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THE SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR OF THE MARATHONIAN TETRAPOLIS: A REVISED  
TEXT

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## THE SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR OF THE MARATHONIAN TETRAPOLIS: A REVISED TEXT<sup>1</sup>

The Marathonian Tetrapolis was the most notable of a number of Attic local associations which, though apparently prehistorical in origin, enjoyed a more or less lively existence through the classical period and beyond.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly the most important Tetrapolis document, and an important source for the study of Attic religion generally, is its 4th century sacrificial calendar, *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1358*.<sup>3</sup> There are several other Attic examples of this genre of inscription, six of them subject of a synoptic study by S. Dow, published in 1968,<sup>4</sup> which, in addition to the Tetrapolis calendar, discussed those of the Athenian polis itself, of Erchia, Eleusis, Teithras, and the genos Salaminioi. Since then the dossier has been enriched by

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<sup>1</sup> This is intended to be the first of a series of prolegomena to a monograph edition, with translation and commentary, of all the Attic sacrificial calendars. Warm thanks are due to Michael Jameson, Sally Humphreys and Robert Parker for their generous help, including extremely useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Institutionally I am grateful to the British School at Athens; and especially to the Cotton Foundation, who supported this work financially in 1998/9. The Director of the Epigraphical Museum, Ch. Kritzas, and his staff facilitated the study of the stone with their customary courtesy. Some other debts are mentioned in the appropriate place below. The following abbreviations are used:

Dow: S. Dow, *Six Athenian Sacrificial Calendars*, *BCH* 92 (1968), 170–86;

K(irchner): *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1358*;

Mikalson: J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton, 1975);

Parker: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996);

Petrakos: B. Petrakos, *Marathon* (Athens, 1996);

P(ee)k: W. Peek, *Attische Inschriften*, *AM* 67 (1942) [1951], 12–13, no. 10;

Photiou: K. P. Photiou, *Η Τετράπολη του Μαραθώνα* (Athens, 1982);

(von) Pr(ott): von Prott in J. von Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* (Leipzig, 1896), fasc. 1, Ad. et Corr., pp. 46–54, no. 26;

Q(uinn): G. Quinn, *The Sacrificial Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis*, PhD Diss., Harvard, 1971;

*Rationes*: S. D. Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum* (Amsterdam, 1997);

R(ichardson): R. B. Richardson, *A sacrificial calendar from the Epakria*, *AJA* 10 (1895), 209–26;

Richardson, *AnR*: R. B. Richardson, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* [1895], 25–30;

*Salaminioi*: S. D. Lambert, *The Attic Genos Salaminioi and the Island of Salamis*, *ZPE* 119 (1997), 85–106;

Schr(ader): J. Schrader, ap. Prott;

Sok(olowski): F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969);

Threatte I: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, vol. 1: Phonology* (Berlin, 1980);

Traill: J. S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto, 1986);

*Two Notes*: S. D. Lambert, *Two Notes on Attic Leges Sacrae*, *ZPE* 130 (2000) [this volume], 70–79;

Whitehead: D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton, 1986).

<sup>2</sup> The four “poleis” were Marathon, Trikorynthos, Oinoe and Probalinthos. In antiquity Philochoros devoted a monograph to the Tetrapolis (*FGH* 328 Philochoros F 73–75). The standard modern account remains W. Wrede in *RE* (1934) s.v. Tetrapolis; a succinct recent treatment is at Parker, 331–32; the archaeology and topography of the area is conveniently summarised by Petrakos (with maps). See also Photiou.

<sup>3</sup> A fragment of a decree of the Tetrapolis is also extant (*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1243*, c. 190; date, S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter Cutters of 229–88 B.C.* [Berkeley, 1990], Cutter of *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 913*) and a dedication to Dionysos (*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2933*, 4th cent.). A fragmentary 5th century sacrificial calendar, *IG i<sup>3</sup> 255*, found on Euboea, probably also originates in this region (see further, *Two Notes*). No document of an individual Tetrapolis deme is known (see Whitehead, Appendix 3), and it may be that they tended to act collectively, though, in the Cleisthenic system, while Marathon, Oinoe and Trikorynthos were in the coastal trittys of Aiantis (called “Tetrapolis”), Probalinthos was in the city trittys of Pandionis (see Traill). There are reasons to believe that the Tetrapolis of our calendar was the traditional four demes rather than the Cleisthenic trittys: e.g. the patently archaic character of the cults in the calendar; the fact that there is no other firm evidence for Cleisthenic trittyses exercising cult responsibilities, cf. Parker, 103; the listing of the four demes in *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2933*; the likely location of the Herakleion at A, col. 1, 19 in Probalinthos. Since, however, Probalinthos is not mentioned in the preserved part of A, col. 2 (and the word trittys does occur, albeit in the dative, in *IG i<sup>3</sup> 255*), this is not strictly certain. [Cf. now below, Postscript.]

<sup>4</sup> Dow.

the accession of the calendar from Thorikos, fully published for the first time in 1983.<sup>5</sup> Thanks to the work of a number of scholars over the last couple of generations, not least that of Dow himself and his pupils, the available texts of these documents have been progressively clarified and improved. The Tetrapolis calendar, however, has rather fallen behind the others in this regard. Discovered in 1895 in a brief American excavation in north-east Attica at Kukunari,<sup>6</sup> it was published with admirable speed later the same year by the then Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, R. B. Richardson,<sup>7</sup> and republished the following year with textual improvements by J. von Prott in his collection of *Fasti Sacri*.<sup>8</sup> Kirchner (*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1358*) and Peek added a little to Face A, the main contribution of the latter being to realise that the very worn Face B did not, as Richardson had thought, contain further sacrifices, but a list of personal names followed by monetary amounts.<sup>9</sup> As far as the published record is concerned, there has hitherto been no progress since Peek. In fact, however, starting in 1936, Dow worked on the text from time to time, latterly in collaboration with his pupil G. M. Quinn, culminating in Quinn's meticulous PhD Dissertation of 1971, concerned largely with the text of the calendar.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately Quinn died in a road accident before he was able to bring his work to publication, and Dow's project to republish this calendar along with the other five then known in a book with Quinn, R.F. Healey and H. Hansen, never materialised.

I was able to study the stone in detail over several weeks in the autumn of 1997, followed up by examination of several excellent photographs supplied by the Epigraphical Museum, two of which are reproduced here at Plates III–IV.<sup>11</sup> On subsequently reading Quinn's dissertation, it became apparent that we were often in agreement in our judgements on readings. My main purpose here is to publish an improved text of this inscription, reflecting the progress achieved by Dow and Quinn, as well as my own work.

The notes, after brief discussions of the unusual layout of this text and its punctuation, consist mainly in a line-by-line commentary. This is intended not to supersede previous published discussions, but to supplement them. It focuses mainly on textual matters (including articulation) and deals with substantive issues only in the (admittedly fairly frequent) cases where these arise therefrom. Aside from adjustments to details of individual calendar entries, the following discussions may be of wider interest:

<sup>5</sup> *SEG* 33.147.

<sup>6</sup> Kukunari is in the hills to the west of the Marathon plain, south and a little west of Oinoe (see the map at Petrakos, fig. 1) and generally thought to be outside Tetrapolis territory (currently favoured candidate for the location of ancient Hekale, Traill, 131). To judge from its current state and the excavator's description of its findspot, the inscription seems to have been reused as a threshold block. In 1965, however, Jameson noted a stele base at the site of the excavations, which, as he points out at S. Goldhill and R. Osborne eds., *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge, 1999), 337, n. 50, argues against our inscription having been brought to Kukunari for secondary use. Inside the church which stood on the site in 1895, Richardson also found "a stele, once inscribed but now worn beyond all hope of reading a single letter" (Richardson, *AnR*, 27; whether Jameson's base is from our inscription, this illegible one or another one altogether is unclear). Other remains, including votive reliefs, also tend to confirm Milchhöfer's view that this was the site of an ancient sanctuary, as well as of a settlement (*AM* 12 [1887], 313; text for *Karten von Attika*, Heft III–VI [Berlin, 1889], 57–58; Richardson, *AnR*). It does not seem very plausible that a sacrificial calendar should be set up in a sanctuary in which none of the listed sacrifices took place and perhaps this was not the site of Hekale (on no account a Tetrapolis deme even if cultic links might be suggested by *Plut. Thes.* 14; see also Parker, 332, n. 13), but of one of the major sanctuaries of the Tetrapolis (perhaps deliberately "extra-urban" in relation to the main Tetrapolis settlement sites in the plain?; cf. Parker, 25–26). On the ancient road connecting Kukunari with the Marathon plain see J. Ober, *Hesp.* 51 (1982), 453–58. "Marathon . . . probably had several centers of habitation", Traill, 148. Kukunari might have been one such, or it might have belonged to Probalinthos or Oinoe, or to a settlement within the old Tetrapolis area which was no longer part of one of the four Cleisthenic demes. It is to be hoped that excavation of this promising site will soon be recommenced. On Kukunari as possible site of Marathon, cf. Photiou.

<sup>7</sup> Richardson.

<sup>8</sup> Prott.

<sup>9</sup> See Peek.

<sup>10</sup> Quinn. Summarised *HSCP* 76 (1972), 299.

<sup>11</sup> I thank Charles Crowther of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford, for help with use of the Centre's facilities for viewing epigraphical images.

on the festival Skira (A, col. 1, 11–12); on the articulation of A, col. 1, including a new interpretation of lines 13–19 to yield reference to epigraphical sources of authority at the Eleusinion, on Kynosoura and at the Herakleion; on animal prices (main discussions: A, col. 1, 28, 42–43; A, col. 2, 7–9); on Face B (list of contributors), where new readings allow the overall content of the Face to be surmised. Following the line-by-line commentary are three short interpretative discussions: on the Tetrapolis demes and the arrangement of matter on Face A; on the relation of the contributions on Face B to the sacrifices on Face A; and on the Tetrapolis archon Euboulos (A, col. 2, 39), who, I suggest, might be identifiable with the famous 4th century politician, and the circumstances in which the calendar may have been inscribed.

TEXT

Fragment of an opisthographic stele of white (“Pentelic”) marble, broken at the top and bottom. The surface of both faces has been broken away to the left, to a maximum depth of 0.034 (Face A), 0.035 (Face B), and a maximum width of c. 0.115 (Face A), c. 0.100 (Face B). A large piece of the upper right corner of the stone has also broken away diagonally. Face A is worn, and has deteriorated slightly since discovery, but is still mostly legible. Face B (which was face-up on discovery) had suffered considerable damage from water and foot-wear and is now mostly illegible. On both faces readings are complicated by damage marks. There are traces of cement on the bottom of the stele. Height: 0.650 (0.600 inscribed); width: 0.484 at the top, widening to 0.493 at the bottom; thickness: 0.099 at the top, thickening to 0.114 at the bottom. Average height of 10 lines plus interlines: 0.107 (Face A). Height of letters: 0.006 (omicron 0.004) (Face A); 0.005 (Face B). Found in 1895 in excavations at Kukunari, in the hills to the west of the Marathon plain, in an area “south of the buildings ... between the church and the cloister, ... with its face down ... resting on a large door-sill” (Richardson, *AnR* 27–28; cf. n. 6). Now EM 13038. Textual Bibliography: R(ichardson) (ph.); Pr(ott), with readings of Schr(ader) and revised opinions of Richardson; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1358 (Kirchner; from squeeze and transcription of Wilhelm); P(ee)k; Sok(olowski), no. 20; Q(uinn) (from autopsy, numerous photographs and squeezes), to whom “S. Dow ... generously made available his notes and text” and with whom Dow “discussed most of the problems”, p. 5. Photographs, plates III–IV.

c. 375–50 B.C.?

non-stoichedon

FACE A

col. 1	col. 2
<p>----- [τετάρτης τ]ριμήνο 5 [Μουνιχιῶν]ος [.c. 4-10.. Π]ρακτηρίωι κριὸς ΔΗΗ [Θαργηλιῶ]νος [...c. 5-12...] παρὰ τὸν πύργον οἷς ΔΗΗ [Σκιροφορι]ῶνος 10 [...c. 6-13...] ἐν ἀγορᾷ κριὸς ὕ ΔΗΗ [ἐν(στ δω)δεκάτ?]ει Διὶ Ὀρίωι οἷς ΔΗΗ [...c. 6-13...]ιαὶ ὕ οἷς ΔΗ [...max. c. 7-15 ...] τάδε τοῦ τῶν ἐν [...c. 5-12... ἐ]νιαυτοῦ ἕκαστον 15 [...c. 6-13...]α ἐξῆς ὡς γέγραπται</p>	<p>-----ΟΙ[...c. 8-20.... τάδε ὁ δῆμαρχος] [ὁ Μ]αραθωνίων θύει ε.[.....c. 14-24 .....]- ηγται δέκα ἡμερῶν ἥρωι [...c. 12-22.....] χοῖρος ὕ ΗΗ ὕ τράπεζα τῶι ἥρω[ι Η vac.? Βοηδρομιῶνος ὕ πρὸ Μυστ[η]ρί[ων ...c. 8-17.....] βοῖς ὕ ΠΔΔΔΔ οἷς ΔΗΗ ὕ Κοροτρόφω[ι οἷς ΔΗ vac.? δευτέρας ὕ τριμήνο ὕ Ποσιδεῶν[ος ...c. 5-13..] βοῦς [ΗΠ ὕὕ] οἷς ΔΗΗ ὕ ἠρωίνηι [οἷς ΔΗ? ἱερώσυνα] ΠΗὕ Γῆι ἐγ γύαις βοῦς ὕ κυοῦσα ΠΔΔ[ΔΔ? ἱερώσυνα ΗΗΗ?] Τελετήι σπυΔια: ΔΔΔΔ vacat τρίτης ὕ τριμήνο ὕ Γαμηλι[ῶ]νος [...c. 7-14 ...] Δαίραι ὕ οἷς κυοῦσα: ΔΠΗ ἱερώσυνα Η vacat ? Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι μαντεῖωι ὕ οἷς ΔΗὕ Διὶ Ὑπ[άτωι .c. 2-9.] Ἰο(λ)έωι οἷς ΔΗΗὕ Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρο[ς ΗΗ τράπε]- ζα Η ἱερώσυνα: ΗΗC ὕ ἥρωι Φηραίωι [οἷς ΔΗΗ? vac. 0-5]</p>

