

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

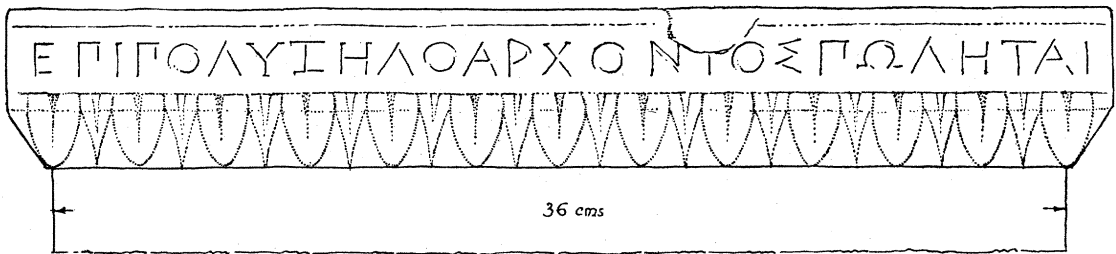
A POLETAI RECORD OF THE YEAR 367/6 B.C.

1. A complete stele of Pentelic marble with rough-picked back and bottom. It is crowned with a flat-topped moulding on the curved surface of which there is a painted band of egg and dart (see drawing). The stone was found on May 25, 1938, beneath the Tholos floor in filling of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C.

Height, 0.922 m.; width, of the top moulding, 0.392 m., of the inscribed surface (at top), 0.36 m., (at bottom), 0.404 m.; thickness, 0.097 to 0.132 m.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.01 m., lines 2-83, 0.004 m.; ten lines, 0.082 m.; ten letters, measured on centres, line 2, 0.08 to 0.078 m., line 82, 0.089 to 0.085 m.

Inv. No. I 5509.



The Moulding at the Top of No. 1, Showing the Painted Band of Egg and Dart.

Drawn by Piet de Jong

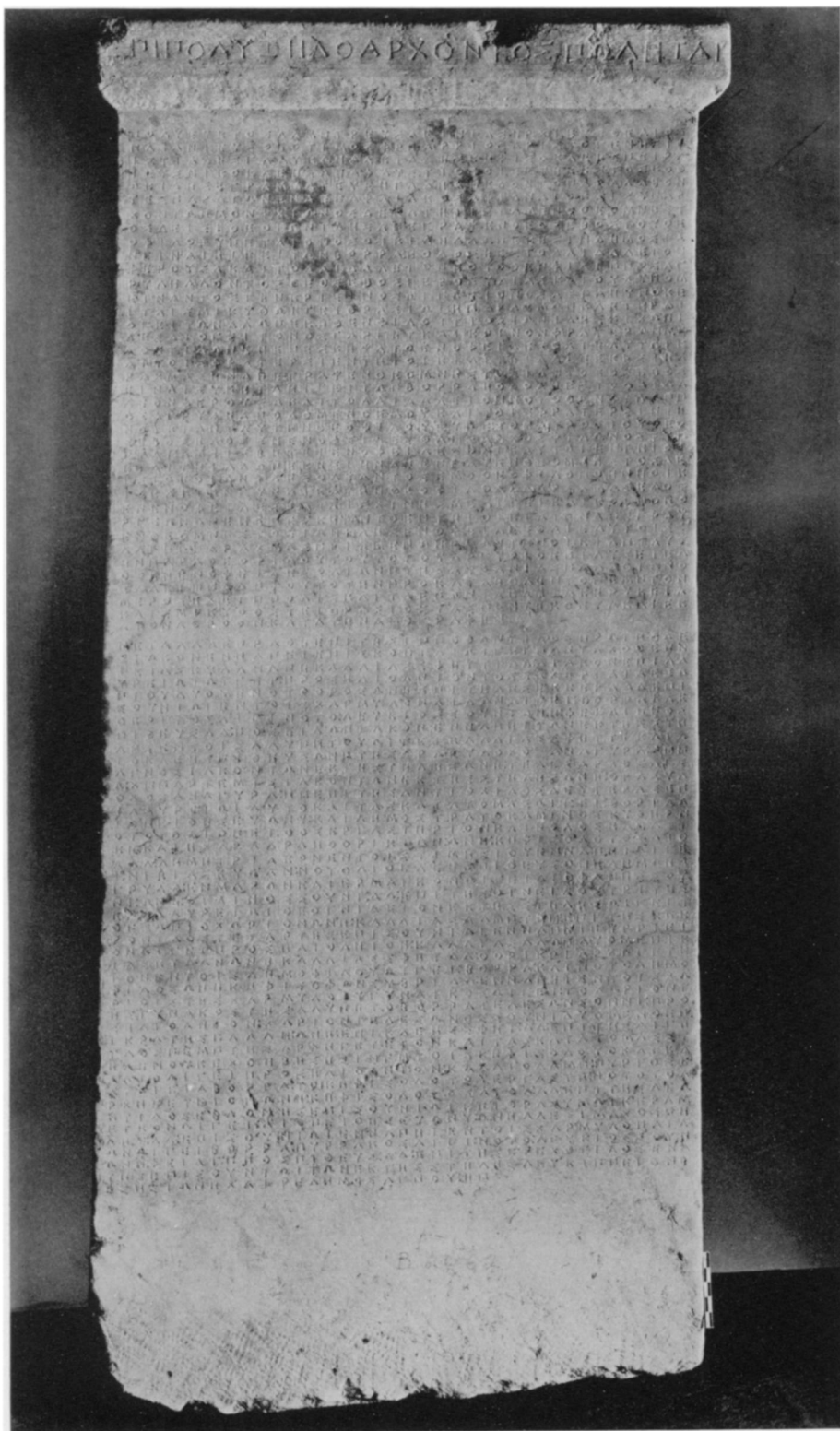
367/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

