

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (14-27)

BOUNDARY OF THE ANAKEION

14. Boundary marker of poros, found on Nov. 19, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section O. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 41.



No. 14

Height, 0.60 m.; width, 0.38 m.;
thickness, 0.22 m.
Height of letters, 0.055 m.-0.06 m.
Inv. No. I 2080.

ca. 450 B.C.

Ἀνακίον
ἡερὸν
ὀρος

The approximate date of the inscription is determined by the forms of the letters, especially nu, kappa with short diagonal strokes, rho with tail-stroke, and sigma with three bars. For the site of the Anakeion see Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 304. The form Ἀνάκιον is epigraphically attested at Athens in the fourth-century records of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (*I.G.*, II², 1400, line 44: τὰδε ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακίου).

A CHOREGIC DEDICATION

15. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, and with the surface much weathered, found on March 30, 1934 in a modern wall in Section Δ.

Height, 0.237 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.104 m.
Height of letters, 0.016 m.
Inv. No. I 1740.

The inscription is stoichedon. Two lines occupy a vertical space of 0.07 m., and four letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal span of 0.12 m.

ca. 440 B.C.

[Ἀκα]μαντὶς ὕ [ἐνίκα]
[Λέα]γρος ὕ ὕ [ἐχορέγε]
[Παντ]ακλῆς ὕ [ἐδίδασκε]

vacat



No. 15

The restorations proposed above as [Ἀκα]μαντὶς and [Λέα]γρος seem certain, for Leagros is known to have belonged to the deme Kerameikos of the tribe Akamantis. It is my suggestion that the monument was erected by the victorious choregos, Leagros, and that the name which followed his upon the stone was that of the poet with whose composition the victory was won. The verbs ἐνίκα, ἐχορέγε, and ἐδίδασκε must therefore be supplied to the right of the uninscribed spaces upon the stone after the names.

It should be noticed that this simple form of dedication is that which Plutarch records in his *Life of Aristides* (§ 1) for a choregic monument which Demetrios of Phaleron thought to have been erected by Aristides, son of Lysimachos, naming him as the choregos and Archestratos as the poet. Panaitios claimed that Demetrios was wrong in his attribution because of the Ionic letters of the dedication and because no one had recorded a poet named Archestratos in the time of the Persian wars, though many had recorded the poet Archestratos from the time of the Peloponnesian war (Plutarch, *Aristides*, § 1). The inscription has been assigned, accordingly, to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, II², 3027) and in its epigraphic form probably appeared as follows:

Ἀντιοχὶς ἐνίκα
Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγε
Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε.

This general form was characteristic of the years when the tribe, not the choregos, was thought of as the victor and in its simple arrangement belongs to the fifth century.

The interpretation of this monument as a choregic dedication gains support from

the probable restoration [Παντ]ακλῆς as the name of the poet. He appears on a choregic monument of the fifth century now published as *I.G.*, I², 771, and is named by Antiphon in his speech *περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ* (§ 11) as didaskalos in still another choregic contest.¹ Inasmuch as the date of this speech of Antiphon has now been fixed by the evidence of the calendar equations between conciliar and civil years as 419 B.C.,² it follows that Pantakles had been didaskalos in the preceding year 420/19 B.C.³

The date of *I.G.*, I², 771 must be put on the basis of letter forms (sigma with four bars) probably later than 446 B.C. The letter forms of the present text, particularly the nu and the tailed rho, indicate a date for the choregia of Leagros in the early part of this career of Pantakles, and I have suggested a date for the inscription *ca.* 440 B.C. Leagros himself must have been at that time a relatively young man, for he is to be identified as the brother-in-law of Kallias (*P.A.*, 9029) and not as the Leagros who was a contemporary of Themistokles (*P.A.*, 9028).

BOUNDARY MARKER

16. Part of a boundary stone of poros, broken below, behind, and at the left, found on October 13, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section O.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.186 m.; thickness, 0.244 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.–0.031 m.

Inv. No. I 2045.



No. 16

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Δεῦρε ᾿Α]καμ[α]
 [ντὶς φ]υλὲ τ
 [ελευτᾶι] Θορικ
 [ἰον δὲ τ]ριττύ
 5 [ς · ἡιππο]θοντὶ
 [ς δὲ φυ]λὲ ἄρχ
 [εται — — — — —]

¹ For Pantakles, see Harpocration, *s.v.* διδάσκαλος: — — — Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ “ἐλαχον,” φησί, “Παντακλῆα διδάσκαλον.” ὅτι γὰρ ὁ Παντακλῆς ποιητῆς, δεδήλωκεν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις. See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, pp. 46-47.

² Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 121-122; *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 174.

³ Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I², p. 195.

The inscription is of the type of *I.G.*, I², 900, and names the "Coastal Riding" of the tribe Akamantis. All three ridings of this tribe are now known. See Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, p. 175, and Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 883-887.

FRAGMENTS OF THE QUOTA LISTS (Nos. 17-20)

17. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 21, 1937 near the surface of Section OA.



No. 17

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4903.

[H]III	Πεδιᾶς ἐλ Λίνδοι
[Δ]ΓΗIII	Καρπάθιοι
[H]Π	Κεράμιοι
[HH]H	Κνί[δ]ιοι
[ΔΓ]ΗIII	Καρπάθο Ἀρκέσει(α)
[Γ]Η[ΗII]	Ναχσ[ι]ῆται
---	Πλαδ[ασε]ς

This fragment preserves parts of the names from the tribute-quota list *S.E.G.*, V, 12 (Col. IV, lines 18-24). It must have been broken away from the original fragment 91 of *I.G.*, I, 237. Much of the contact surface between the two stones has been lost, because fragment 91 suffered still further damage between the dates of its publication by Rangabé (*Ant. Hell.*, I, 1842, no. 161) and Koehler (*Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, 1869, Plate V, no. 76). The complete reading of the names is given in the above transcript with one suggested change in the text of the last line. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 58.



No. 18

18. Fragment of Pentelic marble found on May 18, 1937 in the road near the entrance to the Acropolis.

Height, 0.177 m.; width, 0.098 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4910.

This fragment belongs with Cols. IV and V of *S.E.G.*, V, 20, the tribute-quota list of 435/4 B.C. (lines 22-29). It has been broken from the original stone as first published, and until now lost. Its re-discovery confirms the established text, and adds the mark of punctuation after [Λα]μψακενοί in Col. IV, line 29. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 85.

19. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with right side and back preserved, found on February 15, 1938 in the wall of a Turkish pit in Section II.

Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.147 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5229.

This fragment belongs to the tribute-quota list of 430/29 B.C. and joins two already known fragments. The text is reproduced here as it appears in Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 149 (Col. III, lines 36-44).

----- [Νεάπολι]ς
 ----- [Νε]άνδ[ρ]εα
 ----- Ἀρισβα[ῖοι]
 ----- Πρίαπος

40

vacat

vacat

[μισθὸν ἐτέ]λεσαν haide a[πὸ] τῷ

[ἡ]λλ[εσποντί]ο φόρο

[Δ]Γ

[Καλχεδ]όνιοι

etc.



No. 19. Part of the Tribute-Quota List of 430/29 B.C.

20. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the original top and back (?) preserved, found on April 27, 1937 in a disturbed fill in Section OA.

Height, 0.208 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4809.



No. 20. Agora Inv. No. I 4809 + E. M. 12798

The inscription is easily recognizable as one of the tribute-quota lists, and soon after its discovery it was found to make a direct join with another piece (E.M. 12798) recently published by Broneer.¹ With these two pieces, though not making a join with either, is to be associated a third fragment long known and now published by Broneer from the text as given in *S.E.G.*, V, 30 (*I.G.*, I², 223).

