

A NEW ATHENIAN EPHEBIC LIST

AGORA I 7545

ABSTRACT

Agora I 7545, a fragmentary ephobic list of the late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D., records the names of six individuals, at least three of whom are otherwise unattested. The document honors ephobic officers and a trainer known from other inscriptions, Menis(s)kos of Kolonai. Two ephobes, Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion and Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos, appear to be related to members of the *genos* of the Kerykes recorded in *IEleusis* 300 of 20/19 B.C. The inscription demands a reassessment of the dates and careers of Meniskos and Dionysodoros, and raises questions about the constituency of the Kerykes in the Early Roman period.

Presented here is the *editio princeps* of Agora I 7545, a fragmentary ephobic list found in the Athenian Agora in 1982.¹ The list is similar in both form and content to *IG II*² 1965 + 3730, an ephobic list of ca. 45–40 B.C., and some of the individuals named are apparently related to members of the *genos* of the Kerykes listed in *IEleusis* 300, a decree of 20/19 B.C. in honor of the *daduch* Themistokles. Although the text is brief, the inscription has important prosopographical and chronological implications, which I examine in detail in the discussion that follows.

I 7545: FRAGMENT OF EPHEBIC LIST

Agora I 7545

Figs. 1, 2

P.H. 0.298, p.W. (excluding tenon) 0.411 (top)–0.423, p.Th. 0.087 m

L.H. Lines 1–4: omicron 0.007–phi 0.013; lines 5–8: omicron 0.004–
upsilon 0.008 m

1. I would like to thank John McK. Camp II, director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to publish this inscription. A preliminary version of this study was presented in 2006 at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Midwest and South.

Many scholars have been gracious in sharing their expertise in matters epigraphical and prosopographical, especially Sean G. Byrne, Simone Follet, Nigel M. Kennell, Stefanie A. H. Kennell, Andronike Makres, Molly Richardson, Ronald S. Stroud, and Stephen V.

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Bottom of blue-gray tapering marble stele; tenon at base. Top broken away. Small chips missing from inscribed face and sides. Left side preserved and finished with stippling. Right side preserved and finished smooth. Back roughly flattened. Bottom picked flat, and smoothed at bottom of tenon. Inscribed face finished smooth, but evidence of clawed tool just above tenon; vertical faces of tenon picked flat. Found August 2, 1982, in Late Roman fill (grid K/8, 9–2/4, 5).²

Late 1st century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.

Non-stoich.

 1 [Αρ?]χί[ας Νικί]ου?-----
 Κλεαφάνης ∪ ∪ ∪ Σουνιεύς
 Ἀρχέλαος ∪ ∪ ∪ Μαραθώνιος
 Διονυσόδωρος Σοφοκλέους Σουνιεύς

Second Text

5 οἱ συνέφηβοι Γοργί[αν Ἀρχι]τίμου
 Σφήττιον ταμιεύσαντα
 καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα

corona

οἱ συνέφηβοι τὸν γυμνα-
 σίαρχον Διονυσόδωρον
 Σοφοκλέους Σουνιέα

corona

οἱ συνέφηβοι τὸν παιδο-
 τρίβην Μενίσσκον
 Φιλοκλέους Κολωνή-
 θεν

corona

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

An uncertain number of lost lines precede line 1. While the photograph appears to show traces of strokes at the top right of the inscribed face, just below the break, these marks are adventitious; the stone and a squeeze show no letter strokes in that area.

Most, but not all, of the letters of lines 1–4 have serifs. The letters of lines 5–8 occasionally have serifs. The lower slanting stroke of kappa usually terminates slightly above the bottom of the letter space at the far right edge. In sigma the diagonals sometimes cross slightly at the center of the letter. The shape of phi varies: it appears as two circles tangent to a central hasta, a single oval split by a central hasta, and a figure-eight turned on its side split by a central hasta. Of the four examples of omega on the stone, all have at least one open triangular finial.

Line 1: Space for two letters—or perhaps three if one were iota—remains before chi. Of the first dotted iota, the bottom third of a central vertical remains on the stone. The dotted alpha consists of the bottom third of the left and right diagonals. Of the second dotted iota, the bottom third of a vertical remains on the stone. The kappa that follows has a vertical very close to the preceding letter; much of the stone here has been lost, but the right-most tip of the lower leg of a kappa remains at

2. The inscription was found with a group of uninscribed marble architectural blocks: two Ionic bases (A 4692, A 4695), a relief recut as an Ionic base (A 4707), a Doric capital (A 4694), a Doric capital recut as a base (A 4693), a pilaster capital (A 4696), and a small,

unfluted column (A 4697). The diagnostic pottery associated with this material consists of Late Roman combed ware. For the results of the excavations in the Athenian Agora in 1982, see Shear 1984.



Figure 1. Agora I 7545. Photo courtesy
Agora Excavations



Figure 2. Agora I 7545, detail. Photo
courtesy Agora Excavations

the right edge of the letter space above the bottom of the line. The third dotted iota of this line represents the very bottom tip of a vertical; it cannot be determined with certainty whether this should be considered a central or left vertical.

Line 5: The seventeenth through twenty-second letters are carved in a shallow *rasura*. No traces of the first text remain.

Line 6: The eta in Σφήττιον has a steeply sloping crossbar that descends from the top quarter of the left vertical to the lower third of the right vertical; the letter resembles nu.

Coronae: The inscribed crowns contain no letters. (A study of the appearance of these crowns, and others like them, will be presented elsewhere.)