Ἐπὶ Πολυζήλο ἄρχοντος πωληταί

- Πολύευκτος Λαμπτρέυς, Δεινίας Ἐρχιεύς, Θεαῖος
 Παιανιεύς, Θεότιμος Φρεάρριος, Ἀριστογέννης Ἴφ
 ιστιάδης, Γλαύκων Λακιάδης, Κηφισοκλῆς Πειρα
 5 ιεύς, Νικοκλῆς Ἀναφλύστιος, οἷς Ἐξήκεστος Κοθ
 ωκίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν, τάδε ἀπέδοντο παραλαβόν
 τες παρὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα Φαίακος Ἀφιδναῖο καὶ συναρ
 χόντων· Μονιχιῶνος δεκάτη ἱσταμένο, Θεόμνηστ
 10 ος Δεισιθέο Ἰωνίδης ἀπέγραψεν Θεοσέβος τοῦ Θε
 οφίλο Ἐυπεταῖονος οἰκίαν Ἀλωπεκῆσιν δημοσία
 ν εἶναι, ἥι γείτων βορρᾶ· ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐς τὸ Δαιδάλειον
 φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Δαιδάλειον, νοτόθεν· Φίλιππος Ἀγ





- ρυλῇ, ἀλόντος Θεοσέβος ἱεροσυλίας καὶ οὐχ ὑπομ
 εῖναντος τὴν κρίσιν ὅσῳ πλείονος ἀξία ἢ ὑπόκε
 15 ιται Σμικύθῳ Τειθρασίῳ: Η^Α δραχμῶν, κλητῆρ Δι
 ογείτων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, Φιλοίτιος Ἰωνίδης· Κιχωνί
 δης Διογείτονος Γαργῆτ καὶ κοινὸν φρατέρων Με
 δοντιδῶν ἐνεπησκήψατο ἐνοφείλσθαι ἑαυτῶι κ
 20 αὶ τοῖς φράτερσιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Ἀλωπεκῆσι Η δ
 ραχμάς, ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Ἰωνί Θεοσέβος
 εἶναι Ξυπετα ἡμὶ γείτων βορρᾶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐς τὸ Δαιδά
 λεον φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Δαιδάλειον, νοτόθεν Φίλιππ
 ος Ἀγρυλῇ, ἀποδομένο ἐμο<ῖ> καὶ τοῖς φράτερσιν τῇ
 ν οἰκίαν ταύτην Θεοφίλου Ξυπε; τὸ πατρὸς τοῦ Θεο
 25 σέβος. ἔδοξεν ἐνοφείλσθαι. Ἰσαρχος Φίλωνος Ξυπ
 ε{; }ται; ἀμφισβητεῖ ἐνοφείλσθαι ἑαυτῶι ἐν τῇ οἰ
 κίᾳ τῇ Ἀλωπεκῆσι ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Δε
 ισιθέο Ἰωνίδης, θάψαντος ἐμῷ Θεοφίλῳ ὃ ἦν ἡ οἰκ
 ία καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Θεοφίλου ΔΔΔ; δραχμάς. ἔδοξ
 30 ἐν ἐνοφείλσθαι. Αἰσχίνης Μελιτε<ν> καὶ κοινὸν ὁ
 ργεῶνων ἐνεπεσκήψαντο ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἣν ἀπέγραψ
 ἐν Θεόμνηστος Ἰωνίδης ἐνοφείλσθαι ἑαυτοῖς:
 ΔΔΗΗΗ δραχμάς, πριαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτ
 ην παρὰ Θεοφίλου τούτο τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπὶ λύσει. ἔδ
 35 οξεν ἐνοφείλσθαι. ὦνητῆς, Λυσανίας Παλαθίωνο
 ς Λακι Η^ΑΔΔΠ· τούτο τὴν προκαταβολὴν τὸ πέμπτον
 μέρος ἔχει ἡ πόλις καὶ τὰ ἐπώνια καὶ τὰ κηρύκεια
 καὶ Σμίκυθος Τειθράσιος τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκ
 ατόν· ἀθρόον κατὰ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν.
- 40 μέταλλα ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος πρώτης, Δε
 ξιακὸν ἐν Νάπει ἐπὶ Σκοπιᾷ, ὧι γεί πανταχόθεν Ν
 ικίας Κυδαν, ὦνη Καλλίας Σφήττι ΔΔ; Διακὸν ἐπὶ Λα
 υρείῳ, ὧι γεί: πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόντος τὰ χωρία τὰ Ἐξω
 πίου, δυομένο τὸ ὄρος, ὦνη Ἐπιτέλης ἐκ Κερα ΔΔ· ἐπὶ
 45 Σουνίῳ ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παίδων, ὧι γεί: βορρᾶ Κλε
 ὀκριτος Αἰγι, νοτό; Λεύκιος Σουνι, ὦνη; Φείδιππος
 Πιθεύς ΔΔ; Ποσειδωνιακὸν ἐν Νάπηι τῶν ἐκ τῆς στή
 λης ἐν τοῖς Ἀλυπῆτου, ὧι γεί Καλλίας Σφήττι καὶ Δ
 ιοκλῆς Πιθεύς, ὦνητῆς Θρασύλοχο<ς> Ἀναγυρά; ΧΗ^Α
 50 Ἀγνοσιακὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς <σ>τήλης, ὦνη; Τελέσαρχος Αἰξ
 ῶ; ΧΗ^Α· Ἀρτεμισιακὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς στήλης ὦνη; Θρασύλ
 οχος Ἀναγυρά; Η^Α· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος δευτέρας ἐπ

