

ATTIC MANUMISSIONS

(PLATE 43)

OPISTHOGRAPHIC fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a wall of house 638/9, west of the Church of the Holy Apostles (N 10) on January 9, 1935.

Height, 0.214 m.; width, 0.262 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3183.

The fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 1554 above and 1557 below. Four other fragments belong to the stele. Koehler assigned 1556 and 1558 to the same stele as 1557, and 1556 in fact joins 1557 above. Kirchner assigned the one-sided fragment 1555 to 1554, and this is certainly correct. Lastly, 1559, identical with the other fragments in all respects, must also be added.¹

The four joining fragments, 1554, the new fragment, 1557 and 1556, preserve both margins and give the width of the stele, 0.744 m. Face A has five columns, the first four with stoichedon lines of 16 letters, the fifth of 17 letters, all in the same hand. Face B has three non-stoichedon columns in a slovenly hand with many misspellings,² and about three-sevenths of the face remains uninscribed to the right. Though there is no trace of a physical top or bottom, the fragments also limit the extent of the catalogue of names. There was probably a prescript above the catalogue as in *I.G.*, II², 1575 and 1578, but there is a clear uninscribed space at the top of 1556 which fixes the top of the catalogue on Face A. The bottom is fixed by another uninscribed space under Column II of 1554.

Into this framework the other fragments can be fitted. *I.G.*, II², 1558 has a right margin on Face A. Though it makes no join, when placed as high as it can go in Columns IV-V, the uninscribed space beneath it corresponds exactly to the space under 1554, and its true position can hardly be much, if at all, lower. The horizontal position of 1559 is fixed by its columniation, and its precise vertical position is also certain, for there is only one place in which its text in Column IV does not clash with the text of 1556 and 1557; confirmation is added by its continuation of the line of

¹ My thanks are due to B. D. Meritt for entrusting the publication of this fragment to me, to the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens for allowing me to publish here work done as a student of the School, and to Eva T. H. Brann for the drawings.

² I hope to discuss elsewhere the evidence for fourth-century script and pronunciation provided by this near-illiterate.

fracture of 1556. *I.G.*, II², 1555, which has parts of two columns, can be eliminated from Columns III-IV and IV-V, where there is no room for it, and from Columns II-III, where the intercolumniation is a shade wider. Its vertical place in Columns I-II is uncertain, and I have assigned it an arbitrary one, based on a possible continuous line of fracture with the new fragment.

I have judged it best to give here a complete new text as the readings of the old fragments can be slightly improved and the *Editio Minor* restores fragments of Face A, Column IV, with 17 letters to the line instead of 16.

FACE A

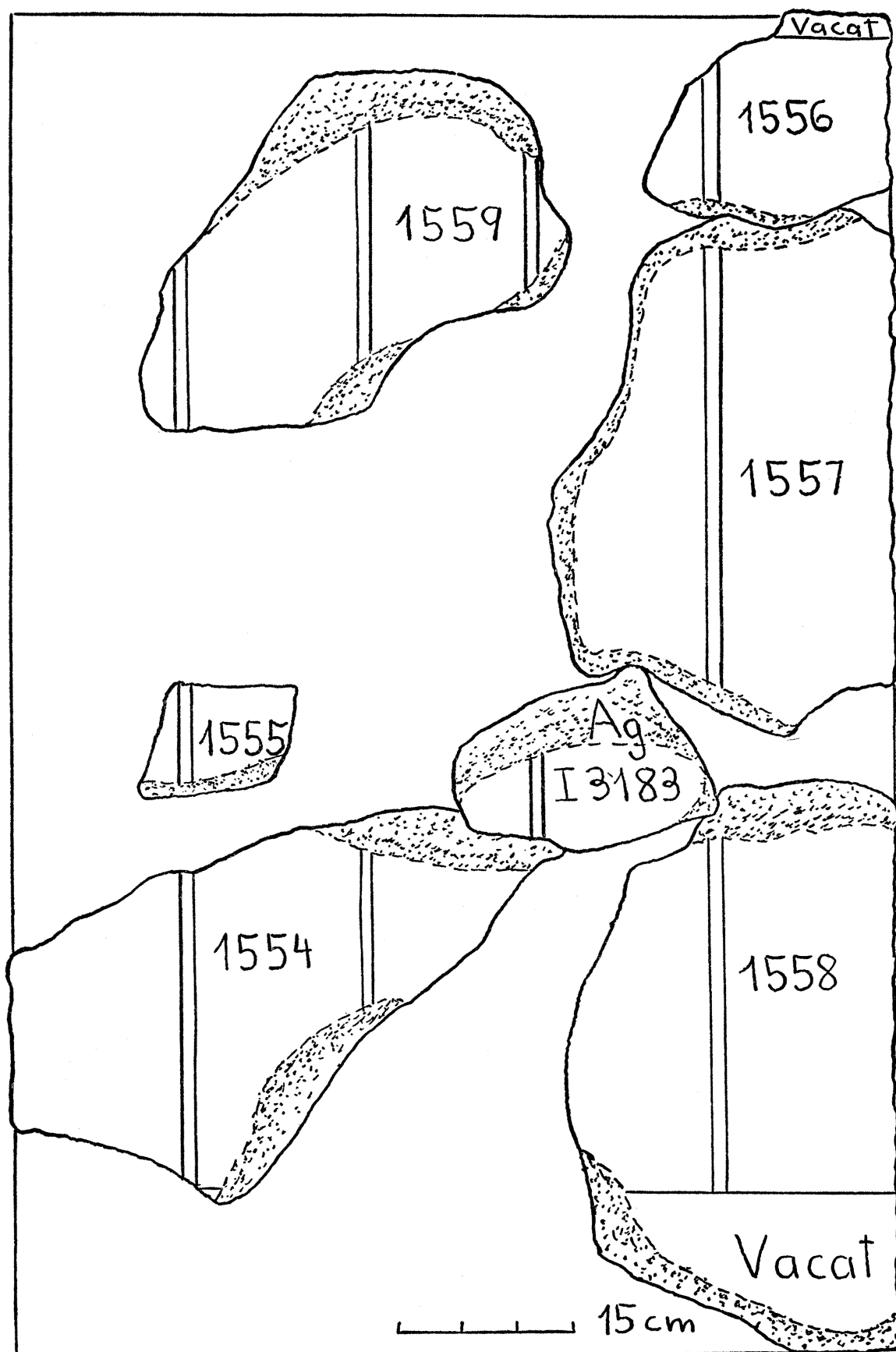
Column I

23 lines missing

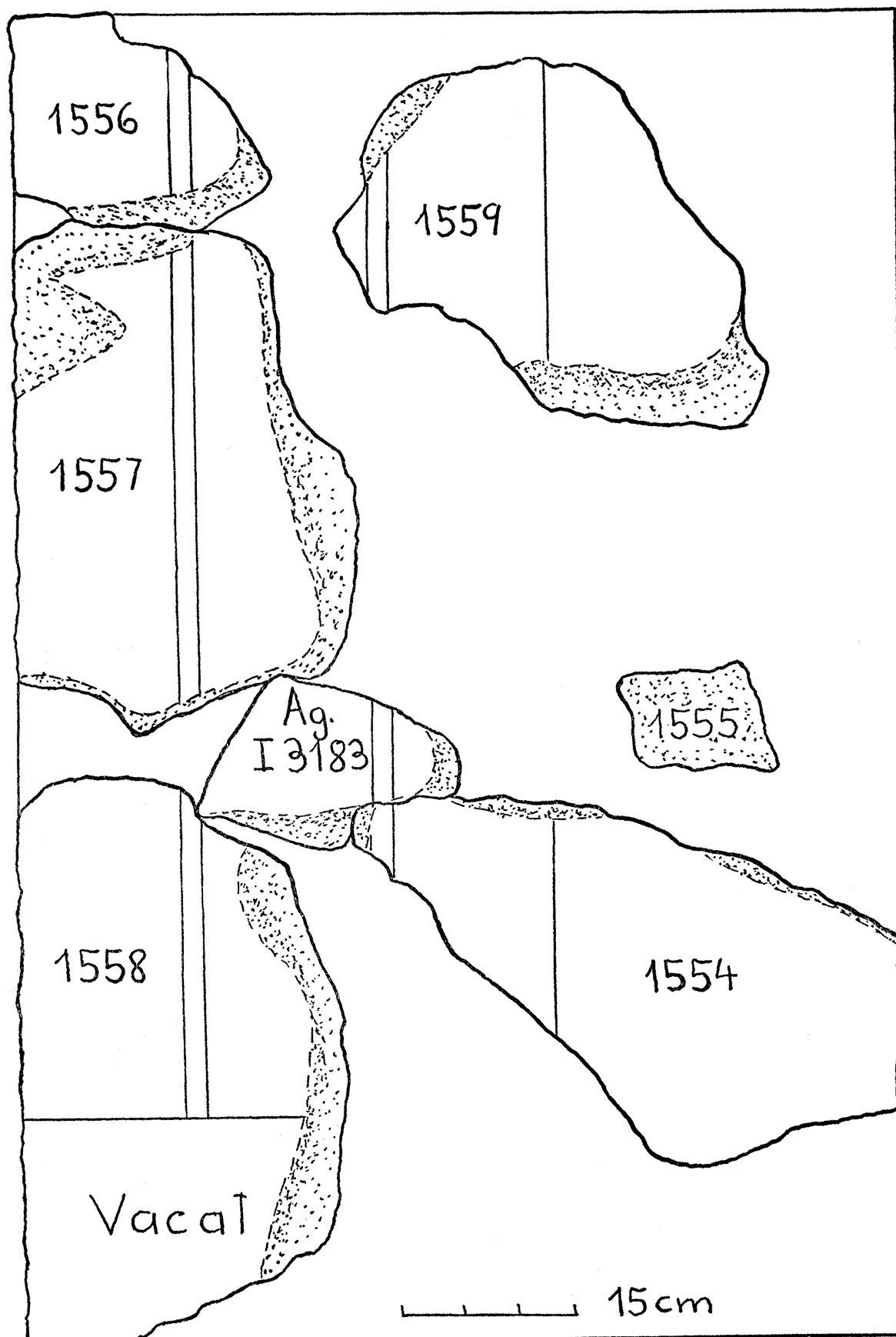
- 25 [.....¹⁴.....]φ^v
 [.... φιάλ σταθμ:Η]^{vv}
 [.....¹³.....] οἰκ
 [ὦν .⁵... ἀποφυ]γὼν^v
 [.....¹².....]άτου
 [....⁶... φιάλ σ]ταθμ:Η
 30 [.....⁹..... ἐμ] Πειρα
 [οἰκῶν ἀποφυγ]ῶν^{vvv}
 [.....¹⁰.....κ]ύδου Τ
 [..⁵... φιάλ στ]αθμὸ:Η
 [.....⁹..... ἐγ] Κολλυ
 35 [οἰκῶν ἀποφυγ]ῶν^{vvv}
 [.....¹².....]ρατο
 [.....¹².....] Συνκ
 [.....¹³.....]κρα
 [.....¹¹.....Δα]μπτ
 40 [.....¹³.....]ρατ

