable reference in the first line may have caused it to be erased also). He probably was an Eleusinian initiate.

Line 2: Spawforth would restore οἰκεῖον, which is also possible, as a document at Sparta shows.

Line 9: Follet's suggested restoration is logical: we do not expect a Roman title here (cf. Epigraphical Commentary).

631. STATUE BASE FOR THE HIEROPHANT APOL(L)INARIOS. On a herm set up by Claudius Polyzelos of Acharnai, hoplite general and (probably) cosmēte, his name appears in full as the brother of Polyzelos (*IG* II² 2109.7-9; cf. Clinton), there too after his death. This document has been redated by Follet after 212. The only document in which this hierophant certainly appears while alive (hieronymously, as a prytanis) is *Agora* XV 449.10 (= *IG* II² 1803), dated by Meritt and Traill to ca. 205. Follet, moreover, has made a strong case for reading Κλ' ἱεροφάντης) Ἀχάρ (instead of Μάρκα) in *IG* II² 1077.III.39 (= *Agora* XV 460.84). (His father's name, as this document indicates, is homonymous, and so Ἀπολλ[ινάριον] should be restored in *IG* II² 3748.9). Thus Apollinarios' term as hierophant would run from sometime ca. 191 (or later) to ca. 210 (see II.516, II.637 and II.645, and II.Introduction, "Hierophants," no. 26). He was succeeded by Casianus Apollonios of Steiria.

632. STATUE BASE FOR CLAUDIA MENANDRA DAUGHTER OF THE DADUCH CLAUDIUS PHILIPPOS. Claudia Menandra was born ca. A.D. 190 (see stemmata at II.622 and II.645). As this honorary inscription does not mention her husband, Casianus Apollonios (see 645), it may have been set up before she was married. In any case, it was set up after her father Philippos died, i.e. evidently after ca. 195. On the dates of his *dadouchia* see *Sacred Officials* p. 63, no. 24; Follet, *Athènes* pp. 279-280, 502. Follet has no objection to assuming that his term extended to ca. 208, but 519, which honors her as a hearth-initiate when her father was already dead, suggests rather that he died after a fairly brief term of office. This is reinforced by a very similar dedication (518) honoring another daughter of his, Themistokleia, for her hearth-initiation, again after his death. His mother cannot have been Aelia Philiste, for she was born ca. 160 of Nummia Bassa, who had been married until then to her first husband, Nummius Nigrinos, the sacred her-

ald (II.459). His mother therefore must have been an earlier wife of Claudius Demonstratos of Melite.

633. STATUE BASE FOR ROUPHEINA MOTHER OF IULIUS HIEROKERYX. *Line 1:* Although Follet and Kapetanopoulos, following a suggestion by Dittenberger, would identify the honorand with [Iu]lia Roupheina, daughter of Iulius Optatos (*IG II² 4066*), it is not much more than a possible restoration, as it relies mainly on homonymy.

Iulius Mousonios of Steiria seems to be identical with the homonymous ephebe of 161/2 (*IG II² 2085.24*), who may, as Follet suggests, be the Mousonios of uncertain gentilicium who was anti-cosmete in 193/4 or 194/5 (*IG II² 2125.6*). The name of an ephebe near the turn of the century, Kassianos Mousonios (*IG II² 2203.55*), tends to suggest that the family was related to the Casiani of Steiria (see II.645), who also supplied sacred heralds.

Line 4: Athenians in this period evidently held the office of phaidyntes at Olympia with some regularity (cf. *IG II² 1828.27-30*), so that there was a seat in the *prohedria* of the Theater of Dionysus reserved for this priest (*IG II² 5064*). On the office cf. Maass, *Prohedrie* p. 131; on incumbents, Kapetanopoulos, *RBPhil* 52, 1974, p. 66.

Line 6: Iulius Hierokeryx must have served after Herennius Hierokeryx, viz. after 209, probably in the first quarter of the century, though possibly as late as the beginning of the second quarter.

634. STATUE BASE FOR PTOLEMAIOS SON OF SERENOS OF GAZA. Ptolemaios of Gaza, to my knowledge, is otherwise unknown. His father, Serenos, was phoinikarches, president of the provincial assembly of the province Syria Phoenice created by Septimius Severus, according to Perdrizet and Dittenberger; M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain* (Paris 1991) pp. 114, 339, however, understands the phoinikarches to be president of the *eparchia* of Phoenicia within the pre-Severan province of Syria. At Athens Ptolemaios evidently delivered speeches that flattered the Athenians and their famous Mysteries, and they in turn erected his image in the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses.

As there is no indication that Ptolemaios held Roman citizenship, Follet infers a date prior to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

635. STATUE BASE FOR AURELIA MAGNA, HEARTH-INITIATE. As father and mother are both Aurelii this document probably postdates the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

636. STATUE BASE FOR AUR. PARAMONA DAUGHTER OF AUR. PARAMONOS OF LAMPTRAI, HEARTH-INITIATE. Since both parents are Aurelii, the monument should probably be dated after A.D. 212.

Ancestors of Paramonos of Lamptrai are probably represented among the following: an ephebe ca. A.D. 90, Paramonos son of Paramonos of Lamptrai (*IG II² 1996.76*); a father and son

represented in a grave relief “*med. s. II p.*”, Paramonos son of Paramonos and Alexandros son of Paramonos of Lamptrai (IG II² 6692). Other relatives (possibly even sons) may be the brothers Kladeos and Zosimos, sons of Paramonos of Lamptrai, who were ephebes in 222/3 (Follet, *Athènes* p. 410, no. 8.48-49 = IG II² 2228+).

637. STATUE BASE FOR APOLLONIOS SON OF APOLLONIOS, HIEROPHANT. This hierophant who was also a rhetor was the sophist Apollonios described by Philostratus, *VS* 2.20, p. 103 (Kayser). For other documentation concerning him, both possible and probable, see Clinton and Follet. He led a distinguished political life: eponymous archon, hoplite general, ambassador on several missions, including one to Septimius Severus. He taught rhetoric at Athens at the same time as Herakleides of Lycia and Apollonios of Naucratis, viz. (as Follet noted) ca. 176-180. When well on in years (ἤδη γηράσκων, according to Philostratus) he became hierophant, and died about the age of seventy-five; he was buried along the Sacred Way in the suburb known as Sacred Fig, where the procession escorting the sacred objects would pause on its way to the city.

As hierophant, according to Philostratus, he was surpassed in εὐφωνία by such hierophants as Hierokleides, Logimos, and Glaukos, but in “solemnity, grandeur, and attire” was superior to many of his predecessors.

The date of his service as hierophant has been a problem. Follet put it after the term of Glaukos, i.e. in 219/20 at the earliest, but perhaps ca. 225 or even as late as 230. This scheme entails too many difficulties to be preferable to a date before Glaukos, as I argued in *Sacred Officials*. The present epigram suggests that he served at least several years as hierophant. He died before Philostratus composed his biography, which he did sometime in the period 230/1-237/8 (*Sacred Officials* p. 41, note 232). Thus the latest possible date for his death would be 237/8. If he served at the earliest time under Follet’s scheme, viz. from 220 to ca. 230, he was born ca. 155. He would then have been ca. 20 years old when he made a mark as teacher of rhetoric, which seems a bit young; and of course if he took office in 225 or even later, as Follet’s scheme allows, this problem becomes even greater. So it seems best to assume that the upper limit for his death is ca. 220, that he was born therefore ca. 145 or a bit earlier, was teacher of rhetoric at about thirty (or more) years of age, and became hierophant ca. 212. This is now confirmed by an unpublished inscription from the Agora; see below, II.645.

The greater part of the epigram concerns the practice of hieronymy (on which see II.Introduction, “Hieronymy,” pp. 13-15). Lines 1-8 were inscribed on the base while he was still alive, lines 9-13 after his death, and this is reflected also in the character of the inscriptions (see Epigraphical Commentary). Only the post-mortem poem can reveal his name: Apollonios son of Apollonios.

Lines 1-4: “Anaktoron” designated the entire Telesterion (Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 126-132). The hierophant emerged from it in the midst of brilliant light.

Apollonios was both priest and rhetor, but now puts aside the *logoi* of the rhetor and proclaims what is ordained by the gods.

Line 5: The θεσμός appears to be an object on which the name was written.

Line 7: εἰς μακάρων: cf. 502.12.

Lines 11-12: His father's name is homonymous.

Line 13: This seems to suggest, as Keil pointed out, that he had an additional name, viz. Poseidonios, unless it is somehow an allusion to the fact that he was an Εὐμολπίδης, therefore a descendant of Poseidon.

Line 14: See Epigraphical Commentary.

638. DECREE OF THE ATHENIANS CONCERNING THE TRANSPORT OF THE SACRED OBJECTS. ELEUSINION OR DIOGENEION COPY. The archaistic preamble of this decree (lines 1-3) imitates formulas of the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. Indeed in spirit the entire decree is archaizing, legislating as it does reforms in order to recreate the ancient magnificence of the escort of the sacred objects, first from Eleusis to the Eleusinion, and then back again to Eleusis in the grand procession that marked the beginning of the final stage of the festival. The initiative in this matter seems to have been taken by the Eumolpidae: the proposer is the archon of this *genos*; appeal is made to tradition for the legitimacy of their initiative (lines 6-7); the epheboi are to receive for their labors the same privileges that the Eumolpidae receive during the festival (lines 33-36); and the treasurer of the Eumolpidae is responsible for inscribing the decree and publishing it in three places (lines 39-42). There is not a word about the Kerykes.

Line 1: The decree is unusual in that it was passed only by the Demos; it was merely "made known" to the Areopagus and Boule (lines 37-38). Clearly, therefore, at least in some matters at this date the Demos had the authority to initiate and pass decrees independently of the other two corporations.

On the archon Arabianos, whose full name was M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaios Arabianos of Marathon, and his date see *PIR*² D 134 (Groag) and Follet. He served as legate to Q. Tineius Sacerdos, proconsul of Asia between 202 and 212 (*MAMA* IV 10).

Line 3: Flavius Dryantianos son of Kallaischros of Marathon (*PIR*² F 261) was ephebic archon in 211/2 (*IG* II² 2208.8; 3763; Oliver, *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 89-90; Follet), at which time he already held senatorial rank by imperial grant (he came from an equestrian family; cf. Oliver, *Roman Senators* p. 127). For his family and stemma see Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 247-248, fig. 2, and Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 62-63, table 1.

Lines 6-7: An indirect object of προστάττει is needed, and it is most likely the *genos*, since the archon of the Eumolpidae appeals to tradition for support for this initiative of the Eumolpidae. It is very interesting that appeal is made here to ancestral tradition (τὰ πάτρια) but not to laws. Laws, in fact, are preserved which probably (138, of the fourth century B.C.) or certainly (250, of the second or first century B.C.) regulated the procession. We of course do not know whether the law code composed by Hadrian for the Athenians contained regulations about the Mysteries, but it would be surprising if it did not (for what is known of this code and lawmaking in Athens in this period see Graindor, *Hadrien* pp. 30-31; *SEG* XXX 89; Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 122-123). At any rate, considering the complete absence of any reference to the Kerykes in this document it seems likely that the administration of the procession had been in the hands of the Eumolpidae for a considerable period of time, so that by now this situation could be considered τὰ πάτρια. Perhaps it was felt that the proposed restoration of the ancient form of procession did not need the attention of the Boule and the Areopagus, since it was essentially a Eumolpid matter.

Lines 10-13: The innovation, or restoration, consists in having the ephebes march all the way to Eleusis in order to accompany the sacred objects from there back to Athens. In the Hellenistic period our evidence implies that the ephebes did not march the entire distance to Eleusis; ephebic decrees mention “receiving” the procession with the sacred objects and escorting it (see citations in Pélékidis, *Éphébie* pp. 221-223; Clinton, *Sacrifice*), and in one case the site of this reception is mentioned, viz. Echo, of uncertain location (*IG II² 1011.7-8*).

Lines 16-18: On the phaidyntes see II.Introduction, “Cult Statues,” pp. 12-13, and *Sacred Officials* p. 95. His function here, announcing the arrival of Demeter and Kore’s *Hiera* to the chief goddess of the Asty, suggests, in this archaizing document, that the institution of the phaidyntes at Eleusis was quite ancient.

Lines 19-27: This procession was called, as we can gather from the reference in line 13, ἡ ἄμια ἱεροῖς πομπή. It left the Eleusinion for Eleusis on Boedromion 19, and its purpose was to escort the sacred objects. In addition to the ephebes, it must have included the many priests and priestesses and magistrates mentioned in 489. It is to be distinguished from the procession that left on the following day, the 20th, the day on which they “lead out Iakchos.” Iakchos was the guide of the μύσται, and this was the moment when all the μύσται marched to Eleusis (cf. 250), in a procession that may have been called ἱακχαγωγή, on the day apparently called ἱακχος (Hesychius, s.v. ἱακχον, ...μίαν ἡμέραν τῶν μυστηρίων, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἱακχον ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ἡ ὥδή, ἣν οἱ μεμνημένοι ἄδουσι). On the evidence and on distinguishing the two processions see Clinton, *Sacrifice. The Procession of the Sacred Objects*, as we learn in this document, was administered by the Eumolpidae.

Nothing is said here either about the Kerykes or about the procession with Iakchos. The silence about the latter procession has led Graf to argue that both processions left central Athens on the same day, the one from the Eleusinion, the other from the Iakcheion (Pompai pp. 62-63). The chief difficulty with this is that Plutarch attests that the Athenians “lead out Iakchos” on Boedromion 20 (*Camill.* 19, *Phoc.* 28; cf. *Eur. Ion* 1074-1086; *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 314), and his use of the present tense suggests that the Athenians were still doing so in his day, whereas the present document describes the escort of the *Hiera* on the 19th. Graf’s other argument relies upon a comparison of the ephebes’ role in the procession of the *Hiera* as described in the present document with their role as described in Hellenistic ephebic inscriptions (they meet the *Hiera* and escort them, likewise Iakchos). There are three principal difficulties with these arguments:

1) The present document, as lines 4-9 make clear, is only concerned with the transport of the *Hiera*. Therefore the fact that it is silent about the procession of Iakchos on Boedromion 20 is what we should expect, since this procession had nothing to do with the *Hiera*.