There are thus recovered three fragments of one of the separate yearly lists of quota from the period after the assessment of 425 B.C. The new stone helps greatly

¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 154-157, with a photograph on p. 155.

in establishing the text, and the high quotas of the Hellespontine district give clear evidence of the scale of the assessment. The following restoration is proposed:

Quota-List of 422/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

[Ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεὶ Πρέπις Ἀ]φιδναῖος πρῶτ[ος ἐγραμμάτευσ· ἔρχε]
 [δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλκαῖος Σκ]αμβονίδες· ἐπὶ τῇ[ς τρίτες καὶ τρια^{v v}]
 [κοστῆς ἀρχῆς· ἔλλενοταμί]αι ἔσαν ἡοῖς Ἀντ[.....¹⁶.....]
 [.....¹⁶..... Περγ]ασῆθεν, Μνεσίθεο[ς Ἀραφένιος,⁶...]
 5 [.....¹⁶..... Εὐπν]ρίδες, Αἰσχίνες Π[ερικοίδες,⁷...] 5
 [Θυμαῖτ]ῳδε[ς,¹¹.....]αἰεύς *vacat*
 [πόλεις ἡ]αἶδε [ἀπέδοσαν ἀπα]ρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶ[ν ἀπ]ὸ τῷ ταλάντ[ο^{v v}]

	Νεσιοτ[ικός]		ἡελλε[σ]πόντιο[ς]	
	----- Ἀναφ[αῖοι]	Η	Σι[γε]ῖς	
10	----- Θερα[ῖοι]	XX	Κν[ζι]κενοί	10
	----- Σερίφ[ιοι]	Ⲙⲗ[ΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Ἀρτα]κενοί	
	----- Ἰῆτα[ι]	-----	[Κιαν]οί	
	----- Τένιο[ι]	-----	[Βυσβ]ικενοί	
	----- Σίφνιο[ι]	-----	[Προκ]οννέσιοι	
15	----- Ἀνδριο[ι]	-----	[Παρια]νοί	15
	[ΔΓΗΙΙ] Σικινῆ[ται]	-----	[Χαλχεδ]όνι[οι]	
	----- Κύθνι[οι]	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	-----	

One notices first the great similarity between the heading of this list and that of *S.E.G.*, V, 34, the list of the year 421/0 B.C. The very full formulae used, though not precisely the same as those of *S.E.G.*, V, 34, belong none the less to the period of the late 'twenties or to the penultimate decade of the century. The date is given by the first secretary of the Council, and by the name of the archon, in addition to the number of the ἀρχή for the board of hellenotamiai themselves. With reference to *S.E.G.*, V, 34, one must restore in lines 1-2 the formula for date by archon [ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίοις -- nomen -- Σκ]αμβονίδες. It so happens that the archon from the late fifth century who is known to have had the demotic Σκαμβωνίδης was Kallias of 412/1, and one's first inclination is to date the inscription in his year. But the difficulties of assuming that this date is correct are considerable. The name of the first secretary in 412/1 is not known, so there is no trouble with the restoration of line 1; a name of any desired length might be here assumed. In lines 2-3, however, the number of the ἀρχή should be restored as forty-third. Reading the inscription with a stoichedon text of 50 letters as determined by the restored name Καλλίας in line 2, one finds that the necessary numeral τρίτες καὶ τετταρακοστῆς exceeds by one letter space the maximum amount of stone available even if the word [ἔλλενοταμί]αι in line 3 is written without the initial rough breathing. Furthermore, on the analogy

of *S.E.G.*, V, 34, a syllabic division of words at the ends of the lines seems probable, and this can be achieved only by crowding in the extra letter at the end of line 2. The right margin of the stone is securely fixed by the fragment discovered by Broneer, and is correctly shown in the transcript given here.¹

Epigraphically, the inscription might be assigned to 412/1 B.C., if the irregularity that must then be assumed in the stoichedon order at the end of line 2 could be allowed. But the historical difficulties are more serious. Thucydides says that in 414/3 the Athenians gave up the collection of tribute in favor of a five per cent tax (VII, 28, 4). There was, therefore, no assessment of tribute for the Panathenaic period 414/3–411/0, and in fact we next learn of collection of tribute after a reassessment in 410 B.C.² It would do violence to the evidence of Thucydides to date a quota-list two years after he says that the collection of tribute was abandoned, and during a period for which no assessment was imposed. The evidence of the archon's demotic *Σκαμβωνίδης* in line 2 is not sufficiently weighty to warrant the assumption of a tribute assessment in 413/2 or 412/1 of which Thucydides says nothing, especially since it involves also a violation of the stoichedon order in the restoration of the quota-list as assigned to 412/1.

It is unusual to find the name of the archon given with the demotic so early as the fifth century. In 406/5, Kallias was called *Καλλίας Ἀγγεληθεύς* to distinguish him from *Καλλίας Σκαμβωνίδης* of 412/1 (cf. *I.G.*, I², 124), and later writers gave to the earlier Kallias his proper demotic *Σκαμβωνίδης* to make the distinctions mutually complete. This is probably the explanation of the name as it appears (*Καλλίας Σ[καμβωνίδης]*) in the *fasti* of the Asklepieion (*S.I.G.*, I³, 88), which were published, according to Koehler's view, early in the fourth century; and it is the reason for the abundant preservation of the demotic in the literary tradition. But in 412/1, when—according to hypothesis—the quota-list here published must have been inscribed, there was no more reason to give the demotic of the archon than there was in any other year before 406/5. Its appearance here on the stone is equally extraordinary, whether the association is with Kallias or with someone else, and except as a matter of coincidence is not an argument in favor of a date for the stone in 412/1.

Other evidence points with equal validity to a date in 418/7, without incurring the disadvantage of placing the document after the collection of tribute was suspended in 414/3. The first secretary of the Council in 418/7 was from Aphidnai;³ so also was the first secretary of the Council mentioned in the quota-list. The chairman of the college of hellenotamiai in 418/7 was *Ἐργοκλῆς Βησαιεύς* (*I.G.*, I², 302); the last hellenotamias mentioned in the quota-list, presumably from the tribe Antiochis,

¹ See also *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 156, note 4.

² See *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 386–389.

³ The name was [...].⁷...⁷ *Ἀφιδναῖος*. See *I.G.*, I², 370 and *I.G.*, I², 302 (text of *I.G.*, I², 302 in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 160–163).

was [.....¹¹.....]αιεύς, a name easily restored as [Ἐργοκλῆς Βεσ]αιεύς. Furthermore, the number of the ἀρχή of the hellenotamiai in 418/7 must have been the thirty-seventh, and the numeral *ἑβδόμης καὶ τρια|κοστῆς* fits admirably the stoichedon spacing at the end of line 2 and beginning of line 3. The archon's name Ἀντιφῶν requires the same space as the name Καλλίας in line 2.

These coincidences are even more striking than those of the restorations for 412/1, but there are still difficulties of interpretation. A minor objection to a date in 418/7 may be that the known hellenotamias of that year with demotic Αἰζωνεύς (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 160, line 12) cannot have appeared in his proper tribal order (VII) in the catalogue of hellenotamiai on the quota-list. But the list is incomplete in that it gives only seven names from a normal board of ten. For whatever reason, the names of the representatives from three tribes were omitted, and the hellenotamias from Aixone may be supposed to have been one of these. More serious is the fact that in order to restore the name [...⁷... Ἀ]φιδναῖος in line 1 as first secretary of the Council it is necessary to assume a crowding of one letter at the beginning of the line or to assume that the relative *ἡεῖ* was written without the rough breathing, as it was in *I.G.*, I², 304, line 1. This awkward reading [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεῖ ...⁷... Ἀ]φιδναῖος *πρῶτ[ος ἐγραμμάτευε* —] has been the deciding factor in leading us here to hesitate in assigning the inscription to 418/7. In time there may be other evidence to show that the date should after all be 418/7, but at present the best interpretation seems to be that given in the transcript on p. 55, that the document belongs to 422/1 B.C.

McGregor's recent demonstration that the records of the epistatai from Eleusis, now published as *I.G.*, I², 311, do not represent primarily successive years of annual responsibility to the Council, but rather bookkeeping accounts of actual dates of payments from the hieropoioi, has opened again the possibility of considering Prepis (mentioned in line 8 of *I.G.*, I², 311) as first secretary of the Council in 422/1 instead of 421/0.¹ The quota-list here under discussion can be restored with a stoichedon line of 50 letters, without irregularity, by reading the name Πρέπης in line 1 for the secretary, and the name Ἀλκαῖος in line 2 for the archon. The number of the ἀρχή of the hellenotamiai in 422/1 was thirty-third, and (with syllabic division) the numeral *τρίτης καὶ τρια^v | κοστῆς* may be restored in lines 2-3.²

The demotic of Prepis is not otherwise known, but his father's name is given as Eupheros in the heading of a decree now preserved at Eleusis (*I.G.*, I², 81); the reading is [Π]ρέπης Εὐφέρο *ἐγραμμάτευε*. In Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* the rather rare name Εὐφῆρος is attested once for Aphidnai and once for Kephisia, so

¹ *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 158-162.

² The analogy is with *S.E.G.*, V, 34, where the principle of syllabic division is observed, even though with one "natural" division in lines 3-4. For the division *τρια|κοστῆς* see Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, I, p. 350; Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, § 140 e (p. 35).

the restoration [Πρέπης Ἀ]φιδναῖος in line 1 of the present text is not prosopographically improbable.

