

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

I 7571 AND I 7579

ABSTRACT

Two inscriptions discovered in the Agora Excavations contribute new information about Athenian political history: Athenian interactions with Rhodes in the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., and prytany members during the late 2nd century A.D. A state decree, I 7571 names an Athenian *proxenos* to Rhodes at a time of particularly intense diplomatic activity. The content of I 7579, a prytany document, advances our knowledge of Eleusinian officials and Athenian state practices around A.D. 191/2. In addition, the tribal affiliation proposed for a secretary named in this inscription supports the applicability of Ferguson's Law to this period.

Presented below are the *editiones principes* of two documents from the Athenian Agora.¹ I 7571 is a fragment of a rather formulaic state proxeny decree that names a previously unknown Rhodian, Eukleidas son of Kleombrotos. While the stone preserves no dating clause, we may conclude on the basis of our knowledge of masons' hands and epigraphical formulae that the document belongs to ca. 200 B.C. If this date is correct, then the name of one of the players in years filled with diplomatic transactions between Athens and Rhodes comes to light for the first time. Besides providing a wealth of prosopographical knowledge for the late 2nd century A.D., the second document, I 7579, a prytany list of Antiochis (XII), appears to record a vacancy in the office of daduch. The absence of a named officeholder may very well reflect the transitional period between two previously known daduchs. This inscription may also provide direct evidence that Ferguson's secretary cycle holds during these years.

1. I would like to thank John McK. Camp II, director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to publish these documents. Members of the Agora staff were generous in sharing their time and skills; special thanks are owed to Craig Mauzy, Angelique Sideris, Sylvie Dumont, and Jan Jordan. I am grateful to Ronald Stroud, Simone

Follet, and Molly Richardson for helpful discussions in the presence of these documents. Earlier versions of this article were read and improved upon by Stephen Tracy, John Traill, Stephanie Larson, and two anonymous *Hesperia* referees; I thank them for their suggestions.

I 7571: FRAGMENTARY PROXENY DECREE

Agora I 7571

Figs. 1, 2

P.H. 0.665, W. 0.327 (top)–0.372 (bottom), Th. 0.095 m

L.H. 0.006–0.009 m

Found June 25, 1992, built into modern reconstruction of the southern channel of the Eridanos River (grid K/8–4/2).² Lower portion of tapering blue-gray marble stele. Top broken away. Left and right sides preserved and finished with a clawed tool. Bottom not preserved, but partial remains of a tenon at right. Back picked flat. Inscribed face smooth but heavily encrusted, especially at left.

Late 3rd–early 2nd century B.C.

Non-stoich. 40–43

- 30–33
 ΣΑ[----- γνώμην δὲ]
 ξυμβάλλεσθαι [τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
 τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι Εὐκλεί[δαν Κλεομβρότου Ῥόδιον]
 καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ εὐνοίας ἔνε]-
 5 κεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἀθηναίων].
 εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμ[ου].
 δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν αἰτη-
 σαμένῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. εἶναι δὲ Εὐκλείδαι καὶ εἰς τὸ
 λοιπὸν διατηροῦντι τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν εὐρέσθαι καὶ
 10 ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὅτου ἂν δοκεῖ ἄξιος εἶναι.
 ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχει τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἀνα-
 γράψαι τότε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ-
 τανείαν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ.
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης
 15 μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμενον
 ἀνάλωμα.

vacat 0.081 m

ἡ βουλή

ὁ δῆμος

Εὐκλείδαν

20

Κλεομβρότου

Ῥοδίου

vacat 0.312 m

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

An uncertain number of lost lines precede line 1.

The cutter closes the apex of alpha and uses a curved crossbar about as often as a straight one. The bottom horizontal of epsilon frequently intersects with the vertical slightly above the bottom of the letter space. The kappa has short diagonals; the lower stroke regularly reaches the right side of the letter space well above the bottom. The cutter carves omega in the shape of an inverted horseshoe, but one side (not always the same side) usually does not reach the bottom of the letter space.³ For a detail showing the lettering, see Figure 2.

Line 1: The surface preserves the bottom half of the left diagonal of a triangular letter in the second letter space.

2. For the canalization of the Eridanos, see Shear 1997, pp. 514–521.

3. For other characteristic features of this cutter's letters, see Tracy 1990, pp. 82–89 ("Agora I 656 + 6355 Cutter").



Figure 1. Agora I 7571. Photo courtesy
Agora Excavations

Line 2: Of the dotted theta, the bottom third of a round letter remains on the stone; its center is not preserved. The bottom tips of two slanting strokes consistent with a triangular letter account for the dotted alpha. The dotted iota represents the bottom tip of a central vertical.

Line 3: The dotted iota consists of the bottom tip of a central vertical.

Line 4: Where tau is dotted, a central vertical consistent with tau is preserved, but the very top of the letter space is lost. Of the dotted phi, the bottom quarter of a central vertical remains. The bottom tip of a diagonal stroke consistent with the left diagonal of alpha accounts for the dotted alpha.



Figure 2. Agora I 7571, detail of lines 4–9. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

Line 5: Where omicron is dotted, the top left quarter of the letter space preserves a stroke consistent with omicron, omega, or theta. The bottom tip of a left vertical is preserved where nu is dotted.

Line 6: The stone preserves the bottom tips of two verticals consistent with eta where that letter is dotted. The bottom tip of a vertical at the left of the letter space accounts for the dotted mu.

Line 8: In a heavily encrusted letter space, only the bottom tip of a left vertical is legible where nu is dotted.

Line 9: In a chipped and encrusted letter space, a deeply cut left vertical remains where nu is dotted. The squeeze shows the tip of a diagonal stroke, consistent with a mu or nu, intersecting the top of the vertical.

Line 10: Of the dotted gamma, only a top horizontal is legible amid heavy encrustation. The stone preserves the left half of a round letter where theta is dotted; the middle of the letter is illegible.

Line 13: Encrustation bars the reading of much of the letter space where alpha is dotted; at the top of the letter space, the tip of a right diagonal consistent with a triangular letter is visible on the squeeze. The apex of a triangular letter at the center of the letter space accounts for the dotted lambda; the lower portion of the letter space is too encrusted to be legible.