TRANSLATION

... [Ar?]chias (son of) Niki[as? - -], Kleaphanes son of Kleaphanes of Sounion, Archelaos son of Archelaos of Marathon, Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion.

The *synepheboi* (honor) Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos (for his) having served as treasurer (*tamias*) and gymnasiarch.

The *synepheboi* (honor) the gymnasiarch Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion.

The *synepheboi* (honor) the *paidotribes* Menisskos son of Philokles of Kolonai.

DISCUSSION

The form and content of this inscription are similar to those of *IG II² 1965 + 3730*, an epehebic list dated to ca. 45–40 B.C.³ On that stone a register of epehebes in two columns precedes the names of four honorands: a *paidotribes*, a *tamias*, and two gymnasiarchs.⁴ Holders of these same offices receive honors in this text, but here one honorand, Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos, has served in two positions, as both a *tamias* and a gymnasiarch.⁵ It appears that *IG II² 1965 + 3730* and the inscription published here, together with *IG II² 1990* (of A.D. 61/2) and *IG II² 1996* (of the archonship of Domitian, A.D. 84/5–92/3), constitute a discrete class of documents naming two epehebic gymnasiarchs.⁶

Several scholars have suggested that the *tamias* and gymnasiarchs mentioned in *IG II² 1965 + 3730* were not state officials, but epehebes.⁷ Given that the name of Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion appears here both among the list of epehebes (line 4) and as gymnasiarch (lines 5–7), the present inscription is likely to provide sufficient independent evidence to confirm those suggestions and put the matter to rest. As both an epehebe and an epehebic officer, the name of Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos presumably also appeared somewhere in the (now incomplete) list of epehebes' names.⁸

During the period to which this document belongs, the deme of Sounion belonged to Attalis (XII), the deme of Marathon to Aiantis (X), and the deme of Sphettos to Akamantis (VI); the epehebes and epehebic officers listed here do not, therefore, represent a single tribal contingent.⁹ The same is true for *IG II² 1965 + 3730*, where one gymnasiarch comes

3. The join is reported in Mitsos 1970, p. 123, no. 5. For the date, see Follet 2005, p. 12.

4. A second column of epehebes may have existed on the stone published here as well.

5. The use in the present inscription of the aorist participles *ταμιεύσαντα* and *γυμνασιαρχήσαντα* to describe Gorgias's double duty as treasurer and gymnasiarch differs from the use of the nouns *ταμίας* and *γυμνασάρχος* in *IG II² 1965 + 3730*. An aorist participle would normally be taken simply as an indication of the end of service, but since the nouns *γυμνασάρχος* and *παιδοτρίβης* are used with the

other two named honorands on this stone, Dionysodoros and Meniskos, the difference may be significant. Perhaps the tenures of these offices were not coterminous, or perhaps Gorgias's service in two offices was considered worthy of exceptional formulation.

6. Later documents (e.g., *IG II² 2004, 2017*) list many epehebic gymnasiarchs. *IG II² 1009* (of 117/6 B.C.) names multiple gymnasiarchs (line 5), but whether these are state gymnasiarchs or epehebic gymnasiarchs is unclear, and other evidence of the standard number of epehebic gymnasiarchs before the late 1st century B.C. is lacking.

7. See Meritt, Woodhead, and Stamires 1957, p. 252; Pélékidis 1962, p. 277; Reinmuth 1965, pp. 270–271; Lazzarini 1985, pp. 52–53. Both epehebic and civic (state) gymnasiarchs existed: for a register of the two types at Athens, see Kennell 2006, pp. 17–18, nos. 2 (epehebic) and 3 (state). Follet (1976, pp. 363–364) has described the role of epehebic gymnasiarchs in a later period.

8. That Gorgias was an epehebic *tamias* and epehebic gymnasiarch also seems certain.

9. Contrast the tribal grouping of epehebes in, e.g., *IG II² 1960–1963*.

from Sounion (Attalis XII), while an ephebe on the list belongs to Kephisia (Erechtheis I).¹⁰

Further adding to the impression that *IG II*² 1965 + 3730 and the present inscription are closely related is the fact that both documents name Meniskos (or Menisskos) as *paidotribes*.¹¹

DATE AND PROSOPOGRAPHY

Follet has argued that in Athenian inscriptions the use of the homonymous patronym sign (used twice in this inscription) does not predate the middle of the 1st century B.C.¹² As noted above, the inscription formally most similar to this one, *IG II*² 1965 + 3730, belongs to ca. 45–40 B.C. Follet has dated the inscription published here to 59/8–36/5 B.C. based on her chronology of the career of the *paidotribes* Meniskos, and the editors of *LGN II* have dated it to ca. 40 B.C.¹³ While a date close to 40 B.C. is possible, the prosopographical considerations discussed below make a date close to the turn of the millennium more appealing.

