

# LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART I

(PLATES 30–32)

EXCAVATIONS in the Athenian Agora have produced several new fragments of the inscriptions *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 and 1591, as well as a mate for *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2495, with the addition of two more small fragments that appear to belong to the same series but which cannot be securely placed.<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions, as I now restore them, comprise at least three stelai, probably more, on which were recorded leases of properties owned by several different Attic cults; these leases were granted by the State, presumably in behalf of the cult authorities, to individual Athenian citizens, as well as to certain metics. They appear to represent an attempt on the part of the State both to rationalize the existing system of renting out public properties and to ensure that the leases thus granted were, in future, subject to regular review, perhaps every ten years.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Professor T. L. Shear, Jr., the Director of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for assigning the new fragments to me for publication. I am also grateful to Mrs. D. Peppas-Delmousou, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for permission to study and republish the E.M. fragments. I am much beholden to Dr. D. M. Lewis for his advice and comments. I am grateful, too, to Professor H. A. Thompson and to Dr. J. Perlzweig Binder for advice on matters topographical. I acknowledge here the financial assistance from the University of Calgary and from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada by which I was enabled to spend the winter of 1977 and part of the summer of 1979 in Athens. I am also beholden to the British School of Archaeology in Athens, which admitted me as a Student of the School in 1977, and to Professors B. D. Meritt and C. Habicht, of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, who permitted me to make use of the prosopographical records in the Library of the School of Historical Studies.

Works frequently cited in this article 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
- Bechtel, *Personennamen* = F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917
- Day, *History* = J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York 1942
- Farnell, *Cults* = L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (5 volumes), Oxford 1896–1909
- Kerameikos* III = W. Peek, *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, III, *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchttafeln*, Berlin 1941
- LSJ*<sup>9</sup> = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edition), Oxford 1940
- PA* = J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (2 volumes), Berlin 1901–1903
- PAN* = J. Sundwall, *Nachtraege zur Prosopographia Attica* (= *Oefversigt af finska vetenskaps Societeten Foerhandlingar* 51, 1909–1910, Afd. B. N:o 1), Helsinki 1910
- Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions* = O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C. (Mnemosyne Supplement XL)*, Leiden 1971
- Siewert, *Trittyen* = P. Siewert, *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes* (= *Vestigia* 33), Munich 1982
- Solders, *AK* = S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, Lund 1931
- Traill, Map 1 = J. S. Traill, Map 1 reprinted from *The Political Organization of Attica, Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, Princeton 1975
- Travlos, *Dictionary* = J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971

The first stele is dated by its heading to 343/2 B.C.; the others are undated, but seem, on the basis of their script, to be about 10 to 15 years after the first. Thus, these leases represent a substantial part of the efforts that were made by the Athenian State during the 340's and the 330's to reorganize its financial affairs, a process that is associated with the names of Euboulos and Lykourgos.

The properties listed on these stelai belong to several different cults, some well known, some minor and little known; they are located all over Attica. The form of the leases is quite simple and remarkably stereotyped: the properties are grouped by owner; each is briefly described and identified by its geographical location, sometimes with a reference to its neighbor(s) or to some near-by feature: a standard leasing formula follows, naming the lessee, the annual rent, and the guarantor (or guarantors: if the lease is for more than 600 drachmai, two guarantors are required). The lessees and guarantors, if Athenian citizens, are identified by personal name, patronymic, and demotic. The guarantors are all Athenian citizens; the lessees include also some metics, who are identified by personal name, patronymic, occupation, and place of residence in Attica.

Of the 11 fragments now known, three, already published, are kept in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens; one other published fragment is in the storerooms of the Agora Museum, where all the new fragments also are kept.

The present article is the first of four that will discuss these lease records, their reconstruction, and their significance: Parts I and II will be concerned with the reconstruction of the texts, with epigraphical, topographical, and prosopographical commentaries for each stele. Part I discusses the six fragments of Stele 1, Part II the two fragments of Stele 2 and Stele 3. Part III will discuss the remaining two fragments that may be associated with Stelai 2 and 3. Part IV will examine the wider social and economic implications in their historical context.

## STELE 1: PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF ATHENA POLIAS AND OTHER DEITIES

### THE TEXTS

Six fragments of dark gray Hymettian marble, of which three have been published before. Although none of these fragments joins any other, they seem to comprise parts of a single stele, inscribed upon one face only, of which the top, both sides, and back are preserved, and on which the leases seem to have been arranged in three columns, each having a line length of 29 letters, under a two-line heading that probably extended across the entire width of the stele. The back is smooth dressed, as if it had been intended to be inscribed also, but, in the event, nothing was ever engraved here. Fragment *f* may belong at the bottom of this stele, or it may derive from a second, matching stele.

The original height of the stele cannot be estimated, but it must have been greater than 0.840 m. (the combined height of fragments *a*, *c*, and *e*), or, if fragment *f* does indeed belong



FIG. 1. Leases of sacred properties in Attica, Stele 1: fragments in place

to the same stele, 1.100 m.; the width was *ca.* 1.00 m., and the thickness ranged from 0.118 m. at the top to at least 0.122 m. at the bottom. The stele thus tapered only very slightly.<sup>2</sup>

Fragment *a* (Pl. 30). Said to have been found in excavations carried out by the German Archaeological Institute on the north side of the Agora, in the vicinity of Hagios Philippos, in a modern house wall. It was first published in 1909 by J. Sundwall<sup>3</sup> and subsequently republished by J. Kirchner as *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1590.<sup>4</sup> The flat, stipple-dressed top, stipple-dressed left side, and smooth, flat back survive.

<sup>2</sup> S. Dow (review of B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, CP 37, 1942, p. 324) has calculated that stelai at Athens in general had a ratio of thickness to width to height of 1:4½:9. This stele, as I have restored it, does not conform (see also footnote 8 below).

<sup>3</sup> "Inscripfen aus Athen," *AthMitt* 24, 1909, pp. 63–65, no. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Kirchner (1931) made use of the notebooks of the excavator H. von Prott, as well as Sundwall's article, in establishing the text in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.

P.H. 0.260 m.; p.W. 0.270 m.; Th. 0.118 m. (top), 0.121 m. (bottom).

Epigraphical Museum inv. no. E.M. 280

Fragment *b* (Pl. 30). Of unknown provenance: it was first published by S. A. Koumanudis in 1860,<sup>5</sup> and subsequently republished by A. Koehler as *IG*, 851, and by J. Kirchner as *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1591. It is broken on all sides, but the smooth, flat back is preserved.

P.H. 0.276 m.; p.W. 0.288 m.; Th. 0.119 m. (top), 0.121 m. (bottom).

Epigraphical Museum inv. no. E.M. 8014

Fragment *c* is unpublished (Pl. 31). Found on September 10, 1969 in a modern context in a house basement at Agora grid location L-M 5-6. The stipple-dressed right side and the smooth, flat back are preserved.

P.H. 0.314 m.; p.W. 0.223 m.; Th. 0.119 m. (left), 0.121 m. (right).

Agora Museum inv. no. I 7062

Fragment *d* is unpublished (Pl. 31). Found on May 16, 1970 in the wall of a modern bothros at Agora grid location O 6. It is broken on all sides, but the smooth, flat back is preserved.

P.H. 0.156 m.; p.W. 0.232 m.; Th. 0.121 m.

Agora Museum inv. no. I 7123

Fragment *e* is unpublished (Pl. 32). Found in May, 1970 in a modern context at Agora grid location O 6. It is broken on all sides, but the smooth, flat back is preserved.

P.H. 0.280 m.; p.W. 0.598 m.; Th. 0.120 m. (top), 0.121 m. (bottom).

Agora Museum inv. no. I 7117

Fragment *f* (Pl. 32). Found on May 6, 1936 in a modern wall at Agora grid location P 7. It was first published by M. Crosby,<sup>6</sup> who correctly associated it with fragments *a* and *b*. It is broken on all sides, but the smooth, flat back is preserved.

P.H. 0.264 m.; p.W. 0.280 m.; Th. 0.120 m. (top), 0.121 m. (bottom).

Agora Museum inv. no. I 4133

All fragments:

H. of letters, line 1, 0.010 m.; lines 2–3, 0.009 m.; lines 4ff., 0.005 m. Stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0167 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0150 m. (lines 1–3); lines 4ff. have a horizontal checker of 0.0101 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0098 m.

*a.* 343/2 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

<i>a</i>	ΘΕΟΙ	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 65
	Ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου [ἄρχοντος ----- <i>ca.</i> 45 ----- ]	
	[Ἀ]θηνᾶς Πολιάδο[ς ----- <i>ca.</i> 51 ----- ]	

COLUMN I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

	[ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ τῶν ΑΛΕ[ <sup>2</sup> ]Λ[. . . <sup>5</sup> . . . ο]-
5	[ἰ]κία πρώτη ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προ[. <sup>3</sup> . . , μισθω:]
	[Ἀ]ρισταγόρας Ἀριστοδήμ[ου . . . <sup>7</sup> . . .]
	[ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ οἰκῶν: [. . . <sup>9</sup> . . . .:]

<sup>5</sup> Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἑλληνικαὶ ἀνακαλυφθεῖσαι καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου Ἀθήνη-σιν, φυλλ. Α', Athens 1860, no. 21. Kirchner's text represents a composite of those of Koumanudis, Koehler, and Sundwall (footnote 3 above).

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 454–456, no. 5.

- [ἐ]γγυ: Μοίριππος Μοιραγ[έ]νους [Κυδα]-  
 [θ]η: δευτέρα οἰκία, μισθω: Πολέ[μων Δ]-  
 10 [ι]οκλέους Φλυε: ΗΠΔΔΠ: ἐγγυ: Ἀρ[χέδ]-  
 [η]μος Ἀρχεδήμο[υ] Ἀύρι: τρί[τ]η οἰκ[ία, μ]-  
 [ι]σθω: Ἀυτομένης Ἀνδρο[μ]ένους Ε[<sup>2</sup>.:]  
[Η]ΠΔΤΤΤ : ἐγγυ: Θεόδωρος Κίρων[ος Π]-  
 [ρ]ασι: τετάρτη οἰκία, μισθω: Κη[φισό]-  
 15 [δω]ρος Σμικύθου Κυδαθη: ΗΔΔΔ[<sup>2</sup>.: ἐγ]-  
 [γυ:] Λεοντεὺς Ἀντικλείδου Κ[. .<sup>5</sup> . .:]  
 [πέμ]πτη οἰκία, μισθω[:] Λάχη[ς . .<sup>7</sup> . .]-  
 [.<sup>3</sup> .]δου Ῥαμνο: ΗΔΔΠΤ: ἐγγ[υη: Χαριά]-  
 [δης? Χ]αιροκλέους Λευκο[νο: ἔκτη οἰκ]-  
 20 [ία, μι]σθω: Λυκέας Λυ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]: ἐγγυη: Δ[. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . .]ς οἰκία[. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . μι]σθω: [. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]

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*lacuna* (ca. 2–3 lines)

*b* COLUMN I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] Σο]ννι?  
 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] ιοι  
 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] οιω  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] Μ]ενέξ-  
 5 [ενος? . . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] Λυ?]σικρ-  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] μισ]θωτ-  
 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .] γ-

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*lacuna* (ca. 30 lines)

*e* COLUMN I

- [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- ]  
 5 [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- ]  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .] κι  
 10 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .] ρικλ-

[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]ς Χαριάδ-  
 [ο Λευκονο?: ἐγγυ: ...<sup>8</sup>...]άτης Νικ-  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....τ]έμενος Θρίαι  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....: Μο]σχίων? Εὐφάμιδο-  
 15 [υ .....<sup>11</sup>.....: ἐγγυ]: Κριτόδημος Α-  
 [.....<sup>12</sup>.....τέμεν]ος Θρίαι ΤΑΣΤΕ-  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....χ]ωρὶς τῆς ἐσχα-  
 [τίας, μισθω: ...<sup>8</sup>...]τος Τιμοκράτ-  
 [ους? .....<sup>10</sup>.....: ἐγγυ]: Διονυσόδωρ-  
 20 [ος .....<sup>17</sup>.....ἐ]σχατία<ν> ὑπ-  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....κ[.], μισθ-  
 [ω: .....<sup>27</sup>.....]

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*f* COLUMN I (or II) *lacuna* (ca. 5–6 lines)  
 [-----]  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]λεχι[.]  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>....., μισθω: Διο]νυσόδω-  
 5 [ρος .....<sup>21</sup>.....]ΓΔΔΔ† <:>  
 [ἐγγυ: .....<sup>18</sup>.....ο]ν Κηφι-  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....], μισθω<:>  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]:ΓΔΔΔ <:>  
 [ἐγγυ: .....<sup>20</sup>.....]δου Π-  
 10 [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]μου  
 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]ΔΔ  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]π  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ς  
 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]ωρ-  
 15 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]κι  
 [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]Α]λω  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ι  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ι  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ν

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*b* COLUMN II  
 σ[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]Α]-  
 γνού[: ...<sup>6</sup>.....: ἐγγυ: Χαριναύτης Χα]-  
 ιρίωνος Φαλη: Λ[.....<sup>14</sup>.....τ]έ]-  
 μενος ἐν Ἑρμει, μι[σθω: .....<sup>11</sup>.....]-

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- 5 οδήμου Εὐω: ΗΗΗ: ἐ[γγυ: . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . .]  
 Λυσιδή[μου] Κεφαλ: κῆπο[ι ἐν "Αγραις ἐ]-  
 φ' Ἰλισ[ῶι, μ]ισθω: Φορμί[ων . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . Φα]-  
 λη: ΗΗΗ[ ΗΓ ]: ἐγγυ: Πολ[. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . .]-  
 [. ]νο[υ] Κ[<sup>2</sup>.]: οἰκία Ἀλωπ[εκῆσι, μισθω: Π]-  
 10 [υα]νέψι[ος? . ]ι[. ]λιαμπ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. .<sup>5</sup>. . ]λ[<sup>2</sup>.]υσε[. . . . .<sup>18</sup>. . . . .]

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*lacuna* (ca. 3-4 lines)

- d* COLUMN (I or) II  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .: Δι]ὸς Ὀλυμπίον οἰ-  
 [κία . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . ], μισθ[:] Ἐργόφιλος Φίλω-  
 [νος . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . ]υλῆσι οἰκ: ΗΓΔΔΠΤ: ἐγ-  
 [γυ: . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . ]ατος Δημέου Χολαρ<:> Διὸς  
 5 [Ὀλυμπίον οἰ]κία παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον, μ-  
 [ισθω: . . .<sup>5</sup>. . ]ος Πυθοδώρου Ἐπικ: ΗΓΔ-  
 [: ἐγγυ: Πυθό]δωρος Φιλοκλέους Ἐπι-  
 [κηφ?: Διὸς Ὀλυ]μπίον πρώτη οἰκ[ί]α, μισ-  
 [θω: . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . ]ης Λυσίου Ἀμαξ: ΔΔΔ[.]  
 10 [. . .<sup>13</sup>. . . . .]ιτο[ς Α]ὐτολήκου Π[<sup>2</sup>.]  
 [δευτέρα οἰκία? . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . ]ον[. ]ας [. .<sup>5</sup>. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>20</sup>. . . . .] ἱτ: [ἐγγυ:]

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*lacuna* (ca. 2-3 lines)

- e* COLUMN II  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]λ[. .<sup>4</sup>. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]μα[. .<sup>3</sup>. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . ., μισθω:] Εὐμη[<sup>2</sup>.]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . . .]ο]υ Εὐω: ΓΔΔΔ[<sup>2</sup>.] ἱτ: ἐγγυη<:>  
 5 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]νίου Συπ[αλ:] Ἀρτέμιδ-  
 [ος Ἀγροτέρας χωρ]ίον κα[ὶ οἰ]κία, μισθ-  
 [ω:] Σώιτο[ς . . .<sup>6</sup>. . . ]ενίδο[υ] Παια: ΗΗΗΗΔ <:>  
 ἐγγυ: Χα[. .<sup>6</sup>. . . Γυ]άθωνος Λακ: Ἀρτέ-  
 μιδος Ἀ[γ]ρ[ο]τέ[ρας .<sup>3</sup>. ]υλῆσι χωρίον, μ-  
 10 ισθω: Λυσ[ίμ]α[χος .<sup>3</sup>. ]ικλέους Ἐρχιε<:>  
 ΗΗΗΓΤ : [ἐγγυ: . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . ]ς Κλεινέτου  
 Ἐρχι: Ἀρτέμι[δο]ς Ἀ[γρο]τέρας οἰκία ἐ-

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- ν Κολλύτῳ παρὰ τὸ [᾽Ι]λ[ει]θυεῖον, μισθ<ω:>  
 Κηφισοφῶν Κεφαλίωνος Ἀφιδνα: Γ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΔ  
 15 ΔΔΠ†: ἐγγυ: Φιλόφρων Φιλοκλέους Π-  
 ειραι: ἐγγυ: Πανσίστρατος Λυσιμά-  
 χου Πειρ: Ἑρακλέους ἐν Κυνοσαργεῖ  
 τεμένη, πρῶτον τέμενος, μισθω: Μείδ-  
 υλος Μειδυλίδου Ἀζη: ΗΗΗΓ<sup>Π</sup>: ἐγγυη:  
 20 Φίλων Φίλτωνος ἐκ Κοι: δευτέρου τέ-  
 μενος, μισθω: Θεόδωτος Ἀπολλοδώρου  
 [Ο]ῖναῖ: Γ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΓ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ†: ἐγγυ: Ἀριστίων Ἀρ-  
 [. . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . .]: [ἐ]γγυ: Σίλανος Σωσίππ-  
 [ου . . .<sup>6</sup>. . . : τρίτον τέ]μενος, μισθω: Φ-  
 25 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup>. . . . .] ΗΔΔΠ : ἐγ-  
 [γυ: . . . . .<sup>26</sup>. . . . .]