Line 21: In a letter space otherwise too heavily encrusted to read, a curving stroke consistent with the top third of the curving stroke of rho is legible at the top left and top center of the letter space.

TRANSLATION

... and transmit the opinion of the *boule* to the *demos* that the *boule* resolves to praise Eukleidas son of Kleombrotos of Rhodes and crown him with a crown of olive on account of his goodwill and munificence to the Athenian *demos*. And that he be both *proxenos* and *euergetes* of the *demos*. And that the privilege of obtaining land and domicile be given to him upon request in accordance with the law. And that it also be possible even in the future, if Eukleidas maintains the same disposition, to garner from the *demos* any other good of which he seems worthy. And in order that there exists a memorial of the things decreed, that the secretary of the prytany write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the agora. And that the paymaster of the stratiotic fund pay for the cost of the inscription and the erection of the stele. The *boule* (and) the *demos* (honor) Eukleidas son of Kleombrotos of Rhodes.

DISCUSSION AND COMMENTARY

The language in this state decree and the honors described are similar to those of *IG II² 907–909*, proxeny inscriptions belonging to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. Several formulae in this document also point to a comparable date. First, Alan Henry has observed that the εἶναι-type decrees of proxeny and *euergesia* usually fall after the beginning of the 4th century.⁴ While the normal naming of a *proxenos* and *euergetes* was phrased πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, Henry notes that use of the phrase τοῦ δήμου alone (without modification) appears “around the end of the third century and the beginning of the second.”⁵ Second, this document does not mention the descendants of the *proxenos*, who are regularly mentioned in such decrees until ca. 200 B.C.⁶ Third, for the grant of land and *enktesis* the formula uses δεδόσθαι, not εἶναι, which is not seen until after the end of the 3rd century.⁷

Persuasive evidence for the date independent of formulae comes from letter forms. Stephen Tracy studied two squeezes of the stone and recognized the hand of the “Agora I 656 + 6355 Cutter,” whose work dates to 203–163 B.C.⁸ This range of years marks the earliest and latest securely attested dates; it should not necessarily be prescriptive.⁹

Fixing a particular date proves difficult as Athens and Rhodes are known to have taken up common cause on several occasions near the end of the 3rd century B.C. Both certainly attempted to forge peace at the time of the First Macedonian War.¹⁰ According to Polybios, on the eve of the Second Macedonian War (200 B.C.), unnamed Rhodian envoys joined Roman representatives and King Attalos I at Athens.¹¹ After hearing the ambassadors from Rhodes, the Athenian *ekklesia* awarded the Rhodian people a crown and granted them *isopoliteia* for standing by Athens and for effecting the return of ships captured by Philip V; Attalos, of course, received extraordinary honors. At about the same time, ambassadors from Athens, Rhodes, and elsewhere traveled to Rome to ask for help against Philip V.¹² The mason who inscribed this stone also cut a decree in honor of the lifelong service of the Athenian envoy to Rome at that time, Kephisodoros of Xypete.¹³

While it is tempting to tie the decree published here to the dramatic events of 200 B.C., such an association is speculative, and that year should

4. Henry 1983, pp. 130–131.

5. Henry 1983, p. 137.

6. Henry 1983, p. 137.

7. Henry 1983, p. 207. For grants of *enktesis* in general, see Pečírka 1966.

8. Tracy 1990, pp. 82–89. I am indebted to Professor Tracy for his identification of the cutter.

9. Nonetheless, any attribution of a document to this cutter too far outside this 40-year span may “begin to strain credulity”: see Tracy 2003, p. 2, where these remarks concern the career of a mason that spans 47 years.

10. See Berthold 1984, pp. 104–107.

11. Polyb. 16.26. For a discussion of this episode and its date, see Walbank 1967, pp. 533–536; Habicht 1997, pp. 197–199.

12. Paus. 1.36.5; Livy 31.2.

13. *ISE* 33; the decree dates to the archonship of Charikles. Charikles has recently been downdated to 185/4 B.C.: see Matthaïou 1988 and Lewis 1988. For the career of Kephisodoros, see Paus. 1.36 and Habicht 1985, pp. 92–94.

not be thought of as a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁴ Athens and Rhodes had long-standing ties and worked closely together into the middle of the 2nd century B.C.¹⁵ Rhodes was always particularly active on the diplomatic front, and perhaps no more so than in this period.¹⁶ Erich Gruen has characterized Rhodes during the time between the battles of Apamea (188 B.C.) and Pydna (168 B.C.) as follows: "Her economy flourished, her prestige was at its height. This was the island's heyday."¹⁷ After 168 B.C. Rhodes and Rome fell into conflict, and it may be that thereafter Athens would not have honored a Rhodian for fear of alienating Rome.¹⁸

Lines 1–2: One or more lost lines contained a probouleumatic formula.¹⁹ One potential restoration (paralleled in *IG II*² 117b, lines 4–5, and *IG II*² 206a, lines 15–16) that suits the preserved traces and the spacing is [προ]σα[γαγεῖν Εὐκλείδαν καὶ χρηματίσαι αὐτῷ. γνώμην δὲ] ἰ ξυμβάλλεσθαι, etc. Variation within these general formulae is common.

Line 2: For the restoration here, compare those made in *IG II*² 900, line 6, and *IG II*² 907, line 2.

Line 3: Eukleidas is the second known Rhodian *proxenos* of the Athenians.²⁰ The first, Phi---des, belongs to the beginning of the 4th century (*IG II*² 19).²¹ While Eukleidas is not a rare name for Rhodians, Eukleidas son of Kleombrotos of Rhodes is otherwise unknown.²² A Kleombrotos is listed as the father of another Rhodian, Peithiadas, on two stones from Delphi.²³ Listed as one of nine named Rhodian *proxenoi* at Delphi in 180/79 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 585), Peithiadas and his colleagues served as arbiters together with an Athenian, Apollodoros son of Olympiodoros, in settling a land dispute between Delphi and (probably) Amphissa ca. 180 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 621). Perhaps Eukleidas and Peithiadas were brothers or otherwise related. An inscription from Delos also names a Kleombrotos son of Leonidas of Rhodes as a benefactor ca. 200 B.C.²⁴

14. Nor in all likelihood should the date of a grant of *isopoliteia* serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the date of naming a *proxenos*. Although Athenian state decrees do not grant proxeny status and *isopoliteia* to the same honorees, numerous decrees that do so are known from Delphi and elsewhere (*FdD* III.1 152, *IG VII* 4264 = *I. Oropos* 14, *IG VII* 4264, *IG V* 2 11, etc.). The two honors seem distinct, and the award of *isopoliteia* to all Rhodians in 200 B.C. should not preclude a later grant of proxeny to an individual. In the last quarter of the 4th century, Priene grants all Athenians *isopoliteia* (*I. Priene* 5); shortly thereafter, Priene names an Athenian *proxenos* (*I. Priene* 6). On the historical link between *isopoliteia* and awards of proxeny, see Gawancka 1975, pp. 47–55; Marek 1984, pp. 123–128, 152–155.

