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DIONYSOS AND THEATRE IN SPHETTOS



ABSTRACT: Despite recent and growing interest in the theatre festivals held by the demes of Attica—the Rural Dionysia—the evidence for these events, which is largely epigraphic and archaeological, is not always well known or understood. This article studies the case of one deme of which this is particularly true—Sphettos, situated at the southern foothills of the eastern side of Mt. Hymettos. Close analysis of the two relevant items—a dedicatory relief and a deme decree—points to the existence in Sphettos, by the middle of the fourth century, of performances of tragedy in a theatre which had prohedric seating; funded by choregoi; and possibly organised on a competitive basis. The key item of evidence is a fragmentary inscription published only in 1986 (*SEG XXXVI* 187), analysed here in detail for the first time. This is also the sole testimony to a deme priest of Dionysos in the entire corpus of evidence.

THE ATTIC DEME OF SPHETTOS is absent from all treatments of theatre and the cult of Dionysos prior to 2004.¹ This is largely because the key item of evidence—a fragmentary deme decree found at Philiati, three kilometres northwest of modern Koropi (*SEG XXXVI* 187)—was published only in 1986.² Nonetheless, a relief found on the site of the ancient deme that almost

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1. In that year it was included in the discussion of the Rural Dionysia by Jones (2004) 80 with n. 79, 81 with n. 85, 128, 135, 140 with n. 54. Sphettos was also included, without discussion, in the list of theatres in the wide-ranging survey by Frederiksen (2002) 83, n. 92.
 2. Kalogeropoulou (1986).

certainly formed part of a dedication to Dionysos by a choregos following a performance of tragedy had been known to scholarship since 1887 (Athens NM 2400). Somewhat neglected by students of drama and Dionysos until recent years, this had not sufficiently entered the corpus of acknowledged evidence to place Sphettos on the list of possible demes with a theatre and cult of Dionysos prior to the discovery of the deme decree. As Hans Goette astutely comments, “The relief and the inscription together are more than twice as good as one piece of evidence.”³

While a number of recent studies have combined these two items of evidence to conclude that Sphettos is indeed to be acknowledged as a deme with an active theatre and cult of Dionysos in the fourth century,⁴ the decree itself has received very limited attention since its first, somewhat cursory, publication, and it is our principal aim here to remedy that situation by according it a thorough analysis, based on autopsy study (by KT) (II). Moreover it has recently been argued (by Paga 2010) that the evidence of this inscription is insufficient to place Sphettos on the list of demes with a theatre, though that case was put forward in apparent ignorance of the choregic relief.⁵

We begin with a brief discussion of the topographical and archaeological context (I) and conclude with some more general reflections on the theatre and cult of Dionysos in Sphettos (III).

I. The Archaeological and Topographical Context

Situated at the southern foothills of the eastern side of Mt. Hymettos in the Mesogaia, Sphettos was a deme of above-average size (bouleutic quota 5; av. ca. 3.6) and wealth.⁶ It was a member of the Inland trittys of Akamantis. Its location in the area of the mediaeval town of Philiati, to the west of the modern town of Koropi, is certain.⁷ The territory of the deme will have extended to include Koropi. The houses and churches of both Philiati and Koropi revealed many ancient remains in the nineteenth century.⁸ Several funerary inscriptions belonging to Sphettians were found around the church

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- 3. Goette (2014) 90.
 - 4. Csapo (2010) 87 with n. 38; Goette (2014) 89-90, 98, 105; Marchiandi (2011) 637; Wilson (*forthcoming*); Agelidis (2009) 51-53, 221-222, no. 97.
 - 5. Paga (2010) 354, n. 7.
 - 6. Osborne (1985) 202.
 - 7. Traill (1986) 132. Earlier bibliography and discussion at Kalogeropoulou (1969) 60, n. 5. Cf. Milchhöfer (1887) 98, no. 104. On Philiati, a village until at least the seventeenth century, see Kalogeropoulou (1969) 62.
 - 8. Ross (1855) 219; Milchhöfer (1887) 97-102.

of Agios Athanasios at Philiati, and demonstrate the existence of at least one significant fourth-century family peribolos.⁹ In 1965, a large marble base with a dedication by the deme of Sphettos of a statue to honour Demetrios of Phaleron (*SEG* XXV 206; ca. 315/4) was found at the small church (Χριστού Γέννηση) on a plateau on the hill of Christ (Κάστρο του Χριστού), a prominent feature of the landscape some three kilometres west of Koropi.¹⁰ Close by the church on the hill are the remains of a small ancient rock-cut sanctuary with a number of mortices and cuttings for the receipt of reliefs and dedications.¹¹ This was clearly a very important site for the deme —perhaps serving, as Kalogeropoulou suggests, as its acropolis— and it had clearly been a strategic site for a very long period prior to the formation of the Kleisthenic demes: the remains of a Mycenaean fortification wall were also found.¹²

Further evidence for cults in the area and almost certainly under the control of the deme appeared some three kilometres northwest of the hill of Christ, at the church of Prophitis Ilias on the eastern slope of Mt. Hymettos, where the remains of two ancient temples, one dating to the sixth century, were found. These have been identified as the shrines of Apollo Proopsios and Zeus Ombrios attested by Pausanias for the area, but the identification is open to doubt.¹³ While at Philiati, a fourth-century dedication to Hermes was found;¹⁴ and a fragmentary ‘double naiskos’ relief of white marble, dated to from the late Classical to the early Hellenistic period, was discovered in the façade of the church of Agios Dimitrios. This represents two enthroned

9. *IG II²* 7510; 7527; full details in Marchiandi (2011) 513-14.

10. Kalogeropoulou (1969) 56-71; *SEG* XXV 206 (Sphettos, ca. 315/4) (KT): *Σφήτται Δημ[άτων] | Φανοστράτον ἀ[νέθηκαν]. | Αντίγνωτος ἐποίη[σε].*

11. Kalogeropoulou (1969) 57, Fig. 1, 64. Kalogeropoulou ([1969] 64) airs the further possibility that the sanctuary of Dionysos may have been located on this small plateau. While this remains a possibility —though one with no direct evidence to support it— it is a distinct likelihood that the sanctuary of Dionysos will have been in close proximity to the theatre, and it seems less likely that the theatre will have been adjacent to the sanctuary on the top of the hill of Christ. See further below p. 66.

12. Kotzias (1950 [1951]) 165-172; Kakavogianni (1998) 69; Privitera (2013) 124. In the archaeological deposits Proto-Helladic, Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean potsherds were found. According to Philochorus’ local history of Attica, Sphettos was one of the Kekropian ‘Dodekapoleis’ (Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 94). This may reflect, with whatever degree of re-imagining, the prehistoric situation as seen on the hill of Christ.

13. Kotzias (1949 [1951]) 51-74, following a line of argument initiated by Milchhöfer, attributed the shrines to Apollo Proopsios and Zeus Ombrios (Paus. 1.32.2), but see Langdon (1976) 5-7, 98 *contra*.

14. *IG II²* 4628.

female deities, probably to be identified as Kybele (Mother) and Demeter, with a youth approaching from their left (all the heads are missing).¹⁵

The Classical deme of Sphettos was strategically situated at the eastern end of an important pass through the Hymettan mountains. One branch of this pass provided a more direct (though non-carriageable) route to Athens than the alternatives, reducing the time of travel between the City and the deme by over an hour and a half. It has recently been convincingly argued that this pass, leading through the mountain by a very direct route to the north-west,¹⁶ was the ‘Sphettian Road’ ($\Sigma\varphiηττία \deltaδός$), long known from literary sources,¹⁷ and confirmed by the discovery of an inscribed ‘Hipparchian’ herm found at Koursala in Koropi that marked the halfway point between Athens and the deme Kephale (modern Keratea: the find-spot is approximately 14 km from Keratea and 16 km from Athens).¹⁸ Another branch of this pass leading west from Sphettos went between the greater northern and the smaller southern peaks of Hymettos and emerged through the Pirnari gorge, thus also providing Sphettos with good access to the coastal demes on the western side of the mountain. The accessibility afforded by these roads will, among many other advantages, have made it possible for performers and spectators to have made their way with relative ease from the City to the eastern side of the Hymettan range and between the demes in the central and southern parts of Attica that held Rural Dionysia at around the same time of year. In fact there appears to have been a marked concentration of theatrical activity in the Mesogaia and Laureion: the case for the existence of a theatre in Kephale is very uncertain, but not out of the question.¹⁹ Kephale lay immediately to the south of Myrrhinous, which certainly held a Dionysia with

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- 15. Milchhöfer (1887) 98-99, no. 104; H. 0.23 m., W. 0.30 m., Th. 0.06 m. The identification goes back to Conze (1880) 3, no. I (pl. 2.1); Vermaseren (1982) 114-115, no. 386. The youth at the left walking towards the enthroned pair may be a mortal worshipper rather than Hermes.
 - 16. Korres and Tomlinson (2002) 43.
 - 17. Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 108; Plut. *Thes.* 13.2.
 - 18. *IG I³* 1023 (ca. 525-514). See also Steinhauer (2009) 58-59; Kakavogianni (2009) 188-190. The older view held that the ‘Sphettian Road’ led through Stavros, at the northern end of Hymettos.
 - 19. Kephale is absent from all standard accounts of the Rural Dionysia. Note however Frederiksen (2002) 83; Goette (2014) 105. The case rests largely on an observation made by George Wheler after his journey through Attica in the seventeenth century. When he reached the village of Keratea, he saw ruins that prompted him to write “This hath been an ancient, and great City.” “I could discern here, where an Amphitheater had been, by the Foundations, and some other remains of it.” (Wheler [1682] 448). Further discussion in Wilson (*forthcoming*).

theatrical performances;²⁰ while Thorikos with its Classical stone theatre and vigorous Dionysia was less than ten kilometres further south²¹ —not to forget Lamptrai²² immediately to the south of Sphettos; and Paiania to the north.²³