about 28 lines missing

- [.....¹³.....ο]ἰκ
 70 [..⁷... ἀποφυγ]ῶν^v
 [.....¹³.....]πωλ
 [..⁷... φιάλη] στα:Η
 [..⁷... ἐγ Κολ]λυ οἰ
 [κ.....⁹... ἀπ]οφυγ
 75 [.....¹⁰.....ο]κράτο



FACE A



FACE B

[.⁵ . . . φιάλη] σταθμ:Η
 [.¹⁰] βειον Π
 [.⁹ ο] ἰκ ἀποφ
 [υγ⁸] οκράτο

about 12 lines missing

- 92 [.¹⁴] λε
 [.¹⁰ ἄ] ποφυγ
 [.¹⁰] ν Ὀλυμπ
 95 [ιοδώρου Ἀ] γρ φιά στα:Η
 [. . .⁷] ταλα ἐν Κυδ
 [οἴκου] ἀποφυγοῦσα ^v
 Λυσίδικον Λυσιστρ
 άτου Ἀχαρνέ φιά στα:Η
 100 [Κ] ἴπτος ἐμ Πει οἰκῶν
 χαλκεὺ ἀποφυγῶν ^{vv}
 Διονύσιον ἰσοτελῇ
 φιάλη σταθμὸν:Η: ^{vvv}
 Μνησιθέα{ν} ἐμ Πει οἰ
 105 κο ταλα ἀποφυγοῦσα
 Διονύσιον ἰσοτελῇ
 φιάλη σταθμὸν:Η: ^{vvv}
 Σάτυρος Ἀγνοῦν οἰκ
 γεωργὸ ἀποφυγῶν ^{vv}
 110 Κηφίσιον Κηφισοδῇ
 μου Παλλη φιά σταθ:Η
 [Κ] αλλία<ς> κάπηλ ἐμ Πει
 [ι οἰ] κῶν ἀποφυγῶν ^{vv}
 115 [. . .⁵] ιν Πολυεύκτο
 [. . .⁷ φιάλη] στα:Η
 [vacat]

Column II

11 lines missing

- 128 [.¹⁴] ου
 [. . .⁶ . . . φιάλ στ] αθμ:Η
 130 [.¹²] ρ ἐν Κ
 [. . οἰκῶν ἀπ] οφυγῶν ^v

- [...⁸...] Δημοστρά
 [το Φρεά] ρρ φιάλ στα: Η
 [...⁵...] ρς ἐν Κυδα οἰκ
 135 [ὦ χρυ] σοχό ἀποφυγῶν
 [Εὐ] θύφρονα Εὐθυκλέ
 [—] ους Χολλε φιά σταθ: Η
 Βίων ἐμ Μελ οἰκῶ δακ
 τυλιογλύ ἀποφυγῶν
 140 Χαίριππον Χαιρεδή
 μου Ἀλαιέ καὶ κοι ἐρ
 ανι τῶν μετὰ Χαιρίπ
 πο Ἀλαιέ φιάλ σταθ: Η
 — Ὀφελίων ἐν Κολλυ οἰ
 145 κῶ κλινοπ ἀποφυγῶν
 Εὐπόλεμον Εὐπολέμ
 ο Ἀγρυ φιάλ σταθμὸ: Η
 — Μοσχίων ἐμ Πειρ ο[ἰκ]
 ὦ ἔμπορο ἀποφυγ[ὼν ^v]
 150 Λύκιν Βίωνος [Ἀχαρν]
 — φιάλ σταθμὸν [: Η ^{vvv}]
 Φιλονίκη τ[αλασι ἐν]
 Λευκο οἰκ ἀ[ποφυγοῦ]
 Δημοσθένην [...⁶...]
 155 λο Φυλά [φιάλ σταθμ: Η]
 [—] Ἀδούσ[ιος ...⁸...]

About 28 lines missing

- 185 πληφ[...¹¹... ἐ]
 — ν Κολ[λυ οἰκ φιά στα: Η]
 Μενίππη [...⁹...]
 ταλασι ἀποφ[υγοῦσα]
 Δημοτίωνα Δ[ήμωνος]
 190 Φρεάρρι, Δημ[...⁶...]
 Δήμωνο Φρεά[ρρι, Δημ]
 όφιλον Δήμω[νος Φρε]
 — άρριο φιάλη [σταθμ: Η]
 Ὀνήσιμος Ἀ[λωπε(?) οἰκ]
 195 ὦ μάγειρο [ἀποφυγῶν]

About 11 lines missing

- 207 [Λ]υκίσκο[ν Διοδότου]
 — Ἐπικη φιά[λ στ]αθμ[:H]
 Μάνης ἀμφο[ρ] ἐν Κολ[λ]
 210 οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶν^{vvv}
 Οἰνιάδην Οἰνοκλέο
 — Ἄμαξαν φιάλ σταθμ[:H]
 Φιλίστη ταλασι ἐμ Μ
 ἐλ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦσ
 215 Ἐπιχαρίδην Λυσίππ
 — ου Λαμπτ φιά σταθμ[:H]
 Ἀριστομένης ἐμ Μελ
 οἰκ σκυτοτό ἀποφυγ
 Θρασυμήδη Κηδεῖδο
 220 Λευκοιο φιά σταθμ[:H]
 — Ὀνησίμη σησα[μ]οπωλ
 Ἄλωπ οἰκοῦ ἀπ[οφυγο]
 Φίλωνα Φίλι[. . . . Ἀλ]
 — ωπε οἰκ φι[άλ σταθμ[:H]
 225 Ποσειδῶν[ιος ἐ]
 ν Κολλν ο[ἰκ ἀποφυγῶ]
 Ὑγιαίν[οντα . . .⁶ . . .]
 — χο Ἀγκ[υλ φιά σταθμ[:H]
 Σιμα[.¹²]
 230 ταλ[ασι ἀποφυγοῦσα]
 — Ἀρχ[.¹³]
 ου Φα[ληρ φιά σταθμ[:H]
vacat

Column III

8 lines missing

- 241 [Στρό]μβιχ Θεομ[νήστ]
 [—] Ὀλ[ύνθι φιάλ στα[θ[:H]
 Πιστοκλῆς ἐμ Με[λ οἰ]
 κ ὑποδηματοπ ἀποφ[υ]
 245 Καλλιππίδην Καλλ[ί]
 — ου Ἀφιδ φιάλ σταθμ[:H]
 Διονύσιος ἐ[ν Σ]κα ο[ἰ]
 κ γεωργὸ ἀπο[φ]υ[γ]ῶν [v]

- [‘Α]γωνί[δ]ην [Πε]ισισ[τ]
 250 — ράτο Κηφι φιά σταθ:Η
 Πολύτιμος ἐν Κολλν
 οἶκ σκυτοτό ἀποφυγ
 Καλλίαν Καλλιᾶδου
 Παιανιέ φιάλ σταθ:Η
 255 — Λαμπρὶς ἐν Σκαμ οἶκ
 οὔσ τίτθη ἀποφυγοῦ
 Ἀριστοφῶντ Ἀριστί
 ωνο Ἀφιδ φιάλ σταθ:Η
 — Εὐπείθη παιδί τίτθ
 260 ἐν Σκ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγο
 Ἀριστοφῶντ Ἀρι[σ]τί
 ων Ἀφιδν φιάλ σ[ταθ:Η]
 — Εὐμ[. . .]s ἐν Κο[λλ(?)οἶκ]

53 lines missing

- 317 [. . . ⁷ . . . ἀποφυγοῦ]σ
 [. ¹³]δου
 [. . . ⁷ . . . φιάλ] σταθ:Η
 320 [. . . ⁵ . . . ἐμ Με]λι οἰκοῦ
 [. . . ⁷ . . . ἀ]ποφυγοῦσ
 [. . . ⁸ . . . Ἀ]πολλοδώ
 [ρου . . . φιάλ στα]θμ:Η

3 lines missing

- 327 — .Λ.Ι.Ο[. ¹¹]
 Λύδη Ἀλωπεκῇ [οἰκοῦ]
 ταλασιο ἀποφ[υγοῦσ]
 330 Θεόφιλον Ἀν[. . . ⁶ . . .]
 — Εὐωνυμέ φιά[λ σταθ:Η]
 — Μένιος ἐν Ι[. . . ⁷ . . .]
 διάκον ἀπ[οφυγών^{vv}]
 Διογέν[ην ⁹]
 335 — πο Ἐρ[. . . φιά σταθμ:Η]
 — Κα[. ¹⁴]
 ου[. ¹⁴]
 π[. ¹⁵]

