

THE FARM OF TIMESIOS: ROCK-CUT INSCRIPTIONS IN SOUTH ATTICA

(PLATES 45-48)

THREE kilometers north of Cape Sounion lies the small valley of Agrileza running in a northward direction from the southeast coast into the ancient mining district of Laurion. Abundant archaeological remains testify to a variety of ancient activity in the valley—mining, quarrying, and farming. Evidence for the latter has been considered in detail by J. H. Young, who convincingly identified several towers and house remains in the southern part of the valley as ancient farms.¹ These farms are, for the most part, located at the edge of the mining district, and beyond tentatively explaining them as centers of food production for the large population connected with the mining industry,² little else could heretofore be said about them.

Recently, new evidence has been discovered which sheds some light on one of the establishments discussed by Young, the Cliff Tower and farm.³ Four rupestral inscriptions were found carved into outcroppings of bedrock at various points near the farm buildings (cf. Fig. 1).⁴ They provide us with some welcome information about the family that owned the farm and how they managed it.

1. An Invocation to Artemis

Fig. 2, Pl. 45: a, b

A three-line inscription cut on a roughly horizontal outcropping of bedrock (Agrileza marble) 22 meters due southeast of the southeast corner of the house (Fig. 1). The rock is exposed here for a distance of 3.70 m. north-south and 2.50 m.

¹ "Studies in South Attica: Country Estates at Sounion," *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 122-146. The farm is shown on Plate XV of Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Berlin 1881-83. Since Young's identification two such farmsteads located in other parts of Attica have been excavated: J. E. Jones, L. H. Sackett, and A. J. Graham, "The Dema House in Attica," *BSA* 57, 1962, pp. 75-114; *idem*, "An Attic Country House Below the Cave of Pan at Vari," *BSA* 68, 1973, pp. 355-452. See also J. E. Jones, "Town and Country Houses of Attica in Classical Times," *Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times (Miscellanea Graeca, fascicle 1)*, Ghent 1975, pp. 63-136, especially pp. 100 ff., with references to all related articles.

² As is done by Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142, and J. E. Jones *et al.*, *BSA* 68, 1973, pp. 451-452, note 251. In addition to the farms studied by Young, the authors have observed other probable farmsteads to the east of the Agrileza valley. They too are indicative of the heavy use to which arable land on the periphery of the mining district was put.

³ Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126.

⁴ The inscriptions were found in the autumn of 1973 by the authors and Eugene Vanderpool. For help with readings and interpretation we are especially indebted to Mr. Vanderpool, A. L. Boegehold, John Camp, Anastasia Dinsmoor, D. R. Jordon, A. R. Dyck, and Fordyce Mitchel.

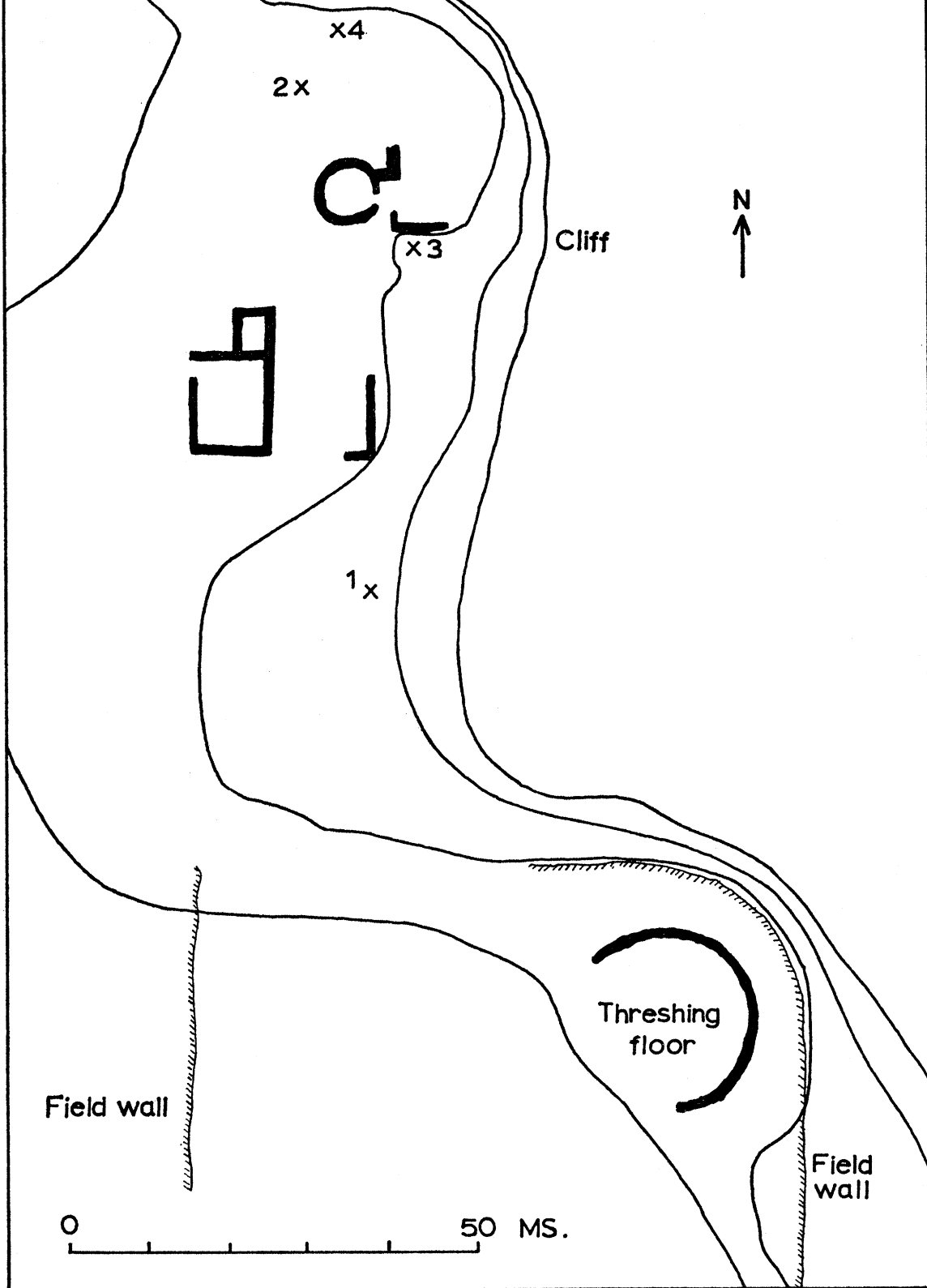


FIG. 1. Map showing Cliff Farm and location of rupestal inscriptions.

east-west. The inscription is located on the southern part of the outcrop and is complete except for a lacuna at the end of the second line. The letters vary in height from two to four centimeters and are neatly and regularly cut. The letter strokes are shallow and average 0.007 m. in width. Above the left part of the inscription are two circular cuttings, 0.10-0.12 m. in diameter.⁵

Ἄρτεμι, δὸς εὐμοίρ[ια]ν Δώρῳ Τι-
μησίῳ Τιμησίῳ τε παιδὶ τ[---]
Λυσιστράτῳ

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΕΥΜΟΙΡ ΙΑΝ ΡΩ ΙΤΙ
ΜΗΣΙΟΤΙΜΗΣΙΩ ΙΤΕΠΑΙΔΙΤ
ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΡ

FIG. 2. Artemis inscription (1).

