

DEDICATIONS OF PHIALAI AT ATHENS

(PLATES 110–112)

THIS report continues and presupposes my earlier “Attic Manumissions,” a publication of an inscription found in the Athenian Agora.¹ It contains a new fragment of a known text, a new text, and makes a first attempt at reconstructing a stone which contains not only a conventional manumission-text but also a totally new kind of document. One further manumission fragment has been published since I last wrote, by Meritt.² I agree that it does not appear to belong to any known text; its nearest affinities are with *I.G.*, II², 1569B.

49 (Plate 111). Marble fragment, with left edge preserved, found in the wall of a late pit southeast of the Market Square, east of the Late Roman Fortification (U 22), on April 20, 1937.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4763.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 16

two lines illegible

[.] η ἀποφ[υγούσα]
 [Ἀρί]στ[αν]δρον [.]
 [. . .] εω Εὐ[ω] φι[ά]λη [σταθ.: Η]
 [Ἐ]λπὶς ἐμ Μ[ε]λί [οἰκοῦ]
 5 [α]ὐλήτρια [ἀποφυγού]
 σ Δεῖππο[ν]
 ἐμ Μελί ο[ἰκ καὶ κοιν]
 ὁ ἐρανι [τῶν μετὰ . . .]
 ωντοκ[.¹¹]
 10 φιά[λ]η [σταθμόν: Η^{vvv}]
lacuna

The stone and lettering leave no doubt that we have here the eighth fragment of the large stele assembled in my previous article, and that it is part of Column I of Face A, where there is ample room for it.³ Its text makes contact with the previously

¹ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 208-238. The numbering of the inscriptions here published continues that of preliminary articles on inscriptions from the Agora published in the present volume of *Hesperia*.

² *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 247, No. 43.

³ See the drawing, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 210.

known fragments impossible, and I have not tried for a join. The line of fracture suggests a position very high in the column, to the left of *I.G.*, II², 1559. The length of line is therefore defined as 16 letters, but the restorations are unusually intractable.

Line 1: A profession, not a name. We are not at the beginning of an entry.

Lines 2-3: [^τΑρί]στ[αν]δρον is, I think, inevitable; [^τΑναξι]λ[εω], e.g., would be possible.

Line 5: This form, so far as I know, comes elsewhere only in Diogenes Laertius, VII, 62, where there is a clear reason for avoiding *αὐλητρὶς*. Aristophanes and Plato leave no doubt that *αὐλητρὶς* is the purer Attic form. Face B, line 212 (*op. cit.*, p. 224) has the ambiguous *αὐλη*().

Lines 6-9: These present a complex of problems, and I feel no confidence about the answers. I am pretty confident that the first letter of line 6 is sigma; kappa, which would reduce the problems, cannot be read. However, the division *ἀποφυγοῦ|σ* is unparalleled in this text, which elsewhere happily abbreviates *ἀποφυγοῦ(σα)* at the end of a line, and I do not understand the formation of the name *Λεῖππον*. Secondly, this man appears to be designated in an unusually ample way for a metic, and we have to restore either a patronymic, an ethnic,⁴ or a profession; something similar appears to have happened in Face A, line 370 (*op. cit.*, p. 216). Thirdly, the photograph may well be thought to show pi unambiguously at the beginning of line 8, but I cannot resolve ΠΕΡΑΝΙ or quite see how two further masters are to be accommodated after Leippos. On the stone, omikron looks possible instead of pi. This allows the restoration I have put in the text,⁵ but I do not know what name ΩΝΤΟΚ is part of. Perhaps [...]ωντο(ς) Κ[---] is not too severe an abbreviation for this text. If there was an *ἐρανος* for this flute-girl, the arrangements made for the manumission of Neaira⁶ come to mind readily as a parallel.

50 (Plate 110). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with left side and rough-picked back preserved, found among marbles from the demolition of modern houses at the north foot of the Areopagus, on February 20, 1939.

Height, 0.335 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.004 m.; column width, *ca.* 0.165 m.

Inv. No. I 5656.

ca. a. 330-322 *a.*

Column I

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

at least three lines missing

----- [φιάλην στα]θμόν [: Η]
three lines illegible

⁴ J. K. Davies compares *I.G.*, II², 1628, lines 366-367, and 1629, lines 886-887.

⁵ See *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, Face A, lines 141-142 on p. 213 (κοι ἐρανε) for even more severe abbreviation.

⁶ [Demosthenes], LIX, 29-32.

