THE TRIBUTE QUOTA LIST OF 454/3 B.C.[1]

(PLATES 99–100)

A fragment of Pentelic marble from the top of the First Stele of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists (Pl. 99, a) was discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora on May 12, 1971, east of the Library of Pantainos (T 14-15).[2]

> Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.235 m.
> Height of letters 0.013 m. (lines 1-3) and 0.01 m. (lines 5-22).
> Inv. No. I 7300 = E.M. 13444.

The stone is broken on all sides except the top which preserves over a broad area the original rough-picked surface,[3] just as do the other known fragments from the top of the stele.[4] It also has along the front edge of its upper surface a marginal drafting about 0.03 m. broad, just as do the other fragments from the top of the stele. The front and top surfaces are weathered and pockmarked from long exposure to the elements. The top behind the marginal drafting forms a more or less level plateau about two and a half or three centimeters higher than the edge of the stone which carries the drafting.[5] This top plateau of rough-picked stone was not visible to one reading the inscribed face, for the stele stood at least 3.663 m. high [6] and the angle of vision of the beholder, tangent to the smooth front edge of the drafted taenia, passed above the rough interior surface of the top. There are no ancient cuttings in the top except the marks of the pick which gave it its rough, though

[2] References by letter and number to place of discovery are taken from the master grid of the excavations which appears in all of the *Athenian Agora* publications.

[3] See the photographs on Plates 99 and 100.

[4] These fragments are numbered here as they appear in the drawing in Benjamin D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, Malcolm F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, 1939, plate II. The new fragment, from its position, becomes fragment 1a. The obverse faces of fragments 1, 3, and 4 are published in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, pp. 6-10 with photographs and with a drawing on plate III.

[5] This can be seen in the photographs of the lateral face of fragment 4 (Pl. 99, b) and of the section of the rebuilt stele (Pl. 100).

[6] *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 3.

fairly level, surface and the traces of the drove chisel which made the taenia along the front edge.[7]

It was a frequent habit of Athenian stonemasons to leave quite rough a surface not intended to be seen and with the aid of a drafting around the edge to present to the eye a well-shaped stone. This is what happened with the top of the first tribute stele. On other stones a marginal drafting was sometimes employed merely as an extra refinement when it was in fact not necessary. The top of the so-called second stele of the Tribute Quota Lists has a smooth drafting along the front edge of the top with a width of about 0.03 m. The stone behind this is more roughly worked but dressed down to the level of the drafting. The stone which carries the assessment decree of 425/4 (A 9)[8] has a drafting about 0.04 m. wide along the front edge of the top on the right-hand fragment and is rough-picked (relatively) behind this, with a rise of several millimeters above the level of the drafting. The smooth drafting along the top front of the left-hand fragment measures about 0.03 m. The top surface generally is somewhat rough-picked. On the accounts of the logistai (I.G., I², 324)[9] there is a smooth drafting of about 0.025 m. across the front edge of the top behind which the surface is slightly rough-picked, usually level with the drafting but with several excrescences. There is a smooth dressing of about 0.018 m. on top across the back. On the front there is evidence of a bevel below the drafting, a further refinement in making the stone more attractive in appearance. In none of these instances here cited is the rough-picking nearly so rough as that on the top of the first tribute stele. There it was evidently not thought needful to smooth down, even

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[7] It is well to emphasize these facts, for there has been unwarranted speculation about the top of the stele, with the assumption even of a crowning finial (W. K. Pritchett, *Historia*, XIII, 1964, pp. 129-134, with a misunderstanding of the technical term anathyrosis; *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VII, 1966, pp. 123-129; VIII, 1967, pp. 113-119). When the new fragment was discovered the Director of the Agora Excavations remarked that it was now fortunately obvious that nothing except possibly a bird could ever have sat on the top of it. For other critical comment see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 134-140, and *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VIII, 1967, p. 126 with note 30; Malcolm F. McGregor, *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VIII, 1967, pp. 103-104. R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1969, p. 84, do not find Pritchett's arguments convincing. Pritchett's article of 1966 has photographs of the top of fragment 4 (plate 6, fig. 2) and of the top of fragment 3 (plate 7, fig. 3). He also has a photograph (plate 6, fig. 1) of part of the plateau, which he erroneously calls a "ridge," on the top of fragment 4. This is seen from the side in the photograph published here in Plate 99, b. Photographs of the top and back of fragment 3 and of the top of fragment 4 are published in *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, plate 42. The description of the stone by R. Sealey in *Phoenix*, XXIV, 1970, pp. 14-15, may be disregarded. He still believes in Pritchett's "ridge" and thinks the smoothly dressed band "not just a marginal dressing." Why not? There are many such in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, especially on the reverse faces of stelai where the protruding rough surface inside the drafting was not meant to be seen, just as was the case on the top of the first stele.

[8] The quota lists of the years from 454/3 to 430/29 and the assessment decrees are designated here as in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, and II, 1949.

[9] For the text see B. D. Meritt and M. L. Lang, *Class. Quart.*, XVIII, 1968, pp. 84-94.

mildly, the last two or three centimeters of the roughed-out stone. In no case is there any anathyrosis and certainly the drafting implies no superimposed finial. Quite the contrary; it argues conclusively against it.

When the new fragment was taken to the Epigraphical Museum and tested for joins it was found to fit precisely above the old fragment 6, as shown in the photograph on Plate 100.[10] The fitting of the new fragment into place gives a correlation between the names in Col. III and the amounts of quota as recorded on fragments 2 and 6. Fragment 2 is now lost, and its quotas are known only from the reports of early editors.[11] In line 12 are the final four obols of the quota of [Δ]αννιοτειχῖτ[αι: ΔΓͰ]ΙΙΙΙ. The normal quota of Samothrake is recorded in line 13: Σαμοθρᾱ[ικες:] ⲊΗ. A new interpretation must be made for the quota of Astypalaia in line 14, for the normal quota of ΗΗ should doubtless be read: 'Αστυπαλ[αιες:] ΗḤ.[12] The quota of Mende appears in line 15: Μενδαῖ[οι: ⲊΗΗ]Η, and of Selymbria in line 16: Σελυμ[β]ρ[ιανοί:] ⲊΗΗΗΗ. The quota of Aige follows, normally, in line 17: Αἰγάντ[ιοι: ΔΔ]ΔͰͰΙΙ. Here the evidence of fragment 2 breaks off. We cannot now know how the fragment was broken, but it is clear that its quotas must be shown much closer to the margin of names in Col. IV than was done in the publication in *A.T.L.*, I, plate III. The width of Col. III amounted to a normal fourteen letter spaces (0.175 m.), a determination which can be verified by referring to the entry Διοσιρῖται: ΔΓͰΙΙΙΙ in line 23 where the stone is completely preserved. It is evident, however, that some violation of the stoichedon order was permissible. The entry in line 26, Λινδίον Οἰᾱται: ⲊΓ, which fills the fourteen available spaces, should have occupied sixteen. There is also crowding in line 29. These peculiarities must be borne in mind when deciding upon the restorations in the upper half of the column.

