

# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

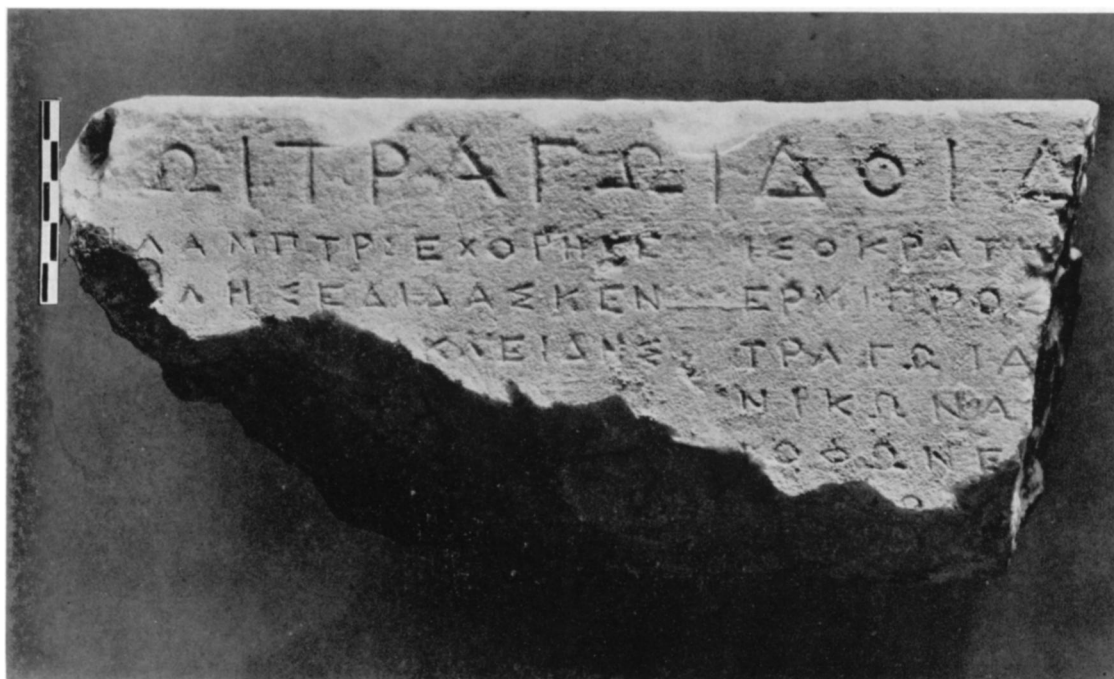
## A New Fragment of the List of Victors at the City Dionysia

1. A fragment of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and on both sides, but preserving the wide upper margin and thirteen letters of the heading; found May 28, 1937, in Section Φ in the excavation of the north slope of the Areiopagos. A part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2318.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, in heading 0.011 m. to 0.016 m., in text 0.006 m.; space occupied by lines, 0.012 m. each.

Inv. No. I 4927.



No. 1 (the last visible letter in line 3 of the right-hand column is a certain Δ; the appearance of Α is due to a photographic illusion)

Ξ Ω Ι Τ Ρ Α Γ Ω Ι Δ Ο Ι Δ

[... ω]ν Λαμπρ: ἐχορήγε(ι)	5 Ἴσοκράτη[ς ἐχορήγει]
[Σοφο]κλῆς ἐδίδασκεν	Ἑρμιππος [ἐδίδασκεν]
[ὑποκριτῆς Ἡρ]ακλείδης	τραγωιδ[ῶν],
	Νίκων Ἀ[--- ἐχορήγει]
	Ἰοφῶν ἐ[δίδασκεν]
	10 [ὑποκ]ρ[ιτῆς ---]

*Hesperia*, XII, 1

The character of the great document to which this piece belongs is well known from the eleven fragments which have come to light at intervals since 1835, when Frag. *d* was reported by Pittakis. The inscription recorded, year by year, from an epoch date which cannot now be determined with certainty, the victors in the lyric and dramatic contests at the City Dionysia, and was continued until well toward the end of the fourth century, presumably to the year when, in place of the old choregic system, the "choregia of the Demos," or agonothesia, was instituted.<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm's exhaustive treatise, in which he brought together all the related epigraphical and literary records bearing upon the subject, laid the foundations for all subsequent studies in this field. The present writer acknowledges his own indebtedness, even when not in agreement with him, to Wilhelm's work, not only in the preparation of this article, but also in connection with earlier excursions into the domain of Athenian literary history in which the epigraphical evidence is of first importance.<sup>2</sup> I cannot but regard it as a piece of extraordinary good fortune that, after some forty odd years, I have the privilege of making known this new and not unimportant fragment of one of the most valuable documents bearing upon the cultural history of classical Athens. The convenient term *Fasti*, made familiar by Wilamowitz, will be used in referring to the document as a whole.