As already mentioned, the case for the existence of a Dionysia with theatrical performances in Sphettos is based on two items of evidence, one of which is a votive relief, dated on stylistic grounds to around 350-325. This was found built into the apse of a church ('Popa') northwest of Koropi (Athens NM 2400).²⁴ The site is a short distance east-north-east of the 'hill of Christ' and very near the village of Philiati. The deme decree came from Philiati, so both items were found in close proximity. The relief was first published by Milchhöfer, whose identification of it as a choregic dedication, in spite of the absence of any surviving inscription, remains unchallenged. Reisch identified the relief more particularly as the product of a choregia 'in einem Demos der Mesogaia'.²⁵ But, even after the topography of the area was better under-

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- 20. *IG II²* 1183, re-assigned by Traill ([1986] 132) from Myrrhinous to Hagnous, is often taken as evidence for a cult of Dionysos in Hagnous. Wilson (2011) suggested that the *horos* *IG II²* 2767 might be a further item of evidence. Goette ([2014] 87-8) makes a case for assigning *IG II²* 1183 (back) to Myrrhinous and believes that the evidence is inadequate for a Dionysia and theatre in Hagnous. He is also somewhat agnostic as to the situation for neighbouring Myrrhinous (the main item is *IG II²* 1182, of ca. 330-318; *SEG XLVIII* 121). A mortgage *horos* of ca. 350-300 recently published by Dova (2013) now virtually guarantees the case for assigning *IG II²* 1183 to Myrrhinous. It is a mortgage of property in favour of 'the *koinon* of Myrrhiniosoi' dealing in 'sacred money belonging to Artemis Kolaimis'. The unusual specification of the name of the lending deity on the *horos* —the most prominent figure in the religious life of the deme Myrrhinous— seems precisely to follow the instructions to deme priests specified at *IG II²* 1183, ll. 27-32.
 - 21. The evidence for Thorikos is well known: see Jones (2004) 135-6 and most recently Summa (2006); Wilson (2007); Wilson (2011); Goette (2014) 105.
 - 22. Lamptrai: *IG II²* 1161, ca. 325-300, a tribal decree which appears to mandate the announcement of a crown at the Dionysia at Lamptrai (ll. 3-5 (KT): [ἀντεῖν Λαμπτράσι] - - - - - Διλορνοίους τὸ[ν στέφανον?]); Takeuchi (2011); Wilson (*forthcoming*).
 - 23. Paiania: *IG II²* 3097, a choregic dedication for a victory in tragedy. Goette ([2014] 88, 104) takes this to refer to a victory in the City commemorated in the home deme, though most regard it as evidence for a theatre in Paiania: Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 50; Whitehead (1986) 220; Agelidis (2009) 218, no. 91.
 - 24. Athens NM 2400; Milchhöfer (1887) 98, no. 103, where he notes that the church 'Popa' was mistakenly recorded as the church of Agioi Asomatoi on the map of *Karten von Attika* (the latter is located 400 m. to the east); Reisch (1890) 124, fig. 12; Voutiras (1991/2) 39 with n. 43, fig. 7; Van Straten (1995) 87; Wilson (2000) 374, n. 147; Jones (2004) 135; Agelidis (2009) 51-3, 221-2, no. 97 with pl. 10a; Goette (2014) 89-90 with Fig. 2.10.
 - 25. Reisch (1890) 124-126 with fig. 12, a drawing by Gilliéron (quotation from 126 n. 1); although superseded by the analysis of Csapo ([2010] 86-8), this remains a valuable discussion.

stood, and following the secure identification of the site where the relief was found as the ancient deme of Sphettos, some have failed to note the relevance of the relief to the religious and cultural life of the deme. For instance Agelidis ([2009] 53) simply echoes Reisch in suggesting that it will have resulted from the actions of a choregos “aus einem der Demen in Mesogeia”; while, as noted, Paga’s case against the existence of a theatre and Dionysia in Sphettos fails to acknowledge the existence of this item of evidence altogether.



Fig. 1: Photograph of Athens NM 2400.

The relief is of the ‘adoration’ type that shows worshippers, often with sacrificial offerings, approaching an altar behind which stands or sits the deity who is to receive the sacrifice, depicted conspicuously larger than the worshippers. In this case the deity is undoubtedly Dionysos, as shown by the kantharos held in his right hand, the fawnskin and ‘Thracian boots’ *emboades*. The sacrificial animal, somewhat surprisingly, is a pig (or possibly a boar), which is nowhere attested for a prize offering for Dionysos and not an animal usually associated with him in cult.²⁶ Csapo (2010, 86-88) has made the most systematic case for this relief being a choregic monument for tragedy in the deme of Sphettos. The most conspicuous indicator of its deri-

26. See further below p. 65.

vation from a tragic performance is the number of those offering sacrifice: sixteen, excluding the diminutive figure behind the altar. (Smaller figures in this position normally represent slaves or temple functionaries and this is certainly the case here since this figure leads the sacrificial animal and carries a *sphageion* or a basket containing offerings of cakes.) The figure sixteen ideally represents the choregos and a tragic chorus of fifteen who make offerings in the sanctuary after their victory.²⁷ The artist has furthermore made an almost unique effort to show an organised choral group, not in formation for performance but still with a corporate identity engaged in an act of thanksgiving. After the choregos at the front of the line, the worshippers are shown in two orderly files, with the second file a head higher than the first so that all the heads are clearly visible. A great deal of trouble has been taken to show both number and formation, a fact that can only be explained by the desire to represent them, collectively, as a chorus while at the same time making every individual distinctly present in the celebration of the honours of victory. A third ‘choregetic’ feature is the garlands visible in the hands of the two central figures of the first rank. Voutiras has persuasively explained these as the garlands of victory.²⁸ Unlike the festival garlands that would normally be worn on the head (and which may also have appeared on the figures of this monument) these are prominently displayed for their special significance. The scene is closely paralleled by another (very probably choregetic) relief from the late fourth century now in the Louvre (Ma 756) that has a central —and

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27. Compare the choregetic dedication from Anagyrous (*IG I³ 969*), of ca. 440-431, which lists the names of a choregos (dedicant), a *didaskalos* (the famous Euripides), and fourteen members of the tragic chorus, in that case explicitly noted as such by the rubric *τραγῳδοί* (l. 3). The ‘post-Sophoclean’ standard number of fifteen choreuts in a tragic chorus was unlikely to have been mandatory for a deme festival, so the presence of fourteen names here may require no special pleading. But if an explanation is sought, it is likely to be that the absent fifteenth name is that of the leader of the chorus or *koryphaios*. When various sources cite fourteen as the number of tragic choreutai (Suda s.v. Sophocles; Poll. 4.109; ΣΣ Aristoph. *Knights* 589) they are almost certainly excluding the leader. In such cases, as at Anagyrous, the leader was probably a paid operative rather than a volunteer, who could sometimes also serve as a specialist choral trainer or *chorodidaskalos* (cf. the cases of Sannion and Aristeides mentioned by Demosthenes at 21.58-60). As a result they were not conceptually part of the chorus, at least not to the extent that they featured in the lasting forms of public recognition. Fisher (2003, 208, n. 80) has suggested that Euripides himself may have been the ‘missing’ fifteenth choreut (his dancing skills are implied by *TrGF5 T 33b*); another possibility is that the choregos Sokrates served in his own chorus (Wilson [2000] 133).
28. Voutiras (1991/2) 39; cf. Agelidis (2009) 52-3.

in this case frontal— figure of the probably choral group display the victory garland.²⁹

II. The Deme Decree: *SEG XXXVI 187* Revisited

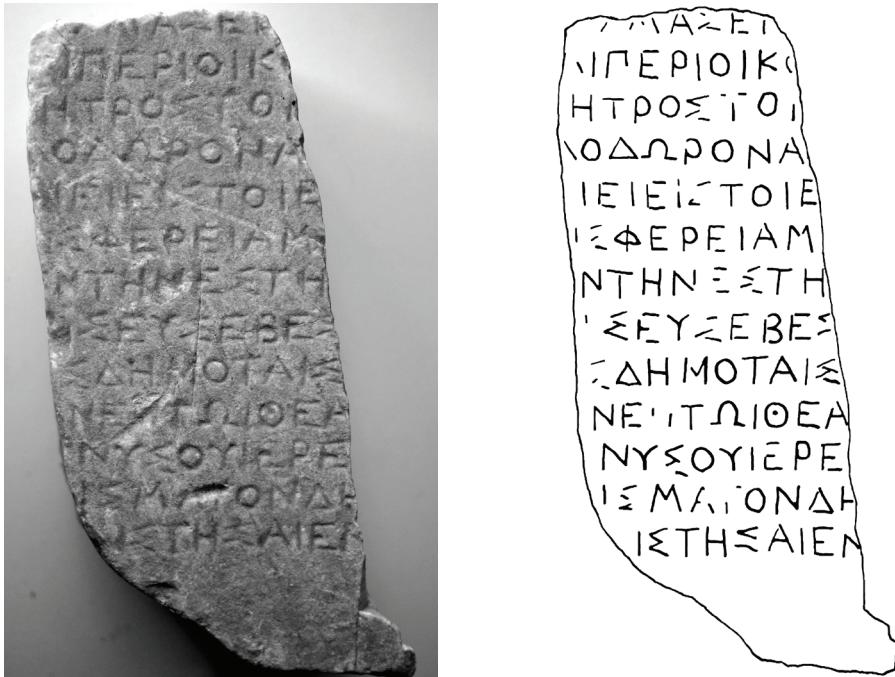


Fig. 2: Photograph and drawing of Brauron BE 848.