About 10 lines missing

Column IV

5 lines missing

- 335 [.....¹⁵.....]π
 [.....⁶... φιάλ σταθμ:]H
 [—] [.....¹²..... οἰ]κῶ
 [ν ἀποφυγῶν ^{vvv}] ^{vv}
 [.....¹².....] ΛΥΛΟ
 [—] [.....⁶... φιάλ στ]αθμ:]H
 360 [.....¹¹.....] ἐμ Με ο
 [ἰκῶν ἀπο]φυγῶ ^v
 [.....¹².....] ο Παλ
 [ληνέα φιάλ σταθμ:]H ^v
 [-----]
 365 [-----]
 ε[.....¹⁵.....]
 — ω[.....⁶... φιά σταθ:]H
 — Δορ[.....¹³.....]
 λιβα[νωτο ἀποφυγ..
 370 Στρ[.....¹³.....]
 — ἐμ Π[ειρ οἰκ φιά στα:]H
 — Λυσ[.....¹³.....]
 τα[λασιου ἀποφυγοῦ]
 Δ[.....¹⁴.....] ο
 375 [.....⁶... φιάλ σταθ]μ:]H
 [.....¹²..... ἐμ] Με
 [λ οἰκ... ἀποφυγ..
 [.....¹³..... ο]ν ^v
 [.... φιάλ σταθμ:]H ^{vv}
 380 [.....⁹..... ἐν Σ]καβω
 [ν οἰκ.....⁸.....] ἀποφ
 [.....⁸..... δῆμ]ον Κυθ
 [ήρριο φιά σ]ταθμ:]H ^{vv}
 [.....⁷..... ἐν Σκ]αβων ο
 385 [ἰκ.....⁸.....] ἰκ ἀποφ
 [.....⁸..... δῆ]μον Κυθ
 [ήρριον φιά σ]ταθμ:]H ^v
 [.....⁷..... ἐμ] Ππει οἰκο
 [ῦσα ἀπ]οφυγοῦ ^v

- 390 [...⁸...]δήμου Κυθ
 [ήρριον φιά] σταθμό:Η
 [...⁹...]γειω ἐν Ἑ
 [φαι οἰκῶ]ν ἀποφυγῶν
 [...⁷...]ΑΡ11 ... δανο
 395 [...⁶... φι]άλ σταθμ:Η
 [...⁶... μ]ισθωτὸ Ἄλω
 [πεκ οἰκ] ἀποφυγῶ^{vv}
 [...⁶...]δην Ἀ[ρ]ι[σ]τάρ
 [χου Μυ]ρρ Γόργαθο Σω
 400 [σιστρ]άτου Κυδαθη^v
 [φιάλη] σταθμό:Η^{vvv}
 [...⁵...]ς δαιδοσχίστ
 [...⁵...]ν οἰκῶ ἀποφυγ
 [...⁶...]ν Φίλωνος Πα
 405 [...⁷...]ρολο Ἰφιστι
 [ἀδ ...⁶...]δώρο Μειδ
 [...⁸...]ΟΙΝΔΙ Ἀπο
 [λλ ...⁸...]εινίου
 [...⁶... φιάλ στ]αθμ:Η
 410 [...¹²... ἐ]ν Κο
 [λλυ? οἰκ ---]vv

15 lines missing

- 427 [...⁶...]νη ταλ[ασι ἐν]
 Κολλυ οἰκοῦ ἀπο[φυγ]
 Ἄνδρων Ἀλκιμάχου [Π]
 430 αἰανι Καλλιπίδη[ν]
 Τιμώνακτος Παιανι
 — ἐα φιάλη σταθμόν [:Η]
 — Τυρῆν ἀνλοποι ἐν Κυ
 δαθη οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶ[ν]
 435 Λεο[...¹³...]
 Μ[— — φιάλ σταθ:Η]

5 lines missing

- 442 [...¹²...]ος Σφ
 [ήτι φιάλ στ]αθμ:Η^{vv}
 [...⁷... τα]λασι ἐν Κ
 445 [... οἰκοῦ ἀπ]οφυγοῦ

[.....¹¹.....] θυκλε
 [....⁸....] φιά σταθ:Η
 [....⁸....] σιδηρο ἐν
 [....⁵... οἶκ] ὦ ἀποφυγὼ
 450 [....⁸....] Λυσανίου
 [....⁶... φ]ιάλ σταθ:Η
 [....⁷....] κολλειψ Ἄλω
 [πε οἶκῶ] ἀποφυγὼ ^{vv}
 [....⁶....] ἀρνη Ἀριστο
 455 [... (?) Χολ]λε φιά σταθ:Η
 [....⁶....] νευρορά ἐν Σ
 [κα οἶκ] ὦ ἀποφυγὼ ^{vv}
 [....⁶....] Πολυρήτου "
 [....⁶....] φιά σταθ:Η ^{vv}
 vacat

Column V

460 [.....¹⁰..... ἐμ] Πει οἶ
 [κῶν ἀπο]φ[υγ]ὼ ^{vvvvvv}
 [Χα]ρίαν Χαρωνίδου Εὐ
 ωννμέ φιάλ σταθμ:Η ^{vv}
 — Φίλων γραμματε ἐν Θ[ο]
 465 ρικῶ οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶν ^v
 Φερεκλείδη Φερεκλέ
 — ου Περιθοί φιάλ στα:Η
 — Ῥοδία ταλασι ἐν Θορι
 κῶ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦσα
 470 Φερεκλείδη Φερεκλέ
 — ου Περιθο φιάλ σταθ:Η
 — Κορδύνπη παιδίον ἐν Θ
 ορικ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγ[οῦ]
 Φερε[κλ]εῖδη Φερε[κλέ]
 475 — ου [Περιθ]οί [φιάλ στα:Η]
 — Κ[....⁶....]να[....⁸....]

3 lines missing

480 [....⁸....ο]υρ[γ ἐμ Μελ]
 ιτ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ ^{vv}
 Σαυρίαν Ἀθηνίππου Π

- ειραι Σπουδίαν Θεα[ι]
 τήτο Χολαρ φιά σταθ:Η
 485 — Ἐπικέρδης Ὀῆσι οἰκῶ
 ἄμπελουρ ἀποφυγῶν^ν
 Δη[μ]όφιλον Δημοφάνο
 Παιανι φιά σταθ:Η^{νν}
 — Ἡρακλείδης ἐμ Με οἰκ
 490 ὦ κάπη ἀποφυγῶν^{ννν}
 Μενέδημον ἐμ Με οἰκ[ο]
 ὦ φιάλ σταθ:Η^{ννννν}
 — Θράιττα καπηλί ἐμ Με
 οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ^{ννν}
 495 Μενέδημον ἐμ Μελί ο[ι]
 κοῦ φιάλ σταθ:Η^{ννν}
 — Ἰταμή ταλασι ἐμ Πει ο
 ἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ^{ννν}
 Χαίριππον Τιμοκλεί
 500 δου Ἀχαρνέ φιά σταθ:Η
 — Ἐπίγονος ἔμπορ ἐμ Πε
 οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶ^{ννν}
 Κτησίαν Κτήσωνος Θο
 ρίκι φιάλ σταθμ:Η^{νν}
 505 — Δημητρ[ία] κιθαρῳιδὸ
 Ἐπικηφι[σι] ὦ οἰκο ἀπο
 Ἀθηνόδωρον [Θ]εοδώρο
 Μελιτέ Θεόδωρον Θεο
 δώρο Μελιτ φιά σταθ:Η
 510 — Φίλων ταριχοπῶ ἐ[ν] Κο
 λλυ οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶν^ν
 Χαιρέφιλον Φεῖδωνο
 Παια φιάλ σταθμῶ:Η^ν
 — Χρυσίον παιδί Ἡρακλ
 515 εἰ ἐν Ξυπ οἰκ ἀποφυγ^ν
 Φορμίων Εὐμάχο Ῥαμν
 [ού] φιάλ σταθ:Η^{ννν}
 — Ὀλυμπιάς ταλασι ἐν Κ
 υδα οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ^ν
 520 Ἀρχεδά[μ]αντ Ἀρχεδήμ
 ου Ἀλαιέ φιάλ σταθ:Η^ν
 — Ἑστιαῖος σκυτοτό ἐν

Σκαμβω οἰκ ἀποφυγῶν
 [Ε]ὐθύμαχον Εὐδίκον [Ξ]
 525 [υπε]ται φιάλ σταθμ [:H^v]
 [—] [....] ταλασ[ιο ἐν] K[...]

