

THE CONFISCATION AND SALE BY THE POLETAI IN 402/1 B.C. OF THE PROPERTY OF THE THIRTY TYRANTS

(PLATES 27 and 28)

THE NINE FRAGMENTS of slightly micaceous Pentelic marble here discussed seem to derive from a single monument, a monument which comprised several stelai and was set up in the Agora, either near the Heliaia or near the office of the Poletai.¹ All but three of these fragments have been published before: two new fragments provide the date and context for this document, which bore a record of the sale by the Poletai of 402/1 B.C. of the real property of the Thirty Tyrants and of their adherents, the Ten, the Peiraieus Ten, and the Eleven, after the downfall of their oligarchy.²

Differences in checker patterns, in the thickness of the stelai, where preserved, and restorations and interpretations of the texts, have led me to the belief that these fragments

¹ I should like to thank Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., the Director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to work on and publish the Agora fragments of this document. I should also like to thank Mrs. Dina Peppas-Delmousou, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for permission to study and to republish the E.M. fragment. I am especially grateful to Dr. David M. Lewis for his advice during the preparation of this article. Specific contributions of Dr. Lewis are noted in the text. Those who know his work and his readiness to assist others working in this field will realize how much I owe him; in particular, his article "After the Profanation of the Mysteries," in *Ehrenberg Studies*, has been of immense value to me in establishing the history of this document, and it was Dr. Lewis who first suggested, in that article (p. 179), that some of the fragments here discussed might refer to the punishment of the Thirty Tyrants and their associates. I have benefited, too, from the comments and advice of Professors Merle K. Langdon, Benjamin D. Meritt, W. Kendrick Pritchett, T. Leslie Shear, Jr., and Homer A. Thompson. I acknowledge here the financial assistance afforded me by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and by the University of Calgary; this enabled me to spend the winter of 1977 and the summer of 1979 in Athens. I am grateful, too, to the British School of Archaeology in Athens, which admitted me as a Student of the School in the winter of 1977. Advance notice of some of the conclusions embodied in this article was given in a paper delivered by me at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Boston, Mass., on December 30, 1979 (abstract published in *AJA* 84, 1980, p. 238).

The following special abbreviations are used in this article:

Agora XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora, XV, The Inscriptions: The Councillors*, Princeton 1975

APF = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families: 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971

Ehrenberg Studies = D. M. Lewis, "After the Profanation of the Mysteries," *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford 1966, pp. 177–191

PA = *Prosopographia Attica*, J. Kirchner, ed., Berlin 1901–1903

² See Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 39.6; Philochoros, *FGH* 328, fr. 181.

comprised several stelai, perhaps as many as six: Stele I, fragments *abc*; Stele II, fragment *d*; Stele III, fragment *e* (if it is not the bottom of Stele II); Stele IV, fragments *fg*; Stele V, fragment *h* (if it is not the top right corner of Stele IV); Stele VI, fragment *i* (if it not the top of Stele II or Stele III).

STELE I (Pl. 27:a)

Fragment *a*: Found in the wall of a modern house on July 26, 1949 east of the Stoa of Attalos and published by B. D. Meritt.³ The top, left edge and smooth-dressed back are preserved. Traces of red paint appear in some of the letters.

P.H. 0.380 m.; p.W. 0.355 m.; Th. 0.084–0.088 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 6225

Fragments *bc*: Two joining fragments bearing the same inventory number. They were found in a Byzantine context on June 30, 1970 at Agora grid square J 5. The top and smooth-dressed back are preserved on both fragments. Traces of red paint appear in some letters.

P.H. 0.178 m.; p.W. 0.234 m.; Th. 0.086 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 7202

Fragments *abc*, combined dimensions:

P.H. 0.380 m.; p.W. 0.492 m.; Th. 0.084–0.088 m.

H. of letters, line 1 and beginning of line 2, 0.015 m.; line 2, 0.012–0.013 m.; line 3, 0.009–0.011 m.; lines 4, 5, 0.007–0.008 m.; lines 7ff., 0.006–0.007 m. The first three lines are non-stoichedon, with vertical spacings of 0.022 m., 0.018 m. and 0.005 m. respectively between the beginnings of lines 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4. Lines 4 and 5 are stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0120 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0110 m. There are some irregularities in the horizontal spacings, especially towards the right, where some cramping seems to occur.

a. 402/1 *a*.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

<i>abc</i>	Εὐθύμαχ[ο]ς ΑΛΚ[----- ἐγραμμάτ]-	<i>ca.</i> 34
	εὐε· ἐπὶ τῆς Α[ι]γνίδος ἐβ[δόμης πρυτανείας· ----- ^{ca. 28}]	<i>ca.</i> 62
	[.]αι ἀπέδ[ον]το ἐπὶ [Μ]ίκωνος ἄρ[χοντος] ----- ^{ca. 36}]	<i>ca.</i> 65
	[.]ατος Πλωθε[ιεύς] ἐγραμμά[τευε]· τῶν Τριάκοντα [--- ⁸²]	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 120?
5	[πέ]ντε ἔτεσιν η[. 3.] τ[ῶ]ν ὀλι[γαρχῶν] ΤΟΜΜΕΡΟΣ[--- ⁸⁵]	

vacat

Column I	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25	Column II	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25
[Μ]ένιππος Φαλ[ηρε]ὺς [ἀπ]έ[γραψεν]		Νεοτ[. ?!]	
[Εὐ]μάθος Φαλ[ηρε]ὺς οἰκίας Φ[αλ v]-		-----	
[ηρο ?]ἰ ἡμισυ ἦι [γ]είτωμ βορρά[θε]-			
10 [---][v βοη]θός· νοτόθεν δὲ ΑΠΟΧΟΠΑΝ[.]			
[ἐπώ][. . .] ἐπρίατο Νομήνιος Καλλίο [Φα]-			
[---][ληρε ?]ὺς ἐγγυ	<i>vacat</i>		

³ *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 243–244, no. 40.

- [καταβολή] τὸ ἐνιαυτὸ ἐκάστο [. 3 .]
vacat
- 15 [. . . . ?] Σφήττιος ἀπέγρ[αψε]-
 [ν ᾿Αναιτίο ? Σ]φήττιο οἰκία<ν> κα[ῖ . 2 .]-
 [. . . . !¹⁰] ι ὦ[ι γεί]των νοτ[όθε]-
 [ν ?] μντ[. 2 .] βορρᾶ[θεν δέ]
 [---][. . . . !¹¹] θ[. . . 6 . 3 .] ἐπρ[ίατο]
 20 [ἐπώ][. . . . !¹¹] ν[.] τ[. 2 .] ἰο Σφή[ττιο]-
 [---][ς ἐγγν *vacat*] *vacat*
 [καταβολή; . 3 .] ††† *vacat*
vacat
- [. . . . ?] ἐκ Κ[εραμέων ἀ[πέγρα]-
 25 [ψεν 8] κ Κεραμέω[ν . 4 . .]-
 [. . . . !¹²] μῆι ΚΩΙΩ[. . 6 . .]
 [---][. . . . !¹²] ὀφίλος ν[οτόθεν]
 [ἐπώ][δὲ !¹² 3 .] ἐπρ[ίατο . 5 . .]
 [---][. !¹³] ΛΟ[---- ἐγγν *vacat*]
 30 [καταβολή; ----- *vacat*
-

Line 1: Of the lambda only the left foot survives, its bottom 0.040 m. to right of the left foot of the preceding alpha; 0.050 m. to right of it is the bottom of a vertical, whose distance from it suggests that it is the bottom of a central, rather than of a left, vertical. Since the spacing of this line is irregular, however, it cannot be said with certainty that this is a central vertical: I shall argue (p. 77 below) that the name partially preserved here is a patronymic rather than a demotic, possibly ᾿Αλκ[ιμάχο]; a central vertical would make possible a name such as ᾿Αλϕ[πητος] or ᾿Αλϕ[ίνους], both attested in the 4th century (*PA* 659–661).

Line 2: Payments of instalments due on the sales of confiscated property were normally made in the ninth prytany on the year:⁴ the letter traces surviving here, however, support the reading ἐβ[δόμης] rather than ἐν[άτης]. Though the vertical stroke is clear, the rest of the second letter of the prytany number is badly abraded: neither loop of beta is more than an eroded half circle about a raised center, but there is no trace of a diagonal such as that of a nu, and the shape of beta is more appropriate to the surviving traces than would be the shape of kappa; thus, ἐκ[της] seems quite ruled out. In any case, Aristotle was discussing the date of future payments of instalments rather than that of the original sales, so that I see no real bar to reading ἐβ[δόμης] here.

Line 3: The top of the iota of the archon's name survives.⁵ No other name is possible in light of the letter forms.

Line 4: Meritt restored Πλωθε[ῖς υῡ]. *IG* II², 1172, line 11 gives the correct form.

⁴ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47.3.

⁵ For the date of Mikon's archonship, see Diodoros, xiv.17.

Line 5: The top of the right hasta of nu survives at the left edge of *a*, and a faint vertical, apparently with a central bar to right of it, is preserved before the abraded area in the center of the fragment. On fragment *b* a horizontal stroke appears at the top of the line, beginning to left of the stoichos; its right end is lost. Next to it the upper two thirds of a circular letter survive, again a little to left in its stoichos: the bottom is lost, but there is no trace on the right where one might expect to find the right foot of an omega; it is possible that the mason inscribed TO where he should have inscribed TΩ, a not unreasonable assumption in light of the number of errors and corrections to be found in this series of stelai. (Indeed, as Meritt remarked of fragment *a*, there has been some reworking of line 4 [and also of line 5], suggesting that the mason was prone to error.) The next letter, too, is set to the left of its stoichos, probably because this and its righthand neighbor, both mus, are wider than other letters. Normal spacing resumes with the following EP. After rho the stone is badly pitted and abraded but the surviving traces suggest omicron, followed by the upper angle of a sigma: accordingly, I have dotted omicron but not sigma.

If it is assumed that the Secretary's name was listed in line 1 by demotic alone, the demotic must be restored as Ὑπάρχων[μύσιος], and the line will be 26 letters in length: this would allow line lengths of *ca.* 47, 50, 90 and 90 letters respectively for lines 2, 3, 4 and 5, and the stele would have to be restored with three columns of sales. If, on the contrary, four columns of sales are restored, line 1 will have to be about 34 letters in length, so that a patronymic as well as a demotic will be required. Fragment *d*, line 6 mentions a Euthymachos Agrylethen. It would be reasonable to assume that the Secretary of line 1 is the same person and to restore, for instance, Εὐθύμαχος Ὑπάρχων Ἀγρυλλήθεν; lines 2–5 would then have lengths of *ca.* 62, 65, 120 and 120 letters respectively. An advantage of such an arrangement is that more flexibility is achieved thereby for the restoration of lines 4, 5.

