

CGRN 25


DOSSIER OF REGULATIONS OF THE ATTIC DEME OF PAIANIA

Date :

ca. 450-425 BC

Justification: lettering (Jameson).

Provenance

[Paiania](#) . Found in the deme near Athens (modern Liopesi). The fragment is now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (inv. no. 13263).

Support

An opisthographic stele, inscribed on two faces, A and B; worn and damaged, but relatively intact except for the top and bottom which are broken.

Height: 81.5 cm

Width: 37.3 cm

Depth: 6.3 cm

Layout

Not stoichedon and letters described as *satis inurbanae* by Jameson (i.e. probably not inscribed by an 'official' or professional Athenian cutter), 1-1.8 mm high.

Bibliography

Edition here based on Jameson (ap. Lewis) [IG I³ 250](#), with new and improved readings. In lines B13-14 and 21, the letters or words coming after | were inscribed on the lateral side of the stele, as a marginal continuation of the text. For variant readings in lines B35-37, see Takeuchi.

Cf. also: Sokolowski [LSS 18](#).

Further bibliography: [Nilsson 1944](#); [Georgoudi 1994](#); [Humphreys 2004](#): 154-155, with other detailed comments; [Zografou 2004](#); [Bremmer 2005a](#); [Parker 2005a](#): 340 with n. 55; Takeuchi 2010-2013: 97-101; [Veneciano 2014](#).

Text

Face A

[...]

 [...] ^{c.15} ΟΔ[.]

 [...] ^{c.12} ἔαν δέ τ-

 [ις τούτον τι ποι]ῆι τινέτο

 [...] ^{c.11} τῶι δέμο-

 5 [ι ^{c.7}...] ἡιέρειαν πα-

 [ρέχεν ^{vv} Σκ]ίροισι καὶ ηεφ-

 [ιστίοισι ὀ]πτανά : Ἀνθεί[ο]-

 ισι καὶ Πρ[ε]ροσίοις ὀβολ-

 10 ὸς : χαλκίον· ῥαβδοχῆν τὸς

 ἡιεροποιὸς καὶ ἡὸς ἄν κελ-

 εύοισιν· τὰ χσυγγεγραμμ-

 ἔνα μὲ ἔναι ἀναφσεφίσα[ι],

 ἔὰμ μὲ ἡεκατὸν παρῶσιν

 τὸν δεμοτὸν ^{vacat}

 15 τῆιδε χοῖρος : ἔς τὸ Ἐλευ-

 σίνιον Δαίραι ἄμνῆ : πρε-

 ρόαρχος ^{vvv} : ἔς τὸ Ἐλευσί-

 νιον : πρεροσίον τέλεον

 θέλυ χοῖρος ἄρρεν [:] ἀπόμε-

 20 τρα τεταρτεὺς : τῆιδε ἡε-

 μιτετάρτεον ^{vv} : πρεροσ-

 ιάδον χριθὸν ἡύε δύο

 ἄρρεν καὶ θέλεια : ἀπόμ-

 ετρα [:] τεταρτεὺς [:] τῆιδε

 25 ἡεμιτετάρτεον ^{vacat}

 ἔς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον : Χλοα-

 ῖα χοίρ«ο» ἄρρεν καὶ θέλει-

 α : ἀπόμετρα : τρῆς : ||| ^{vv}

 ἔς Ἐνθεια ἡῦς κριτέ{ν} ^v

 30 κύοσα χοῖρος : ἄρρεν : ἀπ-

 ὀμετρα [:] τεταρτεὺς : τῆ-

 ιδε ἡεμιτετάρτεον ^{vv}

^{vacat}

50 [[ΓΕ..Ε.Ρ...Ο^{c.5}.....Σ.]
 [.....^{c.18}]
 [[θέλ[ε]ια Ε^{c.11}.....]
 [...]ΕΥ[.....^{c.5}] h[.]T[.]Σ[.]E[.] *vacat*