15. For the general unanimity in diplomacy of Rhodes and Athens

(especially in the early 2nd century B.C.), see Habicht 1997, pp. 201–210. Valerius Maximus reports (2.10) that Rhodians enthusiastically entertained the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton on their return journey to Athens.

16. See Gruen 1984, pp. 563–572.

17. Gruen 1984, p. 564.

18. To my knowledge the first document mentioning Athenian sacrifice on behalf of the Romans—perhaps indicative of particularly strong connections between the two states—is *Agora XV* 180, a prytany inscription belonging to the archonship of Pleistainos: see Traill 1971, pp. 308–311, no. 9. Following Dow, Traill (1971, pp. 310–311, with notes) sees strong Athenian ties with Rome building in the early years of the 2nd century. Claiming to recognize the cutter's hand in *Agora XV* 180, Tracy (1989) redates the document (formerly 184/3 B.C.) to the middle years of the 2nd century. Traill (1994) questions

some aspects of Tracy's methodology and now maintains an even earlier date (196/5 B.C.). For Roman relations with Rhodes after Pydna, see Ferguson [1911] 1969, p. 133; Gruen 1975; Habicht 1997, p. 216.

19. For the general sense of such formulae, see Rhodes 1972, p. 65.

20. The only known Athenian *proxenos* of the Rhodians is Glaukon son of Eteokles of Aithalidai, the brother of Chremonides (namesake of the Chremonidean War).

21. For a list of known *proxenoi* of Athens, see Marek 1984, pp. 8–9.

22. *LGPNI*, s.v. Εὐκλείδης, lists 15 individuals (nos. 26–40) from Rhodes or her dependencies.

23. *Syll.*³ 585, line 281, a proxeny list, and *Syll.*³ 614, line 21, a decree thanking arbiters (= *FdD* III.3 383). Peithiadas is restored in *Syll.*³ 614 on the basis of *Syll.*³ 585.

24. *IG XI* 4 690.

Lines 7–10: The grant of *enktesis* upon request (αἰτησαμένῳ) has only one secure parallel, *IG* II² 907.²⁵ For the sentiment regarding αἵρεσις and the granting of open honors, compare *IG* II² 908, lines 15–17: καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ τὴν αὐτῇ[ν] αἵρε[σ]ιν διατηροῦντι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι [ὅ]του ἂν εἰ ἄξιος.

Lines 11–12: The intent and diction of the purpose and publication clauses are paralleled in *IG* II² 891, lines 17–19: ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχει . . . ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα.

I 7579: PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF ANTIOCHIS (XII)

Agora I 7579

Figs. 3, 4

H. 0.657, W. 0.360, est. Diam. 0.59 m

L.H. 0.009–0.014; 0.015–0.017, phi 0.030 m (lines 1–3, 5)

Found August 12, 1993, in a Late Roman wall (grid J/15–2/12).²⁶ White marble columnar monument mended from two pieces.²⁷ Broken at top, bottom, left, and right. Back not preserved. Inscribed face smooth throughout; original surface very worn at upper right.

ca. A.D. 191/2

Non-stoich.

 [- - - - - ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος - - - - -]
 [- - - - - στρατηγούντος - - - - -]
 [- - - - - πρυτ]ανεύ[ας οἱ πρυτά]-
 [νεις τῆς Ἀντιοχί]δος φυλῆς τ[ριμῆ]-
 [σαντες ἑαυτοῦ]ς καὶ τοὺς ἀἰσ[ε]ί[τους]
 [ἀνέγραψαν] ^{vacat}
 5 [Ἐπώνυμος Αἴλ]ιος Λεύκιος Παλ[ληνεύς]

	Col. I		Col. II
	[- - - - -]		Σημαχίδ[αι]
	[- - - - -]		Αἴλ[ιος] Ἀντιφῶν
	[- - - - -]		Ἀφροδείσιος ∅
	[- - - - -]	40	Φυρνήσιο[ι]
10	[- - - - -]		Ἰγείνος Ἀρχιμ[ήδους]
	[- - - - -]		Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀ[- - -]
	[- - - - -]		Μηνόδωρος Ἀγ[αθοκλέους?]
	[- - - - -]		Κλεώνυμος ∅ ^{v v}
	[- - - - -]°	45	Ἐρυσάδαι ^{vacat}
15	[- - - - -]		Ἀπολλώνιος Μάγ[νου]
	[- - - - -]		Εὐκαρπος Τείμων[ος]
	[- - - - -]		Διογένης Τείμων[ος]

25. See Henry 1983, pp. 215–216. The participle αἰτησαμένῳ was restored by Meritt (1960, pp. 19–20, no. 25; *SEG* XIX 104), but questioned by Pečírka (1966, pp. 133–134; *SEG*

XXIV 140). With reference to Meritt and Pečírka, Woodhead excludes αἰτησαμένῳ in his reedition of the text in *Agora* XVI 317.

26. For the results of excavations in

1993, see Shear 1997.

27. Other columnar prytany lists are known. For examples, see *Agora* XV 22, 106, 369, 370, 375, 376, 377, 401, 416, 418, 419, 431, and 438.

