

LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART II

(PLATES 45–47)

IN THIS ARTICLE two stelai of approximately the same date are discussed.¹ They probably form parts of the same sequence, but, since one is Pentelic and the other Hyettian marble, I treat them as separate documents. Each is opisthographic, containing at least two columns of leases, the line width of each column being 24 letters, with the initial letter of each lease set out in the left margin. They appear to be dated perhaps a decade later than Stele 1 but to belong to the same series as that stele: thus, I have numbered them Stelai 2 and 3.²

STELE 2: PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF UNKNOWN DEITIES

(Pl. 45)

THE TEXTS

Two fragments of an opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, bearing the same inventory number and found together on April 23, 1970 in a modern context at Agora Grid Location O 6. Fragment *a* joins the top of *b*. The flat, stipple-dressed top, right lateral, and reverse face are preserved on fragment *a*; only the obverse face survives on fragment *b*.³

¹ I am grateful to Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., the Director of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to study and to publish the fragments of Stele 2, and to Mrs. D. Peppas-Delmousou, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for permission to study Stele 3, to publish for the first time the obverse face of this stele and to republish its reverse. I am deeply obligated to Dr. David M. Lewis for his advice and comments. Mr. A. N. Sherwood and Professor Merle Langdon have both examined the fragments of Stele 2 in my behalf: I am most grateful for their comments and readings. I am also beholden to Professor Homer A. Thompson for advice on the topographical problems that arise from these stelai.

For Part I of this series, see *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 100–135. The reader's attention is called to the following *errata* and *corrigenda* for Part I:

p. 105, lines 17–18: for ἐσχα[τίας] read ἐσχα[τίας]; line 20: for [ἐ]σχατία<ν> read [ἐ]σχατία<ν>.

p. 112, line 20 *e*: for [ἐ]σχατία<ν> read [ἐ]σχατία<ν>.

p. 117, note 27: M. H. Jameson cautions that although *IG* II², 2493 and 2494 are almost certainly from the same stele they have not yet been joined physically. The presence of a Hermos in Rhamnous derives entirely from *IG* II² 2493.

Abbreviations listed in note 1 of Part I are those employed also here in Part II. To these now add the following:

Chantraine, *DE* = P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*, Paris 1968–1974

² Stele 1 is dated by the archon formula in its heading to 343/2. An approximate date for Stelai 2 and 3 is provided by their letter forms, which are very close to those of *IG* II², 1496 (inscribed after 331/0): for this reason, I would be inclined to doubt whether the apparently erased line of inscription at the bottom of Face B of Stele 3 contained an archon formula dating this stele to 342/1 (see my epigraphic commentary below).

³ The dimensions of the stele cannot be established with certainty: if we apply “Dow's formula” (S. Dow, review of B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, *CP* 37, 1942, p. 324) for the ratios of thickness to width to height of stelai (1:4½:9), Stele 2's thickness of *ca.* 0.100 m. would require a width of *ca.* 0.450 m. and a height of *ca.*

Fragment *a*: P.H. 0.290 m.; p.W. 0.180 m.; Th. 0.100 m. (bottom right), 0.102 m. (top right).

Fragment *b*: P.H. 0.195 m.; p.W. 0.275 m.; Th. 0.065 m.

Combined dimensions: P.H. 0.420 m.; p.W. 0.292 m.; Th. 0.100–0.102 m.

H. of letters, Face A, line 1, 0.011 m.; lines 2ff. and Face B, 0.005 m.; stoichedon (both faces, but with some irregularities), with a horizontal checker of 0.0088–0.0090 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0088 m.

Agora Museum Inv. No. I 7116

ca. a. 338–326 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

FACE A

<i>a</i>	[-----]ιαίου
	COLUMN I (or II?) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25) COLUMN II (or III?) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)
	[-----] [... ¹¹] τούτου γύης ΓΗΠΞ-
	[-----] [... ⁹, μ]ισθω: Εὐθίας Φαι-
	[-----] [... ¹⁰]ο: ΗΗΔΗΗ: ἐγγυη:
5	[-----] [Ἄριστοκλῆς?] Ἄριστοκλέους Ἄμα[:]
	[-----] [... ¹⁰ τ]ούτω ὡ γὰ πρὸς [.]
	[-----] [... ⁹] παραδρομῖς, μισθω<:>
	[-----] [... ⁹ Χ]αρίον ὡ Παια: ΗΗ<:>
	[-----] [ἐγγυη: . ³ .]ἔξανδρος Χαριδῆμο-
10	[-----] [ὡ Προ... ⁷ ...]ος <i>vacat</i>
	[-----] [ἐφεξῆς τούτο]ὡ ἴοντι τὴν ὁδὸν [τ]-
	[-----] [ἦν ... ⁸ ...] τετμημένην δεξι-
	[-----] [ὡς χειρός ὡ π]ρῶτος γύης, μισθ[ω<:>]
	[-----] [... ¹⁰]ο<ς> Χαριδῆμον Πρ[ο]-
15	[-----] [... ¹⁰]ΔΔ: ἐγγυη: Χαίρ[.]-
	[-----] [. ⁴ .. Χαρίου?] Παιανιε <i>vacat</i>
	[-----] [καὶ ἐχόμενος] τούτου τὴν αὐτ[ῆν]
	[-----] [ὁδὸν? ... ⁶ ...]ΓΑ ἔντος τῶν ὄρω[ν],
	[-----] [μισθωτ: Ἄρι]στόδημος Ἄριστ[ο]-
20	[-----] [κλέους Οἶν]αἰ: ΗΗΔΗΗ: ἐγγυη[:]
	[-----] [... ¹⁰]της Πολυκλέους [.]-
	[-----] [... ¹⁰] <i>vacat</i>
<i>b</i>	[..... ²²]λι[.]
	[..... ²¹]ηγ[.]
	[..... ¹⁵, μισθω]τ: Ο[.]-
25	[..... ¹⁸:] ἐγγυη[:]
	[..... ²⁰]η[. ³ .]
	[..... ¹⁹]εφιδι[.]-
	[..... ¹⁹]ν[. ⁴ .]
	[..... ¹⁵]ΠΗΗ: ἐγγυη<:>
30	[..... ¹⁶]ο]ὡ Ἀζῆνι[:]
	[..... ¹⁰] <i>vacat</i>
	[καὶ ἐχομένω το]ύτου τὴν αὐτὴν [<ὁδὸν> δύ]-
	ο γ[ύα?, μισθω:] Ἄριστόδημος <i>vacat</i>
	Ἄριστοκλέους Οἶ[ν]αἰ: ΗΗΔΔΔΔ[:]
	ἐγγυη: Ξενοκράτης <i>vacat</i>
	Γνιφωνίδου Μαραθῶνιο[ς] <i>vacat</i>]
	Π<α>ρὰ <δ>ὲ τούτω τῶ γὰ τούτο[. ⁴ .]
	καὶ τὸν ἐχόμενον μεταξ[ὺ τού]ν-
	των τοῖν χωρίων καὶ τ[οῖν] ὡ]

0.900 m. This would be space just about sufficient for two columns of leases. Stele 3 would have been of approximately the same dimensions.

	[. ¹⁵], μ[ισ]θ[ω]: Λο[² .]	γύαιν, μισθω: Ἄριστοκλ[είδης]
	[. ¹⁵: ἐγγ]υ: Μαη-	Λυσανίου Προβαλί: ΗΨΔ[. ⁴ . .:]
	[. ²¹] Μαραθ<:>	ἐγγυ: Λυσιθείδης Λυσιμ[. ⁴ . .]
	[. ²²] ασο	Οἰναῖος <i>vacat</i>
35	[. ¹⁶ο]υ ῥαμν[ο:]	Ἄπὸ τοῦ βώμου βαδίσουντι τ[ὴν υυ]
	[. ¹⁸]ολοι[.λ-	δδὸν τὴν πομπικὴν, δευτέ[ρος υ]
	[. ¹⁷]ικ[. ⁵ . .]	γύης, μισθω: Σωνδρίδης Σ[ωστρ?]-
	[. ²²]ιηρ	άτου Ἐροιά: ΗΨΔΔΔΔΠ: [ἐγγυη:]
	[. ²¹]δου	Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκράτ[ους Ἄχα?<:>]
40	[. ²²]α[.]	Τρίτος γύης ὦι νοτόθειν . . . ⁶ . .]-
	[. ¹⁸]γα[. ⁴ . .]	γωνιος, μ[ισθω: ¹²]-
	[. ²³]υλ-	κλε[ίδου ¹⁷]

FACE B

COLUMN II (or III?) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

a	Πέ[μ]πτον κηπέιον κα[ι ⁸]
	δεξιᾶς χειρός, μισθ[ωτ: . . . ⁵ . . .]-
	βουλος Πεισικλέου[s . . . ⁷ . . .]
	ΔΔΔΔ: ἐγγυ: Νικόδη[μος . . . ⁵ . . .]-
5	κράτους Μυρρινούσι[ος <i>vacat</i>]
	Ἐκτον κηπέιον ἴοντι δεξιᾶς υυ]
	χειρὸς Μουμι<χι>άζε, μισ[θωτ: υυυ]
	Τιμόθεος Τιμοκράτου[s . . . ⁵ . . .]
	ἐ<γγ>υ: Σωσίδημος Γλαύκω[νος . ³ . .]
10	<Ἐβδομον> κηπέιον οὔ ἢ συ[κάμι υυ]-
	νος ἐνεστ[ί]ν, μισθωτ: Λ[. . . ⁶ . . .]-
	στρατος Κελεύοντος [Πειραιε]
	:ΨΔ: ἐγγυ: Κελεύων [<i>vacat</i>]
	Ναυσιστράτου Πειρα[ιεύς <i>vacat</i>]
15	Ἐγδοον κηπέιον δεξιᾶς χειρ υυ]-
	ός, μισθωτ: Αἰσχίνη[s . . . ⁷ . . .]-
	νίδου Πειραι: ΔΔΔ[. ² : ἐγγυη:]
	Ἄριστομένης Εὐπό[λιδος? ⁹]
	Τὸ ἔλος: μισθωτ: Ἄρ[ίστιππος?]
20	Ἐγησίππου ἐκ Κερ[ι: ⁹]
	ἐγγυη: Ἐλυμπιό[δωρος? . . . ⁶ . . .]-
	Διογείτονος Ἄχ[αρνεύς? <i>vacat</i>]
	[Ἐνατον κηπέιον [δεξιᾶς χειρ υυ]-
	ός ἴοντι Μουμιχ[ιάζε, μισθωτ:]
	Νικόφημος Φορ[. ¹²]-
	[. ³ . .]υ[.:]ΨΔ[.]: ἐ[γγυη: ⁸]

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

FACE A

The surface of Face A is partly obscured by a reddish brown incrustation that fills up many letters and makes reading from a squeeze particularly hazardous: the stone has been carefully cleaned, however, and I comment only where doubt still remains about specific readings. Both the presence here of a heading and the nature of the rubrics of Face B make it clear that Face A is the obverse face of this stele.

