

LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART V

(PLATE 69)

IN THIS ARTICLE are discussed two inscription fragments that probably derive from the same series of Attic lease records that was discussed in earlier articles in this journal.¹

To judge from the script, these two fragments should be dated at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., that is, about 30 to 50 years later than the other records in this series. Slight differences in letter forms and in the method of abbreviating certain words suggest that these two fragments derive from different levels on the stele or even, perhaps, from two stelai of the same date. I have numbered them as Stele 6, fragments *a* and *b*, continuing from the earlier series.²

STELE 6: PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF UNKNOWN DEITIES

Two fragments of pale, bluish marble, probably Hymettian, found at different times and places. There is no join between the two fragments.

¹ M. B. Walbank, "Leases of Sacred Properties in Athens," Parts I–IV, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 100–135 (Part I: Stele 1, 343/2 B.C.); 177–199 (Part II: Stelai 2 and 3, ca. 333/2 B.C.); 200–206 (Part III: Stelai 4 and 5, ca. 333/2 B.C.); 207–231 (Part IV). References to these stelai are given thus in this article: "Stele 1, Column Ia, lines 2–3," and so on.

References frequently cited below are abbreviated as follows:

- Agora* XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974
- APF* = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971
- Farnell, *Cults* = L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford 1896–1909
- Farnell, *Hero Cults* = L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921
- PA* = J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin 1901–1903
- PAN* = J. Sundwall, *Nachtraege zur Prosopographia Attica* (= *Oefversigt af finska vetenskaps Societeten Foerhandligar* 51, 1909–1910, Afd. B. N:o 1), Helsinki 1910
- Solders, *AK* = S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, Lund 1931
- Traill, Map 1 = J. S. Traill, Map 1 reprinted from *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975
- Walbank = *Hesperia* 52, 1983 (see above)

I am grateful to Mrs. D. Peppas-Delmousou, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for permission to republish fragment *a* and to Professor H. A. Thompson, Director Emeritus of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to publish fragment *b*. I am also grateful to Mrs. Ch. Karapa-Molisani for examining fragment *a* in my behalf, to check readings and dimensions.

² Whether or not the earlier series was continued on a decennial basis, we do not know: no evidence of this survives. I suggested earlier (see Walbank, pp. 216, note 74 and 230, note 131) that the series of land sales known as the *Rationes Centesimarum* might be the result of a decision by the State to dispose of these properties at the time of the third decennial revision of the system, rather than to continue leasing them out. If I am correct in regarding the present group of lease records as a continuation of the earlier series, my speculations regarding the origins of the *Rationes Centesimarum* must be abandoned or, at least, modified.

Fragment *a* is of unknown provenance, from some time before 1873.³ It is broken all around, but the back is preserved.

P.H. 0.260 m.; p.W. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.110 m.

H. of letters 0.004–0.005 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009 m.

Epigraphical Museum inv. no. E.M. 8015

Fragment *b* was found on the surface on April 15, 1939, near the Mycenaean Wall on the north slope of the Akropolis (V 24). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.071 m.; p.W. 0.062 m.; p.Th. 0.059 m.

H. of letters 0.004–0.005 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009 m.

Agora Museum inv. no. I 5775

fin. s. IV–init. s. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 70–75?

- a.* [-----: 'Ηρακλέους ἐ]ν Κ[υνοσάργει τεμένη?, πρῶτον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθ]-
[ώσατο -----]: 'Αλαιο: μισ: [-----: ἐγ:]
[-----: ἐγ:] 'Εστιαῖος Λυ[: δεύτερον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατ]-
[ο -----: 'Αλι]μού: μισ: Γνίφω[ν? -----: ἐγ: -----]-
5 [-----: ἐγ: -----] Διονυσοδώρ[ον: -----: ἐγ: -----: τρίτον τέμε]-
[νος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατ]ο 'Ηρακλείδ[η]ς -----: μισ: -----]
[-----: ἐγ:] Καλλιάδης Αἰ[-----: τέταρτον τέμενος ὃ πρό]τερον ἐμισθώσα]-
[το ----- κ]λέους: 'Αγγελ: μισ: Αν[-----: ἐγ: -----]-
[-----: ἐγ: -----] γείτων Θεοπόμπου: Α[-----: ἐγ: -----]-
10 [-----:] πέμ]πτον τέμενος Θεα[--- ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατο -----]
[: μισ: -----]: Αἰγίλι: ἐγ: Δω[-----: ἐγ: -----]
[: ἐγ: -----]: Αἰγίλι: ἐν Κυνοσ[άργει? ----- ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσ]-
[ατο -----:] οἰκ: μισ: Χαρίδη[μ-----: ἐγ: -----]-
15 [-----: ἐγ: -----] τίμου: Φρεαρ: [ἐν? ----- ὃ πρότε]-
[ρον ἐμισθώσατο -----:] ἐγ Μυρρι: μισ: Δ[-----: ἐγ: -----]-
[-----: -----ε]ως τέμενο[ς ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατο -----]
[: μισ: -----] μαχος Εὐθί[ου? -----: -----: ἐγ: -----]