Col. I	Col. II
[-----]	Μυσ[τ]ικὸς ∩ ^{vacat}
[-----]χου	50 Εὐκαρπος ∩ ^{v v}
20 [-----]	Ἀφροδείσιος [- - -]
[-----]θου	Ἔργαδεῖς
[-----]	Πόπλιος ∩ C
[-----]	Ἀΐσειτοι
[-----]τιμου	55 Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἱεροφά[ντης ^{demotic}]
25 [-----]	^{v v} Δαδοῦχος [^{vacat?}]
[-----]ωτου	Ἑρέν(νιος) Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἑρμ[(ειος)]
[-----]	Κλ(αύδιος) ἐπὶ βωμῶ Μελι(τεύς) ^{vacat}
[-----]ου	Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἑλ[ευ(σῖνος)]
[-----]	60 κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
30 [-----]	^{v v} Ἐπαφρόδειτος ∩ Π[ει]ρα[(ιεύς)]
[-----]μου	γραμματαὺς βουλῆ[ς] καὶ δήμου]
[-----]ο]ι	^{v v} Εὐπαίδευτος ∩ Ἐλεού(σιος)
[-----]	[ἀ]ντιγραφεὺς Δομετιανὸς [- - -]
[-----]ος	65 [π]ερὶ τὸ βῆμα Θρασυκ[λ]ῆς [- - -]
35 [-----]	[ἱερε]ὺς Φωσφόρων Ἀριστ[είδης]
[-----]	[^{v v}] Θεογένους Φρεάρ[(ριος)]
-----	[γρ(αμματαὺς) βο]υλευτῶν Νεικία[ς? - - -]
-----	[ὑπο]γραμματαὺς [-----]

Line 56: *lapis* ΔΑΔΟΥ; line 58: *lapis* ΒΩΜΩΜ.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

An uncertain number of lost lines precede line 1.

Serifs are used throughout. The cutter regularly extends the right diagonal stroke of the triangular letters alpha, delta, and lambda above the letter space. Omicron is of variable size and occasionally floats a bit above the bottom of the letter space. The central vertical of phi extends well above and below the line. Figure 4 provides a detail of the lettering. An inscribed dot half to three-quarters of the way up the letter space always precedes the homonymous patronym sign.²⁸

Line 1: The dotted iota consists of the bottom half of a central vertical.

Line 2: Of the dotted eta, a left vertical is preserved. The squeeze shows the bottom tip of a central vertical consistent with tau where that letter is dotted.

Line 3: Below the surface of the stone, traces of a vertical at the left of the letter space and a top horizontal are preserved where epsilon is dotted.

Line 5: After the last legible letter the stone is very smooth. Distinguishing the original surface is quite difficult as the preserved surface blends seamlessly with the heavily worn patch to the right.

Line 19: The dotted chi consists of the right tips of two diagonal strokes consistent with chi or (less likely) kappa at the right edge of the letter space.

28. See Threatte 1980, pp. 106–107.

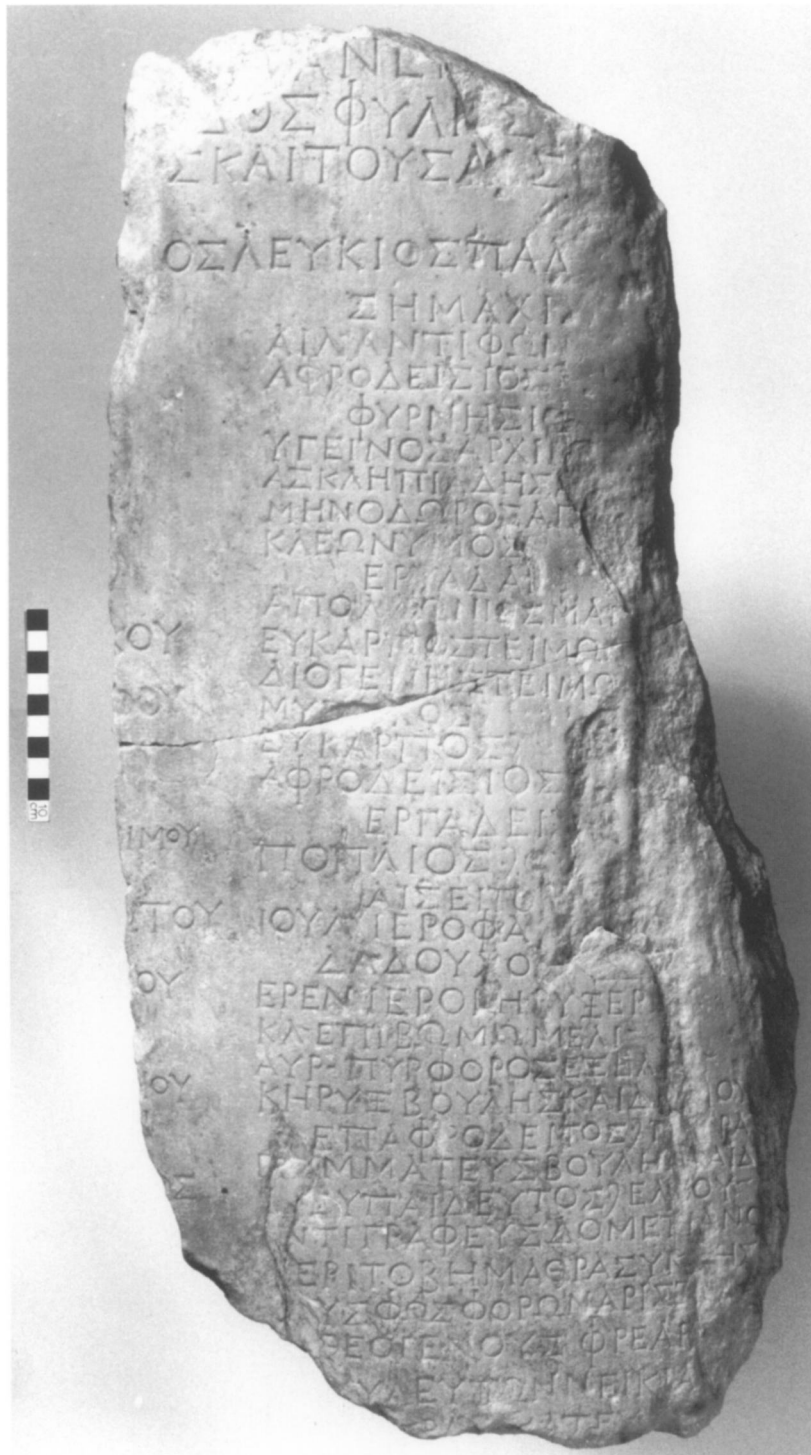


Figure 3. Agora I 7579. Photo courtesy
Agora Excavations



Figure 4. Agora I 7579, detail of lines 47–56. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

Line 21: In the first of a series of three worn letter spaces, the surface preserves the top half of omicron, theta, or omega where theta is dotted.

