

HESPERIA: SUPPLEMENT XII

# THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION AFTER SULLA



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**TO MY  
MOTHER**

## PREFACE

To write a detailed description of the Athenian Constitution is hardly a novel idea; the earliest preserved attempt occurred in the fourth century before Christ. Such a project is significantly more complicated today because of reliance on documents whose survival is largely a matter of chance. In recent years the number of preserved documents has greatly increased as a result both of archeological excavation and of chance finds. This material has been carefully organized in the second edition of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1913-1940) and in the publications of the results of the excavations by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora (continuing since 1933). Yet no comprehensive survey of the evidence for the Athenian Constitution under the Roman Empire has been undertaken in this century.

In this study the attempt has been made to examine the text of every known Athenian inscription which can be dated to the period after the new constitution of Sulla, and from these to collect the references to the civic offices and institutions. In most instances all of these references are cited in one way or another, but occasionally the numbers of inscriptions have made this impractical (e.g., the prytany lists). Without the work of previous scholars this study would hardly have been possible, and many of their findings have been incorporated, notably of W. S. Ferguson and Paul Graindor, Bruno Keil and Josef Delz, and those whose work has been based upon the material from the Athenian Agora, S. Dow, B. D. Meritt, J. Notopoulos, J. H. Oliver, A. E. Raubitschek, and many others. Five appendices have been added presenting evidence for many of the conclusions: the first re-grouping the known dedications by the civic corporations of Roman Athens, the second re-interpreting material already published, and the last three presenting hitherto unpublished material.

A systematic investigation of the evidence for alterations and development in the Athenian Constitution has been excluded from the scope of this purely descriptive study. Yet the very gathering and arranging of the evidence has pointed out much not yet noticed, e.g. the first appendix revealed unexpected patterns among the honorary decrees. The following items in the history of the constitution might be pointed out. The appropriateness of using the capture of Athens by Sulla as a point of division is confirmed by the evidence from alterations in the nature of institutions and documentation.<sup>1</sup> The first century before Christ is noteworthy for a degree of fluctuation. Outside of the oil law and the reorganization of the *boule* there is little evidence of the Hadrianic reforms, but there is evidence of attempts to revive liturgical institu-

<sup>1</sup> Professor B. D. Meritt has called my attention to the numismatic evidence for change in the first century B.C., dated to Sulla's sack by Margaret Thompson, *Num. Chron.*, II, 1962, pp. 275-300, but to a later date by D. M. Lewis, *ibid.*, pp. 301-333.

tions.<sup>2</sup> Lively activity took place in the second half of the second century after Christ, coinciding with recovery from a severe and prolonged depression. Numerous changes in terminology reflect an attempt to bring the institutions of government into harmony with changing demands. Simultaneously with the lively activity the symptoms of the coming financial crisis developing throughout the Roman Empire appear. At Athens indications of the continued constriction of the financial base of the civic institutions become clear, and the hypothesis is advanced that certain alternations in the organization and membership of the *boule* are related to the confiscations of the civic endowments by Maximinus Thrax.

This investigation was first suggested by Professor James H. Oliver, and the author is deeply indebted for his guidance and suggestions. The work was facilitated by fellowships granted by the Johns Hopkins University and the American School of Classical Studies. Special gratitude is due to Mr. Frederick C. Crawford and the trustees of the American School of Classical Studies whose personal generosity has provided the means for this publication. Professor Benjamin D. Meritt has been most generous in permitting the inclusion of unpublished material from the Athenian Agora and making valuable suggestions. The staff of the Agora Excavations and Dr. Markellos Mitsos, director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, together with his staff have been of inestimable assistance in facilitating access to the documents in their collections. Professors Eugene Vanderpool and Henry T. Rowell have assisted by their readings and suggestions, while the painstaking and patient editorial assistance of Mrs. Lucy Shoe Meritt graces every page. Access to their collections and bibliographical assistance have been generously provided by the Milton Eisenhower Library of the Johns Hopkins University, the Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and the Widener Library of Harvard University.

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<sup>2</sup> The most recent discussion of the Hadrianic reforms is to be found in Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian."

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B. D. Meritt has called to the author's attention the recent conclusions of O. W. Reinmuth, *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, pp. 93-100, that the archon Apolexis of *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 255-262, and S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 113, pp. 182-183, is to be dated to 46/5 B.C. Reinmuth's article appeared too late to be used in this book, but it ought not to cause any difficulties with the conclusions.

IG II <sup>2</sup> 1714 a. 88/7 a.	none	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1715 a. 85/4 a.	ἄρχων	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1727 a. a. 63/2? a.	ἄρχων	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1717 a. 56/5 a.	ἄρχων	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1720 c. a. 56/5?	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	Θ [εσμοθέται]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1719 a. 46/5 a.	ἄρχων	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1718 a. 36/5-18/7	ἄρχων [v]	βασιλ[εύς]	πολέ[μαρχος]	Θεσμοθ[έται]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1721 a. 14/3 a.	ἄρχων	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1722 p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1724 p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων [κ]αὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	β[ασιλεύς]	[-----]	[-----]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1725 p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	The space remaining here is insufficient		
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1726 p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1728 init. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[Θεσμοθέται]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1731 init. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1734 init. s. I p.	none	[βασιλεύς]	[πολέμα]ρχος	[Θεσμοθέ]ται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1729 init. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	Θεσμοθέται
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1723 a. a. 13/4 p.	ἐπ' ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρ.]	none	none	none
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1730 a. a. 22/3 p.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	[βασιλ]εύς	πολέ[μαρχος]	Θεσ[μοθέται]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1735 a. 50/1-52/3 p.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱ[ερεὺς Δρ.]	[βασιλεύς]	πολέμ[αρχος]	Θεσμ[οθέται]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1736 med. s. I p.	[-----]	[Βασιλεύς]	πολέμαρχος]	Θεσμοθέ[ται]
Hesp. III, p. 173 fin. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1736 a. med. s. I p.	[-----]	[β]ασιλ[εύς]	[π]ολέμαρχος]	[χ]ραμματε[ύς] Θε[σμοθέται]

Fig. 1



κῆρυξ βουλῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου	left blank	left blank	left blank	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς	αὐλητής	κῆρυξ ἄρχοντος	δημόσιος	
κῆρυξ ἐξ Ἀρε[ίου πάγου βουλῆς]	αὐλη[τής]	κῆρυξ [ἄρχοντι]	δημό[σιος]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρήου [πάγου βουλῆς]	κῆρυξ ἄρχοντος]	[-----]	[-----]	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρήου πάγου βουλῆς	κῆρυξ ἄρχοντι	αὐλητής	λειτουρχάς	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρεσιπάγου βουλῆς	κῆρυξ ἄρχοντι	αὐλητής	λειτουρχός	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
for the full complement of names, s. Dow, p. 60.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[κ]ῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρε[ίου πάγου βουλῆς]	κῆρυξ ἄ[ρ]χον[τι]	αὐλητής	λειτουρχός	
[-----]	[κῆρυξ ἄρχοντ]ος	αὐλητής	λειτο(υ)ρχός	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
left blank	κῆρυξ ἄρχοντος	αὐλητής	λειτουρχός	
στρατηγός [ἐπὶ τ. ὀπλ.]	κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ [Α. Π. Β.]	κηρυκίσκος	αὐλητής	λειτουρχός
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[κῆρυξ] τῆς ἐξ Α. [Π. Β.]	στρ [ατηγός ἐπὶ τ. ὀπλ.]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
[-----]	[στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τ. ὀπλ.]	κηρυκίσ[κος]	λειτῶν	ἱεραύλης
nothing	κηρ[υκίσκος]	ἱερα[ύλης]	[-----]	

# CHAPTER I

## THE ARCHONS

There is ample evidence indicating the continued existence of the college of nine archons through the years following Sulla's new constitution and into the third century after Christ. This includes the archon lists,<sup>1</sup> several documents which refer to the archons in the plural,<sup>2</sup> the lists of ephebic magistrates which seem to echo the structure of the civic constitution,<sup>3</sup> and occasional references to the lesser archons, the latest of which are: *basileus* in A.D. 266/7 and 269/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3670 and 3669); the *polemarchos* between A.D. 197 and 217 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076)<sup>4</sup> and at mid-third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3668); and the *thesmothetai* in the third century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1113, 3702, 3669). This chapter will attempt to analyze the material which we possess concerning the archons in general, then each of the archonships individually, and finally the lesser functionaries connected with the archons.