MENISKOS SON OF PHILOKLES OF KOLONAI

The *paidotribes* Meniskos of Kolonai is well known.¹⁴ Already in 1951 Raubitschek could claim that “the available evidence concerning Meniskos is so large as to require a separate study.”¹⁵ Since that time at least one other important new inscription mentioning Meniskos has been published, and several scholars have restored his name in previously known documents.¹⁶

Follet has gathered the evidence for Meniskos of Kolonai, proposing that he occupied the office of *paidotribes* from ca. 59 to ca. 36 B.C.¹⁷ Apart from the present document, preserved or restored attestations of a *paidotribes* named Meniskos now number ten: *SEG XXI* 685; *SEG XXI* 686;¹⁸

10. I assume that Leukios of Sounion is an ephebic gymnasiarch.

11. For a discussion of the career of this *paidotribes* (and the spelling of his name), see below.

12. Follet 2000; *BullÉp* 2003, no. 272. While Threatte initially argues (1980, p. 105) that the homonymous patronym sign was first used in Attica ca. 50 B.C., he subsequently points out (1996, p. 694) that it appears as early as 83/2 B.C. on a stone from Rhamnous belonging to the archonship of Pammenes (*Δῆμος τοῦ Παμνοῦντος II*, no. 179). However, Follet (2000) argues that the text from Rhamnous belongs to the tenure of a second archon named Pammenes, who served in the period 35/4–18/7 B.C. (For further discussion of the two archons named Pammenes, see Bresson 2000, pp. 151–182.) For a general overview of the phenomenon of marking homonymy, see Koerner 1961. Koerner places the introduction of the

use of the homonymous patronym sign in Attica in the 1st century B.C., although he finds it as early as the 2nd century B.C. elsewhere (pp. 136–137).

13. Follet 2005, p. 12; *LGN II*, s.v. Σοφοκλῆς, no. 25 (and elsewhere).

14. *LGN II*, s.v. Μενίσκος, no. 12; *PAI* no. 646550. For a very useful (but now incomplete) list of attestations and an excellent discussion of known family members, see Aleshire 1991, p. 157, no. 10049. With the exception of the inscription published here, his name is regularly spelled Μενίσκος, with only one medial sigma. (In *PAI* no. 646550, Traill marks the unusual spelling with an exclamation point; it is not noted in *LGN II*.) The form Μενίσσος is most likely a simple variant. According to Threatte (1980, p. 510), gemination of sigma is not unusual before kappa, and in an epitaph of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. from near Kyzikos (*SEG XLII* 1103) the same

gemination appears in the same name. As the following discussion will show, there may be reason to assume the existence of more than one *paidotribes* of this name, but I do not believe that the form Μενίσσος alone provides sufficient grounds for concluding that the individual named here must be distinguished from the trainer known elsewhere as Μενίσκος. In my discussion I use the more commonly attested spelling throughout.

15. Raubitschek 1951, p. 53, n. 14. To my knowledge this study has never appeared.

16. See the following discussion and Tables 1 and 2 for references.

17. Follet 2005, p. 12.

18. Benjamin (1963, p. 63 = *SEG XXI* 686) notes that Meniskos may be restored to this document, but she is hesitant to do so given that at least one other trainer from Kolonai is known. See further below, n. 21.

TABLE 1. MENISKOS OF KOLONAI, NAMED AS PAIDOTRIBES

<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Archon Named</i>	<i>Archon Date (Dinsmoor/Meritt)</i>	<i>Archon Date (Byrne)</i>	<i>Archon Date (Follet)</i>
SEG XXI 685	Leukios	59/8	—	59/8
SEG XXI 686	Leukios <i>neoteros</i>	—	43/2	44/3
IG II ² 1041	Polycharmos	45/4?	44/3	43/2
IG II ² 2995	Kallikratides	37/6?	36/5	37/6
SEG XXXVIII 176	Asklepiodoros	—	34/3	36/5
IG II ² 1961	<i>not preserved</i>	—	—	—
IG II ² 1965 + 3730	<i>not preserved</i>	—	—	—
IG II ² 2989	<i>not preserved</i>	—	—	—
<i>Hesperia</i> 3, p. 39, no. 27	<i>not preserved</i>	—	—	—
Unpublished	<i>not preserved</i>	—	—	—

IG II² 1041;¹⁹ IG II² 2995;²⁰ SEG XXXVIII 176; IG II² 1961;²¹ IG II² 1965 + 3730; IG II² 2989;²² *Hesperia* 3, p. 39, no. 27; and an unpublished ephebic *lampas* dedication.²³ Three other inscriptions mention a Meniskos of Kolonai without identifying him as *paidotribes*: IG II² 1046 (where Meniskos is the mover), IG II² 3112 (where Meniskos appears as a patronym), and IG II² 1759 (where Meniskos again appears as a patronym). Tables 1 and 2 group these various attestations by archon date.²⁴

As Follet demonstrates, the weight of direct evidence suggests that a Meniskos served as *paidotribes* in the middle of the 1st century B.C. When listed as *paidotribes* the name Meniskos appears with the patronym Philokles only in the inscription published here. The only other document in which the name Meniskos is accompanied by the patronym Philokles

19. Stamires reports that Raubitschek read Με[νίσκος] instead of [Π]ε[- -] in IG II² 1041, lines 30–31: see SEG XVII 33. After autopsy of IG II² 1041, I read Με[νίσκος].

20. For the restoration of the name Μενίσκος to this stone, see Pantos 1973, p. 187.

21. Believing with Raubitschek that IG II² 1965 + 3730 and IG II² 1961 refer to the same ephebic class, Stamires posits a copyist's error in IG II² 1961 (Meritt, Woodhead, and Stamires 1957, p. 252, n. 69). In line 77 of the text printed in the corpus, an alpha appears at the start of the otherwise unpreserved name of a *paidotribes*. Stamires wishes to replace the alpha with mu and restore the name of Meniskos. Long thought lost, IG II² 1961 has since been rediscovered and republished: see Lazzarini 1985, pp. 37–54. The new text (= SEG XXXIV 153) excludes the possibility that a mason or scribe erred in

writing alpha for the initial mu of Meniskos. Instead, the editor reads the alpha in question as the second letter in *paidotribes*; she does not, however, discount the possibility that Meniskos could have been named as the holder of that office. She dates the stone to the middle years of the 1st century B.C.