Line 24: The dotted tau represents the right tip of a top horizontal.

Line 31: The dotted mu consists of a vertical at the right of the letter space. The top of this vertical is cut with a finial that suggests the top of a diagonal consistent with mu, but it may just be the way the termination of the stroke was cut.

Line 32: The top quarter of a vertical is preserved where iota is dotted; it is impossible to say with certainty that no strokes intersect with this vertical.

An uncertain number of lost lines follow column I.

Line 40: The dotted omicron represents strokes consistent with the top and left sides of omicron or theta.

Line 41: A vertical at the left of the letter space accounts for the dotted mu.

Line 45: Of the dotted upsilon, the top third of two diagonal strokes consistent with upsilon or chi are preserved at the top of a damaged letter space.

Line 49: The bottom tip of a central vertical remains on the stone where iota is dotted.

Line 53: In the letter space following the homonymous patronym sign, the damaged surface preserves a curving stroke in the form of a half circle, quite similar to a lunate sigma or the mirror-image of the homonymous patronym sign. It has a dot within its arc. While it may have been part of a leaf, it is most likely a sigma used to mark the end of a section.²⁹

Line 54: Where the iota is dotted the squeeze shows the very tip of a stroke consistent with the left side of a lower serif of iota (also tau, upsilon, or psi) at the bottom center of the letter space.

Line 56: The iota subscript printed in $\Delta\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ has been added for the sake of clarity. At the bottom left corner of the last legible letter space, the stone preserves the traces of a bottom horizontal intersecting with a diagonal stroke consistent with sigma; delta cannot be excluded.

Line 57: The bottom half of a left vertical accounts for the dotted mu. As noted in the text, the surface preserves a straight line at the top

29. See Threaght 1980, pp. 86–87.

of the letter space above the last three legible letter spaces (surely a mark of abbreviation).

Line 58: The iota subscript printed in βωμῳ̣ has been added for the sake of clarity; what appears in Figure 3 as an iota on the stone is a scratch, not a stroke.

Line 60: The dotted eta consists of a left vertical; the rest of the letter space is not preserved. The dotted mu stands for a preserved vertical at right in an otherwise damaged letter space.

Line 62: The dotted gamma consists of a left vertical; Figure 3 appears to show a horizontal at the top of the letter space, but that stroke is not on the stone. The bottom half of a left vertical accounts for the dotted rho. The bottom tip of a right diagonal consistent with alpha or lambda is preserved where alpha is dotted.

Line 63: Of the dotted epsilon, the right tips of horizontals at top right and bottom right of the letter space are visible on the squeeze; the letter xi cannot be excluded.

Line 69: The apex of a triangular letter (consistent with alpha, delta, or lambda) is preserved where the first alpha is dotted. Of the dotted mu, the top left of the letter space preserves a left vertical intersecting with a diagonal; nu cannot be excluded. The second dotted alpha represents the apex of a triangular letter at the center of the letter space. The dotted upsilon consists of two diagonal strokes at the top half of the letter space consistent with upsilon; chi cannot be excluded as a possibility.

An uncertain number of lost lines follow line 69.

TRANSLATION³⁰

(... in the archonship of ... when ... served as general ... in the -st/nd/rd/th) prytany, the *prytaneis* of the tribe of Antiochis upon honoring themselves and the *aisitai* wrote up the list. The tribal *eponymos* (was) Aelius Leukios of Pallene. ---[*partial names*]--- Semachidai: Aelius Antiphon, Aphrodeisios son of Aphrodeisios; Phyrnesioi: Hygeinos son of Archimedes, Asklepiades son of A---, Menodoros son of Agathokles(?), Kleonymos son of Kleonymos; Eryadai: Apollonios son of Magnos, Eukarpos son of Teimon, Diogenes son of Teimon, Mystikos son of Mystikos, Eukarpos son of Eukarpos, Aphrodeisios son of ---; Ergadeis: Publius son of Publius; Aisitai: Iulius Hierophant of ---, Daduch, Herennius Sacred Herald of Hermos, Claudius Altar-Priest of Melite, Aurelius *Pyrphoros* from Eleusis, herald of the *boule* and *demos* Epaphrodeitos son of Epaphrodeitos of Peiraieus, secretary of the *boule* and *demos* Eupaideutos son of Eupaideutos of Elaious, checking clerk Dometianos ---, man about the rostrum Thrasykles ---, priest of *phosphoroi* Aristides son of Theogenes of Phrearrhioi, secretary of the *bouleutai* Neikias(?) ---, undersecretary ---

30. For the most part, the English transliterations given for the offices of the *aisitai* follow those provided by Geagan (1967, pp. 103–112). The editors of the major prosopographical studies of Athens, *LGPV* II and *PAA*,

were allowed access to the document prior to the completion of this *editio princeps*. Throughout the commentary, references to *PAA* will accompany discussions of the various individuals.

DISCUSSION AND COMMENTARY

The demes listed in this document make it clear that this prytany belongs to Antiochis (XII), and the mention of the Late Roman demes Ergadeis and Phyrnesioi implies a date of the 2nd century A.D. or later.³¹ The *aisitai* lists³² help fix the date of the inscription with more precision: the hierophant Iulius, the sacred herald Herennius, and the altar-priest Claudius appear together on *Agora* XV 423 (*IG* II² 1792), now dated to A.D. 190/1(?).³³ The tribal *eponymos* named there, Aelius Leukios of Pallene, holds the same position on this stone, so the two documents are probably close in time. The phonology attested in the names and elsewhere is appropriate for a late-2nd-century A.D. date,³⁴ as are the abbreviations.³⁵

Ferguson's Law provides the possibility of an exact date: if the secretary cycle was in effect during the late 2nd century A.D., then we should expect a γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα from Akamantis (VI) in A.D. 191/2.³⁶ That officeholder here is Thrasykles (line 65). A Thrasykles son of Thrasykles of Sphettios (of Akamantis VI) served as a councillor in A.D. 180/1.³⁷ The name Thrasykles is rare in the late 2nd century A.D.,³⁸ so there is a strong possibility that the *prytanis* of A.D. 180/1 and the secretary listed here are the same man. Should such an association withstand scrutiny, the identification suggests that Ferguson's Law can be applied to the late 2nd century A.D.