### A. THE ARCHON LISTS, THE ARCHONS IN GENERAL

The first of the sources, the archon lists, are the most systematic and informative documents on the college of archons, and will be used as an outline for the rest of this discussion. First a few words must be said about the documents themselves (above, note 1). Since the study by S. Dow certain of these have been dated more precisely: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1715 may be assigned to the year 85/4 with confidence<sup>5</sup> and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1735 may be narrowed down to the period 50/1-52/3.<sup>6</sup> Figure 1 is a schematic diagram of the composition of the archon lists. One other document, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 45, pp. 217-219, although it lists archons, because of its format probably is

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed summary see S. Dow, "The Lists of the Athenian *Archontes*," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 140-190. The dating used here unless otherwise noted is that of Dow. The lists include (arranged according to Dow's chronology) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1714, 1715, 1727, 1717, 1720, 1719, 1718, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1728, 1731, 1734, 1729, 1723, 1730, 1735, 1736, *Hesperia*, III, p. 173, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3540, of mid first century after Christ, in which the nine archons honor the herald of the Areopagus; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076 of A.D. 196-217; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 of A.D. 209/10 uses the word *archontas* to indicate the whole group of civic magistrates.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. in the first third of the third century *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2203, 2208, 2219, 2231, 2235, 2237. It is interesting that the two latest such documents do not mention the ephebic archons: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245 of 254/5 and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 37, pp. 71-74 of between 260 and 267, although the former does mention the archon. For the dates of these last two see H. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight," *J.R.S.*, XLIX, 1959, p. 66, note 28.

<sup>4</sup> See the edition of J. H. Oliver, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 521-530.

<sup>5</sup> S. Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Notopoulos, "Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 25-26.

not an archon list. S. Dow<sup>7</sup> expresses doubt about the pertinence of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723, 1725, 1726, and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 173. Of these *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723 omits all the archons except the eponymous, and his name appears not in the nominative, but in the formula usual for dating by archon; measurements of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1725 show that it would not have been high enough to include all of the magistracies expected;<sup>8</sup> the reason for doubting *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1726 is unstated; and the appearance of the hoplite general casts suspicion on *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 173. Because of its late date the differences in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a can be excused. A glance at Figure 1 will show that all of these do fit into the overall pattern of development of the archon lists. The omission of one or more magistrates need not be shocking in the light of the anarchies of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1714 and 1734. Certain changes did occur in the format of the list: sometime between 56/5 and 14/13 the flute player and the archon's herald exchanged positions, while at about the same time the public slave was replaced by a *leitourgos*; in the early first century after Christ the hoplite general appears to have been added before the herald of the Areopagus, but shortly afterward they exchanged positions.<sup>9</sup> In the early first century after Christ the title *kerykiskos* replaced that of the herald of the archon, possibly at the same time as the hoplite general began to appear; a short while later the *auletes* gave way to the *hierauls*.

The latest of the archon lists, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a, contains the names of only five thesmothetes, while the name of a secretary has intruded between the *polemarchos* and the *thesmothetai*. Dow<sup>10</sup> suggests that the secretary is the secretary for the *thesmothetai* (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 55,1; 59,7), who at this time may have been absorbed into the college of *thesmothetai*. Another explanation is possible if we assume that anarchies occurred among the *thesmothetai* just as in the case of the *eponymos archon*.<sup>11</sup> Since the names of the lesser archons are not as systematically recorded as those of the *eponymos*, the evidence about them is very fragmentary. As has already been noted all of the archons except the *eponymos* are omitted from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723; Dow has observed that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1725, if reconstructed in proportion to

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 183, note 1, "either doubtfully or certainly different," and p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>9</sup> Dow, *ibid.*, p. 167 would place *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723 in a "different class from lists of *archontes*"; he hesitates to restore the title of the hoplite general in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736 (p. 172), but restores it quite freely in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 173. A glance at their positions in Figure 1 shows the probability of the appearance of the hoplite general in a group of archon lists near the end of the series. No document intervenes which certainly omits his name.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>11</sup> After the anarchy of 88/7, there is evidence for seven other anarchies in the Roman period: at the beginning of the first century after Christ (this is based on the reconstruction of an inscription by Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 162, which Dow admits could be done otherwise), in A.D. 83/4, between 86/7 and 95/6, in 167/8, in 169/70, in 182/3, and around the year 200. This list is based on the findings of Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 11, note 1, p. 12; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 82-89; Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 144-146, 162; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 48-51.

the other preserved archon lists, would not allow space for all of those usually listed;<sup>12</sup> before the Sullan constitution in the Delian Pythaid of 100/99<sup>13</sup> only five thesmothes appear, while in every other year recorded there are the full six, and the *basileus* is missing in the year 102/1.<sup>14</sup> A possible parallel may be found among the ephebes, whose imitation of the civic government reflected the standard Athenian magistracies,<sup>15</sup> among whom it is not strange to find odd numbers of *thesmothetai* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2235 and 2237, but none in 2130, 2141, and 2193) or some other of the archons missing (there is no *polemarchos* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2141, 2219, and 2231). Thus it should not be surprising to find anarchies in any one of the nine archonships.

The archonships, which commentators generally agree had lost much of their administrative importance,<sup>16</sup> were becoming increasingly important as liturgies (about which, more below). As a result the senior archonships increasingly became the preserve of the wealthy, who sought or accepted the honor. The financial problem of finding enough citizens sufficiently wealthy probably was responsible for the anarchies listed above, especially in view of the prohibition against serving more than once as archon. This regulation seems to have retained its force up until the third century, when we find Publius Aelius Apollonios (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3688) having served as both king and eponymous archon, Publius Herennius Dexippos, the man who led the Athenians against the Herulians (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669, 3670), having served the same two, and Titus Flavius Mondon[— —] of Phlya whose second archonship is recorded (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 37, p. 71).

The anarchies of the Roman period and the repeated archonships of the third century are both symptomatic of the shortage of wealthy men to fill the archonships. Despite this factor Athens was extremely fortunate in the attractiveness of its archonship not only for native sons, but for foreign princes, Roman notables, and even Roman emperors. The number of foreigners, coupled with the frequency with which certain tribes, notably Aiantis, controlled the eponymous archonship, has led the majority of commentators to conclude that the old principle of allotment of the archonships among the ten tribes had broken down, and that the archonship had become elective during the period after the Sullan Constitution.<sup>17</sup> S. Dow<sup>18</sup> in his analysis of the

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 160.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, but see the edition of Dow, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, pp. 116-124, lines 99-104.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, line 52, although this may be a case merely of non-payment of the contribution, since a blank space was left where the name should have gone.

<sup>15</sup> On this practice see Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> Notopoulos, "The Method of Choosing Archons in Athens under the Empire," *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 149; Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 9; and others. The evidence for the various functions will be recorded below.