- [...c. 7-14...]τον τὸν ἐν ταῖς  
 [...c. 6-13... π]αρά τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον  
 [...c. 7-14...]ωι ἐν Κυνοσοῦραι  
 [...c. 5-11... παρ]ὰ τὸ Ἡρακλείον  
 20 [...max. c. 8-15...] τετάρτης  
 [τριμήνο ὡς Μο]νιχιῶνος  
 [...c. 8-15...]νου ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 [...max. c. 8-16...] πρώτης  
 [τριμήνο ὡς Ἐκ]ατομβιῶνος  
 25 [...c. 5-11... ἴστα]μένον  
 [Ἀπόλλωνι? ὡς Ἀπ]οτροπαίωι ὡς αἰξ ΔΗΗ  
 [δευτέρως τρι]μήνο Πυανοπιῶνος  
 [...c. 8-16...]ων ὡς κυοῦσα ΔΠΗΗ  
 [τετάρτης τρι]μήνο Μουνιχιῶνος  
 30 [...c. 8-15...] ]ωι αἰξ: ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 8-15...]ειον: ΔΗΗ  
 [...max. c. 9-16...] τετάρτης  
 [τριμήνο ὡς Μο]νιχιῶνος  
 [...c. 8-16...]αίωι αἰξ ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 35 [...c. 9-17...]ηι ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 10-17...]νει: ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 9-15...]Σ[.c.2.] ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 9-16...]  
 [προτέρα? ὡς δραμ]οσύνη  
 40 [δευτέρως τριμ]ήνο Πυανοπιῶνος  
 [...c. 8-15... β]οῦς ὡς ΔΔΔΔ  
 [τρίτης τριμ]ήνο Γαμηλιῶνος  
 [...c. 9-17...]ηιδων ὡς κυοῦσα ΔΔΔ  
 [τετάρτης τριμ]ήνο Μουνιχιῶνος  
 45 [...c. 11-19...] Νυμφαγέτει αἰξ ΔΗΗ  
 [Θαργηλιῶνος?]  
 [...c. 9-17... Π?]οταμῶι κριὸς: ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 10-19...] αἰξ: ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 8-16...]τηι κριὸς ΔΗΗ  
 50 [...c. 8-15...]ουβατωι αἰξ ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 7-14...] ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 [...c. 8-15...]ολει: ὡς ΔΗ  
 [Σκιροφοριῶ?]νος  
 [...c. 7-14...]ι ὡς ὡς ΔΗΗ  
 55 [Ἀθηναίωι Ἐλλ]ωτίδι χοῖρος: ΗΗΗ  
 -----  
 ἠρωίνηι ὡς ὡς ΔΗ ἠρωῖσυνα ὡς ΗΗΗ *vacat*  
 Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος δεκάτη ἴσταμένο[υ? Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι]  
 μαγτεῖωι τράγος παμμέλας ΔΠ ἠρωῖσυνα .c. 1-2.]  
 τετάρτης τριμήνο Μουνιχιῶνος ἠρωῖσυνα-  
 χοῖροι βοῖς ὡς ΔΔΔΔ ὡς ὡς ΔΗΗ ἠρωίνηι ὡς ὡς ΔΗ ἠρωῖσυνα-  
 να: ΗΗΗ Νεανίωι βοῖς ΔΔΔΔ ὡς ὡς ΔΗΗ ὡς χοῖροι[ς ΗΗΗ]  
 ἠρωίνηι: ὡς ὡς ΔΗ ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα: ΗΗΗC *vacat*  
 τάδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Μαραθῶνιον θύει ἠρωῖ ἐν  
 Δρασιλείωι: ὡς ὡς ΔΗΗ ὡς τράπεζα ἠρωίνηι ὡς ὡς ΔΗ  
 ἠρωῖ παρὰ τὸ Ἐλλωτίον ὡς ὡς ΔΗΗ ὡς τράπεζα ἠρωῖ  
 ἠρωῖ ὡς ΔΗ *vacat*  
 Θαργηλιῶνος ἠρωῖ κριὸς ΔΗΗ ὡς θήλεια ΔΗ  
 ἠρωῖσυνα: ΗΗΗ: Μοίραις ὡς χοῖρος ὡς ΗΗΗ ὡς ἠρωῖ-  
 συνα IC *vacat*  
 Σκιροφοριῶνος ὡς πρὸ Σκίρων ἠρωῖ τὰ ὠρα[ῖ]-  
 α ὡς ὡς ΔΗΗ ὡς Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρος ΗΗΗ ἠρωῖσυνα ΗΗ[IC]  
 Τριτοπατρεῦσι ὡς (ΔΗΗ?) ἠρωῖσυνα ΗΗ ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα  
 ὡς ΔΗΗ ἠρωῖσυνα ΗΗ *vacat*  
 τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος προτέρα δραμοσύνη ἠρωῖ-  
 τομβιῶνος: Ἀθηναίωι ἠρωῖ τὰ βοῖς ΔΔΔΔ  
 ὡς τρεῖς ὡς ΔΔΔΗΗ: χοῖρος ὡς ΗΗΗ ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα ΗΗ[IC]  
 Κοροτρόφωι ὡς ὡς ΔΗ ὡς χοῖρος ὡς ΗΗΗ ἠρωῖσυνα: Η[IC]  
 Δαφνηφόροις ΗΗΗ *vacat*  
 τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται μετὰ Εὐβουλον ὡς ἠρωῖ-  
 ντα Τετραπολεῦσι ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα δραμοσύνη  
 ἠρωῖ τομβιῶνος ὡς Ἀθηναίωι ἠρωῖ τὰ βοῖς: Δ[Η]  
 Κοροτρόφωι ὡς χοῖρος: ΗΗΗ ἠρωῖσυνα ΗC *vacat*  
 Μεταγεινιῶνος ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα βοῖς ὡς ΔΔΔΔ  
 Κόρη κριὸς ὡς ΔΗΗ ὡς χοῖροι ὡς τρεῖς ὡς ΗΗΗΗ ἠρωῖσυνα-  
 να ὡς ΗΗΗΗC: ἀλφίτων ἠρωῖ ἐκτεὺς IIII οἶνο χοῖ[ς.]  
 Κοροτρόφωι ὡς ΔΗ ἠρωῖσυνα Η *vacat*  
 Διὶ ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα ἠρωῖ ὡς ΔΗΗ ἠρωῖσυνα ΗΗ  
 ἠρωῖσυνα ὡς ἠρωῖσυνα ἠρωῖ ὡς κυοῦσα ΔΔ[Δ?]  
 ἠρωῖσυνα Η Χλόηι ὡς παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου ὡς κυοῖσ[α Η?]  
 ΔΔ ἠρωῖσυνα Η ὡς ἀλφίτων ἠρωῖ ἐκτεὺς IIII οἶνο χοῖ[ς.]  
 Σκιροφοριῶνος: πρὸ Σκίρων ὡς Γαλίωι κριὸς Δ[ΗΗ]  
 ἠρωῖσυνα ΗΗ ὡς Φρέατος ΗΗ Τριτοπατρεῦσι *vacat*  
 τράπεζα Η *vacat*  
 Τρικουνηθοῖ τάδε ὅσα ἔτη πρώτης τριμήνο  
 Μεταγεινιῶνος ἠρωῖ βοῖς ΔΔΔΔ ὡς ὡς ΔΗ  
 [...c. 20-22...] Κοροτρόφωι [- - -

## FACE B

- [- - - - -]σ[ισ]τρατος Μα.  
 [- - - - -] Μα]ρ ΔΔ ἠρωῖσυνα ἠρωῖσυνα Μα ΔΔΗΗ.  
 [- - - - -]...Δ ἠρωῖσυνα ἠρωῖσυνα Μα  
 [- - - - -]...[ - - - - -]δωρος ...c. 5-6... ἠρωῖσυνα Οἶνοι Δ..c. 2-3.  
 5 [- - - - -]γονος ἠρωῖσυνα ἠρωῖσυνα Μα]ρ[numerals] Πατροκλῆς Οἶνοι Δ[.?]

[-----]λοϛ ϩ̣ΗΔΗϩ̣ΙΙΙ Ω[ ...<sup>c. 6.</sup> M]α̣ρ [ ...<sup>c. 6.</sup>]ο̣.οϛ Οἰν[<sup>α numerals</sup>]  
 [-----]...χοϛ [-----]ΙΙ[<sup>1-2.</sup>] Μ̣α̣[ρ -]  
 [-----]στ[-----]Δ̣Δ̣[-]  
 [-----]Δ̣Δ̣[-]  
 10 [-----]Ι[-]ΣΟ[-]Δ̣Δ̣[-]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]Μ̣α̣ρ[-]Ρ[-]  
 [-----]Δ̣[-]  
 [-----]  
 15 [-----]ΔΔ[-]ΡΑ[-]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]ΗΗ[-]  
 [-----]Μ̣α̣ ϩ̣Δ̣  
 [-----]ΣΤ[-]Μ̣α̣ Δ̣Η̣  
 20 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 c. 28 lines severely abraded  
 50 [--- [-] Ἀγίτωρ Πρ[ο? -]-----]  
 [--- [-] ϩ̣ΔΔ... [-]-----]  
 [--- [-]... Μ̣α̣ρ Δ̣Η̣ Λ̣?][<sup>c. 2-3.</sup>]οϛ [-----]  
 c. 8 lines severely abraded  
 61 [-----]ΦΛΗΗ [-]-----]  
 [-----]οϛ [-----]

NOTES

Layout of text

It is apparent from the striking layout of the text on both sides that the cutter (or drafter) was working under two dominant requirements. First, to set out the text clearly for the reader: he seeks to avoid word-breaks at line-ends; on Face A (the calendar side) he starts new entries on new lines and marks off sections by devices such as indents and *vacats*. Such features can also be observed in other sacrificial calendars. Where this one differs is in how the second apparent imperative has been accommodated, i.e. optimal use of the surface area of the stone. The underlying motivation was presumably economy (appropriately enough in an inscription whose purpose was fundamentally financial); the less stone was used, the less expensive would be the inscription; (the stone may be re-used, see below on Face A, col. 1, 4–9, and perhaps there was a desire to squeeze the new text into space that was designed for an earlier one). The method is to use small and tightly packed lettering and no or almost no margins. On Face B, rather than set out contributors in neat columns, the normal practice with such lists, their names, followed by amounts contributed, run in continuous lines; no space is wasted. On the calendar side, the first notable feature is that the left column is thinner than the right in a ratio of a little more than a third to a little less than two thirds; patently the cutter had to accommodate two categories of sacrifice, one containing fewer items than the other; one category fills the left column, the other the right column. The differing widths of the columns are a product of the differing quantity of text to be accommodated in the same number of lines.<sup>12</sup> In conjunction with the other two general imperatives, i.e. clarity (achieved

<sup>12</sup> I take it to be an implication of the layout that the text of both columns was known before the cutter started inscribing column 1; if it was not known he would not have been able to calculate the relative width of the columns and would scarcely have attempted this sort of layout.

partly by line-end *vacats*) and extreme economical use of the stone, the result is the most remarkable feature of the layout of Face A, a right column without fixed margin, but in which the starts of the lines wrap around the ends of the lines in the left column.

### Punctuation

It is often difficult on this stone to distinguish punctuation from casual marks, and as between : and ∴. In column 1, the absence of detectable punctuation in lines 4–29, whereas ∴ occurs in 30–36 (sequences 2–3 of Unit C) and ∴ in 48–55 (Unit D) might suggest that different sources underlie Units A, C and D. It is difficult, however, to make anything of the 2-dot/3-dot variations in column 2.

### Line-by-line commentary

#### Face A

#### Column 1

Mostly, I do not comment in the following on changes in the status of a letter as between undotted, dotted or bracketed where it could make no difference in context to the reading of the word or number. Sokolowski's text is of no epigraphical value independent of earlier editions and contains a number of minor errors; these are not registered below. It is often a moot point whether space between words amounts to a *vacat*. Differences between editors in this respect are not noted below.

#### Calculation of space to the left

Fundamental to any reconstruction of this column is a calculation of the amount of text missing to the left. Earlier editors printed “[ - - ]” in lines where they proposed no supplements, giving occasional indications in their notes as to the number of letters that might be restored; not very satisfactory when the left edge of the stone is preserved at subsurface level. Q's indications in the form “[ca. 8<sup>1/2</sup>]” represented an advance; but (except in a few cases where he gave further details in his notes) they did not convey the possible range of letters missing.

In fact, the amount of space between letters in this text varies markedly. In column 1, I noted variation of average spacing across 5.5 cm. between 0.61 cm. per letter (start of line 11, including several iotas) and 0.84 cm. (line 20; there is an even higher average, over a wider stretch of text, in 33, see below). In addition, there is extensive use not only of punctuation (: or ∴), which, when it occurs, usually occupies about the width of a letter, but also of additional vacant space between words. Where this space amounts to more than 1 cm. I have marked it <sup>v</sup>, but it sometimes occupies less than this. While this vacant space usually occurs between words in separate sections of text, e.g. between a month name and the name of the deity receiving a sacrifice, that is not always the case (e.g. δευτέρως <sup>v</sup> τριμήνο at col. 2, 7). Finally, the cutter was not at all resistant to variations in the left edge of his column of text. As Q observed, in the case of col. 2, the main factor influencing these was the length of the line in col. 1; one would not therefore expect such marked variations at the left edge of col. 1. But, as he also observed, even taking this into account, the cutter also started some lines in col. 2 to the left of where one would otherwise expect, in part, it seems, to allow himself extra space to fit in a long line, but sometimes for no perceptible reason. That there were some variations in the left column edge in column 1, therefore, is quite possible.

These factors in combination imply that there is a wide range in the number of possible missing letters. For each line I have calculated a theoretical maximum of this range, being the number of letters that can be fitted into the physical space available, assuming that the spacing between letters is at the tightest apparent in the surviving part of the column (i.e. 0.61 cm. per letter, see above). The physical space available is the distance between the left edge of the stone at the surface and the original left edge, which is preserved only at sub-surface level. As can be seen from the photograph at pl. III, this distance increases towards the bottom. (Allowing a mm. or so for rounding off of the edge at the surface, I calculate this space as ranging from 6.75 cm. before the nu in line 7 to 11.85 cm. before the iota in line

48; measurements which accord with Q's range, calculated on a slightly different basis, of c. 7 cm. at the top to 11.5 cm. at around line 47). This theoretical maximum is shown in the text as the maximum of the range in the square brackets.

The minimum of the range indicated in the square brackets is reckoned from the minimum number of letters that actually occur in lines where the restoration is certain. The line in this category with the most widely spread letters is 33, where the nine letters, TPIMHNOMO, occupy 9.65 cm.

As a control, I have also calculated, for each line, the minimum number of letters that would fit into the physical space available, assuming letters were at their greatest observable spread over 5.5 cm. (i.e. 0.84 cm., see above). The variations from this "control" minimum in lines whose restoration is certain, or near-certain, is:

up to +1 (i.e. actual number of letters up to one more than the control minimum): 9, 27, 29, 40, 44, 55

0: 4, 5, 7, 42

up to -1: 24, (also 26 and 39)

up to -2: 21

up to -3: 33

In addition to 33, 21 and 24 contained quarter rubrics and 39 the start of a new biennial sequence, and as with the quarter rubrics in col. 2, we may probably assume that, in these cases, and probably line 26 also, there was a *vacat* between the two words in the space to the left. For the rest, it is unlikely that letters were all actually spaced within one space of this control minimum and we may conclude that there was normally a small margin between the edge of the stone and the start of the column of text, probably about the width of a letter.

A range of up to 9 letters is shown in the square brackets. From the above calculations it will be apparent that, in practice, an actual number of letters at or even below the minimum of this range is possible, especially if one assumes indentation of the normal edge of the column of text or *vacat(s)* between words. On the other hand, even if one's restoration contains a high proportion of thin letters and assumes displacement of the left column edge to the left of its normal position, the fact that observable spacings are less than or equal to the control minimum, or at most one higher, will normally make one very uncomfortable with restoring a number of letters at or very close to the maximum shown in the brackets.

For ease of reference I divide the text of col. 1 into four units: A (1–12, the end of a calendar); B (13–19, a section of prose); C (20–37, three sequences of sacrifices); D (38–55, a sequence of sacrifices).

#### Unit A (1–12)

The end of a set of sacrifices. If, as seems likely, there is little text missing before the preserved start (see below on the Tetrapolis demes and Face A), this was probably the first set to be listed. It is therefore perhaps unlikely that it was e.g. a biennial set, since one might expect biennial sets to be preceded by an annual one (cf. col. 2). Whether, however, it occurred annually or at some other frequency (cf. Unit B) is unclear.

**(Face) A, (col.) 1, 4–9.** The surviving letters of 4 are now very difficult to read, especially the mu, of which I detected the left bar only, and the eta, of which I could see no trace; but it is apparent from R's photograph that they were clearer when the stone was first discovered. R restored τρίτης in 4 and the months of the third quarter accordingly in 5, 7 and 9, but editors since Pr have seen that τετάρτης is the correct restoration. R's was based on the assumption that this quarter was in sequence behind the fourth in 20, but the positioning of τετάρτης to the right in the line in 20 indicates that, as elsewhere in this column where this positioning occurs (23, 32), it represents the start of a new sequence, in this case marked off from what goes before by the prose of 13–19. The same consideration rules out [πρώτης] in 4, since if this were the first quarter in a sequence, we should expect the number to the right in the line, as in 20 etc. I have stressed above the variations that are possible in length of line to the left in this column; but it is reasonable to suppose

that there was some regularity in the internal spacing of the different month rubrics and their positioning in the line. From the relative alignment of surviving letters in 5 and 7, therefore, a second-month-in-the-quarter is required in 7 which is either the same length as or at most perhaps 1–2 letters longer than the first in 5. In the fourth quarter the first and second month-names are the same length (11 letters); in the second and third quarters the second month-name is longer by 3 letters (2nd quarter: Πυανοπιῶνος, Μαίμακτηριῶνος; 3rd quarter: Γαμηλιῶνος, Ἄνθεστηριῶνος). The second quarter is also ruled out by the relative lengths of the second and third month names; and the third would implausibly create an indented start in 4. This quarter was therefore the fourth of the year. It is a consequence that the lettering in line 9 was slightly more bunched than that in 5 and 7; this is consistent with the slightly greater crowding of surviving letters. Q detected some extraneous lettering following the month name in 5, ΝΕ or ΝΟΙΣ, and a possible top stroke of Σ in 7, which he interpreted, no doubt correctly, as either left over from an earlier use of the stele or later additions (cf. col. 2, 20). Q was also first to detect trace of the omega in 9, which he dotted as rather high. In my view the dot is unnecessary.