In this period each tribe contributed 40 *prytaneis*.³⁹ In all, 21 names are read in columns I and II. Column II lists only four of the possible 13 deme names.⁴⁰ As space for the remaining 19 names of individuals and their associated headings are required, the 23 lines without traces in the first column are probably not sufficient. One should therefore assume that both columns were longer than now preserved.⁴¹

31. For the eight Late Roman demes, see Traill 1975, pp. 92–96.

32. *Agora* XV, p. 20, lists the *aisitai* of this period. With knowledge of the lists of *Agora* XV, Clinton (1974, p. 122) charts the major Eleusinian officials. For a chronological conspectus of *aisitai* since *Agora* XV, see Traill 1974; Follet 1976, pp. 490–505. See Clinton 2004, pp. 44–50, for a recent discussion of the known daduchs and hierophants of the late 2nd century A.D.

33. *Agora* XV 423 was originally dated to ca. A.D. 192/3. For the new date of this stone (and others), see Traill 1978, p. 327.

34. In particular, the use in names of εῖ for long iota (lines 39, 41, 47–48, 61, 66 [restored], and 68) and the use of ε for a Latin short i (line 64); see Threatte 1980, pp. 139–141, 198–199 and the index of names in *Agora* XV, pp. 349–469. Also noteworthy is the

use of υ for οἱ (as Ἐρυάδαι, line 45); see Threatte 1980, p. 337. Attested variations in the spelling of demotics, ethnics, and tribal names are listed in *Agora* XV, pp. 469–477. For various spellings of the term *aisitai* in Greek, see Threatte 1980, pp. 276–277.

35. For common abbreviations and marks of abbreviation, see Threatte 1980, pp. 101–107. Demotics in the *aisitai* list are usually abbreviated with the mark ~ (Threatte 1980, p. 104, no. 3); an exception is the abbreviation of Ἐρμείος that appears in line 57, where a horizontal line above the first three letters is used (cf. Threatte 1980, p. 103, no. 1).

36. For the notion that the secretary cycle was in effect, see Notopoulos 1943. To date there is no certain evidence that the cycle was not followed in this period: see Geagan 1967, pp. 107–108; 1971, p. 108, n. 46; Traill 1974,

p. 152; Follet 1976, pp. 295–315. The date A.D. 191/2 is possible as *Agora* XV 422 has been redated to A.D. 152/3: see Traill 1978, p. 330.

37. *Agora* XV 359, line 17, redated by Traill (1978, p. 329) to A.D. 180/1. For Thrasykles son of Thrasykles of Sphettios, see *PAA* 517410. The Thrasykles listed on *Agora* I 7579 is *PAA* 517415.

38. *LGPV* II, s.v. Θρασυκλῆς, lists 42 individuals, of whom only one suits the chronology: the *prytanis* mentioned in *Agora* XV 359.

39. See *Agora* XV, pp. 21–22; S. Follet, in *BullÉp* 2003, p. 609, no. 286.

40. For the additional Late Roman demes, see Traill 1975, pp. 92–96.

41. It is possible that a third column of names existed, but it is unlikely as the traces of the heading (as preserved and reconstructed) sit nicely centered above two columns.

As noted by Daniel Geagan, “toward the end of the second century the *bouleutai* regularly served twice and in the early third century three times on occasion.”⁴² Not surprisingly, then, many of the names listed here are also attested in other prytany catalogues.

Preamble: In such documents the invocation ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ is not uncommon.⁴³ For the dating formula, one may expect to find the archon name, the name of the hoplite general, and a prytany date. Additional dating information is sometimes present (e.g., the name of the emperor).⁴⁴ If this inscription belongs to A.D. 191/2 (see above), the archon should be C. Pinarius Πρόκλος of Hagnous;⁴⁵ the hoplite general of that year is not known with certainty.⁴⁶

Line 5: *Agora* XV 423, with *RCA*, s.v. Aelius, no. 69, shows that Publius Aelius Leukios of Pallene served as tribal *eponymos* on at least one other occasion. On that stone the demotic was written in full. The demotic restored here, however, may originally have been given in abbreviated form.

Lines 6–36: We should expect a column of deme headings (indented, like the preserved headings of the second column of names, three or four letter spaces) and demesmen with patronymics. In most cases innumerable names could fit the surviving strokes.

Line 32: The traces suggest a fairly lengthy heading terminating in -οι; Ἀναφλύστιοι is a strong possibility.

Lines 37–39: Aelius Antiphon was previously known only as a member of Antiochis (XII) from *Agora* XV 447.⁴⁷ Aphrodeisios son of Aphrodeisios is otherwise unknown, but an Aphrodeisios of Antiochis (XII) appears as a patronymic to the name Paphios on an ephebic list of ca. A.D. 201–210 (*IG* II² 2076).⁴⁸

Lines 40–44: Hygeinos son of Archimedes also appears in *Agora* XV 423 (*PAA* 213690). An Asklepiades of Antiochis (XII) is named in *Agora* XV 380, a document of A.D. 169/70 (*PAA* 218250). Menodoros may be the same person as Menodoros son of Agathokles (*PAA* 649715 and 649155), an individual active in the training of ephebes (*IG* II² 2193 and 2203). Another catalogue of Antiochis (XII), *Agora* XV 472, lists a Kleonymos of Phyrresioi (*PAA* 579490) as a father to Eulogos; the same patronymic appears with the ephebes Kleopatros (*IG* II² 2133) and Hermeias (*IG* II² 2130).