Line 1: the last three letters of εὐμοίρ[ια]ν are uncertain. The rock surface is damaged after the rho and only a vertical hasta next to the delta of Δώρῳ can be read with certainty. See below, p. 165.

Line 2: to the right of the final tau the original surface of the rock is preserved another 0.12 m. but is so worn that all traces of letters have disappeared. The surface is also greatly worn to the left of the tau, but with the aid of raking sunlight and a solution of earth and water the letters can be read with a reasonable amount of certainty.

Line 3: the final letter is a rho corrected to omicron. The inscriber obviously forgot where he was in the name and cut a second rho. Realizing his mistake he rounded the loop of the rho to make an omicron but did not attempt to erase the vertical hasta.

The inscription is an invocation to Artemis and depending on the restoration at the end of line 2, it may be read in different ways. If we assume a short lacuna, we may restore τε παιδὶ τ[ὸ---] and translate the inscription "Artemis, give good fortune to Doros, son of Timesios, and to Timesios, child of Lysistratos." The

⁵ The depth of the cuttings could not be fully measured because they are now filled with earth. In view of their generous diameter, if they were for the tenons of a statue it must have been a large, life-sized figure.

⁶ At first, I thought that the inscription was a dedication and read Ἄρτέμιδος Εὐμοίρ[ο]. {ι} Δώρῳ κτλ., "(I am a statue) of Artemis Eumoiros. (I was dedicated) by Doros etc." But it would be quite unparalleled for the dedicants to be in the dative case and the unexpressed verb of dedication to be in the passive voice.

difficulty with this choice is epigraphic. There is not sufficient space to restore εὐμοιρ[ία]ν in line 1 without unduly crowding the letters at the end of the word.⁶ Alternatively, we may restore τε παιδί τ[ε---] and translate "Artemis, give good fortune to Doros, son of Timesios, to Timesios, and to the child of Lysistratos."⁷

The second of the two possible restorations might seem preferable to the first since the definite article of the other patronymic Τιμησίω is not written, but the difficulties created by this restoration incline me to favor τ[ὸ---] Λυσιστράτο. In restoring τε παιδί τ[ε---] we not only leave Τιμησίωι without a patronymic, but we also leave the child of Lysistratos without a name. This could be possible if the child were newly born and had not yet been given a name, but I do not find this convincing.

I had originally thought that the inscription was non-metrical, but by altering my proposed restorations in lines 1 and 2, it seems to scan as Iambic trimeters.⁸ In line 1 an infinitive εὐμοιρ[ε]ν would fit the space better, and at the end of line 2 the article τ[ὴν], governed by the preceding rather than the following name, is preferable:

- υ υ υ - | - - - - | υ - υ -
 * Ἀρτεμι δὸς εὐ μοιρ[ε]ν Δώ ρωι Τιμησίω
 υ - υ - | υ - υ - | υ - υ -
 Τιμησίωι τε παιδί τ[ὴν] Λυσιστράτο

The only irregularity is in line 1, where the third syllable of the second foot should be short but is long instead. But the irregularity occurs in a proper name, a circumstance not uncommon in verse inscriptions, and this should not be allowed to discredit the otherwise perfect Iambic scansion.

The implacement of a large bronze statue just above the inscription is perhaps not the best explanation for the circular cuttings. The rock shows no traces of a dressing to receive the soles of the feet, such as one normally finds when feet are secured by tenons. Furthermore, it would seem quite surprising to encounter a large statue placed so informally in the countryside. Perhaps the cuttings were intended to receive wooden posts which held statuettes or offering tables.

⁷ I can find only a few parallels to this type of invocatory prayer and they are all earlier: e. g. IG I², 650, from the Acropolis; IG IV, 212-215, dipinti on plaques from a sanctuary of Poseidon on Penteskouphia; the bronze statuette of Mantiklos from Thebes, cf. L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, no. 1.

⁸ After submitting the present article for publication, I had the opportunity of presenting 1 to an epigraphical seminar held at the American School of Classical Studies. In the lively discussion which followed, several very worthwhile suggestions were made which could have important bearing on the interpretation of the inscription. I am happy to be able to communicate here some of the views there expressed. My special thanks go to Mr. Denis Feissel, of the French School of Archaeology, and to Dr. Evelyn Harrison and Dr. Leslie Threatte of the American School for discussing some of the problems raised by this text.

The reason for the offering to Artemis is not known. It is tempting to connect it with mining activity. Artemis was a deity frequently associated with the Attic silver mines,⁹ and her blessing could have been appropriately called for by Timesios and his family as they were about to embark on some mining venture. Timesios is not recorded as a lessee in the extant mining leases, but these records are too fragmentary to rule out the possibility that he did engage in some mining activity. Until positive evidence of this is found, however, the question of the offering must remain open. Artemis controlled many facets of outdoor life,¹⁰ and respecting any one of them Timesios and his family could have called forth her blessings by setting up an offering in her honor.

2. A Land Transaction

Fig. 3, Pl. 45: c, d

On a flat sheet of bedrock nine meters due northwest of the tower (Fig. 1), an inscription cut in letters which vary from 0.028 to 0.076 m. in height. The letter strokes average about one centimeter in width and are deeply cut, but the forms are not so regular in shape as those of 1.

[---]μησιωι
 [---]'Αντιπάτρο
 [---]τομένης
 [---]πρὸς τὸν πύργ[ο]ν
 [---]μησεν

With the exception of the next to last letter in line 4, where the surface is worn, all of which preserved letters can be clearly read. The bedrock here splits along the fractures which extend the length of the inscribed surface, and part of the rock has broken away, taking with it part of the inscription at the left.

