

LEASING OF SACRED LAND IN 4TH-CENTURY ATHENS

A REASSESSMENT OF SIX INSCRIBED FRAGMENTS

ABSTRACT

A fresh examination of six inscribed fragments (*Agora* XIX L6 a–f) previously attributed to the first of a series of stelai recording civic leases of sacred land in late-4th-century Athens reveals that they belong to four separate stelai, only one of which can be dated to 343/2 B.C. The publication of the leases was linked to a reorganization of sacred finances that included the amalgamation of the treasuries of Athena and the Other Gods, ca. 346/5. The new reconstruction challenges previous estimates of the extent of Athenian sacred property and the assumption that subsequent lists (*Agora* XIX L9–12, L14) were produced only at 10-year intervals.

INTRODUCTION

The financing of cult in Athens, as elsewhere, was crucial to the continuation of traditional rites honoring the gods.¹ This was as true for major civic deities such as Athena Polias as it was for lesser gods and heroes. Among the ways a polis might raise revenues to cover the annual expenditures for a sanctuary was the exploitation of its landed property, which was usually leased out, probably to the highest bidder. This property, which the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* refers to collectively as the *temene* of the gods, consisted mainly of agricultural land, but also included buildings and properties that served other purposes.² By virtue of its divine ownership,

1. This article has its origins in my doctoral thesis, a study of the inscriptions concerning sacred land in 5th- and 4th-century B.C. Athens, written under the supervision of Phillip Harding at the University of British Columbia. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Harding for his help and support over the years and for his useful criticism of this paper. I would also like

to thank the directors and staff of the Epigraphical Museum and the Agora Museum in Athens for permission to study the fragments and for their helpfulness and courtesy. Finally, I would like to thank the editor and anonymous reviewers at *Hesperia* for their acute observations and constructive criticism. I am, of course, responsible for any shortcomings that remain. This study

was made possible, in part, by grants from the Advisory Research Committee at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. All dates are B.C. and all translations are my own.

2. *Ath. Pol.* 47.4. On the types of sacred property in Athens and the terms used to describe them, see Walbank 1983, pp. 222–224; Faraguna 1992, pp. 348–350.

such property was considered sacred, but its exploitation and management fell under the authority of the officials responsible for the cult with which it was associated.³ The extent to which the cults relied on income from sacred land is uncertain, since sanctuaries could raise revenues in a variety of other ways as well.⁴

The Athenian evidence is almost entirely epigraphical and spans a period from ca. 450 B.C. to the reign of Augustus, although the majority of the relevant documents date to the second half of the 4th century. Approximately 30 inscriptions deal directly with issues involving the leasing of sacred land, while temple accounts include only a handful of references to this form of income.⁵ No single property belonging to a god appears in more than one inscription. Although most of the inscriptions, including laws and decrees, were published by the polis, a significant number were set up by officials of the demes and other corporate groups, including those of *orgeones*. In many ways the documents of these groups mirror those of the polis, but they also include actual leasing contracts that are not found in the state inscriptions.⁶

By the second half of the 4th century, Athens had established a system whereby sacred land belonging to civic cults was leased out under the authority of the archon basileus for a period of 10 years.⁷ A series of stelai recording leases of land belonging to Athena Polias and the Other Gods was set up at this time, although they survive only in fragments, found in and around the Agora over a period of roughly 90 years. The group of fragments discussed in this article, previously published as parts of a single stele (*Agora* XIX L6), are the earliest, dating to 343/2, in the archonship of Pythodotos. Four other stelai (*Agora* XIX L9–12) are dated on epigraphical grounds to ca. 338–326, while the last of the series (*Agora* XIX L14) belongs to the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 3rd.⁸ A partial prescript has survived in *Agora* XIX L6;⁹ otherwise, the extant portions of the stelai are straightforward lists of leases, with no internal evidence to indicate the reason for their publication or the specific terms

3. Property of this type should be considered sacred because of its association with a specific cult and because of the use to which the proceeds of the leases were put. Legally, the *temene* of the gods might be no different from public property, although they differed socially and economically. By contrast, there is no evidence for the leasing of public land in Attica that was not sacred. For a discussion of the sacred nature of such property, with recent bibliography, see Horster 2004, pp. 7–15. Worth noting too are the comments in Linders 1975, pp. 1–18; Parker 1983, pp. 161–164; Whitehead 1986, p. 170; Isager 1992; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, p. 181. *Contra*, see Finley 1951, p. 95; Walbank in *Agora* XIX, pp. 149–151.

4. Depending on its resources and the capacities of its officials, a sanctuary might also have income from such sources as fees, fines, taxes, and loans. For a general discussion, see Horster 2004, pp. 190–210.

5. For a summary of the relevant Athenian texts, see Behrend 1970; Walbank in *Agora* XIX, pp. 152–162; Faraguna 1992, pp. 354–380; Horster 2004, pp. 147–164. To these should be added the lease of a sacred house, recorded in the building accounts of the Propylaia for three separate years: *IG* I² 462, line 24 (437/6); 463, line 74 (436/5); 466, line 146 (433/2).

6. For a summary of the inscriptions produced by groups within the polis, see Horster 2004, pp. 159–164. The officials of these groups appear to have

had more freedom in deciding the terms of their leasing agreements than did those of the polis itself.

7. *Ath. Pol.* 47.7. The 10-year term and the administration of the leases are discussed below.

8. Other studies of the leasing lists have also included *Agora* XIX L15, which has been dated to the same period as *Agora* XIX L14 (end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century). This fragmentary inscription records either a leasing contract or a decree concerning a lease, but it is uncertain whether it was published by the polis or some other corporate group.

9. Lines 2 and 3 preserve only the archon date and the name of Athena Polias in the genitive case.

of the agreements. They do, however, supply extensive data on the leasing of property, sacred or otherwise, in Late Classical Athens.

The series of documents shows a remarkable consistency, recording not only sacred properties and their divine owners, but also the revenues generated annually from each lease. These stelai are therefore of particular importance for the study not only of sacred finances in general but also of the impact that such transactions had on the economy of Athens as a whole.¹⁰ The names of the men who leased the properties and owed the rent, as well as those who stood as guarantors for each tenancy, were also recorded, and this prosopographical data can help to illuminate the role that the leasing of sacred property played in Athenian economic and social life.¹¹

This series of stelai, published over a period of years, may also give some indication of the amount of sacred land in Attica under the control of the polis, as well as the way in which the polis administered such land. Michael Walbank has proposed that *Agora* XIX L6, which he reconstructs as a single stele dating to 343/2, is a complete list of the sacred properties leased by the polis. Subsequent lists, represented by *Agora* XIX L9–12, may date 10 years later and represent a decennial renewal of the same leases.¹² As restored by Walbank, the stele of 343/2 consists of six nonjoining fragments, designated a–f (Figs. 1–6).¹³ It is not certain, however, that the six fragments belong together.¹⁴ The purpose of this article, based on a close examination of the stones, is to propose an alternative arrangement of the fragments into four separate stelai, and to establish a new text that corrects the errors of earlier editions, particularly those that affect the names of tenants and guarantors and the annual rent paid, which are important for statistical analysis. The new arrangement of the fragments calls into question the decennial nature of this series of documents and demands a reassessment of the management of the *temene* by the polis. The method of administration suggested by the publication of the stelai can best be understood in its historical context, which I discuss in the conclusion.

10. For the economic impact of the leasing of sacred land in Athens, see, in particular, Walbank 1983, pp. 207–215; Osborne 1988, pp. 281–292; Shipton 2000, pp. 39–49, 80–82, 111–116.

11. For prosopographical commentary, see especially Walbank 1983, pp. 125–134, 186–191, 197–199, 202–203, 205. Studies of the tenants and guarantors named on the stelai have tried to establish what part of the Athenian population was involved in the leasing of sacred land. Because of the nature of prosopographical evidence in general, if the men are known from other sources, they are often members of the wealthy elite, including the liturgical class, and sometimes politically active. The majority of the men, however, are otherwise unknown and it is impossible to determine whether

they were members of this class. As a result, scholars are divided on the interpretation of the statistical evidence derived from the stelai. Walbank (1983, pp. 224–225) argues that the liturgical class is underrepresented in the lists and suggests that poor men were given preference in the assignment of the leases. Shipton (2000, pp. 39–49; 2001), comparing the higher percentage of men of the liturgical class recorded in mining leases and in the leases of the sacred land of Apollo on Athenian-controlled Delos, concludes that such men played a relatively unimportant role in the leasing of sacred land in Athens itself. For the opposing view, that the tenants of the sacred properties were themselves mostly well-off landowners who sought to increase their profits by farming sacred land and, at

the same time, their prestige by publicly taking on the tenancy as a kind of liturgy, see Andreyev 1974, pp. 43–44; Osborne 1988, pp. 291–292. Osborne makes use of the prosopographical study of Walbank, unavailable to Andreyev, and accepts as certain several tentative identifications in order to arrive at his figures.

12. Walbank 1983, pp. 199, 206, 227, n. 122. He would date *Agora* XIX L14 to the reletting of the leases in either 303/2 or 293/2.

13. The six fragments were first published together in Walbank 1983, pp. 100–135, as Stele I of a series of lease inscriptions, and again as *Agora* XIX L6. For the publication history of each fragment, see below.

14. Tracy 1995, pp. 94–95.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STELAI

The six fragments of *Agora* XIX L6 (Figs. 1–6) certainly share characteristics that suggest their arrangement as a single stele with three or four columns of text.¹⁵ All are of streaky, blue-gray marble conventionally identified as Hymettian. The front and back surfaces are smoothly dressed, indicating that both faces were intended for inscription, although ultimately none of the fragments was inscribed on the back.¹⁶ The text of each fragment is arranged in columns with a stoichedon pattern of 29 letters.¹⁷ In spite of these similarities, the attribution of all six fragments to a single stele is problematic. Two factors contribute to the difficulties: the relative thickness of the fragments and differences in the cutting of the letters.

The placement of the fragments is based on the reconstruction of a stele ca. 1.0 m wide, with three columns of text; a four-column stele, ca. 1.35 m wide, is also possible.¹⁸ There is, unfortunately, no formula for fixing the height and width of a stele from its fragments, but both estimates are reasonable.¹⁹ According to the published measurements, all but one of the six fragments are somewhat thicker at the bottom than the top.²⁰ The outer margins of the text, preserved in two of the fragments (a and c), also show an increase in width from top to bottom, a feature typical of tapered stelai.²¹ The suggested arrangement of fragments a–f as part of a single stele does not, however, take this taper into account.²² Although the taper

15. Walbank 1983, pp. 102, 110.

16. By contrast, the later leasing lists *Agora* XIX L9–10 are opisthographic. The backs of *Agora* XIX L11–12 are not preserved.

17. *Agora* XIX L9–12 preserve the same type of list, arranged similarly in stoichedon columns but with 25 letters in the initial line of each entry and 24 letters in the following lines. *Agora* XIX L14, which is later in date, is a non-stoichedon inscription that appears to break somewhat with the pattern of its predecessors.

