

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 59, 60)

1 (Pl. 59). Upper part of a pedimental stele of white marble found face up over a Hellenistic channel (section BG) on August 9, 1974.¹ Mended from two pieces, the left part of the inscribed surface has been worn smooth by foot traffic. The original sides, top, and back are all preserved.

The pediment of the stele is unusually elaborate. Underneath the tympanum there are a *cyma recta* decorated with alternating acanthus and lotus leaves and, below that, dentils. In the pediment are carved three acanthus leaves flanked by flowers; the acroteria consist of palmettes with tendrils. The whole is remarkably ornate and does not find a close parallel in contemporary inscriptions. In fact, a perusal of the plates published in Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*; Dow, *Prytaneis, Hesperia*, Suppl. I; and *Hesperia*, volumes 1-46 reveals no near parallel.

Height, 0.77 m.; width, 0.55 m.

Thickness of inscribed surface, 0.145 m.; of pediment, 0.194 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.006 m.

Inv. no. I 7484

a. 214/3 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 45

- 1 ἐπὶ Εὐφιλήτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος τετάρτης ὡ
[πρ]υτανείας ἥι Ἀρίστων Θεοδώρου Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγραμμά-
[τευεν· Βοηδρομι]ῶνος ἔνει καὶ νέαι, τρίτει καὶ δεκάτε[ι τ]ῆς
4 [πρυτανείας· ἐ]κκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷι θεάτρῳι· τῶμ προέ-^{vv}
[δρων ἐπεψήφισεν] Χαριτέλης Παμφίλου Ἀφιδναῖος καὶ ὡ
[συμπρόεδροι]· ἔδοξεν τῷι βουλῇ καὶ τῷι δήμῳι· Φανόμ-
7 [αχος -^{ea}·⁴ Φυλά]σιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διοκλέ-
[ους ἄρχοντος] διετέλεσαν εὐτακτοῦντες εἰς τ<ᾷ> γ[υμνά]-
[σια· κατεσκευάσα]ν δ' ἑαυτοὺς εὐπειθεῖς τῷι τε κοσμ[ῳ] [ἡτεί καὶ]
10 [τοῖς καθεστῶσ]ιν αὐτοῖς διδασκάλοις· ἐν τε τῷι τ[ελετῇ?]

¹ I am indebted to Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Director of the Athenian Agora Excavations, for the opportunity to study and publish these fragments and to Professors S. Dow and A. G. Woodhead for helpful comments on an early draft of this study. A grant-in-aid from the College of Humanities at The Ohio State University has supported this work in part. I also wish to record my thanks to J. McK. Camp II and D. Romano for supplying some much needed squeezes from Athens.

This new ephebic text and Agora I 7181, now dated to 204/3,² provide the only significant evidence for the activities of the ephebes, and for the honorific language employed to describe these activities, in the crucial years 229 to 200 B.C. The other known texts which certainly fall within these *termini* are three in number. Two of the three, *viz.* *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 190-193 and *Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 90-92, preserve only parts of the register of names. The third, *IG* II², 794, preserves only the preamble and the first line of the decree proper.³

The present text appears to conform to Reinmuth's type II: "one general honorary decree followed by the names of the ephebes of all tribes."⁴ The restorations in lines 1-9 and 24-35 follow well-known formulae and appear to be reasonably certain. The restorations in lines 10-23 are intended as *exempli gratia*, although some seem more probable than others. For example, A. G. Woodhead points out that lines 12-14 of the present text make it possible to restore *IG* II², 700, lines 13-14 = *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 110.

[----- ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶμ Μυστηρί]ων ἐπιμεληταί· ἔδ-
[ραμον δὲ καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο]υς δρόμους τοὺς γιγνο-

Other possible restorations which I think worth mentioning are as follows:

Lines 11-12. . . . εὐσεβῶ[ς ἐφ' οἷς καὶ | ἐπήνεσαν α]ὐτοῖς κτλ. I owe this suggestion to Professor Woodhead who cites *IG* I², 101 as a parallel for ἐπαινεῖν with the dative.

Lines 16-17 may provisionally be filled out: [ἔθυσαν δὲ τῶι Αἰ|αντι ἐπὶ τῆς κ]αθηκούσης ἐν Σαλαμ[ῖνι θυσίας· -^{ca. 8}-].

Lines 20-21. [ἵνα | πᾶσιν ἐπαγ]γελθεῖη· κτλ.

