

SELECTED GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

The first report of inscriptions found in the Ancient Agora during the course of excavations by the American School of Classical Studies was presented this year by Professor Meritt in Volume II of *Hesperia*, pp. 149–169. The supplementary report, here published, contains three inscriptions found in the second campaign (1932) and four others found at the beginning of the third season. The inscriptions, published in each year, will be numbered consecutively as of that year. A map showing the sections of the Agora and the houses (with numbers), to which reference is made in the following pages, may be consulted in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99.

11.

AN EPIGRAM OF SIMONIDES

Part of a block of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house, 636/17, in Section Θ, on December 8, 1932. The top, the bottom, the left side and the inscribed front have been partially preserved. The block is broken away at the right and the back.

Height, 0.215 m.; maximum width, 0.281 m.; maximum thickness, 0.177 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.–0.015 m.

Inv. No. 3536 I 303.

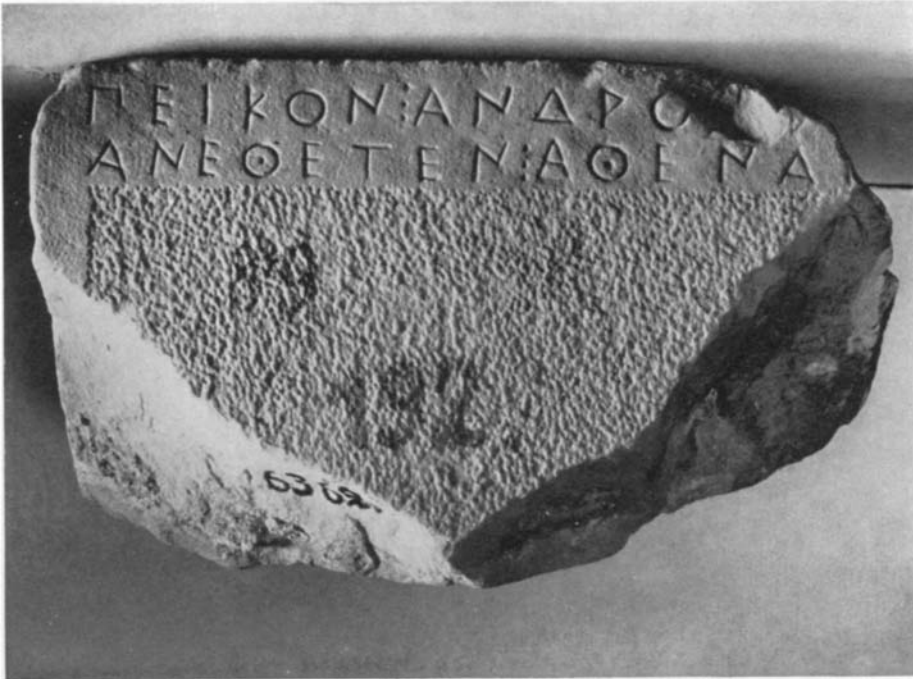
The stone is a fragment of a cenotaph, erected at Athens, to commemorate the men who had fallen in the battle of Marathon. A larger fragment of the same monument,¹ *I.G.*, I², 763, 0.46 m. wide, is now in the Epigraphical Museum, and itself, but not its character, has long been known. It, likewise, has a preserved surface above and below.

¹ It was found during some digging in the courtyard of a house on Hadrian Street, east of the Acropolis, and was first made known by A. R. Rangabé in the *Antiquités Helléniques*, vol. II (Athens, 1855), p. 397, no. 784 b. A. Kirchhoff published it again in the *Monatsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1869, 412–416, and in *I.G.*, I, p. 177, no. 333, with a drawing (cf. *I.G.*, I, Supp., p. 40). Among other things he called attention to the difference in the character of the writing in the two bands. The most important subsequent discussions of the fragment are the following: Franz Winter, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, VIII, 1893, p. 152, note 13; A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, 487–491, with a photograph of the stone beside a photograph of the old Hecatompedon inscription (Plate IX); E. Bormann, *Festschrift für Th. Gomperz* (Vienna, 1902), 474–478, and *Jahresheft des österr. arch. Institutes*, VI, 1903, 241–247; L. Weber, *Philologus*, LXXVI, 1920, 60–67. It was published also by the following: G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 749; E. S. Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, no. 64 (with a drawing illustrating its unique appearance); Roberts-Gardner, no. 177 (likewise with a drawing); E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum*, no. 266; J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme*, no. 65; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Historische griechische Epigramme*, no. 11.

ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΕΥΔΑΙΕΤΕ
ΕΣΧΟΝ ΑΑΡΓΕΙΟΙΤΕ
ΕΝΔΥΑΤΟΙΣ ΤΑΔΑ
ΔΙΥΧΙΑΛΟΜΠΡΕΣΑΙΤ



The whole original stone must have been slightly more than one metre wide. The older fragment, with somewhat more than a third of the original inscription, extended toward the right from about the centre; the right edge has not been preserved at all, and the upper part of the face of the stone has been chipped away in places. The face of the new fragment from the Agora is in good condition except for damage to the lower part, where there never was an inscription. It constitutes about one fourth, so that we



I.G., I², 635

now have, approximately, two-thirds of the original front. This may be described as decorated in two planes. Across the top ran a smooth band, 0.055 m. high, and 0.016 m. below this ran another smooth band of the same height. The second lies somewhat deeper in the stone than the first. These two bands carry the inscription, two epigrams, each inscribed by a different hand. Around the sides and the bottom of the stone ran a smooth margin,¹ 0.025 m. wide, at the same level as the first band, of which it formed a continuation. The rest of the stone is rough-picked, and this portion is about on the same level as the upper band and the margin, or negligibly deeper, and it is clearly not as deep as the lower band.

¹ Along the side it is preserved on the Agora piece. Along the bottom it is scarcely discernible on the Agora piece but clearly visible on the old fragment.

The process through which the stone passed to arrive at this peculiarity of arrangement, may be reconstructed as follows. Most of the front, all of which had at first been prepared as a smooth surface, was artificially rough-picked in such a way as to leave a smooth margin along the sides and bottom, and along the top a band of smoothly prepared surface for the inscription. Perhaps the letters were inscribed before the picking occurred. More frequently in early dedications this rough-picking for decorative purposes was not executed; the whole face would be left smooth, and the inscription would not be centred on the stone, but instead would run along the top. On the other hand, the rough-picking was by no means an uncommon decoration, of which the stone, *I.G.*, I², 635 (see illustration), furnishes a good example.¹ The latter has a margin of the same width (0.025 m.) as the stone from the Agora; the band along the top is merely a half centimetre higher; and the rough-picking is exceedingly shallow. Thus, the stone to which the fragment from the Agora belonged, had at one time presented a perfectly normal appearance with a two line inscription along the top. At some later time it received the second epigram, inscribed by a different and inferior hand but in characters that could not have been chronologically far separated from the first, if at all. To receive the two additional lines another band had to be smoothed on the rough-picked portion of the stone, and consequently the second band lay at a deeper level than the rest of the surface.²

On the fragment from the Agora the left side is preserved. It is decorated precisely as the front had originally been decorated except for the absence of any inscription. At the upper edge ran a smooth band, 0.055 m. high, along the other edges a smooth margin, 0.025 m. wide, both actually preserved on the right. The rest was rough-picked, but it is clearly not a case of any genuine anathyrosis. The smooth margin continued around the bottom, and while anathyrosis on four sides would be possible, it would be very unusual; but the width of the smooth band above and the similarity to the decoration of the front of the block indicate that the arrangement was also here a decorative feature, and that the side was, therefore, an exposed surface.

Adding the fragment from the Agora (a) to the old one (b), we have the following inscription, of which each line is a complete elegiac couplet.

CTOIX

a

b

I ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετὴ [- - - - -] ΑΙΕΙ[- - - - -] Περσῶν [ν (?) - - - -]
 ἔσχον γὰρ περὶ τοὺς τὴν βαρβαρόφρονον ἀντὶν ν ὁ ἡλλά[δα μ] ἐπασαν δούλιο[ν ἔμαρ ἰδεῖν].

NON CTOIX

II ἔν ἄρα τοῖς ζαδαμ[ῶσι - | — μέγα κῦδος] ἡοὺ ἀλγυῖν || στῆσαι πρόσθε πυλῶν ἀν[- | — - | —]
 ἀνχίλομ περὶσαι P[- | — - | — - | — <] || ἄστυ, βίαι Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι δύνανται].

¹ Epigraphical Museum 6362. For the type with rough-picking one might compare also nos. 6308, 6289, and 6336 in the Epigraphical Museum.

² This was recognized as the correct explanation by Dörpfeld and Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, 490. Traces of the former rough-picking are clearly visible on the second band.

Line 1: ΑΙΕΙ.—Enough of the surface remains to assure the reading for the second letter, but the vertical hasta of the fourth letter might belong to iota or tau. Also enough of the surface remains to show that the three circles which would mark the end of the hexameter, could not have followed immediately after the fourth letter.

Line 1: Περρῶ[ν].—The rho is quite clear. B. D. Meritt thought he could read the four other letters. I think I can see the epsilon and the sigma, but I am very uncertain about the word.