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*lacuna* (ca. 2-3 lines)

- f* COLUMN II (or III)  
 [. . .<sup>4</sup>. . .]ογ[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .], μισθω: Τελεσίας Τ]-  
 [ελ]έστου Προβ[: . . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .]  
 s Νίκωνος Ἀχαρ[ν: . . . . .<sup>15</sup>. . . . .]  
 υ χωρίου ἐχομέ[νος . . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . . . ἀριστ?]-  
 5 ἐραν, μισθω: Ξεν[. . . . .<sup>16</sup>. . . . .]-  
 s Προβ: ΓΔΔΔ Π††† [. . .: ἐγγυ: Ξενοφῶν]  
 Ξενοφώντος Προβ[: οἰκία παρὰ τὴν ὁδ]-  
 ὀν τὴν ἐγ Μεσοκωμῶ[ν εἰς? . . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .]  
 δας, μισθω: Ἀριστό[δημος Ἀριστοκλέ]-  
 10 ους Οἶναῖ: ΗΓ<sup>Π</sup>Π†† : ἐ[γγυ: Ξενοφῶν Ξε]-  
 νοφώντος Προβ: ἀπὸ τ[οῦ βώμου? βαδίσ]-  
 οντι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀστ[ικὴν ἐχομένος ?]  
 ἐν ἀριστέρ[α]ι τὸν βωμ[ὸν γύης ?, μισθω:]  
 Ναυ<σ>[ία]s? Νικοστράτο[υ . . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .]  
 15 ἐγγυ: Νικόστρατος Ν[. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . . ἐχ]-  
 ὀμενος τούτου τὴν αὐ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . . γ]-  
 ῆς, μισθω: Κλεότιμ[ος . . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .]  
 ΗΠ† : ἐγγυ: Χαιρέστ[ρατος . . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .]  
 Σφητ: κάμψαντι το[. . . . .<sup>13</sup>. . . . . ἐ]  
 20 ν δεξιᾶι, μισθω: Ε[. . . . .<sup>15</sup>. . . . .]



## c COLUMN III

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- [.....<sup>14</sup>.....]νβ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>12</sup>.....μ]ισθω: Ἀπήμων Ἀδε[<sup>2</sup>.]-  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....]ισοτ: ἐμ Πειραιεῖ ο-  
 [ἰκῶν: ...<sup>6</sup>...]††: ἐγγν: Φίλαγρος Λε-  
 5 [.....<sup>9</sup>.....ἐ]κ τοῦ τοίχου ἐν Σαλαμῖν-  
 [ι...<sup>7</sup>...<sup>8</sup>?] Καλλικράτης καθιέρωσε-  
 [ν...<sup>8</sup>...] χωρίον, μισθω: Φόρυσκος  
 [..<sup>6</sup>...ἐν Ἀ]λω; οἱ: Π Δ Δ Δ Δ : ἐγγ: Στέφαν-  
 [ος...<sup>7</sup>...]δου Παια: τέλμα τὸ παρὰ [τ]-  
 10 [ὁ ἡρώιον τοῦ] Νεανίου ἔξω τείχους ε[.]-  
 [.....<sup>10</sup>.....] εἰς τὸ τέλμα φέρων τὸ δ[.]-  
 [..<sup>6</sup>...μισθ]ω: Τιμοκλῆς Τιμοκράτο-  
 [υς.....<sup>9</sup>...]: ἐγγ: Ἰππενὺς Κηφισοδ-  
 [..<sup>4</sup>..Κυδα?: τέμ]ενος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου π-  
 15 [.....<sup>15</sup>.....σ]κηνὴ ἧ Εὐβουλο-  
 [ς.....<sup>10</sup>.....παραστ]άδιον ? τοῦ θεατ-  
 [ροῦ, μισθω: .....<sup>9</sup>...]ς Ἀλεξίου ἐξ Ο-  
 [ι:.....<sup>17</sup>.....]τος Χαρίσσο[υ]  
 [.....<sup>20</sup>.....]πεδιε[. <sup>4</sup>.]  
 20 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....]ετ[...<sup>6</sup>...]

-----  
*lacuna* (ca. 5–6 lines)

## e COLUMN III

- [-----]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 5 [-----]  
 θ[.....<sup>28</sup>.....]  
 ἐ[γγν:.....<sup>21</sup>.....Ἀρτ]-  
 ἐμι[δος.....<sup>20</sup>.....ἐγ Κ]-  
 ηφισ[ίαι.....<sup>22</sup>.....],  
 10 μισθω[:.....<sup>20</sup>.....ἐκ Κ ?]-  
 ολω: Π Η[.....<sup>23</sup>.....]  
 μου Ἀλ[α]ι[:?.....<sup>21</sup>.....]  
 ου Ξυπε[: Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας ? κῆπ]-  
 ος Φαληρ[οῦ] ε[.....<sup>19</sup>.....]

- 15 ξηλ[ω]ι[.]σ[.]α[.....<sup>20</sup>.....]  
 π[.]δωι α[.....<sup>23</sup>.....]  
 τος Ἀγν: ΗΗΔ [ΔΔ] Δ[.....<sup>16</sup>.....]-  
 s Ξενοκρίτο[v] Ἀφ[ιδ: Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυ]-  
 ρωνίας ἐμ Φιλα[ιδῶν ....<sup>11</sup>....., μι]-  
 20 σθω: Ἀντίμ[α]χο[s .....<sup>16</sup>.....]  
 ΠΗ : ἐγγυ: Κηφ[.....<sup>18</sup>.....]  
 ἐγγ: Φιλια[δῆς ? ....<sup>13</sup>.....: Ἀρτ]-  
 ἐμιδος Β[ραυρωνίας .....<sup>10</sup>..... οἰκ]-  
 ία π[ρώτη ? .....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 25 αζ[.....<sup>27</sup>.....]  
 -----

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRAGMENTS

Several factors must be taken into account in the reconstruction of this stele: the marble and its condition; the script and spacing of the letters; and the text, surviving or restored.

Only one fragment, *a*, can be placed with absolute certainty, since the top left corner of the stele is preserved on this fragment; two others, *c* and *e*, can be placed approximately, since the right edge is preserved on *c* and all three columns survive in part on *e* (Fig. 1). The position of the other three fragments is less secure: *b* and *f* each preserve parts of two columns, but whether these come from the left or from the right part of the stele is not clear. Of *d* it can only be said that it belongs in Column I or in Column II, since the right intercolumniation survives, along with sufficient broken stone to right of this to rule out its placing in the right-hand column. If I am correct in assuming that the stele bore three, not four or more, columns of leases, fragments *a* and *e* preserve parts of Column I; fragment *e* preserves the full width of Column II; and fragments *c* and *e* preserve parts of Column III. Fragments *b* and *f* preserve parts of Column II and parts of either Column I or Column III; fragment *d* preserves part of either Column I or Column II.

#### THE THICKNESS OF THE STELE

The stele seems to have been wider at the bottom than at the top: the intercolumnar space is apparently constant at 0.019 m. between each column, but the left margin, where it can be restored on fragment *a*, increases from 0.011 m. at line 5 to 0.012 m. at line 20; the right margin on fragment *c* increases from 0.009 m. at line 3 to 0.010 m. at line 18. The stele may also have been slightly thicker at the bottom than at the top, but the difference in thicknesses is so slight (minimum thickness 0.118 m. at the top of *a*; maximum 0.121 m. at the bottoms of all fragments) that it must be assumed that, in effect, the stele did not taper in this axis, unless there were four or more columns and all fragments were at approximately the same vertical level, or unless some of these fragments derive from a second stele. I do not believe that there are any good reasons, epigraphical or contextual, for separating the

fragments, nor do I think that the stele contained more than three columns of leases: as it is, the stele, if restored with three columns, would have been considerably wider than is allowed for by the calculation of the average dimensions of stelai made by S. Dow.<sup>7</sup> By Dow's formula a ratio of thickness to width of 1:4½ would give a width of *ca.* 0.550–0.600 m., whereas my restored three-column stele would have had a width of *ca.* 1.00 m. Certain financial documents, however, are considerably wider in proportion to their thickness (for instance, the "Attic Stelai" and the monument that records the confiscation and sale of the property of the Thirty Tyrants<sup>8</sup>), and with these a restored width of *ca.* 1.00 m. is not inconsistent; a four-column stele would have a width of *ca.* 1.350 m., which does seem excessive.

#### THE MARBLE: FOLIATION, WEATHERING, AND CLEAVAGE

Foliation is marked on all fragments by alternating bands of dark and light stone. In the horizontal axis foliation is from right to left rear, almost parallel to the face; in the vertical axis it runs from the top rear to bottom front, almost parallel to the sides. The vagaries of foliation can thus be of use in placing the various fragments in relation to one another since these bands of color vary in thickness; this has influenced my placing of fragments *a*, *b*, and *d* in relation to one another and to fragment *e*.

The stele, before it was shattered, suffered weathering or acid damage that produced more or less vertical patches of corrosion in all three columns; this corrosion, along with relative thicknesses and patterns of foliation, has also influenced my placing of the fragments.

When the stele was broken up, a large flake was split off from the upper parts of fragments *b*, *d*, and *c*; the lines of cleavage of this flake do not follow the planes of foliation, but lie athwart them. Also, fragments *a* and *b* apparently once comprised a single fragment, whose bottom edge angled down from the left margin, more or less parallel to the cleavage line on fragments *b*, *d*, and *c*. Thus, I have placed fragments *a*, *b*, *d*, and *c* on a diagonal line across the stele, from top left to lower right, above fragment *e*.

#### SCRIPT AND SPACING

There is very little variation in script or spacing; the work was apparently done by a single mason and all at the same time. Thus, these factors permit only the assumption that all six fragments derive from the same stele.

#### TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

There does not seem to be any instance where the text of one fragment can be matched with that of another to left or right of it; indeed, in several instances where the shapes of two or more fragments suggest a closer association, the surviving texts are incompatible. Thus,

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 2 above.

<sup>8</sup> For the "Attic Stelai" see W. K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai," *Hesperia* 22, 1953, pp. 225–229 (subsequent additions do not provide any new information about the dimensions of the stelai); for the Thirty Tyrants, see M. B. Walbank, "The Confiscation and Sale by the Poletai in 402/1 B.C. of the Property of the Thirty Tyrants," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 74–98. A comparison may also be made with the stelai on which the 4th-century poletai recorded their transactions: for instance, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 30–31, no. 28. The dimensions of this complete stele, which bore four columns of transactions on its face, are as follows: H. 1.580 m.; W. 0.950 m.; Th. 0.160 m.

although the physical peculiarities of the various fragments suggest that they belong close together vertically, it is not possible to construct a continuous text for any of the three columns. Therefore, each fragment is numbered separately.

I have, however, arranged my text column by column: where a fragment contains a part of two or more columns, I have numbered by the highest preserved column. I show the proposed arrangement of the fragments and their placing on the stele in the diagram that is reproduced as Figure 1.

#### EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The surface of fragments *a* and *b* has deteriorated since they were first published.<sup>9</sup> I have underlined in my text of fragment *a* those words and letters that were seen by previous editors but which have now disappeared. I comment upon readings only where I have dotted letters or differ from my predecessors.

#### *The Heading* (lines 1–3, fragment *a*)

Sundwall<sup>10</sup> published fragments *a* and *b* as parts of two separate stelai, the first only one column in width. He restored lines 2–3 of this as follows:

Ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου [ἄρχοντος τεμένη]  
[Ἄ]θηνᾶς Πολιάδο[ς τάδε ἐμισθώθη].

Crosby<sup>11</sup> argued for a single, two-column stele but offered no alternative to the restoration proposed by Sundwall. I shall return to the heading later.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Column I*

##### *Fragment a*

*Line 4:* At the left edge the right hasta of nu survives in the break; in the abraded area at right von Prott (as reported by Kirchner in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>) saw AΛΕ[. <sup>4</sup>. ]^; Sundwall reported AΛΕ[. <sup>3</sup>. ]^; Kirchner saw only AΛΕ. Since Kirchner's time, further deterioration has occurred; now only the vertical of E is visible, and Λ is so abraded that, were it not for the unanimous opinion of my predecessors, I might prefer to read a dotted delta. In the fourth stoichos to right of E is the apex of a triangular letter, where Sundwall reported a similar mark, but it seems rather high. In the stoichos to left of this there is a triangular depression that might be the much-abraded remains of a triangular letter. Unless part of the edge, as well as the face, has perished, von Prott's triangular letter in the fifth stoichos to right of E is impossible. Kirchner suggested that the word partially preserved here might be a dative or locative, further defining the district of Kydathenaion. Now that we know that deities other than Athena Polias were probably mentioned in the stele heading, I should prefer to restore a divine name, in the plural. No suitable name comes to mind.

*Line 5:* At the right there is a circular depression, where previous editors restored omicron. Kirchner restored here πρ[ὸς ἔω]; Wilhelm suggested that πρ[οσιο<δσιν>] might be preferable. Other locational references in this stele and in Stele No. 2 support Wilhelm's suggestion, but, as Lewis has pointed out, this should probably be in the singular, πρ[οσί<ο<ντι>], not in the plural.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For evidence of this, compare the photograph of fragment *a*, lines 1–13 that was published by G. Klaffenbach in J. Kirchner and G. Klaffenbach, *Imagines inscriptionum atticarum*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1948, pl. 60.

<sup>10</sup> See footnote 3 above.

<sup>11</sup> See footnote 6 above.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 115 below.

<sup>13</sup> *Per ep.* For a similar construction, see, for example, *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1487 A, lines 42, 45, and 46; 1489, lines 8, 12, and 14; *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 210–218, no. 5, lines 76–77; and *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 355–359, no. 5, lines 25–26. I am grateful to Lewis for providing these examples; he also cites Strabo, XIII.1.49 as an example of

*Line 10:* The bottom of the vertical of rho survives at the right.

*Line 11:* The top of the vertical of kappa is preserved on the right.

*Line 12:* The vertical and part of the central bar of epsilon or eta survives at the right edge. I have re-stored epsilon, since there is no Attic demotic beginning with eta.

*Line 13:* The left apex of nu survives at the right.

*Line 14:* The left hasta of eta is partly preserved on the right.

*Line 18:* The upper left corner of gamma survives at the right.