Lines 45–51: The spelling of the deme name is unusual (more commonly Ἐποιάδαι) but not unparalleled (e.g., *Agora* XV 425). Apollonios son of Magnos is known from *Agora* XV 425 (*PAA* 147930). Eukarpos son of Teimon is otherwise unattested, but a Teimon is listed as the father of Ektikos in *Agora* XV 447 (cf. *PAA* 435170). No other document known to me lists a Diogenes son of Teimon, but a Diogenes of Eroiadai (*PAA* 326755) is recognized as the father of Eisidotos in an ephebic catalogue of the period.⁴⁹ Mystikos son of Mystikos of Eroiadai also appears as a *prytanis* of Antiochis (XII) in *Agora* XV 425 (*PAA* 663820). The altar-priest of *Agora* XV 406 is also named Mystikos son of Mystikos of Eroiadai (*PAA* 663815); for chronological reasons he is more likely to be a relative than the man named here. *Agora* XV 466, also a prytany list of Antiochis (XII), provides Mystikos as a patronymic for Mystikos and Metrodoros

42. Geagan 1967, pp. 75, 92–96.

43. See, e.g., *Agora* XV 444, 447, 448, 453, 461, 464, and 466.

44. See, e.g., *Agora* XV 418, 419, and 423. The preambles to these lists show considerable variation.

45. For a list of archons from ca. A.D. 75 to A.D. 267/8, see *RCA*, pp. 507–510.

46. For the known generals of the period, see Follet 1976, pp. 519–523.

47. See *PAA* 112935.

48. See Follet 1976, p. 419, no. 9, line 93. For this individual, see *PAA* 245175.

49. See Mitsos 1951, p. 26, no. 11, line 62; Follet 1976, p. 410, no. 8, line 103.

(*PAA* 663744). Eukarpos son of Eukarpos appears without a demotic in *Agora* XV 447 (*PAA* 435170). An Aphrodeisios of Eroiadai is not attested elsewhere, however (as noted above for line 39) an Aphrodeisios of Antiochis (XII) appears on *IG* II² 2076 (*PAA* 245175).

Lines 52–53: Publius son of Publius of Ergadai is not otherwise attested.

Lines 54–69: For the most part, the offices and order of *aisitōi* conform to the expected pattern of the period, and many of the individuals listed here are known.⁵⁰ The flautist is notably absent, but that office and officeholder could have followed the undersecretary (as *Agora* XV 380). Where preserved, the deme names of the *aisitōi* are abbreviated; I assume that they were also abbreviated where the surface has been lost.

Line 55: Despite the appearance of the hierophant Iulius on other documents (*PAA* 535970), his demotic is unknown.⁵¹

Line 56: While the office of daduch is listed, no officeholder appears. The surface before the office name is preserved and uninscribed. According to the known chronology, one of two daduchs could have held the office: Αἴλιος Πραξαγόρας Θεμιστοκλέους or his successor, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φίλιππος Τιβ Κλ Δημοστράτου Μελιτεύς.⁵² Given the disposition and condition of the text, it is conceivable but quite unlikely that an abbreviated name (Αἴλ or Κλ) appeared in the damaged letter spaces at the end of line 56. Instead it may be that the absence of a name indicates a vacancy in the office, perhaps marking the transition between Αἴλιος and his successor.⁵³ It should be noted, however, that in one other prytany list, *Agora* XV 426, offices appear without the names of officeholders.⁵⁴ Also, for reasons unknown, other prytany lists omit some offices entirely.⁵⁵ Of course, it is also possible that the cutter failed to record the name.

Line 59: The office of *pyrphoros* is well attested on prytany lists, but the addition of ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος is otherwise unknown. Sean Byrne believes that the man named here is Aurelius Alkamenes of Lamptrai (*PAA* 235945).⁵⁶ If this identification is correct, ἐξ Ἐλ[ευσίνος] should not refer to Aurelius's

50. For a list of the *aisitōi* regularly mentioned in Roman prytany lists, see Geagan 1967, pp. 103–112; *Agora* XV, pp. 21–22. For Herennius Sacred Herald of Hermos, see *PAA* 401585; for Claudius Altar-Priest of Melite, see *PAA* 573555.

51. See *RCA*, s.v. Iulius, no. 106.

52. Clinton 1974, pp. 61–63, nos. 22, 23.

53. Clinton (2004, p. 46) speculates that Κλαύδιος Φίλιππος served as daduch from ca. A.D. 191 to ca. 195–200. He also raises the possibility (pp. 47–48) that the successor to the hierophant Iulius served ca. A.D. 191 to ca. 200. If one believes both that Ferguson's Law is applicable during the late 2nd century A.D. and that the secretary named here necessitates a date of A.D. 191/2,

then Clinton's dates for Iulius must be altered slightly.

54. *Agora* XV 426 lists the offices of hierophant, sacred herald, and daduch, but not the officeholders.

55. *Agora* XV 395, 402, and 406 lack a sacred herald; *Agora* XV 395, 406, and 407 lack a daduch. See Clinton 1974, p. 124: "The occasional absences of the daduch and sacred herald still remain a puzzle." For unlisted offices and speculations as to the reason behind their absence, see Kapetanopoulos 1999, pp. 228–229, 231, 237 (appendix G). On *Agora* XV 395, an uninscribed space of several lines exists between the name of the hierophant (line 22) and the secretary of the *boule* and *demos*.

56. See *RCA*, s.v. Aurelius, no. 17.

home deme. Indeed, while the rarely attested demotic ἐξ Ἐλευ(σινίων) is also a possibility,⁵⁷ the notation ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος probably distinguishes the office, not the officeholder.⁵⁸ Other *pyrphoroi* from Athens are attested, the best known perhaps being the *pyrphoroi* from the Acropolis (πυρφόρος ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως).⁵⁹

Line 61: The indentation here, at line 63, and (as restored) at line 67 may indicate that the inscribed surface used for the names begins to require more room than one line (where preserved patronyms as well as demes are listed). The mason seems to have altered the spacing accordingly. The councillor Epaphroditos son of Epaphroditos (note the phonology) of the tribe Hippothontis found in *Agora* XV 448 (*PAA* 390095) is probably the herald from Peiraieus listed here.

Line 63: Eupaideutos son of Eupaideutos of Elaious may be the same man as the lone councillor from Elaious who is listed in *Agora* XV 407 (*PAA* 442050). That stone is said to preserve ΕΥΠΑΙΔΕΙΟΣ; the editors print Εὐπαίδε<υ>τος. The reading here is clear.

