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A NEW ATTIC DIONYSIA:  
ON A RECENTLY-PUBLISHED HONORIFIC DECREE  
OF THE MARATHONIAN TETRAPOLIS



ABSTRACT: Recent research has demonstrated the significance for theatre history of the performances that took place at Dionysia in the demes of Attica. This article analyses the latest addition to our evidence, an honorific decree (*I.Rhamnous* 402), first published in 2020. The decree was passed by the Marathonian Tetrapolis, but the *stele* on which it was inscribed was discovered at Rhamnous. From this we learn of a Dionysia with performances of tragedy that was held by the Tetrapolis in the second half of the fourth century. We begin with a commentary that situates the decree in the wider practices of a theatre-based honorific economy common to the demes and tribes of Attica (I); and go on to discuss the puzzle of its context of discovery and the puzzle of its content, arguing that the inscription attests for the first time a Dionysia held by a corporate body larger than a single deme (II). We proceed to integrate this evidence within the existing body of knowledge of the cult of Dionysos in the Tetrapolis, making some suggestions about the likely location of the Dionysion and theatre (III). Finally, we consider the absence of the cult of Dionysos from the surviving sections of the Tetrapolis Calendar (*SEG* L 168). We conclude that the Dionysia probably appeared in the lost section that detailed cults at the Tetrapolis level which took place in the winter months; and further, that the mysterious entry for Marathon in *Posideon* (A.II.7–10) may in some way reflect the significant involvement of that deme in the Dionysia of the association (IV).

THE DRAMATIC festivals of Dionysos held by the demes of Attica have emerged from a period of long (and at times contemptuous) neglect. The view long prevalent that everything about the theatre of the Rural Dionysia was irredeemably mediocre can ultimately be traced all the way back

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to a few well-aimed barbs of Demosthenes —and his nephew Demochares— cast in the face of his political opponent, the ex-actor Aeschines, that “real ape on the tragic stage, a rustic Oinomaos”<sup>1</sup> who “hired yourself to those famous bellowers, the actors Simykkas and Sokrates as a player of third parts” and “wandered through the fields”<sup>2</sup> “collect(ing) figs and grapes and olives like a grocer selling stolen fruit, earning more from that than from the contests, in which you competed for your very life”.<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes exaggerates to an almost absurd degree the ‘rural’ character of the Dionysia in which Aeschines competed, and the exaggeration and absurdity are especially strong, considering that the one festival he mentions by name is the Dionysia of the deme of Kollytos, which was held within the walls of the City itself.<sup>4</sup> But Demosthenes had thereby almost single-handedly created a prejudice of parochialism and provinciality for the whole sector that influenced scholarly study of Attic theatre for centuries.

A corrective to this view began with the systematic collection of the evidence for the festivals by David Whitehead in the context of his comprehensive study of deme life published in 1986.<sup>5</sup> The corpus was updated in 2004 by Jones,<sup>6</sup> and an important study by Goette in 2014 more fully integrated all the available archaeological and topographical data.<sup>7</sup> The second volume of Csapo and Wilson’s *Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC: Theatre Beyond Athens*, published in 2020, devotes nearly three hundred pages to a presentation and analysis of the evidence for theatre in the Attic demes.<sup>8</sup> The interpretative reflex no longer defaults, as it routinely

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on Global Issues of Environment and Culture on 18 September 2021. Alexander Herda kindly provided the copy of August Eschenburg’s paper. Yiannis Papadatos supplied valuable information about the ongoing excavation at Plasi, Marathon. Many thanks to the director and the staff of the Epigraphic Museum for facilitating study of EM 7752 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1243) and 13038 (*SEG* L 168). The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science funded the research with a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (Grant Numbers 21J01729, 22KJ1514). The School of Humanities at the University of Sydney and Trinity College, Cambridge, provided research support for Wilson. Except where otherwise indicated, all dates are BCE. Readings that Takeuchi has confirmed on stone are designated by the symbol [T.].

1. Dem. 18.242.
2. Democh. *BNJ* 75 F 11a ap. *Vita Aeschin.* 2.7.
3. Dem. 18.262.
4. Dem. 18.180.
5. Whitehead (1986).
6. Jones (2004).
7. Goette (2014).
8. References throughout this article in the form (e.g.) ‘Csapo and Wilson III Bvi’, ‘Csapo

did in the past, to an assumption that any evidence found in deme settings of performances by well-known names of the Classical theatre must refer to events that took place in the City but were commemorated in the deme. A better grasp of the evidence and an attitude to it free of prejudice have led to an improved understanding of the nature of theatre in Attica outside the city, and to an appreciation of its significance to some of the largest questions of theatre history: the dynamics that underlay the spread of drama, the formation of a canon and the growth of a theatre industry.

We now have evidence for theatre in some twenty-three Attic demes. The actual number is likely to be considerably higher. One very interesting characteristic of the evidence is that, if it were not for the more or less haphazard discovery of inscriptions and items of theatre architecture across Attica, we would scarcely know that this whole energetic stratum of theatrical culture existed, for it features hardly at all in literary sources. The evidence is overwhelmingly epigraphic and archaeological. The (re)discovery of a lost theatre on Attic soil is, understandably, an event greeted with enormous excitement, in and beyond the world of scholarship. Such was the case most recently in 2007, when some eleven rows of low and narrow limestone benches were unearthed during the preliminary stages of excavation for the construction of a building on private property at no. 21 Salaminos Street (now Archaïou Theatrou Street), in central Menidhi. Menidhi was one of the main population and cultic centres of the large and famous deme of Acharnae.<sup>9</sup> However, spectacular as such discoveries are, our knowledge of the theatrical life of the Attic demes depends considerably more on epigraphical than on archaeological data. And a truly remarkable feature of the evidence is that, in more than a quarter of all the demes for which a Dionysia or a theatre is attested, that knowledge depends on the lucky survival of a single inscription.<sup>10</sup>

This is true in the case of an honorific decree published in 2020. Once more, a single epigraphic item revealed the existence of an entirely

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and Wilson III Div', 'Csapo and Wilson III J' are to the treatments of the relevant documents in section III —on the Attic demes— of Csapo and Wilson (2020).

9. On the Acharnae theatre see Csapo and Wilson III B; for more on the status of its excavation, see <https://diazoma.gr/en/theaters/ancient-theater-of-acharnes/> (06/08/2023). On the deme more generally see Kellogg (2013).
10. Aigilia: Csapo and Wilson III C; Lamptrai: Csapo and Wilson III P; Oa: Csapo and Wilson III S; Paiania: Csapo and Wilson III T; cf. Sphettos: Csapo and Wilson III X. In Phlya, the existence of a Dionysia is known thanks to a single remark in a speech of Isaios: Csapo and Wilson III U.

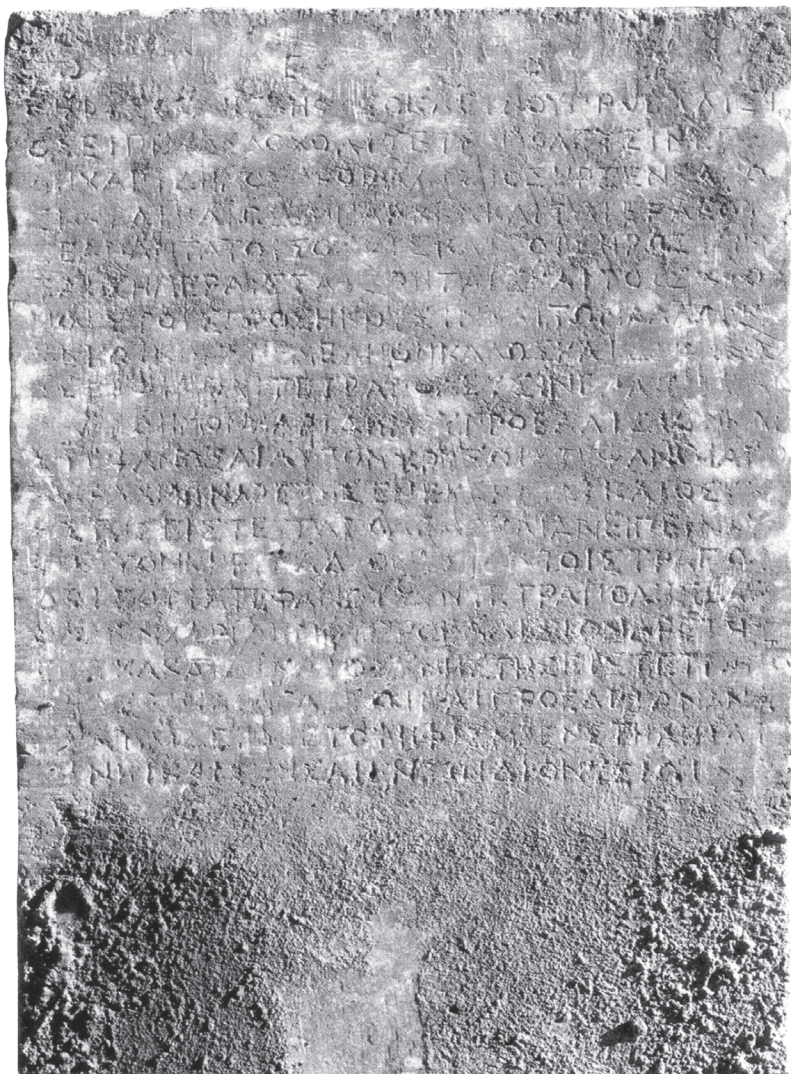


Figure 1. Rhamnous inv. no. 2118: Tetrapolis decree (*I.Rhamnous* 402) from Petrakos (2020) VI.17 (reproduced by kind permission of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

‘new’ Dionysia. But this inscription also attests an entirely novel variety of Dionysia — one that, as it happens, had recently been hypothesised but for which hard evidence had been lacking: a Dionysia held not by a single Kleisthenic deme, but by a larger corporate body made up of four demes, that of the Marathonian Tetrapolis in north-east Attica. The Tetrapolis was an association which, in the post-Kleisthenic era, consisted of the demes of Marathon,

Trikorynthos, Oinoe and Probalinthos. Writing around 300, when it was still a vibrant entity, the Atthidographer Philochoros dedicated a monograph to the Tetrapolis (*Περὶ τῆς Τετραπόλεως*).<sup>11</sup> This provided the association with a myth-history as the successor of a much more ancient entity that existed long before the synoecism of Attica — one of the “Twelve cities of Kekrops”,<sup>12</sup> founded by Xouthos, father of Ion.<sup>13</sup> The few remaining fragments of Philochoros’ work reveal a deep interest in the association’s mythical traditions, its energetic cult practice, and the sacred landscape of its several demes and of the association as a whole.<sup>14</sup> In the historical period, the Tetrapolis is the best-documented example of a type of regional association within Attica centred around cult practice, of a scale larger than the deme and interconnected in complex ways with the religious and social landscape of the City, as well as with major sites beyond the borders of Attica, such as Delphi and Delos.

From the new decree we learn of a Dionysia that was held by the Tetrapolis itself in the second half of the fourth century, a Dionysia that at the time featured performances of tragedy and that was held in a theatre of sufficient material stature to afford honorific seating (*prohedria*) to dignitaries and honorands. Our aim in this article is to feed into the wider field of theatre studies knowledge derived from this inscription of a new site in Attica for which a theatrical Dionysia is attested. However, its interest lies not only in the addition of another theatre to the tally of those now known across Attica. We begin with a commentary on the inscription that seeks to situate it in the wider practices of a theatre-based honorific economy common to the demes and tribes of Attica, as well as the central polis institutions. We then go on to discuss the puzzle of its context of discovery in the fortress of Rhamnous and the puzzle of its content, focussing above all on the implications, in terms of the conduct of theatre festivals in Attica, of the fact that this is a document of the Tetrapolis, not a deme. This new inscription attests for the first time a Dionysia held by a corporate body larger than a single deme directly, but only under very particular circumstances, that are as a consequence not readily generalisable.

11. Philoch. *BNJ* 328 T 1 ap. *Suda* φ 441 s.v. *Φιλόχορος*. For the Marathonian Tetrapolis, see also Androt. *BNJ* 324 F 68 ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τετρόπολις*. See in general Parker (1996) 331–332; Steinhauer (2009) 82–85; Ismard (2010); Ismard (2015).

12. Philoch. *BNJ* 328 F 94 ap. Str. 9.1.20.

13. Str. 8.7.1.

14. Other fragments refer to the *parasitōi* enrolled in the service of Herakles (F 73), a Titan named Titenios settled around Marathon (F 74), and the *theoriai* that went from the Pythion in Oinoe and the Delion in Marathon (F 75).

## I. THE NEW TETRAPOLIS DECREE

Excavation in the fortress of Rhamnous in 1998 brought to light a relatively well-preserved *stele* inscribed with an honorific decree made by the authority of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. In 2020, Vasilios Petrakos published the *editio princeps* (with a photograph), as no. 402 in his corpus of inscriptions from the deme of Rhamnous, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος*, VI. *Οἱ ἐπιγραφές, τὰ χαράγματα, τὰ σταθμῖα, οἱ μαρτυρίες*, Athens 2020 (*I.Rhamnous* 402).<sup>15</sup> From as early as 1999, preliminary reports had raised the puzzle of the relation between this findspot and its authors, for the deme of Rhamnous was not a member of the Marathonian Tetrapolis.

Rhamnous inv. no. 2118 (*Φ*. 38). *Stele* of local Agia Marina marble with its original sides, bottom and back preserved (Figure 1). Found in Room 58, in the southeast part of the fortress of Rhamnous. Date: second half of the fourth century (by letter forms and prosopography). Height 0.69 m.; width 0.31 m.; thickness 0.04–0.055 m.; letter height 0.008 (omicron 0.006) m.; non-stoichedon (31 or 32 letters). The *stele's* base, made of the same local marble (Rhamnous inv. no. 2119: *non vidimus*), was also discovered intact around 20 m. to the southwest of the *stele*, in secondary use as a support for a tomb of later date.<sup>16</sup> Below is the text of *I.Rhamnous* 402 with a few minor amendments:<sup>17</sup>

θ	ε	ο	ί·	
				non-stoich.
			Κηφισοκλῆς Κηφισοκλείδου Προβαλίσιο-	
			ος εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι Τετραπολεῦσιν, ἐπει-	
			δὴ Χαρίδημος Προβαλίσιος ἤρξεν καλῶ-	
5			ς καὶ δικαίως τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἔθν-	
			σε ἅπαντα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι ἐν	
			ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς ῥηταῖς καὶ τοῖς χρό-	
			νοις τοῖς προσήκονσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τ-	
			ῶν κοινῶν ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς καὶ δικαίω-	

15. Petrakos (2020) VI.16–18. Preliminary reports: Petrakos (1998) [1999] 14–15; Petrakos (1998) [2000] 25–26 (*SEG* XLVIII 129).

16. Petrakos (2020) III.78 (on Room 58): “Ἐμπρὸς στὸ πόδι ἦταν πεσμένη ἡ ἀκέραια στήλη 402 μὲ ψήφισμα τῶν Τετραπολεῶν. Ὁ βατήρας τῆς στήλης (2119) βρέθηκε σὲ ἀπόσταση 20 μ. πρὸς τὰ ΝΔ, ὡς ἐπίχωση μεταγενεστέρου τάφου.”