lacuna

- b.* [-----:] [ἐγ: -----]
20 [-----:] ο[ρου[-----]
[-----:] μι: Αγ[-----]
[-----:] Αἰγίλι: [-----]
[-----:] ε[πὶ το[-----]
[-----:] ο[υ]: Φρε[αρ: -----]

³ First published by U. Koehler as *IG* II, 852; republished by J. Kirchner as *IG* II², 1592. Koehler saw it in the Museum of the Archaeological Society.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

In my restorations I have assumed that any lease that drew down a rent of less than 600 drachmai required a single guarantor, that any lease between 600 and 1,200 drachmai required two guarantors, and so on.⁴ Thus, the lease of line 11, which involves a rent of 1,270 drachmai, will have had three guarantors. Tenants and guarantors are named with patronymics and abbreviated demotics, so that each name is likely to have occupied between 15 and 25 letter spaces; moreover, the lease descriptions apparently involve, perhaps in every instance, the full names of previous tenants (see, for instance, lines 2, 4, 6?, 8, 13, and 16): thus, the minimum line length will have been about 70 to 75 letters.

Line 1: Before the preserved kappa the bottom of a nearly vertical stroke is preserved. The stone breaks diagonally across this from the left, so that it might be iota or, less likely, part of a nu or eta. I restore tentatively [ἐ]ν Κ[υνοσάργει ---], by analogy with a rubric found in the earlier series of lease records.⁵ but other restorations are possible: for instance, [ο]ἱκ[ία ---] or some other topographical reference.

Line 6: The omicron preserved at the left edge could be the end of a verb, as I have restored in this line, or else it could be a neuter singular of a relative pronoun: in the latter case, one might restore ὃ Ἡρακλείδης καθιέρωσεν,⁶ or some other such clause. The manner in which, however, each lease description seems to end with a man's name suggests that each lease was identified by the name of the previous tenant: thus, in this line, too, I have restored a formula which identifies Herakleides as the previous tenant.⁷

Line 7: J. Kirchner identified this man as the Priest of Asklepios of 262/1 B.C.,⁸ and dated this document accordingly around the middle of the 3rd century. The letters AI that follow the name Kalliades, however, do not belong to the beginning of a demotic (Αἰ[γυλιεύς]), as Kirchner restored in this line and which was the basis for his identification, but must be the beginning of a patronymic. The system of punctuation employed throughout this document requires that a colon be inscribed before each demotic, whereas patronymics always follow forenames without punctuation. Thus, this man is Kalliades son of Ai[---], not Kalliades Aigilieus, and the date must be settled on the basis of letter forms alone, unless some other assured identification can be achieved.⁹

Line 10: Before the tau there is preserved a slightly downward slanting horizontal stroke, which I interpret as part of a pi. A rho is not impossible but, in my view, is less likely. I have therefore restored [πέμ]πτον,

⁴ See Walbank, p. 135, note 159. The statistics that I derived from Stelai 1–5 (pp. 207–213, especially p. 213) indicated that the rents laid down for temene tended to be quite high: thus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the temene whose leases are recorded here will, on the whole, have drawn down high rents, as, indeed, does that of line 11. Moreover, there is every likelihood that rents rose at each decennial renewal, perhaps by as much as 10% on each occasion (see the remarks of J. H. Kent on the evidence for this practice at Delos during and after the period of Athenian control: "The Temple Estates of Delos, Rheneia, and Mykonos," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 260, note 49). Thus, leases of temene that involved rents in excess of 1,200 drachmai would not be out of place after an interval of as much as 60 years.