<sup>17</sup> W. S. Ferguson, "Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents, III," *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 328-329; Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 13; *Auguste*, p. 113; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 935; Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 166.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 140-190.

archon lists made a study of the tribes of the archons listed and concluded (p. 180): "Exceptions to the electoral principle that no two *archontes* should be of the same tribe were freely made after the suppression of the Demos in 91 B.C.; every later list with more than four preserved demotics of *archontes*, except 1721 alone, shows such duplication," a duplication unprecedented in earlier periods. But he also concluded that Beloch's law,<sup>19</sup> by which the *thesmothetai* were listed according to their tribal order, was followed. J. A. Notopoulos<sup>20</sup> also has done an analysis of the archons of 113/4-163/4. He believes that a new type of allotment cycle had replaced the traditional archon allotment. He would see a cycle extending over 12 or 13 years similar to the prytany cycle within a single year, but not without compromise, since noteworthy people were permitted to serve out of the turn of their tribe. Notopoulos has broken down the period 113/4-163/4 into 4 cycles, one of 12 years (pre-Hadrianis) and three of 13 years each. In this first cycle (113/4-124/5) only four tribal affiliations out of the twelve are known, and so the evidence is hardly conclusive. In the second cycle the evidence is firmer, with six out of thirteen tribal affiliations known, but again this is hardly conclusive. In the third cycle (138/9-150/1) affiliations are known for twelve out of thirteen, but in five of these cases a tribal affiliation is repeated, and these five archons have to be classed among the exceptions made in the cases of outstanding men. Four out of ten tribal affiliations in the fourth cycle must be treated in the same manner. Thus judgment must be made on the basis of seven out of thirteen in the former and six out of thirteen in the latter cycle. This is hardly conclusive evidence. It seems then that the indication of Philostratos<sup>21</sup> that foreign rulers at least gained Athenian magistracies by election would also apply to all who gained Athenian archonships. The context of the passage from Plutarch's life of Perikles<sup>22</sup> makes it clear that the former method of selection by lot was being contrasted with the use of election.

Many suggestions have been made to explain the purpose of the Athenian archon lists, but the explanation remains elusive. The controversy has centered around the appearance of the herald of the *boule* of the Areopagus, when the lists are otherwise completely devoted to the archons and their subordinate officers. Diedrich Fimmen<sup>23</sup> suggested that he served as chairman of the college, especially in view of the pre-eminence of the Areopagus in the constitution of Roman Athens. Bruno Keil<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> J. Beloch, "Die Errichtung der Phyle Ptolemais," *Neue Jahrbücher*, CXXIX, 1884, pp. 481-488.

<sup>20</sup> *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, pp. 149-165. The charts on which the cycles are plotted out appear on pp. 164-165.

<sup>21</sup> *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*, VIII, 16 (Kayser, p. 333).

<sup>22</sup> IX, αὐται γὰρ ἀρχαὶ κληρωταὶ τε ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἀρειον πάγον.

<sup>23</sup> "Eine neue attische Archontätsliste," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 130-137.

<sup>24</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 65.

wondered that the herald of the Areopagus held so low a position, especially in the light of Keil's conclusion that only the two major archons were permitted entry into the Areopagus. His solution saw the college of archons, which really had little else to do, being granted a share of the judicial powers of the Areopagus and the herald of the Areopagus participating in their deliberations. It will be shown below that all of the archons probably entered the Areopagus. The appearance of the herald of the Areopagus in lists with the archons was no new phenomenon, since the herald had already served in the Delphic Pythaid with a board very similar to that found in the archon lists.<sup>25</sup> Graindor<sup>26</sup> rejects Keil's hypotheses and calls attention to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3540, where the nine archons honor the herald of the Areopagus. Notopoulos<sup>27</sup> offered the suggestion that the archon lists reflected the increased eminence of the archonship under the Roman empire, since they were the lists of public spirited citizens who gave their money for the good of the city; but this does not explain the appearance of the public slave nor the minor functionaries. Probably the explanation is to be found in the details of the new constitutional arrangements instituted by Sulla, possibly as an assurance against repeated archonships.<sup>28</sup>

Before discussing the archonships individually, it will be in order to survey what is known of their functions as a college. In the rites in honor of the deified Julia Domna<sup>29</sup> decreed shortly after A.D. 196, all of the archons were to sacrifice each year to 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ on the birthday of Julia Domna (lines 12-13); and on the feast of Athena Polias the archons, together with all the priests and the herald (of the Areopagus?), were to offer libation to Athena Polias (lines 28-32) while the remaining civic magistrates performed other rites. From this one might conjecture that the archons probably had similar duties in other state rites involving the imperial cult.

References to the performance of civic duties by the archons are lacking. The word *archontas* in the decree of honors for the household of Septimius Severus<sup>30</sup> refers to the civic magistrates in general, and the archons are indicated only in so far as they can be classed among these civic magistrates.

<sup>25</sup> This fact was first noted by S. Dragoumes, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1915, pp. 5-7, mentioned by Kirchner on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1717, and recalled by Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 112-113, and finally by Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 185, who, unlike Dragoumes, does not connect the archon lists with Delphic Pythaid. The latest of the four lists cited is that of 97 B.C., *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 1909-1913, no. 2, p. 14, which includes ἄρχων, βασιλεύς, πολέμαρχος, θεσμοθέται, κῆρυξ βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, κῆρυξ ἄρχοντος, σαλπικτής.

<sup>26</sup> *Auguste*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>27</sup> *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> It would appear that this formed an important point, especially in view of the three-year archonship of Medeios and the two-year rule of Argeios shortly before. See Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 166.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076, but see the edition of J. H. Oliver, "Julia Domna as Athena Polias," *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 521-530.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077; see also Appendix II, pp. 161-162.

## B. THE EPONYMOS ARCHON

The most eminent magistracy at Athens remained the archonship eponymous. Among the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* the author of the *Vita Gallieni*, 11, 3 calls it *summus magistratus* and Dio Cassius, LXIX, 16 calls it τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχήν. Probably the most significant testimony is to be found in the people who held it: Roman emperors, foreign rulers, noble Romans, and the most influential Athenians. Among the Roman emperors are Domitian,<sup>31</sup> Hadrian,<sup>32</sup> Commodus,<sup>33</sup> and Gallienus.<sup>34</sup> Lists of the other noteworthy people would be too long to be included here.

The vast majority of documents citing this archon do so for eponymity, and these continue through the whole period covered by this study. The known years of anarchy have been recorded above. The glory of having one's name applied to a year was reserved for men of wealth, since the office involved considerable expense. Philostratos (*Vit. Soph.*, II, 20, p. 103) classes it with the hoplite generalship "among the liturgies which the Athenians consider the greatest." The *cursus honorum* (if this phrase can be used to describe the careers of notable Athenians) of Tiberius Claudius the hierophant (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546) records that "he held the eponymous magistracy for a *medimnos* and fifteen *drachmai*."<sup>35</sup> Surely the archonships conferred on foreigners were not given without some benefits in return. The tremendous benefactions of Hadrian are well known and need not be recorded here.<sup>36</sup> The specific nature of most of the benefactions of archons is unknown, but in one case an extraordinary good service was performed by Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos, who supplied grain in a time of famine,<sup>37</sup> and his only Athenian magistracy seems to have been the archonship (although he also filled the liturgical position of agonothete of the Greater Panathenaia [Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31, line 37]). But his benefaction was so great that lesser archonships fell to his two sons, one at least simultaneously with the father (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3700-3702). The remaining inscriptions honoring archons do not record the nature of their good deeds, but one would expect that as in the rest of the Roman Empire it involved a *summa honoraria* to the population, like that recorded for Tiberius Claudius the hierophant, and the accomplishment or expectation of some major public benefaction. In connection with the archonship Graindor<sup>38</sup> has noted that at Athens there do not seem to have been endowed magistracies, and there is still no evidence of endowments to lessen the burdens of the archonship.

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1996; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 65, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> See Graindor, *Chronologie*, no. 79, p. 122 for *testimonia*.

<sup>33</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 282-283.

<sup>34</sup> *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Vita Gallieni*, 11, 3.

<sup>35</sup> This is cited by Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 11-12 and note 2, where parallels are cited.

<sup>36</sup> See Graindor, *Hadrien*, *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, 3698; Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142 = Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 = B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 26-30.

<sup>38</sup> *Chronologie*, p. 12 and note 6.