Heading

Line 1: The first preserved letter may be either iota or nu; there is no trace of a diagonal stroke to left of it, so that I should prefer to read iota. Even though this letter stroke is set rather further to the left than might be expected, there is no sign of any cutting to right of it at the top, of the loop of a rho, for instance, or the bar of a gamma or tau. The two diagonal marks that show in my photograph are not letter strokes. The final letter of this line looks, at first sight, like a tau, but the right half of the horizontal has been recut, apparently to convert this letter into a very flat upsilon. If this is a genitive ending, it will, presumably, be the end of a cult title of a divinity, the owner of the properties whose leases are here recorded. No suitable restoration comes to mind. The heading is likely to have extended across the whole top of the stele, but, without any indication as to how many columns there were, it is impossible to restore it convincingly.⁴

Column I

Line 22: The right foot of a triangular letter survives, followed by the bottom of a central vertical.

Line 23: Of the supposed eta only the verticals are preserved. The vertical and horizontal of gamma survive, but, since the surface is so badly preserved here, I prefer to read it as a dotted gamma: other letter strokes may have disappeared.

Line 24: The right tip of the horizontal of tau survives.

Line 27: The tips of the horizontals of epsilon are preserved.

Line 32: The letters that I print as a dotted alpha and eta resemble omega and eta or nu, respectively. There is, however, no Attic name that begins Μωη- or Μων-.

Line 33: Alpha and theta are inscribed in the margin.

Line 34: The apex of alpha and the upper curve of omicron survive.

Line 35: The tip of the right arm of upsilon is preserved.

Line 37: The arms of kappa are partly preserved. These letters are probably part of the demotic Ἰκ[αριεύ<ς>].

Line 38: The tops of iota and rho are preserved; the horizontal and parts of both verticals of eta survive. The iota might, however, just possibly be a dotted lambda, since there seems to be a triangular break here that could follow the angles of, for instance, a lambda. Thus, it might be possible to read here [Φα]λ ηρ[---], either a demotic or part of a topographical reference.

Line 41: The legs of a triangular letter are preserved after gamma. I have assumed that a demotic was inscribed here, either Γα[ργ<ήτριος>:], [Περ]γα[σε<ύς>:], or [Φη]γα[ιε<ύς>:]. There does not seem to be any good reason for preferring any one of these over another.

Line 42: The tops of these letters survive.

Column II

Line 2: Of the letters after γύης the first seems to be epsilon, later corrected to gamma: the vertical and top horizontal are cut more deeply than the rest; eta is quite clear; pi also seems to be a correction, over a sigma

⁴ I assume two columns of leases, but it should be noted that Stele 1 definitely contained three columns of leases and perhaps even four.

or kappa. The final, partially preserved letter in this line seems to be an epsilon, corrected over a sigma. A topographical reference is probably involved. The rubrics of this column clearly follow on from those at the bottom of Column I, involving a series of properties that lie alongside a road. What the entry in lines 2–3 is likely to have been is apparent from line 6: two guai.⁵ The gap at the start of line 2, however, is insufficient for the phrase [καὶ ἐχομένω] that one might expect (cf. line 23, where this phrase can be restored with some certainty). An explanation of this anomaly might be that the entry here forms part of a subgroup with those from the bottom of Column I, so that the two guai used as reference points in the entry of line 6 would have been recorded in Column I. Perhaps a more convincing interpretation is to assume that the last entry of Column I was a gues lying alongside the gues of Column II, line 2, so that these two guai would have formed the pair referred to in line 6: one might then restore [καὶ ἐχομένος] τούτου, the demonstrative referring back to the hypothetical gues of Column I and the participle referring forward to the gues of this line.

Line 5: The left foot of alpha is preserved at the right edge.

Line 6: I print a “*vacat*” after the omega of [τ]ούτω, but the mason actually cut a sigma here (clearly visible in the photograph), possibly over an iota. Again, the space available at the start of the line is insufficient for the phrase [καὶ ἐχομένος], which seems to be called for here: the property rented is masculine and singular, to judge from the entry in line 11, so that the paradromis of line 7 (a feminine word: see *LSJ*⁹) must be either a topographical reference or a feature of the property rented. [καὶ ἐχομένη], qualifying παραδρομῖς, would fit the available space, but makes no sense in light of the entry in line 11.

Line 7: Παραδρομῖς is usually translated as “a place for taking the air”, but its basic meaning seems to be “something that runs alongside”, and thus, here, it probably means “passage” or “corridor”; since the context is of fields, or field strips, perhaps the paradromis is the baulk or uncultivated strip between adjacent fields.⁶

Line 9: The left half of omicron survives at the right edge; this letter was inscribed in the right margin. There is no doubt, despite the traces apparently visible in the photograph, that the second preserved letter of the guarantor’s name is xi, not sigma.

Line 13: The right side of the loop of rho survives on the break.

Line 14: The mason inscribed upsilon here, not sigma; an upsilon (of a genitive), however, is out of the question in this context. Of the last preserved letter of the demotic only a left vertical and part of a central horizontal survive.

Line 15: The vertical of rho is preserved.

Line 18: What is on the stone after the break is definitely TA, but the only restoration that comes to mind is of a dual form, such as [δύο χωρ]<ίω>; the singular, masculine or neuter, genitive of line 23, which appears

⁵ This word also occurs on Stele 1 (Column II *f*, line 17; it is also restored in line 13). Its basic meaning seems to be “a measure of land, a field” (*LSJ*⁹, *s.v.* γύης II). P. Chantraine (*Chantraine, DE*) says of it (*s.v.* γύη, etc.) that it is “terre labourée, champs, . . . travail fait avec la charrue en un jour.” Hesychios (*s.v.* the questionable feminine form γύη) defines it as μέτρον πλέθρον: this leads me to wonder whether these γύαι were strips of land rather than squares, each about 100 feet in length. If they had been squares, I suspect that they would have been called πλέθρα. The word is discussed at length by M. Feysel, “Sur une inscription de Thespies,” *BCH* 58, 1934, pp. 501–507: he compares the various uses of this word and its compounds that occur in literary documents and in papyri and concludes that “à l’époque archaïque . . . le γύης, ou plutôt le τετράγωνον, est une parcelle de terrain d’étendue définie et sans doute apparente; on le retrouve avec le même sens à Hétraclée au IV^e siècle. En Attique, le mot est réservé à la poésie dès le V^e siècle, et n’a plus qu’un sens très vague. À Thespies, au III^e siècle, le γύας est probablement une parcelle enclose de murs ou de levées de terre, cependant qu’en Égypte, où les conditions de la culture sont toutes particulières, il sert à désigner une parcelle de terrain circonscrite par des digues, et, par suite, la digue elle-même” (p. 507). It may be that the paradromis of line 7 below is some sort of “levée de terre” of the kind envisaged by Feysel at Thespiiai in the passage cited above (see also footnote 6 below). The word γύης, of course, is also the root of such words as ἐγγύη, ἐγγυάω, ἐγγύησις and ἐγγυητής. In Attic documents the earliest occurrence of γύης as a technical term seems to be *SEG* X, 304, line 3 (ca. 424 B.C.: leases of Athenian property in Euboea).

⁶ *LSJ*⁹, *s.v.* παραδρομῖς; see also *IG* II², 1035, line 56, and *IG* XII 9, 234, line 34: in the latter instance, it is the corridor of a gymnasium, where athletes would train in bad weather (see Vitruvius, v.1.1, and G. Cousin, “Voyage en Carie,” *BCH* 22, 1898, pp. 391–392, no. 37).

to refer to this lease, ought, however, to rule out such a restoration. At the right edge the last preserved letter resembles more an epsilon than an omega.

Line 23: Eta and nu are inscribed in the same stoichos, so that there is room for two more letters at the end of this line. $\delta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ was either omitted accidentally or taken to be understood here.

Line 24: The foot of gamma is preserved in the second stoichos.

Line 28: What appears on the stone is ΠΗΡΑΛΕ: unless this is some kind of abbreviation, the reading $\pi\langle\alpha\rangle\rho\acute{\alpha}\langle\delta\rangle\acute{\epsilon}$ at least makes some kind of sense. At the right edge the upper part of omicron survives.

Line 29: The left side of xi is preserved, but the stone breaks away on the left side of the vertical.

Line 33: The left apex of mu survives; it is too steeply angled for a delta or lambda.

Line 35: The left tip of the horizontal of tau is preserved.

Line 36: The upper left corner of epsilon survives.

Line 37: The upper diagonal of sigma is preserved, somewhat rounded and much abraded.

Line 39: The left tip of the horizontal of tau survives.

Line 41: The top of iota survives at the right edge. The first word might mean “corner”, but this would involve reading $\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, rather than what is actually on the stone. It is more likely that these letters represent the end of a personal name or of a topographical reference. No suitable restoration comes to mind. One might expect some form of $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$ in a topographical rubric.

Line 42: The tops of these letters are preserved.

FACE B

As on Face A, but more easily observable here, the first letter of each lease rubric is placed in the left margin, so that these lines have 25, rather than 24, letters. The mason left empty spaces after the last name in each lease, and in two cases (lines 13 and 21) apparently misplaced this “*vacat*” up one line. The guarantor’s demotic, the last word in each rubric, is usually written out in full, rather than abbreviated, if space permits.

Column II

Line 1: The right vertical of pi slants down to the right, and the horizontal is so abraded and faint that, at first sight, this letter looks like a damaged mu.

Line 2: The left side of theta is preserved.

Line 7: The mason appears to have omitted XI from this word, which is spelled correctly in line 24 below.

Line 8: The tip of the left arm of upsilon survives.

Line 9: The mason inscribed EY here, omitting both gammas.

Line 10: There is no doubt that the mason ought to have inscribed “seventh” here: what was actually inscribed, however, is $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\tau\omega\nu$.

Line 11: All the letter traces in this line are very much abraded. At the right edge the left leg of a triangular letter is preserved.

Line 14: The left foot of alpha is preserved.

Line 19: The letter traces in this line are faint and confusing, perhaps the result of incomplete erasure of mistakes. The horizontal of tau survives in the first stoichos, and, at the right edge, the vertical of rho is preserved, with perhaps a trace of the upper part of the loop.

Line 24: At the right edge the upper left arm of chi survives.

Line 26: The tops of these characters survive.

NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

FACE A

Heading

If I am correct in regarding the surviving letters of this heading as the end of an ownership formula (“property of so-and-so”), these letters should form the end of a name or of a cult title, in the genitive and masculine or neuter.

If the first preserved letter is actually an iota, no suitable cult title or name comes to mind. If, however, this letter stroke is actually the left vertical of an abraded or incomplete letter, as its position on the stone suggests, there is some choice both of cult titles and of names: for instance, the cult titles [Ἄγο]ραίου,⁷ [Ἀποτρο]παίου,⁸ [Τρο]παίου,⁹ [Φη]-ραίου,¹⁰ and the names of two sanctuaries, [τοῦ Ἄμφια]ραίου¹¹ and [τοῦ Νυμ]φαίου¹² (the latter restoration depending on the assumption that this letter stroke is both misplaced and part of an incomplete letter, phi). If, in fact, no letter stroke is preserved here, there are further choices: the hero names [Ἐχρα]ταίου,¹³ [Μουσ]αίου¹⁴ and [Φιλ]αίου.¹⁵ The name

⁷ Applied to Zeus and to Hermes and also, of course, to Athena and Artemis. For Zeus, see Aischylos, *Eumenides*, 973; Herodotos, v.46; and Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 70; for Hermes, see Aristophanes, *Knights*, 297.

⁸ For Apollo Ἀποτροπαῖος in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, see Solders, *AK*, p. 20; see also the dedication to Apollo Προστατηρίω[ι Ἄ]ποτροπαίω Ἄγνυεῖ, from an unknown site in Athens itself (*IG II*², 4852: now lost).

