

THE ATHENIAN CASUALTY LIST OF 464 B.C.

(PLATES 70-72)

II. G., I², 928, the casualty list of the Athenians and their allies killed at Drabeskos, Thasos, and in the Chersonnese in 465/4 B.C., presents problems both historical¹ and epigraphical. This paper is an attempt to clarify the latter and to establish the form of the monument.

The fragments attributed to this inscription have had a strange history. Only one, A, is in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 10232), having been found in 1834 in the Church of Hagia Kura in the Plaka;² it had previously been published as C.I.G., I, 167, from Fourmont's copy. On the front (Pl. 70, a), which is broken at the top and to the left and is obviously the right half of a stele that originally contained at least two columns, there is a list of 31 names, presumably of Athenians who were killed in some unidentified area. These are followed by the names of one man who is said to have died at Sigeion. Two more names are inscribed vertically to the left of lines 9-19. The last Athenian name is followed by the latter half of an ethnic which, inscribed in larger letters, spread across two columns and has been plausibly restored as [Μαδ]ύριοι. Under this are listed two men who are said to have died at a place that can hardly be other than Kardia. Below these there is another two-column heading, in larger letters and ending in ΝΙ; this is probably to be restored as [ἐν Ἐϊό]νι, even though the size of the letters suggests an ethnic.³ Only the end of one name appears below, as the stone is broken off at the bottom. On the right side (Pl. 70, b) were inscribed two names, followed by the rubric ἐν Θάσ[οι] and ten more names in another hand. The first line on the side is opposite line 8 on the face and there is a vacant space of at least 0.07 m. above it; the rest of the side is vacant below. None of these names is complete; in one case it is clear that at least four letters are missing to the right. The stone is 0.09 m. thick and obviously broken at the back.

¹ For the question of the chronology of the years 466 to 464, see Kolbe, *Hermes*, LXXII, 1937, pp. 248-254, and *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 108-110 and 175-176. Furthermore, Jacoby has advanced the thesis that the Drabeskos list (which this certainly is, although he refused to identify it definitely) was the first public monument in the *demosion sema*. His article on this, "Patrios Nomos," *J.H.S.*, LXIV, 1944, pp. 37-66, is impressive and has won converts, apparently because of his authority, his sarcasm, and the very weight of words. But when the framework of the argument is winnowed out, it has remarkable weaknesses, which have been well pointed out by Gomme, *Commentary*, II, pp. 94-101.

² Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, no. 1138.

³ See below, p. 327.

Fragments B and C are no longer extant. Part of C was copied by Fourmont, who described it as "*Ambourakiae in ecclesia B. Virginis*" (*C.I.G.*, I, 168), but the main sources for both are the transcriptions of L. Ross whose notebooks are still extant at the *Akademie* in Berlin.⁴ He copied these pieces in 1836 in the partially destroyed church of the Panagia Misosporiotissa near Spata in the Mesogeia. On page 40 of the notebook (Pl. 71, a) is fragment B, which, like A, seems to have included the right-hand column of the front of a stele and the first part of names inscribed on the right side. On the face were the ends of 19 names under a larger heading which obviously covered two columns and ended in -ΙΣ. It is most likely by far that this was the end of the name of a phyle. Such an explanation has been denied previously and either a place-name or an ethnic suggested, on the grounds that a tribal name must be in the genitive;⁵ recently, however, a casualty list with the heading in the nominative has been found.⁶ On the right-hand side, apparently at the top, was the rubric ἐν Θάσ[οι] followed by parts of four names. Whether the space below was broken or uninscribed is not clear from the transcription.

Fragment C is more difficult to reconstruct, since part of it is on page 41 of the notebook (Pl. 71, b), part on page 65 (Pl. 72, a). This piece contained a column of at least 19 names with the first three or four letters missing, which recalls fragment B and suggests that here too is the right column of the face of a stele, perhaps the same one. These names are followed by part of a heading in large letters which must have extended to another column on the left and which is usually restored as [Βυζά]ντιο[ι].⁷ The next line designates a place, probably Sigeion again, and is followed by eight names. The last two of these (106-107) are displaced to the right and have no final sigmas preserved; it has been suggested that they are genitives,⁸ but this seems hardly likely, since the spacing indicates that the nominatives preceding them, if in line, would have been of three and two letters respectively. The main impression given by this fragment is that of the bottom of a column where names and rubrics were added out of the regular pattern, as on A. The stoichedon order seems disturbed from line 94 on. Two names were added vertically to the right of lines 80-89. These were presumably along the right edge of the stele; even though there is no designation of such an edge in the notebook, the large rubric indicates it.