- 5 ----- [φιάλην στα[θμόν : Η]
 --⁶⁻⁷-- Ω.ΙΑΓΟΤ.ΛΦ
 [...⁶...] ἐν Μελίτῃ ο[ἰκ]οῦ
 [σαν τα]λασιουργὸν [φιάλην στα[θ : Η]
 [...⁷...]ῖς Ἰησιμάχου Ἐρικέ
 10 [...⁵...]γίαν ἐν Χολαργῶι
 [οἰκοῦ]ντα ἱατρὸν [φιάλην στ]αθ : Η
 [Μαιμ]ακτηριῶνο(ς)
 [⁻²⁻³--]τῇ ἐπὶ δέκα· δικαστή
 [ρι]ὸν μέσον τῶν καινῶν.
 15 [ἐ]πὶ τὸ ὕδωρ Μενεκλῆς Εὐὼ
 νυμεύς· ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους
 Ἱεροφῶν Ὑαθεν [:] Π[⁻⁴⁻⁵--]
 φῆς Ἀλαιεύς : Ἀριστολέων
 Ἀλιμούσι : Ἱερώνυμος [ἐκ] Κροί
 20 Μ[α]καρεὺς Ξενοφώντος Ἀ[να]
 φ[λ]ύστιος Χλωρὸν ἐμ Πειραεῖ
 οἰκοῦντα πορφυροβάφ [φιάλην] στ : Η
 [...]αινίδης Κ[⁻²⁻³--]θωνος Ἀλωπῆ
 Νίκωνα ἐγ Κολλυτῶι οἰκοῦν
 25 ταριχοπώλην [φιάλην στ]αθμ : Η
 [Χα]ρίδημος Σωσικλείδου Ὑαθ
 [...]ὸν ἐκ Κεiriaδῶν οἰκοῦσα
 ταλασιουργὸν [φιάλην σταθμόν] : Η
 [Ἱ]πποκράτης ἐμ Πειραεῖ οἰκῶν
 30 Ἑρμωνα ἐμ Πειραεῖ οἰκοῦντα
 μυροπώλην [φιάλην] σταθμ[όν : Η]
 [Ἱ]πποκράτης ἐμ Πειραεῖ οἰκῶ[ν]
 Ἀβροσύνην ἐμ Πειραεῖ οἰκ[οῦ]
 σαν μυρόπωλιν [φιάλην] [σταθμ : Η]
 35 [Ἱ]πποκράτης ἐμ Πειρ[αεῖ οἰκῶν]
 [...]τάτην ἐμ Πε[ιραεῖ οἰκοῦ]
 [. .]\NΓ. παιδίον [φιάλην σταθμ : Η]
 [...]αντος Ἠγ[⁻-----]
 [...]αν ἐμ [⁻-----]
 [⁻-----]

Column II

40 one line illegible

[^{-ca 6}--]νιος [⁻-----]

one line illegible

- [...⁵...]ιωτρι[...] φιάλην [σταθμ: H]
 E[...]⁵...]ος Εὐθυδήμου Δαιδ
 45 [...]α ἐν Ὁρ[ω]πῶι οἰκοῦ
 [...]ηγὸν φιάλην στ[αθ: H]
 Φι[...]⁵...]ο[...]ορ[-----]
 [-----]ριαν [---]
 [-----] φιάλην [σταθμ: H]
 50 [-----]ου [-----]
 [-----]ΡΗΓΙΛ[-----]
 [-----]ΟΥ... φι[άλην σταθ: H]
 [...]μο[...]⁵...ἐμ] Μελίτη οἰκῶν
 Πρόθ[υμον] ἐμ Μελίτη[οἰ]
 55 κοῦντα κριθοπῶλ[ην φιάλην σταθ: H]
 Σμικροφῶν Σμικροῦ [-----]
 Σωτηρίδην ἐμ Μελ[ίτη οἰ]
 κοῦντα τυροπῶλ[ην φιάλην σταθ: H]
 Στρατοκλῆς Στρατ[-----]
 60 Εὐδημον Ἀλωπε[κῆσι οἰ]
 κοῦντα ἔμπορον φιάλην σταθμ: H]
 Καλλικράτης Τιμ[-----]
 ΛΟΡΙΛΙΑΛ ἐγ Κο[-----]
 [τ]αλασιουρ[γὸν φιάλην σταθμ: H]
 65 Καλλικράτης [Τιμ-----]
 Μαλθάκη[ν-----]
 ταλασιου[ργὸν φιάλην σταθμ: H]
 Τηλε[.]ρ[-----]
 [-----]

The stone is very much abraded, and a cement deposit has done it no good. Two different photographs, two latex squeezes, with and without a glass plate illuminated from behind, and many hours on the stone itself still do not give me great confidence. The dots indicate the places where I am still in serious doubt, and not places where someone coming fresh to the stone might find difficulty. The reader will have to take a good deal on trust. I can only assure him that, if he rightly suspects, in Youtie's phrase, that my eyes were driven forward by my mind, they not infrequently revolted and refused to read what, a minute before, I was sure must be there.

How many columns there were is uncertain. Reckoning from the preserved thickness suggests three rather than four, but some of these stelai are rather slender and I do not think four would be impossible. The picture of affinities with the rest

of the series is rather complicated. There is an outset of one space at the beginning of an entry, which links it with *I.G.*, II², 1571 + 1574, 1575, and possibly 1573,⁷ but these are texts with the slave's name in the nominative. Our text has the rarer formula, with the slave's name in the accusative.⁸ It makes one obvious new contribution. Since it has a new heading and date in lines 12-19, it shows that at least some of these stelai can represent the proceedings of more than one day. The only previous date, that in *I.G.*, II², 1578, appears to date a whole stele.

A further contribution comes from the erasures. Since at least in lines 22 and 31 only the word *φιάλην* stands in the erasure, and in lines 1, 11, 25, and 46, the erasure does not extend far into *σταθμόν*, I regard it as certain that the purpose of the erasures was to replace *φιάλη* by *φιάλην* throughout. Conversely, I would now think it certain that the purpose of the erasures on Face A of *I.G.*, II², 1569, was to convert *φιάλην* to *φιάλη* there. The motive of the corrections is clear. Whoever ordered them felt that the accusative *φιάλην* implied dedication by whichever party started the entry in the nominative, but that the nominative *φιάλη* did not. We are still left with a substantial number of cases⁹ where we have the slave's name in the nominative and *φιάλην* in the accusative, and in these we are left with a choice between two possibilities: either the slave did pay for the phiale or there was no conscientious *diorthotes* about. One considerable point is gained. Kahrstedt's theory¹⁰ that the only point in the distinction between formulae with the slave's name in the nominative and formulae with the master's name in the nominative was to indicate who paid for the phiale is now finally ruined.