In the present text the ephebes are praised for their general deportment in the gymnasia and obedience to their instructors (lines 7-10); for their participation in the Mysteries and in other games and sacrifices (lines 10-16); for their activities on Salamis presumably in the Aianteia (lines 17-20); for acting as an honor guard at meetings of the Ekklesia (lines 21-22); and for dress parades which they presented before the Boule, probably at the close of their year of service (lines 22-23). Apart from the general references to their good behavior, the specific praise which they are accorded suggests that the corps of ephebes acted in the main during 215/4 as

² First published by O. W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 246-259, and re-edited by J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 296-303.

³ For a re-edition, see S. Dow in *HSCP* 48, 1937, pp. 108-109. Another fragment which preserves part of the opening lines, Agora I 5722 (W. K. Pritchett, B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, pp. 110-111), may well date to 213/2 rather than 195/4 as Pritchett-Meritt.

⁴ Cf. *Hesperia* 24, 1955, p. 226.

a small, select honor guard at the most important religious festivals and public meetings.

The activities mentioned in this inscription can all be paralleled in the more expansively phrased decrees of the late 2nd century B.C.; see, for example, *IG II²*, 1006, 1008, 1011, 1028. At the same time, the specific phraseology of this decree, of Agora I 7181 (*Hesperia* 45, 1976, p. 297), and of *IG II²*, 794 differ, thus suggesting that there was not as yet an established pattern for the language of decrees honoring ephebes. To what extent this unsettled state of the language reflects flux in the institution itself is unclear. Necessarily, the deeds praised were a selection, for not all of the activities of the ephebes could be, or deserved to be, mentioned. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the specific events mentioned reflect in this period (229-200 B.C.) the choice of the proposer of the decree as well as the particular activities of the year.

As an example, the text of the present inscription refers to activities on Salamis in language which is not paralleled in other inscriptions. The reference in line 18 in particular seems to be to a well-known statue of Democracy on the island (cf. *IG II²*, 1011, lines 62-63). The participation of the ephebes in the Aianteia and in the ceremonies commemorating the battle of Salamis was an annual event and it is well attested in our records. Thus it is surprising that it receives no mention in the text of 204/3 (*Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 297-299), the more so when one notes that the language of that decree is more detailed and mentions a greater number of gods and specific festivals than the present text. It seems more likely, therefore, that this omission reflects the proposer's choice rather than that the ephebes did not participate in the Aianteia in the year of Diodotos.

Reinmuth suggests in his commentary on Agora I 7181 (*Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 258-259) that the ephebes had more real military activities in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. than they did in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. This may well be so. The difference in emphasis, however, between the present text and Agora I 7181, if there is in fact a real one, would appear to be traceable to the growing elaboration of the language used in decrees praising ephebes and to the particular choices of the speakers rather than to any appreciable differences in the ceremonies in which the ephebes of 215/14 and 205/4 participated.

The width of the present text, 0.55 m., is comparable to that of Agora I 7181, the original width of which was ca. 0.51 m. This width suggests a roster of ephebes in two columns and a relatively small number enrolled. The roster of 220/19 (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 190-193) has parts of 8 names preserved in the second column and seems to have contained about 20 names in all; the roster of 210/09 (*Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 90-92) contains parts of 21 names from four tribes and the original enrollment may be estimated as a little over 50; the roster of 205/4 (*Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 297-299) contains parts of 19 names and the total enrollment may be estimated as about 30. The stelai from earlier in the century (*IG II²*, 665, 681, 766, 787) have

approximately the same width; the usual enrollment was about 30.⁵ The enrollment seems to have fluctuated in the years 229-200 from 20-50 students. In any case, the institution during this period was relatively small, reflecting the impoverished state of the city in the first years of freedom.

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

Line 2. This secretary is also attested in Meritt and Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions: The Councillors*, Princeton 1974, no. 135, line 2.

Line 5. The nomen Χαριτέλης is new to Attic prosopography. A Πάμφιλος Ἀφ. is attested as an ephebe in 107/6 (*IG* II², 1011, line 111).

Lines 6-7. This man is attested as a councillor sometime after 225 B.C.; see *Agora* XV, no. 125, line 19.

Line 32. The personal name, Πίναξ, is new to Attic prosopography.

Line 34. The length of the name required suggests the restoration; cf. *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 301-302.