⁵ Stele 1, Column IIe, lines 17ff.

⁶ See, for instance, Stele 1, Column IIIc, line 6.

⁷ See *IG* II², 2493, lines 5–6, for a similar formula.

⁸ *PA* 7784, where the priesthood is dated to 232/1 B.C., and *IG* II², 1592, where it is dated to 262/1 B.C. See *IG* II², 1534, line 226, for the priesthood: for the correct date (260/259 B.C., the archonship of Kleomachos), see now B. D. Meritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26, 1977, p. 174.

⁹ The letter forms seem very close to those of *IG* II², 730, 737, 1685A², and 2351, all of which are assigned the date *init. s.* III a. in *IG* II²; *IG* II², 1696, the preserved portions of which contain a list of magistrates dated from 358/7 to 350/49 B.C., could well have been inscribed much later in the 4th century, or in the 3rd, and seems also to be the work of this mason. The difficulty that was faced even by such authorities as Koehler, Kirchner, and Meritt in dating by letter forms alone during the latter part of the 4th and earlier part of the 3rd centuries are well illustrated by the dates assigned to the various fragments of *IG* II² 1176, which proved eventually to be dated to 324/3 B.C. (on this, see R. S. Stroud, "Three Attic Decrees," *CSCA* 7, 1975, pp. 292–293, note 30).

rather than [τέτα]ρον. All the properties listed in lines 1–10 seem to be parts of a series, temene or temene and associated features, that are owned by a single deity. I have tentatively identified this deity as Herakles in Kynosarges, thus establishing a possible link with the leases of 343/2 B.C.¹⁰

Line 12: U. Koehler restored ἐν Κυνοσ[άργει].¹¹ This restoration has influenced my restoration of line 1, but, of course, other restorations of line 12 are possible: for instance, ἐν Κυνοσ[ούραι]. If Kynosoura is accepted as the site of the property of line 12, rather than Kynosarges, we should then be looking at a property on the island of Salamis, where, in fact, we do know that sacred properties were leased out around the middle of the 4th century.¹²

Line 18: After theta a vertical stroke is preserved at the right edge. Previous editors have read this as an iota and have restored the patronymic Εὔθι[ου], but a slight possibility exists that this letter stroke is not an iota but, rather, the vertical of an epsilon: thus, the restoration Εὔθι[του] should not be ruled out.

Line 20: The right side of omicron is preserved in the abraded area at the left edge. The letters surviving here must be the end of a patronymic or, less likely, part of a topographical reference.

Line 23: The left side of omicron survives. Some sort of topographical reference is probably involved or else a description of some feature associated with this leasehold property.

Line 24: The upper left corner of epsilon is preserved.

NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

Fragment a

Line 1: [Ἑρακλέους ἐ]ν Κ[υνοσάργει]? The owner of five temene (at Kynosarges?), of another at Thea[---], of another property at Kynosarges(?), and, perhaps, of one other property at an unknown location, possibly Kynosarges also. The restorations depend upon Koehler's restoration of ἐν Κυνοσ[άργει] in line 12, but this might just as easily be restored as ἐν Κυνοσ[ούραι] (i.e., on the island of Salamis). If the divinity of line 1 is Herakles in Kynosarges, this series of temene might be identified with a similar series from 343/2 B.C., the property of Herakles in Kynosarges.¹³

Line 10: Θεα[---]. The location of a temenos that belongs to the same divinity as he of lines 1ff. The tenant and one of his guarantors come from the deme of Aigilia, so that there is a faint chance that this property is located in, or near, that deme, whose site is in south-western Attica.¹⁴

Line 14: [---ε]ως. The owner of a temenos, whose location is unknown. There is a faint chance that the tenant is from the deme of Lamprai. Possible candidates for this deity's name are as follows: Aigeus, Apollo Agyieus, Erithaseus(?), or Kerkyoneus, Dionysos Eleuthereus or Auloneus, Eurystheus, Erechtheus, Kychreus, Nemesis, Oineus, Perseus, Prometheus, Theseus, and Zeus Sounieus.¹⁵ None seems a stronger candidate than

¹⁰ See footnote 5 above.