Face B

[.....[?]]
 [...]E[.....^{c.13} άπ]-
 [ό]μετρα [τεταρτεύς : τέι]-
 δε ^v ηεμιτ[ετάρτεον] ^{vv}
 πρεροσιάδ[ον χριθόν] ^v
 5 ηύε δύο θέ[λεια άρρεν]
 άπόμετρα [τεταρτε]-
 ύς [:] τέιδε ηεμι[τετάρτε]-
 ον Ε[.....^{c.13} ές]
 τὸ Ἐλευσίιον [.....^{c.6}]
 10 [.]Α[.]Μ[.....^{c.13}]
 [...]Π[.]Δ[.....^{c.6}]«ΟΝΛΕ[.]»
 Α[.....^{c.17}]
 ΛΥ[.]Ε[.]Λ[.]Ρ[.] «[ά]πόμ»|ετρα
 ηΕΚ[.....^{c.15}] | τρές
 15 ΤΕ[.....^{c.16}]
 ΑΙ[.]Ε[.....^{c.13}]
 Ρ[.....^{c.17}]
 ΕΙΦ[.....^{c.15}]
 Ε[.....^{c.17}]
 20 άπόμ[ετρ]α [.....^{c.10}]
 ΟΝ : [.....^{c.6}][.....^{c.8}] «τέ»|λεον
 «ΔΗΗ ηιερ[ε]όσ[υνα ΗΗΗ]»
 [.]ΝΘΕΟΙΑ[.....^{c.7} τέλε]-
 ον θέ[λυ χοϊρος (?) άπόμετρ]-
 25 α [τέ]τ[αρτεύς : τέιδε ηεμι]-
 τετάρ[τε]ο[ν^{c.10}]
 ηΥ[.....^{c.9}] χο[ϊ]-
 ρο[ς^{c.4} άπόμετρα] τε-
 ταρ[τεύς : τέιδε] η[εμι]τετ-
 30 άρτεο[ν] : [ές τὸ Ἐλ]ευσίιον

Χλοα[ῖτα χοί]ρο θέλεια : ἄρρε-
 ν : ἀπό[με]τρα : τρέξ : ||| ^{vvv}
 ηεκάτες : ηιερείαι : hôn ἄν τ-
 ἔι : ηεκάτει θύεται : διδόνα[ι]
 35 [κ]ολέν, πλευρόν ^{vv} : ζακορε[.]
 [.]ΟΣΑΝ φερει καταλειφε[.]
 [....]⁴ΟΣΙΜ[.]ΑΘΑΡΕΣ[.]Ο[...]
 [.....^{c.13}.....]Μ[^{c.4}....]
 [.....[?].....]
 [....]

Translation

Face A

[...] if someone does [one of these things], let him pay [...] to the people [...] (5) the priestess provides, for the Skira and [Hephaestia?]: roasted meat (or: meat for roasting); for the Antheia and Prerosia: spits for roasting; a bronze vase; (10) the *hieropoi* and whoever they command are to carry rods. It is not possible to put these writings again to the vote without the presence of hundred demesmen.

(15) Here (i.e. in Paiania?), a piglet; into the Eleusinion, for Daeira, a female lamb, leader-of-the-Prerosia (?); into the Eleusinion, for the Prerosia, an adult female animal, a male piglet; priestly prerogative, (20) a quarter measure; here, a half-quarter measure for the barley grains of the Prerosia, two pigs, one male and one female; priestly prerogative, a quarter measure; here, (25) a half-quarter measure.

Into the Eleusinion, for the Chloia, a pair of piglets, one male and one female; priestly prerogatives, 3 obols.

For the Antheia, (30) a selected pregnant sow, a male piglet; priestly prerogatives, a quarter measure; here, a half-quarter measure. [...]

Face B

[...] priestly prerogative, [a quarter measure ...]; here, a half-quarter measure; for the pre-ploughing [barley grains], (5) two pigs, [one female and one male]; priestly prerogatives, a quarter measure; here, a half-quarter measure; [...] into the Eleusinion [... (10) ...] priestly prerogatives, three (15) [...] (20) priestly prerogatives [...] an adult (animal), 12 drachmae; priestly prerogatives 4 drachmae [...]; an adult female animal, [a piglet?]; [priestly prerogatives], (25) a quarter measure; [here, a half-]quarter measure [...] piglet [... priestly prerogatives], a quarter measure; [here, a half-]quarter (30) measure; into the Eleusinion, for the Chloia, a pair of piglets, one female, one male; priestly prerogatives, 3 obols.

For the priestess of Hekate, whoever sacrifices to Hekate, is to give (35) a thigh, a side; the *zakoros* [...] bring anoint [...]

Traduction

Face A

[...] si quelqu'un [fait l'une de ces choses], qu'il paie [...] au peuple [...]. (5) Que la prêtresse [...] fournisse], pour les Skira et les [Hephaistia ?], des morceaux de viande rôtie (ou de la viande à rôtir); pour les Antheia et les Prerosia, des broches et un vase en bronze; (10) que les hiéropes et ceux à qui ils l'ordonneront portent les baguettes. Qu'il ne soit pas possible de remettre aux voix les prescriptions si cent dévotes ne sont pas présents.

(15) Ici (c'est-à-dire à Paiania ?), un porcelet; à l'Éleusinion, pour Daira, une agnelle qui mène la procession des Prerosia (?); à l'Éleusinion, une femelle adulte pour les Prerosia, un porcelet mâle; comme émoluments, (20) un quart; ici, un demi-quart d'orge des Prerosia, deux porcs, un mâle et une femelle; comme émoluments, un quart; ici, (25) un demi-quart.