- ἰ Λαυρείῳ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς κατατομάς, ὧι γεί: βορρά Δ
 ιοπέιθης Εὐωνυ: καὶ Δημοστράτο κάμινος Κυθήρ, ν
 55 οτό τὸ Διοπέιθος ἐργαστήριον καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀμαξι
 κῇ καὶ ἡ χαράδρα ἡ Θορικίων: ὦνη: Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθ
 α ΔΔ: Δημητριάκον ἐν τοῖς Τιμησίῳ ἐν Νάπηι, ὧι γε
 ῖ: Νικίας Κυδαν: νοτό Διοκλῆς Πιθεύς, ὦνη Δήμων Ἀ
 γρν: ΔΔ: ἐν Μαρωνέαι Ἑρμαικόν, ὧι γεί Διοφάνης Σου
 60 νι: ὦνη Φιλίνος Σουνι: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος τρίτης,
 ἐπ[ι] Λαυρείῳ Θεογνίδειον ἐκ τῆς στήλης, ὧι γεί τ
 ὀ Ἐξωπίο χωρίον, ὦνη: Καλλίας Λαμπτρ ^Α: ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκ
 ροπίδος τετάρτης, ἐπὶ Σουνί(ω)ι ἐν Νάπει Πυρρίει
 65 ον, ὧι γεί πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν: Καλλίας Ἀλωπ, δυομέ Νικ
 ἰας Κυδαν, ὦνη Καλλίας Σφήτ ΔΔ: Θορικοὶ Ἀρχηγέτε
 ιον ἐν τοῖς Δημοφίλου, ὧι γεί: βορρά: καὶ νοτό Δημό
 φιλος, ὦνη Κηφισοφῶν Συβρί ΔΔ: ἐν Νάπηι ἐν τοῖς χω
 ρίοις τῆς Χαρμύλο(ς)υ γυναικός, ὧι γεί: τὸ χωρίον τ
 ῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀλυπήτο, βορρά Τελέσων Σο(ν)υ: πρὸ
 70 ς ἡλίο ἀνιόν: χωρίον Τελέσωνος Σουνι, δυομένο Ἐπ
 ικράτης Πάλλη: ὦνη: Ἐπικλῆς Σφήτ: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγῆ
 ἰδος πέμπτης, Ἀρχηγέτειον καὶ τὰς κατατομάς, στ
 ἡλὴν οὐκ ἔχον, Βήσησιν ἐν τοῖς Κηφισοδότο καὶ Κα
 λλίο, ὧι γεί πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν: Καλλίο Λαμπ: πύργος κ
 75 αὶ οἰκία, βορρά: τὸ(ι) Κηφισοδότου ἐργαστή: νοτό τὸ Ἀ
 ρχηγέτειον, ὦνη: Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθα: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Λεω
 ντίδος ἐβδόμης, ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ ἐπὶ Θρασύμῳ Κεραμ
 εικόν, ὧι γεί: Διοπέιθης Εὐωνυ: ὦνη Ἀλεξίμαχος Πή
 ληξ: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ ἐν Νάπηι ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παῖδ
 80 ων, ὧι γεί βορρά: Πύρρακος Αἰγι: νοτό: Λεύκιος Σουν,
 ὦνη: Φείδιππος Πιθεύς: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος ἐνά
 τῆς, ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στήλης Λευκίππειον Β
 ἡσησι, ὦνη Χαιρέδημος Ἀγνού: Η^Α vacat

TRANSLATION

Poletai in the archonship of Polyzelos.

Polyeuktos of Lamptrai, Deinias of Erchia, Theaios of Paiania, Theotimos of Phrearrhoi, Aristogenes of Iphistiadai, Glaukon of Lakiadai, Kephisokles of Peiraeus, Nikokles of Anaphlystos, whose secretary was Exekestos of Kothokidai, sold the following (property), having received it from the Eleven, (i. e.), from Phaiax of Aphidnai and his colleagues. The tenth of Mounichion, Theomnestos son of Deisitheos

of Ionidai registered the house in Alopeke of Theosebes son of Theophilos of Xypete as public property, the house of which the boundaries are on the north the road leading to the Daidaleion and the Daidaleion, on the south (the property of) Philip of Agryle; (the property had become public) because Theosebes was convicted of sacrilege and did not await the trial; (Theomnestos registered it) inasmuch as the value (of the house) was greater than the 150 drachmai for which it (the house) was mortgaged to Smikythos of Teithras. Witnesses (that the summons had been served to Theosebes), Diogeiton of Alopeke, Philoitios of Ionidai.

Kichonides son of Diogeiton of Gargettos and the association of the brothers of the Medontidai claimed that 100 drachmai were due him and the brothers on the house in Alopeke which Theomnestos of Ionidai registered as (the property) of Theosebes of Xypete, the house of which the boundaries are on the north the road leading to the Daidaleion and the Daidaleion, on the south (the property of) Philip of Agryle, "for Theophilos of Xypete, the father of Theosebes, sold (mortgaged ?) this house to me and the brothers"; it was decided that (the money) was due.

Isarchos son of Philon of Xypete argued that 30 drachmai were due him on the house in Alopeke which Theomnestos son of Deisitheos of Ionidai registered, "for I buried Theophilos, whose house this was, and the wife of Theophilos"; it was decided that (the money) was due.

Aischines of Melite and the association of the *orgeones* claimed that 24 drachmai were owed them on the house which Theomnestos of Ionidai registered, "for we bought this house from Theophilos for this amount subject to redemption" (i. e., held a mortgage). It was decided that (the money) was due.

The purchaser was Lysanias son of Palathion of Lakiadai, the price, 575 drachmai. Of this the city has as first deposit a fifth and the sales tax and the auctioneer's fees, and Smikythos of Teithras the 150 drachmai. The sum was paid all at once in accordance with the record.

Mines were leased:

In the first prytany, that of Hippothontis, Dexiakon in Nape at the Look-out, of which the boundaries are on all sides (property of) Nikias of Kydantidai, the lessee, Kallias of Sphettos, the price, 20 drachmai; Diakon at Laureion, of which the boundaries are on the east the fields of Exopios, on the west the mountain, the lessee, Epiteles of Kerameikos, the price, 20 drachmai; at Sounion in the (fields) of the sons of Charmylos, of which the boundaries are on the north (property of) Kleokritos of Aigilia, on the south (property of) Leukios of Sounion, the lessee, Pheidippos of Pithos, the price, 20 drachmai; Poseidoniakon in Nape, (one) of those from the stele, in the (fields) of Alypetos, of which the boundaries are (property of) Kallias of Sphettos and Diokles of Pithos, the lessee, Thrasylochos of Anagyrous, the price, 1550 drachmai; Hagnosiakon, (one) of those from the stele, the lessee,

Telesarchos of Aixone, the price, 1550 drachmai; Artemisiakon, (one) of those from the stele, the lessee, Thrasylochos of Anagyrous, the price, 150 drachmai.

In the second prytany, that of Antiochis, at Laureion, the same (Artemisiakon) and the cuttings, of which the boundaries are on the north (property of) Diopeithes of Euonymon and the furnace of Demostratos of Kytheros, on the south the workshop of Diopeithes and the wagon road and the ravine of the Thorikioi, the lessee, Kephisodotos of Aithalidai, the price, 20 drachmai; Demetriakon in the (fields) of Timesios, in Nape, of which the boundaries are (property of) Nikias of Kydantidai, on the south (property of) Diokles of Pithos, the lessee, Demon of Agryle, the price, 20 drachmai; in Maroneia, Hermaikon, of which the boundaries are (property of) Diophanes of Sounion, the lessee, Philinos of Sounion, the price, 20 drachmai.