⁹ For Zeus Τροπαῖος in Kynosoura (Marathon?) and Salamis, see Solders, *AK*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁰ For Ἡρώς Φηραῖος in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, see Solders, *AK*, p. 96.

¹¹ Amphiaraios had sanctuaries at Oropos and at Rhamnous and was worshipped at various times at several other places in Attica: see Solders, *AK*, pp. 57–58. He also had an altar near the Tower of the Winds in Athens (*IG II*², 4441) and a statue near the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora (Pausanias, i.8.3: perhaps to be linked to the inscription *IG II*², 171 found near the Hephaisteion). Oropos was Athenian property between 338 and 319 B.C.: for the dates, see Pausanias, i.34.1 and Diodoros, xviii.56.7. The revenues from Oropos during this period seem to have been devoted to the upkeep of the Panathenaia: see *SEG XVIII*, 13 (*IG II*², 334 + Agora Inv. No. I 5477), line 15, and M. B. Walbank, “Regulations for an Athenian Festival,” *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography*, Princeton 1982, pp. 181–182. The sanctuary at Oropos was certainly called τὸ Ἄμφιαράϊον: see *IG VII*, 48, for instance. The God also possessed a small shrine at Rhamnous, at least during the 3rd century B.C., which he seems to have shared with the hero-doctor Aristomachos; this has been identified as the small sanctuary that lies to the northwest of the acropolis at Rhamnous (see J. Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris 1954, pp. 93–102 and 143–147, inscriptions nos. 30–34). His name at Rhamnous seems to have been Amphiaraios; presumably, therefore, the sanctuary was called τὸ Ἄμφιεράϊον here.

¹² There are several sanctuaries of Pan and the Nymphs in Attica, but only those at Peiraeus and, perhaps, Phyle seem to have borne the name τὸ Νυμφαῖον (see Solders, *AK*, pp. 59–61). There was also at least one Nymphaion in Athens itself: a boundary stone of ca. 500 B.C. was found in the Athenian Agora (Agora Inv. No. I 4773: *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 38, no. 3. The stone may derive from the sanctuary of Pan and the Nymphs on the northwest slope of the Akropolis). Another sanctuary that might have been called τὸ Νυμφαῖον is that of Nympe, lying a little to the south of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (see Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 361–363: this sanctuary was still active in the 3rd century B.C.); its name, however, would more likely have been τὸ Νυμφεῖον.

¹³ Echetaios (“Hero of the Plough”) at Marathon: see Solders, *AK*, p. 94.

¹⁴ Mousaios at Phaleron: see Solders, *AK*, p. 87; he sang, and may have had his tomb, upon Mouseion Hill in Athens (see Pausanias, i.25.8), unless his true resting place was Phaleron (see footnote 16 below).

¹⁵ Philaios at Brauron (eponym of the deme Philaidai): see Solders, *AK*, p. 91.

[Μουσα]αίου, in particular, is suggested by the presence of two small diagonal cuts at the left edge that I believe to be accidental but which do resemble the tips of the two lower diagonal strokes of a sigma. This hero, however, like the others, is extremely obscure and is unlikely to have possessed even a shrine, let alone a large endowment of rentable properties.¹⁶ It is much more likely that we are dealing here with the property of a major hero or of one of the Olympians. Perhaps some indication as to his identity may be provided by an examination of the topographical references contained in these leases and of the demotics of the renters and guarantors.¹⁷

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDICATORS

FACE A

Column I

This column is too fragmentary to permit much reconstruction: there is a possible reference to Phaleron (line 38; but this might, instead, be the demotic of a renter, and it is by no means certain that Phaleron is involved at all). Apart from this, one renter comes from Rhamnous (line 35), and guarantors come from Azenia (line 30) and from Marathon (line 33); other guarantors may come from Ikarion (line 37), from Phegaia (line 26), and from one of the three demes Gargettos, Pergase, or Phegaia (line 42). Thus, there is a very weak case for placing the leases of Column I, if, indeed, they do form a single regional group, in the northeastern part of Attica.¹⁸

Column II

Here we have a series of interconnected properties, mostly *guai* but perhaps including a *chorion* or two, that are all, apparently, the property of a single deity. These properties lie along a road, in the neighborhood of an altar, to which leads a processional road: this road is probably that alongside which lie these properties, and the owner is surely he to whom the altar is dedicated. There is no indication at all, however, as to where this altar is. The renters come from Eroiadai (line 38), from Leukonoion (? line 4), from Oinoe (twice, lines 20 and 25), from Paiania (line 8), and from Probalinthos (twice, line 32 and line 14, if this is not Prospalta; see line 10, also). The guarantors are from Acharnai (? line 39), from Hamaxanteia (line 5), from Marathon (line 27), from Oinoe (line 34), from Paiania (line 16), and from Probalinthos (or Prospalta, line 10).

Once again, if the demotics of renters and guarantors are any indication of where

¹⁶ Mousaios' grave may have been in Phaleron (Diogenes Laertius, 1.3), but there is no indication that there was a cult of any importance centered upon this, let alone a sanctuary: see also footnote 14 above.

¹⁷ When a group of properties in a single location is involved (as, for instance, in Stele 1, Column II *f*), the appearance of several renters and guarantors from a single geographical region is probably an indication that these properties lie in the same region. This method of locating properties, however, should be employed with care.

¹⁸ For the location of these demes, see Traill, Map 1, and Siewert, *Trittyen*, pp. 73, 76, 77, and 88: Ikarion, Marathon, Phegaia, and Rhamnous all lie in the northeastern part of Attica; Pergase is at the northeastern end of the Attic Plain, Gargettos in the northern part of the Mesogeia, and Azenia in the extreme southern part of Attica.

these properties lie, they point, if anywhere, to northeastern Attica, or, less likely, to the Mesogeia.¹⁹

FACE B

Column I

This column continues a list of kepeia from the bottom of Face A, Column II, starting with number 5: there is no indication as to the identity of the owner. The properties seem all to lie in the same area and include associated features, such as a mulberry patch (?) and a marsh. Mounychion is twice mentioned (lines 7 and 24) as a topographical reference: these properties seem to lie beside the road that leads to Mounychion. Thus, the whole group should be placed somewhere near Peiraeus, of which Mounychion was a part. The renters come from Kerameis (line 20) and from Peiraeus (lines 12 and 17); the guarantors are from Acharnai (? line 22), from Myrrhinous (line 5), and from Peiraeus (line 14).

In this series, therefore, quite apart from the topographical reference that places these kepeia near Peiraeus, there is considerable encouragement from the demotics of the renters, and from those of the guarantors to a lesser extent, for placing these properties between Athens and Peiraeus.²⁰

Further arguments about either the topography of the leases recorded upon this stele or the identity of the owner or owners of the properties rented out tend to be circular: if more of the heading were preserved, more might be known about the topography; if more precise topographic references were available, we might better conjecture to whom these properties belong. Of Column II of Face A and Column I of Face B each seems to continue a list of properties from a previous column: in the case of Face A, Column II must surely be a continuation from the bottom of Column I. Since there is no indication in the extant parts of Column II of the identity of the owner of these properties, this deity must have been named in Column I or in the heading of the stele. In the case of Column I of Face B, however, we cannot say for certain that it is a continuation of the listings of Face A: it could be a continuation from another, no longer extant, stele, or from Stele 3. Thus, it is by no means certain that Face B has any connection with Face A, and, even if it is a continuation of Face A, we cannot say that the owner of these properties is the same as the owner of those at the top of Face A, Column II.

I conclude, therefore, that there is some slight evidence for placing the properties listed at the top of Face A in the northeastern part of Attica and therefore for associating them tentatively with the Athenian occupation of the territory of Oropos and with arrangements for the acquisition of revenues from that territory, the so-called Nea.²¹ If so, then Face B

¹⁹ See Traill, Map 1, and Siewert, *Trittyen*, pp. 101, 102, and 115: Marathon, Oinoe, and Probalinthos are all in the northeastern part of Attica; Paiania and Prospalta are in the Mesogeia; Acharnai is at the northern end of the Attic Plain. The locations of Eroiadai, Hamaxanteia, and Leukonoion are unknown.

²⁰ See Traill, Map 1: Kerameis is to the northwest of Athens, just outside the City; Peiraeus lies to the southwest of Kerameis, by the sea; Acharnai is at the northern end of the Attic Plain; Myrrhinous is in the Mesogeia.

²¹ See footnote 11 above: *SEG XVIII*, 13, line 15.

probably has no connection with the extant parts of Face A, and the heading of Face A, in turn, may not after all name the owner of the properties recorded there, unless the somewhat doubtful reading [τοῦ Ἀμφια]ραίου be adopted.²²

PROSOPOGRAPHY

FACE A

Column I b

Line 24: Ο[-----¹⁰⁻¹³-----], an unknown renter.

Line 30: [.¹⁶. ο]ν Ἀζημι<εύς>, a guarantor.

Line 31: Λο[-----⁸⁻¹²-----], an unknown renter.

Line 32: Μαη[.²¹.] Μαραθ<ώνιος>, a guarantor. If the last preserved letter of his name is eta, this name will probably be Μάη[s]: this is attested at Athens in the 4th century B.C. but without demotic.²³ If the last surviving letter is a nu, the name could be Μάνυ[ης], which is also attested at Athens in the 4th century.²⁴ Perhaps more likely is Μάντις or one of its derivatives: for instance, Μαντίας is found in the 4th century in Thorikos (PA 9667) and Paiania (PA 9669), and in the 2nd century in the deme of Marathon (PA 9668); Μαντίθεος is found in the 5th and 4th centuries without demotic (PA 9670–9673), and in the 4th century in Thorikos and Plotheia (PA 9674–9676 and 9677). Μαντικλής, too, is attested for the 4th century but, so far, only in Teithras.²⁵

Line 35: [----- ο]ν Ῥαμν[ο<ύσιος>], a renter.

I do not discuss the guarantors of lines 26, 37, and 41, nor the possible renter of line 38, just as I shall not discuss the renter of Column II, lines 41–42, and the possible neighbor of lines 40–41 of that column.

Column II a

Line 3: Εὐθίας Φαι[. . . .¹⁰. . . .]ο, a renter. The demotic could be, for instance, [Λευκον]ο<εύς>.

Line 5: [Ἄριστοκλής?] Ἄριστοκλέους Ἀμα<ξαντειεύς>, the guarantor of a lease. He is probably a descendant of PA 1858, Ἄριστοκλής Ἀμαξαντειεύς, who served as ταμίας ἱερῶν χρημάτων in 398/7.²⁶ He is probably also a descendant of, or perhaps even the same person as, the trierarch of 356/5, Ἀ[ρ]ιστοκ[--- Ἀμ]αξαντε<ιεύς>.²⁷

Line 8: [. . . .⁹. . . . X]αρίου Παια<νιεύς>, a renter. He may be the same person as, or the brother of, the guarantor of line 15. Alternatively, he may be Χαρίταιος, either the

²² There is very little justification for describing these properties as “property of the Amphiarraion”: the normal property formula in leases of this sort is “property of such-and-such a God”. Where sanctuaries are mentioned, it is the sanctuary area itself that is rented, not property outside it (see *IG* II², 2492, line 1; 2497, line 2; 2498, lines 2–3; 1241, lines 8–9).

²³ *IG* II², 2940, line 6: a list of ἐραρισταί.