There is a *terminus ante quem* for the date, if my reading in line 45 is right. Polyperchon's decision¹¹ Ὀρωπὸν δὲ Ὀρωπίους ἔχειν καθάπερ νῦν has always been rightly held to imply that Athens lost Oropos in 322. Here it is part of Attica. Our list therefore falls between *ca.* 330¹² and 322 B.C.

Line 11: *ιατρόν*. The first in these texts, and a surprisingly complimentary designation for a slave. In the only medical manumission at Delphi the slave does not have this title.¹³

Lines 12-19: A surprisingly full and formal localization of the court proceedings.¹⁴ The proceedings of *I.G.*, II², 1578, are dated to Hekatombaion 15, and Drach-

⁷ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 235-236.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1560, 1561, 1563, 1564 + 1565, 1572, 1575A.

¹⁰ *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, 1934, pp. 308-309.

¹¹ Diodoros, XVIII, 56, 6.

¹² *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 236-237.

¹³ *Syll.*², 857 = Pomtow, *Klio*, XV, 1918, p. 337, No. 110b, of 154 B.C. For slave physicians before the Roman period, see Temkin, *Isis*, XLIV, 1953, pp. 214-215; L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece (Smith College Studies in History, XLII)*, 1956, pp. 14-17.

¹⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 393 ff., No. 10, lines 10-14, 115-118, for similar introductions.

mann noted the coincidence with Chaironeia, where the 15th of the month was a favored date for manumissions. The restoration [πέμπ]την would, however, certainly be too long here. "The middle of the new courts" is already known.¹⁵ The next patch of information, however, is new, but amply explained by Aristotle ('Αθ. Πολ., 66, 2). After a panel of dikasts has been assigned to a court ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ [ἐφεστηκυῖα ἐν τῷ] δικαστηρίῳ ἐκάστω [ἔλκει ἐξ ἐκάστου τοῦ] κιβωτίου πινάκιον [ἔν, ἵνα γένωνται δέκα], εἰς ἐξ ἐκάστης τῆς φυ[λῆς, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ πινάκ]ια [εἰς] ἕτερον κενὸν κ[ιβωτίον ἐμβάλλει, καὶ] τοῦ[των ἔ] τοὺς πρώτους λα[χόντας κληροῖ, ἃ μὲν] ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, τέτταρας δὲ [ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὰς ψή]φους, [ἵνα] μηδεὶς παρασκε[υάζη]ι [μήτε] τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μήτε τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους, μηδὲ γίγνηται περὶ ταῦτα κακούργημα μηδέν. As one would expect from this, the five officials in this text do in fact come from different phylai: I, III, II or VII, IV, VIII. The reason for recording on stone these five persons, doing a minor job for one day, is not absolutely clear, but presumably they might come in useful as witnesses if any doubt arose in the future. It is not unlikely that the name of the ἀρχὴ ἡ εἰσάγουσα, who must have been the polemarch, was recorded at the head of the stone, as in *I.G.*, II², 1578.

Line 21: Χλωρόν. Despite the assurance of Arcadius (p. 69, 10 [Barker]) that τὸ κύριον is properispomenon, this accentuation seems more likely for a slave name, with "the pale one" more probable than the son of Pelasgos (Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Αἰμονία).

Line 22: πορφυροβάφ(ον). New to these texts, but the implication of Liddell-Scott-Jones that the word is Hellenistic is misleading. The reference to Athenaeus, XIII, 604b, conceals Ion of Chios, frg. 8 [von Blumenthal], a passage a good hundred years earlier than our text.

Lines 29-37: it is reasonably clear that the metic Hippokrates is manumitting part or all of the staff of a perfumery shop,¹⁶ but repeated attempts to read the beginning of line 37 still leave me in doubt as to how the third slave was described and what her relationship was to Hermon and Habrosyne.

Lines 43, 46: I cannot identify these professions with confidence.

Line 45: a crucial passage for date (see above, p. 372) and political organization. Despite the dots, ENΩΡ goes back to a very early stage in my reading, and these letters alone would indicate the restoration. Since Oropos was enough of a deme to have a demarch¹⁷ it is not surprising that it can be used to define residence. The name Oropos is perhaps a shade more surprising, since this same demarch in 328 is bringing grain ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀμφιαράου and Kahrstedt flatly denied that "Oropos"

¹⁵ From *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 393 ff., No. 10, lines 116-117; see B. Meritt, *ibid.*, p. 408; S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, p. 23; R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, p. 147.

¹⁶ The similar establishment so unluckily bought by Epikrates from Athenogenes also appears to have had a staff of three; Hypereides, *Against Athenogenes*, 23-24.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 272-273.

was a possible official designation after 400.¹⁸ I do not find the fluidity in terminology unlikely, particularly since I agree with Kahrstedt that the territory was not of full deme-status.

Line 55: κριθοπώλ[ην]. The earliest instance by some considerable time, apparently, but hardly surprising.

51 (Plates 111, 112). I assemble four fragments:

(a) *I.G.*, II², 1575 (E.M. 7955), an opisthographic fragment with a thickness of 0.10 m. Face A (Pl. 111) is a straightforward text with *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικάι*; Face B (Pl. 112) has long been recognized as something different.¹⁹

(b) *I.G.*, II¹, 4332 (E.M. 8880; Pl. 112) = *I.G.*, II, 5, p. 294, overlooked by Kirchner, like most of these *Fragmenta Incerta*, and not otherwise noticed except in inconclusive remarks by me.²⁰ In fact, it clearly belongs to the right of *I.G.*, II², 1575, Face B, with similar marble and picking on the preserved top. The distance from line 1 to the top is the same on both fragments (0.012 m.), but line 2 on this fragment corresponds to line 3 on fragment *a*. It has no back.