In the third prytany, that of Oineis, at Laureion, Theognideion from the stele, of which the boundaries are the field of Exopios, the lessee, Kallias of Lamptrai, the price, 50 drachmai.

In the fourth prytany, that of Kekropis, at Sounion in Nape, Pyrrhieion, of which the boundaries are on the east (property of) Kallias of Alopeke, on the west (property of) Nikias of Kydantidai, the lessee, Kallias of Sphettos, the price, 20 drachmai; at Thorikos, Archegeteion, in the (fields) of Demophilos, of which the boundaries are on the north and south (property of) Demophilos, the lessee, Kephisophon of Sybridai, the price, 20 drachmai; in Nape in the fields of the wife of Charmylos, of which the boundaries are the field of the wife of Alypetos, on the north (property of) Teleson of Sounion, on the east the field of Teleson of Sounion, on the west (property of) Epikrates of Pallene, the lessee, Epikles of Sphettos, the price, 20 drachmai.

In the fifth prytany, that of Aigeis, Archegeteion and the cuttings, having no boundary stone, at Besa in the (fields) of Kephisodotos and Kallias, of which the boundaries are on the east a tower and house of Kallias of Lamptrai, on the north the workshop of Kephisodotos, on the south the Archegeteion, the lessee, Kephisodotos of Aithalidai, the price, 20 drachmai.

In the seventh prytany, that of Leontis, at Sounion, at Thrasymos, Kerameikon, of which the boundaries are (property of) Diopeithes of Euonymon, the lessee, Aleximachos of Pelekes, the price, 20 drachmai; at Sounion in Nape, in the (fields) of the sons of Charmylos, of which the boundaries are on the north (property of) Pyrrhakos of Aigilia, on the south (property of) Leukios of Sounion, the lessee, Pheidippos of Pithos, the price, 20 drachmai.

In the ninth prytany, that of Erechtheis, at Sounion (one) of those from the stele, Leukippeion at Besa, the lessee, Chairedemos of Hagnous, the price, 150 drachmai.

COMMENTARY

The stele contains the records of the transactions of the poletai for the year 367/6. These are the sale of one confiscated house and the leasing of seventeen mining concessions. Lines 8-39 give the account of the sale of the house and of the three claims that were brought against it during the course of the sale. All three claims were granted. The second half of the inscription, lines 40-83, is devoted exclusively to the leasing of the mining concessions.

The stone-cutter was inconsistent, as is shown in the text, in his use of the colon to mark abbreviations and to set off numbers. The colon, when used, is placed between the columns except in line 32 where it occupies the last letter space of the line. His spelling was also inconsistent. He preferred *o* to *ov* for the genitive singular, using it even in such words as *τὸ*, *ἐμὸ* and *ὁ* (lines 24 and 28), but he occasionally wrote *ov* (lines 34, 44, 48, 57, 66). Four times he wrote *Νάπηι*, twice *Νάπει*. Once (line 22) *Δαιδάλεον* is written for *Δαιδάλειον*. There are certain errors on the stone due to carelessness.

Lines 2-6: Of the eight poletai only two are known, Polyuktos of Lamptrai (*P.A.*, 11948) who served as trierarch in 357/6 B.C., and Deinias of Erchia (*P.A.*, 3163) known both as a trierarch and as a man who undertook many liturgies (Demos-thenes, XX, 146, 151). The Kephisokles of Peiraeus (*P.A.*, 8395) named in a prytany catalogue of the third century is perhaps a descendant of the man named here. The secretary, Exekestos of Kothokidai, is probably related to Exekestides son of Aristodemos of Kothokidai (*P.A.*, 4719), trierarch in 353/2. I have no explanation to offer for the fact that there are only eight poletai instead of ten (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 47, 2). The system of tribal representation seems to be followed in that each of the eight comes from a different tribe. Aiantis and Kekropis are not represented. The secretary does not account for one of the missing tribes, for he comes from Oineis, already represented by Glaukon.

Lines 6-7: Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 52, 1) lists as one of the duties of the Eleven the handing over to the poletai of property that has been declared public, *καὶ τὰ δόξαντα δημόσια εἶναι παραδῶσαντας τοῖς πωληταῖς*.

Lines 8-9: Theomnestos of Ionidai is perhaps the grandfather of the Theomnestos of Ionidai who was an ephebe in 305/4 (*I.G.*, II², 478).

Lines 9-10: Theosebes is a new name. His father Theophilos may be the man mentioned in an inscription of 391/0 (*I.G.*, II², 1663) where -- *φίλος Ξυπεταιῶν* is preserved.

Line 11: There is no other mention of a sanctuary of Daidalos or Daidaleion in Attica. In all probability it lay in the deme of Daidalidai. Milchhoefer (Pauly-

Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Daidalidai) places Daidalidai north of Alopeke¹ and contiguous with it, partly because of the fact that Socrates, whose deme was Alopeke, claimed Daidalos as an ancestor (Plato, *Euthyphro*, 11c, *Alcibiades*, I, 121a). Our text in which the road to the Daidaleion and the Daidaleion form the northern boundary of property in Alopeke fits admirably his allocation of the two demes. The house of Theosebes thus lay on the northern boundary of Alopeke.

Line 15: Although there is no abbreviation mark after the word *κλητήρ*, it must be read as a dual, *κλητήρ(ε)*, or as a plural, *κλητήρ(ες)*. The number of such witnesses seems usually to have been two (Demosthenes, XVIII, 55, XL, 28, LIII, 14; Photius, s. v. *κλητήρες*).² It is interesting to note that the witnesses that the summons had been served are named here, for Pollux, VIII, 49, in discussing accusations says, *ἔδει δὲ καὶ κλητῆρας προσεπιγράφεσθαι τὸν φαίνοντα, εἰ εἰσὶ μάρτυρες*.

Lines 15-16: Diogeiton of Alopeke is known (*P.A.*, 3792).