For one reason or another the years from 425/4 to 414/3, except for 422/1 and 418/7, may be shown to be impossible for the date of this quota-list. For 425/4 the combination of the names Πλειστίας for first secretary and Στρατοκλῆς for archon with τριακοστῆς for the number of the ἀρχή does not conform to the epigraphical requirements of the stone. A similar difficulty is found in 424/3 with the names Ἐπίλυκος and Ἰσαρχος and the numeral μῖας καὶ τριακοστῆς. In 423/2 the demotic of the first secretary of the Council was Κολλυτεύς (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 139, line 37), and in 421/0 it was Ἀναφλύστιος (*I.G.*, I², 370, line 5). In any case the quota-list of 421/0 is already known and published as *S.E.G.*, V, 34. In 420/19 the demotic of the first secretary was Πήληξ (*I.G.*, I², 370, line 10) and, moreover, the demotic of the archon was Κυ[δαντίδης] (*S.I.G.*, I³, 88). In 419/8 the name of the first secretary, which contained nine letters (*I.G.*, I², 311, line 22), and the name of the archon Ἀρχίας cannot for reasons of space be restored simultaneously in lines 1 and 2. Similarly, in 417/6 the archon Euphemos and the first secretary with nine letters (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 161, line 24) and in 416/5 the archon Arimnestos and the first secretary with eight letters (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 161, line 36) cannot be mentioned simultaneously in lines 1 and 2. In 415/4 the hellenotamias from the tribe Erechtheis belonged to the deme Euonymon (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 163, lines 66, 70, 72, 74, 76), while the demotic given in the quota-list is [Περγ]ασῆθεν. From 414/3 to 411/0 there was no tribute collected. In fact, the only available years during the period in which the document should be dated are 422/1 and 418/7. The epigraphical evidence favors slightly the earlier date.

If the quota-list belongs to the year 422/1, then the scale of payments must depend on the assessment of 425 B.C. The new assessment, which was planned for the autumn of 422, was probably not sanctioned until after the Peace of Nikias, and so too late to control—as it normally should have done—the payments of 422/1.¹ There is only one figure where a comparison between the quota and the assessed tribute is possible, but the figure [ΔΠΗ||] restored for Sikinos in line 16 is in fact the one-sixtieth part of the assessed figure X of *I.G.*, I², 63 (cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, p. 65, line 90). Furthermore the high quotas of the Hellespontine district agree well with the high scale of the assessment, though the individual figures for the Hellespontine district in the assessment decree have not been preserved. Sigeion (line 9) has a quota of one hundred drachmai; its previous record shows consistently an annual quota of sixteen and two-thirds drachmai. The new scale of assessment was in this instance six times as heavy as the old. Kyzikos, whose normal quota had been nine hundred drachmai, is listed in line 10 with a quota

¹ See Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 16.

of two thousand drachmai; and Artakos (line 11) had its last previously known quota *S.E.G.*, V, 28, col. III, line 10) of thirty-three and one-third drachmai doubled to sixty-six and two-thirds. The assessments represented by these quotas may now be restored in the text of the assessment decree, so that the following readings appear: [Τ Σιγγε]ῆς (line 333), [ΔΔ Κυζικενοί] (line 299), [XXXX Ἀρα]κενοί (line 322).¹

The symmetrical arrangement of the quota-list on the stone should be noted. Each of the two columns of names of cities occupied exactly half the width of the stele, and in both cases seven of the twenty-five letter spaces were reserved for numerals and eighteen for the names themselves. The order of districts was presumably the same as that in the assessment decree: Nesiot, Ionic-Karic, Hellespontine, Aktaian, Thracian, and Euxine. In the catalogue of the hellenotamiai the demotic Ἀραφένιος has been restored in line 4 with reference to *P.A.*, 10288 (perhaps a grandson), and the demotic Π[επιθοίδες] has been restored in line 5, on the assumption that Aischines was a relative of the treasurer of 342/1, ——— Διοχίνου Περιθοίδης (*P.A.*, 362). In line 6, the demotic [Θυματ]άδε[ς] has been restored at the beginning of the line in preference to other forms, such as [Κεπι]άδε[ς] or [Ἐροι]άδε[ς], for the sake of the syllabic division (here amounting to word division) at the end of the previous line.

See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, pp. 100-101, 151, and 199-200.

AN EARLY ARCHON LIST

21. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 5, 1936 in a modern wall in Section P.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.048 m. (not original).

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4120.

The inscription is written stoichedon. Three lines occupy a vertical space of 0.06 m., and five letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.10 m. (a true checkerboard pattern).

¹ See the text in Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, pp. 66-67.



ca. 425 B.C.

[Φιλόνεος]	528/7
[Ὀν]ετο[ρ---?]	527/6
[h]ιππία[s]	526/5
5 [Κ]λεισθέν[ες]	525/4
[Μ]ιλτιάδες	524/3
[Κα]λλιάδες	523/2
[... ⁵ ...]στρατ[ος]	522/1

No. 21

The beautifully even and carefully cut letters suggest a date *ca.* 425 B.C. for this inscription. It contains only a list of names, evidently broken from a larger catalogue, but those names which can be restored at once and without question are of more than usual interest: [h]ιππία[s], [Κ]λεισθέν[ες], [Μ]ιλτιάδες. There is some uncertainty about the other restorations, and reason will be shown below for rejecting the tempting restoration [Πεισί]στρατ[ος] in line 8.

Obviously the names do not belong to Athenians who lived (or died) in the late fifth century when the inscription was cut. There is no known Hippias of this period. Indeed, it would be extraordinary to find any catalogue of Athenians from the late fifth century who bore the hated names of the tyrants. The Hippias of the present document must belong to the sixth century, where he is associated with others appropriately assigned to this early date: Miltiades, and Kleisthenes.

Every indication points to the probability that in this small fragment there is preserved part of an official list of the Athenian eponymous archons.¹ One finds it difficult to explain in any other way how these prominent names from the sixth century came to be inscribed on stone approximately one hundred years later. The restorations here proposed are based on the assumption that this interpretation is correct. The dates are inferred from the known fact that Miltiades (*P. A.*, 10206) held the archonship in 524/3 B.C. (*Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom.*, VII, 3).

¹ On the existence of such lists, see the recent article by A. R. Burn, *J. H. S.*, LV, 1935, especially p. 143.

It is unfortunate that the stone is so broken in line 2 that no part of the name Φιλόνεος is now preserved, for he is known to have held the archonship in 528/7. However, above the tau of [Ὀν]ετο[ρ---?] the surface still exists over part of the theoretical square area of the letter space. An omicron, as in Φιλόνεος, is here possible, but certain letters like alpha, gamma, delta, epsilon, etc., which would extend low and to the right, seem to be excluded; sigma is definitely not a possibility. There is no epigraphical reason, at any rate, against restoring the name Φιλόνεος in this line.

The reading in line 3 may be [Ὀν]έτο[ρ] or [Ὀν]ετο[ρίδες]. Both forms occur as καλός-names on Attic black-figured vases after the middle of the sixth century,¹ and one or the other of these prominent young men may have been in his maturity the archon of 527/6 B.C.

In 526/5 it is entirely appropriate that Hippias should have held the archonship soon after the death of his father; as the eldest son, he fell heir to the mantle of Peisistratos (Thuc., I, 20, 2 and VI, 54, 2).

The archon of 525/4 was Kleisthenes. I identify him as Kleisthenes, son of Megakles, of Alopeke (*P. A.*, 8526) who later carried out the reforms of the Athenian state in 508/7. He belonged to the powerful family of the Alkmeonidai (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 20, 1 and 28, 2). To find here the name of Kleisthenes is a discovery of some importance, for it has been believed that the Alkmeonidai were in exile from the time of their expulsion by Peisistratos until the overthrow of the tyranny of Hippias. It now appears that a reconciliation had been effected between the Alkmeonidai and the sons of Peisistratos, probably soon after the death of Peisistratos, and that Hippias was sufficiently anxious to show his good will to allow Kleisthenes to hold the archonship in the year after his own official tenure of that office. The alternative to this view is to suppose that there were in Athens in the late sixth century two Athenians named Kleisthenes, one of whom (otherwise unknown)—the archon of 525/4—was not an Alkmeonid.

This supposition seems most improbable, and is here rejected. The name Kleisthenes was not an Athenian name originally, but came to Athens because of the marriage of Megakles with Agariste, daughter of Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon. There can hardly have been more than one Kleisthenes in Athens in 525 B.C., and he must have been the son of Megakles the Alkmeonid.

This is not the place to review the history of the late sixth century, but certain fundamentally new considerations may be pointed out. It is evident that the Alkmeonidai must have been again expelled, possibly after the murder of Hipparchos in

¹ Cf. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, pp. 33-34. See also Werner Technau, *Exekias (Bilder griechischer Vasen, IX, edited by J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobstahl)*, pp. 7-12. The difficulties of understanding the chronological development of Exekias' style are noted again by Broneer, who publishes a calyx-krater from his hand which bears the καλός-name Onetorides (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469-486).

514 B.C., for they were in exile at the time of the battle of Leipsydrion (513 B.C.) and finally brought about, with the aid of Sparta, the overthrow of Hippias in 510.¹ The attempt at restoration, which met disaster first at Leipsydrion, is thus dated soon after their expulsion. This seems intrinsically much more probable than to assume a long and inactive delay in continuous exile after the expulsion by Peisistratos. The narrower limits of the exile will necessitate also a new consideration of the connection between the Alkmeonidai and the restoration of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This historical evidence now, more strongly than ever, yields a date between 514 and 510 for the marble façade and pediment sculptures (see Miss Richter's comments in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 162).

