

THESPIAN INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 75–76)

I.

ON May 6, 1962, Professor Eugene Vanderpool and I found a stele of gray limestone (Pl. 76, b) lying in a field about 200 meters from the south bank of the Thespios River and several hundred meters west of the Neolithic mound, that is, in the area of the ancient city of Thespieae. With the help of Dr. John Threpsiades, the late Ephor of Antiquities for Boeotia, the stone was immediately transported to the Thebes Museum, whereupon Dr. Threpsiades kindly gave me permission to publish it. Mrs. Stasinopoulou-Touloupa, now Ephor of Antiquities for Boeotia, has given it the Thebes Museum Inventory Number 146.¹

The stone has a flat top with a plain moulding (Pl. 75, a); it is slightly broken at the lower edge, but the inscription is complete, ending 0.30 m. above the break. The back was roughly picked, but has been worn smooth through use as a door step. The inscribed face is corroded and hard to read, especially in the lower central section (Pls. 75, b, 76, a). After line 36 the surface has been roughly cut down for a distance of 0.085 m., leaving letters only near the middle of line 37 (Pl. 76, a). The last line of the inscription has been written in somewhat larger, coarser letters below and partly in this cut-down area. The letters are of irregular height and shape, and the spacing is quite erratic between them. The text is written throughout in a modified Boeotian dialect, avoiding in general the extremes to which Boeotian morphology can go.² Fifty-eight names, whole or fragmentary, survive; intact the list probably had about sixty-five names.

¹ I owe a very great deal, including my knowledge of field epigraphy, to Professor Eugene Vanderpool who on several occasions after my departure from Greece checked readings for me, and who generously wrote an introduction for me to Professors Jean Pouilloux and Paul Roesch of the Institut d'épigraphie grecque at the University of Lyon. M. Roesch most kindly supplied me with all the relevant material he had, especially his texts of the inscription and his prosopographical considerations. Although my own conclusions frequently differ from his, this in no way detracts from my admiration of his remarkable work in Boeotia. Among others who have offered help with readings are Professors W. K. Pritchett, S. Koumanoudes, R. Stroud, and D. J. Geagan. I wish also to thank Dr. S. Gold. Some of the material in this paper was presented in a talk at the Archaeological Institute of America meetings in Toledo, Ohio, on December 29, 1966.

² Cf. line 2, *epeibos*, with C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*², Chicago, 1928, ¶ 280. I.G., VII, 3068, from Lebadeia, dated to Charopinos (I believe the same man as the one of this inscription), shows a more radical form of Boeotian. Thespieae is rather a special case in Boeotian: see M. Feyel, *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne*, Le Puy-en-Velay, 1942 (hereafter cited as *Contribution*), pp. 13, 45, 49.

Hesperia, XXXVII, 3

Height (preserved), 1.05 m.; width, 0.375 m. (top), 0.39 m. (bottom); thickness, *ca.* 0.15 m.; letter height, *ca.* 0.01 m.

- Χαροπίνω ἄρχοντος ἐν Ὀγχειστοῖ, ἐπὶ
 δὲ πόλιος Ἐπιμαχάνω, τοῖ ἐς τῶν ἐφεί
 βων ἀπείλθον ἐν τὰ τάγματα· Δαμπρ[ι]
 γος Ὀνασίμω, Τίμων Φιλοξένω, Λύσαν
 5 δρος Λουσιστρότω, Καφισόδοτος Ἀσώπ[ω]
 γος, Καλλιμείδεις Λουσιστρότω, Ἀγά
 θων Εὐβωλίδας, Ἀριστίων Φίλλεος, Δα
 μέας Πινυμίωνος, Κρίσυλλος Εὐμαρ[ί]
 δας, Τίμων Δαματρίχω, Ὑπερμένειος Ὑ
 10 περμένεος, [Ἀ]ρίστιχος [Φ]ίλωνος, Ναύ
 [φ]ίλος Κραττίδης, Ἀντιγένειος Εὐτύχ[ω],
 [Φ]ίλων Ἀγαθοκλείος, Χρέμων Θεοδώ
 ρνος, Νεομείνιχος Φαείνω, Φιλόδαμος[ς]
 Μελείτα[ο], Δέξιππος Δεξιππῶ, Κλέων
 15 Εὐνύκω, Σωκράτει Σωκλῆος, Ξένων Χα
 [ρ]ιξένω, Ἀρχί[δ]α[μο]ς Δ[α]μοστρότω, Θεόδ[ω]
 [ρ]ος Θεοδώρῳ, Ἀπολλόδωρος Σιμμῖος,
 Ἀντίων Ἀμυντίωνος, Ἀριστοκλείς Ἐπ[ι]
 χαρίνω, Πολυκλείς Πολυκλείος, Καλ
 20 λικλείς ΕΞΑ.Ω, Χαιρετίδης Ἀριστεί
 [δ]ας, Νικάγγελος [Ν]ίκωνος, Ἑρμῆος Ἑρμ
 αῖω, Δαμοτέ[λ]εις [— — — — — *ca.* 6-7 — — — — —]ω.ω, Τιμήν[ε]
 [τ]ος [Ε]ὐτέλειος, [— — — — — *ca.* 3-4 — — — — —]ρι[χ]ος Ἀριστοβώ
 [λ]ω, Κρίνων [— — — — — *ca.* 10-11 — — — — —]όστροτος Φι[λ]
 25 [η]γέτω, Ἑρμῆος [— — — — — *ca.* 8-9 — — — — —] . . οβωλος
 Νικῖος, Α.Ω.ΩΑ [— — — — — *ca.* 7-8 — — — — —]οτω, Λακρα
 [τ]ίδας Κρατ. [— — — — — *ca.* 10-11 — — — — —]ων φαναξάν
 [δ]ρω, Ἡρακλ[— — — — — *ca.* 8-9 — — — — —]λαο, Φηγίας Μ[ε]
 νεστρότω, Ο..Σ [— — — — — *ca.* 8-9 — — — — —]κλείος, Φι
 30 [λ]όνικος Φι[— — — — — *ca.* 7-8 — — — — —], Γλαυκίας Ἀντ[ι]
 [χ]αρίνω, Βυ[— — — — — *ca.* 12-13 — — — — —], [Κ]αλλικρά
 [τ]εις Ἀναξιδ[. 2.]ω, [— — — — — *ca.* 6-7 — — — — —] Θώμωνος, Τε
 [λ]έσαρχος Τ[ι] [— — — — — *ca.* 10-11 — — — — —]χος Χαριπ
 [ί]ωνος, Καλλικράτειος Πο[λυ]στρότω, Ἀ[ρ]
 35 [χ]ανδρος [— — — — — *ca.* 4-5 — — — — —], Ἐπικούδεις Φιλοκού[δ]
 [ει]ος, Πουθοκλείς Πουθοκλῆος, Αὐτόβωλος
 [[*rasura* Νικία[ο] *rasura*]]