À l'Éleusinion, pour les Chloia, des porcelets, un mâle et une femelle; comme émoluments, 3 oboles.

Pour les Antheia, (30) une truie pleine sélectionnée, un porcelet mâle; comme émoluments, un quart; ici un demi-quart. [...]

Face B

[...] comme émoluments, [un quart ...]; ici, un demi-quart; pour les orges des Prerosia, (5) deux porcs, [un mâle et une femelle]; comme émoluments, [un quart]; ici, un demi-quart [...]. À l'Éleusinion [...] (10) [...] comme émoluments, trois (15) [...] (20) comme émoluments [...] un (animal) adulte, 12 drachmes, comme émoluments 4 drachmes; [...] un animal femelle adulte, [un porcelet ?], [comme émoluments] (25) un quart; [ici un demi-]quart; [...] un porcelet [...] comme émoluments] un quart; [ici un demi-]quart; (30) à l'Éleusinion, pour les Chloia, des porcelets, une femelle et un mâle; comme émoluments, 3 oboles.

À la prêtresse d'Hécate, que celui qui sacrifie à Hécate donne (35) une cuisse, une côte; que le *zakore* [...] apporte l'enduit [...].

Commentary

The front face (A) of the stele can be identified as such because it seems to preserve the end of a decree of the Paianians concerning sacred duties (lines A1-14), which concludes with an injunction clause (on this type of clause, see Veneciano). This decree is followed by a type of sacrificial account from A15 on, which continues on the other side (B). This part of the document is proba-

bly not to be strictly seen as a calendar, as some have argued (cf. also Humphreys), since it may only preserve a loose agricultural or natural sequence. On side A, this is: Prerosia - Chloia - Antheia. That is certainly quite suggestive for a rural Attic deme: first the preparations for the ploughing and this preliminary festival occurs (Prerosia, lit. "Pre-ploughing"), then a celebration of the budding green of plants (Chloia), and finally an occasion concerning the blooming of plants (Antheia, perhaps esp. of barley and wheat). For these festivals, see Parker (Appendix I). But it is not clear what exact chronological sequence this would have presented in the Athenian calendar, since no precise dates are mentioned. Side B may echo this apparent order but also appears less specifically calendrical: the Prerosia is alluded to in B4 and the Chloia is only mentioned much later, in B31. In fact, the list of festivals preserved in the end of the decree on side A lines 6-8, does not appear to be chronological (the Antheia are listed before the Prerosia).

Beyond the provision of sacrificial animals for major rites, part of the main focus of the document appears to be accounting of priestly prerogatives, here called *apometra* for priestesses (usually payable in kind), or *hierosyna* (money) in one case (line B 22, overstruck in a rasura; see below). The end of side B, lines 32-36, appears to be solely concerned with priestly prerogatives during a sacrifice to Hekate. The deities mentioned seem to be feminine (Daeira and Hekate) and the festivals likewise belong to female cults (Demeter and Kore: see below on A18-19, 26-28, and 29-32). Some rites are specified as taking place in the Eleusinion, perhaps that of the deme itself (Jameson), or the one in the city of Athens (Humphreys). It may therefore be surmised that the purpose of the account was to specify the particularities and financing of female and agricultural cults in the deme of Paiania.

The repetitive style of the account helps to provide many of the restorations to the badly preserved text on side B, by comparison with side A, but perhaps some of these supplements are not as assured as might seem at first glance. A further piece of the puzzle is the enigmatic deictic in the account: τῆιδε, starting in line A15 and *passim*. Two possible interpretations are: 1) taking this word as the adverbial, "here" (so Humphreys); 2) interpreting it as a female recipient in the dative. Nilsson suggested that τῆιδε may designate a priestess and could be a direct reference to the one mentioned explicitly in the decree, cf. A5. This is perhaps conceivable, but difficult to reconcile with the sacrifice of a piglet in A15 and the fact that priestly prerogatives are often distinguished in the text from those accorded τῆιδε. Sokolowski makes a case for Kourotrophos being the implied female recipient, adducing notably the frequency of this form of sacrifice to the goddess in the calendar of Erchia, [CGRN 52](#) (*passim*). This is difficult to imagine and would imply that the whole stele somehow implied a reference to the cult of Kourotrophos. It also remains surprising to find half-quarter measures, presumably of grain, given to this figure throughout the account. These are smaller than those which are given as prerogatives for the priestess, probably that of Demeter. If the referent were indeed a goddess, then Demeter herself seems to us a much better option. By contrast, the first interpretation, namely that τῆιδε is being used adverbially, has much to recommend it; it is recently espoused by Humphreys. This reading assumes a fairly straightforward point of reference: an implicit place, such as Paiania itself or one of its sanctuaries, in which the

stele would have been located, rather than a goddess. It also coheres with its regular pendant in the inscription, the phrase ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίσιον, which is also spatial (and which implies a verb such as φέρειν). However, the phrase in A15 remains rather underdetermined, since we would then have no idea to which recipient the piglet is being offered. No definitive solution may be possible, since the point of reference which may have been made explicit in the decree partially preserved on side A, and also by the context of the monument, is now lost.