The position which this fragment occupied in the *Fasti* is not difficult to determine. Since it bears a portion of the heading, it comes from the upper portion of two columns. The prosopographical evidence of date prescribes within narrow limits the period to which the dramatic events recorded in it belong, and the order of the items in the portions of its two year-lists in relation to Frag. *b*, which precedes it, and to Frag. *c*, which follows it, makes certain its exact position in the structure of the catalogue as a whole (see Plate I).

The first column contains the names of Sophokles and Herakleides. The active career of Sophokles extended from his first victory in 469/8 to his death in 406/5. The first victory of the tragic actor Herakleides was won in 450/49, the year in which the tragic-actors' contest was established, on the evidence of Frag. *b* combined with

<sup>1</sup> See Kirchner *ad* 2318, and especially Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, p. 241. The later fragments, from *f* on, are in a later hand, *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> I refer especially to my *Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia* (Chicago, 1903), in which I was led to conclusions as to the general character and physical structure of the *Fasti* which at many points coincided with those of Wilhelm, whose *Urkunden* (except for the *Nachträge*) was in type in 1902 although not published until 1906. My point of departure in that study, however, was not the inscriptions, but Aristotle's highly condensed account of the beginnings and development of comedy in Athens (*Poetics*, 5). It has become increasingly evident that this chapter of Aristotle requires for its correct interpretation the factual evidence which for us is available, though in a very fragmentary state, only in the inscriptions; for the material which the *Fasti* and related inscriptions furnish to us was compiled by Aristotle himself and supplied him with the concrete facts on the basis of which he built his sketch of the stages in the development of the two branches of the Attic drama.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325 *p*, which is the list, beginning with his name, of the tragic actors who won victories at the City Dionysia.<sup>3</sup> If the new fragment is placed at the top of Cols. III and IV, the date of these victories is 448/7, and the victories in the second column would be eleven or twelve years later, i. e., those of Hermippos and Iophon. The only dateable didascalia of Iophon is given by the hypothesis to Euripides' *Hippolytos*, produced in 429/8, when the son of Sophokles was second. He was active in 406/5, the year of Aristophanes' *Frogs*; the scholium on v. 73 says of him: ἡγωνίσατο — — — καὶ ἐνίκησε λαμπρῶς ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.<sup>4</sup> The victory of Hermippos here recorded was undoubtedly his first at the Dionysia. In the corresponding Victors' List, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325 *e*, he comes next after Pherekrates and just before Aristophanes.<sup>5</sup> In the Lenaeon Victors' List, Frag. *i*, his name likewise follows that of Pherekrates and he is credited with four victories. The year of Pherekrates' first City Victory has long been in doubt; but since we can now date that of Hermippos in 436/5,<sup>6</sup> we at last have confirmation of Dobree's lucky guess that Anon. περὶ κομωδίας (Kaibel, *Com. Gr. Frag.*, I, p. 8): Φερεκράτης Ἀθηναῖος νικᾷ ἐπὶ θεάτρων should be corrected to read ἐπὶ Θεοδώρων, 438/7. Thus we secure two more fixed dates for the interpretation of the Victors' List of the comic poets who won at the City festival.

The prosopographical evidence, therefore, points very clearly to a position for the new fragment at the top of Cols. III and IV. And in fact, since Col. II, which

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A.J.P.*, XX, 1899, p. 402; *Introduction*, Chart; and O'Connor, *History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 61, and his *Prosopographia*, No. 214.