Line 2: πεζοί.—Compare Herodotus (VI, 112) on the battle of Marathon: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι δρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ δλεθρίην, δρέοντες αὐτοὺς ἐόντας ὀλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππον ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε τοξενμάτων.

Line 2: τέ[ν βαρβαρόφονον ἀνιτέ]ν.—B. D. Meritt suggested to me this restoration as a possibility. Evidently the object of the verb ἔσχον must have followed, for it could not have stood in the preceeding line because of the particle γάρ.

Line 2: ἡλλά[δα μ]έ.—The restoration μέ was first suggested by G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 749, and part of the lowest horizontal stroke of the epsilon is actually there on the stone to confirm it.

Line 2: δούλιο[ν ἔμαρ ἰδεῖν].—Kirchhoff's restoration.

Line 3: ζαδαμ[ῶσι].—The reading mu is quite probable, less likely gamma or nu. Neither a name nor any familiar Greek word began with the letter combination, ζαδα-, and there can be no question about the reading of those first four letters. Therefore we are confronted with a *επαξ λεγόμενον*. The Homeric dialect employed as a future for the word δαμάζω the forms δαμάξ, δαμάα and δαμόωσι. With the contraction regular in Attic we should have the form δαμῶσι as the dative plural of the future participle. On the analogy of a poetic word like ζαμενέω, *to put forth all one's fury*, we arrive at the restoration suggested in the text. The word would mean *those who were about to make a complete conquest*. I regard an adjective ζαδάμ[οις] as another possibility.

Line 3: ῥότ'.—In front of the omicron may be discerned a vertical stroke. Since it goes down to the bottom of the line, the reading Γ is excluded. The vertical hasta is closer to the omicron than the upright of the tau which follows the omicron. Therefore it can belong only to an Η (or an Ι). Both H. T. Wade-Gery and B. D. Meritt have also seen it.

Line 3: ἀν[].—The angle at which the first stroke of the last letter stands seems less suitable to a gamma than to a nu.

Line 4: The last letter of the new fragment is either rho or beta.

Line 4: κληνάμενο[ι δύναμιν].—Kirchhoff's restoration.

The inscription is speaking of a great battle in the Persian Wars, of a land battle where an Athenian victory saved all Hellas. Although the character of the monument to which the epigrams belonged has not hitherto been recognized, the battle to which

they refer was correctly identified by Kirchhoff, who interpreted both epigrams as dealing with the battle of Marathon. Wilhelm showed that the first epigram with its exceptionally handsome lettering was inscribed by the same man who in 485/4 did the old Hecatompedon inscription. That the first epigram deals with Marathon, has not really been disputed. Bormann suggested that the second dealt with Thermopylae and Salamis. Even in 1919, however, F. Hiller von Gaertringen¹ did not take this proposal seriously, and the hypothesis, in 1920, was thoroughly refuted by L. Weber, because as the word *αἰχμή* shows, it is a question of a land battle and not of a naval engagement, and because the Athenians at that period would not have celebrated the achievements of the Lacedaemonians on a monument erected to commemorate their own proudest exploit. Therefore Weber agreed with Kirchhoff and Wilhelm that Marathon was meant in both epigrams, and in the new fragment from the Agora there is nothing to impair the plausibility of that interpretation.

The second epigram was inscribed later than the first, but so far as the lettering is concerned, it might have been engraved simultaneously. A monument commemorating the battle of Marathon would have been conspicuous, and when the Persians came to Athens they would not have been likely to stare at the inscription all winter long, so that it presumably did not survive the destruction of Athens in 480, certainly not the final destruction in 479. Precisely the inscribed base would have been the offensive part of the monument. A strong indication that the latter was not replaced afterward lies in the fact that the ancient writers never quote the text of either epigram.

Moreover, the contents of the last two lines indicate a date earlier than 480. Even were it thinkable that such a monument might be selected to receive an epigram on the warriors of another battle, obviously no one would have praised the heroes by saying, "They let the Persians burn Athens first and then they defeated them." So whatever may be the construction of the words preserved, the meaning is evidently as follows: "Driving back the Persian host, they prevented the barbarians from burning the town by the sea (namely, Athens)."

Now these remarks apply only to the victors of Marathon. If, however, the last two lines, emphasizing the fact that the victors of Marathon had prevented the Persians from destroying the city, were not written until after Salamis or Plataea, there would be an invidious comparison in the words: Themistocles and the men who fought at Salamis and Plataea did allow the city to be destroyed. But the great victory of Salamis had justified the policy of Themistocles, and after the return to Athens the government might have re-erected the old monument, if it had not been demolished, but they would certainly not have added such an epigram.

All the problems, as well as this one which concerns the origin of the lower band, have been much confused, because those who treated the old fragment did not understand the character of the monument to which it belonged.

¹ *Hermes*, LIV, 1919, 215.

For example, L. Weber, accounting for the second epigram as an addition made after the victory of Salamis but likewise concerning the battle of Marathon, explained the dedication as a base for a herm, standing in the Stoa of the Herms, and like those mentioned by Aeschines (*Ctes.* 183–185). As soon, however, as we remove the false presumption that the second epigram must have been inscribed after the battle of Salamis, the whole theory, for which there never was any real evidence in the first place, falls to the ground. Moreover, the opening words of the Eion epigram to which Weber pointed, in no wise postulate the existence of the stone found in the Agora. The Eion epigram is of a different type. Nor does the provenance of the two fragments lend support to Weber's theory. They were easily transportable. The smaller fragment, to be sure, was found in the Agora, but above ground and not in that part of the Agora where presumably the Stoa of the Herms was situated. The Stoa lay probably more to the north end.¹ The older fragment Rangabé found on the other side of the Acropolis!

But the true character of the monument can be determined from the opening words on the new fragment, ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετέ. The demonstrative pronoun οἶδε, as used here, would be quite out of place on a monument like a herm. A list of names must have accompanied the epigram. They were not the names of all who took part in the battle, for that was not the custom, nor was it possible on account of the number. The Marathon epigram will find its parallel on the sepulchral monuments or lists of the slain. In type it closely resembles an epigram such as that on the stele, *I.G.*, I², 943, where the names were inscribed of those who fell in the Chersonese, in Thrace, and at Byzantium about 440/39 B.C.:

hoïde παρ' ἡελλέσποντον ἀπόλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἡέβην
 βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' ἐκκλείισαμ πατρίδα,
 ἥσ' ἔχθρὸς στενάχεμ πολέμο θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας,
 αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μνῆμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.²

In appearance this stele (see the illustration, A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Tafel CCXCIII A, the stele on the right), is an ordinary grave monument, except that it has a long list of names. Below the names of the fallen stands the epigram. Where a grave stele is set in an appropriate marble base, the epigram would be inscribed on the base, as in the case of the Pythagoras monument, *I.G.*, I², 1034, which Conze illustrates *ibidem* on the left.

¹ W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed. (1931), p. 370, note 1.

² Compare also the epigram A. P. VII, 258, on which this was modeled:

Οἶδε παρ' Εὐρυμέδοντά ποτ' ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἥβην
 μαρνάμενοι Μήδων τοξοφόρων προμάχοις
 αἰχμηταὶ πεσὶ τε καὶ ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν·
 κάλλιστον δ' ἀρετῆς μνῆμ' ἔλιπον φθίμενοι.

Therefore, we can identify the stone with the Marathon epigram as a marble base for a stele containing the list of the fallen. Since we know approximately how many syllables would have been in each line, and since we have the left margin on the fragment found in the Agora, from the syllables actually preserved we can measure the length of the line and the width of the stone. From this it appears that the base must have been slightly more than one metre across. By analogy with other monuments, it ought to have supported a stele at least 0.60 m. wide, on which were inscribed the names of the one-hundred-and-ninety-two men who had fallen at Marathon. It was customary to group the names according to tribes; so in the list proper there would have been 202 places, *i.e.* the names of the one-hundred-and-ninety-two men who had fallen and the names of the ten tribes. We can check our calculations and see whether a stele 0.60 m. wide would have been suitable for a list containing 202 places. It so happens that another stele, *I.G.*, I², 929, that erected by the tribe Erechtheis and containing a single year's losses at the beginning of the first Peloponnesian War, is actually 0.59 m. wide. The names are arranged in three columns, and column I contains 67 places. In the three columns, accordingly, with the same lettering and the same spacing there was room for 201 names, a total which corresponds almost exactly to our requirements. Therefore, we can reconstruct the monument for the men who fell at Marathon as a stele of Pentelic marble, about 1.50 m. high and at least 0.60 m. wide, set in a marble base, 0.215 m. high and slightly more than one metre across. The names were grouped according to tribes and arranged in three columns, above which might have been the simple legend *hoίδε ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἀπέθανον*.

It did not, however, stand over a real grave, because the men who fell at Marathon were buried on the battle field. Of course there would have been also in Athens a monument for the dead heroes, and in the stone with the epigram we have now discovered part of it. Just as the Corinthians who fell in the battle of Salamis were buried at Salamis, but received the honor of a cenotaph on the Isthmus too, so for the men who died at Marathon the Athenians erected at Athens a monument, to which could be attached the worship of the great dead (Heroenkult) in the usual place, and which, on the Acropolis or together with the other monuments of the public cemetery, would constantly hold before the eyes of Athenians the memory of those patriots who had given their lives for the city.