The great honor of the office, probably because of the expense it involved and possibly because of the tradition behind it, is amply attested by lists of magistrates and the *cursus honorum* which record the eponymous magistracy before all of the others. Certain documents would appear to break the practice of listing the archonship first. In a dedication to Ares and Augustus the eponymous dating is by the priest of Ares; then follow the names of *zakoroi* and finally the name of the eponymous [archon of the city] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2953). This is a clear case of cult officials having priority in matters regarding their particular cult. A dedication from a statue of Claudius (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3268) has the name of the man who constructed the statue and that of the hoplite general coming before the name of the archon, but the builder can be expected to receive first listing, and the hoplite general seems to have certain interests in the imperial cult (see below, p. 26). The rededication of the temple at Rhamnous in A.D. 45/6 to the deified Livia has the name of the hoplite general and priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus listed before the *eponymos archon*.<sup>39</sup> This case partakes of circumstances related to those of both of the preceding instances. Two mid-second century *cursus honorum* appear to violate the order of precedence, but one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3593) merely lists current offices before those held earlier, while the other (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3618) permitted metrical considerations to predominate. Exceptions to the rule seem more common in the third century after Christ. A *cursus honorum* from Hephaistia on Lemnos (*I.G.*, XII, 8, 27) permits the gymnasiarchy to come first, but the archonship still precedes the other magistracies. In the *cursus honorum* of P. Herennius Dexippos, although the archonships are listed first, the *basileus* has precedence over the *eponymos*, but this is probably a case of their being listed in the order in which they were held (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669, 3670). The same may be the case in the *cursus* of Cassianus, the initiate from the hearth and *hierokeryx* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3707), where service as an ambassador, an *agonothesia* and a hoplite generalship all come first. Finally in another third century document (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3687), a pair of priesthoods are permitted to precede the archonship (lines 10-16), but this is the only exception among eight *cursus* contained in the document.

In Hellenistic Athens the adjective *eponymos* was not used to distinguish the major archon, but it began to appear around the middle of the first century after Christ.<sup>40</sup> The frequency of its appearance remains low throughout the first century and for most of the first half of the second century after Christ.<sup>41</sup> Shortly before the middle of the second century it increases and continues at a high rate through the third century. Indeed the tendency during the period of the Roman empire seems to have been to include the adjective almost always where a *cursus honorum* was

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, but see the edition of W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 186-194.

<sup>40</sup> As Dow has observed, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 186, the only document possibly earlier (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2953) is not at all firmly dated. Dow's corrected readings of the archon lists eliminate any other instances earlier than A.D. 41, when it first appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3268.

<sup>41</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3268, 3546, 3547; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 67-68.



involved or a dedication, while in official documents, especially in the formula of eponymity, the word *archon* alone is used. Graindor<sup>42</sup> declared that this increased use of the adjective was not strange in an era when the hoplite general also appeared in formulas of eponymity, but it is in these very formulas where the adjective is not used. There are a few exceptions to the distinction in usage made above,<sup>43</sup> and some of these need not be thought exceptional. It seems likely that in private documents at Athens a phenomenon was occurring which also had taken place among the *quattuorviri* of the western colonies, that is that the two lower magistrates used the generic term for all four magistrates in naming themselves, while the upper two usually distinguished themselves by the term *duoviri*; thus at Athens all nine archons would avail themselves of the use of the name *archon*, while the chief archon had to use the adjective to defend his dignity. This would explain the case of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592 where the man honored was described as ἄρχαντα, while three relatives each have the complete phrase ἄρχαντος τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν.<sup>44</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2931 is a dedication from the cave of Apollo on the slopes of the Acropolis which reads “by the archon Herennius Dexippos.” Herennius Dexippos, the man who saved Athens from the Herulians, is known to have served both as *archon basileus* and as *eponymos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669, 3670). Among the dedications from the cave of Apollo there are none which were set up by a man who can with certainty be called an *eponymos archon*; therefore this dedication by Dexippos probably relates to his term as *archon basileus*. This must also be the case with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2919 and 2920 in which the word *archon* alone appears. Two other dedications have the archon’s name in the genitive (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2892 and 2893), the latter of which was set up by the secretary of the *synhedrion* and includes the name of a *thesmothetes* in the nominative. The former may be from a similar monument, where the dedicator is not the archon, but the archon’s name is included, probably for the sake of dating. The problem of distinguishing cannot have been as acute in the case of public documents, where the use in the formula for eponymity was the principal occasion for reference to the eponymous archon.

The *archon eponymos* was also the priest of the consul Drusus from the time of the death of Drusus until the reign of Hadrian.<sup>45</sup> The priestly title appeared always in the archon lists,<sup>46</sup> but in other documents it seems not to have been used as regularly during the first century after Christ.

<sup>42</sup> *Auguste*, p. 114.

<sup>43</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2919 and 2920 probably were not archons eponymous (see below); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3672, line 4 did not need to distinguish the dedicatee as *eponymos*, since it is clear from the context; in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3603 the restoration of ἄρχοντα falls short of the end of the line, and J. H. Oliver suggests that ἀρχιπέα is easier to defend. The statue base, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3618 has its dedication in meter. The dedicatee of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3717 need not have been the civic *eponymos* (see below, p. 100).

<sup>44</sup> This distinction has already been observed by Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 869, p. 582, note 1 and by Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592.

<sup>45</sup> On this priesthood see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 157; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 116; *Hadrien*, p. 171.

<sup>46</sup> Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 149.

In view of the number of emperors and other distinguished men of affairs, Romans and Hellenes, who held it, the archonship eponymous cannot have involved a great deal of administrative responsibility. Yet there is evidence for a certain number of religious duties. A double chair has been found on the Acropolis, one half of which is inscribed as belonging to the *pyrphoros* and the other to the archon;<sup>47</sup> this probably indicates some share in the worship of Hestia. There is clear evidence for the archon's participation in the imperial cult dating from around the beginning of the third century<sup>48</sup> in an individual capacity as well as in his capacity as a member of the college of archons (see above, p. 5), and it would seem that the hoplite general and he cooperated (line 18) in a function whose nature is lost.<sup>49</sup>

Working from a passage from Dio Cassius<sup>50</sup> and from a choregic memorial<sup>51</sup> Bruno Keil<sup>52</sup> has concluded that the eponymous archonship involved the *agonothesia* of the Dionysia, just as the archonship of the *basileus* involved that of the Lenaia (see below, p. 11). Although it had been a regular practice for the archon to assume this expense (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56,5) from around 327/6, the *agonothetes* began to appear as a separate individual (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3073-3089) on the occasions when the *demos* was *choregos*. That the archonship did not customarily involve the *agonothesia* in the Roman period would seem to be indicated by the distinction between the two functions made in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3112 (see below, p. 137) and 3649. Hadrian may have been attempting merely to revive an old custom, or the connection between the archonship and the *agonothesia* may have been merely temporary. The possible parallel of the *basileus* paying for the Lenaia will be shown below (p. 11) to be faulty.

The sole reference to his participation in civic affairs is to be found in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 (see Appendix II, pp. 161-162), where he is specifically named as one of the magistrates co-operating with the three civic corporations in framing the *gnome*. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3705, as Keil<sup>53</sup> has observed, the fact that the eponymous archon requested a *dogma* of the Areopagites should in no way be taken as an action in an official capacity.

The number of dedications set up by archons eponymous is very small. From the early first century B.C. (and so possibly from the pre-Sullan constitution) there is

<sup>47</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5170. For the *pyrphoros* see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 154 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3631, 3804, 3805, 5046, and several lists of *aisitoi* (see below, p. 111).

<sup>48</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076; see the edition of Oliver, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 521-530.

<sup>49</sup> Although Kirchner, following Premierstein, restores *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076, lines 16-20 as follows, [ποιῇ | sai δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅπ|λείτας στρατ[ηγὸν ἄ | γαλμα τῆς Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς, τὸ]ν δὲ ἄρχοντα τῇ [Πολι | ἀδι συνιδρύσαι ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ὀρό]φωι, ἵνα σύνθρον[ος ᾗ | τῇ θεῷ, κτλ.]

<sup>50</sup> LXIX, 16, τά τε Διονύσια, τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν ἄρξας, ἐν τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε.