<sup>4</sup> We are justified in taking seriously the scholiast's reference to Iophon's "brilliant victories," for such matters were of especial interest to the scholars of the Library at Alexandria, and they had access to the complete didascalical material of which many portions have come down to us in literary notices, lexica, learned comment in scholia, etc. By and large, these reports as found in hypotheses and scholia have proved to be remarkably trustworthy in such matters, barring corruptions in transmission; see *Harvard Studies*, XV, 1904, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It is gratifying to note that Kirchner restores Ἀρι[στοφάνης —] in Frag. *e*, as Kaibel does in Wilhelm's *Urkunden*, p. 176, retracting his support of Ἀρι[στομένης] in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. s. v.* Aristomenes, though Wilhelm still held to the lesser poet. The position of those who still insist that the hypodidaskalos, not the poet who employed him, was awarded the victory still beclouds the question. My arguments on that point in *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 89 ff. and pp. 181 ff. seem to me to retain their validity still. I find in the Victors' Lists of the tragic and comic poets, and in the *Fasti*, not a shred of evidence in support of the contention that in the fifth century, any more than in the fourth, it was not the poet who won the prize awarded to his own play. The case of Anaxandrides, as recorded in *I.G.*, XIV, 1098, as last—and best—interpreted by Dittmer, *The Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae Found in Rome*, and the case of Aphareus, reported in Ps. Plutarch, *Vit. X Orat.*, 839 d, settle the question for the fourth century. As for Aristomenes, it is clear from *I.G.*, XIV, 1097, Dittmer's edition, that his first success at the Dionysia came very late in his long career. Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, p. 6, supports (with a few minor corrections) Dittmer's reconstruction of the Roman Didascaliae and ably defends Ἀρι[στοφάνης —] in *e*; he favors the year 427/6 and the play *Babylonioi* for Aristophanes' first City victory.

<sup>6</sup> Geissler, *ibid.*, p. 11, estimated Hermippos' first victory as "nicht lange vor 426."

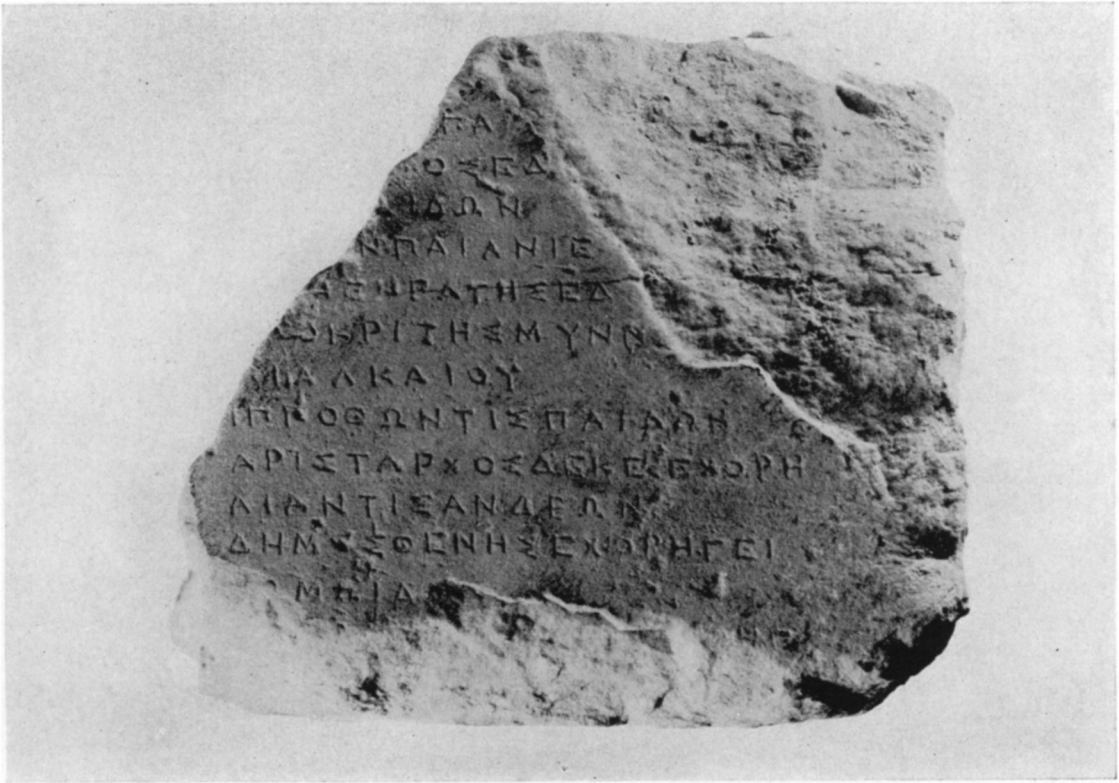
contained 140 lines, ends with the 9th item of the year-list of 448/7 and the first item in our first column is the 10th of a year-list, the junction there is perfect. But an apparent obstacle to this position is seen in our second column, which is the 7th item of a year-list, whereas the last item in Col. III, if it also had 140 lines, as has hitherto been assumed, would have ended with the 5th item of 436/5, not with the 6th. The solution, however, is obvious—Col. III must have had 141 lines. This, as it happens, is also required of Cols. VIII and IX, in which Frag. *d* stood, as Wilhelm was quick to perceive.<sup>7</sup> And Kirchner, on the strength of *d*, assumes 141 lines for Cols. IV, V, VI, and VII also, no doubt rightly. But it is now clear that a long series of columns of that length began with Col. III. Consequently we have no hesitation in assigning the Agora fragment to that position. Its first column is separated from the third column of *b* by a gap of only three lines. We shall refer to it as *b*<sup>2</sup>, so as to retain for the other fragments Kirchner's notation in the *Corpus*.