Finally, the rivalry between Isagoras and Kleisthenes cannot be explained on the hypothesis that one was in Athens and one in exile during the rule of the Peisistratidai, though this has been assumed by those who have studied the political history of the late sixth century. It now appears that both Kleisthenes and Isagoras were in Athens until the second banishment of the Alkmeonidai. It seems best to associate this second banishment with the harsher tyranny of Hippias after the death of Hipparchos, and if this is correct it must have been the party of Kleisthenes rather than the party of Isagoras that was most opposed to the tyranny. Since Isagoras and his followers remained in Athens after 514/3, one should lay greater emphasis on their tolerant attitude toward the house of Peisistratos than has generally been the case. Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 20, 1) speaks of Isagoras as φίλος ὦν τῶν τυράννων; it is a judgment which historians must again appraise. Certainly, it is clear that the political attitudes of Kleisthenes and Isagoras differed on the issue of the tyranny after 514/3 if not before.

The archonship of Miltiades is fixed in 524/3 B.C., and the name of his successor is here restored as [Κα]λλιάδης.

It is tempting to restore the name of the archon of 522/1 as [Πεισί]στρατ[ος], grandson of the tyrant of the same name, and son of Hippias (cf. *P.A.*, 11792). But there are several other Athenian names which satisfy equally well the epigraphical requirements of the stone, and Peisistratos would have been a very young man in office if he had held the archonship so soon. Thucydides (VI, 54, 6-7) says that when he was archon he dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora and the altar of Apollo in the Pythion. Thucydides quotes the epigram from the altar of Apollo, and the inscription has itself survived (*I.G.*, I², 761; photograph in Kirchner, *Imagines*, Plate 5, no. 11). The letters of this inscription seem to belong much more appro-

¹ This later period of exile was imposed by the Peisistratidai, not by Peisistratos. See, for example, the scholiast on Pindar, *Pythian*, vii, 9 (= Philochoros, frag. 70 in Müller's *F.H.G.*, I, p. 395): λέγεται, ὅτι τὸν Πυθικὸν ναὸν ἐμπρησθέντα, ὥς φασιν, ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι φυγαδευθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο ἀνρικοδομήσαι — — —. See also Herodotos, V, 62: φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας.

priately in the early fifth century than in the late sixth,¹ but no date for the archonship of the younger Peisistratos has been suggested later than the time of the tyranny.

There is now some new light to throw upon the problem. An ostrakon (Inv. No. P. 3629; cf. Shear, *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 361) has been found in the excavations of the Agora bearing the name Πισίω<τ>πατο[s] (retrograde). Since Aristotle tells us that the first vote of ostracism was held in 488/7 B.C., and that it was directed against the friends and relatives of the tyrants ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 3-6), it is clear that the younger Peisistratos was still in Athens at that time. There is no longer any need to place the date of his archonship before 510 B.C., for it may be assigned now to one of the available years between 499 and 497.

There are those who insist that Aristotle must be wrong in dating the first ostracism so late (cf. e.g. E. M. Walker in *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, p. 152), but there is no real inconsistency between this date and his assertion ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 1) that the law on ostracism was embodied by Kleisthenes in his reforms of the state and that Kleisthenes had in mind at the time particularly Hipparchos, son of Charmos, of Kollyte. Whatever may have been the feelings or wishes of Kleisthenes, Aristotle says that the temper of the Demos, with whom lay the power to decide whether the law should be applied, was to allow the friends of the tyrants who had not been active in the late unpleasantness (παράχαι) to remain in the city ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 4). Naturally, the democratic faction had most influence, but the mere threat of ostracism contributed its part in preventing the emergence of a too powerful leader of the pro-tyrant party.² In these years, Athens seems to have enjoyed internal peace, threatened only by the machinations of Hippias and his fellow exiles. By the end of the century Hippias had despaired of return to Athens without Persian help, so he began an active campaign of propaganda, particularly at the court of Artaphrenes at Sardis, seeking to arouse ill-will against Athens and thus to achieve his restoration. Herodotos (V, 96) tells the story of these slanderous attacks, and reports that the Athenians sent messengers to Artaphrenes begging him to pay no attention to reports about them that were untrue. The significance of this passage in Herodotos has never been fully understood. It implies that the Athenians were on good terms with Persia and that they were interested in maintaining friendly relations. Of more importance to our immediate problem, we must recognize that Hippias' slander must have concerned particularly the Athenian attitude toward himself and his own house; since we know that many of the friends and relatives of the tyrants were still in Athens, the rebuttal which the Athenians were able to offer was a clear statement to Arta-

¹ E. Löwy, *Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, Vol. 216, Abh. 4, 1937, pp. 12-14, was led to suggest that this inscription was recut late in the fifth century partly because of his conviction that it could not be dated earlier than 510 B.C.

² Friedrich Cornelius, *Die Tyrannis in Athen* (München, 1929), p. 99.

phrenes that these friends and relatives were in fact well treated at home, and that the Athenians had no desire for anything except peace with them and good will toward Persia. They could point to the fact that even Peisistratos, the son of Hippias, had not been exiled. It is true that they refused the suggestion of Artaphrenes to allow the return of Hippias himself, but this was a point on which they could not yield, and they regretted the apparent break in their good understanding with Persia which this refusal seemed to them to make inevitable. This much, at least, Hippias had accomplished. At just this time it was the bad fortune of the Athenians to become involved in the expedition of the Milesians which led to the burning of Sardis (Herodotos, V, 97-103). Persuaded by Aristagoras, they sent twenty ships to Miletos to aid the Ionians in their fight for freedom. The burning of Sardis was no part of the Athenian plan; they were shocked when the news of this tragedy reached them; and they recalled their ships to Athens. But the damage had been done. Herodotos rightly calls the sending out of the ships the beginning of trouble between the Greeks and barbarians (V, 97, 3). Before the ships could be recalled, the Athenians had fought against the Persians and suffered disastrous defeat at Ephesos (498 B.C.).¹

At Athens, the reaction to these events manifested itself in part in an attempt to show that their earlier defense before Artaphrenes against the slander of Hippias was justifiable, and it finds tangible expression in the fact that Hipparchos, son of Charmos, was elected eponymous archon in 496/5 B.C. I wish to suggest that the archonship of Peisistratos should be dated in 497/6, that it belongs after the defeat at Ephesos, and that it was part of the same policy of appeasement toward Persia.²

There was never a chance to use the law on ostracism as Kleisthenes intended it until the policy of appeasement toward Persia was proved to be a failure, and the power of the pro-tyrant party broken at the battle of Marathon. Then, *θαρροῦντος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου* ('Ath. Πολ., 22, 3) the Athenians proceeded to ostracise the leaders of a discredited party.

The conclusion that Peisistratos was archon in 497/6 B.C. is a matter of importance for the topography of the Agora, where the precinct surrounding the altar of the Twelve Gods has now been discovered (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 356-357 and V, 1936, pp. 358-359), and for the history of Athenian epigraphy, for it yields an almost exact date for a well preserved inscription of the early fifth century.

If the date here proposed for the altar of Pythian Apollo (497/6 B.C.), is correct, a reconsideration is necessary also for the date of the dedication made by Hipparchos

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II², 1, p. 11, note 1, makes an unsuccessful attempt to discredit the account of Herodotos. The fact that Charon of Lampsakos (Müller, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 32, frag. 2) mentions the attack on Sardis and not the battle at Ephesos in no way impugns the historicity of the latter event.

² In the above account I have had the benefit of constant and valuable consultation with Raubitschek.

in the Ptoan sanctuary in Boeotia. The inscription is on a base now preserved in the museum at Thebes, and reads *ἡίππαρχος ἀνέθε[κεν] ἡο Πεισις]τράτο*. These letters show striking resemblance to those of *I.G.*, I², 761.¹ It has been assumed as a matter of course that this dedication in Boeotia was made by the Hipparchos who was killed in 514 B.C. But the question should at least be raised whether the late letter forms do not belong more appropriately fifteen or twenty years after the death of Hipparchos the tyrant; if they do, then the dedication must belong to another Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos the younger. He must have been very young at the time of the expulsion of Hippias, and indeed as grandson of Hippias may have been one of the *παῖδες* (or *τέκνα*) *τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν* who were captured by the Athenians and for whose release Hippias agreed to abdicate (Herodotos, V, 65).

The original limits of the archon list remain obscure. Possibly it began with the archonship of Solon and ended with the date of publication in the late fifth century. Such a list seems to have been in existence, for in Plato's dialogue, the *Hippias Major*, Socrates is made to remark (285 E) that Hippias was fortunate because the Lakadaimonians did not like to have anyone recite to them the names of the Athenian archons from Solon down, for if they did he would have trouble learning them, and Hippias is made to reply that it would be no trouble at all, for he could memorize fifty names on hearing them only once. The significance of the passage is Plato's implication that one might normally begin a catalogue of Athenian archons with the name of Solon, and that such lists were to be had.² The present fragment is from the public copy inscribed on stone in the Agora.

A DECREE HONORING PROXENIDES

22. Fragment of Pentelic marble with part of the left side and rough-picked back preserved, found on April 19, 1935 in a modern pit in Section II.