18. Walbank 1983, pp. 102, 110. For comparison, a fragmentary inscription of the *poletai* dating to 342/1 (*Agora* XIX P26) had four columns of text arranged in a stoichedon pattern of 39 letters and was ca. 1.066 m wide.

19. As Walbank (1983, p. 110) notes, the stele does not conform to Dow's formula, a ratio of 1:4.5:9 for thickness, width, and height. It should, by that calculation, be ca. 0.55–0.6 m wide, which is far too narrow for three columns of text. Walbank points out that financial documents such as the Attic Stelai likewise do not conform to Dow's ratio, being wider in proportion to their thickness. But see Dow 1934,

pp. 141–144. Dow himself notes (1942, p. 324) that this formula can only be used for "a homogenous class of Athenian inscriptions." The formula was developed on the basis of examination of the Athenian archon lists, and so can only be used as a rough guide for other types of inscriptions. A comparison of complete stelai published by the *poletai*, for example, shows that they do not conform: *Agora* XIX P49 is both wider and taller than the formula would predict, while *Agora* XIX P5 is narrower and shorter. The dimensions of a given stele were probably determined by various factors, such as the habits of the workshop and the individual stonecutter and the nature of the available marble. Attempts at conformity were no doubt made in the case of a series of related stelai, but any formula would apply only to that series.

20. Walbank (1983, pp. 101–103; *Agora* XIX, pp. 179–180) provides the following measurements of the thickness and height of each fragment: *fr.* a, Th. 0.118 (top), 0.121 (bottom), H. 0.260 m; *fr.* b, Th. 0.119 (top), 0.121 (bottom), H. 0.276 m; *fr.* c, Th. 0.119 (left), 0.121 (right), H. 0.314 m; *fr.* d, Th. 0.119 (left), 0.121 (right),

H. 0.156 m; *fr.* e, Th. 0.12 (top), 0.121 (bottom), H. 0.280 m; *fr.* f, Th. 0.12 (top), 0.121 (bottom), H. 0.264 m. He notes that the smoothly dressed back of each fragment is preserved, although he does not say how complete the preservation is.

21. Walbank 1983, p. 109. The left margin of fragment a measures 0.011 m at line 5; at line 20 it measures 0.012 m. The right margin of fragment c measures 0.009 m at line 3; at line 18 it measures 0.010 m. The width of both outer margins increases by 0.001 m over 15 lines of text. It should be noted that the same variation does not occur in the intercolumnar margins of fragments b, e, and f.

22. Walbank (1983, p. 109) acknowledges that the stele did taper slightly in width from bottom to top, but argues that the difference in the thickness of the fragments is so slight that "in effect, the stele did not taper in this axis." Tracy (1995, pp. 94–95) points out that in Walbank's arrangement, fragment f is placed below fragment e, despite the fact that each fragment is 0.12 m thick at the top and 0.121 m at the bottom. Fragment e in turn is placed beneath fragments c and d.

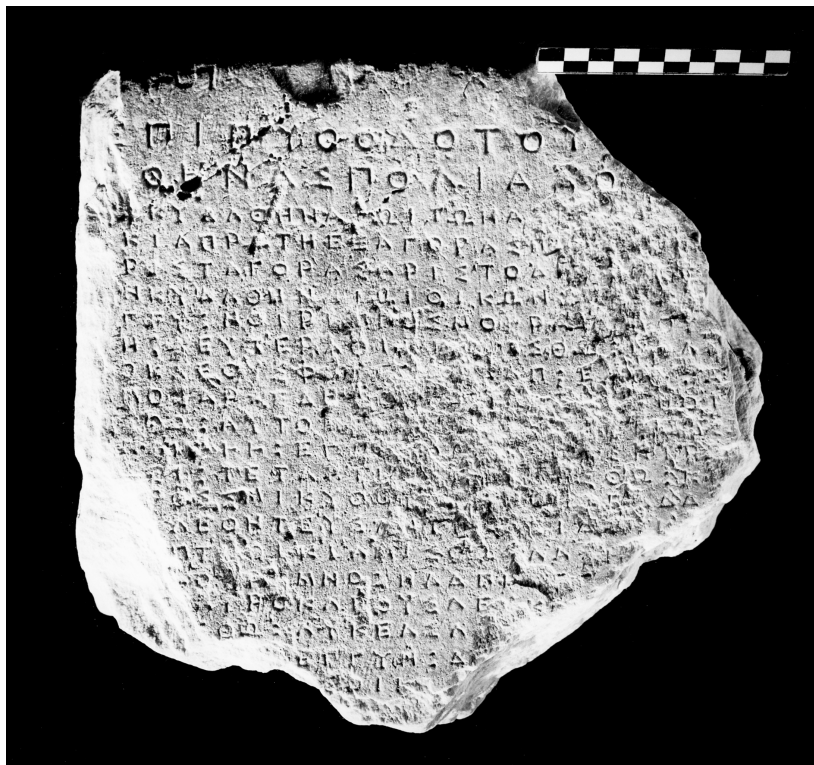


Figure 1. Fragment a, Epigraphical Museum 280. Photo courtesy Epigraphical Museum, Athens

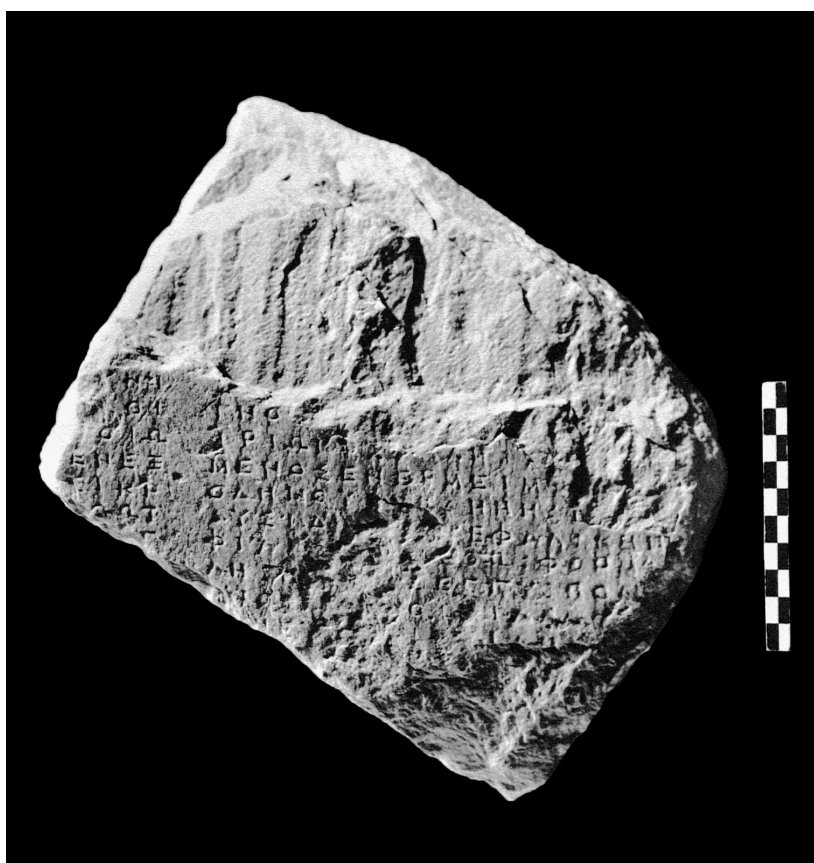


Figure 2. Fragment b, Epigraphical Museum 8014. Photo courtesy Epigraphical Museum, Athens

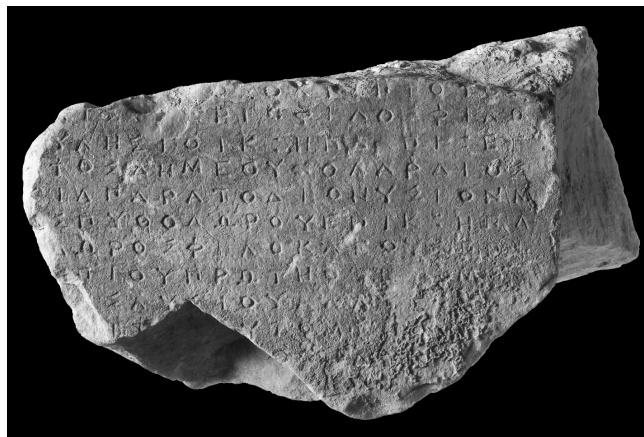
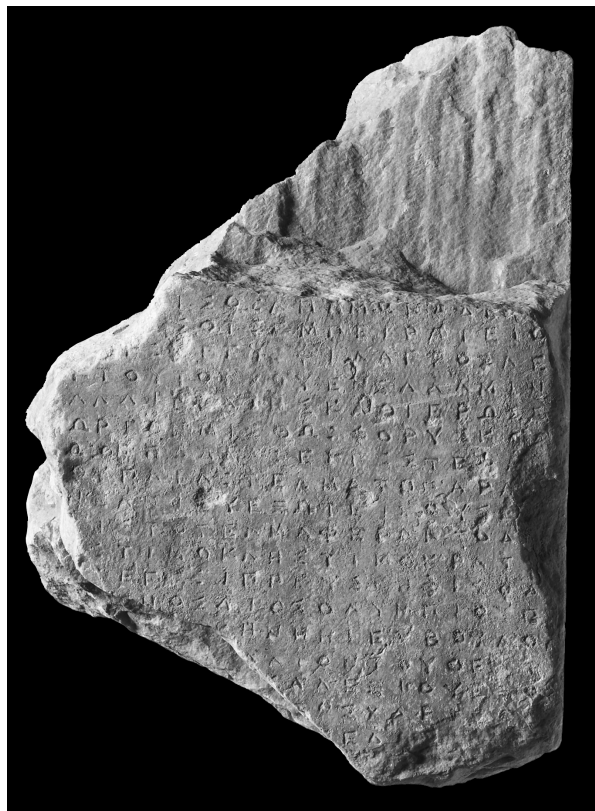


Figure 3 (left). Fragment c, Agora I 7062. Scale 1:3. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 4 (above). Fragment d, Agora I 7123. Scale 1:3. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

suggested by the measurements of the fragments is slight, the fragments themselves are not large; the largest, fragment e, has an inscribed surface with a height of less than 0.3 m and increases only 0.002 m in thickness from top to bottom. Extrapolated over a height of one meter, however, the difference is ca. 0.007 m. Comparison with similar stelai shows that the taper could be almost imperceptible. An opisthographic inscription of the *poletai* dating to 342/1 (*Agora* XIX P26), for example, lists leases of mines, likewise arranged in columns. The largest fragment of the inscription, fragment b, with a height of 0.735 m, has a thickness of 0.090 m at the top and 0.094 m at the bottom, a difference of 0.004 m.²³ The stele therefore tapered only ca. 0.005 m over one meter.

A reexamination of the stones indicates that some revision of the published measurements may help clarify their relationship to one another. The thickness of each fragment was remeasured with calipers at points where both the front and back surfaces of the stone were preserved (Table 1).²⁴ A comparison of the relative taper of the fragments reveals that fragments a and e show an increase in thickness of ca. 0.01 m over one meter, while fragment c shows an increase of 0.016 m over the same distance. Although

23. *Agora* XIX, p. 105. Meritt (1936, p. 396) notes that fragment a of this inscription (*IG* II² 1582) has the same taper, although this is not reported in *IG* II² or *Agora* XIX.