The presumption is justified that, since Col. III must have contained 141 lines and also Cols. VIII and IX, the four intervening columns likewise must have been of equal length. The only fragment which survives between Frag. *b*<sup>2</sup> and the first column of Frag. *d* is Frag. *c*, which contains 13 lines of which 6 are of 423/2 and 7 of 422/1. It therefore stood in Col. V, in which its position is fixed by the orderly sequence of the year-lists from 436/5, with which *b*<sup>2</sup> ends, to item 7 of the year-list of 423/2, with which *c* begins. Now Frag. *c* preserves on its under side a portion of the original contact-surface, so that, belonging to the upper block of the wall on which the Fasti were inscribed, it possesses a special interest as giving evidence of the physical structure of the monument. For if we possessed a carefully made measurement of the space available for writing between the last visible line (it is the 7th item of the year-list of 422/1, the choregus for comedy) and the lower margin, it would be possible to determine how many additional lines stood on this block. Unfortunately for our present purpose, no measurement is given by either Wilhelm or Kirchner, and since no portion is left, under the last visible line, of the contact-surface except a small space at some distance back of the front, the photograph accompanying this article<sup>8</sup> affords no substitute for a measurement of the stone itself. Wilhelm says that the 9th line in the year-list (*Urkunden*, p. 21, cf. p. 9) “wird noch auf diesem Stein gestanden haben,” and Kirchner so prints in the *Corpus*, restoring [τραγωιδῶν]. For reasons which will be given later on<sup>9</sup> I believe that a measurement of the space would show room for item 10 also, the choregus for tragedy. This would give the upper block 31 lines.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Anzeiger*, pp. 5-6, of the Austrian Academy, phil.-hist. Cl., session of July 4, 1906. This is the fragment which Pittakis saw and copied and, in a fashion, published in his *L' ancienne Athènes*, p. 168. Wilhelm rediscovered it in 1906 in a private house in Athens. He had already divined, with remarkable ingenuity, from the jumble of Pittakis' copy, intermingled with interpolations which purported to be copies, a large part of its middle column (*Urkunden*, pp. 22 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> From the collection of the Institute for Advanced Study.

<sup>9</sup> Pages 7-8.



I.G., II², 2318, Frag. c

Columns III, IV, and V must now be considered to have been made up as follows:

III		IV		V	
448/7	3 lines	436/5	6 lines	424/3	9 lines
11 yrs.	132 "	11 yrs.	132 "	10 yrs.	120 "
436/5	6 "	424/3	3 "	413/2	12 "
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
141 "		141 "		141 "	

The Agora fragment has shown us that in Cols. III, IV, and the upper part (the top block) of V there was no departure from the normal year-lists of 12 lines each, and it is a fair inference, since we have no information of any innovation in the programme of the Dionysia between 421 and 412, that these columns were constituted as shown above. But in Col. VI we do have knowledge of an irregularity which would have affected at least one year-list in it, and on the authority of Aristotle, who is quoted in the Venetus scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 404, as saying that in the archonship of the Kallias in whose year the *Frogs* was produced <sup>10</sup> it was decreed that two choregi,

<sup>10</sup> The intention of the scholiast thus to identify the archon is unmistakable: ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδου ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμωδοῖς. But