Height, 0.232 m.; width, 0.184 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2806.

416/5 B.C. (?)

Προξε[νίδ]ο Προξένο τῷ Κνιδ[ίω]

moulding

Ἀρχικλῆ[ς] Ἀλαιδὸς ἐγραμμάτευεν "

¹ See L. Bizard, *B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, pp. 237 ff., with Figs. 4 and 5; the similarity has been confirmed in a communication to the author from A. Raubitschek, who believes that both texts were inscribed by one man.

² Incidentally, it was about this time that Hippias of Elis, according to Plutarch, edited a list of Olympic victors; cf. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1935), p. 330, no. 3.



No. 22. Agora Inv. No. I 2806 + I.G., I², 144, frags. *d a b*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27

ἔδ[ο]χσε[ν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμ]οι, Ἄ
κα[μ]αντ[ὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Ἀρχικλῆς ἐ]
5 [γ]ραμμά[τενε, Ἀντικράτες ἐπεστάτ]
[ε], Δεμός[τρατος εἶπε· ἐπειδὲ εὖ ποι]
εἰ Προχ[σενίδες ἦό, τι ἂν δυνατὸς ἐ]
[ι] Ἀθena[ῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσ]
[θε]ν χρό[νοι ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτοῖ κα]
10 [ὶ ἀνα]γρ[άφσαι αὐτὸν ἐστέλει λιθί]
[νει πρόχσενον καὶ εὐεργέτην Ἀθε]
[ναῖον καὶ καταθῆναι ἐμ πόλει . . .]

Lacuna

- 15 ιον δ-----
οις αὐ[-----παρὰ τὰ]
 ἐφσεφ[ισμένα ἐ ἀποκτένει τις βια]
 ίοι θαυ[άτοι ἐ δέσει ἐ ἀπάγει]
 το αὐτο -----
 ι Προχσ[ενίδεν -----]
 ις πολι[τ -----]
 20 εται ἐὰ[ν -----στρα]
 τιῶτ[α]ι [.⁸ . . . ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικῇ]
 [ι α]ὐτὸν λ[αγχανέτο Ἀθένεσιν πρὸς]
 [τ]ὸμ πολέ[μαρχον τὰς δίκας ἄνευ πρ]
 υτανείο[ν· ἄλλον δὲ ἀτελὲς ἔστο, τὰ]
 25 δὲ τέλεε τ[οῖς ἐγλογεῦσι τελέτο ἡὰ]
 δεῖ Κνιδ[ίος ἐς τὸμ φόρον τελῆν κα]
 θάπερ ἡο[ι ἄλλοι Κνίδιοι· καλέσαι]
 δὲ αὐτὸν κ[αὶ ἐπὶ χσένια ἐς τὸ πρυτ]
 ανείον ἐ[ς αὔριον⁹¹⁰ εἶ]
 30 πε· τὰ μὲν [ἄλλα καθάπερ⁹ . . .]
 [.] ἡοι [δ]ἐ τ[.²⁰]
 σας στι -----
 ΟΛΞΥΛΙΤ -----
 . ΤΟΝ -----
 35 . . . Ν. . . / -----
 . Η -----
 . . Ι -----

Some years ago Wilhelm read from a photograph published by Walter more of lines 3-4 than appears in the publication of *I.G.*, I², 144 (cf. *S.E.G.*, III, no. 21). The new fragment from the Agora joins the upper group of fragments from *I.G.*, I², 144, confirms Wilhelm's readings, and gives in addition the name of the secretary. It provides also a portion of the opening lines of the decree, which records a vote of praise for Proxenides the Knidian and names him as proxenos and benefactor of the Athenians.

When this document was being studied in Athens and in Princeton it became apparent that *I.G.*, I², 155 should be associated with *I.G.*, I², 144. Trial was made in the museum and *I.G.*, I², 155 was found to join along the upper edge of *I.G.*, I², 144, fragment *c*. There is still a lacuna between the upper and lower groups of fragments, but the entire document should be restored (below line 2) with a stoichedon line of 27 letters.



No. 22. *I.G.*, I², 144, frag. c +
I.G., I², 155

The secretary's name in line 2 seems to be 'Αρχικλῆ[ς] 'Αλαιοῦς. There is no doubt about the name proper, the only irregularity being that the letters kappa and lambda (Ionic) were crowded together; but the demotic has heretofore been read as 'Ωαιοῦς. This form is too short by one letter to fill the available space on the stone, and no trace of the omega can now be read with certainty. On the contrary, just to the left of the supposed omega there seems to be the lower tip of the right diagonal of alpha. With some hesitation, I propose the reading 'Αλαιοῦς. Two examples of the letter Ξ occur in line 1, but they are the only cases of Ionic lettering besides the lambda of line 2. Elsewhere the inscription is written in the Attic alphabet of the fifth century, and some of the letters (particularly nu) seem more archaic even than the date here suggested in 416/5 B.C.

The name of the secretary appears in both lines 2 and 4. There is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens another proxeny-decree, also naming Archikles as the secretary and Akamantis as the tribe in prytany. This is now published as *I.G.*, II², 27 and assigned to one of the years of the Corinthian war in the early fourth century; it was inscribed throughout in Ionic letters. But there can be no doubt that both these decrees which name

Archikles as secretary belong to the same date, and this view is further confirmed by the fact that the name of the epistates, which appears in *I.G.*, II², 27 as 'Αντικράτης, is exactly suited to the restoration of line 5 in this text. The decrees were not only passed in the same year and prytany, but on the same day. In spite of its Ionic writing *I.G.*, II², 27 must be moved back into the latter part of the fifth century.

In line 6, the name of the orator has been restored as Δεμόσ[τρατος]. It is possible that he should be identified with the Demonstratos who made the proposal for the Sicilian expedition in 415 B.C. (*P. A.*, 3611), and with his name in mind I suggest tentatively the date 416/5 for the inscription. In any case this date strikes a balance between the pure Ionicism of *I.G.*, II², 27 and the rather early lettering of *I.G.*, I², 144 and 155. If it is correct, the decrees may be considered as part of the Athenian

attempt to solidify their diplomatic position at home, in regions Thraceward and toward Karia, before starting on the long venture to Sicily.

The restorations in lines 6-12 have been made with reference to *I.G.*, I², 82 and 118 and *I.G.*, II², 27.

Below the lacuna it is not possible to restore a consecutive text. Lines 15 and 16 depend in part on *I.G.*, I², 154, and in lines 21-24 appears a variation of a well known formula.

In lines 24-27 the restoration here proposed is based upon the consideration that Proxenides was to pay certain taxes like all the other Knidians, and yet that the provision itself in the Athenian decree must somehow be interpreted as conferring a dispensation upon him. The taxes that the Knidians had to pay (line 26: $\delta\epsilon\iota$ $\text{Κνιδ}[\acute{\iota}\sigma\varsigma]$) must have been paid from Knidos to Athens, and so the benefits, whatever they were, that Proxenides enjoyed must have been applicable to him in residence at Knidos. My supposition is that Proxenides was free from all other taxes to Athens (this was the benefit conferred), but that he was not put in the invidious position of having an exemption from his share in the payment of the Knidian tribute. This money was gathered by the Knidian $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and its assessment on individuals and collection from individuals was not a matter with which Athens had any immediate concern or over which she exercised any direct control.¹ This indirect obligation to Athens Proxenides still had to meet, but from all other levies he was to be exempt.

Lines 29-31 contain the formula which introduces a rider, but the formula $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ cannot be restored. The implication is that these lines introduce a second rider, and that the first amendment must be supplied in the lacuna between lines 12 and 13. The name of the man who proposed this first amendment should be restored in lines 30-31.²

