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THE ELEUSINIAN INSCRIPTION OF 446 B.C.

I.

THE inscription discovered at Eleusis, at the end of 1879, throws light upon two Greek words. Before, however, discussing these, a short account of the Inscription itself may not be uninteresting to the readers of HERMATHENA. Inscribed on Pentelic marble, it was found near the temple of S. Zacharias, at Eleusis, and first published in an Athenian journal, Παλιγγενεσία, in February, 1880. Since then, M. Foucart and H. Sauppe have edited and annotated it. Both the forms of some of the letters, and also a fact in its contents, prove that its date is 446 B.C. It is an Athenian decree, devoting certain portions of the produce of the land as first-fruits to Demeter and Persephone, and directing the Demarchoi to collect the dues, each in his deme, and bring them to be deposited in the temple of those goddesses at Eleusis; the allies were also to be obliged to contribute. But what perhaps is the most interesting point in the whole document is the sentence directing that the city should announce this decree 'to all the other (*i.e.* except the allied) Grecian cities, to which it may seem to be possible—'urging, but not commanding' them, to contribute offerings, 'if they wish.' This exclusion seems to point at Sparta and Thebes. I may notice the words *μη επι-τάττοντας, κελεύοντας* δέ as a remarkable example of the proper meaning of *κελεύειν*. The rest of the decree is occupied with details of sacrificing and dedicating, but a few lines from the end is the direction that in future it

should be unlawful to erect altars in the *Pelargicon* without the authority of the Boule and Demos, or to cut and take away the stones from that sacred place, or bring earth or stones into it—with a penalty of fifty drachmae: this resolution is evidently due to the oracle of which Thukydides records (ii. 17) the *ἀκροτελεύτιον*. The foregoing part of that oracle was what induced the Athenians to offer these first-fruits—*κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐν Δελφῶν*. One important point which I can barely mention still remains, 'Μῆνα δὲ ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα,' which shows that Poseideon was not the only month that was repeated by intercalation. I now proceed to the consideration of the words on which the inscription throws light.

II.—ON THE WORD *σιρός*.

Σιρός (we also find the spellings *σειρός* and *σιρρός* in the codices) is explained by Liddell and Scott as 'a pit, especially for keeping corn in,' and it is generally held to be the name of the underground caves in which the *Thracians* kept their corn; and, to judge from the extant passages, which bear on the word, the *σιροί* seem to have been confined to Thrace, and the word used only to designate the Thracian pits. Demosth., *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρ.* 100, 26, says, *ὕπερ δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῇ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν*. The Emperor Julian has in a letter *πῶς μὲν καλῶς ἔχει ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ διάγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα σιροῖς ἐγχειμάζειν*. (He evidently had Demosthenes' words in mind.) Varro mentions *σιροί* as peculiar to Thrace and to Cappadocia. The comedian Anaxandrides, in a fragment where he makes fun of the marriage of Iphikrates with a daughter of Kotys, king

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of Thrace, says, that among the wedding presents is to be βολβῶν τε σιρὸν δωδεκάπηχυν. In all these places the σιροί are spoken of with contempt, as Thracian and as poor wretched pits.

Now, it is to be observed that in the middle of the fifth century they were not only not confined to the barbarians, but used by the most civilised of the Greeks—a hundred years before Demosthenes delivered the speech in which the words quoted above occur. This interesting fact is proved by the Eleusinian Inscription, which I have described above, whose date, as I have said, is 446 B.C., or thereabouts—not later. In this document it is directed, οἰκοδομῆσαι σιροὺς τρεῖς Ἐλευσίνι for the reception of the first-fruits which were to be brought in for the two goddesses, worshipped with such peculiar solemnity at Eleusis. The word οἰκοδομῆσαι proves, moreover, that the Attic σιροί were not rudely-dug pits, or hewn-out caves, but regular granaries *built* underground; that their construction required expense is shown by the following clause which decrees that money is to be paid therefor, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τοῦ τοῖν θεοῖν.

In the passage of Demosthenes, then, Θρακίοις is absolutely necessary along with σιροῖς to express the meaning required. Late writers, judging from such passages as these, thought that the use of σιρός for ‘corn-pit’ had never extended beyond Thrace. That it is a foreign word, probably Thracian, and that these corn-pits were primarily a peculiarity of that country, is beyond dispute; hence, it is evident that this method of preserving grain was introduced into Attica from Thrace, and improved upon by the Athenians; and the tradition of the Thracian Eumolpos having been created ἱεροφάντες of the Eleusinian worship by Erechtheus, its founder, points significantly to a very early introduction of the σιροί for special religious purposes.

