

THE TOP OF THE FIRST TRIBUTE STELE

(PLATE 42)

THE minimum height of the first stele of the Athenian tribute-quota lists is known as approximately 3.583 m.¹ This stele, the so-called *Lapis Primus*, is reconstructed out of many fragments in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. Its top is rough-dressed, with a marginal drafting² 0.035 m. wide which runs along the front edge (at least) of the upper surface, and which is still preserved on fragments 1, 3, and 4 (Pl. 42, a, b).³ Behind the marginal drafting the stone rises irregularly about 0.025 m.-0.03 m. to the roughly tooled and badly weathered original top of the stele, a kind of plateau evidently not meant to be seen from below, which extends across the tops of fragments 3 and 4 and a trace of which is still preserved on fragment 1. W. K. Pritchett calls this broad flat top area a “ridge,” and in the back of fragment 3, as now preserved, 0.073 m. from the obverse face of the stele, he has thought to see the corner of a cutting, at least 0.012 m. deep and 0.04 m. long,⁴ of which more will be said below. Pritchett hazards the conjecture that this may be the cutting for a large dowel in some way (one must suppose) associated with a superimposed block of marble which served as a kind of finial or crowning member on top of the stele itself.

Pritchett's thesis is that the size of the “ridge” implies a large superimposed block, for the setting of which the marginal drafting served as anathyrosis, and that on its reverse face—the obverse was presumably occupied by a sculptured relief—was cut the quota list of the eighth year 447/6. In other words, there was no “missing” list, as the authors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* have argued, but the list which they have called seventh was really sixth, their eighth was really seventh, and the eighth list was begun high up on the reverse of the alleged finial and carried down some little way onto the reverse of the stele itself. This reconstruction of the monument makes it unnecessary to explain why the ninth list, as we know it, began—as we know it did—some distance below the top of the reverse face of the stele.

This is a strange hypothesis, and it conjures up a strange-looking monument in place of the four-square stele which is aesthetically quite satisfying in its monolithic simplicity. It should be said at once, however, that the hypothesis breaks down not merely because it is aesthetically unsound but because it involves a fundamental misunderstanding of the meaning and usage of anathyrosis. The marginal drafting to which West and I referred in 1926 can in no sense be called an anathyrosis, and it is in no way similar to the anathyrosis which appears on the tops of some of Miss

¹ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (hereafter referred to as *A.T.L.*), I, 1939, p. 3.

² West and Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVII, 1926, pp. 171-172.

³ The fragments are here numbered as in *A.T.L.*, I.

⁴ *Historia*, XIII, 1964, p. 129.

Richter's *Archaic Gravestones of Attica*. Pritchett cites her figures 69, 72, 87, and 134 as having a "somewhat similar anathyrosis." But examination of Miss Richter's publication shows this not to be the case. He claims further that "in each case Miss Richter maintains because of the anathyrosis that the stele must have had a finial."⁵ This is not entirely true. Miss Richter makes no claim for anathyrosis on the top of the capital shown in her Figure 69. She does mention "a socket of somewhat irregular shape presumably for fastening the crowning sphinx by means of a large tenon,"⁶ and Miss L. A. Jeffery has come to the conclusion, I think rightly, that the cutting in the top was not for a tenon but for an entire plinth upon which stood the sculpture above. She suggests a less than life size horse and rider.⁷ The crowning member had no need of anathyrosis.

There is anathyrosis on the top of the capital shown in Miss Richter's Figure 72, but the proof of the superimposed finial is the mortise hole in the top of the capital in which are still embedded a fragment of the tenon and its surrounding lead. The finial no doubt rested down on the top of the capital. Miss Richter describes the anathyrosis as "an irregular edge, smoothed with the drove, surrounding an area worked with the point and for the most part slightly sunk."⁸

In Miss Richter's Figure 87 there is again true anathyrosis which she describes as "a smooth band along the four edges." She adds further that there was "an area within this border picked with a fine point" and also "an irregular area cut more deeply than the other and with a coarser point." The marginal band and the fine-picked area were made at the same time and formed a normal anathyrosis for the contact of a block resting on top of the stele, and the rougher surface in the middle probably resulted from the removal of the projecting tenon which held this upper block in place.⁹ Here the tenon was part of the lower block and fitted into a mortise in the stone above it, like the tenon on the top of the dedicatory shaft illustrated by A. E. Raubitschek,¹⁰ to which Pritchett also refers.¹¹ But there is no projecting tenon on the top of the *Lapis Primus* with which these two monuments can be compared. The only upward projection on the *Lapis Primus* is the fairly level and roughly tooled top surface of the stele itself which is bordered by the marginal drafting (Pl. 42, a, b). It would be a *tour de force* indeed to consider this a tenon which was meant to be fitted into a mortise groove above it.¹² The upward projecting tenon on Miss Richter's

⁵ *Historia*, XIII, 1964, p. 130.