⁴ I wish to thank Professor Guenther Klaffenbach for his kindness in sending me photostats of the pertinent pages and also the squeezes of fragment D discussed below.

⁵ Cf. Hiller, *I.G.*, I², 928, *ad loc.*

⁶ *S.E.G.*, XXI, 123 = *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 20-21; cf. also *I.G.*, I², 965, line 8, and *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 33.

⁷ First suggested by U. Koehler, *Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, p. 90; Kirchhoff, *I.G.*, I, 432, suggested [Αἰγά]ντιο[ι].

⁸ Kirchhoff, *I.G.*, I, 432; cf. H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, New York, 1935, p. 76, where it is suggested that these are the names of slave-owners. The two lines may be additions, since in the transcription the phis are of the later form with center bar projecting.

On A the vertical names were inscribed between columns, but there would have been room for them on the right. The position of lines 110-116 is very much in doubt. They appear in the notebook on page 65 (Pl. 72, a) below a line drawn under a repetition, from page 41, of line 87. In *I.G.*, I and I², they are printed below line 107, but, in view of the displacement of lines 94-107, it seems more likely that they came from above or even from another fragment.

Because of the similarity of form, rubrics, and lettering,⁹ Kirchhoff naturally and rightly associated fragments B and C with A, although he went too far, I believe, in stating that they clearly belonged to one square stone inscribed on all four sides.¹⁰

B and C had both disappeared by 1887, when Milchhoefer looked for them, but he did find still another fragment, D, which he described as being built into the window of a new church, called Evangelistria, on the west slope of the hill Burani one-quarter hour northwest of Spata.¹¹ This was also transcribed by Lolling shortly thereafter and was seen by Demetriou in 1929.¹² By 1960 this too seems to have disappeared; at least E. Vanderpool and I failed to find it while visiting and inspecting all the churches in the area. But the *Akademie* in Berlin has two squeezes, one apparently taken by Demetriou (Pl. 72, b). The fragment contained eighteen names, with the first two to four letters missing. At the top, in larger letters, are the *Ol* of a heading. These had previously been reported by Lolling and Demetriou as part of a badly inscribed *ΟΙ...ΣΙΝ*, but the squeeze makes clear that only the *O* and *l* are original. These could, of course, be the ending of a very short ethnic which covered two columns, and the lack of the first few letters in the names might suggest that this fragment is part of the same right-hand column (or columns) which we have on B and C. But from the squeeze it appears that the *Ol* stood at the top of a column, like the *lΣ* in the transcription of B, and that the area to the left of the letters was covered with plaster, so that this piece could well have contained the upper part of the left column of a stele. Since this list of names is of almost the same length as that on B and since *Ol* on the one and *lΣ* on the other might very well be parts of the heading *Οἰκέις* extending over two columns, it is most likely that fragments B and D represent the two halves of the upper part of one stele, cut off below and into two parts vertically for use as building material. It may be assumed that fragments B, C, and D come from the same stele, since they were all found in the same area, far

⁹ Ross's transcription shows the three-barred sigma and the pointed rhos and betas; on the other hand, he did not slant the bars of alpha or epsilon. The only two phis are in lines 106-107, so we do not know whether he copied these carefully; see above, note 8. Especially pertinent for the identification of C with A is the tailed rho in the name added vertically (line 134); the only other occurrence of this form is in the vertical name on A (line 40).

¹⁰ *I.G.*, I, 432: "*Pila haec aperte fuit quadrata in quattuor lateribus perscripta. . .*"

¹¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 89. There the hill is said to be southwest of Spata, but this obviously was merely a slip; cf. *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 107.

¹² *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 107; *Πολέμων*, I, 1929, p. 42.

from their original position in the public cemetery. The attribution of these three to the same monument as A is confirmed by the squeeze of D, on which the spacing, letter-forms, and letter-size resemble those on A. The only difference seems to be that seven of the eleven epsilons on D have slightly sloping horizontal strokes, whereas this shape appears on A only in lines 11, 32, and 33.