The verb ending in line 5 suggests *τιμάω* or a compound form. Remembering that the lines of the inscription run diagonally, we may restore a fairly long verb without violating a hypothetical left-hand margin fixed by short restorations in lines 1 and 2. A plausible text:

[Τι]μησίωι
 [τὸ]'Αντιπάτρο
 [Ἀρισ]τομένης
 [ἔδαφος] πρὸς τὸν πύργ[ο]ν
 [ἐναπετί]μησεν

⁹ More mines were named for Artemis than for any other divinity: see the index of mine names in M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 307, and her comment, p. 193.

¹⁰ For a full discussion of Artemis, see L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* II, Oxford 1896, pp. 425-468; also M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd ed., Munich 1967, pp. 481-500.

The inscription seems to deal with land and the payment of a debt: "To Timesios, son of Antipatros, [Aris]tomenes made over in settlement [land] in the direction of the tower." There are no existing epigraphic examples of such a transaction but a passage in pseudo-Demosthenes provides an exact parallel.¹¹ [Aris]tomenes

ΜΗΣΙΩ
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟ
ΤΟΜΕΝΗ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ
ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΠΥΡΓΟΥ Ν

FIG. 3. A Land Transaction (2).

apparently owed money to Timesios and failing to make good his debt he had to give up some of his land to his creditor. The parcel of land which was surrendered may have been contiguous with Timesios' farm. This is suggested by the point of reference in line 4 where the tower that is mentioned is no doubt the conspicuous round tower of Timesios' farm, located less than ten meters from the inscription.

Timesios is the owner of the farm. If my interpretation of 1 is correct, we are dealing with two different men with that name, so it is difficult to decide which of

¹¹ [Demosthenes], LIII. 20: τὸν δὲ Μάνην...ὁ Ἀρχέπολις ἀναπετίμησεν αὐτῷ. For a discussion of this passage see M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B. C. The Horos-Inscriptions*, New Brunswick (N. J.) [1952], p. 241, note 44.

them is the real owner. Timesios, son of Lysistratos, perhaps has the stronger claim, since he helped set up an offering on the farm, whereas Timesios, son of Antipatros, seems to be associated with the place in a more tenuous manner, merely receiving a plot of land near the farm's tower. In any case the two men were no doubt closely related, since the name is not common. The farm may even have been owned by two related families, and our two men may have been cousins or an uncle and nephew.

The name Timesios occurs twice in inscriptions dealing with southern Attica: a mining lease of 367/6 B.C. informing us that a Timesios owned fields with a mine in Nape of Sounion,¹² and another lease of the mid-4th century listing a Timesios Sounieus with fields with a mine.¹³ The relationship between these two men is not clear, but it seems likely that they are one and the same person. A connection between the Timesios of the mining leases and one of our gentlemen is also likely. The former owned fields in Nape and our farm is certainly in a *nape*. Mines were worked on the former's property, and evidence of ancient mining activity has been found within the boundaries of the farm (see below, pp. 175 f.). Finally, there is nothing in the letter forms or orthography of either inscription to disallow a date in the first half of the 4th century. Thus we may conclude that these four references to Timesios are to two closely related men, with the likelihood that three of them refer to Timesios, son of Lysistratos, owner of the Cliff farm at Sounion.¹⁴

With the exception of Timesios, none of the other men named in either inscription can be identified with certainty. Doros is attested in Attic prosopography,¹⁵ but there is no Doros Sounieus. A Lysistratos Sounieus, son of Menekydos,¹⁶ and an Antipatros Sounieus, son of Chairippos,¹⁷ do occur, but their connection to the Lysistratos of 1 and the Antipatros of 2 is uncertain. I could find no demesman of Sounion whose name ends in -tomenes.

(M. K. L.)

3. A Calendar to Hermes

Fig. 4, Pls. 46, 47

At the edge of the cliff, 8.30 m. southeast of the tower, there is exposed a natural shelf of marble on the level surface of which is an inscription (Fig. 1, Pl. 46: a). Eleven deep lines have been punched across the horizontal face of the rock, giving it the appearance of a lined sheet of paper. A natural crack along the left side of the inscription serves as its border. A second crack running down the middle

¹² M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 12-27, lines 57-58.

¹³ M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 236-240, no. 14, lines 9-11.

¹⁴ Timesios Semonidou Sounieus, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1918, p. 75, line 27, a lochagos in 324/3 B.C., must belong to the same family, but where he fits into the stemma is quite unclear.

¹⁵ *IG* II², 1751, line 62; *SEG* XIV, 239; *SEG* XXI, 949, all of the 4th century B.C.

¹⁶ *IG* II², 7425.

¹⁷ *IG* II², 7418.

of the rock has been used to divide the lines into two columns. At the top of the left column there is a heading below which are traces of letters (Pl. 46: b). The right column has a list of the twelve Attic month names in the first five spaces (Pl. 47: a). At the bottom of the column the responsible person is identified (Pl. 47: b).

Letter height: heading, 0.05-0.07 m.; month names, 0.03-0.04 m.; col. 2, bottom three lines 0.10-0.14 m.

Ἑρμῆς Ἀγαθός. Ἑρμα πρὸ Σουνίου.

Ἑρμη[.] θεοῦ [---]

[---]

ΚΕΘ [---]

[---]

Ἑκατονβαιών

Μεταγειτνιών

[Βοηδρομι]ώ[ν]

[Πυανο]ψιών

[Μαιμακτηριών]

[Ποσ]ιδε[ών]

[Γαμη]λιών

[Ἀνθεστηρι]ών

[Ἑλαφ]ηβολ[ιών]

[Μουνυχι]ών

[Θα]ργ[ηλιών]

[Σκιροφορι]ώ[ν]

vacat

Ἀν^ο[.]σώρος

ἐπὶ^οτροπος

χωρίου

Left column, line 1. This is the first instance of which I am aware of Hermes Agathos, Good Hermes. Ἀγαθός as a divine attribute normally occurs as the *agathos daimon*, or *agathe tyche*, the gods of good fortune. But Hermes is called δῶτορ ἑάων, the giver of good things (Homer, *Odyssey* VIII. 335; *Hymn. Hom. Hest.*, 8). He is also called κερδῶος, gainful or good at securing profit (Plu., *Mor.*, 472 B; Lucian, *Tim.*, 41), and Τύχων, lucky.¹⁸ Thus a lucky windfall, ἑρμαῖον, is considered the gift of Hermes. It is to this aspect of Hermes' character that ἀγαθός refers.

Ἑρμα is more of a problem. The primary meanings of the word are "support", "pillar", or "barrow", none of which seems to make sense here. However, scholars have hypothesized that ἑρμα is related linguistically to the name Hermes.¹⁹ In addi-

¹⁸ Cf. O. Kern, *Inscr. v. Magn.*, no. 203; also "Hermes Tychon," *AthMitt* 19, 1894, pp. 54-64.