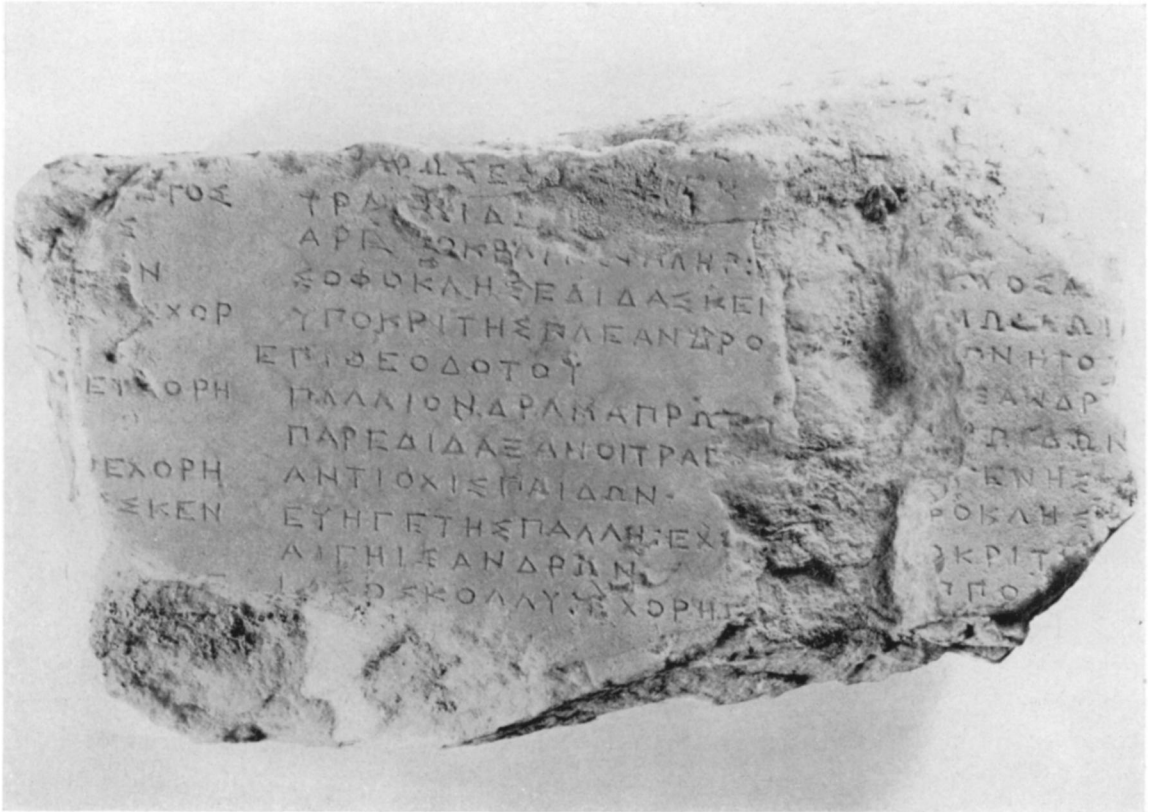
instead of one, should bear the expenses of the comic and tragic performances at the Dionysia. The record of such joint liturgies would require an additional name and demotic for each event, adding two lines to the year-list. Therefore, if the exact position of Frag. *d* in Cols. VII, VIII, and IX can be ascertained and the number of lines in the upper block, we shall be able to determine whether between Col. VI, containing the normal year-lists of 12 lines each, and the first line in VII there is a gap and, if so, of how many lines.

The stone which preserves *d* is, like *c*, badly broken irregularly at the bottom across its three columns, and in such a way that its middle column extends down three lines farther than its first and two lines farther than its third. The small portion of its original contact-surface with the next block underneath is so situated that without props it will not support the stone upright and level. Consequently it is a difficult and delicate task to make an accurate measurement of the surface above the margin, now broken away, which contained letters. At least I found it so in 1910, when I inspected the stone in the basement of its then owner's house without an assistant; consequently I never trusted the measurement I tried to take. If Wilhelm encountered similar conditions in 1906, I can readily appreciate his difficulties.

