

THE FIFTH-CENTURY ARCHON LIST

(PLATES 58-59)

I. THE FRAGMENTS¹

THE following three fragments seem to be part of the list of Athenian eponymous archons, inscribed about 425 B.C., of which one piece (Agora I 4120; Plate 58) has already been published by B. D. Meritt.²

a (Plate 58). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 18, 1935, in late context over the eastern part of the Odeion (M 11).

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2889a.

ca. 425 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[...] \[-----]

[Κύ]φσελο[s]

[Τε]λεκε[- - -]

[Φιλ]όμβ[ροτος] ?

The fourth letter in line 1 must be alpha, gamma, or mu.

b (Plate 58). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on Feb. 4, 1936, in the foundations of a modern house northeast of the Altar of Ares (M 8).

¹ This paper grew out of a study of the Athenian casualty lists, which was financed by grants from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society and the Charles Phelps Taft Memorial Fund of the University of Cincinnati. To them, and to the Institute for Advanced Study for its hospitality, I wish to express my appreciation. I also wish to thank B. D. Meritt, H. A. Thompson, and H. T. Wade-Gery for reading the manuscript and for many helpful comments and suggestions; E. Vanderpool for his indispensable aid and encouragement in Athens; and P. A. Clement for the photographs. I should also like to express my admiration and appreciation of the excellent article by T. J. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, pp. 70-123; my debt to it is obvious in the text.

² *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 21, pp. 59-65 = *S.E.G.*, X, no. 352; this is henceforth referred to for convenience as I 4120. I accept this as an archon list and see no reason to discuss the matter further. The doubts raised by J. W. Alexander, "Was Cleisthenes an Athenian Archon?" *C.J.*, LIV, 1958-1959, pp. 307-314, have been sufficiently answered by W. E. Thompson, "The Archonship of Cleisthenes," *C.J.*, LV, 1959-1960, pp. 217-220, and C. W. J. Eliot and M. F. McGregor, "Cleisthenes: Eponymous Archon 525/4 B.C.," *Phoenix*, XIV, 1960, pp. 27-35. The names on the new fragments do increase the odds that this is such a list, but those odds were so astronomical in the case of the original fragment that doubling them makes little difference.

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

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2889b.

ca. 425 B.C.

col. I

[-----]v
 [-----]vv
 [-----]vv
 [-----]v
 5 [-----]s

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

col. II

K[-----]
 Φα[-----]
 Τε[-----]
 Ἐρχ[σικλείδες]
 Θεσ[-----]
 Φ[ο]ρ[----]

In col. II, line 6, the first letter, of which there is showing only the top of an upright in the center of the space, must be iota or phi; the third seems to have an upright to the left and a cross stroke on the top and should be beta, epsilon, pi, or rho. In the second letter space, nothing shows in the upper center or right hand side. There might be an upright to the left, where the stone is badly chipped, but neither kappa nor lambda will combine with the other possibilities to form a name. Therefore the second letter almost certainly is an O. Φορ seems to be the only combination which will give the beginning of an Attic name.

c (Plate 58). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 26, 1935, in late Roman context east of the northern part of the Odeion (N 10).

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.013 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2681.

ca. 425 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

 [Φαίν]ιπ[πος] ?
 [Ἀρ]ιστ[είδες] ?
vacat 0.04 m.

These three fragments are inscribed in a stoichedon pattern which measures 0.02 m. both horizontally and vertically. This spacing they share with only one other list of names, Agora I 4120, the archon list.³ All four fragments also have letters of the same size. The straight strokes are made by two chisels, one between 0.011 and

³ An absolutely square pattern such as this is rare before the middle of the fourth century; cf. the tables in R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 33-36.

0.012 m. long, the other *ca.* 0.008 m. The thetas are small, with a diameter of 0.010 m. There is also an unevenness in the alignment of uprights; this occurs in *a* (the kappa under the epsilon in lines 2 and 3), *b* (the epsilons and rho in lines 3, 4, and 5), I 4120 (the iotas in lines 6 and 7, the epsilon under the nu and the tau under the iota in lines 5 and 6),⁴ and possibly in *c*.⁵ A similar irregularity occurs in the horizontal strokes of the epsilons, most of which appear to slant upwards slightly; they are obviously not parallel in line 5 of I 4120 and line 4 of *b*.

There are also some differences in lettering. The lambda in line 6 of I 4120 has a much more acute angle than those on *a*. However, this seems merely to have been a bad stroke by the stonecutter, as the chisel has slipped back so that the lower cut extends to the left of the upright. The other lambdas on I 4120 are very close to those on *a*.⁶ The major difference is in the letter sigma. On I 4120 this is formed by the use of the longer chisel for the top and bottom strokes, the shorter for the two in the center; in *a*, *b*, and *c* all four strokes are with the longer chisel. The total effect is quite different, and at first glance this seems to be a major objection to combining I 4120 and the new fragments. However, since the chisel lengths are the same, it need mean nothing more than a different stonecutter at work, or perhaps not even that. The fragment of a casualty list (*I.G.*, I², 944 = E.M. 2651; Pl. 58), often attributed to the first year of the Peloponnesian War and once described as "so magnificent that a squeeze of it should be in every squeeze library,"⁷ has, in the seven lines preserved, four sigmas (Pls. 58, 59). Of these, two have extremely long top and bottom strokes (lines 5 and 7, Pl. 59, lower right), the others (line 1 and 3) do not. Although the situation is not absolutely parallel, in that it was the shorter chisel, which was used when only one was employed,⁸ yet it is good evidence that we should not expect too great rigidity among Athenian stonecutters, particularly in a letter the form of which never seemed to satisfy them. It seems safe to say that the difference in the sigmas is not enough to outweigh the other indications which support a combination of I 4120 and the new fragments.

Besides the spacing and letter size, there are two other such indications. One is that all four were found in the same general area, around the northeastern corner of the Odeion; I 4120 and *b* came from the same grid square M 8. The second indication is a similarity in the marble. I 4120 is a thin sliver, broken off the front of the stele, apparently because of a fault which ran roughly parallel with the face. Fragment *c* is a similar thin sliver, while *a*, although preserved to the greatest depth of all

⁴ I have adopted Meritt's numbering of the lines, which puts Kleisthenes in line 5.

⁵ See below, p. 197.

⁶ See Plate 59. The chipping within the lambda of line 5 of I 4120 has obscured the fact that the angle is about the same as those on *a*.

⁷ H. T. Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1932-1933, p. 127, note 1.

⁸ See Plate 59. In lines 1 (Pl. 59, lower left) and 3 the upper stroke is about 0.002 m. longer than the others, but this was obviously caused by double striking.

the fragments, has a similar fault running behind its face.⁹ This similarity of spacing, letter size, provenience, and marble makes it most reasonable, on purely epigraphic grounds,¹⁰ to combine the new fragments with I 4120 as pieces of the official Athenian archon list, probably inscribed sometime around 425 B.C.

II. THE NAMES

The new fragments, although they contain parts of thirteen lines, do not give us one complete name. Therefore it is fortunate that, in one case at least, we can almost certainly identify a known archon. In *b*, col. II, line 4, are the letters **EPX**, an extremely rare combination for the beginning of an Athenian name. Only four certain instances of this are known:¹¹ Erxigenes (*P.A.* 5179), father of a knight in an inscription dated *ca.* 323 B.C.; Erxikleides (*P.A.* 5180), archon in 548/7 B.C.; Erximenos (*P.A.* 5181), on the list of casualties of the tribe Erechtheis in 460;¹² and Erxidikos (*I.G.*, II², 1700, line 216), father of one of the secretaries of the boule *ca.* 335. Of course absolute certainty is impossible here, but it would seem to be beyond a reasonable doubt that this is the beginning of the name of Erxikleides, archon in 548/7, the year of the burning of the temple in Delphoi (Pausanias, X, 5, 13). Although this places frag. *b*, it is difficult to identify any other names on it, as there are no other known archons in the period it covers.¹³

Of lines 1-3, too little is left to be of any help.¹⁴ In line 5 the first three letters,

⁹ See Plate 59. A somewhat similar line appears on *b*, but this is more perpendicular to the face. There are also, on both *a* and *b*, some very similar marks of late battering with a hammer. The heavy weathering on *a* and *c*, which contrasts sharply with the crispness of I 4120, must be the result of exposure after re-use.

¹⁰ This is not to say that the names on the new pieces do not strengthen the supposition that they are part of the archon list; indeed, they seem to me to prove it. But I first associated the fragments because of the similarity of spacing and letter size, and if they were all ordinary names on ordinary casualty lists, I should not hesitate to combine them. E. Vanderpool has also examined the stones and agrees with this combination.

¹¹ There is possibly another example in the funeral list copied by Sir George Wheler and published by A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 (*S.E.G.*, X, 424, Stela II). In line 7 Raubitschek restores [E]ρχοίθεος but [A]ρχοίθεος is just as likely; both names are otherwise unknown at Athens.