(c) *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 246, No. 42, pl. 44 (Agora Inv. No. I 5893). Lettering, spacing, and content make the assignment sure. It has no back.

(d) Fragment (Pl. 112) recovered from a marble pile in the area of the Odeion on July 22, 1946. Parts of the inscribed face, of the original back, and of the bottom are preserved. Along the lower edge of the front face is a rough band, 0.09 m. wide, projecting 0.01 m. The back also becomes rougher and rougher as we near the bottom; there is some claw-chiseling near the top.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5927.

Content puts fragments *c* and *d* on Face B. The hand is the same on both faces, and I see no reason to doubt that they were inscribed at the same time as part of the same operation. I have already revised the text of Face A,²¹ and now publish a photograph (Plate 111). I can now see the traces of line 1 printed in the *Editio Minor*, but am not certain that they are letters; if they are, they are larger than those of line 2. Our main interest here is with Face B.

¹⁸ *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, 1934, p. 351. Kahrstedt did not know *S.E.G.*, III, 117, an Attic document of 303/2 which refers to "Oropos." I am not convinced by Robert, *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 1960, pp. 194-200, that the territory could have been designated ἡ Νέα in this period.

¹⁹ A. W. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, 1933, p. 42, note 1; D. M. Lewis, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 235.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 230-231.

²¹ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 235.

a. 331/0 a.

[--- φιάλας ληιουργι] καὶ ἐπ' Ἀ[ριστοφάνο]υς ἄρχοντ[ος] *vacat*Fragments a and b *κυκλίους π[αίδων]*

Σωσίστρ[ατος ---] [ἄρκ]εθέωρος εἰς Πύθια
 5 Εὐωνυμ[εύς, σταθμόν : Δ] [Θεόφ]ραστος Βαθύλλο
 Θυμοκλῆς [-----] [Χολαργε]ύς, σταθμόν : Δ
 Πρασιεύ[ς, σταθμόν : Δ] [γυμνασίαρχο]ι εἰς Ἡφαίσ[τια]
 Αἰσχύλος [Ἰππίσκου] [-----]θ[-----]

[----- σταθμόν :] Δ Παιονίδη[ς, σταθμόν : Δ]

10 Πολυάρατο[ς Περιάνδρου]

Χολαργεύς, σ[ταθμόν : Δ]

Θεόφιλος Τρ[-----]

Ἀθμονεύς, στ[αθμόν : Δ]

Φιλοκράτης Φι[-----]

15 [Ο]ἰναῖος, σταθ[μόν : Δ]

[Κα]λλικράτης Ἀρ[ιστοκράτους]

[Ἀφ]ιδναῖος, στ[αθμόν : Δ]

[Λε]πτίνης Ὀλυμ[π -----]

[Ἀλω]πεκῆθε[ν], στα[θμόν : Δ]

20 [ἄνδρ]ῶν

[. . . .]ας Ἀριστων[---]

[. . . .]ιεύς, σταθμ[όν : Δ]

[Λυσικ]λῆς Λυσιάδο[ν]

[Λευκον]οεύς, σταθ[μόν : Δ]25 [--- $\frac{6}{7}$ ---]ης [.]τιν[---]

Fragment c (uncertain which columns)

[Λεωντίδος]

[-----]

[-----]ου

[-----, σταθ]μόν : Δ

[-----]άτου

[---, σταθμό]ν : Δ 35 Φ[ρεάρριος, σταθμόν : Δ]

Θεόφι[λος -----]

Φρεάρριο[ς, σταθμόν : Δ]

Ἀκαμαντ[ίδος]

Φιλοκλῆ[ς -----]

40 Ἀγνούσ[ιος, σταθμόν : Δ]

Πολυάρα[τος Περιάνδρου]

Χολαργ[εύς, σταθμόν : Δ]

Νικόβου[λος -----]

[Π]ροσπά[λτιος, σταθμόν : Δ]

Fragment *d* (Column I of the Stele)

45 [—] ι [— — — — —]
 Ε ιι [— — — — ἐν Λα]
 κιαδῶ [ν οἰκῶν — — —]
 χορηγοὶ τρ[αγωιδίας]
 Τίμων [— — — — ἐμ Με]
 50 λίτηι ο[ἰκῶν — — — —]
 vacat
 ἀ[ρ]ιθμὸς φιαλῶ [ν — — —]
 vacat

The institution revealed by this text is unknown to us from literary sources, though, as will be seen, one earlier epigraphic text turns out to be relevant. Some points will have to remain in obscurity until further evidence appears, and I do not think that the arrangement even of this text can be fully recovered. Some points, however, seem to me to be clear beyond argument. We have before us a text of the Lykourgan period which attempted to list all those who performed liturgies in a single year and attached to the names the record of dedications or contributions made by each of them in the course of their activity. These dedications weighed, in all cases preserved in this text, 50 drachmai, and the relevant parallel text will show that this was the norm. They were, as line 51 makes clear, *φιάλαι*. The reason why this list appears on the same stele as a list of *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικάι* must be that, like that list, it records *φιάλαι* which came to the state or to Athena as a by-product of other activities. Just as the law of *I.G.*, II², 1560, seems to have added the compulsory dedication of the *φιάλαι* to the previously existing manumission institution,²² so, I imagine, Lykourgos and his associates strengthened public devotion (and public finances) by imposing a dedication on liturgists. A clear parallel for systematic contribution in the course of public activity comes from *I.G.*, II², 2336, the contributions to the Delian *enneeteris* at the end of the second century.²³

It is in fact quite likely that we have part of the law in this case too. In *I.G.*, II², 417,²⁴ a decree or law precedes a text headed οἷδε ἐληρητοῦ[ργ]ησαν (*sic*) ἐπὶ [— — — — ἄρχοντος]. This text will also have had all the liturgists of its year, though what survives is virtually only the list of those involved in *ἐνταξία*.²⁵ In it there is

²² *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 234-237. I would now be inclined to guess that the mysterious [— — —] οὔργον in the prescript of Face A of our stele should be restored [κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν Δυκ] οὔργον.