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[10] W. K. Pritchett once suggested that the first stele be dismantled so that it might be examined by modern geological techniques (*Historia*, XIII 1964, p. 134). He would also like to test the marble for foliation planes (*B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, p. 23, note 3). These suggestions have nothing to recommend them and would entail much useless effort and waste of time. The stones are much safer and far less liable to damage if left where they are. Foliation planes are of no importance, whether we know them or not, when the stones join. See *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 376-384, especially p. 379, for the " Reconstruction of the Tribute Lists." There has been irresponsible meddling with the tribute lists of late. Between 1967 and 1969 the upper central fragment of the assessment decree of 425/4 was removed from its reconstructed stele and replaced incorrectly. One of the fragments of the quota list of 420/19 was damaged by chipping at the edges and some letters have been lost. This cannot now be remedied, but the fragment of the assessment decree was replaced correctly in 1969. See also *Class. Quart.*, XVIII, 1968, p. 84, note 2, for wanton damage to crucial epigraphical texts.

[11] Cf. *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 7.

[12] West and Meritt first interpreted the strokes given by K. S. Pittakys in 1, III, 14, as ΗΗΗΗ (*A.J.P.*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 171-176 = *S.E.G.*, X, 1). It was a wrong guess to substitute the version ΙΙͰΙΙΙΙ which appears in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 7, plate III. It would have been better to hold more closely to Müller's reading as reported by August Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*, II², plate I, No. I. His reading of ΗΙΗ comes very close to the ΗΗ which is correct for Astypalaia.

The old restoration of line 20 as [Πεπαρέθιο]ι: HHH is impossible, for the line begins with alpha kappa. When the stone was first discovered the restoration Ἀκ[άνθιοι] suggested itself, but this is likewise impossible because it falls short by two letters for the space available. When cleaned of its incrustation of modern cement the third letter appeared as a clear rho.[13] The only name from the tribute quota lists which fits these three initial letters alpha kappa rho is Ἀκρόθοιοι hοι ἐν Ἄθοι. This name makes its first and only appearance much later, in the assessment of 421 B.C. (A 10), and does not in any case suit the length of the lacuna available for restoration. The restoration of Kolophon in line 21 is confirmed by the addition from the new fragment of the first two letters of the name: Κο[λοφόν]ιοι: HHH.

The question of what to restore in line 20 is complicated by the two unexpected items in lines 18 and 19. In line 18 the only restoration reasonably possible is Νεο-πο[λῖται – –]. But one of the three cities so far known from the quota lists named Neapolis appears elsewhere in this year (1, VI, 9-10) as Νεάπολις [ἐ]ν [Θ]ράικει: ΔΓ[ΗΙΙΙ], and the Neapolis on Pallene appears lower down in 1, III, 28 as a normal entry: Νεοπολῖται: Ⱶ. It would be unwise to consider Νεάπολις ἀπ᾽ Ἀθενῶν, which makes its first appearance in 442/1 and which was presumably split from Tyrodiza when Athenian colonists went to the Hellespontine Chersonesos about 450 B.C.[14]

The Νεοπο[λῖται] of line 18 are, therefore, either a duplicate entry for the Mendean colony on Pallene, who already appear in line 28, or they are new and as yet unknown contributors, whose location and the amount of whose contribution are both unknown.[15] One must consider these Neopolitai in connection with the Milesians of line 19, for Miletos in 454/3 was in revolt from Athens,[16] and loyal Milesians paid tribute, if at all, from the places where they had taken refuge. The quota list under consideration has in 1, VI, 19-22, two such groups, the Milesians in Leros and the Milesians in Teichioussa. One expects the Milesians in 1, III, 19, if that is the correct restoration, to be somewhere in the same general region with these other two groups, on the shore of the Gulf of Iasos, perhaps, or on an adjacent island. This region and this territory had remained loyal to Athens. Lines 19-20 of Col. III might then be read

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[13] This cleaning was done by the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, Dina Peppa-Delmouzou, who used a wooden spatula which she had found apt for the task in her studies at Brauron.

[14] *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 525.

[15] It has been suggested by some who have seen the stone that the juxtaposition with Αἰγάντ[ιοι] in line 17 points to the Mendean colony and favors the idea of a duplicate entry. This does not seem a consideration of weight. Mere juxtaposition, by itself alone, in this list can prove nothing. Witness, for example, Διοσιρῖται and Αἱραῖοι flanking Σπαρτόλιοι in 1, III, 23-25.

[16] *A.T.L.*, III, 1950, pp. 253-254. A concise and useful summary of relations between Athens and Miletos in mid-fifth century is given by Donald Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, 1969, pp. 98-101. His disagreement with the authors of *A.T.L.*, III, about the cause of the revolt is of no consequence here.

Μιλέ[σιοι ἐν τôι]
ἀκρ[οτερίο]ι: HHH

This would also utilize the preserved letters of line 20.