⁶ G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, 1961, pp. 18-19, No. 20.

⁷ *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 138.

⁸ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 20, No. 21.

⁹ See L. A. Jeffery, *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 125, No. 9.

¹⁰ *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, 1949, p. 275, No. 238.

¹¹ *Historia*, XIII, 1964, p. 130 note 3.

¹² It is just possible, I fear, that Pritchett may have had some such idea in mind when he wrote that the capping member "must have been of considerable size, judging by the height of the ridge" (*Historia*, XIII, 1964, p. 129).

Figure 87 was relatively small and perfectly centered, and the significant fact about the top of her Figure 87 as well as about the top of her Figure 72 is that the area immediately within the smooth marginal band was sunk, not raised. This is also true of Miss Richter's Figure 134, which had anathyrosis and a hole for a dowel (?) in the top of the stele.¹³

These finials on top of Attic grave stelai and dedicatory monuments are far different from the block which Pritchett wishes to add to the top of the *Lapis Primus* and on the reverse of which he wishes to find one of the quota lists inscribed. Yet in all cases the anathyrosis, where it exists, has the area immediately behind the contact band lower than the band itself. A true anathyrosis which is prepared to receive an adjoining block is entirely different from the marginal dressing on the top of the *Lapis Primus*. True anathyrosis means the smooth finished perimeter of one block of stone dressed so as to make a neat contact (Anschluss) with another block of stone similarly dressed, with the surface of both blocks within the perimeter dressed back so as in no way to impede the perfect union of the outer edges. It will be well to quote the definition offered by our dean of classical architectural archaeologists, to whom this number of *Hesperia* is dedicated, as follows:¹⁴

ANATHYROSIS.—The smooth marginal dressing or contact band of a joint surface (usually vertical, but sometimes applied also to horizontal joints as in column drums), of which the central portion is roughened and sunk to avoid contact. Being applied only to the top and vertical edges of a vertical joint, it assumes the appearance of the trim of a door (*θύρα*), hence the name.

Immediately behind the marginal drafting on the top of the *Lapis Primus* the stone is not sunk to avoid contact; rather, there is a protrusion of about 0.025 m.-0.03 m., roughly worked. This is easily seen in the photographs published here in Plate 42, a and b of the tops of fragments 3 and 4. Also, on the top of fragment 3 especially one sees the pockmarks caused by long exposure to rain and weather. On fragment 4 pockmarks are clearly visible even on the drafted margin, Pritchett's alleged "anathyrosis."¹⁵ These surfaces were not protected by any covering member, but suffered from long exposure just as did the upper obverse face of the inscription below them.¹⁶ Nor was the drafted surface given the final smooth finish characteristic of fifth-century anathyrosis. The drafting was done with a drove chisel which left an unevenly rippled corrugated surface on which the marks of the drove are still

¹³ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 36, No. 53.

¹⁴ William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*,³ 1950, p. 387.

¹⁵ Large round holes in the tops of both fragments were drilled during the nineteenth century for the insertion of iron spikes, now happily removed.

¹⁶ Pockmarks on the upper inscribed surface can be seen in the photographs on Plate 42, a and b, as well as in the photographs published in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, pp. 8, 9.

clearly visible (Pl. 42, b). One can only conclude that *no stone was here superimposed* and that the marginal drafting was simply that and nothing more. Pritchett thinks "we can be sure that the ridge was intended to be covered." This judgment is in error; all that one can say is that the top of the *Lapis Primus* was not smooth-dressed and that the "ridge" was probably not meant to be seen from below.

The type of marginal drafting on the top of the tribute stele is like that along the reverse edges of large stelai, where the rough-worked back was left raised above the drafted edge. The drafted edge served to give a neat trim to the stone, but was in no sense an anathyrosis. An excellent example of just such a drafting is to be seen on the top reverse and on both lateral reverse edges of the first of the so-called Attic Stelai. These stones were published by W. K. Pritchett in 1953 with photographs of the reverse and of the marginal drafting along the edges, and they offer as good a parallel to the workmanship of the drafting along the top of the first tribute stele as one could hope to find.¹⁷ The corrugations of the drove chisel are visible on both draftings, and the widths are about the same, 0.035 m. on the first tribute stele and 0.04 m. on the first of the Attic stelai.¹⁸