Fortunately we know who was the author of the epigram on the men who fell at Marathon. The information is preserved for us in the Life of Aeschylus (§ 8, p. 4 Wilamowitz). The writer recalls a difference of opinion as to why Aeschylus went to Syracuse: *ἀπῆρε δὲ ὡς Ἰέρωνα, κατὰ τινὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατασπονδασθεὶς, καὶ ἡσσηθεὶς νέφ' ὄντι Σοφοκλεῖ, κατὰ δὲ ἐνίους, ἐν τῷ εἰς τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τεθνηκότας ἐλεγείῳ ἡσσηθεὶς Σιμωνίδῃ· τὸ γὰρ ἐλεγεῖον πολὺ τῆς περὶ τὸ συμπαθεὶς λεπτότητος μετέχειν θέλει, ὃ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἐστὶν ἀλλότριον*.

From this it appears that there had been a contest for the selection of an epigram to be inscribed on the monument for the fallen, and that the great honor had been

awarded to Simonides. Of course, it is ridiculous as an explanation for the departure of Aeschylus, which took place many years later, and the story would, therefore, never have been invented to account for it. It was clearly a famous old story used to motivate a later event.

Although Hiller, Wilamowitz, Boas, Schmidt, Geffcken, and others rejected it, one still occasionally finds no. 88 Diehl identified as the elegy:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

It is a curious error that never would have arisen except for the absence of the real epitaph. Such an epigram is obviously not an epitaph for the Athenians who fell in the battle. Suidas (*sub Ποικίλη*) says plainly that it stood on the great painting which in the Painted Porch depicted the battle of Marathon. Neither he, nor Lycurgus, nor Aelius Aristides, nor the scholiast to the latter, who also quote it, claims for it the authorship of Simonides. Aelius Aristides (p. 511 Dindorf) quotes it simply as an anonymous archaic epigram without offering a word of identification. The misconception that the latter considered it an epigram of Simonides, has been thoroughly refuted, first by Hiller, *Philologus* XLVIII, 1889, pp. 229–238, then by Wilamowitz, *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1897, p. 317, and thirdly by Boas, *De Epigrammatis Simonideis*, 92–96. Furthermore, the only argument that would transform the epigram into an elegy, is based on a modern emendation or an ambiguity in the text of Lycurgus, who, to show the Athenians that the heroic deeds of their ancestors were gratefully recorded on public monuments, quotes it after the epigram on the Lacedaemonians who fell at Thermopylae. The passage, as it stands, is evidently corrupt (*Leocr.* 109): τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ βίου μαρτύρια ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντῶν ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐκείνοις μὲν ὦ ξεῖν', κτλ., τοῖς δὲ ὑμετέροις προγόνοις· Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες, κτλ. Wurm emended the offensive word ὁρίοις to ἡρίοις and deleted the phrase τοῦ βίου. Even so, it might still mean a trophy mound or be nothing more than that awkwardness of expression for which Lycurgus was criticized in antiquity, but an argument based on a dubious passage or a modern emendation should never have weighed at all against the character of the verses and the explicit statement of Suidas. The word of the scholiast to Aristides, that this epigram stood on a stele of Pericles, constitutes a third explanation, less acceptable *per se* but equally useful to our argument. It would not be the elegy of Simonides, inscribed shortly after the battle.

This elegy of Simonides was inscribed only upon the cenotaph at Athens. No epigram stood under the list of the slain, erected at Marathon over the grave itself, for Pausanias (I, 32) gives a description of the latter monument and would certainly have mentioned it. Apparently the one he saw was also the original monument. Pausanias tells how the inhabitants of the region to his day worshiped the spirits of the dead

heroes who were buried under the funeral mound, and if the sanctity of the place had been violated by the Persians, the story would have been handed down.

Furthermore, those who compiled the anthologies, combed the extant monuments for epigrams of Simonides. That on the Athenians who fell at Marathon would have been the first to be collected, and yet we do not find it in the Palatine Anthology. We can explain the gap only by admitting that the monument on which it was inscribed had disappeared. Hence we eliminate the monument over the grave, where Pausanias could still read the names of the fallen. There remains only the cenotaph. The latter never survived the destruction of 479.

In the last forty years, it has grown quite evident that the ascription to Simonides of the many epigrams which have come down to us under his name, does not in most cases rest upon good authority, and some were obviously composed after his death.¹ The later anthologies attributed generously to the great figure of Simonides all the good epigrams of his time, whereas today scientific criticism has done so much to discredit the accuracy of those who compiled the anthologies, that W. Schmid in the volume² on Greek Literature before the Attic hegemony finds that only one extant epigram can be attributed to the poet with absolute certainty, namely that on the seer Megistias (no. 83 Diehl). To be sure, a high degree of probability exists in the case of some others, but the whole value of later testimony is discredited, because the later writers drew their information from undiscerning anthologies. That is not the case, however, with the story about the elegy for the men who died at Marathon. The monument had perished before the day of anthologies, and the epigrams both of Simonides and of Aeschylus had fallen into oblivion. There was preserved no such monument with an anonymous epigram, for which the anthology compilers might conceivably invent an authorship. Wilamowitz recognized the anecdote as an old story, but he was puzzled because he knew that no epigram stood upon the mound at Marathon. Now we find that at Athens there had actually existed until 480 another monument, upon which we read the official elegy on the men who had fallen at Marathon.

We can assume, accordingly, that at the cenotaph the two lines inscribed on the base in its original form, contained the epigram of Simonides. It reveals the authorship. Here the word *ἀρετή* appears in the new Simonidean sense. Before his time the word *ἀρετή* had a different meaning on the continent; it was bound up with the idea of worldly position, privilege, or prosperity, and the gods bestowed it. Therefore, as

¹ See in particular M. Boas, *De epigrammatis Simonideis* (Groningen 1905), U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides* (1913), and J. Geffcken's article *Simonides* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie* (1927). Wilamowitz in his article *Simonides der Epigrammatiker*, first published in the *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1897, Heft 3, 306–325, and republished with other comments in *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 192–209, went much too far in his criticism of the legend of Simonides the epigrammatic poet. Compare also J. Geffcken, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Chapter XI, note 1.

² *Handb. d. Altertumsw.*, VII, 1, 1, pp. 510–511.

Wilamowitz has explained,¹ with its new definition of *ἀρετή* as something quite independent of success and entirely dependent upon the individual, the famous reply of Simonides to Scopas, preserved in Plato's *Protagoras*, formulated a new principle and marked a new epoch. Character alone counted instead of the accidents of life. Accordingly Simonides in his encomium (no. 5 Diehl) called the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί*.² When a man dies for the fatherland, it is said of him *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο*. It is then and not while living that he achieves *ἀρετή*, the quality which makes the *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός*, and it is then that he receives heroic honors.

The epigram exhibits the characteristic which the ancients recognized as the particular Simonidean quality: a deep emotional effect achieved without recourse to pretentious language,—*τὸ οἰκτιῖσθαι μὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀλλὰ <συμ>παθητικῶς*.³ For its structure it ought to be compared with that other epigram on the seer Megistias:

*Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῦτο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.*

The motive which inspired the sacrifice is at the end thrown into heroic relief and gives the epigram its force. The situation is stated simply in the first three lines, and in the fourth with equal simplicity and restraint of phrase the nobility of the motive is so revealed to have its full effect. In the elegy for the men who fell at Marathon the technique is the same, but the fourth verse secures for the whole epigram an extraordinary dignity and moving quality. This is the *λεπτότης περὶ τὸ συμπαθές*, which determined the decision of the judges. An elegy like that on the Athenians who fell at the Eurymedon or like that on the Corinthians buried at Salamis, does not exhibit this character, which, on the other hand, *mutatis mutandis*, appears again in the famous epigram on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae. We might see in the latter, if not the hand of Simonides, at least the Simonidean technique. He created the type, for the archaic epigrams were not pointed. I, for my part, am quite satisfied with the explanation of Boas, that Simonides, who wrote the epitaph of Megistias on his own account, was the same man who composed the epitaph of the heroic Spartans at the request of the Amphictyons.

His influence, moreover, undoubtedly contributed to that feeling of warm national patriotism which so many epigrams display in the first half of the fifth century. Thus the concern for the dear *ἐλευθερία* of the Greeks and the consciousness of pan-Hellenic unity, which recur so often in the *Simonidea*, were already present in the elegy on the

¹ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Das Skolion des Simonides an Skopas*, published in the *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1898, pp. 204–236, and reprinted in *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 159–191.

² As Wilamowitz punctuates it: *ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ δὲ σηκός*.

³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Imit.*, II, 2, 6.

men who fell at Marathon. It was the spirit of a great age, but an eminent literary figure like Simonides not only reflected but played a part in the formation of this spirit.

The cenotaph, then, in its original condition was adorned with the epigram of Simonides, which in a fragmentary form we now possess. The epigram was complete in itself, and of such a character that any addition must have been felt as an anticlimax. Another epigram on the same subject was later placed upon the stone beneath that of Simonides, but the two new lines were not engraved as a continuation of the first two, but were carefully separated from them by a portion of rough-picked surface, which to the eye at once marked them as a unity apart. The chief problem is now the origin of the second band: why and when in the brief period between the erection of the monument shortly after the battle of Marathon and its destruction in 480 was another epigram placed on the stone beside that of Simonides.