<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3112, τὸν ἄρχον | τα καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην Διονυσίων, referring to King Philopappos of Commagene, then resident in Athens. Graindor, *Chronologie*, no. 66, p. 95; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 51; followed by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, dates this document to 75/6-87/8.

<sup>52</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

an altar found in the Theater of Dionysos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2870); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3681 is a herm set up by an *archon eponymos* and *neokoros* of Sarapis, but it was probably set up in his religious capacity. It has been shown above (p. 8) that the archons listed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2919 and 2920 were probably not *eponymoi*, but were lesser archons. The monuments honoring archons are too numerous to itemize here, but it should be noted that Roman emperors, foreign princes, Roman and other foreign notables and Athenians are honored. One herm (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3672) found in the Theater of Dionysos records that οἱ συνάρχοντες set up τὸν [ἐ]αυτῶν ἄρχοντ[α] and there follows a list of the archons the first line of which reads [ἄρχ]ων ἐπώνυμ[ος]. This is dated to the second or third century after Christ and seems to have no parallels.

### C. THE ARCHON BASILEUS

Ranking next after the *archon eponymos* in the archon lists is the *basileus*, but his rank is not quite as high when his name appears among the grouped magistrates of the city. Indicative is a series of ephobic monuments<sup>54</sup> ranging in date from the last decade of the second century through the year 230. In each of these, among the ephobic magistrates, the archon is listed first, then the hoplite general and the *keryx* of the Areopagus, and then the remaining archons headed by the *basileus*. The regularity of this arrangement is not as strict in the few *cursus honorum* mentioning the *archon basileus* which are preserved. Julius Theodotos the sophist (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3616 and 4087) is listed as στρατηγήσαντος καὶ βασιλεύσαντος καὶ κηρυκείσαντος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς; while the *cursus* of Publius Aelius Apollonios lists *eponymos archon*, *archon basileus*, and then hoplite general, epimelete of the gymnasiarchy, and herald of the Areopagus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3688); and in the *cursus* of Publius Herennius Dexippos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669, 3670) the archonship of the *basileus* actually precedes that of the *eponymos*. The former two of these men flourished around the turn from the second to the third century, and the last in the latter half of the third century. It was suggested above that in one of these cases the governing factor was the sequence in which the magistracies were held, and possibly the same factor would hold true in the other cases here cited. Line 3 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669 reads ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχήν, and Keil<sup>55</sup> inferred that the name *thesmothetai* had been expanded at this time to include all eight lower archons, including the *basileus*, and that the *eponymos* was set apart as a presiding magistrate.

The *basileus* had primarily religious functions, and certain of these are documented quite explicitly. A decree regarding the restoration and repair of the shrines of Athens,<sup>56</sup> apparently passed during the reign of Augustus, relates that the *basileus*

<sup>54</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2119, 2130, 2193, 2203, 2208, 2219, 2231, 2235.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>56</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035. For the date of this document see Oliver, *Gerusia*, pp. 133-134 and Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 146-148. U. Kahrstedt, who takes no notice of Oliver or Day, would date the document

and hoplite general were to offer a propitiatory sacrifice to each of the gods and heroes (lines 12-13); together with the *tamias* of the sacred *diataxis* and another magistrate whose name is lost he has the obligation of publishing an audit of the costs of the repairs (lines 14-17). In the first century B.C. a law was passed at Athens governing the sacred procession<sup>57</sup> in which the *basileus* and his *parhedroi* play an important part (see below p. 16 for the *parhedroi*). From this document it may be gathered that cases of *asebeia* were his<sup>58</sup> to present to the judges (lines 29-30). This is only natural, since the *archon basileus* and the *epimeletes* of the mysteries had charge of ordering the procession (lines 36 and 42-43).<sup>59</sup> In addition to his duties as a member of the college of archons it is probable that the *basileus* had a share allotted to him in the sacrifices decreed to the deified Julia Domna,<sup>60</sup> although any sections recording such are now lost. Even if he had no share, his wife participated in sacrifices with the archons and priests and the herald.<sup>61</sup> The *basileus* also co-operated with the *boule* in handling cases of *asebeia* against the cult of Isis (Pollitt, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 125-130; re-edited by Oliver, *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VI, 1965, pp. 292 f.).

Keil<sup>62</sup> believed that the *basileus* retained the management of the Lenaia from former times (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 57,1) citing *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130, lines 57-60, where, among other benefactions of the ephebic *basileus*, it is recorded that he paid for the Lenaia. But Keil failed to distinguish that this was the ephebic *basileus*, not that of the city; and the same sort of connection could be made between the *basileus* and the Antinoeia on the basis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2059 or the Hadrianeia on the basis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2087.

The *basileus* frequently dedicated a memorial to Apollo ὑπ' Ἀκραις at the cave of Apollo on the slopes of the Acropolis.<sup>63</sup>

#### D. THE POLEMARCHOS

The third magistrate recorded in the archon lists immediately below the *basileus* was the *polemarchos*, and he held the same place among the ephebic magistrates. The office appears only once among *cursus honorum*, in that of Publius Herennius Ptolemaios of the mid-third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3668), whose offices included polemarch, an *agonothesia*, and *keryx* of the Areopagus, which is surprising in so low a position.<sup>64</sup>

to "der proletarischen Republik unter Mithradates," *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands*, Bern, 1954, p. 60, note 6.

<sup>57</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 31, pp. 65-72.

<sup>58</sup> A conclusion reached by Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 51-52 on separate evidence.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of these practices in relation to those of earlier times, see Oliver's commentary.

<sup>60</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076, re-edited by Oliver, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 521-530.

<sup>61</sup> Lines 30-32, καὶ τ[ῆ]ν τοῦ [ἄρχοντος β]ασίλισσαν, whom Pollux defines, τὴν δὲ συνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ (τῷ βασιλεῖ) βασίλισσαν καλοῦσιν (VIII, 90).

<sup>62</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 51.

<sup>63</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2894, 2897, 2921, 2922, 2929, and see above for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2931.

<sup>64</sup> Again, this may be a case of the offices being listed as they were held. This document is also

A single religious function is attested for the polemarch; he was to sacrifice to Julia Domna [τῇ μητρί] τῶν στρατοπέδων on the first day of the Roman year,<sup>65</sup> a function which recalls the one-time military significance of his magistracy. Just as in the case of the king archon, the *polemarchos* customarily dedicated to Apollo ὑπ' Ἀκραις at the cave on the Acropolis.<sup>66</sup> He appears in a single dedication from Eleusis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2880), and B. D. Meritt would restore πο[λέμαρχος] on a non-joining fragment of an inscription which also lists two *parhedroi* and a *grammateus*.<sup>67</sup>

#### E. THE THESMOTHEtai

The six *thesmothetai* normally follow the *polemarchos* in the archon lists and in the ephebic lists, with the exception of the latest of the archon lists,<sup>68</sup> where a secretary intervenes, and in which only five *thesmothetai* are listed. No *cursus honorum* containing this magistracy in cumulation with any other office survives. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669 Publius Herennius Dexippos, the defender of Athens against the Herulii, was honored, and among his distinctions was listed ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχήν, while another document says simply ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχήν (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3670). The significance of the former expression is not clear. Keil,<sup>69</sup> as we have already noted, interprets this to mean that by the year 269/70 all eight lower archons were grouped together as thesmothetes in contrast to the *eponymos archon*. Another document (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3702) has similar phraseology, where Marcus Ulpius Pupienus Maximus is described as συνάρξαντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐν θεσμοθέταις, in a case where it is clear that his father was *eponymos archon*. Therefore συνάρξαντα must mean merely "was a magistrate at the same time as" and the phrase ἐν θεσμοθέταις would refer to the son alone. This Marcus Ulpius Pupienus Maximus was one of the two sons of Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos, who was lavishly honored by the Athenians for his aid during a famine,<sup>70</sup> and it would seem logical that both sons were made *thesmothetai*, and the one here mentioned at least simultaneously with his father's archonship, as a part of that honor.<sup>71</sup>

A single document concerns participation in affairs of state by the *thesmothetai*, interesting as evidence that the polemarch as well as the archon and *basileus* entered the Areopagus. See J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXIX, 1958, p. 57, note 4 and below.