2 (Pl. 60). Fragment of white marble with the back preserved (rough picked) found in a marble pile (section BΓ) in June of 1972.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. no. I 7421

ca. a. 140 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 40

- 1 [-----] Σ [-----]
[καὶ διατετέλεκεν ἀγαθὸν] λέγων [καὶ πράττων ὑπὲρ]
[τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὴν εἰς] τοῦ δύν[αμιν ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀπο]-
4 [μεμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς ὑ]πὸ πλειόν[ων ὅπως ἂν οὖν]
[ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται χάριτας] καταξί[α]ς [διαφυλάττων]
[τοῖς εἰς εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοτιμο]υμένοις ἀγ[αθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχ]-
7 [θαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λα]χόντας προ[έδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπ]-
[ιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρη]ματίσαι περ[ὶ τούτων γνώμην]
[δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς β]ουλῆς εἰς τὸ [ν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
10 [τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι⁻²⁻³] να Πειθαγόρ[ον -^{ca. 5} καὶ στε]-
[φανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνω]ι εὐνοίας [ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμί]-
[ας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸ]ν Ἀθηναίω[ν δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ]
13 [καὶ πολιτείαν δοκιμασθ]έντι ἐν τῷ [βουλευτηρίῳ τοὺς]
[δὲ θεσμοθέτας ὅταν π]ρώτον πλη[ρῶσιν δικαστήριον]
[εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακοσίω]υς δικασ[τὰς εἰσαγαγεῖν]
16 [αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῇ]ς πολιτογ[ραφίας καὶ μὴ παρ]-
[όντι καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ δο]κιμασθ[έντι γράψασθαι φυλῆς]
[καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρατρίας] ἥς [ἂν βούληται. ἀναγράψαι κτλ.]

⁵ Cf. S. Dow, *HSCP* 48, 1937, p. 109.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

Line 1. The stone is very worn and abraded in this area, which leaves some doubt as to whether the inscribed surface is preserved at all. There do appear, however, to be traces of letter strokes and the sigma seems to be certain. It is located directly above the lambda in line 2.

Line 2. Dotted lambda could also be alpha. Only the initial vertical of dotted nu is preserved.

Line 4. Only the right side of dotted pi is visible.

Line 6. The right part of the last preserved letter space is very worn. Epsilon and pi are also possible.

Line 10. For dotted rho, beta is also possible.

Line 12. A small part from the bottom left side of dotted omega is preserved.

Line 14. The initial vertical of dotted eta appears along the line of the break.

Line 17. In isolation, the strokes read as dotted kappa could also be part of a chi or, perhaps, even a sigma.

The margins as here restored are purely hypothetical.

The date of this citizenship decree has been determined both by the hand and by the formulae employed in the grant. The language conforms to type III in the system developed by M. J. Osborne and suggests a date in the 2nd century B.C., probably after 174/3.⁶ The hand is that of a cutter whose dated work spans the years 152/1-135/4.⁷

For the restorations in lines 2 and 3 see, for example, *IG II²*, 655, lines 8-9; for those in lines 3-4 compare *IG II²*, 979, lines 15-16; and for those in lines 4-6 see *IG II²*, 677, lines 7-8. The restorations of lines 6-18 follow the well-known pattern of citizenship decrees of the period. See, for example, *IG II²*, 980 and 981. For the wording of line 14 compare also *IG II²*, 922, line 10.

Line 10. The spacing suggests that about 2-3 letters are lost from the *nomen*. The restoration [Δίω]να seems probable. Unless the line was unusually crowded, the ethnic can have been no more than 6 letters in length at most.⁸ This man is not attested elsewhere.