It is disturbing, however, that the promontory is not named more precisely.[17] If the restoration has any merit the peninsula was probably that above Halikarnassos. This would be a logical geographical possibility. And if the Milesians were on this peninsula it is probable that the Neopolitai of 1, III, 18 belonged to the small town of Neapolis mentioned in the first century after Christ by Mela (I, 85) and by Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.*, V, 107). This town is represented by a bronze coin of Hellenistic date in the British Museum with the inscription on the reverse Νεάπολι(ς) Μυν(δίων). The quotation from Mela (*ca.* A.D. 43) reads as follows: " trans Halicarnason illa sunt: litus Leuca, urbes Myndos, Caruanda, Neapolis, sinus Iasius et Basilicus." The text of Pliny (A.D. 23–79) reads: " habitatur inter duos sinus, Ceramicum et Iasium. Inde Myndos et ubi fuit Palaemyndus, Nariandos, Neapolis, Caryanda, Theangela libera,[18] Bargyla et, a quo sinus Iasius oppidum Iasus." The bronze coin in the British Museum was published with a photograph by Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.*, 1897, pl. XXIII, 1, with the legend NE ATT OΛI MYN⁝. In his introduction Head says (p. lxv) " It is, however, not quite certain that the characters on the right of the lyre are in reality MYN. The attribution (to Myndos) is therefore still somewhat conjectural." There is, however, no doubt about the reading, of which every letter is clear and unmistakable in the photograph.[19]

George E. Bean and John M. Cook made an exhaustive study of the Halikarnassos peninsula some years ago and came to the conclusion that an influx of residents from the island of Karyanda not only transferred their name to the mainland but also gave a dense enough population to justify Neapolis in issuing, for a time at least, a coinage.[20] There can be no doubt that in the fifth century the Karyanda of the Athenian tribute lists was the island.[21] It was loyal to Athens as was Myndos

[17] For the suggestion that line 20 need not be restored with the name of a city I am indebted to Geoffrey Woodhead, who suggested ἀκ[ροτερίο]ι before the rho had been discovered in the cleaning of the stone. His suggestion is now brilliantly confirmed.

[18] Theangela is an emendation made by G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, B.S.A., L, 1955, p. 156, for the manuscript Termera. See also *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[19] This was noted also by Bean and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 158, note 304.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 157: " Fairly early in the Hellenistic period the Caryandans abandoned their island city and settled here, around Aşaği (Lower) Göl and Türkbükü, giving to the lake the name of their old city." *Op. cit.*, p. 158: " Bearing in mind the cardinal fact of the underpopulation of Myndus and its territory, we find it hard to imagine the emergence in Hellenistic times of a ' Neapolis of the Myndians ' except as the result of just such a settlement as we suppose to have been made at Göl; we suspect that this Neapolis is no other than the transplanted Caryanda, whose former standing would explain the privilege of a special coinage.

[21] *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 498.

on the mainland, both appearing consistently in the quota lists as paying their assessed tribute to Athens. But the appearance of Neapolis on a Hellenistic coin and in the later literary tradition together with, but separate from, Karyanda implies not the complete identity of the two towns, as Bean and Cook suggested, but a separate existence of Neapolis both before and after the Karyandans moved to the same neighborhood. The Karyandans, probably in the Hellenistic period, immigrated and settled in a sparsely populated part of the Halikarnassos (Myndian) peninsula. This is probably what the exiled Milesians had done in the fifth century. That the small town of Neapolis (if it is to be considered as a separate entry) also paid in 454/3 would no doubt have been due to the close proximity of a large number of loyal Milesians and could explain the entry Νεοπο[λῖται – –] in 1, III, 18.

It is again disturbing, however, that the Neopolitai of line 18 seem to have been named without any designation to distinguish them from the larger colony on Pallene. The other small town named Neapolis in the quota list of 454/3 had a distinguishing epithet (1, VI, 9-10): Νεάπολις [ἐ]ν [Θ]ρᾴκει. Since those here in 1, III, 18 seem to be closely associated with the exiled Milesians it is a remedy for this lack of a separate designation to include them with the Milesians, both together on the same peninsula, reading, perhaps, with due regard to stoichedon order

$$\text{Νεοπο}[\text{λῖται καὶ}]$$
$$\text{Μιλέ}[\text{σιοι ἐν τôι}]$$
$$\text{ἀκρ}[\text{οτερίο}]\text{ι: HHH.}$$

In the fifth century Myndos was a very small place.[22] The larger city near the probable site of Neapolis was Madnasa, which was gathered into the synoecism of Halikarnassos and its inhabitants moved by Mausolos about 370-365 B.C.[23] Bean and Cook have located the Lelegian city of Madnasa at Göl[24] on the northern coast of the peninsula and think that a settlement around Göl and Türkbükü might well have continued in existence after the Madnasans had left (just as I believe that Neapolis continued to exist after the Milesians returned home at an earlier date), for Türkbükü is by far the largest of the inhabited places on the north coast of the peninsula. I am inclined to believe that this site of the former Madnasa rather than the earlier Neopolis

[22] It is taken by Bean and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 145, to have been on the site of modern Bozdağ (sketch map, p. 86) and to have been the Lelegian town which was known after the founding of the fourth century Myndos as " Old Myndos." It is this " Old Myndos," or Palaimyndos, which belonged to the Μύνδιοι of the Tribute Quota Lists.

[23] Bean and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 169, and for the rejection of the idea that Alexander also effected a synoecism see also pp. 143-145.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 155. This differs from the tentative identification made in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 514, with the site further west at modern Borgas, shown by Bean and Cook on their sketch map of the Halikarnassos peninsula (p. 86). I accept here the identifications made by Bean and Cook who had intimate knowledge of the geography of the peninsula, which the editors of *A.T.L.* had not.

is the site of the transplanted Karyanda. This is impossible to confirm since the later Byzantine town has obliterated the earlier occupation.

But the site of Türkbükü is not actually on a peninsula. It is, as the name implies, in a recess of the coast, and the word ἀκρωτήριον, if restored, will have to apply to the whole peninsula between the Keramic and the Iasian gulfs. This is entirely possible, for the peninsula is in fact a true ἀκρωτήριον and could, as Bean has suggested to me, represent admirably the *litus Leuca* of Mela.

One might expect the Milesians in this group to be named first, as being the larger component of the exile settlement. If one restores λευκὸν ἀκρωτήριον, it, like the *litus Leuca* of Mela, describes the peninsula north from Halikarnassos on which he says the cities (*urbes*) of Myndos, Caruanda, and Neapolis were located. Since the Neopolitai, however, were the first item in the three-line entry they were probably themselves actually the exiled Milesians, or at least they must have included them. This is the meaning if one restores Νεοπο[λῖται ἐκ] Μιλέ[το – –], etc. The Milesian exiles took unto themselves, apparently, the name of Neopolitai, defined in the inscription as the Neopolitai from Miletos. A small town called Neapolis may have existed previously on the site they occupied. Such a small town certainly continued to exist after they had returned home. It is an advantage with this restoration that the Neopolitai are now defined with an epithet which distinguishes them from the other Neopolitai of the tribute lists. It is also an advantage that the promontory can be given a proper name and not merely left as " the " promontory. The preferred restoration for these three lines therefore now becomes

Line 18   Νεοπο[λῖται ἐκ νν]
Line 19   Μιλέ[το ἐν Λευκôι]
Line 20   Ἀκρ[οτερίο]ι: HHH.