¹¹ *IG* II, 852.

¹² See *Stele* 1, Column IIIc, line 5, and *IG* II², 1590a.

¹³ See footnote 5 above.

¹⁴ For its location, see Traill, Map 1.

¹⁵ See Farnell, *Cults and Hero Cults*; Solders, *AK*. AIGEUS: *Cults* II, p. 631; IV, pp. 47–55. APOLLO AGYIEUS: *Cults* IV, p. 148; *AK*, p. 18. APOLLO ERITHASEUS: *Cults* IV, p. 159 (= Erisatheus? p. 439); *AK*, p. 19. APOLLO KERKYONEUS: *Cults* IV, p. 158 (Roman era); *AK*, p. 21. DIONYSOS ELEUTHEREUS: *AK*, p. 44. DIONYSOS AULONEUS: *Cults* V, p. 143; *AK*, p. 42. EURYSTHEUS: *Hero Cults*, p. 110; *AK*, p. 76. ERICHTHEUS: *Cults* IV, pp. 47–55; *Hero Cults*, p. 11; *AK*, pp. 75–76. KYCHREUS: *Hero Cults*, p. 360; *AK*, p. 102. NEMESIS: *Cults* II, pp. 487–498; *AK*, pp. 67–69. OINEUS: Pausanias, 1.5.2. PERSEUS: *Hero Cults*, p. 337 (= Perreus?).

any other, but, if the owner of the properties listed in lines 1–14 is Herakles in Kynosarges, it is tempting to seek some deity who is linked with Herakles, such as Eurystheus.¹⁶ In the earlier lease records, however, leases are recorded by divine owner, rather than by area,¹⁷ so that it is probably better to assume that there was no connection between the divinity of lines 1–14 and he (or she) of line 14.

Tenants, or former tenants, whose demotics are certain come from Aigilia, Angele, Halai, Halimous, Myrrhinous, and, possibly, Lamptrai. Guarantors are from Aigilia (one, perhaps three), Marathon (? or Phlyeus?), Phrearrhioi, and, possibly, Sphettos. Thus, there seems to be a weighting, amongst the tenants, at least, towards the southwestern part of Attica.¹⁸

Fragment *b*

No divine names are preserved on this fragment, and the only topographical reference (line 23) is too fragmentary to admit of restoration. One tenant comes from Phrearrhioi, and the guarantor of another is from Aigilia. Thus, again, there is an apparent weighting towards the southwestern part of Attica.¹⁹

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Line 2: Ἀλαιο<ύς>. Former tenant.

Line 3: Ἑστιαῖος Λυ[---]. Guarantor. He could be *PA* 5203, father of Μηνόδοτος Σφήττιος (*PA* 10113) and ancestor to Ἑστιαῖος Ἑστιαίου Σφήττιος (*PA* 5204).²⁰

Line 4: [Ἀλι]μού<σιος>. Former tenant.

Line 4: Γνίφω[ν ---] (or Γνιφω[νίδης]?). Tenant. Perhaps a descendant of Φιλῖνος Γνίφωνο[ς] Φλυεύς,²¹ or from the same family as Ξενοκράτης Γνιφωνίδου Μαραθώνιο[ς],²² in which case the restoration is more likely to be Γνιφω[νίδου]: this would also provide a link with the earlier series of leases.²³ If the name is Gniphon, this man may be a relative of Γνίφων Προκλέο[υς ---], the guarantor of a lease *ca.* 333/2 B.C.²⁴

Line 5: Διονυσοδώρ[ου ---]. Father of a guarantor (or, perhaps, the guarantor himself). The name is a common one, but it is perhaps worth commenting that the name occurs in 343/2 B.C. in the persons of a guarantor of a lease and of a tenant.²⁵

PROMETHEUS: *Cults* V, p. 381; *AK*, p. 58. THESEUS: *Cults* IV, pp. 47–55; *Hero Cults*, pp. 337–340; *AK*, p. 81. ZEUS SOUNIEUS: *AK*, p. 5.

¹⁶ See Solders, *AK*, pp. 75–76.

¹⁷ For instance, see *Stele* 1, Column IIe, and *Stele* 2, Face A.

¹⁸ For the locations of these demes, see Traill, Map 1.