Found in or before 1967 at Philiati (*Φιλιάτη*), west of Koropi; now kept in the Archaeological Museum of Brauron (Brauron, BE 848). A fragmentary stele of greyish-white marble, broken on all sides. The front inscribed face is smooth but worn, cracked and chipped in parts. The rear side (original) is rough-picked. Thirteen lines of non-stoichedon text (in Ionic script) are preserved. A zone of 0.04 m. beneath the surviving text is uninscribed. Dimensions: H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.07 m. (top) - 0.09 m. (l. 13) - 0.0105 m. (bottom); Th. 0.045 m. (top) - 0.048 m. (bottom).³⁰ Letter-height: 0.007-0.008 m. (0.005-0.006 m.). Date: second half of the fourth century (by letter-forms). Autopsy (KT) 25 July 2012.

29. Voutiras (1991/2) pl. 1; Agelidis (2009) 68-9, 279, no. 172.

30. The thickness '0.5 m.' noted by Kalogeropoulou must be a misprint.

Second half of the fourth century

non-stoichedon

- 1 [----- δρα]χμὰς EI[-----]
[-----]αι ΠΕΡΙΟΙΚΟ[-----]
[---- τῆς (?) Δήμ]ητρος τὸ ἐ[ερὸν (?)]-----]
[- ἐπαινέσαι Ἀπολ]λόδωρον A[-----]
5 [-----]ιει εἰς τὸ ἵε[ρὸν -----]
[----- ε]ἰσφέρει AM[-----]
[-----]ν τὴν ΕΣΤΗ[-----]
[-----]ΙΣ εὐσεβέσ[τατα-----]
[(?) δεδόχθαι τοῖς δημόταις [-----]
10 [----- προεδρία]ν ἐγ τῶι θεά[τρωι-----]
[----- Διο]γύσον ἱερε[-----]
[----- τὸ ψήφ]ισμα τὸν δή[μαρχον -----]
[----- κα]ὶ στῆσαι ἐν [-----]
[----- (?)] vacat 0.04

1. [δρα]χμὰς εἰ[σέρεσεν] Kalogeropoulou, who also suggested εἰ[ς τὸν or τὴν] as another possibility in her commentary. On the right edge a vertical stroke is clear, but broken on top and to the right. The letter looks like an *iota* (so Kal.), but it could also be a *pi* or a *kappa* (or even a *gamma* or a *nu*?), e.g. εἰ[σήνευκε(ν)], ἐπ[έδωκε(ν)], ἐκ. || 2. [τῶ]ν περιουκο[ύντων] Kal.; in first place at the start of the surviving text the lower end of a slanting stroke and a full vertical stroke are visible, but the strokes do not meet at the lower right and are too far apart to be part of the same letter. The traces apparently belong to different letters, probably an *alpha* (or a *lambda*?) followed by an *iota*. A preferable restoration is περιουκο[δομῆσαι] (cf. *IG* XI 2, 147A, ll. 10-11); περὶ οἰκο[δομίαν] may also be possible (cf. *Agora* XIX L13, ll. 1-2). || 3. [-Δήμ]ητρος τὸ ἐ[ερὸν] Kal.; [τῆς M]ητρός is a possible alternative. On the right edge a vertical stroke is detectable, but broken at the top and to the right. The trace could belong to an *iota* or other letters (*mu*, *nu*, etc.). || 4. [ἐπαινέσαι Ἀπολ]λόδωρον Kal. || 5. [δτι - - ἄφ]ιει εἰς τὸ ἵε[ρὸν] Kal.; in first place at the start of the surviving text, the preserved letters might belong to the verb [πο]ιεῖ or the adverb [α]ἱεῖ. || 6. [ε]ἰσφέρει ἄμ[α τὰ] Kal.; ἄμ[α καὶ] is an alternative restoration (cf. *IG* II³ 1, 449, ll. 11, 16, 39). || 7. [ἐς τὴν στήλη]ν τὴν ἑστη[κυῖαν] Kal.; a preferable restoration is [εἰς τὴν σκηνὴ]ν τὴν ἑστη[κυῖαν], or (less likely) [-]ν τὴν ἐς τὴ[ν - -]. || 8. [-]ις εὐσεβέσ[τατα] Kal.; on the left edge the top of a vertical stroke is slightly preserved. It could be an *iota* or an *eta* (a *nu* is less likely). || 9. [δεδόχθαι τοῖς δημόταις Kal.; [ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις is a possible alternative (cf. *SEG* LIX 143, ll. 20-21). || 10. [προεδρία]ν τῶι θεά[τρωι] Kal., [προεδρία]ν ἐν Stroud correctly (see his note in *SEG*). || 9-10. e.g. [εἴναι (δὲ) αὐτῶι προεδρία]ν (cf. *IG* II² 1214, ll. 19-20). || 11-13. [παρὰ τὸν Διο]γύσον ἱερέ[α· ἀναγράψαι | δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφ]ισμα τὸν δή[μαρχον ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ] στῆσαι ἐν [τῶι θεάτρῳ.] Kal. || 11. e.g. [καθάπερ τῶι τοῦ Διο]γύσον ἱερε[τ] (cf. *IG* II² 1214, ll. 22-25). || 12. The demarch might have been named or specified by some description. || 14. The last formula might have continued into the start of a fourteenth line.

Despite its highly fragmentary condition, as its first editor noted, this is evidently the remains of an honorific decree of the deme Sphettos³¹ for one Apollodoros (*PAA* 142150). If as is likely the *alpha* following the name in l. 4 (*Ἀπόλλοδωρον Α[-]*) is the start of his patronymic, this Apollodoros may have been the son of an Apollodoros. This is true of his namesake from Sphettos (*PAA* 143240) who was honoured as secretary to Akamantis when presiding over the Council in 222/1,³² and whose father was named Apollodoros (*PAA* 143235). These later Apollodoroi of Sphettos may indeed be relatives of the man honoured.³³

It is possible to distinguish four main formulaic segments of the decree: **i.** (lines 1-3) preserves the remains of the motivation clause for the honours. **ii.** (lines 4-8) contains the proposal to honour, apparently followed (ll. 5-8) by an additional motivation clause that refers to another, ongoing contribution by Apollodoros. **iii.** (lines 9-11) then appears to be the motion formula, followed by the clause awarding *prohedria* in the theatre (ll. 10-11). **iv.** (lines 12-13 – and possibly 14?) contains the publication formula.

i.

1 [----- δρα] χμὰς EI [-----]
 [-----] ἀι ΠΕΡΙΟΙΚΟ [-----]
 [---- τῆς (?) Δήμου] ητρος τὸ ἵ[ερὸν (?)] -----]

Prominent in the (first) motivation clause is a contribution of money made by the honorand to a sanctuary (ll. 1-3). The restoration of the verb *εἰσφέρειν* (l. 1: εἰ[σφέρεν] Kalogeropoulou) was deduced by Kalogeropoulou from its clear appearance in l. 6: [ε]ισφέρει.³⁴ While it is entirely plausible that the verb describing the honorand's further meritorious activity at l.

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31. The find-spot in Philiati virtually guarantees that the decree was issued by the deme of Sphettos, despite the lack of any internal proof to that effect. In recent years there has been some support for the hypothesis that some demes which did not have a theatre of their own may have made use of the theatre of a neighbour deme. If one accepts the hypothesis it would be possible to suppose that this decree was issued by a deme other than Sphettos and erected on its territory. This hypothesis is however based on very slender evidence and is certainly entirely insufficient to cast any doubt over the ascription of this decree to Sphettos: for a range of views see Paga (2010); Goette (2014); Wilson (*forthcoming*).
32. *IG II³ 1, 1153, ll. 52-53.*
33. It is likely but by no means necessary that the honorand was a member of the deme awarding the honours. Another Apollodoros (*PAA* 143230) of Sphettos was the father of an *ergastine* of ca. 100 (*IG II² 1942*, l. 6).
34. As to the verb's tense, an aorist *εἰσήγεγκε(ν)* is preferable to the imperfect *εἰσέφερεν*

6 repeated the same verb used for the earlier action, as noted in the apparatus, the visible traces of the last preserved letter at the end of l. 1 could also be consistent with a *pi* or *kappa*, making ἐπ[έδωκε(ν)] (ἐπιδίδωμι) ‘he contributed X drachmas’ another possibility.³⁵ Or it may be that we are not dealing with the remains of a verb here at all. A simple preposition is also possible: εἰ[ζ] or ἐξ.³⁶ The matter at hand will nonetheless remain one of money being directed ‘to’ some end or ‘from’ some source.

In light of our new reading at the start of l. 2, Kalogeropoulou’s construal of the remains as a reference, in the genitive plural, to ‘the people living around (the shrine of Demeter)’ [τῶν περιοικούντων] upon whom the obligation to make a contribution had been placed, can no longer stand.³⁷ It was always somewhat fragile, not least given the absence of any parallels in Attic epigraphy for the use of the verb *περιοικέω*.³⁸ The surviving letters are more convincingly treated as a reference to construction works related to the sanctuary, for which Apollodorus contributed funds. Payment for the construction of or repairs to shrines is a matter very familiar to the economy of honour as it appears in deme documents.³⁹

Two possibilities present themselves: (i) the preferable option would be to restore part of the compound verb *περιοικοδομέω*, most likely the aorist infinitive *περιοικό[δομῆσαι]*. Although this verb is not attested in Attic inscriptions, there is a good parallel from Delos, in a building inscription that records payment to one Leophakos for ‘enclosing the sanctuary of the Found-

suggested by Kalogeropoulou, for the latter does not appear to be attested in Attic inscriptions. Cf. *IG II²* 1361, l. 21.