In *I.G.*, I², 928, Hiller associated the four pieces and still suggested, although rather tentatively, that they came from one stone inscribed on four sides ("*quæ ad pilam a quattuor lateribus inscriptam pertinuisse videntur*"). But this type of monument would be an anomaly among casualty lists, and the vacant spaces above and below the names inscribed on the side of A (and perhaps below those on B) militate against this concept. Furthermore, if the interpretation given above of the headings on B and D is correct, it is a further indication that the monument was of a form which we might more reasonably expect, i. e., a row of individual stelai, presumably ten, on which the Athenians were listed according to their phylai, while the names of allies and other Athenians killed elsewhere than those on the main lists were added in the vacant spaces at the bottoms and on the sides.

There are two clear indications that large casualty lists in the early period were inscribed on rows of stelai.¹³ One is a sherd from a fifth-century Attic amphora or loutrophoros (Pl. 70, d), once published by P. Wolters,¹⁴ now in the Allard Pierson Museum.¹⁵ On it were portrayed at least five tapered individual stelai. That these were intended to represent monuments in the public cemetery is clear from the inscriptions upon them, two of which represent places where casualties must have been suffered; one reads *ἐν Βυζαν(τίου)*, another *ἐπὶ* — —. On another there apparently stood *ἐξ Ἑλευ(θερῶν)*,¹⁶ designating casualties from that dependent town. These stelai seem to be represented as standing side by side on a common base,¹⁷ and the placing

¹³ There is probably a third indication in *I.G.*, I², 929, the stele preserving the names of the members of the phyle Erechtheis killed in 460. This has smooth sides, indicating that it stood by itself, but it was probably the first of a row of ten in the public cemetery. The fact that the large tribal heading stands above the description of where the casualties were incurred has, however, led to the suggestion that this was a special monument set up alone by the phyle for its own members (Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 77). This is of course possible, but it is difficult to imagine a reason for inscribing a second time names which certainly would have been put up in the public cemetery.

¹⁴ "Eine Darstellung des athenischen Staatsfriedhofs," *Sitzungsberichte d. k. B. Akad. d. Wissen. zu Muenchen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1913, Abh. 5. Cf. Brueckner, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XXXV, 1915, pp. 1080-1082, and Wolters, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XXXV, 1915, pp. 1422-1424. The sherd measures 0.14 m. by 0.08 m., is unfinished on the inside, and its curve indicates that the pot from which it came had a diameter of at least 0.30 m. Wolters is probably right in deciding that it was from a large amphora used as a loutrophoros.

¹⁵ I wish to thank Professor H. R. Immerwahr for providing me with a photograph and the authorities of the Allard Pierson Museum for permission to have it reproduced.

¹⁶ This was the suggestion of Wilamowitz *apud* Wolters, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XXXV, 1915, p. 1422. Only the bottom tip of an upright is preserved to the left of the sigma.

¹⁷ There may be an indication of the base at the very bottom of the line representing the right

of the rubrics toward the bottom reminds one of *I.G.*, I², 928. The date of the sherd is not clear. The letter-forms V and Σ appear to be early, and if the restoration of E+Σ is correct, a very early form of the chi must be assumed.¹⁸ Yet Wolters suggested a possible complicating factor, that the artist might have been trying to reproduce an old monument.¹⁹ Perhaps some support for this idea may be found in the fact that on *I.G.*, I², 943, the phrase ἐν Βυζαντίου appears (line 49) and one of the casualties is said to have come from Eleutherai, although designated as Ἐλευθεράθεν (line 96). This list has been dated at the earliest in 447²⁰ and has the four-barred sigma. Yet to associate it with the sherd leads to a paradox: if the painter had been thinking of this later list, why should he have used the much earlier letter forms? It seems most likely that the appearance of Byzantion and Eleutherai on both the sherd and the list is only a coincidence, especially in view of the different wording used to designate the latter. Whatever the answer to this problem, the sherd remains prime evidence for the existence of early monuments in the form of individual stelai.

The second indication that such monuments existed is the later practice of cutting sloping channels along the edges of contiguous stelai to give the impression of separate tapering stelai for each phyle.²¹ This surely presupposes an earlier form in which individual stelai were set up side by side as represented on the sherd.

