

A LEX SACRA OF THE ATTIC DEME PHREARRHIOI

(PLATE 15)

IN honor of Günther Klaffenbach, the distinguished editor of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, I offer the text of an inscription found not long ago in southern Attica. What we have is only a moderate-sized fragment, part of a much larger whole, with not enough remaining to allow us to restore a single complete sentence or even to establish the length of the lines. But the inscription belongs to that small class of document, the *leges sacrae*, whose texts are telegraphic in style and full of rare words and phrases so that even the smallest fragment provides material for research and speculation, and ours is no exception. It also illustrates for us once again the rich and full religious life of the small communities in Attica, apart from the state religion of Athens. The finding place of the inscription will give us a clue to the location of the deme Phrearrhioi. In writing up this new fragment I have become keenly aware of my own incompetence to deal with many of the questions raised, particularly those bearing on religious matters, and my inability to write an adequate commentary. I feel, however, that if I can provide a sound text and critical apparatus I will have done a useful service in making this new document available to the scholarly world.¹

The inscription (Pl. 15), which is in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (EM 13,384), is on a fragment of a stele of fine-grained white marble, now much discolored both on the face and on the breaks. The breaks are all old and worn and weathered, showing that the stone came to its present condition a long time ago and has not been tossed about or broken up recently. The preserved fragment gives some of the left edge of the stele, and in lines 15-25 the first letter of each line is preserved with an ample margin, equivalent to a full letter space or more, at the left. Otherwise the fragment is broken above, below and at the right. The roughly picked back, however, is in part preserved, and the thickness of 0.10 m. shows that we have to do with a substantial stele. The preserved height of the fragment is 0.25 m. and its preserved width 0.23 m. The text is stoichedon, and the small neat letters are deeply cut and about 0.005 m. high. A date in the late fourth or the first half of the third century B.C. would suit the letter forms. The regular use of *-ωσαν* instead of *-ων* for the imperative, however, would place the inscription after 300 B.C. according to Meisterhans' statistics.² A date around the middle of the third century B.C. is therefore the most likely.

¹ In the early stages of preparing this article I discussed various points by letter with Michael Jameson and also with other friends, but I am myself responsible for its final form and for all faults of omission and commission.

² K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,³ pp. 167-168.

The text is as follows:

[. τῶν ἱε]ροποιῶν α[- - - - - Δή]
 [μητρι Θεσμο]φόρῳ ἦν πρ[- - - - -]
 [. πρ]οιστάντωσαν κα[- - - - -]
 [.] . αδος τῶι λαμπαδεί[ωι - - - - -]
 5 [ιερεῶσ]υνα κωλῆν πλευρὸν ἰ<σ>χ[ίον - - - - -]
 [.]οι καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ δαινύσθω[σαν - - - - -]
 [. . . Π]λούτωνι θυόντωσαν κρ^{vv} [- - - - -]
 [. . .]όταις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ^v [- - - - -]
 [. . τ]ὸν ἐν τῶι Ἐλευ<σ>ινίῳ βωμὸν [- - - - -]
 10 [. .]ούθωμ ἱεροποιὸς ἀφίέτω τας[- - - - -]
 [. . ἐ]πειδὴν αἱ ἱέρειαι ποιήσω[σι - - - - -]
 [. .]Φρεα<ρ>ρίων θυόντωσαν τῇ Δή[μητρι - - - - -]
 [. .]ιωι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ βοῦμ ἄρρε[να - - - - -]
 [. .]καὶ ἑάν τι ἄλλο βούλωνται^{vv} [- - - - -]
 15 μ<.>ὸν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺ[s - - - - -]
 ι μήρους μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκ<ρ>α[ιρα - - - - - μ]
 ήρους μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκραιρ[α - - - - -]
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσινίῳ[ι - - - - - τῶι τ]
 οῦ Πλούτωνος βωμῶι ἱερεῶσυν[α - - - - - τοῖν θε]
 20 οῖν τῶν βω<μ>ῶν τῇ ἱερείαι κα[- - - - - πλε]
 υρὸν ἰσχίον ||| τοῦ ἱερείου [- - - - - ξ]
 ὕλα ἐπὶ τὸν χύτρον παρε[- - - - - ἐν τῇ]
 ι αὐλῇ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου[v - - - - -]
 υσ<.>ν δαίδα καὶ τῶν ηγ[- - - - - δ]
 25 αἶδα διδόντωσαν γ[- - - - -]
 [.]s καὶ τοῦ Ἰάκχου ι[- - - - -]
 [. .]οι<.> τῇ δὲ ἐβδό[μηι - - - - -]
 [. . .] καὶ τῆς μουσι[κῆς - - - - -]
 [.] τὸν βωμ[ὸν - - - - -]
 [.]ενοι[- - - - -]
 [.]εμι[- - - - -]
 [.]ο[- - - - -]

The letters are small, neat and regular and show little or no individuality. Theta lacks a central dot or cross bar and can be distinguished from omicron only by its position.