	[[<i>rasura</i>]]
	[[<i>rasura</i>]]
40	[[<i>rasura</i>]]
		Κλεόστρατος Φιλιστίωνος	
		<i>vacat</i>	

ΕΠΙGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

- Lines 3-4: The right vertical stroke and part of the slanting stroke of the nu are on the stone. Although various Boeotian names based on the stem *Λαμπρι-* are known (e. g. *I.G.*, VII, 2718, 5; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1936, no. 195, Suppl. p. 28, line 30), this is the first occurrence of *Λαμπρίωνος* so far as I can tell.
- Line 5: Part of the horizontal and right diagonal strokes of the delta are present.
- Line 6: The right vertical stroke of the nu is visible.
- Line 8: The name *Πνουμίων* is unattested in Greek. Roesch has suggested that instead of the omicron, a theta be read and that the name be restored *Π<α>νθυμίωνος*. *Κρίσυλλος* is new to Boeotian prosopography.
- Line 9: The cross stroke of the dotted alpha of *Εὐμαρίδαο* was not inscribed. *Ῥπερμένεις* is a new addition to Boeotian names.
- Lines 10-11: Nothing certain can be made of the phi, so I have chosen to bracket it. Roesch suggests that this *Ναύφιλος Κραττεΐδαο* is the grandson of a man of the same name in *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 183, line 29. On the date of this inscription, see discussion below.
- Lines 12-13: The last letter of the line is definitely a rho; after it the original surface of the stone is preserved in the lower part, and I am able to conclude that no letter was inscribed there. At the beginning of line 13, part of the upper right curve of the omega is visible.
- Line 14: After the tau the stone has been damaged, and all has been lost but what I have interpreted as the lower left diagonal of an alpha. If the nominative is *Μελείτεις* the genitive would be *Μελείτιος* (Buck, *op. cit.*, ¶ 108; cf. *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, VIII, 1923, p. 218, line 28); this nominative is possible (cf. *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1934/5, Suppl. p. 9, no. 118). If the nominative is *Μελείτας* then the genitive would be *Μελείταο* (Buck, *op. cit.*, ¶ 41.4 and 105.2). There are approximately two centimeters clipped off the stone. The likelier restoration would seem to be *Μελείταο* although the nominative form *Μελείτας* is as yet unattested.
- Line 15: Parts of the upper and lower horizontal strokes of the epsilon are present. In *Χαριζένω* a small portion of the left diagonal stroke of the alpha is visible.
- Line 16: The apex of the alpha may be made out on a squeeze.