¹² Erximenos appears as one of nine names given by J. Spon as coming from lists of Pandionis and Leontis; cf. Raubitschek, *loc. cit.*, where the passage is quoted. But, as Boeckh noted (*C.I.G.*, 165), seven of these nine are on the casualty list of Erechtheis, *I.G.*, I², 929; of the other two, Dion, listed seventh, is on Wheler's copy of the list of Pandionis, Xenokles, the ninth, on that of Leontis. Antiphon, the eighth, appears among those of Pandionis as well as Erechtheis; it probably came from the former. This discovery of only the last three names on the copies strengthens the theory that Spon took the first six names from the Erechtheid list, the headings and the last three from the others. Therefore this does not seem to be evidence for another Erximenos but a repetition of the name of the man mentioned in the text.

¹³ Cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁴ Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 123, has three undatable archons of the period before 533/2. It is interest-

ΘΕΣ, are too common to allow of certainty. Of the names beginning thus, the most likely to belong to an archon in the sixth century is Thespies, which was not only the name of a life-archon¹⁵ but also continued on into the fifth century, as we know from its appearance on an Attic kalos-inscription *ca.* 480¹⁶ and from the mover of a decree concerning the overseers of Eleusis about 450/49 (*S.E.G.*, X, 24, line 6). But there are other possibilities: Thestios appears on a casualty list of the fifth century (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, No. 8, p. 43, line 38); Thesmogenes (*I.G.*, II², 1474, line 2), Thesmonike (*I.G.*, II², 1469, line 148), and Thesbion (*P.A.* 7204) occur in the last quarter of the fourth.¹⁷

In line 6 the name seems to begin with ΦΟΡ. As possibilities we have: Phorys (*P.A.* 14964), Phoryskos (*P.A.* 14967), and Phoryskides (*I.G.*, II², 1143, line 2), all of which appear first in the fourth century; Phormisios (*P.A.* 14945) and Phormos (*P.A.* 14962) in the fifth; Phormion (*P.A.* 14948) in the sixth; and Phorbas, name of the fifth life-archon (Kastor of Rhodes in Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, II B, no. 250, frag. 4). The Phormion of the sixth century is said by the scholiast to Aristophanes, *Pax*, 347, to have been archon after Solon and to have been mentioned by Eupolis in his comedy, *Demoi*.¹⁸ It is possible that it is his name which we have on the stone. It has proved difficult to place this Phormion, because the statement of the scholiast cannot be taken literally as meaning that he immediately followed Solon; Dropides, a more likely

ing to note, but probably means nothing, that two of these begin with Κ, one with ΦΑ, which are the first letters of the names in lines 1 and 2 of frag. *b*.

¹⁵ Thespies appears as tenth in the list of life-archons, who were originally considered kings; Kastor of Rhodes, in Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, II B, no. 250, frag. 4. Theseus, on the other hand, seems not to have been used as a name in the Classical or Hellenistic periods; perhaps it was too sacred. Since the earliest example I can find is in the second century after Christ, I do not think it a possibility here.

¹⁶ Cf. L. Talcott, "Vases and Kalos-Names from an Agora Well," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 348.

¹⁷ Thespis is hardly likely; if there had been a contemporary archon of that name, some echo should appear in the traditions about the dramatist. Also, in the sixth century one thinks immediately of Thessalos, the son of Peisistratos. Although he himself would have been too young to be archon at this time (Hippias, the eldest, had not yet held the office), there could well have been a friend or relative of Peisistratos after whom he was named. Such a man would be the right age to have received his name during the Sacred War, when the Thessalians were allied with Athens. This would imply that the episode of Pallene occurred in the archonship of Erxikleides, who was then followed by a man of Peisistratos' choosing. But all this is hardly likely; besides the chronological difficulty it raises over Pallene (see below, note 24), it seems almost certain that the name would have appeared on the archon list as Thetталos. There seem to be no examples of the use of double sigma in official Athenian inscriptions of the fifth century except for the obviously foreign places in the tribute lists. It is always possible that the old spelling was kept because it appeared on the original list, but Jacoby, *Atthis*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 172-173, shows that the list given to the stonecutter had been edited, at least to the extent of removing demotics and patronymics.

¹⁸ πέμπτος [Φορμίων]· ἀρχαῖος Ἀθηναῖος, μετὰ Σόλωνα ἄρξας. Εὐπολὺς ἐν Δήμοις. This is Frag. 109 of Eupolis in J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, I, Leiden, 1957, p. 344.

candidate, is also said to have held office in that year.¹⁹ Cadoux concludes that some number, designating just how many years after Solon, has dropped out of the text, reasoning that there would be no point to stating indefinitely that an archon came merely after Solon.²⁰ This is true on the assumption that the scholiast got his information independently from a chronological source and not just from an index of characters from comedy, but the context of the statement seems to indicate that the latter was the sole source.²¹ After a note on the famous Phormion, there are listed four others of the same name, with a brief characterization and the play in which each was mentioned; in none of the other cases is there any information which could not have come from the play.²² Now the *Demoi* of Eupolis, in which our Phormion was mentioned, was built around the idea of bringing back the shades of famous politicians, among whom were Solon and Peisistratos.²³ The fragmentary name in line 6 is that of the archon in 546/5, the year of Pallene,²⁴ and there are innumerable ways in which his name and his position could have been mentioned in such a plot.²⁵ If that name was Phormion, it would have given to the scholiast's source, from the play itself, all of the material in the notice as we have it; he need not have had any idea of the number of years between Solon and Phormion.²⁶ Thus the latter is a definite possibility as archon in 546/5, in spite of the gap between him and Solon.

¹⁹ Philostratos, *Vita Soph.*, I, 16, 2. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 99, prefers Dropides to Phormion because the former was a friend of Solon (Plato, *Timaios*, 20 E).

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*; he tentatively accepts *ἔκτος* as the most likely word to have dropped out, thus putting Phormion in 589/8.

²¹ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, Berlin, 1893, p. 179, note 84, suggested this as a possibility. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, note 142, rejects it because "it is unlikely that the comedian Eupolis, in whose *Δῆμοι* the scholiast found the name, stated that he was archon after Solon." I hope that I show that it was not unlikely at all.

²² This is best shown by quoting these brief notices: ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἦν κωφός· μέμνηται καὶ Στράττις Ἀταλάντη. τρίτος μοιχός· Κρατῖνος. τέταρτος Κροτωνιάτης ἀρχαῖος· Κρατῖνος Τροφωνίω.

²³ For Solon, Scholiast to Aristides, XLVI, 228 (p. 672, ed. Dindorf) = Edmonds, frag. 118; the manuscripts have Gelon or Kleon, but Edmonds, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note g, calls Solon "a certain restoration." For Peisistratos, Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 61 = Edmonds, frag. 96.

²⁴ This date, based on Herodotos' 36 years of tyranny (V, 65, 3), now seems to be generally accepted. Cf. Wade-Gery, "Miltiades," *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 219, note 38; Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 192-196; N. G. L. Hammond, "Studies in Greek Chronology of the Sixth and the Fifth Centuries B.C.," *Historia*, IV, 1955, pp. 381-389.

²⁵ Edmonds, in his reconstruction of the *Demoi*, suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 983) that Solon, when he first appeared, "asked after his successor Phormio, thus rousing a laughable confusion with the popular admiral of that name who died c. 425. . . ." This, however, ignores the better claim of Dropides to the archonship after Solon (cf. above, note 19). If Solon asked Peisistratos about his return to power, a mention of the archon of 546/5, if he was Phormion, could just as well lead to comparison or confusion of him with his fifth century namesake.

²⁶ Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, suggests that even a mention of the fifth century Phormion by Solon would be enough to confuse a compiler of an index so that he could write the notice as we now

In fragment *a*, the name in line 2 seems quite obviously to be Kypselos.²⁷ It is followed by Telekles or Telekleides, both of which are known at Athens. Telekles appears on a fifth century casualty list²⁸ and on a fourth century tomb stone (*I.G.*, II², 12775); Telekleides (*P.A.* 13558) was a comic poet who attacked Perikles, Sokrates, and Euripides. The surviving letters in line 4, OMB, could be part of Strombichos, Strombichides, Kleombrotos, or Philombrotos, all of which are known at Athens. The first two names are common in a prominent family of which the best known members were Strombichides, the general in 412/1 (*P.A.* 13016), and Diotimos, son of Strombichos, one of the generals at Sybota (*P.A.* 4386). There was also a Strombichos Cholleides who was secretary of the Hellenotamiai in 444/3 (*P.A.* 13023; cf. *A.T.L.*, I, p. 567, for the date). A Kleombrotos (*P.A.* 8579) spelled with a nu instead of a mu, appears on the casualty list of Erechtheis in 460; another (*P.A.* 8580) is known toward the end of the fourth century as the husband of the granddaughter of the orator Lykourgos. Philombrotos occurs twice in the fourth century, as the name of a member of the boule in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1700, line 179) and of the father of a Phileas who is on a decree dated 277/6 (*I.G.*, II², 674, line 29). It is also the name given by Plutarch (*Solon*, 14) as that of the archon before Solon. This appearance of a known archon among the possibilities creates the assumption that his is the name here, but whether this is possible or not depends upon the date of Kypselos, who must almost certainly be the only known Athenian of this name, the father of the elder Miltiades, *oikistes* of the Chersonese (Herodotos, VI, 34-38). It is hardly likely that the name continued to be used, as this Miltiades died childless, and its connotations would not have made it popular outside of the family.