A remarkable feature is the large number of letters left uncarved or partially uncarved. These, of course, would have been rendered in paint when the inscription was new and their omission would not have been as apparent as it is today. Sometimes

these letters occur in the middle of a word and can be easily restored, as Ἑλευ<σ>ινίωι in line 9, βω<μ>ῶν in line 20 and ἔ<σ>χ[ίον] in line 5. On other occasions it is uncertain what letter or letters should be restored as [θε]μι<τ>όν (?) or [νό]μι<μ>ον (?) or something else in line 15, or κρ<ι>ό[ν] (?) at the end of line 7. The blanks at the end of line 8 and near the beginning of lines 24 and 27 are also of uncertain restoration. In regard to the two blank spaces after βούλωνται at the end of line 14, one might ask whether they were ever intended to be inscribed at all or whether they were purposely left blank at the end of a sentence or perhaps even a paragraph as a sort of mark of punctuation. Finally, the loop of a rho has been twice omitted, in line 12 and in line 16.

Line 1. Of the rho the lower part of the vertical and a bit of the loop are preserved. Of the alpha the left diagonal and probably part of the cross bar are preserved.

Line 3. Of the alpha at the right edge the end of the left diagonal is preserved. Lambda is also possible.

Line 4. At the left edge, before the alpha, part of a round letter is preserved, theta or omicron.

Line 6. At beginning, [οἱ ἱεροποιοί]οί (?).

Line 7. At the left edge, the right diagonal of the lambda is preserved.

Line 8. At beginning, [τοῖς δημ]όταις (?).

Line 10. At the edge of the break at the left there appears to be the right half of a round letter, followed by four letters ΥΟΩΜ which are quite clear on the stone. The letter between upsilon and omega must be theta rather than omicron because of its position between two vowels. The mu must stand for nu: cf. βούμ for βούν in line 13. We should perhaps restore [τῶν ἀκολ]ούθων.

Line 12. At end, the left vertical and probably part of the cross bar of the eta are preserved.

Line 25. The last preserved letter is probably gamma, less likely pi.

Line 28. At end, the upper parts of the sigma and the iota are preserved.

The inscription as a whole contained a set of cult regulations of the Attic deme Phrearrhioi dealing with the rites of the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter and Kore and their associates: sacrifices, perquisites, procedure and the like. I assume that these regulations refer to local rites that took place in the Eleusinion in the deme and not to rites at Eleusis or in the City Eleusinion in Athens. To be sure, the "court of the Eleusinion" (line 23) might be the familiar court at Eleusis, and the mention of Iacchos (line 26) might refer to the great procession of the Mysteries, but even here we would presumably have only regulations concerning deme participation in the great Eleusinian festival.

The word *μασχαλίσματα* (lines 16 and 17) in its secondary sense occurs here for the first time outside the lexicographers. This sense is defined as follows by Suidas: *σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ τὰ τοῖς μηροῖς ἐπιτιθέμενα ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων κρέα ἐν ταῖς*

τῶν θεῶν θυσίαις. There are identical or similar definitions in Photios, Hesychios and elsewhere.

The mention of the Phrearrhians in line 12 shows that we have to do with cult regulations of that deme. The deme Phrearrhioi belongs to the phyle Leontis (IV) and is generally assigned to the coastal trittys of that phyle along with Sounion, Deiradiotai and the Potamos demes, but its exact location has never been fixed. The most favored area has been on the east coast between Sounion and Thorikos, but Eliot has shown good reasons for rejecting this.³ Kirsten has recently proposed the Plaka area northwest of Thorikos but admits that there is no ancient site known there.⁴ The discovery of the present inscription gives for the first time a positive clue, and this clue points to an area where two ancient sites are known, one of which should be Phrearrhioi.