In his preliminary publication (*Anzeiger* of the phil.-hist. Cl. of the Austrian Academy, session of July 4, 1906, p. 1) Wilhelm described the fragment as "unten mit Rand, über dem ein Raum von 0.047 m. ohne Schrift bleibt, sonst gebrochen." In a letter of Nov. 1, 1906, Wilhelm, with characteristic courtesy, in response to my inquiry about this space replied: "There is a possibility (not more than that) of some lines more in the space of 0.047 m. under the line I thought to be the last"—referring to *Ἰασος* Κόλλυ: ἐχορήγει, now line 207 in Kirchner. In his final publication, *Jahreshefte d. öst. Arch. Inst.*, X, 1907, p. 36, he explains more fully: "irrig habe ich früher, durch den ersten Anblick getäuscht, angenommen, dass über diesem Rande ein Raum von 0.047 m. ohne Schrift geblieben sei; nachträglich hat sich herausgestellt, dass von dem letzten Buchstaben des Wortes *κωμωιδῶν* noch ein Rest vorhanden ist und weitere zwei Zeilen gefolgt sein können, obgleich der Stein an den von Brüchen nicht beschädigten Stellen keine Spur von Schrift zeigt." By this he certainly means two lines below [*κωμωιδῶ*]*ν*, though Kirchner seems to interpret him as meaning two lines below his line 207, *Ἰασος*, etc. Finally, in summing up, Wilhelm (*ibid.*, p. 40) says: "die Lage der Jahresanfänge der Listen in den drei Spalten des Steines zu der bereits festgestellten Zeilenzahl der Spalten stimmt." Here he refers to his computation of the preceding columns in *Urkunden*, p. 9. But in that computation he, like the

for the synchoregic inscription from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3090, the scholiast's chronology would never have been called in question. Accepting Wilhelm's positive opinion that the hand of this inscription antedates 406/5, Kirchner does well in classifying the Eleusinian inscription among the synchoregic inscriptions which refer to the demotic exhibitions at the Rural Dionysia, of which there are five others.

rest of us, was reckoning with 140 lines in III, IV, and V and so was making each column between II and VII fall short of what now seems surely its actual contents by an accumulating error of 1 line a column, partly offset by one line left vacant at the bottom of Col. IV. Thus Frag. *b*<sup>2</sup>, having upset all earlier computations, makes possible a revision of them; for by counting backwards from *d* to *c* we should be able



*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2318, Frag. *d*

to discover what additional lines, if any, were required in Col. VI for the extra choregi of 406/5 or beyond.

Wilhelm's estimates of the space available for letters above the margin in the second column of *d* were made from an inspection of the stone while it was still in the private house in Athens in which I saw it in 1910, as explained above. In 1937, after the discovery of the Agora fragment, I requested my friend Eugene Schweigert, then epigraphist on the staff of the American School excavation of the Agora of Athens, to make an independent measurement. This he did, under the favorable conditions as to light and facilities of the Epigraphical Museum,<sup>11</sup> which had acquired

<sup>11</sup> Its inventory number in the Museum is 12634.

the piece a few years before. On Dec. 15, 1937, he wrote: "You inquired about the possibility of measuring the space between the base of the stone and the bottom of line 207 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2318. As I measure it, it is 0.054 m. The space which four lines regularly fill is approximately 0.048 m. or 0.012 per line (that is, counting from the bottom of one line to the bottom of the next). There is therefore plenty of room for four lines with 0.006 m. left over." Thus Schweigert's measurement makes the last line on the uppermost block which contained *d*, in *d*'s middle column, *τραγωιδῶν*, the 9th line of a normal year-list, of the year 387/6,<sup>12</sup> one line more beyond Wilhelm's last and two lines beyond Kirchner's. Dr. Anton Raubitschek has kindly tested this measurement on the excellent photograph of the Institute's collection (herein reproduced) and confirms it. Hence I accept it as being the most likely to be correct.