**A1, 6.** As R noted, the epithet Πρακτήριος occurs elsewhere only at Aeschl. *Suppl.* 523, πειθῶ δ' ἔποιτο καὶ τύχη πρακτήριος. It is unclear whether this is merely a poetical expression, or reflects a real cult-epithet. By the mid-4th century Tyche had come to be cultivated at Athens as Agathe Tyche (see Parker, 231–32; S. V. Tracy, *Hesp.* 63 [1994], 241–44), but earlier she did not necessarily have this epithet (e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 459 etc., c. 440). In the Greek world more widely, she had a divine personality early, both in myth (e.g. as an Oceanid at Hom. *Hymn. Dem.* 420, as daughter of Zeus Eleutherios in Pind. *Ol.* 12) and as an object of cult (see Paus. 4.30, 3–4); and as personified abstraction she would sit easily enough in a calendar which also has an offering to Telete (col. 2, 10). The offering of a ram does not preclude a feminine recipient, cf. col. 2, 44.

**A1, 8.** It is not clear that the πύργον in 8 has anything to do with the tower c. 500 m. north of the tomb of the Athenians who fell in the battle of Marathon, at a spot called, in modern times, Pyrgo (“it appears to have been a mediaeval tower built of ancient materials”, E. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* 35 [1966], 101; cf. Frazer on Pausanias, vol. ii, 435 and map opposite p. 432.). For another ancient tower in this area, on Mt. Stavrokoraki, apparently of military purpose and in use in c. 4th/3rd cent., see M. Langdon, *Hesp. Suppl.* 19 (1982), 95–97; cf. also Photiou, 154. As Q observes, the sheep of 12 dr. in this calendar suggests a male recipient. Artemis is Ἐπιπυργιδία at Eleusis (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 5050; *SEG* 30.93, 10); and the calendar of the genos Salaminioi includes an offering ἥρωι Ἐπιπυργιδίωι (*Salaminioi*, no. 1, lines 86–87).

**A1, 10.** Hermes might be Ἄγοραῖος, e.g. at Athens, R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. Vol. III. Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957), 102–3; he receives an offering ἐν ἀγορᾷ at Erchia, *SEG* 21.541, E, 49–52. Zeus might also have this epithet and, as Pr noted, is attested with it apparently at Marathon, albeit in a fictional context, at Eur. *Herakleidae* 70 (ικέται δ' ὄντες ἀγοραίου Διὸς, cf. 32, with J. Wilkins *ad locc.* in *Euripides, Heraclidae* [Oxford 1993]). Unless there was a short preceding date (cf. 11), however, both seem too short for the space here and, as Parker reminds me, the range of gods and heroes who might be worshipped ἐν ἀγορᾷ was very large, cf. P. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora Grecque* (Paris, 1951), 164–201. Jameson, *per ep.*, wonders about the *Herakleidae*, but they would be on the long side for the space (11 letters in space for max. 13; restorations close to the maximum are unlikely, see above, note on spacing).

**A1, 11–12.** [- θύ]ει R, [τάδε ὁ ἄρχων θύ?]ει Pr, K (without “?”), [--]ει Sok, [ca. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>]ει Q. The epsilon at the start of 11 is now very faint. The vertical is least clear, but just enough remains of the horizontals for the letter to be probable and, as elsewhere, it may formerly have been better preserved; early eds. indicate no doubt. Uniquely in this column, the deity's name starts to the right in the line and was certainly preceded by some other text. Locations might conceivably have preceded the sequences at 20, 23 and 32, but nowhere certainly precede the recipient of an individual sacrifice. There are, however, two other possibilities suggested by parallels. The rubric τάδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Μαραθωνίων θύει (col. 2, 2 and 23) gave rise to Pr's conjecture, building on R's restoration of the verb θύει, [τάδε ὁ ἄρχων θύ?]ει. As Q saw, this is very unlikely on

grounds of spacing (by my calculation, 12 letters in space for max 6–13; but a restoration so close to the maximum is very unlikely; see above, note on spacing). Moreover, the parallel wording relating to the demarch *of the Marathonians* and to the archon *for the Tetrapoleis* in col. 2, 39–40, generates the expectation that there would not have been reference to an archon (or any other official) without specifying what group he (or she) was an official of; and for such a specification there was certainly not space. The other wording that occurs immediately before a deity is specification of time. The vaguer type of indication used in col. 2, i.e.  $\pi\rho\delta$  + festival name (e.g.  $\pi\rho\delta$  Σκίρων, col. 2, 30 and 51; cf. also the mysterious temporal indication at col. 2, 3) would not seem to suit -ει in 11. However, at col. 1, 25 and col. 2, 17, specific dates are given. Two specific dates could end -ει, ἔνδεκάτει and δωδεκάτει; I take it to be probable that one of these stood in our text. It is not an objection that at col. 2, 17, the orthography for this dative ending is -ηι. Comparable minor orthographical variations occur commonly in this text (e.g. both -ου and -ο for -ου) and δεκάτει and δεκάτηι are freely interchangeable in official dating practice at this period (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 349, 5–6, where the different spellings occur in consecutive lines; cf. Threatte I, 369). Spacing would be comfortable (7 letters in [...<sup>c. 6–13</sup>...]). 12 Skirophorion was the date of the Skira (see Mikalson, 170), a festival clearly well observed in the Tetrapolis, cf. the offerings  $\pi\rho\delta$  Σκίρων at col. 2, 30 and 51–53. A sacrifice to the god of boundaries, Zeus Horios (for cult of whom in this region cf. the calendar of Erchia, *SEG* 21.541, E, 28–29; and in general A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, ii [Cambridge, 1940], 1183) in connection with the Skira may hint at a boundary-beating aspect of this festival, also perhaps suggested by the procession at it to Skiron (apparently a border location) conducted by the Eteoboutadai (*FGH* 366 Lysimachides F3 *ap.* Harp. s.v. Σκίρον. For other interpretations of the significance of this festival see A. C. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter* [New York, 1981], ch. 9; N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends* [Toronto, 1992], 19–20). One wonders whether it was thematically connected to the immediately preceding sacrifice at the heart of the community, ἐν ἀγορᾷ. The offering to [...<sup>c. 6–13</sup>...]ιαί in 12 (from the value of the sheep, 11 dr., probably a female recipient) may also have been linked.

#### Unit B (13–19)

A section of prose which I interpret as introducing sacrifices authorised from sources of authority in three locations (17–19). Their frequency/timing in a cycle was perhaps specified in those sources of authority (13–16).

**A1, 13–19.** As Schr and Q noted, *pace* Pr, it is uncertain from trace whether anything was inscribed before τᾶδε, since although the stone survives to the left, it is very worn. Schr and Q could only be certain of the right diagonal of the initial alpha in 15; I believe I can detect an extremely faint trace of the upper left diagonal and the right end of the cross-bar. In any case delta or lambda are unlikely in context. In 16, eds. before Q read the second letter of the final word as O or possibly P (Schr); Q detected “sometimes traces of a circular letter, at other times a pair of diagonal strokes” and printed ταῖς. At autopsy (carried out before I read Q) I also detected the (upper section) of Λ, and found this to make a stronger impression than O. In 19 I confirm Q’s perception that the marble may well be broken along the right diagonal of alpha, tending to confirm the restoration of παρὰ, first suggested by R. On my photo there is also possible trace of the upper left diagonal. Patently, none of these lines contained the normal deity+victim+price pattern; rather, they are in continuous prose. As elsewhere in the calendar (e.g. col. 2, 23 and 39), τᾶδε should refer to what follows, i.e. the sacrifices in 20ff. Possibly, as also elsewhere, it starts a rubric, indented to mark this section off from preceding text. The indent would be rather large (cf. also 20, 23 and 32), but in light of the wide variability in the left edge of col. 2, this can not be excluded. Alternatively, it is just possible that there was some preceding text to the left, perhaps a heading. As Pr saw, it is difficult to make sense of R’s τούτων in this context, and τοῦ τῶν seems preferable. The use of ἐνιαυτοῦ in contrast to ἔτος elsewhere in the calendar (col. 2, 34, 39 etc.) looks deliberate and suggests that it may not bear the simple meaning “year” but have its original connotation “period” or “cycle” or possibly “year in a

cycle”.<sup>13</sup> τῶν ἐν [...<sup>c. 5-12</sup>...] describes ἐνιαυτοῦ; it is the year/cycle of the - . τῶν might, but need not be, ἐνιαυτῶν; ἐν might be “in”; less likely, since there is no other case of an end-line word break in col. 1, it might be the first syllable of a word ἐν- (Pr suggested ἐν[νέα, thinking of a nine year cycle; but the rest of the surviving calendar and the absence of parallels for such a long cycle elsewhere in Attica scarcely supports this). ἕκαστον in 14 might refer epexegetically to ἐνιαυτοῦ “of the cycle/year of the x, (that is) each cycle/year (to be ... in order/sequence as is written)”, or (more likely?) to τάδε, “each sacrifice (to be ... in order/sequence as is written)”. The start of 15 can not be restored with confidence; perhaps it contained an adverbial phrase of time, e.g. κατὰ μῆν]α (Pr’s [παρὰ τὰ ἱερ]ἄ, approved by Q, seems less comfortable, not least if the *hiera* in 17–19 were sources of authority rather than locations of sacrifices). I shall return to the likely gist of these lines below.

First, however, an important point not recognised by previous editors. It is that ὡς γέγραπται is very unlikely to be at the end of a sentence. If it were, the sense could only (I think) be “as is written below”<sup>14</sup> and that would be both otiose and unexpected in the middle of a calendar. Much more likely, 16–19 explain ὡς γέγραπται, i.e. “as is written [...<sup>c. 7-14</sup>...]τον (perhaps “according to the stipulation/sequence”, “in the manner” *vel sim.*, but I have no specific supplement to suggest), that (τὸν) in the (feminine plural) y by the Eleusinion, the (singular) z in Kynosoura, ... the Herakleion.” The flow of the sense after ὡς γέγραπται and the new reading ἐν τὰις in 16 suggest that, in 17, we need a feminine plural noun to express what it is that the sacrifices are written on. στήλαις is the most obvious restoration, comfortably yielding 7 letters in [...<sup>6-13</sup>...].<sup>15</sup> As a matter of fact we know that, among many inscriptions in or by the Eleusinion in Athens, there were some containing sacrificial law (e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 232; cf. M. M. Miles, *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XXXI. The City Eleusinion* [Princeton, 1998], 6–9; the practice of inscribing sacred law in or by sanctuaries was common; e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 7, 5–6, where matter relating to the Praxierydai is to be inscribed on a stone stele on the Acropolis [ἄρισ]θεν το' νεὸ το' ἀρχ[αίο]. Since we are in the Tetrapolis, if the city Eleusinion were referred to here, one might expect ἐν ἄσσει at the start of 18, which is impossible. It seems more likely that, as Pr thought, this was an Eleusinion in the Tetrapolis, the location perhaps for some of the many Eleusinian sacrifices in col. 2. (In general on local shrines mirroring city ones, a common phenomenon, cf. the Erchia calendar with *Two Notes*). Kynosoura here is the barren spit of land running out to sea at the top of Marathon bay (cf. Hesych. s.v. Κυνόσουρα). In a 5th cent. *lex sacra* there is almost certainly a reference to a sacrifice to Apollo Apotropaïos on Kynosoura (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 255 with *Two Notes*, cf. line 26 below). There is no other evidence for, or discovered remains that can plausibly be identified as from, a sacred site on this promontory; but it is not necessary to envisage anything very substantial. Sacred law could be written on altars (e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 5, a sacred table; i<sup>3</sup> 232) and Pr’s πρὸς τῶι βωμ[?]ῶι in 18 may well be on the right lines, though in context as it may now be understood, πρὸς will not be right. ἐν seems most likely, as in 16; like the proposed restoration at the start of 17 it yields 1 letter over the minimum consistent with the space available. It would also appear that regulatory inscriptions were set up at the Herakleion (probably at the southern end of the plain of Marathon, see E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 70 [1966], 319–23; *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 2–3. Photiou, however, locates it at the findspot of our inscription). Accordingly, 19 might perhaps be restored, καὶ τῶι παρ]ἄ. Whatever the precise wording, I suggest that we have here three sources of authority for sacrifices. If it is accepted that there was no break after 15, I see no other plausible interpretation of 15–19 (the space at the start of the lines seems short enough almost certainly to rule out

<sup>13</sup> Humphreys, *per ep.*, suggests perhaps one of the penteteric festivals of *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; but the individual sacrifices of Unit C do not seem to support this.

<sup>14</sup> A phrase in which the source of the “writing” is suppressed, because familiar (cf. the biblical “as it is written [sc. in the scriptures]”), would be out of place in an Athenian legal context of this sort. The question would be “where is it written?”. Cf. the careful stipulations of authority in the polis calendar.

<sup>15</sup> J. Camp (personal communication) suggests ἐν πέτραις, but it does not seem to have been Attic practice to inscribe sacred law on rock faces. ἐν κύρβεσι (with a meaning “objects inscribed with sacred law”) would perhaps also be possible, cf. *Salaminioti*, no. 1, 87.

breaks of sense); and there is confirmation in the following text (20–37). It is divided into three sequences, each initiated by a quarter specification to the right of the line (20, 23 and 32); these sequences are, I suggest, most naturally taken as corresponding to the three locations in 17–19. Moreover, the second source listed in 17–19 is ἐν Κυνοσούραι and the second sequence in 20–37 duly contains a sacrifice to Apollo Apotropaios (26), almost certainly the deity referred to as ἐν Κυνοσούραι in *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 255. For specifications of multiple sources of authority cf. the state calendar, with rubrics ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα etc. (Dow, 174).

Why should three sets of sacrifices, from three different sources of authority, be grouped together in this way? The main principle of organisation determining the grouping of sacrifices in column 2 (after that of the deme-by-deme arrangement, not apparently applicable in column 1) is their frequency, with annual sacrifices (col. 2, 1–33 and 54 ff.) distinguished from alternating sets of biennial ones (col. 2, 34 and 39). Col. 1, 39 suggests that a comparable principle underlay the organisation of column 1. I suspect, therefore, that the three sets of sacrifices introduced by 13–19 had something in common as regards timing. More specifically I suspect that their frequency, and/or perhaps their absolute timing (i.e. whether in a particular year one sacrificed e.g. the first or second of alternative biennial sequences), either or both of which might have been rather complex or unusual, was in each case determined by the sources of authority; and I suspect that text to this effect underlies the preserved remains of 13–16.

The further significance of the three sources of authority is unclear: we can not be sure that all sacrificial law of the Tetrapolis derived from them, nor is it clear what significance, if any, might be read into the apparent fact that Kynosoura and the Herakleion (we do not know the location of the Eleusinion), at either end of Marathon bay, might have marked extremities of Tetrapolis territory. The Eleusinion was presumably source for sacrifices to the Eleusinian deities/heroes; perhaps the Herakleion was source for sacrifices stipulated by the polis (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 2–3 seem to contain polis law applicable to the Tetrapolis).

I finish with a translation of the whole, as I interpret it: “The following sacrifices are to take place in the cycle (or year in cycle?) of the ... in ... , each ... in order as is written ... on the [stelai] by the Eleusinion, on the [altar?] in Kynosoura [and the one?] by the Herakleion.”

### Unit C (20–37)

This unit, introduced by the prose of Unit B, consists of three sequences, the start of each marked by a quarter number positioned to the right in the line. I interpret the three sequences as corresponding to the three sources of authority mentioned in Unit B. They may have been annual sacrifices listed in advance of the first of two biennial sets (Unit D); or perhaps more likely, their frequency was determined by the sources of authority.