The inscription is said to have been found in the area of the 48th kilometer post on the old inland road from Athens via Kalyvia to Anavyssos (Fig. 1). The last stretch of this road has recently been given an asphalt top and the distances along it have been marked with conspicuous new kilometer posts. The position of the 48th kilometer post may be described as follows. Starting at the sea near the Anavyssos salt pans we head straight inland. We skirt the modern village of Anavyssos and the hill of Velatouri crowned with a white chapel and continue inland. About three kilometers from the coast we come to a fork in the road where there is a small white chapel of Hagios Panteleimon and several other buildings. The place is known as Metochi, and the 49th kilometer post is close to the fork. The right hand fork of the road leads to Keratea. We take the left fork and enter a small open valley about three or four hundred meters broad which connects the plain of Anavyssos with the area of the village of Olympos. To the left the scrub covered slopes of Mt. Olympos (485 m.) rise steeply. To the right is a low wooded hill with two peaks 105 and 126 meters high respectively. About half way through this valley we pass the 48th kilometer post. Our inscription is said to have been found in the fields at the foot of the hill to the right about opposite this point. The main road continues, and at the 47th kilometer post a dirt track branches off to the right and leads to the village of Olympos, rejoining the main road again a kilometer and a half farther on.

I have made a cursory examination of the area where the stone is said to have been found but did not see anything of interest. Further prospecting, however, might yield something. The *Karten von Attika* indicate remains of walls ("Mauerreste") at the point in question, and Milchhoefer, moving southward through the valley, reports: "Auch weiter unterhalb bis Panteleimon (beim 'Metochi' von Anavyso) wird das Thal dieses Rhevma, namentlich auf der linken Seite, von zahlreichen im

³ C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attika*, pp. 91-92, note 58.

⁴ Ernst Kirsten, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der attischen Demenforschung," *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (Roma, 4-8 settembre 1957), pp. 162, 168.