That such was indeed the form of the monument to which *I.G.*, I², 928, belonged is made almost certain by the discovery of the following new piece in the Agora:

Fragment of Pentelic marble (Pl. 70, c), found on July 21, 1966, in a modern house foundation above South Stoa I (L 16). Original back preserved, carefully picked. Right edge very roughly picked for re-use; broken elsewhere.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.163-0.16 m. diminishing from bottom to top.

side of the second stele from the left; this seems to stop and turn to the right. Wolters, "Darstellung," pp. 6-8, invokes as a parallel three stelai on a common base depicted on a lekythos published by F. B. Tarbell, *A.J.A.*, XXIII, 1908, pp. 428-430. There three names were inscribed vertically between the stelai, which Tarbell interpreted as individual monuments for three members of the same family who had fallen in war. Wolters thought that part of a public funeral monument was represented. Certainty is impossible, but the stelai are depicted with finials, which are unattested on any public monuments.

¹⁸ Cf. R. Meiggs, "The Dating of Fifth-Century Attic Inscriptions," *J.H.S.*, LXXXVI, 1966, p. 91; "It would be surprising to find the early chi after 480."

¹⁹ "Darstellung," pp. 11-12. Brueckner's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, that this was a prize amphora for the games of the Epitaphia and is to be dated in the year of the first capture of Byzantion, 487, is possible but unlikely. This raises the problems of the existence of the Epitaphia in the fifth century and of the date of the introduction of the public funeral ceremony; both are highly involved and I hope to discuss them elsewhere.

²⁰ So Meiggs, *H.S.C.P.*, LXVII, 1963, pp. 17-18. Kirchhoff, *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 108, dated it to the Decelean War; Hiller, *I.G.*, I², 943, to 440/39.

²¹ See *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 21-28 and 31-34.

Height of letters: lines 1-6, 0.013 m.; lines 7-10, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 7009.

a. 464 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ., vv. 1-6.

E. -----
 [. . .] ∪ / [---]
 [. .] φαν [---]
 [. .] ειλ [.] ο [.]
 [Xα] ιρριππ [- -]
 vacat 0.05 m.
 5 [θ] εράποντες
 [h] ύλας
 vacat 0.015 m.
 [ε] ν ἑϊόνι
 [X] αριχσενί [δες]
 η ερμι [- - -]
 10 [. .] γ ^ [- - -]

Lines 1-6 are in a stoichedon pattern which measures *ca.* 0.017 m. horizontally; vertical measurement is difficult, since line 4 was added in a vacant space, but the pattern seems to average about 0.018 m.

Three hands are represented on this fragment. The first mason inscribed lines 1-3 and 5-6. In size and form the lettering resembles closely that on fragments A and D; the alphas have a slanting center stroke, the rhos are pointed and without tails, the sigmas have three bars, and the horizontal strokes of the epsilons slope downward slightly, as on fragment D. Line 4 was inserted by a second hand using rounded rhos which resemble those on the side of fragment A; the name here is written with a double rho, and it seems necessary to assume a misspelling. Lines 7-10 are in a third hand, with straight epsilons and pointed rhos, not in stoichedon order.

That this fragment should be associated as fragment E with the others of *I.G.*, I², 928, seems clear, first of all because of the spacing and the lettering of the first hand. Another similarity is in the adding of names and rubrics; this is clearly the bottom of a column, as are A and C. The heading, *θεράποντες*, has not been found elsewhere on casualty lists,²² but it is not surprising here on the only monument

²² This heading occurs on *I.G.*, II², 1951, where full crews of triremes are listed, but that can hardly be a casualty list. Pausanias, I, 29, 7, mentions a stele on which were the names of slaves buried publicly.

which contains allies on the same stone with citizens.²³ Finally, the rubric [ἐ]ν Ἐϊόνι fits well the year of the disaster at Drabeskos. Eion must have been the base for the attempt at Ennea Hodoi, and these late casualties could well be the result of an Edonian follow-up of their victory. The rubric also seems to solve the problem of line 37 on Fragment A. Kirchhoff's restoration of [ἐμ Παιὼ]νι there was too long, and the editors of the *A.T.L.* (III, p. 109) suggested [Κεβρέ]νι(οι). The large letters do suggest the name of some allies, but it is difficult to understand why, in that case, they should be so widely spaced while the ending was omitted. Even though the other rubrics designating places are in regular-sized letters, [ἐν Ἐϊό]νι just fits line 37,²⁴ and it seems most reasonable to assume that larger letters were used because the heading was to cover two columns. Probably in this case, as in the new fragment, the names from Eion were reported late, and it seems likely that in both cases the names were Athenian, with no reference to the preceding rubrics, i.e., Madytioi on A, slaves on E.