For an explanation we may reexamine the one ancient reference to the monument. Another fact emerges from the anecdote in the Life of Aeschylus, namely that the dramatist was the only or the chief rival of Simonides. He was a serious rival; otherwise the story would not have attributed so much disappointment to Aeschylus on being relegated to second place. The judges apparently found themselves exposed to much hostile criticism because they had awarded the honor to a foreigner. After all they might have selected the epigram of Aeschylus; it, too, was rather a fine thing, and in the opinion of all it had an additional glamor, because the author himself was not only a patriotic Athenian, but actually one of the heroes of Marathon, and the brother of one of the fallen.

Probably on reflection the judges decided that the epigram of Aeschylus also deserved to be engraved on the monument, and a few days later they sent another stonecutter to make the second band. That is the most likely explanation of the existence of the second band, and it also explains why in the memory of Athenians the two names of Simonides and Aeschylus were coupled with the monument. It must be recalled that the latter won his first dramatic victory in 484; he was thirty-five years old at the time of the battle of Marathon, but not yet the famous man of ten years later. By itself his reputation as a poet, such as it was in 490, would scarcely have rendered memorable his participation with an epigram considered inferior to that of Simonides; but that participation would have been remembered if also the elegy of Aeschylus had received a place on the cenotaph. It seems furthermore incredible that any double distichon other than his would later have had this honor.

The evidence of the language on the stone points persuasively in the same direction. In sharp contrast to the simplicity of Simonidean style, the second elegy offers the elevated phraseology that we have learned to associate with the great tragic poet and that might be less sympathetically criticized for an inclination toward bombast. Expressions like *αἰχμὲν στήσαμ πρόσθε πύλων*, or *ἀνχίαλον πρῆσαι*, belong to the sort of language that he employed for tragedy. Impressive, also, but alien to the restraint of epigrammatic style, the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* which appears at the beginning, has a tone at once suggestive of the luxuriant Aeschylean vocabulary.

In view of all this there exists, if not absolute certainty, at least the greatest likelihood that we have the epigram of Aeschylus below that of Simonides. The likelihood is so great that it amounts in our opinion to a demonstration. In that case it is the only known epigram of the poet, for Wilamowitz¹ is probably right in declaring the famous epitaph to be in the spirit but not by the hand of the poet, and the other which has survived under his name in the Palatine Anthology, can hardly be genuine.² The fragment, No. 4 Diehl, may not be from an epigram of Aeschylus at all.

It is striking that the author of the *Life* has a clearly formulated impression of a deficiency in the great man. In fact, in the words quoted above, he tells us that the poet was surpassed in the elegy upon the men who fell at Marathon because he lacked that peculiar quality, the delicate touch which, in a couple of lines with a few words moulded into an effective phrase, reaches the heart. The genius of Aeschylus was of another type, he added. We may perceive in the writer's words the late reverberation of an old echo. The criticism, it will be noticed, applies perfectly to the second epigram of the cenotaph; despite the exalted language of the verses, it is somewhat heavy, it has not the power of the first elegy. The effort of Aeschylus affected the ancients as the second epigram on the base would affect anyone, reading it after the first. Although it was known, moreover, that Aeschylus had written elegies, the world did not think of him as an epigrammatic poet. It would be strange to compare him with Simonides, except that for ten years men had beheld the epigrams of the two poets side by side on the monument of the fallen, and had had the chance to become impressed with the difference between them.

Quite apart from its sentimental and aesthetic interest, the monument has importance because of its contribution to our knowledge of Simonides, a figure of whom the former significance, if not the later influence, can be discerned everywhere, and who is quite justly characterized by J. Geffcken as the child and creator of his age.³ Hitherto we have had but a single unquestionably authentic epigram, and even this did not represent one of his great commissions or explain the growth of a legend around his name. It seemed hitherto that the best epigrams of the time were not those of Simonides; so that, as Wilamowitz did, one might say that the reputation came to him beyond his merit, and that his true significance lay in other fields. Now since we have the elegy, worthy of the men it honored and worthy of the poet's fame, we can examine the tradition with better understanding. While we recognize that his importance was far from lying solely in his rôle as an epigrammatic poet, we know that this nevertheless constituted a prominent part of his renown, and that the reputation of Simonides, which claimed for him an overshadowing position in the history of the epigram, was not the result of an accident. Indeed, it was something to have been selected publicly at Athens for the

¹ *Aeschyli Tragoediae*, p. 11.

² See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 216. H. T. Wade-Gery, however, in *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 75, would still retain it for Aeschylus.

³ *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, I, 126.

greatest literary commission that could be given to any man, that of an elegy suitable to a monument for the men who fell at Marathon.

12. The top of a stele of Pentelic marble. The fragment was found in the wall of a modern house, 631/27 in Section H, on November 27, 1932.

Maximum height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.465 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, in lines 1 and 2, 0.013 m.; in lines 3 ff., 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 3558 I 317.



No. 12

[Θε]όδορος Πρασιεὺς ἐγραμμάτενε.

NON CTOIX

[Χσ]νθῆκαι : Ἐμμιονέον : καὶ Ἀθεραίο[ν].

[Ξ]δοχσεν τῷ βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμοι, Ἀντιοχ[ὶς ἔ]

CTOIX

[π]ρουτάνεε, Θεόδορος ἐγραμμάτενε, Σι[. . . .]

5 [.] ἐπεστάτε.

[Α]ξον ε[ῖ]π[ε]· χσνθῆσθαι ἡὰ ἦοι Ἐμμιο[νεῖς . . .]

[.]Ο[.]

[.]

The stone contains the preamble and the opening words of an inscription recording an otherwise unknown treaty between Athens and Hermione from the middle of the fifth century B.C. The word Ἐμμιονεῖς occurs here twice, and both times without the rough breathing, about the use of which in general there existed considerable uncertainty.

However, the rough breathing before the name Hermione is well attested on epigraphical grounds. It appears, for example, on a dedication at Delphi, set up by the people of Hermione about the middle of the fifth century.¹

In lines 4 and 5 the name of the *ἐπιστάτης* begins with *Σι*- and originally contained eight letters.

In line 6 the name of the man who proposed the decree, contained four letters and terminated in *-ων*. The slight traces of the second letter might have belonged either to an *Ε* or less likely to a *Ϻ*, but the latter reading is excluded because there are no four-letter names ending in *-σων*. On the basis of *I.G.*, I², 16 it may with the greatest probability be restored as Leon, the name of the orator who proposed the commercial treaty with the Phaselites.

The character of the lettering, particularly the presence of the three-bar sigma, the straight, well cut nu, the sloping lambda, and the employment of smaller letters in the body of the document than in the superscription, indicate that the stele was inscribed in the decade 456-46 B.C. Historical considerations enable us to date it more accurately.

The history of Hermione is closely associated with that of the other cities in the Argolid and with the Lacedaemonian alliance, so that the problem as to the time when Athens would have made a treaty with Hermione, must be approached from the standpoint of the political situation in the Argolid.

The rivalry of Argos and Sparta extended back to the eighth century. Under Pheidon Argos controlled not only the Argolid but all the eastern Peloponnese, but from then on her power gradually declined. By the middle of the sixth century she had lost Cynuria; at the very beginning of the fifth, the Spartans inflicted a severe defeat which obliged the Argives to extend the franchise to the perioeci. Afterwards her ambition rather restricted itself to the hegemony of the Argolid. A continual struggle existed on the part of the other towns to throw off or ward off the Argive yoke, and Sparta became the natural ally of all the other cities of the Argolid. Of the two Dryopian towns, Asine and Hermione, the former had been destroyed by the Argives in the eighth century, after it had assisted the Lacedaemonians in a war against Argos, but the latter, Hermione, partly due to its more protected geographical position, managed to maintain itself. A powerful coalition existed in the Peloponnese against Sparta around 470 B.C., when the latter won two great victories, which Herodotus (IX, 35) ranked with Plataea and Tanagra. The first was won at Tegea against the Tegeates and the Argives, the second at Dipaea against all the Arcadians except the Mantineans. About the same time, 468/7 according to Diodorus (XI, 65), Argos was fighting to strengthen her position near home, and destroyed her neighbor, Mycenae, when Sparta was unable to give assistance. In this same general period, also, and probably somewhat earlier than the fall of Mycenae, although the date is not known, occurred the destruction of Tiryns by the Argives. The refugees from Tiryns were received by the people of Hermione, and

¹ H. Pomtow, *Berliner Phil. Wochenschr.*, XXXII, 1912, 573-6.

were allowed to establish a new town, Halieis, in the territory which belonged to Hermione. The latter shared in the resentment against the Argive pretensions, felt by the other towns of the Argolid, and together with Epidaurus, Troezen, and the newly founded Halieis, it remained a faithful ally to Sparta, and regularly pursued a policy opposed to that of Argos.¹

At Athens in 461 the pro-Laconian party fell from power and Cimon went into exile. The democratic anti-Laconian party straightway reversed the foreign policy of the Athenian government. The friendly relations between Athens and Sparta ceased, and an alliance was concluded between Athens and Argos. In consequence of this change the first Peloponnesian War broke out in the following year, although Sparta, because of the trouble in Messenia, did not take an active part until 457. Almost the first move of the Athenians was an attempt on the Argolid 459/8. They landed near Halieis but were defeated by the arrival of troops from Corinth and Epidaurus.² Later in the war they made a more successful attack on Troezen, and the Argolid became the scene of considerable fighting.