²³ Cf. also the *φιάλαι* dedicated by the epheboi of 102/1 (*I.G.*, II², 1028, lines 29-30, 40-41).

²⁴ E.M. 7166; clear left edge.

²⁵ It is obvious that other liturgies were represented also, and therefore highly improbable that the relief inscribed *ἐνταξία* (Athens, Nat. Mus. 2958; Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, pl. CLXXXIII, Schröder, *Das Sport der Hellenen*, pl. 10) has anything to do with this stone.

no mention of *φιάλαι*, but names are followed by the 50-drachmai symbol, except in line 26 where we have 49 drachmai.²⁶ A further patch of the arrangement can be recovered in Column II. In line 24 read Κολ[ωνεῖς], in line 27 Λευ[κονοεῖς], in line 31 Πα[ιονίδαι], and distrust the reported trace at the beginning of line 30. This gives a list arranged by demes of Leontis. In Column I read in line 10 Πυρρίνου with Dow,²⁷ in line 26 Ὡ...ου, and in line 28 ἐξ Οἴου as the demotic. If the text above the list is the founding law and our new text belongs to 331/0 B.C., as I shall argue, the date of I.G., II², 417, will be a year or two earlier than this, which refines my earlier view.²⁸

For prosopographic comment I refer to J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (forthcoming), where all Athenian liturgists are listed and discussed. I am grateful to Davies for much help with this text.

Line 1: I do not know how wide the stele was. The main preserved columns of I.G., II², 1575, Face A and Face B, correspond. Line 2 of Face A ended above the main preserved column, but there must have been room for at least one more column to the right since there is at least one more column to the left on Face B. But even rough computation of spacing suggests that there were at least two columns to the left of the main column on Face B, and at least four in all. Reckoning roughly 0.12 m. for the column width, 0.018 m. for the intercolumniation and 0.012 m. for the horizontal spacing of line 1, one can make no conceivable restoration of line 1 with three columns. If the *φιάλαι* do not appear in the main list, they are indispensable in the heading, and I cannot think how they are to be qualified except as [ληιτουργι]κάς. Before [φιάλας ληιτουργι]κάς the phrases οἶδε ἀνέθεσαν, οἶδε ἐπέδωκαν, and οἶδε ἔδωκαν all suggest themselves as possibilities.

Restoring the date is surprisingly difficult. Relevant Athenian archons with names beginning with alpha are Aristophanes (331/0), Aristophon (330/29), and Antikles (325/4). Relevant Pythian years (line 26) are 334, 330, 326. Antikles can be eliminated, I think. His name is too short for line 1, and he requires a full year's deferment of the dedication by the architheoros of line 26 if he went to the Pythia in summer 326.²⁹ On the face of it Aristophon, whose term of office covers

I have not been able to see the relief itself, but would judge by the photographs that this could be proved on strictly physical considerations.

²⁶I cannot read and I disbelieve in the 100-drachmai symbol printed in the *Editio Minor* at line 14.

²⁷*Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, II, p. 362.

²⁸*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 230.

²⁹I am tempted to say also that I continue to believe that the normal theoria of 326 was replaced by the Pythais of Syll.³, 296, going to the rededication of the Delphic temple, as I held in *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 34. The ingenious argument of Charitonides (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 43-44) for dating the Pythais to 330 certainly leaves me quite unmoved. The three lists we both consider are far too close in date for certainty about their order, and one of them, the bouleutic dedication at the Amphiareion, is quite unofficial. They cannot be manipulated as if they were lists of Amphictyonic hieromnemes. What stops me using this argument is conversation with Jean

a Pythia, is attractive, but he is excluded because his genitive ends in *-os* and not in *-ous*. The upsilon on fragment *b* is by no means all there, but quite enough of the top right of the letter is there to convince me, as it apparently convinced Lolling. We are therefore forced back on Aristophanes. No calendar manipulation is likely to bring the Pythia of 330, whatever their precise date,³⁰ into Aristophanes' year, but it would not be hard to imagine that the Athenian architheoros was appointed shortly after the announcement came from Delphi at the end of winter³¹ and could count as a liturgist in 331/0. Unfortunately, yet more special pleading is needed. We have in lines 3-19 what I shall be arguing is a list of the choregoi for boys' choruses at the Dionysia. Only eight phylai are listed. On the face of it, there are two absentees, caused by inability to find a choregos, as nearly happened to Pandionis in 349/8³² and may have happened earlier in the century at the time of the production of Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon*.³³ We do, however, know who won the boys' choruses at the Dionysia in 331/0; it was Oineis, with Nikostratos of Acharnai as choregos.³⁴ Our list gives no choregos for Oineis, so that, to save the phenomena, we have to say both that Nikostratos does not appear because he was exempt as a victor, a proposition for which, as will be seen, lines 49-50 provide some support, and that the other absentee is to be otherwise explained. I cannot pretend to be happy about the situation, but I see no way out.