²⁴ *IG* II², 2940, line 4; 4633, line 1; and 12034: all without demotics.

²⁵ *Agora* XV, no. 45, line 14.

²⁶ *IG* II², 1388 A, line 6; 1392, line 6.

²⁷ *IG* II², 1612, lines 254–256: see *APF*, p. 55.

father or the brother of *Χαρῆς Χαριταίου Παιανιεύς*.²⁸ An ancestor may be *Χαρίας Παιανιεύς*, whose name appears on an ostrakon of ca. 420 B.C.²⁹

Line 9: [. . .³ .] ἔξανδρος Χαριδήμο[υ Προβαλίσι]ος (or Προσπάλτι]ος), the guarantor of a lease. He is also brother to the renter of line 14. He may be kin to *Χαρίσανδρος Προβαλίσιος*, a councillor of Pandionis in 336/5.³⁰ Thus, the restoration [Προβαλίσι]ος seems preferable here.

Line 14: [. . .¹⁰ . . .]ο<ς> Χαριδήμον Πρ[ο ---⁴⁻⁸ ---], who rented a gues. He is the brother of the guarantor of line 9: thus, the demotic should probably be restored here, too, as Πρ[οβαλί<σιος>], leaving five letter spaces for the missing portion of the rent in line 15.

Line 15: Χαιρ[. . .⁵ . Χαρίου?] Παιανιε<ύς>, the guarantor of a lease. He may be the renter of line 8 or his brother. He might also be Χα[----] Π[αιανιεύς], who appears in a list of diaitetai for 330/29, or his son.³¹

Line 19: [Ἄρι]στώδημος Ἄριστ[οκλέους Οἶν]αῖ<ος>, a renter. He is also the renter of line 24. He is probably *PA 1878*, [---]ημος Ἄριστοκλείους Οἶναῖ<ος>, ἐπιμελητῆς νεωρίων in 333/2,³² and son of Ἄρ[ισ]το[κ]λ[ῆς] Οἶναῖο]ς, who was ἐπιμελητῆς νεωρίων in 369/8 B.C. (see *PAN*, p. 29). He may also be *PA 1820*, the father of Ἄριστοκράτης Ἄριστοδήμου Οἶν<αῖος>, who was ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in 314/3 (*PA 1922*)³³ and an ancestor of Ἄριστόκριτ[ος Οἶναῖος], a councillor of Aiantis in 223/2.³⁴

Line 21: [. . .¹⁰ . . .]της Πολυκλέους [----³⁻¹¹ ----], the guarantor of a lease. His father may be *PA 11988*, Πολυκλῆς (II) Πολυκράτους Ἀναγυράσιος, whose career can be traced from 367/6 to 357/6³⁵ and another son of whom was Αἰσχραῖος (*PA 373*). In light, however, of the number of renters and guarantors in this column who come from northeastern Attica, it may be better to seek this family among, for instance, the demesmen of Probalinthos: thus, the guarantor's father might be Πολυκλῆς Προβαλίσιος, the father of Πουλυτίων, a councillor of Pandionis in 335/4,³⁶ and, perhaps also, father to Πολυκλῆς, a councillor of Pandionis in 336/5.³⁷

Line 24: Ἄριστώδημος Ἄριστοκλέους Οἶ[ν]αῖ<ος>, who rented two guai (?). He is also the renter of line 19.

Line 26: Ξενοκράτης Γνιφωνίδου Μαραθώνιο]ς, the guarantor of a lease. He may be

²⁸ *PA 15301*, second half of the 4th century B.C.

²⁹ E. Vanderpool, "Some Ostraka from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, Princeton 1949, pp. 396–397, no. 6: this man could be the archon of 415/4.

³⁰ *Agora XV*, no. 42, line 163.

³¹ *IG II²*, 2409, lines 29–30; now linked with *IG II²*, 1924, which provides the date: see D. M. Lewis, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions (II)," *BSA* 50, 1955, pp. 27–36, no. 29.

³² *IG II²*, 1623 A, line 5. He is also the renter in *Stele 1*, Column II *f*, line 9.

³³ *IG II²*, 450, line 7.

³⁴ *Agora XV*, no. 127, line 59.

³⁵ For his career and family, see *APF*, pp. 465–467.

³⁶ *Agora XV*, no. 43, lines 64–65.

³⁷ *Agora XV*, no. 42, line 164.

a descendant of the Hermokopid Gniphonides (*PA* 3058);³⁸ this name is extremely rare at Athens.

Line 31: Ἀριστοκλ[είδης] Λυσανίου Προβαλί<σιος>, a renter. He is probably *PA* 1845, the father of two councillors of Pandionis *ca.* 330 B.C., Λυσανίας (*PA* 9322)³⁹ and Κλεομήδης (*PA* 8597).⁴⁰ The renter's father may be *PA* 9321, another son of whom was [Ἀ]ντικράτης, θεσμοθετής in 329/8⁴¹ and earlier ἱεροποιός for the Marathonian Tetrapolis.⁴²

Line 33: Λυσιθείδης Λυσίμ[. . 4 .] Οἰναῖος, the guarantor of a lease. The father's name might be restored as Λυσίμ[αχος]; if so, a descendant is probably [Λ]υσίμαχος Οἰναῖος, the participant in an epidosis of 247/6.⁴³ Lysitheides himself might be the man mentioned in line 4 of *IG* II², 150.⁴⁴

Line 37: Σωνδρίδης Σ[ωστρ^ρ?]άτου Ἐροιά<δης>, who rented a gues. He is probably *PA* 13141, whose daughter Ναυσ[ιστ]ρ[άτ]η, the wife of Antiphon, made a dedication in the Asklepieion late in the 4th century (*PA* 10586).⁴⁵

Line 39: Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκράτ[ους Ἀχαρνεύς?], the guarantor of a lease. I have restored the demotic as I have on the assumption that this man is Φιλοκράτης Ἀχαρνεύς, a trierarch in 322 B.C. (*PA* 14604).⁴⁶ The guarantor, or his son, could be the councillor of Oineis in 303/2, Φιλοκράτης Φιλ[--- Ἀχαρνεύς].⁴⁷ The guarantor may be a descendant of *PA* 14589, Φιλοκράτης Φιλο[---], named *ca.* 380 B.C. in a diadikasia, perhaps connected with membership in the Thousand.⁴⁸ The demotic might also be restored as [Εὐω<νυμεύς>] and the guarantor identified as Φιλοκράτης Εὐω[νυμ<εύς>], who is listed as the owner of a workshop in the Laureion district in the mid-4th century B.C.⁴⁹ The abbreviation Εὐω<νυμεύς> appears elsewhere in this series of lease documents.⁵⁰ If the guarantor is,

³⁸ See Andokides, 1.15.

³⁹ Lysanias (*PA* 9322), the son of this renter, may also be that Λυσανίας [Προβα]λί<σιος> who was priest of Asklepios in 291/0 (*IG* II², 1534, line 219: for the date, see B. D. Meritt and W. K. Pritchett, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, pp. 69–70, 81). This, however, implies an active career of some forty years, perhaps too long.

⁴⁰ *Agora* XV, no. 47, lines 38–39.

⁴¹ *IG* II², 2836, line 1.

⁴² *IG* II², 2933, line 8.

⁴³ B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 287–292, no. 56, line 81.

⁴⁴ The date given in the *Corpus* is "a.355". This ascription is based on the identification of the honorand Λυσιθε[είδης] (line 4) as Λ.Κικυννεύς (*PA* 9395). The inscription is on the reverse of a stele which bore upon its obverse the text of a proxeny decree of the mid-5th century B.C. (*IG* I², 28^a = *IG* I³, 19). In my view (see M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Toronto and Sarasota 1978, p. 103), the inscription on the reverse should be placed early in the 4th century, in which case our guarantor would be either no connection with, or a grandson of, the honorand of *IG* II², 150. For the family of Λυσιθε[είδης] Κικυννεύς, see *APF*, pp. 356–357.

⁴⁵ *IG* II², 4026.

⁴⁶ In *APF*, p. 542, however, the trierarch is linked with a different family, that of [Φιλοκράτης] Φρυνίχου Ἀχαρνεύς, who is known from a 4th-century funerary epigram, *IG* II², 5847.

⁴⁷ *Agora* XV, no. 62, line 160: the editors of *Agora* XV identify him tentatively as the trierarch *PA* 14604.

⁴⁸ *IG* II², 1928, line 8: see *APF*, p. 542.

⁴⁹ M. Crosby, "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 210–218, no. 5, line 78; he is also, perhaps, the property owner of *op. cit.*, pp. 254–260, no. 18, line 21: dated to 346/5.

⁵⁰ Stele 1, Column II *e*, line 4.

indeed, a demesman of Euonymon, a descendant is probably Φιλοκράτης, the father of Κλέ-
οχος Εὐωνυμείος.⁵¹

FACE B

Column II a

Line 2: [. . .⁵ . . .]βουλος Πεισικλέου[s --³⁻⁶--], who rented a kepeion. His father might be *PA* 11783 or *PA* 11782.⁵²

Line 4: Νικόδη[μος . . .⁵ . . .]κράτους Μυρρινούσι[ος], the guarantor of a lease. He is, perhaps, a relative of Νίκανδρος Μυρρινούσιος, who was a councillor of Pandionis in 336/5.⁵³ His father may be *PA* 14155, Φειδικράτης [Δ]ημοσθέν[ους] Μυρρινούσιο[s].⁵⁴

Line 8: Τιμόθεος Τιμοκράτου[s --⁴⁻⁵--], who rented a kepeion. These are common names at Athens in the 4th century. The space available for an abbreviated demotic is probably four letters (with a punctuation sign), so that the choice may be reduced somewhat. The father of the renter could, perhaps, be *PA* 13776, another of whose sons, [Τι[?]]μο-
γέννη[s], freed a slave in the 330's B.C.;⁵⁵ his demotic is Λακιάδης, which would be abbreviated here to [Λακι:]. Another possible link is with *PA* 13695, Τιμόθεος Ἀλαιεύς, who was a *δαιτητής* in 325/4; indeed, this man might himself be the renter, although it is more likely, I think, that he would be his grandfather or uncle. The abbreviation in this case would be [Ἀλαιε<:>]. Less likely as grandfather or uncle of the renter is *PA* 13713, Τιμό-
θεος [Τ]ιμοθέου [Π]ιθεύς, who served as a *δαιτητής* in the second half of the 4th century. The abbreviation in this case is [Πιθε:].

Line 9: Σωσίδημος Γλαύκω[νος . . .[?]], the guarantor of a lease. The name Sosidemus occurs in the second half of the 4th century in the demes Alopeke and Acharnai.⁵⁶ The name Glaukon is common during the 4th century; a man of this name, however, is listed as the father of Γλαύκιππος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν in a dedication of the mid-4th century B.C. (*PA* 3022: the son is *PA* 2984). The name is also found in Acharnai in the person of Γλαύκων Ἀχαρ-
νεύς, a councillor of Oineis in 360/59 (*PA* 3024).⁵⁷ A son of this man may be Δημέας Γλαυκῶνος Ἀχαρνεύς (*PA* 3316), whose death in the second half of the 4th century is recorded in *IG* II², 5788. The guarantor may be another son of *PA* 3024. The abbrevia-
tions for Alopeke and Acharnai would be Ἀλω<:> and Ἀχα<:>, respectively. Another

⁵¹ *IG* II², 6179: late 3rd/early 2nd century B.C.