<sup>65</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076 as re-edited by Oliver, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 521-530. Parallels to this cult can be found in the Greek East at Priene (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscriptionen von Priene*, Berlin, 1906, no. 230, p. 147) and at Pizos in Bulgaria (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 880, line 5).

<sup>66</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2898 (in conjunction with the secretary of the *synhedrion*), 2899, probably 2900 (but no provenience is given), and certainly 2914 and 2915.

<sup>67</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 45, pp. 217-219; for greater detail, see below, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a. For a discussion of this document see above and below, pp. 2, 15-16.

<sup>69</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 54.

<sup>70</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31 and 32, pp. 125-142, as augmented by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 and by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>71</sup> For the family see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3695-3703.

a letter from a proconsul under Septimius Severus addressed to the *thesmothetai* and possibly to others whose names are now lost (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1113) concerning apparently sentences of exile. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 59) relates that the *thesmothetai* in his day were competent magistrates to introduce many sorts of cases. The largest number of dedications to Apollo Ἰππῶς Ἀκραις come from the thesmothetes. Most are individual dedications,<sup>72</sup> but there are two dedicated by groups of *thesmothetai*,<sup>73</sup> and one dedicated by a *grammateus* of the *synhedrion* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2893) whose crowned name is flanked by that of the archon in the genitive case crowned on the left and that of a thesmothete in the nominative case crowned on the right. Finally, the Iobakchoi consider the attaining of the office of *thesmothetes* by one of their members sufficient cause for a celebration (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, line 133).

#### F. OTHER MAGISTRATES AND OFFICERS

In the archon lists the names of the herald of the Areopagus and, when he appears, of the hoplite general follow those of the nine archons. These magistrates will be discussed elsewhere. Then are listed a group of subordinate officers to the archons, the first of which in the lists after 36/5-18/7 B.C. is the herald of the archon, while in the earlier lists the flute player occupied this position (see Fig. 1). In a pair of lists of the late first century after Christ the herald of the archon is replaced by the *kerykiskos*, whose title probably ought to be restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a.<sup>74</sup> The only certain epigraphical evidence for the Roman period for the herald of the archon comes from the archon lists. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 62,2) reveals that in his day the archons paid the keep for a herald and flute player, and the herald appears to have had functions in the law courts.<sup>75</sup> In the Delphic Pythais of 106 B.C. and of 97 B.C.<sup>76</sup> the herald accompanied the archons. There are no other sources concerning the *kerykiskos*. His title is formed by the addition of a very common diminutive suffix to the word for herald,<sup>77</sup> but no reason for this change in terminology is readily apparent. There are some references to heralds in other inscriptions where the herald may be the herald of the archon. It is probable in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3699, another dedication of a statue of Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos, that Aurelius Hermonax, the herald, is herald to him as archon, since he honors Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos as his benefactor, and from Aristotle we know that the archons were responsible for the maintenance of the

<sup>72</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2881, 2891, 2901, 2902, 2917, 2924, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 1, p. 138, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, no. 41, pp. 256-257, and *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 33, p. 89.

<sup>73</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2916 and 2923.

<sup>74</sup> Dow has suggested the same correction on the grounds of letter spacing, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 175.

<sup>75</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 64,3; 66,1; 68,4; 69,1.

<sup>76</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 2 and 4, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>77</sup> For the formation of nouns in *-iskos*, see P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en Grec ancien*, Paris, 1933, pp. 406-407.

herald. In the light of Aristotle's accounts of the herald's duties in court cases, it seems possible that the herald in a very fragmentary document <sup>78</sup> is the herald of the archon. (But see the chapter on the Areopagus, below p. 60, for further analysis.)

Appearing in second place in all of the archon lists after 14/13 (having held first place until 56/5 or later), with the exception of *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 173 where he is displaced to third position by the *λιτ(ουργ)ῶν* (?), is the *auletes*, or *hieraules* in the latest documents (see Figure 1). Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 62,2) relates that the archons supported a herald and flute player. The first certain appearance of the title *hieraules* replacing that of *auletes* in the archon lists can be dated to the end of the first century after Christ, although the last appearance of *auletes* was around the middle of the same century. From around 229 B.C. a flute player (*auletes*) began to appear at or near the end of the list of people whom the *boule* honored in the prytany decrees.<sup>79</sup> Between the last decade of the first century after Christ <sup>80</sup> and some time in the first half of the second century after Christ <sup>81</sup> among the prytany documents the *hieraules* replaced the *auletes*. Further, it appears among the archon lists that the *auletes* or *hieraules* was not considered of sufficient moment for his demotic to be included in his name.<sup>82</sup> This appears to have been true also among the prytany documents.<sup>83</sup> It would seem then that there is no reason to doubt that both sorts of documents contain the name of the same official, i.e. the same flute player served both the archons and the *prytaneis*.<sup>84</sup> In at least one instance in the archon lists the same flute player served two different sets of magistrates (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1717 and 1720). The same will be shown to be true in the prytany lists (see below, p. 109). Can the fact that the flute player was listed among the *aisitai* indicate that the archons no longer supported him? Why, then, should this change not be carried back to his first appearance on prytany lists (*ca.* 229 B.C., see above, p. 13), when apparently his functions were expanded? Graindor <sup>85</sup> is probably correct in suggesting that the flute player had the responsibility of playing for religious sacrifices and the like. It would seem that this flute player continued to be a hired servant, valued only for his musical ability, nor did he even have to be an Athenian citizen.

The final personage named on the archon lists is a public slave in the lists around 56/5, but a *litourgos* in the lists of 14/13 and after. Among prytany documents

<sup>78</sup> *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 33, pp. 236-237.

<sup>79</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 17.

<sup>80</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, redated by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12, to A.D. 96/7.

<sup>81</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 11, pp. 40-43, redated by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 13, to A.D. 135/6. The word here is restored in greater part. The next two examples of its use do not occur until after the middle of the second century.

<sup>82</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1728, where the full name is given, Ἀσκλάπων Ἑρμῶνος, without demotic.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 11, p. 42, where the name is Ἐλευσίνιος, the same as that of the ἐπὶ Σκιάδος, or *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, [Ἀσκληπιό]δοτος (?) or *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50, Εὐχάριστος. See below, p. 109, for further detail.

<sup>84</sup> Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 111 hesitated to identify the two.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111; so also Busolt-Swoboda, pp. 1058-1059 and note 1.

a *litourgos* appeared at the end of the first century B.C.<sup>86</sup> From the end of the first century after Christ he was listed among the *aisitōi*, and the name became *litourgos* in charge of the Skias (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759 and 3503, see note 86), although the simple word *litourgos* continued in use until the end of the first century after Christ.<sup>87</sup> In the second century it was abbreviated to simply ἐπὶ Σκιάδος.<sup>88</sup> If the *litourgos* of the archon lists can be equated with the λειτουργὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Σκιάδα of the lists of *aisitōi*, then surely the *demosios* of the archon lists can only be ὁ ἐν τῇ Σκιάδι καθ[εσταμέ]νος δημόσιος of the law regulating weights and measures<sup>89</sup> of the end of the second century B.C. The *litourgos* seems to have been regularly a metic in the archon lists and in the prytany lists up to 168/9, when Julius Zenobios first appeared<sup>90</sup> and when later in the second century citizens served regularly as priest of the Phosphoroi and guardian of the Skias (beginning with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1798). The office of guarding the weights and measures apparently belonged to a group of public slaves (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, *passim*) under the direction of a head slave (lines 39-40), who also may have had charge of the daily ministrations to the archons and *prytaneis*.<sup>91</sup> Apparently in the second half of the first century B.C. the responsibility of overseeing the public slaves was given to a metic, probably in order to have a more responsible person in such an office. In one archon list (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 173) the word λιτῶν is used where one would expect *litourgos*, and as S. Dow<sup>92</sup> observes, "it obviously stands in the place of the λ(ε)ιτουργός." Could this hitherto unattested form possibly be an abbreviation for λειτουργῶν the participle? The form λειτουργοῦντος is used in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758. The law governing the mystic procession (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 31, pp. 65-72, line 21) indicates the participation of all the public slaves, possibly to assist the *basileus* and *epimeletai* in ordering the procession.