35. Cf. *SEG LIX* 143, ll. 8-9 [*I.Eleusis* 85] (332/1): καὶ ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὰ πέντε ἔτη.
36. While the numeral usually precedes the noun *δραχμὰς* in Attic inscriptions, [δρα]χμὰς ἐξ[ατόν] might also be a possibility.
37. Kalogeropoulou (1986) 5: ‘the people living around the local shrine of Demeter carried on a collection related to what was needed to be done with it, to which Apollodorus seems to have contributed more than his share’. Although she does not make the connection explicit, Kalogeropoulou’s reconstruction here probably owes something to the presence of the verb *εἰσφέρει* in l. 6 (and restored in l. 1), since this is routinely used for obligatory rather than voluntary contributions: see further below.
38. However see Shipley (1997) 221-2 for the use of the verb *περιοικέω* in literary sources in this sense. The noun *περιοικοί* is attested only once in a letter from a Cretan polis to Athens (*IG II²* 1130, l. 8: early 2nd c.). *περιοικόν* is used of the ‘space around a dwelling’ in an Attic boundary marker from Teithras, *SEG XXIII* 96, after the middle of the 4th c.: δός οἰκιῶν καὶ | περιοικόν ἀπο{τ}|τιμήματος ἐρα|νισταῖς τοῖς με|τὰ Μνησιθέον | Άλωπεκῆ(θερ) ν τοῦ | ἐράνον τοῦ τα|[λ]ανταίο.; cf. Shipley (1997) 222-3.
39. See e.g. *IG II²* 1215, ll. 12-16 (Erikeia?); *SEG XXI* 519, ll. 11-14 (Acharnai); cf. *IG II²* 1229, ll. 4-7, quoted below. See Parker (1987) 138.

er' (*IG XI* 2, 147A, ll. 10-11 of ca. 300: Λεωφάκωι τὸ ἵερὸν τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτο[ν | π]εριοικοδομῆσαντι ΔΓ). And there are several examples to be found in literary sources of the fifth and fourth century: at Thucydides 3.81.5 the verb is used of various individuals perishing in the stasis on Corcyra “after being walled up in the temple of Dionysos” (*οἱ δέ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον*). More pertinently to the subject of our decree, the verb is used by Demosthenes for ‘enclosing (walling off)’ a piece of land (*Dem.* 55.4, 8, 14, 26, 29, 32). It seems likely therefore that Apollodorus is here described as having contributed funds for the construction (of part or all) of an enclosing wall for the sanctuary. A close and contemporary parallel can be found in the motivation clause of a decree issued by the *genos* Kronidai, praising members of a commission it had appointed to build a shrine of Hestia (*IG II²* 1229, ll. 4-7 (KT): ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰρ[εθέντες ὑπὸ τῶ] | ν γεννητῶν οἰκο[δομῆσαι τὸ ἱερό] | ν τῆς Ἔστίας [ἐπε[μελήθησαν τῆς οἱ]] | κοδομίας καλῶς η[αὶ φιλοτίμως]).

A minor and less likely variation on this option would be to restore the noun *περιοικοδομία* rather than the cognate verb. This appears, again in Delian epigraphy, to refer to an enclosure wall (*IG XI* 2, 199, l. 113, of 273); and, in a specifically theatrical context, to the wall surrounding the *theatron* of the Delian theatre (*IG XI* 2, 161A, l. 42 of 278: τῆς τοῦ θεάτρου περιοικοδομίας; *ID* 290, l. 188 of 246: τὴν περιοικοδομίαν τοῦ θεάτρο[ν]). *Theatron* (*θέατρον*) here has its common sense of *koilon*: for defense of this interpretation and further discussion see Fraisse and Moretti (2007) 167. However, given the apparent absence of a preceding article, the restoration of this noun in the Sphettian decree is less likely.

The issue of the absence of the article is relevant to the second possible restoration for this line: (ii) *περὶ + οἰκο[δομίας/ν]: [... -]αι περὶ οἰκο[δομίας/ν ...]* ‘in connection with construct[ion]’. A parallel can be found in the lease for the theatre in Peiraeus dated to 324/3 which stipulates that the leaseholders are granted some (lost) privilege ‘if they should want anything in connection with the construction’ [εἰς] | ἀν τι βούλωνται περὶ οἰκοδομίαν, though the presence here of the article means that the parallel is not exact.⁴⁰ The lack of an article after the preposition *περὶ* in our decree speaks strongly against this restoration, as it cannot be paralleled. The collocation *εἰς οἰκοδομίαν* does however occur (e.g. *IG II³* 1, 292, ll. 26-27 of 352/1; *IG II²* 1627, l. 377 of 330/29; *IG II²* 1628, l. 536 of 326/5; *IG II²* 1629, ll. 1012-1013 of 325/4), if more often in a somewhat more abstract and broad sense

40. *Agora XIX* L13, ll. 1-2 (KT); cf. *Agora XVI* 160, ll. 9-10 (Peiraeus, early 3rd c.): [- - τῆς] | ν οἰκοδομίαν : Η- : δρα[χμὰς - -].

of (largely unspecified) ‘construction work’. This is however not always the case, for in *IG II³* 1, 292, ll. 26-28 of 352/1, the question is of letting out parts of the sacred Orgas εἰς οἱ[κ]οδομίαν τοῦ προ[στώιον καὶ ἐπισκευὴν το]ῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ θεο|ῖν ‘for building of the portico and repair of the sanctuary of the two goddesses.’ It may just be possible that the Sphettian decree referred to funds given by Apollodoros ‘in connection with construction’ associated with the sanctuary.

That the sanctuary in question belonged to Demeter is fairly certain: thus Kalogeropoulou’s restoration of line 3, [*Δήμητρος τὸ ίερὸν*]. It is however worth recalling that one of the ancient remains from Philiati cited above, found near the find-spot of the choregic relief, is a late-Classical or early Hellenistic relief of two seated goddesses, generally identified as Kybele (Meter) and Demeter. The restoration [*τῆς Δήμητρος*] cannot be excluded.⁴¹

ii.

[- ἐπαινέσαι Ἀπολ] λόδωρον *A* [-----]
 5 [-----]ιει εἰς τὸ ίε[ρὸν -----]
 [----- ε]ἰσφέρει *AM* [-----]
 [----- ν τὴν *EΣTH* [-----]
 [-----]ΙΣ εὐσεβέσ[τατα -----]

Line 4 contains the proposal to honour, *ἐπαινέσαι* being a virtually certain restoration before the honorand’s name (in the accusative). But this clause is not then followed, as so often in honorific decrees, by the stipulation of some additional award, such as a crown (and its proclamation). Instead it is clear that the decree moves on to another clause outlining some further grounds for award. Line 5 evidently describes an action in relation to a sanctuary. Kalogeropoulou’s [*ἀφ*]ιει in the sense of ‘he lets the shrine have’ is not entirely comfortable.

A number of other possibilities present themselves. One general approach would be to restore the (much commoner) verb [*ποιεῖ*], possibly in the phrase [*εὖ ποιεῖ*] ‘he does good’, which would suit the context much better: e.g. [*ὅτι* (or *ἐπειδὴ*) *εὖ ποιεῖ* εἰς τὸ ίε[ρὸν] or [*ἐπειδὴ ποιεῖ* εἰς τὸ ίε[ρὸν] *ὅτι δύναται ἀγαθόν*] ‘[because] he d[oes good] for the sanc[tuary]’ or [be-

41. In addition to the cult of the Mother at Agrai (on which see Parker [2005] 344-5) Pausanias notes that the deme of Anagyrous had a sanctuary of the Mother (Paus. 1.31.1: *Προσπαλτίοις δέ ἔστι καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν, Ἀναγνωρασίοις δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν*).

cause] he d[oes whatever good he can] for the sanc[tuary].⁴² But given that the use of *εἰς* after *εὐ ποιεῖ* is very difficult to parallel, we might alternatively suggest that some direct object preceded the simple verb [*πο]**ιεῖ*, describing some specific physical feature of the sanctuary which Apollodorus had ‘made for’ it in the course of the building works. A somewhat more abstract variant on this approach is suggested by the decree of an association that praises those responsible for building an annexe to their sanctuary of Ammon: *IG II²* 1282 (263/2?), ll. 4-8 ἐπειδὴ | οἱ προ[σ]αγό[θ]έντες μετὰ τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ [Ἄ]φροδ[ι]σίον? τῆς προσοικοδομίας τοῦ | ιεροῦ τοῦ] Ἀμμωνος τό τε ἔ[ρ]γον καλὸν καὶ | [ἄ]ξιον τοῦ θεοῦ οὗ ἐποίησαν κτλ. ‘Since those elected in addition with the *epimelete* [A]phrod[i]sios did a fine job of the w[o]rk on the annexe, and [w]orth[y] of the [g]od, etc.’ Apollodorus may similarly have been praised for the ‘fine work’ which ‘he did for the sanctuary of Demeter.’

A different approach would be to restore the adverb [*αἰεῖ*], which would sit readily in some such combination of words *διατελεῖ* + (*λέγων καὶ*) *πράττων* + *αἰεῖ*, common in the description of meritorious behaviour in honorific decrees.⁴³ From a similar context of sanctuary construction, we can compare *IG II²* 1215 (Erikeia?; cf. also the phratrie document *IG II²* 1238, now *SEG XXXVIII* 128). A very promising variant on this approach would permit restoration along the following lines: [ἐπαινέσαι Ἀπολ.]λόδωρον ἀ[ρετῆς ἔνεκα (καὶ φιλοτιμίας) ἦς (or ἦν) ἔχων διατελεῖ α]ἰεὶ εἰς τὸ ιε[ρὸν - - -] ‘[to praise Apol]lodoros [for] the vi[rtue (and ambition) which he al]ways [continues to have] towards the sanc[tuary - - -]’; or [ἐπαινέσαι Ἀπολ.]λόδωρον *A*[--- ὅτι ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς (δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος) α]ἰεὶ εἰς τὸ ιε[ρὸν - - -] ‘[to praise Apol]lodoros ? son of *A*[--- because he is al]ways [a good (and ambitious) man] towards the sanc[tuary - - -]’. A potential drawback for this general line of interpretation however is that *αἰεῖ* (as opposed to *ἀεῖ*) is very difficult to parallel in deme decrees and rare in polis decrees after the early fourth century,⁴⁴ – though we can point to its certain appearance in *IG II³* 1, 473, l. 6 of ca. 329/8-322/1 or 318/7?.