Line 16: The name Philoitios is a new one in Attic prosopography for the classical period. It does appear however on an ephebe list of A.D. 173/4, *I.G.*, II², 2104.

Line 17: It is clear that the Medontidai are a phratry, not a *genos*³ as has been generally believed⁴ (Toepfer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 228 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 41, 131; Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Medontidai). No ancient source however calls them a *genos*. Hesychius, s. v. *Μεδοντίδαι*, simply says *οἱ ἀπὸ Μέδοντος Ἀθήνησι*.

Pausanias, IV, 13, 7, refers to the Medontidai but does not name their organization. The Medontidai also appear on three inscriptions, but in no case is any descriptive word preserved: *I.G.*, II², 1233, a very fragmentary honorary decree of the fourth century; *I.G.*, I², 871, a boundary stone of the fifth century, and 872, a

¹ See the map in Milchhoefer, *Die Demeordnung des Kleisthenes*. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 1931, p. 170, following Doerpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 507, places Alopeke south of Athens. This however is followed neither by Milchhoefer, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Daidalidai, nor by Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, 1933 (see map at end of volume).

² For a general discussion of *κλητήρες* see Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, III, pp. 804 ff.

³ According to Photius, s. v. *Τιταγίδαι*, the Titagidai and Thyrgonidai were both phratries and *gene*. The same could be true of the Medontidai. Since, however, this text definitely establishes it as a phratry name and since it is nowhere called a *genos*, there is no need to assume that it applied to both a phratry and a *genos*.

⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen in the commentary on *I.G.*, I², 872, disagrees. The text reads [h]ιερόν | *Μεδοντιδόν*. Between the two lines there is a shallow circular cutting which Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, p. 50, assumes is for a dedicated object, a plate or cup perhaps, and so considers the inscription apparently the base for the dedicated object and the text the identification of it as sacred and as belonging to the Medontidai. Hiller von Gaertringen classifies it as a boundary stone and comments, "Medontidas heroes non gentem indicari manifestum est." The original Medontidai may have been considered heroes and have been worshipped as such, but it is clear from our text that their descendants kept the name and were organized as a phratry.

boundary stone or a base for a dedicated object (see note 4). *Κοινόν* never seems to be used of *gene*, but is attested for phratries; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1241. The patronymic form of the name is equally suitable for phratry or *genos* (cf. Ferguson, *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, p. 154).

The association of the *orgeones*, lines 30-31, named without a defining phrase, is almost certainly a part of the phratry of the Medontidai. There were two classes of "brothers" (*φράτορες*) in a phratry, the *gennetai* (or *ὀμογάλακτες*) and the *orgeones*, those who were not members of the original *gene*⁵ (Philochoros, *F.H.G.*, fr. 94; compare Isaios, II, 14, 16, 17 with VII, 15, 16, where in both cases he is referring to cases of adoption; in the first it is the "brothers" and *orgeones* who are called as witnesses, in the other the "brothers" and *gennetai*).

If the association of the *orgeones* mentioned in the text were one of the numerous non-phratry religious organizations or part of another phratry, it seems inconceivable that in a technical document of this sort it would not be described at least sufficiently for identification. The phratry of the Medontidai then had as one unit the association of the *orgeones*. For the other unit or units, whether a single *genos*, or several *gene*, or a common organization of several *gene* to balance that of the *orgeones*, there is no evidence.⁶

There is not yet sufficient evidence for a definitive location of the phratry of the Medontidai but the evidence, slight as it is, points to one of two regions, either the southwestern part of the city itself or the region lying just northeast of the ancient city.

In support of the first there is the fact that a boundary stone of a field owned by the Medontidai, *I.G.*, I², 871, was found near the approach to the Acropolis. Secondly the name of the phratry, derived as it is from Medon, a king of Athens, would suggest a site not far from the Acropolis. Thirdly, two of the three probable members of the phratry mentioned in the text, Aeschines and Theosebes, are from adjacent city demes lying southwest of the Acropolis, Melite and Xypete. The phratries, however, are earlier in origin⁷ than the deme organization of Kleisthenes and members of a phratry may have scattered from their original geographic centre before the demes were organized. Thus the demotic of a member of a phratry is not necessarily of significance for the site of the phratry; nevertheless it may be considered suggestive.

⁵ For recent discussions of phratry membership see Wade-Gery, *Classical Quarterly*, XXVII, 1933, p. 27; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, pp. 230 ff.; Costello, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 178 ff.

⁶ For the differences in organization between one phratry and another, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 267. Compare also *I.G.*, II², 1237, the decrees of the phratry of the Demotionidai (or according to Wade-Gery, *Classical Quarterly*, XXV, 1931, pp. 129 ff., of the phratry of Dekeleia); that phratry is divided into *thiasoi*.

⁷ See Wade-Gery, *Classical Quarterly*, XXVII, 1933, pp. 27-28.

The case for a location of the phratry northeast of the ancient city depends on the facts that the fragmentary honorary decree of the Medontidai, *I.G.*, II², 1233, was found at Kypsele, which lies just north of Lykabettos, and that the phratry had interests in the house situated on the northern boundary of Alopeke.⁸

Line 23: The stone-cutter first wrote ἐμοῦ, influenced no doubt by the preceding participle, and then corrected himself by writing the iota over the upsilon. The transaction described in this second claim can scarcely have been an outright gift or sale of the house, for the claim is only 100 drachmai and the house sells for 575 drachmai (line 36). I suggest that the phratry held a mortgage which they either bought or received as a gift from Theophilos, the original owner. I can find no parallel for the use of ἀποδίδωμι in this sense, but compare the common phrase of mortgage stones, πεπραμένον ἐπὶ λύσει (cf. lines 33 and 34) where a verb meaning selling is used of the granting of a mortgage.

Line 25: ἔδοξεν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. With the present text as a parallel, it seems almost certain that in the poletai record, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10, lines 183-4 should be restored to read ἔδ[οξε δ]ὲ ἐνεπίσκημμα τ[ὸ] | φυλῆς εἶναι; the claim of the tribe was granted. With this reading the simplest interpretation of Case II, lines 153-185, seems to be that Nikokrates bought the field of Nikodemos which had been confiscated for 680 drachmai. The value of the property was not enough to cover the penalties Nikodemos owed the city nor the doubling of the claim of the tribe. The tribe received the 666⅔ drachmai which Nikodemos had embezzled and the city only 13⅓ drachmai.⁹

The father of Isarchos, Philon of Xypete, is known (*P.A.*, 14857).