17. See Takeuchi (2021) for discussion of the divergences from the text of Petrakos.

- 10     ς, ἐψηφίσθαι Τετραπολεῦσιν, ἐπαινέσαι  
 Χαριδήμον Χαριδήμου Προβαλίσιον καὶ  
 στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ  
 Χ δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύ-  
 ης τῆς εἰς Τετραπολέας, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν αὐ-  
 15     τὸν τὸν κήρυκα Διονυσίων τοῖς τραγωι-  
 δοῖς ὅτι «στεφανοῦσιν Τετραπολῆς Χαρί-  
 δημον Χαριδήμου Προβαλίσιον ἀρετῆς  
 ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς Τετραπο-  
 20     λέας». εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν· ἀνα-  
 γράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λι-  
 θίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι Διονυσίωι.

8–9 Takeuchi, τῶν ἄλλων | ὄν κοινὸν Petrakos 14 Takeuchi, τῆς εἰς τοὺς Τετραπο-  
 λέας Petrakos.

Gods. Kephisokles son of Kephisokleides of Probalinthos made the proposal: the Tetrapolitans should resolve that, since Charidemos of Probalinthos exercised his office as Archon in a fine <sup>5</sup> and just manner, and made all the sacrifices to the gods and the heroes on the stated days and at the appropriate times, and took care in a fine and just manner of the other common concerns, <sup>10</sup> the Tetrapolitans shall pass a motion to praise Charidemos son of Charidemos of Probalinthos and crown him with a gold crown worth 1,000 drachmas for his virtue and justice towards the Tetrapolitans; and <sup>15</sup> for the herald to proclaim it during the Dionysia, at the tragedies, (stating) that “The Tetrapolitans crown Charidemos son of Charidemos of Probalinthos for his virtue and justice towards the Tetrapolitans”. (It is resolved) that he is also to have a seat of honour (*prohedria*); and <sup>20</sup> to inscribe this decree on a stone *stele* and erect it in the Dionysion.

This decree raises by more than a century and a half our knowledge of the political activity of the Tetrapolis as a corporate entity with an Assembly that passed its own decrees.<sup>18</sup> The new document is an honorific decree, the first of its kind known from the Tetrapolis. As we shall see, it shares many features of contemporary honorific decrees, in particular those awarded by demes. An especially close parallel, in that it was issued by a body made up of more than one deme, is the joint decree of Kydantidai and Ionidai,

18. On IG II<sup>2</sup> 1243, a decree of ca. 190, see below.

dated to 331/0.<sup>19</sup> These two demes together formed a regional association centered upon the cult of Herakles and their connection was thus, like the demes of the Tetrapolis, fundamentally based on shared cultic practices.<sup>20</sup> One of the most striking aspects of the new decree is the way it reveals the Tetrapolis engaged in an economy of specifically ‘theatral’ honours that we find being energetically pursued by individual demes in the fourth century (as well as, to a lesser extent, by the Kleisthenic tribes), in practices modeled on a considerably older tradition in the City.<sup>21</sup>

### 1. *Invocation and Prescript (lines 1–3)*

The proposer of the new decree, Kephisokles (*PAA* 568952) son of Kephisokleides (*PAA* 568832) of the deme Probalinthos, is otherwise unknown. It is possible that he is to be identified with the holder of a mining lease whose name is partially preserved on a record that dates to the middle of the fourth century, which might be restored as [... *Κηφισοκλ*]ῆς *Κηφισοκ*[*λείδου* ...] “[Kephisokl]es son of Kephisok[leides]”.<sup>22</sup> If so, Kephisokles would (unsurprisingly) be found in a similar social and economic milieu to the honorand Charidemos himself (*PAA* 982565), son of Charidemos (*PAA* 982564). For, in addition to the fact that those chosen to hold the office of Archon in an organisation of such size and significance as the Tetrapolis are likely to have been prominent men of means, it is possible that Charidemos is the father of both the guarantor and of the lease-holder in a document dated to around 338–326.<sup>23</sup> In the new decree, both proposer

19. *SEG* XXXIX 148.

20. Matthaïou (1989); Parker (1996) 332; Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 136 no. D13; Ismard (2010) 218; Humphreys (2018) 875–878.

21. The tribes mirror the demes in aspects of the theatrical economy of honour discussed here. Although many fewer are preserved, honorific decrees awarded by the tribes offer relevant parallels, both in terms of their contents and insofar as they are issued by entities larger than demes, and formally consisting of multiple demes, like the Tetrapolis. It is clear from these that tribes awarded crowns (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1138; 1139; 1141; 1144; 1145; 1147; 1148; 1149) and had honours announced by heralds (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1145; 1149). There is some evidence that this could take place at a Dionysia: see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1161.3–5 (ca. 325–300) with Takeuchi (2019) 55, 302–303; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 189–191 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1145.7–8 (353/2<sup>9</sup>) with Takeuchi (2019) 362–363; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 190. See also Jones (1999) 156–161; Russo (2022) 61–78, 202–227.

22. *Agora* XIX P20.53. The record of the lease is dated between 350/49–345/44 and so the identification is possible in chronological terms.

23. As suggested by Takeuchi (2021) 95. *Agora* XIX L9.30–31, 35–36.



and honorand belong to the same deme, the relatively small community of Probalinthos, with a bouletic quota of 5, half that of Marathon.

## 2. *Motivation Clause (lines 3–10)*

An unusual aspect of this decree is that the long motivation clause, which outlines the reasons for honouring Charidemos (ll. 3–10), is not only, as is the norm, preceded by a motion formula —*δεδοχθαι Τετραπολεῦσιν* (l. 3) “the Tetrapolitans should resolve that...” — but another such formula also follows — *ἐψηφίσθαι Τετραπολεῦσιν* (l. 10) “the Tetrapolitans shall pass a motion”. Rather than attempting to identify a distinction between the two verbs and the actions they envisage —for instance, a ‘resolution’ and the ‘putting of the resolution to a vote’— this appears to be little more than a redundant repetition (with variation). It is probably designed to pick up the flow of the overall sentence after the long subordinate clause.<sup>24</sup>

Three reasons are given for honouring Charidemos. The first is comprehensive, referring to his overall service as Archon of the Tetrapolis (“since Charidemos of Probalinthos exercised his office as Archon in a fine and just manner”); while the second and third highlight two realms of action within that overall competence — conduct of sacrifices (“...and made all the sacrifices to the gods and the heroes on the stated days and at the appropriate times...”); and “the other common concerns” (“...and took care in a fine and just manner of the other common concerns...”). Or rather, the second and third are probably exhaustive explications of the first, covering the totality of his service as Archon. Given that the third item —“the other common concerns”— is itself something of a catch-all, the principal orientation of the honours as a whole is towards Charidemos’ service as officiant over the Tetrapolitans’ extensive programme of sacrifices. This comes as little surprise, given what we know of the scale and complexity of the sacrifices conducted across the association from the important surviving inscribed Calendar (*SEG* L 168).

Charidemos performed his duties as Tetrapolis Archon *καλῶ|ς καὶ δικαίως* “in a fine and just manner” (ll. 4-5, used also at ll. 9-10). This qualifying phrase is used frequently in inscriptions to praise those who performed

24. As Rhodes – Lewis (1997: 20 n. 51) note, *δεδοχθαι* and *ἐψηφίσθαι* are interchangeable in the language of decrees, but there seems to be no clear parallel for their simultaneous use in an Attic decree. Cf. *SEG* XXXVI 187.9 with Takeuchi and Wilson (2014) [2015] 19.

magistracies at the deme level.<sup>25</sup> Thus, a Demarch from Eleusis is said to “have served as Demarch in a fine and just manner after securing the office by lot”,<sup>26</sup> while, in the tiny deme of Epikēphisia, a group of public prosecutors appointed are praised for having overseen a trial “in a fine and just manner...”.<sup>27</sup> The personal attributes reflected by this phrase are made explicit later in the decree, in the language justifying the praise and the honours, which is in turn to be used by the herald in the theatre: he is to be honoured and awarded for the “virtue and justice” (*ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης* ll. 13–14, 17–18) he has shown towards the Tetrapolitans. This language is often used to praise office-holders or those who had made financial contributions to the deme.<sup>28</sup> The demonstration of virtue (*arete*), and especially of justice (*dikaïosyne*), is suggestive of some sort of official duty discharged with probity, particularly one involving financial responsibilities.<sup>29</sup>

Charidemos “conducted all the sacrifices for the gods and the heroes on the specified days and the appropriate times” (ll. 5–8). The graphic language —*τὰ ἱερὰ ἔθυσεν ἅπαντα*— might suggest that Charidemos himself conducted the actual rituals. In reality, it is virtually certain that the expression refers only to the Archon’s formal responsibilities in ensuring their proper conduct, and that Charidemos himself did not wield the knife. We know from the sacrificial Calendar of the Tetrapolis that the Demarch of Marathon was responsible for numerous sacrifices in that deme which also fell under the broader rubric of the association, and the priests of specific deities, heroes and heroines appear likewise to have had the practical charge of making the offerings in their cult.<sup>30</sup> Even granted this evidence for the responsibility of Demarchs for sacrifices by their deme, evidently the Archon still had formal responsibility for all the sacrifices made by the Tetrapolis, both those that were conducted at the association level itself and those of the four demes. One reason for supposing that the Archon had oversight over the latter is the way in which the funding mechanism reconstructed by Stephen Lambert for the Calendar seems to make the association as a whole

25. Cf. Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 205–206, 288–289.

26. *I.Eleusis* 101.6–8, ca. 340–290.

27. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1205.3–8, fin. s. IV.

28. E.g. *SEG* II 7.13–18 (Halimous), ca. 330–325; *SEG* LXIII 105.6–7 (Ikarion), ca. 330; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1202.7 (Aixone), 313/12 or 340/39. Cf. Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 219–221, 296–298.

29. Whitehead (1993) 67–8; Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 296–8.

30. *SEG* L 168A.II, esp. 1–2, 23. That many sacrifices were the responsibility of individual priests is implied by the allocation to them of *hierosyna* or “priestly dues”: see Lambert *AIO*.

responsible for the costs of the entire suite of sacrifices it details, both those at association and at deme level.<sup>31</sup>

The reference to the good conduct by an official of the sacrifices for the gods *and the heroes* of a deme is not common, but has parallels.<sup>32</sup> However, the latter part of the statement —“on the specified days and the appropriate times”— is unique and remarkable for its detail. There is good reason for its inclusion, given what we know of the extensive and chronologically intricate suite of offerings for which a Tetrapolitan Archon was responsible. What is meant by ‘on the specified days’ is clear enough. There are several places in the surviving text of the Calendar where a particular day is specified for a sacrifice: thus, Zeus Horios is to receive a wether on the twelfth (or possibly the eleventh) of Skirophorion.<sup>33</sup> But the Calendar also makes it clear that “at the appropriate times” (*τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς προσήκουσιν*) is no empty tautology. This doubtless alludes to the various “cycles” (*δραμοσύναι*) of sacrifices outlined in the Calendar that are measured in different multiples of years, possibly representing an annual followed by a quadrennial sequence in the case of the Tetropolis offerings, and an annual followed by two different biennial sequences for Marathon.<sup>34</sup> Near the beginning of the sequence for Marathon, we also find a specific temporal designation —“within ten days” (*δέκα ἡμερῶν*)— that will set a fixed period within which a series of sacrifices is to be made within the annual sequence.<sup>35</sup> The new decree’s language of “the appropriate times” is very likely to refer to such complex and specific stipulations made in the Calendar.

As we have already noted, the final grounds for praise of Charidemos —“he took care in a fine and just manner of the other common concerns”— serves as a catch-all, gesturing to all the other areas of the Archon’s service in a summative manner. There are close Attic parallels, in honorific decrees of subgroups of the *polis*, for the use of the verb *ἐπιμελέομαι* ‘oversee’, ‘take care of’, with the noun *τὰ κοινά* ‘common concerns’ as an object,

31. Lambert (2018).

32. Notably in a decree from Acharnae dated to after the summer of 314: *SEG* XLIII 26A.3–5 (Csapo and Wilson III Bvii 1). It is also a plausible restoration in a decree from Ikarion, *SEG* LXIII 105.1–2 (Csapo and Wilson III Mx); cf. *SEG* LVII 125.2–5 (Euonymon, Csapo and Wilson III I).

33. *SEG* L 168A.I.11.

34. Ismard (2015) 84–87 with earlier bibliography, esp. Lambert (2000a) who at 51–52 notes a possible usage of *ἐνιαυτός* and *ἔτος* to distinguish ‘cycle’ from ‘year’; also Humphreys (2004) 165–169.

35. *SEG* L 168A.II.1–3.

in conjunction with the noun *θυσία*.<sup>36</sup> But the new decree is distinctive in devoting much more space and significant detail to the sacrifices conducted by Charidemos, doubtless a reflection of the much greater complexity facing someone in charge of the Tetrapolitan Calendar.<sup>37</sup>

The stated grounds for honouring Charidemos have no specific connection to Dionysos. While he was doubtless present among the gods (ll. 6-8) to whom the Archon “made all the sacrifices ... on the stated days and at the appropriate times”, this decree is very different from (for instance) one made by the Eleusinians that outlines a suite of explicitly Dionysian services as the grounds for honouring a Theban named Damasias. On top of a record of long-term generous support for the Eleusinians on the part of Damasias—and his ‘students’ in what appears to have been the sphere of musical training and performance—Damasias had, “during the Eleusinians’ celebration of the Dionysia, showed commitment and ambition towards the gods, [t]he People of Athens, and that of Eleusis, so that the Dionysia might be as fine as possible, and having prepared at his own expense two choruses—one of boys, the other of men—he donated them to Demeter [a]nd Kore and Dionysos, ...”<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, because the honours for Charidemos—a crown, public announcement at the Dionysia when tragedies are to be performed and *prohedria*—are firmly embedded in a theatrical setting at a Dionysia, and given that the *stele* itself is to be erected in a Dionysion, it is clear that, for the Tetrapolitans, the theatrical Dionysia served as the preferred symbolic and practical site for the public expression and conferral of honour. There is nothing unusual in deployment of theatrical honours

36. Takeuchi (2021) 94. See e.g. the six ‘*merarchai*’ of the deme Athmonon, praised and honoured in 325/4 because “they took care in a fine and ambitious manner of the sacrifices and the common concerns” *καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπεμελήθησαν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1203.4–6 [T.]); also the members of a *thiasos* of (?) Tynabos, praised in 301/0 because “they took care in a fine and am[bitious manne]r of the sac[rifices an]d all the other [common] concerns” [*ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐπιμελεῖται καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως*] *ἐπιμεμελήνται τῶν τε θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν κοινῶν* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1262.3–7).

37. Closer to the phraseology used by the Tetrapolis, but still much less elaborate, is found in a decree of Acharnae, which honours a Treasurer for having “performed all the sacrifices to the gods and heroes on behalf of the demesmen in the course of the year” *τάς τε θυσίας τέθεικεν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπάσας* [*ἐν τῶν ἐπι*] *αὐτῶν*. *SEG* XLIII 26A.3–5 (Csapo and Wilson III Bvii 1).