17 lines missing

544 [.....⁹.....]το[ν] Εὐ[κρά]
 [—] [τ]ους Ἐπικη φιά στ[α:H]
 [Σ]ωτη[ρ]ίδης ὀνηλάτ [ἐν]
 Διομεί οἰκῶν ἀποφυ[γ]
 Ἀντιμένην Πιστοκλ[έ]
 ου Κηφισιέ φιά στα[θ:H]
 550 Σωστράτη παιδίον ἐ[ν K]
 [εραμ]έω οἰκοῦ ἀποφ[υγ]
 Ἀντιμένην Πιστοκ[λέ]
 ου Κηφισι Ἀγνων Εὐ[θυ]
 κρί Κυδαθην φιά στ[α:H]
 555 Πλαγγῶν ταλασιο ἐν [K]
 υδα οἰκοῦσ ἀποφυγο[υ]
 Αὐτοκλέ Ἀνδροκλέ[ου]
 Εὐωνυμέ φιάλ σταθ[μ:H]
 Πάμφιλος ὀρεωκόμ [ἐ Λ]
 560 ακι οἰκῶν ἀποφυγῶ[ν^v]
 Θεοχάρην Ἐργοχάρ[ου]
 Πρασιέα φιάλ σταθμ [:H]
 Νικίας λιβανωτο ἐμ [Π]
 ει οἰκ<ῶ>ν ἀποφυγῶν^{vv}
 565 Φιλοκράτη Ἐπικράτο
 Ἐλευσί καὶ κοινὸν ἔρα
 νιστῶν τῶν μετὰ Θεοφ
 ράστου Βαθύλλου Χολ
 αργέως φιάλ σταθμό[:H]
vacat

FACE B

Column I

- [-----]
 [κ] αὶ κοινὸν ἐ[ρα] ν[ε] [στῶν - - -]
 ἀκέστριαν ἐγ̃ Κειρι [οἶκ φιά]
 λη:Η
- 5 Τυδεὺς Λαμάχον Ὀῤῥην [- - -]
 ν ἄρτοπώλην Ἀλωπεκῇ ο[ἰκοῦν]
 τα φιάλ:Η
 Εὐάνγελος Θεανγέλου Χολλε
 Μῶμον σκυλο<δ>έ<ψ>ον ἐν Κυδαθ
- 10 οἰκοῦντα φιάλ:Η
 Πολύστρατος Πολυστράτ{ατ} Ἐπ
 ικηφίσιος Σωσίαν γεωργὸν ἐν
 Ἑφαιστια οἰκῶντα φιάλ:Η
 Ἀντιγένης Ἐπιγ<έ>ρους ἐν Μελι
- 15 [ο] ἰκῶ Μνάσων σκυτο<τ>όμο ἐν Με
 [λι] οἰκὼν φιάλη:<Η>
 [Πά]νκαλος Ἀθηνάδου πρόξενος
 [Ἄρ]χων Ταχυδήμου ἐκ Κοίλης
 [. . .] ἰαν παιδ<ίο>ν ἐν Πειρα ρῖ[κ]
- 20 [φιάλ]η:Η
 [Πάνκαλο]ς Ἀθηνά[δου πρόξενος]
- 8 lines missing
- 30 [-----] φι
 [ἀλη:Η] *vacat*
 [-----] ΙΕΠΡΟ. ΟΥ
 [---- ἐν Π]ειρ οἰκοῦσ[αν φιά:Η]
 [-- μαχος Κ]αλλιμάχου Μαραθῶ
- 35 [----] ἐπ Πειρ <οἰ>κ ταριχο [φι:Η]
 [----] μαχος Καλλιμάχου [Μαραθῶ]
 [----] εφάνη παῖδα ἐν Πειρε οἶκ
 [φιάλη:]Η
 [---- μαχος Κα]λλι[μ]άχος Μαραθ
- 40 [-----] ἐν Πειρ οἰκῶ [φιά:Η]
 [-----]
 [-----] Μαρα[θ]

2 lines missing

45 [-----]δημο[---]

3 lines missing

[-----] οἶκ
 50 [-----]γο[-----]
 [-----] Ναυσ[-----]
 [-----] ἄμ]πελονργ[ὸν ---]
 [-----]ν Φιοστράτ[---]
 [-----] ἐν Κυδαθ[ην] οἶκ [φιάλ:Η]
 55 [...]σιππος Ερ[...]ς Π[α]λλ[ηνε] Ταχίς
 την τ[αλασιο]υρ ἐγ Κυ[δαθ οἶκ] φιάλη:Η
 Θυμάδ[ης -----]ίππ[ην]
 ταλασιουργ[----- οἶκ φιάλη:Η]
 Τιμόθεος Μενι[-----]ς Ἄν[τ]ιγων
 60 γεωργὸν ἐμ Πα[----- οἰκοῦντα φιά:Η]
 [. ατρο]κλῆς Ἄν[---^{ca. 6}---]ς Ξυπετ
 [Εὐ]κόλη ταπε[----- οἶκ φιά:Η]
 [.]ατροκλῆς Ἄν[---^{ca. 6}---]ς Ξυπετ[τ]
 [...]οτην[----- οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 65 [. ατρ]οκλ[ῆς Ἄν --- σ] Ξυπετ[---]
 [----- ο]ἶκ φιά[:Η]
 [-----] Ἐπικηφίς
 [----- ο]ἰκοῦσα φι:Η
 [----- θ]ου[ς] Ἄπο[...]
 70 [----- ἐ]μ Πει οἶκ [φι:Η]
 [-----]θους Ἄπο[...]
 [-----]δων οἶκ [φι:Η]
 [-----]ων οἶ[---]

17 lines missing

91 [---]ώνην πσηκιστρί ἐ[ν ---]
 [--- οἶκ φι]ά:Η
 [Θ]έρσιππος Ἀντιφάνου[---]
 [...]ρτινίων ὄρεω ἐμ Π οἶκ [φιά:Η]
 95 Θέρσιππος Ἀντιφάνου[---]
 Σῆμον παιδίον ἐμ Π οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 [...]μάρης Ἀλωπεκῇ οἶκ Λεπτ[...]
 [...]ν ἐν τῶν ἔργ ἐπὶ Κυν οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 [. ⁵...]ς ἰστοτελῆς Μεσὼ ταλα
 100 [Ἄλω]πεκῇσιν οἶκ φιάλη:Η

- [...] μόστρατος Πολυχαρμίδου
 [--]λ Φειδέστρατον χρυσοχόον
 [έγ] Κ<υ>δαθ οίκ φιάλη:Η
 [...]κράτης Εὐξένου Παλλη
 105 Νικόξενος Ἑγησίον Ἐρχι
 Δημόστρατος Δημοστράτου
 [Π]αλλ Ὠκιμον ταλα ἐν Ἑφαι
 [οἰ]κ φιάλη:Η
 [Κ]λεόξενος καὶ κύριος Κτησωνί
 110 [δ]ης Οἰήθ Εὐκλέα ἐγ Κολ οἰκ
 γεωρ φιάλ:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ Ἄτταν
 ὀσπριοπώλην ἐγ Κ οἰκ φιάλ:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ Μαλ
 115 θάκην ταλασιουργὸν ἐγ Κ<ει>ρ
 οἰκ φιάλη:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ
 Πλαγγόνα παιδίον ἐγ Κει οἰκ φι:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ
 120 Μόσχον παιδίον ἐγ Κει οἰκ φι:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ
 Ἀριστονίκην παιδί ἐγ Κε οἰ φιά:Η
vacat

Column II

About 8 lines missing

- 131 / [-----]
 M [-----]
 — Ἐπ [-----]
 OM [-----]
 135 Ἐπ [-----]
 — Ἀρχ [-----]
 — Ἐπ [-----]
 ΙΞ [-----]
 [-----]
 140 [-----]ον
 [-----φι:]Η

9 lines missing

- 151 . . οι [-----]
 Άνσιχάρη [s -----]
 καὶ κοινὸν ἐρ [ανιστῶν ---]
 οἰκ [φιά :H]

About 50 lines missing

- 205 [-----] ἀνθο [.]
 [-----] ο] ἰκ δημ φι :H
 [-----] ολέμον Ἐλευ Ἀχυρίω
 [-----] ο] ἰκ γεωρ φιά :H
 [-----] ος Χαιρεδήμον Ἀλαι
 210 [...] Ἰ [.. Ἀ] λωπεκῇ οἰκ μυλωθ φι :H
 [...] ἰας Ἀριστοκρίτου Ἀφιδν
 [.] ἰτύραν ἐμ Π οἰκ αὐλη φι :H
 [Ἐ] πιχαρῖνος Ἐπιχαρίνου Δευκ
 [Ἡ] χὼ ταλασιουργὸν ἐμ Πα [ο] ἰκ
 215 [φ] ἰά :H
 [Ν] εοπτόλεμος Ἀντικλέους
 Μελιτ Δημέαν τέκτον ἐν [---]
 [ο] ἰκ φι :H
 [...] Ἰ Ὀ Ἰ Γ [-----]
 220 [-----] ε
 [-----] υ
 [-----] ι

7 lines missing

- 230 Ἀ [-----]
 φιά [:H]
 — Ἀὐτο [κράτης Αγ -----]
 — Ἀρίστη [ν ----- οἰκ φι :H]
 — Ἀὐτοκράτ [ης Αγ -----]
 235 Σίμαλον παιδ [ιον ----- οἰκ]
 φιά :H
 — Ἀὐτοκράτης Αγ [-----]
 Νικαρίστην πα [ιδίον --- οἰκ]
 φιά :H
 240 Φυλαξίας Φαν [ίου Ἀναγυράσιος]
 Γλυκέραν τα [λασιου ----- οἰκ]
 φιά :H
 — Εὐβουλος Κη [-----]

ἔμπο Μοσχ[-----]

vacat

Column III

About 5 lines missing

- 250 [-----]ου Εὖων
 [-----] *vacat*
 [-----]λ οἶκ κουρέ φι:Η
 [Νικήρατος Νι]κηράτου Μελιτ
 [Φείδιππος] Σωσιδήμου Ξυπ
 255 [-----] ἐμ Μελίτηι οἶκ δακτυ
 [φι:Η]
 [Νικ]ήρατος Νικηράτου Μελι
 [Φε]ίδιππος Σωσιδίμου Ξυπ
 [. .]νωνα παιδίον ἐμ Με οἶκ φι:Η
 260 Νικήρατος Νικηράτου Μελιτ
 Φείδιππος Σωσιδήμου Ξυπε
 Στρατονίκην ἐμ Με οἶκ ταλα
 φιά:Η
 — Νικήρατος Νικηράτου Μελιτ
 265 Φείδιππος Σωσιδήμου Ξυπετ
 — Πριάνθην ἐμ Με οἶκ ταλα φιά:Η
 — Λυσιάδης Χίωνος Ἀλωπεκ
 Σωστράτην ταλασιουργ ἐμ Μ οἶκ
 φι:Η
 270 [Κ]αλλίας Καλλικράτους Ἀφιδ
 [—] [. .]στον ἐγ Κολλυ οἶκ ὄνη φι:Η
 [. . . .]κλής Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀχαρ
 [—] [—] ἐμ Μ [οἶκ ταλα]σιουργ φι:Η
 [—] [-----]ου Λευ
 275 [-----] φι:Η