Line 26: The stone-cutter wrote a colon by mistake between the epsilon and tau of Xypetai(on).

Line 30: On the stone there is a vertical stroke, not carefully cut, in the vacant space between Μελιτε and καί.

For the association of the *orgeones*, see above, commentary on line 17.

Lines 36-37: The house is sold for 575 drachmai. This gives 271 drachmai as a net gain for the city, after the three claims amounting to 154 drachmai and the original mortgage of Smikythos of 150 drachmai have been paid. The city also receives the sales tax which in the early fourth century was 2 per cent of the price (see *I.G.*, II², 1579 and Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 616); this amounts to

⁸ The third inscription, *I.G.*, I², 872, was found in southern Attica at Keratea and so fits with neither suggestion. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, pp. 119 and 123, accepts it as proof that Keratea was the original home of the Medontidai.

⁹ On the evidence of the present text, line 15, it may also be noted here that the kappa used as an abbreviation in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10, lines 150 and 166 should be expanded as κ(λητῆρε) or κ(λητῆρες) rather than as κ(υρωταί). See the note on line 15, above.

12 drachmai then for this sale. The amount of the auctioneer's fees which the city also collects is not known, but was probably only a small amount. For *κηρύκεια* see Suidas, *s. v.* *κηρυκεία* and Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 1011, an inscription from Chalcedon of the third or second century B.C. where the *κηρύκειον* is 2 drachmai and 3 to 5 obols.

The second half of the stele, recording the mining leases for the year, is of special interest in that it is the earliest record of this type yet found (*I.G.*, II², 1582-89, and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10) and the only complete one.

The whole question of the Laureion mines, both from an administrative and topographical point of view, needs to be re-worked. It is hoped that this can be done in the near future when the fragments of mining inscriptions found in the Agora (there are more than fifty pieces, representing at least twelve stelai) are published. Until this is done any attempt at a new discussion of the main problems would be premature. Therefore in the commentary on the present text I shall deal only with the specific points brought up by this text.

There were only seventeen mines leased in the year 367/6, whereas in the poletai record of *ca.* 342/1 (*I.G.*, II², 1582 + *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10) there were more than eighty leases recorded.¹⁰ Xenophon, *Πόροι*, IV, 28, written probably in 355 (Schmid-Stählin-Christ, *Griech. Litteratur*, 1912, p. 515) says that work had only recently been begun in the mines, and a comparison of the numbers of leases in the two texts is indicative of the revival in Laureion about the middle of the fourth century (Ardaillon, *Les Mines du Laurion dans l'antiquité*, pp. 154 ff.).

The mines in our text fall into two classes. The first, of which there are five, is described as *ἐκ τῆς στήλης*. They are the mines that have been recorded in poletai records of previous years (cf. the fuller phrase, *ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχῳ ἄρχο(ντος)*, *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 62-63; also lines 72, 76, 78-79) and are the ones that are productive or in working order, the *ἐργάσιμα* of *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 60 ff. Their prices range from 1550 to 50 drachmai. The second class, of which there are twelve, must be the new concessions. In each case the boundaries are given and the price is always the same, 20 drachmai. There is no way of telling whether they include both new cuttings, *καινοτομίαι* (*I.G.*, II², 1587, lines 5-6), and re-working of ancient cuttings, *παλαιὰ ἀνασάξιμα* (*I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 46, 56, etc.), or only one of these groups.

For the technical word, *κατατομάς*, lines 53 and 72, compare *I.G.*, II², 1582, line 70. See also Schönbauer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaurechts*, 1929, p. 25.

The simplest explanation of the stele, lines 71-72, mentioned only because of its absence, is that it is a boundary stone or marker of the concession. Boundary stones

¹⁰ See *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 396, 407. All four columns of one face and two of the other seem to deal exclusively with mines. In the longest preserved column, Col. IV, face A, there are at least one hundred and two lines. Allowing for seven lines to a lease, there would be eighty-seven leases on the stones now preserved, even leaving out of account the missing top and bottom of the stele.

of mines have been found: *I.G.*, II², 2634-8 and *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pp. 11-12, nos. 10-13 (for the use of stele in this sense see Demosthenes, XVIII, 154).

Seven new names of mines are added by this inscription: Dexiakon, Hag-nousiakon, Diakon, Theognideion, Pyrrhieion, Archegeteion, and Kerameikon. Of the six concessions, with names that are already known, only one can be identified with any of the previously known mines. Since the names of mines derived from divinities or heroes are found repeated in different districts, it is impossible to identify a concession such as Artemisiakon,¹¹ line 51, with a known concession unless identical boundaries are given. The names derived from human beings, the owners perhaps, are not found repeated in different regions and therefore it is possible to identify the Leukippeion, lines 82-83, with the Leukippeion named in *I.G.*, II², 1588, line 13, where [B]ήσ[η]σι can be restored.

In the present text, lines 82-83, this mine apparently is described as being both at Sounion and at Besa. The suggestion made by Mr. Young (see below, p. 29) that ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ refers to the place of registry and Βήσῃσι to the location of the mine is the only one that fits the text. It must be noted, however, that so far this is the only case in the mining inscriptions where two deme names are used in describing a mine. In the other examples of two place names for a mine, such as ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ ἐν Νάπει (lines 63 and 79), ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ ἐπὶ Θρασύμῳ (line 77), or Θορικοὶ ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν (*I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 70-71), there is the possible interpretation that the non-deme names, Nape, ἐπὶ Θρασύμῳ, and ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν are specific places located in the deme mentioned. If Young's hypothesis is rejected we are left with the unsatisfactory explanation of an error on the part of the stone-cutter, assuming that in line 82 he wrote ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ by mistake, perhaps carrying it down from the record of the preceding lease.

For the topographical implications of the text see the special note at the end of this article.

Nape, a district in which six mines are located, lines 41, 47, 57, 63, 67, and 79, is a new name for Attica. It is known as the name of a village in Lesbos (Strabo, IX, 426). With its meaning as a common noun of glen or glade its origin as the name for a district in the hilly mining country is obvious.