At all events the reference in line 5 is almost certainly back to the delivery of funds for the sanctuary of Demeter just mentioned. By contrast line 6 has the almost complete verb [*εἰσφέρει*] ‘he contributes’. The fact that this verb is in the present tense is significant. It indicates that the further meritorious action of Apollodorus remains ongoing at the time of this award. It is

42. Cf. *SEG XXVIII* 102, ll. 6-7 [Text based on Schwenk, *Alexander* 42] (Eitea, 332/1): [καὶ εὖ ποεῖ ὅ, τι ἀν δύνη]]|ται ἀγαθὸν τοὺς δημότας.

43. Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 231-2.

44. Threatte (1980) 275-277.

very likely that this further contribution is directed to a different target from the sanctuary of Demeter. That will be all the more true if Kalogeropoulou's restoration ἄμ[α] 'at the same time' is right – and there is no obviously preferable alternative.⁴⁵ It appears therefore that line 5 refers back in explanation of the proposal to honour to the action already described in the preceding lines, while with line 6 the decree moves on to a further, still current, action, *viz.*: 'to praise Apollodoros because he did good for the sanctuary (sc. of Demeter) and further because he continues at the same time also to'

Before we turn to consider what the second object of Apollodoros' attention might have been, a comment is in order on the verb [*εἰσφέρει*]. Although the term in essence means simply 'to contribute', in general usage it implies a degree of imposition or compulsion, where by contrast (e.g.) *ἐπιδίδωμι* is commonly used of an entirely 'free' or voluntary contribution. And in an Attic context of this period we should *prima facie* expect the verb to refer more specifically to the payment of the *εἰσφορά*, the imposition levied on property, mobile and immobile, to help meet the costs of war or defense.⁴⁶ It is therefore possible that the action described in l. 6 is the payment by Apollodoros of some form of *eisphora*. The most likely possibility in the deme context would be the payment by the honorand of *eisphora* that had been levied on property owned by the deme itself, which was evidently liable.⁴⁷ Payment by an individual of such communal dues would obviously merit reward from a deme. On this line of thinking we could envisage something along these lines (ll. 6-7): [- - - - ε]*ἰσφέρει* ἄμ[α καὶ |? *ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὴν εἰσφορὰν*] *τὴν ἐς τὴν ? πόλιν* - - - - -].

While this remains a possibility, a number of considerations speak against it and make it somewhat more likely that *εἰσφέρω* is being used here

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45. In fact there are very few alternatives at all. The least unlikely might be a form of *ἀμφότερος*. We might compare the dynamic in the polis decree in honour of Eudemos son of Philourgos of Plataea (*IG II³* 1, 352, 330/29), which refers to an earlier offer in the past (*ἐπειδὴ |[Εὐδημ]ος πρότερον τε ἐπηγγ[εί]λατο τ]ῶι δήμῳ ἐπιδώσειν* ll. 11-3) followed by a more recent donation (*καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ι[δέδ]ωκ[εν]* l. 15). This is akin to the more widespread description in honorific decrees of benefactions made 'again now as in the past', on which see Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 228-31.
46. See most recently Migeotte (2014) 467-8, 518-24 with earlier bibliography.
47. See e.g. the lease from Aixone *IG II²* 2492, 345/4, ll. 24-6: *καὶ ἐάν τις εἰσφορὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ χωροῦ γίγνηται εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Αἰξωνέας εἰσφέρειν, ἐάν δὲ οἱ μισθωταὶ εἰσενέγκωσι, ὑπολογγίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν μίσθωσιν;* the lease from Teithras *SEG LVII* 131, ca. 350, ll. 29-32: *τ[οὺς]ς δὲ μισθωσαμένο]νς ἀποδιδόναι Τειθρασίο[ι]ς τὰ τέλη ἐκάστο ἔ]τοις ΕΑ[. .] Γ[. .]ΕΙ καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ τ[ούς]τοιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.* It also appears that all *eisphora* obligations were collected locally in demes by demarchs, at least until reforms of 378/7 and the creation of the symmory system: Whitehead (1986) 132-3.

as an equivalent to *ἐπιδίδωμι*. In the first place, it is beyond doubt that the first action for which Apollodoros is commended had to do with construction work on a sanctuary. We should expect that the second action was of an approximately similar nature. Moreover the ‘piety’ (l. 8) demonstrated by the honorand in undertaking the second action sits better with another contribution to a cult. The payment of *eisphora* on behalf of the deme does not quite fit, even if we were to suppose that the deme obligations for *eisphora* paid by Apollodoros related to sanctuaries or properties owned by them.

Our only indication of the nature and purpose of Apollodoros’ further benefaction consists of the remains of lines 7-8. Two alternatives present themselves for the construal and interpretation of the final letters of line 7. The first is to read them as introducing a second feminine article – and therefore noun – after the preposition *ἐ*(*i*)*ς* : [---]*v* τὴν ἐς τὴν[*v* ---].⁴⁸ This admits of any number of potential formulations, and suggestions for the two missing nouns can be little more than speculation (see the discussion above on *eisphora* for one such suggestion). There is however an important consideration that may serve to limit the range of possible reference. As we shall see in further detail, the nature of the honours accorded Apollodoros is rather unusual. It is clear that he was awarded only one honour, namely *prohedria* in the theatre, and perhaps *prohedria* of a special sort. It is therefore quite likely that this further contribution related to the theatre in some way. A reference to theatre infrastructure could be introduced into this structure in a variety of ways. One might suggest purely *exempli gratia* versions that noted Apollodoros’ ‘oversight’ or ‘care for’ ([*ἐπιμέλεια*]*v* τὴν ἐς) some part of the theatre, such as ‘the *skene*’, the ‘*prohedria*’ or the ‘seating’ (τὴν[*v* σκηνὴν / προεδρίαν / θέαν]).⁴⁹ Or perhaps the praise was directed at a more concrete achievement: his ‘repair’ or ‘construction for the *skene* / *prohedria* / seating’ [--- τὴν ἐπισκευὴν] *v* / *οἰκοδομία*] *v* τὴν ἐς τὴν[*v* σκηνὴν / προεδρίαν / θέαν ---].⁵⁰

48. Cf. Dem. 40.61: τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν εἰς τὴν προῖκα.

49. The standard meaning of *epimeleia* in honorific decrees is ‘officially charged responsibility’ or ‘superintendence’, though it can sometimes tend more towards an abstract notion of ‘oversight’, ‘care’, ‘superintendence’ that such concrete service was deemed to demonstrate. See, with special reference to examples relating to the theatre, Csapo and Wilson (2012) 310-11. In *IG II²* 1198, ll. 11-12 of 326/5 two choregoi from Aix-one are honoured for their *epimeleia*, in addition to their *philotimia*. Though the evidence to judge the matter is so slight, the indications do not suggest that Apollodoros held an officially charged *epimeleia*, for this does not sit entirely comfortably with the use of the verb [*εἰσφέρει*]. If his [*ἐπιμέλεια*] *v* were remarked upon here, it is likely to have been of the more abstract variety.

50. Note *IG II²* 2851, fourth-century, a dedication to Dionysos by a commission of *epimeletai* in the deme of Ikarion who had overseen the ‘re[pair] of the statue’ (*IG II²* 2851

However, a possibly fatal objection to this entire line of interpretation is the certain use of *εἰς* —rather than *ἐς*— in l. 5. *εἰς* would certainly be the expected orthography at this date.⁵¹

Kalogeropoulou's general approach to this question is therefore more compelling — to see in *EΣTH* the remains of a perfect participle of *ἴστημι*. The result is a contribution made towards some 'fixed' or 'standing' (probably architectural) feature of feminine grammatical gender: *τὴν* l. 7. Kalogeropoulou glosses this as a likely reference to 'other benefactions and contributions of Apollodorus (to the shrine of Demeter?).'⁵² But her own suggestion for the lost feminine noun —*στήλη*— is not at all compelling: [*ἐς τὴν στήλην*] *ν τὴν ἐστη[κνῖαν]*. This is altogether too vague unless we suppose an earlier, lost reference to a particular *stele*. And what exactly would it mean to contribute to 'the fixed / standing / erected *stele*'? The phrase cannot have meant that 'he contributes to the erection of' the *stele* (namely the one before us recording Apollodorus' honours). The contribution is described as being made (in the present tense) to an object that is already standing (*ἐστη[κνῖαν]*). We suggest that *σκηνή*[*ν*] 'skene' is a preferable candidate for the object of Apollodorus' attentions: [*εἰς τὴν σκηνήν*] *ν τὴν ἐστη[κνῖαν]* '[for the *skenē*]e that is set [up]'. Unlike 'stele', 'skene' needs no further specification other than that which appears precisely in the words *τὴν ἐστη[κνῖαν]*. For although we are very familiar with the use of the word *skene σκηνή* alone as a technical term in modern handbooks for a theatrical stage-building, it did not have that as its sole, and perhaps not even as a possible, meaning when it appeared without further qualification in texts of the Classical period. Rather, *σκηνή* referred to a wide variety of impermanent structures — tents, booths, cabins.⁵³ In Classical texts it is necessary to disambiguate the sense of *skene* and to clarify when a theatrical *skene* is meant.⁵⁴ *ἐστηκνία* would have been used to indicate that

(KT): *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς ἐπ[ισκευῆς]|ς τοῦ ἀγάλματο[ς ἀνέ]|θεσαν τῶι Διον[ύσωι]*). 'The statue', without further qualification, shows that a major and well-known item from the sanctuary is meant (Romano [1982] 406-7). A fine ivy crown appears below the inscription on this substantial base, suggesting, as Buck noted (1889, 106), that the team of *epimeletai* had been crowned by their deme for their efforts.