It remains now to ascertain, if possible, how many lines were inscribed on the upper block to which Frag. *d* belongs. Since *τραγωιδῶν* has been shown by Schweigert's measurement to have been the last line above the margin in its middle column, the corresponding line in its first column would have been item 2 of the year 398/7, the winning tribe in the contest of boys' choruses. We count back from this point in Col. VII and forward from the beginning of Col. VI. Now Col. VI, if normal throughout, began with the archon of 412/1 and would contain 11 year-lists of 12 lines each plus, at the bottom, 9 lines of 401/0. Col. VII would then have begun with item 10 of 401/0 and the top block on which *d* was inscribed would have contained 29 lines. But the last visible line in *c* was, as we have seen, the 28th of Col. V, and Wilhelm estimated that two more lines followed above the margin, so that the top block that contained *c* would have had 30 lines, though I believe it probable that it had, in fact, 31. When a new measurement of this fragment is made, whether the measurement gives to *c* 30 or 31 lines, we shall be obliged to assume that, as a matter of good masonry, the height of the top block at *d* (Cols. VII, VIII, IX) is the same. But the possibility that the top block contained only 29 lines can be eliminated at once, in my opinion, as being incompatible with the positive statement of Aristotle about the synchoregia in 406/5, for which no room would be left in Col. VI. An upper block of 30 lines would leave one extra line in VI; and one of 31 lines, which I believe to be far more probable, two extra lines, in view of Schweigert's measurement of Frag. *d* and the extreme likelihood that the upper block was of uniform height throughout the wall which was designed to receive the inscription. In either case, however, the result would be the same—that the synchoregic experiment was confined to the year 406/5. If the record on the upper block was of 30 lines, then in either tragedy or comedy of that year no extra line was required for the names of the two choregi (that is, the names were both short), or else one choregia was performed by a single person, who had volunteered to bear alone the expense of the poet to whom, as it happened, the prize of victory had been adjudged.

<sup>12</sup> The record of this year, however, contains 14 lines, two extra lines being required for *παλαιὸν δρᾶμα πρῶτο[ν] | παρεδίδαξαν οἱ τραγ[ωιδοί]*.



By way of summarizing this computation and argument the constitution of these four columns as I conceive of them is here given:

VI		VII		VIII		IX	
412/1	12	401/0	5	389/8	8	378/7	1
411/0	12	400/99	12	388/7	12	377/6	12
410/9	7	399/8	12	387/6	11 *	376/5	12
		398/7	2			375/4	6
Bottom of Upper Slabs }							
31		31		31		31	
410/9	5	398/7	10	387/6	3	375/4	6
3 yrs.	36	8 yrs.	96	8 yrs.	96	8 yrs.	96
406/5	14 *	389/8	4	378/7	11	366/5	8
4 yrs.	48						
401/0	7						
Lines	141	Lines	141	Lines	141	Lines	141

\* Two extra lines; see p. 8 and note 12.

We now come to the consideration of the heading, of which the new fragment supplies 13 letters in addition to the 12 preserved in *a*. In the gap between the  $\tau$ , the last letter in *a*, and  $\xi\Omega\iota$ , the first letters in *b*<sup>2</sup>, is room for 6 full-size letter-spaces; the restoration favored by Wilhelm, Reisch, and others is now certain,  $\tau[\acute{\omega}\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\nu}]\sigma\omega\iota$ .<sup>13</sup> The following letters  $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\iota\delta\omicron\iota\delta$  give an entirely unexpected turn to the heading, to judge by the various proposals which have been made, but  $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\omicron\iota$  is a very significant word in this position, for it must be the subject of a new clause, emphasizing at the outset the importance of tragedy in the City Dionysia; indeed, it would appear to indicate what we have been looking for—the epochal event of the democratically reorganized festival. For it can hardly be construed as modifying in any way the preceding  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota$  as an attributive, since, after prolonged debate over the meaning of  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota$  here, the view has prevailed<sup>14</sup> that  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota$  refers to the celebration as a whole—the “Festact,” as Reisch has termed it, and not, as in the law of Euagoros quoted in Demosthenes, *Meidias*, 10, a distinct event in the festival, as were the  $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\eta$  and the several contests. So, if the word represented by its initial letter delta can be satisfactorily supplied, we may have the desired definition of the event which the heading meant to emphasize. I can think of nothing more appropriate to the early years of the Democracy than the adjective  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ . It was the literary term for a festival (Thuc., II, 15, 2), for sacrifices (Plato, *Laws*, 935 b), etc., which were sanctioned

<sup>13</sup> My proposal was  $\tau\acute{\omega}[\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\omega\acute{\sigma}\iota\omega\nu$ . The designation of the festival must, then, have come later in the heading.