*Line 20:* The tip of the left arm of upsilon is preserved on the right. The upper right tip of sigma is preserved at the left.

*Line 22:* The stone breaks along the left leg of alpha; no trace of the horizontal survives.

### Fragment b

*Line 2:* The bottom of a central vertical is preserved in the third stoichos from the column margin.

### Fragment e

*Line 10:* The bottom of the vertical of rho survives.

*Line 11:* The right tip of the bottom stroke of sigma is preserved on the left.

*Line 14:* Only the tip of a diagonal stroke survives at the left. This could be the lower stroke of a punctuation mark or the lower diagonal of a sigma. I restore [Mo]σχίων, but ;Χίων would be as likely, epigraphically speaking.

*Line 16:* The right side of omicron survives on the left edge.

*Line 20:* The tip of the upper stroke of sigma is preserved on the break. The mason inscribed the final nu of [ἐ]σχάρια<ν> as a mu.

### Fragment f

*Line 2:* Crosby reported the right leg of lambda, the vertical of epsilon, and the iota. The bottom of the left leg of lambda also survives, as do the two bottom bars of epsilon; in the next stoichos the bottom of the vertical of gamma is preserved.

*Line 4:* The right hasta of nu survives at the left edge.

*Line 5:* The stone breaks below the top bar of the 50-sign; there is no trace of the crossbar.

*Line 8:* The tips of both strokes of the punctuation mark survive.

*Line 10:* The right outer and inner diagonals of mu are preserved, in the right half of the stoichos, at the left edge.

*Line 11:* The right side of delta is preserved at the left edge.

*Line 12:* Crosby reported an omega here, but the letter is clearly an incomplete pi.

*Line 14:* The right half of omega survives to left of the rho.

*Line 15:* Iota is inscribed in the column margin.

*Line 16:* The right leg of lambda is preserved; the final letter in this line is omega, not the omicron reported by Crosby.

*Line 17:* A faint central vertical survives here; Crosby printed a “vacat”.

*Line 18:* Here, too, is a central vertical, on the break, where Crosby reported nothing.

*Line 19:* Crosby reported a central vertical, but it is, in fact, well to the right of center and must therefore be part of a nu or eta.

## Column II

### Fragment b

*Line 2:* The bottom of a central vertical is preserved in the fourth stoichos.

*Line 3:* The bottom of the vertical of phi is preserved; at the right edge, the foot of the left leg of a triangular letter survives.

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such a “topographical” or “guide-book” dative: κάμψαντι δὲ τὸ Λεκτὸν ἐλλογίμωταται πόλεις τῶν Αἰολέων καὶ ὁ Ἀδραμυττηνὸς κόλπος ἐκδέχεται.

*Line 4:* The bottom of iota survives at the right edge.

*Line 8:* Koumanudis saw the left vertical of H and the right vertical of Π where today nothing is visible.

*Line 9:* Koumanudis reported |ΙΟΥ.Τ.ΟΙ.ΙΛΛΟ. If he was correct, the demotic was probably Κ[ῆ]τ<τιος>. Some doubt is thrown on his readings because the rest of this line clearly reads οἰκία Ἄλω-π[εκησ]: of the dotted letters, the top of the vertical of kappa and upper left corner of pi survive.

*Line 10:* Koumanudis reported √ΕΥΓ.Ι.ΕΙΛΜ|. His fourth letter has a central vertical and no trace of a horizontal, so that I read, as did Kirchner, iota. Where Koumanudis reported an epsilon there is today the apex of a triangular letter, followed, as Koumanudis reported, by iota and the apex of another triangular letter, followed by mu. Where he saw another iota, I see the upper left corner of a letter such as gamma, epsilon, or pi. D. M. Lewis<sup>14</sup> has suggested that this man's name was [Π|υα]νέψι[ος]; this name is unattested, so far.

*Line 11:* Koumanudis reported ΛΕ.ΥΞΙ. No trace of his epsilon remains, and his final iota is, in fact, epsilon, in the stoichos immediately to the right of sigma.

### Fragment *d*

Although the right edge is much battered and abraded, it is clear that the right margin of a column is preserved here, so that this fragment should belong in Column I or in Column II. The pattern of weathering, which runs diagonally across the stone from top left to bottom right, follows the same line as does that of fragments *a*, *b*, and *e*. Thus, this fragment belongs below the right corner of *b*, in Column II, and probably almost touching the fragments above and below it.

*Line 1:* The bottoms of lambda and upsilon are preserved.

*Line 2:* The bottom of the right outer diagonal of mu survives at the left edge; the lower left curve of theta is preserved.

*Line 4:* The right foot of alpha is preserved on the left.

*Line 9:* The top of the right hasta of eta survives at the left; the apices of the three 10-signs survive at the right.

*Line 10:* The upper left curve of omicron survives at the left; faint traces of the middle three letters of the patronymic are preserved, although most of the surface has flaked away. What remains suggests mu rather than lambda, since there seem to be two diagonal peaks; the traces in the next stoichos, however, are of upsilon, rather than alpha, and, in the stoichos after that, the tips of two diagonal strokes are preserved, with the same vertical spacing as is found in the arms of kappa in line 6 of this fragment. Thus, the evidence, although confusing, supports the restoration of the name Autolykos, rather than of Automachos. The initial pi of the demotic is faint but almost complete.

*Line 12:* The horizontal of the first drachma sign is preserved on the left.

### Fragment *e*

The upper part of the stone is much damaged and flaking, but faint "ghosts" of letters sometimes survive in the flaked areas, where the bottoms of chisel strokes have weathered under brownish corrosion.

*Line 1:* The left diagonal of a triangular letter survives here, without any indication of horizontal strokes at center or bottom.

*Line 2:* The left foot of alpha is preserved. Mu is complete.

*Line 3:* The bottom of the vertical of upsilon survives after epsilon, which is complete up to the middle horizontal. Mu is complete, and the bottom of the left hasta of eta survives. The name is likely to be Eumelos.

<sup>14</sup> *Per ep.* Presumably this name is not a nickname, but derives from the month or the festival. For comparison, see Ἀνθεστηριος (PA 947–952: 2nd century B.C.; see also Bechtel, *Personennamen*, pp. 522–526).

*Line 4:* The bottom of the vertical of upsilon survives. Epsilon is complete but very faint. After this, the bottom of the vertical of upsilon is preserved, and omega is complete. The numerals are faint, but only two have completely disappeared. The bottom of the first drachma sign survives. Of the final eta the left hasta and part of the horizontal survive.

*Line 6:* [Μουνηχίας] might be restored here as the cult title of Artemis, instead of [Ἀγροτέρας].

*Line 7:* The traces surviving at the left are of the lower stroke of a sigma, followed by a centrally dotted, circular letter, followed by the bottom of a central vertical.

*Line 8:* The stone flakes away on the right diagonal of alpha, so that the upper right corner of the stoichos is preserved uninscribed. The tip of the upper arm of the kappa of the demotic survives.

*Line 10:* The right diagonal of alpha is partly preserved.

*Line 13:* The bottoms of the letters dotted in my text are preserved.

*Lines 23 and 25:* The tops of the dotted letters are preserved.

### Fragment *f*

*Line 1:* The bottom of a right vertical is preserved to right of omicron; I could detect no trace of any letter stroke in the left half of this stoichos.

*Line 2:* The bottom of the left vertical of pi is preserved.

*Line 4:* Only the upper right diagonal of chi is preserved. Crosby restored ἐχομέ[νου], and, at the end of this line, [ἐτ]έραν. A directional reference seem more likely, somewhat similar to that of lines 11–13, but the accusative is puzzling.

*Line 8:* The letter traces are confusing. A circular letter was certainly inscribed, perhaps over an erasure, at the right edge. The sigma of this word is much abraded, but parts of all its letter strokes are preserved.

*Line 11:* The bottom of a central vertical is preserved at the right edge. For the “topographical” dative, compare Column I *a*, line 5 and Column II *f*, line 19.

*Line 12:* A faint central vertical is preserved, where Crosby saw nothing. Crosby restored ἀστ[ίαν].<sup>15</sup>

*Line 14:* Crosby reported NA . . . , but the upsilon, although faint, is visible as well. The fourth letter appears to be a faint lambda, but no name beginning NAYΛ . . . is attested, and so, if this is a letter, I assume a mason’s error for sigma.

*Line 16:* Crosby restored [ἐχ]όμενος τούτου τήν λύ[σιν]; I should prefer to abandon any reference to mortgages and to restore instead ἀ[πὸ] τήν, with the sense “next to this, along the same (road?)”.

*Line 17:* Crosby’s text omits a letter before mu; the letter in the second stoichos (reported as pi by her) also has a crossbar, as if it were a 50-sign; in the next space is a mark that might be either the lowest horizontal of epsilon or the bottom stroke of a sigma. A noun is required, perhaps [γ]ύης, “field-strip”. See also Column II *f*, line 13.

*Line 20:* The top of the right hasta of nu is preserved at the left edge.

### Column III

#### Fragment *c*

*Line 1:* The bottom of a right hasta survives, with no trace of a diagonal; it is followed by the bottom left corner of beta. Other possible readings might be ης, μβ or με.

*Line 4:* The bottom of the vertical of the drachma sign survives at the left.

*Line 5:* I have restored a kappa here, but the surviving traces are ambiguous. Only a slanting stroke is preserved where the lower arm of a kappa should be, so that sigma, chi, or even the lower stroke of a punctuation mark cannot be ruled out.

*Line 6:* The tip of the lower arm of kappa survives at the left; the bottom of the vertical of rho is preserved.

*Line 7:* The tips of the right arms of chi survive at the left edge.

<sup>15</sup> For the restoration ἀστ[ικήν], see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1582, line 116.

*Line 8:* The bottom of the right leg of lambda is preserved on the left; at the right edge the top of the left hasta of nu survives.

*Line 12:* The right foot of omega is preserved at the left edge.

*Line 14:* The right half of the top bar of epsilon survives at the left edge.

*Line 16:* The apex of a triangular letter is preserved at the left edge. No very satisfactory restoration comes to mind. One possibility might be [τὸ Παρ]ᾶλιον, referring to the sanctuary of Paralos,<sup>16</sup> but, if so, it is hard to see the connection between it and the following τοῦ θεατ[ροῦ], which are the last words of this rubric. It would be better to regard this letter as a delta, and to restore [παραστ]ᾶδιον (“vestibule”), or even [στ]ᾶδιον or [παρὰ τὸ στ]ᾶδιον.

*Line 18:* The upper part of the bar of tau is preserved on the break, followed by a confusion of letter strokes; possibly, the mason first inscribed alpha, then corrected this to omicron. There are, however, also traces of what seem to be verticals at each side of the stoichos: these might be letter strokes, or they might represent the chisel gouges with which the first letter was erased.<sup>17</sup> At the right edge the upper left curve of omicron survives.

*Line 19:* The tops of iota and epsilon survive at the right. A reference to the Attic locality of Pedion is likely.

*Line 20:* The tops of these two letters survive.

### Fragment e

*Line 6:* The lower left curve of a circular letter survives; a tiny nick on the break may be a central dot.

*Line 11:* The bottom of the left vertical of the 100-sign survives at the edge.

*Line 14:* The bottom of the vertical of rho is preserved; in the third stoichos to right of this parts of a left vertical and of a central horizontal survive. On the assumption that the property here listed belongs to Artemis Brauronia, as do the remaining properties listed after it, one might restore lines 13–14 as follows: [Ἄρτεμιδος Βραυρωνίας? κῆπ]ος Φαληρ[οῦ] ἐ[χόμενος . . .].

*Line 15:* The letter traces are very confusing: the two upper horizontals of the first letter are partly preserved and seem to be divided by a central vertical; in the next stoichos the upper part of eta is clear, but in the stoichos after this only the apex of a triangular letter survives. No satisfactory restoration comes to mind.

*Line 16:* Again, the letter traces are confusing, and there is more to the right, where I have not printed anything, since I can make no sense of the traces there. Of the dotted alpha only the bottom of the left leg survives; two stoichoi to the right of this there are traces of what might be a pi, followed by the apex of a triangular letter.

*Line 17:* The right leg of the 100-sign is partially preserved, followed by a complete 100-sign and the apex of a 10-sign. Three stoichoi to right of this is a fully preserved 10-sign, so that the restoration of the missing 10-signs is secure.

*Line 22:* The apex of alpha survives at the right edge.

*Line 23:* The upper left corner of beta is preserved on the right.

*Line 25:* This line might contain a reference to the deme Azenia or the demotic of this deme.

## NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

### HEADING

*Fragment a, line 3:* [Ἄ]θηνᾶς Πολιάδο[ς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν?]. The owners of the properties whose leases are recorded upon this stele. Athena Polias is nowhere mentioned in an actual lease, but several other divinities are, so that some such formulation as [τῶν

<sup>16</sup> For the evidence for this, see Demosthenes, XLIX.25, and Photios, *Lexicon*, s.v. Παράλιον.

<sup>17</sup> My reading of omicron is influenced by *Agora* XV, no. 62, line 79: Charisos son of Theodotos of Sphetos, orator of a decree in 303/2 B.C. The guarantor could be the father of the orator of 303/2 B.C.



ἄλλων θεῶν] is surely required here. The sanctuary to which Athena's properties were attached was probably her best known one, that in the Erechtheion upon the Akropolis;<sup>18</sup> she also possessed a temenos in Peiraieus near the Long Walls,<sup>19</sup> but the only evidence for this dates to the Roman era.

#### COLUMN I

*Fragment a, line 4:* τῶν ἈΛΕ [2.] Λ[. . 5. .]. The owner(s) of a block of six houses in Kydathenaion. No satisfactory name comes to mind: if a single deity is involved, the cult title Ἀλεξικακός is a possibility, but we should expect the deity to be named as well.<sup>20</sup> A plural name is even less satisfactory; it might be a patronymic or a clan name, such as Ἀλενάδων or Ἀλειάδων, but I can see no good reason for imagining a cult at Athens connected with either the family of Thessalian dynasts or the Arkadian hero.<sup>21</sup> The value of these six houses in Kydathenaion apparently diminishes in proportion to their distance from the Agora. This fact suggests that they were primarily commercial properties, and it should be noted that the lessee of the property nearest to the Agora was a metec, probably an ἔμπορος. Kydathenaion was within the City of Athens, northeast of the Akropolis;<sup>22</sup> thus, the Agora mentioned at line 5 is likely to have been the Athenian Agora, not that of Kydathenaion itself.

*Fragment a, line 22:* [-----]ς. An unknown deity, the owner of a house in [-----]; perhaps, also, the owner of the property listed at fragment *b*, Column I, line 1. This latter deity owned at least three properties.

*Fragment e, line 9:* An unknown deity, the owner of a [house?] (line 9), two temene in Thria (lines 13 and 16), and an eschatia (line 20), also, perhaps, in Thria. Thria was a

<sup>18</sup> See Pausanias, I.26.7, and Strabo, IX.1.16 (also Herodotos, VIII.55). Epigraphic evidence is found in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2802 (dedication to Athena Polias and All the Gods: late 1st century B.C.); *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 292–294, nos. 35 and 36 (two horoi for tracts of land belonging to Athena Polias: *post med. s. II p.*); and *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 74, no. 3 (horos of the Sacred House of Athena Polias: Hellenistic era).

<sup>19</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, line 48: see Solders, *AK*, pp. 10, no. 3 and 11, no. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Apollo Alexikakos had a statue in the Agora, in front of the Temple of Apollo Patroos (Pausanias, I.3.4), but there is no record of this cult, of which, if it existed, the origins may lie in the Plague of the 420's B.C. Herakles Alexikakos may be a better candidate: he had a shrine in Melite, also, perhaps, founded in the 420's B.C., if not earlier (see Aristophanes, *Frogs* 501, with scholia, and S. B. Woodford, "Heracles Alexikakos Reviewed," *AJA* 80, 1976, pp. 291–294). An inscription from the Agora places this shrine in Melite, beside the road that led to the Agora (published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 393–413, no. 10, lines 108–109); Travlos (*Dictionary*, pp. 274–275, and fig. 351) identifies as the shrine of Herakles a triangular precinct with heroön and temple on the southwest slope of the Areopagus, beside a road that leads to the southwestern corner of the Agora; R. Young (*Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 142), however, implies that the shrine of Herakles Alexikakos is to be sought on the slope of the Pnyx, coming down to the Agora. The evidence seems to support this suggestion against Travlos' identification, in the view of J. P. Binder (personal communication).