24. The new measurements were

taken in the summer of 2005 and again in 2006. Both regular and digital calipers were used, with a margin of error of 0.001 m. In the table, the column labeled "Distance between Measurements" records the vertical distance

between the two points at which the thickness of the stone was measured. The poor condition of the surfaces did not allow measurements of fragments b and d in more than one place.

TABLE 1. THICKNESS OF FRAGMENTS A–F

<i>Fragment</i>	<i>Thickness (top)</i>	<i>Thickness (bottom)</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Distance between Measurements</i>	<i>Difference / 1 m</i>
a	0.12	0.1226	0.0026	0.24	0.01
b	0.1215	—	—	—	N/A
c	0.1194	0.1225	0.0031	0.192	0.016
d	0.123	—	—	—	N/A
e	0.12	0.122	0.002	0.175	0.011
f	0.122	0.122	0.0	0.240	0.0

All measurements are in meters.

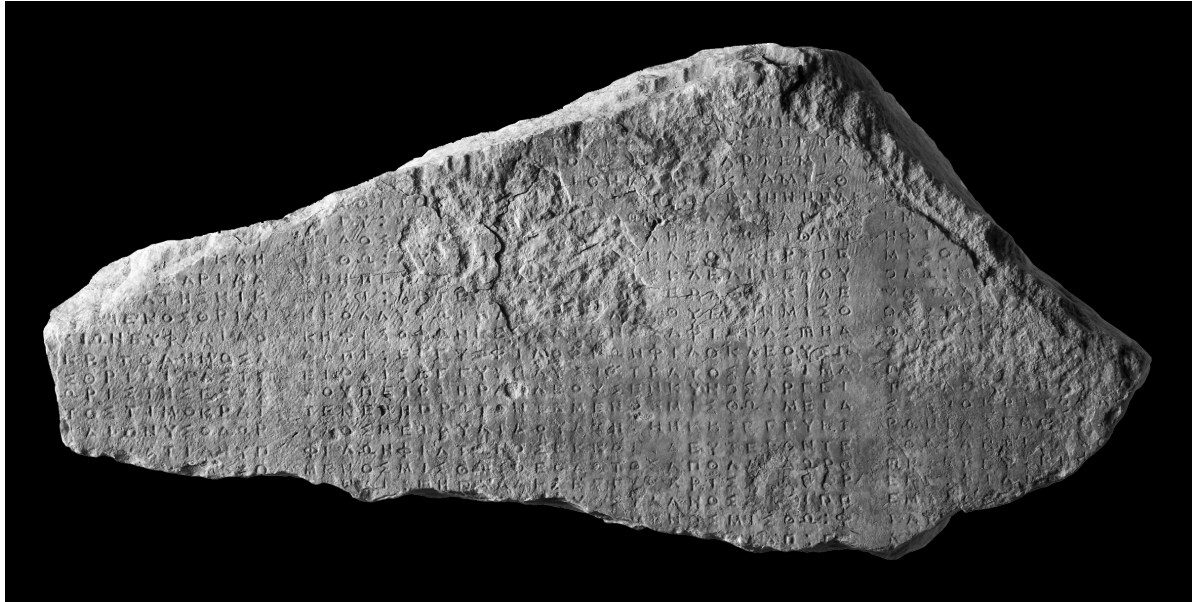


Figure 5. Fragment e, Agora I 7117.
Scale 1:4. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 6. Fragment f, Agora I 4133.
Scale 1:3. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

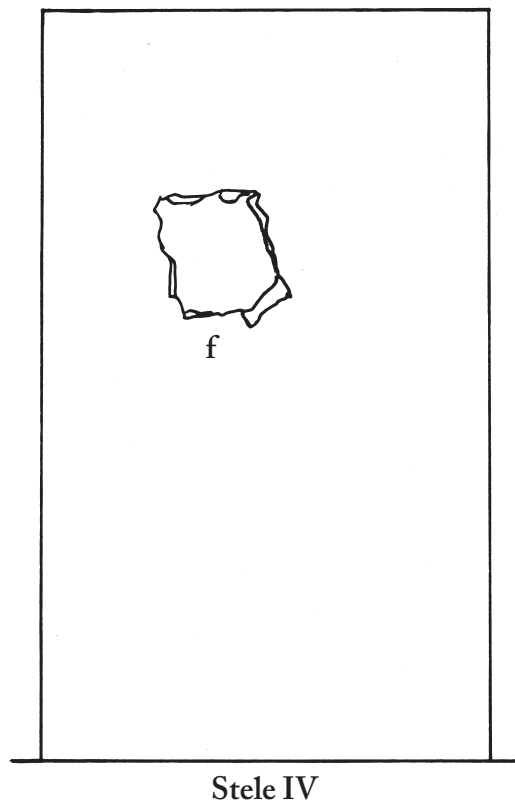
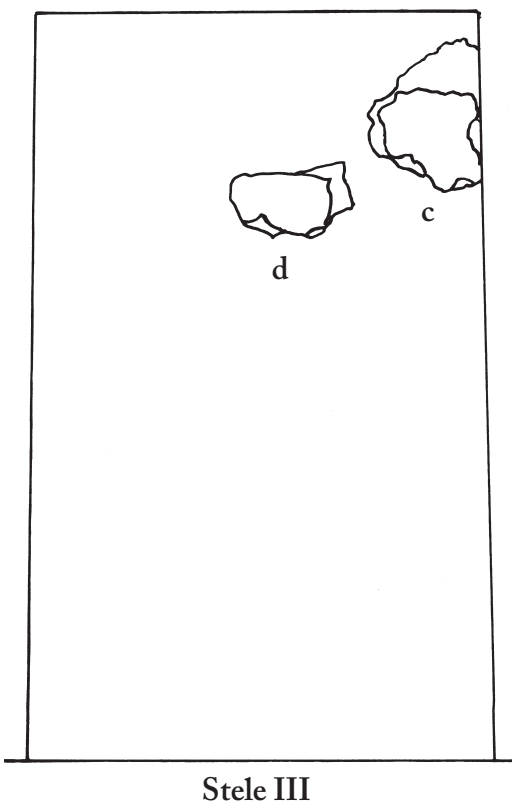
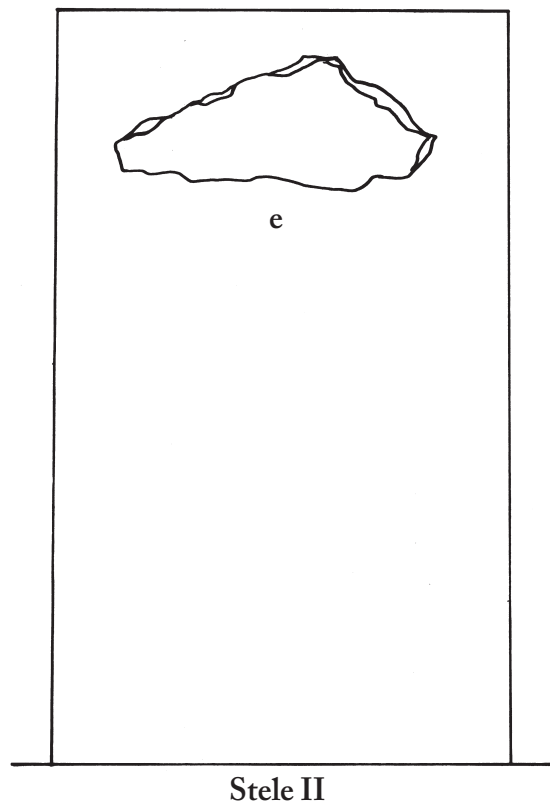
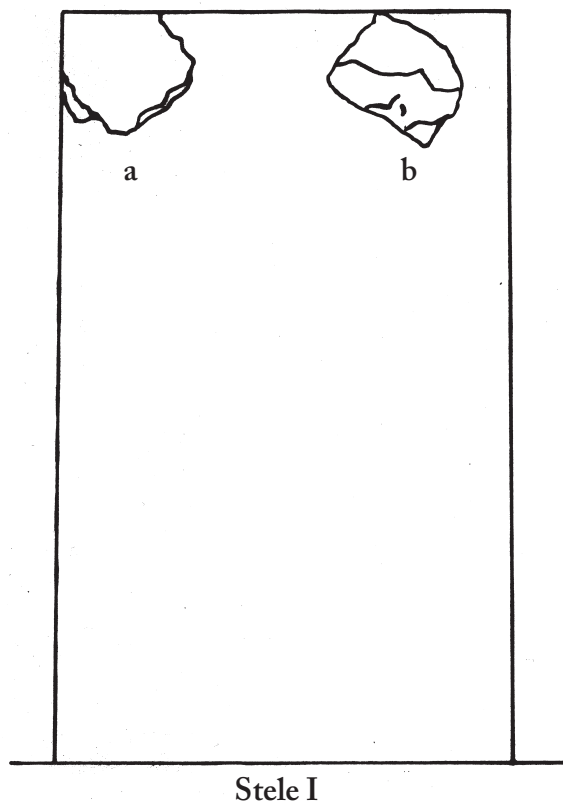


Figure 7 (*opposite*). Reconstruction of Stelai I–IV. Scale ca. 1:15. Drawings A. Williams

the difference is slight, it suggests that while fragments a and e may belong to the same stele, fragment c belongs to a different one.²⁵ By contrast, fragment f exhibits no taper. Since the preserved height of the inscribed surface of this fragment is only slightly less than that of fragment a, it is likely that it belongs to a stele that did not taper.

Is it possible, then, that the remaining fragments, a, b, d, and e, belonged to the same stele? Fragment b, with a thickness of 0.1215 m, must be aligned horizontally with fragment a, which ranges in thickness from 0.12 to 0.1226 m, and preserves the upper left corner of the stele. Fragment d, with a thickness of 0.123 m, fits comfortably beneath fragments a and b. Fragment e, however, with its three columns of text, cannot be placed either above or below fragments a, b, or d. Setting it beside fragments a and b results in a stele that is simply too wide; moreover, when fragments a and e are aligned horizontally, as required by their similar thicknesses, the top of fragment e extends beyond the upper edge of the stele as preserved on fragment a.²⁶

Another factor to consider is that the hands of two stonecutters have been identified among the six fragments. All of the fragments are cut with letters of roughly the same size and forms characteristic of the second half of the 4th century.²⁷ Stephen Tracy assigns fragments a, b, and e to a single cutter working in the general style of the period from 345 to 320.²⁸ He ascribes fragments c, d, and f, however, to a different cutter, the Cutter of *IG II² 334*.²⁹ As Tracy notes, if fragment e is placed between fragments d and f, and if indeed these fragments were part of a single stele on which two different cutters had worked, then two hands would likely be evident on fragment e, not least because it contains three columns of text. Yet fragment e is the work of a single cutter.