¹⁹ A much debated subject, cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, Heidelberg 1960, pp. 36 ff., and II, 1973, p. 93; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd ed., Munich 1967, pp. 503-505, especially p. 504, note 1.

tion, the herm and ἔρμα could be similar in shape. Perhaps the identification of ἔρμα with herm was made here.²⁰

The phrase πρὸ Σουνίου probably refers to the deme center of Sounion rather than to the sanctuary at the cape or the area of the deme.²¹ Sounion village is thought to be located about two kilometers north of the Cliff Tower, up the Agrileza valley.²² The herm referred to would then be of the type known as προπύλαιος,²³ τὸν πρὸ πυλῶν,²⁴ or προθύρο,²⁵ which stood before a gate or settlement, affording it protection.

Line 2. In the fifth space there appears to be the trace of a vertical stroke at the right edge. The length and number of lines below the heading cannot now be made out. Instructions for sacrifice might have been in this section.

Right column, lines 1-12. The complete Athenian calendar can be restored. The stonecutter put one, two, or three month names between the lines in no apparent pattern. The month names are in the nominative, and they must have stood alone, with no particular day being specified as is normal in sacrificial calendars.

Line 13. The first preserved letter, restored as an alpha, could alternatively be a delta or lambda. After the possible uninscribed space, the next two spaces could read NO, but the surface is so badly pitted that there is no certainty. The -soros ending suggests a man's name.²⁶

Line 14. See Xenophon, *Oec.* XII. 3, for a bailiff on a rural estate. A single bailiff living permanently on the farm would explain the small size of the farmhouse. Timesios and his family may have lived in the nearby village of Sounion, or in Athens. The present owner of the lower of Timesios' fields comes from Keratea with a horse and plow to tend his land.

Line 15. The first two spaces are badly pitted. The next two spaces consist of a deep natural depression. In the fifth space the top diagonal strokes of a partially preserved letter form a V as from the top of a chi. Thus, these last three lines inform us that the man whose name appears in line 13 is the bailiff of this farm.²⁷

Two graffiti (Fig. 4) on the borders of the inscription record ancient visitors to the site, probably during the 4th century B.C. One Zoilos left his name scratched in thin letters above the heading of the inscription (Pl. 46:b). A less adept visitor

²⁰ William F. Wyatt explained some of the linguistic complexities of this subject to me.

²¹ See M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 193-194.

²² *IG* II², 1180, which relates to the building of a new agora at Sounion, was found there. See E. Ardaillon, *Les mines du Laurion dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1897, p. 212, and final map.

²³ Pausanias, I. 22. 8.

²⁴ F. Winter, *Pergamon*, VII, i, *Die Skulpturen*, Berlin 1908, p. 48, no. 27.

²⁵ E. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, pp. 121-122.

²⁶ B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1957, p. 284.

²⁷ If correctly read, this line confirms John Young's identification of this and similar sites as farmsteads. See also M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 194.

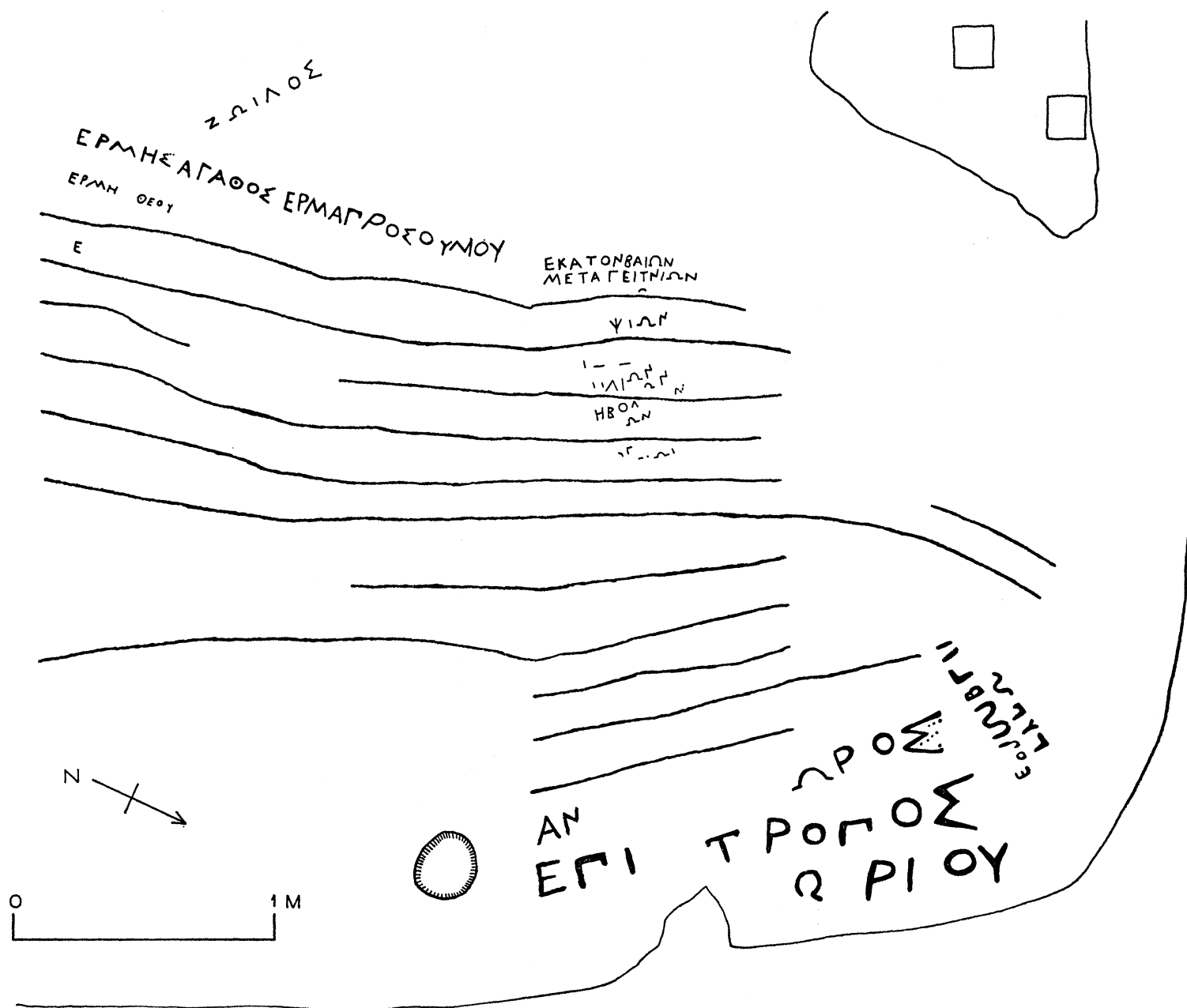


FIG. 4. Calendar to Hermes (3).

punched two lines of letters to the right and above line 13 (Pl. 47:b). The lines are nonsensical as the upside-down and retrograde pi in the second line illustrates. Our second visitor may have been a foreigner who did not know Greek, possibly one of the slaves who worked in the nearby mines,²⁸ or more probably a member of one of the quarrying crews which supplied stone for the sanctuary at the cape. Traces of extensive quarrying are visible in the cliffs immediately to the east, and the circular cutting where a column drum was removed can be seen just to the south of the inscription.