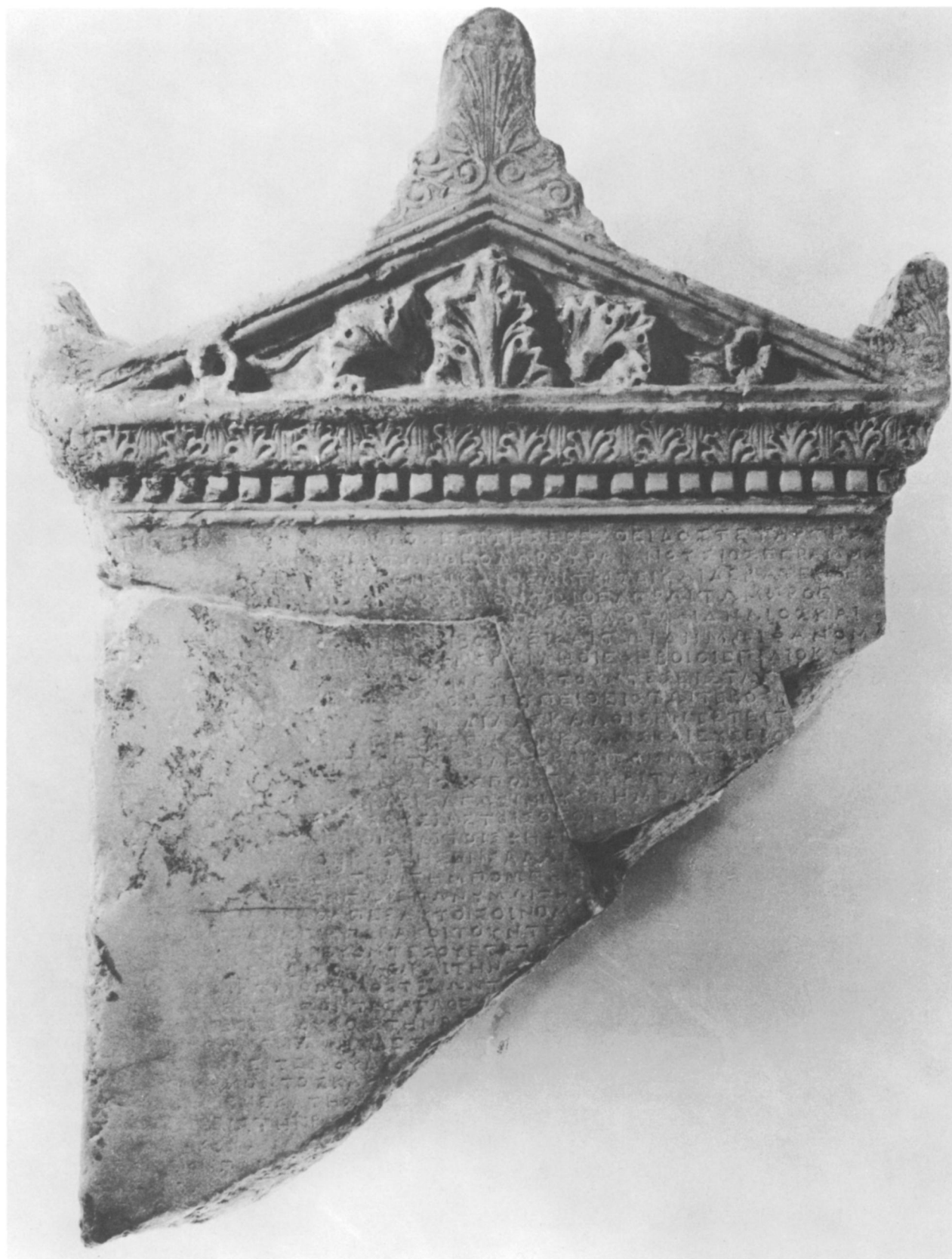
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⁶ Cf. M. J. Osborne, "Athenian Grants of Citizenship after 229 B.C.," *Ancient Society* 7, 1976, pp. 113-118.

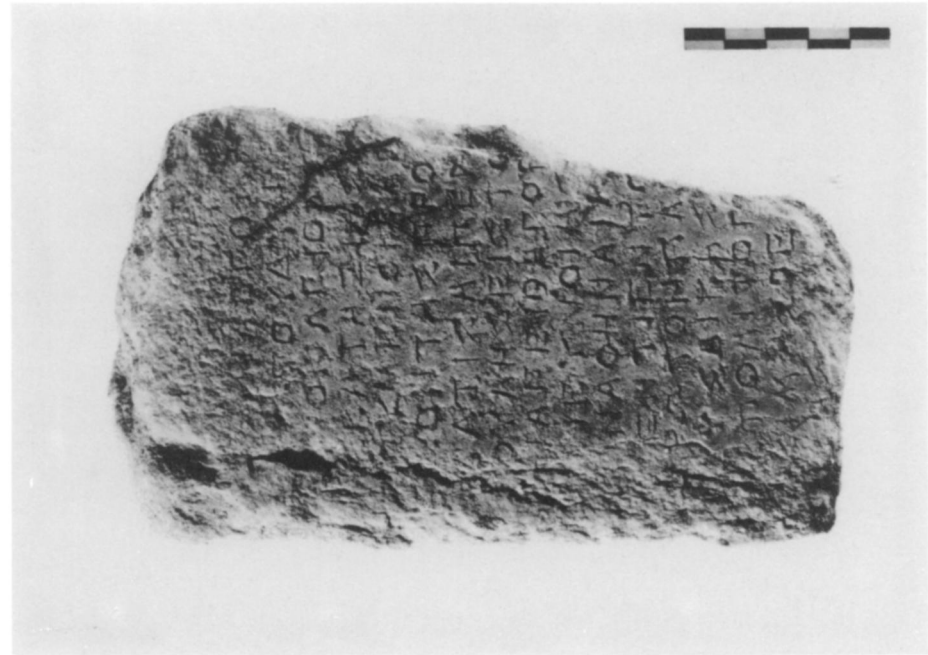
⁷ The I 6006 Cutter in S. V. Tracy, "Five Letter-cutters of Hellenistic Athens (230-130 B.C.)," *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 261-266.