38. *I. Eleusis* 70.7–15, mid-4th century (Csapo and Wilson III Hii). Other examples of theatre-based honours given to those who have served a local theatre: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1178 (Ikarion, Csapo and Wilson III Mvi); *SEG* XLIII 26A–B (Acharnae, Csapo and Wilson III Bvii); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1198 (Aixone, Csapo and Wilson III Di), *SEG* XXXVI 186 (Aixone, Csapo and Wilson III Div); *SEG* XLVI 153 (Halai Araphenides, Csapo and Wilson III Ki).

in this way for those whose service had nothing particular to do with Dionysos. On the contrary, in this the Tetrapolitans behave like several other demes and tribes, and indeed like the City itself, all of which used a theatre and theatrical festival as instruments of honour, creating a suite of ‘theatral’ honours that they could award, largely it seems irrespective of the nature of the services being recognised.<sup>39</sup>

### 3. *The Honours (lines 10–19)*

*Lines 10–14: ἐπαινέσαι | Χαρίδημον Χαριδήμον Προβαλίσιον καὶ | στεφανῶσαι  
αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ | Χ δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς  
Τετραπολέας*

The honours fall into categories very familiar from the existing corpus of honorific decrees passed by demes and other corporate bodies. Indeed, the first three of them —praise; a (gold) crown; and the public announcement by a herald at a festival of the reasons for its award— had been awarded to significant public benefactors in the City since at least the last decade of the fifth century. In 409, Thrasyboulos of Kalydon, assassin of the oligarch Phrynichos, was praised and awarded a gold crown worth 1,000 drachmas.<sup>40</sup> It was to be announced at a major City festival contest, almost certainly the tragic contest of the Dionysia of that year.<sup>41</sup> This may have been the first case where a gold crown (or a crown of any sort) was awarded to a benefactor of Athens at a major public festival, and so to some extent set the model for all later practice. In the City, the practice continued into the fourth century, but it appears to have been a rare honour and extended only to non-Athenians. We can however be confident that the restriction to foreigners had ceased to apply by 340, the year in which Demosthenes received a crown in the City theatre.<sup>42</sup> Despite the legal challenges famously brought

39. Examples: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1214, ca. 335–315 (Piraeus, Csapo and Wilson III Vv); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1197 + Add. p. 672 = Ackermann (2018) 101–7 no. 1 (Aixone, Csapo and Wilson III Dv); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1210 (Anagyrous, Csapo and Wilson III Eiii); *I.Eleusis* 72 (Eleusis, Csapo and Wilson III Hv); *I.Rhamnous* 15 (Rhamnous, Csapo and Wilson III Wv).

40. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 102.10–11: “[...to crown him with a gold cr]own, [and t]o make [the crown worth a thousand dr]achmas” [... στεφανοσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοι στε]φάνωι, ποιησα[ι δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ χιλίων δρα]χμων.

41. See below p. 16.

42. Dem. 18.83.

by Aeschines, Demosthenes probably received at least one more crown, the one proposed by Ktesiphon, around a decade later.<sup>43</sup> Aeschines challenged (unsuccessfully) the legality of using the theatre for this purpose.<sup>44</sup> The arguments on both sides of the crown trial reveal incidentally that, by around 350, demesmen and tribesmen had been using the theatre during the City Dionysia to award crowns which they, and not the Athenian People as a whole, had authorised.<sup>45</sup> It is not easy to judge how long prior to 330 the law was passed that curtailed these practices, but we may guess that it was in place by around 340.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that the suppression of the use of the City theatre for this purpose by demesmen and tribesmen is one factor behind the considerable prominence it appears to have taken on in local contexts in the decades after the middle of the fourth century. The fact that the practice as it had developed in the City triggered such a strong judicial response also shows that the issue of authority to make proclamations in the theatre was a live and sensitive one at this time — a consideration relevant to the question of who had control over the theatre in which Charidemos was crowned.

The crown was the single most important item available for award in the deme honorific economy in this period. As in the City, the award of crowns in the demes was embedded in a theatrical context. As in the Tetrapolis decree, they were most commonly awarded during a Dionysia with dramatic performances. Decrees often specify that the crown, and the grounds upon which it was awarded, are to be announced at the Dionysia — sometimes, as in the Tetrapolis decree, at a particular agonistic event that, we may assume, was the most prestigious moment available at the festival. We have evidence from at least eight demes. In around half of all surviving cases, the award (and announcement) of a crown is combined, as here, with the further honour of honorific seating (*prohedria*). A final item in the suite of ‘theatral’ honours was the permanent placement of the inscribed *stele* in the theatre, or in a sanctuary of Dionysos.<sup>47</sup> On a couple of occasions, the intention

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43. Aeschin. 3.49.

44. Aeschin. 3.34–36, 41–48.

45. Aeschin. 3.41–45.

46. See Csapo and Wilson (*forthcoming*) I Av 4.

47. In the following list, **C** indicates the award of a crown; **D** that it was announced at a Dionysia. **P** indicates the award of *prohedria*. **T** indicates that the inscribed decree was to be erected in a theatre; **Δ**, that it was to be erected in a Dionysion; **tΔ**, that it was to go in a *temenos* of Dionysos; **hΔ**, that it is the *hieron* of Dionysos. A ‘?’ before any of the letters indicates a degree of uncertainty, generally due to uncertain restoration. The inscriptions

behind this form of publication is made explicit, indicating its standing as both an honour to the individual and an inducement to the further pursuit of honour in support of the deme by others: “In order that others might also strive for honour in the knowledge that they will receive favours from the demesmen, Philotheros the Demarch is to have this decree inscribed on a stone *stèle* and erected in the theatre.”<sup>48</sup>

The Tetrapolitans are at the very upper end in terms of the value of the crown. In awarding a gold crown worth one thousand drachmas —perhaps an echo of the ‘founding’ award for Thrasyboulos as much as a century and a half earlier?— they are matched only by Eleusis and Ikarion.<sup>49</sup> The sum is substantial. Whether it lands as a genuine, long-term cost on the association is an open question. Many honorific crowns awarded in the City made their way back into Athenian treasuries.<sup>50</sup>

*Lines 14–16: καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἀπὸ τὸν τὸν κήρυκα Διονυσίων τοῖς τραγωιδόσις*

The proclamation of the crown by a herald at a festival adds the considerable benefit of public visibility and amplification to the simple fact of the award and was by no means present in every case of the award of a crown. As much is clear from the heated debate in the crown trial. The separate significance

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affording this information are indicated in brackets by references to the items as in Csapo and Wilson (2020) or standard editions.

ACHARNAE: **CDP** (III Bvii 2), **C?D?P** (III Bi), **C** (III Bvii 1)

AIXONE: **C** (III Dii), **CT** (Di), **CDT** (III Diii, III Div), **PT** (III Dv)

ELEUSIS: **CDPA** (III Hii), **CP** (III Hx), **CPT** (III Hiii), **CD?P** (III Hv), **CP** (III Hvii), **CDP** (*I.Eleusis* 80, *I.Eleusis* 99), **CD** (*I.Eleusis* 84, *I.Eleusis* 201)

EUONYMON: **C?P?P** (III Iii)

HALAI ARAPHENIDES: **CPΔ** (III Ki), **CP**, announced at Tauropolia and erected in Sanctuary of Artemis (*SEG* XXXIV 103)

IKARION: **CD** (III Mvi), **CDΔ** (III Mx)

PIRAEUS: **CT** (III Viii), **CDP** (III Vv), **C** (III Vvi)

RHAMNOS: **C?P** (III Wi), **CDP** (III Wv), **CT** (III Wvi), **CPHΔ** (III Mvii), **CtΔ** (*I.Rhamnous* 17)

SPHETTOS: **P?P** (III X).

48. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1197 + Add. p. 672 = Ackermann (2018) 101–7 no. 1.15–21 (Aixone, Csapo and Wilson III Dv).
49. ELEUSIS: *I.Eleusis* 70.19 (Csapo and Wilson III Hii); IKARION: *SEG* LXIII 105.7 (Csapo and Wilson III Mix). Cf. *SEG* LVII 125.8 (Euonymon, Csapo and Wilson III I); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1173.6–7; (Acharnae, Csapo and Wilson III Bi).
50. The most important evidence is a series of fragmentary inscribed inventories which list crowns that had been awarded at Dionysia: *SEG* XXXVIII 136; Csapo and Wilson (*forthcoming*) I Av 4k.

of the proclamation is also clear from the first attested case, the honours awarded to Thrasyboulos of Kalydon. Although much restored, the decree clearly mandated the announcement at a major festival contest, almost certainly the tragic contest of the Dionysia of that year, directing the herald to proclaim “[the] reasons f[or] which [the People crown]ed [him]”.<sup>51</sup> In most later instances, the instruction is simply “to announce the crown”.

The action of proclaiming a crown had its own dynamism and para-dramatic quality, with the honorand summoned by name into the orchestra at the moment when the theatre was most likely to be at its fullest and anticipation at its highest.<sup>52</sup> Once stripped of its somewhat distorting polemic, we can infer something of the practice from Aeschines’ account of the proposed crowning of Demosthenes in the City theatre in the 330s: “You order us to crown the man who is forbidden by the laws to wear a crown, and by your own decree you invite this unfit person into the orchestra at the tragedies, you invite the man who has betrayed the sanctuaries through his cowardice into the Sanctuary of Dionysos” (3.176). The specification that the honorand was invited into the orchestra is striking. So too is the use of the dative *τοῖς τραγωδοῖς* ‘at the tragedies’, a usage directly paralleled in the Tetrapolis decree (ll. 15-16), as in many others (see below).

The plainer instruction “to announce the crown” is most common in the demes. Thus, in Ikarion in the second half of the fourth century, a decree rather loosely gives the order “to announce the crown at the tragedies of the Dionysia”.<sup>53</sup> While in Acharnae late in 315, the Demarch is instructed “to announce these crowns at the co[n]test] of the Dionysia at Acharnae”.<sup>54</sup>

51. The proclamation clause, as in *IG I<sup>3</sup>102*, is: “and [the herald is to announce at the] contest [of the Dionysia] the reasons for which [the People crown]ed [him]” *καὶ [ἀνειπ]ῆν τὸν κέρυκα Διονυσίων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἧν ἕν[εκα αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσε]* (ll. 12-14). For suggested alternative restorations that introduce a reference to the tragic contest, see Wilson and Hartwig (2009). Our preferred alternative is *καὶ [ἀνειπ]ῆν Διονυσίων τραγωιδῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἧν ἕν[εκα αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσε]*.

52. On the theatricality of the ceremonies that took place before the dramatic performances at the City Dionysia, see most recently Giannotti (2021).

53. *ἀνειπεῖν {ο}δὲ τὸν στέ|φανον Διονυσίων τοῖς τραγωιδοῖς*: *SEG LXIII 105.8-9* (Csapo and Wilson III Mx).

54. *ἀνειπεῖν τὸν δήμαρχον τούσδε | τοὺς στεφάνους Διονυσίων τῶν Ἀχαρνῆσιν τῷ ἀγῶνι*: *SEG XLIII 26B.11-13* (Csapo and Wilson III Bvii 2). An isolated variant from third-century Rhamnous directs the herald to announce the decree itself: *I.Rhamnous 15.6-7*: *ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν κήρυκα* <sup>ν</sup> | [*Διονυσ]ίων τῷ ἀγῶνι τὸ ψήφισμα*. This may indicate more generally that the herald was not at liberty to go beyond the text of the authorising decree itself.



In the new inscription, the phrasing used is somewhat awkward, notably in its inclusion of the direct object  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . The awkwardness remains, whether we take  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  to refer to the crown of the immediately preceding clause: "... crown him with a gold crown ... and for the herald to proclaim *it* ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ) during the Dionysia, ..." or to Charidemos himself: "... crown him with a gold crown ... and for the herald to proclaim *him* ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ) during the Dionysia, ..." That the inelegance did not much trouble contemporaries is suggested by the fact that we find an exact parallel from Eleusis: "... and to crown him with a gold crown worth 1,000 drachmas. And let the Demarch after Gnathis announce  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  ('him', 'it') at the tragedies during the Dionysia at Eleusis, ..."55

As the Eleusinian decree just cited shows, a Demarch can sometimes be tasked with the proclamation of the crown rather than a herald.<sup>56</sup> That the community's highest officer undertook this role, rather than a relatively lowly functionary, doubtless lent some added dignity and weight to it. The Archon of the Tetrapolis was himself the analogous officer to the Demarch in the association, and so unavailable in this case.<sup>57</sup>

The proclamation of Charidemos' crown is given a precise time-tabling. It is to take place "during the Dionysia" (this is probably the best way to construe the use of the genitive of the festival name,  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ), "at the tragedies"  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\iota\delta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . Such precision as to the performance event at which an honorific announcement is to be made does not always appear in deme decrees, but it draws on a significant tradition in the City that finds interesting parallels in the demes. The practice of announcing the award of crowns to benefactors prior to the performance of tragedy at the City Dionysia is best known from its prominence in the *cause célèbre* between Aeschines and Demosthenes in the 330s. By that date, announcement at the time of the tragic contest had long been the norm.<sup>58</sup> Precisely when this became so is

55. *I.Eleusis* 70.18–22 (Csapo and Wilson III Hii).

56. That the practice was common in Eleusis is suggested by another decree, of the later fourth century: *I.Eleusis* 101.18–19 (Csapo and Wilson III Hvii). Acharnae offers another instance: *SEG* XLIII 26B.12–14 [T.], late December of 315 (Csapo and Wilson III Bvii 2).

57. If the Dionysia in question in the new decree were that of the deme of Marathon alone, rather than that of the Tetrapolis, we might suppose that the Demarch of Marathon could have made the announcement. This hardly constitutes an argument against the Dionysia's being that of the deme Marathon, but the absence of a reference to any agent associated specifically with the deme is suggestive.

58. Aeschin. 3.34, 36, 41, 176, 230–231.

unclear, since the expression used for it in the earliest (fragmentary) instances exhibits none of the regularity generally found in the highly formulaic language of honorific decrees.<sup>59</sup> The choice of the tragic contest for the ceremony was doubtless dictated by a number of symbolic and practical considerations, tragedy being the most prestigious and popular of the events at the City Dionysia and in some sense the climax of its programme.