2) The escorts of the *Hiera* by the ephebes as described in this document differ in a substantial way from those described in the Hellenistic decrees (see above, on lines 10-13). In the Hellenistic period the ephebes met the *Hiera* (performed an ἀπάντησις or ὑπάντησις) and escorted them: ἐποίησαντα δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτά, καὶ τὸν ἱακχον ὥσαύτως (*IG II² 1008.7*, for example). One decree tells us that the meeting took place “at Echo” (*IG II² 1011.7-8*). No Hellenistic document reports that the ephebes went all the way to Eleusis to fetch the *Hiera*. Thus the ephebes’ procedure concerning the *Hiera* in the present document and the Hellenistic decrees is not completely comparable. The only thing that should be the same is

the escort on Boedromion 19, in accompanying the procession of the *Hiera* from the Asty to Eleusis. The prior journey from Eleusis to the Asty is different: on Boedromion 14 in the Hellenistic period they met the *Hiera* at some point between Eleusis and Athens, whereas the present decree has them go to Eleusis in order to escort the *Hiera* from there to the Asty (no mention of a *meeting* in this case).

The Hellenistic decrees suggest that the ephebes performed a similar role for Iakchos, namely a meeting and an escort (the meeting with Iakchos is especially clear in *IG* II² 1006.74, where the dative τῶι ἰάκχῳ, dependent on ὑπαπάντησεν, is used). Thus I assumed that the ephebes marched out from Eleusis on Boedromion 20 and met the procession of Iakchos coming from Athens (this is the only time at which the ephebes could have *met* Iakchos), presumably about halfway (perhaps at Echo), and escorted them to Eleusis. According to Graf, “this, however, contradicts the inscriptions which equate (ὁμοίως δέ or ὡσαύτως) escorting the *Hiera* and escorting Iakchos.” This would be a “contradiction” if we assumed, with Graf, that all the inscriptions (both Hellenistic and this one) describe the same procedure, escorting the *Hiera* all the way from Eleusis to the Asty, but this is not the case: the Hellenistic ones mention, again and again, *meeting* the *Hiera* and imply a similar meeting for Iakchos. The logical time for ephebes to meet the *Hiera* of course is on Boedromion 14, on the journey of the *Hiera* to the Asty, when the ephebes could march out from the City to meet them; the logical time to meet Iakchos is on the 20th, on his journey from the Asty to Eleusis, when the ephebes, having arrived in Eleusis the day before, are in a position to march out and meet him. (It should be noted that the Hellenistic decrees do not say that the ephebes met and escorted the *Hiera and* Iakchos, but that they met and escorted the *Hiera*, “likewise Iakchos.” The syntax implies two separate events but similar in that they both involve a meeting and an escort.) The present decree in effect prohibits a meeting of the *Hiera* on the 14th. It is not clear, on the other hand, whether the ephebes’ meeting of Iakchos and his procession continued to take place on the 20th, as this subject is beyond the scope of this decree (escorting the *Hiera*, lines 7-9).

3) Graf’s proposal eliminates the ephebes’ “meeting” of Iakchos. Indeed he proposes instead that both processions “took place on the same day, and the procession with the *Hiera* merged with the Iacchus procession after the Pompeion.” A ὑπάντησις, however, suggests a formal meeting rather than merely merging two processional streams. He also assumes that the Hellenistic “meeting” of the *Hiera* could simply indicate that the ephebes went to Eleusis to get the *Hiera*; but this would be a strange use of the word (different, too, from the “merger” of the two processions), and indeed the present decree does not mention a *meeting* of the *Hiera* when the ephebes go to Eleusis to escort them back to central Athens, for the simple reason that they did not *meet* the *Hiera*. For a full description of a formal ὑπάντησις, probably much more elaborate than the type indicated here, see that of Cyzicus in greeting its benefactors, the kings Roimetalkes, Polemon, and Kotys and their mother in A.D. 37 (*SIG*³ 798.19-25).

More serious than Graf’s objections to the hypothesis of two processions is the possible objection posed by Plutarch’s description of the procession of 407 B.C., which Alcibiades brought about with a military escort in order to put an end, at least temporarily, to the processions by sea during the Decelean War (*Alc.* 34): Plutarch clearly implies that a single procession took place on a single day. The emergency situation, however, must have dictated the combination of both proces-

sions. The fact that some observers called this military march ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ μυσταγωγίαν (34.5) may reflect its unusual combination of the processions of the *Hiera* and of *Iakchos*; Plutarch's description of the order of the participants would also be consistent with this: ἱερεῖς καὶ μύσται καὶ μυσταγωγοί.

Lines 22-26: We may infer that some phases of the ephebic escort were omitted in recent years, and that all ephebes did not always march nor always in full armor. Hence the necessity of the present decree.

Lines 27-36: The restoration of the ancient procession added considerably to the ephebes' obligation – marching twenty-one kilometers in full armor on two consecutive days, Boedromion 13-14 (instead of a fraction, perhaps just half, of that distance on only one day), in addition to the return escort to Eleusis – and so they are given a greater share of privileges. On the διανομή of the Eumolpidai see *Sacred Officials* p. 23. In view of the absence of penalties here for non-compliance, this provision would be the most powerful incentive for carrying out the intent of the decree.

Lines 29-30: Similar activities apparently took place during the escort of *Iakchos* (θύσῃαι καὶ χορεῖαι, as Plut. *Alc.* 34.4 states). The sacrifices are presumably of the normal type, which provided a meal, and this is reinforced by the fact that the ephebes are “to share in” them when they escort the *Hiera*. The picture is thus of two trips, with feasting and singing, that were, in spite of the distance, rather enjoyable; they need not have taken less than around eight to ten hours – a relatively leisurely pace. It is fairly clear, then, that the initiates did not fast (so we may discount the notion that experience of trance was a significant phenomenon, as Graf, p. 63, suggests). The authority for fasting is Clement *Protr.* 2.21.2, namely the famous *synthema*: “I fasted, I drank the Kykeon ...” But Clement is not an accurate authority, and the connection of this *synthema* with the Mysteries is in any case somewhat dubious; Clinton, *Iconography* p. 35, note 107.

Lines 36-38: A copy of the decree was given to the Areopagus, the Boule, the hierophant, and the *genos* itself, i.e. to the other two major civic bodies, to the leading priest of the Eumolpidai, and to the *genos* for its archives.

Lines 39-43: Publication is to occur in the places most involved with the procession – the two sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore and the Diogeneion, i.e. the gymnasium that was principal place of assembly for the ephebes in this period (cf. Pélékidis, *Éphébie* pp. 264-266). The present document is either the Diogeneion or Eleusinion copy; a fragment of the other of these two is published as *IG II² 1079*.

A Bouleuterion in the sanctuary at Eleusis is also attested as far back as 408/7 (*52.A.II.14* = *B.II.25*). It has been identified with the stoa in the southern corner of the sanctuary, but this seems unlikely (see *II.141*). Perhaps we should consider the building designated H 50 on the Plan, built in the (probably late) Archaic period (Mylonas, *Eleusis* pp. 96-97). With dimensions of 25.45 m. by 8.75 m. it is significantly smaller than the old or new Bouleuterion in the Agora, but the Eleusinian Bouleuterion was normally used only once a year. We have epigraphic record of a meeting of the Areopagus there, in the first century A.D. (*IG IV² 83.2*; cf. above, *II.345*), but also of a meeting of the Boule, at which moment they were called the Sacred Boule (*IG II² 1072.3* and *551*). A location near the entrance to the sanctuary, if that is indeed where it was located, would be especially suitable for regulations concerning the procession.

639. STATUE BASE FOR HONORATIANE POLYCHARMIS DAUGHTER OF HONORATIANUS POLYCHARMOS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Her mother, Claudia Themistokleia was probably born around A.D. 190 (see stemma at II.622 and II.520) and was herself a hearth-initiate. Her own daughter, Iunia Themistokleia, also became a hearth-initiate (648).

The inscriptions honoring the hearth-initiations of her mother and her mother's sister, Claudia Menandra, also mention the daduchs who were among their ancestors, viz. their father Claudius Philippos and their great-grandfather Aelius Praxagoras. Surely the present reference to Polycharmis' daduchic ancestors, the Claudii Praxagoras and Philippos, is to the same pair; there would be no reason to omit Aelius Praxagoras. Follet, *Athènes* p. 281, incorrectly assumes this Praxagoras is a different person, perhaps the son of the daduch Claudius Philippos. But Aelius Praxagoras was a member of the Claudii of Melite, and so it was convenient, if perhaps slightly inaccurate, for this inscription to refer to Praxagoras and Philippos simply as Claudii. (Praxagoras probably changed his gentilicium from Claudius to Aelius under Hadrian; cf. Woloch p. 265, no. 51.)

For the honorand's father and children see II.648.

640. DEDICATION HONORING FABIUS [- - -], HEARTH-INITIATE. The honorand, a *senatorius* with a Roman career (military tribune, quaestor of Macedonia, and other offices), son of Flavia Prok[leiane], a high-priestess of the Mother of the Gods in Boeotia, has proved difficult to identify. His hearth-initiation indicates that he was an Athenian; he may have been an Eleusinian priest. Oliver suggested that he might be a member of a branch of the Fabii of Marathon: Fabius Thisbianus of Marathon was archon in 186/7, and either he or, more likely, his son served as daduch in the early third century. (I suggested, *Sacred Officials* p. 64, no. 26, that this archon might be the same person as the daduch; Follet, *Athènes* pp. 280-281, that daduch must be a son of the archon; but her redating of *Agora* XV 406 to 171/2 and her reading of Fabius Thisbianos among the aeisitoi in this document render preferable her identification of the daduch as a son.)

Lines 8-10: Flavia Prokleiane, mother of the honorand, was high-priestess of the Koinon of the Boeotians, serving the Mother of the Gods; cf. *IG* VII 3426 [= *SEG* XXXVI 416] in honor of Flavia Laneika, high-priestess of the Koinon, serving Athena Itonia. Schachter restored her name in *IG* VII 561, but this is merely a possibility.

641. STATUE BASE FOR [E]UNNIKE DAUGHTER OF KALLAISCHROS OF [PHIL]AIDAI. The text shows striking similarities with *IG* II² 4186, a dedication in honor of a "friend and benefactor" with an identical misspelling of the reflexive pronoun. The dedicator of the present monument was evidently a Roman woman by the name of Sedata.

Line 1: Probably Ε]ϋννίκη[ν, preceded by a gentilicium. On the false gemination of nu cf. Threatte, *GAI* I 43.022, p. 533. *Agora* XVII 222, assigned by Bradeen simply to the Roman period, is relevant:

[. .⁵⁻⁶. . . Ζ]ώϊλου Μαραθω[νίου θυγάτηρ]
[Καλλαί]σχρου Φιλάδ[ου γυνή]

If Εὐνίκη is restored in line 1, then she ought to be the mother of the honorand of the present document. Zoilos of Marathon, a member of a famous family of the second and third centuries, married a Eunike, probably shortly before the end of the second century (see stemmata by Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 243-258, fig. 2, and Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 49-74, Table I), and this seems to be the moment that the name Eunike entered the family. Their daughter, therefore, may well be the subject of the gravestone found in the Agora and the mother of the present honorand.

Line 3: The lacuna evidently held a gentilicium.

Lines 3-4: On the spelling ἡαυτ[ῆς see Threatte, *GAI* I 7.02, pp. 146-147.

642. STATUE BASE FOR POLYZELOS XEINAGOROU, HEARTH-INITIATE. The honorand's father, who was probably not born before 190, was also honored at Eleusis by a statue with a dedicatory epigram (**628**), evidently as a hearth-initiate; see stemma at II.622. The reason for the son's honor was his role as μυστῶν ἡγητῆρα, and commentators have duly interpreted this term in various ways: mystagogue (Boeckh, Lenormant), hearth-initiate (Clinton), or hierophant (Follet, but doubted by Dittenberger, *IG* III 713). Mystagogue is extremely unlikely, as this was a very ordinary duty at the Mysteries (a guide of a single initiate, not μυστῶν) and is nowhere in our sources a cause for special honor. Neither was the hierophant a guide of initiates; he did not participate in the procession of initiates to Eleusis (Clinton, *Sacrifice* p. 70; above, II.638). We note, too, that Xenagoras was listed as a member of the Kerykes (Geagan, *Constitution* p. 169, line 212), whereas the hierophant was always a Eumolpid, and there is no evidence that one could be a member of both the Kerykes and Eumolpidai simultaneously. **649** informs us that a hierophant was a μυστικὸς ἡγεμὼν at some time prior to his service as hierophant (Clinton); this is probably the same office as μυστῶν ἡγητῆρ. We know that the hearth-initiate served as a representative of all initiates (*Sacred Officials* p. 99), and therefore it seems right to infer that he or she marched at the head of the initiates in the procession, as μυστῶν ἡγητῆρ. Xenagoras served also as ἱερός παῖς τοῦ Πυθίου at Delphi (*BCH* 87, 1963, pp. 202-204, lines 8-9 = *SEG* XX 482).

643. EDICT. The formula λέγει (= *dicit*) identifies the document as an *edictum*. The end of the author's name is given in line 1. In the list of Roman administrators of Achaia published by Groag, *Reichsbeamten*, only two names would suit the traces in line 1: L. Lucilius Priscillianus (*ibid.* cols. 82-84; *PIR*² L 392), proconsul shortly before 217, and L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (*ibid.* cols. 135-136; *PIR*² E 36), corrector Achaiae ca. A.D. 230 (he was consul around this time [cf. A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell'impero Romano* (Rome 1952) p. 64] and honored at Athens in *IG* II² 4217). And of these two the latter is the much more likely, in view of their respective careers.