With the longer line length lines 2–4 should be restored in some such manner as follows: [τάδε τὰ δημοπράτα παρέλαβον^{υυ} | κ]αὶ ἀπέδ[ον]το ἐπὶ [Μ]έκωνος ἄρχοντος οἱ πωληταὶ οἷς — — — — | 2.]ατος Πλωθε[ιεύς] ἐγραμμά[τενε]. This man will be listed by patronymic and demotic; it is most unlikely that this secretary and the secretary of line 1 are the same person.

In lines 4–5 the surviving phrases and letters call for some such rubric as [ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τὸν πριάμενον (or τὸς πριάμενος) ἅπασαν τὴν τιμὴν ἐν | πέ]ντε ἔτεσιν;⁶ line 4 will also have to accommodate a reference to the Thirty (and to their adherents?) as owners of the confiscated properties, while line 5 continues with a reference to the oligarchy (or to the oligarchs?), perhaps beginning a new clause.

The shorter line length discussed above would necessitate rephrasing my restoration of lines 2–4 in rather awkward fashion, as follows: [τάδε οἱ πωληταὶ^{υυυ} | τ]αὶ ἀπέδ[ον]το ἐπὶ [Μ]έκωνος ἄρχοντος τῶν δημοπράτων οἷς ^{*ca.* 4} — — — — | 2.]ατος Πλωθε[ιεύς] ἐγραμμά[τενε]. Restoration of lines 4–5 along the lines that I have suggested above seems virtually impossible: thus, despite the very great width, in relation to thickness, that this implies for the stele, I have restored it with four columns of sales.

⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47.3, where the purchase of houses has to be completed within 5 years and that of land within 10 years.

Line 6: In Column I the left curve and upper vertical of phi survive, followed by the right foot of alpha and the apex of lambda. In Column II the top of the right hasta of nu may be preserved but the stone is extremely worn so that it cannot be said with assurance that this is a letter stroke; if it is not, then the initial letter of the name could be theta. Menippos, in Column I, is presumably the demarch of Phaleron; he is not otherwise known. Meritt printed [ἀπ]ε[γράφαιτο]; for the active form of the verb, see fragment *fg*, line 13. In any case, as Lewis points out (*per ep.*), the middle is more appropriate to mining leases than to denunciations for confiscation.

Line 7: Meritt printed [. . .⁶. . .]μαθος [. . .⁷. . .]ς οἰκίας φ[-----]. The two inner and the right outer diagonals of mu survive at the left edge. In the space occupied by this person's demotic the surface is worn away, progressively deeper towards the right. Of the first letter a circle is preserved, considerably smaller in diameter than that of the omicron in the stoichos next but one to its left; the vertical, though faint, is clear on the stone but does not show up in the photograph. Traces of letters are preserved in the next three stoichoi: in particular, eta, although it does not show on a squeeze, is visible on the stone as a brownish discoloration. Alpha is very faint but complete; only the left leg of lambda survives. Eumathes is listed by Xenophon (*Hellenika* II.3.2) as one of the Thirty. Xenophon does not identify them by demotic or patronymic, but it was hypothesized by R. C. Loeper⁷ that Xenophon's list was in the official order of phylai, three representing each phyle. No other order is discernible in this list, and the five Tyrants whose demotic, and therefore phyle, affiliations are definitely known are placed appropriately to this official order (Kritias, Theramenes, Anaitios, Drakontides, and Aristoteles). Eumathes ought therefore to belong to the phyle Aiantis; the restoration of the demotic Φαλη[ρεω]ς in this line shows that this is, indeed, the case, and the likelihood that Loeper is correct is increased. There still remain, however, a further 24 Tyrants whose phyle affiliations are unknown, and a strong case can be made for placing one of these, Erasistratos, in Acharnai and thus in the phyle Oineis rather than Hippothontis, where Loeper's hypothesis requires that he be placed.

Line 10: The first letter is much abraded but the traces surviving suggest a circular letter underlying a triangular abrasion. Meritt printed a theta here, without dot. Boethos of Phaleron is probably the father of Ktesiphon and grandfather of another Boethos who was a bouleutes *ca.* 330 B.C.⁸ No suitable restoration comes to mind for the southern boundary of this property. The bottom of the left diagonal and part of the horizontal of alpha survive, and the remaining letters of this word, or words, are clear; they do not seem to belong to any known name, either of person or of place. At the right edge the bottom of the left hasta of nu is preserved.

Lines 11–12: This man is unknown. The pattern seems to be that the purchasers of these properties were neighbors of the original owners; thus, the restoration Φ[α|ληρε]ύς seems very likely. I have restored Φ[αλ^v|ηρο]ῖ in lines 8–9 as the location of the property, despite the awkwardness of the spacing, since no other restoration seems likely or even possible. Meritt argued that ἐγγυ in line 12 and subsequently throughout the series was an

⁷ *Zurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* 305, May–June 1896, pp. 90–101. See now D. Whitehead, "The Tribes of the Thirty Tyrants," *JHS* 100, 1980, pp. 208–213. I am grateful to Dr. Whitehead for his comments on this point (*per ep.*).

⁸ See *IG* II², 7612, line 2 and *Agora* XV, no. 46, line 35.

abbreviation for ἐγγυ<ητής>, rather than for ἐγγύ<η> or ἐγγύ<ης>;⁹ later, however, he changed his mind and argued, I believe correctly, that the expanded form should be ἐγγυ<ηθείς> and that in each case the translation should be “that so-and-so, properly bonded, purchased the property.”¹⁰

Line 13: The rubric for instalment payments is here set out in full; in subsequent sales it is shortened to καταβολή alone. The term of payment is probably 5 years in every case, despite Aristotle’s statement¹¹ that 10 years was the normal term for sales of land.

Lines 16–17: It is known that Anaitios, one of the Thirty, was from Sphettos. I have therefore restored his name here on the suggestion of D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*). Once again, we have a case where demarch, previous owner and purchaser all come from the same deme; thus, the property listed is also likely to be in Sphettos. I restore tentatively: οἰκία<ν> κα[ἰ χω]ρίον Σφηττοῖ. Meritt printed a nu after the last preserved stoichos but I can see no trace of this on the stone.

Line 18: A diagonal apex is preserved, a little to the right of center in its stoichos, so that lambda is less likely than mu. For the placing of the punctuation mark, see line 10. The upper loop of beta is preserved.

Line 19: The top left corner of rho survives at the right edge.

Line 20: At the right edge the left hasta of eta survives.

Line 22: The horizontal of a third drachma sign is preserved at the left edge.

Line 25: Since Kerameis belonged to the tribe Akamantis, it is tempting to look for another Akamantid Tyrant here; in fact, one could restore [Πείσωνος] here, since Peison’s name follows that of Anaitios in Xenophon’s list. There is, however, no prosopographical support for placing Peison in Kerameis. Chaireleos, the other assumed Akamantid, has been tentatively assigned to Hagnous.¹² In this line the bottom of the lower arm of kappa is preserved at the left edge.

Line 26: The letters here are quite clear, even on a photograph, and I could detect no trace of an erasure or of re-engraving. Lewis suggests (*per ep.*), I think correctly, that what was intended to be inscribed here was [ἐν Κερα]μ<έων> ᾧ γ[είτωμ β]ορρᾶθεν . . .⁵ . . .]όφιλος, with some such name as Aristophilos, rather than Meritt’s Theophilos.

Line 29: The upper two thirds of a triangular letter, followed by a circular letter, survive here; the traces rule out the demotic ἐκ Κεραμέων.

STELE II (Pl. 27:b)

Fragment *d* (IG II², 1579): Found “*ad porticum Attali*” in 1865 and republished by B. D. Meritt.¹³ The left edge and smooth-dressed back are preserved.

⁹ *Hesperia* 4, 1935, pp. 570–571.

¹⁰ *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 184. Whatever the interpretation, the absence of names is puzzling: is the gap after ἐγγυ intended for temporary “pencil-in”, to be erased after payment, a practice resembling that of erasing the whitened boards upon which debts to the state were registered? In such a case, ἐγγυ<ητής> would be preferable to ἐγγυ<ηθείς>.

¹¹ *Ath. Pol.*, 47.3.

¹² *PA* 15137, 15138; see also *APF*, no. 2921 (XII).

¹³ *Op. cit.* (footnote 10 above), pp. 181–184, no. 31 *a*.

P.H. 0.300 m.; p.W. 0.325 m.; Th. (top left) 0.083 m., (bottom right) 0.086 m.
 H. of letters 0.007–0.008 m.; horizontal checker 0.0120 m.; vertical checker 0.0110 m.
 Epigraphical Museum Inv. E.M. 7956

Column I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

<i>d</i>		[...?... Ἀγρυλ]ῆθ[εν ἀπέγραψεν] [...?...?...]ηττίο ο[ικίαν...?...] [...?...?...]κιον Ἀγρ[υλῆσιν, ὧι γε]-
5	[HHΔΠ] [ἐπώ] [Π]	[ίτωμ βο]ρρᾶθεν ἡ δόδος; νοτόθεν δ]- [ἐ] Εὐ[θ]ύμαχος· ἐπρίατ[ο...?...] τος Εὐθυμάχο Ἀγρυλ[ῆθεν ἐγγυ ^υ] καταβολή; ΔΔΔΔΠΠ ^υ [vacat] <Λ>ευκόλοφος ἐξ Σαλα[μῖνος τάδε] ἀπέχ; Θεομένος Ξυπε[ταιῶνος οἰ]-
10	HHHHΔ ἐπώ ΠΠΠΠ	κίαν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι π[...?...?]- ι ἡ γείτωμ βορρᾶθ[εν...?...?]- οτόθεν δὲ Νικόδικ[ος· ἐπρίατο Σ]- ωσίνομος Ἀριστονό[μο...?...]- σ ἐγγυ vacat
15		καταβολ<ή> ΔΔΔΔΠΠ vacat Θεομένος ἑτέρα οἰκία [ἐν...?...]-
	ΗΔΔΔΔΠ ἐπώ [ΠΠΠ]	τίωι ἡ γείτωμ βορρᾶθ[εν ἡ δόδος;] νοτόθεν δὲ Ἐξήκεστος· [ἐπρίατο] Μέλητος Μεγακλέος Ἀλ[ωπεκῆθε]-
20		υ ἐγγυ vacat [καταβολή; ΔΔΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠ vacat

Line 1: Previous editors have printed IO here; the vertical is, however, actually low and to right of center, while the circular letter is only partially preserved, so that it could be either omicron or theta. Since the property listed is in Agryle, it is extremely likely that the lister is the demarch of Agryle. Accordingly, I have restored this demotic here.