22. Pantos (1973, p. 187) restores the name Meniskos to IG II² 2989, an ephebic dedication wherein a *paidotribes* from Kolonai, whose name has been lost, receives honors. However, restoration of Meniskos based on the demotic Kolonai alone proves problematic, since IG II² 2990 and SEG XXXVII 135 attest to another *paidotribes* from Kolonai, Philokles (probably the father of Meniskos).

23. Andronike Makres, who will publish this *lampas* dedication, kindly shared the text with me.

24. All dates in the tables are B.C. unless otherwise noted. In Table 1,

archon dates are drawn from Dinsmoor 1931; Meritt 1977; S. G. Byrne, who, while stressing that “after 47/6 no year is certain,” kindly shared (*per ep.*, October 2005) his thoughts, updated since LGPN II, on the archons from 48/7 B.C. to 33/2 B.C.; and Follet 2005. Determining a fixed date for the archon Leukios may be somewhat problematic. Although Graindor (1922, p. 69, n. 3) has argued that the term *neoteros* when applied to an archon should denote an archon with the same name as a recent prior archon, it is unclear whether the term would have been added in every instance on every stone. Hence it may be that Meniskos served as *paidotribes* only under the archonship of the second Leukios listed in Table 1 (Leukios *neoteros*), effectively reducing the known span of dates for his service by some 15 years. In Table 2, archon dates are drawn from Dinsmoor 1931, Meritt 1977, RCA, Follet 1976, and Follet 2005.

TABLE 2. MENISKOS OF KOLONAI, NOT NAMED AS PAIDOTRIBES

<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Archon Named</i>	<i>Archon Date</i> (Dinsmoor/Meritt)	<i>Archon Date</i> (Byrne)	<i>Archon Date</i> (Follet)
IG II ² 1046	Lysandros	52/1	—	52/1
IG II ² 3112	C. Iulius Philopappos of Besa	—	ca. A.D. 93	—
IG II ² 1759	<i>not preserved</i>	—	—	—

is IG II² 1046, a decree (of which Meniskos is the mover) belonging to 52/1 B.C.

Although not conclusive in isolation, indirect evidence also suggests that a *paidotribes* named Meniskos was active in the 1st century B.C. The join of IG II² 1965 with IG II² 3730 introduces into consideration a list of individuals who are known to have been associated with a *paidotribes* Meniskos, some of whom may also be dated independently. As reported by Stamires, “Raubitschek has identified the gymnasiarchos of I.G., II², 3730, lines 7–8, Λεύκιος Σουνιεύς, with the epehebos of ca. 40 B.C., [Λ]εύκιος Δέ[κ]μου [Σ]ο[υ]νιεύ[ς], in I.G., II², 1961, line 21, and finds a connection between the epehebos of I.G., II², 1965, line 5, [Γάιο]ς Καστρικίος Ἀλέξανδρος, and Πῶλλα Καστρικία Δέκμου θυγάτηρ, Ποπλίου Γρανίου γυνή, known from a sepulchral inscription which Kirchner dates in the first century before Christ (I.G., II², 11826).”²⁵ It appears that IG II² 1961 is a document concerning the same epehebic class as IG II² 1965 + 3730, and that both should therefore date to ca. 45–40 B.C.²⁶

Further evidence for the date of Meniskos comes from the name of the *tamias* of IG II² 1965 + 3730, Ἀπόληξις ἐξ Οἴου. Assuming that the inscription dates to ca. 45–40 B.C. and memorializes his service as an epehebic *tamias*, he should have been born ca. 63–58 B.C. The dates of several men named Apolexis from Oion are consistent with the chronology suggested by the career of Meniskos; all fall after the middle of the 1st century B.C. (with one belonging to the late 1st century).²⁷

25. Meritt, Woodhead, and Stamires 1957, pp. 251–252. The new text of IG II² 1961 (= SEG XXXIV 153) reads [Λ]εύκιος Δέκμου Σουνιεύς at line 21.

26. See Follet 1988, p. 27. Following Dow (1983, p. 98), she considers IG II² 2463 yet another document listing epehebes of the same year as IG II² 1965 + 3730 and IG II² 1961. (To my knowledge, Dow’s new edition of IG II² 2463, promised in Dow 1983, p. 104, has never appeared.)

27. At least three men fit the dates: see LGPN II, s.v. Ἀπόληξις (of Oion), nos. 18–20. A fourth individual, no. 21, may also fit if a date in the late 1st century B.C. can be tolerated. For a brief discussion of some of the problems involved in identifying Apolexis of Oion with a particular individual, see Kapetanopoulos 1974. Kallet-Marx and

Stroud (1997, pp. 178–181) have addressed the vexed question of the multiple archons of that name. Follet (2005, p. 14) puts one archonship of Apolexis in ca. 22 B.C., and that of Apolexis son of Philokrates in ca. 10/9 B.C. Citing Habicht 1996, and with reference to Graindor 1927, she has implied elsewhere (Follett 1998, p. 252) that she does not believe in a third archon named Apolexis in the 40s B.C., and this name is absent from her new list of archons of that decade (Follet 2005, pp. 12–13). Kritzas has recently published a dedicatory base that names Apolexis son of Apellikon of Oion as gymnasiarch (Kritzas 2004, expanding on preliminary publication of the same stone in Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 187, no. 174).