Since Fragment E has its original back, carefully picked, it now seems clear that the monument was not a square pillar but was made up of individual stelai. Presumably there were ten, of which we seem to have the bottoms of three, represented by A, C, and E. The form of the monument adds support to Meritt's suggestion (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 375) that a fragment with two columns, known only from Wheeler's transcription, was part of this memorial, although certainty is of course impossible. Another fragment, *S.E.G.*, XXI, 118 (= *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 16-17), has letter-forms very similar to those on A, D, and E, but they are slightly smaller, as is the spacing. It is possible that this too is from the bottom of one of these stelai, but it seems unlikely in view of the close similarities of letter-size and spacing among the other fragments.

Finally it should be noted that a monument of this type could have contained more names than a square pillar, and this fact seems to support the attribution of the main body of casualties to Drabeskos. Although the editors of the *A.T.L.* (III, pp. 106-108) rightly insist that not the main body of colonists but only the armed escort was involved in the battle there, that escort could not have been small, in view of the danger in the area; most of the Athenians in it must have been lost. Drabeskos seems to be the only disaster in this period which would demand so large a monument. It is not possible to determine with absolute certainty whether this list was put up in 465 or in 464, but probability favors the latter. In the *A.T.L.*, III, p. 176, Drabeskos is dated to early winter, 465/4, and the editors assume that the casualties were inscribed in 465 because the monument includes dead from Thasos, whom they associate with the first Athenian attack in 465. But this attack was clearly before the

²³ The names of allies generally seem to have been on their own stelai; cf., e.g., *I.G.*, I², 931/2 (Argives at Tanagra); *S.E.G.*, X, 416 (Ionians); *S.E.G.*, XIX, 40 (Ionians or Aiolians).

²⁴ This was once suggested as a possibility here by Koehler, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

disaster on the mainland, while the names of those killed at Thasos seem to have been received at Athens later than the others; they are inscribed on the sides of stelai A and B in a second hand. Therefore it would seem preferable to consider them casualties during the continuing siege of Thasos and to assume that the dead of Drabeskos fell so late in 465 that they had to be included in the next year's ceremony.²⁵

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²⁵ The only other explanation I can think of is that Jacoby, *loc. cit.*, was right in maintaining that the disaster at Drabeskos motivated the establishment of the public burials, in which case it might be possible that it was decided later to add the casualties from Thasos, even though they had occurred earlier. But this seems hardly likely and I am unable to accept Jacoby's thesis; see above, p. 321, note 1. If Jacoby is right in his second thesis, that the public ceremony was held in conjunction with the Genesia on the fifth of Boedromion, the casualties from Drabeskos could hardly have been known and inscribed that early in 465 anyway. But this thesis too is highly questionable; cf. Gomme, *loc. cit.*



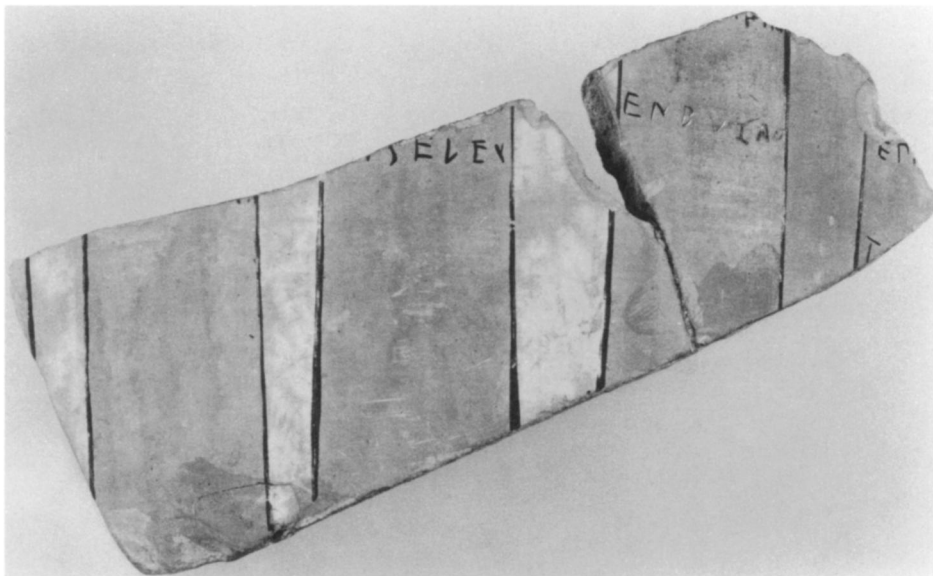
a. *I.G.*, I², 928, Frag. A, front.