About 50 lines missing

- 326 ον[-----]
 — φι:[Η]
 — Ἀντισ<θ>έν[ης Ἀντισθέδους Κυ]
 θηρ Ἀντιφάν[ης Ἀντισθέδους]
 330 Κυθήρρ Στρατο[-----]

— Ἄγρυλ οἶκ φι:[H]
 — Νικόστρατ[ος -----]
 — Ἀχαρ Κλεο[-----]
 — ταλασιερ[----- φιά:H]
 335 — Μισγόλας [Ναυκράτους Κολλυ]
 — Ναυκλ[ῆς Ναυκράτους Κολλυ
 — [-----]
 — οἶκ φιά:H
 — Μισγόλας Ναυκράτους Κολ
 340 — λυ Ναυκλῆς Ναυκράτους Κολ
 — Ἡδίστην παιδίον ἐ Σκαμ οἶκ
 — φι:H
 — Τιμόστρατος Σμικρίου Σφητ
 — [...]μαῖον τ[ει]χιστήν Σφηττοῖ
 345 — [οἶκ φιά]:H
 — [----- Π]αμφίλου Φυλάσ
 — [-----]ς Ζωφίλου Φυλα
 — [----- οἶ]κ ταλα φι:H
 — [-----] vacat
 350 — [-----]τα
 — [----- ἐ]μ M
 — [οἶκ φιά:H] vacat

10-12 lines missing (?)

COMMENTARY

The following commentary does not profess to be complete. I shall not repeat expansions of abbreviated professions given in the Editio Minor which seem to be correct, and I shall only repeat prosopographical information given there, if it is relevant to the establishment of the date of the inscription. I have not commented on some minor alterations of marginal letters.

FACE A.

Line 77: For possible expansions of]βειου, see M. N. Tod, *Epigraphica*, XII, 1950, p. 12, who suggests [κανα]βειου(ργός) (Cf. *I.G.*, III, 3, *Appendix*, 87a, line 7). Both this and Preuner's [χερνι]βειου(ργός) suggest an extraordinary degree of specialization for this man. Π[εντελῆσιω] should be abandoned, since its deme-status is doubtful. Π[αλληνῆσιω] and Π[εργασῆσιω] are possible (Cf. A. Diller, *Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander*, 1937, p. 177).

Line 95: [Φρεαρ]ρ must be abandoned since the letter before the *rho* is almost certainly *gamma*. Olympiodoros of Agryle is unknown.

Line 110: Kephisios was bouleutes in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1750, line 48). An ephebe of the same name in the archonship of Nikias Otryneus, 266/5³ (*I.G.*, II², 665, line 64), will be a grandson if Kephisios was a young bouleutes, a great-great-grandson if he was an elderly one. The stemma at *P.A.* 8295 is based on an earlier date for Nikias Otryneus.

Line 115: The *iota* is clear. Possibilities include [Θέογν]ιν, [Εὐπολ]ιν, [Σώπολ]ιν. I have not yet found any such name in conjunction with Πολύευκτος.

Lines 132-133: This is a new reading and confirms Tod's suggested parallel, *P.A.* 3632, who may well be the same man.

Line 140: I have shown elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 27-34) that *I.G.*, II², 2409 is part of *I.G.*, II², 1924, and that the Χαίριππος Ἀλαειός of that text (line 15), almost certainly the same man as this Chairippos, was born in 389/8. For a commentary on the type of transaction recorded in these lines, see M. I. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, pp. 104-105, whose explanation seems unquestionably correct.

Line 150: The restoration is Tod's from *I.G.*, II², 1563, line 11, and is unquestionably correct. It may be noticed that all the four slaves of this Acharnian live in Peiraeus. I take it that this man is a son of Βίων Ἀχαρνεύς, who also has three slaves living in Peiraeus (*I.G.*, II², 1576, lines 57-64), since I will later show reason to believe that that text is earlier than this.

Lines 185-186: The letters ΠΛΗΦ seem clear, but no explanation of them has yet occurred to me. Unless the owner's name was given without patronymic, which is not impossible, he will have to be taken as a metic and the restoration in the text accepted.

Lines 189-193: I have abandoned Kirchner's Δημ[οκράτη] in line 190 as too hypothetical, since the known Δημοκράτης Φρεάρριος (*P.A.* 3539) is not of this period. The only one of these names known for this period is the father, Δήμων Φρεάρριος, mentioned as a living trierarch in 323 or 322 (*I.G.*, II², 1632, line 248), if we may make the identification from name and demotic only.

Line 207: The restoration is from *I.G.*, II², 7528.

Line 219: A son of this man was an ephebe in 333/2 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 63, no. 8, Col. II, lines 33-34). The birth-date of Thrasymedes himself is unlikely to fall much, if at all, after 380.

Line 249: Lolling's reading [Ἀ]γωνί[δ]ην gives the correct name, and this must be the same as *P.A.* 175, the *lampadephoros* of *I.G.*, II², 3105, line 45, of which

³ Hellenistic archon-dates in this article are taken from W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 312-316, as modified by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 94-97.

the date seems to be roughly 350-340. Tod's [κα]ῖ Σώσ[τ]ρατο(ν) is clearly unsatisfactory, and surprising as my reading and restoration may appear, they are confirmed by *I.G.*, II², 6436, now restored by Peek, *Attische Grabschriften*, I, p. 12 (*Abh. Deutsch. Akad., Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur u. Kunst*, 1953, no. 4) as Πεισίστ[ρατος] Πιστοκ[λέους] Κη[φισιεύς].

Line 253: This Kallias is unknown, but the possibility must not be overlooked that he is related to the Periclean general of the same name and patronymic, who is of unknown deme (Thucydides, I, 61, 1). I hope to discuss this subject elsewhere.

Lines 334-335: Two extra letters necessitate Διογέν[ην] for Kirchner's Διογεί[τονα], and reduce the possibilities for the deme without producing an identification. Διογένης Ἐρικεύς (*P.A.* 3822) is far removed in time.

Lines 380, 384: For Σκαβω for Σκαμβωνιδῶν, cf. the examples in Meisterhans-Schwyzler, p. 84, note 718.

Line 392: Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1566, line 22, for the spelling of γειω(ργός). Ἡφαι is the usual form in these documents; cf. Face B, lines 13, 107, and *I.G.*, II², 1570, line 82.

Line 394: The only way I can yet see of resolving this line is to suppose Ἡ[ρι]-δάνο, a Chian name (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Ionia*, p. 331, no. 34), preceded by an abbreviated accusative, perhaps ending in δρ(ον). I print what I see.

Lines 398-400: Kirchner's readings and spacing require considerable correction here. For [...⁶...]δης Ἀ[ρ]ι[σ]τάρ[χου Μυ]ρρ(ινούσιος), cf. *I.G.*, II², 1751, line 29, Αἰσχυλίδης Ἀριστάρχου Μυρρινούσιος, perhaps a brother. In Γόργαθο(ν) Σφ[σιστρ]άτου Κυδαθη(ναεύς), Σω[σιστρ]άτου seems an inevitable restoration. For Γόργαθος I have no explanation. It can hardly be a by-form of Γόργαιθος (for which see Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen*, p. 24), but it may be a mistake for Γόργυθος, known from Kydathenaion in this period (*I.G.*, II², 2370, line 5, where I have checked the reading), on which see Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Lines 404-409: The division of the first two lines must be name, patronymic, name, patronymic, demotic; and Philon's son is presumably also from Iphistiadai. I have printed ολο in line 405, but [Εὐά]θλο is obviously a possibility. If one adopts the obvious restoration of lines 406-7, [Κηφισό]δωρο(ν) Μειδ[ίου Ἀναγν(ράσιον)] (*P.A.* 8362), no satisfactory arrangement can be arrived at, for the letters of line 407 seem to represent a demotic followed by the beginning of a name. However, the most likely reading for the demotic, Οἰν<α>ῖ(ον) is not altogether satisfactory, for the known compounds in Μειδ- are all at least one letter too short. I would not therefore rule out the possibility of [Ἐρ]οι<ά>δ<η>. Readings are very difficult at this point. In line 408 Kirchner read [Ἀ]μεινίου, possibly rightly, but I do not see the *mu*.

Line 429: This is Andron's first personal appearance, although his son has long been known from *I.G.*, II², 1753, line 14, and what is presumably his father appears in *I.G.*, II², 1740, line 42. The family presents intractable dating problems which I have discussed elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 20).

Line 431: Timonax, the name of Kallippides' father, appears here for the first time in Attica. Μέδων Καλλιππίδου Παιανιεύς (*P.A.* 9713) is presumably some relation, possibly an uncle.

Line 433: Tyren is presumably an Etruscan, with an ethnic as name. I have found no parallel for the single *rho* in Attic. Although αὔλοποι(ός) has good literary authority, it makes its first epigraphical appearance in Attica here; it should perhaps be considered as an alternative for ἀ[ρτ]ο(ποιός) in Miss Hereward's new fragments of *I.G.*, II², 10 (*B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 109, line 82).

Line 446: [Εὐ]θυκλέ[ους] is of course the most likely restoration, but not the only possible one.

Line 454: I know of no name ending in -αρνης. Lolling read]λένη.

Line 462: I have suggested elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 30) that Χαρίνος Χαρωνίδου (*P.A.* 15440) is a brother and that Εὐωνυμέυς should be restored in *I.G.*, II², 1642, line 36, and 2829, line 2, but neither of these inscriptions helps a close dating.