¹⁹ For the locations of these demes, see Traill, Map 1.

²⁰ See also *PA* 5205 and 13929.

²¹ *PA* 14339 = *APF*, p. 537.

²² *Stele* 2, Face A, Column II, lines 26–27.

²³ Xenokrates son of Gniphonides guaranteed a lease *ca.* 333/2 B.C. (see *Stele* 2, Face A, Column II, line 26).

²⁴ *PA* 3055; see *Stele* 3, Face B, line 11. The name occurs also in Thorai and in Pallene, at a much earlier date (see *Agora* XV, no. 22, line 7 and no. 44, line 40).

²⁵ *Stele* 1, Column Ie, lines 19–20 (guarantor) and Column If, lines 4–5 (tenant).

Line 6: Ἡρακλείδης[s ---]. Former tenant (? or dedicator?). If he is a former tenant, a possible candidate could be Ἡρακλείδης[s] Ἐρυθ[ρ]αῖος: this man served as trierarch in 306/5 or 305/4 B.C. and might have had metic status earlier on.²⁶ If so, one might restore as follows: Ἡρακλείδης[s] Ἐρυθραῖος (or, more likely, a patronymic): ἐν ---: οἰκ<ων>]. The name is not, however, an uncommon one in the later 4th or earlier 3rd century.²⁷

Line 7: Καλλιᾶδης Αἰ[---]. Guarantor. The demotic may well be Αἰγυλιεύς, but it is unlikely that this man is PA 7784, the Priest of Asklepios in 260/59 B.C.²⁸ He might, however, be an ancestor of the priest. The name is a common one, and there are too many possibilities for there to be any point in attempting to restore the name of the father.

Line 8: [---κ]λέους: Ἀγγελ<ῆθεν>. Father of a former tenant. Possibly Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀγγελῆθεν (PA 1855) or his son.²⁹ There are, however, other candidates from Angele whose names end in -κλῆς.³⁰

Line 8: Ἀν[---]. Tenant.

Line 9: [---]χείτων Θεοπόμπου: Α[---]. Guarantor. If these leases are located in the deme of Aigilia, this man might be an ancestor of Θεόπομπος Αἰγυλιεύς (PA 7025); his father might be that Theopompos who appears in a list of phyletai of Antiochis late in the 4th century B.C.³¹ Several other demes begin with the letter A, so that our guarantor's father might, instead, be Θεόπομπος Ἀντιγένους Ἀχερδούσιος, a councillor of Hippothontis in 303/2 B.C.³² There are several possible restorations of the guarantor's name, none of them a stronger candidate than any other.³³

Line 11: Αἰγυλι<εύς>. Tenant.

Line 11: Δω[---]. Guarantor.

Line 12: Αἰγυλι<εύς>. Guarantor.

Line 13: [---:] οἰκ<ων>. Former tenant. The formula indicates that this man was a metic.

Line 13: Χαρίδης[μος ---] (or Χαρίδη[μίδης]?). Tenant. He might be Χαρίδηςμος Σατύρου Λακιάδης (PA 15372 or 15385), or Χαρίδηςμος Ἀγρυλεύς, councillor of Erechtheis in 289/8 B.C.³⁴ or else Χαρίδημίδης Εὐωνυμέυς, councillor of Oineis in 304/3 B.C.³⁵

²⁶ For his career, see *APF*, p. 586, C 4.

²⁷ See, for instance, PA 6457 (Alopeke), 6459 (Acharnai?), and *PAN*, p. 88 (Anagyrus), as well as others of this name whose demotics are unknown.

²⁸ See footnote 8 above.

²⁹ PA 11212: Ξενοκλῆς or Ἀριστοκλῆς.

³⁰ For instance, Διοκλῆς Διοπειθοῦς Ἀγγελῆθεν might be an ancestor of this man (PA 4009 = 4010; see *APF*, pp. 156–157); another possibility is PA 14532, Φιλοκλῆς father of Ἐπικράτης (PA 4869: the demotic is unknown, but the phyle is Kekropis) and ancestor to Προκλείδης (PA 14532): in this case, another possible restoration of the name of the tenant's patronymic might be [Προκ]λέους. So far, however, no one of this name is attested for Angele.

³¹ PA 7021, without demotic.

³² *Agora XV*, no. 62, line 246.