In one archon list (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a) a *grammateus* is mentioned between the three major archons and the *thesmothetai*. Various commentators have offered explanations. Graindor<sup>93</sup> refers to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2893, where the *grammateus* of the *synhedrion* has his name in a crown between that of the archon in the genitive on the left

<sup>86</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3503, which has three citations, one for the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, one for the treasurer of the *boule* and one for the *tamias* of the sacred *diataxis*. In the lower right hand corner is simply the title *litourgos* and his name. The edition in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> appears to have devoted too many lines to the name, especially in view of the fact that a demotic is not to be sought. A better reading probably would be (lines 22-25), λειτ[ο]υρ[γ]ός | ἐπὶ τ[ὴν Σκιάδα] | [Δαφν[— — —]] | νος, or λειτ[ο]υρ[γ]οῦντος, etc.

<sup>87</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 2, p. 31.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 11, pp. 40-43.

<sup>89</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, lines 39-40; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 111, hesitates to equate these functions, although S. Waszynski, *De Servis Atheniensium Publicis*, Diss., Berlin, 1898, p. 13 would do so.

<sup>90</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50, who appears again the next year, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776.

<sup>91</sup> See S. Waszynski, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>92</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 174.

<sup>93</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 74-75, and followed by Kirchner on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a.



and that of a single thesmothete in a crown on the right, and suggests that this is the secretary of the *synhedrion* of the archons, a secretaryship described by Aristotle,<sup>94</sup> and which seems to have continued to exist well on into the Roman period.<sup>95</sup> Subsequent to Graindor's comments B. D. Meritt has published a list of magistrates post-dating 166 B.C., which includes a reference to *grammateus* to the archon,<sup>96</sup> which probably refers to the same office. A secretary also appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1738 and in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 45, pp. 217-219 and he can be connected with the archonship by means of the two *parhedroi* also listed, of which each major archon was to have had a pair.<sup>97</sup> Meritt<sup>98</sup> suggests that these two inscriptions also contained the names of the three major archons, and it would seem likely that the *parhedroi* of each were also listed. S. Dow<sup>99</sup> suggests that the *grammateus* of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1736a may have been also a member of the *thesmothetai*, and that this would explain the reduced number of *thesmothetai* and the strange intrusion of the secretary. But the possibility of the lack of a full complement of archons has been discussed above, and, since this document is the latest and falls about a century after the next latest such document, it is not at all unlikely that a change in format had occurred.

To the documents relating to the secretaries of the archons one addition may be made. The cave of Apollo under the Acropolis was the traditional location for dedication by the archons. In one case there is evidence of a secretary to the archons dedicating<sup>100</sup> at this shrine. It would seem then that the secretary recorded as dedicating in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2903, which also comes from this sanctuary, would be the secretary of the archons.

For the activity of the *parhedroi*<sup>101</sup> the only evidence we have is a reference in the law regulating the Eleusinian procession,<sup>102</sup> where they are supposed to aid the *basileus*.

## G. CONCLUSIONS

The evidence indicates that in many respects the archons were unchanged since

<sup>94</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 1, [νῦν] δὲ κληροῦσιν θεσμοθέτας μὲν ἕξ καὶ γραμματέα τούτοις; 59, 7, τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς κληροῦσι πάντες οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, δέκατος δ' ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν, τοὺς τῆς αὐτοῦ φυλῆς ἕκαστος.

<sup>95</sup> He is mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2893, 2898, 2930, 3744, *S.E.G.*, XVIII, 1962, no. 53 = S.N. Koumanoudes, *Νέον Ἀθηναίων*, III, 1958/60, no. 1, pp. 3-6. The latest of these, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2930, is a dedication to Apollo ἱπ' Ἀκραίς, a cult peculiar to the archons.

<sup>96</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 31, pp. 42-43, but republished with further restoration by M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, no. 8, pp. 460-461.

<sup>97</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56, 1; see also Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 75, note 1.

<sup>98</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 218.

<sup>99</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 186.

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2893, see above, where not only does the secretary's name appear in a crown in the center, but the heading of the stone reads Ἀπόλλωνι ἱπ' Ἀκραίς ὁ γραμματεὺς Ἐράτων ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>101</sup> One other document mentions the *parhedroi*, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 46, p. 219, which merely records the names of two, both from the same deme.

<sup>102</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 31, pp. 65-72, where the word has been restored by Oliver.

the days of Aristotle. The major difference consisted in the fact that they were elected rather than allotted. The management of the Dionysiac festivals by the *archon* and the *basileus* is credited to them by some, but the evidence is certainly not conclusive. At least in the case of the *basileus* and possibly in the case of the *thesmothetai* their functions in the courts are partially preserved. The lesser functionaries attached to the archons seem to have remained the same since the days of Aristotle, although their activity in the Roman period is but scantily attested.

Certain of the functions of the various archons must have been initiated after Aristotle wrote his monograph on the Constitution of Athens. Certainly the participation in the imperial cult was new. The liturgical aspects of the magistracy can only have increased, especially in the case of the *archon eponymos*, who was always a very wealthy and noteworthy person in the Roman period. The anarchies of the Roman period are to be attributed to the difficulty in finding enough wealthy citizens to fill the archonships, and not to any political unrest. Such anarchies are to be expected not only in the case of the *archon eponymos*, but among all of the other archonships as well.

The changes in the archonship and its related offices came about in two ways. The first was the gradual development in the constitution with the passage of time. The other was the abrupt change when Sulla imposed his new constitution on Athens,<sup>103</sup> which was accompanied by a year of *anarchia*<sup>104</sup> in the case of the archonship. The gradual changes continued throughout the Roman period. They are reflected by seemingly minor changes in the sources, as when sometime between 56/5 and 14/3 a shift in prestige changed the order of the names of the flute player and the herald to the archon in the archon list, and the public slave was replaced by a metic with the title *leitourgos*. At some time in the early first century after Christ the hoplite general began to be included in the lists and the title of the herald to the archon became *kerykiskos* in a manner similar to the changes in the title of the *auletes* to that of *hieraulēs* between A.D. 13/4 and the end of the first century after Christ.

<sup>103</sup> See Accame, *Il dominio romano*, pp. 167-174.

<sup>104</sup> Athenaios, V, 51 gives an extremely vivid picture, probably a bit exaggerated, of this anarchy. The words are attributed to Poseidonios.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HOPLITE GENERAL

Under the Roman empire the hoplite general rose to a position of prominence second only to that of the archon *eponymos*. This appears clearly in the lists of ephebic magistrates after A.D. 180,<sup>1</sup> and from a herm dated to the second or third century after Christ.<sup>2</sup> Despite his importance, he seems to have held an office which remained less prestigious than that of the herald of the Areopagus until the second half of the second century. The *cursus honorum* of the first century<sup>3</sup> and several from the second century<sup>4</sup> rank him second to the herald of the Areopagus, and in one case the herald of the council and *demos* also intervenes.<sup>5</sup> In the heading of the ephebic list *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990 of A.D. 61/2 the herald of the Areopagus again precedes the hoplite general. In no case where the two magistracies are named together on the same document does the hoplite general precede the herald of the Areopagus before the middle of the second century after Christ.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, during the latter half of the second century the hoplite general seems to have risen in prestige to the point where on rare occasions he was able to take precedence over the *eponymos archon*.<sup>7</sup> Until the purpose of the so-called archon lists (see Figure 1) is better explained, there can be no real accounting for his appearance in these documents beginning early in the first century after Christ.<sup>8</sup> If consideration is given to the change in name of the *keryx* of the archon to *kerykiskos* and the other peculiarities of the first list to include his name, then it would seem probable that his inclusion signals a constitutional innovation. It has become a commonplace of commentators to remark on the use of the name

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2119, 2125, 2130, 2193, 2203, 2219, 2223, 2231, and 2235 (restored).