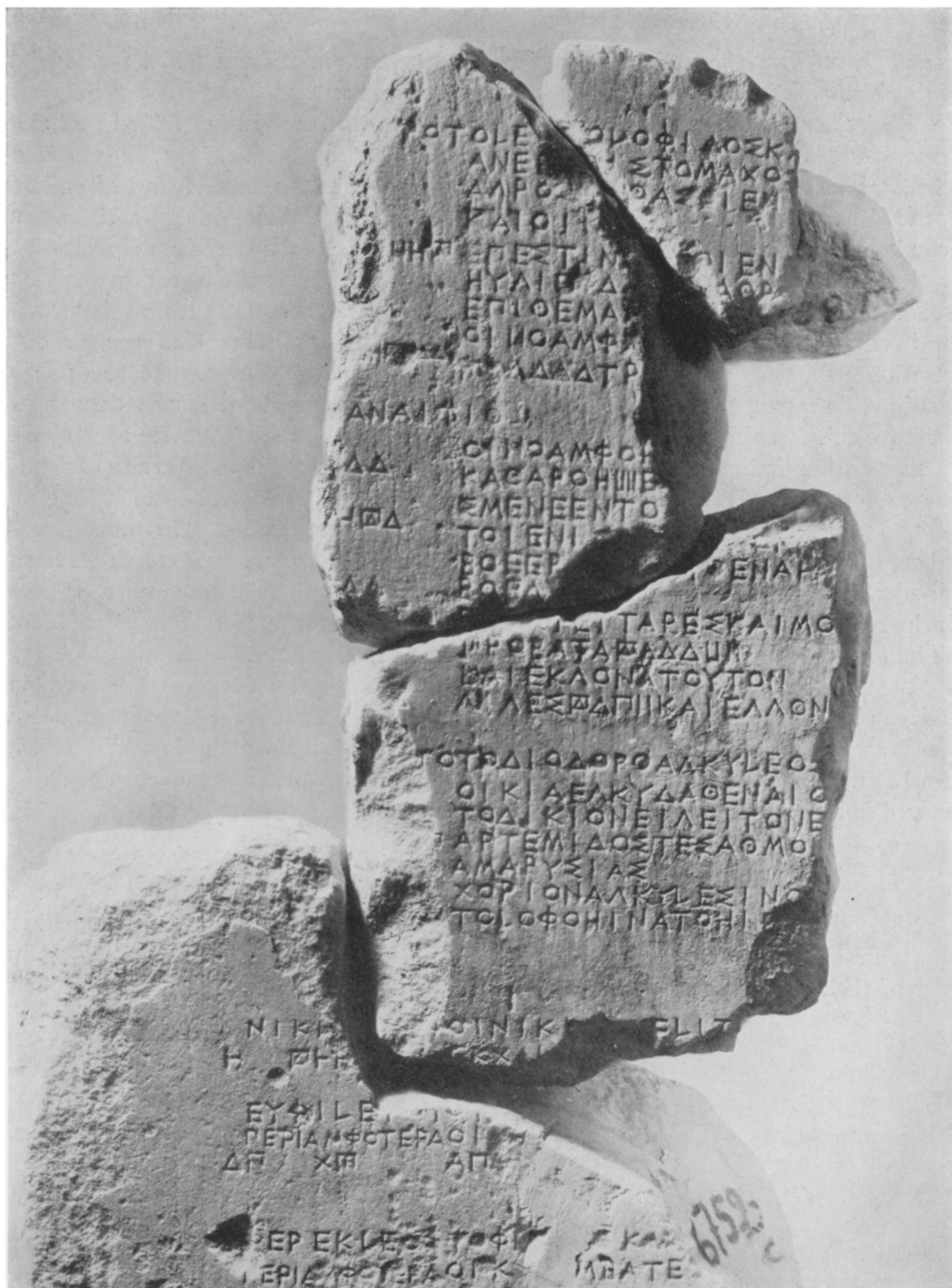
LIST OF CONFISCATED PROPERTIES

23. Six fragments of one stele of Pentelic marble are here published together for the first time. For convenience they may be cited as A, B, C, D, E, and F in order of their appearance in the inscription.

A = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 326 (lines 2-19)	}	E. M. 6657
B = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 326 (lines 1-7)		
C = Agora Inv. No. 4408 <i>b</i>		
D = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 325, frag. <i>a</i>	}	E. M. 6759
E = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 325, frag. <i>b</i>		
F = Agora Inv. No. 4408 <i>a</i>		

¹ See Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, pp. 3-42.

² See Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.



No. 23. Fragments A, B, and C



No. 23. Fragments D, E, and F

These fragments join as shown here in the photographs. Fragment C was found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on May 6, 1937 (Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.–0.15 m.). Its original thickness is preserved and the back is rough-picked; the height of letters is 0.008 m.–0.009 m. Fragment F was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 16, 1936 (Height, 0.241 m.; width, 0.251 m.; thickness, 0.141 m.). Its original thickness is preserved; the height of letters is 0.008 m.

----- καὶ ἐ[ἱκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας]
vacat
vacat
 5 -- [.] [Ἀδαιμάν]το τῷ Λε[υκ]ολοφίδο Σκα[μβονίδο]
 ἀνὲρ [Ἀρ]ιστόμαχος
 ἀγρὸς [ἐν] Θάσοι ἐν 𐀀 --
 καὶ οἰκ[ία] *vacat*
 -- [--] ΗΗ𐀀 ἐπεστιν [πίθ]οι ἐν 𐀀 --
 10 ἡνυγῆς ΔΔ[. . σ] αθρο[ί --]
 ἐπιθέματ[α ἔχοντες]
 -- [.] Η𐀀ΔΔΔΔ οἶνο ἀμφο[ρῆς ---]
 𐀀𐀀ΔΔΔΔ τρ[----]
vacat
 [II] αναιτίο
 15 -- [.] ΔΔ οἶνο ἀμφορ[ῆς --]
 καθαρὸ ΗΗΗΗ ἐ[--]
 -- [.] Η𐀀Δ σμένε ἐν τῷ [ἀγροῖ]
 τῷ ἐν Ἴσ[.] ἐν[---]
 -- [.] βόε ἐρ[γάτα δ]ύο ἐν Ἀρ[---]
 20 -- [.] ΔΔ βόε δύ[ο . .] *vacat*
 -- [....] β[όε]ς τέτταρες καὶ μό[σχοι ---]
 -- [--] πρόβατα 𐀀ΔΔΔΗΗΗ
 καὶ ἔκγονα τούτων
 -- [...] Δ αἰγες 𐀀ΔΓΗΗ καὶ ἔγγον[α τούτων]
 25 *vacat*
 [Πολυστρά]το τῷ Διοδόρῳ Ἀγκυλέος
 οἰκία ἐν ΚυδαθENAIO[ι εἰ πρόθυρον]
 τὸ δίκιον εἰ γείτόν ἐ[στι τὸ ἡιερόν]
 -- [--] 𐀀 Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀθμον[όθεν]
 30 Ἀμαρυσίας
 χορίον Ἀγκυλέσι νο[τόθεν]
 𐀀𐀀 ---- τὸ λόφο ἡίνα τὸ ἡιε[ρόν ---]

- vacat*
vacat
vacat
- 35 Νικίδ[ο τὸ] Φοινικί[δο Μ]ελιτ[έος]
⊥ ⌘⊥⊥ ἐκχαλ[κεύματα --]
vacat
- 40 Εὐφιλέτο τὸ Τ[ιμοθέο Κυδαθηναιέος]
περὶ ἀμφοτέρα οἰκ[ία -----]
ΔΓ ΧϞ ἀπ[-----]
vacat
vacat
- 45 Φερεκλέος τὸ Φε[ρεν]ικα[-- Θεμακέος]
περὶ ἀμφοτέρα οἰκ[ία ἐ]μ Βατῆι [καὶ χορίον]
vacat
ἡέτ[ερον] χορίον π[αρά τὸ]
Πύθ[ιον^ν] *vacat*
χορί[ον π]αρά τὸ Πύθ[ιον]
50 [ἡέτερον] *vacat*
ΔΗ ΧΗΗ [ο]ϊκό[πε]δον ἐλὺ [κ]αὶ χέρ[ρον]
παρ[ὰ τὸ Π]ύθιον
ἡέτε[ρον] χορίον παρὰ τ[ὸ]
ἡερά[κλει]ον
55 ὀργά[δος] τὸ ἡέμισυ τῆς ἐ[πὶ τοῖ]
Πυθ[ίοι κ]αὶ διανόμο τὸ ἀπὸ [τὸ ἡιερό]
[τὸ δὲ ἄλλ]ο ἡέμισυ ἐγ Κυκάλει
τα[ῦτα ἐπ]ράθε συνλέβδεν ἡάπαρ[τα]
vacat
vacat
- 60 μισθόσες χαῖδε κ[ατε]βλέθεσαν
τὸν ἀσεβεσάντο[ν περὶ] τὸ θεό
Φαίδρο τὸ Πυθο[κλέος] Μυρρινοσίο
⌘Δ ο[ικίας μ]ίσθοσις κατεβλέθε
65 [γῆς Μυρρ]ινῶντι μίσθοσις
ΗΗΗ⌘ [κατεβλέ]θε
---? ἐκ τὸν Ἀδειμ[άντο τὸ Δ]ευκολοφίδο Σκαμβονίδο
---ι ΧϞΗΔΔΔΗΗΗΗ [.....] Ϟ' Ρ' *vacat*
ἐκ τὸν Ἀχσιόχ[ο τὸ Ἀλκιβιάδο Σ]καμβονίδ[ο]

70 X^ΠHΔΔΔ††H [-----]
 HH^Π [-----]
 H^ΠΔ†HIII - [-----]
 ἐ[κ τὸν -----]

COMMENTARY

The text here recorded belongs to the last column of the inscription, for the right lateral surface is preserved on fragment E. Preceding columns have been almost entirely lost, and only parts of two letters remain (in lines 66-67 and 67-68) at the extreme left edge of fragment F.

Line 12: The numeral sign following ^Π has its horizontal top stroke still preserved and must be interpreted as ^Π rather than H.

Line 13. An uninscribed space of one line intervenes between lines 12 and 14. The general disposition of *I.G.*, I², 326 must be here corrected.