⁸ For a convenient list of ethnics attested in Attica, see H. Pope, *Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions*, Philadelphia 1947, pp. 1-8, and for a list of naturalized Athenians, A. Billheimer, *Naturalization in Athenian Law and Practice*, Gettysburg 1922, pp. 110-128.



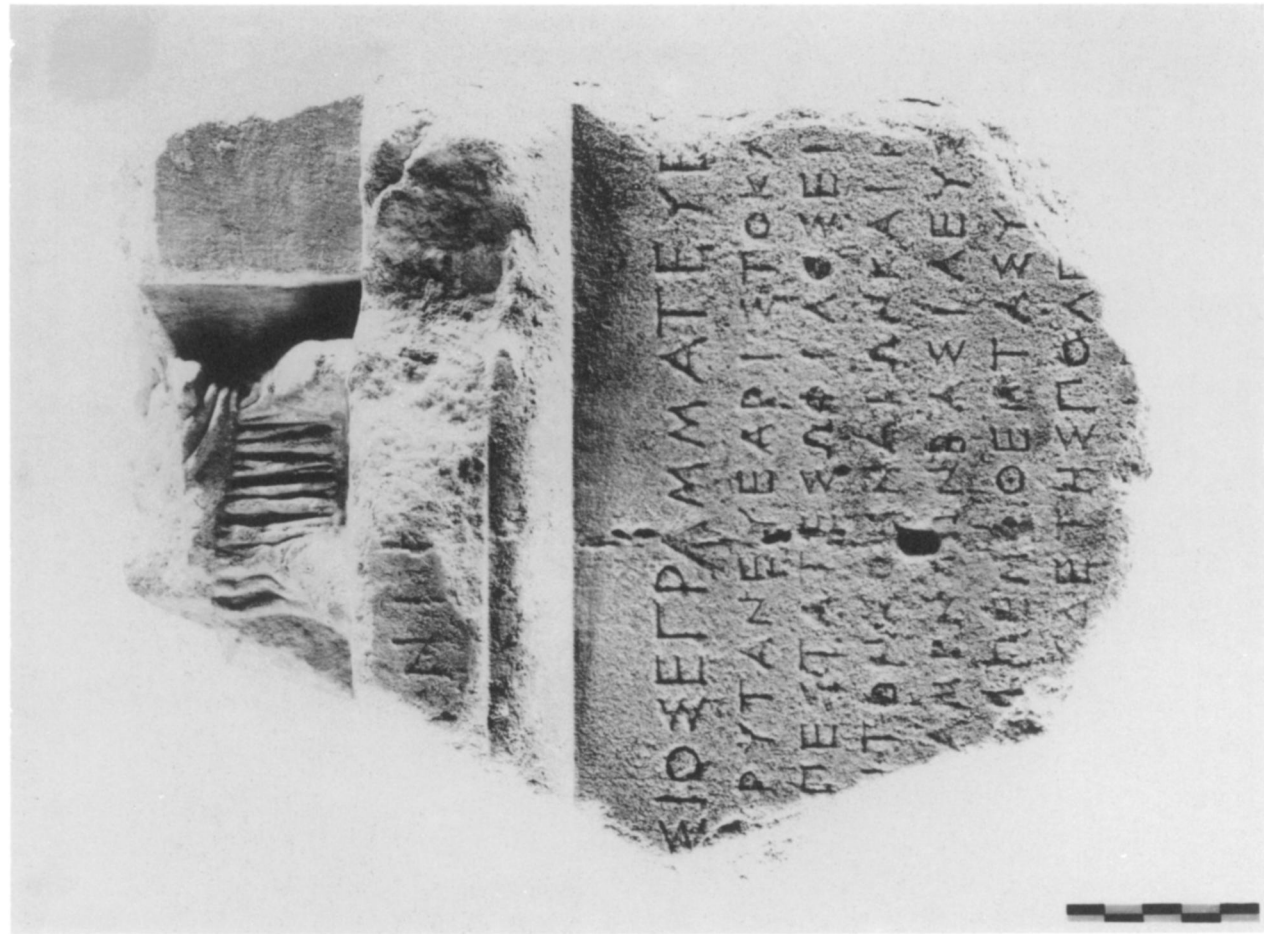
1

STEPHEN V. TRACY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



2

STEPHEN V. TRACY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS
FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



IG II², 20: Fragment 4

DAVID M. LEWIS AND RONALD S. STROUD: ATHENS HONORS
KING EUAGORAS OF SALAMIS