Line 466: Pherekleides appears as strategos in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 76, and in *I.G.*, II², 2968. The first inscription is probably of 324/3. The point has been much disputed but the date cannot be wrong by more than a year or two.

Line 487: If he is to be identified with [Δ]ημόφιλος Δημ[— —] (Παιανιεύς), prytanis in 348/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1748, line 20), as by Kirchner, Demophilos was not born after 378/7, but I am not sure that Δημ[έου] should not be the restoration there (cf. *P.A.*, 3686).

Line 507: Their father Θεόδωρος Εὐδημίδου Μελιτεύς had been trierarch on Kephisophon's expedition to Skiathos (*I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 35 ff. and 1629, lines 484 ff.), which is generally placed around 340 (see Kirchner, *ad loc.*). Between that time and the date of *I.G.*, II², 1623, which is between 334/3 and 331/0 inclusive (Kirchner, *ad loc.*), he had died, and the debt arising from the trierarchy was paid by his son Theodoros as his heir, acting alone, in that year (*I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 50-59). Here, on the other hand, his two sons, Athenodoros and Theodoros, join to free a family slave. This is a crucial passage for the dating of the stele. I take it as certain that the father is dead and that the stele is therefore later than Kephisophon's expedition to Skiathos *ca.* 340. I think it very probable that the evidence of the payment of the trierarchic debt is relevant; that is, it seems unlikely that there can have been any partial division of the estate which would have had the effect that the liability for the father's trierarchic debt fell on Theodoros alone. This leaves two possibilities: (a) that this passage is earlier than *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 50-59, that Theodoros and Athenodoros succeeded to the estate, freed this slave, and that Athenodoros afterwards died, leaving the responsibility for the trierarchic debt to Theodoros alone; this face of the stele would then be not later than 331; (b) that this passage is later than the trierarchic passage, that, when the father died, Athenodoros was a minor, that Theodoros paid the trierarchic debt on behalf of the estate, and that they could not or

did not free the slave until Athenodoros was of age; the stele could then not be earlier than 333.

Line 512: The only reason I can see why this might not be the famous Chairephilos (*P.A.* 15187), but the otherwise unknown grandson whom Kirchner has posited, is that a new citizen perhaps ought not to have a patronymic. What the fourth-century theory or practice on this point was it seems impossible to say. I cannot point to any case where someone who is definitely a first-generation citizen is given a patronymic (*I.G.*, II², 1496, line 32, [Χαρίδημος Φι]λοξένου Ἀχαρνέως is the closest, but the restoration is not certain), but I do not think that we can say that this social distinction was necessarily made. When we come to the question of when the family got its citizenship, we are in no better case. It was indeed certainly before 323 (Deinarchos, I, 43; *I.G.*, II², 1631, line 622), but Schaefer's theory that it was during the famine of 330-326 (*Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, III², p. 296) is quite unverifiable. *I.G.*, II², 417, where Chairephilos' son Pamphilos appears as a citizen, is of no help, since I see no way of dating it closer than between 340 and 320, and the comic references also stand in need of dating from the citizenship. Webster (*Cl. Quart. N.S.*, II, 1952, p. 20) accepts the *C.I.A.* dating of *I.G.*, II², 417 to 338-330, and uses it somehow to show that the *Epidauros* of Alexis (Athenaeus, 119F) belongs to the 'thirties. I do not follow his argument, nor do I understand how he can go on to date the *Sorakoi* in the 'forties, because another son, Pheidippos, is there called a ξένος. A mere decree of naturalization is hardly enough to stop a comic poet of any period calling a foreigner a ξένος. All we can safely say is that, if this Chairephilos is a grandson of the first, the date of the stele can hardly be earlier than 320, and is probably rather later.

Line 520: This is a new reading, replacing Ἀρχέδ[η]μον<υ>.

Line 524: Note Εὐθύμαχος Εὐ[θ]ίππου Ἐυπεταίων who proposes a decree in the archonship of Glaukippos (273/2), perhaps a grandson.

Line 548: He is one of the original names on his gravestone (*I.G.*, II², 6437), which seems to have been made before Demetrios of Phaleron's sumptuary reforms.

Line 557: A man of the same name, patronymic, and deme is prytanis in 367/6 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43, line 7), and was therefore born in 397 at the latest. He may be the same, but is more probably a grandfather. A relation, possibly a grandson, Ἐπικράτης Ἀνδροκλέους Εὐωνυμεύς is prytanis in the archonship of Euboulos (256/5; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 9, line 33).

Line 565: See *P.A.* 14609 for evidence showing prominence in the 'thirties and 'twenties.

Line 567: The evidence for Theophrastos from the navy-lists (*I.G.*, II², 1629, line 7; 1631, line 642) belongs to the 'twenties, but his father seems to be dead before [Demosthenes], XL, 347, where his evidence would have been useful. I do not understand *I.G.*, II¹, 4332, which has never been republished. Its lettering looks a

great deal later than our period, and it may belong to a descendant, but it is poor work for any period.

FACE B

Lines 2-3 and 5: Letters underlined are now not on stone.

Line 19: There only appears to be room for one letter: $\pi\alpha\iota\delta[.] \nu$.

Lines 30-65: Readings in these lines are difficult in the extreme, and should be treated with caution.

Line 34: For $[- -]\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \text{ Καλλιμάχου Μαραθώνιος}$ cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 28, line 50.

Line 53: Presumably for $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau[- - -]$.

Lines 61, 63: $[\text{I}]\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ or $[\text{II}]\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$. For an $\text{Ἀντιφάνης Πατροκλέους}$ of the first half of the century, see the *tabella defixionis*, *Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, p. 121.

Line 62: If my reading is right (Kirchner prints $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma$), $\tau\alpha\pi(\iota\delta\nu\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta) \acute{\epsilon}[\nu]$ is perhaps the least improbable expansion.

Line 91: An *hapax legomenon* $\psi\eta\chi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ with extraordinary spelling is not encouraging, but I see no other way of interpreting the line, and the woman must have specialized in the tending of horses. This is, as far as I know, the only example of $\pi\sigma$ in Attica; cf. $\Delta\alpha\mu\pi\sigma\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\omega$ (*I.G.*, XII, 7, 141; Amorgos), $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 56, 435; Styra) and *I.G.*, XII, 9, 1273-1274, III, line 3 of Eretria, all much earlier.

Line 98: Earlier editions have read $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \Sigma\omicron\nu\nu \omicron\iota\kappa$; this has been expanded variously (cf. Tod, *Epigraphica*, XII, 1950, pp. 12-13), but all have taken him to be a miner, "the only one released from this the hardest and cruellest of ancient industries" (Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 42, note 6). There is, however, room for only one letter before $\nu\nu$ and it looks very like a $\kappa\alpha\rho\rho\alpha$. I expand $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma(\alpha\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu) \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \text{Κυν}(\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota) \omicron\iota\kappa(\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha)$ with $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \text{Κυν}\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota$ referring forwards and backwards, and take him to be a building-worker, engaged in operations similar to those contracted for in *I.G.*, II², 1665. For the shortness of the distance between the Kynosarges and Alopeke, his master's deme of residence, cf. Herodotos, V, 63, 4.

Line 106: For a much later man of the same name and deme, see *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1926, line 6.

Line 109: For a minor fighting a legal action by a $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, cf. Demosthenes, XLIII, 15. Kleoxenos and Ktesonides are certainly of the same deme, although we cannot judge their relationship. For the formula, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX, no. 12.

Line 112: Menites of Kydathenaion appears on *I.G.*, II², 2409, line 40, and was therefore born in 389/8. See note on Face A, line 140.

Line 207: I have not come across Ἀχυρίων elsewhere, but it is a straightforward formation, and a good name for a farmer.

Line 209: Probably $[\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\iota\pi\pi]\omicron\varsigma$ as in Face A, line 140.

Line 210: *μυλωθ(ρός)* is a new profession in these texts. The definition in Liddell-Scott-Jones overestimates the social status of this profession. A member of it, clearly labeled, may be seen in action on the Megarian bowl, preserved in two copies, most conveniently to be found in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86 ff.

Line 211: Aristokritos is a new name in Aphidna.

Line 213: *P.A.* 15452 must be some relation.

Line 214: The restoration seems unavoidable. I have not found the name elsewhere.

Line 216: This is *P.A.* 10652, his second appearance in these documents (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1569, lines 55-59). I have discussed his prominence in the 'twenties briefly elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 35). He can hardly have been born much after 373.

Line 240: He is *P.A.* 15038, and was still alive in 303 (*I.G.*, II², 483, line 8).

Line 243: A possible clue to restoration is to be found in *I.G.*, II², 478, line 82 [Εὔ]βουλος Κηφισο[— —] Κικυννεύς, an ephebe of 305/4, who would presumably be a grandson. *I.G.*, II², 1755, line 15, is too distant in time to serve as a clue.

Line 254: This is *P.A.* 14160, born not later than 377, but still active in the 'twenties.

Line 266: *Πριάνθης* is a new reading; cf. *Πρεάνθης* (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 609, line 290; Keos).

Line 267: The grave stele of his grandfather who bears the same names belongs to the beginning of the century (*I.G.*, II², 5565; photograph in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1920-21, p. 116).

Lines 328-330: The stone has *ΑΝΤΙΣΚΕΝ[ΗΣ]* but neither the alteration nor the restoration is doubtful. I have discussed this troublesome family at length elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 21-22), and have attempted to simplify Kirchner's rather complicated stemma (*ad P.A.* 1196) by identifying his Antiphates I and II and his Antisthenes I, II, and III. The result would be that the elder Antisthenes, born between 420 and 410, is last mentioned in 334/3 and is dead by 326/5 when the Antisthenes of our inscription pays for half a new trireme as his heir. This would definitely date our inscription as later than 334/3. If my surgery on the stemma is thought too drastic, the only relevant conclusion that can be drawn from Kirchner's stemma is that these sons are in control of the family property by 326/5.