These observations suggest that fragments a and b probably come from the upper part of a single stele (Fig. 7). Fragment e, however, although cut by the same hand, cannot belong to the same stele. Nor should it be placed with fragment d, which is the work of a different cutter. Fragments c, d, and f, because they are all fairly small, fit more easily into the scheme of a four-column stele. Fragment f, however, is not tapered, while fragment c has a significant taper. Although the taper of fragment d cannot be measured, its text links it to fragment c: the four properties listed on fragment d belong to Zeus Olympios, and the one owner of property preserved on fragment c is also Zeus Olympios.³⁰ This is the only instance of a divine owner appearing on more than one fragment, which suggests that both fragments were part of a single document recording the leases of the substantial holdings of an important deity. Fragments c, d, and f, then, like fragments a, b, and e, appear

25. In addition to the difference in taper, fragment a, which preserves the upper edge of the stele, is slightly thicker at the top than fragment c. The thickness of the two fragments is similar at the base, but when they are aligned according to those measurements, fragment c extends for some centimeters above the top of fragment a.

26. Fragments a and e are both 0.120 m thick at the highest point at which a measurement can be taken. The thickness of fragment e, however, can be measured only several centimeters below the actual top of the stone.

27. Kirchner, in his commentary on *IG II² 1591* (fragment b), noted that *IG II² 1590* (fragment a) was cut by the

same hand. Crosby (1937, p. 455) argued that fragment f belonged together with a and b because of the similarity of the letters. Walbank (1983, p. 110) saw the work of the same hand in all six fragments.

28. Tracy 1995, pp. 77–78, n. 1.

29. Tracy 1995, pp. 77, n. 1, 94–95.

30. See below, Stele III, lines 26–29.

to have come from two stelai, not one. Taken together, these observations make it likely that the six fragments originally belonged to four different stelai (Fig. 7), which I have designated Stele I (fragments a and b), Stele II (fragment e), Stele III (fragments c and d), and Stele IV (fragment f).³¹

THE TEXTS OF THE STELAI

The physical condition of the six fragments has been fully discussed elsewhere.³² The text in each case consists of a list of the properties leased, with a brief description of their locations. The name of the divine owner, in the genitive case, is usually included.³³ The tenant of the property follows, introduced by an abbreviated form of the word *μισθωτής*, usually *μισθω*. The tenant, if an Athenian citizen, is identified by his name and patronymic, followed by an abbreviated form of his demotic. If the tenant is a metic, he is identified by his name and patronymic, as well as the deme in which he lives. If a metic has a special status, such as that of an *ισοτελής*, this is also indicated. After the name of the tenant, the annual rent paid for the property is listed. The tenancy had to be secured by a guarantor, an Athenian citizen who is also named with patronymic and demotic. If the annual rent exceeded 600 drachmas, the tenant required two guarantors. The name of each guarantor was introduced by an abbreviated form of the word *ἐγγυητής*, usually *ἐγγυ*.

The lists are punctuated throughout by a series of full colons, which are generally placed after the rubrics *μισθωτής* and *ἐγγυητής*, the names of each tenant and guarantor, and the fee charged for the rent. The two stonecutters, however, did not begin a line of text with a punctuation mark in either the 1st or 2nd stoichos, nor did they end a line with a punctuation mark in the final stoichos. In order to avoid doing so, they lengthened or shortened the abbreviated rubrics by a letter or two and sometimes omitted the colon completely. I have not inserted bracketed punctuation marks in the text where the cutters have deliberately omitted them.

My readings of the fragments introduce many minor adjustments to the texts. In the epigraphical commentaries, I have limited discussion to significant changes, such as those to names and numbers.

STELE I (FRAGMENTS A AND B)

Fragment a (EM 280) was discovered on the northern side of the Agora during excavations by the German Archaeological Institute sometime before 1909. The inscription was built into the wall of a modern house in the vicinity of the church of Ayios Philippos on Odos Adrianou, close to the Agora excavation zone. The findspot of fragment b (EM 8014) is unknown, as is the date of its discovery, sometime before 1860.

Editions: Fr. a: Sundwall 1909, no. 2; Kirchner and Klaffenbach 1948, pl. 60; Kirchner, *IG II²* 1590; Michel 1912, pp. 97–98, no. 1536. Fr. b: Koumanoudis 1860, p. 14, no. 21, fig. 21 (line drawing); *IG II* 851; Sundwall 1909, p. 65; Kirchner, *IG II²* 1591. Frr. a and b: Walbank 1983, pp. 100–135, Stele I, frr. a, b, pl. 30:a, b; *Agora XIX* L6, frr. a, b.

31. For ease of comparison, the drawing in Figure 7 reconstructs all four stelai as ca. 1.6 m high and 0.96 m wide at the top, with three columns of text. The thicknesses of the stelai, however, cannot be the same, either at the top or the bottom, because of the differences between the fragments. See especially the comments on fragments c and e, above.

32. Walbank 1983, esp. p. 110. The letter height of the text of all four stelai is ca. 0.005 m, with the exception of lines 1–3 of the prescript of Stele I, where the letter height is ca. 0.008–0.010 m.

33. In the case of a series of similar properties, the name of the god appears only in the first entry.

The two columns of text preserved on fragment b may represent Columns II and III of a three-column stele, as indicated here.

343/2

Stoich. 65

Fragment a

θεοί
ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου [ἄρχοντος -----^{ca. 45}-----]
[Α]θηνᾶς Πολιάδο[ς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν -----^{ca. 36}-----]

Column I

Stoich. 29

[ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ τῶν ΑΛΕ[.⁹., ο]-
5 ἰκία πρώτη ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προ[., μισθῶ]
[Α]ριστάγορας Αριστοδῆ[μ]ο[υ]⁷.]
[ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ οἰκῶν: [.¹⁰.]
[ἐ]γγυ: Μοίριππος Μοιραγ[έ]νους [Κυδα]-
[θ]η: δευτέρα οἰκία, μισθῶ: Πολέ[μ]ων Δ]-
10 [ι]οκλέους Φλυε: ΗΡΔΔΓ: ἐγγυ: Ἀρ[χέδ]-
[η]μος Ἀρχεδήμ[ο]υ Αὐρι: τρί[τ]η οἰκ[ί]α, μ]-
[ι]σθῶ: Αὐτομένης Ἀνδρο[μ]ένους Ε[.]
[Η]ΡΔΗΗΗΗ: ἐγγυ: Θεόδωρος Κίρω[νος Π]-
[ρ]ασι: τετάρτη οἰκία, μισθῶ: Κη[φισό]-
15 [δ]ω[ρος] Σμικύθου Κυδαθη: ΗΔΔΔ[.: ἐγ]-
[γυ:] Λεοντεὺς Ἀντικλείδου Κ[.⁶.]
[πέμ]πτη οἰκία, μισθῶ: Λάχη[ς⁷.]-
[.]δου Ῥαμνο: ΗΔΔΓΗ: ἐγγυ[η]: Χαριά]-
[δης? Χ]αιροκλέους Λευκο[νό]: ἕκτη οἰκ]-
20 [ί]α, μ[ι]σθῶ: Λυκέας Λυ[.¹³.]
[.⁷.]: ἐγγυη: Δ[.¹⁴.]
[.⁹.]ς οἰκία [.¹⁴.]
[.⁸. μ[ι]σθῶ: [.¹⁵.]

lacuna ca. 2–3 lines

Fragment b

Column II

lacuna

[.²⁶.]υνι
25 [.²⁶.]ιοι
[.²⁶.]οιω
[.²⁵.]ενεξ-
[.²⁵.]σικρ-
[.²³.]μισθωτ
30 [.²⁶.]:ε]γ-
[γυ: ?²⁶.]

lacuna

Column III

lacuna

σ[.²⁷.]Α]-
γνου[:⁶.: ἐγγυ: Χαρινάτης Χα]-

- 35 ἱρίωνος Φαλη: Λ[.¹⁴... τέ]-
 μενος ἐν Ἑρμει, μι[σθω:¹¹...]-
 οδήμου Εὐω: ΗΗΗ: ἐ[γγυ: . . .¹⁰...]-
 Λυσιδῆ[μου] Κεφαλ: κῆπ[ω]ς ἐν Ἀγραις ἐ]-
 φ' Ἰλισ[ωι, μι]σθω: Φορμί[ων . . .⁷... Φα]-
 λη: ΗΗΗ[. . .]: ἐγγυ: Πολ[. . . .¹²...]-
 40 [.]νο[υ Κητ?]: οἱ[κ]ία Ἀλωπ[εκῆσι . . .⁷...]
 [.]νευ[. . .]ι[.]λι[α, μι]σθω: ?¹⁰...]
 [. . . κ]λ[έο]υς [.]¹⁹...

lacuna

- 37 κῆπο[ι] Walbank. 40–41 [Πυα]νέψι[ος? .] ι[.]λι[αμπ[.¹³...] Walbank.
 42 [.]κ[λ[έο]υς Ε[Walbank.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

The flaking of the surface layer and the edges of fragments a and b has worsened over the years. Some letters legible when earlier editors examined the stones and visible in the first published photograph can no longer be read. These letters are underlined in the text. Fragment a has deteriorated especially in the center of Column I at lines 10–17. Fragment b is damaged on all sides. The edges of the face have suffered some chipping since the earliest publications, and some letters, particularly at the bottom of Column III, have been lost. The earliest publication of fragment b is a line drawing by Koumanoudis without written commentary. There are, however, obvious errors in the drawing (e.g., a delta in the 10th stoichos of line 12, where a full colon is clearly legible on the stone), and it is therefore difficult to trust his readings in areas where the letters have completely disappeared, unless they are supported by later editors.

Lines 40–42: The stone in this area is severely damaged by deep flaking of the surface layers. This, coupled with a lack of consensus among editors, makes these three lines particularly problematic. In line 40, Walbank accepts the reading of Koumanoudis (followed by Kirchner) of a kappa and a tau in the 5th and 7th stoichos, respectively, and suggests the demotic Κ[ή]τ(τιος). He acknowledges the potential for error, however, given Koumanoudis's reading of the rest of the line. There is no longer any trace of these letters on the stone.

In the 5th stoichos of line 41 there is no trace of the upper vertical stroke that would make this letter a psi rather than an upsilon. The size is closer to that of upsilon than psi, which tends to be somewhat larger in this inscription. In the 6th stoichos neither gamma, as reported by Koumanoudis, nor iota, as read by both Kirchner and Walbank, can be read any longer. In the 11th stoichos, where Koumanoudis drew an epsilon, the apex of a peaked letter such as lambda is visible; alpha and delta are also possible. In the 15th stoichos, where Koumanoudis drew a central vertical stroke, Walbank described the upper left corner of a letter that could be gamma, epsilon, or pi. It is now impossible to determine which reading is correct.

Part of the difficulty in reconstructing lines 40–42 lies in the assumption, proposed by Sundwall and followed by later editors, that the property in question is designated simply by the description “house in Alopeke.”

Since Alopeke was a deme large enough to send 10 men to the Boule each year, it is difficult to imagine that a single house there would not be identified more precisely, such as the κῆπος of line 37 in the district of Agrai, which is described as lying near the Ilissos River. The full description of the house in lines 41–42 probably situated it specifically by a road or other geographical feature. It is therefore better to look for the abbreviation of μισθωτής in line 41 rather than in line 40. This will also solve the difficulty of finding a suitably short name for a tenant in lines 40–41. If the letters -κ]λ[εο]υς in line 42 belong to a patronymic, it is that of the tenant, not the guarantor, as earlier editors have suggested.