When the loyal Milesians returned to Miletos [25] the small town of Neapolis ceased to be represented in the quota lists. It probably paid through Madnasa, for it lay in Madnasan territory and in close proximity to the larger city. Later on, of course, when the settlement at Madnasa no longer existed under that name, Neapolis was in Myndian territory, as the Hellenistic bronze coin testifies. In the fifth century many small towns of Karia which were recorded in the quota lists of the first assessment period (454/3–451/0) dropped out of sight (except for the assessment of 425/4), a fact which does not necessarily mean that they no longer existed, but in all probability that they were included, if taxed at all, with some more powerful neighbor.[26]

[25] The city paid its tribute normally in 452/1. Cf. *A.T.L.*, III, 1950, p. 252; R. Meiggs, *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, pp. 25-27; Donald Kagan, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[26] See *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, pp. 216-441 in the Register for the epigraphical record, and pp. 461-566 in the Gazetteer for what is known of their location. For Ὀρανιἐτ[αι] see now Bean and Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 163.

The Milesians who went in their exile to Leros and Teichioussa were not on foreign soil. These places remained Milesian and their names were sometimes listed along with the Milesians as a syntely in later lists.[27] The Milesians who went to Neapolis were on foreign soil and their abode there ceased to be Milesian when they returned home.

The third column of List 1, with the help of the new fragment and with a reinterpretation of the lost fragment 2, can now be completely restored:

<div style="text-align:center">

Column III

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   5   Πεδασῆς: ΗΗ
       Ἀστυρενο[ί: ΠΗΗΙΙ]
       Βυζάντιο[ι: ΧΓᴿ]
       [Κ]αμιρῆς: Γᴿ[ΗΗΗΗ]
       Θερμαῖοι
  10   [ἐν] Ἰκάρο[ι: ᴿᴾ]
       [Δ]αυνιο
       τειχῖτ[αι: ΔΠΗ]ΙΙΙΙ
       Σαμοθρᾶ[ικες:] ΓᴿΗ
       Ἀστυπαλ[αιῆς:] ΗΗ
  15   Μενδαῖ[οι: ΓᴿΗΗ]Η
       Σελυμ[β]ρ[ιανοί:] ΓᴿΗΗΗΗ
       Αἰγάντ[ιοι: ΔΔ]ΔΗΗΙΙ
       Νεοπο[λῖται ἐκ υυ]
       Μιλέ[το ἐν Λευκõι]
  20   Ἀκρ[οτερίο]ι: ΗΗΗ
       Κο[λοφόν]ιοι: ΗΗΗ
       Νοτ[ι]ῆς: ΔΔΔΗΗΙΙ
       Διοσιρῖται: ΔΠΗΙΙΙΙ
       Σπαρτόλιοι: ΗΗυυ
  25   Αἰραῖοι: ΗΗΗ
       Λινδίον Οἰᾶται: ᴿᴾΠ
       Ἀστακενοί: Ηᴿᴾ
       Νεοπολῖται: ᴿᴾ
       Μαιάνδριοι: ᴿᴾΔΠΗΙΙΙΙ
                 vacat
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Much also can be done with Column II, where many of the quotas are preserved on the new fragment. The following restorations are proposed:[28]

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[27] In 427/6 (28, lines 15-17), 425/4 (A9, I, lines 121-122), 421/0 (34, I, lines 88-90), and 416/5 (39, I, lines 36-38).

[28] In lines 8 and 9 the stone appears to be smooth and uninscribed in the last two letter spaces,

Column II

5 [－－－－－－]vv
   [－－－－－－]vv
   [－－－－－－]vv
   Ἐ[ρόδιοι: ⌐ΗΗΙΙ]v
   Σ[κιοναῖοι καὶ]v
10 Θ[ραμβαῖοι: ⌐Η]vv
   Π[ριανῆς: Ηvv]vv
   Κ[υδαιῆς: ⌐ΗΙΙ]ΙΙvv
   Πρ[ιαπῆς: ⌐ΗΗΗ]ΙΙv
   Θύ[σσιοι: ⊠ΔⲆ]ΗΙΙΙΙ
15 Το[ροναῖοι: Χ]ΗΗv
   Κα[ρύσστιοι]: ΧΗΗ
   Πε[ρκόσιοι: Δ]⌐ΗΙΙΙ
   [Π]ε[παρέθιοι]: ΗΗΗ
   [h]α[ισόνιοι: Δ]ΔⲆv
20 [－－－－－－]vvv
   [－－－－－－] ⊠
   [－－－－－－]ΗΙΙΙΙ
   [－－－－－－－]
   [－－－－－－－]vv
25 [Σαναῖοι: Ὀλο]φύχσ
   [ιοι: Διῆς: ΗΗ]ΔΔΔΗΗΙΙ
   [Σαμβακτ]ύς: ΗⲆΗΙΙΙΙ
   [Χερρονεσ]ῖται: Χ⌐ΗΗΗ
   [Ἀβυδενοί:] ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ⌐ΗΗΙΙΙΙ
      vacat

Alternatives in line 11 are Π[ασανδῆς: ⊠], Π[ερίνθιοι: Χ], and Π[υγελῆς: Η]. There is clearly some crowding of letters as well as of numerals in the later lines and the same may be true earlier. Note the double sigma in Κα[ρύσστιοι] in line 16.[29]

The new fragment contains letters from the first three lines of the prescript of

but this may be due to the fact that a smooth abrasion has eliminated any trace of strokes by the chisel. The stone is very smooth. I have restored letters or numerals in the next to last letter space. The alternative is to assume some crowding (cf. lines 26 and 29 and the spacing of letters in [Μαρ]ονῖται in 1, IV, 5).