⁵² *IG* II², 5654 and 5655: two grave monuments, from Athens and Peiraeus respectively, each of which commemorates Boethos son of Peisikles of Anaphlystos. In 5655 the patronymic is spelled Πεισικλείου; in 5654 it is spelled Πεισικλέου; thus, I date 5654 before the middle and 5655 near the end of the 4th century B.C.

⁵³ *Agora* XV, no. 42, line 177.

⁵⁴ *IG* II², 6906: mid-4th century B.C. The restoration [Φοιμι]κράτους is unlikely: this name is not attested at Athens. If admitted, however, it might point to a link between the guarantor's family and that of Νικίδης Φοιμίδου Μελιτεύς, who took a leading part in the profanation of the Mysteries in 415 B.C. (see Andokides, I.12-13; *APF*, p. 408).

⁵⁵ *IG* II², 1561, line 20.

⁵⁶ *PA* 13220, the father of Πυθείας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, who was *κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητής* in 333/2; and *PA* 13221, the father of Λυσίμαχος Ἀχαρνεύς, who served as Secretary to the Boule in 347/6. For possible relatives of the latter, see *APF*, pp. 357-358.

⁵⁷ *Agora* XV, no. 17, line 53.

Glaukon, [Γλα]ύκων Σωιναύ[του ---], is recorded as the manumitter of a slave soon after 330 B.C. (*PA* 3014);⁵⁸ he may be a member of the guarantor's family, perhaps even his father. Earlier members of the same family might be Ἀριστοτέλης Γλαύκωνος and his son Σωγένη[ς] (*PA* 2045 *b* and 13047 *a*).⁵⁹

Line 11: Λ[. . . 6 . . .]στρατος Κελεύοντος [Πειραιε<ύς>], who rented a kepeion. The lease was guaranteed by the renter's father (line 13). If the initial letter of the renter's name is read as Ν, he may be *PA* 10588 *a*, Ναυσίστρατος Ἀθηναῖος, who was an ἐργώνης at Epidaurus during the construction of the Tholos,⁶⁰ ca. 338 B.C.; Κελευσίας φυλῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος,⁶¹ ca. 300 B.C., could be a later member of this family.

Line 13: Κελεύων Ναυσιστράτου Πειραι[ιεύς], the guarantor of a lease and father of the renter (see line 11). The name Keleuon is not otherwise attested at Athens.

Line 16: Αἰσχίνη[ς . . . 7 . . .]νίδου Πειραι<εύς>, who rented a kepeion. The name Aischines occurs on two 4th-century grave monuments that were found in Peiraieus, but, since these lack demotics, there is no way of telling whether or not these men were Athenians.⁶² It is doubtful, too, whether any attempt should be made to identify the renter with either *PA* 333 or *PA* 334; the former is probably too early, in any case. The patronymic is probably [Αἰσχρω ν]νίδου.⁶³

Line 18: Ἀριστομένης Εὐπο[λέμου (or Εὐπό[λιδος?] . . 4 . .) (or Εὐπό[ρου] . . 5 . .)], the guarantor of a lease. If the patronymic is Εὐπο[λέμου], the guarantor's father might be Εὐπόλεμος [. . . 8 . . .]υς Σουνη<εύς>, the owner of a workshop in the Laureion region ca. 342 B.C.⁶⁴ The demotic in this case, however, would be more likely to be abbreviated as Σουνη: than as Σουνη<: >, which is all that the space available here permits. No suitable candidate comes to mind for the guarantor himself nor for his father, if the patronymic is Εὐπό[λιδος], unless the father is Εὐπολις Προνάπους Αἰξωνεύς, who served as a trierarch in the 330's B.C.;⁶⁵ the demotic in this case would be abbreviated as Αἰξω<νεύς>. There are no candidates for either if the patronymic is Εὐπό[ρου].

Line 19: Ἀρ[ίστιππος?] Ἐγησίππου ἐκ Κερ<αμέων>, the renter of a helos that adjoined a kepeion. Another son of the renter's father may be *PA* 6298, Ἐγήμων Ἐγησίππου ἐκ Κερ<αμέων>, who freed a slave soon after 330 B.C.⁶⁶ The renter himself seems to be otherwise unknown. An ancestor may be Ἐγησίππος Ἐγησίλεως ἐκ Κερ<αμέων>, who was named in a diadikasia in 381/0.⁶⁷

Line 21: Ὀλυμπιό[δωρος? vacat] Διογείτονος Ἀχ[αρνεύς?], the guarantor of a lease. I have restored the demotic as Ἀχ[αρνεύς] on the assumption that the guarantor may

⁵⁸ *IG* II², 1566, line 18.

⁵⁹ See also Γλαύκων Σωσικράτου Χολλείδης (*PAN*, p. 45: 2nd century B.C.?). The abbreviation Χολ<λείδης>, however, is unlikely in view of the confusion that would arise, since Cholargeus could also be so abbreviated (Χολ<αργεύς>).

⁶⁰ *IG* IV² 1, 103, line 160.

⁶¹ See Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 235; cf. also Κέ[λ]ευσος Ἐρεχθείδος, *PA* 8265: 459/8 B.C.

⁶² *IG* II², 11352 and 11849.

⁶³ Suggested (*per ep.*) by D. M. Lewis. This name is not so far attested in Peiraieus.

⁶⁴ *IG* II², 1582, lines 132 and 134–135.

⁶⁵ *IG* II², 1623, lines 60–65, before 334/3, and *IG* II², 1626, lines 7–8, ca. 330 B.C.: see *APF*, pp. 45–46.

⁶⁶ *IG* II², 1567, line 16.

⁶⁷ K. Pritchett, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 160–165, no. 17, line 6: see *APF*, p. 210.

be the son of Δ[ι]ογείτων Ἀχαρνεύς, whose public career stretched from 398/7 to the late 370's B.C.⁶⁸ A descendant may be PA 11398, [Ὀλυμ]πιόδωρος Ἀχα<ρνεύς>, who was Archon Basileus in 229/8.⁶⁹ No suitable candidate comes to mind if the demotic is Ἀχ[ερδούσιος].

Line 25: Νικόφημος Φορ[.]!5.]ν[.], who rented a kepeion. No suitable candidate comes to mind for the renter or his father: the patronymic might be either Φορ-[μισίου] or Φορ[μίωνος], or else one of the names having the root Φορυσ-, but no link can be established between any of these names and the renter.

STELE 3: PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF ATHENA AND OTHER, UNKNOWN DEITIES

(Pls. 46, 47)

THE TEXTS

Fragment of pale, bluish gray Hymettian marble, found in excavations on the Akropolis, to west of the Parthenon, in 1834 and first published in 1853 by K. S. Pittakys.⁷⁰ It was subsequently republished as *IG* II 1056 and II², 2495, but no previous editor seems to have noticed that both faces are inscribed: only the text of what is now the reverse face has hitherto been published.⁷¹ The left lateral and both inscribed faces are preserved, the obverse much abraded. The bottom may also be in part original. This fragment is similar structurally to Stele 2: thickness, script, and letter size and spacing are identical, and both stelai exhibit the same practice of beginning each lease on a new line and of setting out the initial letter of this line in the left margin. There is, however, on Face A of this stele a tendency on the part of the mason to inscribe the letters of the first line of each lease with slightly deeper, and therefore longer, chisel strokes than he employs for the rest of the inscription: this practice is not found on Stele 2. Despite this, and although the marble of No. 3 is of a different type from that of No. 2, I believe that these two stelai are a pair, having the same date and context.

⁶⁸ ταμίης τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων in 398/7 (*IG* II², 1388, line 5, and 1392, lines 5–6); ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν νεωρίων, mentioned in the naval lists for 377/6 (*IG* II², 1604, lines 2–3); and διαιτητῆς a little after 371/0 ([Demosthenes], LIX.45, 47). See PA 3794.

⁶⁹ *IG* II², 1706, line 2.

⁷⁰ Ἐφ' Ἀρχ 34, 1853, no. 1387. There is some confusion over its findspot: the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus* lists its finding place as "in arce". Travlos (*Dictionary*, p. 160), however, says that it was found "beside the Church of 'Haghia Dynamis' which is in the city block bounded by Metropoleos, Voulis, Apollonos and Pentelis streets. . . . The gate [of Diochares] should be in the unexcavated area at the southwest corner of the block at the junction of Apollonos and Pentelis streets." Travlos seems to have confused the topographical reference with the findspot; there is no reason to doubt Pittakys' description: "Ἡῦρον αὐτὴν τὸ 1834 εἰς τὰς πρὸς τὸ δυτικὸν τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀρχαιολογικὰς ἐρεῦνας."

⁷¹ D. M. Lewis (*per. ep.*, 3 March, 1979) first drew my attention to the existence of letter traces upon the obverse face.

P.H. 0.358 m.; p.W. 0.240 m.; Th. 0.100 m.

H. of letters (both faces), 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0090 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0088–0.0090 m.

Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. E.M. 8694

ca. a. 338–326

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

FACE A

COLUMN II (III?) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

[-----]
 [.....¹⁷.....]εδο[. ⁴ .]
 [.....¹³.....]Δ: ἐγγυ[:. ⁴ .]
 [.....¹³.....]Φη[γ]ούσ[ιος ^{uv}]
 [.....¹³.....]κα]ι οἰκία ε[. ³ .]
 5 [.....¹⁷.....]τον[. ⁴ .]
 [.....¹⁶.....]ωρος [.⁴ .]
 [.....¹³.....]: ΗΗΠ<Δ>: ἐγγυ[υ:]
 [.....¹⁵.....]γ[έ]νους ^ρΡα[μ<:>]
 [.....¹⁵.....]καὶ οἰκία [.² .]
 10 [.....¹⁷.....]ύων Κηφ[ι]-
 [σο.....⁹.....]Ι: ΠΗΗΔΔΔΔΗΗ[: ἐ]-
 [γγυ:.....¹².....]ην: ἐγγυ[:]
 [.....¹⁴.....]τ[ο]υς Ἄζη ^υ[^{uv}]
 [.....¹⁴.....]τού]τον τοῦ [.² .]
 15 [.....¹⁸.....], μι]σθω:
 [.....¹⁹.....]ο]υ Οἰ[.]
 [.....²¹.....]ι[.² .]
 [.....²⁰.....]φλ[.² .]
 [.....¹⁴.....]ἐν Ἐπι?]κηφισ[ί]-
 20 [αι.....¹².....]τω[.² .]τες[.³ .]
 [.....²⁰.....]ι[.³ .]
 [.....¹⁹.....]ασ[.³ .]
 [.....¹⁴.....]τού]τον τοῦ [.² .]
 [.....¹⁸.....]οσ[.⁴ .]
 25 [.....¹⁹.....]ωπ[.]σ[.]
 [.....¹⁶.....]πα, μι]σθω:
 [.....¹⁴.....]ου[s] Πει[ραι:]
 [.....¹⁴.....]η[.⁴ .]σ[.⁴ .]
 [.....¹⁸.....]οἰκί]α? [.² .]
 30 [.....¹⁸.....]στόνον
 [.....¹³.....]Μι]λτιαδου [.² .]
 [.....¹⁷.....], μι]σ[θ]ω: [.]
 [.....¹⁵.....]τον Ἄφιδ[να]

[.....¹⁸.....]τα[. ⁴ .]