The chronology of the Philaids and the Kimonids²⁹ has been much discussed,³⁰

have it. This seems hardly likely; it was the fifth century Phormion who was best known, and a compiler would assume that he was meant unless there were very clear indications to the contrary.

²⁷ It might conceivably be Kypselides, otherwise unknown; the omicron is not certain, but there seem to be traces of it in the discoloration of the stone. The only other name with this combination of letters, as far as I can determine, is Hypselos, which appears only at Delos in 302 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, no. 145, line 18). F. Bechtel, *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, Halle, 1917, p. 434, thinks this indicates a longer name, such as Hypselophron, but there are no examples of this. Hypselos is also printed in the text of *C.I.G.*, III, 3827bb, a Phrygian inscription of imperial times, but it is an emendation of what was originally transcribed by LeBas as $\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{EON}\Sigma$.

²⁸ The list is known only from a transcription by Sir George Wheler, published by Raubitschek in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 43-45 = *S.E.G.*, X, 424, Stela II. In line 71 the name is given as Telokles, obviously a misprint; cf. the reproduction of the manuscript (Fig. 8, p. 44) and Raubitschek's comments on p. 45.

²⁹ This is the term suggested by Wade-Gery, *op. cit.*, p. 218, note 29, for Kimon Koalemos and his descendants, who were not directly related to the Philaidai.

³⁰ Basic in the discussion are K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I², 2, Berlin, 1926, pp. 280-281, and II², 2, Berlin, 1931, pp. 37-43; Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 88-94; F. Schachermeyr, *R.E.*, XIX, s.v. Philaidai, cols. 2113-2121; H. Berve, *Miltiades, Hermes Einzelschrift* II, 1937, pp. 1-6; S. Mazzarino, "La Politica Coloniale Ateniese sotto i

and of course Kypselos has had his part in this. There is general agreement that he was the grandson of the Korinthian tyrant of the same name, but this controversial figure is no help in the dating.³¹ Our Kypselos has usually been dated by computations based on his son's having been old enough to have led the expedition to the Chersonese about 556.³² However, this date for the settlement is not at all certain; 546 is at least as likely.³³ There have also been attempts to identify Kypselos with Hippokleides, archon in 566/5 and the suitor of Agariste.³⁴ The appearance of the name Kypselos on an archon list, where Hippokleides as well must have been inscribed, seems to make this identification impossible. The presumption has been that Hippokleides was the official name of a man commonly called Kypselos after his foreign grandfather. But now Kypselos is shown to have been official, and it is hardly likely that the situation could have been the reverse, i.e., that Kypselos was the official, Hippokleides the unofficial, name of one man.³⁵

The most natural way to find a date for Kypselos is to work back through the

Pisistratidi," *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, LXXII, 1939, pp. 297-304; Hammond, "The Philaids and the Chersonese," *Cl. Quart.*, N.S. VI, 1956, pp. 113-129.

³¹ It is impossible here to go into the dispute between the "high" and the "low" chronologies for the Kypselids. Accepting the "high," as I do, creates no problem in having a grandson of the tyrant as archon in 597/6. On Beloch's reckoning (*Gr. Gesch.*, I², 2, pp. 274-284) of Kypselos' rise to power about 610, this would hardly be possible. But it is interesting to note that Beloch's latest disciple in the "low" chronology, E. Will, *Korinthiaka*, Paris, 1955, p. 440, comes to the conclusion that "la tyrannie corinthienne s'étant vraisemblablement écroulée vers 550, peut-être un peu plus tôt, elle a dû commencer, si sa durée traditionnelle de 73 ans environ est exacte, aux alentours de 620." Now if we accept "un peu plus tôt" (5 years?) and use the full 73 years of the tradition, the date goes back far enough so that, even on the "low" chronology, Kypselos as an archon in 597/6 is at least a possibility. All that seems necessary is that the Korinthian tyrant should come to power before the birth of his grandson; Will has pointed out (p. 390, note 1) that he could have had adolescent children when he began his rule. Of course we know nothing about the marriage, except for the echo in Herodotos, VI, 128, 2, where Hippokleides is said to have been connected with the Kypselids; it may even have occurred before Kypselos' rise to power.

³² So Schachermeyr, Berve, Mazzarino, and Hammond, *loc. cit.*

³³ Cf. C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 328-329; Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 219, note 38. Those who favor the early date do so because of the connection between Miltiades and Kroisos (Herodotos, VI, 37, 1-2), but this must be placed before 546 only if one dates the fall of Sardis from the restoration in the Babylonian *Chronicle* rather than by Herodotos' synchronism with Thyrea. Wade-Gery tells me that he is now convinced, from a study of the *Chronicle*, that it cannot refer to Kroisos.

³⁴ J. Toepfer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin, 1889, p. 279, identifies the suitor and the archon without hesitation; in his stemma (p. 320) he seems to identify Hippokleides and Kypselos tentatively, but in the text (p. 279) he says that the relationship is unclear and that they could have been brothers. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 120, identifies all three without qualification.

³⁵ The equation was suspect anyway, because of Herodotos' silence and the chronological difficulties it presented. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 120, has to maintain that, when he was wooing Agariste, Hippokleides was at least 40, a widower or a would-be bigamist. Furthermore, the text of Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.*, 3, upon which the case for the identity basically rests, is obviously corrupt; cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 104, note 173.

Kimonic branch of the family. The younger Miltiades, as archon in 524/3, must have been born about 554.³⁶ Therefore his father, Kimon Koalemos, was born about 584 at the latest. Kimon's mother had also been the wife of Kypselos. Kypselos, then, was dead by 585. There are, of course, in this reasoning three assumptions which cannot be proved: that Miltiades was thirty before he was archon; that Kimon was at least thirty when his second son was born; and that the woman who married Stesagoras was Kypselos' widow. Of the first two little need be said; they assume the norm, and only a few years could be gained by denying them. The last assumption, however, demands some discussion. What we know of the relationship comes from two passages in Herodotos; in VI, 38, 1, we are told that the elder Miltiades, dying childless, left his dominion and fortune to Stesagoras, the son of Kimon, his maternal half-brother (*ἀδελφεοῦ ὁμομητρίου*); in VI, 103, 2, Kimon's Olympic victory is described as similar to that of Miltiades, *τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ*.³⁷ This seems clear enough, although recently it has been maintained that these references to Kimon's half-brother are not to the son of Kypselos at all, but to another Miltiades, son of the *oikistes*, who had married the widow of Stesagoras.³⁸ If this were true, it would eliminate the third assumption above and all indications of the date of the death of Kypselos. However, it is impossible to accept this extra Miltiades; to do so involves emending what looks like a sound text of Herodotos from an admittedly corrupt one of Marcellinus, ignoring two definite cross references in Herodotos, and a failure to recognize that the latter is being very careful to differentiate the two Miltiadae of whom he knew, the sons of Kypselos and Kimon.³⁹ Yet even without this complication, all we can be sure of is that Kypselos was the husband of the woman who also married Stesagoras. It must be admitted that the sources give no statement of the order of the marriages. It is natural to assume that Miltiades was older than Kimon and therefore that the marriage with Kypselos came first. The grounds for this are Miltiades' prominence and the fact that his Olympic victory was earlier. But the possibility always remains that Miltiades' precedence over Kimon depended upon his ability, and perhaps the greater importance of his father's family,⁴⁰ rather than upon his age.

³⁶ Of course certainty is impossible, but cf. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 219-220. Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, p. 302, also points out that Miltiades had in 494 a son, Metiochos, old enough to be in command of a ship (Herodotos, VI, 41, 3); he infers that this means that the son was born by 523. Although on this reckoning he gets back to 553 for the birth of Miltiades, he then proceeds to lower it to 550-545 because of "una certa prudenza metodica."

³⁷ The same two words occur in Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.*, 9, but the passage is corrupt; for the text see below, note 93. However the lacuna is filled, the information undoubtedly came from Herodotos, VI, 38, 1; cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

³⁸ Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-121.

³⁹ For a detailed analysis of Hammond's case, which I hope will lay the ghost of Miltiades II, see the Appendix, below, pp. 206-208.

⁴⁰ That the Philaidai were the greater family seems clear from the fact that the Kimonids adopted their pedigree, at least if we may judge from Marcellinus' use of it. For the Miltiades, probably a Philaid, who was archon in the seventh century, see below, p. 196.

And even if Miltiades was older, there is the further possibility that his mother's second marriage could have occurred, not after the death of Kypselos, but after a divorce. That this was possible, at least in the fifth century, is clear from the case of Perikles.⁴¹ Yet there seems to be in Miltiades' closeness to his mother's other family an indication that Kypselos did die; this relationship indicates that Miltiades had no full brothers or paternal half-brothers.