Dating the inscription precisely is difficult. The broad mu, high-stemmed nu, small theta and omicron are most common in stoichedon inscriptions of the early 4th century B.C., while the consistent use of the genitive -ov ending is more common after 360 B.C. In any case references from stoichedon to rupestral inscriptions are probably misleading. Two rupestral inscriptions from Thorikos, dated *ca.* 390-370 B.C. have similar letter forms.²⁹ We should probably remain content to assign this inscription to the 4th century B.C.

In form the inscription appears most similar to the Attic deme calendars which specify sacrifices to the gods. The Erchia calendar,³⁰ for instance, has the month names along the left side of each column at the beginning of each paragraph. I would suggest that this calendar regulated sacrifices to the god Hermes.

Support for this suggestion comes from two rectangular cuttings (Pl. 48:a) on a small rock shelf projecting above the west corner of the inscription (Fig. 4). These cuttings are the right size for herms,³¹ and, given their context, we may assume that they held images of Hermes, either two at once,³² or one replacing the other. Sacrifices were commonly made to Hermes and herms.³³ Vase paintings also attest to the prevalence of sacrifices before herms.³⁴ Thus we may conclude from the calendar and the cuttings that sacrifices were made to Hermes Agathos at this spot.

The motivation for the offerings to Hermes on this rural Attic farmstead is, I believe, suggested by a passage in Aischylos' *Eumenides*, lines 946-948. Invoking blessings on Attica, the Eumenides pray, "May the produce of the land honor the gods' gift, the lucky find (*έρμαιον*) of the earth's wealth." This passage has been

²⁸ This was suggested to me by John Camp. The mining slaves are extensively treated by S. Lauffer, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*, 2 vols., Mainz 1956.

²⁹ H. Mussche *et al.*, *Thorikos 1968 V*, Brussels 1971, pp. 151-153, nos. 3 and 5.

³⁰ G. Daux, *BCH* 87, 1963, pp. 603-634 = *SEG* XXI, 541.

³¹ The left-hand cutting measures 0.16 m. (front edge) by 0.14 m. (sides) by 0.03 m. (depth); the right-hand one measures 0.16 × 0.13 × 0.05 m.

³² See J. Marcadé, *BCH* 76, 1952, pp. 596-624.

³³ See R. Eitrem, *s. v.* "Hermes," *RE* VIII, i, cols. 738 ff., and *s. v.* "Hermai," *op. cit.*, cols. 703-704.

³⁴ In R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme*, Königsberg 1931, of the list (pp. 15-23) of 116 vases illustrating herms, 40 show sacrifice being offered before a herm, with an additional 10 showing an altar beside the herm.

recognized as a reference to the silver mines of Laurion.³⁵ Silver was found by accident, which made mining an especially risky venture, requiring luck.³⁶

Those involved in the mines prayed for a *hermaion* to come from Hermes.³⁷ I would infer from 1 that Timesios and his family invested in the silver mines, and I suggest that Timesios saw to it that sacrifices on his estate in Sounion were offered regularly to the Good Hermes.

4. Graffito

Fig. 5

Thirteen meters north of the tower at the south edge of the cliff where quarrying has removed a large section of stone, there is another rupestral inscription which reads retrograde, ANTIΔΙΚΕ.

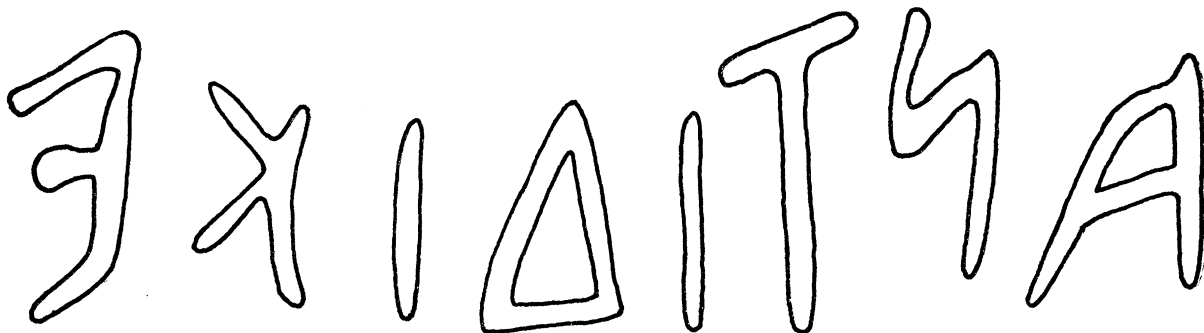


FIG. 5. Graffito (4).

The letters are roughly cut, averaging between four and five centimeters in height, and total 0.16 meters in length. The letter forms are archaic and suggest a date in the 6th century B.C. The graffito is perhaps a woman's name.³⁸

(L. V. W.)

Exploration in the area of the inscriptions revealed something of the nature of Timesios' farm. Two sets of field walls were found, both around 0.75 m. thick and similarly built, with two faces made up of moderate to large fieldstones set vertically side by side. The inner field wall (partially indicated on Fig. 1) forms a roughly rectangular inclosure just south of the farmhouse. Running south of the threshing floor for 50 meters along the edge of the cliff, the wall turns west and runs 50 meters up the slope, then returns north for 70 meters to a point a few meters west of the threshing floor. It is possible that the walls continued north-

³⁵ In Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, s. v. *πλουτόχθων*.

³⁶ Cf. Xenophon, *Vect.* IV. 28.

³⁷ Considering our inscriptions, it is probably no coincidence that the two most popular names for mines in the inscribed leases are Artemisiakon and Hermaikin (cf. footnote 9 above).

³⁸ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, p. 58, s. v. *Ἀντίδικος*, pointed out to me by Eugene Vanderpool.