FACE B

COLUMN I ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

[τ]ά[δ]ε ὑστερον ἐμισθώ[θη δ ὅ *uuu*][α]ὐτὸς αὐτοῖς χρόνος [ἐστὶν *uu*]τῆς καταθέσεως τῆς μ[ισθώ *uuu*]-σεως καὶ τῶν ὠραίων ^v [*vacat*]5 τῆς κομίδης *vacat**vacat*

Ἀθηνᾶς τέλμα πρὸς ταῖς [πύλαις]

ταῖς παρὰ τὸ Διοχάρου[s . . ⁵ . .]

βαλανέον, μισθω: Ἄρρε[νείδης]

10 Χαρικλέους Παιανι: Δ[. . . ⁶ . .]ἐγγυ: Γνίφων Προκλέ[ος . . ⁴ .]*vacat*ΕΠΙΣ[. ⁴ .]Γ[.....¹⁵.....] (*in rasura*)

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

FACE A

The surface is very much abraded and smooth. Where I have dotted letters, only parts of letter strokes survive, barely sufficient to permit restoration. Letters that I print without dots, although often faint and hard to discern, are reasonably certain. I have put together this text from transcripts made at various times from the stone itself, checked against squeezes and photographs; because of the condition of the surface of the stone, I have refrained from incorporating in my text any letters that cannot be seen upon either the squeezes or the photographs as well.

Column II

Line 1: The base of delta has not survived. This must be part of a name, probably a patronymic.

Line 3: The left hasta and center bar of this letter survive; at top and bottom there appear to be other horizontal marks, which may indicate that the mason actually inscribed an epsilon here, rather than an eta.

Line 4: Part of the top bar and vertical of epsilon survive.

Line 7: The left hasta and horizontal of the 100-sign survive. The mason inscribed an alpha instead of the 10-sign. The upper left corner of the second gamma is preserved at the right edge.

Line 8: The upper left corner of the first letter survives; gamma seems more likely than epsilon or pi.

Line 11: The verticals of the first three numerals are clear. The first numeral also has a horizontal bar at the top, so that it must be a 500-sign. The bottom of the last numeral survives, but the stone breaks away below where the horizontal stroke would have been placed. In the last two stoichoi of this line, instead of the punctuation mark that I restore, two more drachma signs could have been inscribed, or one more, plus a punctuation mark.

Line 12: The left hasta and part of the horizontal survive. An abbreviated demotic should be restored here, possibly [$\text{'}\text{Α}\text{Τ}\text{]}\eta\nu\langle\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ or [$\text{'}\text{Α}\zeta\text{]}\eta\nu\langle\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$, or, less likely, [$\text{'}\text{Α}\rho\alpha\phi\text{]}\eta\nu\langle\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ or [$\text{Κ}\nu\delta\alpha\theta\text{]}\eta\nu\langle\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$.⁷²

Line 13: The right arm of upsilon is preserved, followed by the top stroke of sigma. The horizontals of zeta and the left hasta of eta survive.

Line 16: The demotic is probably $\text{Ο}\acute{\iota}[\nu\langle\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\rangle]$; less likely is $\text{Ο}\acute{\iota}[\hat{\eta}\langle\theta\epsilon\nu\rangle]$.

Line 18: The demotic is probably $\text{Φ}\lambda[\nu\langle\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle]$ or, perhaps less likely, [$\text{'}\text{Α}\nu\alpha\text{]}\phi\lambda[\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\langle\tau\iota\omicron\rangle]$. Since this is the end of a lease rubric, the punctuation mark may well have been omitted.

Line 19: The tips of the arms of kappa survive at the left; at the right, the bottom stroke of sigma is preserved.

Line 22: A demotic should be restored here, but there are at least seven possibilities.⁷³

Line 26: The left foot of a triangular letter survives, followed by the left outer and inner strokes of mu; the bottom of iota is preserved.

Line 28: The left hasta and part of the horizontal of eta survive.

Line 30: This appears to be part of a personal name, in the genitive, probably [$\text{'}\text{Α}\rho\iota\text{]}\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron$.

Line 31: The right foot of a triangular letter is followed by the top half of tau, the bottom of iota, the left foot of another triangular letter, and an apparently complete delta. A personal name seems to be concealed here, probably [$\text{Μ}\iota\text{]}\lambda\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\nu$. Since both this name and that of the preceding line appear to be part of the lease description, rather than the patronymics of a renter and guarantor, I assume that these two lines contain a topographical reference, on the lines of “bordered on the north(?) by the estate of Aristonous, and on the south(?) by that of Miltiades.”⁷⁴

FACE B

The surface is well preserved. There is an unscribed vertical space of 0.040 m. above the first line of the postscript. Below the last line of the lease are traces of what appears to be an erased line of inscription and, below this, a further 0.180 m. of unscribed vertical space.

Column I

Line 10: The foot of the left diagonal of a 10-sign is preserved on the right; although there is no trace of a horizontal stroke, this is clearly the beginning of a numeral rubric, so that a 10-sign is unavoidable. A 1000-sign is out of the question.⁷⁵

Line 13: The marks of an erased line of inscription can just be made out. The mason presumably went on to inscribe this lease, if it is a lease, in Column II, at the same level on the stele. The letters are so faint that all that can really be said of them is that the first two and that in stoichos 8 were rectangular, that in stoichos 3 appears to have been a central vertical, and that in stoichos 4 included diagonal marks like those of kappa,

⁷² Elsewhere in this series we find $\text{'}\text{Α}\zeta\eta\nu\langle\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ abbreviated as $\text{'}\text{Α}\zeta\eta\nu\langle\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ (Stele 2, Column II *b*, line 30) or $\text{'}\text{Α}\zeta\eta\langle\nu\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ (line 13, below). $\text{Κ}\nu\delta\alpha\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ seems to be abbreviated as $\text{Κ}\nu\delta\alpha\theta\eta\langle\nu\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ (Stele 1, Column I *a*, line 15). The space available for the name and patronymic is so small that the longer demotics should probably be passed over in favor of [$\text{'}\text{Α}\text{Τ}\text{]}\eta\nu\langle\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$ or [$\text{'}\text{Α}\zeta\text{]}\eta\nu\langle\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\rangle$.

⁷³ [$\text{'}\text{Α}\nu\alpha\gamma\upsilon\rho\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, [$\text{Θ}\rho\iota\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, [$\text{Π}\epsilon\rho\gamma\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma]$, [$\text{Π}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, [$\text{Τ}\epsilon\iota\theta\rho\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, [$\text{Φ}\nu\lambda\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, or, less likely, [$\text{Π}\rho\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\langle\varsigma\rangle]$. The lease rubric may have ended with an unabbreviated demotic, in which case all these except [$\text{Π}\rho\text{]}\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\langle\varsigma\rangle]$ could be written out in full. If a punctuation mark was also included, the demotic would have to be abbreviated: those ending in $-\alpha\sigma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ or $-\alpha\sigma\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ would be written $-\alpha\sigma[\epsilon:\nu]$ or $-\alpha\sigma[\iota\epsilon:]$, respectively, while those ending in $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ would be written $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\iota:\nu]$.

⁷⁴ Such formulations are employed in poletai documents of the 4th century; for instance, see M. Crosby, “Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 14–27, no. 1, lines 43–44: $\acute{\omega}\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{:}\ \pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\iota\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \chi\omega\rho\iota\alpha\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \text{'}\text{Ε}\xi\omega\text{]}\pi\iota\omicron\nu\ \delta\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

⁷⁵ There is only one guarantor; thus, the rent must be less than 600 drachmai.

sigma, chi, or, perhaps, mu or upsilon. A highly unlikely reading, in light of the evidence of the letter forms, is an archon formula: ἐπί Σ[ωσιγ]έ[νους ἀρχοντος] (342/1).⁷⁶

NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

FACE A

The surface is in such poor condition that little reliable information can be extracted from it and restoration is particularly hazardous. It is possible, however, to divide up the entries into seven leases, situated in two, perhaps three, different parts of Attica. Properties 1 to 4 appear to form a series, linked topographically and by owner; Properties 5 and 6 are also linked topographically but may belong to a different deity from he or she who owns Properties 1 to 4; Property 7 appears to lie at a third location and may belong to a third deity. A case of sorts, however, can be made for assigning all seven properties to the same owner, even though they may lie in different parts of Attica. The only reasonably secure topographical reference is to Epikhephisia, presumably the location of Properties 5 and 6 or, less likely, the site of the sanctuary of the owner of these properties.⁷⁷

Column II

Line 1: An unknown deity. The property description has not survived. The guarantor comes from Phegaia, but this information, in isolation, is of no value in attempting to place this property.⁷⁸

Lines 4–6: An unknown deity, the owner of a property that also contains a house. The restoration [πρῶτον τέμενος καὶ οἰκία] is attractive, particularly in light of similar possible restoration in lines 9–10 below. If this restoration is correct, however, there is no room in line 9 for an ownership formula, and the owner will therefore be the same as he or she of Property 1. The last surviving letter of line 4 may be the beginning of a topographical reference, such as ἐ[χόμενον ---] or ἐ[ν ---], or it may be the start of a descriptive clause, listing special features of this property. Nothing else is known about it or its location; the guarantor comes from Rhamnous.⁷⁹

Lines 9–10: An unknown deity, the owner of a property that also contained a house. The restoration [δευτέρον τέμενος] would fit the available space; if this is correct, it, of course, links this property with Properties 1 and 2, both topographically and by ownership. The property is an extensive one and thus more likely to be a temenos than a chorion;⁸⁰ its

⁷⁶ No other archon name of the period 350–320 B.C. would fit. In any case, a simple archon formula as a postscript to a document such as this seems unlikely: we should expect the dating formula to be incorporated in some such sentence as “these leases were recorded ἐπί ---- ἀρχοντος.”

⁷⁷ It is possible that Leases 1–4 may be located in the region of Rhamnous, if I am correct in restoring the renter of line 6 as a demesman of Rhamnous, like his guarantor; but see footnote 78 below.

⁷⁸ If the deme of the renter were known and if it were the same as that of the guarantor, for instance, or in the same region of Attica, this information might be of use in placing this property, although not an absolutely secure indicator.

⁷⁹ See footnote 78 above. In my prosopographical commentary I speculate that the renter, too, may come from Rhamnous.

⁸⁰ From Stele 1 we gather that a temenos could be rented for as much as 681 drachmai (Lease no. 32: Column II *e*, line 20), or as little as 300 drachmai (Lease no. 20: Column II *b*, line 3); a chorion with a house on it might be rented for as much as 410 drachmai (Lease no. 28: Column II *e*, line 5), or as little as 90 drachmai

lease requires two guarantors, one of whom is from Azenia. Nothing else is known about it or its location.⁸¹

Lines 14–15: An unknown deity, the owner also, probably, of Property 3 and therefore also, quite likely, of Properties 1 and 2. These four properties thus may form a linked series.⁸² The surviving letters of line 14 suggest that this property lies next to, but is not of the same kind as, Property 3; some such formula as [ἐχόμενος τού]του τοῦ [τεμένου] is probably called for, but this still leaves six letters unaccounted for in line 14. Lease formulas similar to this generally name the rented property at the end, rather than at the beginning, of the property description.⁸³ The renter is from Oinoe (or, less likely, from Oe); of the two guarantors, one may come from Phlya (or, less likely, from Anaphlystos).⁸⁴ The property is an extensive one: if it is not a temenos, it may be an eschatia.⁸⁵

Lines 19–20: An unknown deity, the owner of a property that may lie in Epikēphisia. The space at the beginning of line 19 may have been entirely occupied by the name and cult title of this divinity, or else by the name of the deity and a description of the property, or even by a property description alone: in the latter case, the deity will be the same as he or she who owns Properties 1 to 4. No other useful information can be extracted about this property or its location.