Lines 1-2: Just before λέγει we should expect one of the author's titles. The name and titles of Lollianus are certainly possible:

[Λούκιος Ἐγνάτιος Βίκτωρ Λο]λλιανὸς
[ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) ὑπατικὸς καὶ ἐπανορθ]ωτῆ[ς] λέγει·

This suits the space as the lettering in line 1 is slightly larger.

Lines 5-6: Neighboring fields and water supply are discussed. The Roman fountain house and bath were located fairly close to where this document was found; see **619**.

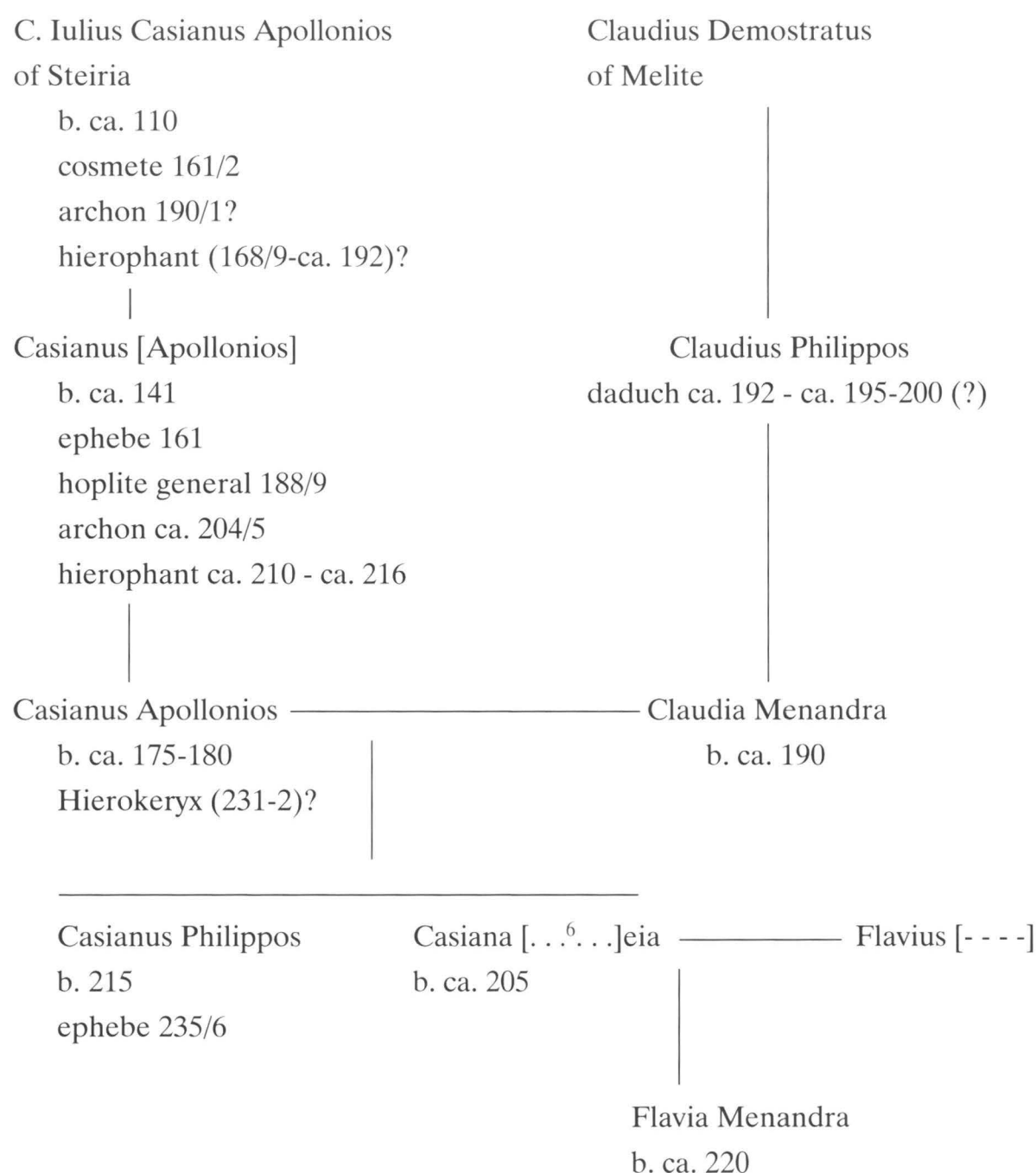
644. STATUE BASE FOR [MARCUS U]LPIUS E[UBIOTOS LEUROS GARGETTIOS]. The only known Ulpus at Athens whose cognomen begins with epsilon and who received the title λαμπρότατος is M. Ulpus Eubiotos of Gargettos, ex-consul and eponymous archon ca. 230; on the man and his family see Oliver, *Civic Tradition* pp. 122-124 (with stemma); Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp.115-116, with further bibliography.

Lines 9-10: τῆς Ἀθη|νᾶς Π[ολιάδος?

Lines 13-14: Skias understood these lines as giving the name of the eponymous priestess of Demeter and Kore.

645. STATUE BASE FOR CASIANUS HIEROKERYX. This dedicatory inscription is unusual in mentioning the sacred herald's hearth-initiation, and in first place, before any of his later offices.

The primary problem is the identity of the herald. He most likely belongs to the illustrious Iulii Cas(s)iani of Steiria, attested from around the middle of the second century (cf. Clinton). Follet listed several possibilities: Cassianus Mousonios and Cassianus Bassos, ephebes ca. 200 whose demes are unknown (*IG* II² 2203; why Follet assigned them to Steiria is unclear); Casianus Apollonios, ephebe in 161/2 (*IG* II² 2085.2-3), hoplite general in 188/9 (*Agora* XV 416, 418-419), and archon ca. 204 (*IG* II² 2199.7); the father of Casianus Philippos, ephebe in 235/6 (*IG* II² 2235.9, 38, 89) (the father's name, however, was not Philippos as Follet supposed; see below); and Casianus I[soch]rys[os], prytanis ca. 220/1 (*IG* II² 1826.16). Her own (hypothetical) preference is for Cassianus Bassos. However, a statue base from the Agora Excavations, found in the vicinity of the Library of Pantainos (Agora I 7483+365+782, which I recently published, *Hesperia* 73, 2004, 39-57), is relevant. It held statues of Casiana [. . .⁶ . . .]ia, her daughter Flavia Menandra, and her husband (perhaps the homonymous son of Flavius Philostratos the sophist and biographer). It informs us that Casiana [. . .⁶ . . .]ia is the sister of Casianus Philippos, the daughter of Casianus Apollonios and Claudia Menandra, and the granddaughter of the hierophant Casianus [Apollonios] and the daduch Claudius [Philippos]. This information allows us to compose the following stemma:



The hierokeryx of the present monument may be the father of Casianus Philippos. He was eponymos of his prytany between 215 and 225 (*Agora* XV 477.15; cf. Follet, *Athènes* pp. 77-78). Although the son of a hierophant and on that account ineligible to be a sacred herald, he presumably achieved eligibility through his mother; intermarriage between children of Eumolpidai and Kerykes was relatively common in this period, as is shown by his own marriage (see also 487; on transferring *genos*, Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* p. 4, lines 7-11). Of course Casianus Apollonios, the ephebe of 161/2, is ruled out, for he became a hierophant.

This Casianus Apollonios, ephebe in 161/2, could not have become hierophant before he was sixty-four years old, and actually could have done so only after 209/10 (Claudius Apollinarios of Acharnai was still serving in this year, according to Follet's new reading of *IG* II² 1077.39, *Athènes* p. 262), therefore at an age of ca. seventy years. He must be the sophist Apollonios, whose career is described by Philostratus, and whose term of office I had dated ca. 215 (*Sacred Officials* p. 40, no. 29). In addition to serving at the right time, he conforms in other respects to Philostratus' description of the sophist (*VS* II.20): he began the *hierophanteia* ἡδὴ γηράσκων, and in the course of his career had been appointed to the highest political offices at Athens, the eponymous

archonship and the hoplite generalship, in addition to embassies “concerning the most important matters.” Since Philostratus states that Apollonios died about seventy-five years of age, he cannot have served much beyond A.D. 216.

A further inference from the Agora document is that Casianus Philippos, the ephebe in 235/6, was evidently the first member of the family to be so named, after his maternal grandfather. It follows that *Agora* XV 466 (= *IG* II² 1817), where he is listed as hoplite general, must belong to the late 240's or later, and the same must be said for the document edited by Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 164-170, where he appears as an Areopagite (line 89) (the late date was suspected by Follet, *Athènes* pp. 97, 291, 421, while an even earlier date, viz. ca. 190/1, was proposed by Geagan, *ZPE* 33, 1979, pp. 93-115). (The identity of Casianus, the prytany eponymos in the list edited by Traill, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 231, no. 34 [= *SEG* XXX 194] remains unclear.)

Casianus Hierokeryx was archon in 231/2 (*IG* II² 2230.3; 2241.1-3; *Agora* XV 491.9-10; see Follet, *Athènes* pp. 287, 332). He died sometime before 238 (cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 81; Follet, *Athènes* p. 287).

646. STATUE BASE FOR (T. FLAVIUS) GLAUKOS (GLAUKOU MARATHONIOS), HIEROPHANT. On Glaukos the hierophant and his family see Oliver, Clinton, Follet, and Aleshire. According to Philostratos, *VS* 2.20, he was superior to Apollonios the hierophant in εὐφωνία. The present epigram seems to suggest that he died an old man.

Follet takes him to be a predecessor to Apollonios, but Philostratus does not specify the temporal relationship of the two hierophants. It still seems to me preferable, as I argued in *Sacred Officials*, to regard him as a successor; see II.637. If so, he served roughly from ca. A.D. 230 to ca. 235, right about the time Philostratus was composing his work (Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 41, note 232).

Most interesting is the sentiment expressed in lines 5-6, echoing (as Oliver noted) Socrates' thoughts in Plato's *Apology*. But it is of course also true that the notion that death was not an evil but a good was always fairly implicit in descriptions of the rewards held out for initiates (cf. II.502). The use of μυστήριον in the singular, meaning a revelation that deserves to be known by all, is, as Nock observed, quite unusual. The “blessed ones” are here probably the blessed dead, blessed especially by the Mysteries, not gods in general, and so the goodness of death, though couched here in Platonic terms, derives its justification from the Mysteries.

Line 3: A similar expression occurs in 659: τῷ μὲν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος ἀνακτόρου ἱεροφ[άντη] Γλαύκῳ.

Line 4: πρὸς ἀθανάτους: see II.502.

647. HERM DEDICATED TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMINUS. Because of the impossibility of restoring [Σεβ]αστ[ῶ] in line 6 (see Epigraphical Commentary) I assume that this is a milestone like *IG* II² 5202, a herm set up in honor of Diocletian and Maximianus, which displays the distance ἐξ ἄστεως, and I have restored accordingly. The wider spacing of the letters in line 6 and its extension into the left margin suggest that the viewer's attention was to be drawn especially to this line, in which the notation of the distance began.

Noticeably absent is mention of Maximinus' co-regent, his son (cf. *IG* II² 3420). The monument may have been set up before his son received the title of Caesar in 236 (cf. *PIR*² I 620).

Line 7: Eleusis is approximately fourteen miles from the Athenian Agora, but it is not clear where this milestone was originally erected.

648. STATUE BASE FOR IUNIA THEMISTOKLEIA DAUGHTER OF HONORATIANE POLYCHARMIS, HEARTH-INITIATE. Oliver suggested that Iunia Themistokleia was related to Iunius Themistokles, a prytanis of the late second century, who also appears in an earlier ephebic list (*IG* II² 2075.30; *Agora* XV 351.4; cf. Follet p. 223); this is possible, but it is more likely that she was named after her grandmother, Claudia Themistokleia.

Lines 2-7: Honoratiane Polycharmis, the honorand's mother, considered herself a descendant of Pericles and Conon and, on the Macedonian side, of Alexander the Great. Polycharmis' cousin, Casiane [.....]eia, the daughter of Claudia Menandra, who belonged to the Claudii of Melite, the family famous for its daduchs, was also said to be a descendant of Pericles (*Agora* inscription; see II.645); and since Menandra was the sister of Themistokleia's grandmother, this purported descent from Pericles was probably a view cherished by the Claudii of Melite. (P. MacKendrick, *The Athenian Aristocracy, 399 to 31 B.C.* [Cambridge, Mass. 1969] p. 11, assumed that Conon was a member of the Kerykes, based on this inscription; but the inscription is of no value for this, since the ancestry cannot be traced solely through the male line: Conon belonged to the deme Anaphlystos, while Polycharmis' father, Philippos, was of Melite. Cf. Dittenberger.)

The rarity of the nomen Honoratianus at Athens would suggest that it belonged to a foreigner of Macedonian ancestry who settled in Athens and acquired Athenian citizenship, and this has recently been confirmed. Kapetanopoulos identified the father of the honorand with the Honoratianus Polycharmos son of Aelius Potamon (probably of Beroea or somewhere in the vicinity) who set up a statue of his father at Beroea (O. Walter, *AA* 57, 1942, p. 178, no. 16; cf. B. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society*, Athens 1988, p. 239, no. 977). This family must have claimed descent from Alexander the Great. For other such claims cf. Kapetanopoulos.

An Hon<ο>ratianus Polycharmos appears in a list of names, ephebes according to most editors, prytaneis according to Kapetanopoulos, inscribed after A.D. 212 (*IG* II² 2217.3). The Honoratianus Athenion who was ephebe ca. 237/8 (*IG* II² 2242.38) was most likely the honorand's brother.