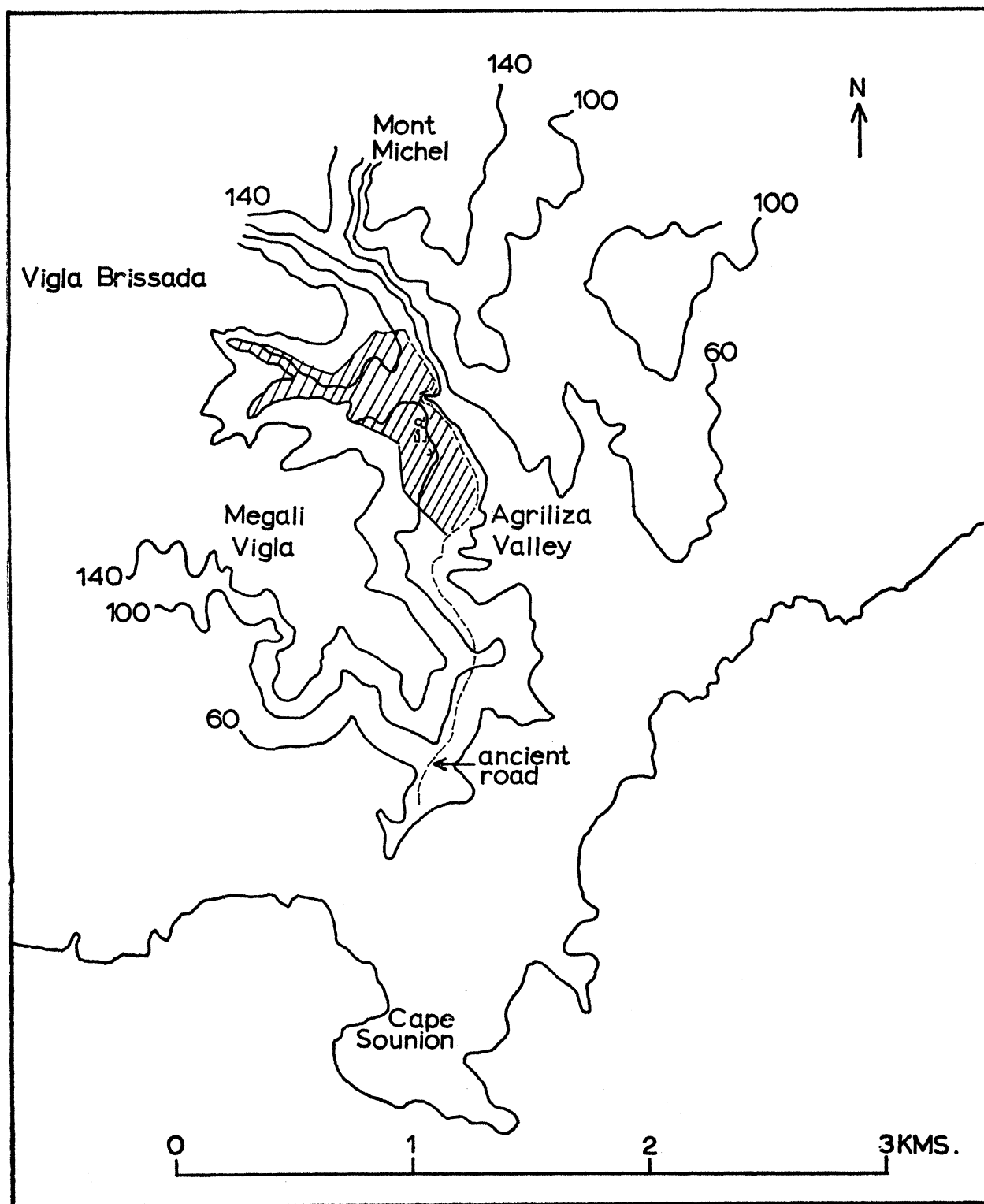


FIG. 6. Map of extreme Southern Attica showing area of Cliff Farm.

ward to the farmhouse or joined at the threshing floor. This inclosure is reminiscent of the similar one found at the Vari farm.³⁹ It probably served to pen animals.

The outer wall incloses a much larger area (Fig. 6, hatched area). At its southern end the wall runs westward from the ancient Sounion road⁴⁰ for 70 meters parallel and 50 meters south of the inner wall. It then turns northward and runs parallel and 120 meters west of the inner wall. The outer wall continues in a northward direction for 425 meters to the edge of the cliffs to the north. There, the wall turns west, and keeping to the edge of the cliff, skirts a large ravine and ascends the shoulder of Vigla Brissada. Continuing eastward, the wall descends into the Agrileza valley and disappears among the quarries above the ancient road. Its total length must exceed three kilometers. We know of no parallel to the outer inclosure of the Cliff farm. The Vari farm and the farm at the Dema wall lacked outer inclosures. Perhaps in southern Attica, where land use was so extensive and varied in antiquity, property owners were not content to mark their land simply with cairns or *horoi* but felt that field walls were necessary.⁴¹

The area of Timesios' estate was approximately 180 plethra, or 50 acres, a fair-sized farm by ancient Attic standards.⁴² We cannot rule out the possibility that the estate was originally smaller and that the land area now defined by the outer field wall includes the plot given over to the family by [Aris]tomenes.

Much of the terrain of the Cliff farm is rough. For the purposes of agriculture it is well to distinguish two types of land. The hillsides are rocky and dry, with shallow soil in places. They are ideal for a combination of cereal cultivation and grazing.⁴³ The slopes below, near the ancient road, constitute good agricultural land, where olives and vines as well as cereals could have been profitably cultivated.

An additional element of Timesios' farm was mining. Two ancient mines were found within the outer inclosure. One is located about 100 meters southwest of the house in an area heavily disturbed by later mine workings. It is an adit which meanders for some 50 meters just under the surface following a vein of ore. At one end of the adit is a vertical shaft, now filled with rubble, which gives access to a deeper contact. The second mine is located northwest of the house near the cliff face which gives the farm its name. It is a large adit which can be followed for

³⁹ Cf. J. E. Jones *et al.*, *BSA* 68, 1973, pp. 370-382, and fig. 4.

⁴⁰ This road is discussed and illustrated by J. Young, *Antiquity* 30, 1956, pp. 94-97.

⁴¹ This is not to deny the likelihood that landowners in other areas of Attica on occasion fenced in their farmland with walls. Plutarch, *Cimon* X. 1, is probably indicative of a general situation in Classical Attica.

⁴² See G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "The Estate of Phaenippus (Ps.-Dem., xlii)," in *Ancient Society and Institutions, Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford 1966, pp. 109-114. De Ste. Croix discusses past estimates of Phainippos' estate, said to be the largest in Attica. His own calculation of its size is around 100 acres, which is probably nearer the truth.