Lines 24–26: An unknown deity, probably also the owner of Property 5. What this property is we do not know: the surviving letters of line 24 suggest a formula similar to that already posited for line 14 above, but, here too, a six-letter space is unaccounted for. If, indeed, Property 2 is located in Epikēphisia, it is likely that Property 6 will be there also or in an adjoining deme. The renter comes from Peiraieus.⁸⁶

Lines 29–32: An unknown deity, possibly the same as he or she who owns Properties 5 and 6. The property includes, possibly, a house, and its description seems to involve a topographical formula by which its neighbors' properties are identified. One of these neighbors

(Lease no. 41: Column III *c*, line 5). The general impression that this makes is that temene were larger than choria.

⁸¹ The last letter of the (abbreviated) demotic is preserved for the renter; there are too many possible restorations, however, for this to be of any use in placing the property.

⁸² Such linked series are quite common in these lease stelai: see, for instance, Stele 1, Column II *b*, lines 3–11 for several different types of property all owned by the same deity.

⁸³ See, for instance, Stele 2, Face A, Column II, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Oinoe lay in the northeastern part of Attica, Oe in the northwest, probably. Anaphlystos was in the southwestern part of the Attic peninsula, while Phlya lay in the northeastern part of the Attic Plain (for these locations, see Traill, Map 1). Thus, no real topographical link can be established between renter and guarantors. Nor does it necessarily follow that a renter would reside in the same deme as that in which he rented property, nor even that he would live in the same deme as that in which he was registered, despite the inducement to do so that the *enkhetikon* tax provided (on this point, see J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975, pp. 73–74, esp. note 8).

⁸⁵ See D. M. Lewis, "The Athenian Rationes Centesimalium," *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce*, M. I. Finley, ed., Paris 1973, pp. 210–212, on the nature of eschatiai. That this was an extensive property is shown by the presence of two guarantors: the rent was more than 600 drachmai. If the property is an eschatia, one might restore line 14 as follows: [ἐσχατιά ἐχομένη τού]του, κτλ.

⁸⁶ If we restore (from line 19) [ἐγ] Κηφισ[ίαι], the renter and the property that he rented are far apart; if, however, the restoration is [ἐν Ἐπι]κηφισ[ίαι], there is no great distance between them (for the locations of these demes, see Traill, Map 1).

is probably Miltiades, presumably a member of the well-known family from Lakiadai. Thus, this property may lie in the deme of Lakiadai.⁸⁷ The renter comes from Aphidna.⁸⁸

FACE B

This face is much better preserved than Face A. It contains a postscript to the entire series, followed by one complete lease and, perhaps, the start of another, later erased and inscribed elsewhere.

Column I

Lines 7–9: Ἀθηνᾶς, the owner of a telma that lay in front of the gates παρὰ τὸ Διοχάρου[s . . .⁵ .] βαλανέον. No cult title is provided: presumably the deity is Athena Polias.⁸⁹ The gates referred to here are the gates of the City, that is, Gate VIII, the Diochaes Gate.⁹⁰ The telma is thus, almost certainly, the moat that formed a part of the defences of the City at this point.⁹¹

Line 12: See my epigraphical commentary above. No useful information can be extracted from this lease, if it is one at all.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

FACE A

Column II

Line 6: [---]ωρος [.¹⁷], a renter. It would be possible to restore this name as [Διόδ]ωρος [Ἰσιγένους Ῥαμνούσι<ος>]. If so, the renter may be PA 3957, who served late in the 4th century B.C. as a δαιτητής.⁹² This restoration is attractive because, in fact, the guarantor of this lease is [.¹⁵]γ[έ]νους Ῥα[μ<νούσιος>] (line 8), perhaps the brother of the renter, or his uncle.

Line 8: [.¹⁵]γ[έ]νους Ῥα[μ<νούσιος>], the guarantor of a lease. The guarantor's father may be [Ἰσι]γένης (PA 7695) and the guarantor himself a brother, or the uncle, of the renter (see comment on line 6 above). There are, however, other candidates for the guarantor's father: for instance, Ἀντιγένης, who served as συμπρόεδρος for a decree of Athenian cleruchs in 346/5 (PA 1000), or Ἀριστογένης, who is listed among the phyletai of Aiantis after the middle of the 4th century (PA 1791). If I am correct in restoring

⁸⁷ This family was buried and, presumably therefore, also owned property at Koile, between Athens and Peiraeus. This is not far from the deme of Lakiadai, where its main holdings may have been; the family also may have had links with Brauron and the deme of Philaidai (see *APF*, p. 310; for the location of Lakiadai, to the northwest of Athens, see Traill, Map 1).

⁸⁸ For the location of Aphidna, see Traill, Map 1.

⁸⁹ Another telma, that just outside the Dipylon Gate, was similarly designated Ἀθηνάας τέλμα (*SEG XXI*, 651), without cult title. Athena Polias, as the patron and eponym of the City, would also be its guardian and the owner of its defences.

⁹⁰ See footnote 70 above.

⁹¹ The excavators did, indeed, find a moat outside the City wall at this point: see Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 159–160.

⁹² *IG II²*, 1927, lines 149–150.

the renter's demotic as [ῚΡαμνούσι<ος>], there may be a case for locating this lease in the region of Rhamnous also.

Line 10: [---]ύων Κηφ[ισο. . . .⁹³. . . .]ι<εύς (or ος)>, a renter. The patronymic and demotic could be restored in several different ways, since Κηφισο-names are quite common in the 4th century at Athens. Names ending in -ύων are much rarer. Indeed, I have been able to find only two examples from Athens: Ἄμφικτύων, which occurs in Aphidna, Diomeia, and Χυπετε,⁹³ and Κελεύων, which is found only in Peiraieus.⁹⁴ No very good case can be made for restoring either of these names here.⁹⁵

Line 30: [---]στώνου, the owner of a property that lay along one boundary of a leaseholding. The name may be [Ἄρι]στώνου[s], but no suitable candidate comes to mind except PA 2038, Ἄριστόνους Ἄριστόνου Ἀναγυράσιος, who served as secretary to the Boule in 333/2. Less likely are Ἄριστόνους Δεκελεύς (PA 2039), who was active during the second quarter of the 4th century B.C., and PA 2036 a, the father of Εὐβουλος Ἄριστονόου.⁹⁶ The name Μεγιστόνους is not attested for Athens.⁹⁷

Line 31: [Μι]λτιάδου, the owner of a property that lay along one boundary of a leaseholding. If this man is a member of the well-known family from Lakiadai, he is probably Μιλτιάδης (VII) Κίμωνος (IV) Λακιάδης, who served as οἰκιστής for a colonizing expedition in 324.⁹⁸ The name Miltiades does not seem to occur in any other deme than Lakiadai before the 3rd century B.C.

Fragmentary names: I do not discuss the renters of lines 1, 16, 21, 27, and 33, nor the guarantors of lines 3, 13, 17, 18, 22, 28, and 34: of these names too little survives for speculation to be of any value.

FACE B

Column I

Line 8: Διοχάρου[s], the man responsible for the Πύλαι Διοχάρους and the adjacent Διοχάρους Βαλανέον that are the neighbors of the telma whose lease is recorded here. He is probably Διοχάρ[ρ]ης (II) [Δι]οκλέους Πιθε<ύς>, who appears in records of mining leases ca. 350 B.C.⁹⁹

Line 9: Ἄρρε[νείδης] Χαρικλέους Παιανι<εύς>, the renter of a telma. He has been identified as PA 2254, a man active in the liturgical class from 357 to 325 B.C.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ PA 776, 777, and 778: all dated to the 4th century B.C.

⁹⁴ Stele 2, Face B, Column I a, line 13.

⁹⁵ No Κηφισο-name from Aphidna, Diomeia, or Χυπετε is of the right length to fit the space available. Among the demesmen of Peiraieus, however, we find, in the 3rd century B.C., Κηφισόδοτος Πειραιεύς, the father of ῚΗγησίλοχος; the son served as ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in 273/2 (*Agora XV*, no. 78, line 3). We might speculate that this family was linked, through this renter, with the family of Κελεύων Ναυσιστράτου Πειραιεύς and thus restore [Κελε]ύων Κηφ[ισοδότου Πειρα]ι<εύς>; but this is merely speculation.

⁹⁶ *IG II²*, 11371: ca. 360 B.C.

⁹⁷ This name is found only in Sparta: see Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 337.

⁹⁸ *IG II²*, 1629, lines 18–19 and *passim*: PA 10210: see *APF*, pp. 308–310.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of this man's activities and family, see *APF*, pp. 158–159.

¹⁰⁰ For this man's career and family, see *APF*, pp. 67–68.

Line 11: Γνίφων Προκλέο[υς . . .⁴ .], the guarantor of a lease. He is *PA* 3055. Meritt¹⁰¹ restores his demotic as [Θορα<ιεύς>], after *IG* II², 6214, which commemorates the death of Κυδίμ[αχ]ος [Γ]νί[φω]ν[ος] Θοραιε[ύς]. The guarantor's father is Προκλήης Γνίφωνος, who is named in a dedication of the mid-4th century B.C.¹⁰² Meritt links with this family the name Γνιφωνίδης, which appears among the demesmen of Thora late in the 4th century.¹⁰³ Since this name, however, also occurs in the 4th century in Marathon,¹⁰⁴ while the name Gniphon is also found in the 4th century in Pallene and Phlya (*PA* 3056 and 3057, respectively), there is no strong case for attaching these names to Thora; indeed, in the present instance [Φλυε<ύς>] would be just as acceptable an abbreviation as [Θορα<ιεύς>], perhaps more so.

Line 12: ἐπὶ Σ[ωσιγ]έ[ρους ἄρχοντος?]. If this is an archon formula, rather than the start of another lease rubric, it will date this inscription to 342/1. The evidence of the script, however, points to a date in the 330's, and, in a series such as this, it is much more likely that this erased line would represent the start of another lease than an archon formula.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEASES

Clearly, a system of regional sub-classification occurs on Stele 3 similar to that already noted for Stelai 1 and 2. Since the rubrics of Stele 3 are in no way dissimilar to those of Stele 2 and the script appears to be identical, I believe that these two stelai must form a pair, or, more likely, parts of a series of stelai that were inscribed at the same time and under the same circumstances. A decennial revision of the system of leases that is recorded upon Stele 1 is the likeliest occasion, I believe. The findspot of Stele 3, however, if it is correctly reported, raises the question of whether this stele is an original or a copy set up at the site of one of its leases. This point will be discussed in Part IV.