Line 20: The numerals [.]ΔΔ must be added to the text as now published in *I.G.*, I², 326.

Line 26: The name has been restored from *I.G.*, I², 329, lines 7-8. From the present passage it is also evident that the reading in *I.G.*, I², 329, line 7, should be Πολυστράτο τῷ Διο[δόρο]. This Polystratos (*P.A.*, 12074) was one of those accused by Andromachos of profaning the Mysteries. He was seized and put to death (*And.*, I, 13), and his property was sold at public auction.

Lines 27-30: The house of Polystratos was situated in Kydathenaion, and was bounded by the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia. This is the first available evidence for this sanctuary in Athens, whither, as this inscription shows (Ἀθμον[όθεν]) the cult had been brought from the deme of Athmonon. The cult worship at Athmonon is well known (see Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 25-26). There is a word new to Greek lexicography in line 28, but the adjective δικάων is analogous in its formation to the already known τετρακίων, and as used in this inscription signifies that some part (neuter) of the house was embellished with two columns. I have restored at the end of line 27 the noun πρόθυρον, which fills out the line to the edge of the stone.

Lines 31-32: In the numeral column in these lines the letter A is printed in *I.G.*, I², 325, frag. a. Schweigert informs me from Athens that the lower tips of two vertical strokes only are preserved. These belong not to a letter, but to a number which represents the sales tax on the property listed to the right in lines 31-32. The sales price of the property has been lost with the fracture of the stone, but from the amount of the tax the price may be computed as at least 100 Dr., probably 200 Dr. or more.

Line 36: The juxtaposition of fragments D and C shows that the accepted restoration Νικιά[δο —] for this line is too long by one letter for the space available on the stone. The broken alpha must rather be interpreted as a broken delta, and the restoration should be given as Νικιδ[ο τῷ] Φοινικί[δο Μ]ελιτ[έος]. This Nikides is the man whom Andromachos accused along with Alkibiades, Miletos, and others of profaning the Mysteries (And., I, 12-13), and the traditional Νικιάδην of the text of Andocides must now be emended on the strength of the epigraphical evidence to read Νικίδην. The reference in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* (10763) depends on the minuscule copy given by Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, I, suppl. p. 73, no. 277 a in giving the restoration Νικιάδ[ης] as though parts of both alpha and delta were preserved. The mistake was made in Kirchhoff's transcript, for his majuscule text shows only what the stone shows today, a sloping diagonal stroke as of alpha or delta. The present inscription gives the patronymic and demotic of Nikides, hitherto unknown.

Line 37: The word ἐκχαλ[κεύματα] is new, and I interpret it as meaning "objects of bronze." The letters preserved may be seen clearly in the photograph.

Line 44: Pherekles was accused by his own slave Lydos of celebrating the Mysteries in his house in Themakos (And., I, 17: Λυδὸς ὁ Φερεκλέους τοῦ Θεμακέως ἐμήνυσσε μυστήρια γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Φερεκλέους τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν Θεμακῷ). This Pherekles, whose demotic is thus known from Andocides to be Θεμακέως is listed by Kirchner as *P.A.*, 14191. But Kirchner also lists another Pherekles of Skambonidai on the evidence of the inscription here published, where the initial letters of the demotic have been traditionally given as [Ξ]ΚΑ—. This reading is incorrect, for the preserved letters in question are ΙΚΑ— and they belong to the patronymic, not the demotic, of the name. The Pherekles listed as *P.A.*, 14194 is in fact to be identified with the Pherekles of *P.A.*, 14191, whose full name is given in this inscription (with the demotic restored from Andocides) as Φερεκλέος τῷ Φε[ρεν]ικα[— Θεμακέος]. He was charged by Lydos with profaning the Mysteries and by Teucer with mutilating the herms (And., I, 17 and 35). This double charge is represented in the inscription by the words περὶ ἀμφότερα in line 45.

Line 46: An uninscribed space of one line intervenes between lines 45 and 47. The general disposition of *I.G.*, I², 325 must be here corrected.

Lines 47-50: The text of these lines differs from that of the *Corpus*, and depends on a new reading from the stones with control from a squeeze and photographs.

Line 51: The traditional reading of this line is [ο]ϊκό[πεδ]ον ἔ Λυσαρχε—. In the curious word Λυσαρχε— there is no trace of sigma, and the "rho" is certainly an iota. The reading should be [κ]αῖ and not σαρ, and this leaves the adjectives ἐλύ and χέρ[ρον] as descriptive epithets of the οἰκόπεδον. The word χέρρον means fallow or uncultivated, and raises here no problem; the word ἐλύ is known only from Hesychius (where it is written εἰλύ) and supposedly means the same as μέλαν (cf. εἰλύ in Liddell and Scott).

It should be noted that Hesychius quotes the word in the neuter, just as it appears in this inscription; the strong probability is that this document was in fact his original source. Hesychius had at his disposal a published copy of some collection of Athenian inscriptions, perhaps that of Krateros, and this fact accounts for the epigraphic words that were cited by him.

I believe that it is possible to offer proof for this point by the reference which Hesychius gives to another rare word (*ἀπόπαξ*), which appears in the building accounts of the great statue of Athena Promachos (see the text in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 367-368, Col. II, lines 15, 43, 68 and Col. III, line 54). The word is used in describing kinds of pay given by the epistatai for work on the statue, and it recurs regularly in the phrase *μισθοὶ κατ' ἑμέραν*,¹ *μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυτανείαν*, *μισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς*. The translation is evidently "pay by the day, pay by the prytany, pay by the job." The word *ἀπόπαξ* is from the same root as *ἀποπήγνυμι*, and denotes the fixed or agreed-on price for specific piece-work; it is the equivalent of the Latin *conventum*.² Curiously enough Hesychius says that it means *ξύπαν*. This interpretation is incorrect, but the reason for the error is clear provided one realizes that Hesychius knew the word only from its context in the Athena Promachos inscription. He assumed that the phrase *μισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς* gave the summation of the *μισθοὶ κατ' ἑμέραν* and the *μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυτανείαν*, whereas in fact it represented a third distinct category equally important for the record with the other two.

Whether Hesychius has given us the correct meaning of the word *εἰλύ* is perhaps uncertain, but *μέλαν* could be applied to the earth, whether black or dark red, of the plot of ground that once belonged to Pherekles.

Lines 55-56: The dative form *Πυθ[ίου]* is necessary to fill the required space in line 56, so the preposition at the end of line 55 has been restored as *ἐ[πί]*.

Line 61: Bannier had already restored correctly the first word of this line (*B. ph. W.*, 1917, pp. 1347-1348).

Line 62: For the restoration [*περί*] see Andocides, I, 29 and Pollux, X, 97.

Line 63: The full name of Phaidros (*P. A.*, 13950) is here given for the first time, and it appears that he must be identified with the Phaidros (*P. A.*, 13960) who was a friend of Socrates and whose name was given to one of the dialogues of Plato. The orator Lysias says of him that he had become a poor man through no fault of his own (XIX, 15: *πένητι γεγενημένῳ οὐ διὰ κακίαν*). The reason for his poverty is now apparent, for he was charged by Teucer with profaning the Mysteries (And., I, 15), was himself exiled, and lost his property through confiscation. The judgment expressed in Lysias' oration implies that Phaidros was not guilty of the charge.

¹ For the correct reading *μισθοὶ κατ' ἑμέραν* I am indebted to Broneer who has communicated to me the text of a new fragment, now published by Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 264-268.

² This derivation was suggested to me three years ago at Oxford by Professor Fraenkel.

MARKER OF THE WILLOW

24. Horos-stone of Pentelic marble, found entangled in the roots of a tree on February 5, 1935, during the excavation of a modern courtyard in Section II (= *I.G.*, I², 864).

Height, 0.417 m.; width, 0.255 m.;
thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.031 m.

Inv. No. I 2408.

ca. 400 B.C.

hóros
helíκης

The stone is mended from five fragments, but the lower corner is missing. Below the inscription a face in profile has been rudely scratched.



No. 24

This document is without doubt that which Fauvel found early in the nineteenth century, and which has since that time been lost again. In a letter written on April 4, 1811, to a friend in Paris Fauvel describes his excavations in Athens,¹ near the gate of the city on the road leading toward Acharnai. One gathers that the inscription here published was found by him there, but, as Böckh remarked in his subsequent edition (*C. I. G.*, 529): neque tamen res certa est.

This uncertainty about the place of discovery is enhanced by the fact that Fauvel reported at the same time (*op. cit.*, pp. 93-94) two other "colonnes," bearing inscriptions *ὄρο<s> σή|ματος Ὁ|νησίμο* and *ὄρος σή|ματος Ὁ|νησίμο*, and certain large tiles with the inscription *ιεράν Μ<η>τρι θεῶν | Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμ<ώ>νιος*. These are

¹ Extracts of his letters were published in the *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des Sciences* (ed. Millin), Année XVII, 1812, II, pp. 91 ff.

now published as *I.G.*, II², 2581 *a* and *b* and *I.G.*, II², 4870 respectively. The first stone, according to Dodwell,¹ was found near the Ilissos, but it has now been rediscovered in the excavations of the Agora. At any rate, I suspect that the marker published here as no. 25 is the same as *I.G.*, II², 2581 *a*. It cannot be *I.G.*, II², 2581 *b*, for Kirchner's note in the *Corpus* testifies that that stone has found its way into the Berlin Museum.