STELE II (FRAGMENT E)

Fragment e (I 7117) was found in May of 1970 on the northern side of the Agora, but the precise provenience is unknown. It was discovered during washing of marble fragments from Agora grid O 6 (section BΔ, no. 115).

Editions: Walbank 1983, pp. 100–135, Stele I, fr. e, pl. 32:a; *Agora* XIX L6, fr. e.

Stoich. 29

Column I

[.²⁷]κι
 [.²⁵]ρικλ-
 [.²²]ς Χαριάδ-
 [ου Λευκονο?: ἐγγυ: . . .⁷ . . .]άτης Νικ-
 5 [.¹⁸]τ]έμενος Θρίαι
 [.¹⁶] Χίων? Εὐφραμίδο-
 [υ¹¹ . . . : ἐγγυ]: Κριτόδημος Α-
 [.¹⁸]ς Θρίαι τὰς το-
 [.¹⁷]χ]ωρίς τῆς ἐσχα-
 10 [τιᾶς, μισθω: . . .⁸ . . .]τος Τιμοκράτ-
 [ους?¹⁰ . . . : ἐγγυ]: Διονυσόδωρ-
 [ος¹⁶: ἐ]σχατιὰν ὑπ-
 [.²³]κ[.], μισθ

lacuna

Column II

lacuna

[.²⁴]λ[. . .]
 15 [.²⁴]μα[. . .]
 [.¹⁶, μισθω:] Εὐμη[. . .]-
 [.¹¹]υ Ἐπ[ι]: ΠΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ: ἐγγυη
 [.¹²]νίου Συπ[αλ:] Ἀρτέμιδ-
 [ος Ἀγροτέρας χωρ]ιον κα[ὶ οἰ]κία, μισθ
 20 [. . .]οῦτο[. . .⁷ . . .]ενίδο[υ] Παια: ΗΗΗΗΔ
 ἐγγυ: Χα[. . .⁶ . . . Γν]άθωνος Λακ: Ἀρτέ-
 μιδος Ἀ[γρ]ο[τέ]ρας . . .]υλῆσι χωρίον, μ-
 ισθω: Λυσ[ίμ]α[χος . . .]ικλέους Ἐρχιε
 ΗΗΗΗΓΓ: ἐ[γγ]υ[. . .⁶ . . .]ος Κλαινέτου
 25 Ἐρχι: Ἀρτέμι[δο]ς Ἀ[γρ]ο[τέ]ρας οἰκία ἐ-

- ν Κολλυτῶι παρὰ τὸ [Ι]λ[ει]θυεῖον, μισθ
 Κηφισοφῶν Κεφαλίωνος Ἀφιδνα: **ΡΗΔ-**
ΔΔΓΓ: ἐγγυ: Φιλόφρων Φιλοκλέους Π-
 ειραι: ἐγγυ: Παυσίστρατος Λυσιμά-
 30 χου Πειρ: Ἡρακλέους ἐν Κυνοσάργει
 τεμένη, πρῶτον τέμενος, μισθω: Μείδ-
 υλος Μειδυλίδου Ἀζη: **ΗΗΗΗ**: ἐγγυητ
 Φίλων Φίλωνος ἐκ Κοι: δεύτερον τέ-
 μενος, μισθω: Θεόδοτος Ἀπολλοδώρο<υ>
 35 [Ο]ῖναῖ: **ΡΗΡΔΔΔΓ**: ἐγγυ: Ἀριστίων Ἀρ-
 [.¹⁰.]: [ἐ]γγυ: Σίλανος Σωσίππ-
 [ου⁶.: τρίτον τέ]μενος, μισθω: Φ-
 [.²².]**ΔΔΔΓ**: ἐγ-
 [γυ:²⁶.]

lacuna

Column III

lacuna

- 40 θ[.²⁸.]
 ἐ[γγυ:²¹.] Ἀρτ]-
 ἐμι[δος²⁰.] ἐγ Κ]-
 ηφισ[ία?²².],
 μισθω[:²⁰.] ἐκ Κ?]-
 45 ολω: **ΡΗ**[.²³.]
 μου Ἀλαί[:? ἐγγυ:¹⁶.]
 ου Ξυπε[: Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας? κῆπ]-
 ος Φαληρο[τ] ε[.¹⁹.]
 ξηλωι[.]σ[.]α[.²⁰.]
 50 π[.]δωι α[.²³.]
 τος Ἀγν: **ΗΗΔ[ΔΔ]Δ**[.¹⁶.]-
 ς Ξενοκρίτου Ἀφ[ιδ]: Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυ]-
 ρωνίας ἐμ Φιλα[ιδῶν¹¹., μι]-
 σθω: Ἀντίμαχο[ς¹⁶.]
 55 **ΡΗ**: ἐγγυ: Κηφ[.¹⁸.]
 ἐγγ: Φιλιά[δης?¹³.: Ἀρτ]-
 ἐμιδος Β[ραυρωνίας¹⁰. οἰκ]-
 ία π[ρώτη?²².]
 αζ[.²⁷.]

lacuna

3-4 Χαρίαδ[ο] Walbank. 8 ΤΑΣΤΕ- Walbank. 12 [ἐ]σχατιᾶ<υ> ὑπ- Walbank.
 16 [.¹⁷., μισθω:] Εὔμη[.] - Walbank. 17 Εὔω: **ΡΔΔΔ**[.] - Walbank.
 17 Εὔω: **ΡΔΔΔ**[.] - Walbank. 20 [ω:] Σφωτο[ς] Walbank. **ΗΗΗΗΔ**<> Walbank. 24 **ΗΗΗΡ**: Wal-
 bank. 32 **ΗΗΗΡ** Walbank. 38 **ΗΔΔΓ** Walbank.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

Line 17: An examination of the stone reveals that the alignment of the letters in earlier editions is incorrect. The two symbols for one drachma (Γ) are preceded, in the 21st stoichos, by what is most likely the symbol

for 5 drachmas (Γ). A horizontal bar is visible at the top of the stoichos, as well as the upper half of the left vertical stroke. Immediately preceding the Γ are three deltas (Δ), the symbol for 10 drachmas, and before that, the symbol for 50 drachmas (Ϟ). The annual rent for this property was therefore 87 drachmas.

In the 13th to 15th stoichoi are three letters that probably belong to the demotic of the tenant of this property, if the dotted upsilon in the 12th stoichos is part of the genitive ending of his patronymic. In the 14th stoichos, three strokes forming the letter pi are visible, centered in the stoichos. Earlier editions show an omega in the 15th stoichos; no letter can be made out there now. The demotic of this tenant is therefore not Εὐω(νυμεύς), but could be either Ἐπι(εἰκίδης) or Ἐπι(κηφίσιος).

Line 20: The beginning of line 20 is particularly problematic because of the corrosion and pitting of the surface of the stone, as well as what appears to be some scratching. The letters in the first two stoichoi cannot be recovered. Walbank prints a dotted sigma in the 3rd stoichos, but the condition of the stone makes this impossible to confirm. The 3rd stoichos lies on the edge of the stone and is marred by several deep scratches, which have distorted the incisions originally made by the cutter. Walbank noted a trace of the lower stroke of a sigma; there is also a trace of the base of a diagonal stroke on the right side of the stoichos, which could belong to an alpha or a lambda. None of these letters is secure. In the 4th stoichos is a round letter with a central dot, which may or may not be the deliberate dot of a theta. At the base of the letter on the right side is a scratch that resembles the short horizontal stroke of an omega, but there is no such mark on the left side, and the curve of the bottom of the letter is still visible. This letter must be either an omicron or a theta. In the 5th stoichos the central vertical stroke of an iota or a tau is preserved. What appears to be the horizontal bar of a tau is also visible, although this may be a scratch, since it is somewhat longer than other crossbars in this inscription and sits at a slight angle to the horizontal. This scratch may lie over and distort the original crossbar of a tau.

Since the stonemason routinely avoided setting a punctuation mark in the 1st or 2nd stoichos, the name of the tenant of this property must have begun not in the 3rd stoichos of the line but in the first, and so cannot be Ζωίτο[ς], as Walbank suggested. Whatever the name, it is not a common one. No Athenian name ending in -θίτο[ς] is known, but if the letters are -οίτο[ς], the name could be Μολοττός, which is attested in the 4th century in Attica, although not in the deme of Paiania, to which the tenant here belongs.³⁴

Line 24: The acrophonic numeral in the 4th stoichos is a well-cut Γ with no trace of the diagonal crossbar that would make it the symbol for 50 (Ϟ), as in earlier editions.

Line 32: The acrophonic numeral in the 22nd stoichos is Η, not Ϟ, as reported in earlier editions. The annual rent for the property recorded in this line is therefore not 350 but 400 drachmas.

Line 38: The 23rd stoichos is badly damaged, but there is no trace of the Η of earlier editions. The apex of a pointed letter is faintly visible, which suggests that the correct reading is Δ.

34. A Molottos of Athens (*LGN II*, s.v. Μολοττός 1) appears in a decree of Delphi dating to ca. 365–333 (*CID II* 32, line 10: Μολοσσῶι Ἀθηναίωι). He is listed again in an inscription of 334/3 recording the donors who contributed to the rebuilding of the temple (*CID II* 79 A I, line 25). Another Molottos (*LGN II*, s.v. Μολοττός 2; *PA* 10403) served as a general in Athens in the mid-4th century (Plut. *Phoc.* 14.1; Paus. 1.36.4). A Μολοττός Εὐνόμου (*LGN II*, s.v. Μολοττός 3; *PA* 10406) is named among the men of Aphidna in a list, perhaps of *diaitetai*, dating to the second half of the 4th century (*IG II²* 1927, lines 129–130), and yet another Molottos (*LGN II*, s.v. Μολοττός 5) is attested as a *bouleutes* of the deme of Iphistiadai in 336/5 (*Agora XV* 42, line 303).

STELE III (FRAGMENTS C AND D)

Fragment c (I 7062) was found on September 10, 1969, on the northern side of the Agora (L–M 5–6, section BΓ, no. 22), in the basement of a modern house (House 631/7). Fragment d (I 7123) was found on May 16, 1970, in the wall of a modern bothros (O/15–6/4, section BΔ, no. 135).

Editions: Walbank 1983, pp. 100–135, Stele I, fr. c, d, pl. 31:a, b; *Agora XIX* L6, fr. c, d.

The right edge of the stele is preserved on fragment c. Fragment d must be placed lower than fragment c, but not on the right edge, because the projecting stone at the break on the right side of fragment d is wider than the right margin of fragment c. If the stele held three columns of text, the text of fragment d belongs to Column I or Column II and that of fragment c to Column III.