Line 64: A Dometianos in this office is otherwise unknown. A councillor from Besa named Claudius Dometianos appears in *Agora* XV 334 and 355 (*PAA* 372025).

Lines 66–67: Aristeides son of Theogenes Phrearrhios held the same office in *Agora* XV 411, 414(?), 417, 419, and (perhaps) 460 (*PAA* 165500). The same man was probably the councillor of *Agora* XV 370 (*PAA* 165505).

Line 68: The secretary of the *bouleutai* also appears between the priest of the *phosphoroi* and the undersecretary in *Agora* XV 411. Geagan notes that in the 2nd century the word *grammateus* could be abbreviated as γρ or a ligature of those letters (as *Agora* XV 376 and 395).⁶⁰ A secretary of *bouleutai* named Neikias is otherwise unknown, but the name itself is quite common.

CONCLUSIONS

Both of these documents offer intriguing primary evidence for prosopography in their respective eras. Besides providing the first fully preserved name of a Rhodian *proxenos* for the Athenian state, *Agora* I 7571 may mark the emergence of Rhodes as a diplomatic and economic center in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The prosopographical associations made possible by *Agora* I 7579 shed much new light on lists of similar date and contribute to a growing body of knowledge regarding the Eleusinian sacred officials and Athenian state practice in the late 2nd century A.D.

57. For this rare demotic, see *Agora* XVII 120.

58. Both ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος and ἐξ Ἐλευσινίων are known in a religious context. Receipts from sacrifices are noted with the phrase ἐξ Ἐλευσινίων in *IG* II² 1496, lines 130, 138. In a

study of a sacred calendar from Eleusis (*IG* II² 1363), Dow and Healey (1965, pl. III) read ταῖς ἱερείαις ἐξ Ἐλ[ε]υσίνος; Sokolowski (*LSCG* 7) reads ἐξ Ἐλ[ε]υσιν[ίου]. Elsewhere, the *pyrphoros* seems to be known as πυρφόρος τοῖν θεοῖν (*IG* II² 4816).

59. See, e.g., *IG* II² 3563, 3631, 3804. For a very brief discussion of the office, see Graindor 1927, p. 154.

60. Geagan 1967, p. 112. With reference to the secretary named here, Traill makes the restoration γρ (see *PAA* 704105).

REFERENCES

- Agora* = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, 1974.
- XVI = A. G. Woodhead, *Inscriptions: The Decrees*, 1997.
- XVII = D. W. Bradeen, *Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments*, 1974.
- Berthold, R. M. 1984. *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, Ithaca.
- Clinton, K. 1974. *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (TAPS 64.3), Philadelphia.
- . 2004. "A Family of Eumolpidae and Kerykes Descended from Pericles," *Hesperia* 73, pp. 39–57.
- Dow, S., and R. F. Healey. 1965. *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Harvard Theological Studies 21), Cambridge.
- Ferguson, W. S. [1911] 1969. *Hellenistic Athens: An Historical Essay*, repr. New York.
- Follet, S. 1976. *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle: Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris.
- Gawantka, W. 1975. *Isopolitie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der griechischen Antike*, Munich.
- Geagan, D. J. 1967. *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 12), Princeton.
- . 1971. "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 40, pp. 96–108.
- Graindor, P. 1927. *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo.
- Gruen, E. S. 1975. "Rome and Rhodes in the Second Century B.C.: A Historiographical Inquiry," *CQ* 25, pp. 58–81.
- . 1984. *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome II*, Berkeley.
- Habicht, C. 1985. *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley.
- . 1997. *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge.
- Henry, A. S. 1983. *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees: The Principal Formulae of Athenian Honorary Decrees*, Hildesheim.
- I. Oropos* = B. C. Petrakos, *Οἱ ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ*, Athens 1997.
- I. Priene* = F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inchriften von Priene*, Berlin 1906.
- ISE* = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche: Testo, traduzione, e commento I: Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia*, Florence 1967.
- Kapetanopoulos, E. A. 1999. "The Reform of the Athenian Constitution under Hadrian," *Horos* 10–12 (1992–1998), pp. 215–237.
- Lewis, D. M. 1988. "The Archon Charikles," *Horos* 6, pp. 19–20.
- LGPNI* = P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I: The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1987.
- LGPNI* = M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II: Attica*, Oxford 1994.
- LSCG* = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.
- Marek, C. 1984. *Die Proxenie*, Frankfurt.
- Matthaiou, A. P. 1988. "Νέο θραῦσμα τῆς IG II² 2323," *Horos* 6, pp. 13–18.
- Meritt, B. D. 1960. "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 1–77.
- Mitsos, M. T. 1951. "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν VI," *ArchEph* 1950–1951, pp. 17–51.
- Notopoulos, J. A. 1943. "Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire," *AJP* 64, pp. 44–55.
- PAA* = J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, Toronto 1994–.
- Pečírka, J. 1966. *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions* (Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica Monographia 15), Prague.
- RCA* = S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (Studia Hellenistica 40), Louvain 2003.
- Rhodes, P. J. 1972. *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford.
- Shear, T. L., Jr. 1997. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1989–1993," *Hesperia* 66, pp. 495–548.
- Threatte, L. 1980. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I: Phonology*, Berlin.
- Tracy, S. V. 1989. "The Archon Pleistainos," *Horos* 7, pp. 41–43.
- . 1990. *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 6), Berkeley.
- . 2003. *Athens and Macedon: Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 38), Berkeley.
- Traill, J. S. 1971. "Greek Inscriptions Honoring Prytaneis," *Hesperia* 40, pp. 308–329.
- . 1974. "Some Revisions in the Late Roman Archon List," in *Φόρος: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, ed. D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, Locust Valley, N.Y., pp. 150–155.
- . 1975. *The Political Organization of Attica: A Study of the Demes, Trittyes, and Phylai, and Their Representation in the Athenian Council* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 14), Princeton.
- . 1978. "Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora: Addenda to *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. XV, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councilors*," *Hesperia* 47, pp. 269–331.
- . 1994. "The Athenian Archon Pleistainos," *ZPE* 103, pp. 109–114.
- Walbank, F. W. 1967. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius II*, Oxford.

Kevin F. Daly

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
LEWISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 17837

kdaly@bucknell.edu