In 451 Cimon returned from exile and at once began to exert a controlling influence upon the foreign policy of Athens. Within six months he procured the Five Years Truce with Sparta and the renunciation of the alliance with Argos.³

It is evident that Athens must have concluded the treaty with Hermione at this time or shortly afterwards. The period from 461 to 451 is definitely excluded, because during the first Peloponnesian War, Athens would not have made treaties with the enemies of Argos and the friends of Sparta. After the death of Cimon, which occurred in 450, the newly established relations between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians were somewhat strained, perceptibly so at the time of the Sacred War in 448, and by 446 open hostilities existed between them again.

It is clear, then, that the treaty with Hermione was struck between 451 and 449 as a result of the reconciliation effected by Cimon. *Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν*, says Plutarch (Cimon XVIII, 1), *ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις*. Cimon induced in more than one Greek state a desire to coöperate with Athens. In comparing him with Lucullus Plutarch remarked (II, 3): *Λούκουλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταφρονήθη, Κίμων δ' ἐπὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐθανυμάσθη· παρ' οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς δὲ μετέστησαν*.⁴

The orator who proposed the treaty with Hermione was probably that Leon who proposed the treaty with the Phaselites, *I.G.*, I², 16. One believed at first that the latter belonged in the fourth century because it was inscribed in the Ionic alphabet;

¹ Strabo, VIII, 373; Ephoros, frag. 56 (Jacoby).

² G. Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundesgenossen* I (Leipzig, 1878), 67—76.

³ Thucydides I, 105, 1. Diodorus XI, 78, 2. A similar move occurred in 430, when the Athenians descended upon Hermione and devastated the surrounding territory (Thuc. II, 56, 5), but whereas the latter was a raid, the attempt upon Halieis was probably a more serious affair.

⁴ See the *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, p. 86, note 2.

but after Wilhelm¹ pointed out that the Ionic alphabet was employed because the Phaselites paid for the inscription and that its epigraphical character belonged to the middle of the fifth century, E. Meyer² assigned the treaty to the period after the battle of the Eurymedon. To be sure the battle of the Eurymedon constitutes a *terminus post quem* but there is no cogent historical argument for placing it in 465 rather than fifteen years later. Enough of the text is preserved to supply the sense for the whole document. It was not a treaty of alliance such as was made after the battle of the Eurymedon. It was not a *συνμαχία*; there is no mention of contributions as in *I.G.*, I², 22; it was a commercial treaty that might have been made at any time.³

P. Haggard⁴ observed that the character of the introductory formulae suggested a date later than 462/1. M. N. Tod⁵ has returned to the period around 450 as a likely date for it. The nu in the word *Ἀνακταρίης* in line 2 is of the later type, quite straight, but the slanting nu itself can be paralleled in the tribute list for the year 450/49 (*I.G.*, I², 195). The phi is like some in the same tribute list or like that in *I.G.*, I², 27, of which F. Hiller von Gaertringen remarks in the Corpus: *Litteratura non vetat ne rem ad Atheniensium expeditionem Delphicam anni 448 referamus*. Now that we can with great probability also identify Leon as a prominent member of Cimon's party, active about 450 B.C., it must be conceded that the treaty with Phaselis belongs not far from the same year. It becomes altogether likely that the treaty is another example of the changes then effected in Athens' foreign policy by the party of Cimon. Phaselis was treated more favorably when Cimon returned to power, for as we may see from the tribute list *I.G.*, I², 195, its assessment was reduced by one-half in the year 450/49.

13. Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble found in the wall of a modern house, 632/2 in Section Z, on October 30, 1932. The left margin is preserved, but the stone has been broken away above, below, and on the right.

Maximum height, 0.39 m.; maximum width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3469 I 249.

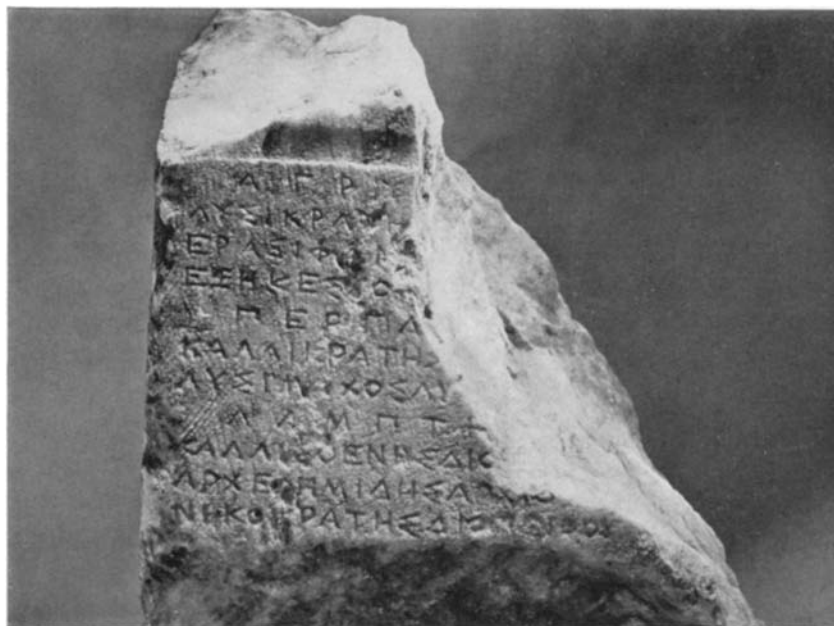
¹ *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1898, 204–5.

² *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, pp. 5–6.

³ The fact that the Chians are mentioned does not alter the circumstances. We are unacquainted with the relations between Athens and Chios. Perhaps the equality of treatment for Phaselites and Chians had been assumed from the beginning and was in 450 definitely formulated in an agreement, because of some violation of the arrangement during the democratic régime at Athens. The democrats were not so lenient with the allies as Cimon had been.

⁴ *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LVII, 1926, pp. XXXI–XXXII.

⁵ *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1933), pp. 58–59.



No. 13

NON CTOIX

vacat

[Ἀντιγονίδος]

Ἀγρῶν [λεῖς]

Ἀνσιγράτης [ς - - - -]

5 Ἐρασιφῶν [- - - -]

Ἐξήκεστος [- - - -]

Περγα [σεῖς]

Καλλιγράτης [- - - -]

Ἀνσίμαχος Ἀνσ[- - - -]

10 Λαμπρε [εῖς]

Καλλισθένης Διο[- - - -]

Ἀρχεδημίδης Ἀρχίου

Νικογράτης Διοπέθου [ς]

14. On March 21, 1933, another fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble was found in a late Roman fill in Section H at 3/I. It contained part of the same list of names, was apparently engraved by the same stonecutter, and obviously came from another copy of the same document. In the second copy the name *Καλλισθένης* is spelt with one *Λ* and the margin on the left is somewhat wider, otherwise the two stones offer the

same arrangement. Also the second stone has preserved the left edge, and is broken away above, below and on the right.

Maximum height, 0.19 m.; maximum width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 5070 I 597^B.



No. 14

NON CTOIX

- | | |
|----|------------------------------|
| | [vacat] |
| | [Ἀντιγονίδος] |
| | [Ἀγρυλεῖς] |
| | [Λυσικράτης] - - - - |
| 5 | [Ἐρασιφῶν] - - - - |
| | [Ἐξήκεστος] - - - - |
| | [Περρασεῖς] |
| | Κα[λλικράτης] - - - - |
| | Λυσ[ίμαχος] Λυσ - - - - |
| 10 | Α[αμπιρεῖς] |
| | Καλις[θέτης] Διο - - - - |
| | Ἀρχεδη[μίδης] Ἀρχίου] |
| | [Ν]ικοκρά[της] Διοπείθους] |
| | [Ἐρα]τοχορ[άτης] - - - - |
| 15 | [- - - -] κλ[- - - -] |

The fragments, Nos. **13** and **14**, contain a list of names, separated as to the demes of their bearers. The second line had been intentionally excised, and as on many another stone, had once held the name of the tribe Antigonis, to which the three demes recorded all belonged. Therefore, the complete list did not have names from one tribe alone, but from all the tribes, and was so divided. Antigonis, moreover, was created in 307/6; Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished and such excisions made in 200, when the resentment against Philip V of Macedon was transferred to everything reminiscent of the dynasty. Thus we have a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* within which the inscription may be dated with certainty. The general character rather points to the first half of this period.