The assumptions with which we started, then, cannot be proved, but it still remains the most likely interpretation that Kypselos was dead by 585. If we look in the list of known archons for the first place before this available for the four names on frag. *a*, we find that it is back in the 590's, just before Philombrotos.⁴² It seems to be more than a coincidence that line 4 will fit that name exactly; therefore I tentatively restore Philombrotos, which makes Telekle— archon in 596/5 after Kypselos in 597/6.

This would put the date of Kypselos' birth back to 627, at least, rather earlier than has ever been done before, but it would do no violence to the chronology. The tyrant of Korinth could well have had a daughter of marriageable age by this time.⁴³ Kypselos' marriage could have come after his archonship, and his son Miltiades, born in the late '90's or early '80's, would have been in his forties when he went to the Chersonese, in his sixties when he died.⁴⁴ If Kypselos was archon in 597/6, before Solon, there is one other implication which should be mentioned. The Philaidai must have been Eupatrids, at least on the usual interpretation of the archonship before Solon as being based upon birth, not wealth. It has been doubted that either the Philaidai or the Peisistratidai belonged to this class, since they traced their ancestry back only to Homeric heroes.⁴⁵ This is hardly enough, however, to be an objection to placing Kypselos' archonship before Solon, for there are other indications that both of these families did belong to the nobility. A Peisistratos and a Miltiades were archons in the seventh century;⁴⁶ one of the life-archons was called Agamestor, a name

⁴¹ Plutarch, *Pericles*, XXIV, 9.

⁴² Cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-103, for a full discussion of the controversy over the archons from 595/4 to 580/79. I accept, as he does, the traditional date for Solon. In none of the theories of dating, however, will frag. *a* fit in before Philombrotos; the broken letter in line 1 is crucial here.

⁴³ See above, note 31.

⁴⁴ If Teisandros, the father of Hippokleides, was the brother of Kypselos, as is generally thought (cf. Wade-Gery, *Poet of the Iliad*, p. 93), it is still possible for him to have been born within a year or two of Kypselos and to have had a son ten years or so older than Miltiades.

⁴⁵ Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 219, note 39. Hignett, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105, suggests that Solon must have had support from powerful landed families who could not hold office; these he finds in the Peisistratidai and the Philaidai. But he admits that this may mean nothing more than that these were Eupatrid families who were being excluded from office.

⁴⁶ Cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 90. There is no proof that these men belonged to the families which were prominent in the sixth century, but it is a reasonable assumption, particularly when they are considered together. Wade-Gery, *op. cit.*, p. 218, note 29, suggested that the archon Miltiades of the seventh century was the grandfather of the woman who married Kypselos and Stesagoras and

which appears in the pedigree of the Philaidai;⁴⁷ and it is hard to see how a non-Eupatrid family, in seventh century Athens, could have become important enough to marry into the house of Kypselos of Korinth. All of these indications are usually explained away separately, but taken together they seem to me fairly impressive, especially in the case of the Philaidai.

The five letters preserved on frag. *c* seem to offer little chance for identification, but there is one pair of known archons whose names present the combination of letters as they are preserved. They are Phainippos in 490 and Aristeides in 489.⁴⁸ However, the upper left hand corner of the epsilon of Aristeides should show under the pi of Phainippos if the stonecutter was keeping his normal spacing. Yet if the upright were displaced merely by its own width, the epsilon would not show. That this is possible is clear from the epsilon and kappa in lines 2 and 3 of frag. *a*, the iotas in lines 4 and 5 of I 4120, and the nu and epsilon in lines 3 and 4 of the same stone. In fact the odds seem much greater that the upright was displaced than that we should get by mere chance, elsewhere on the archon list, this combination of letters which fit, in the right order, a pair of consecutive archons. Although the combinations -ιστ- and -ιπ- are common in Athenian names, I cannot find them once in this arrangement in the casualty lists, by far the largest body of names we have for the fifth century.⁴⁹ Therefore it is a justifiable working hypothesis that this fragment, which is the bottom of a column, represents Phainippos and Aristeides. There is more evidence to be found in favor of this in the reconstruction of the whole inscription.

III. RECONSTRUCTION

The new fragments give us further information on both the list and the stone itself. First, and most important, the existence of two columns on frag. *b* shows that the list went back to Kreon, not just to Solon.⁵⁰ It is necessary to have that many

that the name was thus introduced into the Philaid family. Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 104, in denying the connection with the Philaidai, says that the name Miltiades is not uncommon outside it; however, as Hammond points out, *op. cit.*, p. 113, note 1, until the third century all bearers of this name whose deme is known belong to the Lakiadai, the deme of the Kimonids.

⁴⁷ In the pedigree in Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.*, 3, Agamestor is two or three generations before Hippokleides; the life-archon ruled traditionally in the early eighth century (Jacoby, *Klio*, II, 1902, p. 428). Again there is no proof that they were of the same family, but the evidence is cumulative. Of course, all this means nothing if one agrees with Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, Supplement II, p. 65, note 72, that the list of life-archons "is a construction from conditions of the sixth and fifth centuries."

⁴⁸ The dating and order seem certain; cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁴⁹ I have also looked without success for this combination in the bouleutic lists published by S. Dow in *Prytaneis, Hesperia*, Supplement I, 1937, and the fourth century lists in *I.G.*, II².

⁵⁰ Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 65, suggested a beginning with Solon because of the reference to memorizing names starting there in Plato, *Hippias Major*, 285E. Both Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 173-174, cautiously favor the view that the list began with Kreon because of the unanimity of the tradition and the lack of any evidence of late addition.

names in order that Erxikleides, in 548/7, may be in the second row in any arrangement in which the inscribed surface is as tall as or taller than its width. Second, frag. *b* gives the approximate width of a column. There are just two letter spaces between the sigma of col. I and the beginning of col. II. Because of the lack of any letters above this sigma, we may assume an extraordinarily long name here, probably thirteen letters.⁵¹ This would give a column of fifteen spaces, or 0.30 m.⁵² Third, frag. *a*, which is broken back to a point 0.19 m. from the face while preserving none of the original back, provides at least a minimum for the thickness of the stone.⁵³

With this information, plus the fact that we have the bottom of a column in frag. *c*, reconstruction seems possible. But immediately there arise two major questions. Was the archon list a free standing stele or was it part of a wall? Can it be assumed that the names from Kreon to the time of inscription were set up in columns of equal length, or was a space left for adding names each year, a space the size of which would have been determined merely by the area of the surface to be inscribed?

When we look to parallels for help, the pertinent cases show no consistency.⁵⁴ At Miletos a list of eponyms from 525/4 to 314/3 was inscribed in two columns on a tall, narrow stele, measuring 2.74 x 0.68 x 0.17 m.⁵⁵ The names down to 335/4 were cut all at one time, but a space was left and thereafter names were added year by year. At Thasos there was a list which contained the names of three archons

⁵¹ It is clear from the vacant space in line 7 of I 4120 that the names alone were inscribed, without patronymics or demotics; cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Names with twelve letters are common in Athens; those with thirteen are rare. I can find only one, Kallistratides, with fourteen.

⁵² This is about what we should expect from the evidence we have from the casualty lists. *I.G.*, I², 949 and 955 have columns with a width of 13 letter-spaces; 951 and 952, 15; 950 and 956, 16; *S.E.G.*, X, 424, has 14, 15, and 16.

⁵³ This is not exceptionally thick for monumental lists of names in the fifth century. Of the 22 casualty lists of which the thickness can be determined, five are over 0.19 m., while six more are between 0.18 and 0.19 m. *I.G.*, I², 940 and 956, and *S.E.G.*, X, 415, all measure over 0.24 m.; the last two of these probably date from the Archidamian War.

⁵⁴ I have not considered to be pertinent the lists of full colleges of archons or other officials (e.g., *I.G.*, II², 1706 and the later lists from Athens discussed by Dow, "The Lists of Athenian *Archontes*," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 140-190; *I.G.*, XII, 5, nos. 880-890, from Tenos in the first century B.C.); these are honorary rather than chronological. There is a small piece of a list of eponyms from Latmos in the time of Augustus (*O.G.I.S.*, no. 459); it contains twenty-three names in a column along the preserved left edge, but is broken elsewhere. I have not considered it in the text, since there is no indication of the nature or the size of the stone.