[29] For this phenomenon see Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,[3] 1900, pp. 89-90. There is doubling of sigma before tau in Ἐφαισσ[τιῆς] (8, I, 96), and in the same name the doubling is restored in 2, V, 14, in 8, II, 113, and in 20, IV, 11. In the quota lists there is also doubling of sigma before tau in ἐσ Τένεδο[ν] and ἐσ Τένεδον of 8, II, 108-109 and in Ἀσστ[υπαλαιῆς] of 8, II, 28.

List 1. Its numerals which complement the names on the right side of fragment 1 give added assurance in estimating the width of Col. II and in consequence in determining the width of the entire stele. Cols. I, III, IV, V, and VI can all be accurately measured. Their widths are as follows, according to measurements made by Eugene Vanderpool in September of 1971:

Col. I	0.185 m.
Col. III	0.175 m.
Col. IV	0.170 m.
Col. V	0.195 m.
Col. VI	0.200 m.

The width of Col. I was also measured, at my request, by Mabel Lang, who reported 0.180 m. " give or take a few millimeters," and commented on the difficulty of being sure of the left edge of the stone because of weathering. It is instructive to compare these figures with the measurements which Allen West and I made in the summer of 1925 which were published in *A.J.P.*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 172-173:

Col. I	0.182 m.
Col. III	0.178 m.
Col. IV	0.174 m.
Col. V	0.190 m.
Col. VI	0.201 m.

The totals for these five columns turn out to be identical in the two sets of measurements.

We now have the added advantage of knowing the positions of at least some of the letters of the prescript over the new fragment. One observes that nine letters of the prescript (which is stoichedon) fall approximately over Col. III, just as it was already known that nine letters fall approximately over Col. IV. The spacing of the letters over Col. III is now known for the first time. Nine and a half letters fall over Col. V and ten and a half letters fall over Col. VI. These columns are wider than Cols. III and IV. The width of Col. II can now be estimated along lines 13 and 14 as well as along line 27. It cannot be measured, but the estimate is close enough for all practical purposes. The width of Col. II must be about 0.180 m., enough for nine letters of the prescript above it. With some allowance for the left margin on fragment 1 it can be determined that its width of 0.185 m. allows nine more letters of the prescript above it. The total length of line in the prescript, therefore, was 56 letter spaces. This is less by five spaces than the length proposed in *A.T.L.*, I and II and less by four spaces than the length proposed by West and Meritt in *A.J.P.*, XLVII, 1926, p. 173. The more exact determination is possible because some of the letters in the prescript over Col. III can be measured and do not have to be estimated. This is one of the valuable contributions of the new fragment

and it helps in determining the width of the stele, which thus turns out to be 1.105 m. In 1926 West and Meritt (*op. cit.*) estimated the width of Col. II as 0.171 m. and obtained a total width of the stele of 1.096 m. There is a discrepancy here of nine millimeters between the measurements and estimates of 1926 and of 1971. The width of the stele as 1.096 m. was again reported by Meritt and West in a later article,[30] with the reservation that this was true " at least across the upper part of the stone," and with the assurance that " measurements made across the stone through other inscriptions show that the stele was in fact rectangular, and that the tapering to a greater width at the bottom, if it existed at all, was imperceptible." Also in the article in *Harvard Studies* Meritt and West expressed their conviction, when dealing with the lower part of the stele, that the stone was " only *ca.* 1.110 m. wide."

Soon after these measurements and estimates were made in 1925 and in 1926 the stele was rebuilt and Meritt was able to report [31] that " the actual rebuilding of the stele confirms our measurements to the effect that the height of the stone was at least 3.663 m. The width was 1.109 m. and the thickness 0.385 m." This figure for the width of the stele was reported, with a reference to *A.J.A.*, in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 3.

These slightly differing figures for the width of the first stele are not incompatible. Considering the difficulty of measuring continuously all the distance across in a single text and considering the difficulty of estimating even slight accretions of plaster in joins one must aver that the figures support each other to the extent that they guarantee a stele that is a true rectangular block of stone, as indeed one had every right to expect that it would be. The measurements given by W. K. Pritchett in *Classical Philology* in 1964 [32] show a width of 1.109 m. on the front and at the base, in which he agrees with the figure in *A.T.L.*, but they show a width at the top of " not less than *ca.* 1.14 m." He has not taken into account the careful separate measurements made of the several columns of names in 1925 and 1926. The measurements made in 1971 are also in essential agreement against him. No doubt he measured as accurately as he could on the stele itself but failed to allow for the margin of error inevitable in so extensive a task of reconstruction.[33] The result has been the assumption by some of a tapering stele, smaller at the bottom than at the top, which it certainly was not.[34]

The new fragment gives in line 3 the name of the archon of 454/3: [ἐ]πὶ Ἀρίσ[τονος] ἄρχοντος. In line 1 the letters upsilon mu are decipherable in the 20th

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[30] *H.S.C.P.*, XXXVII, 1926, p. 88.

[31] *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 379.

[32] " The Width of the *Lapis Primus*: A Correction," *Cl. Phil.*, LIX, 1964, p. 272.

[33] See comment by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 137, note 19.

[34] Meiggs and Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1969, p. 84, report the measurements of the stele correctly (3.663 m. × 1.109 m. × 0.385 m.) but, apparently influenced by Pritchett, claim " a slight downward taper of the stele on the obverse and reverse faces." Herein is Pritchett's " correction " itself to be corrected.

and 21st stoichoi. These two letters have been the subject of close study, on squeeze and photograph and on the stone itself. It was at first thought that the mu might be nu. But the central stroke is too short, and in spite of many differing shapes of nu in this inscription the letter mu is normal for this inscription and preferable. The letter before it has been taken for iota, but in spite of the long upright (as of iota, but perhaps partly weathered) it has also the wing strokes of a normal upsilon, visible on a squeeze and in the photographs (Pls. 99, a, 100) and perceptible to the touch on the badly weathered surface. The letter before the upsilon has left only a bare tip on the edge of the preserved surface. It is normal for the end of the third stroke of sigma and precisely centered over the pi below it. It could belong to lambda but it would be badly placed, not far enough to the left. Alternative readings seem to be [χ]σύμ[πασαι] and [κατὰ πό]λιν, between which I, in the words of W. S. Gilbert, " after much debate internal " prefer the former and so represent it in the text below. For those who prefer an iota nu the line might read [ἀπαρχαὶ haίδε κατὰ πό]λιν [πᾶσαι – – –].