³³ For instance, [Διο]χείτων (Alopeke), [Θεο]χείτων (Aphidna), [Θου]χείτων (Alopeke), and [Φιλο]χείτων (Aphidna and Acharnai).

³⁴ *Agora XV*, no. 86, line 80.

³⁵ *Agora XV*, no. 61, line 167.

Line 14: [---]τῖμον: Φρεάρ<ιος>. Father of a guarantor. He might be, for instance, [Ἀρχέ]τῖμος, ancestor to *PA* 2434, but there are other possible restorations of this name, although not, so far, attested for this deme.

Line 15: ἐγ Μυρρι<νούττης>. Former tenant.

Line 15: Δ[---]. Tenant.

Line 17: [---]μαχος Εὐθί[ου] (or Εὐθέ[του]?). Tenant? He might be Εὐθύμαχος Ε[---] (*PA* 5634), or, more likely, a descendant; or else Εὐθύμαχος Εὐθέτου Λαμπτρέυς (*PA* 5637). If the father's name is Euthios, there could be a link with the archon of 283/2 B.C.,³⁶ if it is Euthias, he could be the opponent of Hypereides (*PA* 5479), or the son of Δαισίας Ἀλαιοῦς (*PA* 5482). He might also be the tenant of a leasehold property of *ca.* 333/2 B.C., Εὐθίας Φαι[. . . !. . .]ο, in which case we should have another possible link with the earlier series of leases.³⁷

Line 20: [---]ότου [: ---]. Father of a guarantor?

Line 21: Αγ[---]. Tenant.

Line 22: [Α]ἰγίλι<εύς>. Guarantor.

Line 24: [---]ο[υ] Φρε[άρ<ριος>]. Father of a tenant.

The leases recorded upon these two fragments are of properties belonging to at least two different deities: those of fragment *a* may be a series of temene owned by Herakles in Kynosarges, although not all, apparently, located in Kynosarges itself (lines 1–12); if so, a link may be established with the lease records of 343/2 B.C., in which a similar series of temene owned by Herakles in Kynosarges is leased out.³⁸ The same deity owns one, perhaps two more properties, one of them apparently in Kynosarges (lines 12–17). Another, as yet unknown, deity owns yet another temenos, at some unknown location (lines 17–19). The second fragment records the lease of two or three properties whose owner(s) and locations are unknown.

The tenants include both Athenians and metics; as in the earlier series, few, if any, of the tenants and of their guarantors are identifiable as prominent in Athenian public life: one possible exception may be the former tenant of the property listed in lines 6ff., who might be that Herakleides of Erythrai who served as an Athenian trierarch late in the 4th century,³⁹ but this identification is merely tentative.

If I am correct in restoring in the rubrics of the lease descriptions records of earlier tenancies, these lease records will clearly represent the continuation of some earlier series of similar records; there is, however, a gap of 30 to 50 years between this series and that of 343/2 and *ca.* 333/2 B.C. Thus, there is little likelihood that tenants or guarantors from the earlier series will be found here also, even under the rubric “former tenant”.⁴⁰ The absence of any record of such leases between *ca.* 333/2 B.C. and the date of the present series may be

³⁶ *PA* 5493; for the date, see B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), p. 173.

³⁷ *Stele* 2, Face A, Column II, lines 3–4.

³⁸ See footnote 5 above.

³⁹ See footnote 26 above.