⁵⁵ A. Rehm, *Milet*, I, 3, Berlin, 1914, no. 122, pp. 254-258. This stele was not completely filled; five lines were left blank when a new one (no. 123) was started in 313/2, apparently considered an era because the city was freed by Antigonos. The lists continued on beyond A.D. 32 (nos. 123-128). On no. 122 only there is a short horizontal line projecting out into the margin from under the first letter of every tenth name. Unfortunately we cannot tell if this was the case in the list at Athens; only frag. *b* has the beginnings of names and these are all in the same decade. To assume such a marking off by tens would explain several difficulties in Athenian chronology; cf., e.g., Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

for each year, except for a period after 390 when there was only one.⁵⁶ These names, from the sixth century down to sometime between 360 and 330, were inscribed on wall blocks of white marble, all in the same hand except for the last column; this was also in one hand, but a different one from the rest. The list was continued on some orthostate blocks of gray marble, which belong to a stoa built around 330 on a plan very similar to that of the Stoa Basileios in the Athenian Agora.⁵⁷ Of this continuation each column, at least, was cut by the same hand, indicating no additions year by year.⁵⁸ Of the lists found on Rhodes,⁵⁹ there are three which contain eponyms and are as old as the fourth century. At Kameiros about 100 of the eponymous priests of Athena Polias were listed in two columns on a stele measuring 1.20 x 0.43-0.38 x 0.12 m.; the first ten names were inscribed at one time in the last quarter of the fourth century, then additions were made year by year.⁶⁰ The eponymous priests of Halios at Rhodes were listed in a similar fashion, but here the first twenty-eight were inscribed in 381/0, with annual additions thereafter.⁶¹ At Lindos, however, the names of the priests of Athena from 406 to 47 B.C. were cut on large stone slabs set against the back wall of the pronaos of the temple of Athena Lindia, flanking the door into the cella.⁶² It appears that the first seventy-five names, at least, and perhaps the whole

⁵⁶ J. Pouilloux, *Études Thasiennes*, III; *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos*, I, Paris, 1954, nos. 28-33, pp. 263-272. Fragments of much later lists have been published by Pouilloux and C. Dunant in *Études Thasiennes*, V, Paris, 1958, nos. 199-217, pp. 104-113. These lists continued to be engraved in one hand to the first century after Christ (cf. no. 205), but by the third century names were added year by year (no. 207).

⁵⁷ For the inscription, Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, no. 34, pp. 272-275. For the "édifice à paraskénia" and the identification of the orthostate block as belonging to it, R. Martin, *Études Thasiennes*, VI, *L'Agora*, Paris, 1959, pp. 88-89, 97-98.

⁵⁸ There seems to be some confusion as to whether the whole inscription is in the same hand. Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 273, describes the writing as if it was all the same, and so it appears on the photograph (pl. XXV, 2). However, Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 98, says: "J. Pouilloux me fait savoir que si les listes commencent vers 350 av. J.-C., il est assuré que toute la première colonne a été gravée en une seule fois, et sans doute vers 330 au plus tôt."

⁵⁹ These are conveniently listed by L. Morricone, "I Sacerdoti di Halios," *Annuario*, N.S. XI-XIII, 1949-1951, pp. 360-362.

⁶⁰ G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, II, Rhodes, 1932, pp. 179-182. The exact number of names on the stele is uncertain, as the second column, where some of the entries take up several lines, is in places illegible. The total effect of the stele is rather one of confusion, since no attempt was made to limit col. I to one-half of the width; the result was that the names in col. II either run around onto the right-hand side of the stele or take up more than one line.

⁶¹ Morricone, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-379. The stele is 0.75-0.78 m. wide and 0.11-0.13 m. thick; the original height is uncertain.

⁶² C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, II, 1, Berlin, 1941, cols. 61-106. The earlier names were on three tall slabs set side by side vertically, the whole measuring about 2.275 x 1.50 x 0.13 m. On the other side of the door three slabs were set horizontally, giving the same area on the face, but they had a thickness of ca. 0.22 m. The names were marked off by tens here, as at Miletos (cf. above, note 55); this was done by inscribing a delta in the margin beside every tenth name. The 300th and 400th names were marked by HHH and HHHH.

first column, were inscribed by the same hand,⁶³ probably at the time of the restoration of the temple after its destruction by fire in the third quarter of the fourth century.⁶⁴ Thereafter additions were made annually, and when space ran out an individual stele was used from 46 B.C. to A.D. 27.⁶⁵ Finally there is a piece of an Athenian archon list which, despite a difference in age of six hundred or more years, shows some obvious parallels to its fifth century predecessor.⁶⁶ The archons are listed merely by name in five columns on a block of Pentelic marble 1.00 m. wide and 0.155 m. thick. Neither the top nor the bottom of the stone is preserved, but the inscribed height can be reckoned as *ca.* 0.85 to 0.95 m.⁶⁷ From the known archons appearing in this section the period can be determined, and it is generally accepted that the officials from 146/5 B.C. to A.D. 43/4 were inscribed on this piece. 146/5 is accepted as the beginning date because it is thought to mark an epoch as the time of the subjugation of the Greeks to the Romans; 43/4 is said to mark another as the time when Achaëa became a senatorial province. These definite limits seem unjustified, however, as they assume that the whole inscription covered only this period and do not take into account the facts that the stone has anathyrosis on both sides⁶⁸ and that the hand is the same throughout and seems to be of the second or third century after Christ. Taken together these two facts seem to show that the piece preserved is part of a much larger list of which we know neither the beginning nor the end; the most natural assumption would be that the list went back to Kreon, at least, and down to the date of inscription.⁶⁹ Neither do we know to what sort of monument the inscription belonged, so that it is not much help in interpreting the fifth century list. However, in these parallels we

⁶³ Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, cols. 63-65, says little of the writing of the first two fragments: of frag. A (containing the eponyms of 375-357), "Gravure belle et soignée du 4^e s. II"; of B (339-326), "La matière, la fracture et l'écriture de B présentent une telle ressemblance avec A que ces deux fragments ont pu faire partie de la même stèle." From the photograph (fig. 3) it appears that there was a change of hand after the eighth line of frag. B, although this is nowhere near so obvious as the changes in the later fragments.

⁶⁴ Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, 1, Berlin, 1931, cols. 17-18.

⁶⁵ Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, II, 1, cols. 86-88.

⁶⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1713; to the bibliography there add S. Dow, "New Readings in the Archon Lists *I.G.*², II, 1713, and 1716," *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578-588.

⁶⁷ The names themselves would take up *ca.* 0.76 m., as there are 38 in a column with an average vertical spacing of 0.020 m. per line; to this must be added the uncertain height of a heading.

⁶⁸ Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 584, says that "it appears certain that the block formed part of a series of at least three."

⁶⁹ With the elimination of the traditional starting date of 146/5 B.C., the names on the fragment preserved could begin at any time between *ca.* 154/3 and 130/29. If we assume that the other blocks were the same size as the one we have, it would take three more to get back to Kreon, but they then go back too far, to between 724/3 and 700/699. This seems to suggest that at least the ten year- and life-archons were included, which would take up 20 of the extra lines, and possibly also the kings, which would take 17 more. There is also the possibility of other two line entries besides the one which is preserved in col. I, lines 6 and 7. We cannot be sure that the block on the other side was filled; if so, it would end between A.D. 226/7 and 250/1.

have examples which indicate the four possibilities for the list from the Agora. It could have been engraved on a free standing stele or on a wall, and in either case the names could have been arranged in columns to come out evenly at the date of inscription, or a space could have been left in the last column for yearly additions. The difference in the two systems would seem to depend upon the degree to which neatness in the list was desired. Jacoby assumes that the list at Athens was meant to be continued like that in Miletos.⁷⁰ However, he himself has shown that what we have on the stone is not the basic list, which was kept in the archives and contained demotics.⁷¹ Although this latter would have to be kept up each year, it is quite possible that it was planned to add to the public list in columns, as at Thasos, in order to avoid the rather haphazard appearance of a list inscribed every year.

A further difficulty in reconstruction is that there is no way of determining the exact number of names inscribed. For a terminus I accept Meritt's judgment of the lettering as *ca.* 425/4 B.C. The date of Kreon at the beginning is in dispute; the choice lies between 683/2 and 682/1 and there can be no certainty.⁷² I have used the former date in the following computations and have assumed one line for each year.⁷³

If the archon list was a stele, it must have had at least three columns to accommodate all the names and could hardly have had more than four, for then its width would have been greater than its height. If one assumes three columns which come out even, there would be 85 to 88 names in each, depending upon whether one ends with 429/8, 426/5, 423/2, or 420/19. The stele would then be *ca.* 1.90 m. high, with an allowance of a minimum of 0.15 m. for a heading and a space at the bottom,⁷⁴ and *ca.* 0.90 m. wide; this gives a normal relationship between the width and height.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *F.G.H.*, III B, Supplement II, p. 10, note 109.

⁷¹ *Atthis*, pp. 172-173.

⁷² Jacoby, *Klio*, II, 1902, pp. 409-412, stated the case for 683/2 (recently reaffirmed in *Atthis*, pp. 172 and 347, note 23); he depends upon Eusebios and the Parian Marble, although in the latter he has to assume a change from inclusive to exclusive reckoning between 683/2 and 682/1. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89, prefers 682/1, following Dionysios of Halikarnassos. His case is weakened by his having to assume two mistakes in a row in the Marble, which is less likely than Jacoby's change of method. Cadoux thinks that the obvious change in the reckoning between Episodes 39 and 44 is "more likely a change of source" (p. 85); there may have been a similar change of source with Kreon, who certainly marked the beginning of an epoch. There may be some indication of such a change in the fact that Kreon's name is not mentioned, whereas Lysiades' is.

⁷³ This cannot be proved, but it seems necessary if the list was to have chronological value; cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 102-103. The late Athenian list, *I.G.*, II², 1713, has an example of the use of ἀναρχία (col. II, line 5) but also has for 124/3 two archons, taking up two lines (col. I, lines 6 and 7). Twice on the list from Miletos (above, note 55) two names were put in one line, which confused the marking off by tens.