MICHAEL B. WALBANK

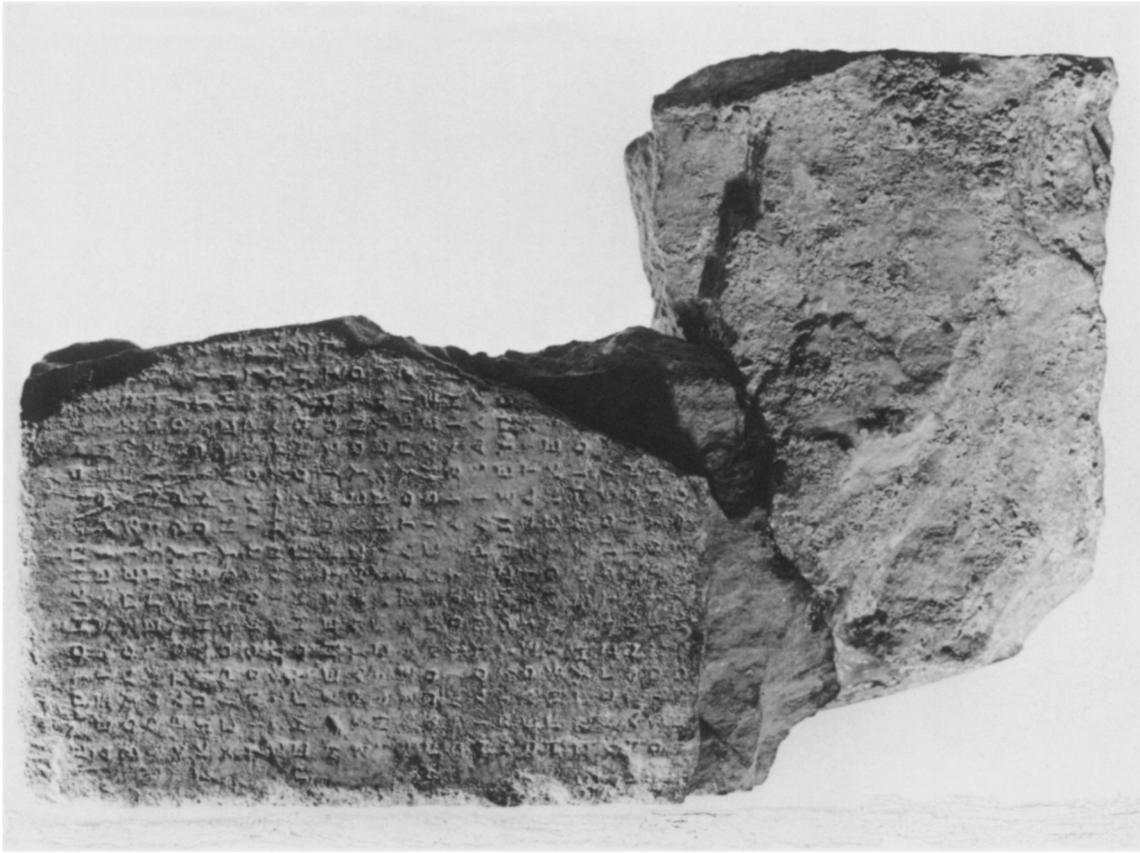
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¹⁰¹ B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 215–217, no. 44: in this inscription the entry for line 4 is restored Γνιφωνίδης Σημίων[ος Θοραιεύς] (ca. 180 B.C.). Meritt (*op. cit.*, p. 217) also suggests that the grandfather of our guarantor was Κυ[ίφω]ν of Antiochis, one of the heroes of Phyle, previously assigned the demotic [Ἄττην]εύς (A. E. Raubitschek, "The Heroes of Phyle," *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 288, line 67); "alternatively, this elder Γνίφων may have been identical with Γνίφων P[---], whose name appears on a grave monument of the early fourth century now published by E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia* 14, 1945, p. 149."

¹⁰² *IG* II², 12523: *PA* 12213.

¹⁰³ *IG* II², 1927, lines 170–172: see *PA* 8465.

¹⁰⁴ Stele 2, Face A, Column II *b*, line 27.



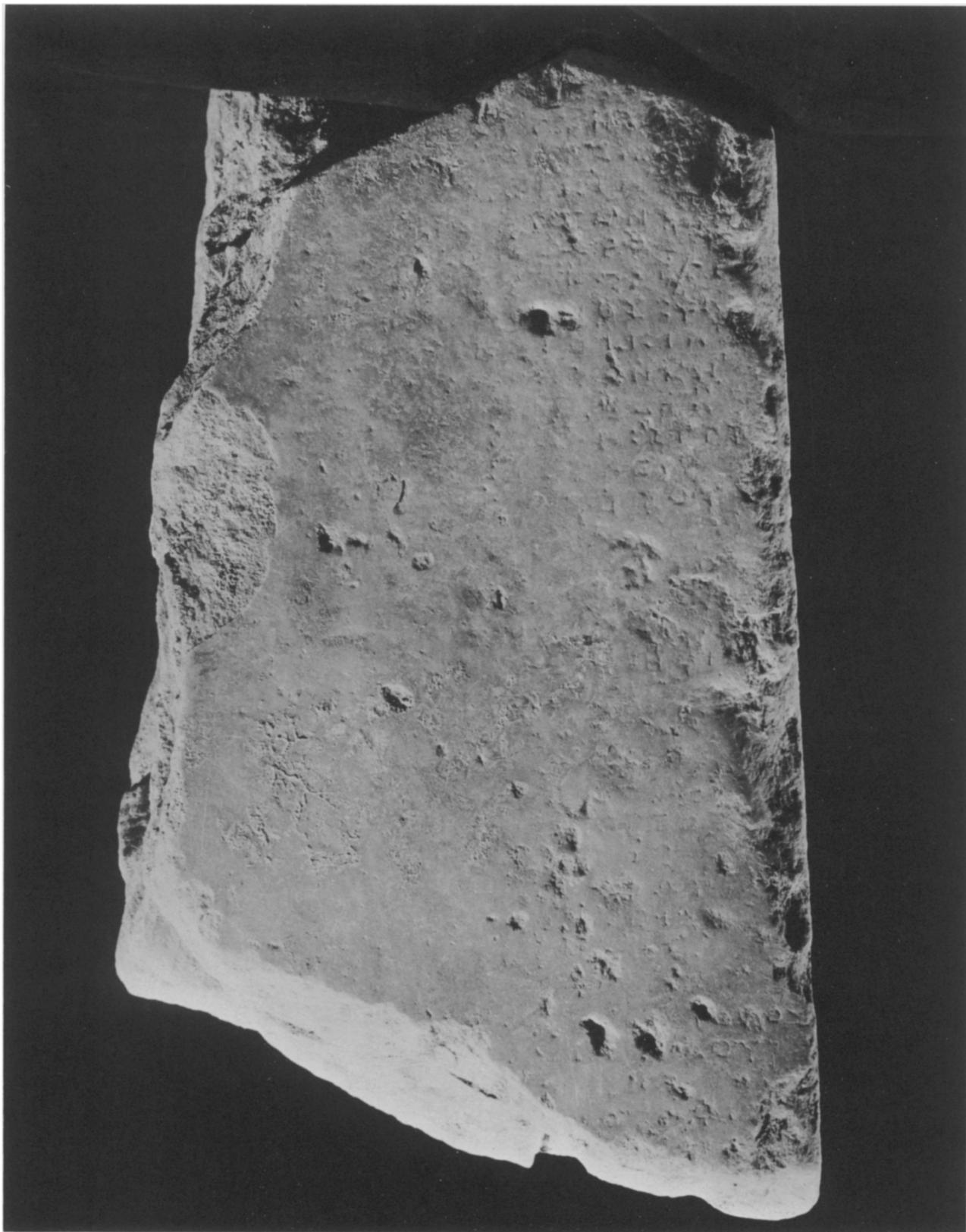
b. Reverse

Stele 2: I 7116

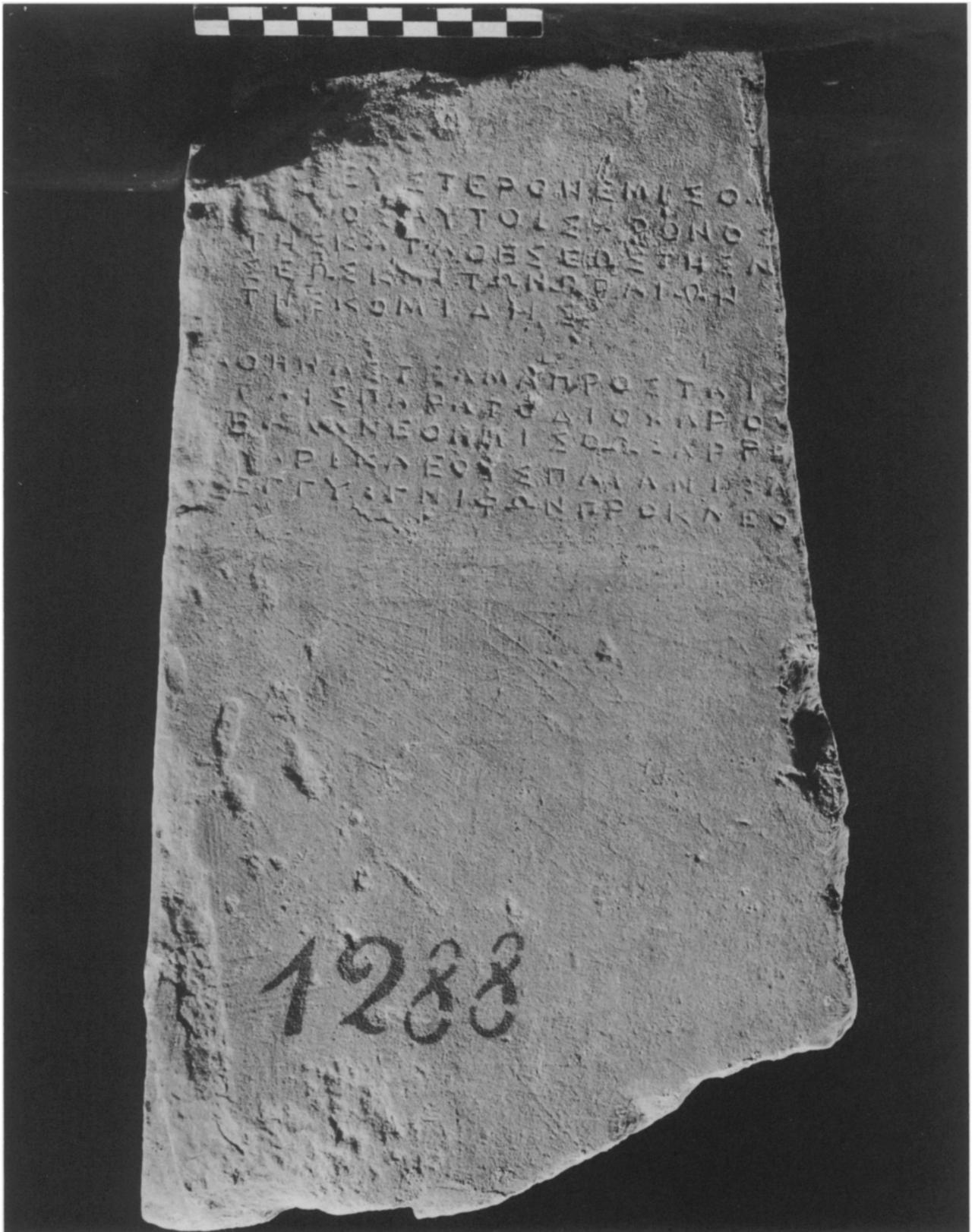
a. Obverse



MICHAEL B. WALBANK: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART II



Stele 3: E.M. 8694. Obverse



Stele 3: E.M. 8694. Reverse