Honoratiane Polycharmis seems to have been born ca. 210 (cf. II.639 and the stemmata at II.622 and II.645); thus Iunia Themistokleia may have been born ca. 225-230 and have served as hearth-initiate ca. 240.

Line 7: On the omission of rho cf. Threutte, *GAI* I p. 480.

649. STATUE BASE FOR A HIEROPHANT. The dedicator, most likely Myrtale, was the wife of the hierophant honored here, sister of the deceased hierophant Glaukos, and daughter of Glaukos, *procurator Cypri*. Her nephew, Glaukos son of Zoilos, a poet, most likely composed the epigram (so Oliver).

The damaged beginning of the poem recounted the offices held by this man before he became hierophant: *agonothesia*, eponymous archonship, and others no longer distinguishable.

In theory this hierophant should have succeeded Glaukos. Glaukos had already died after serving nearly ten years, so that if this monument honored a predecessor, that man died over nine years before this monument was set up. But such a delay cannot be ruled out. Many causes are possible, including lack of means. The crack running through the inscription suggests that the donor was at this time unable to afford a first-class block of marble.

Line 4: It is not clear to which office “mystic leader” refers. The term would suit Iakchos, or in this context his transporter, the Iakchagogos. Iakchos is depicted as a “mystic leader” in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* and Eleusinian paintings (Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 64-70, 73-75); and Strabo calls him ἀρχηγέτης τῶν Μυστηρίων (10.3.10). The Iakchagogos may well have been a Eumolpid (*Sacred Officials* p. 96), and so the present hierophant may have held this priesthood prior to becoming hierophant. On the other hand, the office may well have been simply that of hearth-initiate; in one case he was referred to as a “leader of initiates” (642).

Line 5: Wilhelm’s restoration, requiring him to have been a daduch before becoming hierophant, is of course impossible, the simplest reason being that the *dadouchia* was a lifetime priesthood, not to mention the different *gene* involved.

Line 8: Euryale is not appropriate for the meter, but Myrtale, a well enough attested name, suits it perfectly. Follet suspects that she was the wife of the hierophant Apollonios, and brings to bear a grave inscription from the Agora: Μυρτάλη [- - - - -] [Ἀπο]λλ[- - - γυνή] (*Agora* XVII 926). But it is too damaged to confirm the proposal, and the chronology is not right; see II.645.

Line 12: ὦχετ’ ἐς ἀθανάτους: see II.502.

650. STATUE BASE FOR NIKAGORAS, SACRED HERALD AND SOPHIST. M. Iunius Nikagoras son of Mnesaios became sacred herald shortly before 238, was active in the reign of Philip the Arab, and probably did not live much beyond his reign if at all (Clinton). Holder of the sophistic chair, he and his distinguished family of orators, philosophers, and sophists were proud of their descent from Plutarch, as the present inscription proclaims, after Nikagoras’ death. His homonymous grandson was a daduch in the first quarter of the fourth century (*Sacred Officials* pp. 64-66, no. 30).

Line 3: Sextos of Chaeronea was a nephew of Plutarch (*Suda*, s.v. Σέξστος).

651. DIONYSIA DAUGHTER OF HERMIPPIS, PRIESTESS OF DEMETER. Skias pointed out that this does not appear to be a gravestone, but probably was a dedicatory stele containing a painted image of the priestess below the inscription. However, it is by no means clear that the back of the stone is original, so it is possible that the stone was originally a statue base.

The full name of this priestess is Gellia Dionysia daughter of Gellius Xenagoras; for her family and its stemma see Oliver, *Expounders* pp. 161-164. Her mother, Hermippis, was priestess of Athena (*IG* II² 2342.30-31). In *Sacred Officials* I expressed doubt whether Dionysia was the priestess of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, largely because of her title, simply Δήμητρος ἱέρεια (at *IG* II²

2342.32-33, it is Δήμητρος ὕστερον ἱέρεια, ὕστερον perhaps indicating that her priesthood occurred after her marriage; cf. [Plut.] *X orat.* 843B). This can hardly be decisive (her mother's title is also abbreviated, simply Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια). But we might add that her father was a member of the Kerykes, and as her mother was evidently a priestess of Athena Polias, her mother's father was a member of the Eteoboutadai; yet priestesses of Demeter had to be taken from the Philleidai (cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 68). It is conceivable, however, that her father belonged to this *genos* in addition to the Kerykes (on membership in multiple clans see II.443). Most importantly, the fact that she is connected with a monument in the Eleusinian sanctuary should offer strong presumption that it was there that she served as priestess of Demeter. In fact, like other monuments in the sanctuary this one may have been erected after her death; some support for this (if the inscription is truly complete) is offered by the nominative case of her name.

Line 3: Whether the inscription ended here is no longer clear; Skias evidently thought so, and in his time the stone was in much better condition. The prominence given here to the mother probably reflects the family's pride in the fact that both mother and daughter were priestesses of the greatest goddesses of the city.

652. STATUE BASE FOR A RELATIVE OF AN ORATOR. The critical restoration is in line 3. The name Μινουκιανός belongs to a family of sophists, orators, and philosophers who proudly traced their lineage back to the famous Plutarch (O. Schissel, *Klio* 21, 1927, pp. 361-373; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 64-66; Aleshire, *Asklepios* p. 161; Heath, Minucianus). This suggests consideration of the restoration ῥήτορος, which is reinforced by ΑΠΟΣΧΕ if construed as from ἀποσχεδιάζω, "extemporize" (like αὐτοσχεδιάζω). To be sure, the word is unattested epigraphically, but skill at extemporizing was much admired (cf. Philostr. *VS* 1.535-537, 571, etc.), and it would not be surprising to find it mentioned in the case of an outstanding practitioner.

Two Minoukianoι are suitable for consideration. 1) an important second-century expert in rhetorical theory (see Schissel; W. Stegemann, *RE* 15.2 (1932) cols. 1976-1986; Heath). Fragments of his famous treatise, Τέχνη ῥητορική, have survived. 2) M. Iunius Minoukianos, son of Nikagoras, mentioned in an imperial letter of 265 as ambassador to Gallienus (II.655.16 with further references; see also Heath). Of him Himerios wrote, διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φωνῆς πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἐλευθέρωσαντος (7.4 Colonna), and referred to his δεινότης (8.21) (implicitly ranking him alongside Demosthenes, as Stegemann points out); moreover, the fact that Himerios put him in a "catalog of sophists and philosophers" (7.4) suggests that he was indeed regarded as a sophist, as Heath emphasizes.

If the restoration of the first lacuna in line 3 is correct, then the Dio[- in line 1 is unlikely to be the honorand's name, since a feminine name will not fill the space, and there is not enough room for the alternative: a feminine name, patronymic, and demotic. Therefore Dio[should be the beginning of the honorand's or her father's patronymic, followed by a demotic. In the first lacuna in line 2 there is only room for a demotic or a title, but a demotic is more likely. The woman's relationship to Konon (or Konon's son) and Minoukianos might be that of granddaughter or niece, but cousin is not impossible. Her relationship to members of the senate (lines 5-6) may be simply that of συγγενίς. Her husband's name occurred in line 5. The names Dionysodoros

and Konon appear among the Flavii of Sounion (on the family, Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 223-234), but it would be hazardous to attempt restorations in default of demotics. A date before the beginning of the century would not be appropriate to the reference to senatorial relatives (lines 4-5); cf. Aleshire.

Heath points out that Philostratus' silence about the earlier Minoukianos suggests that he was not distinguished as a declaimer. So it would seem more appropriate to identify the Minoukianos of the present dedication with the later one. The absence of a term of filiation before καί in line 5 suggests that it was followed by another title for Minoukianos, perhaps σοφιστοῦ; cf. *IG II² 4211* and Heath, p. 68, for possible parallels.

c, *Line 2*: A name, such as Nikokles, Nikokleides, or Nikokrates, or the gentilicium Κοκκήιος.

653. STATUE BASE FOR T. FLAVIUS ΕΠΙ ΒΩΜΩΙ. *Lines 1-2*: Skias' μεγαλών[μων and Follet's tentative πατέρων constitute a phrase without parallel in Attic documents. It would be better to think of a name, such as Φιλωνύμου or Ἀπολλωνύμου. This would be in accord with the disposition of the terms of filiation. Since the term of filiation at the end of the line has to go with ὑπατικῶν, the term that would be associated with a name in lines 1-2 ought similarly to precede it.

Line 3: There were extremely few Athenian families of consulars in the second and third centuries; cf. Oliver, *Roman Senators from Greece and Macedonia*, *Civic Tradition* pp. 115-136; (on senatorial families) Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 229-230. The only one prior to the Severan period is the family of Herodes Atticus; the next one of relevance would be that of T. Flavius Dryantianos of Marathon (Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 247-248; Aleshire, *Asklepios* pp. 71-73, nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 23), whose consular ancestry was on his Lycian mother's side: he was ephebe in 211/2 and eventually archon of the Eumolpidae. It seems somewhat unlikely that our altar-priest was related to the family of Flavius Dryantianos, since the latter had hierophants among his ancestors and our document mentions only daduchs. In any event we should not expect a reference to consular ancestors in Athenian documents before the end of the second century except of course in the case of the family of Herodes Atticus. This document therefore belongs most likely to the third century.

Lines 4-5: T. Flavius Ἐπὶ βωμῶ has proved difficult to identify. It is most tempting to associate him with the family of T. Flavius Straton who was altar-priest early in the second century (he is certainly not the same person, as Follet, *Athènes* pp. 249-250, 288, proposed, for the date of the present document will not allow it); but that family had hierophants as ancestors (*Sacred Officials* p. 31), and hierophants are not mentioned here. It seems best, therefore, to conclude that the two altar-priests were not related, and that we do not possess enough information to identify the family of our honorand. (If Follet, *Athènes* p. 251, is correct in dating *IG II² 2124* to the first century, we cannot associate him with the archon of that document, Flavius Straton.)

Line 7: An ordinal numeral seems right here, as Follet suggested, and she may be right to infer that it refers to the number of a generation reckoned from a famous ancestor; of the parallels she cites none assigns with certainty a number to the generation of the honorand. A statue base from the Athenian Agora (see **II.645**) does indeed do this, i.e. the ordinal numeral modifies the name of

the honorand. In the present instance, however, we do not know whether the numeral is masculine (modifying the name of the honorand) or neuter, indicating for “the [thir?]teenth time,” i.e. an iteration of some office.

Lines 8-11: Follet’s restorations are merely speculative; the connection of ἀγωνοθετήσαντα with Ὀλυμπιάδα is without parallel.

654. STATUE BASE FOR AERARIUS SOSIPATROS, DADUCH. The gentilicium of this daduch is puzzling, as it is otherwise unattested at Athens and surprising in an aristocratic family (Oliver). Follet identified the daduch Fabius of Marathon who was in office at the beginning of the third century (*Sacred Officials* pp. 63-64) as Fabius Thisbianos, son of the Fabius Thisbianos who was archon in 186/7 and grandfather of the daduch Sosipatros. The rarity of the name Thisbianos makes this a reasonable hypothesis, but the gentilicium of Sosipatros suggests that if this is true, Sosipatros is not related to Fabius Thisbianos in a direct paternal line. In this case the possible relationships to Fabius (Thisbianos) are multiplied; this is consistent with the meaning of ἔγγονον here, probably descendant and not grandson, since it is very unlikely (though in theory not impossible) for someone to be a grandson of two daduchs. We cannot rule out a date as late as the end of the third century.

655. LETTER OF GALLIENUS TO THE ATHENIANS CONCERNING ELEUSINIAN MATTERS. This epistle of Gallienus to the Athenians, engraved on a block of stone over 0.33 m. in thickness, must have been an imposing monument. It seems to be primarily concerned with ensuring that the initiates have ample access to markets. Although there was a large and brisk market at Eleusis during the Mysteries (cf. II.237 and II.179, 553), it had certain disadvantages for the initiates: the expense of transporting goods to Eleusis and the large crowds attending the festival undoubtedly drove up prices in the festival market higher than usual and offered abundant opportunities for profiteering. On the special coins minted for the festival and its market see Kroll, *Agora XXVI* pp. 27-48. This market was evidently a recurring theme in imperial letters. Hadrian sent an epistle to the Athenians on the subject, as Graindor pointed out, in order to prevent profiteering on the sale of fish (Oliver, *Constitutions* 77 [= *IG II²* 1103]). This sort of activity would not serve the festival well, as it would inevitably discourage pilgrims from attending. The beginning of the present epistle suggests that the emperor was attempting to give the pilgrims some relief by allowing them easy access to the market in central Athens (the Asty), a practice which vendors at Eleusis would naturally want to discourage.

Armstrong argued that the epistle is concerned with the garrisoning of Eleusis as a fortress. According to him, the emperor was concerned generally about inadequate defenses in Greece and in particular about the vulnerability of Eleusis, inasmuch as it was sacked by the Costobocs ca. 170; such concern was already evident under Valerian, who “most probably” repaired the fortifications at Eleusis along with those of Athens. Evidence, however, for the personal involvement of the emperors in the renovation of the fortifications is unavailable. Though the Athenians apparently did repair the fortifications of the Asty under Valerian, there is no evidence that the emperor

played a significant role in this effort (Franz, *Late Antiquity* p. 1; cf. J. J. Wilkes, Civil Defence in Third-Century Athens, *BICS*, Suppl. 55, 1989, esp. pp. 190-191). In the case of Eleusis no archaeological evidence has actually been presented to show that the late-antique fortification wall there dates to the reign of Valerian. Kourouniotis, *Δελτίον* 1934-35, παράρτ., p. 1, excavated part of this construction but referred to it merely as "Late Roman," without specifying a more precise date. Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 165, and Travlos, *Πρακτικά* 1954, p. 70, *Attika* p. 98 (cf. Ziro, *Εἴσοδος* p. 279), attributed the wall to Valerian but did not present evidence to substantiate this view. The character of the construction, on the other hand, consisting as it does of all sorts of re-used materials, very much resembles the post-Herulian wall in the Asty, so that it seems safer to regard the Eleusinian wall also as post-Herulian (so Frantz, *Late Antiquity* pp. 2-3). Nor is there evidence in literary sources that Gallienus actively pursued the garrisoning and fortification of Athens. Thus if Armstrong's interpretation is correct, the present inscription would offer the first indication of such imperial interest. The opening line of the document, however, most plausibly restored as referring to pilgrims to the Mysteries (reinforced by the mention of τοῖν θεοῖν in line 9), strongly suggests that the letter concerned matters pertaining to the festival. In fact there is nothing in the document that must be understood as a reference to military preparations, not even the word στρατ[-] in line 12 (see Commentary).