Sequence 1 (20–22: source of authority, Eleusinion?)

**A1, 20–22.** It is uncertain whether anything was inscribed before the tau in 20. Previous eds., including Q, have dotted the initial nu of 22, R and Sch recording that it might be N, X or K. At autopsy the letter seemed clearly a nu. I take this to be the first of the sequences introduced by 13–19. There would seem to be three possibilities for the start of 20: (a) no text, cf. 13 and 23, 32; (b) a rubric specifying source of authority or location (i.e. Eleusinion?); (c) another rubric, perhaps τάδε ὅσα ἔτη. Cf. col. 2, 54. This would be appropriate in advance of the first of two biennial sequences (see 39), but would sit a little uneasily with the interpretation of 13–19 proposed above as about timing of a cycle, since no such question of timing arises with an annual sequence. Q observes that, from the price of the sheep, the recipient in 22 was probably male. -]νου may, as Q suggests, be from a topographical description of the recipient, cf. Chloe παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου in col. 2, 49; perhaps e.g. [ἦρωι ἐν ..<sup>c</sup> 3–4.]νου. A date, x ἰσταμέ]νου, seems unlikely, as there is no other certain case where the recipient is unspecified.

Sequence 2 (23–31: source of authority, Kynosoura?)

**A1, 23–26.** Q suspected a vertical stroke before the pi in 23; at autopsy I thought a nick like the upper right diagonal of Λ might be possible, if it is not a casual mark. But nothing is certain. The possibilities for the start of 23 would

seem to be: (a) no text, cf. 20, 32 and 13; (b) a rubric specifying source of authority or location (i.e. Kynosoura?). In either case the sequence would be the second of the three introduced by 13–19. In Attica only Apollo is attested as Apotropaios (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 4852 [Athens], 5009 [Piraeus]; *SEG* 21.541, A, Γ, 31–37 [Erchia]; Ar. *Wasps* 161, *Birds* 61, *Wealth* 359, 854) and, as R saw, should be restored as such here (8 letters in [...<sup>6-13</sup>... 'Απ]). This is almost certainly the same recipient as at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 255, 10–11 (see *Two Notes*). Wilamowitz' suggestion, ἐβδόμη in 25, as Q points out, is insecure now that we know about the sacrifice to Apollo Apotropaios in Erchia, on 8 Gamelion.

**A1, 27–31.** All previous eds. printed a second drachma sign in 28, but Q did not on the grounds that it was too faint. I detected faint traces suggestive of both horizontal and vertical. The price of the pregnant sheep in col. 2, 12 was certainly 16 dr. Either, therefore, one interprets the traces of the second dr. sign here as casual marks or strokes deliberately left unfinished or erased, or there was a 1 dr. variability between the prices of pregnant sheep. Cf. the similar variability in the prices of ordinary sheep (11 and 12 dr.). W. T. Loomis, in unpublished work, suggests that, as with the 12 dr. non-pregnant sheep, the premium may have been for a male recipient. In 30 eds. before Q read ]ηι at the start. Q and I independently thought an omega more likely for the first letter. At autopsy I detected the right side and foot. There is also possible trace of a vertical before this letter. It is along the line of a damage mark, but it also shows discolouration characteristic of the path of an inscribed letter. Q dotted the initial epsilon of 31 on the grounds that the vertical was not apparent and that the horizontals were flared. I concede the dot, though I regard the epsilon as very probable, both from trace and in context. The fact that the quarter rubric is positioned to the left in the line in 27 and 29 shows, as earlier eds. have recognised, that this is part of the sequence that started in 23. In 28, noting that pregnant victims are characteristic of earth-goddesses, S. Scullion, *ZPE* 121 (1998), 121–22, proposes 'Ρέαι Μητρὶ θε]ῶν, but while he can show a tendency by the late fifth century to identify Rhea and the Mother in Athenian literature (e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 59 and 128), there is no evidence for cult of such a compound deity. Moreover, she would sit rather uneasily with the archaic, mostly very localised, deities and heroes which are a feature of this calendar. (Μητρὶ θε]ῶν tout court [Parker, *per ep.*] would probably be too short). It is more likely that, as in 22 and 43, the genitive ending was from a (topographical?) description of a recipient (thus Q), e.g. ἥρωι ἐν [...<sup>c. 3-4</sup>.]ῶν. A temporal specification (e.g. ἐν Ἀπατουρί]ῶν, cf. col. 2, 30 and 51) is not attractive in the absence of good parallel in this calendar for absence of recipient (cf. 22). In 30 we are more comfortably with a dative singular, probably male, recipient. The positioning in the line shows that it will have been different from the one in 26, but it could be the same as that in 34, who receives the same offering in the same month. As Pr saw, the victim in 31 was probably a τέλ]ειον or ἱερ]εῖον without further specification; cf. M. H. Jameson et al., *A Lex Sacra from Selinous* (Durham NC, 1993), 28; *SEG* 33.147, 27 (Thorikos calendar). The recipient would accordingly have been [...<sup>c. 5-12</sup>..].

Sequence 3 (32–37: source of authority, Herakleion?).

**A1, 32–37.** As in 20 and 23 it is uncertain whether anything was inscribed before the quarter rubric in 32. At autopsy I detected the right and lower left strokes of Λ at the start of 34 and on my photo apparent sign of the cross bar (though the letter is right on the edge of the stone, increasing the chances that the “bar” is a casual mark). Q did not detect the horizontal and believed that A, Δ or Λ were epigraphically possible (Pr and R: α, but Schr thought it uncertain). Q and I both confirm ηι at the start of 35, first read by Pk (Pr had earlier read the iota, but this was denied by Schr). Of the H Q saw “a right vertical hasta and perhaps part of a horizontal stroke”. In 36 R initially read a second dr. sign, but later recanted and all subsequent eds. have printed one only. I detected very faint trace of what might be the horizontal of such a second drachma on my photo and am inclined to accept it, not least since it also corresponds with sheep prices in 35 and, probably, 37. In 37 R suggested [πρότης τριμη]ν[ο], but subsequent eds. read nothing in this space until Q acutely detected οἶ]ς Δ††. I believe the iota is visible on my photo, quite close against the sigma, and the upper half of the preceding letter. αἶ]ξ is, I think, also a just possible reading. Immediately before the animal there is uncertain trace of ⸗, with a sigma just possible for the penultimate or antepenultimate letter of the previous word. After the animal I detected only the top tip of the delta, but am inclined to accept Q's reading of the whole of the price. The possibilities for the start of 32 are equivalent to those at 23. This was the third sequence introduced in 13–19. [Δὶ Ἀποτροπ]αίωι (cf. R) in 34 is unattractive. Apollo, not Zeus, was Apotropaios both here and elsewhere in Attica (cf. on 26), and, as Pr noted, there are other

epithets in -αιος (e.g. Ἀγοραῖος, Τροπαῖος). The recipient might be the same as in 30, q.v. Q's new reading in 37 usefully clarifies that the line did not contain the start of a new rubric for unit D, but another sacrifice in the unit C sequence.

#### Unit D (38–55)

There are, on my interpretation, two likely alternative explanations of this unit: (a) it is the prior of two biennial sequences, following an annual(?) sequence (Unit A) and a set at special frequency (Units B–C); (b) it is the prior of two biennial sequences introduced by Unit B, following an annual(?) sequence (Unit C). In either case it is also possible that the sequence was not biennial, but at some other non-annual frequency (e.g. quadrennial). Further sequences, including probably a second (biennial?) sequence, would have followed in the lost part of the stone.

**A1, 38–39.** δραμ]οσ[ύ]νη eds. before Q. I agree with Q that the upsilon is legible. If δραμοσύνη has the same significance as in column 2, it should refer to one of two alternating biennial sequences of sacrifices. It can not definitely be ruled out, however, that here it signifies e.g. a quadrennial sequence. As Q saw, since the word does not occur, and can not comfortably be restored, in any earlier line after the break of sense represented by Unit B, it seems most likely that this was a “first” *dramosyne*, i.e. the prior of two biennial ones, restoring προτέρα (or e.g. the first of four? quadrennial ones, restoring πρώτη). There seem to be two alternatives for 38: most likely perhaps, as Q suggested, the wording was the same as that which introduces a first biennial sequence at col. 2, 34, i.e. τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος. This yields 16 letters in [...:c. 9–16....], which would normally be very uncomfortable (see above, note on spacing). However, as Q observes, the stone is extremely worn at the start of the preceding line and of some subsequent ones, and it may be that there was originally text at the preserved start of 38 which is now illegible. Alternatively, line 38 might have contained some other introductory heading.

**A1, 42–43.** -]δωι eds. before Pk, -]κιδωι Pk, -]κιδων Q. I confirm that the final letter of the first word is certainly nu. I am less confident about the kappa, of which Q detected the “top half”. I detect the upper vertical, and beneath it there is damage along the line that might be the upper diagonal of K, but I was not confident at autopsy that this was an inscribed mark, while there is also a nick to the left, which could be casual, or might be from upper part of the diagonal of a nu. At the end of 43 R originally recorded two deltas, but later (ap. Pr) recanted and all subsequent eds. have shown two deltas in square brackets, restored from col. 2, 48 and 49–50, with Q observing that “one can not see enough of the two deltas to justify printing the letters as doubtful.” As Q also observes, it is apparent from the indentation of the beginning of the parallel line in col. 2 that numerals were originally inscribed. On repeated examination at autopsy and from my photo, very faint trace of a configuration like  $\text{𐀀}$  seemed to me detectable, followed by 2 (or even 3) deltas. The recipient may have been [deity/hero] ἐν -ιδων, i.e. patronymic-type name in -idai; on toponyms in this form cf. *Rationes* 233, n. 69. Cf. the genitives in 22 and 28. Pregnant sows are offered in this calendar here and at col. 2, 48 and 49–50; and in all three cases previous editors have read or restored a price of 20 dr. This, however, always appeared somewhat anomalous when compared with the only other sow price preserved in an Attic calendar (or indeed in other Attic sources<sup>16</sup>), the 40 dr. for non-pregnant ones in the Salaminioi calendar. Animal prices in the Salaminioi calendar are not wholly in line with those in ours, e.g. piglets are priced at 3H dr., as opposed to 3 dr. in ours, while the one ox in the Salaminioi calendar is priced at 70 dr. as compared with 90 dr. (or in one case 150) in ours. But it would be surprising that the pregnant sows in this calendar should be half the price of the unpregnant ones offered by the Salaminioi. In the comparable case of sheep in our calendar, the price of the pregnant animal is 16 or 17 dr., while the unpregnant one costs 12 dr. for male deities, 11 dr. for female ones. Accordingly I tentatively adopt a reading of 70 dr. for all three pregnant sows in our calendar, both on the ground that, assuming all three prices were the same (not perhaps quite certain in this calendar, though since both the col. 2 recipients were certainly female, one might expect the victim to be the same price at least in those cases, cf. on 27–31), it is the most likely epigraphically (60 dr. would be possible here, but not

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to W. T. Loomis for advice on this point.

at 49–50) and because it yields a better comparison with the Salaminioi price.

**A1, 44–45.** R originally printed Νύμφαι Εὔει (thus still Whitehead, 193), but later recanted in favour of Νυμφαγέτει (ap. Pr), in which all subsequent eds., including Q and I, concur. At Erchia there was a sacrifice of an identical victim at the same price on 8 Gamelion to Apollo Nymphegetes (*SEG* 21.541, E, 39–42), but unless we assume a random indent, Ἀπόλλωνι would be too short for the space here. In the Erchia calendar the immediately succeeding item is Νύμφαις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ, αἶξ : Δ, and Pr (writing before the Erchia calendar was known) suggested [Νύμφαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι *vel* Ποσειδῶνι] (Parker, *per ep.* compares the 5th cent. altar, Sokolowski no. 114 [Thasos], A1–2: Νύμφησιν κ' Ἀπόλλωνι Νυμφηγέτη θήλυ καὶ ἄρσ/εν ἄμ βόλῃ προσέρδεν). That would almost certainly be too long, however (uncomfortable even if one assumed κ' for καὶ, not likely in our text), and one would expect a separate victim for the Nymphs. It seems preferable to assume a single recipient with a short name, preceded by a (short) date (cf. on 11). In view of the aetiological connection between the battle of Marathon and the Attic cult of Pan, and of the cave of Pan and the Nymphs at Oinoe, Πανὶ (rejected by Pr as too short here), is attractive. Cf. Parker, 163–68; Petrakos, 85–90; *SEG* 36.267.

**A1, 46.** The space available would accommodate max. c. 11–18 letters. Q correctly observed that 46 could not have contained a dramosyne- or quarter-rubric, since such a rubric would have occupied two lines (cf. 39–40; it could not be a one-line quarter rubric like 44, since 44 is the fourth quarter and 46 would therefore need to start a new sequence, requiring some introductory prose or indentation, as in 20, 23, 32, and therefore, as in those cases, running over two lines). Q did not choose between (a) a divinity and offering, and (b) a month name, which, after Mounichion in 44 and before another month in the same quarter in 53, would have to be Thargelion. Of these two, the month name is more likely, since (a) one would expect a divinity+offering+price to have extended onto the preserved part of the stone; this would be the shortest such description in this column by several letters; (b) it enables a more comfortable restoration in 53 in terms of spacing. R ventured [ἱερώσυνα?], but no other offering on this column is followed by *hierosynai*.

**A1, 47.** Eds. before Pk read only -]οι, but Pk saw -]ταμῶι (“so gut wie sicher”), and this was tentatively confirmed by Q (-]ταμμῶι). I agree with Pk about ταμ, and detect before it what appears to be a short segment of the right side of O (though the mark could be casual). Even without the possible trace of the omicron, the surviving letters strongly suggest Ποταμῶι, which would also be very suitable in the marshy Marathon plain, crossed by the Charadra, and in a month prior to a sacrifice to the marsh deity, Athena Hellotis (55). Cf. also 50. The recipient might have been e.g. ἥρωι πρὸς τῶι Π]οταμῶι, or simply the River, i.e. as Humphreys suggests *per ep.*, [(short) date (τῶι) Π]οταμῶι. One wonders whether there might have been a connection between the sequence of sacrifices of which this is the first and the cleaning/washing festivals of Thargelion, Plynteria and Kallynteria.

**A1, 49.** The initial T was not originally read by R, but was later acknowledged by him (ap. Pr) and has been read by all subsequent eds. There is also a mark before it, which, at autopsy seemed (very uncertainly) like the lower vertical and central bar of E.

**A1, 50.** Previous eds. have unanimously read -ουβάτωι, but, though somewhat uncertain in the damaged area on the break of the stone to the left, there is faint trace of a preceding vertical and what may be the upper horizontal of T or, more likely in context, the upper curve of B. Ignoring the trace of the first letter one might think of οὐ βάτος, “not accessible”, but the opposite of βάτος in this sense is ἄβατος. βουβατωι would apparently be a *hapax* in Greek, but seems possible in this marshy area, whether in the sense “gone on by cattle” (cf. βούβοτος, “grazed by cattle”, Hom. *Od.* 13.246), or “going like an ox” (cf. Hesych. s.v. Βούσβατον· τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Θρᾶκες. Note that the Bendideia was celebrated in Thargelion) or “ox-way/ford” (cf. ἡ βουβῆτις, “stream for watering cattle”, *Tab. Herakl.* 2.13, 14).

**A1, 51.** Eds. before Q placed the square bracket before the iota. I agree with Q that a trace of the right side of the omicron is visible, on the break of the stone.

**A1, 52.** R considered Δὶ Εὐβ]ολεῖ, noting, however, that it would not fill the space. Pr noted that the price of the victim suggested a female recipient and raised the possibility, ἐμ π]όλει (Athens or one

of the Tetra-Poleis? “City” or “acropolis”?).

**A1, 53.** Eds. since Pr have all recognised that this must be a month name. As Q notes, if there is also a month name in 46, that in 53 must be the third in the fourth quarter, Skirophorion; otherwise Thargelion would be possible. Thargelion, however, would be very short, yielding about three letters fewer than the minimum physically available if the letters were very spread. The only other certain restorations more than one letter short of this minimum occur in lines 21 and 33, where, as we saw above, they are probably to be accounted for by spacing between the words in the quarter rubric. No such additional spacing could have occurred here. It is, of course, possible that we have some random variation in the left column edge, as occurs occasionally in col. 2; but, given also the other arguments in favour of a month name in 46 (q.v.), I restore Skirophorion as a probability.