<sup>21</sup> D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*) has drawn my attention to a rubric that appears in the "Attic Stelai" (see footnote 8 above): for instance, κεφάλαιον ἐκ τῶν Νικίδο (Stele II, Column II, lines 170–172; similarly, lines 176 and 179). Something of the same sort may be involved here, such as τῶν Ἀλε[ξί]κ[ακοῦ]. I doubt whether the millers of sacred corn, the Aletrides, would count as a cult in Attica; otherwise, one might restore τῶν Ἀλε[τρ]ί[δων] (the state of the stone is such that the sixth letter of this name could be almost anything).

<sup>22</sup> See Traill, Map 1, and Siewert, *Trittyen*, p. 29, note 140. The road should be that leading to Gate VIII (see Travlos, *Dictionary*, fig. 219), from the northeast corner of the Agora.

coastal deme in the Eleusinian Plain, bounded on the west by the sea and on the south by the ridge of Aigaleos.<sup>23</sup>

A temenos was originally “a piece of land cut off and assigned as an official domain”, later “a precinct dedicated to a god”;<sup>24</sup> here, although it is sacred property, there is no suggestion that this temenos was the site of a shrine. Ἐσχατιά has the meaning “boundary estate”, that is, “land at the seaside or at the foot of the mountains,”<sup>25</sup> a description that would fit properly in Thria. In an inscription of the Roman era this word seems to have the meaning “pasture-land with forests and thickets.”<sup>26</sup>

*Fragment f, line 1:* If, indeed, this fragment is correctly placed on and belongs to this stele, the deity to whom these properties belong (lines 2, 7, 10, 14, and 18) may be the same as the one of fragment *e*, Column I, since the gap between these fragments is likely to have been small. These properties apparently included at least one house (line 15).

## COLUMN II

*Fragment b, line 1:* An unknown deity, probably different from the one of line 3.

*Fragment b, line 3:* Α[. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .]. An unknown deity, the owner of a temenos in Hermos (line 3), kepoi beside the Ilisos in Agrai (line 6), and a house in Alopeke (line 9). The initial letter of this deity's name could be alpha or lambda, or, less likely, delta: Ἀ[πόλλωνος Δηλίου (or Πυθίου)], for instance, would fit the available space. There is, however, no other indication as to this deity's identity. It is probably futile to speculate, since the properties are so scattered: Hermos lay at the northwest end of the Attic plain, abutting the south side of the ridge of Aigaleos;<sup>27</sup> Agrai was a district to the southeast of the City, on the south bank of the River Ilisos;<sup>28</sup> and Alopeke lay further south and west of this.<sup>29</sup> Κῆπος has the meaning “garden, orchard or plantation”, thus, “any rich, highly cultivated region”.<sup>30</sup>

*Fragment d, line 1:* Zeus Olympios. The owner of a house in [— — —] that was rented by a metec whose deme-of-registration was [. . .] Ὑλη (line 1: either Ankyle or Agryle), of a

<sup>23</sup> Traill, Map 1.

<sup>24</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *τέμενος* I and II. See also D. Hegyi, “τεμένη ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη δημόσια,” *Oikumene* 1, 1976, pp. 77–78.

<sup>25</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *ἔσχατια* I, 2; see also Day, *Economic History*, p. 230, note 281, and D. M. Lewis, “The Athenian Rationes Centesimarum,” *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce*, M. I. Finley, ed., Paris 1973, pp. 210–212, esp. p. 212: “The evidence appears to justify the conclusion that Attic *ἔσχατιαί* are to be looked for in the neighbourhood of hills. Does it warrant a conclusion that they were areas which came into cultivation relatively late?” Land that had long been under cultivation seems to have been called *γῆ ψιλή*; see, for example, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 84–86, no. 16, line 2.

<sup>26</sup> Day, *Economic History*, p. 230, note 282.

<sup>27</sup> For the site of the deme of Hermos, see Traill, Map 1. The evidence from *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2493 and 2494 (both found at Rhamnous and now joined with each other and with new fragments as parts of the same stele: see M. H. Jameson, “The Leasing of Land in Rhamnous,” *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, Princeton 1982, pp. 66–74, esp. pp. 68–69) suggests that Hermos may also have been the name of a place in Rhamnous.

<sup>28</sup> Travlos, *Dictionary*, p. 112.

<sup>29</sup> Traill, Map 1.

<sup>30</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *κῆπος*. See also W. K. Pritchett, “The Attic Stelai,” *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 264–265.

house *παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον* (line 4), and of two (or more) houses that apparently formed a block similar to that of Column I *a*, lines 4–7; the location is unknown. He was also the owner of a property listed in Column III *c*, line 14 (see below). The only sanctuary of Zeus Olympios in Attica was the Olympieion, in the southeast part of Athens;<sup>31</sup> this, therefore, must be the owner of all the properties here listed. There is some circumstantial evidence (Column II *d*, line 4, and Column III *c*, line 14) that all these properties were located quite close to the Olympieion; thus, they were probably in Kollytos or, less likely, in Agryle or Ankyle.

*Fragment d, line 5: παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον.* The Dionysion was neighbor to a house owned by Zeus Olympios. Unfortunately, no other topographical reference survives to identify this group of properties, and the Dionysion could be any one of several shrines to the God Dionysos, either in Athens itself or elsewhere in Attica. He had theaters, temples, or sanctuaries at Acharnai, Aixone, Eleutherai, Halimous, Ikarion, Marathon, Peiraieus, and perhaps Salamis, as well as at Thorikos;<sup>32</sup> he had altars (temene also?) at Brauron, Eleusis, Myrrhinous, Phlya, and Semachidai.<sup>33</sup> In Athens itself, of course, he had the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus, with its attendant temples and sanctuary,<sup>34</sup> and also the Dionysion in Limnai, whose precise location has not yet been determined: it is likely, however, to have been at a point about 500 m. south of the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus.<sup>35</sup> The likeliest from the above list to have been called *τὸ Διονύσιον* is the sanctuary at Limnai, which, we know, bore this title. Both it and the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus, however, are reasonably close to the great sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, the owner of the property for which the Dionysion provides the topographical reference, and I believe it likely that one or other of these, rather than one of the Attic shrines, is intended here (see also Column III *c*, line 14).

*Fragment e, lines 5, 8, and 12: Artemis Agrotera.* The probable owner of a chorion and a house at [— — — —] (line 5), and the owner of a chorion at [. <sup>3</sup> .]ύλη (line 8: either Agryle or Ankyle), and of a house in Kollytos, beside the Ileithyeion (line 12). Although Artemis Agrotera attracted sacrifices elsewhere,<sup>36</sup> her only sanctuary seems to have been that of Agrai, beside the River Ilisos;<sup>37</sup> this is probably the owner of the properties listed here. *Χώριον* has the meaning “landed property, estate”, or “farmland”.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See Pausanias, I.18.6–8, and Thucydides, II.15.4; Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 51 and 155, note 89; Solders, *AK*, pp. 1–6. For the Olympieion itself, see Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 402–411.

<sup>32</sup> Solders, *AK*, pp. 37–45.

<sup>33</sup> See Farnell, *Cults* V, p. 327.

<sup>34</sup> Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 537–539.

<sup>35</sup> Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 168–169, fig. 219, no. 184, and pp. 332–333, fig. 435. For the testimonia regarding the Dionysion in Limnai, see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed., revised by A. W. Gomme and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, pp. 1–7, nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 19 and 20, and pp. 9–10, 11 and 16, no. 8. J. P. Binder (personal communication) suggests that the Dionysion mentioned in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 82, line 35, is the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus, not the Dionysion in Limnai, and that Travlos' identifications of the site of the Dionysion in Limnai hang upon his belief that *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 82 refers to the Dionysion in Limnai.

<sup>36</sup> See Solders, *AK*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>37</sup> See Pausanias, I.19.7; Bekker, *Anecdota*, 326.28; Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 112–120. For the identification of the Ilisos Temple, see C. A. Picon, “The Ilissos Temple Reconsidered,” *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 47–81; for its date, see M. Miles, “The Date of the Temple on the Ilissos River,” *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 309–325.

<sup>38</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *χώριον* 3; see also Day, *Economic History*, p. 231, note 286, who calls it “ordinary farm land”. See also Pritchett, *op. cit.* (footnote 30 above), pp. 268–269.

*Fragment e, line 13:* παρὰ τὸ [?]λ[ε]ι[θ]υεῖον. The Ileithyeion was neighbor to a house in Kollytos owned by Artemis Agrotera. The shrine in Kollytos is not otherwise attested; Eileithyia had other shrines in Attica, at Agrai, in Echelidai, and in Kephale.<sup>39</sup> Since she is so often associated with Artemis, it is not surprising that the Goddess should own property near her shrine.

*Fragment e, lines 17, 20, and 24:* Herakles in Kynosarges. The owner of three (or more) temene, probably also in Kynosarges. It seems likely that these temene formed part of the sacred enclosure at Kynosarges itself. The exact location of the shrine is unknown, but it was certainly close to the City, to the south or southeast.<sup>40</sup>

*Fragment f, lines 1, 3, 7, 11, 15, and 19:* An unknown deity, the owner of a series of properties that were grouped along a road (or roads), near an altar. I translate as follows:

- [Property of ---: a chori]on [? ---, renter: Telesias,  
son of Tel]estes, of Prob<alinthos: rent>[: ---: guarantor:  
---]s, son of Nikon, of Achar<nai>. [--- from this?]  
5 chorion, next to [---, to the le]ft? renter: Xen[---,  
son of ---], of Prob<alinthos: rent>: 88[+ drachmai:  
guarantor: Xenophon], son of Xenophon, of Prob<alinthos>.  
[A house? beside the road] that runs from Mesokom[ai  
towards ? --- <sup>ca.</sup> 9 ---]dai, renter: Aristo[demos, son of  
10 Aristokl]es, of Oino<e: rent>: 157 drachmai:  
guarantor: Xenophon, son of Xe]nophon, of Prob<alinthos>.  
From the [altar? as you go] along the road to the Ci[ty,  
having] the altar on its left, [a gues? renter:]  
Nau<s>[ia]s?, son of Nikostratos, [of --- <: rent>: ---]  
15 guarantor: Nikostratos, son of N[---, of ---. Ne]xt to  
this, along the sa[me road? ---, a g]ues, renter:  
Kleotim[os, son of ---, of ---<: rent>:]106 drachmai:  
guarantor: Chairest[ratos, son of . . . <sup>8</sup> . . .], of Sphet<tos>.  
20 When you have turned, [a --- o]n the right, renter:  
E ---, son of ---, of ---<: rent>: guarantor: ---, son  
of ---, of ---].

It is clear that these properties are all owned by the same deity, probably the one to whom the altar of line 13 is dedicated. What is not so clear, however, is whether they constitute a single block of land, or two, or even three blocks. The topographical indicator for lines

<sup>39</sup> See Solders, *AK*, pp. 31–32; also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4669 (dedication from Metropolis = *AthMitt* 67, 1942, p. 167, no. 346); *Δελτ* 25, 1970, A' [1971], p. 68, no. 23 (Roman Agora: mid-4th century B.C.); *SEG* XVIII, 88 (Athenian Agora: ca. 180 B.C.); *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4048 (near the Lysikrates Monument: s. I p.); S. Karouzou, “Ἡ τυφλή Ἄρκτος,” *Ἀρχ* Εφ, 1957, pp. 77–80, (statues of children, found by the Ilisos, east of Kallirrhoe); *SEG* XXIV, 226 (dedication to the Eileithyiai, built into the Pasteur Institute garage, 127 Vassilissis Boulevard: late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century after Christ); *AthMitt* 67, 1942, pp. 56–57, no. 94 (dedication to the Eileithyiai at Pankrati: *aet. Rom.*). See S. Pingiatoglou, *Eileithyia*, Würzburg 1981, pp. 42–44, 46, 81, 90, 92, 149, no. L 56, and 157–158, nos. E 33–35. I owe most of these references to J. P. Binder.

<sup>40</sup> See Solders, *AK*, pp. 76–81, and S. B. Woodford, “Cults of Heracles in Attica,” *Studies Presented to G. M. A. Hanfmann*, D. G. Mitten *et al.* edd., Cambridge, Mass. 1971, pp. 211–225. For the various meanings of *τέμενος*, see footnote 24 above. Kynosarges lay in the deme of Diomeia (for its location, south and southeast of the City, see Traill, Map 1): for the cult and the approximate location of the Herakleion, see Woodford, pp. 215–216, esp. note 42. *ἐν Κυνοσάργει*, of course, qualifies *Ἡρακλέους*, not the temene (*cf.* *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 369, lines 70 and 87; 383, lines 53–54). See also R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, pp. 229–231.

7–11 is the road that runs from Mesokomai towards [---i]dai; that for lines 11ff. is the road that leads towards the City, beside which is the altar. The two properties of lines 1–7 are certainly related to one another but not necessarily to those following them.

It is tempting to assume that the owner of all these properties is Herakles, as he is of the properties listed on fragment *e*, but this assumption depends upon the accuracy of two others: that fragment *f* not only belongs to the same stele as fragment *e*, but is also correctly placed below and close to it. I believe that this may, indeed, be the case, but there is certainly no join between fragments *e* and *f*. Comparison of the thicknesses of these two fragments provides no assistance, nor does measurement of the horizontal spacing of the letters. On these criteria alone, fragment *f* could just as easily be set below Columns II and III of *e*, rather than where I have placed it. The relative thicknesses, however, do indicate that the vertical gap between *e* and *f* cannot be more than 2–3 lines of text.

What, above all, has led me to place *f* where I have is the pattern of weathering or corrosion that is discernible upon *f*, as well as upon the upper fragments of this stele; this is especially noticeable in Column II of *e*, and, if *f* is placed below this as I have suggested, the correspondence is quite striking, although this corrosion has not caused the surface to flake away upon *f* as it has upon *e* and the other fragments above it. Thus, *f* very likely does continue the record of leases of properties belonging to Herakles, although not necessarily the Herakles of Kynosarges. The road of lines 11ff. could be the road that led from Kynosarges to the City and the altar that of the Kynosarges Herakleion, but it could equally well lead from some other Herakleion, elsewhere in Attica. In fact, even though three different blocks of property may be listed on this fragment, the wording is such that they ought probably to be viewed as lying close to one another within the same district, not widely separated geographically. Thus, the road of lines 11ff. may well be the same as that of lines 7–11, which led from Mesokomai to [---]dai.

Crosby suggested that Mesokomai, which is otherwise unknown, might lie somewhere near Marathon, on the grounds that the property in which the lessee and guarantor were interested was likely to lie somewhere near their homes.<sup>41</sup> She noted that the lessee of line 2, the lessee and guarantor of lines 5–7, and the guarantor of line 11 all came from Probalinthos, while the lessee of lines 10–11 came from Oinoe: Probalinthos and Oinoe were part of the Marathonian Tetrapolis,<sup>42</sup> Probalinthos lying somewhere to the south of Marathon, Oinoe to the north.<sup>43</sup> It is dangerous to assume any geographical correspondence between the properties listed on this stele and the demes-of-residence of the lessees, let alone of the guarantors, but the grouping in this case is, at least, suggestive.

Another point in favor of Crosby's arguments is that Oinoe's neighbor to the north was the deme of Semachidai:<sup>44</sup> can this be the place [---]dai towards which ran the road from

<sup>41</sup> M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 455–456. The *κῶμαι* seem to have been unwalled villages, perhaps the predecessors of the demes (see Isokrates, vii.46, and W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, p. 175). The *ὁδὸς ἀστυκῆ* might also, of course, be the main road that led from the Asty Gate in the city wall of Peiraieus towards Athens, but there is no other evidence in favor of locating these properties between Athens and Peiraieus, whereas there is a slight case for placing them in northeastern Attica.