Gallienus was archon in Athens in 264/5, and was probably initiated in Boedromion of that year (Follet prefers 265). On his relation to Athens and initiation see M. Rosenbach, *Galliena Augusta* (Tübingen 1958) pp. 28-36; A. Alföldi, *Chiron* 9, 1979, pp. 590-526; Follet; Armstrong; Clinton, Roman Initiates.

Lines 1-3: On Gallienus' titles in this document cf. Clinton (1971). His fourteenth tribunician power began on December 10, 265; he was consul for the seventh time in 266; the epistle therefore was issued in the period December 10-31, 265. Armstrong's arguments that under Gallienus the change in tribunician power occurred in August are unpersuasive. This is not the place to enter into a full discussion of this issue, but a couple of points may be emphasized. His belief that the change in tribunician power on December 10 was obsolete by the time of Philip I is surely incorrect. This hypothesis, which he elaborates in *ZPE* 67, 1987, pp. 215-216, rests in large part on an inscription known only from a faulty seventeenth-century copy, *CIL* XVI 152. Furthermore, it is contradicted by the practice of later emperors.

Line 3: On the difficult question of the size of the Boule at this time, see Oliver.

Line 5: Follet's restoration of the beginning must be correct. It is followed by a short word (of ca. 5-7 letters) which ought to designate the purpose of their sojourn, obviously to take part in the Mysteries. Though people who had not yet undergone their pre-initiation (μύησις) were perhaps technically not yet mystai, the term could be used loosely to designate initiates-to-be (see 19.B). For the phrase ἀγορὰν λαμβάνειν, "get provisions," cf. Diod. Sic. 13.3.4. To Armstrong's query, "Why should it 'suffice' foreign initiates to 'get' 'the' or 'their supplies' ... in the city, as opposed to Eleusis, where food was certainly for sale during the festival?", the answer is not hard to supply. First, all initiates had to go first to central Athens, the Asty; it was from there that the procession set out for Eleusis. Second, as explained above, it was economically advantageous for the Athenian merchants to sell provisions to the initiates at Eleusis, whereas it must have been more advantageous *for the initiates* to obtain as much as possible in the Asty before setting out for Eleusis. (Armstrong takes

ἀγορὰ in the sense “military provisions” [= *annona*], but this is hard to reconcile with the preceding part of the sentence; nothing related to military affairs has thus far been introduced.)

Line 6: Too little of this line is preserved to permit plausible restoration. Armstrong argues for ἅπαντας ἀπ’ εὐθ[ενείας (only ἀπ’ εὐ[- -] is actually preserved), meaning according to him “omnes ex annona” (viz. *annona militaris*), though it seems to me that the lack of the article is difficult. Among many possible restorations we might consider ἀπ’ εὐ[νοίας or ἀπ’ εὐ[θείας.

Line 7: τεταγμένω[ν can of course be a military term, but a conjecture of the sort that Follet suggested would suit the market context described above.

Line 8: Reference is made to a decree of the Areopagus on the subject of this epistle. On the term ὑπομνηματισμός see Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 42-44.

Line 9: This is an obvious reference to the Eleusinian sanctuary or ritual performed for Demeter and Kore: “Found within the sanctuary of Eleusis, [the document] must have some relation to the Mysteries or to those who take part in them: the word θεοῖν (l. 8) leaves no doubt on this matter” (Graindor p. 79). Hellenistic decrees cited by Armstrong (187.8-9, 194.21, 196.22-24, 211.26-30) mention sacrifices traditionally performed by generals at the sanctuary and also occasionally refer to security provided by the generals for the festival. He concludes: “Military instructions for Eleusis must regularly have included instructions for the assurance of continuity in ritual.” In the third century A.D., however, the tradition of generals serving at Eleusis no longer existed, having lapsed several centuries earlier, hence regular military instructions for ritual at Eleusis are out of the question; in any case it is hard to understand why the emperor would be concerned with such instructions.

Line 10: Numerous possibilities exist for continuing the restoration, including π[αρασχεῖν τὴν ἀγοράν.

Lines 12-13: The hoplite general, often designated in documents simply στρατηγός, supervised the grain supply and markets in general; he also had involvement with sacred properties (Geagan, *Constitution* pp. 18-31). In the present context of markets it would make perfect sense for him to play a role.

Line 14: Armstrong prefers a form of ἀνθίστημι or some other verb with this prepositional prefix, while Follet and I suspect ἀνθ[ρώποις (cf. *Agora* XV 460.22 [= *IG* II² 1077] and Oliver, *Constitutions* 217.27-28]; i.e. here some right seems to be implied for all who are eligible to attend the festival. The end of the line might as well be restored Ἐλ[ευσίνα as Ἐλ[λάδα, though the latter is slightly preferable for the space.

Line 15: Provision is made, apparently, for the trial of the offender, but the precise sense of μετ[?]απε[μ]φθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν [-^{ca. 7}- τοῖς Ἀθη]ναίοις ἵ]να ὑφέξει δίκη[ν is unclear. The name of a place, “where he will stand trial,” is demanded. Restoration of ἐπὶ τὸν ἑ[παρχον does not supply it, and in any case it is hard to see why an offender should be summoned to the governor of the province (if that is what is meant by ἐπὶ τὸν ἑ[παρχον), instead of standing trial in Athens (as Hadrian stipulated in his letter about the profiteering fish merchants). (A more appropriate official might be the epimelete of the City, who among other matters was involved with sacred property, and was often called simply ἐπιμελητής; the most recent incumbent known to us is Herodes Atticus [486].)

Line 16: At this point in the imperial epistle it was standard practice to state the name(s) of the

ambassador(s). (M.) Iunius Minoukianos (*PIR*² J 778) held the sophistic chair at Athens and was the son of a sacred herald (*Sacred Officials* pp. 80-81) and the father of a daduch (*ibid.* pp. 64-66, no. 30, with discussion of his connection with Epidauros and his praenomen). He was evidently a relative of the honorand of 652.

656. STATUE BASE FOR P. AELIUS HERENNIUS DEXIPPOS OF HERMOS, PANAGES PRIEST. The honorand is the historian Dexippos (*PIR*² H 104), who distinguished himself in leading the defence of Athens against the Herulians in 267/8; cf. F. Millar, P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions, *JRS* 59, 1969, pp. 19-29, with stemma.

Line 1: Unlike his father and brothers Dexippos belonged to the senatorial order, as his predicate of rank indicates (Oliver).

Line 2: On his priesthood cf. *Sacred Officials*.

Line 4: The reflexive pronoun suggests that the dedicator was ἡ πόλις.

Lines 5-6: Skias read ἰθυδίκου, but the name Ithydikes/os is not attested at Athens, to my knowledge. Further, considering the difficulty of construing these lines with the preceding, it seems best to regard them as the beginning of a poem; the remains of line 5 are in fact dactylic. *IG* II² 3669 offers another example of the same arrangement: a much longer poem, also following a prose inscription, in honor of Dexippos.

Line 6: Reference to service as ephebic cosmete does not occur in his titles, and so κοσμήτορα or κοσμήτωρ is preferable to κοσμητήν. The combination of ἰθυδίκου, whatever it modified, and κοσμήτ suggest Dexippos' role in repulsing the Herulians in the year 267/8.

Postscript. The document has recently been edited and discussed by E. Kapetanopoulos, *Horos* 14-16, 2000-03, pp. 133-134, together with other documents concerning Dexippos.

657. STATUE BASE WITH VERSE DEDICATION. The meaning of the verb προστίνω, otherwise unattested according to *LSJ*, should be “pay or repay in addition.” However, if, as is most likely, the honorand is the subject, the verb here should have a favorable sense, such as “repaid in addition a debt to his country”. In any event, reference seems to be to a major accomplishment. The adjective εἰθυδίκ[ω] occurs also on a monument honoring Dexippos (656), evidently for his work in repulsing the Herulians. As mentioned in the Epigraphical Commentary, the lettering shows some similarity to that of 656. So it is tempting to associate this monument also with Dexippos and his glorious achievement.

658. DEDICATORY BASE SET UP BY INITIATES, PYRRO[S] AND ROUPHEINOS. Peek associated the “victory” (line 11) with the repulse of the Costobocs in A.D. 170 or 171: “Im Hexameter wird wohl an die in den Epigrammen 3411 und 3639 gefeierte Abwehr der Costoboci um das Jahr 170 n. Chr. erinnert.” However, these epigrams (516, 515) do not refer to a repulse of the Costobocs or a victory over them, because in fact no such victory took place. The Athenians did celebrate a victory, on the other hand, over the invading Herulians when Dexippos and his

band of men defeated them in 267/8; on the event cf. Frantz, *Late Antiquity* pp. 1-3; F. Millar, *JRS* 59, 1969, pp. 12-29. Letter-forms of the present document, such as the one-legged alpha and the epsilon with its closed upper hemisphere (like the cursive shape), would be more appropriate for a late third-century date. Thus it seems best to assume that this monument celebrates the valor of a couple of men, Pyrro[s] and Roupheinos, evidently from Crete (line 16), in the victory over the Herulians. The sanctuary probably owed its escape from destruction to the timely victory.

Line 15: Peek correctly saw that the verb expressing the request should occur here. We should expect something more specific than a request simply for general σωτηρία. But the lack of specification, if it is correct, tends to suggest, in reference to “initiates,” σωτηρία in the afterlife. Although such a request would be unparalleled in an Eleusinian document, for the late third century it would not be altogether surprising.

Line 17: This monument was set up next to the σηκός, i.e. the Telesterion. It seems more likely that the τήνδε refers to the preceding request rather than to what follows, which appears to be merely an appendage – a curse uttered for the protection of the monument, hardly the sort of reason (the ἰκεσία) for setting up the monument in the first place.

Lines 19-20: This sort of curse (here separated off by the forked paragraphos and indentation from the main body of the epigram) occurs frequently on funerary monuments, but not on any other dedication within the Eleusinian sanctuary. Its occurrence on this dedication may reflect the instability and anxiety of the time.

659. STATUE BASE FOR EUNIKE KALLAISCHROU (MARATHONIOU). Eunike was the daughter of the hierophantis Isidote, daughter of Isaïos. (For the prosopography of the family see Oliver, Clinton, Follet, and Aleshire.) Toepffer referred to Eunike as a hierophantis, and nearly all subsequent scholars have followed him; but as I pointed out in *Sacred Officials*, nothing in this document indicates that she held that priesthood, and no other evidence exists. Like other people who had some connection with the sanctuary, she was honored there after her death (cf. II.235), probably by members of her family.

On the literary qualities of the poem see Oliver and Bowie.

Lines 1-2: Since the monument could not have been within the Telesterion, the phrase παρ’ ἀνακτόρῳ must mean “next to the Telesterion,” and so constitutes an important piece of evidence for identifying the Anaktoron with the Telesterion; see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 126-132.

Lines 4-5: Kallaischros was one of the dedicators of **502** in honor of Eunike’s great-grandmother Isidote, the hierophantis.

Lines 5-7: In view of the similar spelling of the names Isaïos and Isidote here (in ΕΙ-) the poet connected both of them with Isis, as Keil observed. Isidote of course does not get her name from the East but from Isaïos who came from there; so Keil’s Ἀντολίηθεν (Follet found it also in Oppian *Cyneg.* 1.43, 2.123) is preferable to Graindor’s restoration. On Isidote and her paternal line see II.502. Her grandfather, Isaïos, a sophist from Syria, was a teacher of Hadrian, which inspired Graindor’s restoration of the emperor’s name.

Lines 8-9: Zoilos’ deme was Marathon; Follet’s restoration therefore makes good sense, and

may be right; but it does not ring quite right, I think, in the presence of Ἀντολίηθεν and Αὔσονίηθεν.

Lines 9-12: Glaukos was a sophist and hierophant (646), Kallaischros a philosopher (Philostr. *VS* 2.11), and according to the present passage, Platonic. As a parallel to the language here Follet cites Philostratus, *Her.* 1.2: καὶ σοφίαν δρέπη θείαν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον.

Oliver pointed out that τε is an epic usage; see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles* (Oxford 1934) pp. 520-522.

Lines 12-14: A poetic rendition of συγγενὶς συνκλητικῶν, a reference evidently to fairly distant relatives; cf. Oliver.

660. BASE FOR STATUES OF THE EMPERORS DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIANUS. The name in line 1, parallel to the one in line 2, ought to be that of an emperor, and so the combination of Diocletian and Maximian seems most likely. However, after the title αὐτοκράτορα we should expect not simply the emperor's cognomen but his full name, and so I have restored the full names of both emperors and a possible ending for the dedication, *exempli gratia*.