- Line 18: The lower left slanting downstroke of the alpha may be seen. Antion's patronymic proved very difficult until I realized that the basic stem must be ἀμυν- (from ἀμείνων, cf. G. Neumann, *De nominibus Boeotorum propriis*, Regimonti, 1908, p. 14). It followed then that the mu is very lopsided, covering well over 1.5 cm., and only the two downstrokes may be made out for certain. In Ἐπιχαρίνω part of the horizontal and the left downstroke of the pi are visible.
- Line 20: If the reading ΕΞΑΙΩ is made, I have no interpretation to offer. If ΕΞΑΡΩ is read, then the patronymic might be Ἐξάρ<χ>ω, but it is not at all certain that what looks like the curved stroke at the top was actually made by the stonecutter. The reading ΕΞΑΚΩ is also possible, and this would have to be interpreted as an abbreviated genitive for Ἐξάκωνος (Ἐξακῶν, *I.G.*, II², 1009, line 32) or as a scribal error for Ἐξακέστω (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 478, no. 3, line 21). At the end of the line, what looks like a slanting stroke is a flaw in the stone.
- Line 22: All that can be rescued of Damoteleis' patronymic are the letters ω.ω; the traces of the next to the last letter are capable of a variety of interpretations, most likely delta or lambda. Of the nu at the end of the line only the left downstroke is clear.
- Line 23: All the readings in the middle of the line are obscure; I have been able to make out only the lower half of the iota. At the end of the line the left curved stroke of the omega is clear.
- Line 24: Κρίνων is new to Boeotian prosopography; deciphering his patronymic is next to impossible. At the end of the line only the lower part of the phi can be made out on the stone.
- Line 25: Only the right downstroke of the nu may be seen. The beta no longer has its lower curved stroke.
- Line 26: The letters after the omicron of Νικίαο are vexing. I have simply reported what I can see and attempted no restoration. The letter after the alpha may be a xi.
- Lines 26-27: The mark between the delta and alpha of Λακρα[τ]ίδας is not an iota but a defect in the stone. This name is not known to me in Boeotia, but it is certainly not impossible (cf. A. Fick and F. Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Personennamen*², Göttingen, 1894, pp. 175, 183). Λακράτεις is common enough (cf. Ἀρχ. Δελτ., VIII, 1923, p. 220, line 61). The digamma does not help materially to date the inscription (cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, ¶ 52 and 218).
- Line 28: The slanting strokes of the lambda can be seen. Of the nu in Φηνίας the left downstroke and part of the slanting cross stroke are all I can make out.

Line 29: A part of the right downstroke of the nu is visible, as well as a part of the upper horizontal stroke of the tau.

Lines 30-31: 'Αντιχαρίνος is not to my knowledge attested in Thespieae.

Line 31: Names beginning in Βυ- in Boeotian are very rare (*I.G.*, VII, only 585). Roesch suggests Βύισκος (reading Βυ.ικος on the stone) and compares Βυίλλει on an unpublished fifth century headstone from Thebes.

Line 32: Probably 'Αναξιδότω (*I.G.*, VII, 1754, Thespieae), but others are possible, e.g. -δάμω. For the name Θώμωνος compare *I.G.*, VII, 1752, line 17, Thespieae.

Line 34: Part of the left side of the slope of the omega is clear. *Αρχανδρος is to my knowledge unattested in Thespieae.

Line 36: There are slightly less than two centimeters before the extant omicron at the beginning of the line; I have on this basis restored an epsilon and iota, although iota alone is morphologically possible.

Lines 37ff: The upper part of the iota of Νικίαο is on the stone. If Νικίαο is the patronymic for Αὐτόβωλος of line 36, then the original inscription ended here; and I may compare Νικίας Αὐτοβώλω in 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1936, no. 196B, Suppl. p. 29, line 7 (dated after 171 B.C., cf. A. Plassart in *Rev. Arch.*, XXXI-XXXII, 1949, pp. 825-827 with references). I have come to the conclusion, however, that this name escaped erasure when the rest of line 37 and lines 38, 39, and 40 were erased. Kleostratos Philistionos (line 41) was added later.

Before the discovery of this inscription, M. Feyel had dated the Federal Archon Charopinos with some security to *ca.* 192 B.C.⁸ This date must now be re-examined, since this new inscription offers a previously unknown double-dating of a Federal Archon Charopinos and a Local Archon Epimachanos. The relevant epigraphical evidence for Charopinos and Epimachanos is as follows.

⁸ *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au III^e siècle avant notre ère*, Paris, 1942 (hereafter cited as *Polybe*), Introduction: Part II, pp. 61-68. Previous studies had placed him in the period 272-245 B.C.; cf. M. Guarducci, *Rev. Fil. Ins. Class.*, LVIII, 1930, pp. 333-338, and Ch. Barratt, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1932, pp. 100-103. All of these studies are based in the main on the researches of W. Dittenberger (in *I.G.*, VII), van Gelder (*Mnemosyne*, XXIX, 1901, pp. 281-303), K. J. Beloch (*Klio*, VI, 1906, pp. 34-51), and especially M. Holleaux (*Rev. Ét. Grec.*, VIII, 1895, pp. 183-197 = *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, I, Paris, 1938 [hereafter cited as *E.E.H.*, I], pp. 75-88, and *Rev. Ét. Grec.*, XIII, 1900, pp. 187-197 = *E.E.H.*, I, pp. 89-98). Holleaux' basic date of *ca.* 215-203 B.C. for the Federal Archon Lykinos has been generally accepted (cf. editor's note 1 to *E.E.H.*, I, p. 75), although refinements have been proposed, notably by M. Feyel in *Contribution*, pp. 116-117. This refinement to 210-203 B.C. has apparently been accepted by P. Roesch in his *Thespies et la confédération béotienne*, Paris, 1965, p. 90, the latest work on the subject.