Face A

Lines A5-9: This clause probably introduces a series of provisions required of the priestess during certain festivals, namely to provide meat for roasting and cultic equipment for the deme. The Skira was a female festival in honour of Demeter which took place on the 12th of Skirophorion in Athens, cf. also [CGRN 78](#) (Piraeus), line 11. The Hephaistia was a festival for Hephaistos and Athena, of uncertain date; it features torch races and widespread civic participation ([IG I³ 82](#)), but perhaps seems out of place in this account: Humphreys, p. 154 with n. 60, follows others in suggesting alternatives. The Antheia is an obscure festival: see below, also on the Prerosia.

Lines A9-11: The carrying of rods seems to entail that the *hieropoioi* are to act with official insignia and as arbitors (cf. also Humphreys, "marshals").

Line A16: On the cult of Daeira in Attica, see [CGRN 56](#), col. II, line 12 (receiving a pregnant ewe). Here she receives a lamb, which is qualified with the novel adjective *πρερόαρχος*, presumably implying that this offering inaugurates the Prerosia and "leads the plough", so to speak (cp. the term *βόαρχος*, for an ox leading a group of sacrificial animals in a procession: [CGRN 8](#), line 5). On the local and obscure character of the goddess, see Parker and [LSJ](#) s.v.

Lines A18-19: The Prerosia is pre-ploughing festival of Demeter which is attested in several demes, where it occurred at different times of the Athenian year, usually in the Fall or early Spring: cf. [CGRN 94](#) (Eleusis), line A9; [CGRN 32](#) (Thorikos), lines 5 and 13; as well as in Piraeus [CGRN 78](#), line 10; see also Hsch. s.v. *Πρηροσία*. It is probable that the adult female sheep is to be sacrificed to Demeter, while the male piglet may be attributed to Kore (who sometimes receives male animals) or another figure.

Lines A26-28: For the Chloaia, see also [CGRN 32](#), line 38; cf. also Hsch. s.v. *χλοιά· έορτή από τῶν καρπῶν*. A pair of male and female piglets are to be sacrificed, likely at least the female one for Demeter who normally receives female animals (Kore, by contrast, can receive male ones). This is repeated almost verbatim in B30-32.

Lines A29-32: The Antheia appear to be another festival in honour of Demeter and perhaps Kore, but is very infrequently attested, cf. [CGRN 32](#), line 44. Demeter is almost assured as the recipient of the pregnant sow, cf. [CGRN 156](#) (Mykonos), line 12 and [CGRN 222](#) (Andania), lines 33 and

68, among many other parallels. On the sacrifice of pregnant animals, see Georgoudi and, for a useful collection of evidence, Bremmer. Again, the male piglet may likely have been offered to Kore or another associated figure.

Face B

Lines B21-23: A significant *rasura* has been used to correct a portion of the account here and some of its contents appear to differ from the remainder of the repetitive account. An adult animal is specified along with possibly its price. Furthermore, instead of the usual mention of *apometra*, we find *hierosyna* specified here, probably as a monetary sum which the priestess received to compensate her for her obligations and service; the *apometra* for the Chloaia are also monetary: 3 obols (A26-28, B31-32). Takeuchi provides a different interpretation of these lines; in B22, the *rasura* originally mentioned [ΔΗ ΗΕΡΚ..ΟΙ], i.e. Δὴ ἠερκ[εῖ]οι [ca. 5/7.]; B23 reads ΙΝΘΕΟΙΝ, i.e. [το] ἴν Θεοῖν [.. ca. 7 ..], thus introducing the consideration of Demeter and Kore as the apparent recipients of the offerings discussed in the following lines.

Line B33-37: These lines, and perhaps some of the fragmentary ones following, define the perquisites of the priestess of Hekate. This appears to be a brief form of regulation that is appended to the account, and with verbal forms (θύεται, δίδοναι, φερεῖ, καταλείφ-) which are not found above. The priestly perquisites given are standard ones in Athens; for the thigh and the side, see esp. [CGRN 103](#), line 5. The remaining fragments appear to mention a *zakoros*, a temple-attendant (cp. νεωκόρος), as well as perhaps the obligation to anoint something. Takeuchi reads B36-37 as καταλείπεν [κα ἰ ἔτ]νος καὶ ἀθάρες κοτ[ύλην/λας]. According to this reading, the *zakoros* would be instructed to leave behind (cups of) soup and gruel for Hekate. For ἔτνος, see also [CGRN 7](#), line A38; for the standard small meals (δεῖπνα) offered to Hekate, see Zografou.

Publication

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