51. The occurrence of *εἰς* in close proximity to *ἐς* in *IG II³ 1, 411*, of ca. 342?, ll. 28-33 (*καλέσαι δὲ Αρύββαν | ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ προταντεῖον ἐς αὐριον· καλέσαι δὲ | καὶ τὸν μετ' Αρύββον ἥκοντας ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ προταντεῖον ἐς αὔριον*) is cited among the 'last examples of *E* = [e ·]' by Threatte (1980) 189; cf. 178.
52. Kalogeropoulou (1986) 5.
53. LSJ⁹ s.v.; Ducat (2007); Slater (2011) 282.
54. Even at Plat. *Laws* 817c *σκηνάς* used of stage-buildings is disambiguated by context and refers to impermanent structures; similarly specification is needed at Xen. *Cyrop.* 6.1.54: *τραγικῆς σκηνῆς*. In Attic inscriptions the unqualified term is used of a tent:

the *skene* in question in Sphettos was ‘the standing’ or ‘fixed’ *skene* or, perhaps better—in order to capture a sense of the impermanence or provisionality that still attached to theatrical *skenai* in this period—‘the one that is now set up’. But it should be noted that a ‘standing *skene*’ is not the same as what in general modern usage is often called a ‘permanent’ theatrical *skene* — by which is usually intended a *skene* built entirely of stone. A ‘fixed’ or ‘standing’ *skene* in a theatre might have been made entirely of wood (and thus be open to deconstruction), or with a stone stylobate into which wooden uprights were inserted (and from which they could potentially be removed). Its main feature is that it is not the sort of entirely temporary structure that could be taken up and moved to another place to serve another function, like a tent. It is the *skene* in a designated theatre. And while epigraphically rare, the perfect participle of *ἴστημι* is in fact used precisely in connection with the *skene* of a theatre, the theatre in the deme of Peiraieus. It appears in the phrase ἀπαντά δῷθὰ καὶ ἐστηκότα in the inscription that records the lease of the Peiraieus theatre in 324/3, in an immediate context that includes two explicit references to its *skene* (*Agora XIX L13*, ll. 1-7). This is to be left ‘all in good order and upright / standing’ at the end of the lease.⁵⁵ This kind of expression is a sort of legalese for ‘ship-shape’, but Slater is right to draw attention to the special use of *ἐστηκότα* within it (coupled with the more regular *πάρτα δῷθὰ*) in this specifically theatrical context. Slater argues that it shows that the Peiraieus theatre was not to be dismantled at the end of the period of the lease, but to be left ‘standing’.⁵⁶ Since the passage in which the phrase appears can be taken safely to refer only to the *skene* of the Peiraieus theatre, and not to the theatre in its entirety—and certainly not to its *theatron* or seating space—this usage does not support Slater’s argument that the *seating* of that theatre was not to be dismantled. It does however give us an important insight into the habit of using the perfect participle of *ἴστημι* in relation to theatrical *skenai* in particular.

I.Eleusis 177 (330), l. 433; *I.Eleusis* 52 A.II.40, B.II.51. Note the need to qualify the word when used in a theatrical context at *Agora XIX L6*, fr. c, col. III, ll. 145-6 = Williams (2011) 276-7, frr. c, d, ll. 27-8 (prob. 343/2), on which see Csapo and Wilson (2014) 400-404. It appears in the honorific decree *IG II³* 1, 470, l. 3 of ca. 330 in a highly fragmentary context. Further specification is likely to have been present in the lost text.

55. *Agora XIX L13*, ll. 1-7 (KT): [.] σκηνὴν προ[. . ca. 4 . .] ασὶ[. . ca. 4 . .] Θ[. . ca. 6 . . ἔ] | ἀγ̄ τι βοϊλωντ[αι πε]ρὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν· | ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐ[τοῖς χ]ρῆσθαι λίθοις καὶ | γῆι ἐκ τοῦ τεμ[έροντ] τοῦ Διονύσου· ὅταν δὲ | ἐξίωσιν, παρο[διδόνται?] ἀπαντά δῷθὰ καὶ | ἐ|στηκότα· ἐὰν [. . ca. 6-7 . .] εἰψωσιν πρὸς τὴν σκηνεῖ, κέραμο[ν καὶ ξ]ύλα ἀπίτω | λαβὼν.

56. Slater (2011) 276-277: *contra* Csapo (2007).

In line 8 the superlative adverb *εὐσεβέστατα* (Kalogeropoulou) is a very likely restoration and will doubtless refer to the great reverence or piety towards the gods displayed by Apollodoros through his actions.⁵⁷ Just how this is to be accommodated syntactically is difficult to say. It is probably part of a phrase describing his intentions in making his contribution(s), but the otherwise promising [όπως ἀν ώ]ς εὐσεβέστατα ‘so that matters might be as pious as possible’ seems to be ruled out by the presence at the left edge of the upper part of a vertical stroke before the first *sigma*.

iii.

- [- - (?) δεδόχθαι τοῖς δημόταις [-----]
 10 [----- προεδρία]ν ἐγ τῶι θεά[τρωι -----]
 [----- Διο]νύσου ἵερε[-----]

It is clear that with line 9 we have moved on to the motion formula, for the restoration [δεδόχθαι τοῖς δημόταις seems virtually inescapable, especially given that what immediately follows is undoubtedly an award of *prohedria*. It is nonetheless somewhat awkward to have the motion clause (iii) follow rather than precede the proposal to honour (ii). We might suppose a resumptive use of δεδόχθαι in this case, assuming that the clause in line 9 picks up an earlier occurrence of the same – a possibility perhaps urged by the way in which a second motivation clause appears to have been appended to the proposal to honour (ii). The practice of deme decrees is somewhat heterogeneous in this regard and certainly more varied than in the polis context. For instance in deme decrees we find the omission of the motion formula altogether, the motivation clause being followed immediately by the proposal to honour.⁵⁸ This is in fact a possible alternative for the Sphettian decree. We might suppose that it too omitted the motion formula altogether and instead explain the dative δημόταις as governed by the idea of Apollodoros’ ‘very pious’ (l. 8) behaviour shown ‘towards’ or ‘for the demesmen’. Compare for instance the way the demesmen appear (in the dative) as the beneficiaries of the financial expenditure on their behalf by the honorand of *IG II²* 1215

57. *IG II³* 1, 292, ll. 51-52 (352/1): [όπως]ω[ς] ἀ[γαθούς] ως εὐσεβέστατα ἔχει τὰ πρόστιμα τὸν θεόν; *IG II³* 1, 416, ll. 20-21 (ca. 340-330): φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα τῆς πρόστιμας τὴν βονλήν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς πρόστιμας τοὺς θεοὺς; *IG II³* 1, 359, ll. 12-15 (328/7): ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀνδροκολῆς ἵερος[εν]ς λαζῶν τῶι Αἰσ[τη]λητῶι ἐπιμελεῖται το[ῦ] | τε ἵερον καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων ὃν αὐτῶι οἱ νόμοι προστάττοντιν κ[αὶ]λῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς. cf. Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 308-309; Lambert (2012) 76, 81, n. 49.

58. Thus for instance in *I.Eleusis* 96; *IG II²* 1198, 1199 (Aixone).

(Erikeia?, early 3rd c): *καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀναθήσειν ἐν τοῖς ἵ|εροῖς προαναλίσκων τοῖς δημόταις παρ’ ἔαντον* (ll. 11-13, from the motivation clause).⁵⁹

There is no doubt that the decree's publication formula begins in line 12 (or possibly at the end of line 11: see the app. crit. for Kalogeropoulou's restoration of *ἀναγράψαι* at the end of line 11), so the available space for the awards granted Apollodoros by the deme is confined to what follows *δημόταις* (l. 9) and the start of the publication formula (l. 11 or 12). And the remains of lines 10-11 make it clear that they deal with the award of *prohedria*, with some reference in elaboration to the priest of Dionysos. In other words there is no space for additional awards. Apart from the praise he receives by virtue of the award of this decree and its publication, *prohedria* is the only concrete benefit which Apollodoros is granted for his efforts. This unusual concentration on *prohedria*—with its entirely unique involvement of the priest of Dionysos (see further below)—lends considerable weight to the suggestion that the second cause to which Apollodoros contributed was the local cult and theatre of Dionysos.

As for the text at this point, the restoration of [- - - προεδρία]ν ἐγ τῶι θεά[τρωι - - -] at line 10 may be regarded as beyond doubt.⁶⁰ We may conjecture an introduction to the clause along these lines: [εἴναι αὐτῶι προεδρία] ν ἐγ τῶι θεά[τρωι - - -], namely 'The demesmen [decided] that he should have *prohedri*a in the thea[tre ...]'.⁶¹

A reference to the priest of Dionysos in line 11 is guaranteed: [- - - Διο]νύσου ἱερε[- - -].⁶² But just what is the relation between the award of *prohedria* and the priest of Dionysos?

The first possibility to consider is that the priest of Dionysos was here tasked with the duty of inviting Apollodoros to his seat. One could restore the text along these lines: e.g. [... καὶ καλείτω αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν ὁ τοῦ Διο]νύσου ἱερε[ύς] '[... and may the] pries[t] of [Dio]nysos [summon him to his seat]'. But while on Delos the priest of Dionysos was (at least in the second century) responsible for the related activity of proclaiming crowns

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59. A less likely variant on this alternative would be to construe the remains of l. 8 as another dative plural —[το]ῖς εὐσεβέστι— also with reference to the demesmen (?).
60. Note that Stroud *apud SEG XXXVI* 187 corrected the misprint made by Kalogeropoulou at this point, changing her [προεδρίαν ἐ]ν to [προεδρία]ν ἐν.
61. This is predicated on the assumption that the clause completed a preceding motion formula. If we assume instead that the decree omitted the motion formula, *δημόταις* is likely to have been the last word of its sentence and we might instead suggest that a new clause began here: [εἴναι δὲ αὐτῶι προεδρία]ν ἐγ τῶι θεά[τρωι - - -].
62. A priestess of Dionysos cannot be excluded, on morphological grounds at least (e.g. [καθάπερ τῇ τοῦ Διο]νύσου ἱερε[ίαι]), but the theatrical context makes a priest virtually certain. See further below p. 65.

for benefactors in the theatre at the Dionysia,⁶³ there is no evidence for such a practice in the Athenian polis nor from any of the Attic demes. In fact in the four clear examples of invitations by officials to *prohedria* that survive from the demes, it is the demarch, never the priest, who issues the invitation.⁶⁴ We should moreover naturally assume that the priest was himself always among if not the very first to be invited to a seat of honour.