661. STATUE BASE FOR A PROCONSUL. Graindor (and following him, Kirchner) identified the honorand as Iulius Proculus Quintilianus, proconsul of Asia in 249/50 (*PIR*² I 502), on the basis of *IG* II² 4219, a dedication to Κοι[ντιλιανῶ] | [ἀν]θυπάτῳ Ἀσίας | [Εὐ]μολπίδῃ, who Graindor assumed was Proculus. However, the text of *IG* II² 4219 was faulty; the corrected text and a new fragment of this document reveal that the honorand is actually M. Gavius Gallicanus (625). It is conceivable that Gallicanus might be the honorand of the present document if the geminate in his name was simplified, so that Γαλικανόν was written in line 1 (following σῆ), which seems rather improbable, or if the correct restoration in line 2 should be γενεῇ, Γ[αλλικανόν προσο]ρᾷς (iota adscript is not securely attested in this text), a restoration which is rather tempting.

Lines 1-2: Skias, Graindor, and Kirchner assumed that this initiate was adlected into the *genos* of the Eumolpidae. This is possible but by no means guaranteed by the Greek, which need not imply more than that the Eumolpidae were proud to have this proconsul among their initiates. The editors' further assumption that adlection into the Eumolpidae was customary for foreigners before their initiation is highly improbable. Adlection was a special honor, the known cases very few (see II.513).

These lines give the impression, with the address to the passerby or visitor, that the honorand is deceased; such dedications were numerous at Eleusis (II.235).

Line 3: By ἀνάκτορα (for the restoration cf. 511) the Telesterion is meant; see Clinton, *Iconography* pp. 126-132.

Line 4: Both Crönert's and Graindor's restorations imply that the Athenians set up statues of the Dioscuri next to the Telesterion.

Lines 5-6: This request for the goddess's acceptance applies of course to the dedication but also to the dedicatee himself, and would be especially appropriate if he was deceased.

662. STATUE BASE. *Line 6:* At Eleusis the name Ptolemaios occurs in the family of Herennius Dexippos; see **626**, **627**, **656**.

663. STATUE BASE FOR AN EXEGETE [OF THE EUMOLPIDAI?]. At Eleusis the most likely exegete to appear in a document would be the one from the Eumolpidae, but of course others cannot be precluded.

664. STATUE BASE? The monumentality of the inscription and stone, together with the fact that the text most likely starts here, suggests that this is the common formula that appears on dedications to emperors and their families. Cf. *IG II²* 3403-3404, 5205, and **471**.

665. STATUE BASE. The lettering would suggest a date in the first three centuries A.D., the size of the monument the second and third centuries. Skias' restoration of the name of a civic corporation and an archon date is quite unlikely: in this period the archon dating formula occurs most frequently in the heading of dedications by groups (e.g. pyloroi, *IG II²* 3691; prytaneis, 3680; ephebes, 3737, 3739, 3742, etc.). In the case of a dedication set up by an individual, which seems more appropriate to the Eleusinian sanctuary, *IG II²* 3705, *med. s. III*, δόγματι Ἀρεοπαγεῖ-
τῶ[ν] | [α]ἰτησαμένου τοῦ ἐπωνύμου | [ἄρχ]οντος κτλ. is instructive. A restoration along these lines seems more likely.

666. DEDICATORY BASE. Inscriptions built into the monastery of Phaneromene were taken mainly from Eleusis; for a list see Clinton, *Eleusis and the Romans* p. 180, note 77.

Lines 1-2: The priestess is otherwise unattested.

668. ALTAR DEDICATED TO KOUROTROPHOS. On the original context of this altar and others like it at Eleusis, probably the festival of the Thesmophoria, see **II.306**; Clinton, *Iconography* p. 31.

672. FRAGMENT. Lenormant did not provide a description of the stone, measurements, or an indication of the date. He took it to be a catalog of officials of Aiantis, but the presence of Leukonoion renders this impossible.

673. BASE. Other restorations and configurations are possible, with τοῖν Θεοῖν in line 3. If Lenormant's restoration, which matches **286**, is correct, the dedication was probably set up by the Demos.

BOUNDARY MARKERS

675. BOUNDARY OF ROAD. With the original location of the stone unknown, we cannot ascertain the location of the road. This is the case also for markers **678-679**.

676. BOUNDARY OF TEMENOS OF DEMETER. The term τέμενος indicates that this cannot be a boundary of the sanctuary, τὸ ἱερόν. A *temenos* was sacred property which belonged to the sanctuary; see II.144.16-23. It is not inconceivable that in the nineteenth century this stone was transported to Eleusis from the area of the Sacred Orgas, which lay at a considerable distance (see II.144), but it is of course easier to assume that it came from nearby sacred land, such as the Rharian Field.

677. BOUNDARY OF SANCTUARY OF APOLLO. The finding place of the stone, presumably within the deme of Eleusis, is not recorded. On the phonological features and date see Threatte.

THE SANCTUARY OF ASCLEPIUS

Various objects from the Asklepieion were found on the property of D. Methenitis about one kilometer north of the sanctuary, but Skias doubted that the Asklepieion was located there. Although he intended to carry out an excavation, he apparently never did.

680. DEDICATORY STELE. Skias dated the letter forms around the end of the fifth century.

681. BASE FOR STATUE OF ASCLEPIUS. Relatives appear in **141.21-23** and **145.8-9** as contractor and guarantor. Kourouniotis in fact restored Epikrates Pamphilou in **141.22** and preferred to date the present base around 320, which would not be inconsistent with the style of the lettering.

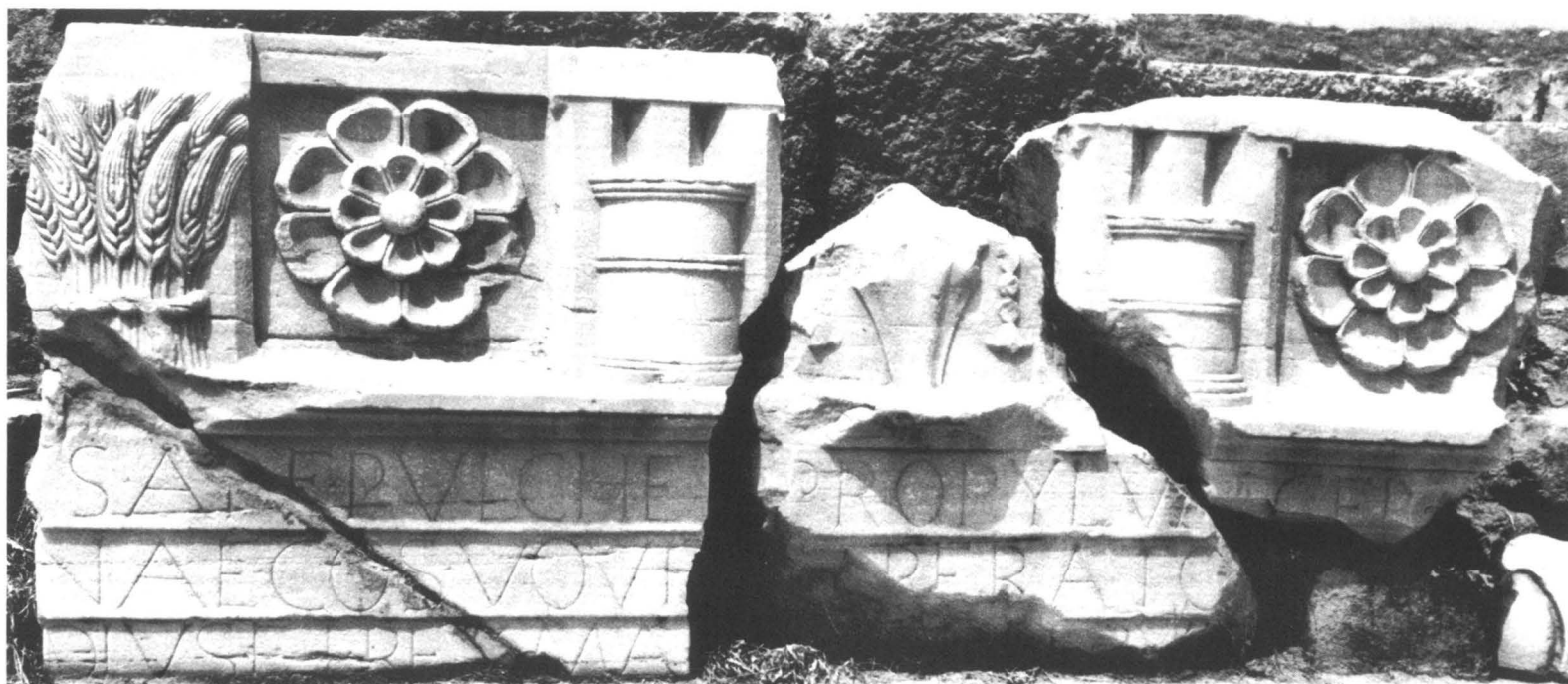
682. DEDICATORY STELE TO ASCLEPIUS AND HYGEIA. Although the finding place is unrecorded, this stele was most likely set up in the Asklepieion. For the year of the archon see Osborne, *Voyaging through Strange Seas of Thought – The Study of Athenian Inscriptions*, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 74, 1999, pp. 67-80 (= *SEG* XLIX 8).

Line 3: The only appropriate name recorded in *LGN* is Menes. A Menes occurs in Aleshire, *Asklepieion*, Inventory V.101 (= *IG* II² 1534 B), dated by her to 244/3.

683. DEDICATORY PLAQUE OF EUPHROSYNOS HIEROPHANTOU, ZAKOROS OF ASCLEPIUS AND HYGEIA. The document is dated to the reign of Claudius on the assumption that the archon is identical to the archon Kallikratides of *IG* II² 1974. Aleshire assumes that he is a relative of Ti. Claudius Oinophilos son of Kallikratides of Trikorynthos, hierophant around the end of the first century (*Sacred Officials* pp. 29-30, no. 18). He could of course be the father of this hierophant.

The zakoros was the son of an incumbent hierophant.

685. DEDICATORY PLAQUE OF EISIDOTOS PARRHASIOU PHYLASIOS. The priest and kleidouchos were father and son. The son is attested as a prytanis “*post a. 216 p.*” (*Agora* XV 473.20-21 = *IG* II² 1784) and a relative of Straton son of Orthagoras, ephebe in 195/6 (*IG* II² 2130.171; on the date, Follet, *Athènes* pp. 228, note 3, 230-231).



The inscription **290**, which was omitted in pl. 140 of the volume IB.

ADDENDUM

In an article that reached me after the manuscript went to press, A. Jördens, “*IG II² 1682 und die Baugeschichte des eleusinischen Telesterion im 4. Jh. v. Chr.*”, *Klio* 81, 1999, pp. 359-391, reached the same conclusion as I did concerning the date of this document. In addition, she argued in favor of the hypothesis that the structure in the first contract of this document (lines 2-18) is to be identified with the southern arm of the foundation K 16 (see Plan), and that the other contracts of this document concerned the entire structure K 16 - K 17, which was originally continuous before being largely dismantled on its eastern side to make way for the construction of the “Philonian” porch of the Telesterion. This can only be a hypothesis, since there is significant disagreement (acknowledged by the author), which must be explained away, between the specifications in this document and the remains of K 16. Future excavation may be able to test this hypothesis.

Data currently available, however, seem already to weigh heavily against it. The Periclean peribolos wall I 12-I 10 was taken down before construction of K 16 - K 17; blocks of this wall were used in K 16. Jördens would identify this Periclean wall, which no longer existed but whose position had been close to K 16, with “the southern wall of the sanctuary” mentioned in lines 3-4. According to her neither stretch of the new wall which replaced this old Periclean section, i.e. neither the stretch from the corner tower K 7 to the Peisistratean peribolos nor K 7-I 12, could be called any longer a southern wall, since the former faces approximately southwest, the latter approximately southeast. It should be noted, however, that the old Periclean “southern wall” did not face precisely south but approximately south-southwest. The point here of course is not which wall faced precisely south, but which wall would be regarded as “the Southern Wall”. The new stretch I 12-K 7 surely would be regarded as an extension of the eastern wall, and so the new stretch K 7 to the Peisistratean wall near H 39 should now be the new Southern Wall. This is confirmed by 174.29-35, concerning repairs to the “Called South” (τῶμ πυλῶν τῶν νοτίων καλουμένων), which is apparently to be identified with the gate at 33 on the Plan: the wall in which this South Gate was placed can surely be none other than the Southern Wall. A structure that is described as “alongside (παρά)” the Southern Wall should therefore be alongside the wall that extends from K 7 to the Peisistratean wall, not next to the Telesterion. It seems highly unlikely, also, that in a legal contract such as the present one the location of the construction of the foundation of K 16 would have been described in relation to a non-existent wall instead of to the building with which it was going to be connected, namely the Telesterion.

Jördens sees a parallel for this reference to a traditional but no longer existing Southern Wall in the reference in lines 18-19 to columns “now lying beneath the stoa” (τοὺς νῦν ὑποκειμένους ὑπὸ τῇ στοᾷ), a stoa which she takes to be the stoa of the “Peisistratean” (Late Archaic) Telesterion. This stoa was dismantled before 480 but some of its members are listed in

52.A.II.48-49 (= B.II.59-60) as ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς καθαιρεμένοι Her assumption is that if it was permissible to refer to this non-existent stoa in a document issued over seventy years after its demise, it was perfectly acceptable to refer to the same stoa in a contract of 354/3. The two situations, however, are not parallel. In the inventory it was necessary to specify the stoa from which the inventoried members originated, in order to identify them as precisely as possible with the same listing in preceding inventories, and so it did not matter that the stoa no longer existed. In the contract a current location for columns is given, in relation to “the stoa”. This suggests an existing stoa, which, for legal purposes, gives the precise location of the columns, not a stoa which underlies part of the Telesterion and is no longer visible, indeed whose precise location is no longer generally known; such a reference could not serve the legal function of identifying the location of columns lying in a particular place.