<sup>42</sup> Philochoros, *FGH* 328, fr. 94 and 109.

<sup>43</sup> Traill, Map 1; Siewert, *Trittyen*, pp. 77–78, 90.

<sup>44</sup> Traill, Map 1; Siewert, *Trittyen*, pp. 102–103, note 91.

Mesokomai? Also, Marathon was the site of the Temenos of Herakles that lay beside the Athenian camp on the eve of the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.;<sup>45</sup> it would be natural to assume that Herakles possessed properties in the Marathon area. If so, the altar that is mentioned in lines 11ff. may be the altar within the Temenos of Herakles at Marathon, and the road to the City, beside which stood this altar, would thus be the main road to Athens from Marathon, either that whose course the modern road follows, parallel to the seashore, then round the south side of Pentele to Pallene, where it joins the road from the Mesogeia, or the ancient road that ran from the Plain of Marathon, up the valley from Vrana and over the ridge to Ikarion, and thence to Kephisia.<sup>46</sup>

The site of the Temenos of Herakles is disputed. Earlier scholars, and some more recent, place it on the north shoulder of Mt. Agriliki, to the south of the Kephisia road; others, on epigraphic evidence, would place it between the Pallene road and the sea;<sup>47</sup> either location would suit the description "beside the road to the City, on the left" that is found in lines 11–13. Moreover, there were at least two temene of Athena in the vicinity of Marathon,<sup>48</sup> as well as an altar to an unknown deity on the northeast slope of Mt. Agriliki. The location of the altar is especially intriguing: a footpath today seems to run past it towards Vrana, where it would join the ancient Kephisia road; this footpath is, presumably, ancient and just might merit the description in lines 11–13 of fragment *f*. The track shown on Vanderpool's map skirts the foot of Mt. Agriliki and is about 650 m. from this altar, which was evidently in use throughout the first millennium B.C.<sup>49</sup>

### COLUMN III

*Fragment c, line 1:* An unknown deity, the owner of a property that was rented by a metic who lived in Peiraieus. Since metics seem generally to have worked in the same demes as those in which they resided,<sup>50</sup> it is likely that this property, too, was in Peiraieus. Since the property description of lines 5ff. begins immediately with a topographical reference, to

<sup>45</sup> Herodotos, VI.108.1.

<sup>46</sup> See Στρατηγικὸς Χάρτης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens 1957: the main road to Pallene is well marked on this map; the ancient road from Vrana appears as a dotted blue line. I have walked the latter route with Professor Eugene Vanderpool; it would be perfectly feasible, for instance, for the Athenian infantry in 490 and is a much shorter route, although hilly, than the Pallene road. This road is not to be confused with Clarke's Road, which may branch off it somewhere to the west but descends into the deme of Oinoe to the north (J. Ober, "Edward Clarke's Ancient Road to Marathon," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 451–458; see Ober's map, p. 454, fig. 1).

<sup>47</sup> For recent bibliography on the site of the Battle and of the deme of Marathon, see W. F. Wyatt, Jr., *s.v.* "Marathon", *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton 1976, p. 550. E. Vanderpool ("The Deme of Marathon and the Herakleion," *AJA* 70, 1966, pp. 319–323) employs epigraphical evidence, as well as that of excavations conducted in the 1930's by G. Soteriades, to place the Herakleion east of the Pallene road; A. I. Despotoulos (*History of the Hellenic World, II, The Archaic Period* [English edition, Athens and London 1971], pp. 311–324) places it on the north shoulder of Mt. Agriliki. Both scholars provide clear maps of the areas concerned (Vanderpool, p. 320; Despotoulos, pp. 320 and 321).

<sup>48</sup> See Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, pp. 319 and 320. One of these temene is in the plain, near Vrana; the other, identified by a boundary stone, is about 1000 m. due east of this. Vanderpool identifies the Vrana site as that of the deme of Marathon; Soteriades also found a small temple here.

<sup>49</sup> Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, p. 321, esp. note 8; see his map, p. 320, for the location of this altar and of the lower footpath.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Columns I *a*, lines 4–7 and II *d*, lines 1–3. See also D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 72–74.

the wall in Salamis, unless the relative clause of line 6, referring to a dedication [of this property?] by Kallikrates, includes also the name of the deity to whom the dedication was made, there is no indication of ownership; thus, the owner of this property on Salamis is likely to have been the same as the one in lines 1ff. The property whose description begins at line 9 probably belonged to this deity, too. There is no indication of the nature of the first of these properties, but, since its lessee was a metic, it is likely to have been a house, a shop, or a workshop, or the usufruct of some such commodity as dung or urine.<sup>51</sup>

The second lease recorded here (lines 5ff.) may include some other property than the chorion with which its description ends: [οἰκία καὶ] would fit the space available before χωρίου in line 7, for instance. The relative clause of lines 6–7 should be part of the topographical description.<sup>52</sup> The space available in line 6, however, before this clause, is perhaps too small for a prepositional phrase, such as [εἰς (or ἐς) τὸ . . .], which one might otherwise expect to find here. The space in line 7, after the relative clause, could also be filled by the name of a deity, for instance, [Ἀπόλλωνι], [Ἀρτέμιδι], or [Διονύσῳ], but I find the absence of a cult title disturbing in such a restoration; thus, I should prefer to see another property listed here, as I have suggested (above).

The third lease (lines 9ff.) may well be in yet another location, or else, it, too, may lie in Salamis: the mention of walls (line 10) is suggestive, in light of the wall of line 5.<sup>53</sup> The only other clue to its location is provided by the phrase παρὰ [τὸ ἡρώιον τοῦ] Νεανίου ἔξω τείχους (lines 9–10). The hero Neanias, brother of Oinoe, was worshipped in the Tetrapolis of Marathon. In the 4th-century calendar of sacrifices for the Tetrapolis, Neanias has the following entry, under the month Mounychion: Νεανίαι βῶς ϞΔΔΔΔ, οἷς Δ††, χοῖρο[ς ††], ἡρώωνη οἷς Δ†, ἱερώσυνα Π††.<sup>54</sup> This is a substantial offering for an apparently minor deity. Neanias was also portrayed on the base of the Nemesis statue at Rhamnous, along with his brother Epochos. He is not attested elsewhere in Attica, except in Thorikos.<sup>55</sup> Thus, his heröon is more likely to have been in or near the Marathonian Plain, or at Rhamnous; the phrase ἔξω τείχους might thus refer to the fortification wall at Rhamnous itself.

<sup>51</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2496, in which a house, workshop, and οἰκημάτιον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοπρῶνος are leased out in Peiraeus (second half of the 4th century): was this “little house” merely a privy, or was it a public latrine, a source of dung for fertilizer? As for urine, this would have been a valuable resource for fullers: for instance, there was even a tax on urinals at Rome under the Emperor Vespasian (see Suetonius, *Vespasian* 23.3), so valuable was urine thought to be.

<sup>52</sup> For the dedication of property to a god, see Aischines, III.21 (citing a law by which public officials were forbidden to make dedications of property during their term of office; see also Demosthenes, XLIX.66, and M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 B.C.: The Horos Inscriptions*, New Brunswick 1951, pp. 75–76, 99–100). There does not seem to be any hint here that Kallikrates’ dedication was the sort of “fictitious” dedication that Finley suggests (p. 288, note 56) may have been the legal cloak for some other kind of transaction.

<sup>53</sup> τοῖχος, however, does not normally have the meaning “city-wall” that τεῖχος does (see *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. τεῖχος, τοῖχος). The distinction between these words that is made in this inscription seems to be deliberate: the Salamis wall is not a defensive wall.

<sup>54</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1358 B, lines 21–22.

<sup>55</sup> Pausanias (I.33.8), who knows nothing else about Neanias except that he was brother to Oinoe. For the base of the statue of Nemesis, see now V. G. Kallipolitis, “Ἡ βάσις τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῆς Ῥαμνουσίας Νέμεσης,” *Ἀρχ* Ἐφ, 1978, pp. 1–90. For Thorikos, see *SEG* XXVI, 136, line 27 (on this, see G. Dunst, “Der Opferkalendar des attischen Demos Thorikos,” *ZPE* 25, 1977, pp. 243–264, with earlier references).

This would be an appropriate location for the cult of a hero named  $\delta$  Νεανίας.<sup>56</sup> The topographical reference, however, if this shrine is elsewhere than in Salamis, ought surely to conclude with another prepositional phrase, such as  $\epsilon[\nu \mid \text{Ραμνοῦντι}]$ , for instance, but this leaves no space for the other feature that was leased out. The lease is for a pond (τέλμα),<sup>57</sup> together with some feature associated with it, probably the land on which was built its aqueduct or outflow. The word whose initial letter survives at the end of line 11 should mean “aqueduct”, or, perhaps, “water”, but the only word that comes to mind,  $\delta[\iota \mid \text{όρυγμα}]$ , really means “trench” or “canal”, rather than “aqueduct”.<sup>58</sup> This word, however, at least fits the available space and is neuter, as the text requires.

*Fragment c, lines 14ff.*: Zeus Olympios. The owner of a temenos whose topographical identification involves a skene and the vestibule(?) of a theater. The entry presents several problems: it is separate from the other leases of properties belonging to Zeus Olympios; it appears to represent a new category of ownership, distinct from that of the earlier leases recorded upon this fragment; and it offers tantalizing information about an Attic theater and its history.

As to the first of these problems, I believe that the separation of this property from the rest of those belonging to Zeus Olympios should be accounted for by one of two possible explanations: either this lease was granted after the other entries had been compiled, or it was simply overlooked by those compiling the lists (a third explanation, that this lease was recorded separately because it lay in a totally different part of Attica from the rest, is, I believe, unlikely in light of the way in which leases were recorded elsewhere upon this stele). Thus, I should place this property in the same general area as that in which I have argued (above, Column II *d*, lines 1ff.) that Zeus Olympios’ other properties were located.

The earlier leases upon this fragment are not provided, as this is, with any record of ownership. Thus, the owner of those properties is likely to have been a single deity, or group of deities, whose name has perished along with the upper part of this column. That the compilers of this record found it necessary to identify the temenos of lines 14ff. as the property of Zeus Olympios, when they did not similarly identify the owners of the three properties listed

<sup>56</sup> See also Solders, *AK*, p. 96.

<sup>57</sup> The basic meaning of τέλμα is “standing water, pond, marsh, swamp” (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. τέλμα I). The word is also used at Athens for the moat in front of the city wall: a boundary stone from just outside the Dipylon Gate, dated late in the 5th century B.C., is inscribed ὄρος τέλματος Ἀθηνάας (see Travlos, *Dictionary*, p. 158). Since the excavators found a moat here, it is a natural conclusion that the τέλμα was this moat. Similarly, the excavators of the Diochares Gate, on the east side of the City, found a moat by this gate (see Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 160–161), and it is likely that this moat, too, was called a τέλμα. Thus, it is almost certainly that telma that lay πρὸς ταῖς [πύλαις] ταῖς παρὰ τὸ Διοχάρο[υ]ς . . .<sup>5</sup> . . .], the property of Athena and rented out during the 330’s B.C. (see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2495, lines 6–7 = Stele No. 3, reverse). Thus, at Athens at any rate, a telma could be a part of the City’s defenses and could be rented out for profit. Whether this practice was followed elsewhere in Attica is not so clear, but the association, in the passage here discussed, of a telma and of city(?) walls suggests that this telma, too, may be a defensive moat. It would, I believe, be straining the evidence too far to suggest that this moat was a part of Athens’ defenses rather than of another defensive system somewhere else in Attica. So far as I am aware, no moat has yet been discovered at Rhamnous or at Thorikos (see footnote 55 above). M. H. Jameson (*per ep.*) remarks “ponds do not abound in Attica and I can’t believe that they ever did.” He suggests that “this property was a *sterna*, with assured access to running water to fill it.”

<sup>58</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, s.v. διόρυγμα.



here, is an argument, I believe, for regarding the lease of lines 14ff. as the start of a new category of ownership.

The location of the theater near which this temenos lies is a problem that is bound up with the answer to the first question that I posed: if I am correct in placing properties owned by Zeus Olympios in the vicinity of the God's only sanctuary in Attica, as I have argued above, this theater will surely be that of Dionysos Eleuthereus, on the south slope of the Akropolis. We know that this theater was substantially rebuilt in the third quarter of the 4th century, under the regime of Lykourgos.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the Euboulos mentioned here, who had something to do with a skene, could be *PA* 5369, the financial reformer who preceded Lykourgos.

If this theater is *not* the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens, perhaps the best candidate would be the theater in Peiraieus, for which there is some epigraphical evidence of building activities during the 360's B.C.<sup>60</sup> This entry is so fragmentary that very little sense can be made of it; it appears to me that Euboulos provided something, perhaps a vestibule (*παραστ[?]άδιον*) that was added to the skene of the theater, or else the money for this.

*Fragment c, line 19:* Another lease seems to begin here or in line 20, but so little of the text survives that no conclusions can be drawn about it or about the ownership of this property. Its location may be Pedion, perhaps the Thriasian Pedion.

*Fragment e, line 6:* The end of a lease is preserved here; there is no indication as to who is the owner of this property, but the other leases recorded upon this fragment all seem to be for properties belonging to Artemis Brauronia, scattered around Attica. The gap between the bottom of fragment *c* and the top of *e* is sufficient for perhaps one more lease to have been recorded here.

*Fragment e, lines 7, 13, 18, and 22:* Artemis Brauronia. Possibly the owner of a property in Kephisia (line 7) and of a *[κῆπ]ος(?)* in Phaleron (line 13); the owner of a property in Philaidai (line 18) and of either an *[ἐσχάτ]ιά* in [— —] or, more likely, of several houses in [. . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . .], the first of which (*[οἰκ]ία π[ρώτῃ]*) is listed here; the rest would have appeared on the lost portion of the stone below this (compare the entries at Column I *a*, lines 4ff., and Column II *e*, lines 8ff.). Artemis Brauronia had her principal shrine at Brauron, in the deme of Philaidai;<sup>61</sup> she also had a precinct upon the Akropolis in Athens.<sup>62</sup> She is not certainly attested as having any other sanctuary in Attica.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> See Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 537–539. For the testimonia regarding the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus, see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysos in Athens*, Oxford 1946, pp. 136–138. Professor H. A. Thompson remarks (*per ep.*): “I think the entry undoubtedly has to do with the Theater of Dionysos in Athens. Hence it is very interesting to have Euboulos associated in some way with the theater before its completion in the regime of Lykourgos (338–326 B.C.).” *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 223 B, line 8, which is also dated in 343/2 B.C., praises the Boule of that year for its efficient attention to the *εὐκοσμία τοῦ θεάτρον*. I agree with Pickard-Cambridge (p. 136) in regarding this as a reference “much more probably to orderly conduct than to ornamentation.” The same phrase recurs in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 354, lines 16–17 (328/7 B.C.). See also A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed., revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, pp. 69–70.

<sup>60</sup> *SEG* XIX, 117 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1176+): the new fragment (*c*) mentions a skene in the first surviving line of this inscription.

<sup>61</sup> Pausanias, I.33.1; Strabo, IX.1.22; see also Aristophanes, *Birds* 873, with scholia.

<sup>62</sup> Pausanias, I.23.9.

<sup>63</sup> See Solders, *AK*, pp. 27–29, for the testimonia regarding her cult.

## PROSOPOGRAPHY

## HEADING

*Fragment a, line 2:* Πυθοδότος. Archon in 343/2 B.C. (PA 12385).

## COLUMN I

*Fragment a, line 6:* [᾽Α]ριστάγορας Ἀριστοδήμ[ου, ἔμπορος? ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ οἰκῶν. A metic, not otherwise known, living and renting a house in Kydathenaion.