Line 2: The demotic could be Gargettios, Sypalettios, or Sphettios; an obvious candidate for this space is the Sphettian whose property was listed on fragment *a*, lines 15–22, and whose name, I have assumed, was Anaitios, one of the few members of the Thirty whose demotic is known. One might therefore restore [...?... Ἀγρυλ]ῆθ[εν ἀπέγραψεν | Ἀναιτίο Σφ]ηττίο ο[ικίαν ἡι πρόθυρον τὸ δίκιον].¹⁴

Line 5: The right tip of the bottom horizontal of epsilon survives, followed by the bottom of a central vertical; the next letter has entirely disappeared, while the bottom of another

¹⁴ Suggested by D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*), after R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1969, no. 79 B, lines 76–77.

central vertical is preserved in the following stoichos. It is very likely, therefore, that Euthymachos, the father of the purchaser, is also the southern neighbor of this property. I have argued (above, Stele I) that he may have been Secretary to the Boule at the time when these transactions were registered. Euthymachos, however, is a common name.

Line 6: The bottom of a central vertical survives in the first stoichos.

Line 7: It can be assumed from lines 8–15 that instalments were spread over 5 years; so, from the instalment figure here listed, we can calculate that the full purchase price was 215 drachmai and the tax 5 drachmai.¹⁵

Line 8: The mason carved alpha for lambda. Salamis was not an Attic deme, but Leukolophos must have held some official position on the island equivalent to that of demarch; moreover, since his name appears without Attic demotic, he is not likely to have been an Athenian citizen. In *IG II²*, 1672, line 274 (329/8 B.C.), however, an Athenian is listed as behaving in Salamis as a demarch would, even though he is not named as such. Salamis was ruled by an Athenian archon in the latter part of the 4th century.¹⁶

Line 9: The upper left corner of epsilon is preserved. Theomenes of Xypete is not otherwise known; Xenophon's list of the Thirty contains two names that are very similar to it and to one another, separated by only one name. Theognis, if Loeper's hypothesis be correct, will have belonged to the phyle Kekropis, while Theogenes will have been the first representative of Hippothontis; Theomenes' deme Xypete belonged to Kekropis. I am tempted, despite the misgivings of D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*), to suggest that Xenophon, or his copyist, wrote down Theognis' name in error for Theomenes. If the original list was set out in columns, somewhat like a casualty list, phyle by phyle, it would be easy enough for Xenophon to have written Theogenes' name twice and for his copyist then to have attempted to correct this by substituting the name Theognis. There is actually a variant manuscript reading Theagenes for Theogenes which might represent another copyist's effort to differentiate the two men. As Lewis points out, however, there are serious difficulties in accepting such a hypothesis; the evidence collected at *PA* 6736 seems to indicate that Theognis the Tyrant was also Theognis the tragic poet of the late 5th century. This identification rests mainly upon the testimony of a scholiast to Aristophanes;¹⁷ the same scholiast adds, however: *ὁς καὶ Χίων ἐλέγετο*. Thus, there is no clear evidence that Theognis the tragic poet was also one of the Thirty. But this does not remove the far more serious objection that Lysias (xii.6) also mentions Theognis by name as one of the Thirty. Admittedly, Lysias does not say in so many words that Theognis was a member of the Thirty, but the implication is that he was, since Lysias couples him with Peison (*Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς Τριάκοντα . . .*). There are two other possibilities: that Theomenes was not one of the Thirty but one of their adherents; or that Xenophon's Theogenes should be emended to Theomenes, thus invalidating Loeper's hypothesis. For the former there is, in fact, some support: it seems that this fragment is concerned with properties located outside the deme-of-residence of the original owner. Thus, it may have been an appendix to Stele I or even to the whole series, making no differentiation between Tyrants and their adherents. I believe (see

¹⁵ See W. K. Pritchett, "Fourth-Century Athenian Sales-Taxes," *CP* 51, 1956, pp. 100–102.

¹⁶ See Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 54.8 and 62.2.

¹⁷ *Acharnenses*, 11 and 140; *Thesmophoriazousae*, 170.

below, p. 91) that its thickness does not permit it to be assigned to the same stele as fragments *abc*.

Line 10: The last surviving letter seems to be pi, rather than the epsilon that was printed by previous editors: the top bar and the beginnings of the verticals are preserved. I have no suggestions for the nature or location of this property on Salamis.

Line 11: The bottom of the right hasta of the first 100-sign is preserved.

Line 12: Nikodikos is not otherwise known. He may be a native Salaminian, or else an Athenian property owner. Sosinomos son of Aristonomos is likewise unknown.

Line 15: The mason inscribed nu instead of eta.

Lines 16–17: This property, too, is on Salamis.

Line 17: Previous editors restored the first numeral as [H]. That this restoration is correct is shown by the traces of a vertical stroke whose bottom survives at the edge, though it seems to be where a left, rather than a right, hasta would be placed. My calculation of the sum of the instalment (line 21) is further support for the restoration of a 100-sign here.

Lines 19–20: The purchaser Meletos may be the same man as the purchaser of the property listed on fragment *e*, lines 3–4 (*PA* 9828). In line 20 the top of the right hasta of nu survives.

Line 21: Below the epsilon and omicron of line 19 the tops of two verticals are preserved; thus, $\vdash\vdash$ must be restored here, leaving space for five numerals to their left. Whatever is restored in line 17, the instalment will end in the figure 9 $[\Pi\vdash\vdash]\vdash\vdash$, so that only two more numerals are needed. The choice is further restricted because there is space only for one numeral in line 17 where the bottom of a (leftish) vertical is preserved. $[\Delta\Delta]$ would give an instalment of 29 and a purchase price of 145 drachmai. $[\text{HH}]$ would give an instalment of 209 and a purchase price of 1045 drachmai. These seem to be the only choices. What remains of the first numeral in line 17, however, is better interpreted as H than as X , and I have restored 145 and 29 drachmai as purchase price and instalment respectively, with a tax of 3 drachmai, 1 obol.

STELE III (Pl. 27:b)

Fragment *e*: Found in the wall of a modern house on November 17, 1937 at Agora grid square O 18 and published by B. D. Meritt.¹⁸ It is broken all around.

P.H. 0.160 m.; p.W. 0.168 m.; p.Th. 0.042 m.

H. of letters, lines 1–6, 0.007–0.008 m.; line 8, 0.009 m.; line 9, 0.008 m.; lines 11ff., 0.007–0.008 m. Lines 1–6, horizontal checker 0.0105 m.; vertical checker 0.0110 m. Lines 8–9, horizontal checker 0.0110 m.; vertical checker 0.0190 m. Lines 11ff., horizontal checker 0.0105 m.; vertical checker 0.0092 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 627 b

Column II (or III?)	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25
$e[\text{XXXHH}\varnothing\Pi]$	$[\dots? \dots \eta\iota \gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau]\omega\mu [\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\nu ?.]$
	$[\dots^4 \dots \nu\omicron\tau\acute{o}\theta]\epsilon\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \eta[\dots^{10} \dots]$
$[\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omega}]$	$[\dots^3 \dots \acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\iota}]\alpha\tau\omicron \text{Με}\lambda[\dots^{12} \dots]$
	$[\dots^7 \text{Αλ}\omega\pi]\epsilon\kappa\eta\theta\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\gamma[\gamma\nu \text{ vacat }]$

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.* (footnote 13 above).

5	[κατα]βολή: [Π υΗ] [Π] [---- vacat]
	[Π ΠΙΠΠΠ] [τὰ] ἐπώνια ὁ πριά[μενος ἐτέλει]
	vacat
	vacat
	[τῶ]ν ἑνδεκα
10	vacat
	[----- ο]ικίαι ἃς οἱ δῆμ[αρχοι ἀπέγραψαν]
	vacat
	[-----] Νόθιππος ἐξ [Οἷο ἀπέγραψεν . ³ .]-
	βόλο ἐξ Οἷο ο[ικίαν . . . ? . . . καὶ]
15	κῆπον ᾧ γεί[τωμ βορράθεν . ⁴ .]-
	[ἐπώ] [.] εὐν ν[ο]τό[θεν δὲ ¹¹]

Two series of sales are recorded here: the final sale of the property belonging to one group of the Thirty or their adherents; then a heading, which probably identified the Eleven as the owners of the next group of properties sold (see below); then the first of this new group. This heading extended to the left of the surviving column of sales; it is not clear what the position of this column was upon the stele, but a slight decrease in vertical spacing suggests that these sales may have been recorded near the bottom.

Lines 1–7: In line 1 the foot of the left outer diagonal of mu is preserved, after the right foot and leg of omega; in line 2 the top of the left hasta of eta survives at the right edge; in line 3 the feet of alpha survive, followed by the bottom and right horizontal tip of tau; restoration of this line provides the line length. In line 4 the upper left corner of gamma survives at the right edge. In line 5 there is an uninscribed stoichos between the 500- and 100-signs; after the 50-sign there is a not quite vertical stroke at the right side of the stoichos which may be a drachma sign: the spacing suggests that the mason did not omit a numeral from this line but, rather, spread out his numerals so that each multiple numeral occupies rather more than one stoichos width. Thus, the instalment will have been 651+ drachmai and the full purchase price at least 3,255 drachmai. The tax will have been 55 drachmai, 5 obols.

The purchaser was identified by Meritt as the same man who purchased property on Salamis (fragment *d*, lines 19–20: *PA* 9828, Meletos son of Megakles of Alopeke). If he was the same man, he is likely to have been the son of Megakles V (*PA* 9695). Davies,¹⁹ however, suggests that Megakles V had become heavily indebted by the 420's; the family was certainly in low water financially by the 4th century. Thus, it might be worth considering Μελ[η-σίας Θοκυδίδ]ο Ἀλωπ[εκῆ]θεν, that is *PA* 9813, even though the evidence suggests that this man was born *ca.* 470 B.C.;²⁰ this family was still extremely wealthy in the 4th century.

Lines 8–11: Two lines were left uninscribed after line 6. What follows is a subheading, its two lines separated from each other by an uninscribed line, with another uninscribed line

¹⁹ *APF*, pp. 381–384.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 231.

between them and the next sales rubric. The top of the right hasta of nu is preserved in line 9; in line 11 the foot of the outer left diagonal of mu survives.