III.—THE KOLAKRETAI.

On the functions of these officers the Eleusinian Inscription throws new light. That they had originally the management of all financial affairs, till the time of Kleisthenes, that he transferred these offices to the Apodektai, leaving with the Kolakretai only the duty of providing the meals in the Prytaneion; and finally, that Perikles, in instituting the pay of the Dikastai, assigned to the Kolakretai the office of paying them (cf. Arist. *Wasps*, 693, 724)—all this we knew already. But in the 51st line of the Eleusinian Inscription we find that the Kolakretai are to supply the money for buying and erecting two slabs on which a public decree was to be inscribed, οἱ δὲ Κωλακρέται δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον. This proves that they had some part in the financial affairs in 446 B.C.; and it seems probable that Perikles, at the time of his reforms, gave them some other duties connected with the state-money as well as that of paying the Dikastai, and so revived the office of Κωλακρέτης from the comparative unimportance in which it had been placed by Kleisthenes, and in which it had remained since his time.

In his long and learned discussion on this interesting Inscription, H. Sauppe has, curious to say, taken no note of this point.

I add a few Notes on Herodotus and Euripides :—

1. Herodotus iv. 153. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἕαδε ἀδελφείον τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλῳ λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ εἰνῶν ἀνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφειων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους εἰς τὴν Πλατίαν.

It is evident that Herodotus mentioned the number of men who were sent out to found Kyrene, or he would not have used the word ἄνδρας, which thus by itself is *de trop*. Stein saw this, and says in his note, that the number of the men "ist hinter ἄνδρας ausgefallen, lässt sich aber ziemlich genau aus den zwei Fünfzigruderern schliessen, deren jeder etwa 80 Mann fasste (vii. 184. 15)." Now, in vii. 184, we find that Herodotus, in reckoning the total number of men in all the penteconteroi of Xerxes' force, takes 80 as the *average* number in each, saying that, in some there were more, but in others less. We should expect to find that ships sailing to found a colony peaceably would be filled with a larger crew than ships going on a war-expedition, any moment liable to be engaged in a sea-fight, where lightness of freight would be important. Hence I think Stein wrong in limiting the number to 80 in each. I would suggest to read ἄνδρας διηκοσίους, C, the symbol for 200, having fallen out after the last letter of ἄνδρας. We have thus a number more likely to be fixed upon for a colony than 160 or thereabouts.

2. In Eurip. *Iph. in Tauris*, 1117, we have the words—

ζηλοῦσ' ἄταν διὰ παντὸς δυσδαίμον' (α),

where the chorus, Iphigeneia's faithful friends, are speaking and are the subject (ἐγώ) of ζηλοῦσα, while ἄταν refers to Iphigeneia's misfortunes. But it is nonsense to talk about *envying* their mistress's calamity, and so Nauck writes "ἄταν absurdum," and proposes αἰῶ; Koechly proposes αἰσαν, both of which give very poor sense. Monk's ζηλοῦσα τὰν, though less change, is not satisfactory. All three have assumed the corruption to be in ἄταν, but I find the difficulty in ζηλοῦσ', which in any case is quite inappropriate. Read 'ΙΔΟΥC', and we have good sense;

the chorus has witnessed Iphigeneia's misfortunes from beginning to end. In the corresponding line in the Strophe we have δᾶφνάν answering to ἰδοῦσ'.

3. Frag. 362 (Ἑρεχθεύς), l. 38, τὴν οὐκ ἐμὴν πλὴν φύσει δώσω κόρην. A syllable is wanting. Nagel proposed the makeshift ἐμὴν οὔν. Read πλὴν ἧ φύσει, a redundancy which an ignorant scribe might easily omit.

4. Frag. 889 (Incertae Fab.), l. 4, we have πάντων ἡδιστος ἔφν θνητοῖς, purposing to be an anapaestic line. Nauck wishes to transpose θνητοῖς between πάντων and ἡδιστος. It seems to me more probable that, a word having dropped out after πάντων, θνητοῖς was added by a copyist to complete the line. I read πΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ἡδιστος ἔφν, an instance of an ordinary Greek idiom.

JOHN B. BURY.