*Line 8:* Μοίριππος Μοιραγ[έ]νους [Κυδαθ]η<ναιεύς>. The guarantor of a lease in Kydathenaion. His father was [Μ]οιραγένης Κ. (PA 10396), ἐπιστάτης Βραυρωνόθεν in 350/49 B.C.<sup>64</sup>

*Line 9:* Πολέ[μων Δι]οκλέους Φλυε<ύς>. The renter of a house in Kydathenaion. His father is probably PA 4061, the opponent of Isaïos in several law suits of the second quarter of the 4th century.<sup>65</sup>

*Line 10:* Ἀρχέδημος Ἀρχεδήμ[ου] Ἀυρί<δης>. The guarantor of a lease in Kydathenaion. His father PA 2321 was a trierarch in the early 370's.<sup>66</sup>

*Line 12:* Ἀυτομένης Ἀνδρο[μ]ένους Ε [?.] (or Κ [?.], or Π [?.]). The renter of a house in Kydathenaion. He may be Ἀυτομένης Κεφαλῆθεν (PA 886; PAN, p. 14), or Ἀυτομένης Πειραιεύς, father of Μενεκλῆς (PA 9924: 358/7 B.C.).

*Line 13:* Θεόδωρος Κίρων[ος Πρ]ασι<εύς>. The guarantor of a lease in Kydathenaion. His father may be PA 8443, but the evidence seems more in favor of Πιθεύς or, perhaps, Φλυεύς, as this man's demotic.<sup>67</sup> Possible relatives may be Κιρρίας Πρασιεύς and his son Ποσείδιππος: the latter was syntrierarch between 356 and 346/5 B.C.<sup>68</sup>

*Line 14:* Κη[φισόδω]ρος Σμικύθου Κυδαθη<ναιεύς>. The renter of a house in Kydathenaion. He is PA 8373, son of PA 12793 and brother to [Σώ]πολις (PA 13156). He had been ταμίας νεωρίων before 325/4 but was probably dead in 325/4, when his brother Sopolis was condemned for failing to provide the equipment for ten triremes for which Kephisdoros had been liable.<sup>69</sup> The guarantors of Column III c, line 13 and III e, line 21, if they are not the same man, must surely belong to this family.

*Line 16:* Λεοντέως Ἀντικλείδου Κ[ηφισι<εύς>?]. The guarantor of a lease in Kydathenaion. He may be PA 9032, orator of a deme decree that is dated before 350.<sup>70</sup> His father is probably Ἀντικλείδης Κη[φισιεύς], a trierarch in 356/5 B.C. (PA 1048).<sup>71</sup> The name Λεόντιος, too, is found in Kephisia:<sup>72</sup> this man might be the brother of Leonteus.<sup>73</sup> The

<sup>64</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1524, line 72.

<sup>65</sup> For the history of this family, see APF, pp. 312–316.

<sup>66</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1604, line 28; see APF, p. 69.

<sup>67</sup> See APF, pp. 312–316.

<sup>68</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, line 711: APF, p. 469.

<sup>69</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1631, lines 352–353 and 357–358.

<sup>70</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1173, line 2: no demotic survives.

<sup>71</sup> APF, p. 36; see IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1612, line 360 and 1616, line 97.

<sup>72</sup> Agora XV, no. 42, line 36: councillor of Erechtheis in 336/5 B.C.

<sup>73</sup> On this, see S. Charitonides, "The First Half of a Bouleutai List of the Fourth Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 38, note to line 36.

names Leonteus and Leontios are sufficiently rare to eliminate both K[*ήττιο*<*s*>] and K[*υδαθη*<*ναιεύς*>] from consideration.<sup>74</sup>

*Line 17:* Λάχη[s . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . .]δου ῥαμνο<ύσιος>. The renter of a house in Kydathenaion. He is probably PA 9026, who appears in a list of phyletai of Aiantis after the middle of the 4th century.<sup>75</sup>

*Line 18:* [Χαριάδης? Χ]αιροκλέους Λευκονο<εύς>. The guarantor of a lease in Kydathenaion. He is a descendant of Χαιροκλήης Λευκονοεύς (PA 15271), whose son Chariades was a councillor of Leontis, perhaps in 370/69 B.C.<sup>76</sup> If the name of the guarantor is correctly restored here, he may be PA 15315 himself; otherwise, he may be his brother.

*Line 20:* Λυκέας Λυ[ ---- <sup>12-16</sup> ---- ]. The renter of a house in Kydathenaion. He may be a descendant of either PA 9190 or PA 9191;<sup>77</sup> the renter is probably also the ancestor of Λυκέας Κηφισίου ῥαμνο<ύσιος>, councillor of Aiantis in 281/0 B.C.,<sup>78</sup> and of Λυκέας ῥαμνούσιος, priest of Asklepios in 245/4 (PA 9192).<sup>79</sup>

*Line 21:* Δ[ ---- <sup>ca. 14</sup> ---- ]. The guarantor of a lease in Kydathenaion.

*Fragment b, line 4:* [Μ]ενέξ[ενος]. The father of a renter. His demotic might be [Κυδαθηναιεύς], [Παιανιεύς] or [Χολαργεύς], if the name is correctly restored (see PA 9978, 9979 and 9981, respectively).

*Fragment e, line 11:* [--- <sup>8-12</sup> ---]ς Χαριάδ[ο Λευκονο<εύς>?]. The guarantor of a lease. His father may be Χαριάδης Χαιροκλέους Λευκονοεύς, councillor of Leontis, perhaps in 370/69 B.C. (PA 15315); if so, he may be the same man as the guarantor of Column I a, line 18. The name, however, is far too common in the 4th century to permit certain assignation to any particular deme. Thus, the restoration [Χαιροκλή]ς, though attractive, should be avoided.

*Line 12:* Νικ[ --- ], father of [ --- ]άτης, who guaranteed a lease. He may be Νικόστρατος Νικηράτου ῥαλαιεύς,<sup>80</sup> who died around 350 B.C.; thus, too, he may be the syntriarch Νικόστρατος ῥαλαιεύς, who was active in the 370's and 350's.<sup>81</sup>

*Line 14:* [Μο]σχίων Εὐφαμίδο[v - <sup>4-5</sup> - ]. The renter of a temenos in Thria. If the name is, indeed, [Μο]σχίων, rather than Χίων, he may be the father of Μεγακλήης Μοσχίωνος ῥαζηνιεύς, councillor of Antiochis in 303/2 B.C.<sup>82</sup> The name Moschion, however, is not uncommon in the 4th century, several examples being known, from as many different demes. His father is unknown.<sup>83</sup> If the renter's name is Chion, there are possible candidates

<sup>74</sup> See *APF*, p. 36.

<sup>75</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2400, line 10.

<sup>76</sup> PA 15315; PAN, p. 170; see *Agora* XV, no. 13, lines 35–36: D. M. Lewis ("An Inventory in the Agora," *ZPE* 36, 1979, p. 133) questions the date.

<sup>77</sup> If these are two different individuals. Both are 5th century; neither has a patronymic or demotic. The name is rare enough to justify conflating these two entries: see *APF*, pp. 344–345.

<sup>78</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 72, line 195.

<sup>79</sup> For the date, see B. D. Meritt, "Mid-Third-Century Athenian Archons," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 95.

<sup>80</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5509.

<sup>81</sup> See *APF*, pp. 410–411; see also Column II f, line 15, where this individual is discussed further.

<sup>82</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 62, line 265; see also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2936, and PA 10432 a.

<sup>83</sup> Εὐφαμίδης is not attested at all, at Athens or elsewhere, unless it is the fragmentary, 4th-century name Εὐφα[---] in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2399, line 10. The simple form Εὐφάμος is found at Athens late in the 6th or early in the

in the 4th century in Keiriadai (a cleruch in Imbros in 352/1: *PA* 15554) and in Korydallos (*PA* 15555: a *μισθωτής* *ca.* 307/6 B.C.).<sup>84</sup>

*Line 15:* Κριτόδημος Α[-----]. The guarantor of a lease in Thria. The likeliest candidate is *PA* 8809, Κριτόδημος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, who was trierarch shortly before 356 B.C.<sup>85</sup> Another candidate is Κριτόδημος Οἶναιος, whose son Ἀριστώνυμος Κριτοδήμου Οἰνοῆθεν appears in an Eretrian document of *ca.* 331 B.C.<sup>86</sup> The initial letter of the guarantor's patronymic is almost certainly alpha; if it were delta, a member of the family of Κριτόδημος Δυνάτου Πειραιεύς would be a candidate (*PA* 8813: early 4th century). The name Kritodemos also appears in 4th-century Lamptrai and Keiriadai.<sup>87</sup>

*Line 18:* Τιμοκράτης --<sup>6-8</sup>--], father of [...<sup>8</sup>...]τος, who rented a temenos in Thria. He may be the brother of *PA* 13790, Τιμόκριτος Τιμοκράτους Ἰκαριεύς, councillor of Aigeis in 341/0 B.C.,<sup>88</sup> whose father (*PA* 13768) was trierarch *ca.* 356–346;<sup>89</sup> alternatively, he might himself be the trierarch *PA* 13768. He may also be the father of Τιμοκλῆς, the renter of Column III c, line 12.

*Line 19:* Διονυσόδωρος .....<sup>18</sup>.....]. The guarantor of a lease in Thria; perhaps also, the renter of Column I f, line 4. He may be *PA* 4302, Διονυσόδωρος Φηγούσιος, the father of Διόφαντος (*PA* 4441), who was active after the middle of the 4th century. Another candidate is *PA* 4287, Διονυσόδωρος Ἀθμονεύς, father of Διονυσοφάνης (*PA* 4305: 324/3 B.C.). For a possible descendant, or perhaps the same man, see Dionysodoros, the owner of a property that was neighbor to a mine at Laureion *ca.* 339/8 B.C.<sup>90</sup>

*Fragment f, line 4:* [Διο]γυσόδωρος ----]. The renter of a property in [----]. He may be the same man as the guarantor of Column I e, line 19.

## COLUMN II

*Fragment b, line 2:* [Χαριναύτης Χα]ιρίωνος Φαλη<ρεύς>. The guarantor of a lease. The father is probably Χαῖρ[ί]ων Χαριναύ[τ]ου Φαληρεύ[ς], who was secretary to the Boule in 361/0 B.C. (*PA* 15268).<sup>91</sup> A descendant is [--<sup>4-5</sup>--]νοκλῆς Χαῖρ[ί]ω[υ]ο ([Φα]ληρεύς), councillor of Aiantis in 304/3 B.C.<sup>92</sup>

*Line 5:* [...<sup>10</sup>...]οδήμου Εὐω<νυμέυς>. The renter of a property.

*Line 6:* Λυσίδη[μος] Κεφαλ<ήθεν>, father of [...<sup>10</sup>...], who guaranteed a lease in

5th century on a red-figured vase fragment attributed to the painter Oltos; see P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, Gutersloh 1894, p. 299: Εὐφάμος ἐπ[οίεσε]. See also J. D. Beazley, *ABV*, p. 666: Εὐφάμιδας καλός.

<sup>84</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 463, line 125.

<sup>85</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1612, line 311: *APF*, pp. 61–62. He may have been the son of *PA* 1959, trierarch in 378/7 B.C. (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 40, line 8). For the activities of this family and its links with other families, see *PA* 5951 and *APF*, pp. 199–203.

<sup>86</sup> *IG* XII 9, 245 B, line 434: the demotic, as it appears there, is not an Attic form.

<sup>87</sup> Lamptrai, *PA* 8812; Keiriadai, *Agora* XV, no. 72, line 153.

<sup>88</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 38, lines 26 and 82.

<sup>89</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, line 602; see *APF*, p. 513, for the family and its links with other families.

<sup>90</sup> M. Crosby, "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 261, no. 19, line 36.

<sup>91</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 116, line 6. The entry under *PA* 15267 erroneously places this man in the 3rd century.

<sup>92</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 61, line 245.

Hermos. He may be *Λυσίδημος*, *PA* 9384 *a*, who appears in a thiasos list of the mid-4th century.<sup>93</sup>

*Line 7:* Φορμί[ων . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . Παλ]λη<νεύς>, or [. . .<sup>7</sup> . . . Φα]λη<ρεύς>. The renter of kepoi in Agrai. Although the name Phormion is a common one, no example is so far attested for Pallene or Phaleron.

*Line 9:* Πολ[. . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . .]νου Κ[ήτ<τιος>?], or 'Ι[κα<ριεύς>?]. The guarantor of a lease in Agrai. When this fragment was first discovered, Koumanudis<sup>94</sup> read traces of three letters after -νου: what he saw most resembles the letters KHT, but today, only the vertical of the first of these letters survives. If the demotic is Κ[ήτ<τιος>], no suitable name comes to mind. If, however, Sundwall was correct in restoring the demotic as 'Ι[κα<ριεύς>], two possible candidates appear: Sundwall himself suggested that this man was Πολ[έμων], the ancestor of [Π]ολέμων Πολέμωνος 'Ικαριεύς, who appears in a list of names dated shortly before 200 B.C.<sup>95</sup> It is equally possible, however, that the name is Πολ[ύκλειτος], ancestor of Πολύκλειτος? Ποσειδίππου 'Ικαριεύς, who appears in a list of names dated *ca.* 130 B.C. (*PA* 11975).<sup>96</sup>

*Line 10:* [Πυα]νέψι[ος? .ι[.]λιαμπ[----]. The renter of a house in Alopeke. The restoration of this name, which is otherwise unattested, was suggested to me by D. M. Lewis.<sup>97</sup> No satisfactory restoration comes to mind for the patronymic.

*Fragment d, line 2:* 'Εργόφιλος Φίλω[νος . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]υλῆσι οἰκ<ῶν>. A metec, living in Agryle (or Ankyle), the renter of a property belonging to Zeus Olympios. For possible later members of this family (assuming that it achieved Athenian citizenship, which is by no means certain), see *PA* 14823, [---]ης Φίλωνος 'Αγρυλῆθεν (4th century B.C.); Φίλων 'Αγρυλῆθεν, husband of Εὐτέρπη;<sup>98</sup> and Φίλων 'Αγρυλῆθεν, father of [Χα]ρμίδης.<sup>99</sup>

*Line 4:* Δημέας Χολαρ<γέυς>, father of [Δημόστρ?]ατος, who guaranteed a lease. He might be Δημέας 'Ακαμαντίδος, father of [---]ιος, a cleruch of the mid-4th century B.C.<sup>100</sup> Δημοστράτη ['Αν]τισθένους [Χολα]ργέως Θυγάτηρ may be a 3rd-century descendant (*PA* 3608).<sup>101</sup>

*Line 6:* Πυθόδωρος 'Επικ<ηφίσιος>, father of [. . .<sup>5</sup> . . .]ος, who rented a house that belonged to Zeus Olympios, near the Dionysion. He is probably [Πυθό]δωρος Φιλοκλέους 'Επικ<ηφίσιος>, the guarantor of this lease (line 7), and should likely be identified with the orator Pythodoros who moved a decree of the deme Epikēphisia that is dated in the 4th century B.C. (*PA* 12419).<sup>102</sup> The son's name might be [Πύθικ]ος. This name, however, does not occur elsewhere as early as this, nor is it attested for the deme Epikēphisia.

<sup>93</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2345, line 64.

<sup>94</sup> See footnote 5 above.

<sup>95</sup> See footnote 3 above. Polemon Ikarieus is *PA* 11886: see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2442, line 5.

<sup>96</sup> But see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2445, line 4, where this man's name is given as 'Ηράκλειτος.

<sup>97</sup> *Per ep.* See also footnote 14 above.

<sup>98</sup> *SEG* XXI, 827: late 4th century B.C.

<sup>99</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5297 = *SEG* XIII, 70: late 2nd century B.C.

<sup>100</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1952, line 25.

<sup>101</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 6500. For speculations about this family and its connections with families in Paiania, see *APF*, pp. 105–106.

<sup>102</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1205, lines 1–2.

*Line 7:* [Πυθό]δωρος Φιλοκλέους Ἐπι[κη<φίσιος>]. The guarantor of a lease and probably the father of the renter of line 6. His own father Philokles is not otherwise known.