Lines 3-25: though *κυκλίοις* does not appear elsewhere in official texts, it can hardly mean anything but "at the performance of dithyrambic choruses."³⁵ It is followed by a vertical stroke, just in the break, and in line 20 we have a one-word entry in [— —]ων, clearly complementary. The restorations *κυκλίοις π[αίδων]* and [*ἀνδρ*]ων seem certain, in their normal order.³⁶ The norm was ten choregoi in each of the dithyrambic contests.³⁷ Here we have eight for the boys' choruses, as we have seen, arranged in tribal order: I, III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X. If the current restoration of lines 23-24 is correct, the men's choregoi had reached phyle IV by the second entry, and there were shortages here too. In line 22 we require a demotic [...⁵...]εύς from phylai I-III: [*Κηφισ*]εύς (I), [*Ἑστια*]εύς and [*Διομε*]εύς (II),

Bousquet, who is doubtful about a formal rededication in 326 and agnostic about the date of the Pythais. See *B.C.H.*, LXXXVIII, 1964, pp. 655 ff., particularly p. 666.

³⁰ E. Bourguet, *Administration Financière*, pp. 142 ff.; A. Mommsen, *Delphika*, pp. 132 ff.; Pomtow, *Klio*, VI, 1906, pp. 92-93.

³¹ Delphic Bysios: *I.G.*, II², 1126, lines 45-46.

³² Demosthenes, XXI, 13.

³³ Platonios, *Περὶ διαφορὰς κωμωιδιῶν*, 5-6 (Kaibel, *C.G.F.*, I, p. 4).

³⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2318, lines 333-334.

³⁵ Cf. especially Aristophanes, frag. 149, 10; Aischines, III, 232.

³⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2318, *passim*, and the Law of Euegoros (Demosthenes, XXI, 10), where *ὁ κῶμος* is probably to be interpreted as = *οἱ ἄνδρες* (see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², 1968, pp. 102-103).

³⁷ Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 23; Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[Σπειρ]ιεύς and [Παιαν]ιεύς (III) are all possible. The winner in the men's chorus at the Dionysia in 331/0 was Archippos of Peiraeus (VIII);³⁸ on the analogy of Nikostratos, he should not have been named.

No reference to the Dionysia survives. It may be because it had already been named at the foot of the previous column with choruses for tragedy and comedy, but this would be contrary to the order of events in *I.G.*, II², 2318, and in the Law of Euegoros. No weight should be attached to the appearance of tragedy and (probably) comedy at the foot of a column in fragment *d*. I shall show that this is probably an earlier column and that it belongs to the Lenaia. Dithyramb is not attested for the Lenaia in the fourth century.³⁹ The fact that *the κύκλιοι χοροί*, so dominant that the evidence for them elsewhere is inconclusive, were at the Dionysia may well suggest that mention of the Dionysia was superfluous, but in that case mention of the festival would be needed to avoid ambiguity, on arrival at tragedy and comedy, if they came further down the column.

Line 16: the restoration was made by Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, VII, 1906, p. 117, overlooked by Kirchner, and reaffirmed by Ziebarth, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1934, p. 1027 note 1.

Line 26: for the spelling, cf. *I.G.*, II², 365, line 10 (323/2). So far as I know *ἀρχεθέωρος* has not yet appeared in the fourth century.

Line 29: after the very beginning of the fourth century (Andokides, I, 132; *I.G.*, II², 1138, line 11) clear reference to the gymnasiarchy at the Hephaistia is confined to *I.G.*, II², 3201, lines 7-11. If the restoration of Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., 53, 7, is right, the festival was reorganized in 329/8 as a penteteris. For a discussion, see Davies, *J.H.S.*, LXXXVII, 1967, pp. 35-36, to which add Keil, *Hermes*, XXX, 1895, p. 473.

Lines 31-34: recognition of the nature of the text necessitates changing Meritt's layout. I am confident, too, that the numerals in the first column should be read as Ϙ rather than ϙ.⁴⁰ What is happening in the second column is hard to decide. The list is by phylai, with at least three representatives in one phyle. The chances are against its being of any agonistic liturgy, on our knowledge. Meritt pointed out that two of the names are those of trierarchs, and thought it a list of trierarchs. This still seems not unlikely, and we can add that one of the names, Polyaratos, appears also in lines 10-11. The principle οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην δύο λητουργίας λητουργεῖν οὐδὲ οἱ νόμοι ἐώσιν ([Demosthenes], L, 9) was always, I take it, liable to breach if it suited the liturgist, but the combination of trierarchy with choregia seems the most likely

³⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2318, lines 336-337.

³⁹ It is attested there in some sense in the third century by *I.G.*, II², 3779, but this is not going to be relevant; see Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, p. 42 note 2.

⁴⁰ I have discussed these readings with Meritt, by letter, and he is convinced, as I am, that Ϙ is correct. The photograph in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 44, is deceptive.

way of its happening. We have further to consider the meaning of the list in *I.G.*, II², 417, Column II, arranged by phylai and demes. This might well have the same purpose, even though differently arranged; compare similar discrepancies between *I.G.*, II², 1924 + 2409 and 1926, between 1928 and 1932. Davies wonders whether we should not simply assume these names to be those of the Three Hundred,⁴¹ since it is hard to see a clear distinction between *proeispherontes* and trierarchs after 340.