⁷⁴ There are, of course, no parallels from which to judge the height of the heading; probably 0.10 m. is too little. On frag. *c* there are 0.04 m. vacant below the last name, with no indication of how much more.

⁷⁵ If we should assume the minimum of 0.20 m. for the thickness of the archon list, the proportions would be 1:4½:9½. Dow, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 324, gives the norm as 1:4½:9.

Col. I would end between 599/8 and 596/5; col. II in 514/3, 512/1, 510/09, or 508/7. However, in all of these cases there are difficulties in fitting the fragments into their assigned places. In all except the first arrangement (85 names per col., ending in 429/8), the last name in col. I falls in the period to which frag. *a* seems to belong; we should have to give up the dating of that and move it to some unknown place. In no case could frag. *c* represent Phainippos and Aristides; in the last two it would have to be at the bottom of col. I, since the archons in 510/09 and 508/7 are known. It is of course possible that the identifications offered for both *a* and *c* are wrong, but probability is against it. Of arrangements in three even columns, that of 85 names seems best, as involving the rejection of the identification of *c* only, but it would put the date of inscription in 429/8, the least likely time in view of the plague and the difficulties of the early years of the war.

An arrangement in four columns is much more satisfactory. Four rows of 65 names each would go from 683/2 to 424/3 and frag. *c*, representing 490/89 and 489/8, would fit exactly into place at the foot of the third column (Fig. 1). The stone, on the basis of this reconstruction, would measure *ca.* 1.50 x 1.20 m. This is rather wide for its height, but, assuming a thickness of only 0.20 m., the proportions of 1:6:7½ are not far from those of Stele II of the tribute lists, 1:4½:6½. This arrangement also has the advantage of allowing a relationship of *a* to I 4120 in which the line of break of the latter seems to be in line with the similar fault on the former.

I cannot believe that frag. *c* falls into place in this way by mere chance. It seems to corroborate the "working hypothesis" that the names there are Phainippos and Aristides and also to show that the list of archons was originally inscribed in four even columns in the year 424/3. At any rate, it is useless to try to reconstruct the stele on the basis that the last column had space reserved for additions; the unknown number of blank spaces makes almost any length of column possible.⁷⁶

Even granted that the list was inscribed as suggested above, there still remains the question of whether the stone was a free-standing stele or part of a building. If it was the latter, it must have been an orthostate block, as none of the buildings in the Agora at the end of the fifth century had wall-blocks of marble.⁷⁷ The most natural

Cf. also W. Wallace, "The Demes of Eretria," *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 121, note 15; his conclusions, on the basis of Eretrian decrees of the fourth and third centuries, are roughly similar for the norm, but he notes "considerable variation." However, this canon does not seem to fit well the monumental inscriptions of the fifth century, which, of course, Dow did not claim. There are only two complete stelai of the casualty lists; *I.G.*, I², 943, usually dated *ca.* 440/39, has proportions of 1:3:10, and *I.G.*, I², 955, dated to some time in the last quarter of the century, is 1:7:10. Stele I of the tribute lists is 1:3:9; Stele II, 1:4½:6½. The Attic Stelai come out about 1:9:13.

⁷⁶ If, to get a fixed point, we assume that frag. *c* is correctly identified, we get a stele of three columns with room for over 30 names at the end. The height would be *ca.* 2.10 m.; the proportions, 1:4½:10½.

⁷⁷ For the Stoa Basileios and the Old Bouleuterion, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937,

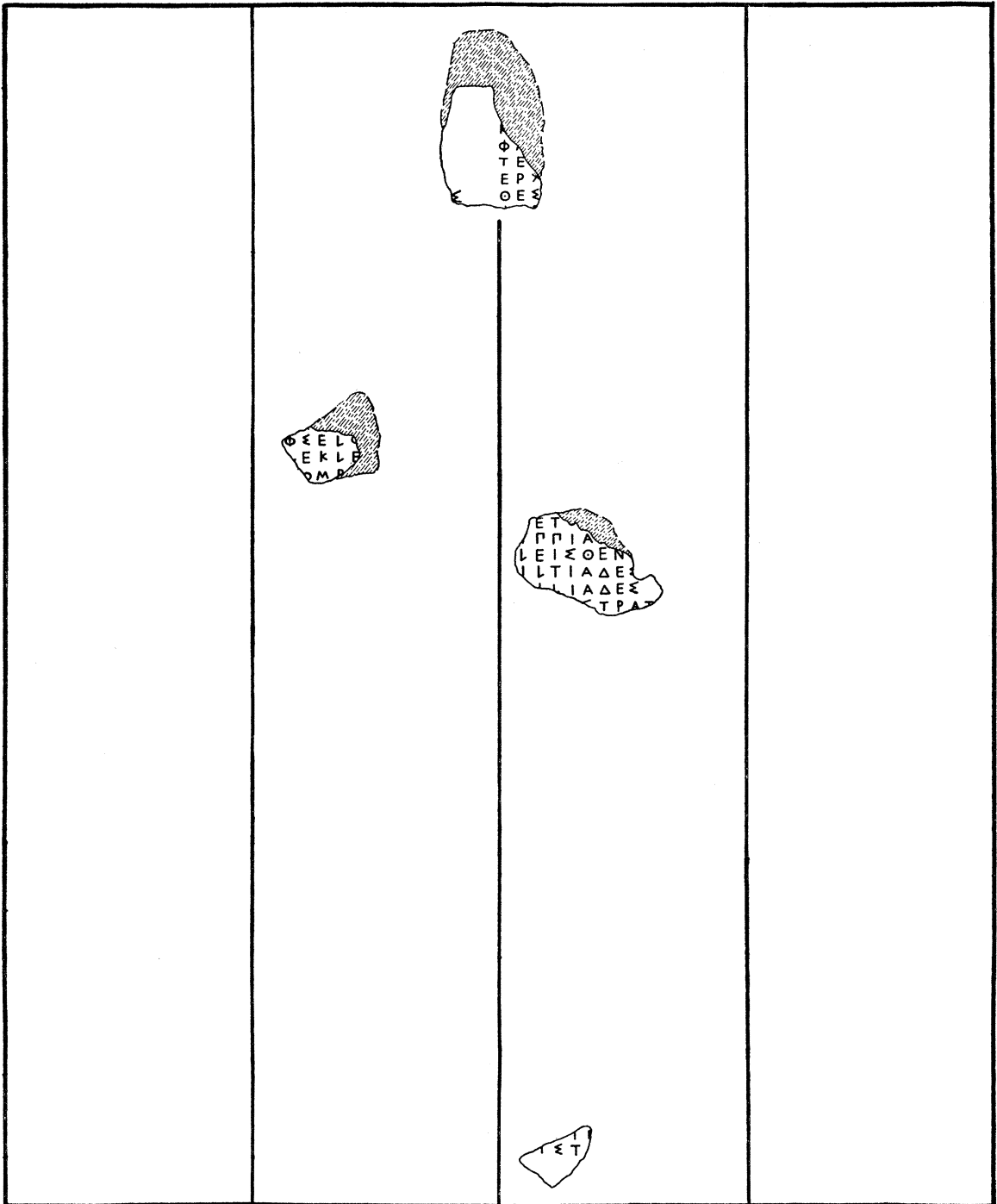


FIG. 1. Position of the Fragments in the Proposed Restoration.

place to expect this would be in the Stoa Basileios, both because it was constructed between 430 and 409⁷⁸ and so was contemporary with the list, and because it is suggested by the parallel at Thasos.⁷⁹ Unfortunately none of the orthostates of the Stoa have been found, but the foundations indicate that there were marble benches in front of them,⁸⁰ hardly leaving them suitable for inscriptions. Nor are there any traces of marble orthostate blocks in the other contemporary buildings.⁸¹ The archon list is too thick to be connected with the opisthographic "wall" which contained part of the revised law code toward the end of the century and which may have stood in the Stoa Basileios.⁸² Of the other monuments in the Agora at this time, altars and statue bases, none seem appropriate for an inscription like the archon list save possibly the base for the statues of the eponymous heroes.⁸³ This monument, apparently erected shortly before 425⁸⁴ and serving as a public notice-board,⁸⁵ might seem suitable for the display of the archons' names. However, what little is known of its construction indicates that there was little room on it for a permanent inscription on a block the size of the archon list; the only possibility would be the orthostates on the side, which would normally have been covered by the whitened boards of the public notices.⁸⁶

pp. 24, 130; for the Tholos, *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, 1940, p. 50; for the Heliaia, South Stoa I, and the Law Courts in the N. E. corner of the Agora, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 36, 40, 58.

⁷⁸ Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 53 and 73.

⁷⁹ See above, pp. 198-199.

⁸⁰ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 25, where it is suggested that the orthostates were of Hymettian marble.

⁸¹ Cf. the references in note 77, above.

⁸² Published by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 5-32, and S. Dow, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 31-37; XXX, 1961, pp. 58-73. There is no need to raise here the thorny question of the exact location of these inscriptions. It is enough to note that there can be no connection between them and the archon list, as the thickest "wall" measures only 0.144 m. The stele with part of Drakon's code, *I.G.*, I², 115, also part of the revision, is only 0.125 m. thick.