*Line 9:* Λυσίας Ἀμαξ<αντειεύς>, father of [. . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .]ης, who rented a house that belonged to Zeus Olympios. The renter might be [---Λ]υσίο[υ?], who was listed in the second half of the 4th century B.C. as the seller of property subject to the 1% tax.<sup>103</sup>

*Line 10:* [Α]ὐτόλυκος Π[---], father of [---]ιτο[ς], who guaranteed a lease. He is probably *PA* 2746, who, among other activities, was orator of a decree and member of an embassy to Mytilene in 368/7 B.C.<sup>104</sup> Another candidate is Αὐτόλυκος Θορίκιος.<sup>105</sup>

*Fragment e, line 3* (= Column II *b*, line 4?): Εὐμη[λος? . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . .ο]υ (or Εὐμή[δης? . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . .ο]υ, or Εὐμη[λίδης? . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . .ο]υ) Εὐω<νυμεύς> (or Ξεπ<εταιίων>?). The renter of a property that belonged to Artemis Agrotera. If he is Εὐμη[λος], he may be the grandfather of Εὐμηλος [Ἐμπεδίωνος] Εὐωνυμεύς, (*PA* 5836 and *PAN*, p. 80; see *PA* 4692: 221/0 B.C.). If the name is Εὐμή[δης], and if the demotic is Ξεπ<εταιίων>, he is likely to be *PA* 5827, who was a trierarch between 356 and 340 B.C.<sup>106</sup>

*Line 7:* Σώιτο[ς? . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .]ενίδο[υ] Παια<νιεύς>. The renter of a house and a chorion that belonged to Artemis Agrotera. This name is not otherwise attested; see, however, Σωι[---], father of Ἱεροφῶν (*PA* 7516); the son was ταμίας τῆς Θεοῦ in 342/1 B.C.<sup>107</sup> No suitable name comes to mind for the patronymic except, perhaps, [Σωσιγ]ενίδου.<sup>108</sup>

*Line 8:* Χα[. . .<sup>6</sup> . . . Γυ]άθωνος Λακ<ιάδης>. The guarantor of a lease. The name might be Χα[ρικλῆς]: if so, this man may be a member of the same family as Χαρικλῆς Σ[-----] (Λακιάδης), councillor of Oineis in 303/2 B.C.<sup>109</sup> But several other possible restorations of this name are available. The father may be Gnathon, the orator of an early 4th-century decree.<sup>110</sup>

*Line 10* (= Column I *e*, line 10?): Λυσ[ίμ]α[χος .<sup>3</sup> .]ικλέους Ἐρχι<εύς>. The renter of a property that belonged to Artemis Agrotera. He should belong to the family of *PA* 9433 and 7716.<sup>111</sup> His father might be [Λυ]σικλῆς, son of Ἀφαρέως Ἰππίου Ἐρχιεύς by his second wife Λύσιον, although the chronology is somewhat strained.<sup>112</sup>

*Line 11:* Κλεαίνετος Ἐρχι<εύς>, father of [. . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]ς, who guaranteed a lease. He is not otherwise known.

*Line 14:* Κηφισοφῶν Κεφαλίωνος Ἀφιδνα<ίος>. The renter of a house in Kollytos beside the Ileithyeion. He is *PA* 8410, probably general in 355/4 B.C., ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν in

<sup>103</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1601 B, line 9. D. M. Lewis comments (*per ep.*): "I very much doubt whether [Λ]υσίο[υ] is a human name in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1601 B 9."

<sup>104</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 107, lines 30 and 32–33.

<sup>105</sup> *SEG* XXIII, 78, lines 15 and 18: 330's B.C. For this man's activities, see F. W. Mitchel, "The Date of the First Ephebic Inscription," *ZPE* 19, 1975, pp. 233–243.

<sup>106</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1615, line 51: see *APF*, p. 198.

<sup>107</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1455, line 3.

<sup>108</sup> D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*): compare Σωσιγένης Παιανιεύς, ca. 330 B.C. (*Agora* XV, no. 47, line 4).

<sup>109</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 62, line 189.

<sup>110</sup> *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 207, no. 53, line 4.

<sup>111</sup> *APF*, pp. 245–248.

<sup>112</sup> See the discussion of this family in *APF*, pp. 247–248: Aphareus was an adult by 369/8 B.C.

343/2, general in 341/0 and 340/39, and probably proposer of a law providing for refortification of Peiraeus harbor in 337/6 B.C.<sup>113</sup>

*Line 15:* Φιλόφρων Φιλοκλέους Πειραι<εύς>. The guarantor of a lease in Kollytos. He may be Φιλόφρων Πειρ<αιεύς>, neighbor to a mine at Amphitrope in Besa in 341/0 B.C.;<sup>114</sup> the same man also registered a mine *ca.* 360–350 B.C.<sup>115</sup> For possible descendants, see Φιλοκλής Πειραιεύς, 264/3 B.C. (*PA* 14555); Φιλοκλής Πειραιεύς, 131/0 B.C. (*PA* 14556); and Λόγος Φιλοκλέους Πειραιεύς.<sup>116</sup>

*Line 16:* Πανσίστρατος Λυσιμάχου Πειραι<εύς>. The guarantor of a lease in Kollytos. The father may be from the same family as Λυσιμαχίδης Φιλίνου Πειραιεύς, who was praised in a decree of orgeones during the second half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>117</sup>

*Line 18:* Μείδυλος Μειδυλίδου Ἀζη<νιεύς>. The renter of a temenos in Kynosarges. He is probably an ancestor of Μείδυλος (Ἀζηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis in 281/0 B.C.<sup>118</sup>

*Line 20:* Φίλων Φίλτωνος ἐκ Κοι<λής>. The guarantor of a lease in Kynosarges. He is probably the son or grandson of Φίλων ἐκ Κοιλής, who was a beneficiary of the amnesty declared for followers of the Thirty Tyrants at the end of the 5th century (*PA* 14847); he may be the ancestor of [Φ]ίλων ἐκ [Κ]οι<λής>, a soldier at Eleusis in the late 2nd or early 1st century B.C. (*PA* 14848).

*Line 21:* Θεόδοτος Ἀπολλοδώρο [Ο]ἰναῖ<ος>. The renter of a temenos in Kynosarges. He may be the brother of Πυθόδωρος Ἀπολλοδώρου Οἰναῖος, an ephebe in 333/2 B.C.<sup>119</sup>

*Line 22:* Ἀριστίων Ἀρ[. . . <sup>10</sup> . . .]. The guarantor of a lease in Kynosarges. He may be *PA* 1735, Ἀ[ρι]στίων, the eponym of a naval symmory between 356 and 340,<sup>120</sup> and perhaps syntrierarch by or in 366/5 B.C.<sup>121</sup> Other possible candidates are *PA* 1738, Ἀρ[ι]στίων Ἀρι[---] (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor of Akamantis in 378/7 B.C.,<sup>122</sup> and [Ἀρισ?]τίων Ἀριστονόμου Παλληνεύς, who served as ἀντιγραφεύς between 400 and 350 B.C.<sup>123</sup>

*Line 23:* Σίλανος Σωσίππ[ον . . . <sup>6</sup> . . .]. The guarantor of a lease in Kynosarges. The name Sosippos is too common to allow positive identification without the demotic. Silanos is a much rarer name, occurring only once before the end of the 2nd century B.C. (*PA* 12653, a

<sup>113</sup> For his career and family connections, see *APF*, pp. 291–293.

<sup>114</sup> Crosby, *op. cit.* (footnote 90 above), p. 256, no. 18, line 69.

<sup>115</sup> M. Crosby, "More Fragments of Mining Leases from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 4, no. S 2, lines 23–24. Professor C. Habicht has drawn my attention (*per ep.*) to *IG* XII 8, 110, which commemorates two Athenian cleruchs Διόδωρος Φιλόφρωνος Π. and Φιλόφρων Φιλοκλέους Π., who settled on Imbros during the 4th century B.C. The guarantor may be the latter of these two cleruchs.

<sup>116</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 7175: 1st or 2nd century after Christ.

<sup>117</sup> *PA* 9482: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1252, lines 5–6.

<sup>118</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 72, line 148.

<sup>119</sup> Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions*, no. 6, line 9.

<sup>120</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1616, line 102.

<sup>121</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1609, line 112; see *APF*, p. 53.

<sup>122</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 8, line 8.

<sup>123</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 12, line 67.

casualty of the later 5th century, from the tribe Hippothontis; this man may be an ancestor of *PA* 12655, Σίλανος Εὐσθένου Κειριά[δη]ς, an ephēbe in 101/0 B.C.).

*Line 24:* Φ[-----<sup>18-20</sup>-----]. The renter of a temenos in Kynosarges.

*Fragment f, lines 1-2:* [Τελεσίας Τελ]έστου Προβ<αλίσιος>. The renter of a property in [---]. He is probably *PA* 13519, διαιτητήης in 330/29 and synteles of a trierarchy in 323/2 B.C.<sup>124</sup> For the father, see *PA* 13549.<sup>125</sup>

*Line 3:* Νίκων Ἀχαρ[ν<εύς>], father of [---<sup>5-6</sup>---]ς, who guaranteed a lease. He may be the councillor of Oineis in 360/59 B.C.,<sup>126</sup> the same man may be Νίκων Ἀχαρνεύς who is commemorated on a grave stele of the second half of the 4th century.<sup>127</sup>

*Line 5:* Ξεν[. . . . .<sup>16</sup>. . . . .]ς Προβ<αλίσιος>. The renter of a property in [---]. He is probably Ξενοπείθης Ξενοφώντος (Προβαλίσιος), whose son [<sup>ca</sup>-<sup>3</sup> ξ]ενος was a councillor of Pandionis in 304/3 B.C.<sup>128</sup> His father [Ξενοφών] Ξενοφώντος Προβ<αλίσιος> guaranteed his lease (line 6) and also that of Aristodemos (line 10).

*Line 6:* [Ξενοφών] Ξενοφώντος Προβ<αλίσιος>. The guarantor of a lease in [---] and of another lease in the neighborhood of Mesokomai (lines 6 and 10). He is probably the father of the renter of line 5, or, less likely, the brother. This family is not otherwise known, except for the councillor of Pandionis mentioned above.

*Line 9:* Ἀριστόδημος Ἀριστοκλέ[ους Οἰναῖ<ος>]. The renter of a house in the neighborhood of Mesokomai. His father, *PA* 1878, was ἐπιμελητῆς νεωρίων in 369/8 B.C.:<sup>129</sup> the renter himself may well be [---]ι(or η)μος Ἀριστοκλείους Οἰναῖ<ος>, who held the same post in 333/2 B.C.<sup>130</sup>

*Line 10:* For this guarantor, see line 6 above.

*Line 14:* Ναυ<σ>[ία]ς? Νικοστράτο[ν -<sup>3-5</sup>-]. The renter of a gues(?) in the neighborhood of Mesokomai. If I have restored his name correctly, he might be a member of the family of Ναυσίας Ναυσικράτου (Προσπάλτιος), councillor of Akamantis in 335/4 B.C.<sup>131</sup> The abbreviation of this demotic (Προσπά<λτιος> or Προσπ<άλτιος>), however, is difficult to fit convincingly into the space available here and probably impossible to fit into the space available in line 15 (where the guarantor is likely the father of this lessee). Thus, some other, shorter demotic should be sought. Nausias is not a common name: it occurs in the 4th century, apart from Prospalta, only in Eleusis (*PA* 10542) and in Thria (*PA* 10543); in the late 3rd century it appears in Atene (*PA* 10541).<sup>132</sup> The father's name is too common to permit speculation about his demotic.

<sup>124</sup> *APF*, p. 504: he was born in 389/8 B.C.

<sup>125</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4600 and 4914.

<sup>126</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 17, line 57.

<sup>127</sup> *SEG* XXI, 839; see *APF*, pp. 357-358.

<sup>128</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 61, line 237.

<sup>129</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1617, line 79.

<sup>130</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1623, line 5.

<sup>131</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 43, lines 119-120.

<sup>132</sup> See also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 76, line 4: Ναυσίας Ἀ[τηνεύς], before 378/7 B.C.; perhaps also, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 158, line 2 (see D. M. Lewis, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions," *BSA* 49, 1954, p. 33). This man may be *PA* 10539, the opponent of Lysias.



*Line 15:* Νικόστρατος Ν[---<sup>ca.9</sup>---]. The guarantor of a lease in the neighborhood of Mesokomai; probably also the father of the renter. Both patronymic and (abbreviated) demotic must be quite short: this eliminates most possibilities, although the name Nikostratos is a common one. Very likely, the patronymic is Ν[αυσίου], leaving only two, perhaps three, spaces for the demotic.

*Line 17:* Κλεότιμ[ος? . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . .]. The renter of a gues in the neighborhood of Mesokomai. He is probably *PA* 8626, Κλεότιμ[ος Ἀτηνεύς], ἐπιστάτης Βραυρωνόθεν in 353/2 B.C.,<sup>133</sup> and very likely the son of Κλεοτιμίδης Ἀτη<νεύς>, syntrierarch in 366/5 B.C.<sup>134</sup>

*Line 18:* Χαιρέστ[ρατος . . .<sup>8</sup>. . .] Σφήτ<τιος>. The guarantor of a lease in the neighborhood of Mesokomai. This name is not otherwise attested for Sphettos: Χαιρεφάνης Σφήττιος, however, who was ἱεροποιός a little before 322 (*PA* 15181), may be a member of the same family as this man.

*Line 20:* Ε[---]. Renter of a property in the neighborhood of Mesokomai.

### COLUMN III

*Fragment c, line 2:* Ἀπήμων Ἀδε[. . . . .<sup>15</sup>. . . . .] ἰσοτ<ελής>: ἐμ Πειραιεῖ οἰκῶν]. A metic with isotelic status, living in Peiraieus and renter of a property in [---]. He may be Ἀπήμων who made a 4th-century dedication at Eleusis.<sup>135</sup> The name is an uncommon one, perhaps of Thasian origin.<sup>136</sup> The patronymic could be Ἀδε[ίμαντος] or Ἀδε[ιστος]. It is less likely, I believe, that the renter's name was Ἀπημωνάδη[s].

*Line 4:* Φίλαγρος Λέ[οντος? Ἀλαι<εύς>?]. The guarantor of a lease. He is probably the son of *PA* 9110, Λέων Φιλά[γρου] (Ἀλαιεύς), and nephew of *PA* 2664, Ἀστυφίλος Φιλάγρου (Ἀλαιεύς), both of whom were councillors of Kekropis ca. 390–360 B.C.<sup>137</sup> Another son of Leon of Halai was Κλεομέδων.<sup>138</sup> The family was an extensive one: the Philagros cited here may be the treasurer of Aigeis who was honored along with his colleagues in 340/39 B.C.<sup>139</sup>

*Line 6:* Καλλικράτης, who dedicated a property on Salamis. Without any further information, it would be futile to attempt to identify this man, even if it is assumed that this is a recent dedication.

*Line 7:* Φόρυσκος [. . .<sup>8</sup>. . . Ἀ]λω<πεκῆσι>: οἰ<κῶν>. A metic who lived in Alopeke and rented a chorion in Salamis. D. M. Lewis<sup>140</sup> suggests that he may be an ancestor of Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἀ[λωπεκῆθεν], who was secretary to the Boule in the mid-3rd

<sup>133</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1524, line 47.

<sup>134</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1609, line 109; see *APF*, p. 318.

<sup>135</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4921.

<sup>136</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 6, line 10 and 33, line 26 (early 4th century B.C.): Ἀπήμαντος Θάσιος.

<sup>137</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 7, lines 6–7.

<sup>138</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1594 A, line 15: see also W. Peek, "Attische Inschriften," *AthMitt* 67, 1942, p. 18, and A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* 5, Vienna 1942, pp. 140–141 and 145–147.

<sup>139</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2824, lines 4–5, where his name is restored, from *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2820, line 24, as Φίλαγρο[s] Διοκλέους Ἀλαιεύς].