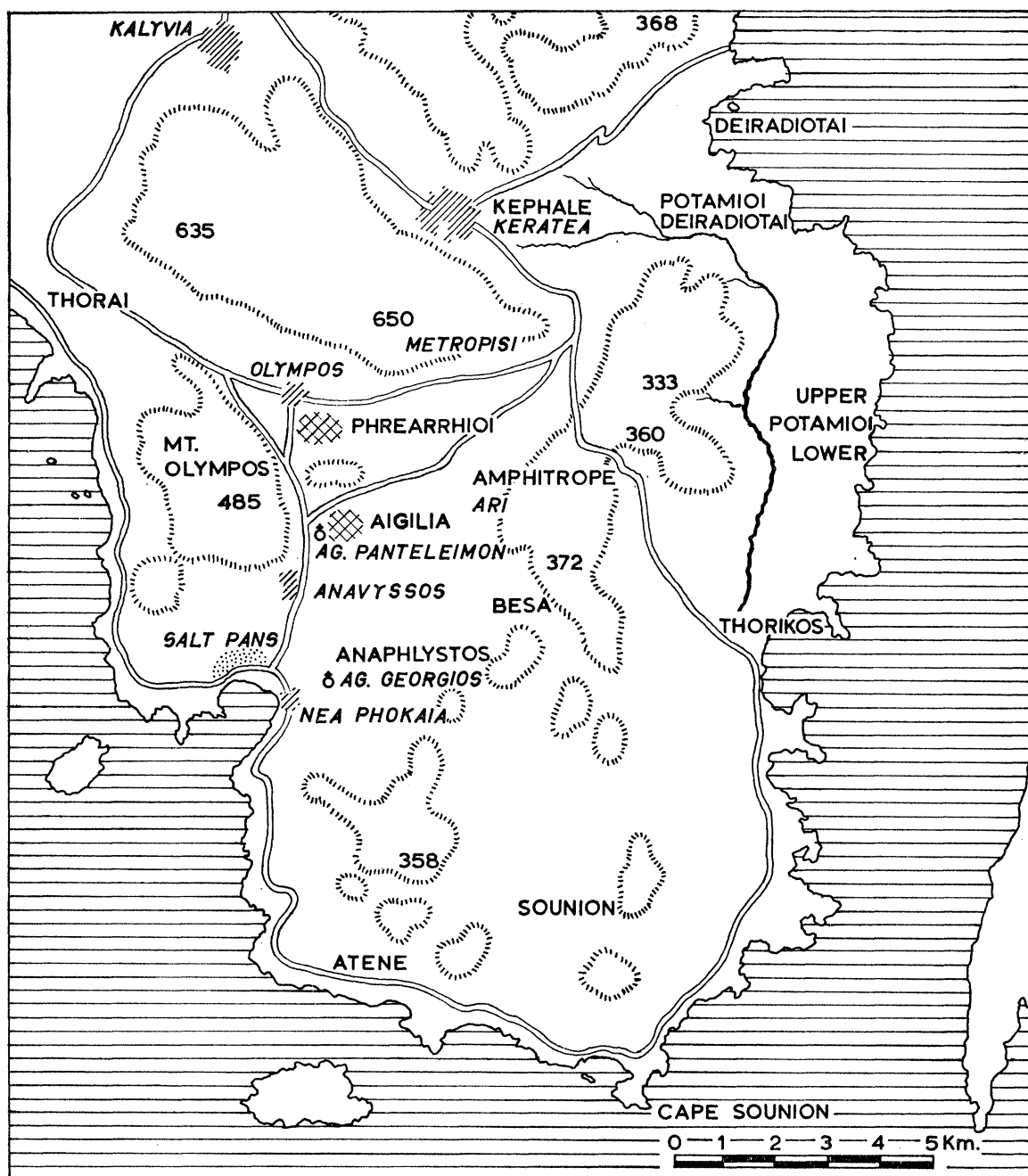


FIG. 1. Map of Southern Attica showing the proposed locations of the demes Phrearrhioi and Aigilia. Amphitrope has been moved from Metropisi (Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, pp. 110-116) to Ari (*ibid.*, p. 107). There are virtually no ancient remains at Metropisi, and the only evidence for placing Amphitrope there is the supposed similarity of the two names; but the derivation of Metropisi from Amphitrope, which has been tolerated by topographers for two centuries, is dubious at best. The extensive remains at Ari are those of a mining center, but there could have been a deme center there as well as is the case at Thorikos and Sounion. Upper and Lower Potamioi have been left in the valley of the little stream north of Thorikos. The evidence for moving them to the city trittys, set forth by Ernst Meyer in *R.E.*, *s.v.* "Potamos," seems insufficient.

Lentiscusgestrüpp verborgenen Spuren antiker Häuser begleitet.”⁵ We may also recall that the Aristodikos kourios is known to have come from this very area, and perhaps other kouroi as well.⁶

Even though we cannot fix the finding place of the inscription more closely or discover traces of the sanctuary to which it refers, it is safe to assume, I think, that the deme Phrearrhioi is to be sought somewhere in the general area in which the inscription was found. That is to say, we will no longer look in the Sounion-Thorikos area, at Plaka, or elsewhere, but will turn our attention to the upper Anavyssos plain and the area around the village of Olympos. Now there are two ancient sites in this area. One of them, a little southeast of the village of Olympos, has been known for a long time and has fairly extensive and conspicuous remains. It is usually identified as Aigilia, but the only evidence for this is the order in which Strabo mentions the demes along the west coast of Attica from Phaleron to Sounion.⁷ The other site is near Hagios Panteleimon. This has only recently become known and its remains are less apparent than those near Olympos,⁸ but the discovery in 1966 of a large Geometric cemetery, of which over 50 graves have been excavated, shows it to have been a flourishing place even at this early period. Remains of classical walls are also reported, and one small room may have been a potter's workshop.⁹ No ancient name was available for this site, and Eliot assumed it to be a part of the deme Anaphlystos, an inland center whose inhabitants were engaged in farming. But the site is too important to be simply an inland settlement of a deme located near the coast. The plain of Anavyssos is large and could easily support more than one deme. I assume that the deme Anaphlystos itself was a Hagios Georgios in the southeastern part of the plain, about a kilometer from the coast. It had a harbor town on the coast (modern Nea Phokaia), which was active in the Classical period when the Laurion mines were in full production, a situation exactly paralleled at Thorikos on the east coast.¹⁰ The Hagios Panteleimon site in the northwest part of the plain about three kilometers inland should belong to another deme.

There are thus two sites near the place where our inscription is said to have been found, the Olympos site and the Hagios Panteleimon site, and one of these should be

⁵ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, sheet XVII, “Olympos,” with explanatory text by A. Milchhoefer, III-VI, p. 20.

⁶ Christos Karusos, *Aristodikos*, p. 3. Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, pp. 70-72. *Historia*, XVI, 1967, pp. 279-286.

⁷ Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, pp. 69-74.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

⁹ Δελτ., XXI, 1966, Χρονικά, pp. 97-98. The finds from this cemetery are exhibited in the new museum at Brauron.