A possible candidate for this stoa would be the foundation K 16 - K 17 which partly surrounded the Telesterion and looks as if it might have supported a porch. Jeppeson, *Paradeigmata*, pp. 103-106, and Travlos, *Πρακτικὰ* 1983, pp. 148-150; *Attika* pp. 95, 142, fig. 170, believed that it was intended to support an extension of the Telesterion that was never completed; and Jeppeson pointed out that it was too narrow to have held the columns of a porch. The most probable candidate would be the stoa that was the subject of this contract: the columns that were to be erected in it were naturally located close to it, i.e. “beneath” it on the sloping ground.

INDICES

I. CONCORDANCES

IG I³ IG II²

<i>IG I³</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG I³</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG I³</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG I³</i>	<i>IE</i>
5	13	388	48	400b	33	999	39
6	19	389	50	401	38	1000	18
32	30	390	46	970	53	1000bis	44
33	21	391	45	988	1	1001	16
58	31	392	34	989	6	1002	26
78a	28a	393	37	990	2	1003	20
78b	28b	394a	35	991	3	1004	51
79	41	394b	36	992	4	1006	10
231	7	395	23	992	5	1048	49
251	22	396	25	993	12	1116	675
384	24	397	29	995	14	1427	40
385	47	398	27	996	11		
386	52	399	42	997	17		
387	52	400a	32	998	15		

<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>
140	142	1185	71	1274	101	1543	156
204	144	1186	70	1279	183	1544	158
209	78	1187	99	1280	193	1545	163
602	104	1188	72	1285	194	1546	178
661	181	1189	84	1287	187	1547	168
683	192	1190	74	1288	191	1548	160
782	188	1191	95	1299	196	1549	161
807	202	1192	96	1303	207	1550	162
847	208	1193	80	1304b	184	1551	164
852	199	1194	101	1304	211	1552	155
949	229	1218	189	1305	197	1552a	240
1013	237	1219	191	1306	198	1593a	139
1045	234	1220	204	1307	205	1653	167
1078	638	1221	203	1321	230	1666	143
1086	360	1230	100	1338	271	1667	146
1092	489	1231	93	1363	175	1670	152
1110	513	1235	201	1540	137	1671	151
1149	63	1236	221	1541	140	1672	177
1153	67	1272	182	1542	149	1673a	150

INDICES

<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>
1673	159	2961	447	3487	241	3575	454
1674	147	2969	92	3490	275	3577	441
1675	157	2971	195	3491	273	3581	370
1676	148	2973	81	3492	251	3584	372
1677	154	2978	200	3495	268	3585	371
1679	166	3090	53	3498	282	3586	373
1680	165	3100	66	3499	307	3587	374
1681	153	3107	107	3500	295	3588	375
1682	141	3124	54	3501	295	3592	483
1683	145	3126	64	3507	277	3598	460
1693	136	3159	450	3508	278	3604A	364
1702	77	3165	527	3509	298	3604B	438
1792	514	3186	619	3510	301	3608	477
1792	504	3196	449	3511	302	3610	622
1958	210	3219	274	3512	242	3611	467
2335	224	3220	267	3513	291	3614	478
2341	465	3236	597	3514	288	3615	479
2366	49	3261	334	3517	393	3616	492
2408	82	3263	331	3518	329	3619	464
2478a	526	3380	446	3519	299	3620	503
2500	176	3386	453	3523	324	3621	531
2601	677	3397	505	3524	336	3627	491
2605	676	3398	510	3525	337	3628	466
2625	679	3399	461	3526	338	3632	502
2795	90	3400	507	3526ad	359	3633	501
2795ad	91	3401	509	3527	325	3637	635
2809	457	3402	506	3530	344	3638	636
2839	61	3404	482	3531,b	358	3639	515
2840	98	3407	495	3531,a	444	3641	631
2841	97	3408	496	3546	433	3645	512
2844	61	3411	516	3547	333	3646	640
2845	79	3413	518	3551	352	3647	522
2847	94	3415	519	3552	365	3648	524
2879	343	3419	647	3553	380	3653	533
2880	392	3422	660	3557	458	3656	587
2884	443	3450ad	423	3558	377	3657	535
2888	546	3460	186	3559	435	3658	624
2944	236	3463	226	3560	436	3659	623
2954	379	3469	235	3562	361	3661	646
2956	532	3475	244	3567	394	3662	649
2957	504	3476	244	3568	395	3666	626
2958	448	3478	238	3569	396	3671	656
2959	490	3480	270	3574	462	3676	481

I. CONCORDANCES

<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>	<i>IG II²</i>	<i>IE</i>
3677	485	3931	378	4093	440	4701	239
3678	588	3934	355	4096	666	4704	279
3679	648	3937	262	4108	276	4705	287
3686	628	3938	382	4112	289	4708	293
3687	523	3941	263	4165	347	4709	306
3688	621	3948	397	4190	350	4715	537
3693	520	3953	366	4195	439	4716	281
3706	642	3953ad	368	4198	383	4717	328
3707	645	3954	367	4202	294	4720	341
3708	474	3966	468	4203	384	4721	342
3709	659	3967	529	4204	385	4722	358
3710	639	3984	487	4205	402	4749	404
3713	521	3985	488	4213	473	4753	437
3714	658	3987	528	4216	630	4754	434
3715	654	3993	534	4218	661	4755	401
3718	500	4009	665	4219	625	4767	406
3723	317	4037	280	4231	292	4768	405
3727	283	4042	349	4251	470	4779	486
3789	362	4043	353	4296	231	4781	498
3802	653	4046	346	4301	232	4788	586
3811	637	4051	641	4304	75	4816	530
3814	650	4055	398	4306	304	4823	685
3817	634	4057	473	4311	386	4824	651
3841	110	4058	399	4346	644	4868	369
3857	209	4067	629	4366	680	4878	669
3858	212	4071	463	4414	681	4920	109
3859	213	4072	476	4479	683	4921	125
3874	223	4075	633	4505	684	4922	112
3878	254	4077	511	4549	55	4925	108
3887	305	4081	590	4552	57	4934	58
3904	330	4082	525	4554	56	4939	387
3905	308	4083	633	4561	44	4940	388
3913	286	4084	493	4604	103	4942	403
3914	381	4085	471	4608	58	4948	589
3915	326	4087	493	4615	88	4996	390
3919	347	4088	632	4639	105	5008	600
3920	327	4089	521	4664	126	5014	668
3927	352	4090	593	4683	83	5209	363
3928	348	4091	667	4690	243		

INDICES

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ

Year	col./ page	no.	IE	Year	col./ page	no.	IE
1841		564	679	1887	109	31	241
1860		3798	13	1887	111	32	275
1860	1967	3825	100	1887	112	33	287
1860	1981	3846	286	1887	114	34	232
1860	2047	4082	71	1887	171	35	192
1883	1	1	159	1887	175	36	208
1883	19	2	645	1887	187	37	182
1883	20	3	650	1887	192	38	101
1883	21	4	439	1888	21	39	80
1883	75	5	511	1888	25	40	144
1883	77	6	503	1888	35	41	158
1883	79	7	637	1888	48	42	52
1883	81	8	646	1888	48	43	52
1883	81	10	201	1888	53	44	35
1883	82	9	631	1888	54	46	47
1883	109		177	1888	55	47	45
1883	134	11	80	1888	56	45	29
1883	135	12	140	1890	79	49	188
1883	137	13	523	1890	81	50	78
1883	141	14	588	1890	83	51	93
1883	141	15	470	1890	85	52	211
1883	141	16	659	1890	87	53	96
1883	144	17	474	1890	87	54	194
1883	144	18	520	1890	91	55	84
1883	145	19	238	1890	93	56	210
1883	145	20	399	1890	101	57	50
1883	189		1	1890	117	57a	50
1884	69		70	1890	117	58	23
1884	135	22	196	1890	121	59	165
1885	146	23	587	1890	125	60	229
1885	146	24	639	1892	101	61	95
1885	147	25	621	1892	113		105
1885	147	26	502	1894	161	1	12
1885	151	27	352	1894	162	2	11
1885	152	28	476	1894	162	3	15
1886	22		83	1894	162	4	17
1886	25		239	1894	165	5	27
1886	185	29	143	1894	166	6	18
1886	262		88	1894	166	7	32
1887	1	30	211	1894	166	7	33

I. CONCORDANCES

Year	col./ page	no.	IE	Year	col./ page	no.	IE
1894	168	8	46	1894	202	21	478
1894	169	9	13	1894	203	22	479
1894	170	11	117	1894	203	23	376
1894	170	12	236	1894	204	24	473
1894	171	13	498	1894	204	25	398
1894	172	14	489	1894	205	26	649
1894	179	16	402	1894	205	27	653
1894	180	17	604	1894	206	28	457
1894	180	18	301	1894	206	29	384
1894	181	19	372	1894	206	30	364
1894	181	20	549	1894	206	30	438
1894	181	21	386	1894	207	31	342
1894	181	22	434	1894	208	32	496
1894	182	23	480	1894	208	33	658
1894	182	24	473	1894	210	34	374
1894	182	25	473	1894	210	35	634
1894	182	26	473	1894	210	36	360
1894	183	27	630	1894	211	37	505
1894	184	28	620	1894	212	38	509
1894	184	29	504	1894	212	39	510
1894	184	30	532	1894	212	40	506
1894	185	31	490	1894	212	41	507
1894	185	32	654	1894	212	42	453
1894	185	33	612	1895	83	1	92
1894	185	34	644	1895	84	2	76
1894	189	1	3	1895	85	3	116
1894	189	2	2	1895	85	4	132
1894	192	3	II.2	1895	85	5	62
1894	192	4	6	1895	85	6	60
1894	193	5	20	1895	87	7	176
1894	193	6	26	1895	88	8	168
1894	193	7	64	1895	89	9	149
1894	194	9	61	1895	91	10	176
1894	195	10	137	1895	97	11	176
1894	198	11	119	1895	97	12	175
1894	199	12	108	1895	101	14	267
1894	199	14	219 bis	1895	102	15	284
1894	200	15	217	1895	102	15	282
1894	200	16	74	1895	103	17	655
1894	201	18	231	1895	105	18	643
1894	201	19	235	1895	105	19	619
1894	201	20	446	1895	106	20	531

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1895	108	21	463	1896	38	24	274
1895	109	22	333	1896	38	25	493
1895	109	23	588	1896	39	26	493
1895	109	24	665	1896	39	27	640
1895	110	25	381	1896	40	28	487
1895	110	26	292	1896	41	29	488
1895	110	27	483	1896	41	30	487
1895	113	28	383	1896	42	31	378
1895	113	29	294	1896	43	32	385
1895	114	30	551	1896	43	34	526
1895	114	31A	655	1896	44	33	352
1895	115	32	514	1896	44	35	626
1895	120	33	362	1896	44	36	656
1895	121	34	360	1896	45	37	293
1895	121	35	553	1896	45	38	353
1895	122	36	412	1896	46	39	521
1895	123	38	311	1896	47	40	460
1895	123	39	625	1896	47	41	336
1895	124	40	478	1896	47	42a	338
1896	23	1	55	1896	47	42b	359
1896	23	2	31	1896	48	43	545
1896	24	3	49	1896	48	44	263
1896	25	4	56	1896	48	45	379
1896	26	5	54	1896	49	46	358
1896	26	6	77	1896	50	47	302
1896	27	7	94	1896	50	48	298
1896	28	8	110	1896	51	49	388
1896	28	9	101	1896	51	50	347
1896	29	10	150	1896	51	51	403
1896	31	11	169	1896	51	52	395
1896	31	12	173	1896	52	53	394
1896	32	13	122	1896	52	54	651
1896	32	14	193	1896	52	55	647
1896	33	15	82	1896	53	56	513
1896	33	16	114	1896	53	57	661
1896	34	17	135	1896	53	58	387
1896	35	18	220	1896	54	59	390
1896	35	19	113	1896	54	60	401
1896	36	20	166	1896	54	61	306
1896	36	21	204	1896	55	62	328
1896	37	22	310	1896	55	63	668
1896	37	23	214	1896	55	64	669

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Year	col./ page	no.	IE	Year	col./ page	no.	IE
1897	33	1	72	1897	60	44	559
1897	37	3	61	1897	61	45	662
1897	37	4	109	1897	62	49	463
1897	37	5	125	1897	65	50	395
1897	38	6	112	1899	178	2	139
1897	38	7	178	1899	178	3	111
1897	39	8	198	1899	178	4	164
1897	40	9	209	1899	179	5	155
1897	41	10	213	1899	181	6	167
1897	41	11	104	1899	184	7	145
1897	41	12	211	1899	185	8	197
1897	42	13	207	1899	187	9	161
1897	45	14	205	1899	189	10	162
1897	46	15	240	1899	191	12	224
1897	46	16	205	1899	193	13	153
1897	47	17	330	1899	193	14	194
1897	48	18	299	1899	194	15	500
1897	48	19	600	1899	197	17	423
1897	49	20	537	1899	198	19	331
1897	51	21	525	1899	199	20	461
1897	51	22	297	1899	200	21	486
1897	52	23	243	1899	202	22	482
1897	52	24	244	1899	203	23	660
1897	53	25	244	1899	203	24	366
1897	53	26	375	1899	203	25	368
1897	53	27	281	1899	204	26	652
1897	54	28	406	1899	204	27	404
1897	54	29	405	1899	204	28	330
1897	55	30	343	1899	205	29	629
1897	55	31	458	1899	205	30	223
1897	55	32	501	1899	206	31	307
1897	56	33	512	1899	206	32	655
1897	57	34	464	1899	207	33	652
1897	57	35	377	1899	207	34	534
1897	58	36	389	1899	207	35	624
1897	58	37	601	1899	208	36	547
1897	58	38	601	1899	208	37	305
1897	59	39	593	1899	209	38	393
1897	59	40	546	1899	209	39	396
1897	60	41	335	1899	209	41	590
1897	60	42	521	1899	210	40	291
1897	60	43	468	1899	211	42	663