<sup>140</sup> *Per ep.*

century B.C. and who also served as a member of the cavalry.<sup>141</sup> The names are sufficiently rare to justify the assumption that this family was granted Athenian citizenship. The name may originate in Orchomenos.<sup>142</sup>

*Line 8:* Στέφαν[ος . . . ? . . .]δου Παια<νιεύς> (or Παιο<νίδης>?). The guarantor of a lease in Salamis. If the demotic is Παια<νιεύς>, this man is not otherwise known; if it is Παιο<νίδης>, he may be a relative of Στέφανος Πολυκράτου Παιονίδης, who appears ca. 350 B.C. on two curse tablets.<sup>143</sup>

*Line 12:* Τιμοκλῆς Τιμοκράτο[υς . . . ? . . .]. The renter of a telma near the Heröon of Neanias, and brother? to PA 13757a, Τιμοκράτης Τιμοκράτους, whose death is commemorated on a 4th-century grave stele.<sup>144</sup> Other candidates are the Timokles who leased a mine ca. 340–330 B.C.,<sup>145</sup> and the Timokles whose wife dedicated a chitoniskos at Brauron in 343/2 B.C.<sup>146</sup> He may be an ancestor of Τιμοκ[ρ]άτης Τιμοκρά[τους], an ephebe in 246/5 B.C. in the phyle Antigonis (PA 13758).<sup>147</sup> See also Column I e, line 18 for another possible identification of the father of this renter.

*Line 13:* Ἰππένς Κηφισοδ[ώρου (or ότου?) Κυδαθηνα<ιεύς>?]. The guarantor of a lease near the Heröon of Neanias. Perhaps, councillor of Pandionis in 336/5 B.C.<sup>148</sup> His father may be a member of the family of Κηφισόδωρος Κυδαθηναίεύς, whose son [Σώ]πολις was a councillor of Pandionis ca. 360 B.C.<sup>149</sup> He may also be the renter of Column I a, line 14 or the guarantor of Column III e, line 21 or both.

*Line 15:* Εὐβουλο[s], who was concerned with the skene of a theater that provided the topographical reference for a lease. He may be the financial administrator Εὐβουλος Σπινθάρου Προβαλίσιος (PA 5369), whose public career lasted from ca. 354 to 330 B.C. In the absence of any other information about him or his skene, however, it is probably futile to attempt to identify this man: there are several other 4th-century Εὐβουλοι.

*Line 17:* Ἀλεξίας ἐξ Οἰ[<ου>], father of [. . . ? . . .]s, who rented a temenos that belonged to Zeus Olympios. He is probably PA 531, the husband of Νακὼ Φανίον ἐξ Οἴου,<sup>150</sup> and the father of [—], who was a syntrierarch by ca. 330 B.C. (PA 529).<sup>151</sup>

*Line 18:* Χάρισος Σφήττιος?, father of [Θεόδο?]τος, who guaranteed a lease. His grandson may be Χάρισος Θεοδότου Σφήττιος, councillor of Akamantis in 303/2 B.C. (PA 15491).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>141</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 791, line 4; for the demotic and cavalry service, see J. H. Kroll, "An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 121–122, no. 54; for the date, see B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.* (footnote 79 above), p. 95. Cf. footnote 154 below.

<sup>142</sup> See Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 483: Φόρυς (Eretria, IG XII 9, 240, line 9); Φόρυλλος (Thasos, IG XII 8, 273, line 8); Φόρυσκος (Orchomenos, IG VII, 2724, line 6). All these examples are of 4th-century B.C. date.

<sup>143</sup> *Kerameikos* III, p. 91, no. 3, lines 3–5, and p. 95, no. 6, line 4.

<sup>144</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 12797; see also *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 54, no. 41, line 17.

<sup>145</sup> Crosby, *op. cit.* (footnote 90 above), p. 270, no. 23, line 1.

<sup>146</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1525, lines 10–11.

<sup>147</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 766, line 22 = *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 5–7, line 33. The demotic is probably [Ἰκαριεύς].

<sup>148</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 42, line 155: PA 7603?

<sup>149</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 15, line 6.

<sup>150</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 7000, dated to the mid-4th century B.C.

<sup>151</sup> See *APF*, p. 8.

<sup>152</sup> See *Agora* XV, no. 62, line 79.

*Line 19:* Πεδιε[----]. If this is a personal name, rather than a topographical reference, it might be Πεδιε[ύς]. A possibility is *PA* 11749, who was the subject of a speech by Deinarchos in 352/1 B.C.<sup>153</sup>

*Fragment e, line 17:* [Ἀντισθένης]s? Ξενοκρίτο[υ] Ἀφιδ<ναῖος>]. The guarantor of a lease in Phaleron. A descendant is Ξενόκριτος [Ἀ]φιδ<ναῖος> (*PA* 11255: 245/4 B.C.).<sup>154</sup> A still later descendant may be Ἀντισθένης Ξενοκρίτου Ἀφιδναῖος.<sup>155</sup>

*Line 20:* Ἀντίμ[α]χο[s ---]. The renter of a property in Philaidai. He may be the Ἀντίμ[αχος?] who leased a mine in Sounion during the 360's B.C.<sup>156</sup> He may also be Ἀντίμαχος Ἀντιμαχίδου Κυδαθηναίεύς, whose death is commemorated on a grave stele of the mid-4th century B.C.<sup>157</sup>

*Line 21:* Κηφ[-----<sup>17-18</sup>-----]. The guarantor of a lease in Philaidai. He may be Κηφ[ισόδωρος Κυδαθη<ναίεύς>], the father of Ἰππεύς (Column III *c*, line 13), or the renter of Column I *a*, line 14. In light of the limited space available here for his patronymic and demotic, however, it is more likely that his name is a shorter one, such as Κηφ[ισοφῶν].

*Line 22:* Φιλιά[δης? . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . .]. The guarantor of a lease in Philaidai. He might be the father of [---<sup>ca. 11</sup>---] Φιλιάδου Π[όριος], who served as a gymnasiarch during the 4th century,<sup>158</sup> or the gymnasiarch himself. Another possibility is the man who was *συμπρόεδρος* for a decree of Athenian cleruchs on Imbros, during the 4th century, Φιλιάδης Πρ[ασιεύς] (*PA* 14298). Another restoration of the guarantor's name might be Φιλιά[s], but this name is not, so far, attested at Athens.

*Fragmentary names:* I have not attempted to identify or complete the following names of renters: Column I *b*, line 1; I *f*, line 16; II *b*, lines 1 and 4; II *d*, line 11; III *e*, lines 6, 10, 17 and 25; guarantors: Column I *b*, lines 2 and 5; I *f*, lines 6, 9, 12 and 17; II *b*, line 11; II *e*, line 5; III *c*, line 20; or neighbors: Column I *e*, line 10.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEASES

The leases were recorded, on the whole, by owner rather than by region: as, for instance, in Column II *e*, where three or four properties owned by the goddess Artemis Agrotera are listed in as many different locations. A regional sub-category sometimes appears when a single deity owns several properties in the same place, as, for instance, in Column I *a*, where six houses along a street in Kydathenaion have the same owner(s) and are listed in sequence. Such a sub-category may be further broken down by listing the type of property:

<sup>153</sup> Dionysios Halikarnassios, *Dinarchus*, 12 and 13.

<sup>154</sup> For the date of *PA* 11255, see B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.* (footnote 79 above), p. 95.

<sup>155</sup> Second century after Christ: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5721. The case for linking these three men is, admittedly, very weak, as D. M. Lewis has pointed out to me (*per ep.*).

<sup>156</sup> Crosby, *op. cit.* (footnote 90 above), p. 209, no. 4A, line 8.

<sup>157</sup> *PAN*, p. 16; see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 6560.

<sup>158</sup> *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 217, no. 70; see *APF*, p. 535. See also Charitonides, *op. cit.* (footnote 73 above), p. 50, note 29, who restores [Φιλοκράτης].

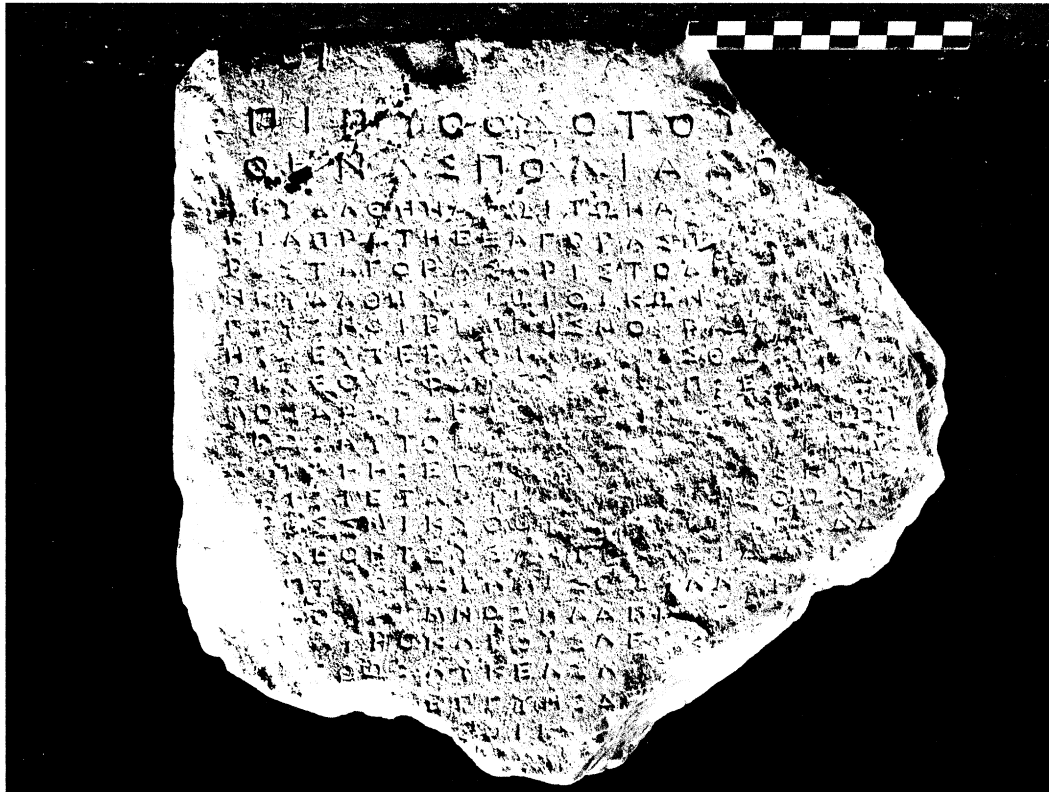
as, for instance, in Column II *e*, where Herakles is shown as the owner of several temene in Kynosarges, which are listed in order under the sub-heading “temene”. The standard rubric lists first the owner of the property, in the genitive: “property of so-and-so”. Then the property is described in greater or less detail: type of property; location; special or identifying features. The description always ends with the word *μισθω* (occasionally *μισθωτ*), standing for *μισθωτής*, “lessee”, followed by a colon and the full name of the lessee: name, patronymic, and demotic, if he is an Athenian citizen; name, patronymic, trade(?), special status (such as isoteles), if any, and place of residence, if he is a metic, followed again by a colon. The amount of rent is given, without any indication of the term or date for repayment of the lease, again followed by a colon. Then comes the word *ἐγγυ* (occasionally *ἐγγυη*), probably for *ἐγγυητής*, “guarantor”, followed by a colon and the full name of the guarantor, always an Athenian. If the sum of the rent is more than 600 drachmas, a second guarantor is listed.<sup>159</sup>

Stelai 2 and 3, to be discussed subsequently in Part 2, are similarly organized, except that these stelai are opisthographic and appear to have borne only two columns of leases on each face.

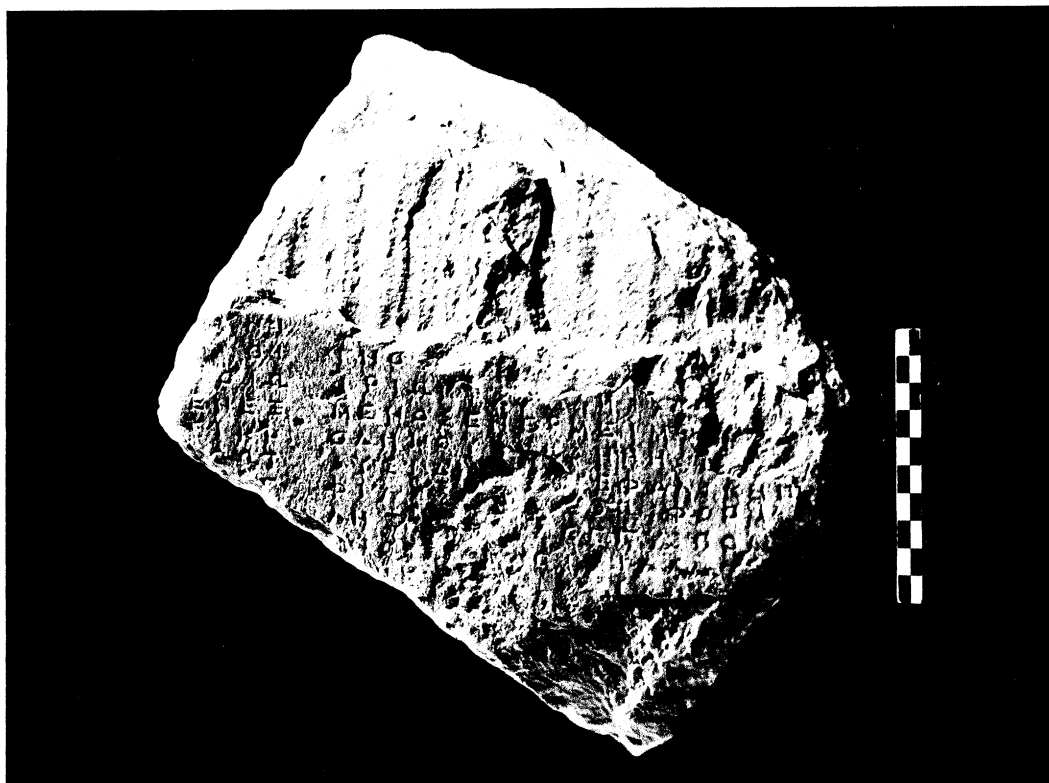
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<sup>159</sup> D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*) has drawn my attention to *Inscriptions de Dèlos*, no. 1416 B, column I, lines 61–63 and 75–79 (157/6–156/5 B.C.). This appears to maintain the distinction between leases that require two or more guarantors and those that require only one guarantor. The point seems to have escaped the notice of commentators.



a. Fragment A: E.M. 280



b. Fragment B: E.M. 8014

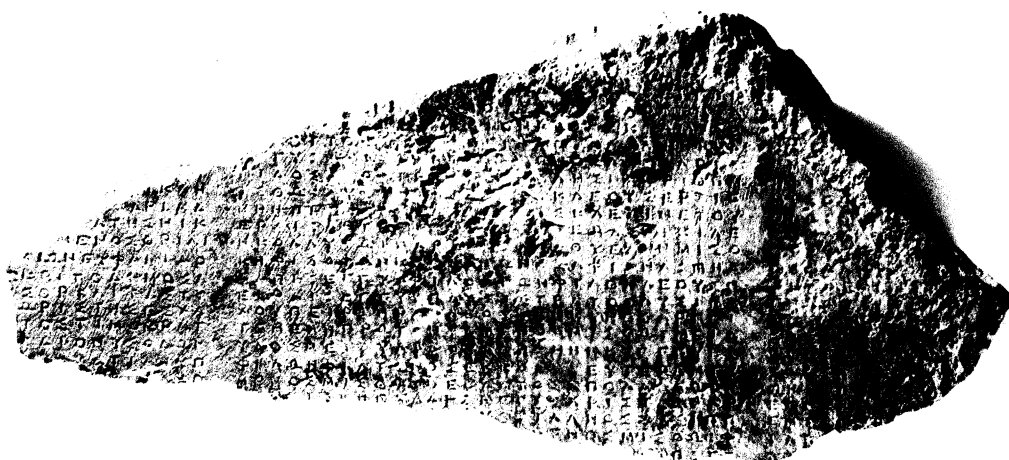


a. Fragment C: I 7062



b. Fragment D: I 7123





a. Fragment E: I 7117



b. Fragment F: I 4133