Finally, *SEG XXXVIII* 176 lists [Α]πολλώνιος Μεννέ[ου] Ἀζηγιεύς as an ephebe who trained under Meniskos. This individual may be related to the Menneas son of Menneas of Azenia named as a *hymnagogos* in a decree of 20/19 B.C. honoring the *daduch* Themistokles (*IEleusis* 300, line 19).²⁸ Kallet-Marx and Stroud have observed that it is unclear whether the *hymnagogos* in this decree is to be equated with the Menneas of Azenia known to have been a *bouleutes* in ca. 50–40 B.C. (*Agora XV*, no. 280, line 4), but whether these are one individual or two, the period of activity associated with the name remains the 1st century B.C., most likely ca. 60–20 B.C.²⁹

The Meniskos of Kolonai who served as a trainer in the middle of the 1st century B.C. is to be distinguished from another Meniskos of Kolonai named in two documents of the late 1st century A.D. (*IG II²* 3112, 1759).³⁰ The latter, however, also may have served as a *paidotribes*. As Raubitschek observes, the family had a long tradition of service in this profession.³¹ Other families are also known to have passed along the tradition of serving as trainer, a practice that has produced instances of homonymous *paidotribai* in chronologically distinct eras.³² Hence it is not beyond the realm of possibility that two (or more?) Meniskoi of Kolonai served as trainers in Athens. Indeed, Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 747b) mentions, without patronymic or demotic, a trainer at Athens named Meniskos of the second half of the 1st century A.D.³³

Questions concerning the number of trainers named Meniskos are also raised by the identification of another individual recorded in the present inscription, the ephebe and gymnasiarch Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion. The chronological boundaries determined by Follet for the active career of Meniskos in the 1st century B.C., ca. 59/8 to ca. 36/5, would likely require the multiplication of individuals named Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion, since the dates attested for the latter, exclusive of the present document, appear to place his birth after 20 B.C. The problems presented by the identification of Dionysodoros are discussed separately below; if, however, the existence of a third trainer named Meniskos is considered tolerable, then another Dionysodoros is not needed. Although Kallet-Marx and Stroud have warned that “arbitrary multiplication of personalities is to be resisted,” in this case it appears that some duplication may in fact be unavoidable.³⁴

28. Although an argument from silence, it is noteworthy that no Menneas of Azenia is attested in Athens after the two (homonymous father and son) found in this inscription.

29. Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997, p. 177. *LGPN* II, s.v. Μεννέας, nos. 6–9, distinguishes these men and lists four individuals named Menneas of Azenia in the late 1st century B.C.

30. See *LGPN* II, s.v. Μενίσκος, no. 13; *PAA* no. 646555 (for *IG II²* 3112).

31. Raubitschek 1951, p. 53, n. 14.

32. Cf. Hermodoros, Heortios, and Hermodoros (grandfather, father, and son) of Acharnai, who served as trainers in the 3rd to 2nd centuries B.C., and Neandros, Pedieus, and Pedieus (grandfather, father, and son) of Kerameis, who served in the 2nd century B.C.; see Tracy 1982, pp. 159–161. I owe this reference to an anonymous reader.

33. Although the dramatic date of the dialogue is ca. A.D. 67 (see Jones

1966a), Plutarch probably wrote it between A.D. 99 and 116: see Jones 1966b, pp. 72–73. Follet (1988, p. 27 with n. 21) distinguishes the Meniskos known from epigraphical sources from the trainer named by Plutarch; *LGPN* II, s.v. Μενίσκος, no. 12, lists Plutarch’s trainer in the same entry as the Meniskos named in the inscription published here.

34. Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997, p. 181.

DIONYSODOROS SON OF SOPHOKLES OF SOUNION

A Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion served as “hoplite general (for the third time) and as permanent priest of the Imperial cult ca. A.D. 41–54.”³⁵ As priest he made a dedication to the Emperor Claudius (*IG II*² 3274).³⁶ A Dionysodoros of unattested father and deme also served as eponymous archon in A.D. 53/4.³⁷ While Raubitschek places the birth of Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion around the beginning of the 1st century A.D. in order to allow the archon Dionysodoros and Dionysodoros son of Sophokles to be the same individual, Aleshire prefers to “sever the identification of the hoplite general with the archon Διονυσόδωρος.”³⁸ Instead, she places the birth of the priest and general Dionysodoros in ca. 20–10 B.C.³⁹

If the chronology worked out by Follet for the *paidotribes* Meniskos has a direct bearing on the inscription published here, then the Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion named in the present document should have engaged in ephebic training sometime between ca. 60 and ca. 40 B.C.; this would put his birth between ca. 80 and ca. 60 B.C. However, if Aleshire’s chronology for Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion is correct, then his ephebic training belongs to ca. 2 B.C.–A.D. 9, well outside the attested active period of the *paidotribes* Meniskos.⁴⁰ In order to maintain the chronologies determined by Follet for Meniskos and by Aleshire for Dionysodoros, at least two individuals of the name Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion should be recognized, since it is unlikely that the widely disparate dates associated with that name can be reconciled with the lifespan of a single person.⁴¹

Neither Raubitschek nor Aleshire knew of the document published here. If this inscription does in fact attest to the existence of another Dionysodoros, then Aleshire’s detailed prosopography and chronology of the Flavii of Sounion certainly needs to be revisited. The matter is further complicated by the fact that relations of a Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion appear as members of the *genos* of the Kerykes in *IEleusis* 300,