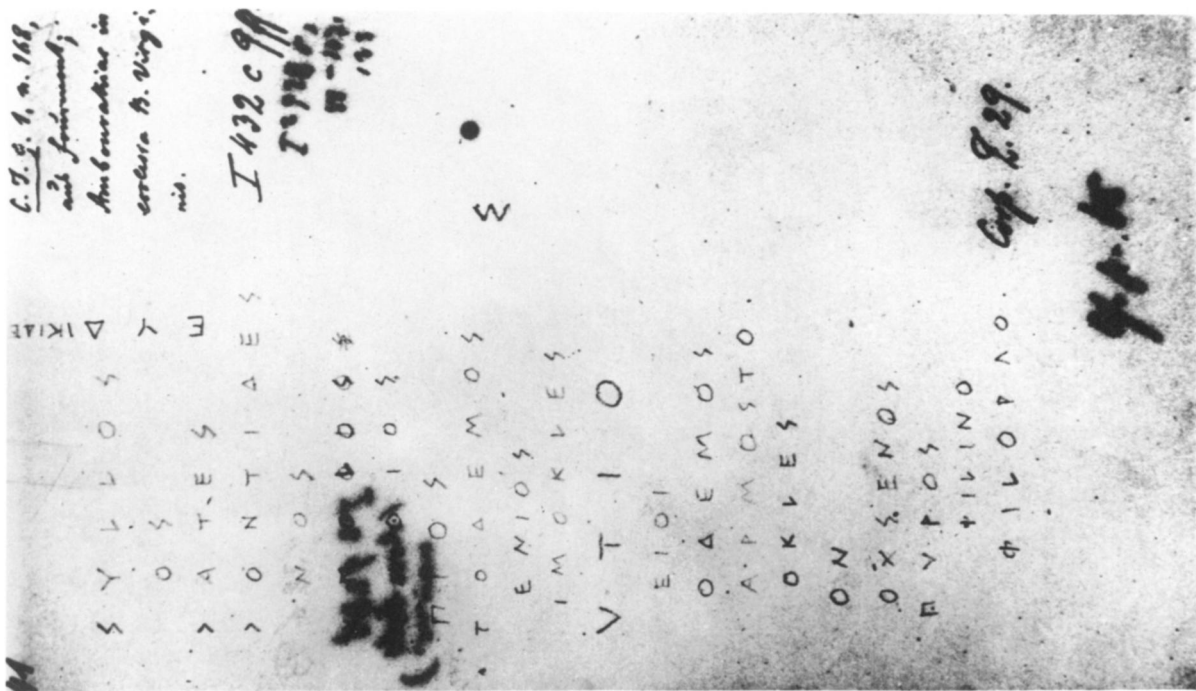
b. *I.G.*, I², 928, Frag. A, side.