Stoich. 29

Fragment d

Column I or II

lacuna

- [.¹⁴ : Δι]δς Ὀλυμπίου οἰ-
 [κία⁸], μισθ[:] Ἐργόφιλος Φίλω-
 [νος⁸]υλῆσι οἰκ: ΗΠΔΔΓΓ: ἐγ-
 [γυ:⁷]ατος Δημέου Χολαρ<:> Διδς
 5 [Ὀλυμπίου οἰ]κία παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον, μ-
 [ισθω:⁵]ος Πυθοδώρου Ἐπικ: ΗΠΔ-
 [. : ἐγγυ: Πυθό]δωρος Φιλοκλέους Ἐπι-
 [κηφ: Διδς Ὀλυ]μπίου πρώτη οἰκία, μισ-
 [θω:⁹]ης Λυσίου Ἀμαξ: ΔΔΔ[.]
 10 [.¹³]ιτ[ε] [ς Α]ὐτομένου Π[.] -
 [. . . : δευτέρα οἰκία?, μισ]θω: Αὐτο[.] -
 [.²⁰]ιτ[ε] [ς Α]ὐτομένου Π[.] -
 [ἐγγυη]

lacuna ca. 2–3 lines

Fragment c

Column III

lacuna

- [.¹⁴]γβ[.¹³]
 [.¹³]μ]ισθ: Ἀπήμων Ἀδε[.] -
 15 [.¹²:] ἴσοτ: ἐμ Πειραιεῖ ο-
 [ικ:⁸]ιτ[ε] [ς Α]ὐτομένου Π[.] -
 [.⁹]ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ἐν Σαλαμῖν-
 [ι⁷]ὄ? Κάλικράτης καθιέρωσε-
 [ν⁸]χωρίον, μισθω: Φόρυσκος
 20 [.⁶]ἐν Ἀλ[.]ω: οἰ: ΠΔΔΔΔ: ἐγγ: Στέφ[α]ν[.] -
 [ος⁷]δου Παια: τέλμα τὸ παρὰ [τ]-
 [ὸ ἡρώιον τοῦ] Νεανίου ἔξω τείχους ἐ[.] -
 [.¹⁰]εἰς τὸ τέλμα φέρων τὸ δ[.] -
 [.⁶]μισθ]ω: Τιμοκλῆς Τιμοκράτο-
 25 [υς⁹]: ἐγγ: Ἰππεὺς Κηφισοδ-
 [ώρου Κυδα: τέμ]ενος Διδς Ὀλυμπίου π-

[.¹⁵ σ]κηνη ἥι Εὐβουλο-
 [ς¹⁰ . . . παραστ]άδιον? τοῦ θεατ-
 [ροῦ, μισθω: Ἀλέξανδρο]ς Ἀλεξίου ἐξ Ο-
 30 [ῥ:¹⁷]τος Χαρίσο[υ]
 [.²⁰]πεδιε[. . . .]
 [.²¹]ετ[.⁶]

lacuna ca. 5–6 lines

10]ιτο[ς Α]ὐτολύκου Π[. .] Walbank. 11]ον[.]α[ς [. . .⁵ . .] Walbank. 15–16
 ο[ἰκῶν Walbank. 16–17 Ἀέ[οντος Ἀλα(εύς)?] Walbank. 23 δ[ιόρυγμα]?
 Walbank. 28 [παρὰ τὸ στ]άδιον or [τὸ Παρ]αλίον? Walbank.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

Line 10: Walbank restored the patronymic of the guarantor of the first house of Zeus Olympios as [Α]ὐτολύκου. The letter in the 22nd stoichos, however, is not a lambda. The four strokes of the letter mu are clearly visible and the letter is aligned in the stoichos with those immediately above and below it. In the 23rd stoichos, less clear but still legible, are the vertical and three horizontal strokes of an epsilon, not an upsilon. This is followed in the 24th stoichos by a nu, of which the two vertical strokes are visible, and the lower right of the diagonal can also be made out. The patronymic of the guarantor of this lease is, therefore, not [Α]ὐτολύκου but [Α]ὐτομένου. The guarantor belonged to a deme beginning with the letter pi. While the name Automenes is attested in the deme of Piraeus in the 4th century, it is not possible to identify the guarantor or his father more precisely.

Line 11: This part of the stone is particularly damaged by corrosion, but it is still possible to see the outlines of letters. In some cases, the pattern of corrosion follows that of the letters and is deeper where incisions were made. In the 20th stoichos, where Walbank read an omicron, the letter is perhaps a theta, since there is a trace of a central dot. In the 21st stoichos, the top of a round letter is visible. At the base of the letter on the right side is the short horizontal stroke of an omega. The letter widens at the bottom as well, a feature typical of the omega of this cutter. In the 22nd stoichos, it is possible to make out two dots forming a colon separating the abbreviation μισθω from the name of the tenant. The first letter of the tenant's name, in the 23rd stoichos, is alpha, of which two diagonal strokes forming an apex and a horizontal crossbar are visible. In the 24th stoichos, only the more deeply incised points of the strokes are preserved: one at the base of a central vertical stroke, another along this vertical line at roughly the midpoint, and two points in the upper left and right corners of the stoichos. These four points suggest that the letter may have been an upsilon rather than a sigma. In the 25th stoichos, there is a faint trace of the right end of a horizontal stroke at the top of the stoichos, as well as a trace of a central vertical stroke at the bottom. This letter was probably a tau. In the 26th stoichos, the corrosion of the surface has the shape of an omicron. If these readings are correct, the name of the tenant began with Αὐτο-.

Lines 15–16: Elsewhere the cutter has abbreviated οἰκῶν, the term used to indicate the deme in which a metic lived, as οἰκ (line 3) or οἰ (line 20), and he has probably done so here as well.

Line 29: If the tenant of this holding is [Ἀλέξανδρος] Ἀλεξίου ἐξ Οἴου], he is probably the same man commemorated on a funerary monument of the late 4th century,³⁵ and most likely also that recorded as syntrierarch ca. 330.³⁶ His father, Alexias, may also be the man who set up a funerary monument for his wife, Νακὼ Φανίου ἐξ Οἴου, in the middle of the 4th century.³⁷

STELE IV (FRAGMENT F)

Fragment f (I 4133) was found on May 6, 1936, in the wall of a Turkish cesspool west of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos (P 7, section Σ, no. 795).

Editions: Crosby 1937, pp. 454–456, no. 5 (with the fragments of Stele I); Walbank 1983, pp. 100–135, Stele I, fr. f, pl. 32:b; *Agora* XIX L6, fr. f.

Stoich. 29

Column I

lacuna

- [.²⁴]λεγι[.]
 [.²³] ἀπὸ τοῦ
 [.¹⁴, μισθω: Διο]γυσόδω-
 [ρος²¹]Π^ΑΔΔΔΗ-
 5 [ἐγγυ:¹⁸ ο]ν Κηφι
 [.²⁴], μισθω
 [.²⁴]ΗΠ^ΑΔΔΔ
 [ἐγγυ:¹⁹]οδου Π-
 [.²⁶]μου
 10 [.²⁷]ΔΔ
 [.²⁸]π
 [.²⁸]ς
 [.²⁷]ωρ
 [.²⁷]ακι
 15 [.²⁷]λο
 [.²⁸]ε
 [.²⁸]ν
 [.²⁸]Η-

Column II

- [. . .]ογ[.⁸, μισθω: Τελεσίας Τ]-
 20 [ελ]έστου Προβ[:¹⁷]
 ς Νίκωνος Ἀχαρ[:¹⁶]
 υ χωρίου ἐχόμενος⁹ ἀριστ?]-
 εράν, μισθω: Ξεν[.¹⁶]-
 ς Προβ: Π^ΑΔΔΔΗΗ- I: ἐγγυ: Ξενοφών]
 25 Ξενοφώντος Προβ[: οἰκία παρὰ τὴν ὁδ]-
 ὀν τὴν ἐγ Μεσοκωμῶ[ν εἰς?¹⁰]-
 δας, μισθω: Ἀριστό[δημος Ἀριστοκλέ]-
 ους Οἰναῖ: ΗΠ^ΑΓΗ- : ἐ[γγυ: Ξενοφῶν Ξε]-
 νοφώντος Προβ: ἀπὸ τ[οῦ βωμοῦ? βαδίσ]-
 30 οντι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀστ[ικὴν ἐχόμενος?]
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὸν βωμ[ὸν γύης?, μισθωτ]

35. *LGPN* II, s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος 177; *PA* 512; *SEG* XXI 897: Ἀλέξανδρ[ος] | Ἀλεξί[ου] | ἐξ Οἴο[υ]. For his father, see *LGPN* II, s.v. Ἀλεξίας 5.

36. *IG* II² 1626 + *SEG* XXI 581, lines 9–10: [Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλ]εξίου | [ἐξ Οἴου].

37. *LGPN* II, s.v. Ἀλεξίας 4; *PA* 531 = *PA/APF* 529. For the funerary monument of Nako, see *IG* II² 7000.

Ναυσ[ί]αζ Νικοστράτο[υ Ἀτη? : . . . ⁷ . . .]
 ἐγγυ: Νικόστρατος Ν[αυσίου Ἀτη?: ἐχ]-
 όμενος τούτου τήν αὐ[τήν ὁδόν? . . . γ]-
 35 ύης, μισθω: Κλεότιμ[ος ¹¹ . . .]
 ΗΠΗ : ἐγγυ: Χαίρέστ[ρατος . . . ⁸ . . .]
 Σφήτ: κάμπαντι το[. ¹³ . . . ἐ]-
 γ δεξιᾶι, μισθω: Ε[. ¹⁵ . . .]
lacuna

21 Ἀχαρ[υ:] Crosby. 24 ΠΔΔΔΗΗ[.] Crosby. 32 Ναυ<σ>[ί]αζ? Walbank.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

Line 32: For the name of the tenant at the beginning of this line, Walbank read ΝΑΥΛ . . Σ, which he corrected to Ναυ<σ>[ί]αζ? There are, however, faint traces in the 4th stoichos of the two upper strokes of a sigma, and in the 6th stoichos the apex of a peaked letter, most likely an alpha, is also visible. The name of the tenant is thus certainly Ναυσ[ί]αζ. His tenancy was guaranteed by Νικόστρατος, who was probably also his father. Nausias is not a common name, and it has been suggested that the individual listed here was connected with the family of Ναυσίας Ναυσικράτου (Προσπάλιος), who served as a *bouleutes* in 335/4.³⁸ If Nausias's guarantor is indeed his father, a more likely connection is to a family attested in the deme of Atene. A Ναυσίας Ἀ[τηνεύς] is recorded sometime before 387/6.³⁹ [Ν]ικόστ[ρατος] [Ν]αυσίου Ἀτηνε[ύς] is named on a funerary monument in the 3rd century,⁴⁰ and a man who is probably his son appears on a list of *thesmothetai* dating to 216/5.⁴¹ If the Nikostratos who guaranteed this lease was also the son of Nausias, there would be three stoichoi left for his demotic, which would accommodate the abbreviation Ἀτη(νεύς).

CONCLUSION

The period from ca. 355 to 320, during which Stelai I–IV and the later lists of leases (*Agora* XIX L9–12) were published, is well known for the attention paid by the Athenians to financial reforms, which were initially made necessary by economic conditions when the Social War ended in 355.⁴² The terrible state of the Athenian economy at that time threatened all community interests, public, military, and religious.⁴³ The nature of the evidence is fragmentary, so it is not possible to reconstruct a complete picture of the response to this crisis. In the decades following the middle of the century, all politically engaged men struggled to find solutions to the financial disaster faced by the city, but two politicians emerged who are especially associated with the subsequent revival of Athenian finance,

38. *LGPNI* II, s.v. Ναυσίας 9; *Agora* XV 43, lines 119–120. See Walbank 1983, p. 131.