**A1, 54.** Faint trace of what may be a vertical, perhaps from a dative in -ι, not previously detected, is apparent at the start of the line.

**A1, 55.** At the start there are marks not noted by previous eds. which, if they are not casual, are compatible with the right side of omega. Beneath the delta there is trace of what may be the tip of the letter in the line below (K?). As has been recognised since R, the deity can be restored with certainty by comparison with col. 2, 35 and 41. Those sacrifices were in the first month, Hekatombaion; this one probably in the last.

## Column 2

From the fact that a biennial sequence is introduced without further specification in 34, it seems clear that all the surviving sacrifices listed before that should belong to a corresponding annual sequence, like that at Trikorynthos in 54 ff. Since some of the sacrifices in 1–53 are specifically allocated to the demarch of Marathon, it also seems clear that this sequence was located in that deme, as those in 54ff. were in Trikorynthos. The fact that, in line 5, we are in Boedromion, the third month of the year, shows that our surviving text must start fairly close to the beginning of the annual sequence. It should belong either in the first month, Hekatombaion, or the second, Metageitnion.

The same principle underlies the calculation of ranges of missing letters as in col. 1.

**A2, 1–4.** Eds. before Q all followed R in reading IO[- in 1. Both Q and I read an O (omega is perhaps just possible), but agree that the area immediately before it is damaged and no iota is now visible, though I have occasionally thought trace of the lower two thirds of a sigma might be detectable. We also agree that, after the omicron, there is trace of a vertical stroke, sometimes appearing to be the left vertical of a nu. Iota, however (or any other letter with a left or central vertical) is also possible; and I have occasionally thought the lower vertical and the start of the lower curve of a P might be visible after this. Among the possibilities would seem to be: recipient of sacrifice (dative in -ι or -ς?), followed by οἶς; or χ]οῖρ[ος. For the restoration of the end of this line and the start of 2 cf. 23. A nu was restored after the epsilon at the end of 2 by all eds. before Q. The epsilon itself is faint (I detected only the lower vertical and bottom horizontal at autopsy); Q thought traces of the bottom of two verticals might be visible after it. In 3, nu is most likely for the letter before TAI, but, as Pr and Q noted, eta can not definitely be ruled out. For the previous letter only R printed an undotted eta. Pr read only a vertical stroke, Q possibly a pair of verticals with horizontal connecting stroke, possibly Λ (printing a dotted eta). At autopsy I detected a lower vertical to the right, and in addition on my photo a lower left vertical and horizontal. At the end of the line Pr only (and Schr) thought a chi might be visible after ἥρωι, though K showed “:” in this position. Pr, followed by K and Sok (but not Q), restored [χοῖρος ΗΗ ἥρωίνηι] in 3 and [ι καὶ τῆι ἥρωίνηι Η] in 4. In 2–3 we appear to have a temporal designation (similar in general type, but not wording, to that in 5), of which the ending in 3 (a verb?) was apparently part. There are, as Q saw, numerous possibilities for the missing text at the ends of 3 and 4, none of which precisely suits parallels elsewhere in the column. The crucial observation, however, is that, unlike other tables in 14, 24–25 and 53, the one in 4 is followed by a specification of who it is to be for, implying that a second recipient was probably included at the end of 3, since that specification would otherwise be otiose. This suggests the following sequence for the end of 3: *name or description of hero* (there are no undescribed heroes elsewhere); *victim and price* (perhaps οἶς ΔΗΗ, but cf. 51); *recipient* (perhaps unnamed heroine, as elsewhere following sacrifices to heroes, though elsewhere she receives a

sheep for 11 dr., not a pig for 3 dr.; from the victim and conjuncture with another deity, Kourotrophos would be a possibility, but cf. 14–15, where a table listed after Kourotrophos lacks further specification). Spacing suggests short restorations will be preferable. As elsewhere, the value of the *trapeza* in 4 should be 1 drachma. If, as Q pointed out, we can generalise from 23–26 that sacrifices by the demarch were not accompanied by *hierosynai*, then we should not restore them at the end of 4 (cf. next note). Pr's restoration of the heroine as joint recipient of the table is unsatisfactory. Since hero and heroine were recipients of the sacrifices, it would seem otiose to make it explicit that they were both recipients of the table, especially in such a wordy fashion. The point was probably rather that the table is for the hero alone, as is made clear in the two other cases of tables for heroes who are accompanied by heroines, 24 and 25, by the alternative means of listing the heroine after the *trapeza*. Most likely the price of the *trapeza* was followed by a *vacat* (in max. c. 8–19). Cf. the end-line *vacat* in the equivalent position before a month name in 16.

**A2, 5–6.** The upsilon in 5, dotted by Q and placed in square brackets by other eds., seemed to me fully visible at autopsy. Earlier eds. and Q read the rho later in this word (undotted), and Q detected the following iota also, noting that the spacing of letters seems to have been very wide at this point. (I am not wholly certain of either letter; but the word seems not in doubt). As Q observed, the preserved price of the sheep in 6 (12 dr., not 11) indicates that the recipient at the end of 5 was male. By comparison with offerings to Kourotrophos following large sets of offerings including an ox elsewhere in the calendar (37, 46), Q, 152, plausibly restored her offering in 6 as a sheep for 11 dr. (followed by a *vacat*). Q's reckoning of the space available at the end of 6 seemed to him to rule out *hierosyna* being included after the price. My own calculations, based on slightly more cautious assumptions, confirm this. Judging from *hierosyna* rates elsewhere in this calendar, the expected *hierosyna* for this combination would be 7 dr., i.e. 4 (ox) + 2 (sheep at 12 dr.) + 1 (sheep at 11 dr.; cf. 8–9).<sup>17</sup> This would occupy min. 11 spaces; I calculate the max. possible as c. 10. A *vacat* at the end of the line would be quite acceptable, especially in advance of the start of a new quarter. Alternatively, as at 37, Kourotrophos may have received a piglet at 3 dr. in addition. If the cutter did not simply forget the *hierosyna*, we should probably, as Q notes, either assume that this is a set covered by the demarch rubric in 1–2, despite the change of month in between, or the apparent rule (in fact based only on one case, i.e. 23–26) that, in this column, it is only sacrifices by the demarch that are unaccompanied by *hierosyna* is not absolute (cf. 10, 13 for other possible exceptions).

**A2, 7–9.** The missing portion of 7 will clearly have specified the recipient of the ox and sheep in 8, no doubt as elsewhere where a recipient is linked with an anonymous heroine, a hero of some description. The erasure and reinscription of the price of the ox in 8 were not very accurately observed by earlier eds. Q and I agree that: (a) from the space covered by the erasure and comparison with the usual price of an ox, it is almost certain that  $\overset{\text{A}}{\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta}$  was originally inscribed. (Q also detected likely faint remnant trace of a delta at the end of the erased space); (b) this price was erased and  $\text{H}^{\text{A}}$  cut into the erased space (the chisel strokes accordingly being somewhat deeper than usual), leaving blank space roughly where the three deltas would originally have stood. I follow all earlier eds. with the restoration of the end of 8 (which takes 13 letters in space which I reckon as [...c. 8–16...]), by analogy with 20 and on the basis that 7 dr. is the amount we should expect for *hierosyna* for an ox (4 dr.) and sheep at 12 dr. (2 dr.) and 11 dr. (1 dr.). The price of the pregnant ox in 9 seems likely to have been exactly 90 dr., like the price of most other oxen in the calendar. This, however, creates something of an anomaly. Common sense would lead one to suspect that, if there is a differential between pregnant and non-pregnant animals of the same species, the premium should attach to the pregnant ones; and in this calendar that is the case with sheep (pregnant at 16 dr. at line 12, non-pregnant at 11 for males and 12 for females; cf. the pregnant sows in this calendar, probably 70 dr. each, as compared with unpregnant ones in the

<sup>17</sup> My account of *hierosynai* in this calendar is indebted to the thorough analysis of Q, 84–105, who succeeded in establishing that there was a set amount for each type of offering, these amounts being summed where the *hierosynai* relate to multiple offerings. Cf. W. T. Loomis, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor, 1998), 83–84. Where I differ from Q on details, this is noted below.

Salaminioi calendar at 40 dr., see note on col. 1, 42–43). One suspects therefore that, in amending the ox-price from 90 to 150 dr. in line 8, the cutter was in error and that he should rather have amended the one in the following line. Eds. before Q restored *hierosyna* of unknown amount at the end of 9. Q hesitated on the basis that there would only be space for ἱερώσυνα Γ (assuming a price of 90 dr. for a pregnant ox), which is more than the 4 dr. for an ox that one would expect from its occurrence elsewhere. As Q points out, the example of *hierosyna* for a pregnant ewe, which are the same as for a non-pregnant one, suggests that one would not expect premium *hierosyna* for pregnant animals. He therefore thought that this might be another case (cf. 5–6) where *hierosyna* are not offered for a non-demarch sacrifice, and was attracted by the possibility of restoring another victim and price, noting that elsewhere on col. 2, oxen are not offered as lone victims (but cf. col. 1, 41). Alternatively, the solution, as at several other points in this column, may lie in a slightly more flexible reckoning of space available at the end of the line. According to my calculations the number of letters that could be accommodated after a 90 dr. price is c. 4–12. ἱερώσυνα ΠΠΠ is 12 letters, including one very thin letter (iota) and four fairly thin ones (drs.). Note the end-line crowding apparent elsewhere in this column.

**A2, 10.** For the fourth letter of the second word earlier eds. differed between lambda (K, following Wilhelm; Pk, whose “kein Zweifel” is misjudged) and delta (Pr), or hesitated between the two (R). Q and I independently confirm that there is a bottom horizontal, but rather faint (and one suspects therefore not very clear on squeezes which some earlier eds. may have been using). It is clearer towards the right and Q acutely observes that such thickening of the horizontal to the right is a feature of this cutter’s deltas. The amount of undamaged space to the right of the fourth delta of the price is sufficient to suggest that it was the last figure inscribed, though this space runs into an area of (recent?) damage (c. 3–4 spaces) before there is again clear vacat. Unfortunately, this clarification of the reading does not enable us to be certain about the spelling of this otherwise unattested word, for there seems also to be a bottom bar on the lambda of Ἰολέωι in 13 (again, clearer towards the right; confusion between A/Δ/Λ in inscriptions of this period is more common than is sometimes supposed). The interpretation of Solders, *Die außerstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund, 1931), 70, ΣΠΥ(ΠΙ)ΔΙΑ, “baskets”, has attractions, whether one assumes orthographical error (haplography) or that this was a legitimate contracted form of the word. Cf. the basket (?) of offerings for Telete (? sitting under a tree) depicted on *LIMC* II, 2, Artemis, 740; and the offering -]ΣΠΥΠΙΧΕΙΑ[- at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 234, 6, interpreted by Pr, 45 (cf. also Solders, *loc. cit.*) in similar sense. One might think in terms of baskets of produce of the earth (winter fruits? Preserved summer ones? N.B. the month is Posideon), the offering perhaps connected thematically with “Earth in the fields” in 9. Q hesitates on the grounds that 40 dr. would be expensive for a non-animal offering; but as he himself points out, for a non-demarch animal sacrifice, one might have expected *hierosyna* (cf. however 6, 13). The price is still substantially less than that of an ox in this calendar or, probably, a sow, and one might perhaps assume that the produce was of particularly high quality (as might befit “Telete”?) and/or that the number of baskets was abundant (partly for distribution?). Humphreys *per ep.* attractively suggests a connection with the Rural Dionysia (for the Dionysion at Marathon see Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1.262, 16–17 and *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1243, cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2933; on the celebration of this festival in Posideon, Mikalson, 97), suggesting that Τελετη might have the connotation “dramatic performance”. On Telete as personification the best account still appears to be O. Kern *RE* (1934) s.v. Telete; for more recent bibliography see N. Kaltsas in *LIMC* (*Suppl.*) VIII, 1, s.v. Telete.

**A2, 11.** Given the variations in the right margin, we can not be certain that something was inscribed after the month name, though in this column space is not usually left after month names (cf. however, col. 1, lines 5, 7, 9 etc.). There is a mark after the sigma on the edge of the stone, which might be casual, but which Q interprets as the bottom left diagonal of a triangular letter. The space is rather tight, however, for a recipient, victim and price and, as Q points out, if the *hierosyna* in 12 was only 1 dr., that would suggest only one recipient. As Humphreys suggests *per ep.*, practice elsewhere in the calendar indicates that, if there was text preceding a recipient, it was probably a date (perhaps 12th or 21st, reading δ[...<sup>c. 6–13</sup>...], the former possibly a day of the Lenaia, see Mikalson, 110). In the *lex sacra* from Paiania, *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 250, 16, the offering to Daira is specified as ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίτιον and a location in the

(Tetrapolis?) Eleusinion (on which see note on col. 1, 17) may perhaps be understood here (as for many of the other offerings in this calendar to Eleusinian figures).

**A2, 12.** The bar on the first delta is somewhat high, cf. on line 24. There is enough space after the drachma sign before the break of the stone to the right to suggest, though not definitely to imply, that it was the last inscribed mark on this line. For a vacant line-end in an equivalent position cf. 46. Q hesitates between vacat, as understood by all previous eds., and extras like barley and wine, but in 45 these take more than the 7–14 spaces available here (as in 11, the space is scarcely sufficient for a recipient+victim+price, which would also cause difficulties with the interpretation of the *hierosyna* in 15). He was induced to think of additional text here by the fact that the start of the line is half a letter space to the left of the normal margin, which he thought suggested a long line to come, but such a rationalistic interpretation of the cutter's somewhat variable practice with regard to margins is inappropriate in this text.

**A2, 13.** R restored the offering to Zeus Hypatos as οἷς Δ††, “simply as one way of filling the space” and was followed by Q, who observes that spacing makes this preferable to the alternatives of an ox for 90 dr. or a piglet for 3. However, as Pr observed, Paus. 1.26, 5 notes that no living thing was sacrificed on the altar of Zeus Hypatos on the Acropolis, and instead there were wineless offerings of cakes (*pem-mata*); so it must be uncertain whether he received an animal offering here. (It is admittedly not clear whether Pausanias implies that this was a feature of cult of Z. Hypatos generally). See further on 15.

**A2, 14.** On delta for lambda in Ἴολέωι cf. on 10. The price of a piglet is always 3 dr. elsewhere in this calendar and can be restored as such here.

**A2, 15.** Q noted that the *hierosyna* are appropriate for a sheep at 12 dr. (2 dr.) and a piglet (1H ob.), and suggested that this might indicate that the sacrifices to Ioleos and Kourotrophos here were in a distinct set from those to Earth and Zeus in 13. However, as he also points out, whatever the offering was to Zeus Hypatos (see on 13), there was not apparently enough room to accommodate *hierosyna* in 13, though, since they are not specified as demarch's sacrifices, they might have been expected. One possibility is perhaps that the *hierosyna* for Ge were omitted in error, the cutter (or drafter) perhaps calculating them correctly back as far as Ioleos, then noting that none were required for Zeus Hypatos, since the offering was non-animal, then omitting to look back further and notice the Ge sacrifice. Previous eds., including Q, have plausibly restored a sheep for 12 dr. for the hero Pheraios on the basis of the *hierosyna* and the parallel pairs of heroes and heroines in 23 and 25; there is a degree of uncertainty, as with other arguments by analogy in this calendar; but there would not be space for an ox in addition, as e.g. 21.

**A2, 17.** Though the victim is different from 13, the first word of 18 is enough to suggest that the recipient was the same as in that line, i.e. Ge, and the tight spacing at the end of 17 confirms that the recipient's name was no longer than this. End of 17: max. 6 letters (Pk), max. 8 (Q, but regarding Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι as occupying only 7H spaces). All except Pk have restored [Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι], while noting that the spacing is tight (Peek preferred to omit the article). My own calculations yield a range of 4–10 letters in this space and that the restoration might have been at the upper end of this would be consistent with 3 iotas, the thinnest of letters. I regard the inclusion of the article, as in 13, as near certain and do not think an epsilon can be ruled out at the end of the preceding word (cf. col. 1, 25), yielding 10 letters in total. There are ten letters (admittedly including 5 iotas) in very slightly less than the equivalent space starting with the delta in col. 1, line 11. As in some other long lines in col. 2, the letters at the end of the line were probably crowded. 10th Elaphebolion was the first day of the city Dionysia (Mikalson, 126), with which this sacrifice has no obvious connection.