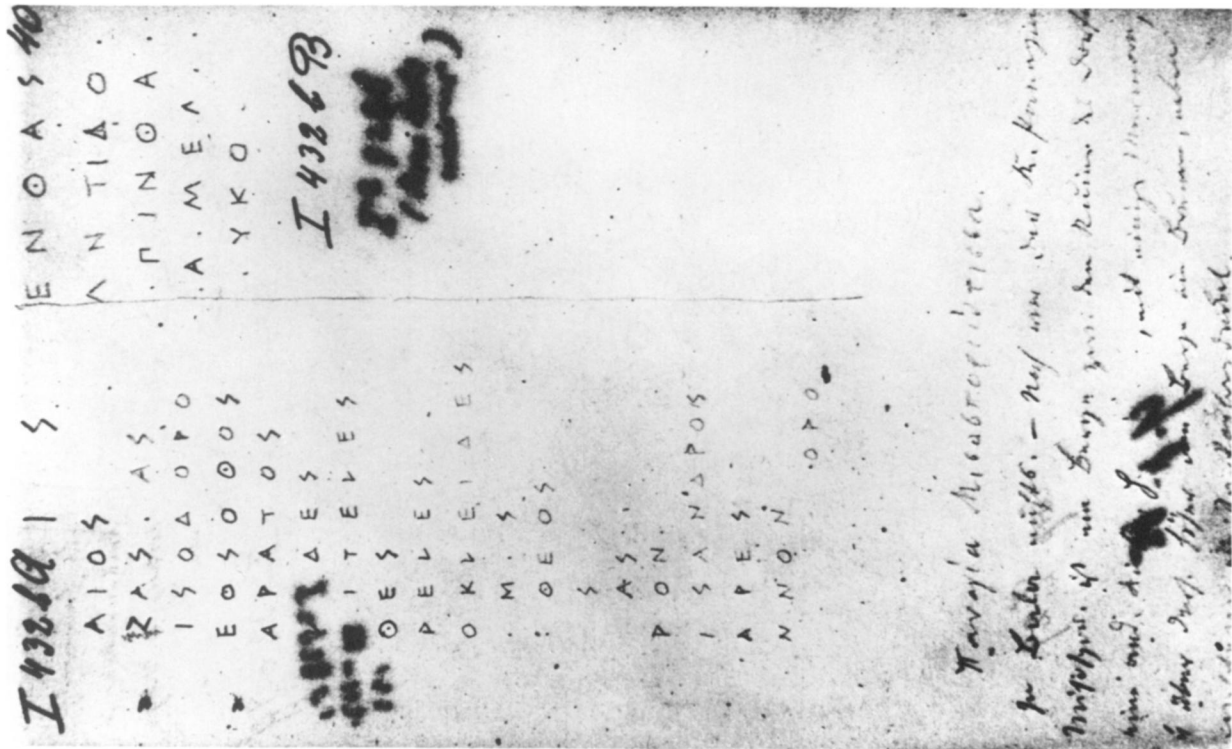
c. Agora I 7009 (Frag. E).



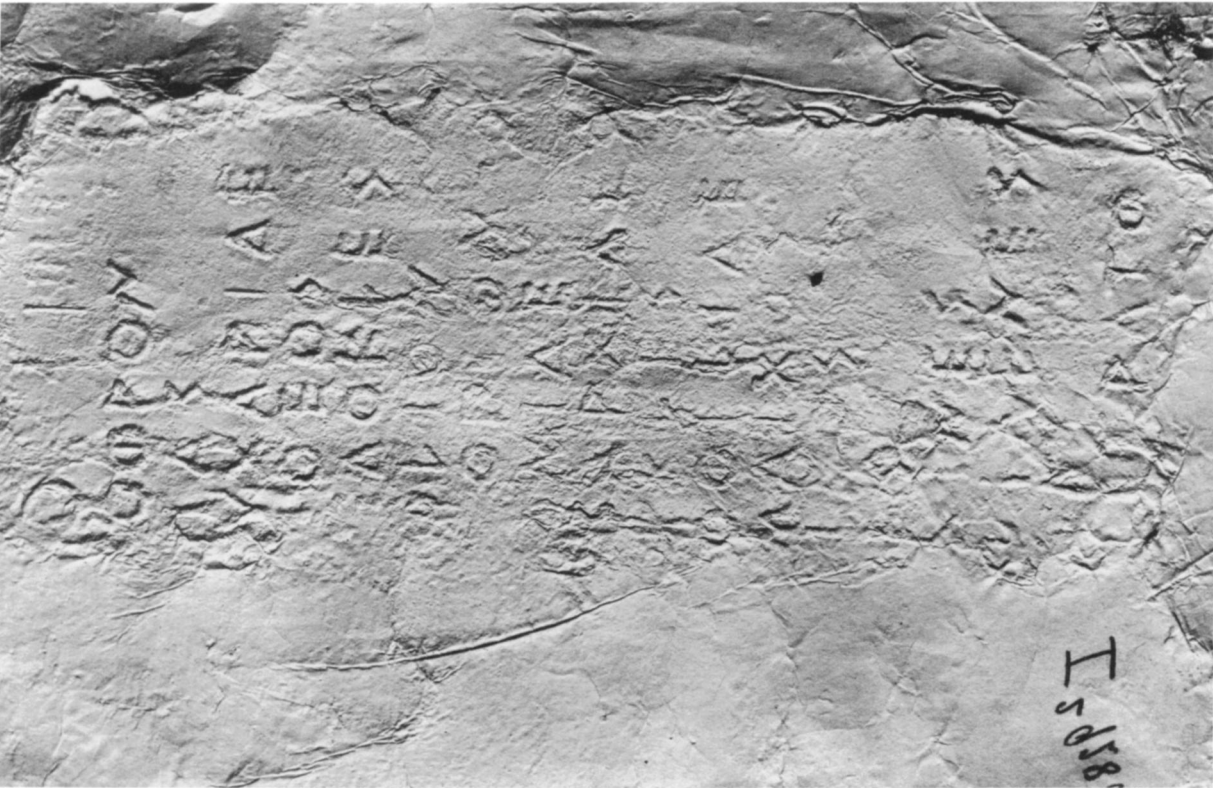
d. Sherd in the Allard Pierson Museum.