Nor can the "cutting" in the reverse of fragment 3 belong to a dowel.¹⁹ Such speculation is idle, for if there was no upper block there was of course no dowel. One must go even further and aver that there was in fact no cutting. What Pritchett has taken as the corner of a cutting is simple fracture where part of the stone has been broken away (Pl. 42, c, d). The break has left a sharp lip, which comes to the surface in the rough-worked top, and it extends down the entire depth of the block, merging into the relatively smooth surface of the rest of the reverse of the fragment below the slight projection which forms a kind of pocket near the top (Pl. 42, d). This pocket is not man-made; it is virgin marble broken in such a way that Pritchett was deceived into thinking it part of a dowel hole (even though misplaced). I have examined the stone, and have submitted it to the examination of others, including the technical staff of the Epigraphical Museum, experts who have known marble and marble fractures for years. The verdict is that no cutting exists in the back of fragment 3 except

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pls. 69, 72.

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 240. Pritchett calls the band of drafting smooth, but the marks of the drove chisel are visible in the photograph on plate 72. Pritchett does not mention the drafting along the reverse edges of his fragments *b*, *f*, and *h*, though it exists there too; hence his description of the stones must be supplemented by reference to Meritt's original publication in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 47, where the drafting on all these fragments is described.

¹⁹ Pritchett, *Historia*, XIII, 1964, p. 129, measures the distance of the corner of the cutting from one lateral edge of the stele as 0.625 m. and from the other as 0.515 m. I disregard the fact that his measurements of the width of the stele do not square with my own (cf. *A.T.L.*, I, p. 3). It is incredible that his latest measurements (*Cl. Phil.*, LIX, 1964, p. 272), even if as nearly correct as he has been able to make them, are evidence for a tapering stele. It would be phenomenal if a stele reconstructed from 180 shattered fragments did not exhibit small discrepancies of measurement which in no way reflect on the symmetry of the original stones.

the holes drilled during the nineteenth century for the insertion of iron spikes—and they have nothing to do with our problem.

In fact, not the “cutting,” nor the rough-dressed “ridge,” nor the marginal drafting gives any evidence for a block superimposed on the *Lapis Primus*. Quite the contrary. The cutting does not exist, and the rough top with its marginal drafting shows that nothing was placed on top of the stele as we know it. Any one who consults an architect, or pays attention to the working and weathering and fracturing of the stone, must recognize the impossibility of a crowning finial on the reverse of which one of the quota lists was inscribed; it was an unfortunate hypothesis.

The positive architectural arguments against it are overwhelming. Negatively, one must note that no known quota list, large or small, or assessment decree, had sculpture, or a finial, above it, and that no single fragment of this alleged finial above the first large stele is known to exist, though inscribed fragments from all four sides of the stele itself have been found and identified. There are no fragments from the top of the reverse, which the editors of *A.T.L.* have shown not to have been inscribed. Had part of any list been inscribed there, some small fragment at least would undoubtedly now be known,²⁰ and the same can be said of the reverse of the alleged “finial,” if it had existed, and if it had been inscribed.

Pritchett, imagining available stone above List 9 on the reverse of the stele, argues that it must have been inscribed, citing architectural monuments at Delphi which have, in truth, no bearing on the question here. Except for List 2, there is no evidence that the masons who cut the letters and figures of the quota lists of the *Lapis Primus* were interested in economy of space. The last list on the obverse was loosely cut, four columns instead of the usual five, and there was vacant unused space below it. There was a very considerable unused space below the inscription on the right lateral face, on the possible use or non-use of which I have already commented.²¹ And if one be permitted for the moment to erect a finial so as to get available space on the upper reverse, one will find that there is an equal amount of available space (in height) on the left lateral face above List 14, whereas we know that List 14 began only at the top of the stele proper. It is odd that List 14 should not have commenced at the top of the finial, especially since, *ex hypothesi*, the mason would have had the example at the top of the reverse as his model. We reinforce our conclusion that the finial did not exist, and that no list, therefore, could have been inscribed upon it.

Pritchett contributes nothing to the prescript of List 8,²² and ignores many of the considerations which I set forth in detail, quite objectively, a quarter of a century ago.²³ There is no need to go over this ground again. The clinching argument, of

²⁰ See B. D. Meritt, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1943, p. 238.

²¹ *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1943, p. 237.

²² *Historia*, XIII, 1964, pp. 131-133. I have nowhere tried to turn “the very rarity of the name Διόδης into a point in its favor.” The discussion is in *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1943, pp. 233-234.