The evidence from the demes is somewhat heterogeneous, but clearly tends towards an acknowledgement, as in the City, of the primacy of the moment prior to the performance of tragedy for announcements. In Rhamnous and Acharnae, we find the simple phrase “at the contest of the Dionysia”.<sup>60</sup> The lack of any further specification may be no cause for surprise, for the ‘agonistic element’ of such smaller-scale festivals was much less differentiated than that of the great urban event. It is possible, too, that a fundamentally pragmatic consideration underlies this unspecific phrasing, and that, at the time of making the award, just which performances were to be held at next year’s festival was, as yet, unknown. We should also allow for some imprecision and variability in the way deme authorities drafted and published their decrees. Nonetheless, from time-to-time demes did take care to provide greater precision. The Eleusinians, for instance, show a strong tendency to schedule proclamations at the performance of tragedies. Around the middle of the fourth century, they honour a Hierophant “[at t]he Dion[ysia, at the tra]ge[d]ies”.<sup>61</sup> Soon after, they honour Smikythion of Kephale, peripolarch, whose gold crown is to be announced by the next year’s Demarch “at the Dionysia, during the tragedies”.<sup>62</sup> While, in a decree dated very probably to 319/318, they honour the general Derkylos with a gold crown “at Eleusis, in the theatre, at the contest of tragedies”.<sup>63</sup> Variability of formula here sits alongside continuity of content.<sup>64</sup> Piraeus and (probably) Anagyrous also show examples of “at the tragic contest”.<sup>65</sup> Aixone is remarkable for a

59. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 102, Dionysia 409, quoted above; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 125, of 404; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2 + Add. et Corr. p. 655, of 403/2 with Matthaïou (2019), Giannotti (2021); *SEG XXIX* 86 of 393/2. See Wilson (2009) 20–21; Wilson and Hartwig (2009); Shear (2011) 141, 143–4.

60. Rhamnous: *I.Rhamnous* 15.6–7, third century (Csapo and Wilson III Wv); Acharnae: *SEG XLIII* 26B.13–14, of 315 (Csapo and Wilson III Bvii 2).

61. *I.Eleusis* 72.23–24 (Csapo and Wilson III Hv).

62. *I.Eleusis* 80.15–16, of 340–335?: *Διονυσίοις ἐν τοῖς τραγωιδόσις*.

63. *I.Eleusis* 99.11–12: *ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τραγωιδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι*.

64. Tragedy is also restored with some likelihood in a fragmentary fourth Eleusinian decree: *I.Eleusis* 84.10–11, of 334/3.

65. Piraeus: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1214.29: *τραγωιδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι*, ca. 335–315 (Csapo and Wilson III Vv); Anagyrous: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1210.4–5: *[τραγωιδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι]*, ca. 325–300 (Csapo and Wilson III

contrasting generic preference. In this deme, uniquely, we find directives that honours are to be announced “at the comedies” (τοῖς κωμωιδοῖς)<sup>66</sup> or “during the Dionysia at the comedies”.<sup>67</sup> The specification evidently reflects the primacy of comedy at the Aixone Dionysia and suggests that the deme chose to distinguish itself by establishing a reputation for showcasing the genre. It is important to note that, when demes do specify a particular performance-event in this way, it is not always the case that that is the only event known to have been held at the festival. We have good evidence, for instance, that the Eleusinians saw comedy, tragedy and choruses of men and boys, perform at their Dionysia.<sup>68</sup> In other words, it was not for lack of choice that (at least some) demes made this further specification.

So far as a rule, or at least a marked tendency, can be deduced from this evidence, it is that, when the programme of a Dionysia is known to have included tragedy, this was the event at which honours were announced, as in the city. The Tetrapolitan decree conforms with this tendency.

*Line 19: εἶναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ προεδρίαν*

Like the other ‘theatral’ honours, the award of *prohedria* in demes was modeled on long-standing practice in the city. *Prohedria* had been an available award in the city theatre since at least 425, and probably long before.<sup>69</sup> As was the case in the city, in the demes its award implied a permanent (life-long) right to a front row seat in the theatre, and was thus to be distinguished from the award of a seat in the theatre for a single occasion — the latter referred to simply as a “seat” (*thea*).<sup>70</sup> We have evidence from two demes of the award of *prohedria* being inheritable.<sup>71</sup>

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Eiii). Note also the later example from Salamis: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1227.31–32*, of 131/30: *Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τραγωδοῖς*.

66. *SEG XXXVI 186.6–7*, probably of 313/12 (Csapo and Wilson III Div).

67. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1202.14–16*: *Διονυσίων τοῖς κωμωιδοῖς*, probably of 313/12 (Csapo and Wilson III Diii).

68. Csapo and Wilson III H. Comedy and tragedy are both attested for the Piraeus Dionysia from at least the middle of the fourth century by the Law of Euegoros (Dem. 21.10); Csapo and Wilson III V.

69. Ar. *Eq.* 575, 702 (of 424). It was commonly accompanied by *sitesis* in the Prytaneion, a permanent right to free meals at public expense either for life or limited, in the case of officials, to a term in office.

70. Henry (1983) 291–294.

71. Acharnae: *SEG XLIII 26B.20–22* (Csapo and Wilson III Bvii 2); Eleusis: *I.Eleusis 70.25–27* (Csapo and Wilson III Hii).

The award to Charidemos indicates that the theatre in question was of sufficient substance as to include prohedric seating. This might have consisted of separate stone seats (sometimes made as joined pairs), like those archaeologically attested in the demes of Euonymon,<sup>72</sup> Halimous,<sup>73</sup> Ikarion<sup>74</sup> and Rhamnous.<sup>75</sup> But from inscriptions it is clear that the practice of maintaining reserved prohedric seating in deme theatres was much more widespread than the archaeological record reveals. So, for instance, we know that it was awarded in the theatres of Aixone,<sup>76</sup> Anagyrous,<sup>77</sup> Eleusis,<sup>78</sup> Sphettos<sup>79</sup> and the Piraeus,<sup>80</sup> no physical trace of which survives. There are also grounds for postulating the use as *prohedria* of wooden chairs placed on stone foundation blocks at the front of the orchestra.<sup>81</sup>

There can be no doubt that the *prohedria* awarded in the new decree is envisaged as being enjoyed at the same festival at which the herald is to proclaim the honours, the relevant Dionysia. In all but a very small number of cases, the festival at which Attic demes chose to award *prohedria* and proclaim their honours for benefactors was a Dionysia with theatrical performances. The few exceptions are cases where a deme hosted a non-Dionysian festival of more than local significance and fame: the Amarysia for Artemis in Athmonon, for instance;<sup>82</sup> or the Tauropolia for Artemis at Halai Araphenides.<sup>83</sup>

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72. Csapo and Wilson III I Introduction.

73. Csapo and Wilson III L.

74. Csapo and Wilson III M Introduction.

75. Csapo and Wilson III W.

76. Csapo and Wilson III Dv.

77. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1210 (Csapo and Wilson III Eiii).

78. *I.Eleusis* 80.21–24, ca. 340–335.

79. *SEG* XXXVI 187 (Csapo and Wilson III X) with Takeuchi and Wilson (2014) [2015] 58–62.

80. E.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1214.19–20 (Csapo and Wilson III Vv).

81. The evidence from the Acharnae theatre tends in this direction: Csapo and Wilson (2020) 53–54 and 58 on *SEG* XLIII 26B (III Bvii 2). The older of the two prohedric arrangements of the Euonymon theatre is another possible case: Csapo and Wilson (2020) 114.

82. Csapo and Wilson III F.

83. *SEG* XXXIV 103.14–16; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 127–9 (III K): *prohedria* ‘at the contests’. Other inscriptions likewise refer to multiple contests at which *prohedria* is to be granted. The fact that the *stèle* with *SEG* XXXIV 103 is to be set up in the Dionysion suggests that the choregoi honoured in it had served at a Dionysia, and combines with other evidence to suggest that, at Halai, the same performance space served for the Tauropolia and Dionysia.

#### 4. *Publication Clause (lines 19–21)*

*Lines 19–21: ἀνα|γράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λι|θίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ*

We noted that the placement of a *stèle* on which an honorific decree was inscribed in the physical space of the theatre itself, or an adjacent sanctuary of Dionysos, was a final element in the suite of ‘theatral’ honours developed by demes. This turned the permanent ‘publication’ of the honours into another honour. We have firm evidence for this practice from Aixone, Eleusis, Halai Araphenides, Ikarion and Rhamnous. Plausible restoration to two fragmentary decrees would add Euonymon and Sphettos to the list.<sup>84</sup> The practice is also known, and doubtless derives from, the urban context.<sup>85</sup>

What significance might the choice of the Dionysion, rather than the theatre, as the place to erect the *stèle* have in the case of the Tetrapolis decree? That it was a choice is clear: the Dionysia at which Charidemos was to be honoured was evidently held in a theatre, and the *prohedria* he was granted likewise must have been in a theatre. The decision to set the decree up in the Dionysion cannot have been the consequence of a lack of power on the part of the Tetrapolitans to make decisions concerning the theatre where their Dionysia was held.<sup>86</sup>

The evidence from other demes is suggestive, if inconclusive. It implies that ‘Dionysion’ (or *temenos* / *hieron* of Dionysos) could be used interchangeably for ‘theatre’: in Eleusis, the *stèle* could go in the Dionysion (III Hii) or the theatre (III Hiii, III Hv), apparently without particular distinction. Similarly at Rhamnous, where such *stelai* can be set in the theatre

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84. See n. 47 above.

85. The earliest possible case is the famous decree of 394/3 that gave honours to the tyrant Dionysios I of Syracuse and members of his family: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 18. See Tozzi (2021) 42–46 for full discussion.

86. The decision to erect decrees in a Dionysion offers a feeble basis for an argument that a deme did not possess a theatre. A copy of a decree of Halimous discovered early in the last century was to be set up ‘in the Dionysion’ (*SEG II* 7.22–23, of 330–325). The notion that the Dionysion was preferred because Halimous lacked a theatre can be dismissed since, some eighty years later, one was discovered on the southern foothills of Ag. Anna hill. Cf. Kaza-Papageorgiou (2006) 84–86; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 133. The case of Halai Araphenides is similar: a decree is to be erected ‘in the Dionysion’ (*SEG XLVI* 153.15–18, of 341/0). No theatre has been securely identified in this deme, but it is certain that there was one, shared for performances at the festival of Artemis Tauropos (see n. 83 above).

(III Wvi), the *hieron* of Dionysos (III Mvii) or the *temenos* of Dionysos (*I.Rhamnous* 17) — and in the latter two cases, a second copy is to go in the main sanctuary of the deme, that of Nemesis. Though our knowledge of the cult topography of both these sites is limited, it is highly likely that in these demes the Dionysion was contiguous with the theatre, or that theatre and Dionysion in some way overlapped, so as to be virtually indistinguishable for practical purposes. In Rhamnous, the space of the theatre appears to have been shared with a number of shrines, including for Dionysos. A statue of Dionysos dedicated by a priest stood directly to the east and on the same plinth as the row of *prohedric* seats in the Rhamnous theatre, while to the west of and in line with the *prohedria* stood a number of *stelai*. At least some of these no doubt housed honorific decrees of the deme that included as part of their awards the placement of the *stèle* in the theatre.<sup>87</sup>

In Ikarion, a site where we do have some sense of the respective layout of theatre and sanctuary of Dionysos, the situation is interestingly different. We have only one directly relevant inscription from the deme.<sup>88</sup> This mandates that the *stèle* be set up “in the Dionysion”.<sup>89</sup> But while the Dionysion of Ikarion is mentioned explicitly only in this inscription, numerous monuments that were found in the immediate vicinity of it had without doubt also originally stood in the Dionysion. The Dionysion of Ikarion included not just the immediate footprint of the god’s temple but a larger zone adjacent to the north and west, where many choregic and other dedicatory monuments to Dionysos were erected, probably also incorporating an open-sided stoa that gave onto this field of dedications.<sup>90</sup> The theatre itself lies a little further to the south, and the Pythion is situated between Dionysion and theatre. There thus appears to have been a physical distinction between Dionysion and theatre in Ikarion that is reflected in the practices of dedication.

In the case of the new Tetrapolis decree, the find-spot of the *stèle* outside the territory of the Tetrapolis and the fact that it is an association and not a deme that is the authorising entity means that the identification of the relevant theatre, Dionysia and Dionysion is that much more difficult.

87. Csapo and Wilson (2020) 235–237.

88. But note the suggestion that the *stèle* (Athens NM 4833) on which were inscribed an important fifth-century deme decree and accounts may have been set up in the Dionysion. This on the basis of a proposed restoration of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 254.48–49* (Csapo and Wilson III Miii) as [... και αναγράφ]σαι ἐσ[τέλει λιθίνει τόδ]ε τὸ φρέφισμα και ἀναθῆναι[ ἐν τ[ῷ Διονυσίῳ]; Wilson (2015) 110.

89. *SEG LXIII 105.8*, second half fourth century (Csapo and Wilson III Mx).

90. Csapo and Wilson III M Introduction, esp. 137–138 with site plan.

Should we assume that the situation was like that in Eleusis and Rhamnous, where the lack of a strong terminological distinction seems to follow from the absence of a strong topographical distinction — sanctuary and theatre being, as in Athens, close to the point of sometimes being conceived of as equivalent or interchangeable, at least for certain practical purposes?<sup>91</sup> Or might Dionysion be used in this case to mark a distinction from the place where the theatre festival at which Charidemos is to be crowned was held? In the latter scenario, it should be noted that the analogy from Ikarion envisages a situation where, while the theatre and sanctuary are distinct and apparently treated as such, they are in fact still in very close proximity. The decision on the part of the Tetrapolitans to erect the *stèle* in the Dionysion, rather than the theatre, offers no sound support for an argument that the theatre and sanctuary of Dionysos in question were in significantly different locales. It is highly likely that in this case they were adjacent to one-another.

## II. A DIONYSIA OF THE TETRAPOLIS

There are two candidates for the site of the theatre and Dionysion in the new decree: Rhamnous, where the *stèle* was found; or Marathon, by far the largest deme on the Tetrapolis,<sup>92</sup> and known to have possessed an important sanctuary of Dionysos. The question as to who ran the Dionysia admits of a third possibility, in addition to the demes of Rhamnous and Marathon, and it is the one we support: the Tetrapolis itself. This decree is the very first good evidence for a Dionysia that was run at a corporate level other than that of a deme.

Rhamnous was not part of the Tetrapolis, though the territory of its constituent demes lay to the south, with Trikorynthos immediately to the south of Rhamnous, at the northern end of the bay of Marathon. Marathon itself was some 15 km to the south of the fortress of Rhamnous. As we have noted, it was inside the fortress that the *stèle* was excavated. The separate docking base in which it was designed to stand, made of the same local marble, was

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91. Note the passage of Aeschines (3.176), quoted above, in which the theatre (specifically the orchestra) and the sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens are equated. Aeschines is motivated to push this equation by a wish to characterise Demosthenes as sacrilegious in his 'betrayal' of sanctuaries, but that rhetorical inflection does not affect the plausibility to his hearers of the equation itself.

92. With a bouletic quota of 10, twice the size of Probalinthos (5), while Trikorynthos and Oinoe are some of the smallest demes, with quotas of 3 and 2 respectively.

also discovered, intact, approximately 20 m. to the southwest of the *stèle*, in secondary use as a support for a tomb of later date. This site inside the fortress is not itself a candidate for a sanctuary of Dionysos of the deme, though the Dionysion of Rhamnous in the area of the theatre was very nearby.<sup>93</sup>

There are fundamentally two approaches to explaining this unusual find-spot. The first maintains that Rhamnous was in fact the proper final destination of the decree. The second argues that the decree found itself somehow out of place in Rhamnous, either by removal from the Tetrapolis or because it was quarried and inscribed in Rhamnous and never made it to the Tetrapolis.