39. *LGPNI* II, s.v. Ναυσίας 4; *IG* II² 76, line 4.

40. *LGPNI* II, s.v. Νικόστρατος 50; *PA* 11022; *IG* II² 5706. Cf. *ArchEph*

1892, cols. 47–48, no. 78. For his father, see *LGPNI* II, s.v. Ναυσίας 5.

41. *LGPNI* II, s.v. Ναυσίας 6; *PA* 10541; *IG* II² 1706, line 93.

42. For a good summary of the financial concerns that characterize this period, see Lambert 1997, pp. 280–291.

For the latter part of the period, see also Faraguna 1992.

43. Demosthenes (24.11) refers to a commission set up by Aristophon in response to the financial crisis, to look into both the public and sacred money in the hands of private citizens.

Euboulos and Lykourgos. Euboulos was active in this respect from the 340s, and probably earlier, until his death ca. 335. He was connected with the theoric fund, although exactly how he enacted his reforms is uncertain.⁴⁴ Lykourgos held a special financial position from ca. 336/5 until his death in 325.⁴⁵ When he first appears in the extant records in the 340s, it is in a political rather than a financial capacity, but it is not unlikely that his involvement in financial affairs began earlier than 336/5, since his policies appear to continue those of Euboulos, which aimed at increasing not only revenues but administrative efficiency.⁴⁶

The publication of the leasing lists coincides with a reorganization of sacred finances that resulted in the amalgamation of the two boards responsible for the sacred property of state cults, the *tamiai* of Athena and those of the Other Gods, in ca. 346/5.⁴⁷ The board of *tamiai* of the Other Gods, those whose sanctuaries fell under the authority of the polis, was created in 434/3 on the model of the *tamiai* of Athena.⁴⁸ The Athenians had merged the two boards ca. 406/5, but reestablished them as separate bodies in 385.⁴⁹ The amalgamation of ca. 346 was likewise reversed, and the two boards were again separate by the mid-3rd century.⁵⁰ Although it has been suggested that the boards were merged at a time when their authority was reduced, the repeated reversal of the decision suggests that the Athenians struggled unsuccessfully to simplify a complex system of incoming and outgoing funds related to a variety of cults and state officials.⁵¹

The name of Athena Polias is preserved in the prescript of Stele I, but does not appear as the owner of any properties.⁵² The names of the gods preserved in the lists of leases are among those also found in 5th-century inscriptions of the *tamiai* of the Other Gods: Artemis Agrotera, Artemis Brauronia, Herakles in Kynosarges, and Zeus Olympios.⁵³

In 418/7 the *temenos* of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile was leased by the archon basileus, and the rent, paid to the *apodektai*, was handed over to the

44. On Euboulos and his reforms, see Cawkwell 1963.

45. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 852b), Lykourgos was administrator of the public revenues for three four-year periods. For Lykourgos, see Mitchell 1973; Burke 1985; Humphreys 1985; Faraguna 1992, esp. pp. 195–209; Rhodes 1993, pp. 515–516.

46. That there was some sort of program of financial reform is suggested by the publication of Xenophon's *Poroi*. Several of the reforms proposed by Xenophon were in fact carried out: see, e.g., Burke 2002, p. 174.

47. Lambert (1997, pp. 269 with n. 204, 287) links the merging of the two boards with Stelai I–IV and the earliest of the *rationes centesimarum* inscriptions, his Stelai 1–2, which he dates to ca. 343/2. (On these inscriptions, see below.) He concludes that the amalgamation must have taken

place shortly before the publication of Stele I in 343/2. See also Woodward 1940, pp. 404–406; Linders 1975, p. 60, n. 148. *Contra*, Ferguson (1932, pp. 104–106) suggests that the amalgamation took place ca. 342/1.

48. The Other Gods did not include those whose cults were administered by the demes or other corporate groups.

49. Ferguson 1932, pp. 104–106; Linders 1975, p. 58 with n. 136.

50. Linders 1975, p. 64.

51. Ferguson (1932, pp. 104–127, 140) argues that in the 4th century the *tamiai*, both before and after the amalgamation, were charged solely with keeping the inventory of the sacred treasures stored on the Acropolis, and that they no longer received or disbursed money. *Contra*, see Linders 1975, pp. 62–64.

52. Athena is the owner of a *telma* in *Agora* XIX L10, line 40.

53. Artemis Agrotera: Stele II, lines 18–19, 21–22, 25; Artemis Brauronia: Stele II, lines 41–42, 47, 52–53, 56–57; Herakles in Kynosarges: Stele II, line 30, possibly also *Agora* XIX L14, line 1; Zeus Olympios: Stele III, lines 1, 4–5, 8, 26. The only divine name surviving on the later stelai is that of Athena (*Agora* XIX L10, line 40). On the Other Gods of the 5th century, see Linders 1975, pp. 14–16. With the exception of Artemis Brauronia, these gods, and others that appear in the 5th-century records of the *tamiai* of the Other Gods, are missing from the 4th-century inscriptions. Their absence is likely to be due to the nature of the surviving inscriptions as well as to their state of preservation. The change in the nature of the 4th-century inventories is noted by Linders (1975, p. 58).

tamiai of the Other Gods in accordance with the law concerning *temene* (κατὰ τὸ νόμον).⁵⁴ This law specified some of the responsibilities of the archon basileus and seems to have been chiefly concerned with administrative details.⁵⁵ In the 320s, the archon basileus was still responsible for leasing out the *temene* of the gods (*Ath. Pol.* 47.4–5):

εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν <τε>μενῶν, ἀναγράφας ἐν γραμματεῖ[οις λελ]ε[υ]κωμένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν μίσθωσις εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καταβάλλεται δ' ἐπὶ τῆς [θ'] πρυτανείας. διὸ καὶ πλεῖστα χρήματα ἐπὶ ταύτης συλλέγεται τῆς πρυτανείας. εἰσφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματεῖα κατὰ τὰς καταβολὰς ἀναγεγραμμένα, τηρεῖ δ' ὁ δημόσιος· ὅταν δ' ἢ χρημάτων [κατα]βολή, παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθελ[ὼν] ἀπ[ὸ] τῶν ἐπιστυλίων, ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δεῖ τὰ χρήματα καταβληθ[ῆναι] καὶ ἀπαλειφθῆναι.

The basileus reports the leases of the *temene*, which have been written up on whitened boards, (to the Boule). The rental of these *temene* is also for 10 years. Payments are made in the ninth prytany, and accordingly most money is collected during this prytany. The tablets, which were written out according to the time of payment, are brought before the Boule; the public slave keeps them. Whenever there is a payment of cash, he hands over these same tablets to the *apodektai*, taking down from the racks those tablets on which are recorded payments that must be paid on that day and (subsequently) deleted from the record.

The archon basileus continued to oversee the leasing of the *temene* and the rent was paid to the *apodektai*.⁵⁶ It is reasonable to assume that revenues from the sacred land belonging to the Other Gods continued to be paid to the *tamiai* of the combined board.⁵⁷ And it is unlikely to be a coincidence that the lists of the leases of sacred property belonging to Athena and the Other Gods were published around the time of the amalgamation of the two boards.

The economic reforms associated with Euboulos were successful enough to raise the annual income of Athens to 400 talents by the 340s, to a large extent because of the attention paid to the leasing of the silver mines.⁵⁸ It is not surprising that, after this success, attention turned to the exploitation and administration of other resources in land. Another series of inscriptions testifying to such attempts to increase revenue and fully

54. *IG I³* 84, lines 17–18.

55. *IG I³* 84, lines 23–25. The basileus was to record the name of the tenant and his guarantors κατὰ τὸ νόμον ὅσπερ κείται τῶν τεμενῶν. On the law governing *temene*, see Behrend 1970, pp. 49–50, 59–60; Linders 1975, p. 33, n. 85. Parker (1983, p. 162) argues that the law governed the treatment of land to ensure its religious purity.

56. It is likely that the basileus was assisted in the actual sale of the leases by the *poletai*. On this point, see Wal-

bank in *Agora XIX*, pp. 149–159; Rhodes 1993, p. 556. *Contra*, see Langdon in *Agora XIX*, pp. 64–65; Horster 2004, p. 186.

57. Horster 2004, p. 153. Certainly the provisions outlined in the decree of 418/7 and the later account of the leasing of sacred land in *Ath. Pol.* 47.4 agree in their essentials. The 20-year lease of the *temenos* of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile, laid out in the amendment to the decree (*IG I³* 84, lines 11–13), is exceptional, most likely because the tenant

was required to plant and cultivate 200 olive trees, which would not be productive for 10 years. Civic officials apparently had some flexibility when dealing with special cases. On the stability of the practice of leasing sacred land from the 5th to the 4th centuries, see Walbank in *Agora XIX*, pp. 149–150, 166.

58. Demosthenes (10.37–38) states that revenues had risen from a low of 130 talents in 350 to 400 talents, comparable to 5th-century levels. See also Burke 2002, p. 173.

exploit the resources of landed property throughout Attica is that recording the *hekatoste*, or 1% tax, on the sales of land belonging to corporate groups, which was probably intended to bring unproductive land into use.⁵⁹ The earliest of these inscriptions may date to ca. 343/2; the latter are contemporary with *Agora* XIX L9–12.⁶⁰ If, as seems likely, the *hekatoste* was paid to Athena, the money from the tax was likewise destined for the *tamiai* of the amalgamated board.⁶¹

Leases of sacred land were, of course, different in character from sales of land, since they provided an annual income rather than a single infusion of cash.⁶² References to the difficulty of collecting the *eisphora* at the end of the Social War suggest that officials may have had similar problems with the rent owed for the *temene*.⁶³ The money raised by leasing was probably earmarked for specific purposes and the failure of tenants to pay their rents therefore threatened the proper celebration of the festivals. Shortly after the Social War, Isocrates complained about lavish expenditure on additional festivals while sacrifices of greater sanctity had to depend on revenues from the leases of the *temene*.⁶⁴ Didymos the grammarian, quoted by Harpokration, states rather caustically that sacrifices were funded not out of piety but from the rents of the *temene*.⁶⁵ While caution should be used when drawing conclusions about the 5th and 4th centuries from a Hellenistic source, the two statements together indicate at least a general belief that the leasing of the *temene* funded sacrifices.⁶⁶ Although there is little evidence for the

59. On these inscriptions, known as the *rationes centesimarum*, see most recently Lambert 1997.

60. Lambert (1997, pp. 287–288) dates his Stelai 1 and 2 to within a year or two of 343/2 and his Stelai 3 and 4 to the 320s. He also notes (pp. 32–33) the epigraphical similarities between Stelai 3, 4, and *Agora* XIX L9–12.