Meritt believed that this fragment came from the bottom of the same stele as that of fragment *d*. His conclusions were based on the similarity of the horizontal and vertical checkers of lines 1–6 and on his identification of the purchaser of lines 3–4 as the same man who purchased property in Salamis (fragment *d*, lines 19–20). The checker patterns, however, are not quite identical; nor is it certain that the two purchasers are the same (see above). In any case, I can see no overriding reason for placing this fragment in Column I, since no edge is preserved; indeed, Meritt's restoration of line 11 would fit better over one of the center columns. Meritt thought that line 9 might be restored as [παρὰ τῶ]ν ἑνδεκα, basing his argument upon the heading of a poletai record of 367/6 B.C.: πωληταὶ ---- τὰδε ἀπέδοντο παραλαβόντες παρὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα;²¹ see also Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 52). Lewis' suggestion, [τῶ]ν ἑνδεκα: "Property of the Eleven", is more attractive than Meritt's, given the context of this fragment,²² and it still holds good even if the fragment is placed at center stele. If, however, the fragment is placed in Column III the full formula of the poletai-record of 367/6 might be restored. I doubt whether it should be placed in Column IV. There is an outside possibility that this fragment might be restored with a line of 32, rather than of 25, letters, since the tax rubric of line 6 is in the same form as those of fragments *fg* (also *h*), which have a line length of 32 letters. No suitable name, however, comes to mind for lines 3–4, and the sheer size of the transaction makes it unlikely that another, and unknown, wealthy family from Alopeke is involved.

Lines 13–16: A new group of sales begins here; the uninscribed space to left of nu in line 13 indicates that this is the first letter of its line. In line 15 the stone breaks on the left side of the vertical of kappa, but enough of the upper arm of this letter survives to make the reading certain; at the right edge the top of iota is preserved. In line 16 only the tops of the letters are preserved.

Nothippos was demarch of Oion; he is not otherwise known. The owner of this property was certainly not one of the Thirty, but, unless Lewis' suggestion regarding the sub-heading of line 9 is accepted, there is no way of telling to which group of the Thirty's followers he belonged. The cramping of the vertical checker here suggests that this fragment comes from near the bottom of its stele, and thus that a relatively short list of sales may here have been recorded.

The man whose name is partly preserved in line 14 is not otherwise known. The *lacuna* in line 14 contained a topographical reference to some place in the deme of Oion. The fragmentary name of line 15 is part of the boundary reference by which this property is identified; it is likely to have been the name of a place or geographical feature, rather than of the owner of an estate.

²¹ M. Crosby, "Greek Inscriptions: A Poletai Record of the Year 367/6 B.C.," *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 14–30, no. 1, lines 1–7.

²² *Ehrenberg Studies*, p. 179.

STELE IV

Fragment *f* (Pl. 28:a): Found in January 1934 at Agora grid square K 13 and published by B. D. Meritt.²³ The left edge is preserved.

P.H. 0.165 m.; p.W. 0.148 m.; p.Th. 0.055 m.

H. of letters 0.007–0.008 m.; horizontal checker 0.0113 m.; vertical checker 0.0101 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 1092

Fragment *g* (Pl. 28:c): Found on March 30, 1933 at Agora grid square Z 13 and published by B. D. Meritt.²⁴ It is broken all around.

P.H. 0.115 m.; p.W. 0.095 m.; p.Th. 0.042 m.

H. of letters, lines 1–5, 0.007 m.; line 7, 0.007–0.008 m.; lines 8ff., 0.007 m.; horizontal checker 0.0110 m.; vertical checker 0.0102 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 627

	Column I	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32
<i>f</i>		ι[. ²⁵ ἐγγυ· κα]- ταβολή ΔΔ[Δ. ²³]
	⋈⋈⋈	τὰ ἐπώνια [ὁ πριάμενος ἐτέλει <i>vacat</i>] Πλάτων < ᾽Α>φ[ιδναῖος ἀπέγραψεν . . . ⁸ . . .]-
5		ς κ<α>ὶ σύμβο[λοι κατεκύρωσαν . . . ⁹ . . .]- το Δαιδαλ[ίδο συνοικίαν καὶ ἐσχατίαν ? ἐ]-
<i>g</i>	⋈HΔ	πὶ τῇι <ὁ>ρία[ι κειμένας ? αἷς γεί]τωμ πρὸς ἡ- λίο ἀνιόντ[ος ¹²]δες βορρᾶθ- εγ Κηφισόδω[ρος ¹⁰]ς πλέθρα
10		ἐπρίατο ᾽Αρέ[σαιχμος ? Τληπο]λέμο Εὐωνυμ- εὺς ἐγγυ· κατ[αβολή HΔΔ ⋈ ?] <i>vacat</i>
	Δ< ⋈⋈ >	τὰ ἐπώνια ὁ π[ριάμενος ἐτέλ]ει <i>vacat</i> ᾽Αρχέδημο[s ¹¹ ἀπ]έγραψε Χαρί- σιος κα[ὶ σύμβολοι κατεκύρω]σαν Δρακον-
15		τί[δο ᾽Αφιδναῖο ? ¹³]ωι αὐτομ-
	⋈H⋈H⋈	[. ²⁷]ΥΣΑΚΕ-

These two fragments do not join, but Meritt had no doubt that they belong together: marble, script, spacing and content are identical. In the main, I have followed his restorations,²⁵ which have a compelling rightness about them, except for part of lines 3, 6–7, and 12. The line length and the somewhat different rubrics indicate that a new stele is involved, but

²³ *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 390–393, no. 9 a.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*, no. 9 b.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.* (footnote 23 above), nos. 9 a and b.

Lewis' identification of the owner of the confiscated property of lines 13ff. as one of the Thirty²⁶ makes it virtually certain that this stele belongs with the rest; perhaps, like fragment *d*, it is part of an appendix to the series.

Line 1: The bottom of a central vertical is preserved; this will probably be part of the name of the purchaser, followed at the end of the line by [ἐγγυ·], as in line 11 and on the other fragments.

Lines 2–3: The bottom left corner of a second Δ is preserved in line 2. The instalment will have been between 30 and 39 drachmai and the sale price between 150 and 199 drachmai, 5 obols (for the basis of this calculation, and for the restoration of line 3 and line 12, see W. K. Pritchett²⁷).

Lines 4–10: The bar of the second alpha in line 5 and of the alpha in line 6 were omitted by the mason; in line 7 the left foot of alpha survives at the right edge of fragment *f*; on fragment *g* omega, mu and pi are complete but only the bottoms of the other letters survive. In line 10 the right foot of lambda is preserved. Meritt based his restorations and interpretation of lines 4–5 and of lines 13–14 on Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47.2 and 56.1: sales of confiscated property were conducted by the Poletai before the Boule and were then ratified by the archons. In this instance, and in lines 13–14, one of the archons and his advisers effect ratification.

Platon of Aphidna, who registered this property for sale, should be the demarch of Aphidna: Meritt's restoration, however, places the property in Thria, several miles away from Aphidna ([ἐ] | πὶ Θρί[αι κειμένας]). Neither the previous owner nor the purchaser of this property is from Aphidna or from Thria; this should occasion no surprise since the sales listed on this stele may well be of properties located outside the demes-of-residence of the original owners, as are those of fragment *d*. There is no case, however, for arguing that Platon of Aphidna had official standing in Thria but not in his own deme, nor is it likely that records of properties located in one deme were kept in the archives of another;²⁸ thus, Meritt's reading should be amended. In any case, Θρίαι or Θριᾶσι would be preferable to ἐπὶ τῇ Θρίαι. It seems best therefore to regard the theta of this line as an error for omicron and to read [ἐ] | πὶ τῇ <δ>ρία[ι, κτλ.].²⁹ Thus, the property is located on the boundary of Aphidna, and its northern neighbor Kephisodoros may be identified as a member of a well-known and wealthy family of Aphidna, perhaps *PA* 8386, the father of Teisandros.³⁰ Meritt's restoration [συνοικίαν καὶ ἐσχατίαν] is still the likeliest in view of the large sums involved, but I feel that his [κειμένας] should perhaps be discarded in favor of some more precise topographical reference. The eastern boundary of this estate seems to have been defined by some landmark, rather than by an estate.

²⁶ *Ehrenberg Studies*, p. 179.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* (footnote 15 above).

²⁸ I have assumed that some sort of land register existed at this time in each deme, despite the arguments against such an assumption put forward by M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500–200 B.C. The Horos-Inscriptions*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1951, pp. 207–208, notes 19 and 20 (with previous references).

²⁹ Θρίαι, *IG* II², 329, line 2; Θριᾶσι, Xenophon, *Hellenika* v.4.21; for ὄρια as the equivalent of ὄρος, see *IG* II², 2630, line 4.

³⁰ *PA* 13459; see Plato, *Gorgias*, 487c.

Since Drakontides, owner of the property listed in lines 13ff., was almost certainly one of the Thirty, it would be tempting to try to restore another Tyrant name in lines 5–6; the only name, however, that would fit is that of Erasistratos, and he is more likely to belong to Acharnai,³¹ or, if Loeper be correct, to a Hippothontid deme. Almost certainly, therefore, this man is not one of the Thirty but an adherent. The purchaser was probably a son or cousin of Tlepolemos son of Hyperbios of Euonymon.³²

Line 12: The right diagonal of Δ is preserved at the left edge of fragment *f*; the mason inscribed here three widely spaced, vertical strokes, which Pritchett³³ correctly interpreted as incomplete drachma signs. The upper left corner of pi survives at the right edge; I could see no trace of the right vertical mark reported by Vanderpool.³⁴ The epsilon and iota on fragment *g* seem about 0.001 m. taller than the corresponding letters in the same line on fragment *f*, and this led me at one time to think that a heading might be involved, similar to that on fragment *e*. But the manner in which the text of lines 2–11 matches on the two fragments makes it most unlikely that either should be set below the other: spacing and vertical line intervals conform exactly.

Lines 13–16: In line 15 of fragment *g* the bottom right half of the stoichos survives unscribed before omega; the letter in this space must therefore have been one with a central or left vertical. The last letter in this line was read by Meritt as a partial mu. Of this a left diagonal survives, together with part of another diagonal, sloping the other way; their apex is slightly left of center but there is no trace of a second inner diagonal, although the surface seems to be preserved here. Also, the angles at which these diagonals slope seem flatter than those of other mus, so that lambda might be a better reading here. In line 16, fragment *f*, the upper left and right corners of the 500-sign, the tops of both 100-signs, and the upper left corner and upper horizontal of the 50-sign are preserved. On this sale price of 750 drachmai the instalment will have been 150 drachmai and the tax 16 drachmai. On fragment *g* Meritt read the first partially preserved letter as a dotted sigma; the angle of the diagonal that survives, however, seems too steep for that of a sigma, and I should prefer to read a dotted upsilon here. After kappa, at the end of the line, the photograph published by Meritt shows a left vertical and central horizontal. No trace of these is now visible on the stone, but I am inclined to think that these may have been parts of an epsilon or eta. Thus, these letters could have been part of the name Eurysakes, which is attested at Athens only as the name of a hero, or of the shrine of the Eurysakeion, which seems to have been somewhere southwest of the Hephaisteion, on the hill of Kolonos Agoraios.³⁵ Thus, I believe that line 15 contains a topographical reference: the property sold here was located by or near the Eurysakeion, in the deme Melite or in one adjoining Melite.