⁸³ This monument has not been fully studied and published; for the preliminary report, cf. R. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139; cf. also H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 58-59; *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, pp. 54-55, fig. 12 (a sketch by M. H. McAllister). The sketch also appears as fig. 31 in *The Athenian Citizen*, Picture Book No. 4, The American School of Classical Studies, 1960. For the identification, see E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 129-132.

⁸⁴ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 58, note 31. The use of conglomerate in the foundations indicates a date not much earlier than the first literary reference, which seems to be in 424 in Aristophanes, *Knights*, 979, where there is mention of the δαίγμα τῶν δικῶν. The statues may have been mentioned two years earlier in the assessment of 426/5 (D 8 in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 52); Meritt has suggested (*A.T.L.*, IV, p. ix) that line 21 might be restored πρόσθε[ν τῶν λεπόων].

⁸⁵ Army lists, proposed laws, and notices of lawsuits were posted on whitened boards; the ancient references are conveniently assembled in R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, nos. 229-245, pp. 85-90.

⁸⁶ Unfortunately none of the orthostate blocks have been found, so neither their height nor thickness can be determined. But if the cornice blocks now associated with the base are correctly identified, the archon list is too wide to have gone onto the end of the monument. A list of four

We are left, then, with the likelihood that the archon list was on a free standing stele, on which were engraved, in four even columns, the names from 683/2 to 424/3. If a continuation was planned, either year by year or column by column, this could well have been on the back or on another stone placed alongside, as was the case 600 years later.⁸⁷ What the original location was, we can only guess. The fact that the fragments were found around the northeast corner of the Odeion along the Panathenaic Way might seem to favor placing the stele there. This is, of course, possible, but the pieces were all in late contexts, and their proximity has much more value in indicating that they came from the same stone than that the whole stone was originally located there. It seems far more likely that the list was erected in the southwestern corner of the Agora, near the archives, which at that time seem to have been in the Old Bouleuterion.⁸⁸ This proximity to the records undoubtedly accounts for the location of the base of the Eponymous Heroes with its bulletin board. The archon list probably stood near by.

We have no indication of the occasion for the public inscription of the list.⁸⁹ It must indicate an awakening of interest in the past, or, more specifically, in the details of chronology in the past; for legal purposes the official list in the archives would have been sufficient. Meritt pointed out that it was about this time that Hippias edited his list of Olympic victors.⁹⁰ Moreover, it may well be that Hellanikos was in Athens

columns would be 1.20 m. wide; the width of the base under the capping stone is 0.925 m. I owe this and other information on the base to the kindness of E. Vanderpool.

⁸⁷ There may be an indication that the stone was to be used on more than one side in the similarity of proportions to Stele II of the tribute lists; cf. above, p. 202. For the later archon list, see above, p. 200; of course the case is not exactly parallel, for when this later list was inscribed there had already been more archons than one stone could contain. We cannot tell to what kind of monument this late list belonged; it probably was much wider than its height. It would be interesting to know more about this, as one might suspect a tendency to put up the list as had been done in the past.

⁸⁸ In spite of U. Kahrstedt, "Untersuchungen zu athenischen Behoerden," *Klio*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 25-32, followed in the main by Hignett, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-17, there must have been archives of a sort in Athens before 403. The difference between the official list of archons and the public one, as shown by Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 172-173, must indicate this. Jacoby also has shown (*op. cit.*, pp. 196-215) that the scarcity of documentary evidence for the fifth century in the literary sources was caused not so much by the lack of records as by the methods of the Atthidographers. And granted that archives existed, Thompson's case for the Old Bouleuterion as the location seems unassailable. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 208-209, 215-216.

⁸⁹ There has been little speculation on this except by M. Miller, "The Earlier Persian Dates in Herodotus," *Klio*, XXXVII, 1959, pp. 49-52. She puts the inscription in 426/5 because that year marked the beginning of a third cycle, since 510/09, of the 42 heroes of the *helikiai* (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, LIII, 4). The exact connection is not quite clear to me, but I presume that it is involved with her theory that sometime after 440 the archonship of Solon was determined to have been in 594/3 on the mistaken belief that he had founded the army and so was put two full cycles before 510/09. The conclusion seems to be that the archon list was then filled in (how much was invented, and to whom, she does not say) and published as official.

⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 65, note 2.

in the 'twenties, trying to work out a chronology for all Greece.⁹¹ Herodotos' new *History* was well enough known so that Aristophanes could parody it in 425.⁹² All this may indicate a wide enough interest to provoke the public inscription of the names of the eponymous archons.

APPENDIX

THE MILTIADAI OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

Hammond's case for an extra Miltiades rests on three passages: *a.* Herodotos, VI, 103, 4, says that when Kimon was killed, his elder son, Stesagoras, was in the Chersonese being raised by his uncle, Miltiades, while his younger son, Miltiades, named after Miltiades, *oikistes* of the Chersonese, was in Athens with his father; there are, Hammond claims, three Miltiadaï involved here, i. e., Miltiades the uncle cannot be the *oikistes*. His proof is an *obiter dictum*: "In Greek, however, one does not refer to the same person in the same sentence under different appellations." *b.* Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, XII, 35, speaks of three Miltiadaï: the founder of the Chersonese, the son of Kypselos, and the son of Kimon. *c.* Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.*, 10, calls the son of Kypselos *ὁ πρῶτος οἰκιστής*; this Hammond interprets as meaning that there were two *oikistai*, the second being his Miltiades II, founder of the city of Chersonese. These last two passages, according to Hammond, show that both Aelian and Marcellinus got their information from the first (Herodotos, VI, 103, 4) and interpreted it as he does, i. e., as meaning that there were three Miltiadaï. On this basis, plus the fact that the text of Marcellinus does mention a son of Miltiades I,⁹³ it is proposed to emend the text of Herodotos, VI, 38, 1, to read, not that Miltiades, son of Kypselos, died childless, but that his son did, from *μετὰ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἄπαις* to . . . *τελευτᾷ ὁ παῖς*, or *ὁ παῖς ἄπαις*. However, aside from the objection that such a reference to an unidentified son would be inexplicably sudden,⁹⁴ the text of Marcellinus is

⁹¹ Cf. Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III, B, Supplement I, pp. 9-15; he puts the publication of the *Priestesses* after 421/0, the *Atthis* after 407/6. The former, as a universal history, could not ignore Athens, and setting up a chronology demands the archon list. This might well have brought Hellanikos to Athens during the Archidamian War. It does not seem necessary to assume, as Jacoby does (p. 15), that the list was already inscribed when Hellanikos arrived. L. Pearson suggests an even earlier date for Hellanikos in Athens; *The Local Historians of Attica*, Philadelphia, 1942, p. 7: "It would really be not at all surprising if he [Hellanikos] was actually invited to Athens by Pericles and engaged to write the first history of the Athenians."

⁹² *Acharnians*, 523-529.

⁹³ *Vita Thuc.*, 9: ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται τὴν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ἀρχὴν Στῆσαγόρας ὁ . . . ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος.

⁹⁴ Cf. D. Hereward, "Miltiades' Speech at the Bridge," *Palaeologia*, VI, 1957, pp. 121-122.

admittedly corrupt, even in the sentence in question.⁹⁵ It is hardly reasonable to use this to emend a text which looks sound. But Hammond's case rests on the three passages given above,⁹⁶ and I have the following comment to make on his interpretation of them: *c.* The refusal to admit a pleonastic use of *πρώτος* in an author as late as Marcellinus seems arbitrary. Although there may not be any examples of this construction with *oikistes*, *πρώτος* is often used, before his time, with various forms of *εὐρίσκειν* where the meaning is obviously "invent," with no idea of a second invention.⁹⁷ *b.* Hammond stresses the fact that the three Miltiadaí in Aelian are in the same order as the three that he sees in Herodotos, VI, 103, 4, i.e., II, I, III. But Aelian speaks of *ὁ τὴν Χερρόνησον κτίστης*, the son of Kypselos, and the son of Kimon, in that order; Herodotos mentions the uncle of Stesagoras, the *oikistes* of the Chersonese, and the son of Kimon. Now if Aelian were using Herodotos, he would hardly transfer the description as founder of the Chersonese from I to II. Hammond suggests that this shows a distinction between Miltiades I as settler of the Chersonese and Miltiades II as founder of the city of Chersonesos. If Aelian does mean this, he certainly did not get the information from Herodotos. There is no such distinction there nor, as far as I can see, in Aelian. It is much more likely that the latter just made a mistake. *a.* As for the impossibility of referring to the same person in the same sentence under different appellations, one must admit that the occasions for so doing are rare, in any language. But Herodotos here had a chance to do so in a neatly-turned sentence, since he had already made it abundantly clear that there were only two Miltiadaí. The sentence in VI, 103, 4, may seem strange when pulled out of context, but not when it is read with VI, 38, in mind. For the latter section, as it stands in the text, leaves no doubt but that there were only two Miltiadaí, of which the elder was both the half-brother of Kimon and the founder of the Chersonese. That Herodotos meant the two passages to be taken together is shown not only from his reference forward in VI, 38, 1, but also from his allusion to Kimon's Olympic Victory being like that of his brother (VI, 103, 2). This statement makes no sense except as a reference back to the victory of Miltiades, son of Kypselos, in VI, 36, 1, and shows that Herodotos was thinking of what he had written previously while he was composing VI, 103. It seems hardly possible that these two victories are not the same, and if so they must belong to Miltiades, the son of Kypselos. Hammond thinks it

⁹⁵ For the text, see above, note 93. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 116, offers various restorations for the lacuna. Since it is admitted that Marcellinus' source here was Herodotos, VI, 38, 1, Causabon's emendation of *τοῦ παιδὸς* to *ἀπαιδὸς* seems most reasonable. Hereward, *loc. cit.*, points out that, even if Marcellinus' text is correct, it would naturally mean that Miltiades' son died before he did.