Maroneia, in which the mine Hermaikon, line 59, is located, is the place where the mines that provided the 100 talents used by Themistokles for the navy in 483/2 were found (Aristotle, *op. cit.*, § 22, 7). See Ardaillon, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

ἐπὶ Θρασύμῳ, line 77, is known as a place name in the mining district (*I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 15, 19, 24, 128, 175, and 1587, line 5). Demosthenes (XXXVII, 4,

¹¹ In *I.G.*, II², 1582, at least five concessions named Artemisiakon are leased: lines 112 ff. in Anaphlystos, lines 143 and 175 at Thrasykos, lines 124 and 135 at Thorikos. The same is true of Archegeteion in the present text; there are two separate concessions, one at Thorikos, lines 65-67, and one at Besa, lines 72-76.

25) describes the same property once in Maroneia and again ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι. They must have been adjacent. See Oikonomos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 298-300.

Of the twenty-nine men mentioned in the text as lessees of mines or as property owners in the mining district, sixteen are known and of these eleven are members of wealthy families, wealthy enough at least to serve as trierarchs or to present an Agora to their deme.

Nikias of Kydantidai, lines 41-42, 58, and 65 (*P.A.*, 10809), was the grandson of Nikias the general who is known to have made part of his large fortune in the mines (Plutarch, *Nicias*, IV, 2). The grandson seems to have been owner of considerable property in Nape, for one concession lies entirely within his property. He appears also as member of a board in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 167, lines 3-4, where Νικίας Κυδα[ντίδης] should be restored.

Kallias of Sphettos (*P.A.*, 7891), who leased two concessions, Dexiakon and Pyrrhieion, both in Nape, and whose property is named as a boundary of a third mine also in Nape, lines 42, 48, and 65, was the father of Phaidros (*P.A.*, 13964) whom Aischines (I, 43, 50) names as a friend of the notorious Misgolas and who was general in 347/6 and trierarch about 323.

Exopios, a property owner in Laureion, lines 43-44 and 62, was perhaps from the deme Halai (*P.A.*, 4737).

Charmylos is not identifiable; his family must have owned considerable property in Nape and Sounion, for two concessions, probably adjacent ones, were located in the property of his sons, lines 45 and 79, and a third concession in the property of his wife, line 68.

The property of Leukios of Sounion adjoined that of the sons of Charmylos on the south, lines 46 and 80. He is to be identified with Leukios son of Theokles of Sounion (*P.A.*, 9057) who gave an Agora to his deme about the middle of the fourth century.

Pheidippos of Pithos, who leased two adjacent concessions, lines 46-47 and 81, is known (*P.A.*, 14164) as a trierarch. His son Diphilos (*P.A.*, 4485) is named as a property owner in the mining district (*I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 125-126).

Both Alypetos, line 48, and his wife, line 69, owned land in Nape.

Diokles of Pithos, a property owner in Nape, lines 49 and 58, was a prominent Athenian of the second quarter of the fourth century (*P.A.*, 4048). He won the competition for chorus master against the brother of Iphikrates (Demosthenes, XXI, 62) and his wife once presided at the Thesmophoria (Isaios, VIII, 19). He appears also as member of a board in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 167, line 5.

Thrasylochos of Anagyrus (*P.A.*, 7347), the lessee of two mines, one of which was in Nape, lines 49 and 51-52, was the brother of Meidias against whom Demosthenes' twenty-first oration was directed. They belonged to one of the richest families

of the time. His brother Meidias is named in *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 44 and 82, as an owner of property in Sounion and Laureion.

Diopieithes of Euonymon, the owner of property in Laureion and Sounion, lines 53-54, 55, and 78, is either the father (*P.A.*, 4318) or the brother (*P.A.*, 4317) of Diotimos, one of the rich trierarchs of the second half of the fourth century (*P.A.*, 4384). Diotimos owned a garden and a workshop in Laureion (*I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 65-66).

Demostratos of Kytheros, owner of a furnace and property in Laureion, line 54, is the father of Aspetos (*P.A.*, 2638), secretary in 340/39, and grandfather of Demostratos son of Aspetos of Kytheros (*P.A.*, 3623), trierarch in the thirties. His son Aspetos owned a workshop in Laureion (*I.G.*, II², 1582, line 55).

Kephisodotos of Aithalidai (*P.A.*, 8321), the lessee of a mine at Laureion and of one at Besa, and owner of property and a workshop at Besa, lines 56-57, 73, 75, and 76, acted as an arbitrator between the Salaminioi in 363/2 (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 1, line 8).

Demon of Agryle, lessee of a mine in Nape, lines 58-59, was one of those to take the oath for the Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai in 363/2 (*Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, line 79; cf. *P.A.*, 3734).

Diophanes of Sounion, line 59, is a member of the well-known family to which Diopieithes the general (*P.A.*, 4327 and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 14) belonged. He is of an earlier generation than the Diophanes son of Diopieithes (*P.A.*, 4413) who was a prytanis *ca.* 330, either his uncle or great-uncle.

Philinos of Sounion, lessee of a mine in Maroneia, line 60, is probably the Philinos named as father of Ameinias of Sounion (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 1, line 73).

Kallias of Lamptrai, lessee of a mine in Laureion, line 62, and owner of a tower and house in Besa, line 74, was trierarch in 353/2 (*P.A.*, 7873).

Kallias of Alopeke, owner of property in Sounion, line 64, was the father of Hipponikos who is known to have bought two workshops in Melite (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10, line 110).

Epikrates of Pallene, property owner in Nape, lines 70-71, was charged by Lysander of having worked his mine illegally (Hypereides, *Euxenippos*, 35); he also served as trierarch (*P.A.*, 4909).

Aleximachos of Pelekes, the lessee of the mine Kerameikon, lines 78-79, is known as the proposer of a motion to the proedroi in 346 B.C. (*P.A.*, 545).

Pyrhakhos, line 80, is a new name for Attic prosopography.

ADDENDUM: A TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Not the least important of the contributions which the new Poletai record brings to our knowledge of Laureion mining are several statements of topographical value. Many ancient names, both of places and mines, are added to South Attic toponymy, and new records of boundaries will aid in determining more precisely the location of sites formerly known to us as names only; furthermore, an important change in method is indicated for future topographical studies in the region of *Laureotike*.