The members of each tribe are grouped according to their demes. This arrangement occurs on a stone from the archonship of Nicias of Otryne¹ (*I.G.*, II², 665), the earliest

¹ The archon probably belongs in 268/7 (thus Dinsmoor and Ferguson). Because of the secretary cycle he must be dated either then or twelve years earlier in 280/79 (thus Kirchner). For the most recent examination of the matter see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, pp. 81–85, where the older literature is cited and other views are discussed; J. Kirchner, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, 453.

ephebic catalogue of the third century, but not in the ephebic inscriptions a few years later; it occurs also in a list of *δαιτηταί* for the year 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1926), and it occurs on the lists of *βουλευταί*.

However, in the third century there were approximately 30 ephebes each year. The number had dropped from over 400 as in 305/4¹ to this low figure as in the archonship of Nicias of Otryne, and other inscriptions² from the third century indicate that the number remained about 25 or 30. This must, of course, have happened because the ephebic training had ceased to be compulsory, and the enrollment had probably dropped, not by degrees, but at once, to that low level. Furthermore, if one examines the ephebic inscription *I.G.*, II², 478 from 305/4 B.C., it is apparent that the name of the *σωφρομιστής* stood immediately below that of the tribe. Now it is likely that the office of *σωφρομιστής* was abolished when the enrollment declined and it became no longer desirable to maintain a large staff. In the absence of documents it is dangerous to make assumptions, but at least the official no longer appears in the inscriptions of the third century. The absence of his name on our stone would indicate that it was not a fragment of an ephebic catalogue from the brief period between the creation of the tribe Antigonis and the decline of the ephebic enrollment.

We have only three catalogues of *δαιτηταί*, all from the last third of the fourth century, and only one of these is complete enough to serve as a good model. But it happens that the latter (*I.G.*, II², 1926) has 103 names with an average of about two for each deme. The number of *δαιτηταί*, moreover, should not have vacillated much from year to year. They were all citizens fifty-nine years old within a certain property class unaffected by the reforms of 322, and the proportion to the rest of the population would have remained relatively constant. On the stones which we are publishing there are at least ten names for the tribe Antigonis, and if we assume this as customary for the other tribes, we have a hundred and twenty or more as a total. The number is not high enough to exclude the possibility of a list of *δαιτηταί*, but it is high enough to render it unlikely.

On the other hand the assumption that we have a list of *βουλευταί* meets with no difficulty and actually finds confirmation in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1700, from which the representation of the deme Pergase is known to be two.

15. A fragment from a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section E, March 17, 1932.

Maximum height, 0.08 m.; maximum width, 0.10 m.; maximum thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. 1859 I 202.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 478. Cf. J. Beloch, *Klio*, V, 1905, 352.

² *I.G.*, II², 681, 766, and 787.



No. 15

NON CTOIX

- [- - - - -]
 [- - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς - -] εἶδος ἀποφα[ίνουσιν εἰς]
 [τὴν βουλὴν τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἶλοντο ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Δημαγένην [demotic καὶ]
 [τὸν γραμματέα name demotic τεθυκέναι] ἐν τῇ πρυτ[ανείᾳ τὰς θυ-]
 5 [σίας ἀπάσας ὑπὲρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως]
 [. . . . καὶ τῆς βασιλείσης καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν, ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι]
 [δὲ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅπως [ἂν τούτων συντε-]
 [λουμένων εὐσεβῶς ἔχῃ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ π[ρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς]
 [vacat ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βου]λῇ [vacat]
 10 [- - - - -]

The inscription is a fragment of a decree honoring the magistrates of a prytany from the tribe Aegeis or Erechtheis. Lines 5 and 6, where the names of the Macedonian royal family stood, were excised in 200 B.C. as in numerous other inscriptions. The style of lettering occurs not only somewhat earlier but also in the period around 240, and it is impossible to ascertain whether the names of Antigonus and Phila or of Demetrius and Phthia had once been inscribed there.

The restorations, here proposed, are made *exempli gratia*. Although the inscription is not written stoichedon, in different lines the same number of letters occurs in the same space, so that it is quite possible to estimate the number of letters that have been lost from each line. With the formula secured in the first two lines from the word ἀποφα[ίνουσιν] to the name Demagenes, the approximate length of a single line may be established as fifty-five or fifty-two letters, according to a preference for the phrase εἰς τὴν βουλὴν as in *I.G.*, II², 678, or for the phrase τῇ βουλῇ as in the inscriptions of the end of the third and the beginning of the second century.

One place before the letters]εῖδος enough is left to exclude the reading N because the bottom of the second upright would have shown. Hence the restoration [Οἶν]εῖδος becomes impossible. There is something that might well have been the bottom of the upright stroke of a Γ. That would determine the reading as [Αἶν]εῖδος, but after careful examination the point really seems too dubious to serve as the foundation for any important argument. That which seemed a stroke, could have been an accident. The bottom of a Θ, moreover, might have been slightly higher and might not show on the fragment.

The only other Demagenes, hitherto known, was a priest of Asclepius, and the rarity of the name would indicate that both officials were members of the same family. The priest held office in the archonship of Nicias.¹ Now such an established synchronism between archon and priest would have its importance for the chronology of the third century if one could use it to reconstruct the interrelationship of the tribal cycles; but the synchronism between Demagenes and Nicias has not furnished assistance, partly because the demotic of the priest has not been preserved, partly because one cannot even be sure that the Nicias was the archon of the year 296/5. The elder Nicias is the general assumption, yet the archon might equally well have been the much disputed Nicias of Otryne, for whom W. B. Dinsmoor and W. S. Ferguson favor the year 268/7, while J. Kirchner still prefers the earlier dating in 280/79 that Beloch maintained.² Now, however, the synchronism gains in importance. If the priest came from the same family as the Demagenes of the fragment from the Agora (which is likely), he would belong either to Erechtheis (III) or to Aegeis (IV).

We cannot, however, on the basis of our present knowledge determine between the two possible restorations by working back from the list of the priests. At the beginning of the century the list is hardly more than a gap. Even Ferguson's arrangement of cycles, which indeed would seem to be the correct one, admits the possibility of selection

¹ *I.G.*, II¹, 1350.

² W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (1931), pp. 81–85, where also the earlier literature is reviewed; W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles* (1932), p. 23; J. Kirchner, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, 453. When Nicias of Otryne is mentioned, his demotic is added to avoid confusion with the elder Nicias. In *I.G.*, II¹, 1350, however, where for the sake of argument let us assume that the ephebes in the year of one of the immediate predecessors of Nicias II were being honored, no confusion was possible; furthermore, the name of the priest of Asclepius stood below, while the wreath which contained the archon's name, did not afford much space.

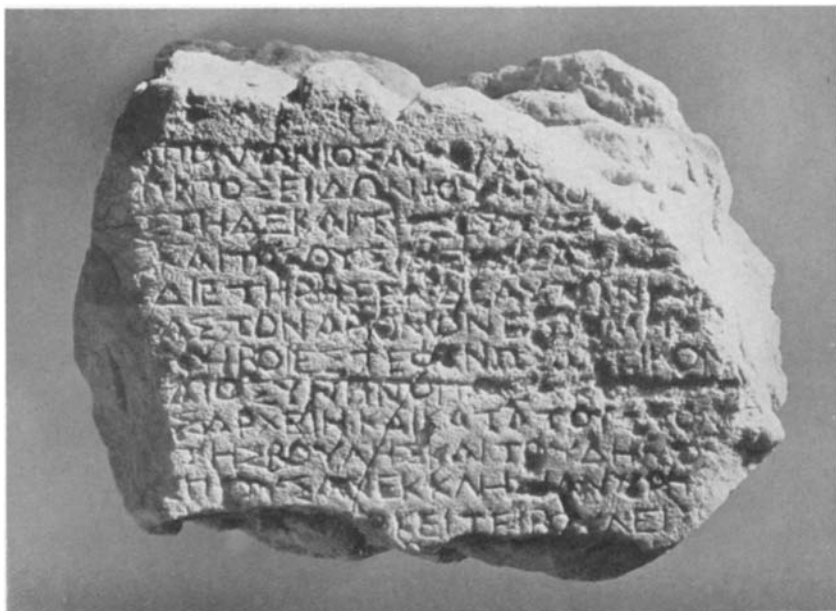
by sortition within the cycle where he locates Demagenes. If selection took place by rotation at that period, according to his arrangement the relation between the priestly and the secretary cycles would call for a priest from the tribe Erechtheis in the archonship of Nicias I; and in the document here published a probability would exist for the restoration [*Ἐρεχθ*]εῖδος. On the other hand, that which seems the bottom of a vertical hasta in front of the first recognizable letter on the stone from the Agora, creates a slight preference here for the restoration [*Ἀλγ*]εῖδος, and the uncertainty remains.

16. A fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble found in Section Δ in a late fill at 22/1Δ on February 29, 1932. The stone is broken away on all sides so that only the inscribed face presents a smooth surface.

Maximum height, 0.15 m.; maximum width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 1451 I 175.



No. 16

NON CTOIX

[Ἐπὶ Ἀριστόλα ἀρχοντος -----]
 [- -----]
 [- ----- τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν]
 [- ----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι.]

[ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ]

[- - - - - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ] Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλο[- - - - -]
 [χειροτονηθεὶς κοσμητῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις εἰς τὸν] ἐπὶ Ποσειδωνίου ἄρχον[τος ἐνιαυτὸν - -]
 [- - - - - προέ]στη δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐταξί[ας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς]
 10 [μαθήμασιν γενομένης ἐπιστασίας ἐπεμελήθη· ἔθυσεν δ]ὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας πάσας με[τ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ]
 [τοῦ δήμου τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις οἷς καθήκον ἦ]ν· διετήρησεν δὲ αὐτῶν κα[ὶ τὴν πρὸς]
 [ἀλλήλους φιλίαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμονοοῦντας καὶ ὑγιαίνοντας, θ]ν[τας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐβδομήχ]οντα - - -]
 [- - - - - ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ] ἔφηβοι ἐστεφάνωσαν εἰκόν[ι χαλκῇ,]
 [ἀποδεικνύμενοι τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς γεγονῶσαν εὐνοίαν καὶ δικ]αιοσύνην· ὅπως ἂν ο[ὗ]ν ἐφ[άμιλλον ἦι]
 15 [πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένοις δικαίω]ς ἄρχειν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμ[ους - - -]
 [- - - - - εἰδόσιν δι] τιμηθήσονται ὑπὸ] τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, [ἀγαθῇ]
 [τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν] ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρημ[ατίζου]
 [περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δ]ῆ[μον δι]τι δ[οκεῖ] τῇ βουλῇ ἐ[παινεῖσαι]
 [τὸν κοσμητὴν τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδωνίου ἄρχοντος - - - - -] P[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

The inscription is of the characteristic type in honor of a *κοσμητῆς*. By analogy we may assign it to the year after the archonship of Poseidonius, which is mentioned in line 7, and which can be dated in 162/1 B.C.¹ The broken bar A which appears here was not yet in general use but occurred sporadically.²

Although in this period there are no other similar inscriptions for comparative purposes, the general sense of what remains on our stone can be ascertained from corresponding passages in documents of 40 or 50 years later. The latter are much more elaborate and prolix, and in order to restore the text, it is a question of pruning the language there. Hence the restorations, here proposed, are merely *exempli gratia*, except in lines 15–17 from the words *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* through the word *δοκεῖ*. So much is certain because of the familiar formula, and it gives us a starting point for the rest of the document, inasmuch as we learn that a single line held about seventy-five letters.

Above the name Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλο[- - - -] is a vacant space about two lines high. Therefore this name probably stood over at the right in the line below the words *ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ*. This phrase stood apart in the middle of another line underneath the rest of the preamble, which itself also ended in the middle of a line, so that on the right hand side of the inscription we have the vacant space as indicated in the scheme here submitted.³

The line on which the name Apollonius stood, would have begun on the left with the name of the man who moved the decree. Therefore we can identify Apollonius as the man who was being honored and as not being the man who moved the decree. It

¹ W. S. Ferguson locates it thus and new evidence from the Agora, as yet unpublished, confirms the date.

² Cf. *I.G.*, II², 949 and 950, both in the archonship of Pelops four years earlier.

³ An arrangement as in *I.G.*, II², 967 for example.

is, moreover, clear from a glance at the broken stone that the name Apollonius did not stand at the left edge of the inscription. An additional proof that Apollonius was the man honored, could, if it were needed, be gathered from the phrase directly below the name. We know that there were about seventy-five letters to the line, and there would not be sufficient space for a restoration including another name, patronymic and demotic, after the name Apollonius and before the phrase below it.

The phrase *ἐστεφάνωσαν εἰκόν[ι χαλκῇ]*, line 12, is worthy of note. Without exception the formula reads *ἐστεφάνωσαν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ*. Possibly the missing words have been omitted through error, but it is not necessary to suppose so.

Before the word *διετήρησεν* in line 10 can be distinguished part of a letter. It is a vertical stroke that might belong to *Η*, *Ι*, *Μ* or *Ν*.

The one visible letter in line 18, a *Ρ* or a *Β*, probably belonged to the demotic of Apollonius.

As the decree deals with the *κοσμητής* alone, the document is of the later official type of ephebic inscription. In the earlier type at the end of the decree there would be an account of the ephebes and of their behavior and a statement that in reward it had been decided to honor them, etc.; then by way of appendix would be added a few words such as, *ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν* [name] *ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ στεφανῶσαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. This would be followed by a brief reference to the other officials, and then would follow the catalogue. The early arrangement still persisted in *I.G.*, II², 900, an inscription of the year 185/4 or shortly afterward. In the later type of ephebic honorary inscription, the *κοσμητής* is no longer lumped together with the other officials at the end, but enjoys the distinction of a separate decree immediately after the first.¹ The catalogue then comes below the second decree. This arrangement appears for the first time about 172/1 B.C. in another inscription recently found in the Agora, but the decree in honor of the *κοσμητής* is quite illegible. *I.G.*, II², 1008 (118/7 B.C.), despite its verbosity, affords a better example how the inscription of which our piece is a fragment, originally appeared.

17. Seven contiguous fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble found in an ancient well in Section Δ on May 3, 1932. The plaque has been broken away at the bottom, and two fragments have been lost from the upper portion of the inscription.

Maximum height, 0.74 m.; width, 0.605 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, in line 1, 0.025 m.; in lines 2–11, 0.015 m.; in lines 12 ff., 0.0075–0.01 m.

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¹ Occasionally more than two decrees appear on the stone. In the middle of the first century B.C., moreover, the order of the two decrees is sometimes reversed: first that of the *κοσμητής*, second that of the ephebes.



No. 17

recorded in the list proper all have life appointments, and that their names are grouped together under the heading *οἱ διὰ βίου*. This same arrangement occurs in *I.G.*, II², 2245, which has been dated by Graindor in 266/7 (or 262/3).¹ There the category of officials, grouped together under the heading *οἱ διὰ βίου*, includes the names of the *παιδοτρίβης*, *γραμματεὺς*, *δπλομάχος*, *προστάτης*, *ἡγεμῶν*, *ὑποπαιδοτρίβης*, *ὑποζάκορος*, *διδάσκαλος*, *ιατρός*, *ὑπογραμματεὺς*, *κεστροφύλαξ*, *καψάριος*, and *ἐπὶ Λιογενείου*.² In both inscriptions all the staff except the *κοσμητῆς* and the *ἀντικοσμητῆς* have life appointments, whereas in the inscriptions of the first part of the century this is not the case. To be sure, *I.G.*, II², 2237 has a list of the staff, but it is significant that they are not yet designated as *οἱ διὰ βίου*. Some of its men reappear in the same office in *I.G.*, II², 2239 and *I.G.*, II², 2243. The most likely date for this last inscription is 251/2.³ The section where the words *οἱ διὰ βίου* might have stood in *I.G.*, II², 2239 is missing. In 2243, however, we do find the words *οἱ διὰ βίου* above the group. There are two noncontiguous fragments of the list, which begins with the title *ἡγεμῶν*, then breaks off, recommences on the other fragment with the titles *ὑποζάκορος*, *διδάσκαλος*, *ὑπογραμματεὺς*, *κεστροφύλαξ*, *ιατρός*, and *ἐπὶ Λιογενείου*, and then ends with *λεντιάριος*. The *παιδοτρίβης* had already been mentioned as a life appointee in the heading. Two of these, the *ὑποζάκορος* and the *ἐπὶ Λιογενείου*, reappear as still holding office in the inscription mentioned above, *I.G.*, II², 2245, where the *ὑποζάκορος* has already served for more than seventeen years. On the other hand, in our inscription not a single office has the same incumbent as in *I.G.*, II², 2237, 2239, 2243, or 2245. Therefore it is not to be dated earlier than *I.G.*, II², 2245 (i.e. 266/7 or less likely 262/3 A.D.), because there is no place for it, and it must postdate no. 2245 by at least five years and probably more, because some of the staff have had five years in office.⁴

That raises the question how much later it could have been. In Athens, except for this one, there is no ephebic inscription known to be later than the year 267/8. The *ἐφηβία* as an institution did not exist much longer. It died out all over the Greek world. In Egypt, about which we are well informed from the papyri, the institution lasted through the first quarter of the fourth century, but then disappeared.⁵ Yet the ephebic training had been the distinguishing mark of Greek superiority in Egypt, and there were strong nationalistic reasons for its preservation, whereas in Athens it must have disappeared sooner. The burden of its maintenance fell on that class precisely

¹ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, p. 268.

² As here, so in our inscription and in most others, the official named as *ἐπὶ Λιογενείου* appears at the bottom of the list. As Graindor pointed out (*Musée Belge* XXVI, 1922, 228), he is certainly not a director, but rather a guard of some sort.

³ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, pp. 259–262.

⁴ Likewise it must be later than the brief fragment, *I.G.*, II², 2246, which Kumanudes tried to date in 267 A.D.; for even if we accept his suggestion and move 2245 up as early as 262/3, no. 2246 is only five years later, so that, belonging to the year of a different *κοσμητῆς*, it would come between them.

⁵ U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 144–5. See also Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 275. The use of the word *ἐφηβος* continues, but the *ἐφηβία* disappears.

which suffered the most severely from the chaos and anarchy of the third century. The third century presents the defeat of the city bourgeoisie, and the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian and Constantine left them generally in the condition to which they had been brought.¹ Oppressed and insecure, they were no longer able to support an institution like the *ἐφηβία*. Moreover the rise of Christianity contributed to the decline of the gymnasia throughout the empire. The contests of naked ephebes were incompatible with the new spirit, which exerted a strong influence even on those who were not adherents of Christianity. The disappearance of the old institution is symbolic like the suppression of the Olympic games in 394 and the closing of the school of philosophy in 592.