35. Aleshire 1991, p. 231, no. 5; see pp. 223–234 and table XI for a full examination of the entire family. At the time of her study Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion was attested in five Attic documents: *IG II*² 2337, 3274, 4046 (see *SEG XLII* 193), 4945, and 5969 (see *SEG XLII* 193). *LGNP II*, s.v. Διονυσόδωρος, no. 154, notes the appearance of the name in the inscription published here; see also *PAA* no. 362440. Aleshire (1991, pp. 226, 233, no. 18) puts the birth of Sophokles, the father of Dionysodoros and son of Dionysodoros (by birth) and Philotas (by adoption), in ca. 70–60 B.C. The editors of *LGNP II*, on the other hand, distinguish the Sophokles named

in the present inscription from Sophokles the father of Dionysodoros and son of Dionysodoros and Philotas (s.v. Σοφοκλής, nos. 24 and 23, respectively).

36. See Clinton 1997, p. 169; Geagan 1997, p. 25.

37. *IG II*² 1345, 1737; Phlegon, *FGrH* 257 F 36 VII; *LGNP II*, s.v. Διονυσόδωρος, no. 40. Graindor (1922, pp. 86–87, no. 56) puts the archonship of Dionysodoros in either A.D. 52/3 or 53/4, but does not provide a patronymic or demotic.

38. Raubitschek 1948, cols. 38–40; Aleshire 1991, p. 227.

39. See Aleshire 1991, table XI. Aleshire posits that the archon Dionysodoros is the son of the priest and general.

40. Traill suggests that the Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion named on the stone published here (*PAA* no. 362440) is “possibly the same as” or “ancestor” of the general and priest Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion (Aleshire’s no. 5 = *PAA* no. 362445); he further suggests that Dionysodoros the eponymous archon of A.D. 53/4 (*PAA* no. 360625) could be the same as the latter.

41. This is the solution adopted in *LGNP II*, s.v. Διονυσόδωρος, nos. 154 (which refers to the present inscription) and 155. Alternatively, as noted above, one could postulate the existence of another trainer named Meniskos.

a decree of 20/19 B.C. honoring Themistokles as *daduch*.⁴² I discuss the implications of this inscription further below.

GORGIAS SON OF ARCHITIMOS OF SPHETTOS

Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos is otherwise unknown but comes from a prominent family.⁴³ An Architimos served as first coinage magistrate in 83/2 B.C.; another held the same post ca. 62/1 B.C.⁴⁴ A document dated to 56/5 B.C. lists an Architimos son of Architimos of Sphettos as a thesmothete, while an Architimos (of Sphettos?) was eponymous archon ca. 30/29 B.C.⁴⁵ Finally, *IEleusis* 300, of 20/19 B.C., lists an Architimos son of Architimos of Sphettos as one of the Kerykes.⁴⁶ Habicht considers the last to be the grandson of the Architimos who was coinage magistrate of 83/2 B.C., and the son of the Architimos who was both a coinage magistrate ca. 62/1 and a thesmothete in 56/5 B.C.⁴⁷ Whether the archon and the member of the *genos* of the Kerykes are the same man remains unclear.

[AR?]CHIAS (SON OF) NIKI[AS? - - -]

This individual appears to be otherwise unknown.⁴⁸ The preserved sigma of line 1 may mark the end of a name. If so, the spacing and the preserved strokes suggest three possible names known from Athenian documents: Αἰσχίας, Ἀγγίας, or Ἀρχίας. The sole Athenian Αἰσχίας belongs to the middle of the 3rd century B.C. at the latest, much too early to be identified with the person listed here.⁴⁹ The only attested Ἀγγίας, who comes from Phlya, appears as a patronymic in an inscription from Delos dated near the 1st century B.C.⁵⁰ Athenians named Ἀρχίας were numerous.⁵¹ If that name is to be restored here, then five known individuals suit the chronology: Archias

42. *IEleusis* 300, lines 27–28, 28–29, 23–24, naming Sophokles son of Philotas of Sounion (born the son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai), Iophon son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai, and Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai. Aleshire (1991, p. 231, no. 4) includes Dionysodoros the son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai among the *hymnagogoi* of *IEleusis* 300; in fact, however, he does not belong to that group. The inscription lists only three *hymnagogoi*: Aristodemos son of Argeios of Trikorynthos, Menneas son of Menneas of Azenia, and Philemon son of Philemon of Melite: see Clinton 1974, pp. 97–98. Habicht (1991, p. 13) makes a similar slip in considering Architimos son of Architimos of Sphettos (line 22) a *hymnagogos*.

43. In its printed form *LGPN* II does not note the appearance of the name in this document. However, a web-based update of *LGPN* II lists this individual s.v. Γοργίας, no. 3a (see

<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/downloads/index.html>; accessed July 2009). He and his father Architimos also appear in *PAA* (nos. 280600 and 214828, respectively). Traill suggests that the Architimos father of Gorgias of Sphettos listed here (*PAA* no. 214828) is perhaps the same as Architimos father of Architimos of Sphettos (*PAA* no. 214830, a thesmothete attested in *IG* II² 1717).

44. Thompson (1961, p. 555) dates these officeholders to 117/6 B.C. and 96/5 B.C. and believes the name refers to the same man; Habicht (1991, pp. 12–13, 16) has redated the service of Architimos and dissociates the two coinage magistrates. Habicht claims that both men are from Sphettos.