Those scholars who maintain that the decree was properly at home in Rhamnous assume that it had been set up in the local Dionysion, in keeping with the intention of the Tetrapolitans; and that the theatre in question is that of Rhamnous, which —so the argument goes— the Tetrapolitans used for their Dionysia. Hans Goette has been the most powerful advocate of this position, writing that “[s]ince the stone, made of local Rhamnusian marble, was found in Rhamnus, where the Dionysion is situated next to the theatre, most scholars argue —in my view convincingly— that it was to be set up in the Dionysion of Rhamnus, not of Marathon”. For Goette, the decree serves as important support for his larger hypothesis that there was a wider practice whereby groups of demes in the same region shared the theatrical facilities of a single deme.<sup>94</sup>

While it has its attractions, this hypothesis creates more problems than it solves. There is, first, the over-arching doubt as to whether demes, that most topographically specific of all Attic corporate entities —so rooted in their particular physical and religious terrains— would have countenanced the prospect of celebrating one of their most important local festivals outside their own territory. More specifically, this position raises significant issues of authority and ongoing theatre management that are not always clearly addressed by its proponents. On the assumption that the Dionysia in question is a festival of the Tetrapolis (or of the deme of Marathon), celebrated extra-territorially in the Rhamnous theatre, one would have to suppose that the

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93. The fact that our two relevant inscriptions use the expressions “*hieron* of Dionysos” (*I.Rhamnous* 8) and “*temenos* of Dionysos” (*I.Rhamnous* 17) rather than “Dionysion” would not preclude the “Dionysion” of the new decree from referring to them; Takeuchi (2019) 68–69.

94. Quotation from Goette (2014) 98; earlier suggestions along the same lines by Jones (2004) 140–142; cf. also Wilson (2010) 68–71. For a discussion and detailed response, see Wilson (2018).



Tetrapolitans had been granted the right not only to hold their festival in the neighbouring deme (perhaps by a rental agreement) and to award *prohedria* at it, but that they had also secured permission to set up a decree in the Dionysion of the deme that lay outside their territory and jurisdiction. This seems highly unlikely, even granted the noted willingness of Rhamnous to permit non-members to make dedications at their local shrines.<sup>95</sup> If, on the other hand, we assume that the Dionysia and the theatre in question were those of Rhamnous itself, the difficulties multiply even further.<sup>96</sup> Above all, it is extremely unlikely that the Marathonian Tetrapolis would have had the authority to award honours and grant *prohedria* at the Dionysia of Rhamnous to one of their members, in this case to a demesman of Probalinthos.<sup>97</sup>

The most recent contribution to this discussion has been made by Denis Knoepfler, who has advanced an hypothesis that provides an authentic rationale for the presence of the decree in Rhamnous. Knoepfler's suggestion is that this was a second copy, with another having been placed somewhere on Tetrapolitan territory. Knoepfler compares a later, second-century decree of the Tetrapolis (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1243*) for the idea that the association did at least on occasion place a copy of their decrees outside their own territory. In the case of the new inscription, however, this is highly unlikely. The publication clause of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1243* explicitly expresses the intention to inscribe and display two copies of the decree (below pp. 28-31): one was to go in the Dionysion at Marathon, while the second was to go on the Akropolis, both evidently places of signal importance in and beyond the Tetrapolis.<sup>98</sup> Given that they apparently had the capacity to erect copies of their decrees on the Athenian Akropolis, one wonders why the Tetrapolitans would choose instead to put a second copy in a relatively obscure sanctuary of a neighbour. Knoepfler suggests that the publicity afforded by the site would justify such an action, since Rhamnous was much frequented by citizens from all over Attica.<sup>99</sup> While the theory has the advantage of offering an explanation for

95. Including the placement of decrees made by non-demesmen, especially soldiers stationed in the garrison. See Oetjen (2014), 127–171.

96. On this line of thinking there are a number of different possible configurations for the involvement of the Tetrapolitans in the Rhamnousian Dionysia — from full co-hosts of the festival to participants simply as audience-members.

97. Petrakos (2020) VI.18; cf. Wilson (2018) 131; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 194.

98. The Akropolis of Athens (where the fragment of the decree was found) is almost certainly meant but if the reference were to an Akropolis of the Tetrapolis itself (cf. Parker 1996: 331; Ismard 2010: 240) that would only further reduce the likelihood that the Tetrapolitans would place a second copy of one of their decrees outside their territory.

99. Knoepfler (2022) 92.

the decree's presence in Rhamnous that does not depend on problematic assumptions about Tetrapolitan use of that deme's theatre and festival, the weakness of its logic is patent. However well-frequented the Rhamnousian Dionysion may have been, it was not the Athenian Akropolis.

The case against the involvement of Rhamnous' sanctuary, theatre and festival of Dionysos in the affairs of the Tetrapolitans seems to us overwhelming. We would therefore endorse the position of Vasilios Petrakos, who held, from his very first preliminary reports to the final publication of the inscription, that the *stèle* was found in Rhamnous because that was where it was made, but from where, for some reason, it never departed to its intended site. That site was the Dionysion of Marathon — the place where we know another Tetrapolitan decree to have been set and which evidently served the association as a crucial focal site. In favour of this interpretation is the fact that Rhamnous had a local quarry of high-quality stone (the Agia Marina quarry), and it was this stone from which the *stèle* was made. Rhamnous also clearly had an energetic local industry of stonemasons and letter-cutters, which reached its peak of activity in the fourth century, due above all to the high demand for their work from within the deme itself, for the fortification of the garrison, as well as for the numerous public documents, tombs and dedications produced there, many also commissioned by soldiers spending time in the garrison deme. It seems extremely likely that the *stèle* was made in Rhamnous but never delivered to the Tetrapolitans who had ordered it, the most plausible reason perhaps being the death of the honorand Charidemos himself.<sup>100</sup>

Once we dismiss any connection with the topography and cults of Rhamnous, the Dionysion and the Dionysia of the decree readily find a place within the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The question then turns to the attempt to locate the Dionysion of Marathon and its theatre.

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100. Petrakos (2020) VI.16–17. Another possible explanation of the presence of the Tetrapolitan decree in Rhamnous is that the *stèle* and its base are *pierres errantes*, discovered out of the location in which they were originally placed, having been subsequently brought to Rhamnous for some reason. Instances of traveling stones that were moved further than this can easily be found: for instance, on the basis of its content, the late-fifth century sacrificial calendar found at Chalkis in Euboia is now assumed to have originated in the area of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, despite its findspot about 70 km northwest from the region: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 255* with Lambert (2000b) 71–75; Lambert (2014) 1–2 no. 1. While such an explanation cannot be excluded, the fortress of Rhamnous seems a rather unlikely destination for a decree that had been erected in the Tetrapolis. The presence in Rhamnous of the separate base, in addition to the *stèle*, also tells somewhat against adventitious removal from the Tetrapolis.

## III. TRACING THE DIONYSION OF MARATHON

Over the last decades of the nineteenth century, thanks to a number of epigraphic discoveries, knowledge of the Dionysion of Marathon, and of its significance for the Tetrapolis, gradually increased. Prior to that, the sole item of evidence was an entry in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*. According to this, a Hero Physician (ἥρωος ἱατροός) named Aristomachos "was buried at Marathon, beside the Dionysion" (ἐν Μαραθῶνι παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον), where "he is honoured by the inhabitants".<sup>101</sup> A Hero Physician named Aristomachos is also attested by a number of inscribed dedications in fourth-century Rhamnous, where he was at some point apparently supplanted by Amphiaros.<sup>102</sup> Emily Kearns reckoned it "almost certain that we are dealing with a simple confusion between the two most famous demes of northern Attica".<sup>103</sup> If she is correct, our solitary literary attestation of the Dionysion in Marathon would disappear. However, the Hero Physician alongside whose shrine Demosthenes alleges that Aeschines' father ran a modest boys' school is also identified by a scholiast as Aristomachos, and the locale in this case is urban.<sup>104</sup> We are apparently dealing with a hero who had cults both in the city and wider Attica, and there seems little reason to exclude his appearance in more than one deme. The likelihood that there was a cult of Aristomachos in Marathon is moreover much strengthened by the highly probable restoration of his name in the fourth-century Calendar, in the schedule of entries to be conducted by the deme of Marathon. As Lambert writes: "The hero Aristomachos, who can now be read without hesitation here, is no surprise".<sup>105</sup> But as there is no topographical indication relating

101. *Anecd. Bekk.* I.262.16–18. Cf. Schol. Dem. 19.249: <ἥρωος> οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἥρωος ἱατροός τις παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἥρωος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος, τὸ δὲ κύριον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀριστόμαχος. See Solders (1931) 42 no. 28; Kearns (1989) 171–172; Petrakos (1999) I.312–313. Traill seems to accept Aristomachos as a mortal in *PAA* 172530, dating to 'ca. in. IV?'.  
 102. Cf. *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 920: ---ΕΛ--- | [Ἀπολ]λοδήμ[ο | ἥρω] ἱατροῦ<sup>v</sup> | [Ἀρισ]τομάχ[ω | [ἀνέ]θηκεν; 921: Ἀντίφιλο[ς] Θεοφίλο[υ] | τῶι ἥρωι ἀνέθηκεν | τῶι ἱατροῦ; 926: Ἐῦνομος [Ε] ἰθυ[δί]κον Τριχορύσιος | ἥρωι ἱατροῦ | Ἀμφιεράωι; 928: [Τ]εροκλῆς Ἰέρωνος | Ἀριστομάχωι Ἀμφιεράωι.

103. Kearns (1989) 18.  
 104. Rohde (1925) 151 n. 95.  
 105. Lambert (2000a) 61. *SEG* L 168A.II.19–20 [T.]: τετάρτης τριμήνο Μουνιχιῶνος Ἀρ[ιστομά]χου βῆς<sup>v</sup> ΠΔΔΔΔ<sup>v</sup> οἷς<sup>v</sup> ΔΤΤ; cf. Solders (1931) 57. Goette and Weber (2004) 39, 97 suggest that the marble statuette of a naked boy (figure 116 at page 95),

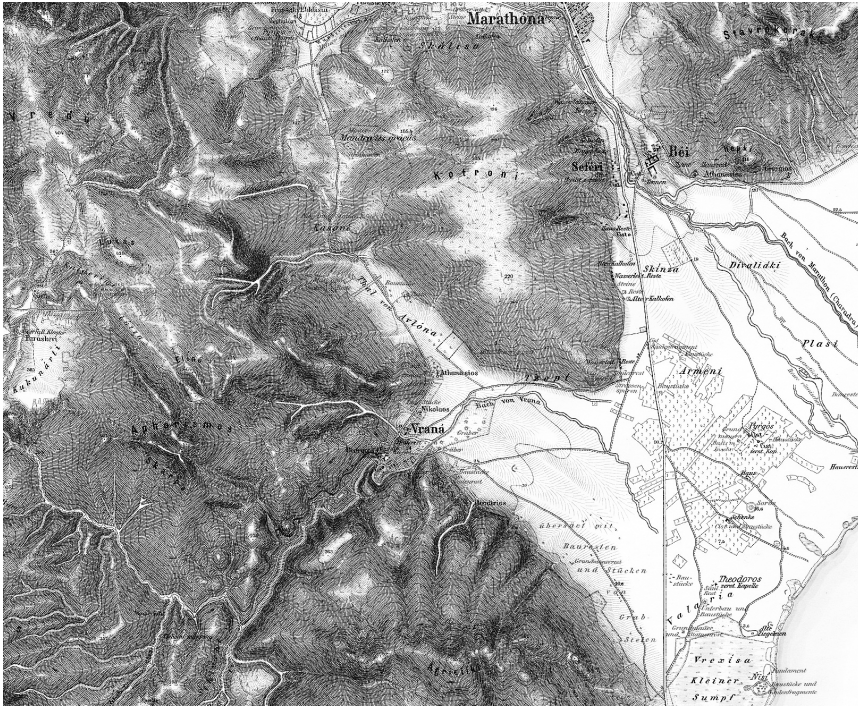


Figure 2. Detail from *Karten von Attika*, Blatt XIX (Marathon).

to this sacrifice, the entry throws no further light on the question of spatial or ritual connections between the local hero and Dionysos at Marathon.

From the 1870s through to the 1890s, knowledge of the Dionysion of Marathon was significantly enriched by the discovery of four inscriptions, each connected in some way with the site. They were found in central Athens and the Marathon area (Figure 2).<sup>106</sup> A number of them — as many as three — may originally have been erected in the sanctuary of Dionysos at Marathon. In what follows, these inscriptions are briefly considered in the order of the date of their publication.

We have already mentioned the first, a fragmentary decree of the Tetrapolis, most recently dated to ca. 190 (by letter forms and orthography). This was found on the Athenian Akropolis and first published by Köhler in 1877

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found at the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods and dating to the fourth century, might give evidence for the sanctuary of a healing deity.

106. Cf. Curtius and Kaupert (1889) 46–47; Foucart (1904) 36–39; Onassoglou (1991) 65; Goette and Weber (2004) 37–38; Ismard (2010) 239–240, 244.



Figure 3. EM 7752; Epigraphic Museum, Athens. Photo by K. Takeuchi. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture / Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D).

(Figure 3).<sup>107</sup> What remains of the main body of the decree shows that it regulated certain financial matters of the association — or rather, the text apparently describes controls over the use of funds to ensure that they are applied to a particular purpose, which was doubtless indicated in the lost earlier part of the decree. Whether this had anything to do with the cult of Dionysos is unknown. Lolling supposed that it related to the affairs of a temple, its property or priesthood.<sup>108</sup> Wilhelm thought of expenses for a sacrifice or festival.<sup>109</sup> We cannot get beyond such generic possibilities. The publication clause of this decree (ll. 20–22) has attracted attention more recently. Although the remaining letters are damaged at the bottom edge of the stone, there can be no doubt that the name of Dionysos is to be restored ([Διο]νύσου after Köhler), and that one of the two inscribed *stelai* was to be

107. Cf. *IG* II 601 (Köhler); Wilhelm (1905) 228–231 no. 7; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1243 (Kirchner); Solders (1931) 41 no. 26; Lambert (2014) 9–11 no. 5. For the date, we follow Tracy (1990) 71–79 (the cutter of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 913, 210/09–171/0) as against a usual ‘third century’ date.

108. Lolling (1878) 261.

109. Wilhelm (1905) 230.

ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΕΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΗΦΙΞ  
 ΙΕΝΜΙΑΝΣΤΗΖΑΙΕΜΜΑΡΑΘ  
 ΞΟΥΤΗΝ ΕΕΤΕΡΑΝ

Figure 4. Drawing of lines 20–22 of the Tetrapolis decree by K. Takeuchi.

set up in his sanctuary at Marathon (*ἐμ Μαραθ[ῶνι]* after Köhler), the other almost certainly on the Athenian Akropolis, where the stone was found. This second-century decree is thus very likely to be a congener of the newly published inscription and suggests a practice, of long duration, of publishing important decisions of the Tetrapolis in the Dionysion at Marathon. Our text of lines 20–22, based on autopsy of the stone and study of the Oxford squeeze, is as follows (Figure 4):

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα ἐν στήλαις δυοῖ καὶ τὴν]  
 μὲν μίαν στῆσαι ἐμ Μαραθ[ῶνι ἐν - - - - - τοῦ Διο]-  
 γύσου, τὴν [δ] ἐτέραν ἐν ἄ[στει ἐν ἀκροπόλει ?]