⁴³ For a useful explication of the agricultural potential of Greek land, see W. McDonald and G. Rapp, *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, Minneapolis 1972, pp. 180-182 (Class IV land).

only a short distance because of rubble. There may have been other ancient mines on the farm which were obliterated by later activity, so we are hesitant to identify these two mines with the Demetriakon and Heroikon which are recorded in the mining leases as being in the fields of Timesios.⁴⁴

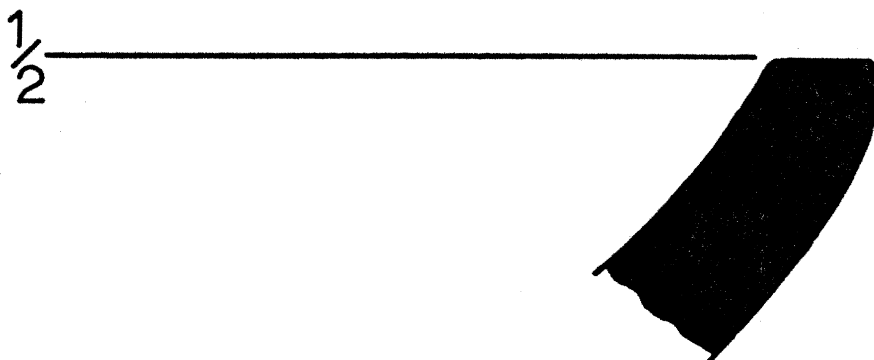


FIG. 7.

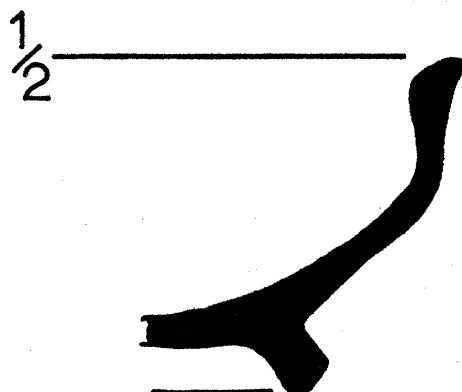


FIG. 8.

Although ancient mines were worked on Timesios' land, we may not therefore conclude that they contributed to the landowner's income. Like all mines, those on Timesios' land were owned by the state and leased out to concessionaires. A landowner in the mining district did not own the mineral rights to his land. He realized no profit from a mine on his own property unless he leased the rights to work it himself.⁴⁵ Timesios did not lease the two mines on his land which are recorded in the inscribed leases, but, as stated earlier, we cannot exclude the possibility that he did engage in mining activity somewhere else in the mining district.

⁴⁴ Demetriakon: Crosby, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 17, line 57; Heroikon: *idem*, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 236, no. 14, lines 10-11.

⁴⁵ On this much debated point see R. J. Hopper, *BSA* 48, 1953, pp. 227-228.

Even without mining income Timesios possessed a flourishing farm, one that, with the proper rainfall, yielded adequate produce. Not only could his own family's needs be supplied from such a good-sized farm, but the needs of the industrial population in the area could also be supplied, no doubt at a profit to Timesios. In gratitude for their prosperity and in hopes of more to come the family honored the gods: Artemis received an offering and Hermes regular dedications. We cannot know if their wishes were fulfilled, but at least we are thankful for this glimpse into the personal religious practices of one Attic household.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In the course of cleaning off the surface of **3** to expose its limits, several fragments of pottery and other artifacts were found, three of which are diagnostic:⁴⁶

1 (Fig. 7). Rim of a marble basin. Diam. *ca.* 0.24 m.; Th. 0.014 m. Similar in profile to the basin from the Dema house, cf. *BSA* 57, 1962, p. 84, fig. 4 E.

2 (Fig. 8, Pl. 48:b). Fragmentary one-handler. Diam. at rim 0.11 m.; H. 0.045 m. Black glaze inside and out except underside of base, which is reserved. Similar to B. A.

Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton 1970, p. 290, nos. 762-763. Date: 340-325 B.C.

3 (Pl. 48:c). Beehive (combed kalathos). Diam. at rim 0.25 m. Grooved horizontally on interior. Similar to the beehives from the Vari farm, cf. *BSA* 68, 1973, pp. 391-393.

(L. V. W.)

⁴⁶ We wish to thank Mr. P. Themelis of the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to clean off the inscriptions and to study the artifacts found during the cleaning.



a. Artemis inscription (1), left portion



b. Artemis inscription with cuttings

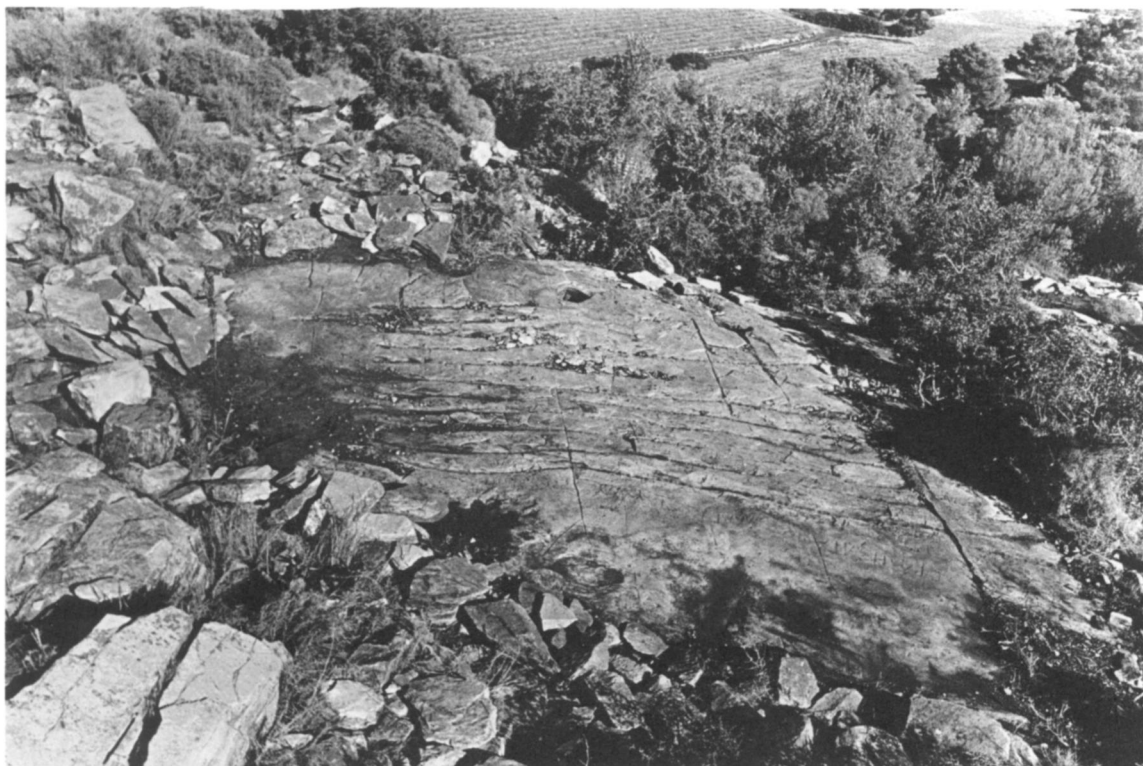


c. Land transaction (2), upper part



d. Land transaction, lower part

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a. Calendar inscription (3), general view from west