At least sixteen roof tiles similar to those seen by Fauvel have also been found in the excavations of the Agora,² and because of the characteristic inscription *ἱερὰν Μητρὶ θεῶν | Διόνυσος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος* they must be associated with the Metroön, whose exact location is now known. It is not certain, but it is at least possible, that the tiles seen by Fauvel are among the sixteen so far discovered in the excavations of the Agora, though Dodwell's account seems to give the place of finding as near the Museion hill.³

So little reliance can be placed on the reports of the places of first discovery, that it seems best to assume that these inscriptions were found in or near the Agora, where they have now been unearthed again. Such a conclusion is not, after all, irreconcilable with Fauvel's location "sur le grand chemin qui conduisait de la porte Hippades à Acharnes." Nor is the identity of the new Agora documents with those of Fauvel rendered improbable by the fact that Fauvel calls the monuments in stone "colonnes," for the one now discovered in the Agora is roughly triangular in cross-section, with a slightly convex face, and a round base for setting in the ground.

The interpretation of the text *hópos helíkhs* has been difficult. Le Bas and Waddington included it among "Limites des enceintes sacrées."⁴ Böckh (*C.I.G.*, 529) stated plainly: Quid sit Ἑλίχης nescio: nisi Helice Ionis uxor sacellum aliquo loco, fortasse apud Ionidas, habuit. Demum Atticae Helicen qui dicit, errat. The publication of Kirchhoff (*I.G.*, I, 523) repeats Böckh's admission, and also his conjecture: Ὅπος —. Nam de alterius versus lectione, qui litteras admixtas praestat Ionicas, dubia res. De Helica, Ionis uxore, eiusque sacello, apud Ionidas quod fuisse quis coniceret, cogitabat Boeckhius. The belief that Attic and Ionic letters were confused in the inscription led Milchhöfer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 340, no. 525 *a*) to write ὄπος Ἑλίχης. But the use of the aspirate with boundary stones is not unusual in the fourth century, and except for this characteristic the lettering is Ionic throughout. The correct reading has been again given by Hiller (*I.G.*, I², 864) as *hópos helíkhs*. He adds further details about the wife of Ion, but warns against association with the deme Ionidai: Helica Ionis uxor est in Pausaniae Achaicis (VII, 1, 3 cf. 25, 5; St. B. Βοῦρα), Selinuntis filia; sed Ionidarum demus, de quo cogitavit Boeckh, procul habendus est.

¹ *A classical and topographical tour through Greece*, Vol. I, p. 400.

² See Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 191-192.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 400; cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 192, note 1.

⁴ *Voyage archéologique*, Vol. I, no. 270.

It is, I believe, impossible to construe this inscription as a boundary-marker for the supposed sanctuary of Helice, mother of Ion. If there were such a place—as yet unattested—the stone would have to be the boundary of the sanctuary, and the additional word *ἱερῶ, τεμένε(ν)ς, vel sim.* should have appeared also on the stone.

Theophrastos (*H. P.*, III, 13, 7) reports that the willow, in and near Arcadia, was usually called *ἐλίκη*, and I wish to suggest the possibility that the same term may in this instance have been used in Athens.¹ Some of the trees of the Agora were famous, and served as rallying points easily designated. A brief summary will be found in Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 357. Andocides (I, 133) names a group who gathered under the white poplar to bid for the privilege of tax-farming, and Pollux (VIII, 112) states that fines against women were posted by the *γυναικοκόσμοι* (*sic*) on the plane tree in the Kerameikos. The black poplar by the orchestra was the place where the sycophants posted their charges (cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 342, 357). But there are known to have been willows also in the Agora, for Lykourgos states (*κατὰ Λεωκράτους*, 112) that Phrynichos was murdered *παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰσύνους*. The place of the murder was fixed by Thucydides (VIII, 92, 2) not far from the bouleuterion: *οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου*.

See Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 877-883, for the meaning of *ὄρος*.

BOUNDARY MARKER

25. Horos-stone of Pentelic marble, found on February 27, 1935 in Section O. The stone is complete except for minor fractures (= *I.G.*, II², 2581 *a*).

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2528.

Early Fourth Century B.C.

*ὄρος σή
ματος Ὁ
νησίμο*



No. 25

For the place of original discovery and probable identity with *I.G.*, II², 2581 *a*, see notes on No. 24. The stone shows, however, a correct orthography in line 1, while the copies of Fauvel and Dodwell (cf. *C.I.G.*, 535) read only *ΟΡΟΣΗ*.

¹ The cognate forms *salix* in Latin, and *selja* and *salaha* in Germanic (cf. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, I, p. 389), indicate that the name *ἐλίκη* may well not have been confined to Arcadia. The alternative is to suppose that in the present text it was the name of a locale.

THE GENOS OF THE GEPHYRAIOI

26. Part of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken away at the bottom and on the right, found on October 13, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section O.



Height, 0.233 m.; width, 0.229 m.;
thickness, 0.143 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m. and
0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2044.

The inscription is not written stoiche-
don, but the pediment determines the
approximate centre of the stone. Two
lines occupy a space of 0.03 m.

No. 26

ca. 37/6 B.C.

Θ ε ο [ί]

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἐπὶ Θεοπέιθου ἄ[ρχοντος, τοῦ δὲ γέ]
νους τοῦ Γεφυραίων Φιλων[ίδου ἄρχοντος Παι]
[α]νέως ὧς Σκιροφοριῶνος ὧς [-----]

5

The document is a decree of the *γένος* of the Gephyraioi, and can be placed on the basis of letter forms in the first century B.C. The lettering is quite similar to that of *I.G.*, II², 1343, which is dated ἐπὶ Θεοπέιθου ἄρχοντος, and the archon's name serves to define the time more exactly. He is evidently the same man as the archon named in the present text. Kirchner (note on *I.G.*, II², 1343) gives the year as ca. 37/6 B.C.

The inscription names also the archon of the *γένος*. In view of the high probability of consistent syllabic division at the ends of lines, the demotic in lines 3-4 can hardly be other than [Παι | α]νέως. If this is true, then the archon of the *γένος* may be a descendant of that Φιλοκλῆς Φιλωνίδου Παιανιεύς (*P.A.*, 14554) who was ephebos in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008, line 111), and the restoration Φιλων[ίδου ἄρχοντος Παια]-

νέως has been made in lines 3-4. For the office, see (for example) *I.G.*, II², 1236 (line 19): [ἄρ]χοντα τῶν γενῶν; *I.G.*, II², 2949: ἄρχοντες γενόμενοι τοῦ γένους τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν; and *I.G.*, II², 3218 (lines 3-6): ἄρχοντα [γ]ενόμενον τοῦ [γέ]νους Κηρύ[κ]ων; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 1 (lines 47, 57, 69-70, 73-74, 82-83, 95).

The history of the Gephyraioi is related by Herodotos (V, 57-62), who reports that the slayers of the tyrant Hipparchos were from their number. Cf. also Bürchner in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. Gephyraioi.¹

27. This inscription was cut on a block of Pentelic marble which was later made into an Ionic column capital. The stone was found on April 3, 1935 in a fill of early Byzantine date in Section II.

Height of inscribed surface, 0.43 m.; width of inscribed surface, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 2723.



No. 27

¹ Since the above was written, it has been found that the fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 1096, the lost fragment of which has been re-discovered in the Agora. A text of the entire inscription is now being prepared.

ca. 100 A.D.

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρεί[ου πάγου]
καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἐξ[ακοσί]
ων καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τιβ[έριον]
Κλαύδιον· Τιβερίου· Κ[λαυδίου]
5 Ἀσκληπίδου· υἱὸν· Κ[υρείνα]
Ἀσκληπίδην· Ἰουλ[ιανὸν]
Περγαμηνὸν ἧρω[α ἀρετῆς]
ἔνεκεν > ΑΡ%

The designation ἧρω[α] in line 7 shows that the monument was erected to Asklepides after his death. Examples of this usage are numerous, but cf. *I.G.*, II², 3968, 3971, 3974, 3975, and especially *I.G.*, IV², 82-86. I have no explanation for the last line. The restoration ἔνεκεν ἀρ[ετῆς] gives an abnormal word order, and in any case the word ἀρετῆς is needed in its appropriate position to fill out the end of line 7. It is even possible that the final letters ΑΡ% of line 8 were cut by a different hand from the rest of the inscription. Epigraphically the final letter may be B, E, or P, with the preference, I think, slightly favoring P.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

Note: For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send suggestions by letter or reprints of articles they may write concerning them to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.