I. CHAROPINOS ⁴

A. A Federal Archon of Boeotia:

I.G., VII, 393 (Oropos) = 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1891, p. 99, no. 44; *ibid.*, 1919, p. 79, no. 114; *S.E.G.*, I, 125.

I.G., VII, 3068 (Lebadeia).

I.G., VII, 4259 (Oropos) = 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1891, p. 97, no. 43; *ibid.*, 1919, p. 78, no. 113; *S.E.G.*, I, 129.

'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1919, p. 56, no. 101 (Oropos) = *S.E.G.*, I, 104.

'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1919, p. 75, no. 107 (Oropos) = *S.E.G.*, I, 110.

B. A Local Archon of Thespieae:

B.C.H., XXI, 1897, pp. 553-568, no. 2, line 14.⁵

'Αρχ. Δελτ., XIV, 1931/2, pp. 12-40, nos. 1 and 2 (Face A: lines 12, 14, 18, 47, and 48; Face B: line 4).⁶

C. An Ephebe in Thespieae:

B.C.H., LXX, 1946, p. 480, no. 6, line 21: Χαροπῖνος Ἀριστοκλείος when the Local Archon was Neon. (The Federal Archon has been lost.)⁷

⁴ The name Charopinos (as opposed to Charopias or Charopios) is rare on the Greek mainland: Athens, *Prosop. Attica* 15535 (= 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1896, pp. 26-27, no. 5), dated by Kirchner to ca. 350-300 B.C.; *I.G.*, V, 1, 1356 (Abia), 500-475 B.C. (cf. L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, p. 183, pl. 39, 6); *I.G.*, IX, 1, 12 (Ambryssus), A.D. 212; *I.G.*, XII, 9, 56, 433, 435 (Styra) fifth century (cf. L. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.); *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245, B, 87 (Eretria), end of fourth century; *I.G.*, XII, 5, 2, 1444 (= *B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, pp. 445-446, no. 75), fifth century and, according to Hiller, written in Delphian script, not Parian; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, Leipzig, 1921, no. 585, line 129 (188/7). In *I.G.*, VII, there are two additional examples, both from the third or second century B.C., 3150 (Lebadeia) and 3326 (Chaeronia). The name is especially frequent in Asia Minor throughout antiquity; cf. O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1900, p. 9, no. 14, line 1 (end of third century); G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion im Milet* (in *Milet*, Heft III, Berlin, 1914), p. 81, no. 45, II, 8 (cf. p. 228, note 2); also no. 122, I, 48 (479/8), I, 95 (432/1), and II, 63 (352/1); no. 133, line 40 (450/49). B. V. Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Ionia*, London, 1892, p. 60, no. 117, publishes a silver didrachm from Miletos with Χαροπῖνος struck on the reverse (date: ca. 258-202 B.C.). The name is frequent in all periods in Ionia, common enough in Boeotia ca. 250-175 B.C., and rare elsewhere and at other periods in Greece.

⁵ Re-edited by R. Meister, *B.S.G.*, LI, 1899, pp. 141-147. Cf. M. Feyel, *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 501-505 and *ibid.*, LX, 1936, pp. 175-177, no. 1.

⁶ Re-edited by M. Feyel, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, pp. 177-183, 389-415; cf. Holleaux, *B.C.H.*, XXX, 1906, p. 468 (= *E.E.H.*, I, pp. 375-376). Cf. also A. Plassart, in *Mélanges offerts à O. Navarre*, Toulouse, 1935, p. 341. Both of these inscriptions were dated hesitantly by Feyel (*B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 415, no. 3) to ca. 230 B.C., and Roesch has followed him (*op. cit.*, p. 92).

⁷ A. Plassart, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 476, dates this ephebe list to 200-180 B.C.

II. EPIMACHANOS⁸

A. A Local Archon of Thespieae:

I.G., VII, 1727.

In his publication of *I.G.*, VII, 4259-4261, W. Dittenberger suggested that "colligere licet Charopini et Pampirichi annos non magno intervallo distineri"⁹ and that they probably held office in the middle of the third century. Dittenberger was unable to offer much more than an educated guess, for the material at his disposal was not great; and this situation was keenly felt by M. Holleaux who originally placed Charopinos in the second half of the third century but upon later reflection moved him back to the end of the fourth century.¹⁰ Little seems to have been done about the chronology of the Boeotian Federal Archons until the articles of Barratt and Guarducci (see references in note 3). Their dating of Charopinos to the mid-third century is dependent on the interpretation of *I.G.*, VII, 393 (as well as of *S.E.G.*, I, 110, whose preserved portion is virtually identical with *I.G.*, VII, 393), made by K. J. Beloch¹¹ and G. Klaffenbach.¹² *I.G.*, VII, 393, is a Boeotian federal proxeny decree introduced by an Opontian; both Beloch and Klaffenbach dated the period of Opous' union with the Boeotian Federation to the mid-third century (date of withdrawal according to Klaffenbach 254, according to Beloch 245), and Barratt and Guarducci followed them in placing this inscription and therefore the archons Charopinos and Pampirichos near the end of the Opontian union with Boeotia. *I.G.*, VII, 393, supplied evidence for the mid-third century date for Opous' Boeotian period, and the fact of Opontian union with Boeotia was used to substantiate the mid-third century date for *I.G.*, VII, 393, and for the archonship of Charopinos. This striking example of circular reasoning was wisely ignored by M. Feyel who justly contended that the conclusions of Barratt and Guarducci were neither historically nor epigraphically inevitable for the archons Charopinos and Pampirichos (see *Polybe*, p. 64, note 2). Feyel, moreover, argued against the presumption implicit in their reconstructions