Lines 45-51: ἀριθμὸς στεφάνων σταθμὸν τούτων is a standard enough Lykourgan and post-Lykourgan turn of expression⁴² to make the content of line 51 clear. The letters are larger than the text, and it is difficult to see what can have preceded ἀ[ρ]ιθμός. I therefore assume that the text column is Column I of the whole face and therefore detached from the Dionysia entry in lines 3 ff. The tragic choregoi, then, will be for the Lenaia, and this is supported by lines 47 and 50, which can only be resolved, so far as I can see, as metic demotics. There is no evidence that metics could be choregoi at the Dionysia, but at the Lenaia they could.⁴³

The arrangement, however, remains mysterious. If the column width is constant, it will be a tight fit in lines 46 and 49 for name, deme, οἰκῶν, name and start of deme, with no possibility of introducing the σταθμὸν phrase. Davies, with great plausibility, suggests

Τιμων[patronymic ἐμ Με]
λίττηι ο[οἰκῶν, σταθμὸν : Π]

as the arrangement at least in lines 49-50. This will give two tragedies at the Lenaia, as in 420/19 and 419/8,⁴⁴ with the winner exempt from the contribution. But if we extend this to lines 46-47 we shall have to conclude that there were only two comedies also, and this is surprising.⁴⁵ Line 45 is also troublesome. The vertical is not part of eta, so we cannot read [χορ]η[γοὶ κωμωδίας], and [Ληνα]ί[οις] or [Ληναί]οι[ς] means a variation in spacing.

It will be clear, I think, that the precise arrangement of the text must remain uncertain. This is the penalty of dealing with a new type of document, satisfactory though it may be to have it.

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⁴¹ Cf. De Ste. Croix, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XIV, 1953, pp. 59-61.

⁴² *I.G.*, II², 1496, lines 62-64; 1492, lines 67-69.

⁴³ Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 953. Presumably these are the liturgies which Lysias and Polemarchos had performed (*Lysias*, XII, 20).

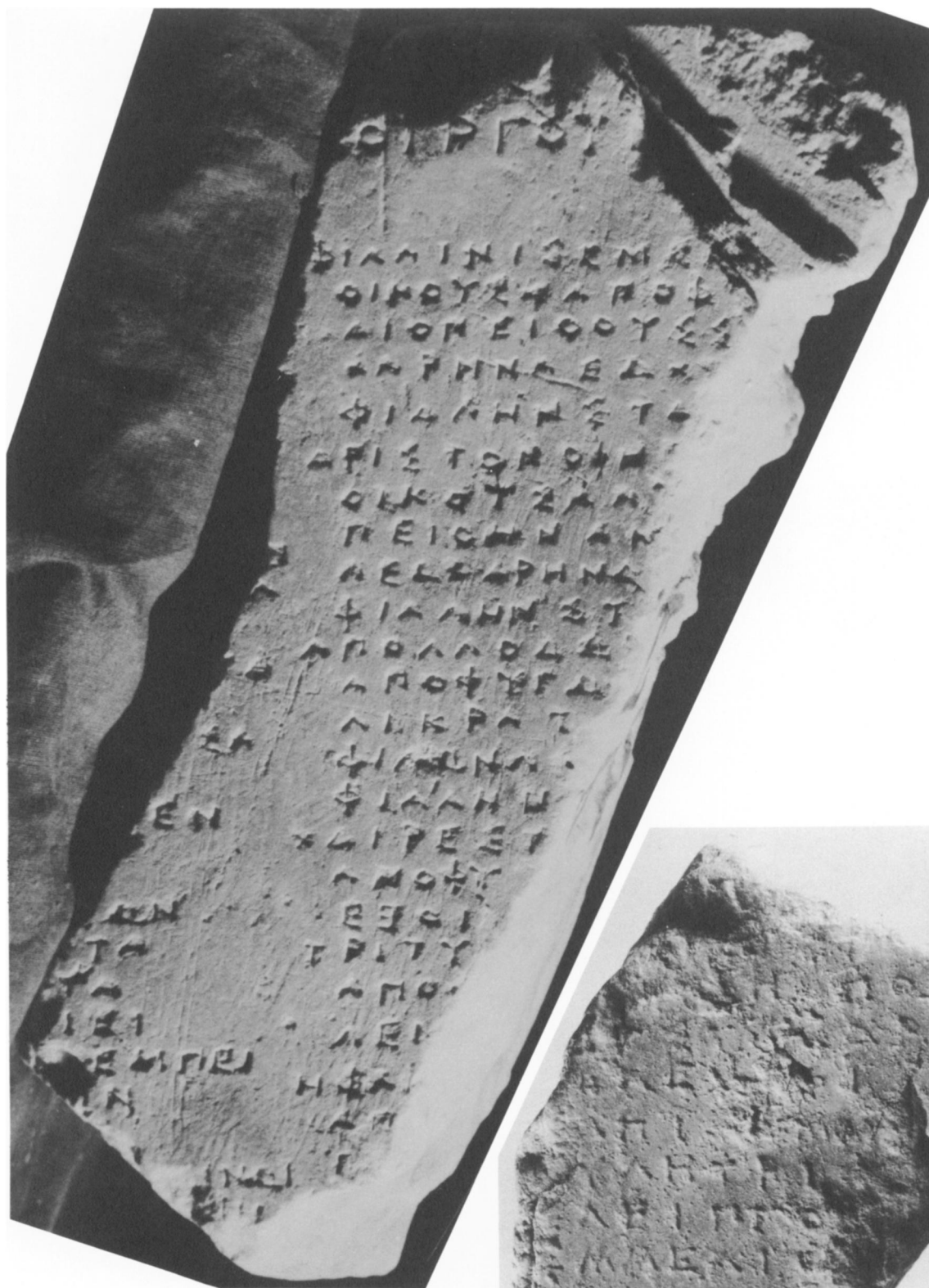
⁴⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2319, lines 70-83.