My own choice depends primarily upon conviction that the strokes of the dotted letters in the first line are best interpreted as sigma upsilon mu. This is an epigraphical decision. The mu I take to be mu and not nu, and the upsilon to be upsilon and not iota. No qualm, I think, about the juxtaposition of χορίς and χσύμπασαι should out- weigh the epigraphical evidence. The cities with their ἀπαρχαί are, in fact, named separately, but all of them, as a total group, are set down together. The several individual items make up the total much as the thirty days of Hekatombaion and the twenty days of Metageitnion in 419/8, mentioned separately but consecutively in Antiphon's oration περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ (XLIV), make up the total (σύμπασαι) of fifty during which the defendant was not indicted. The distributive emphasis on the many individual days is made clear by the orator's insistence that on any single one of them the charge could have been brought and was not (ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένοις τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας συνεχῶς τούτων ᾗ τινι ἐβούλοντο ἀπογράφεσθαι ἀπεγράφοντο οὐδεμιᾷ · καὶ αὖθις τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένοις ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπογράφεσθαι ᾗ τινι ἐβούλοντο οὐδ᾽ αὖ πω ἐνταῦθα ἀπεγράψαντο). All these separate occasions made up the total of the fifty in a way analogous to that in which the separate entries of the ἀπαρχαί made up the total of the first quota list. I have found no way to utilize a restoration with [χ]συμ[μάχον] vel sim. in line 1. This would seem to be improbable in any case for the allied connection with Athens was amply documented by the almost inevitable restoration [τô χσυμμαχικô φόρο] in line 3.

In the second line epsilon in the eighteenth stoichos is followed by ΓΡ[Ο]Τ. The temptation is strong to restore πρ[ό]τ[οις], but reference back to the hellenotamiai is awkward, and a new study of fragment 3 shows that the letter in the 29th stoichos, above the alpha of ἄρχοντος in line 3, must have been iota. It is not now preserved

on the stone,[35] but the surface is so preserved that any letter other than iota must have left some trace. It is necessary, therefore, to read and restore [τοῖσι] τριάκο[ντα ---]. Before [τοῖσι] the restoration should be πρ[ὸ]τ[αι].[36] These were the first quotas from the tribute to be given to the goddess. The preamble now reads as follows:

<div align="center">Preamble of List 1</div>

a. 454/3 *a.*   ΣΤΟΙΧ. 56

[ἀπαρχαὶ ἡαίδε χορὶς χ]σύμ[πασαι παρ]ὰ τὸν ἑελλ[ενοτ]αμιὸν ℎ[οῖς ...⁷....]
[...⁷.... ἐγραμμάτευ]ε πρ[ὸ]τ[αι τοῖσι] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθεσαν [τêι θεôι]
[τô χσυμμαχικô φόρο ἐ]πὶ Ἀρίσ[τονος] ἄρχοντος Ἀ[θεν]αίοις μνᾶ ἀ[πὸ τô ταλ]
[άντο]   *vacat*   *vacat*   *vacat*

The restoration of line 3, beginning with τô χσυμμαχικô φόρο, is almost inevitable. The phrase recurs in the building accounts of the Propylaia, where the same quota was regularly contributed to the overseers as part of their annual income. In *I.G.*, I², 366, for example, of the year 434/3 a grant was recorded [π]αρὰ ἑελλενοταμ[ιôν ℎ]οῖς Προτόγ[ικος ἐγραμ]μάτευε Κερ[αμε]ύς, τô χσυμ[μαχικô φόρο μ]νᾶ ἀπὸ τô [τα]λάντο. The tribute was called ὁ χσυμμαχικὸς φόρος, and the quota was again defined as a mina from the talent.[37] This definition recurs in the later quota lists of 421/0, 418/7, and 416/5, which provide the additional information that the quotas were given to the goddess: τêι θεôι. In the preamble here of the first list one should restore τêι θεôι at the end of line 2.[38] In view of the quota lists this too is almost inevitably correct and helps to confirm the length of line.

The inscription does not state that the hellenotamiai were the first, only that the quotas received from them were the first to be reported to the Board of Thirty (i.e. the logistai) for the goddess Athena. The boards of magistrates (the ἀρχαί) who so reported were numbered consecutively year by year from 454/3, the date of the transfer of the League treasure from Delos to Athens. Beginning in 454/3 a quota was given to the goddess in recognition of her protection of the funds. The thesis of E. M. Walker that Thucydides (I, 96) was confused when he said that the hellenotamiai were established as an Athenian magistracy at the time of the formation of the League[39] has been refuted many times.[40] The present text in no way disagrees

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[35] See the photograph in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 8, and the drawing on plate III.

[36] I owe this suggestion first to Mabel Lang.

[37] Cf. also *I.G.*, I², 364 (436/5) and 365 (435/4).

[38] For the quota lists see now *Phoenix*, XXI, 1967, p. 91, and *A.J.A.*, LXXV, 1971, pp. 91-92 (for List 34 of 421/0); pp. 418-420, below (for List 37 of 418/7); *A.T.L.*, II, 1949, p. 36 (for List 39 of 416/5). In List 34 I favor restoring ℎαι πόλες ℎαίδε instead of αἴδε τὸν πόλεον. Note that the definite article appears here also with ἀπαρχέν, though not in Lists 37 and 39. My objection to the partitive genitive is that it is not strictly appropriate in reference to the entire list.

[39] *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 1927, p. 46.

[40] See now A. G. Woodhead, *J.H.S.*, LXXIX, 1959, p. 149; Wesley Thompson, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXVIII, 1969, pp. 216-217.

with the account of Thucydides, but rather adds further detail to it. The naming of the quotas as the first to be given to the goddess implies that there had been quotas earlier and that they had not been given to the goddess. The beneficiary had doubtless been Apollo at Delos. If there was any published record between 478/7 and 454/3 (we have none), it may have been only a summation, a practice which has left its vestige in the summation at the end of List 1, the Postscript on the right lateral face of the stone.