45. *IG* II² 1717, line 11 (thesmothete); *FdD* III.2 59, line 2; III.2 60, line 2; III.2 67, line 1 (archon). Thompson (1961, p. 555) describes Kirchner's identification of the coinage magistrate with the archon as "quite impossible," but she follows Kirchner in recognizing

the thesmothete as the archon Architimos's father, and adds that "he is also, in all probability, the mint magistrate's son." Graindor (1922, p. 36) summarizes the argument of Roussel (1916, p. 382) that the archon Architimos comes from Sphettos and is the same man as the thesmothete, but he considers it no more than a possibility. Oliver (1942, p. 82) similarly lists Sphettos in parentheses as the demotic of the archon Architimos.

46. *IEleusis* 300, line 22.

47. Habicht 1991, pp. 12–13, 16.

48. This name does not appear in *LGPN* II; without reference to the possibilities of Αἰσχίας or Ἀγγίας, in *PAA* 212287 the name found here is reported as [Αρ]χίας Νικ[- - -].

49. Tracy (1988, p. 319) discusses the attestations of Αἰσχίας and the prominent members of his family.

50. *IDelos* 2607, line 30. The name of his son does not survive.

51. *LGPN* II lists 80 individuals.

father of Archippos of Bate (*IG II² 5865*), Archias father of Archias of Kerameis (*IG II² 6319*), Archias father of Apollonios (*IG XIV 712*; *SEG XXXIX 1043*), Archias father of Demostrate of Lamprai,⁵² and an Archias named on an unpublished Kerameikos tombstone.⁵³ No patronymic is recorded for any of these men.

Non-Athenians also participated in the Athenian *ephebeia* in this period, and *IG II² 1965 + 3730* shows that the names of foreigners were sometimes intermingled with those of citizens.⁵⁴ Suitably named foreigners known to have been active in Athens sometime near the end of the 1st century B.C. include Archias father of Athenaios of Karystos (*IG II² 8964*), Archias father of Artemidoros of Laodikeia (*IG II² 9165*), and Archias father of Dorema of Miletos (*IG II² 9525*).⁵⁵ Patronymics are not attested for these men.

For a patronymic with a genitive singular beginning Νικ- and a fourth letter that corresponds to the traces on the stone, at least 15 male names attested in Attic inscriptions are suitable.⁵⁶ Of these Νικίας is by far the most common.

KLEAPHANES SON OF KLEAPHANES OF SOUNION

This is the first attestation of the name Kleaphanes in Attic epigraphy.⁵⁷

ARCHELAOS SON OF ARCHELAOS OF MARATHON

Archelaos son of Archelaos of Marathon is elsewhere unattested.⁵⁸ An inscription from Delos of ca. 110 B.C. lists an Archelaos son of Dionysios of Marathon,⁵⁹ and an Archelaos son of Lysimachos of Marathon is known from a document of ca. A.D. 38–48.⁶⁰ Finally, an Archelaos of Marathon fathered a son named Aristoboulos sometime around the 2nd century A.D.⁶¹

THE KERYKES AND THE PAIDOTRIBES MENISKOS

As noted above, some of the individuals named in the inscription presented here appear to have links with members of the *genos* of the Kerykes mentioned in *IEleusis* 300, a decree of 20/19 B.C. honoring the *daduch* Themistokles. The names of two ephebes on this stone who are also known

52. Threpsiades (1960, p. 25, no. 3) reports that the Greek Archaeological Service discovered a columella inscribed Δημο[σ]τράτη Ἀρχίου [Λα]μπρέ[ως] θυγάτηρ near the national cathedral in Athens (not in *SEG*). See now Bardani and Papadopoulos 2006, no. 367, where the editors read the demotic [Λα]μπρέως (with no other changes to Threpsiades' text).

53. *LGNP II*, s.v. Ἀρχίας, nos. 28, 39, 53, 49, and 29, respectively.

54. Tracy (2004, p. 209) has observed that the earliest attested foreigners in the Athenian *ephebeia* belong to *IG II² 1006 + 1031*, dated to 123/2 B.C. Habicht (1997, p. 13) suggests that for-

eigners began participating ca. 125 B.C. For foreign ephebes in Athens in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., see Follet 1988; Byrne 2003.

55. *FRA*, s.v. Ἀρχίας, nos. 2697, 3234, and 4348, respectively.

56. *LGNP II* lists the following possibilities: Νικήνωρ, Νικήρατος, Νικήσιος, Νικήσιδικος, Νικήσιππος, Νικήσιφῶν, Νικήσιών, Νικήτης, Νικήφας, Νικήφορίων, Νικήφόρος, Νικιάδης, Νικίας, Νικίδης, and Νικίππος. A total of 414 individuals are so named.

57. In its printed form, *LGNP II* does not note the appearance of the name in this document. However, the web-based update of *LGNP II*

(see n. 43, above) lists this individual (and his homonymous father), s.v. Κλεαφάνης, nos. 1a and 2a. See also *PAA* nos. 574985 (son), 574984 (father).

58. The two individuals (son and homonymous father) in the present inscription are listed in *LGNP II*, s.v. Ἀρχέλαος, nos. 12, 13; *PAA* nos. 209675, 209670.

59. *IDelos* 2125, line 1; *LGNP II*, s.v. Ἀρχέλαος, no. 11.