A much more promising interpretation (and restoration) goes back to Kalogeropoulou: namely that the phrase describes a particularly honorific position that was to be accorded to Apollodoros. Apollodoros is to have a seat of honour '[alongside the] pries[t] of [Dio]nysos' [παρὰ τὸν Διο]νύσου ἵερε[α].⁶⁵ Assuming that the priest of Dionysos occupied the centre-front seat in Sphettos, as he evidently did in Athens,⁶⁶ Apollodoros would be adjacent to the centre of the orchestra — in other words he would be in the most prestigious seat in the house. This would be a nice example of the possibilities in the economy of prohedric distinction available even in what was presumably a relatively small deme theatre. And if, as we have argued, Apollodoros may have made —or have been in the process of making— some sort of substantial contribution to the *skene* of the theatre, this seat would give him an excellent view of the result of his own generosity and thus be an eminently appropriate means of acknowledging the benefaction.⁶⁷

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63. *ID* 1507, ll. 21-23 (146/5 or 145/4): ἀναγορεῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς Διονυσίοις | τοῖς κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν συντελονυμένοις· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως τὸν ἀεὶ γενόμενον ἵερεά τοῦ Διονύσου. Also *ID* 1505, ll. 20-21 (146/5 or 145/4).
64. Aixone: *IG II²* 1197, ll. 9-11; Eleusis: *I.Eleusis* 99, ll. 18-20; *I.Eleusis* 101, ll. 18-21; Halai Araphenides: *SEG XLVI* 153, ll. 12-5; Peiraeus: *IG II²* 1214, ll. 22-6.
65. While *παρὰ* with the dative *ἵερε[ι]* 'beside' would also be possible, the formulation with the accusative is preferable as suggesting the prior act of processing after invitation to take his seat: cf. e.g. Isaetus 8.16.
66. Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 268-269; Aristoph. *Frogs* 297 + ΣΣ; *IG II²* 5022; for the statue: cf. Aristoph. *Knights* 536.
67. It is true that this would represent something that is strictly speaking unparalleled — namely the assignation of a particular and prominent seat within the *prohedria* to an individual, presumably for life. But most or all awards of *prohedria* in the demes are either certainly or very probably made for life. Note for instance the use of *ἀεί* in attributive position with the participial 'the demarch in office', implying a recurrent invitation to *prohedria* from year to year in a decree from Halai Araphenides *SEG XLVI* 153, ll. 12-15 (KT): καὶ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν δήμαρχον τὸν | ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντα εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν; the same at Eleusis: *I.Eleusis* 99, ll. 18-20. Most striking of all is the grandiose award of inheritable *prohedria* 'for all time' in Acharnai to three men, *SEG XLIII* 26B, ll. 19-22 (KT): εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδροῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις ^v | εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον Διονυσίων τῶν Ἀχαρνῆσιν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου βάθρου. Evidence for the assig-

A final possibility is that the relation between the award of prohedria to Apollodoros and the priest of Dionysos is comparative, to the effect that Apollodoros' *prohedria* is to be the same as that awarded the priest. We know that the priests of the deme Peiraieus were awarded *prohedria* as a group at the end of the fourth century, and probably already somewhat earlier.⁶⁸ It is at any rate virtually certain that any deme which had a theatre would automatically grant *prohedria* in it to its priest of Dionysos. We might therefore suggest: ‘And he is to receive [*prohedri*]a in the thea[tre like the] pries[t] of [Dio]nysos’ [εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρία]ν ἐγ τῷ θεά[τῷ καθάπερ τῷ τὸν Διο]νύσους ιερε[τ]. This has the advantage of avoiding an unparalleled expression ([alongside the] pries[t] of [Dio]nysos’ [παρὰ τὸν Διο]νύσους ιερέ[a]) and an unparalleled practice (invitation to *prohedria* by the priest), though neither do we have a direct parallel for the award of *prohedria* in this way. We can however compare the way in which the Eleusinians award Smikythion of Kephale *prohedria*, and specify that it is to be announced each year by the demarch ‘just like th[e oth]ers to whom *prohedria* has been awarded’ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὓς δέδοται ἡ προεδρία (*I.Eleusis* 80, ll. 21-4, 340-335?); or again to the way the Peiraians require their demarch to invite an honorand into the theatre ‘as he does for the priests and others to whom *prohedria* is awarded by the Peiraians’ (*IG II²* 1214, ll. 22-25, ca. 300-250 (KT): καὶ εἰσαγέτω αὐτὸν ὁ δήμαρχος εἰς | τὸ θέατρον καθάπερ οὗτος ιερεῖς

nation of a particular seat to an individual is less easy to find, but one might consider *IRham.* 83 from Rhamnous, the upper corner of the back of a marble seat (assembled from eight fragments). This represents the remains of the first, most western, prohedric seat from a set of five or seven seats dedicated by a priest of the Founding Hero (*IRham.* 82, second half of the fourth century). *IRham.* 83 has a summary ‘CV’ of its dedicator, who was therefore probably its occupant, with three inscribed crowns of foliage, and a fourth, in central position, of ivy.

68. *IG II²* 1214, ll. 19-25 (ca. 300-250) (KT) shows priests as a group awarded *prohedria* in Peiraieus —and moreover serving as the main category of recipients with which to compare a new awardee: εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τῷ | θεάτρῳ, ὅταν ποιῶσι Πειραιεῖς τὰ Διονύσια, οὗ καὶ αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσι κατατέμεται καὶ εἰσαγέτω αὐτὸν ὁ δήμαρχος εἰς | τὸ θέατρον καθάπερ οὗτος ιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὓς δέδοται ἡ προεδρία παρέπει Πειραιῶν. The leasing arrangements for the Peiraieus theatre of 324/3 (*Agorai XIX L13*, ll. 13-16 (KT)) further show that *prohedria* was to be allocated to a number of groups *ex officio* —the demarch and herald certainly, but a very probable restoration of Stroud, based largely on comparison with *IG II²* 1214, extends that to the deme’s priests as a group: εἶναι δὲ τὴν προεδρίαν | καὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς ιερεῦσι καὶ τῷ κηρῷ | ρυκι καὶ εἴ των ἄλλων [δεδώκασιν οἵ δημόται | τῇ]ν προεδρίαν.

καὶ τὸν|ς ἄλλονς οἵς δέδοται ἡ προεδρία πα<ρ>ὰ Πε|ι<ρ>αιέων),⁶⁹ although even here the comparison is not exact, for in these two cases the instruction is to give to the honorands the same sort of honorific invitation to take their seat as was granted the other groups, not —as in the restoration proposed in the Sphettian decree—to make the primary grant of *prohedria* ‘as for the priest’. An instance where *prohedria* itself is granted in this way cannot be offered, though parallels do exist for the award of other concrete privileges ‘as for X’.⁷⁰

iv.

[----- τὸ ψήφ]ισμα τὸν δῆ[μαρχον -----]
 [----- καὶ στῆσαι ἐν [-----]
 [-----?] *vacat* 0.04

The last lines of the decree contain the remains of its publication formula. This may have begun in the latter part of line 11 (see Kalogeropoulou’s restoration in the app. crit.) and it may have continued into the first part of a line 14. The demarch—who was likely to have been named or otherwise specified⁷¹—was to write up the decree on a stone *stele* and to set it up —

69. Cf. *I.Eleusis* 80, ll. 21-24 (340-335?): [ε]ἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν, | [καὶ] καλεῖν τὸν δήμαρχον αὐτὸν τὸ|[ν ἀεὶ] δημαρχοῦντα καθ<ά>περ καὶ το|[ὺς ἄλλους] οἵς δέδοται ἡ προεδρία.
70. An example of the use of *καθάπερ* + dative in the granting of concrete privileges other than *prohedria*: *IG II²* 86, ll. 14-16 (ca. 400-375): *καὶ | [τᾶλλα ἔναι αὐτ]ῶι καθάπερ τῷ | [πατρὶ καὶ ἔγγό]νοις*. It is noteworthy that in granting *prohedria* to one Kallidamas of Cholleidai *IG II²* 1214, ll. 19-25 (ca. 300-250)—see n. 68 above—the decree of Peiraeus specifies a particular area of *prohedria* where Kallidamas was to be given a seat: ‘where it is allocated for the Peiraean themselves,’ (ll. 21-22). This implies a map of the Peiraian *prohedria* with sections reserved for different categories. It is presumably in this same area reserved for ‘the Peiraean themselves’ that the deme’s priests, as a category—and evidently *ex officio*—took their place (l. 23). It follows that there was also an area for non-Peiraians honorands: Kolophonian ambassadors received it in 307/6 (*IG II²* 456). Or perhaps the management and plan of the *prohedria* was even more complex. We know that the Athenian polis could award it, apparently without consulting the deme (*IG II²* 456). Was there a further section especially reserved for these awardees?
71. It is likely that a proper name or other qualifying description appeared after the words ‘the demarch’ in l. 12. The inclusion of such specification or qualification is more often than not the rule: *IG II²* 1180, ll. 24-5: ‘the demarch after Leukios’; *IG II²* 1193, ll. 8-9: ‘the demarch Isarchos’; *IG II²* 1197, l. 20 (23): ‘Philotheros the demarch’; *IG II²* 1198, l. 20: ‘the demarch Dorotheos’; *IG II²* 1199, ll. 15-6: ‘the demarch in the year after the Archon Neaichmos’; *IG II²* 1202, ll. 19-21: ‘the demarch Hegesileos and the

most probably ‘in the theatre’ ἐν [τῷ θεάτρῳ], although the sanctuary of Dionysos or some other deity cannot be ruled out. The theatre is certainly the logical site for the erection of the *stele*, given the fact of Apollodorus’ award of *prohedria* there, irrespective of whether he also contributed to the *skene*, but if he did, it would be virtually certain that that was the site for the permanent record of his honour. One might suggest further the possible inclusion of the locative of the demotic at the end, e.g. [καὶ στῆσαι ἐν [τῷ θεάτρῳ Σφηνττοῖ]. Similar specification is found in a decree from Aixone: καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Αἰξωνῆσιν;⁷² and in another from Gargettos: καὶ σι[τ]ῆσαι] ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ | Διονύσου Γαργηττοῖ.⁷³