**A2, 18.** Eds. before Q restored 1 dr. *hierosyna* (Q thought 2 dr. possible), but we have no other *hierosyna* for black goats in the calendar from which the amount could be inferred; probably, on grounds of spacing, there were max. two figures.

**A2, 19–20.** The letters NF seem to have been carved just before the start of 20 (slightly thinner than inscribed letters, but about the same height), perhaps shortly after discovery of the stone in the 19th century (they were legible to R), and no doubt represent the initials of someone's name. This has, surprisingly, caused confusion in varying degrees among previous editors (including Q), who took the second letter to be E. It is almost certainly F (there is a mark where the right point of the

bottom bar of the horizontal of an E would be, but it is the top of a casual downward nick). This confirms, of course, that the letters are of modern origin, as indicated also by the thin strokes (suggesting incisions by a knife) and absence of weathering, also noted by Q. (I agree with Q that the initial chi is not especially well preserved, but that, *pace* Pk, there is no sign of an attempt to erase it). For another example of confusion caused by initials carved on an ancient monument by tourists of the modern era, cf. C. W. J. Eliot in edd. D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, *Phoros, Tribute to B. D. Meritt* (New York, 1974), 47–50. The hero Aristomachos, who can now be read without hesitation here, is no surprise. Identifiable with the hero doctor, according to Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1.262, 16 he was buried in Marathon near the Dionysion. He is also attested epigraphically in this area of Attica at Rhamnous (see most recently B. C. Petrakos, *Praktika* 1981 [1983], 127 no. 4 = *SEG* 33.200). Cf. Parker, 176.

**A2, 21.** The price of piglets is uniform at 3 dr. in this calendar.

**A2, 24.** Pk was first to resolve the first letter of the toponym. He read Α and this was confirmed by Q, who detected “a triangular shape with the possibility of a cross-bar”. The position of the cross-bar, however, is ambiguous as between alpha or delta. For a somewhat high horizontal on a delta cf. 12. Delta is acceptable epigraphically for the first letter, and in context Δρασιλείαι is perhaps the preferable reading, not least since “Arasileia” does not seem very plausible as a Greek name, and there might be a connotation of δράω in the common sense “sacrifice”. Humphreys, however, notes *per ep.* that the word should probably be divided δρασιλ-εια and that it may be pre-Greek, cf. βασιλεύς.

**A2, 27–30.** Early eds. read θήλ[ε]α in 27, but Pk noted that θήλεια was the correct reading. Both Q and I confirm this: the epsilon and iota are faint and squashed together, but both are visible. Eds before Q placed the sigma at the end of 28 in square brackets, but Q noted (and I confirm) that the letter is visible, squashed close against the omega. In 30 the final letter of Σκιροφοριῶνος now looks like an iota, but this is probably due to (recent?) damage (not noted by previous eds.). At the end of 30, the rho in ὠρα[ι]/α is aligned beneath the omega, penultimate letter of 28. This implies that the following alpha and iota must have been squashed even more tightly onto the end of this line than was the sigma in 28. This is possible; iota need not take much space; but there is also perhaps a slight possibility that we should read ὠρᾶα (cf. Thraette I, 270).

**A2, 31.** At the end eds. before Q read the *hierosyna* as FH, but Q observed that, by analogy with *hierosyna* elsewhere in the calendar, we should expect a further half obol (i.e. 2 dr. for a sheep at 12 dr. + 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ob. for a piglet), though there did not seem to him to be a sign of one or room for any further mark on the stone. Since, however, the obol sign is aligned under the alpha in the previous line towards its left side, and there was probably a further iota after that alpha, there seems no objection to supposing that C was squeezed in after the obol sign in the damaged area between it and the edge of the stone.

**A2, 32–33.** In 32, the reading ἱερώσυνα of eds. before Q was erroneous, and Q rightly corrected to ἱερεώσυνα. Q plausibly suggested that the price of the sheep for the Tritopatreis, which, by analogy with others in this calendar, should have been 12 dr., was omitted in error. It is perhaps just possible that the price of the sheep was met from some other source and only the cost of the *hierosyna* was intended to be covered under this calendar; but the text as it stands, with two nominatives awkwardly juxtaposed, scarcely conveys that.

**A2, 34–35.** Ἐκα/τομ Q, correctly. Ἐκατ/ομ R, Ἐκα[τ]/ομ Pr, Ἐκα/τ[ο]μ K.

**A2, 36.** As all eds. except K have recognised, the surviving letters of the *hierosyna* at the end of the line are ΓΗ, with the start of the damaged area at the edge of the stone running along the right side of the drachma sign (K’s ΓΗ, an impossible number, is a mistake). Q further deduced from the pattern of *hierosyna* in this calendar that those here should be 7dr. 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ob. (i.e. 4 dr. for a ox, 1 each for three sheep at 11 dr., 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ob. for a piglet), showing ΓΗ[Η]⟨C⟩ on the grounds that there was not enough room for the half-obol sign. In my view there is room for all the letters. The surviving Η is aligned under the right side of the omega of ὠρα[ι]/α in 30, which letter was probably followed by three letters, two wide ones and a narrow one (see note on 30, above). The same space could easily have been occupied by one narrow letter (iota) and two fairly narrow ones (HC).

**A2, 37.** Q was again first to see that the *hierosyna* can be deduced from the victims: 1 dr. for a sheep at 11 dr., 1H ob. for a piglet.

**A2, 38.** Eds. before Q all showed 7 dr. for the Daphnephoroι. Q, on “repeated examination of the stone and of the squeezes” was unable to detect sufficient trace of the second dr. sign to justify printing it even as doubtful, though recognising that “some traces may seem to appear on earlier photos”. On my photo there is apparent trace of what might be

the lower vertical of a dr. sign, or might be a casual mark. The matter is clearly doubtful, but in a case where there has been deterioration of the stone since discovery, one should give some weight to the judgements of early editors and the impressions conveyed by their photographs, even if one can no longer confirm them, and I accordingly print the second dr. as dotted.

**A2, 39.** On the Tetrapolis archon Euboulos see further below.

**A2, 40.** It is just possible that, as Pr thought (but no other previous ed.), the  $\Lambda$  of  $\text{Τετραπολεῦσι}$  was inscribed as A (cf. note on line 10).

**A2, 41.** As all eds. have recognised, the price of the sheep for Athena Hellotis can be restored as 11 dr. from the prices of sheep offered to female deities elsewhere in the calendar.

**A2, 43.** Only R and Q have read the final delta (undotted), other eds. restoring it. The stone breaks along the left diagonal of the letter. In context, it is not in doubt, given the price of this animal elsewhere in the calendar.

**A2, 45.** Q thought trace of the sigma might be detectable at the end of the line. All eds. have noted that there will have been a monetary amount specified for the wine, as for other items in this group. Q observed that there is not room for more than one numeral. This is probably correct; the omicron is aligned under the omega in the previous line and approx. under the rho of  $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha[\tilde{\iota}]/\alpha$  in 30–31. Cf. also 50.

**A2, 48.** On the (not wholly certain) price of pregnant sows in this calendar see note on col. 1, 43. That here has been read by all previous eds. as 20 dr., but at autopsy I noted that the delta was slightly smaller than normal and appeared to be pendant from a faintly inscribed pi (though I could not rule out that the impression was created by casual marks). From the alignment with 30, there would just have been room to squeeze in a second delta in the damaged area at the edge of the stone to the right.

**A2, 49.** Eds. before Q read the price of the *hierosyna* as  $\text{FI}$ , but Q thought the obol more likely to be two dots. In my view, an obol sign, a drachma sign or punctuation are all possible epigraphically, though I have a marginal preference for regarding all marks after the drachma as casual and reading a *vacat*. In any case one would expect the *hierosyna* here to be the same as that for the same victim in 50, i.e. 1 dr.  $\kappa\upsilon\omicron\delta[\sigma\alpha]$  R and K,  $\kappa\upsilon\omicron'[\sigma\alpha]$  Pr,  $\kappa\upsilon\omicron\sigma[\alpha]$  Q. The judgement is very fine as regards trace of the letter after the omicron (as left diagonal of upsilon or upper-middle stroke of sigma) but Q errs in asserting that the space after it could not have accommodated 3 letters. The omicron is aligned above the chi in the line below, which was almost certainly followed by precisely 3 letters (see below). On the (not wholly certain) price of pregnant sows in this calendar see note on col. 1, 43. For consistency with the other cases, we should read  $\kappa\upsilon\omicron\sigma[\alpha \text{ }^{\text{P}}]$  here. There is admittedly no other price split between two lines, but line-end word division, though mostly avoided, does occur occasionally in this column.

**A2, 50.** As eds. before Q recognised (Q does not comment), there will have been a monetary amount after  $\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , probably the same as in 45.

**A2, 51.** The price of the  $\kappa\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is securely restored from its occurrence elsewhere in this calendar.

**A2, 55.** There have been differences between eds. as to which letters of the month name should be dotted or bracketed, but the name is not in doubt, since all agree that the first four letters are clear, except perhaps for the left side of the horizontal of the tau. Similarly, the recipient of the first sacrifice was certainly Hera, though all except Q have had doubts about the extent to which the letters after the rho are legible. I print  $\alpha$  on the basis that only the upper section of  $\Lambda$  is clear.

**A2, 56.** It is uncertain whether the lost start of 56 contained further sacrifices in a series for Hera and/or *hierosyna*, the whole set concluding with a Kourotrophos offering, or whether another recipient intervened.

## Face B

### Lines 1–7

No editor before Pk was able to make sense of the surviving letters of the very worn reverse face. Pk deciphered enough of the initial lines to recognise that names were listed, followed by monetary amounts. Q added a number of new readings.

**B, 1.**  $\sigma[\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ M}[\alpha\rho]$  Q,  $\sigma[\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ M}[\alpha\rho]$  Pk. Q thought he could detect what might be the left diagonal of the alpha of the demotic at the right edge. I also detected this mark at autopsy, but on my photo there seems rather to be a faint outline of

the whole letter, with a rather low bar, squashed against the mu and followed by what might be the bottom of a vertical. In any case, I agree with Q that the mu is secure, and the reading of the demotic seems safe enough in context. Whether the letter after the alpha would have been a rho, however (cf. 3), or a money sign (cf. 2) is uncertain. Before -τος, I detected only the right diagonal of the alpha and (like Q) only the vertical of the initial tau, with the rho even less clear (lower vertical sloping to right? a nick roughly in position of lower right of curve?), but that the reading of Q and Pk was correct tends to be confirmed by what appears to be the bottom stroke of a sigma earlier in the line, suggesting a name in -σιστρατος (cf. 3).

**B, 2.** Μᾶρ ΔΔ Ἀρχενάυτης Μᾶ ΔΔΗΤ Q, ρογ Ἀρχενάυτης ΗΔΔΔΗ Pk. Before Q's initial rho I have sometimes thought trace of the right side of the alpha might be detectable. All strokes of the first delta following are clear, though the letter also has somewhat the appearance of an omega. I agree with Q's tentative reading of the demotic of Marathon after Ἀρχενάυτης. The alpha has a long right diagonal and a fairly high, upward sloping, bar; the mu is also sufficiently clear, in my view, not to require a dot; the impression of eta (I think false) is given by a vertical nick running down from the right inner diagonal. At autopsy I thought the bottom vertical of a numeral after the second drachma might be detectable, uncertainly, on the edge of the surviving surface. The new reading of the demotic yields the first attestation of the fairly unusual name Archenautes in Marathon (7 others in *LGNP II*, all Athenian citizens of the classical period).

**B, 3.** Δ[ΔΔ]Δ Q, λ[ος] Pk. The reading of the letters before Ἡγησίστρατος is very uncertain. Q's final delta seems reasonably secure, the left diagonal being particularly clear on my ph., but there are also traces which suggest Peek's P before it. It is unlikely that Pk is right to restore a name without demotic before the figures and, as Q notes, his lambda might rather be a delta = ten. An alpha from the demotic MAP would also seem possible, however, and indeed I have thought Μᾶρ followed after a short space by ΔΔ (or PΔ?) would be a possible interpretation of the visible marks. It is perhaps not wholly certain that there was no numeral squashed in at the end of this line, though the edge of the stone is fairly well preserved at this point. This is one of only two instances (the other also 4th cent.) of the name Hegesistratos listed in *LGNP II* for men who were certainly Athenian citizens.

**B, 4.** This is the first line in which letters are clearly detectable on the left side of the preserved surface (which is about a third of the way across the stone from the original left edge), to the left of the damaged area in the upper part of this Face. (In fact the bottom ends of one or two of the letters in line 3 in this position are also probably detectable.) However, the strokes are not clear enough to be resolved with certainty into letters. Pk recorded no reading, Q suggested ΔΗΤ, while at autopsy -ων Ραμ seemed to me an attractive possibility (note, however, that no other preserved contributor was certainly from a deme other than the four of the Tetrapolis). After the damaged area ΔΩΡΟΣ can be made out rather faintly (Q dotted the final sigma, Pk all the letters and also read a ο before the delta), followed by traces, presumably a demotic followed by numerals. I have thought TPI, MAP and ΞΥΠ might be among the possibilities, followed perhaps by (two?) deltas and ?drachma signs (Pk and Q restore nothing here). The following name (not very clear) and demotic seem secure (Pk placed the iota of the name in sq. brackets, Q dotted kappa and nu). After the first delta Pk read ΔΔΙ, Q three drachmas, noting that a second delta was also sometimes apparent. I can add nothing. The Oinoe in the Tetrapolis was in Aiantis and this Isodikos was probably related to the only other man of this name listed in *LGNP II*, Isodikos the toxarch of Aiantis on the public funerary monument of c. 411, *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 1186, 80.

**B, 5.** -γονος Ἀγ[v]όστρα[τ]ος Μᾶρ Δ[ΔΔ]Δ Πατροκλῆς Οἰναί Q, -γονος Ἀγ[v]όστρα[τ]ος [Μα]ρᾶθ [-] Δ Πατροκλ[λ]ῆς Οἰναί Pk. Whatever precisely was inscribed after the name Hagnostratos, it seems clear that it was the demotic of Marathon followed by numerals. I have sometimes thought the demotic might have been inscribed in full, in very small letters, followed by P? Pk, Q and I also agree on the following name and demotic; at autopsy a delta, possibly followed by another numeral, seemed detectable after it. It would seem that the pattern apparent in previous lines, name+demotic+numerals, was broken in this one, since the first legible letters seem to have been from a name in -gonos, followed by neither demotic nor numerals. Perhaps the demotic of Hagnostratos was meant to be read with -gonos also, and the contribution was joint. This is one of only four attestations of the name Hagnostratos in *LGNP II* (all 411– c. 250 B.C.). Patrokles was somewhat less rare (18 citizen cases in *LGNP II*). It is not attested in Oinoe, but does occur in Marathon for the father of Habron, an ostracism candidate in the 480s, and just possibly an ancestor of Lykourgos' wife (M. L. Lang. *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XXV. Ostraka* (Princeton, 1990), 113–23, cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* [Oxford, 1971], no. 7856). See further below.

**B, 6.** -]ος Πρ[ο]Ϝ [- -M]αϜ [- -]οιτοϜ Οιν[-] Q, -]οϜ [- -]οιτοϜ Οιν[αι ...] Pk. At the start, close by the edge of the stone, there is what appears to be trace of T, Π or Γ, but in context is more likely to be iota (see below). I agree with Q's following pi, but on my photo it seems to have a pendant H. The following letter ("a vertical with part of a mid-horizontal stroke", Q) is perhaps H therefore. On my photo there follows a clear delta before Q's drachma sign. I detect two such signs on my photo followed by three? verticals close together (I am not certain that these are inscribed strokes). The last such might just be an initial iota of the following name (Io-). There follows an apparent left side of an omega. After further traces, Q detected an alpha followed by a vertical; he may be right. After further illegible strokes (including ΙΑΥ?) there is another name-ending. At autopsy I read the first three visible letters as: probable O, top (two?) bar(s?) of Σ?, top and bottom marks as points of Σ?. In any case doubt must attach to Pk's and Q's reading, since there is no attested Attic personal name in -iotos (see *LGPN* II, p. 507). A reading -οσσος is also uncertain; but I note two certain citizens called Laossos listed in *LGPN* (late 5th and early 3rd cents.), albeit in Alopeke. I agree with Q that there may have been an erasure after the nu of the demotic. At the start of this area there seems to be the left diagonal of Λ and drachma signs may also be detectable in my photo. If my reading of the first preserved letters is correct (it is not certain), we either have a name without demotic (cf. 5), followed by numerals (unlike in 5); or, more likely, the ending of a demotic (unabbreviated, as perhaps in 5?). The demotics of all four Tetrapolis demes end in -ιοϜ.