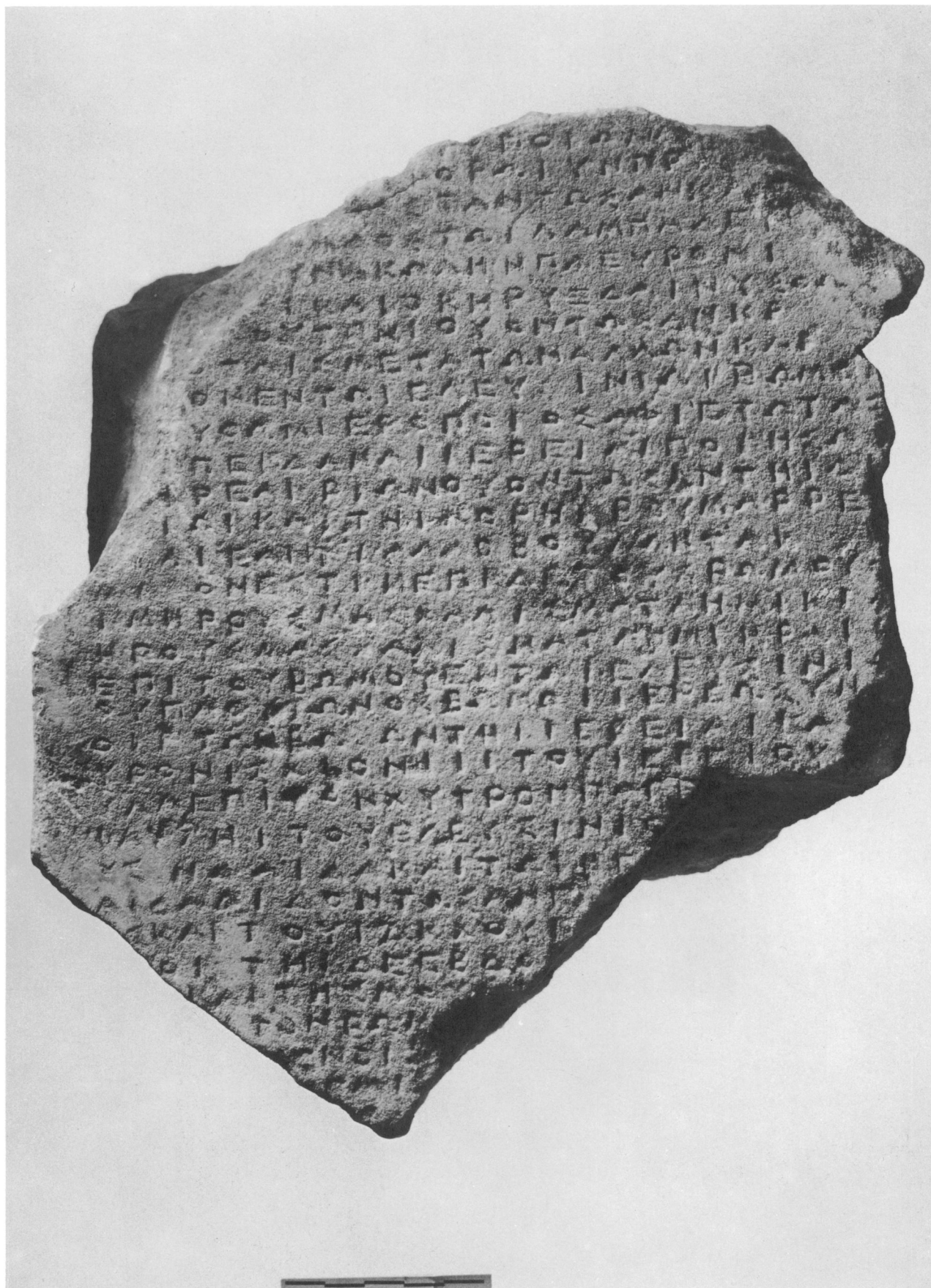
¹⁰ H. F. Mussche, “La forteresse maritime de Thorikos,” *B.C.H.*, LXXXV, 1961, pp. 176-205, especially pp. 204-205. W. K. Pritchett wants to place Anaphlystos at Nea Phokaia, but this is neither necessary nor desirable. He offers no identification for the remains at Hagios Georgios and Hagios Panteleimon, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, Part I, pp. 135-137.

Phrearrhioi, the other Aigilia. Now the larger of these two demes is Phrearrhioi with 9 representatives in the boule and 191 demesmen known by name, whereas Aigilia has only 6 representatives and 93 known demesmen.¹¹ I would therefore identify Olympos, the larger site, as Phrearrhioi and Hagios Panteleimon as Aigilia. This moving of Aigilia to a site nearer the sea is actually an improvement for it makes Strabo's mention of it in his description of the demes along the coast more reasonable.

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¹¹ A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, pp. 59, 65.



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