20–21 Koe., Lam., [*ἐν στήλαιν δυοῖν*] Wilh., Ki.; 21–22 Lam., [*ἐν τῶι τεμένει τοῦ Διο*] | γύσου Koe., [*ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διο*] | γύσου Wilh., Ki.; 22 fin. Lam., *ἐν Ἀ[θήναις ἐν ἀκροπόλει - - -]* Koe., Wilh., *ἐν ἄ[στει]* Wilamowitz ap. Ki.

And to inscribe this decre[e on two *stelai* and]  
 place one in Marath[on in the - - - - of Dio]nysos,  
 [a]nd the other in the c[ity ? on the Akropolis]

Consequently, we can confirm Köhler's reading and the restoration of '[Dio]nysos' in lines 21–22.<sup>110</sup> It remains unclear whether the site in Marathon that belonged to Dionysos (lost in the lacuna of line 21) should be restored as a *temenos* or a *hieron*.<sup>111</sup> At the deme level, the designation 'hieron of Dionysos' is only attested epigraphically at Rhamnous, whereas that of 'temenos of Dionysos' is known from Gargettos, Piraeus, and Rham-

110. At the beginning of line 22, the upper right vertical of the nu is visible at autopsy. Of the second letter, the upper left and right diagonals of the upsilon can be seen. The sigma is clear, as is the second upsilon. The omicron is damaged, but its upper curve is still faintly legible. At the end of line 22, the left and right diagonals of the alpha are clear, but its crossbar is faint.

111. As noted by Lambert (2014) 8.

nous (see above).<sup>112</sup> The evidence of the two surviving decrees shows that a sanctuary of Dionysos at Marathon served as the preferred place of publication for decrees of the Tetrapolis, regardless of whether the decree principally relates to Dionysiac cult or not. It follows as likely that this was also a significant political and administrative centre of the association.<sup>113</sup> We can now infer that the theatre associated with this sanctuary was where the political meetings of the Tetrapolis were held.<sup>114</sup>

Reports in the Athenian press in 1878 heralded the discovery of a temple of Dionysos that had appeared on the plain of Marathon after torrential rain, in the bed of a river known locally as the Charadros. In response to this dramatic news, Spyridon Lampros visited the site and wrote a sober report: ‘Great was the disappointment at the meagre sight that was before us. Instead of the temple, even a deserted one, which the newspapers had announced, we saw a solitary inscribed stone, among the crocuses and rocks of the dry bed of the torrent.’<sup>115</sup> This ‘solitary inscribed stone’ formed part of the base of a dedication made by the Tetrapolitans to Dionysos and is dated to the mid-fourth century by letter forms and prosopography.<sup>116</sup> It records the name of an

112. On the vocabulary used for deme sanctuaries of Dionysos, see Takeuchi (2019) 66–70.

The relevant Rhamnous decrees are *I.Rhamnous* 8 (*‘hieron’*) and *I.Rhamnous* 17 (*‘temenos’*), with Takeuchi (2019) 68–69; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 237.

113. Cf. Humphreys (2004) 171, 174–175.

114. At *AIO*, Stephen Lambert airs the possibility that the word to be restored in line 21 is ‘theatre’: ‘The other copy was erected in the [e.g. theatre or sanctuary] of Dionysos in Marathon (21–22).’ Cf. Csapo and Wilson (2020) 192. While this cannot be excluded, the phrase ‘theatre of Dionysos’ is improbable in a deme context. The normal wording is just ‘in(to) the theatre’ (Aixone: Csapo and Wilson III Di, l. 22: *εἰς τ[ὸ] θέατρον*; III Diii, ll. 19–20: *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Αἰξωνῆσιν*; III Div, l. 12: *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*); Eleusis: Csapo and Wilson III Hiii, ll. 7–8: *εἰς τὸ θέ[ατρον τὸ Ἐλευσ]νίων*; cf. III Hv, ll. 32–33; Rhamnous: Csapo and Wilson III Wvi, l. 8: *ἐν τῷ[θ] θεάτρῳ*. When an owner of the theatre is named, it is the mortal demesmen rather than the god: thus ‘the theatre of the Eleusinians’, as well as the virtually equivalent locative dative *Αἰξωνῆσιν* ‘in the theatre at Aixone’. The single instance of ‘the theatre of Dionysos’ from the demes is exceptional in various ways. It comes from the Piraeus, which sought to match the practice of the City Dionysia, and might be expected to have styled its theatre in imitation of the City. The decree in question was initially to be set up in the Piraeus theatre but ended up in the City theatre. The phrase used in it — ‘in the theatre of Dionysos’ (Csapo and Wilson III Viii, ll. 39–40)— had initially been followed by the further qualification *τῷ ἐ[ν] Πειραιεῖ* ‘in the Piraeus’, but these words were erased in antiquity. Cf. Lambert (2003). See also Tozzi (2019).

115. Lampros (1878) 728: “Ἀλλά μεγίστη ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ἀπογοήτευσίς ἐπὶ τῇ πενιχρᾷ θεᾷ ἣτις παρέστη πρὸ ἡμῶν. Ἄντι ναοῦ, ἔστω καὶ ἐρηριμμένου, οἷον ἡγγεῖλαν αἰ ἐφημερίδες, εἶδομεν τὸ πρῶτον μόνον λίθον ἐνεπίγραφον κείμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κροκαλῶν καὶ τῶν πετρῶν τῆς ξηρᾶς κοίτης τοῦ χειμάρρου”.

116. *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 224: *Τετραπολίτες τῷ Διο|νύσῳ ἀνέθεσαν* | *Λυσανίας Καλλίου Τρικ|ορόστιος*

Archon of the Tetrapolis, Lysanias of Trikorynthos (*PAA* 613025) and, under the rubric ‘*Hieropoioi*’, four such religious officers are named, one from each of the demes that made up the Tetrapolis (indicated by the inclusion of demotics). The find-spot of this dedication — at Divaliaki, north of Pyrgos — is the most likely general location for the Marathonian Dionysion.<sup>117</sup>

Given that the *Hieropoioi* in this dedication are recruited from the constituent demes of the Tetrapolis, it is perhaps more likely that this was a regular office within the association, rather than an *ad hoc* arrangement brought into existence for one specific purpose. Perhaps the *Hieropoioi* aided the Archon in managing the complex cult cycles of the Tetrapolis articulated in the Calendar. It is difficult to know what might be deduced from the fact that they acted in concert with the Archon to support a dedication to Dionysos on behalf of the Tetrapolitans — and note that it is the Tetrapolitans as such, and not the Archon and *Hieropoioi*, who are the formal dedicants (“The Tetrapolitans dedicated to Dionysos”, *Τετραπολλέες τῶι Διο|νύσωι ἀνέθεσαν*). This absence of mediation in dedicatory practice between the Tetrapolitans and Dionysos is another, subtle marker of the degree to which Dionysos served the Tetrapolitans as the god of their unified collectivity.<sup>118</sup> The dedication marked by *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 224 may reflect the completion of some work that had a direct connection with the god. A great deal of energy was devoted to the cult of Dionysos in the fourth century across Attica, much of it in the creation or development of festivals with theatrical performances.<sup>119</sup> The new decree adds yet another local Dionysia with theatrical performances to the tally of those that appear (for us) in the second half of the fourth century, and it is possible that *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 224 reflects some action taken in the development of the festival somewhat earlier in the century.<sup>120</sup> Lambert airs

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ἤρχεν· ἱεροποιοὶ· | Φανόδωρος Μαραθώνιος, | Μελάνωπος Τρικορύσιος, | Φ[. .]νοκλῆς Οἰναῖος, | Ἀντικράτης Προβαλίσσιος. Cf. *IG* II 1324; Milchhöfer (1887) 306–307 no. 328; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2933; Solders (1931) 41 no. 27; Lambert (2014) 8 no. 3. The stone is now lost.

117. For the location see Lampros (1878); Lolling (1878); Davidson (1880). We say ‘general’ location, because the precise find-spot is not recorded and the stone had evidently been moved some distance by the force of the inundation of the Charadros in spate, which carried away part of the river-bank.

118. While we might expect the formation *Τετραπολλέες* to mean ‘Four Cities’ (thus Lambert *AIO*), Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τετράπολις* reports that “The inhabitants (are) Tetrapoleis and Tetrapolitai”, indicating that *Τετραπολλέες* referred to the human members of the community — hence our translation ‘Tetrapolitans’.

119. Some 18 demes have a Dionysia attested with a reasonable degree of likelihood. In 15 of these, the evidence appears in the fourth century (Csapo and Wilson 2020: 7–8), which is, from a variety of indicators, the period of greatest growth in the festival.

120. That *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 224 is in fact earlier than the new decree is based on the soft grounds of



the possibility that the *Hieropoioi* were tasked with assisting the Archon with running this Dionysia. The suggestion is plausible, given the desirability of representation from across the four demes in the running of a festival of the association, and the known involvement of *hieropoioi* in the organisation of other Athenian festivals.<sup>121</sup>

In 1885, a dedication to Dionysos by a certain Polydeukion, dating to ca. 165 CE (by letter forms, orthography and prosopography), was found in a vineyard about 80 m. southeast of Pyrgos, Marathon.<sup>122</sup> According to Lolling, the stone was not discovered *in situ*, but had belonged to the ruins of a church about 100 m. to the east of its find-spot. Lolling also reports that the block had a round hole in its upper surface, perhaps to accommodate a small statue of Dionysos. The church into which it was built may have been on the site of an ancient sanctuary, and probably belonged to Dionysos.

The final epigraphic discovery — “[u]ndoubtedly the most important Tetrapolis document, and an important source for the study of Attic religion generally”<sup>123</sup> — is the fourth-century sacrificial Calendar (*SEG* L 168). For all the rich information this provides about the cult life of the Tetrapolis, the surviving text makes no direct reference to Dionysos whatsoever. The Calendar is dated to ca. 375–350 (by letter forms, orthography and prosopography).<sup>124</sup> The stone was discovered in 1895 at Kukurari, in the hills west of the Marathon plain, at a site that, though not properly excavated, revealed other signs of ancient occupation and votive dedications.<sup>125</sup> This significant document is sometimes thought to have come from the

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letter forms and prosopography (and the stone on which *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 224 was inscribed is now lost).

121. Lambert (2014); *AIO*. A board of polis-appointed *Hieropoioi* administered the Herakleia at Marathon, among other festivals (*Ath. Pol.* 54.7), although in the early fifth century, perhaps at the point when new contests were added or the festival itself set up, the relevant officials are thirty *Athlothetai*, three from each of the ten Kleisthenic tribes: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 3. Note also the *Hieropoioi* appointed to help run the polis festival of (?) Hephaistos in a decree of 421/0, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 82.17–23 (*SEG* XLVII 60).
122. *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 978: [II]ολυδε[υκίων] | τῷ Διονύσῳ [εὐ] | σεβείας ἔνεκα. Cf. Lolling (1885) 279 no. 1; Eschenburg (1886) 7; Milchhöfer (1887) 306 no. 327; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4774; Solders (1931) 42 no. 29; Goette and Weber (2004) 122. The stone is now lost. Polydeukion (*PAA* 777930) was a pupil of Herodes Atticus (*PAA* 488900).
123. Lambert (2000a) 43.
124. Perhaps closer to 370 if Lambert (2000a: 67–68) is right, as we believe he is, in identifying the Archon Euboulos under whom it was created (A.II.39) with the famous politician of that name, and on the assumption that his tenure of the Archonship of the Tetrapolis is likely to have taken place early in his career.
125. Milchhöfer (1887) 313; Richardson (1895); Lambert (2000a) 44.

Marathon Dionysion,<sup>126</sup> but its discovery at Kukulnari is more likely to imply that it was originally set up in a sanctuary other than that of Dionysos.<sup>127</sup>

We shall return to the Calendar, and the question of the absence of Dionysos from its surviving text, after noting that there is one other locale that has been brought into the discussion of the site of the Dionysion of Marathon. It is a large, polygonal *peribolos*, found in 1970 on the low prehistoric acropolis at Plasi, not far from the present-day coastline of the bay of Marathon. This was initially identified with the Dionysion of Marathon, on the grounds that the remains might represent those of a great tomb and so be associable with the Hero Aristomachos (see above).<sup>128</sup> Recent excavation conducted by the Department of Archaeology and History of Art of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens reveals that the *peribolos* was indeed built on a large tomb of the early Mycenaean period in association with the veneration of ancestors.<sup>129</sup> Papadatos points out *per ep.* that the excavation has, as yet, failed to yield any evidence that would provide a secure date for the construction of the *peribolos* and determine its character and duration of use, but it is possible to say that the evidence discovered thus far points to Plasi as a centre of continuous human activity. The location of the deme centre of Marathon has long been disputed, and Plasi, with its low acropolis, remains one possible candidate.<sup>130</sup> If that were so, one might expect it also to be the site of the sanctuary the Tetrapolis employed as its main site of public record. On balance, however, the most likely site for the Dionysion of Marathon and its associated theatre is in the area of Divaliaki. It is in any case highly likely that Marathon had more than one centre of significant nucleated habitation.<sup>131</sup>

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126. E.g. Ismard (2015) 90 n. 36.

127. The stone was found in use as a threshold for a church in Kukulnari. It is likely that its intended place of original erection was somewhere in the area of Kukulnari, not least since a *stèle* base was found at the excavation that may have belonged to it: Lambert (2000a) 44 n. 6. The site is a possible candidate for the location of the Eleusinion, mentioned in the Tetrapolis Calendar: *SEG* L 168.A.I.17 [T.]: [- - -] ἀρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον; Lambert (2018) 154 n. 17.

128. Vanderpool in Traill (1986) 147–148; Parker (1996) 74 n. 29; Goette and Weber (2004) 30; cf. Missiou (2010) 158 n. 26. More generally on the Plasi *peribolos* see Travlos (1988) 216, 224, fig. 272; Baumer (2004) 93 no. Att 16, pl. 7, fig. 16.

129. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa, Papadatos, Balitsari, and Prevedorou (2016). For information about the excavation, see <https://www.marathonexcavations.arch.uoa.gr/index.php> (06.08.2023).