⁸ Not ἐπὶ Μαχάνω as in *I.G.*, VII, 1727 and elsewhere; see Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XIV, 1931/2, p. 39, note 1 (also *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1936, no. 211, Suppl. p. 39). The formula ἐπὶ δὲ πόλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ δέινος ἀρχοντος does not appear in Boeotian inscriptions.

⁹ *I.G.*, VII, 4259. On the proximity of Charopinos and Pampirichos, see *I.G.*, VII, 4259 and 4260, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1919, p. 54, nos. 98-103, and Barratt, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁰ *Rev. Ét. Grec.*, X, 1897, p. 178 (= *E.E.H.*, I, p. 61, note 4). Holleaux' confusion, and in part Barratt's, arose because *I.G.*, VII, 4259 is inscribed stoichedon; Feyel pointed out the fallacy of accepting this as an indication of an early date by insisting upon the influence of Athenian practice in Oropos (*Polybe*, pp. 62-63).

¹¹ *Griechische Geschichte*³, IV, 2, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 431-433.

¹² *Klio*, XX, 1925/6, p. 76; *ibid.*, XXXII, 1939, p. 199; *I.G.*, IX², 25, lines 35 and 43 with discussion.

that *after* the mid-third century Opos was never again a member of the Federation. He himself turned to *S.E.G.*, I, 101, another federal proxeny decree from Oropos dated to Pampirichos and in honor of a Megarian (*Polybe*, pp. 62 and 68). Megara was a member of the Boeotian Federation between 224 and 192 B.C.¹³ On the basis of probability and the dialect Feyel placed Charopinos after, but not much after, 192 rather than before 224. Had he lived to complete his volume on the second century, he certainly would have developed his argument more fully.

Paul Roesch, while accepting Feyel's interpretation of the then (1943) existing evidence and his arguments and conclusions concerning the Charopinos known to him, has found it necessary to conclude that the Charopinos of this ephebe list cannot be the same man as the Federal Archon of *ca.* 192 (Roesch, *op. cit.*, p. 92). His deduction is based on a prosopographical chain beginning with the Local Archon Epimachanos. When A. Keramopoulos published a number of inscriptions from Oropos in the 1936 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. (Suppl. pp. 23-47), it appeared that numbers 211, 213, and 214B, all dated to the Thespian archon Lousias, were moved by an Epimachanos Mnasistrato;¹⁴ number 212, also dated to Lousias, was moved by a Torteas Phaeino. A Torteas Phaeino is also the *rogator* of *I.G.*, VII, 1727. Roesch has followed Keramopoulos in believing that these are the same man.¹⁵ With this connection Roesch has tried to strengthen his identification of the Local Archon Epimachanos (represented by this inscription and by *I.G.*, VII, 1727) with the Epimachanos Mnasistrato of 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1936, nos. 211, 213, and 214B. This allows Roesch to affirm that the Local Archons Lousias and Epimachanos as well as the *rogator* Torteas Phaeino are contemporaries. To date the archons, Roesch turns to 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1936, no. 214A, a proxeny decree dated to the Local Archon Agon; this Agon also dates *S.E.G.*, I, 132, an inscription discussed in detail by Feyel¹⁶ and dated by him to 217-212. By its place on the stone 214A is definitely later than 214B, and thus the archonships of Epimachanos and Lousias would be somewhat before that of Agon. On the basis of this reasoning, Roesch logically concludes that the Charopinos of our inscription is not the same man as the Federal Archon of 192 B.C., but an earlier archon (perhaps the same man as the Thespian archon *ca.* 230 B.C.) who held office between 220 and 210 B.C. This ephebe list becomes the only piece of evidence for the earlier Charopinos.

That the Epimachanos of *I.G.*, VII, 1727, and of this inscription is the same man

¹³ See L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, XIII, 1939, pp. 114-117; M. Holleaux, *Rev. Ét. Grec.*, X, 1897, p. 173 (= *E.E.H.*, I, p. 57). These dates have been accepted by Roesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 161, 175.

¹⁴ On this family, perhaps, see P. Foucart, *B.C.H.*, IX, 1885, no. 33, p. 422.

¹⁵ See P. Roesch, *op. cit.*, p. 92. Roesch further concurs that it is a question of the same Torteas Phaeino as well in 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XIV, 1931/2, pp. 12-40, no. 4, lines 58 and 76 (see above, note 6), which he dates to between 220-215 and 210-208 (*op. cit.*, p. 19), and in W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, no. 585, p. 94, line 109 (dated 189/8). On the latter see the discussion below and note 18.