III. Theatre and Cult of Dionysos in Sphettos

Taken together, a close analysis of the choregetic relief and decree from Sphettos points to the existence in the deme, by the middle of the fourth century, of performances of tragedy in the context of a local Dionysia; funded by choregoi; and possibly (to deduce from the garlands held by the choreuts on the relief) organised on a competitive basis. The care taken to represent the fifteen choreuts seems to reflect the concern and pride of the demesmen in assuring that their tragic chorus had the ‘full’ complement familiar from the City Dionysia—a concern and pride which may have been shared by a number of other demes, such as Ikarion,⁷⁴ and perhaps also Anagyrous.⁷⁵ The relief will originally have been placed in the deme’s sanctuary of Dionysos, or perhaps in some part of the (probably adjacent) theatre. Milchhöfer had moreover noted a number of other ‘dionysiaca’ among the ancient remains of Koropi: the fragmentary torso of a Papposilenos with infant Dionysos and

treasurers’; *IG II²* 1203, l. 20: ‘the demarch Po[- …]’; *SEG XLIII* 26B, ll. 15-6: ‘the demarch Oinophilos’; *SEG LV* 252, ll. 17-18: ‘the demarch [...]as’. On the other side (just ‘the demarch’): *IG II²* 1182, ll. 16-18; *SEG XXII* 116, l. 24; *SEG XXXIV* 103, l. 27. Kalogeropoulou considered her restoration of l. 12, which did not name or otherwise describe the demarch in question, sufficiently secure to permit an estimation that there were 30-31 letters per line (the inscription is not stoichedon), but we must leave the matter of the line-length somewhat more open. No edge is preserved, and while the publication formula used in deme decrees is fairly predictable, it is not sufficiently so to admit security for Kalogeropoulou’s text, as indicated by the observable tendency to give the demarch some further description.

72. *IG II²* 1202, ll. 20-1 (340/39) (KT).

73. *SEG XLVI* 155, ll. 3-5 (ca. 350-300) (KT).

74. See Wilson (2015) on *IG I³* 254, ll. 16, 22.

75. See note 27 above.

a life-size bull's foot were found in the same area of Philiati.⁷⁶ The first certainly, the latter with some likelihood, further suggest the presence of the cult of Dionysos and, like the choregic relief, are very likely to have come from the theatre or sanctuary of the god.

The decree also offers us a number of precious hints as to the architecture and function of the theatre within the context of the deme's Dionysia. Like several other deme theatres, the theatre of Sphettos was furnished with prohedric seating —very probably of marble— that was granted to distinguished members and benefactors of the deme, and also —a fact only directly attested for demes here in Sphettos— to its priest of Dionysos. If our interpretation of line 7 as a reference to the fixed *skene* is valid, the theatre was equipped with a stage-building behind its orchestra by this date, which was it seems in the process of being refurbished or extended thanks to the generosity of a private benefactor.⁷⁷ Paga's treatment of the evidence pertaining to the existence of a theatre in Sphettos is thus inadequate: although highly fragmentary, the evidence of the decree cannot be so summarily dismissed, especially in combination with the choregic relief and other archaeological evidence (II) which she ignores.⁷⁸

76. Milchhöfer (1887) 97-98, no. 99 (Papposilenos); no. 101 (bull).

77. We might compare the situation in Euonymon. Here Olympiodoros son of Diotimos, probably the famous general active in the late fourth and early third century, clearly made a significant votive dedication in the theatre in the closing decades of the fourth century (*SEG* XXXII 267), though just what it consisted of is unclear. The dedicatory *stele* with his name was found in the orchestra, and the fact that it evidently originally stood immediately beside one of the two statues of Dionysos found in the orchestra has suggested that his dedication may have consisted of, or at least included, them. But there are difficulties in establishing such a connection: while they have been placed by their style around 325 (Tzachou-Alexandri [2007]), their archaising style has parallels as early as the 470s, and their somewhat stiff character might be thought to fit better much earlier in the fourth century, around 370 (thus Hans Goette, *per litteras*), in which case they almost certainly have no connection with the dedication of Olympiodoros (excluding as highly implausible the idea of a dedication of statues already some fifty years old) and might in fact be close in date to the dedication of the older *prohedria*. Perhaps Olympiodoros' dedication consisted rather of the new *prohedria* (the theatre rather unusually has two phases of *prohedria*) and the associated *proskenion*, or of some significant element of one or the other? Further discussion in Csapo and Wilson (*forthcoming*). See Tzachou-Alexandri (1980a) 65-67; Tzachou-Alexandri (1980b); Tzachou-Alexandri (2007).

78. Paga ([2010] 354, n. 5) accepted that the existence of a theatre in Sphettos would disrupt the pattern she seeks to identify according to which there was no more than one theatre for each trittys (City, Coastal, Inland) of the ten Attic tribes. Whether or not this played any part in her interpretation of the evidence pertaining to Sphettos, it should be noted that with the removal of Hagnous from the current list of those demes known

The decree is a particularly precious testimony to the priesthood of Dionysos in the demes. Given the widespread importance of the cult of Dionysos in the demes of Attica, it is noteworthy that this seems to be the only direct evidence for a priest of Dionysos in the entire corpus of evidence, with the (partial) exception of the priest of Dionysos in Peiraieus attested by a polis decree honouring priests and *hieropoioi* of ca. 340-330 (*IG II³* 1, 416). Moreover in his study of this decree Stephen Lambert has cogently argued that the priest of Dionysos in Peiraieus was appointed from all the Athenians, not just the demesmen of Peiraieus.⁷⁹ The situation in Peiraieus will in any case be exceptional, given the status of the Dionysia there as a quasi-polis festival. In Sphettos, as doubtless was the norm for other demes, the cult and priesthood of Dionysos will have been controlled by the deme, even if the priest was selected by election or lot from a *genos*.

It is striking that priestesses of Dionysos are better-attested in the demes than their male counterparts. Thus we have the priestess of Dionysos who appears in the sacrificial calendar of Erchia (*SEG XXI* 541 A, ll. 33-40: ca. 375-350) while the register of priestly perquisites from Aixone (*SEG LIV* 214, ll. 9-11: ca. 400-375) shows a priestess of Dionysos receiving the skin of a goat. There is however no evidence to suggest the involvement of these priestesses with a theatre or even a Dionysia in their demes. At Sphettos on the other hand the close connection between the priest of Dionysos and the theatre is guaranteed, for his presence *ex officio* in prohedric seating was evidently the norm (see on lines 10-11 above). We may with some confidence postulate that he oversaw a range of ritual activities such as the sacrifice and procession in connection with the Dionysia prior to taking his seat in the theatre.

It is difficult to judge whether the pig clearly being led to sacrifice to Dionysos in the choregic relief reflects a norm of his cult in the deme. As noted above, the sacrifice of a pig to Dionysos is only very rarely attested.⁸⁰ It is however extremely common practice for Demeter.⁸¹ This might encourage us to ask whether there was some form of interconnection or interaction

to have held a Dionysia —see note 20 above— this difficulty for Paga's thesis disappears. Others however remain, on which see Goette (2014) and Wilson (*forthcoming*).

79. Lambert (2003).

80. On Cos a pig and a kid were sacrificed to Dionysos Skyllitas (R-O 62 A, ll. 44-46, ll. 57-59: mid-fourth century). The theatre of Dionysos in Athens was purified by the blood of piglet at the start of the dramatic performances (Harp. s.v. *καθάρσιον*), but in this practice the piglets were not deemed to be sacrificed as such for a particular deity. Cf. Parker (1983) 21, 30, n. 66.

81. Clinton (2005) 167-179.

between the cults of Dionysos and Demeter in Sphettos, something which in itself would not be surprising and for which the decree might be thought to provide some support.⁸² For it is virtually certain that Apollodoros contributed materially to the cultic infrastructure of Demeter in Sphettos; probable that he did the same for the cult of Dionysos; and certain that he was honoured in the local theatre of Dionysos.

This in turn raises the question of the physical location of the two cults, and of the theatre. The fact that Demeter and Dionysos are apparently associated in this decree —at a minimum by virtue of being the object of one man's benefice— might suggest that the sanctuaries of the two also stood in some physical proximity to one-another, or (or perhaps in addition) that they together served as the main cults of the deme.⁸³ As for the theatre itself, while there is no further evidence to attest to its location and form, possibilities within the target region include a site on the slopes of the hill of Christ (which very possibly served as a kind of acropolis for the deme);⁸⁴ or at the open area just northeast of the hill (the possible site of the deme's agora?), where the 'Sphettian Road' passed by.

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82. Recall also that the relief representing Kybele (Meter) and Demeter (above p. 42-43) was found very near the choregic relief. It is striking that in a number of demes the cult of Dionysos appears to have been brought into a close association with that of another deity: with Apollo in Ikarion; with Demeter in Eleusis, Halai Araphenides and possibly Halimous.
83. Compare the situation in the deme Ikarion, where 'the Dionysion' (*SEG* XXII 117, l. 8) appears to have contained the shrines of both Dionysos and Apollo, as well as the theatre. Cf. Biers and Boyd (1982) 1-18.
84. See the suggestion of Kalogeropoulou: note 11.

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