61. Lewis 1973, pp. 193–194; Lambert 1997, pp. 269–272.

62. Horster (2004, p. 216) notes the stability of landed property as a source of funding.

63. On the arrears of the *eisphora* and the actions taken by Androtion, see, e.g., Burke 2002, pp. 171–172, with bibliography. For the nonpayment of rent on sacred property, see Dem. 57.63, in which the speaker complains that he incurred the enmity of his fellow demesmen for attempting to collect the rents for the *temene* over which he, as demarch, exercised authority.

64. Isoc. 7.29: οὐδὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθέτους ἑορτάς, αἷς ἐστίασίς τις προσείη, μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἦγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων ἔθουν (They did not habitually observe the

newly established festivals, which were accompanied by banquets, magnificently, while performing the sacrifices for the most sacred of rites from the leases [of *temene*]). Rosivach (1994, pp. 54–56) argues that the additional festivals to which Isocrates refers belonged to a special category of festivals instituted after 566/5, such as the Panathenaia and the Dionysia. Rents from the *temene*, therefore, funded only sacrifices of the greatest antiquity, τὰ πάτρια. In *Ath. Pol.* 3.3, a technical distinction is made between the ancestral rites (τὰ πάτρια) and those that are newer (τὰ ἐπιθέτα). Isocrates, however, does not make precisely the same comparison. It is unlikely that he is complaining about excessive spending on sacrifices at the Panathenaia, but rather on celebrations added to the calendar, perhaps honoring specific events. His use of τὰ ἐπιθέτα here is pejorative rather than technical. See the comments in Rhodes 1993, p. 102.

65. Harpokration, s.v. ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων: Δίδυμός φησιν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεμενικῶν προσόδων. ἐκάστῳ γὰρ θεῷ πλεῖθρα γῆς ἀπένεμον,

ἐξ ὧν μισθομένων αἱ εἰς τὰς θυσίας ἐγίνοντο δαπάναι· οὐ γὰρ κατ'εὐσέβειαν ἔθουν τὰ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦμενοι (From the leases: Didymos the grammarian uses this term for the income from the lands of the *temene*. For they distributed to each god a plot of land, from the leasing of which the banquets for the sacrificial rituals were held. So they did not perform the sacrifices from piety, but because they leased [the *temene*]).

66. See, however, Horster 2004, pp. 139, 144, 206. Horster interprets the statement of Isocrates as an assertion that the use of rents from the *temene* was the oldest method of financing sacrifices, an assertion that she believes is unsubstantiated by the evidence. The statement may be an example of rhetorical exaggeration, but it is unlikely to be a complete fiction. Horster also argues that Didymos, writing in the second half of the 1st century, reflects contemporary practice, at a time when there was an increase in the leasing of sacred land. There is no evidence that this was the case in Athens.

sources of funding for public sacrifices, some documents record the use to which funds raised by leasing were to be put, and most of these direct the funds to the festival of the god and to sacrifices in particular.⁶⁷ The evidence is not conclusive, and rents from the *temene* could certainly be directed to other purposes,⁶⁸ but it appears that much of the money derived from the leasing of sacred property was intended for sacrifices in honor of the divine owners.⁶⁹ The revenues from the leasing of sacred property may not have covered all the costs of the festivals; the remaining expenses, by necessity, were funded from other sources.⁷⁰

The disbursal of funds for the festivals likely depended to some extent on the precedent of tradition, given the conservative nature of Athenian religion in general and of the reforms to sacred finances in particular.⁷¹ The surviving inscriptions of this period focus on the income of the *tamiai* and their handling of the sacred property in their possession.⁷² Documents of the type represented by Stelai I–IV do not signal a change in the way that sacred properties were administered, but simply an attempt to establish a permanent record of all the properties and their leases in order that the officials involved might know what income could be anticipated.⁷³ Lists of this sort are not comprehensive documents, nor were they meant to be. The passage of the *Athenaion Politeia* quoted above (47.5) makes it

67. For the polis: Rhodes and Osborne 2003, pp. 396–403, no. 81B, lines 16–25 = *Agora* XIX L7, lines 45–51 (money from leasing the Nea used for a specific sacrifice at the Lesser Panathenaia); *IG* II² 47, lines 23–25 (money from a quarry belonging to Asklepios used for special sacrifices proposed by the priest). For the demes: *IG* I³ 258, lines 22–27 (Plotheia, money from the rents and loans funded a group of sacrifices); *SEG* XXVIII 103, lines 3–6 (Eleusis, money from the lease of a quarry supported the festival of Herakles in Akris); Petrakos 1999, pp. 143–146, no. 180 (Rhamnous, two leases are followed by a sacrificial calendar). For corporate groups: *Agora* XIX L4 a, lines 80–97 (*genos* of the Salaminioi, revenues from leasing a *temenos* of Herakles in Sounion used for sacrifices and certain priestly perquisites, surpluses to go to the building of a shrine).

68. The rent from a sacred house was used to fund the building of the Propylaia (see above, n. 5). If the oracle of Delphi had allowed Athens to consecrate land belonging to Demeter and Kore on the Megarian border, the revenues would have been used to repair the shrine and build a porch (*IG* II²

204, lines 24–27). The *orgeones* of Bendis used the rent from a sacred house to pay for repairs to the house and the *hieron* (*IG* II² 1361, lines 8–10).

69. Rosivach (1994, pp. 121–127), however, argues that revenues from the leasing of sacred land funded only τὰ πύρτρα, relatively small-scale sacrifices listed on the sacrificial calendar revised by Nikomachos between 410 and 399. Other festivals, instituted after 566/5, included large sacrifices with public distributions of meat; these were funded by taxes. This distinction is perhaps too categorical. The Other Gods, whose festivals fall into the second category, dominate the leases of Stelai I–IV.

70. Rosivach 1994; Horster 2004, p. 216.

71. In 410/9 funds were transferred from the *tamiai* of Athena in order to pay for the hecatomb at the Panathenaia (*IG* I³ 375, lines 6–7). Rosivach (1994, p. 118) argues that this was exceptional. Athenian accounts, however, are selective rather than comprehensive, and this might explain the absence of other records of the disbursal of funds for the sacrifices.

72. The *dermatikon* accounts (*IG* II² 1496, lines 68–151), recording sales

from the skins of animals sacrificed at the festivals of Athena and the Other Gods from 334 to 330, are a good example. Associated with Lykourgos and his efforts to increase sacred revenues, these accounts record the funds destined for the *tamiai* of the amalgamated board, but there is no indication of how the funds were to be used.

73. This idea is well expressed by the demesmen of Thrasiai, who published a list of deme leases ca. 350, so that they might know what their present and future income would be. See *SEG* XXIV 151, lines 2–5: ἔδοξεν Τειθρασίοις, Εὐδικὸς εἶπεν ὅπως ἂν σᾶ ἦι τοῖς δημόταις τὰ κοινὰ καὶ εἰδῶσι Τειθράσιοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ προσιόντα, ἀναγράψαι τὸν δήμαρχον ὅπ[ο]σοι κατάπαξ μεμίσθωνται τῶν κοινῶν (It was decided by the Teithrasians, Eudikos made the proposal; so that the funds of the demesmen are safe and that the present and the future income is known to the Teithrasians, the demarch is to have inscribed [the names of] as many men as have leased the common properties absolutely). The demesmen here are perhaps following the lead of the polis.

clear that other records were kept in order to track payment of the rents. These were probably not the only documents involved; contracts outlining the responsibilities of both tenants and officials may have been written as well.⁷⁴

The six fragments that are presented here as Stelai I–IV have all been assigned to the year 343/2, and if the leasing of sacred land in Attica took place only at 10-year intervals, when all leases expired, that date might be correct.⁷⁵ The argument for decennial renewals of all leases is based partly on the organization of Delian leases under the control of the Athenian Amphictyony.⁷⁶ By the 4th century, all 20 properties on Delos and Rheneia were leased at the same time for 10 years.⁷⁷ This arrangement was likely to have been an administrative expedient for the Amphictyony, given the distance of the properties from Athens; the small scale of the leasing of the Delian estates also made it possible. The scale of the leasing was much greater in Attica, however, where the number of properties known from the inscribed lists can be only a small percentage of the sacred properties managed by the polis. Slightly fewer than 100 properties are recorded in all of the surviving fragments of the stelai combined.⁷⁸ Although these lists cover a period from at least 343/2 to the end of the 4th century, no single property appears more than once, and no property known from another inscription (such as the *temenos* of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile, mentioned above) is recorded among the leases. Walbank estimated that the stele represented by the six fragments discussed above originally listed ca. 100–150 properties.⁷⁹ If these fragments were indeed part of a single stele, and if the properties recorded represent the total number of properties under control of the polis, then it would be surprising that none of them reappears in the later lists, even taking the fragmentary state of the documents into account. It would be much less surprising, however, if the fragments in fact come from four different stelai, and therefore preserve a much smaller percentage of the total number of properties available for leasing. If the reconstruction suggested above is correct, and assuming that each stele bore three columns of text and that the entries were similar in size, a conservative estimate of the total number of properties originally recorded on the four stelai is ca. 400–600.

It would have been no easy task for Athenian officials to lease out so many properties in a single year, as they did with the more manageable estates of Delian Apollo. It is unlikely that annual officials, particularly the

74. The *temene* were no doubt leased in accordance with the 5th-century law concerning *temene* mentioned in *IG I*³ 84 (see n. 55, above), but this law probably did not cover the details of day-to-day care of the property. Individual sanctuaries too may have had their own restrictions concerning the use of their sacred property.

75. Walbank 1983, pp. 199, 206, 207.

76. On the Delian leases, see Kent 1948. The Athenian Amphictyony administered the sanctuary of Apollo

on Delos from 454 to 314, only losing control briefly from 403 to 394. By 434 a system had evolved in which all five properties on the island were leased out at the same time for a 10-year period (*IG I*³ 402). The five leases went into effect in mid-winter of 434 (lines 15–17). The leases of the 10 estates on the island of Rheneia, however, went into effect in the early spring of 432 (lines 20–22).

77. By the 4th century Apollo had acquired new properties on Delos

through confiscation, increasing his holdings from 5 to 10 properties, while the number on Rheneia remained the same. See Kent 1948, pp. 256–257. For the 4th-century leases, see, in particular, *IG II*² 1633–1636, 1638, 1641, 1645.

78. Walbank 1983, pp. 207–211, table 1. Walbank records 86 individual properties in his Stele I–V (= *Agora XIX* L6, L9–L12). A further 10 properties are recorded in *Agora XIX* L14.

79. Walbank 1983, p. 213.

archon basileus, were burdened with such a task every 10 years in addition to their regular duties. If this reasoning is correct, then the stelai perhaps belong to a series of documents published over the course of several years in and around 343/2, as 10-year leases expired and came up for renewal, with the intention of establishing a permanent record of all sacred properties available for lease, a process that could have taken as long as 10 years to complete. The inscriptions that have previously been thought to represent a decennial renewal of these leases (*Agora* XIX L9–12) may rather be a continuation of the same process documented by Stelai I–IV. The project was perhaps interrupted by the chaotic state of affairs in Athens at the time of the battle of Chaironeia, leaving civic authorities, under the leadership of Lykourgos, to renew their efforts to increase revenues in the years that followed.

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