**B, 7.** -οϜ Q, χοϜ Pk. At autopsy the chi, especially the upper part, seemed clear enough. Traces before it on my ph. perhaps suggest ἈξιχοϜ vel sim. Towards the end of the line there seem to be inscribed verticals, followed shortly after by what may be a rather low mu and ?left bar of alpha. I was not able to make sense of other traces in this line.

### Lines 8–62

No previous ed. has read letters after line 7, though Q noted that the face continued to be inscribed and that "there appear to be two major areas of erasure in the lower left quarter of the stone". Here and there, my photo shows traces which are resolvable into letters, including pis and deltas, doubtless some of them numerical. Where letters seem clear on my photo and/or seem to make sense in sequence, I include them in my text. Particularly clear, and legible also at autopsy, are the traces of letters inscribed over an erased area in the lower left quarter of the stone (lines 50–52). Further patient work might enable more of this face to be got out. The important conclusion to be drawn from these traces is that the text seems to have continued in the same pattern as the legible lines at the top, i.e. normally name+demotic +numerals, until the preserved bottom of the stone.

**B, 50–52.** The letters in this area of the stone have been preserved because inscribed in an area that had been erased, and therefore were cut more deeply into the stone. The erasure must have started somewhere to the left of the preserved surface, but we can not tell whether it ran right to the original left edge. The second letter has sometimes seemed like a nu with high, near horizontal, diagonal, and high upper right vertical, but there seems to have been no Attic name Ἀνητωρ. The letters after the omega are all uncertain. I read: faint left vertical and lower right curve of rho; faint outline of pi (or, alternatively, O is just possible); a vertical, with just possibly trace of the curve of rho where it meets the vertical at the top. The demotic of Probalinthos, one of the Tetrapolis demes, seems attractive; that of Oinoe could not be ruled out. If my reading of this name as Hagetor is correct (it is not certain), it may be added to the one example of the name listed in *LGPN* II, that on *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2325, 294 (4th–3rd cent., not certainly a citizen; the non-Doricising form Hegetor, however, is attested in 7 demes, including twice in Aiantid Oinoe in the 2nd cent. B.C., see *LGPN* II). In 51 there may be one or two further deltas, followed by one or two drachma signs. None of the individual letters in 52 can be read with certainty. I have thought the first might be E or Σ, perhaps followed by one or two further verticals, before possible trace of mu, followed by a left diagonal and then a lower vertical. After a short space and slightly lower there seems to be a delta, then a vertical, then a left and possibly adjoining upper right diagonal. After 2–3 illegible letters, there is uncertain trace of -οϜ or -ωϜ, perhaps the end of the name starting Λ-.

**61–62.** The second drachma sign in 61 looks very clear on my ph., but may be an illusion caused by damage (cf. the fissure in this position higher up this face). However, it is preceded by what appears to be another dr. sign; before that what looks like an alpha with vertical right "diagonal" and an apparent phi. If my reading of the letters in 61 is correct (far from certain), we might have an abbreviated demotic in -φ (e.g. in this area Ἀφ(ιδναίος)), followed

by ΔΗ; or the demotic of Phaleron, followed by ΗΗ (such a small contribution unlikely). In either case this would be a contributor from a deme outside the Tetrapolis (cf. above on line 49); but the readings are too insecure for certainty.

#### The Tetrapolis demes and the two columns of Face A

The arrangement of face A into a thinner and a thicker column was deliberate and it seems reasonable to suppose that it implies that the two columns contained different categories of sacrifice (cf. above note on layout of text). This is confirmed by systematic differences, such as the absence of *hierosynai* from column 1. The sacrifices in column 2 were arranged by location, deme by deme. The principle underlying column 1 is less easy to detect. Prott's suggestion that it contained sacrifices for the Tetrapolis as a whole has attractions. We do not know where the Eleusinion referred to in line 17 was, but Kynosoura and the Herakleion (18–19) were apparently located at either end of the Marathon plain, perhaps at either end of the Tetrapolis area, and in any case apparently in different demes, the Herakleion in Probalinthos (?), Kynosoura in Trikorynthos or perhaps Marathon.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand we have rejected Prott's restoration of line 11 to yield an explicit reference to the archon of the Tetrapolis, and a theory distinguishing sacrifices financed on a "Tetrapolis" basis from those financed on a "deme" basis would sit uneasily with what we now know of the arrangement of Face B, where members of all the demes seem to have contributed to the whole programme (see further below). Face B should imply that the financing of all the Face A sacrifices was Tetrapolis wide and (presumably) that members of all four demes might attend all of the sacrifices, in whichever deme they were located. And yet, there must have been something about the organisation of the sacrifices in column 1 that prevented them from being arranged straightforwardly by location, deme by deme, like those in column 2. It does not seem to have been differences in financing or attendance, nor, in a sense, location, since there were sacrifices in column 1 that took place in the territory of individual Tetrapolis demes and none certainly at other locations. Perhaps their frequency did not fit the neat annual+biennial arrangement of column 2 (cf. the discussion above of col. 1, 13–19). One suspects, however, that the main difference must in some way have been institutional; and that the absence of *hierosynai* is the key, if only we could understand its significance. A few of the sacrifices in column 2 also lack *hierosynai*, mainly, it seems, those allocated explicitly to the demarch; but does their absence mean that they were paid from another source, or that they were not paid at all? And, where they were paid, who received them? It seems difficult to rule out the involvement of a single Tetrapolis priest, like the priest of the house of the Dekeleieis,<sup>19</sup> or *hieropoioi* like those mentioned in *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2933*, though the tendency, perhaps correct, has been to envisage a multiplicity of traditional priesthoods, supplied by local gene. In any case there would seem to be two possibilities: first, that no *hierosynai* were paid at all for the sacrifices in column 1. In that case, by analogy with column 2, one might suspect that they were the responsibility of newer, democratic officials; and they may therefore represent relatively new Tetrapolis sacrifices, introduced (say) since Cleisthenes, perhaps linked more closely than those in column 2 with the Cleisthenic phyle-trittys-deme structure. This would, I think, be consistent with my interpretation of col. 1, 13–19, as representing sacrifices authorised "from stelai". In the revised polis calendar of the end of the 5th century, it was precisely those sacrifices authorised "from the stelai" which were the newer sacrifices, authorised by decree of the people, and to be integrated with Solon's older code.<sup>20</sup> The alternative is that the *hierosynai* were paid from some other source: from what we know about the funding of Athenian sacrifices, there are two possibilities: the gene, or the polis.<sup>21</sup> In the former case these would not be a

<sup>18</sup> Traill, 138 and 146–48.

<sup>19</sup> S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (2nd edn., Ann Arbor, 1998), T3.

<sup>20</sup> Parker, 44–45.

<sup>21</sup> Both sources are apparent in *Salaminiotai*, no. 1.

newer tranche of sacrifices so much as an old one, more fully within the sphere of the old gene than those in column 2;<sup>22</sup> in the latter, they would be major festivals and sacrifices in which the Tetrapolis participated as part of a wider public whole, the polis carrying a share of the costs.

In column 2, Marathon itself occupies almost the entirety of the preserved text (1–53) and was followed by Trikorynthos (54–56). It would seem reasonable, given Marathon's predominance in size among the Tetrapolis demes,<sup>23</sup> that it should be listed first. Moreover, as Protz observed, the preserved order in col. 2, Marathon, Trikorynthos ... , corresponds to that of the *hieropoioi* of the Tetrapolis in their dedication to Dionysos, *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2933* (Marathon, Trikorynthos, Oinoe, Probalinthos). Since, at the start of column 2 we are in the first or second month of the year in an annual sequence, we may probably conclude that there is not much text missing from the top of the stele. Sacrifices in Oinoe and Probalinthos would have followed those in Trikorynthos after line 54.

The stele complies almost exactly with Dow's norm for the ratio of thickness to width. If it also complied with it in relation to height, it turns out that we have around, or perhaps a little less than, two thirds of the original height of the stele.<sup>24</sup> The manner of inscription of the surviving portion suggests that, on both faces, the cutter was trying to cram maximum text into minimum space; so extensive vacats at the top or the bottom of the stele do not seem very likely. It follows that Marathon occupied around two-thirds of column 2. This is a higher proportion than would be suggested by the demes' bouleutic quotas; Marathon's, at 10, represented a little under half of all the Tetrapolis demes.<sup>25</sup> The length of the stele may well have been somewhat greater than Dow's norm would suggest;<sup>26</sup> but it also does not seem implausible that, in terms of the proportion of Tetrapolis sacrifices taking place each year in its territory, Marathon might have been even more dominant among the Tetrapolis demes than its quota would suggest.

#### Relation of contributions on Face B to sacrifices on Face A

How do the contributions listed on face B relate to the sacrifices listed on face A? So far as one can judge from the scarce remains of face B, the hand looks very close (as Peek recognised), indeed is probably the same, though the cutter may have been using a slightly smaller set of chisels.<sup>27</sup> The same tendency to cram in the text is apparent on both faces. Dow was the first in print to draw the obvious conclusion, that the contributions on face B were intended to meet the cost of the sacrifices on Face A.<sup>28</sup> The Marathon sacrifices in col. 2 of face A are nearly completely preserved and we can reckon that they cost around 1,200 dr. a year.<sup>29</sup> Since these sacrifices probably represent somewhat less than two thirds of the total once listed in column 2, that suggests a total cost for col. 2 of c. 2,000 dr. a year. The cost of the much thinner list of sacrifices in col. 1 will scarcely have been more than, and might well have been considerably less than, half those in col. 2. The sum cost of both columns seems likely, therefore, to have been of the order of 2,500–3,000 dr. a year. The state of preservation of face B renders calculations

<sup>22</sup> They might even represent a phratry calendar, though such is otherwise lacking from the Attic record.

<sup>23</sup> The bouleutic quotas were: Marathon, 10; Probalinthos, 5; Oinoe, 4; Trikorynthos, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Dow's norm: 1(thickness): 4.5 (width): 9 (height). Preserved dimensions (cm.): 9.9 (top)–11.4 (bottom): 48.4 (top)–49.3 (bottom): 65, of which 60 inscribed.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 23.

<sup>26</sup> Dow's norm is not an absolute rule. For other stelai longer than the norm see e.g. *ZPE* 125 (1999), 119.

<sup>27</sup> The average letter height on face B is 5 mm. as compared with 6 mm. on face A; but with so few letters at all well preserved on face B it is difficult to be sure that significance should be attributed to this difference. The omicrons on both faces are rather heavily cut.

<sup>28</sup> Dow, 181–82, cf. 174–75. Quinn suggested that the money raised from the contributions might have been used to pay for the "Tetrapolis" sacrifices in column 1 only, with the individual demes paying for those in col. 2; but the contributions seem to have been too large for this.

<sup>29</sup> I.e. annual+biennial series 1 = c. 1200 and annual+biennial series 2 = c. 1200.

of likely totals more impressionistic, but with the exception of the apparent 612H dr. in 6, the reading of which is insecure, the figures seem mostly to have been in the range 20–100.<sup>30</sup> It would be reasonable to infer from what we know of face B that there were c. 100 lines of contributors, at c. 4 contributors a line. If their average contributions were in the range 20–100 dr., that would give us total contributions of 8,000–40,000 dr. The capital required to fund an annual programme of sacrifices of 3,000 from an 8 per cent return would be 31,250–37,500 dr. Dow suggested that the payments on face B represented “semi-voluntary tax donations for one year, or perhaps for one fixed period of years”. Our figures suggest that it is at least possible that the financial arrangements established here were intended to be of a more permanent nature.<sup>31</sup>

Judging from bouletic quotas, the adult male citizen population of the Tetrapolis demes in the 4th century will have been of the order of 1100–1320, assuming total Athenian population resident in Attica in the mid-4th century of c. 25,000–30,000.<sup>32</sup> If all or nearly all<sup>33</sup> contributors were from Tetrapolis demes, 400 contributors would therefore represent about a third of Tetrapolis members. Assuming that contributions were voluntary (not perhaps quite certain), this is an interesting indicator not only of levels of disposable wealth, but also of continuing commitment of Athenian citizens to the religion of their Attic localities in the 4th century.<sup>34</sup>

#### The Tetrapolis archon Euboulos and the broader context

The archon of the Tetrapolis when this calendar was inscribed was one Euboulos (col. 2, 39). It seems to have escaped notice that he might plausibly be identified with Euboulos the prominent politician of the mid-4th century, whose deme, Probalinthos, belonged to the Tetrapolis.<sup>35</sup> The chronology would suit well enough. A date for our inscription around the second quarter of the 4th century<sup>36</sup> would be consistent with the relatively abundant Attic survivals in the orthography, with the rather small and closely packed script, well on the way to a style which was to become characteristic of financial documents of the Lykourgan period, and with the parallel of the calendar from Erchia (*SEG* 21.541), which seems also to have arisen in the context of a financing system involving contributions from individual members, and which has also been plausibly dated c. 375–350. Euboulos is first attested in around 370 (when he was probably thesmothete<sup>37</sup>) and was influential at least until the late 340s.<sup>38</sup> As

<sup>30</sup> That this is not of a wholly unlikely order gains a measure of confirmation from *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2345, where (excluding non-contributors) thiasotai (probably of Herakles) contributing to some religious purpose gave an average c. 50 dr.

<sup>31</sup> In the fashion characteristic of Attic corporate groups, the capital would perhaps have been deployed on loans, mainly to members; possibly also on land investments (cf. the genos Salaminioi, whose sacrificial calendar was funded from proceeds of land rental. See *Salaminioi*, no. 1). As Dow observed, there is a close parallel in the sacrificial calendar of Erchia, *SEG* 21.541, divided into five sections of equal value and no doubt intended to be paid for by five contributors (or more likely groups of contributors).

<sup>32</sup> Tetrapolis quota: 22 (see n. 23); total membership of Boule: 500. For the overall population figure I follow M. H. Hansen, *Demography and Democracy* (Herning, 1985), 68–69.

<sup>33</sup> See above note on B, lines 61–62. If there was an occasional non-Tetrapolis deme member, one explanation would be that the membership of the old Tetrapolis and the newer Cleisthenic Tetrapolis demes did not precisely overlap. Cf. the Tetrakomoi, *Rationes*, 190–92, 249 n. 129.

<sup>34</sup> The proportion of members who were contributors in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2345, where non-contributing members were also listed, is similar (three sevenths).

<sup>35</sup> Certain identifications, of course, are impossible when a man is attested by name only; and Euboulos was not a rare name (78 certain citizen cases in *LGPN* II), albeit more popular in the Hellenistic period than earlier. On the other hand, it is most likely that our archon would have belonged to one of the Tetrapolis demes; and the only other attestation of the name in such a deme is for E. son of Demetrios of Marathon, holder of priesthoods on Delos in the second century (cf. J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* [Berkeley, 1998], 236–37). His offices suggest that he may have been related to our Euboulos. Mormias son of Euboulos, *PA* 5367, belonged to Hippothontid Oinoe.

<sup>36</sup> 400–350, Kirchner; mid-4th cent., Dow.

<sup>37</sup> G. Lalonde, M. Langdon and M. Walbank (eds.), *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XIX. Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai*

Humphreys points out *per ep.*, it would be uncharacteristic for men prominent in city politics to be moving figures in local affairs; and there is no evidence that Euboulos (or indeed 4th century Athenian politicians generally) tended to enjoy a period of retirement; he drops rather suddenly out of the record after 343 and one suspects that he died about then. Perhaps, if our archon was the great politician, our inscription would most comfortably be dated early in his career, c. 370.