Archedemos (line 13) will have been demarch of the deme in which the property was located. The space for his demotic, however, is too great for the restoration [*Μελιτεύς*]; there are 14 possible demotics but the only one that is at all suitable topographically is [*Σκαμβωνίδης*]. Skambonidai, however, lay to the northeast of the Hephaisteion, that is, if the Eurysakeion is correctly placed, at the opposite diagonal corner of the deme from the

³¹ See *APF*, nos. 5025, 5026, 5028, and 13921.

³² See *APF*, no. 12888.

³³ *Op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), p. 101.

³⁴ In Pritchett, *op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), p. 100.

³⁵ See H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, p. 171.

sanctuary. Charisios (lines 13–14) will have been one of the archons, for the same year as the archon of lines 4–5. Drakontides of Aphidna (*PA* 4546) was one of the Thirty and was almost certainly the property owner of lines 14–15.

Line 15 contains Drakontides' demotic and describes the property. The topographical description may have begun in line 15 and run over into line 16, at the end of which the Eurysakeion is the first neighbor reference. If I am right in locating the property in Skambonidai, this neighbor reference might run as follows: [ὦι (or οἷς) γείτων νοτόθεν τὸ Εὐ-ρ]υσακε[ῖον], leaving 7 letters to complete the property description of lines 15–16. The last 5 letters of line 15 are best interpreted as the beginning of a personal name, such as Autolykos or Automedon.

STELE V (Pl. 28:b)

Fragment *h*: Found in late fill on April 27, 1934 at Agora grid square K 14 and published by B. D. Meritt.³⁶ The right edge is preserved.

P.H. 0.148 m.; p.W. 0.073 m.; p.Th. 0.032 m.

H. of letters, line 1, 0.008 m.; lines 2ff., 0.007–0.008 m.; horizontal checker 0.0105 m.; vertical checker 0.0130 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 1894

	Column III	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32
<i>h</i>	[..... ³¹] ^v	
	[..... ²⁹] ^{υυυ}	
	[..... ²⁸] ^{υυυυ}	
	[..... ²⁷] ^{ι υυυυ}	
5 [----]	[..... ²⁶]	χωρίον
	[ἐν . . . ⁵ . . . ὦι γείτωμ βορρᾶθεν ὁδὸς] πρὸς Ζ-	
	[ἐαν ? ἄγοσα νότοθεν δὲ . . . ¹¹ . . .]; ἐπρί-	
	[ατο . . . ²⁶]	θεν ἐ-
	[γγυ· καταβολή . . . ¹³ . . .]	vacat
10 [----]	[τὰ ἐπώνια ὁ πριάμενος ἐτέλει ^{υυυυ}] vacat	
	[..... ²⁸] ^{ουτ[.]}	

Meritt³⁷ thought this to be the upper left part of the stele of fragment *d* and restored it with a line of 25 letters.

Lines 1–3: There are uninscribed spaces of one, three, and four stoichoi respectively at the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3. Whether there ever was anything inscribed to the left of these spaces I regard as unlikely.

Line 4: A well-preserved vertical stroke survives at mid-stoichos, above the omega of line 5. If Meritt is correct in assuming that the rubrics are similar to those of fragment *d*, one

³⁶ *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 149, no. 38.

³⁷ *Loc. cit.*

might restore this as the end of a sale: [καταβολή;!2] | υυυυ. This, however, would seem to involve a very large sum for the instalment, and, moreover, it still does not account for all the uninscribed spaces in the lines above. Another interpretation is to regard this as the end of a heading. Since the surviving letter stroke is taller than those of the lines below it, this is an attractive alternative.

Line 5: Whether or not line 4 is a heading, line 5 seems to mark the beginning of a new sale. As such, there is too little space to permit restoration of the usual complete formula: “so-and-so registered for sale property belonging to so-and-so, namely ---.” Thus, this must be the abbreviated rubric that is employed when a demarch registers a second property belonging to the same owner and in the same deme: “Property belonging to so-and-so, namely another ---.” While I am convinced, however, that the latter is the correct interpretation, Meritt’s restorations need further emendation. They provide no topographical description in line 6, and there is too much unfilled space before χωρίον in line 5 for this to be the only property sold. The correct restoration of these lines will run: “[Property belonging to so-and-so, namely another --- and a] χωρίον | [ἐν ---- οἷς γείτωμ κτλ.]” This requires a longer line than Meritt’s 25-letter one, and an obvious model is provided by fragments *fg*, which might thus be part of the same stele. Meritt’s restoration of lines 6–7, which seems to me to be insufficiently precise, can be emended to allow the southern boundary of the property to be the estate of an individual, rather than another road. Even with a 32-letter line, line 4 seems better restored as a heading than as the end of a sale, since the tax rubric found in fragments *fg* (τὰ ἐπώνια ὁ πριάμενος ἐτέλει) is too short by 4 letters, and, in any case, the uninscribed spaces in lines 1–3 are still unexplained. This heading is likely to have been similar to that of lines 9–11 of fragment *e*, in which the owners of the confiscated properties seem to be identified as a group (see above, p. 83). One might restore [----- τῶν Δέκα τῶν ἐμ Πειραιεῖ]̄, making up the rest of the line by an expansion or adaptation of the formula of fragment *e*, line 11: [οἰκίαι ἃς οἱ δήμαρχοι ἀπέγραψαν ---]. Such a heading would have extended clear across the stele, which I believe to have been of dimensions similar to those of Stele I: three columns of sales, each with a line of 32 letters, plus tax rubrics, would give a width of *ca.* 1.400 m., compared with an estimated width of 1.500 m. for Stele I, with its four columns and 25-letter lines. The sale recorded here in Column III would have been linked by ownership, location, and demarch to the last sale of Column II.

Meritt suggested that the northern boundary of this property was the road to Zea. Even with a 32-letter line, this still seems the likeliest restoration, and thus the property will have been in Peiraieus or in a deme adjacent to it. The restoration of [ἐν Ζέαι] in line 6 seems somewhat unlikely, however.

Line 8: It is probably merely a coincidence that the same purchaser could be restored here as in lines 5–6 of fragment *d*.

Line 9: I believe that sales on this stele, or at any rate in this part of the stele, were separated by a single uninscribed line, as on Stele I. Thus, its layout will have been similar to that of Stele I, except for the 32-letter line.

Line 10: The surviving letters are part of the name of an archon.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENT (STELE VI? Pl. 28:d)

Fragment *i*: Found in a late Roman context on March 26, 1934 at Agora grid square G 11. The flat, stipple-dressed top is preserved, with a drafted edge 0.010 m. in width where it joins the inscribed face.³⁸

P.H. 0.048 m.; p.W. 0.073 m.; p.Th. 0.046 m.

H. of letters 0.007–0.008 m.; horizontal checker 0.0100 m.; vertical checker 0.0100 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 1681

Column I (or IV?)	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25?	
<i>i</i> [-----]	[----- ἀπ]έγγραψε Β[-----]	
	[-----]η[-----]	

Only the first line and part of one letter of a second are preserved. The space above line 1 is sufficient for another 4 lines of text but no traces of letters remain, and I believe the surface to be original at least for a height of two lines above line 1. Thus, this fragment might be from one of the outer columns of its stele with a heading above the inner column(s). In line 2 the top of the left hasta of eta is preserved below the second epsilon of line 1. There is no way of telling whether this fragment should be restored with a line of 25 or of 32 letters. Nor, of course, is it certain that it belongs to the same series as the other fragments. What does survive, however, makes its restoration as part of a poletai record extremely likely.

LOCATION OF THE MONUMENT

Many of the stelai on which were recorded the leases of mines and the confiscation and sale of real property seem to have been set up at the southwest corner of the Agora, where the Poleterion is thought to have been situated.³⁹ By contrast, the stelai on which the sales of the property of the violators of the Mysteries were recorded in 414/3 B.C. were apparently set up near to the Eleusinion, on the east.⁴⁰ Of the nine fragments that I have identified as deriving from the stelai on which were recorded the sale of the Tyrants' property none was found in an original context. The two that were found in or to east of the Stoa of Attalos (*a* and *d*) may be presumed to have been brought there at the time of building of the Late Roman Fortification; the same may be true of *e*, found south of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Five others were found along the north-south axis of the Market Square (*bc*, *f*, *g* and *h*), three of them within the area occupied by the Middle Stoa. Thus, it is possible that the original location of this monument was near the Heliaia, perhaps in what became the South Square after the construction of the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century B.C. One fragment, *i*, however, was found by the Tholos; since this is the smallest fragment, really only a chip, it is not likely to have moved far from where it fell when the monument was broken up.

³⁸ I am grateful to Professor Homer A. Thompson, Director *Emeritus* of the Agora Excavations, for assigning this fragment to me for study and publication.

³⁹ See Thompson and Wycherley, *op. cit.* (footnote 35 above), p. 73.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Thus, if indeed it does belong to the same monument as the other fragments, it may be taken as evidence that the monument was set up outside or in the Poleterion and thus was probably the first such document inscribed on stone by the Poletai at their official location.

THE ORGANIZATION AND FORM OF THE STELAI

The fragments fall into two main categories, those with column line lengths of 25 and 32 letters respectively, and into two subcategories, those dealing with sales of "primary" and of "secondary" properties respectively. So far as can be determined, no one stele dealt exclusively with a particular group, whether of the Thirty or of their adherents.

Since Stele I apparently contains the master heading for the entire series and also has a column line length of 25 letters, I have assumed that the monument was originally planned for 25-letter column line lengths. My numbering of the fragments is based also on the assumption that "primary" properties were disposed of before "secondary" properties. Whether or not each stele bore a heading is not determinable, but there is certainly space for a long heading of less than stele width on Stele IV, even though all that now survives there is one letter of what may be the fourth line of such a heading; indeed, since this stele also had a column line length of 32 letters, it is quite possible that it and Stele V represent a new series, perhaps a separate monument.⁴¹ The only other stele definitely to bear any sort of heading is Stele III, but here only a subheading is involved.

Only Stelai I and II preserve the full thickness. II, although it contains texts from the middle or bottom of the stele, is thinner than I, which also preserves the top of the stele; therefore I have assumed that I and II are parts of separate stelai. In both cases the preserved thickness, in relation to restored width, is much less than usual for stelai.⁴²

The top of the monument seems to have been undecorated. On both Stele I and Stele VI (if indeed it belongs to the same series) the top surface is stipple dressed and flat, with no trace of dowel holes or of pour channels for lead that would have permitted a crowning member to be affixed. Likewise, the edges, where preserved, have no distinguishing features that would indicate the relationship of one stele to another, and the absence of drafted edges or of anathyrosis suggests that each stele stood on its own, separate from its neighbors. It

⁴¹ Those stelai of which the column line length is 32 letters also have rubrics slightly different in form, though not in substance, from those of stelai with a column line length of 25 letters; since, however, the text of Stele IV seems to confirm its connection with the affairs of the Thirty and that of Stele V seems to deal with the property of the Peiraieus Ten, I should be inclined to regard the change in line length and rubrics as coinciding with the inauguration of a new board of Poletai, that is, in the year of Xenainetos (401/0 B.C.).