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1899	211	43	336	1971	125	19	38
1899	212	44	337	1971	125	20	65
1899	212	45	456	1971	126	21	102
1899	213	46	425	1971	127	22	206
1899	214	48	586	1971	128	23	246
1899	215	49	343	1971	129	24	252
1899	216	50	553	1971	129	25	266
1899	217		640	1971	130	26	285
1900	73		489	1971	131	27	442
1964	120		357	1971	132	28	475
1968	190	19	370	1971	132	29	459
1971	81	1	2	1971	133	30	473
1971	82	2	20	1971	134	31	455
1971	82	3	489	1971	135	32	264
1971	83	4	159	1971	136	33	599
1971	113	5	461	1972	182		484
1971	114	6	516	1975	59	1	543
1971	114	7	299	1975	60	2	652
1971	115	8	483	1975	61	3	389
1971	116	9	531	1975	61	4	253
1971	116	10	491	1975	61	5	568
1971	117	11	533	1975	62	6	391
1971	118	12	637	1975	62	7	319
1971	118	13	305	1975	62	8	551
1971	118	14	382	1975	63	9	643
1971	119	15	493	1975	65	10	521
1971	121	16	593	1975	65	11	431
1971	121	17	655	1988	19		86
1971	124	18	42				

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Journal	IE	Journal	IE
<i>AJA</i> 14, 1910, 155, n. 1	499	<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 163-171, no. 1	41
<i>AM</i> 6, 1881, 347, no. 33	467	<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 171-173, no. 2	513
<i>AM</i> 6, 1881, 349, no. 41	557	<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 174-175, no. 3	53
<i>AM</i> 12, 1887, 329, no. 493	493	<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 176-178, no. 4	184
<i>AM</i> 14, 1899, 398-405	39	<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 179-186, no. 5	141
<i>AM</i> 18, 1893, 208-209, no. 2	591	<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 186-189, no. 6	157
		<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 189-190, no. 7	14

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Journal	IE	Journal	IE
<i>AM</i> 19, 1894, 190, no. 8	24	<i>Hesperia</i> 8, 1939, 177-180	101
<i>AM</i> 20, 1895, 258, no. 2	44	<i>Hesperia</i> 10, 1941, 65-72, no. 31	250
<i>AM</i> 22, 1897, 384, no. 3	137	<i>Hesperia</i> 11, 1942, 293-298, no. 58	233
<i>AM</i> 62, 1937, 3-5, no. 2	227	<i>Hesperia</i> 29, 1960, 2-5, no. 3	87
<i>AM</i> 62, 1937, 5-6, no. 3	228	<i>Hesperia</i> 32, 1963, 364-365	199
<i>AM</i> 67, 1942, 154-157	484	<i>Hesperia</i> 49, 1980, 258	138
<i>ASAtene</i> 37-38, 1959-60, 421-427	494	<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. 8, 1949, 285	513
<i>BCH</i> 2, 1878, 511-514	186	<i>JdI</i> 1855, XXII	667
<i>BCH</i> 3, 1879, 120	99	<i>Kernoi</i> 4, 1991, 112	121
<i>BCH</i> 6, 1882, 436-438	463	<i>Philistor</i> 2, 1862, 238-239	638
<i>BCH</i> 19, 1895, 113-119, no. 1	433	<i>Polemon</i> 1, 1929, 237, no. 12	79
<i>BCH</i> 19, 1895, 119-128, 265-267, no. 2	516	<i>Praktika</i> 1884, 74	2
<i>BCH</i> 19, 1895, 128-129, no. 3	242	<i>Praktika</i> 1885, 26	289
<i>BCH</i> 19, 1895, 130-131, no. 4	466	<i>Praktika</i> 1887, 55-56	448
<i>BCH</i> 19, 1895, 133-135, no. 5	435	<i>Praktika</i> 1895, 189, A	451
<i>BCH</i> 19, 1895, 135-136, no. 6	436	<i>Praktika</i> 1895, 189, B	452
<i>BSA</i> 27, 1925/26, 80, no. 3	325	<i>Praktika</i> 1895, 189, C	450
<i>Deltion</i> 8, 1923, 161, n. 1	589	<i>Praktika</i> 1895, 189, D	450
<i>Deltion</i> 8, 1923, 270	141	<i>Praktika</i> 1895, 189, E	450
<i>Deltion</i> 10, 1926, 145-149	240	<i>Praktika</i> 1895, 191	295
<i>Deltion</i> 10, 1926, 150-152	2	<i>Praktika</i> 1898, 88, no. 1	680
<i>Deltion</i> 11, 1927/28, 8	530	<i>Praktika</i> 1898, 88, no. 2	681
<i>Deltion</i> 21A, 1966, 140, no. 1	89	<i>Praktika</i> 1898, 88, no. 3	684
<i>Deltion</i> 21A, 1966, 141, no. 3	269	<i>Praktika</i> 1898, 89, no. 4	683
<i>Deltion</i> 23, 1968, 7-9, no. 3	296	<i>Praktika</i> 1898, 89, no. 5	685
<i>Eleusiniaka</i> 1, 1932, 173-189	30	<i>Praktika</i> 1898, 89, no. 6	686
<i>Eleusiniaka</i> 1, 1932, 189-208	174	<i>Praktika</i> 1956, 56	400
<i>Eleusiniaka</i> 1, 1932, 223-236	300	<i>REG</i> 91, 1978, 251-260	85
<i>Hellenika</i> 2, 1928, 5-10	31	<i>ZPE</i> 17, 1975, 174-176	60
<i>Hellenika</i> 29, 1976, 251	456		

INVENTORY NUMBERS ELEUSIS, MUSEUM

Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE
1	211	3	535	5	6	7	128
2	196	4	404	6	210	8	308

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9	601	64	524	121	653	179A	255
10	619	65	286	123	365	180	77
15	3	66	137	125	487	181	184
16	187	67	178	128	518	183	183
17	327	68	152	130	359	185	10
18	124	69	72	131	607	186	14
19	593	70	236	132	501	189	3
20	653	71	450	133	100	191	273
21	127	72	262	134	340	192	275
22	188	76	244	135	598	196	655
24	247	78	605	137	24	198	197
25	468	80	606	138	203	199a	463
26	170	84	512	139	370	199b	463
27	110	87	652	141	166	200	174
28	32	88	78	143	356	201	159
32	603	89a	175	144	483	202	93
33	637	89b	175	145	165	203	45
34	602	91	483	147	382	204	207
35	285	92	205	148	118	205	434
37	395	93	23	151	267	206	459
38	245	95	29	152	228	208	619
39	544	96	42	153	682	209	466
40	395	97	47	154	226	211	545
41	472	98	27	155	513	212	235
42	25	99	8	160	553	214	235
44	586	100	9	161	568	215	252
45	655	101	206	162	572	216	94
46	21	104	169	163	403	218	268
47	248	105	594	164	573	219	343
48	396	106	535	165	241	220	633
49	590	107	123	166	479	221	383
50	604	108	446	167	330	224	243
51	491	109	364	168	498	225	464
52	153	109	438	169	224	226	194
53	423	110	347	170	655	227	643
53	619	111	352	171	378	228	643
54	139	112	82	172	104	229	653
55	655	113	63	174	66	234	559
56	326	114	241	175	271	237	95
57	619	115	346	176	70	238	49
60	512	118	61	177	158	239	547
61	434	119	149	178	483	240	450
62	402	120	84	179	143	241A	516

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241	525	326	136	410	212	485	458
247	407	327	396	411	347	487	132
249	338	333	316	412	657	488	613
251	408	335	425	413	676	489	586
254	53	337	214	416	389	490	643
257	81	339	116	418	133	491	561
258	655	341	358	419	409	492	360
261	409	342	586	423	466	493	94
262	318	343	644	424	244	494	651
263	409	344	209	425	425	496	537
265	410	345	112	426	479	497	360
266	256	347	533	432	647	499	539
270	303	352	413	436	551	504	563
271	411	353	598	438	458	508	636
274	468	354	414	443	450	509	594
283	222	360	541	445a	551	512	641
284	389	367	215	445	551	513	360
285	575	369	423	446	487	514	368
286	576	370	415	447	661	516	457
291	409	371	406	448	644	517	264
293	577	372	542	449	219	518	633
294	424	374	479	451	582	519	321
295	319	378	543	452	521	520	416
296	114	379	574	453	191	521	644
298	284	380	415	457	51	522	56
300	455	382	460	458	193	523	395
302	608	383	390	459	409	524	358
304	412	384	599	460	534	525	117
305	213	387	517	461	101	526	119
306	38	389	257	465	473	529	593
307	145	390	609	466	405	531	98
308	478	391	558	467	598	532	97
309	379	392	382	471	426	533a	135
310	526	393	533	473	610	533b	135
311	320	394	388	474	426	534	242
313	154	397	627	476	445	535	238
315	156	398	120	477	663	536	198
317	478	400	658	478	601	540	594
319	579	402	392	479	242	542	382
321	581	403	473	480	655	550	461
322	618	407	134	481	244	553	13
324	225	408	182	482	126	554	550
325	618	409	57	484	101	558	410

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Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE
565	536	636	2	688	171	748	521
567	375	637	2	689	176	749	564
570	75	638	2	690	176	750	76
571	223	639	2	691	176	753	644
572	387	640	16	692	263	754	298
576	342	641	619	694	176	755	442
578	366	643	489	694a	176	756	251
579	54	644	31	694b	176	757	336
580	455	645	31	695	220	758	664
581	640	646	11	696	122	760	469
582	417	648	4	697	330	761	302
583	267	649	5	702	33	762	240
584	493	650	176	705	18	766	405
585	385	651	20	707	556	767	616
586	482	652	20	708	518	768	285
587	108	653	30	709	556	769	455
588	381	654	36	711	653	769b	455
599	310	655	258	712	484	770	592
600	548	657	679	713	217	772	109
604	644	658	35	715	615	773	260
606	204	659	179	716	350	774	475
607	2	660	253	718	331	776	619
610	595	661	69	719	291	777	531
612	614	662	496	720	259	779	274
613	332	666	678	722	596	780	584
616	504	668	312	724	391	783	115
617	514	669	190	725	493	784	401
618	473	671	161	726	339	785	306
619	173	672	50	727	430	786	328
621	249	673	101	728	418	788	540
622	240	674	46	729	419	789	265
623	261	675	180	730	312	791	55
624	665	676	176	732	450	792	546
625	291	678	162	733	570	793	305
627	176	679	230	734	205	794	348
628	493	680	176	735	477	795	336
629	15	681	176	738	298	797	493
630	468	682	176	740	60	799	455
631	300	683	176	741	521	800	309
632	150	684	176	743	539	801	567
633	222	685	311	744	40	802	493
634	653	686	185	746	611	804	318
635	2	687	155	747	64	805	393

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Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE	Inv.	IE
806	442	873	489	958	487	1004	523
807	624	877	600	959	39	1005	511
808	655	878	553	960	239	1006	380
809	640	879	314	962	74	1007	334
810	420	882	281	963	90	1008	334
811	395	883	357	964	681	1009	474
813	491	884	536	966	157	1010	344
814	384	885	246	967	80	1011	520
815	394	886	513	968	99	1013	557
817	536	887	297	969	31	1014	630
818	431	890	130	971A	227	1014A	662
821	569	891	397	972	587	1015	659
825	497	892	68	973	639	1016	304
826	491	893	677	974	621	1017	473
828	421	894	167	975	502	1018	352
830	565	895	151	976	433	1019	333
831	653	896	560	977	531	1020	645
832	450	900	538	978	374	1021	480
836	640	902	266	979	65	1022	294
837	617	903	111	980	503	1023	478
839	562	905	556	981	632	1023A	478
840	450	908	619	982	490	1024	232
841	527	914	461	983	492	1025	362
842	493	920A	655	984	554	1026	488
843	571	920	661	985	427	1027	549
844	335	922	443	986	324	1028	295
845	125	936	432	987	103	1029E	289
846	299	938	282	988	399	1029C	341
847	299	939	528	989	58	1029A	372
849	131	940	195	990	398	1029	450
850	353	941	92	991	629	1029B	555
851	496	942	280	992	436	1030	377
852	422	943	88	993	646	1031	504
853	619	944	292	994	439	1032	626
854	449	945	91	995	637	1033	634
857	578	946	53	996	650	1034	654
861	404	947	287	997	631	1035	516
862	305	948	270	998	435	1036	656
863	566	952	500	999	649	1037	612
865	625	954	486	1000	495	1039	290
866	107	955	486	1001	483	1040	465
867	307	956	486	1002	476	1041	509
868	660	958	41	1003	470	1042	510

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1043	505	1070	625	1097	163	1131	189
1044	622	1071	450	1099	136	1132	159
1045	532	1072	400	1100	471	1133	201
1046	506	1073	17	1103	86	1134	513
1047	453	1075	530	1104	199	1135	140
1048	507	1076	129	1105	456	1136	141
1049	102	1078	218	1107	354	1137	192
1050	448	1081	106	1112	583	1138	229
1051	448	1082	450	1116	73	1139	79
1052	448	1088	172	1118	301	1140	85
1052A	448	1089	652	1121	2	1141	293
1053	448	1090	322	1122	2	1142	296
1054	448	1091	44	1124	26	1143	462
1055	448	1093a	499	1125	315	1149	486
1056	448	1093b	499	1126	269	1150	486
1057	448	1093c	499	1127	89	1151	486
1058	447	1094	272	1128	26	1152	522
1059	508	1095	43	1129	61		
1064	52	1096	451	1130	96		

EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM

EM	<i>IE</i>	EM	<i>IE</i>	EM	<i>IE</i>	EM	<i>IE</i>
466	142	6817	28b	8614	638	10476	648
2627	146	7376	181	10048+10051	177	13372	37
5136+10052	144	7467	202	10050	28a		
5205	34	7720	71	10052+5136	144		
6749	48	7754	221	10068	208		

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PARIS, LOUVRE

IE

MA 122 635
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