The identification would add interesting colour to our view of Euboulos, prominent, as Plutarch describes him, not by his activities in the international or military fields, but because “by putting himself in charge of financial affairs, [he] increased the national revenues and, from them, greatly benefited the city.”<sup>39</sup> Historians recognise continuities between the policies of Euboulos and his successor in the financial field in the 30s and early 20s, Lykourgos, though an energetic religio-financial policy has been seen as distinctive of the younger politician, while until now, evidence for an interest of Euboulos in this sphere has been thin: building works with a religious aspect attributed to him with greater or lesser uncertainty by archaeologists;<sup>40</sup> and an increasing recognition that “Lykourgan” religio-financial policies were already being pursued in the late 40s, though it is not clear whether these should be attributed to Euboulos or (perhaps more likely) to Lykourgos at an early stage of his career.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps, therefore, our calendar was an early religio-financial initiative by a politician the focus of whose activities was to shift later in his career.

Wider questions arise as to the context and purpose of the calendar, and others of its type. Of all the local Attic calendars, only that of the *genos* Salaminioi makes explicitly clear the circumstances which gave rise to its inscription. The two branches of the *genos* had been in dispute and the calendar was to be inscribed alongside the terms of the settlement, so that it should be clear what each branch had to contribute to the cost of sacrifices from the rental of shared property.<sup>42</sup> But while this is a good instance of what was probably a common phenomenon, i.e. inscribed codification arising in a context of dispute, and while it is certainly possible that some such dispute (e.g. between the four *poleis*) is in the background here, the circumstances underlying the Tetrapolis and Erchia calendars can not have been precisely the same, for in these two cases (unlike the Salaminioi, who seem to have continued to fund their sacrifices from rental income after the dispute as before) there seems to have been a more fundamental shift to funding by individual contributions. What the previous system was we can only guess on present evidence: perhaps there was an institutional shift of financial responsibility, for example, as Dow suggested, from *gene* to *demes*;<sup>43</sup> or perhaps, if we wished to interpret the arrangements as part of a (Euboulan?) initiative to save money centrally, from *polis* to local groups (though not all the sacrifices to local heroes can plausibly once have been funded by the *polis*).<sup>44</sup> Or

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*Records, Leases of Public Lands* (Princeton, 1991), P4, 4.

<sup>38</sup> For the ancient references to Euboulos see PA 5369 and the inscriptions listed in *LGPN* II Εὐβουλος (61).

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 812f, cf. Aeschin. 3.25.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. most recently B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *Die Kulturpolitik des Euboulos und des Lykurg* [Berlin, 1997], 103–104, who sees Euboulos’ hand behind building works in the theatre of Dionysos, in connection with the cult of Asklepios, of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria in the Agora and with the Telesterion at Eleusis.

<sup>41</sup> The key new, or newly dated, items of evidence tending in this direction are the new system of sacred leases, *op. cit.* (n. 37), L6, a series beginning in 343/2; and, if the chronology tentatively proposed at *Rationes*, 213–19, is correct, the first stage of the great public land sale programme recorded in the *Rationes Centesimarum* (c. 343–40?). Cf. *Rationes*, 289–90. I note in this connection that one of the very few legible names of contributors on our calendar may suggest that he was related to Lykourgos’ wife (see above, note on B, 5).

<sup>42</sup> *Salaminioi*, no. 1, 80–85.

<sup>43</sup> Dow, 181–82. Many of Dow’s arguments and assumptions, however, now look doubtful. E.g. the heading of the Erchia calendar, “δημορχία ἡ μέζον” can not, in my view, mean “increased sphere of authority of the deme”; it should relate to the term of office of the demarch (thus R. Parker ap. D. Whitehead, *AW* 14 [1986], 57–64). Note also that it does not seem strictly to be the *demes* that have the financial responsibility in our calendar, but the Tetrapolis.

<sup>44</sup> In what is apparently a fragment of the revised sacrificial calendar of the *polis* from the end of the 5th century, *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 845 (cf. Sokolowski, no. 16; Dow, 174), the *polis* funds a number of sacrifices at (apparently Tetrapolis) Oinoe, including to

perhaps the institutional basis remained the same, i.e. the Tetrapolis was responsible before and after, but the system of financing shifted, e.g. from funding by compulsory (deme?) taxes (or perhaps some messy combination of arrangements) to uniform funding by voluntary contributions. Unless new evidence turns up, we may never know.

#### POSTSCRIPT

Since the above was written B. Petrakos has announced the discovery of an important new 4th century inscription of the Tetrapolis in the fortress of Rhamnous (*Ergon* 45 (1998) [1999], 14–15). It honours a man from Probalinthos for the performance of his religious responsibilities as archon of the Tetrapolis. It was to be set up in the Dionysion (cf. the Tetrapolis inscriptions *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1243 and 2933). The honours were to be announced Διονυσίων τοῖς τραγωιδοῖς and the honorand was awarded *proedria* in the theatre of Dionysos or in the place which the Tetrapolis made use of as a theatre. Proper consideration of the issues raised by the new inscription must await its full publication; but I offer some preliminary comments, mainly on relevant points arising from the above study:

(1) The Tetrapolis archon honoured was from Probalinthos, welcome confirmation that, in our calendar, in which years are reckoned by the term of office of the same official (A2, 39–40), we have to do with the old Tetrapolis and not the Cleisthenic trittys of the same name, which excluded Probalinthos. Cf. n. 3; also B50;

(2) As we have seen, the deme of the Tetrapolis archon mentioned in our calendar, Euboulos (A2, 39–40), may also have been Probalinthos. Be that as it may, one wonders what connection there may have been between the new decree and the calendar. Can we at least assume that it was the cult functions specified in the calendar that he was honoured for performing?

(3) The new decree raises the question of the nature of the connection between the Tetrapolis and Rhamnous (not formally a component of the Tetrapolis). It is notable, as Petrakos points out, that the findspot of the inscription was close to a well-known Dionysion; and that Rhamnous boasted a well-known theatre. Did the Tetrapolis have a real presence in Rhamnous? Or, as Petrakos has suggested, was the decree merely commissioned from a stone-cutter working at Rhamnous, but never delivered? I offer no answer, merely draw attention to some relevant points arising from our study of the calendar:

(a) it has been suggested above that the offering of σπυδῖα to Telete at A2, 10 may have taken place at the Marathonian Rural Dionysia;

(b) we have clarified that the offering at A2, 19–20 was to Aristomachos, a hero well attested epigraphically at Rhamnous and buried, according to Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1.262, 16, in Marathon near the Dionysion (cf. my note *ad loc.*);

(c) there is a slight chance that one of the contributors on Face B was from Rhamnous (see note on B, 4).

In *Two Notes* I shall adduce a new restoration of lines 10–11 of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 255 (Ἀπόλλωνι / Ἀπο]τροπαῖοι ἐν Κυνο[σοῦραι, cf. our A1, 26, with note on A1, 13–19) in support of that inscription's having originated in the Tetrapolis area. I note the following:

(a) at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 255 B8 (cf. also A4) there is an offering τοῦ Ἀρχεγέτε[ι. Cf. at Rhamnous, *SEG* 43.6 and 51; 44.78;

(b) less strikingly perhaps, Aphrodite may lurk somewhere behind the very fragmentary lines A4–7 (see Jameson's note in *IG* i<sup>3</sup>). Cf. at Rhamnous, Aphrodite Hegemone (*SEG* 41.90 and 91; 43.64);

(c) more generally on cultic extra-territoriality, note (A9–10) the cult of Herakles in Elaious, not a

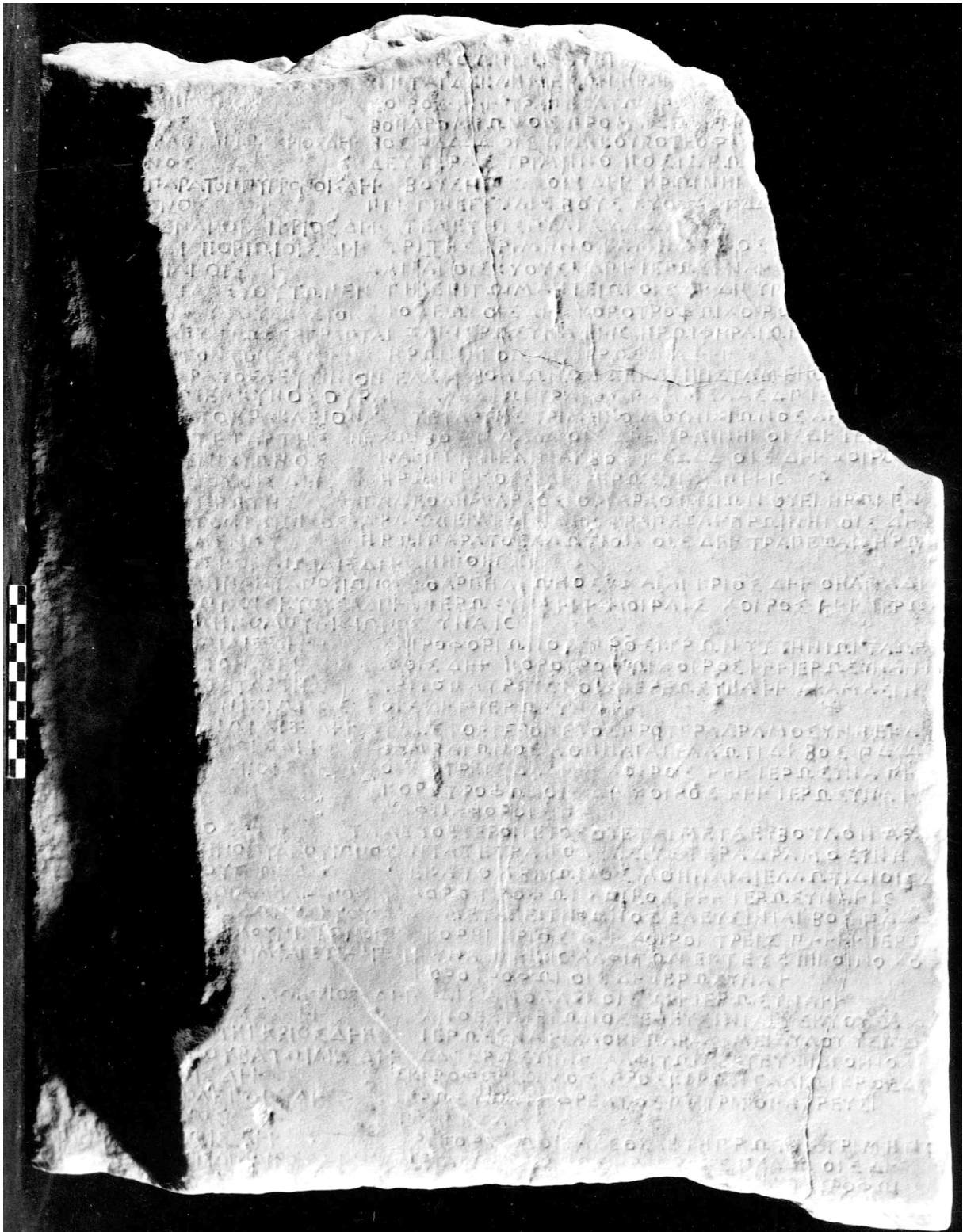
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Artemis, Apollo (cf. *FGH* 328 Philochoros F75), Zeus Morios and Athena. Note also the clear implication that, apart from their calendar of sacrifices funded from their own resources, in 363/2 the genos Salaminioi had cult functions funded by the polis (*Salaminioi*, no. 1, lines 20, 87 etc.). Such central funding of local festivals might plausibly have been a target of polis finance managers in the 4th century. Some major festivals (e.g. the Marathonian Herakleia, notably absent from our calendar) would have continued to be funded centrally.

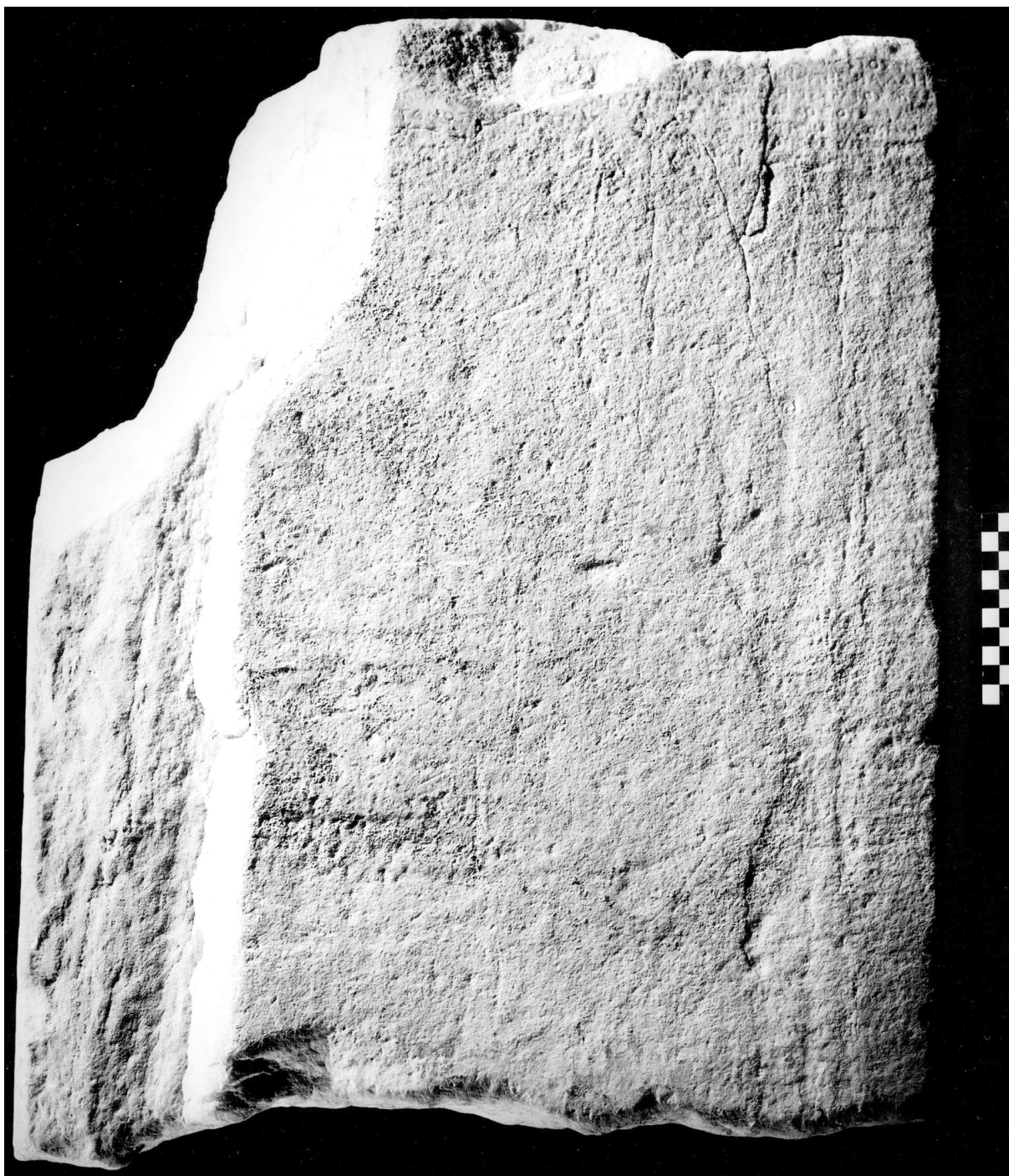
component deme of the Tetrapolis. Cf. also, on the original location of our calendar, on some accounts extra-territorial, above n. 6. Outside the Tetrapolis there are certainly other examples of cult activity by one group in the territory of another. The Erchians, for example, used the sanctuary of Zeus Epakrios on Hymettos (*SEG* 21.541 E 59–64); and the Thorikians that of Poseidon at Sounion (*SEG* 33.147, 19–20).

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EM 13038 = IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1358, Face A; S. Lambert, pp. 43–70

TAFEL IV



EM 13038 = *IG ii<sup>2</sup>* 1358, Face B; S. Lambert, pp. 43–70