⁴⁵ See Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 34.



No. 50

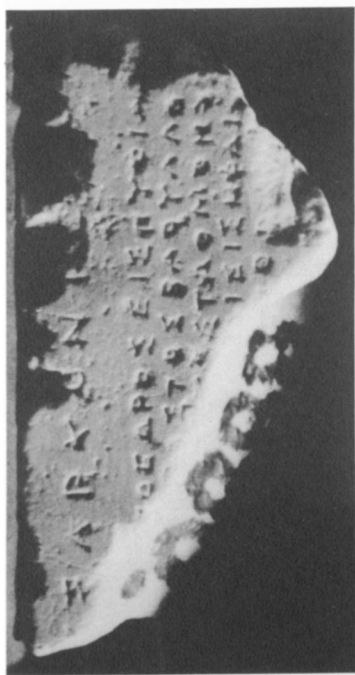
DAVID M. LEWIS: DEDICATIONS OF PHIALAI AT ATHENS



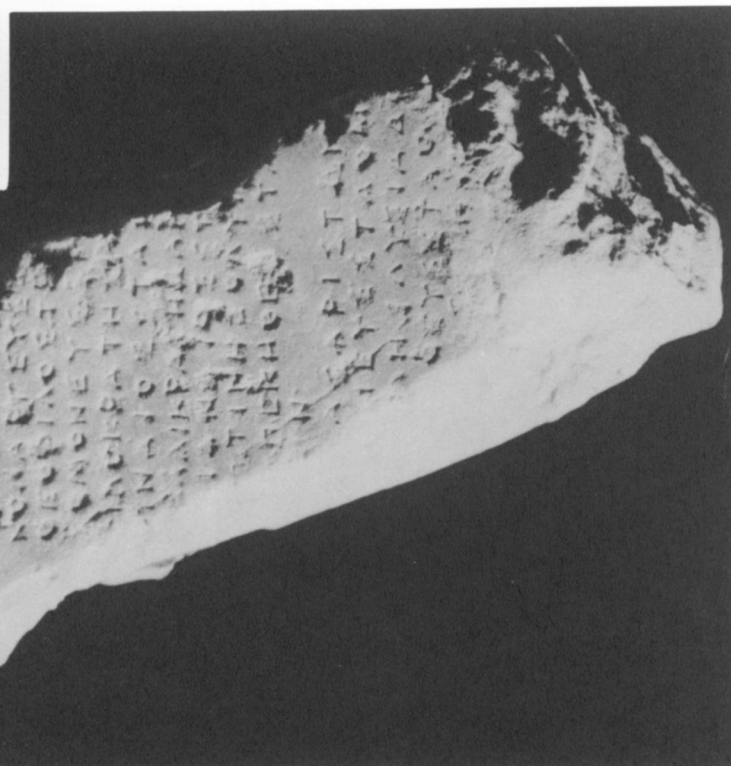
No. 51, Frag. a, Face A



No. 49

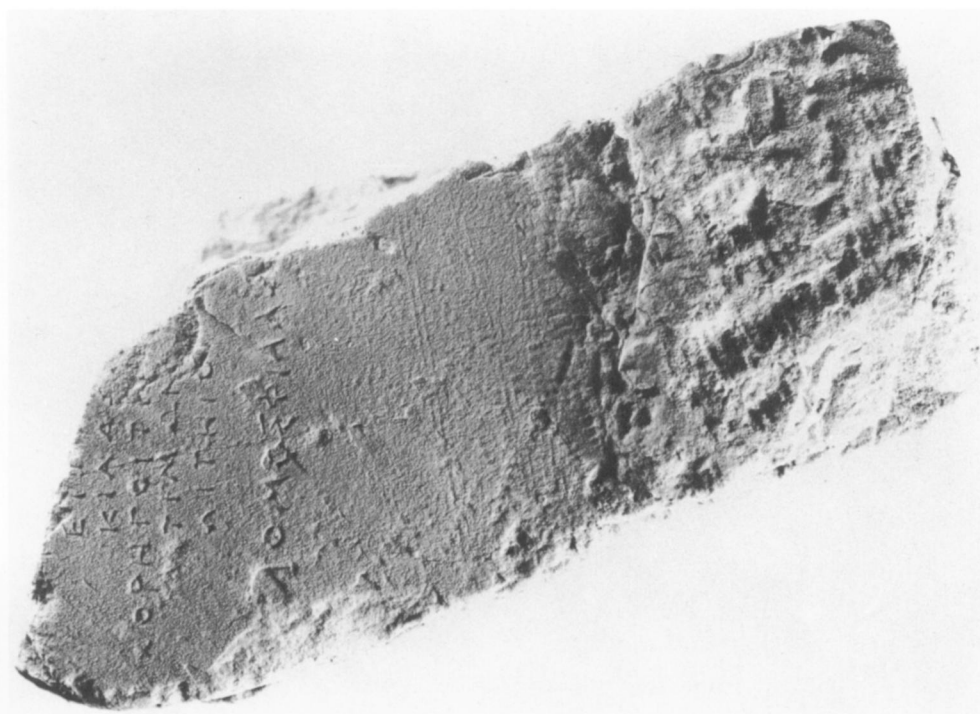


No. 51, Frag. *b*



No. 51, Frag. *a*

Face B



No. 51, Frag. *d*