²³ *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, 1937, pp. 66-69; *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1943, pp. 233-239.

course, for *ὀγδοές* rather than *ἑβδόμες* for the list on the right lateral face is that this is the list immediately preceding List 9 and that no hypothetical finial can be inserted between them. The list on the bottom of the obverse immediately precedes it and is therefore List 7. The omission of its ordinal numeral is explained by the complete absence of any preceding List 6, and by the historical reasons for taking 449/8 as the year when there was no list.²⁴

In contemplating the uninscribed space above List 9 one might add, by way of example, that when the stonemason came to cut *I.G.*, I², 25 in 424/3 on the reverse face of the stone which carried *I.G.*, I², 24 (about mid century) he began not at the top but below a scarf joint which fastened the upper and lower sections of the stele together. When the stonemason of *I.G.*, I², 304B came to carry on his inscription of 407/6 on the reverse face of the stele which bore the text of *I.G.*, I², 304A (*a.* 410/09 *a.*) he began below the top, leaving uninscribed all the reverse of the sculptured panel and much of the reverse of the inscribed stone as well. Finding that he still did not have room to cut the entire text of 407/6 he returned to the available area above what he had written, but even so did not utilize the reverse of the sculptured portion.²⁵ The lesson to be learned is that the stonemason who cut List 9 on the reverse of the *Lapis Primus* did not have to go to the top of his available space if he found it inconvenient, or did not choose, to do so.

The editors of *A.T.L.* have thought to read part of the prescript of List 9, and so have been able to confirm the extent of the uninscribed area above.²⁶ Numerous scholars have questioned the reading of the prescript, but nothing new, not even Pritchett's latex squeeze,²⁷ has added certainty to what may or may not have been in the line which McGregor has most recently read [ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς] ἐν[άτης ἡεὶ — — — — — ἐγγραμμάτενε — — — — —].²⁸ I have agreed with him that the epsilon is to be read without a dot. The three horizontals were read by Koehler before there was any argument about the meaning, and after the epsilon Koehler read what he took to

²⁴ Pritchett refers, with deprecatory innuendo, to "so-called" historical reasons. The evidence is in *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 29-63. When A. E. Raubitschek writes (*A.J.A.*, LXX, 1966, p. 39) that there is no evidence in the Tribute Lists for the reorganization of the Athenian alliance in 450/49 he gravely undervalues the momentous facts of a year (449/8) when the normal collection of tribute was suspended and of the historical dependence of this suspension on the Peace of Kallias. Nor has he mentioned the transfer of the bulk of allied moneys (5000 talents) to Athena in 450/49 (much more significant than their mere transfer to Athens from Delos in 454/3), with the continuation of major gifts to Athena from 449/8 down to 434/3 (cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 163-197). I do not now argue his other suggestions, but feel that these two points must be stressed, especially in view of his somewhat ambiguous reference to Pritchett's essay on the First Stele.

²⁵ This important text is now studied in *T.A.P.A.*, XCV, 1964, pp. 204-211.

²⁶ Meritt and West, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1926, pp. 77-78, estimated the uninscribed area as 0.246 m. in height. Unhappily, Pritchett persists (*B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1965, p. 437, etc.) in his erroneous interpretation of the epigraphical and architectural evidence of this stele.

²⁷ *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pl. 128A (cf. also pp. 400-401).

²⁸ *Phoenix*, XVI, 1962, p. 272.

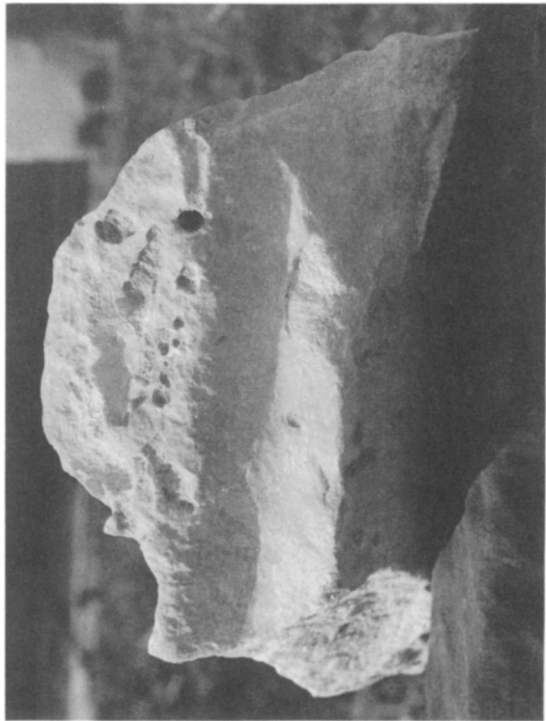
be a gamma.²⁹ I believe that this second letter is not gamma, but nu. Since no known tributary city can be fitted to these two letters, and since they fall on the stone at exactly the right place for the ordinal numeral of the heading, I continue so to interpret them. But whether this is right or wrong the nature and extent of the ninth list must be approximately as indicated in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 15, and no question of historical importance depends on the issue.³⁰