⁴² For comparison, see the "Attic Stelai", published by W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22, 1953, pp. 225–299; *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 178–328; *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 23–29; see also the additional fragment published by J. McK. Camp II, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 319–321, no. 2. On those of the "Attic Stelai" of which the backs are preserved the thicknesses are, respectively, I, II, III, 0.114 m.; IV, 0.080 m.; V, 0.124–0.125 m.; VI, VII, 0.150 m.; X, 0.095 m. The stele published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 25–28, no. 33, dated to 370/69 B.C., the next dated example of a poletai stele, is 0.099 m. in thickness, with a width of 0.352 m. This seems to be close to the average for poletai stelai of the entire 4th century, the thinnest example that I know of being that published by M. Crosby, "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 282–283, no. 34, which is dated in 307/6 B.C. and which seems exceptionally thin for this genre of stelai.

follows that the heading of Stele I was confined to that stele and did not run over onto a neighbor stele.

On the two stelai whose backs are preserved the reverse surfaces are very carefully dressed and polished, suggesting that the monument to which they belonged was freestanding, and possibly also that it was originally intended that these stelai should be inscribed on both faces, as are some later poletai stelai;⁴³ conversely, these might be re-used material from some demolished monument, though I think this to be an unlikely conjecture. If the monument was indeed set up beside the office of the Poletai, as the findspot of Stele VI might suggest, it may have provided the model for later inscriptions of the Poletai.

SCRIPT AND LETTERING

The absence of any evidence of joins between the stelai could be taken as implying that they were engraved and set up at different times. That this is likely is borne out, too, by the evidence of the hands by which they were engraved.

At least two, probably three, masons inscribed these stelai. Stelai I, II, and III seem to be by the same mason, as may be Stele VI, although this latter is so worn and abraded, with so few letters preserved, that it is impossible to analyze its hand accurately. Stele IV was engraved by a mason who used for full vertical strokes a chisel whose blade was slightly broader than that used for the same letter strokes by the mason of Stelai I, II, and III; he also made the horizontal strokes of epsilon shorter than did his colleague, and made his upsilons shorter in the vertical. The greatest difference lies in nu, where this mason preferred a diagonal stroke that was longer than, rather than the same length as, the verticals. Stele V seems to have been engraved by a third mason, more careless than the mason of Stele IV but sharing similar characteristics. All three hands, however, are remarkably alike, perhaps reflecting an effort on the part of the commissioning official(s) to achieve a uniform effect. It might also be argued that these stelai represent the work of a “school” or workshop, perhaps a master mason and his apprentices. In such a case, it might be inferred that the stelai were all engraved at about the same time, rather than over a long interval of time. I have not attempted to identify any other inscriptions by these masons.

THE THIRTY TYRANTS AND THEIR ADHERENTS

Xenophon’s list of the Thirty (*Hellenika* II.3.2) provides no other identification of these men, but R. C. Loeper long ago hypothesized that this list was set out in the official order of phylai and trittyes.⁴⁴ There do not seem to be any grounds for arguing for a trittyal arrange-

⁴³ Several of the stelai published by M. Crosby (*op. cit.*, pp. 189–312), for instance, are finished on both faces; even though now only two of these are inscribed on both face and obverse, the fragmentary nature of most of them may obscure the fact that, when intact, they were opisthographic.

⁴⁴ See footnote 7 above. The names, in the order in which they appear in Xenophon’s list, are as follows, with possible or known phyle, patronymic or demotic affiliations added by me (tentative affiliations are drawn from *PA*, with additions from *APF*, from D. Whitehead, *loc. cit.* [footnote 7 above], and from the bouleutic listings in *Agora* XV): [ERECHTHEIS (I): Πολυχάρης [Ἀναγυράσιος?], *PA* 12099; Κριτίας Καλαίσχρον [Φηγούσιος? or Ἀφιδναῖος? see *APF*, no. 8792 (VI), and Whitehead, p. 210], *PA* 8792; Μηλόβιος, *PA* 10102; [AIGEIS (II): Ἰππόλοχος, *PA* 7646; Εὐκλείδης [Ἀριστοφάνου? Ἰκαριεύς? or

ment, but the names of those six Tyrants whose phyle affiliations are known for certain do appear in Xenophon's list in the correct order of phylai.⁴⁵ Twenty-four other names, however, still remain without definite phyle assignation. The stelai provide no new information about the adherents of the Thirty, except to tell us that one member of the Eleven was [³⁻⁴—]βολος from Oion (Stele III, lines 13–14).⁴⁶ The vexed question of whether the first Board of Ten, which replaced the Thirty, was excluded from the terms of the amnesty of 403 B.C. (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 39.6) or not (Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.4.38) remains unanswered. The heading of Stele I might have resolved the problem but too much is missing for any but the most speculative restorations to be attempted. I believe, however, that Xenophon, who omits both Boards of Ten from this account of the amnesty, may have confused the first with the second Board. Aristotle, on the other hand, is quite specific.⁴⁷

Γαργήτιος? or Ἀγκυλῆθεν? see Whitehead, p. 212], *PA* 5680 (5689?); Ἰέρων, *PA* 7525; [PANDIONIS (III)]: Μνησίλοχος [Κονθυλῆθεν?], *PA* 10234; Χρέμων, *PA* 15570; Θηραμένης Ἀγνωνος Σπειριεύς, *PA* 7234; [LEONTIS (IV)]: Ἀρεσίας, *PA* 1596; Διοκλῆς [Σουნიεύς? or Δειραδιώτης? see *Agora* XV, no. 88, line 6, and no. 172, line 2], *PA* 4006; Φαιδρίας [Ξενοφώντος? Αἰθαλίδης? see Whitehead, p. 212], *PA* 13937; [AKAMANTIS (V)]: Χαίρελεως [Ἀπολήξιδος Προσπάλιος? or Χαίρεον Ἀγνούσιος? or Κικυνεύς? see *APF*, no. 2921 (XII), and Whitehead, p. 210], *PA* 15137 (15138?); Ἀναίτιος Σφήττιος, *PA* 800 (Stele I, line 16?); Πείσων, *PA* 11794; [OINEIS (VI)]: Σοφοκλῆς [Σωστρατίδου?], *PA* 12827; Ἐρατοσθένης [Οἰῆθεν? see *APF*, no. 5035], *PA* 5035; Χαρικλῆς [Ἀπολλοδώρου? Λακιάδης? or Θριάσιος? see Whitehead, p. 212], *PA* 15407; [KEKROPIS (VII)]: Ὀνομακλῆς, *PA* 11476; Θεόγνις, *PA* 6736; Αἰσχίνης [Αἰσχutos? Ἀλαιεύς? or Αἰξωνεύς? but see Whitehead, p. 212], *PA* 341; [HIPPOTHONTIS (VIII)]: Θεογένης [Οἰναῖος? see *Agora* XV, no. 127, line 61], *PA* 6692; Κλεομήδης, *PA* 8596; Ἐρασίστρατος [Φαίακος? Ἀχαρνεύς? but see Whitehead, p. 210], *PA* 5028; [AIANTIS (IX)]: Φεῖδων, *PA* 14179; Δρακοντίδης Ἀφιδναῖος, *PA* 4546 (Stele IV, lines 14–15); Εὐμάθης Φαληρεὺς, *PA* 5807 (Stele I, line 8; see Whitehead, pp. 210–211); [ANTIOCHIS (X)]: Ἀριστοτέλης [Θοραιεύς? = *PA* 2055? see Whitehead, p. 210, note 16; or Παλληνεύς? see *Agora* XV, no. 72, line 227], *PA* 2057; Ἰππόμαχος, *PA* 7650; Μνησιθείδης, *PA* 10277 (see Whitehead, p. 211).

⁴⁵ Kritias (I), slain at Mounychia; Theramenes (III), executed by the Thirty; Anaitios (V); Drakontides (IX); Eumathes (IX); and Aristoteles (X).

⁴⁶ Literary sources provide the name of one of the Eleven, namely that of their leader Satyros of Kephisia (*PA* 12598: see Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.3.54; Lysias, xxx.10, 12 and 14). One member of the Peiraieus Ten is known: Charmides son of Glaukon, who was killed at Mounychia in 403 B.C., along with Kritias and Hippomachos of the Thirty (*PA* 15512: see Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.4.19). The first Board of Ten seems to have included two members of the former Thirty, Pheidon and Eratosthenes, along with Hippokles (*PA* 7619) and Epichares of Lamptraia (*PA* 4991: see Lysias, xii.55–56), whose earlier involvement in the oligarchy is not known. Others who might have been members of this first Board of Ten, though they are not specifically named as such, were the Hipparch Lysimachos (*PA* 9486: see Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.4.8 and 26) and the two envoys sent by the party of the City to the Spartans in 403 B.C., Kephisophon (*PA* 8400) and Meletos (*PA* 9825: see Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.4.36); these latter two, however, seem better associated with the second, rather than with the first, Board of Ten. One other name, that of Aristodemos of Bate, should probably be added to the list of adherents of the Thirty; this man, who had served as Hellenotamias, was afterwards instrumental in the arrest and execution of Lykourgos, and was banished by the restored democracy ([Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.* = *Moralia*, 841B).

⁴⁷ The second Board of Ten was headed by Rhinon of Paiania and Phayllos from Acherdousia (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 38.3); Rhinon and his associates were subsequently praised by the city for their services. Isokrates (xviii.5) seems not to be aware of the existence of the second Board of Ten; he implies that Rhinon was a member of that Board of Ten which immediately succeeded the Thirty (5: ἦρχον μὲν γὰρ οἱ δέκα οἱ μετὰ τοὺς τριάκοντα καταστάντες . . . 6 . . . καὶ κατὰ τύχην ῥίνων εἰς τῶν δέκα γενόμενος . . .). Xenophon and Lysias similarly imply that there was only one Board of Ten. Isokrates' words, however, surely suggest that Rhinon's Board in its entirety, not merely selected members, was praised by the City, and this

The stelai provide few names of those condemned: of the Thirty, Eumathes of Phaleron, [Anaitios] of Sphettos, Drakontides of [Aphidna], and, perhaps, Theomenes of Xypete (if Xenophon's Theognis is an error of transcription on the part of the author or of his copyist); one other Tyrant's name has perished but he is shown to be from Kerameis (and so, if Xenophon's list *is* in the official order of tribes, the name of Peison might be restored here); from the other groups we have no names certainly attributed to one group or another, except for [---]bolos of the deme Oion, one of the Eleven; two names from among the Peiraieus Ten have perished. One other name is partially preserved, that of [----]tos of Daidalidai, but this cannot be assigned to any specific group. In addition, there are three sales of properties about which no guesses can be made, since both names and group identifications are lost, and one further sale, of a "secondary" property, whose owner was a man from Sphettos, perhaps the Tyrant Anaitios.