Line 333: No certain restoration can be made, since there is duplication of this name in the deme. I curtail discussion by referring to Kirchner's stemma (*ad P.A.* 12413), with which I agree. Nikostratos I had three sons: (1) Nikostratos III (*P.A.* 11025), who appears on a *tessera indicialis* of, say, 360-340 (*I.G.*, II², 1889; this and II², 1836 are in the Museum of the British School at Athens); (2) Menon (*P.A.* 10076), trierarch in 356/5; (3) Pythodoros (*P.A.* 12413), born 384/3, trierarch, Amphiktyon at Delos 341/0, *diaitetes* 325/4. Pythodoros had a son, Nikostratos II (*P.A.* 11026), who appears together with his father in another of these documents

(*I.G.*, II², 1576, lines 9-12) and by himself on *I.G.*, II², 2408. This inscription is of the Lykourgan period and has ten names from Oineis singled out at the top, followed by the beginning of a catalogue of Oineis. Unless this document is quite unparalleled, it is an ephebe-list, with the ephebic lochagoi singled out for special mention (see Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, pp. 222-226; Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239; Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 107), and this makes good sense about the ages of Nikostratos II and of Aischines' son, Atrometos, who also appears in *I.G.*, II², 2408. The only difficulty about this view is that there will have to be two Aristophons of Phyle, and Pritchett's note on Aristophon (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 277) will have to be emended accordingly. It seems quite clear that Nikostratos II cannot be the successful boys' choregos of 331/0 (*I.G.*, II², 2318, line 334), for the choregos must have been born before 371 (Aischines I, 11; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56; *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 24), and was almost certainly Nikostratos III. In this state of uncertainty, all we can say is that the restoration here will either be *Πυθοδώρου* and the reference to Nikostratos II, or *Νικοστράτου* and the reference to Nikostratos III.

Lines 335 ff.: The accepted date for the birth of Misgolas (*P.A.* 10225) is 390. I have tried to show elsewhere (*Cl. Rev.*, N.S. VIII, 1958, p. 108) that the retention of this date raises acute difficulties which resolve themselves into a choice between abandoning the age-qualification of thirty for the boule and emending Aischines, I, 49. I chose the latter alternative, and suggested a birthdate for Misgolas and Aischines *ca.* 398. In this inscription Misgolas and his brother still have part of their estate undivided, but we know nothing of their father, and have no idea when he died. It has been plausibly suggested that their grandfather was secretary of the tamiai in 403/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1370, line 5; *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 78-79).

Line 344: Tod read *σ[τε]χισητήν*, Lolling followed by Kirchner *τ[ο]κιστήν*. I suggest *τ[ε]χισητήν*, by far its earliest appearance, but not, I think, surprising.

I defer comment on the date of the stele. We may however note the salient facts about it as a whole. Face A seems to have contained about 125 entries, Face B about 140. Face A has only the formula with the slave's name in the nominative, Face B has only the formula with the slave's name in the accusative. It seems reasonably certain that Face A, with its more careful hand and the list planned to cover the whole face of the stele, was inscribed first. Face B was carved at a different time or, at any rate, by another hand.

There is more to be said about the group of documents to which this stele belongs. I begin with some revisions of their texts.

I.G., II², 1553 seems certainly to have had three columns at least, with one more to the left. Traces of the original back are preserved, but we cannot tell whether it was opisthographic. All entries preserved have the *ἀποφυγών* formula, as on Face A of our stele. Line 4 should read *Σοσίας*. The traces in line 45 do not appear to fit the *Corpus* restoration.

I.G., II², 1560: The law which would make all so much clearer can only be slightly improved. Line 3 should read ἀνάθημα .Λ..ΠΕ.; line 4 Η.ΙΕ... οἱ δικασ; line 7 ἢ καὶ τὸ σταθμὸν (σταθμόν is of course neuter in Attic of this period, and what seems a parallel to this phrase will be found in a new edition of *I.G.*, II², 333, which A. M. Woodward and I are preparing); line 14 is apparently ΚΙΩΔ, and line 15 is a *sigma*, not an *epsilon*. Kirchner was clearly right in suggesting οἰ]κῶν in line 12, and therefore the ἀποφυγών formula was used on both sides of the stele, which are both in the same hand.

I.G., II², 1561: The back is original, but uninscribed. The disposition of the inscription closely resembles 1564-1565, but the stone is slightly thicker, and its marble is different. Line 33 reads Πρόξενον Πυλα[γόρου Ἀχερ(δούσιον)], thereby confirming Preuner's restoration. All we have is in the ἀποφυγών formula, and this also applies to 1562 and 1563 where I have no changes to make.

I.G., II², 1564 and 1565 (E. M. 5302) are from the same stele, with 1565B coming from the same side of the stele as 1564. The back of 1564 is original and uninscribed, and it therefore should probably be placed below 1565. Again both sides have the ἀποφυγών formula. It will be noted that the reverse (1565A) has at least two columns, and this will also be true of the obverse.

I.G., II², 1566 is another opisthographic stele, with at least two columns on the obverse. Its most interesting feature is the sudden change at line 18 from the ἀποφυγών formula to the other, with the citizen's name in the nominative. It is cut by only one hand, but the change in formula is paralleled by a marked decline in neatness, as if the lines after line 17 were cut later after the stele had been set up.

I.G., II², 1567 and 1568 belong together and are from another opisthographic stele; 1567 has an original back uninscribed, and is presumably lower on the stele than 1568. 1568B has illegible traces of another column to the left. There were therefore at least two columns on each side; again both are in the ἀποφυγών formula.

The two sides of *I.G.*, II², 1569 are in different hands, but seem to have had the same number of columns, at least four. They have only the ἀποφυγών formula. I would prefer Παλ(ληνέα) in line 47.

I.G., II², 1570, opisthographic, but with nothing useful legible on the back, has at least three columns of the ἀποφυγών formula. Line 3 ends Ἀμ with an uninscribed space; line 8 should read Τάχυλ(λον); line 8a]δωρον Πυθοδώ[ρον] Θριάσιον. In line 34 there is no room for the restoration printed in the *Corpus*, and I read Ἀντιγέννη Ἀντ[— — — — —] Παί[— — — — —] and compare *P.A.* 996-997.

I.G., II², 1571 apparently goes with 1574, since it has a curious edge, sloping inwards under the face, while 1574's edge slopes outwards. I cannot account for this. *I.G.*, II², 1573, which I have not seen, probably belongs either to this stele or to 1575, to judge by its arrangement. Again the ἀποφυγών formula is universal.

I.G., II², 1572 also has the ἀποφυγών formula. The profession in line 8 ends not with *eta*, but with a certain *nu*, and I think the current restoration extremely doubtful.

I.G., II², 1575: I see no trace of line 1. In Column I, line 20, I read *ῥτα*, in line 24 *ων*, in line 26 *ἡνωι*. In Column II, line 15 *λικράτ[ους]*. On Face B, line 38, *Φιλοκράτης* *Φι[λ]* and a new line 49 [...⁷...] *ἡσ.τι.ν*. I follow Gomme (*Population of Athens*, p. 42, note 1) in doubting the association of Face B with the rest of our texts. Face A has only the *ἀποφυγών* formula.

I.G., II², 1576 has a formula peculiar to itself, slave's name, profession and deme, *ἀπέφυγε*, master's name, and lacks all reference to the *phialai*. Inscribed on at least two adjacent sides, it had at least three columns on the obverse. Line 12 has [*Π*] *υθοδῶρου*. In line 14 I doubt [*ι*χθ] *νο[πῶλ]*, for the first preserved letter appears to be rather *iota* or *tau*. In line 23, I distrust *Ἀνάχ[αρσι]ν*, and suspect a metic *Ἀναγ | [... ἐ]ν Κυδαθ | [οικοῦντα]*.

I.G., II², 1577 is an unsatisfactory stone of mysterious arrangement. Line 3 appears to end *οἰκ ΑΩΤ[.]*, line 6 *ταλασιω[]*, and there are two unread lines, 8 *ΔΟΧΑΧΟΥ* and 9 [*τ*] *αλα[σιω]*.

I.G., II², 1578 must have had three columns to make room for the prescript. Line 4 reads *Ἡγεστράτου*; line 5 [*ἐμ*] *Παι*. It has been noted that Column I (really II) has no reference to the *phialai*. On what grounds the *Corpus* restores references to them in Column II I do not know. It seems fairly clear that Column II does not have the *ἀποφυγών* or *ἀπέφυγε* formula, and that the change had already started in the previous column, for it seems unlikely that *Ἀρκάδα* in line 8 in the accusative preceded *Εὐκτῆμων* in the nominative in the same entry.

We have now reduced the number of *stelai* to seventeen, and it is possible that the number may have to be still further reduced, either because I have failed to notice a possible association or because a change of hand or arrangement in the middle of a stele may be concealing an association from us. In our present state of ignorance, we cannot of course assert that each stele represents a year.

One important result of this reduction of *stelai* is that it now becomes much clearer that the formula with the slave name in the accusative is distinctly rare. It now appears only on the abnormal (since it lacks the *phialai*) *I.G.*, II², 1578, the great stele here republished, and on 1566. It will be noted that in the last two cases there is some reason to assert that the entries using this formula are cut later.