60. *IG IV² 1 84*, line 22; *LGNP II*, s.v. Ἀρχέλαος, no. 14.

61. *IG II² 6765*; *LGNP II*, s.v. Ἀρχέλαος, no. 15.

from other sources, Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion and Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos, have patronymics that suggest familial ties with men known from the Eleusinian document: Sophokles son of Philotas of Sounion (lines 27–28) and Architimos son of Architimos of Sphettos (line 22). This may simply be chance; alternatively, one might speculate that the ephebes listed in the present inscription were grouped by *genos* and only the names of the Kerykes are preserved, or that the document was produced by the *genos* of the Kerykes alone. Oliver has proposed that there were two types of *gene* in Athens, the military *genos* and the clan *genos*, and that individual Kerykes may have been members of a *genos* of both types. Although he would emphasize the role of military *gene* more than that of clan *gene*, he suggests that early Athenian *genos* affiliations gained new prominence under the Romans, especially after Actium.⁶²

One might have expected Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion and Gorgias son of Architimos of Sphettos, the two ephebes named in the present inscription who seem to belong to the *genos* of the Kerykes, to appear in *IEleusis* 300 as well. If, following Follet's chronology for Meniskos, their ephebic training took place sometime between 59 and 36 B.C., they would have been between ca. 60 and ca. 37 years of age in 20/19 B.C., the date of *IEleusis* 300. Why then are they absent from the list of Kerykes in that decree? Were they not yet enrolled in the *genos*?⁶³ Had they died?

Were it not for the constraints imposed by Follet's chronology of the *paidotribes* Meniskos, one could take the Dionysodoros and Gorgias named in the present inscription to be sons of *genos* members named in *IEleusis* 300. We have also seen that Apollonios son of Menneas of Azenia, known from *SEG XXXVIII* 176 as an ephebe who trained under Meniskos, may be related to the Menneas of Azenia named as a *hymnagogos* in *IEleusis* 300. With this in mind, one should be open to the possibility either that the life and career of Meniskos were extraordinarily long, or that another Meniskos of Kolonai served as *paidotribes* shortly after the first.⁶⁴ Either alternative would account for the fact that the ephebes named on the inscription presented here do not appear on *IEleusis* 300, as they might have been too young to be listed as members of the *genos* of the Kerykes.⁶⁵ If so, we may assign the present inscription to a later period, perhaps as late as ca. 5 B.C.–ca. A.D. 5. Such a shift would also allow the date of birth proposed by Aleshire for (a single) Dionysodoros son of Sophokles to remain within the realm of possibility.⁶⁶

In the absence of other evidence, however, such a downdating must be considered tentative, especially as Meniskos's patronymic Philokles appears only here and in *IG II²* 1046, which is securely dated to 52/1 B.C. On the other hand, as noted above, the office of *paidotribes* is known to have been held by members of the same family in successive generations. While naming practices and continuity of profession within a family suggest the possibility of multiple trainers named Meniskos, at present there is no compelling reason to believe that there was more than one Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion.

62. Oliver 1980, esp. pp. 33–38; cf. Schmalz 1996.

63. The origin and constituency of Athenian *gene* is problematic: see Oliver 1980; Lambert 1997, 1999. The *Lexicon Demosthenicum Patmium*, s.v. γεννήται (= *Ath. Pol.* fr. 385 Rose), limits those called γεννήται within a *genos* to thirty: see Oliver 1972, pp. 99–100; Clinton 1974, p. 53. Rhodes (1993, pp. 68–69, 768) is skeptical of the usefulness of this passage, given the analogy drawn from the seasons of the year.

64. The practice of using of a special sign marking homonymous parentage after 50 B.C. (see n. 12, above) should probably alert us to a rise in the frequency of homonymous individuals in proximate generations. I will present a study of this phenomenon elsewhere.

65. Clinton (1974, p. 53) speculates that age may have been a factor in becoming a *daduch*. Would such a stricture apply to entry into the *genos*?

66. Such a date need not force reconsideration of the date of *IG II²* 1965 + 3730, since, with the exception of Meniskos, the persons named there are different from those in the inscription published here.

CONCLUSION

The new ephebic list presented here raises important questions about the prosopography and chronology of some prominent Athenians of the Early Roman period. If the list is dated according to Follet's chronology of the trainer Meniskos, then it seems likely that the Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion who appears in this inscription is a different individual from the man of the same name known from previously published documents. If, on the other hand, we assume a single Dionysodoros, then we must consider the possibility of a significant extension to the life and career of Meniskos, or posit the existence of multiple trainers of that name, probably in a family in which the profession of *paidotribes* was passed down from one generation to the next.

The apparent links between some of the individuals named in Agora I 7545 and those recorded in *IEleusis* 300 also suggest that the content and organization of this ephebic list may have been due at least in part to the activities of the *genos* of the Kerykes. Such a conclusion may support the notion that the old Athenian *gene* regained some of their importance during the Roman period, and that affiliation with a *genos*, rather than with a tribe alone, may have been a central means of conceptualizing civic status. If so, and if a date in the decades preceding 20/19 B.C. is preferred for this new inscription, then the fact that certain individuals named here do not appear with the Kerykes listed in *IEleusis* 300 may reflect limiting forces, not yet fully understood, on the constituency of Athenian *gene* in this period.⁶⁷

67. As this article was going to press, Geoffrey Schmalz's new volume on Early Roman prosopography (2009) appeared—too late, unfortunately, for the implications of the work to be included in the present study.

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