130. Eschenburg (1886); Camp (1993) 44; Krentz (2010) 121–122; Weber (2010).

131. Traill (1986) 148.

## IV. DIONYSOS AND THE SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR OF THE TETRAPOLIS

Given the undoubted importance of the Dionysion in the corporate life of the Tetrapolis, the question of the absence of the god himself from the Tetrapolis Calendar becomes all the more acute. Thanks largely to the work of Stephen Lambert, we now have a much clearer understanding of the complex system of organisation that underlies this document. The surviving text has nearly all of an annual sequence of sacrifices that were to be made in Marathon, by the Demarch of Marathon. These appear in the better-preserved right-hand column of Side A (II.1–33). This annual sequence is followed by two biennial sequences of sacrifices, also for Marathon, the first of which contains just a single offering, in the month of Hekatombaion (II.34–38); while the second is somewhat more elaborate (II.39–53). Next, right at the bottom of the surviving text of this column, is the beginning of an annual sequence of sacrifices for Trikorynthos (II.54). It is a fairly safe assumption that, perhaps after biennial sequences for Trikorynthos comparable to the structure for Marathon, there will have followed entries for the two other demes of the Tetrapolis, Oinoe and Probalinthos.<sup>132</sup> The left-hand side column I of Side A is much less well preserved. It is generally agreed, however, that this reported sacrifices of the Tetrapolis as a whole. The principles governing the structure and the timing of these sacrifices are less clear, but they seem to represent a single, annual sequence. The most prominent organising system here is that of the four quarters of the Attic year. The surviving legible lines of this Tetrapolitan list overwhelmingly cluster in the fourth quarter, meaning that the spring months — Mounichion, Thargelion, Skirophorion— are best represented.<sup>133</sup>

When searching the Calendar for signs of the cult of Dionysos in the Tetrapolis, attention has focussed on the entries related to the deme of Marathon — understandably so, given the poor condition of the Tetrapolitan sequence, and given that entries for the month of Posideon, the month in which deme Dionysia were held,<sup>134</sup> do survive from the Marathonian

132. Cf. Humphreys (2004) 167.

133. Nearly 60% of the surviving list of Tetrapolitan sacrifices treat activities taking place in the fourth quarter: A.I.4–12, 20–22, 29–37, 44–55. Humphreys (2004) 167 n. 91: “even if the fourth quarter was busier than the other three, they must have seen some sacrificial activity”.

134. Csapo and Wilson (2020) 27. Even though the Dionysia of the Tetrapolitans was not a festival run by a single deme, the presumption must be that it was a Dionysia *κατ’ ἀγροῦς*: though under the aegis of a supra-deme body, that body was itself composed formally of

section. But there may be a certain eloquence in the gaps in our text of the Tetrapolitan material. There is no entry relating to the month of Posideon in what remains of the Tetrapolitan section. We have argued that the Dionysia which appears in the new decree was a festival of the Tetrapolis as a whole, not simply of the deme of Marathon. If this is so, the place where it should properly have featured in the Calendar is not in the Marathonian section but in the part of the Tetrapolitan section that related to the month of Posideon, none of which survives. Entries for Tetrapolitan cultic activity in Posideon, which falls in the second quarter of the Attic year, almost certainly appeared in the top of Column I, and that has been lost with the upper part of the *stele*.<sup>135</sup>

We do, however, have some insight into the cultic activities that took place in Marathon in Posideon. The regular, annual cycle of sacrifices in Marathon for that month reads as follows (Figure 5):<sup>136</sup>

δευτέρας<sup>v</sup> τριμήνο<sup>v</sup> Ποσιδεῶν[ος - - - - -<sup>5-13</sup> - - - - -]  
 βοῦς Η<sup>Π</sup>νν<sup>v</sup> οἷς Δ- - -<sup>v</sup> ἡρωίνῃ [οἷς Δ- - ? ἱερώσυνα]  
 Γ- - -<sup>v</sup> Γῆι ἐγ γύαις βοῦς<sup>v</sup> κούσα ΠΔΔ[ΔΔ? ἱερώσυνα - - - - -?]  
 τελετῆι σπυ<ρί?>δία: ΔΔΔΔ<sup>vacat</sup>

Second quarter: Posideon [for ?? - - - - -<sup>5-13</sup> - - - - -]  
 a bovine, 150 dr., a sheep, 12 dr.; for the heroine [a sheep, 11 dr.?, priestly dues],  
 7 dr.; for Earth (*Ge*) in the fields, a pregnant bovine, 90 (?) dr., [priestly dues,  
 4 dr.?.]; for the rite (*telete*), baskets (?), 40 dr.

This is the section where attention has focused in the search for the cult of Dionysos in the Tetrapolis. A key preliminary observation to make, however, is that Dionysos and his festival are nowhere explicitly mentioned in this month. One can contrast the clarity and concision of the sacrificial Calendar from Thorikos. Here the entry for the month Posideon has simply “In Posideon, the Dionysia” (*SEG* XXXIII 147.31 [T.]: Ποσιδεῖωνος, Διονύσια. *vacat*). From the Tetrapolitan Calendar one might readily conclude that the deme of Marathon did not celebrate a festival of Dionysos in Posideon.

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four demes, and its location was certainly ‘in the fields’, in the polis-centric perspective of that phrase.

135. See Lambert (2000a) 66: we have approximately two-thirds of the original height of the *stele*.

136. A.II.7–10.

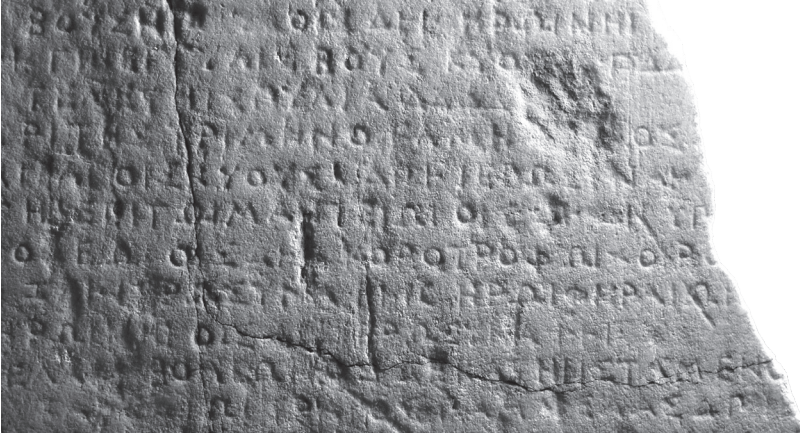


Figure 5. EM 13038 (detail of lines A.II.8–18): Epigraphic Museum, Athens. Photo by K. Takeuchi. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture / Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D).

In the first entry, the name of a deity or, more probably, a hero —the recipient of the bovine and sheep in line 8— is missing at the end of line 7.<sup>137</sup> The heroine who accompanies him in the second entry was probably anonymous.<sup>138</sup> There is little reason to suppose any connection between this pair and Dionysos. It is however possible that the next entry, “for Earth (*Ge*) in the fields” reflects some connection with Dionysos, whose festival in this month was known colloquially as the ‘Dionysia in the fields’. Earth may have received the single most valuable offering in the entire Calendar,<sup>139</sup> and was probably also given a black billy-goat on the first day of the City Dionysia.<sup>140</sup> But it is the mysterious fourth and final entry for the month that has

137. On the occasions when an anonymous heroine is listed, as very probably here (see next note), she accompanies a hero.

138. As in Lambert’s restored text at this point. See also A.II.16, 20, 22, 25–26 with Lambert (2000a) 58; Humphreys (2004) 171 n. 105.

139. If we adopt Lambert’s suggestion that the corrected value of 150 dr. for the bovine in the previous line was in fact intended for the pregnant bovine for Earth.

140. *SEG* L 168.A.II.17–18 [T.]: Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος δεκάτην ἰσταμένο[v? Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι] | μαντείωι τράγος παμμέλας ΔΓ' ἐ[ρῶσσηνα - -]. ‘Earth’ is restored from a preserved entry ‘For *Ge* at the oracle, an ewe’: A.II.13 [T.]: Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι μαντείωι<sup>v</sup> οἷς Δ. Given the coincidence with the first day of the City Dionysia, it has been suggested that the recipient of the billy-goat might be Dionysos. A kid is offered to Dionysos in *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 234.17–18 (a subdivision of the polis, ca. 475–450); a billy-goat in *SEG* LIV 214.9–10 (Aixone, ca. 400–375). The commentary of *CGRN* 56, A.II.17–18 suggests that the restoration in l. 17 might be reconsidered and notes that ‘Manteios’ can serve an epithet, though the only example cited is for Apollo in 2nd-century CE Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 1024). Given the use of the phrase ‘at the

provoked most discussion. This appears to budget 40 dr. for ‘baskets for the rite (*telete*)’. We need to revisit this entry in light of the new knowledge that the Dionysia of the Marathonian Tetrapolis was not run by the deme of Marathon, but by the association as a whole.

Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge has done much to clear the ground around this entry, which is unusual in several ways. She has argued decisively against the notion that this was an offering ‘For *Telete*’ — a figure postulated (but not securely attested) in the Eleusinian context, a personification or abstraction of the ‘mystic celebration’ at the heart of the Mysteries.<sup>141</sup> She has shown that the dative *τελετηι* does not refer, as datives at the start of entries do elsewhere in the Calendar, to a recipient, but to an activity: we are dealing with the provision of something ‘for (*or* at) the rite’.<sup>142</sup> Pirenne-Delforge has also stressed that, while *τελετή* can operate as a relatively unmarked term for any ritual, it is highly likely that, in this context, it was used in its more common, marked sense of an (often somewhat exclusive) rite from the sphere of Eleusinian, Dionysiac or Orphic cult.<sup>143</sup>

The item budgeted for presents us with a path forward that is, at first glance, *obscurum per obscurius*. Written *σπυδια* on the stone, it has long been recognised that this sequence of letters will represent, by haplography

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oracle’ earlier in the Calendar, however, the safer course is to presume the same formula here. Humphreys (2004: 172–173) feels confident that the *manteion* referred to in A.II was the celebrated sanctuary of Delian Apollo in Marathon at which a *mantis* watched for signs (*BNJ* 328 F 75) in connection with *theoriai* to Delos. The fact that Ge was offered a billy-goat in Marathon on what was the first day of the City Dionysia may all the same speak to a connection between Ge and Dionysos within the Tetrapolis, and so support the idea that the offering to ‘Ge in the fields’ in the month of Posideon at Marathon may interact with the worship of Dionysos in that month.

141. Parker (2005) 333. See Kaltsas (1997) 1192. When a nymph named Telete, child of Dionysos and the nymph Nikaia, appears for the first time in a literary text in the sixth century CE, she is a lover of choruses and festivals: Nonnus, *Dion.* 16.400–401: ἦν Τελετην ὀνόμηνεν ἀεὶ χαίρουσαν ἑορταῖς, | κόρην νυκτιχόρευτον, ἐφεσπομένην Διονόσω; cf. *Dion.* 48.880.

142. The closest parallel for a budget item for an activity without a stated recipient is, as Pirenne-Delforge (2016: 43) notes, the 7 dr. allocated “for the *Daphnephoroi* (Laurel-bearers)” at A Col. II, l. 38. Humphreys had originally suggested that *telete* might connote an activity rather than a recipient, and that the entry related to a Dionysia, by suggesting (in Lambert 2000a: 59) that “*Τελετηι* might have the connotation ‘dramatic performance’”. She later modified this view and came to regard the word as more fitting for initiates or some other restricted group, and so thought instead of the Haloa. See Humphreys (2004) 171 n. 103, 234.

143. Pirenne-Delforge (2016) 44. This is not in dispute: see e.g. Humphreys (2004) 171; Schuddeboom (2006).

or contraction,<sup>144</sup> the plural of the noun *σπυροΐδιον*, a diminutive of *σπυρίς*, meaning ‘small baskets’: *σπυ<ρ<?>δία*. This differs from the great majority of entries by being not an animal for sacrifice but, it seems, an inanimate object with some other functional use. The closest parallel is the ‘tables’ which appear at a few places, used for rites of theoxenia.<sup>145</sup> These are costed at just 1 dr. each, probably representing vegetal (or vegetable) offerings.<sup>146</sup> But while a *trapeza* is a familiar item and term of Greek cult, the *spy<ri>dion* is not. Another significant difference between a *trapeza* and the *spy<ri>dia* is that, whenever the former appears in the Calendar, the name of the hero or deity who is to enjoy it is always stated. In the case of the *spy<ri>dia*, no recipient is mentioned. The entry is thus very different from all the others, describing an implement used in some association with a ritual, the recipient of which is not specified, and in relation to which the item does not constitute the sacrificial offering. Another striking feature of these *spy<ri>dia* is their cost. The sum of 40 drachmas budgeted is surprisingly high, equivalent to forty *trapezai*, or four ewes, or to half an ox, or thirteen piglets.<sup>147</sup> This must mean that a large number of baskets is envisaged. The alternative—few baskets with costly contents—can be ruled out. If the contents constituted the most significant element of the expense, they and not their container would have been specified.

There are two realistic candidates for the context for this *telete*: the Dionysia of the Tetrapolis or the Haloa.<sup>148</sup> The baskets could certainly be found a meaningful home at both festivals. A combination of the two is a possibility. The significant offering to Earth might be brought into the same orbit. No definitive answer is possible, but any attempt to pursue the question needs to account for the highly unusual phraseology used in this entry, the generic and unadorned character of the term *telete* and the fact that no recipient is named.

The Haloa was a women’s festival, attested for Eleusis, where it was also held, like deme Dionysia, in Posideon.<sup>149</sup> It is likely that it was also held in other demes, and probable that its celebration sometimes became associated

144. Solders (1931) 70; Lambert (2000a) 59.

145. A.II.4, 14, 24, 25, 53. See also note 142.

146. Lambert (2018) 151 n. 10; Ar. *Plut.* 676–681; Jameson (1994) 40.

147. Pirenne-Delforge (2016) 43–44.

148. Humphreys (2004: 171, 234) inclines towards the Haloa. Pirenne-Delforge (2016) considers both possibilities.

149. Philoch. *BNJ* 338 F 83 ap. Harp. *a* 83 s.v. *Ἀλωά*; more specifically on the 26th, according to Photius (*a* 1080 s.v. *Ἀλωά*); Deubner (1932) 60–61.

with that of local Dionysia,<sup>150</sup> for it accorded a place of prominence to Dionysos. An important scholion to Lucian describes it as ‘A festival at Athens involving mysteries of Demeter and Kore and Dionysos, at the time of the pruning of the vine and the tasting of the wine already stored’.<sup>151</sup> At some point the story of Ikarios and his knowledge of the manufacture of wine—the only mythology we know of associated with any deme Dionysia—became part of the festival’s mythology.<sup>152</sup> A likely use for numerous small baskets at the Haloa is readily found as receptacles for the pastries in the shape of male and female genitalia that are attested for the festival.<sup>153</sup> And one could perhaps explain the absence of any specificity as to the occasion or recipient of the *telete* in the Calendar by positing a religious hesitancy to give precise names in public contexts to deities or practices from the sphere of Eleusinian or other restricted cults.<sup>154</sup> This explanation might gain some cogency from the likelihood the baskets may have been filled with the pastries that pertained to one of the more ‘secret’, or at least restricted, aspects of the Haloa.