An attempt actually to locate, with the aid of the new inscription, some of the mines and mining towns of this district demands more research in the field, and will later comprise a separate study. Now only a few of the more important clues offered by the new list need be noted. Two new place-names, Σκοπιά ("Look-out")¹² and Νάπη ("Glade") are mentioned, the latter apparently an important mining region in the earlier fourth century¹³; their names give some idea of their appearance, and with the other facts about them which the boundaries of the mines suggest, they both might reasonably be sometime identified. Besa, a town and deme whose site is still only approximately known,¹⁴ may now perhaps be more precisely placed, for the farming estate of Kallias was apparently of a type not common in the region, and its remains may profitably be sought.¹⁵

The problem of the original meaning of Λαύρειον is now almost certainly solved: the Diakon mine, registered ἐπὶ Λαυρείῳ, has as its western boundary simply τὸ ὄρος—"The Mountain."¹⁶ What mountain? I believe we may now accept the suggestion made long ago by Kaibel¹⁷ that Λαύρειον was originally an adjective formed from λαύρα ("narrow lane or alley"); as a place-name it was used in the phrase τὸ Λαύρειον (ὄρος)—"The Mountain of the Narrow Ways." Whether the mountain was so named because of the stream-beds which carve the entire range into a network of defiles and cliffs,¹⁸ or whether the λαύραι were actual mining galleries (certainly a better use of the word)¹⁹ must await more certain evidence for the antiquity of mining there, but that Laureion was originally a mountain is now assured.

¹² Line 41.

¹³ Lines 41, 47, 57, 63, 67, 79. The new inscription lists seventeen mines, six of which are located in Nape, a place as yet unknown in the later leases. A strike, perhaps of the third contact, is indicated, slightly before the date of the text.

¹⁴ Formerly it was known only as a region somewhere midway between Thorikos and Anaphlystos (Xenophon, *De vect.*, IV, 43 f.).

¹⁵ I have offered a reward for its discovery in the neighboring villages. For such an estate, cf. Hasebroek, *Hermes*, LVII, 1922, pp. 621 ff.

¹⁶ Line 44.

¹⁷ In *Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 100 f.

¹⁸ So Oikonomos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 306.

¹⁹ Elderkin (*Kantharos*, pp. 199 f.) connects Λαύριον with λαβύρινθος, thus giving the name a pre-Greek origin. Prehistoric galleries are not impossible; the importance of Thorikos in this period

A topographical indication of another sort is supplied by the new inscription. Mines have hitherto been known which were apparently recorded at two places,²⁰ like the Kerameikon of the new list, ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, ἐπὶ Θρασύμῳ.²¹ This might be explained as the deme and the landmark which located the mine. The last mine registered, however, shows that this is false; the Leukippeion mine, ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, Βήσησι,²² cannot be at Sounion in Besa, for they are both deme names and are moreover widely separated regions. The Βήσησι directly modifying the mine must locate it; ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ can then only go with the preliminary verb of the heading—ἐπράθη—and gives the place of registration. Once we learn that a registry-place, not necessarily connected in any way with the location of the mine, may be recorded in the poletai lists, the description of each mine known to us (the new inscription brings the total to some seventy-five) must be carefully re-examined in an effort to determine whether the site recorded is of mine or of ἀπογραφή. This will often be difficult, sometimes impossible; but the results will certainly explain many apparent anomalies in the *Corpus* lists.

This discovery leads to another. Since the Leukippeion mine at Besa was registered ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, Sounion must represent a place where the registrar kept office,—a town or center of some sort, not a whole deme. The same apparently is true of Βήσησι and Θορικόι²³; from *I.G.*, II², 1582 may be added other names of demes which seem to indicate the site of registration offices or specific mining regions.

If the place-names from the mining leases and the names of the demes in the mining regions are placed side by side, both comparisons and contrasts become at once significant:

<i>Demes</i>	<i>Mining Centers</i>
Ἀμφιτροπή	Ἀμφιτροπή
Ἀνάφλυστος	Ἀνάφλυστος
Βῆσα	Βῆσα
Θορικός	Θορικός
Σούνιον	Σούνιον
Ἀτήνη	Θράσυμος
Δειράδες	Λαύρειον
Ποταμός	Μαρώνεα ²⁴
Φρεάρριοι	Νάπη
etc.	etc.

must be explained, and the large numbers of lead bars found in Mycenaean contexts on the slopes of the Acropolis (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 352. Many more were found in the 1938 campaign; cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 416).

²⁰ E. g., *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 69-75 (cf. note to lines 60-63); lines 135-138.

²¹ Lines 77 f.

²² Lines 82 f.

²³ Line 73; line 65.

²⁴ The site of the famous silver-rush makes its epigraphical debut in the new inscription, line 59.

There are other demes perhaps to be assigned to this district,²⁵ and many other mining place-names, but only the first five can be placed in both columns. It may also be noted that these five are old place-names, later extended to include the demes; the others, either collectively naming the demesmen or referring to geographic landmarks, are quite probably Kleisthenian inventions. And of these, not even Phrearrioi, in Kleisthenes' time by far the largest deme in the entire region, is once mentioned in the poletai records. The explanation is clear and certain: the sites here recorded are mining towns or mining regions; each one of five such towns gave its name to the deme surrounding it, the others did not. But in no case do the mining leases give locations by demes, or otherwise refer to demes except in the demotics.²⁶ Knowing this, when we are finally able to write these mining towns and demes onto the map in their correct places, the true purpose and scope of the Kleisthenian land-reorganization will appear. This is our next task and the new inscription does much to hasten its completion.

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²⁵ Cf. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, pp. 46, 54 ff., 65, and map; the statistics furnished by demotics are only here correctly evaluated. See also Loeper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 380 ff., 398 ff., 421 ff.

²⁶ The one almost certain exception to this rule is furnished by ἡ χαράδρα ἡ Θορικίων (line 66 of the new inscription). The Θορίκιοι must be the demesmen of Thorikos. In the fourth century the demes, politically speaking, certainly implied first a division of people, only secondarily a division of land. It is therefore possible that only loosely speaking did Θορικός, Σούνιον, etc., refer to their respective demes; the strict legal term may never have been other than Θορίκιοι and Σουνιείς.