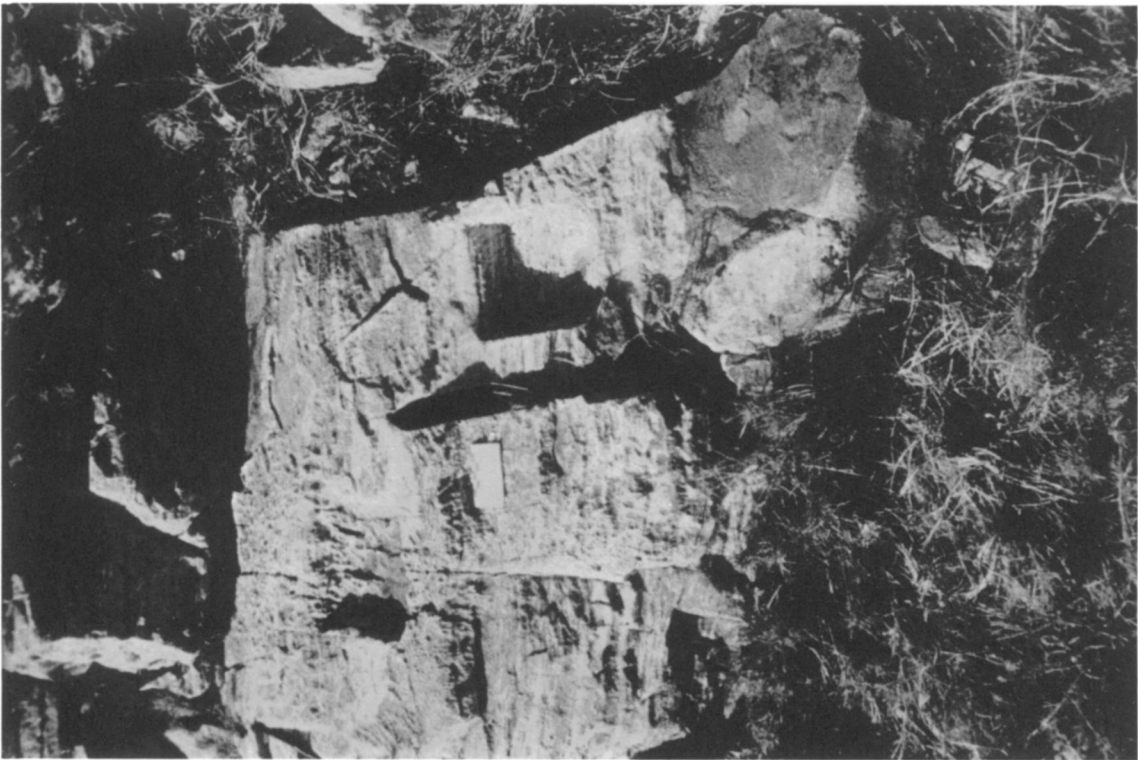
b. Calendar inscription, heading of left-hand column



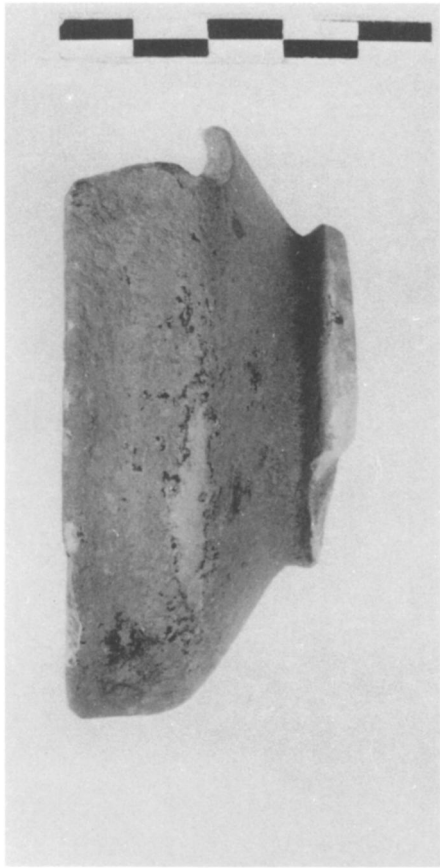
a. Calendar inscription, top of right-hand column



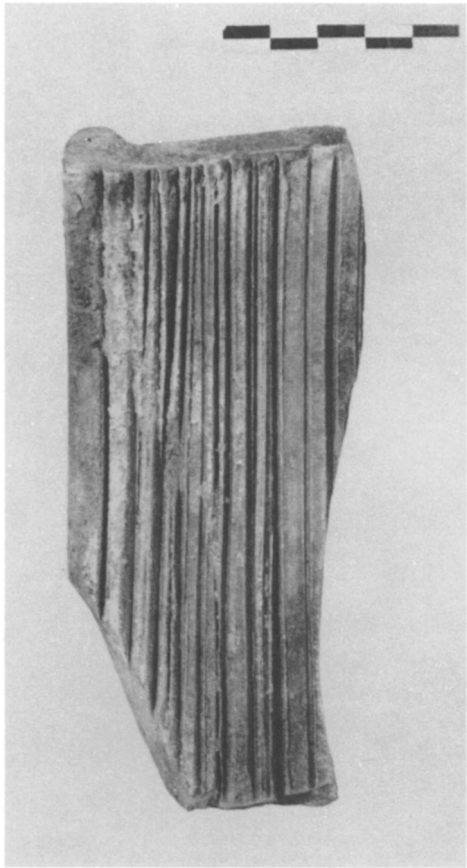
b. Calendar inscription, bottom of right-hand column



a. Cuttings above calendar inscription (3)



b. One-handler



c. Beehive (combed kalathos)