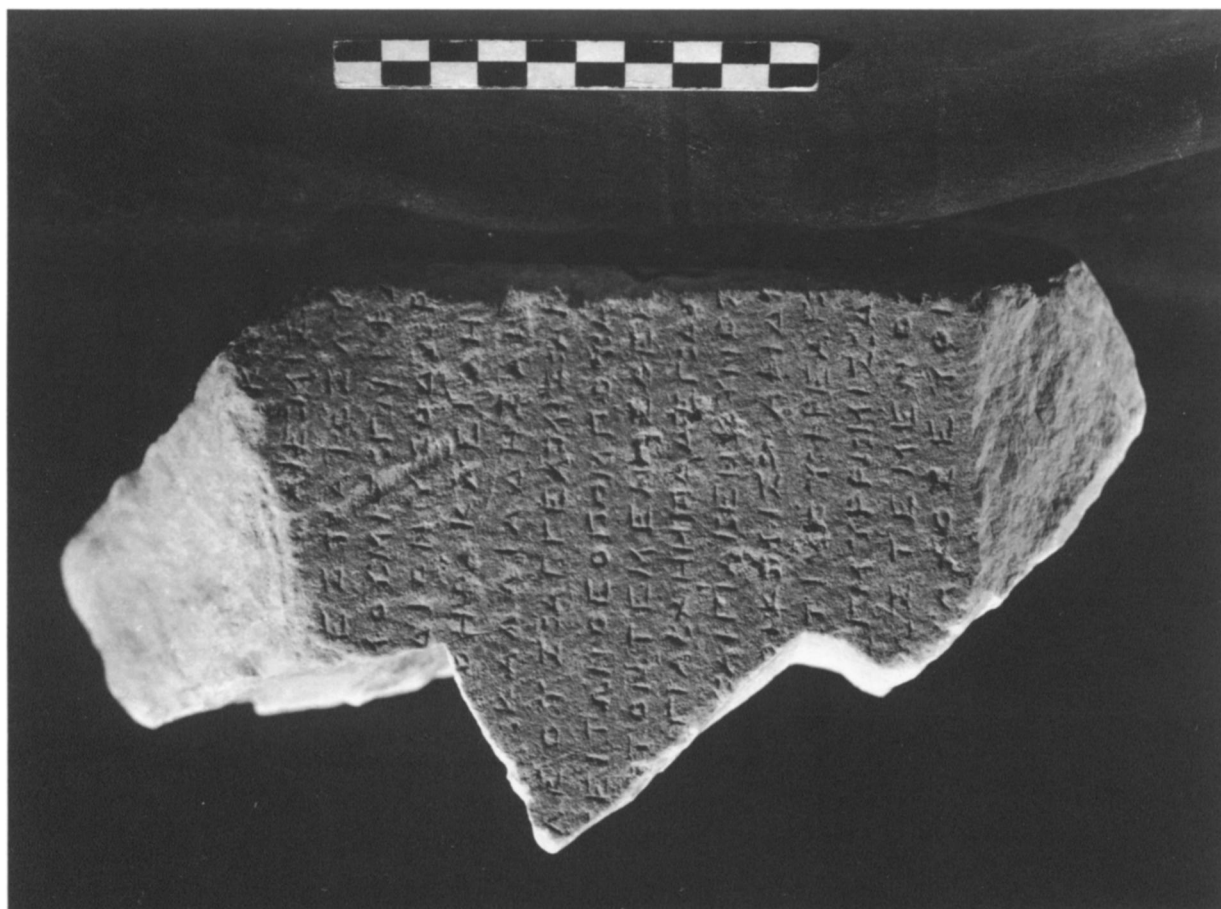
⁴⁰ Possible family links may exist in the cases of the incoming tenant of line 4 (see footnotes 21–24 above), the guarantor of line 5 (footnote 25 above), and the incoming tenant(?) of line 17 (footnotes 36 and 37 above). No family links, however tentative, can be established in the case of “former tenants”.

merely an accident of preservation, or else it may reflect the political disturbances of the Macedonian Era: indeed, the care that is apparently taken in this series to identify former tenants may be an indication that the record had become confused as a consequence of political uncertainties. The new series may be a re-affirmation, rather than a regular decennial revision, of the system initiated in 343/2 B.C.⁴¹

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⁴¹ The findspot of fragment *b* and, perhaps also, that of fragment *a* suggest that the stele is likely to have been set up on the Akropolis, rather than in the Agora, whereas I have suggested that the stele of 343/2 and some, at least, of the stelai of *ca.* 333/2 B.C. were set up beside the Stoa Basileios in the Agora (see *Hesperia* 52, 1983, p. 226, note 119). This in itself suggests that the system adopted during the Lykourgan era had been modified, such modification perhaps taking away from the Archon Basileus the responsibility for the encoding of such leases. It also suggests that the deity most closely involved may have been Athena in one of her guises, although it should be borne in mind that Stele 1, despite the fact that what survives of its heading identifies the property owner as Athena Polias (line 3), contains records of the property of several other deities.



a. Fragment *a* (E.M. 8015)

Stele 6

b. Fragment *b* (Agora I 5775)