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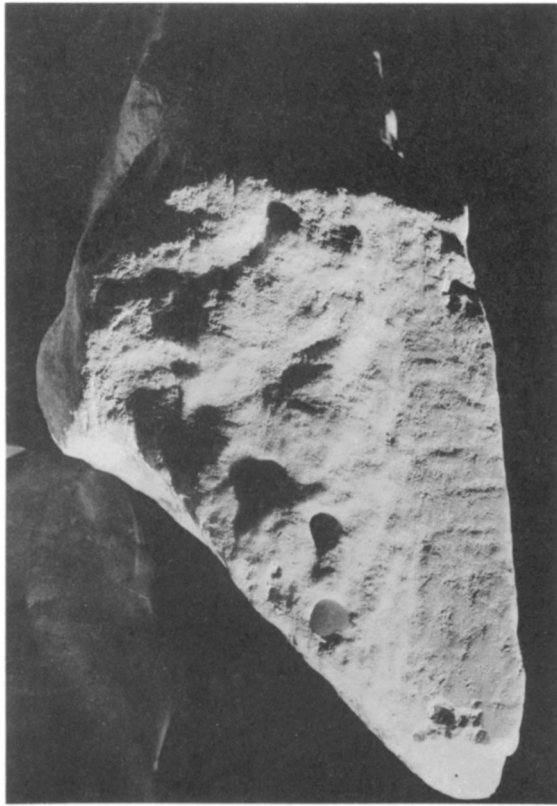
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²⁹ Ulrich Koehler, "Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes," *Abh. Ak. Berlin, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1869, pl. IV, No. 39b. Pritchett says that the reading gamma was made by earlier editors, including Koehler, Kirchhoff, and Hiller (*A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, p. 401 note 3). In point of fact the reading of both epsilon and gamma, among earlier editors, was made by Koehler alone. No reading was made by Rangabé or Boeckh; Kirchhoff never saw the stone; and Hiller followed Kirchhoff and Koehler.

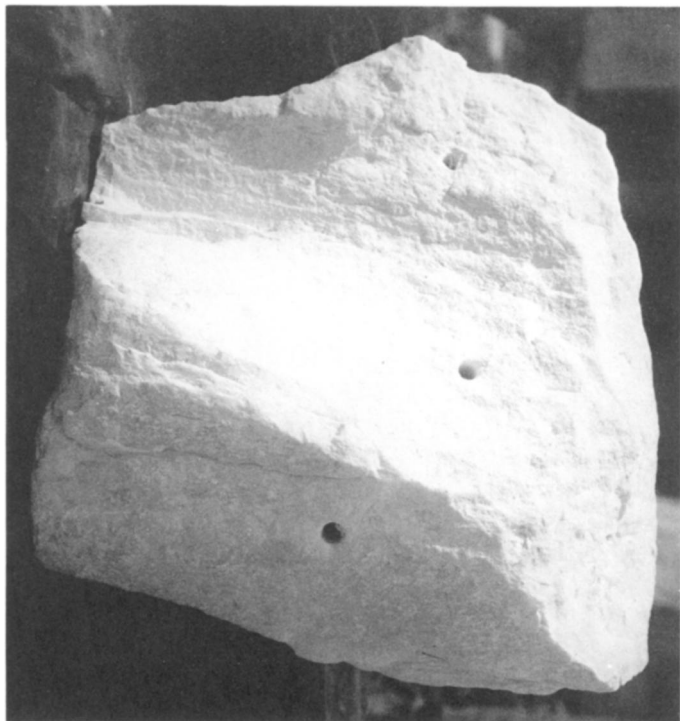
³⁰ David M. Lewis, who denies the prescript of List 9, yet adds only one or two lines (five or ten names). Cf. *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 27.



a. Top of Frag. 3, showing Drafting, Pockmarks and Weathering.



b. Top of Frag. 4, showing Corrugated Surface of Drafting and Weathered Pockmarks.



c. Back of Frag. 3.



d. Back of Frag. 3, showing Vertical Split of the Marble.