If the exclusion from amnesty is held to have applied to all members of all four groups, whether or not they survived until 402/1 B.C., and if none of these persons successfully underwent an enquiry into their activities during the oligarchy, the maximum number of persons whose property was confiscated and sold would have been 61. Three of the Thirty (Kritias, Theramenes, and Hippomachos), however, and one of the Peiraieus Ten (Charmides) were killed before the downfall of the Thirty. There does not seem to be any reason to assume that the property of the dead was expropriated, or even that families were penalized; the exclusion from the amnesty of 403 B.C. seems to have applied only to individuals.⁴⁸ Thus, the maximum number of persons who might have been listed here was 57. Moreover, we do not know for certain whether any of these submitted himself to an enquiry, still less whether any such persons were successful, except perhaps for Eratosthenes.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, it is clear that in these fragments we possess only a small part of the whole.

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AFTER THE FALL OF THE THIRTY

The Thirty were replaced by the first Board of Ten after their failure to recapture Peiraieus, early in 403 B.C. They retired to Eleusis, which they had previously seized as a possible refuge (Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.4.8 and 24). The survivors of the Peiraieus Ten, and perhaps also the Eleven, probably went with them.⁵⁰ No proceedings were instituted against them at this time.

does not square with the statement of Aristotle that the Board of Ten was specifically excluded from the amnesty of 403 B.C. Thus, despite the silence of Xenophon, Lysias, and Isokrates, who were contemporary with these events, I prefer Aristotle's version and believe that there were, indeed, two Boards of Ten, only the first of which, because it had contravened its terms of reference, was excluded from the amnesty of 403. I am aware that this puts me in a minority; the actions of the first Board of Ten, however, were too reprehensible to allow them to be exonerated by the restored democracy. They were, after all, in power for even longer than were the Thirty and acted with equal brutality.

⁴⁸ This, at any rate, seems to be implied by Lysias (xii.36 and 83).

⁴⁹ There is no indication in Lysias' speech against Eratosthenes (xii) that this was part of a process of enquiry into Eratosthenes' conduct as one of the Thirty; rather, it seems to have been a private prosecution brought after Eratosthenes had submitted himself to an enquiry under the terms of the settlement of 403 B.C. and had been absolved from blame.

⁵⁰ There is no proof that either group went now to Eleusis, but the Peiraieus Ten are hardly likely to have preferred the moderate faction now in power and, in any case, had no base elsewhere; the Eleven, as the hated agents of the Thirty, were likely to have followed their masters to Eleusis.

The first Board of Ten remained in power for several months, until the second Board of Ten supplanted them in September of 403 B.C. The restoration of democracy followed, and the surviving supporters of the oligarchy departed to Eleusis where the remaining members of the Thirty were already ensconced.

The amnesty that was now proclaimed applied to all Athenians except the Thirty, the first Board of Ten, the Peiraieus Ten, and the Eleven, but any of these, too, might come under the terms of the amnesty if they were willing to render account and satisfied their judges of their innocence, either in Peiraieus, in the case of the Peiraieus Ten, or at Athens, in the case of all the rest (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 39.6). Few are likely to have submitted themselves to such an enquiry, given the reputation of the regime, but the amnesty may have been designed for the moderate oligarchs who had supported Theramenes in the earlier days of the Thirty. In the third year after the amnesty a final reconciliation was effected, in the archonship of Xenainetos (401/0 B.C.; see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 40.4), after a short war against the party in Eleusis. The generals of the oligarchs were killed out of hand when they came to parley, and the rest were admitted back into the state (Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.4.43).

Who were the “generals” of the oligarchs? Since the confiscations recorded in the stelai here discussed evidently began, and perhaps were completed, by the time this final reconciliation took place, I think that it must be assumed that they were the remnants of the Thirty, the Ten, the Peiraieus Ten and the Eleven, less those who may have submitted themselves to an enquiry, such as Eratosthenes⁵¹ or Pheidon.⁵²

In 415–413 B.C. the property of those convicted of profaning the Mysteries or of mutilating the Hermai in 415 B.C. was disposed of by the State. The proceedings took a long time, since many of those convicted were wealthy men with extensive holdings both in Athens and throughout Attica, and even in some cases overseas; moreover, the proceedings recorded upon the “Attic Stelai” included sales also of goods, chattels, and slaves. These sales took place, in each instance, after a denunciation and a court hearing, and there must have been added the problem, in many cases, of establishing the validity of liens held upon the properties by third parties. Thus, the process was not completed until 413 B.C.⁵³

Many of the same sort of delays would have applied also to the confiscation and sale of the property of the Thirty and of their principal adherents, except that, after 404 B.C., Athenians would no longer have owned property abroad.⁵⁴ Conversely, it is highly likely that in this case denunciations were not made by private individuals but by the *dēmarchs*, as had occurred in a few cases in 415–413 B.C. as well as in 411 B.C.⁵⁵ Whether the rubric of

⁵¹ See footnote 49 above.

⁵² Lysias (xii.54 and 58) seems to imply that Pheidon was still alive at the time of Eratosthenes’ trial, and that, like Eratosthenes, he was accounted a moderate among the Thirty; thus, he, too, may have submitted himself to an enquiry and have been absolved.

⁵³ This has been discussed in detail by D. M. Lewis, *Ehrenberg Studies*, pp. 182–184.

⁵⁴ Athenian citizens and garrisons had been sent home in 405 B.C. by the Spartan Lysandros and by governments hostile to Athens established in states throughout the area of the former Athenian Empire (Xenophon, *Hellenika* II.2.1–3 and 9). It is highly unlikely that any Athenian would have been permitted to own land in any of these states from the end of the 5th century until well into the 4th century. The hostility aroused by Athenian landholdings abroad was still evident in 378/7 B.C., when the Second Athenian Maritime Confederacy was formed (see *IG* II², 43, lines 36–41, and Diodoros, xv.29.7).

⁵⁵ See Stele V of the “Attic Stelai”, lines 20–41 (415–413 B.C.: see footnote 42 above), as well as [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat. = Moralia*, 834.2 (on the *πομπείους δὲ πρότερον ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* condemnation of Antiphon and Archeptolemos in 411 B.C.).

Stele III can be taken as typical of the whole series is a moot point but in every case where both the deme of the denouncer and the location of the property are known, they are the same, so that the implication is that in every case the demarch was responsible for the denunciation. In 415 B.C. Zetetai were specially appointed to investigate the charges against the Hermokopidai. Since these officials are found early in the 4th century making denunciations of property, D. M. Lewis has suggested that they may also have fulfilled this function in the case of the Hermokopidai;⁵⁶ equally likely, a special board of Zetetai may have been appointed in 403 B.C. to look into the affairs of the oligarchs and to denounce their property. The rubric of Stele III, however, shows that, if such a board existed, it was not the only group to make denunciations, and I think it more likely that all denunciations were handled by the demarchs, in whose offices, it may be presumed, records of property holdings were kept.

Another factor that must be taken into account in assessing the time taken over these proceedings is that only real property was involved in the process for which these stelai are the evidence; in 415–413 B.C. goods, chattels, and slaves, as well as real property, were disposed of. In the matter of the Thirty Tyrants we are specifically told by Philochoros (*FGH* 328, fr. 181) that the Athenians made processional implements from the confiscated property of the Thirty (and, presumably, of their unamnestied adherents as well). “Processional implements” imply, I think, gold, silver and, perhaps, bronze but not other materials, unless Philochoros meant that the proceeds of the sale of these items were so employed.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the identification, removal, and disposal of these goods and chattels must have occupied as much time as in the proceedings of 415–413 B.C., and it is unlikely that sales of property would have taken place before the contents of the buildings had been disposed of. Thus, the sales represented on these stelai are likely to have occurred close in time to the erection of the first of the stelai.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ehrenberg Studies*, p. 183.

⁵⁷ Philochoros’ text is as follows: πομπείοις δὲ πρότερον ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ἁ κατασκευασθεῖσιν. The references gathered under οὐσία (I) in *LSJ* do not, I believe, imply that this word, without qualification, can mean anything more than “personal property”, that is, movables *or* real estate, without distinction: when qualified as φανερά, it is “real property”; when qualified as ἀφανής, it is “movable property”. κατασκευάζειν can mean “to construct”, “to provide”, or “to equip”, depending on the context. Thus, the text of Philochoros, as it stands in fragment 181, might refer equally to the proceeds of the sale of movables, to the actual cash, bullion, or objects of precious metals belonging to the Thirty, or even to the proceeds of the sale of their real property, as recorded upon the stelai here discussed. The absence, however, of any reference in these fragments to sales of anything other than real estate suggests that, whatever happened to the movable property of the Thirty and of their adherents, its disposition was not recorded here.

⁵⁸ In the “Attic Stelai” (see footnote 42 above) sales of goods, chattels, and slaves seem to precede sales of real estate: Stelai I, II, and III are entirely concerned with such sales; IV deals with sales of real property only; and V returns to sales of movables (*Ehrenberg Studies*, p. 185 suggests that, in fact, the order of IV and V should be reversed); Stelai VI through X deal with a mixture of movables and of real estate. Though the entire process covered perhaps “eighteen months or so” (*op. cit.*, p. 186), disposal of real property occurred only in the later stages.

SALES, TAXES, AND INSTALMENTS

W. K. Pritchett⁵⁹ pointed out anomalies and corrected readings in the first published text of fragments *fg*. In thus reconciling the readings in these fragments with those in fragment *a*, he concluded that a scaled tax was applied on these sales, similar to that applied earlier in the 5th century but at exactly double the rates of 414 B.C.⁶⁰ My readings confirm those of Pritchett and permit further assumptions to be made about the purchase prices and taxes listed here. The surviving parts of the heading on fragments *abc* suggest that the term of the sale was in each case 5 years, regardless of the nature of the property; this is contrary to what Aristotle says about instalment sales (*Ath. Pol.*, 47.3) but not necessarily to practices followed at the end of the 5th century.