However, there is another way to explain this unusual usage, and this may incline us more towards the Dionysia. Perhaps the unspecific term *telete* operated as something of a ‘cross-reference’, a way to describe a rite of the Tetrapolis that featured prominently in the month, but that was not the particular responsibility of the Demarch of Marathon: the Marathonians made a contribution of baskets to this *telete*, and were involved in it, but the rite was not formally the responsibility of their deme. The lack of specificity in *telete* may also suggest that the event was a sufficiently familiar occasion in

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150. Parker (2005) 199. Csapo and Wilson (2020: 4) have argued that demes which did not have a cult of Dionysos in the sixth century may have decided to introduce one in close association with that of a prominent, pre-existing local deity or hero. Sites where such cultic ‘piggy-backing’ may have taken place include Eleusis (Csapo and Wilson III H), Sphetos (Csapo and Wilson III X) and Halimous (Csapo and Wilson III L), in the case of all three within the context of pre-existing cults of Demeter. It is impossible to say how old the cult of Dionysos was among the Tetrapolitans, but given the evidence that it served to create a Tetrapolitan identity that expressed their collectivity above local particularities, it is a reasonable hypothesis that it may have gained prominence after the Kleisthenic reforms. The increased institutional standing that these gave to demes may have served as a prompt to invest in a cult that reinforced the collective identity of the association.

151. Schol. Luc. *DMeretr.* 6.1 Rabe with Lowe (1998).

152. Humphreys (2004) 234; Csapo and Wilson (2020) 32, 192–3.

153. Parker (2005) 199, 330; Pirenne-Delforge (2016) 45.

154. Lambert *AIO* notes that in the Calendar, where aspects of Eleusinian religion are so prominent, Demeter herself is never named, but she does appear some five times “under the guise of epithets or descriptors or alternative manifestations”. Persephone appears as ‘Kore’ at A.II.44.



Posideon as to go without explicit naming in this context. ‘The Rural Dionysia is in Posideon’ was a statement of such platitudinous and truistic triviality that it is used to characterise Theophrastos’ ‘Chatterbox’ (Ἀδολέσχης), a man who is known precisely for such banal assertions.<sup>155</sup> Although it was not strictly a (single) ‘deme’ Dionysia, it is extremely likely that the Tetrapolis Dionysia will have been held in the month of the many rural Dionysia and that it formed part of a ‘circuit’ of Attic theatre festivals.<sup>156</sup> And if the Tetrapolis Dionysia were held in some conjunction with the Haloa, all the more reason for using the unspecific term *telete* of the occasion.

How might small baskets have featured at the Tetrapolis Dionysia? Pirenne-Delforge suggests that they could have been carried by Marathonians in the procession, the *spyridia* marking their participation and serving as offerings for the god.<sup>157</sup> There is however virtually no evidence for any processional offerings being carried to the god that would require a basket, beyond that of the single *Kanephoros* (Basket Bearer) at the head of the procession, and her basket was of a very different sort.<sup>158</sup> The phalluses that were probably the most distinctive object carried in the procession were certainly not hidden away in baskets.

But perhaps these baskets were not primarily intended for a god but for mortal participants at the festival. One reason for thinking that this is what we know about the *spyridion* (and the *spyris*) from other sources. These were woven baskets, of small size in the case of the *spyridion*.<sup>159</sup> There is no evidence that they had any ritual functions or associations, unlike the varieties

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155. Theophr. *Char.* 3.3.

156. It is possible that the Tetrapolis Dionysia had developed from a Dionysia of a single deme (Marathon), though it seems likely that his cult was shared by the association as a whole from at least some point in the fifth century. Practical considerations would have made the scheduling of a Dionysia in Attica in Posideon advisable, too, since the circuit of deme festivals saw poets and actors head to the region during this period: see below on Plato’s *Laches*.

157. Pirenne-Delforge (2016) 44. *Ar. Ach.* 237–279 (Csapo and Wilson III A).

158. The qualification of ‘virtually’ is required by the existence of a tradition that a basket of dried figs was carried in procession for Dionysos at his ‘traditional’ festival (*Plu. Mor.* 527d) and that this same basket—the rare Attic term ἄρριχος (or ἄρσιχος) is always used for it—served as the prize for comedy. See *Parian Marble*, fr. A, lines 54–5 (*IG XII 5*, 444.39 = *BNJ* 239 A.39); *Diosc. Anth. Pal.* 7.410. It is highly likely that this basket is nothing more than a product of an elaborate myth-history of the Athenian origins of both tragedy and comedy. As a strong supporter of Lykourgos’ promotion of Athenian theatre and broader cultural programme, Phanodemos is a likely candidate for its authorship. See Csapo and Wilson (*forthcoming*) I Aiv, I Avii, IIB.

159. From Poll. *Onom.* 7.173.2–5 we learn that this is a type of basket that was woven; from Hsch. φ 778 and Phot. φ 275, that it was a synonym for φοομίς.

of baskets —such as the *kanoun*, *kalathos* and *liknon*— that were regularly carried in procession and dedicated in sanctuaries.<sup>160</sup> Known uses and associations point to entirely practical functions, above all the transportation of a wide variety of food-stuffs.<sup>161</sup> A particular usage of the *spyridion*, attested in a near-contemporary parallel from Athens, was for carrying a personal supply of food to eat away from home — a ‘dinner basket’. In a fragment of the comic poet Pherekrates, preserved by Athenaeus as an illustration of the wider phenomenon of ‘basket dinners’ —where guests bring supplies of their own to a dinner with others— someone is said to ‘pack up his dinner into his *spyridion* and set off’.<sup>162</sup> The most salient function of a *spyridion* / *spyris* in Classical Attica appears to have been as a receptacle for carrying food, with an emphasis on doing so to an event that involved eating together.

In this regard, it is striking that a terminological thread links the *spyridion* / *spyris* with the Roman *sportula* / *sporta*. The *sportula* was, in the first instance, a gift consisting of food and / or money, named after the basket in which it was distributed, that was given by Roman patrons to their clients;<sup>163</sup> later, distributed at imperial triumphs; and at shows during festivals, in the theatre and at the circus.<sup>164</sup> *σπυρίδες* is the term used for this practice when it appears in the Greek East in the Imperial period: at Didyma, *spyrides* consisting of a *denarius* were given to various officials by a priestess and *prophetes* of Apollo.<sup>165</sup> In Ephesos in the third century CE, provision is made, according to what purports to represent ‘ancestral custom’, for the distribution of *spyrides* to a number of cultic officiants for their service, including a herald, a piper and a trumpeter.<sup>166</sup> It has been thought likely that the Roman terms *sporta* / *sportula* are themselves a borrowing from the Greek *σπυρίδα*.<sup>167</sup> That might suggest the existence of a custom in Greek contexts, more widespread than our sources attest, of the distribution of

160. See e.g. Amyx (1958); Carless Unwin (2020).

161. See Bonati (2016) 281–6.

162. Pherekrates *PCG* F 57 ap. Athen. 8.365a: *συσκευασάμενος δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ σπυρίδιον, ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἄπρὸς ὠφέλην*†. On the corrupt end of the line see *PCG ad loc.* Further evidence for such ‘basket dinners’ has been detected in late Archaic vase-painting that shows symposiasts with symbolically laden woven baskets suspended beside them: Węcowski (2014) 67–8. The primary function of Telephos’ *spyridion* in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* was to hold food gathered by begging.

163. See Robert (1960) 477–480; Slater (2000).

164. For the substantial evidence of the practice from Martial, see Harrison (2001).

165. *I.Didyma* 269; 270; 288; 386: identified as *sportula* by Robert (1960) 479–480.

166. *I.Ephesos* 10.22–25. Cf. *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 161–164 no. 4.23 (Pergamon, Imperial period).

167. Walde (1910) 733.

*spyridia* containing food at festivals. It is at the very least suggestive that the Greek terms were felt to be the most appropriate to describe this Roman practice of largesse to individuals in dining and festival contexts.<sup>168</sup> That implies at a minimum some form of functional similarity.

To bring the focus back to fourth-century Attica and the Tetrapolis, there is a specific reason for entertaining the possibility that the Marathonians were provided with ‘dinner-baskets’ at the Dionysia of the Tetrapolis. This lies in the person of the Archon of the Tetrapolis —Euboulos— under whose leadership the Calendar was inscribed, and to whom we can with some confidence ascribe important aspects of its design, notably the financial model that underpins it. Lambert has made a convincing case that this was the famous politician, probably in the early period of his public career (around 370), engaged in cultic and financial reform in his home community (Euboulos was from the deme of Probalinthos).<sup>169</sup> It is becoming increasingly clear that Euboulos went on to develop many of the financial innovations at the level of cult that helped to revive Athenian public finances in the aftermath of the Social War, and that many of the initiatives traditionally ascribed to his successor Lykourgos were in fact begun by the earlier politician.<sup>170</sup>

Euboulos also involved himself closely in the finances and infrastructure of the Athenian theatre.<sup>171</sup> He apparently made a significant personal donation to the construction of the City theatre,<sup>172</sup> and he developed the Theoric Fund as a major instrument of Athenian public finance.<sup>173</sup> Most pertinently for this discussion, however, Euboulos was prominently associated with the issuing of theoric distributions at the City Dionysia. He is reported —by a source dating to only a few decades after the events it describes— to have

168. Hesychius *a* 6648 captures the Greek expression of the Roman practice using the word *σπυρίς*: ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δειπνεῖν, ἢ δειπνίζειν· τὸ ἀντὶ δείπνου ἀργύριον καὶ μερίδα ἐν σπυρίδι λαβεῖν, ἢ δοῦναι. See further Graf (2015) 57–58.

169. Lambert (2000a) 67–69. Side B of the Calendar lists contributions to a capital fund by some 400 individuals, at around 20–100 dr. each, presumably to be invested. Lambert (2018: 166) suggests that this represents a systematic reform, directed by Euboulos, ‘designed to place the financing of the sacrifices (previously fragmented?) on an improved (common?) footing’. Whether the Dionysia of the Tetrapolis was to be aided by this arrangement we can only guess.

170. Csapo and Wilson (2014), with earlier bibliography.

171. Csapo and Wilson (2014) 394–405.

172. See Csapo and Wilson (2014) 399–404 on *Agora* XIX L6.III.c.145–149, of the mid-340s.

173. See e.g. Beloch (1922) 343; Buchanan (1962) 53–60; Cawkwell (1963); Faraguna (1992) 208–209; Rhodes (1993) 514; Csapo and Wilson (2014) 394.

“made a distribution for the sacrifice at the approach of the Dionysia, so that all could take part in the festival, and no citizen should be deprived of the spectacles because of their lack of private means”.<sup>174</sup> Euboulos’ theoretic distribution is described in a way that implies not a cash dole (the usual form taken by such distributions) but as a matter of ensuring well-funded sacrificial consumption on the part of the citizen participants, notably those who may not have had sufficient means to enable them to attend. Did the statesman from Probalinthos trial some version of this in his home region of the Tetrapolis? Might the spy⟨ri⟩dia of the Calendar have been intended for distribution of foodstuffs for demesmen and women of Marathon attending ‘the rite’ at the Dionysia (and Haloa) of the larger association?

### CONCLUSION

Size (of population and territory) and associated material resources were important, if not essential, factors in a deme’s capacity to run a festival as complex and costly as a theatrical Dionysia. The demes that are known to have done so are well above the average size of all demes, as judged by their bouletic quota.<sup>175</sup> Before the publication of the new Tetrapolis decree, on these grounds Nicholas Jones predicted that Marathon, with its large bouletic quota of 10, was likely to have been among those demes that held a Dionysia, but for which evidence was as yet lacking.<sup>176</sup> With an aggregated bouletic quota of 22, the Tetrapolis as a whole was twice as large. To that extent, it is little surprise to learn that the Tetrapolis held a Dionysia of its own.

That there was a cult of Dionysos in Marathon had long been known, and undergirded Jones’ prediction. Now, however, we know that that cult was not a cult of the deme. The Dionysion of Marathon only served, so far as we know, at the regional, Tetrapolitan, level, and no deme or city-level cult appears to have been practiced there, nor is there any evidence of any political or other corporate activity taking place there by an individual

174. Harp. θ 18 s.v. θεωρικά: Φιλίνος δὲ ἐν τῇ [περὶ] Πρὸς Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εἰρηπίδου εἰκόνας περὶ Εὐβούλου λέγων φησὶν· “ἐκλήθη δὲ θεωρικόν, ὅτι τῶν Διονυσίων ἐπογῶν ὄντων διένειμεν Εὐβουλος εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, ἵνα πάντες ἐορτάζωσι καὶ τῆς θεωρίας μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολείπεται δι’ ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἰδίων”. Philinos’ speech will date from the period of Lykourgos’ supremacy, 336/5–325/4.

175. The average bouletic quota of those demes is 8.15, compared to an average of all demes of ca. 3.6.

176. Jones (2004) 141.

deme (no inscription of any of the individual Tetrapolis demes survives).<sup>177</sup> The Tetrapolis was an area of Attica with hugely variegated and richly interacting levels of religious practice and corresponding human mobility, from the most intensely localised cults founded deep in the landscape,<sup>178</sup> to cults that looked and moved out beyond the borders of the territory (notably the *theoriai* sent to Delphi and Delos); to the hosting of the major city cult of Herakles, whose festival brought to Marathon every four years many Athenians, as well as outside competitors for the athletic and musical contests.<sup>179</sup> Across all of these ‘scales’ of interaction,<sup>180</sup> the cult of Dionysos served the Tetrapolis as the place for collective interaction and decision-making, and participation in it was doubtless central to the creation of Tetrapolitan identity.

A Dionysia of the Tetrapolis was well-positioned to attract a large audience from within and beyond its borders. Tetrapolitans were evidently very used to moving between cult sites of the association’s four member demes, while *philotheamones* from further afield could make their way with relative ease along the extensive road network of north-east Attica between the Dionysia of Rhamnous, the Tetrapolis and Ikarion.<sup>181</sup> Others could approach by sea via the harbour in the bay of Marathon.<sup>182</sup> One might wonder whether Plato’s Laches had (among others) the Dionysia of the Tetrapolis in mind when he described how the most ambitious poets of tragedy head straight for the city of Athens itself, rather than ‘traveling around outside in a circuit around Attica through the other *poleis* (κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις) putting on a display’.<sup>183</sup>

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177. Ismard (2015) 90, 93; Lambert (2018) 150.

178. Although many cults in the Calendar are closely tied to specific sites in particular demes, note Lambert (2018) 167–168: “We may perhaps infer that Tetrapolis members were expected to attend sacrifices in any of the four demes — some confirmation here, perhaps, of the impression given by the surviving epigraphical record as a whole, that, in this region, Tetrapolis identity was stronger than deme identity”.

179. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 3; Pind. *Ol.* 9.89 with schol.; *Ol.* 13.110; *Pyth.* 8.78–79; cf. *Nem.* 9.51–3.

180. The term is borrowed from Ismard (2015).

181. For the much-improved knowledge we now possess of the road network of Attica, see Korres (2009); Fachard and Pirisino (2015), esp. 139. For the area of the plain of the Tetrapolis in particular, see McHugh (2019) 210, 217 (fig. 3).

182. Hdt. 6.107.2.

183. Pl. *Lach.* 183a–b (Csapo and Wilson III Aiii 2). While the Tetrapolis might well be described as one of the ‘other’ Attic cities, we prefer an interpretation of this intriguing passage that sees in it reference to a theatrical circuit which included cities *beyond* Attica, in addition to the Attic demes.

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