<div align="center">

Postscript of List 1

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

</div>

$$
\begin{aligned}
&[\pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\grave{o}\nu\ h\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\hat{o}\nu] \\
&[h\sigma\hat{\iota}s\ \ldots\ldots\overset{14}{\ldots}\ldots\ \grave{\epsilon}\gamma] \\
&[\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon\ \tau\sigma\hat{\iota}\sigma\iota\ \tau\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa o] \\
&[\nu\tau\alpha\ \grave{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\ \grave{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha] \\
5\quad&[\grave{\iota}\ h\sigma\pi\acute{o}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\hat{\epsilon}\iota\ \theta\epsilon\hat{o}\iota\ \grave{\alpha}\pi\grave{o}\ \tau\hat{o}] \\
&[\mu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda]\epsilon o\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}[\sigma\alpha\nu:\ \chi\sigma\rho\grave{\iota}s\ \tau\acute{o}\ \tau\epsilon] \\
&[\grave{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\nu}]\rho\iota o\nu:\ \kappa[\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \tau\grave{o}\ \chi\rho\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}o\nu] \\
&[\tau\hat{o}]\ \grave{\alpha}\rho\gamma\nu\rho\acute{\iota}o:\ [\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota o\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu] \\
&[\Gamma\!\!\top\top]\mathsf{XXHHH}\Delta\Delta[\ldots\ldots\overset{11}{\ldots}\ldots] \\
10\quad&[\chi]\rho\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}o\ \sigma\acute{\nu}\mu[\pi\alpha\nu\tau\sigma s\ K\nu\zeta\iota\kappa] \\
&\epsilon\nu\hat{o}:\ \kappa[\epsilon]\phi\acute{\alpha}[\lambda\alpha\iota o\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\tau\alpha\tau\hat{\epsilon}\rho] \\
&\epsilon s\ K\nu[\zeta\iota\kappa\epsilon\nu o\acute{\iota}:\ \ldots\ldots\acute{\epsilon}\kappa o\nu\tau] \\
&\alpha\ h\acute{\epsilon}\chi[s\ ---------]
\end{aligned}
$$

<div align="center">vacat</div>

The text of this postscript has been exhaustively studied by Malcolm McGregor.[41] The restoration here suggested differs in its first five lines from that proposed in *A.T.L.* and repeated by McGregor. But, as he notes, " the restoration of the first five and a half lines of the postscript is comparatively unimportant; the version of ATL I and II is printed *exempli gratia.*" I have followed here more closely the wording of the prescript. But McGregor's insistence that " the rest of it is very important indeed " must be taken seriously by every serious student. It is vital to the history of Athenian finance in the fifth century.

In 1950 the authors of *A.T.L.*, III, estimated a total collection of tribute in 454/3 of 388 talents, 1480 drachmai.[42] There were six columns of names in the

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[41] " The Postscript of the First Attic Quota-List," *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VIII, 1967, pp. 103-112. Good photographs of the two joining fragments (4 and 5) which carry the postscript are available in *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 9.

[42] *A.T.L.*, III, 1950, p. 274. Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, 1937, pp. 61-65, 96-97, had made a lower estimate. Cf. also *A.T.L.*, I, 1939, p. 129.

quota list and each column had space for 25 names. There were, however, some names that required two lines; hence a total list of 139 entries was assumed. A slight adjustment in this total must now be made. If our restoration of 1, III, 18-20 is correct, one name occupied three lines. This count may be allowed to offset the three names of 1, II, 25-26, which occupied two lines. Otherwise the list as now reconstructed, including the new fragment, has twelve double-line entries, or room for 138 paying allies.

There is no great change from the estimated roster of paying tributaries as given in *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 270-273. Indeed, many of the quotas there restored are proved correct by the discovery of the new fragment. Only Karystos is found with an increase from seven and a half to twelve talents,[43] and Selymbria from an estimated six talents to nine talents.[44] And many conjectural restorations for broken names given *exempli gratia* in *A.T.L.*, III, p. 274, to round out the list can now be replaced by actual names and quotas, or both, upon the stone. Only in Col. I are there still uncertain broken entries, but they too can be normally resolved:

I, 5   [B]ε[ργαῖοι: ☒]
I, 17   [Χερρονέ]σ[ιοι: HHH]
I, 18   ['Αρισβαῖ]ο[ι: HH]
I, 19   [Τενέδιο]ι[: HHHH☒]
I, 24   [Γεντίνι]οι: ΓԻ[ԻԻΙΙ]
I, 27   [Κνίδι]οι: H[HH]

The editors of *A.T.L.*, III, estimated earlier (p. 267) that the total of silver and gold might be very close to 400 talents. There is no reason to make any change in this determination on the basis of the new evidence or to rewrite the history of Athenian finance in the fifth century which depends upon it.
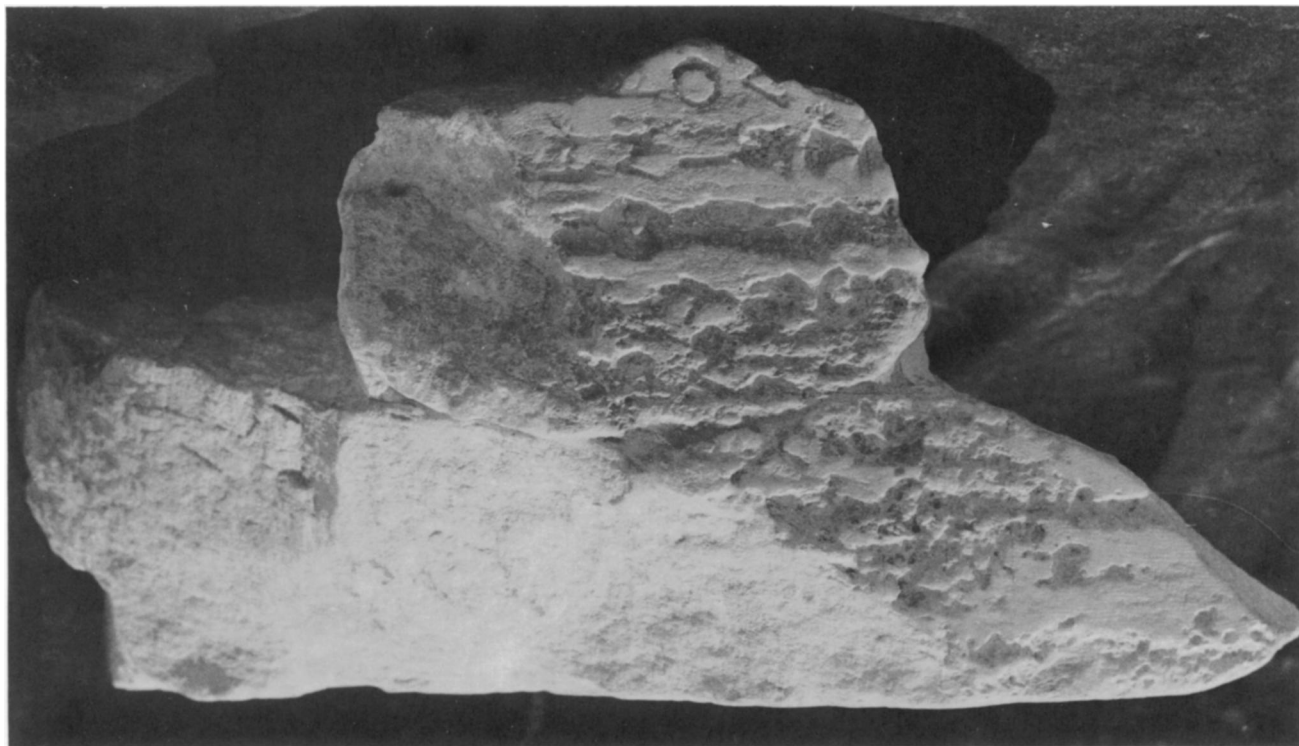
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[43] Karystos came into the Delian League some years after its founding. It came in under compulsion. It was attacked by the confederate forces and, after a long defense, submitted καθ' ὁμολογίαν (Thucydides, I, 98, 3). Like Samos at a later date it probably had to pay the costs of its own subjugation. The high tribute in 454/3 (12 talents) may have included a partial payment on the indemnity. The indemnity appears to have been almost liquidated by 451/0 (tribute of seven and a half talents). From 450/49 the quotas represent without exception a normal regular tribute of five talents.