I tabulate the sales as follows:

<i>Sale no.</i>	<i>Sales price</i>	<i>Sales tax</i>	<i>Instalment</i>	<i>Stele location</i>
1	[-----]	[-----]	[. 3.]	I, 1. 7-13
2	[---]+15	[-----]	[. 3.]+3	I, 1. 15-22
3	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	I, 1. 24-30
4	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	I, 2. 7ff.
5	[215]	[5]	43	II, 1. 1-7
6	410	9	82	II, 1. 8-15
7	145	[3 δρ. 1 ο.]	[2]9	II, 1. 16-22
8	[3,255]	[55 δρ. 5 ο.]	651[+]	III, 2. 1-5
9	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	III, 2. 10-15
10	[150+]	4	[30+]	IV, 1. 1-3
11	610	13	[122]	IV, 1. 4-12
12	750	[16]	[150]	IV, 1. 13-16
13	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	V, 3. 1
14	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	V, 3. 2-7
15	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	V, 3. 8ff.
16	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	VI, ?. 1ff.

THE MOVABLE PROPERTY OF THE THIRTY AND OF THEIR ADHERENTS

In the inventories of treasure stored in the Hekatompedon from 403/2 B.C.⁶¹ stands a prominently placed new entry for 402/1 B.C.: 20 silver hydriai, a pinax, a chernibeion, and 3 oinochoai. These are listed at the start of the inventory. The record for 401/0 B.C. shows that a further 7 hydriai were added in that year. These items totaled just over 29,000 drachmai of silver, and the record for 403/2 B.C. apparently contains an appendix in which the receipt of a very large quantity of silver, together with more than 4,600 drachmai of gold,

⁵⁹ See footnote 15 above.

⁶⁰ See also W. K. Pritchett, "Sales Taxes in Ancient Athens," *Archaeology* 7, 1954, pp. 112-113.

⁶¹ *IG* II², 1370 + 1371 + 1384 [+ 1503?], 403/2; 1372 + 1402 + 'Αρχ'Εφ, 1953-1954, B' [1958], pp. 107-112, fragment *a*, 402/1; 1386 + 1381 + *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 310, no. 28, 401/0 B.C.

was recorded.⁶² It was suggested by W. S. Ferguson⁶³ that these entries represented the funds for and purchase of the pompeia that were acquired with the proceeds of the sale of the goods and chattels of the Thirty and their adherents.⁶⁴ The realization that the sale of the real property of the Thirty was apparently finalized in 402/1 B.C. makes Ferguson's conjecture all the more likely; the small fragment, however, on which is recorded the acquisition of so large an amount of gold and silver ought probably to be attached to the record for 402/1 B.C., rather than to that of 403/2 B.C.⁶⁵ The proceeds of the sale of the real property presumably went into general state revenues, less the tenth part that went to Athena.

MICHAEL B. WALBANK

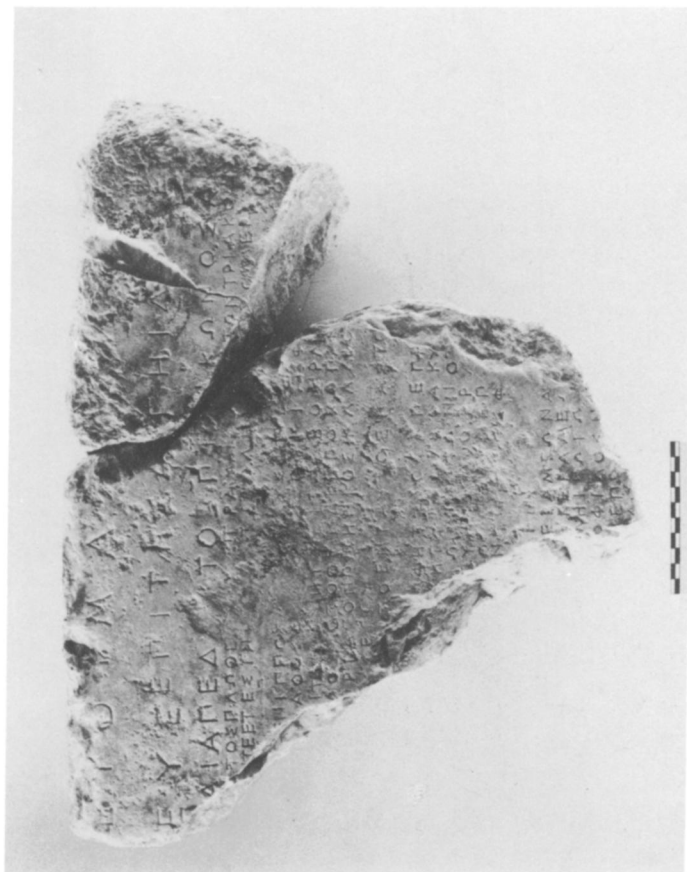
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Department of Classics
2500 University Drive, N.W.
Calgary, Canada T2N 1N4

⁶² *IG* II², 1503; see J. Tréheux, *Études d'archéologie classique* III, 1965 (= *Annales de l'Est, Mémoire*, no. 29), pp. 67–70. D. M. Lewis comments (*per ep.*) that “if this figure of 29,000 drachmai is Athena's tenth, the total proceeds will have approximated 290,000 drachmai, or about 50 talents, which doesn't seem very much. I find myself wondering whether 4,600 drachmai is really weight of gold, rather than silver-value.”

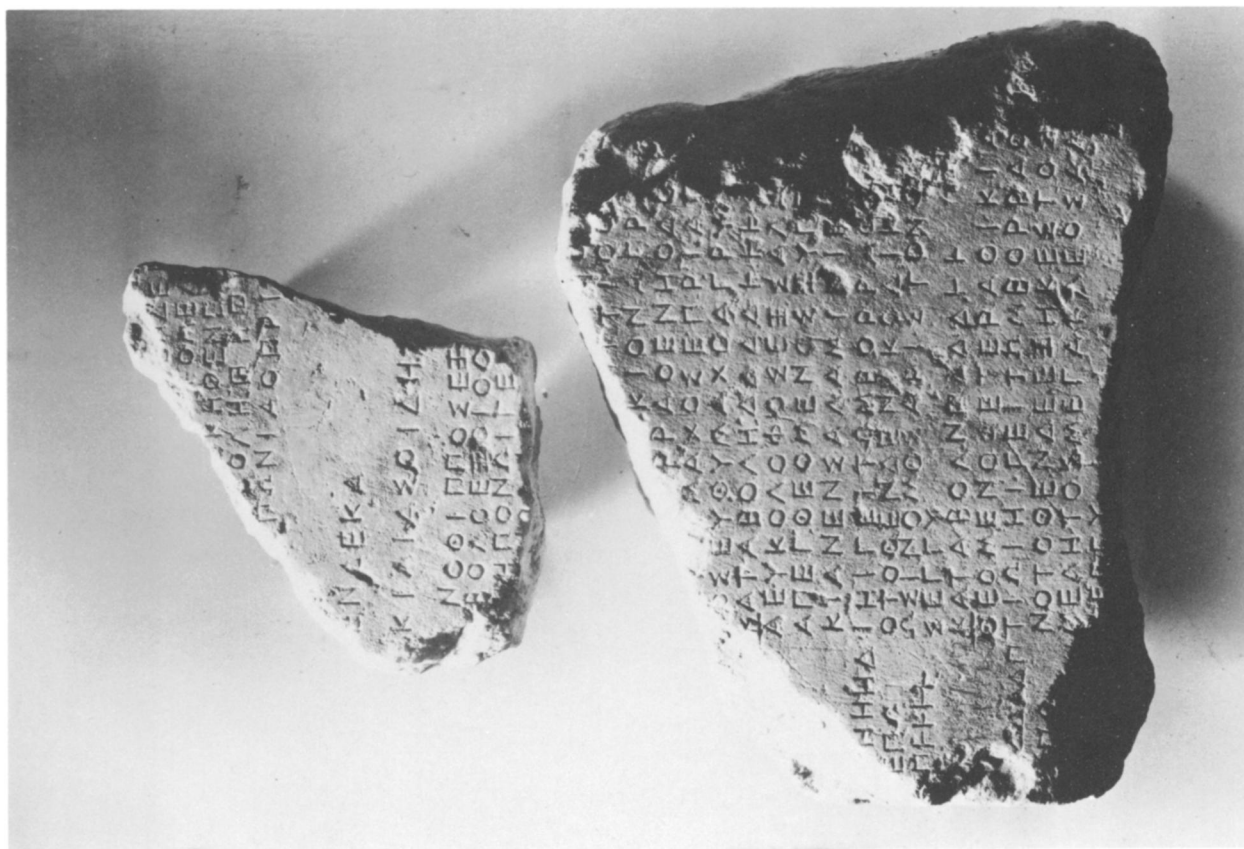
⁶³ *The Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, p. 113, note 2; followed by A. B. West and A. M. Woodward, “Studies in Attic Treasure-Records,” *JHS* 58, 1938, p. 82, and by A. M. Woodward, “An Attic Treasure-Record: The Hekatompedon-List for 402/1 B.C.,” *Ἀρχ'Εφ*, 1953–1954, B' [1958], pp. 107–112.

⁶⁴ Philochoros, *FGH* 328, fr. 181.

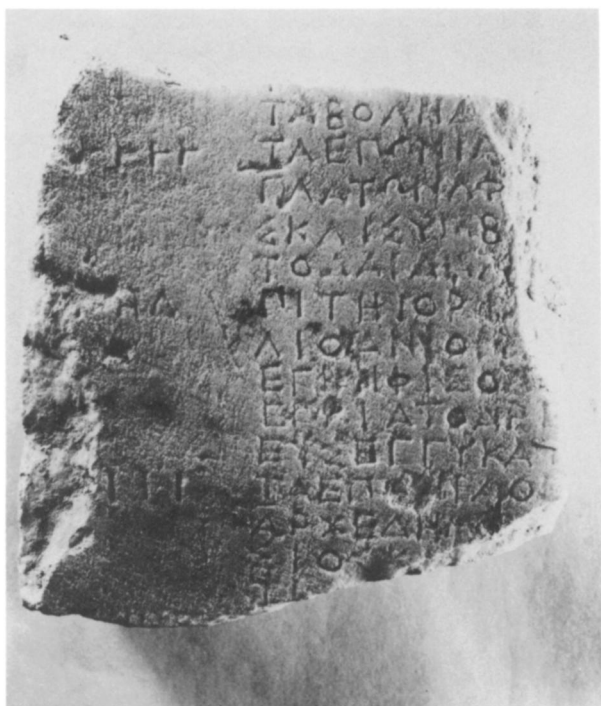
⁶⁵ D. M. Lewis, *per ep.*



a. Fragments *abc*: Stele I



b. Fragment *e*: Stele III (top)
Fragment *d*: Stele II (bottom)



a. Fragment *f*: Stele IV



b. Fragment *h*: Stele V



c. Fragment *g*: Stele IV



d. Fragment *i*: Stele VI