In the first line of the preamble the three letters, **KPA**, are clearly marked as an abbreviation by the stroke above the **A**. Such an abbreviation does occur as a patronymic in *I.G.*, II², 2245, line 293, where it is of uncertain meaning. Here, however, it cannot be the name of the archon because of the word *τοῦ* which precedes it. Moreover after it in the same line came at the very most only fourteen letters conveniently, and perhaps as few as ten, for the width of the letters varies to such an extent that it is difficult to gauge accurately the size of the lacuna. The next line begins with the word *Πολιάδος*, and it is tempting to believe that the archon was at the same time priest of Athena Polias. Other inscriptions contain similar combinations, e.g. *I.G.*, II², 1817 *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἱε(ρέως) Μητροδῶ Θεῶν καὶ Ἀγαπητοῦ Ἀἰθ(ηλίου) Διονυσίου τοῦ Καλλίππου Λαμπτρέως*, or *I.G.*, II², 2239 *ἐπὶ ἱερέως Φλαβ< Ἀσκληπιάδου ἄρχοντος*. Therefore the words *ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς* probably stood at the end of the line. Since the word *ἱερέως* occurs in the following line in unabbreviated form, it is unlikely that it was abbreviated in line 2.

Our information about the priestess of Athena Polias concerns an earlier period. It, of course, does not preclude the existence of a priest of Athena Polias in the late third century of the Christian era. Moreover her title, as in *I.G.*, III, 63, an inscription of the Augustan Age, read *ἱέρεια Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος* without the article before the name of the goddess. The title of the priest would probably have resembled it, and, to be sure, if the article were present, the restoration might still be possible, but the letters would be exceedingly crowded at the end of the line.

Given the phrase *ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος*, the abbreviation **KPA** must be that of an adjective,—hence *κρα(τίστου)*, as in *I.G.*, II², 1830 according to Graindor's convincing restoration. This word² is the equivalent not only of the Latin *egregius* but also of the Latin *clarissimus*,—that is to say, it was used as an honorary title for men both of the equestrian and of the senatorial class, and it could be given in general to anyone of high birth.

The archon's second priesthood was apparently that of a feminine deity whose name begins with an omicron, and who is described as being of national importance. Probably

¹ See M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History*, Chapter XII.

² See the new edition of Liddell and Scott *sub voce*.

8 to 11 letters have been lost at the end of the third line; therefore, beside the word *τῶν*, 5 to 8 other letters are to be restored in the lacuna. Perhaps the name *Ὀμπνία* stood there. The latter's priesthood is the almost certain restoration of Boeckh in *I.G.*, II², 1352. *I.G.*, III, 245 mentions a priest of Olympia Nike, and *I.G.*, III, 289 one of Urania Nemesis. Oinaia, Homonia and Orthia are not very likely possibilities. Orthia was worshiped in Athens, but her cult was not sufficiently important there for the place occupied in the inscription. Ompnia is Demeter with the emphasis on her part as the grain goddess.¹ In view of the importance of the cult of Demeter in Attica and of its national character, Ompnia seems the most probable restoration, but the phrase *Ὀμπνία τῶν Ἑλλήνων* or *Ὀμπνία τῶν Πανελλήνων* has not elsewhere been found. Yet the latter restoration has a certain inherent probability because a close connection existed between the Panhellenes and the Eleusinian sanctuary.² The exact nature of the connection is not clear, but just as there existed the cult of the Panhellenic Zeus in Athens, presumably a Demeter of the Panhellenes was also recognized.

Titus Flavius Mondo, [- - -, son of] Philinus, of the deme Phlya, has not hitherto been known. The name Mondo until now has not occurred in Athens. However, these very names, Titus Flavius Mondo and Titus Flavius Philinus,³ keep recurring in a distinguished Boeotian family of the second century, well known from several inscriptions found at Thespieae and Thebes, a family of which one member held the most important Roman magistracies (*e.g.* proconsulate of Lycia-Pamphilia),⁴ and to which Plutarch's friend Philinus undoubtedly belonged.⁵ Quite clearly our Mondo came from an Athenian branch of the same family. There had been a tendency for all such to move to the more important urban centres.

It is, however, interesting that he was holding the archonship for the second time. Hitherto we have had no such case under the empire, although for the third century A.D. it is not a surprising discovery. The number of eligible candidates must have become by then exceedingly limited.

At the beginning of the eleventh line about five letters have disappeared. There remains a cross stroke like the top of an E or a Γ, less likely a T, with an abbreviation mark above it. As the date was being given, the year of service for the *παιδοτρίβης*

¹ See Roscher III, 899.

² Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1092; *I.G.*, III, 85; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1894, No. 29; *Πρακτικά*, 1887, 54. Cf. also A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 169, note 2; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 273-274; M. N. Tod, *J. H. S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 178.

³ *I.G.*, VII, 2521: *Τίτος Φλάουιος Φιλεῖνος Μόνδωνος υἱός. I.G.*, VII, 1830: *Φιλεῖνος Μόνδωνος καὶ Ἀρχέλας υἱός. I.G.*, VII, 2520: Mondo, son of a Philinus and father of a Philinus. *I.G.*, VII, 1868: Flavia Democlea, mother of a Titus Flavius Philinus. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* III, no. 339: *Ψηφίσματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου οἱ ἐγκωμισταὶ Τ. Φλ. Μόνδωνα Φιλεῖνον ἔδν ξφρηβον.*

⁴ *I.G.*, VII, 1866: *Τί(τον) Φλ(άουιον) Φιλεῖνον τὸν κράτιστον, ταμεύσαντα Ἀσίας, τριβοῦνον, πραιτορα, πρεσβεύσαντα Κύπρον, ἀνθυπαιεύσαντα Λυκίας Πανφυλίας, ἡ πατρίς τὸν ἐδεργέτην.*

⁵ See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VI, 2608.

would have been stipulated, for he was *παιδοτρίβης διὰ βίου*.¹ Hence the first four letters were *ἔτος*, and the fifth was a numeral, so indicated by the abbreviation mark above it. The choice is between Ε and Γ. Between the end of the Ε's and of the Γ in line 9 I think I detect a slight difference of form, which may be quite accidental but is enough to determine my preference for the reading Ε. An Aurelius Socrates, who might well be this official, appears as an ephebe in *I.G.*, II², 2243 (probably 251/2 A.D.). An archon Aurelius Socrates, who held office in the joint rule of some emperors, has been tentatively located between 253 and 260 A.D. by P. Graindor (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, pp. 384–5), and is presumably another person.

Below the preamble comes the catalogue, most of which has been lost. To the left of the group *οἱ διὰ βίου* is another list of which seven names are preserved. These are the gymnasiarchs, who were generally twelve in number, ephebes, one for each month of the year to defray the expenses of the gymnasium. Among other duties they were responsible for supplying the oil. We may assume, then, that the heading *γυμνασίαρχοι* and five other names originally stood above in the lacuna.

An unusual expression occurs in line 8, in the preamble. The *κοσμητής* is setting up the list of his ephebes,—*τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐφήβους* he calls them, using the preposition *ἐπί*. The ordinary phrase is either *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* or *ἐπ' αὐτόν*. The employment of the preposition *ἐπί* with the dative to express the sense "in the time of so and so," does not conform to Attic usage nor to that of the *κοινή*. We have here a contamination of the two expressions, *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ* and *ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. In an inscription of the year 145/6 we read [*Ὁ κοσμητής Ἀθ[η]ναῖος τοὺς ἐπ' αὐ[τῷ] ἐφηβεύσαντας*].² This is the only other case where the preposition *ἐπί* occurs instead of the normal *ἐπὶ*, and in the *Corpus* the phrase has been restored as *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*.

¹ The year is not always given, but in the heading frequently so with the word *ἔτος* spelled out (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2242 for example). There seems to be no general rule about the other life appointees. Our inscription gives the year of office also for the *προστάτης*, for the *ὀπλομάχος*, and for the *ὑποπαιδοτρίβης*, but *I.G.*, II², 2245, which in form resembles our inscription closely, does not give the year for the *παιδοτρίβης*, while it does give it for the *προστάτης* and for the *ὑποζάκορος*,—the *προστάτης* *ἔτ(ος) α'* and the *ὑποζάκορος* *ἔτ(ος) η'*. *I.G.*, II², 2235, where both the *παιδοτρίβης* and the *προστάτης* are *διὰ βίου*, gives the year only for the *προστάτης*. *I.G.*, II², 2242, where the *παιδοτρίβης*, the *προστάτης* and the *γραμματεὺς* are mentioned in the heading as life appointees, gives the year for all three. Others, however, do not give the year for either the *παιδοτρίβης* or the *προστάτης*, where both are expressly described as *διὰ βίου*. Notice, moreover, that in our inscription, under the list *οἱ διὰ βίου*, the word *ἔτος*, or its abbreviation, has been omitted regularly.

² *I.G.*, II², 2052, line 5.

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