¹⁶ *Contribution*, pp. 38-46.

is hardly disputable.¹⁷ Furthermore, high probability attaches to the identification of this local archon with Epimachanos Mnasistrato. I have been quite unable to uncover any other man in any part of Boeotia (or of mainland Greece) at any other time named Epimachanos. Torteas Phaeino is, I fear, a red herring. He is not fundamental to Roesch's argument, and in addition there is nowhere a shred of independent evidence for the prosopographical chain including Torteas Phaeino of which Roesch's is only the latest and most clearly presented elaboration.¹⁸

Roesch's ingenious use of *S.E.G.*, I, 132, forms the real basis for his new Charopinos. But it is hardly a solid support: the text of *S.E.G.*, I, 132 reads [— —] *ωνος ἄρχοντος* etc. Agon, the key archon, is a restoration which may or may not be correct.¹⁹ Feyel's argument for his dating of this decree (cf. note 16) is in no way dependent on the name of the archon, and indeed he does not even mention it in his lengthy discussion. Given Feyel's date for *S.E.G.*, I, 132, and Roesch's interpretation of 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1936, nos. 211-214B, there is a *prima facie* case for the restoration Agon, but hardly more than that. In fact, the evidence for Roesch's new Federal Archon Charopinos consists entirely of a prosopographical chain for which there is no external control and, therefore, no probative evidence, and of an insecurely dated inscription with a restored archon. I do not believe that Roesch has demonstrated that Torteas Phaeino could not have introduced *I.G.*, VII, 1727, *ca.* 192 B.C. in the Local Archonship of Epimachanos (the same Epimachanos as Epimachanos Mnasistrato) and in the Federal Archonship of Charopinos.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Holleaux, *Rev. Ét. Grec.*, VIII, 1900, p. 189, note 2 (= *E.E.H.*, I, p. 91, note 2), and Roesch, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁸ So far as I can tell J. Baunack (in H. Collitz, *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialektinschriften*, II, Göttingen, 1899, no. 2581, pp. 765-781, lines 110-111) made the original connection between the Torteas Phaeino, a recipient of a Delphian proxeny decree when Xenon was archon (189/8, cf. A. Mommsen, *Phil.*, XXIV, 1865, pp. 23 ff.) and *I.G.*, VII, 1727. Had C. Wescher and P. Foucart (in *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, Paris, 1863, no. 18) in the *editio princeps* or A. Nikitsy (in *Ath. Mitt.*, X, 1885, p. 103) in his corrections to Wescher-Foucart read lines 109-111, the identification would have been made earlier and appeared in *I.G.*, VII. In spite of Baunack's certainty, W. Dittenberger did not include his prosopographical arguments in *Sylloge*² (Leipzig, 1898, addenda to no. 268, found in vol. II, p. 814), but did in *Sylloge*³, and since then this identification has gone into the literature (see, e.g., Keramopoullos, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XIV, 1931/2, p. 39). No evidence was ever adduced by either Baunack or Dittenberger for their connections. Equally applicable to Torteas Phaeino is Roesch's comment on Phaeinos Torteao (*op. cit.*, p. 17): "Il serait imprudent d'établir une filiation trop précise entre les Tortéas et les Phaeinos: peut-être appartiennent-ils (*sic*) à plusieurs branches d'une même famille."

¹⁹ For a bibliography of *S.E.G.*, I, 132, see Feyel, *Contribution*, p. 38. I have not seen the *editio princeps* of Keramopoullos, 'Αφιέρωμα εις Ι. Ν. Χατζιδάκιν, Athens, 1921, pp. 172 ff., but according to the editors of *S.E.G.*, I, Agon was his restoration. H. Pomtow in *Klio*, XVIII, 1922/3, pp. 303-304, offers no restoration of the archon in line 1. *S.E.G.*, I, offers six other possibilities for the archon, while P. Roussel in the addenda to *S.E.G.*, I, pp. 137-138, added one more possibility, Nikon. Independent of the archon's name, the inscription has been variously dated in the third and second centuries B.C. (see Feyel's discussion in *Contribution*, pp. 40-46); Roesch has accepted Feyel's date of 217-212, but this was not the only choice, as Feyel himself was careful to point out (*Contribution*, p. 46).

ADDENDUM, October, 1967

In the summer of 1967 the guard of the Thebes Museum, while moving the stele on which is inscribed the epebe list I have published, noticed that there were letters at the top of the left side. On a squeeze I read:

]ΙΡΩΝ *vac.*
]ΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

The nu is approximately 0.035 m. from the edge of the stone. The letter forms strongly resemble those on the face. The height of the four letters of the upper line is one centimeter or more; in the lower line the letter height varies from approximately 0.01 m. (rho) to 0.006 m. (omicron). I interpret the upper line as a nomen, the lower as a patronymic in the genitive.

I add a group of four headstones found in the vicinity of ancient Thespieae at various times during the Spring of 1962.

II.

ΔΙΟΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ

Διονούσιος

Found in a recently opened grave on top of the ridge of the south side of the valley of Thespieae.

Height, *ca.* 1.30 m.

The stele is complete. It has a pedimental top below which the inscription has been written. The letters are rather sloppy and exhibit apices.

III.

ΚΑΛΛΙΓΓ -

Καλλιππ[ί]δ[ες]

A cube of gray limestone, found in a field at the Neolithic settlement at Thespieae.

Height, 0.67 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.51 m.

The stone is broken at the right. There is a smooth band across the top and along the left side of the face. The bottom part of the front has been left unworked. The inscription itself has been placed in a smooth band four centimeters wide, ten centimeters from the top. It has been inscribed in a developed epichoric alphabet; see L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, p. 89.

IV.

Ζώπυρο[s] Παράμουν[ο υ]
 Ἐπὶ
 Ζωπύρα Ἀβρωνος
 γυναικὶ Παράμουνου

A cube of gray limestone, found on the side of a field 100 meters north of the Polyandrion of the Thespians.

Height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.68 m.; thickness, 0.32 m.

The letters are adorned with moderate apices; the inscription also reveals a broken bar alpha. The stone was found intact, but a return trip showed that the top of it had been caught in a plow and had thus been damaged. The letters are very worn and, as a result, very difficult to read.

V.

ΕΥΛΕΕΣ

Εὐγέες

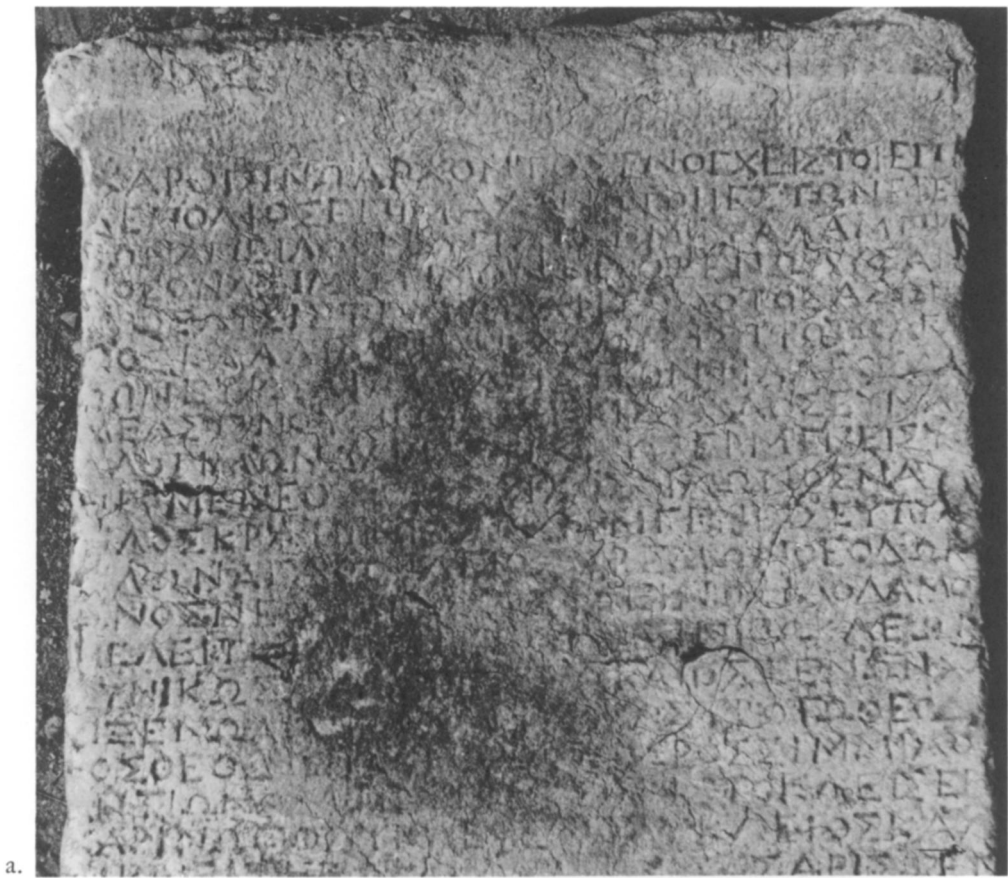
The stone was found built into the wall of a pumphouse about 20 meters to the east of the Polyandrion of the Thespians.