[44] The varying quotas of Selymbria have been interpreted by the editors of *A.T.L.* (III, 1950, pp. 310-311) as due to fluctuations in the relations between Athens and the Odrysian kingdom of Sitalkes. It may be that the quota of Selymbria in 4, IV, 14 should be restored as [ℾHHHH] rather than as [ℾH]. Its lower quota is known for the second assessment period and may have been fixed at the assessment of 450 B.C.
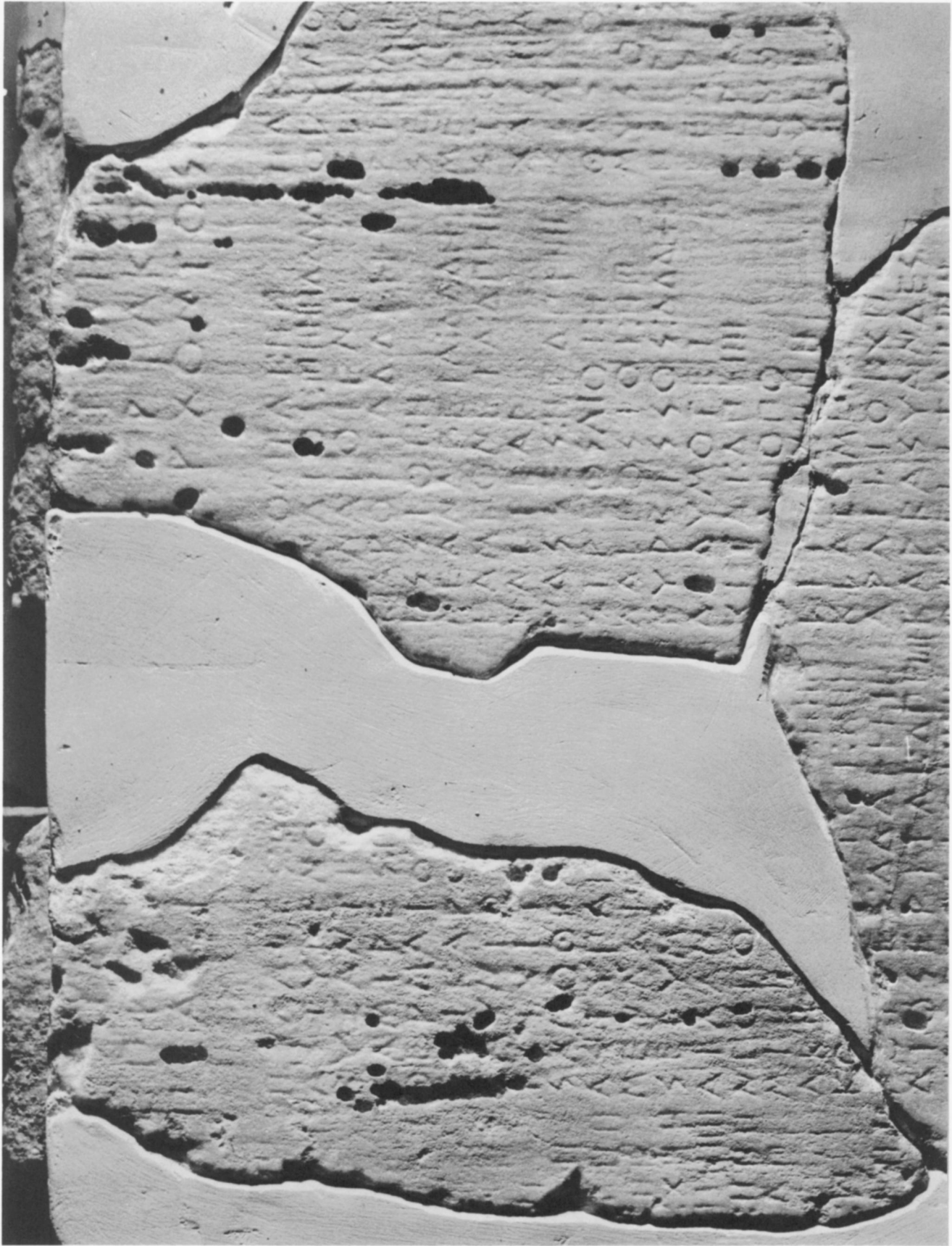
PLATE 99

b. Fragments 4 and 5

a. Agora I 7300 = E.M. 13444

Benjamin D. Meritt: The Tribute Quota List of 454/3 b.c.

PLATE 100

Agora I 7300 in place joining Fragment 6

BENJAMIN D. MERITT: THE TRIBUTE QUOTA LIST OF 454/3 B.C.