Some rough stylistic grouping is possible. I am disposed to separate *I.G.*, II², 1576 and 1578, because they lack the *phialai*, and because, even apart from this, 1576 certainly, 1578 probably, has a different formula from the rest. It is tempting to suggest that the reference to *τὸ σταθμόν* in the law of 1560 refers to the introduction of the *phialai*. *I.G.*, II², 1576 and 1578 will then be earlier than 1560, which should certainly be the earliest of the rest, since it has what appears to be the law establishing the institution. With 1560 we may perhaps group 1561, 1562, 1563 and 1564 + 1565, since all these inset and isolate *φιάλην σταθμόν*:H. Another stylistic grouping is formed by 1571 + 1574, and 1575, as well as 1573, if this turns out to belong to a

third stele. All these start a new entry by outsetting the first line. Otherwise there is no very obvious grouping. Perhaps one would expect 1553 with its continuous lines to be the latest.

Absolute dating of the whole group is hardly possible. Kirchner in the *Editio Minor* places them all *ca.* 330, although his datings scattered through *P.A.* show both earlier and much later dates. The only attempt at precise dating I know is that of Diller, *Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander*, pp. 167-168, who argues that, since the first large silver hydriai were made from the *φιάλαι ἐξελυθηρικάί* in 321/0 (*I.G.*, II², 1469, lines 3 ff.), the institution of dedicating the phialai began at this time. But this is clearly not cogent, since the individual phialai may have been retained separately for some years in the treasury before the decision was taken to melt them and make larger offerings from them. The point must, however, be borne in mind, and we must add that there is evidence for another such hydria being made in 313/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1480, lines 8-11; unpublished restorations).

Greater precision can be sought by a prosopographical investigation of the lists. The assumption that 1576 and 1578 are the earliest, because they lack the phialai, gives some help. *I.G.*, II², 1576, lines 9-12, has Pythodoros and his son, Nikostratos II, of Acharnai joining to free a family slave. It will be clear from our discussion of the family (pp. 232-3) that there is no likelihood of Nikostratos being of age to do this before the end of the 'thirties; unless *I.G.*, II², 2408, is the earliest known ephebe-list, not until after 334. One cannot fix a lower limit; Pythodoros was alive until 324 at least. But note *Ἀυτοκλῆς Χαιρίππου Πιθεύς* (1576, lines 71 ff.). Kirchner seems to have thought him the ephebe of 334/3. This is unsatisfactory, since his father X.A.II. appears in the presumably later list 1567, line 14, and the Autokles of 1576 is more likely to be the ephebe's grandfather. But since the ephebe's father Chairippos was bouleutes in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1700, lines 161-2) and was therefore born in 365 at the latest, it would be undesirable to take the elder Autokles, and 1576 with him, too far into the 'twenties.

For the inscriptions with phialai, practically all the useful evidence comes from our large inscription. The crucial points on Face A are (1) line 507, of which what is now the most likely interpretation will point to a date later than 333; (2) lines 189 ff. These last seem very strong evidence for a date later than Kirchner's. Three sons of a Demon Phrearrhios join to free a slave. This almost certainly implies that their father is dead, but a Demon Phrearrhios is alive in 323 or 322 (*I.G.*, II², 1632, line 248). He could be a cousin, but we have no evidence to suggest a cousin's existence. If the upper limit for Face A is 323, the lower limit cannot be much later. We have on it men born in 389/8 (line 140), 380 or earlier (line 219), possibly even before 397 (line 557), besides one man (line 548) who died and was buried before the sumptuary legislation of Demetrios in 317/6.

Face B, which must be later, helps a little. The evidence of lines 328-330, on my view, proves a date later than 334/3. If the Nikostratos of line 332 is Nikostratos II, the date should be later than 325/4, when his father was still alive. Counterbalancing evidence comes from lines 335 ff., since, even if Misgolas was only 70 in 320, this is still remarkably late for him to be holding property in common with his brother. But this is a difficulty on any view now possible. It certainly prevents us from taking the inscription much lower than 320.

The evidence suggests therefore that the institution of the *φιάλαι ἐξελυθηρικάι* cannot be earlier than *ca.* 330, and strong, but not decisive, prosopographical evidence suggests a date at the end of the 'twenties for at least one of the lists. This fits well with Diller's hypothesis.

I do not propose to discuss the legal problems of these lists at length. For the commonest formula, slave's name-profession-domicile, *ἀποφυγών*, master's name, *φιάλην σταθμόν*:H, we have the plausible theory of Tod and Bosanquet⁴ that we have to deal with a group of manumissions carried out by fictitious processes *ἀποστασίον*, as described by Harpokration, *s.v.*,⁵ to which the compulsory dedication of a phiale was added, by, I suggest, the law of *I.G.*, II², 1560, as a registration fee. *I.G.*, II², 1576 and Column I (really II) of 1578 will be the registration of similar actions before the institution of the phiale.⁶

Difficulties really arise with the reverse formulae where the master's name is in the nominative. Here it is easier to see the difficulties in earlier theories than to suggest anything plausible in their place. Wilamowitz, for example,⁷ thought that the missing participle was *ἐξελόμενος εἰς ἐλευθερίαν*, but the reverse formula appears in 1578, where the heading clearly excludes any other suit but that known as *ἀποστασίον*, and Wilamowitz made no attempt to show how the type of *vindicatio* he suggested fitted into a *δίκη ἀποστασίον*. Kahrstedt⁸ has suggested that the reverse formula did not indicate a difference in the type or result of a case, but merely that the master and not the freedman paid for the phiale. This view, however, also clashes with the evidence of 1578, where, although the phialai have been restored, there is no reason to suppose their presence. Tod⁹ suggested that in these cases one should expect the logical opposite of *ἀποφυγών*, that is, *ἐλών*, and suppose that the masters won their case, but the large number of such entries on the reverse of our great stele suggests that here too some legal fiction leading to manumission is in question.

⁴ *B.S.A.*, VIII, 1901-2, pp. 197-202.

⁵ On the non-fictitious form of this action, see Gernet, *Droit et Société dans la Grèce ancienne*, pp. 168-172.

⁶ Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 198, note 2, attempted to explain the absence of the phialai from 1576 by assuming that they were referred to in the heading, but in 1578 they are absent from the heading too.

⁷ *Hermes*, XXII, 1887, p. 110, note 1 = *Kleine Schriften*, V, i, p. 275, note 1.

⁸ *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, pp. 308-309.

⁹ *loc. cit.*

The only possible, although perhaps not very probable, view that I can see is a combination of the views of Tod and Kahrstedt. We have seen some reason to believe that Face B of our great stele and that part of 1566 where the reverse formula is employed are later than the normal formula, and they may date from a time where the legal responsibility for providing the phiale had been transferred to the master. This would leave the cases of 1578, Column II, as genuine examples of a success by a master in a *δίκη ἀποστασίου* and the only cause for doubt which can be raised is that the prescript of 1578 refers to one particular day, and that if the cases registered on it were genuinely contested, the polemarch would have had a full day.¹⁰

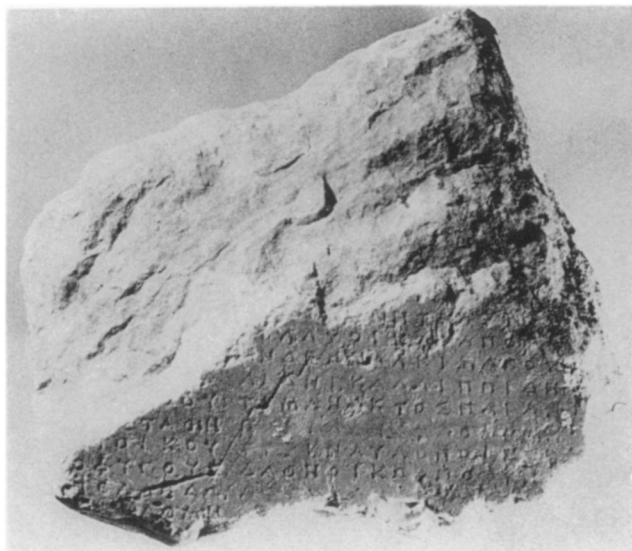
The truth of the matter is that our evidence is inadequate. Another fragment of the law of *I.G.*, II², 1560 or another prescript would improve our position. At the moment we cannot do more than guess at the legal procedure involved, and in the absence of precise dates, speculation as to the political background of this large body of inscriptions is quite unprofitable. I agree with, but cannot expand, the comment of M. I. Finley,¹¹ "The fact that all the evidence is crowded within a time span of two decades or less suggests that the whole procedure was not a normal one in Athens, but was created to meet peculiar conditions of the moment."

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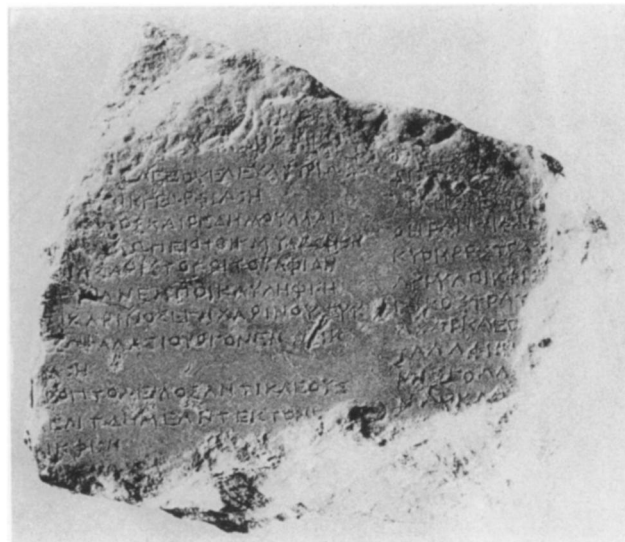
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¹⁰ Besides the works referred to in the commentary to *I.G.*, II², 1553, I have found Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-309, most helpful. I do not understand the views of Westermann, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, V, 1946, pp. 94-99.

¹¹ *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, p. 291.



Face A



Face B

Agora I 3183

DAVID M. LEWIS: ATTIC MANUMISSIONS



DAVID M. LEWIS: LAW ON THE LESSER PANATHENAIA