⁹⁶ Hammond himself states, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note 3: "But the objection to their [those who recognize only two Miltiadaí] case lies in the 3 passages with which I began this article."

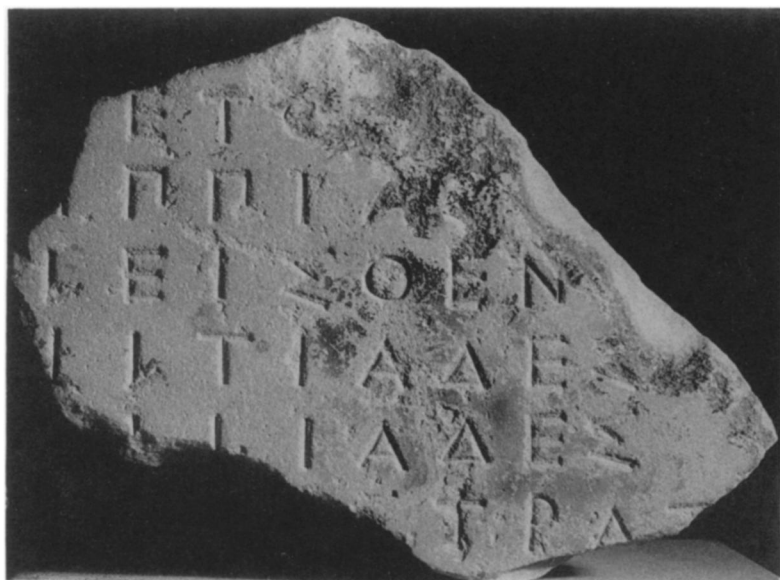
⁹⁷ Cf. Clement Alex., *Strom.*, I, 16, *passim*. A. Kleinguenther, *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ*. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, *Philologus*, Supplementband XXVI, 1934, pp. 56-58, concludes that even in Herodotos, II, 4, 1, *πρώτους* is used pleonastically with *εξευρεῖν*.

surprising that, if this were the case, "Herodotos did not name him in each case as the son of Kypselos, his usual appellation of Miltiades I."⁹⁸ This "usual appellation" occurs three of the first four times the elder Miltiades is mentioned, and in the other case it is οὗτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης; this is undoubtedly to impress the reader that this is not the more famous Miltiades, the son of Kimon. But thereafter this qualification is not used. It is unnecessary in VI, 103, 2, because of the definition as maternal half-brother, which has already been given in VI, 38, 1. Hammond seems to miss the point of the repeated use of the patronymics at first; Herodotos is being very careful to distinguish the two Miltiadaí. What is really surprising, if Hammond is right, is that his extra Miltiades is never defined by his father's name.

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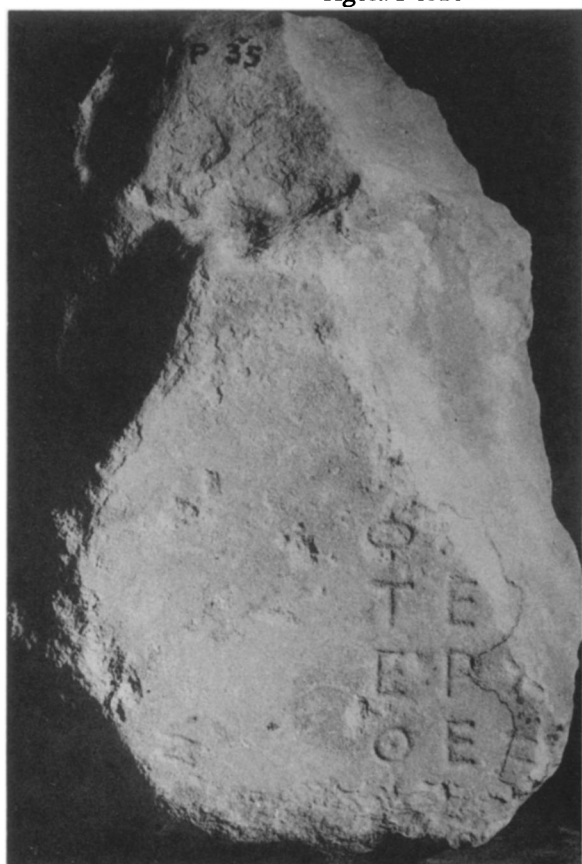
⁹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 115, note 3.



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Fragment *a*



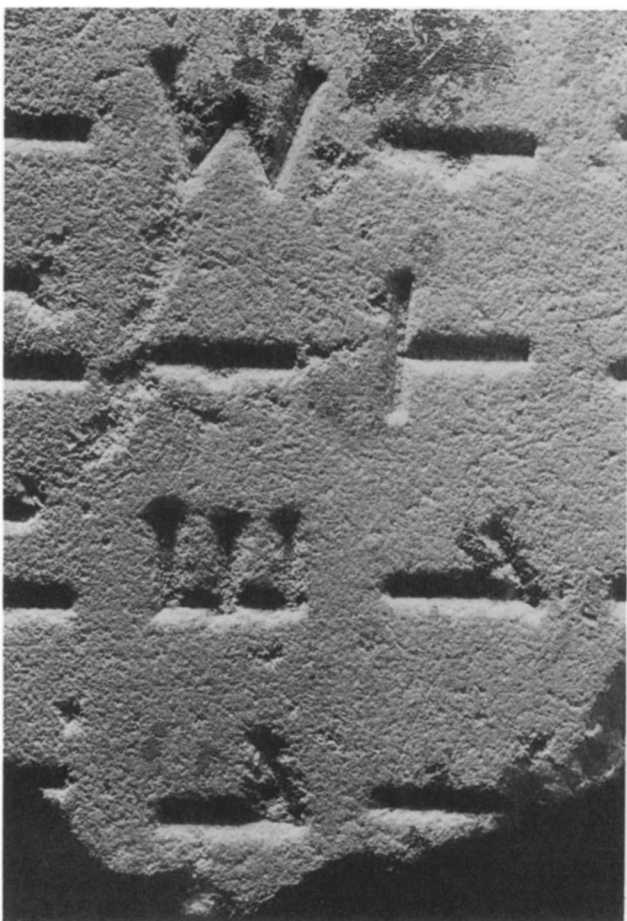
Fragment *b*



I. G., I², 944



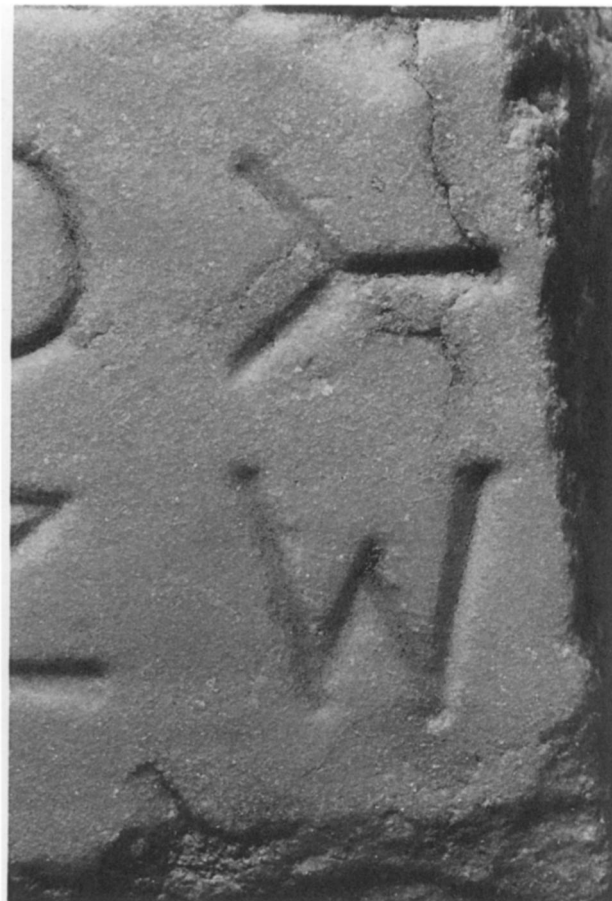
Fragment *c*



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Fragment a



I. G., I², 944