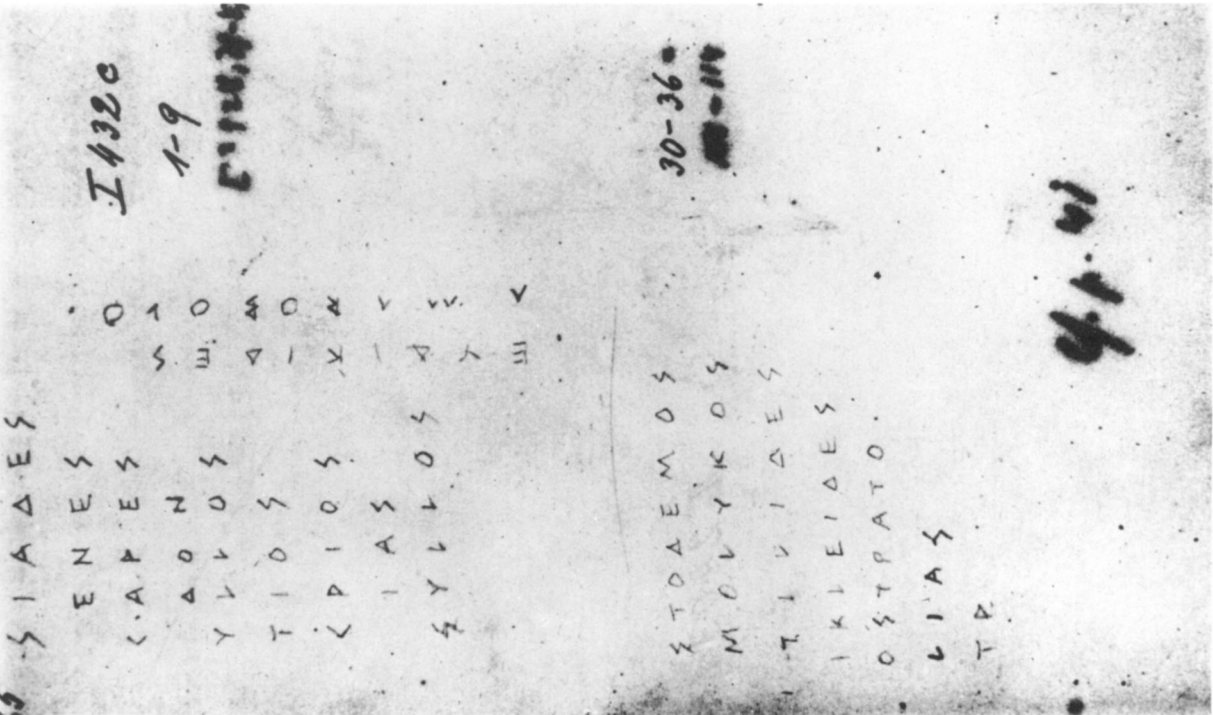
b. Page 41 of L. Ross's notebook (Frag. C).



a. Page 40 of L. Ross's notebook (Frag. B).



b. Squeeze of Frag. D.



a. Page 65 of L. Ross's notebook (Frag. C).