<sup>14</sup> First urged by Lipsius, *Berichte* of the Academy of Saxony, 1885, p. 418, and developed convincingly by Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, V, s. v. Didaskaliai, 399. See Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, p. 12.

and maintained by the people. What followed *τραγωδοὶ δημοτελεῖς* must remain a matter of conjecture. Certainly the designation of the festival, *ἐν ἄστει*, and the definition of the Fasti as the list of victors, in either the form used in the Victors' Lists *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325 *οἶδε ἐνίκων* or in the perfect tense *οἶδε νενικήκασιν*. We must bear in mind that *κῶμοι τῷ Διονύσῳ* had long been celebrated in Attica and Athens and that tragedies also had for a generation been a conspicuous feature of the City Dionysia, though contests of the tragic poets may not have begun until the twenties of the sixth century; but these celebrations were presumably at first the performances of *ἐθελονταί* and not supported by the state. The great innovation commemorated in our heading was the assumption by the Demos of responsibility for the maintenance of the contests of the tribes with their dithyrambic choruses and especially of the contests of the tragic poets; and this was accomplished, not by drawing upon the public funds, but by the system of choregi, who were nominated by the tribes for the lyric events and appointed by the archon for the tragedies. Both these contests thus took on a new life and a new significance from the epoch date of the Fasti. My conception, then, of the heading as a whole is about as follows: [*ἀπὸ . . . . . , ἐφ' οὗ πρῶτ*] *ον κῶμοι ἦσαν τ[ῷ Διονύ]σῳ, τραγωιδοὶ δ[ημοτελεῖς] — — ἀγωνίσαντες ἐν ἄστει οἶδε νενικήκασιν*].

A few words, in conclusion, concerning the epoch year of the Fasti. In my *Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia*, pp. 28 ff., I reached the conclusion that the probable year for the admission of comedy was 487/6. In favor of that date I considered to be of secondary importance any computation that might be made of the portion of the two lost columns which preceded Frag. *a*, there being so many possibilities, but of primary importance the testimony of Suidas, s. v. *Χιωνίδης*: *κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, ὃν καὶ λέγουσιν πρωταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, διδάσκειν δὲ ἔτεσιν ἢ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν*. Accordingly I reached a date "eight years before the Persian War" by applying the simple method of the ancient historians, who, in determining the intervals of time between two Attic events, simply counted the archons, including very frequently both terminal archons. So, beginning with Kalliades, archon in 480/79, the eighth is Telesinos of 487/6. It seemed hardly necessary to explain this method or to defend it by examples. Yet Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, p. 244, objects, saying: "487/6 . . . auch bei inclusiver Zählung nicht das achte vor dem Perserkriege ist." He proposes 489/8 instead, which I venture to say a Greek writer would most likely describe as ten (Kalliades . . . Aristeides inclusive), or at least as nine, years before Salamis. This period abounds in instances: it was by counting both terminal archons that Wilamowitz arrived at 501/0 for Hermokreon, now his accepted date, as being, according to Aristotle, *Pol. Ath.*, 22, 2, of "the twelfth year before Marathon" and "the fifth" after the reforms of Kleisthenes. A further, but secondary, indication favoring 487/6 for the admission of comedy to the Dionysia is that the 120 lines preceding 487/6 in the lost Col. I of the Fasti, being divisible by 8,

brings the first line of the column to the date-line of 502/1 (archon unknown), a year that is intrinsically suitable for the epoch year of the Fasti. Between the year of the democratic activity of Kleisthenes and the year of Hermokreon (505/4–501/0) was a period of considerable turmoil and readjustment of the political machinery of the state. It was not until 501/0 that there was a regularly constituted senate, duly sworn, and in that year the tribes were functioning, for the ten generals were chosen tribe-wise. It would seem to be a reasonable assumption, therefore, that in the matter of the tribal competitions the tribes were functioning by the year before Hermokreon, to which our calculation in 1903 led us. I see no reason, therefore, to modify my earlier opinion as to the date of the admission of comedy to the Dionysia, though naturally the epoch date of this inscription remains hypothetical in any event. But we have learned from the new Agora fragment of the Fasti that the fundamental innovation of the young Democracy, which marked the epoch of the Fasti, was the establishment of the choregic system of state support of tragedy, and that the competition of the tragic poets under this system was regarded as the outstanding event of the programme of the Dionysia by the author of the heading of the Fasti.<sup>15</sup>

EDWARD CAPPS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

<sup>15</sup> Grateful acknowledgments are made to the editor of *Hesperia* Dr. Paul A. Clement and to Dr. W. Kendrick Pritchett for their kindness in verifying references and for valuable criticisms, and to Dr. Antony E. Raubitschek for drafting the contents of the top slab of the inscription as they are believed by the author to have been inscribed in the eight columns which are involved in the discussion.

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