Height (preserved), 0.62 m.; width, 0.495 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

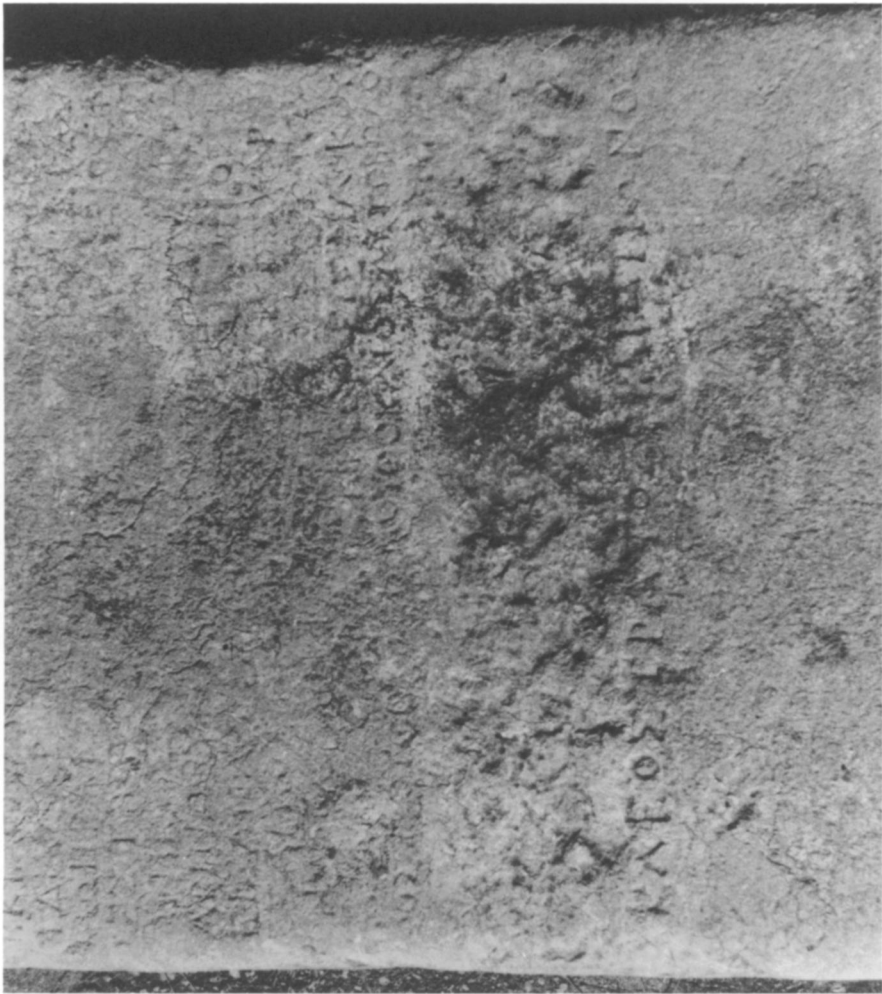
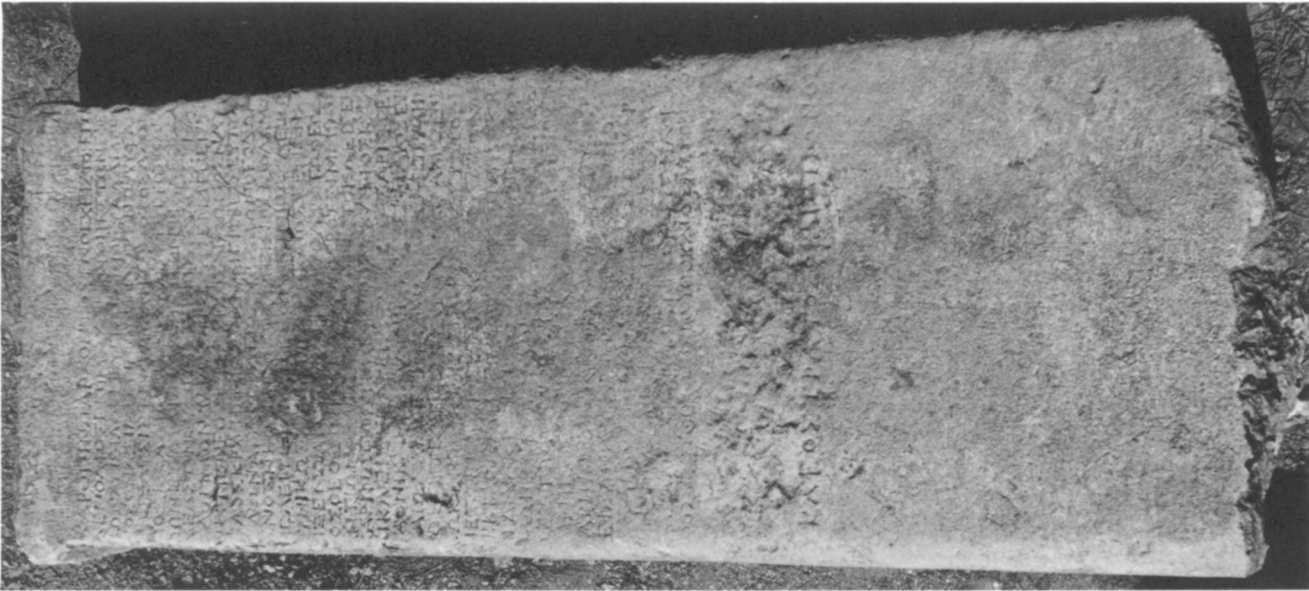
The stone is the upper part of a stele, with a flat top, and broken below. The inscription is on the upper part of the face and spans the entire width.

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No. I



a. and b. No. I

ROBERT C. ROSS: THESPIAN INSCRIPTIONS