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3673.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531, 3546, and *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 66-71.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592 (twice), and 3687, lines 10-15.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546, although the magistracies may be listed in chronological order. It is not uncommon among these documents for the various liturgies also to intervene: a gymnasiarchy in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531, *agonothesia* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531 and 3687, lines 10-16, and *panegyriarchiai* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592, lines 3-8 and 8-12.

<sup>6</sup> The first instance is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2085 of 161/2.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3593, where current offices come before those held previously; 3707, which is probably arranged in chronological order; and 3618, a metrical document where the meter may have been the deciding factor.

<sup>8</sup> The first certain appearance is in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723 of A.D. 13/4, but one of the last documents previous to this has a blank space where either the herald of the Areopagus or the herald of the Areopagus and the hoplite general would be expected. The first archon list on which he appears has certain peculiarities, namely that the only archon mentioned is the *eponymos*, and his name is used in the formula for eponymity, and it is the only document on which the name of the hoplite general precedes that of the herald of the Areopagus.

of the hoplite general with that of the archon for eponymity. That this usage is not for the sake of eponymity will be shown below.

In several respects the hoplite generalship was different from the archonship. From its inception it had been an elective position, since the military functions involved demanded specialized abilities greater than would be possessed by the average allotted office-holder.<sup>9</sup> Some sources would place the election on the Pnyx,<sup>10</sup> while another indicates the theater.<sup>11</sup> With regard to election reference has been made to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069 honoring Julius Nikanor, where lines 7-8 are restored to read — — — στρατηγὸν] | κεχειροτονημένον.<sup>12</sup> Although the only magistracy attested for Nikanor by other sources is the hoplite generalship, the only preserved document containing a *cursus honorum*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069, is fragmentary; therefore the evidence from this inscription is hardly conclusive. The second major difference from the archonship was that the hoplite general was never restricted to a single term.<sup>13</sup> During the first years of Augustus' reign Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoion served in this magistracy twice,<sup>14</sup> Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phyla seven times between 40 and 15 B.C.,<sup>15</sup> Xenokles son of Theopompos of Rhamnous<sup>16</sup> four times toward the end of the first century B.C., Diokles son of Themistokles from Hagnous more than once, but how many times is uncertain, early in the reign of Claudius,<sup>17</sup> Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion<sup>18</sup> for the third time between A.D. 41 and 54, Gaius Memmius Sabinus Peisandros<sup>19</sup> twice in the first half of the first century after Christ, Tiberius Claudius Diotimos son of Theophilos of Besa<sup>20</sup> three times around the middle of

<sup>9</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 61, 1, who also records that in earlier times the election of the ten generals had been by tribes, but that in his time the election was at large.

<sup>10</sup> A survey of the evidence for the location of the election of the hoplite general has been made by Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 118-119, who cites as references Hesychius s.v. Πρώξ and Schol. to Plato, *Kritias*, 112A, both based on Diogenianus.

<sup>11</sup> Poseidonios in Athenaios, V, 51 (213e). Delz's chronology seems to depend very much on the supposed Hadrianic reconditioning of the Pnyx, but he fails to notice that this reconditioning was redated to the fourth century B.C. in a later report. For the first report see K. Kourouniotes and H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 180-192 and the later H. Thompson and R. Scranton, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 300-301.

<sup>12</sup> See Busolt-Swoboda, p. 938, note 1; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 115, who translates the lines as "stratège désigné," and Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, Diss. Princeton, 1951, pp. 73-74. On Julius Nikanor, see A. E. Raubitschek, "The New Homer," *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 317-319, who calls attention to Έφ. Άρχ., 1895, col. 121, no. 34, line 1 of which reads [κε]χειροτο[νημένον]. Line 5 contains the name of Julius Nikanor.

<sup>13</sup> Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

the first century after Christ, Tiberius Claudius Novius of Oion <sup>21</sup> eight times in the middle of the first century after Christ, Aiolion son of Antipatros of Phlya <sup>22</sup> seven times in the middle of the first century after Christ, Annios(?) Ammonios <sup>23</sup> for a third time in the latter half of the first century after Christ, Titus Flavius Leosthenes of Paiania <sup>24</sup> for the third time around A.D. 100, Titus Coponius Maximus <sup>25</sup> from Hagnous twice early in the second century after Christ, and Publius Pompeius Hegias from Phaleron <sup>26</sup> twice in the first half of the third century.

According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 61, 1) originally there were ten generals. With the loss of the various military functions the other nine generalships seem to have disappeared, leaving the hoplite general alone to care for the remaining and increasing civil functions.<sup>27</sup> The latest evidence for the function of the generals as a college is in a series of three ephebic decrees in which the generals and the *tamias* of the stratiotic funds are responsible for publication.<sup>28</sup> The latest document known in Ferguson's time where the generals appeared as a college was the ephebic decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 of 83-73 B.C.<sup>29</sup> The ephebes were here commended for their obedience to the cosmete and the generals, but the publication of the decree rested with the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus, an important change from the earlier practice whereby the generals and the treasurer of the stratiotic funds had charge of publication. Of the individual members of the college the latest references all fall in the second or first century B.C.: to the nauarch or the general for nautical affairs in a dedication from sometime in the first century;<sup>30</sup> to the general in charge of preparedness in the city when he contributed to the Delian Pythaid of 97/6;<sup>31</sup> to the generals in the Peiraeus from a dedication of 95/4;<sup>32</sup> to the general for Rhamnous and the coastal lands in a dedication commemorating his election for the year 100/99;<sup>33</sup> to the general for Mounychia in a list of magistrates from the middle of the second

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 327-328; Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 45-47; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1121; Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 115-116, all discuss the disappearance of the other generals.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, re-edited in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 255-262 where it is dated *ca.* 43/2 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 of 45/4 B.C. for the date of which see G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 251 and note 66; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1042 of 41/0 B.C. All three were cited by Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>29</sup> For the date see A. E. Raubitschek, "Sylleia," *Studies in Honor of Allen Chester Johnson*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 49-57. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 24-25 would date it to 79/8.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2987. The last accurately dated reference is the record of his contribution to the Delian Pythais of 97/6, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, but see the edition of Dow, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, pp. 111-124, line 270.

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, but see the edition of Dow, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-124, line 266.

<sup>32</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2873.

<sup>33</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2869.

century B.C.<sup>34</sup> A second general is listed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, but Graindor is probably correct in calling him the general in charge of Salamis, since even during the Roman period generals were left in charge of Athens' island possessions (see below, p. 27).

With *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 (see note 29) the hoplite general and herald of the Areopagus appear as the magistrates charged with publishing. This document is dated just after the last appearance of the generals as effective magistrates, although they are cited in the body of the document with the *cosmete* as officials whom the ephebes obeyed (line 51). It would seem then that at this point an important alteration had been made in the Athenian constitution which resulted in the reduction of the lesser generals to ephebic trainers, while the hoplite general assumed an important position in the civic constitution. There is still a series of three ephebic documents which fall in the second half of the first century B.C. in which the generals and the treasurer of the stratiotic funds re-appear as the publishing authorities.<sup>35</sup> But in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 (38/7 B.C.) the hoplite general and herald of the Areopagus return to this function. It would seem that the group of three ephebic documents published by the generals and the treasurer represent a reactionary alteration in the Athenian constitution occurring in the second half of the first century B.C. On the surface it would seem that these three documents should be grouped together and would represent a renewal of the college of generals, although the internal structure of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040<sup>36</sup> will be shown below to support its being placed in a different context. Are we to assume that the college of generals was re-instituted, then allowed to lapse, or may we accept that the college continued to exist in name only in the formula borrowed from earlier decrees? The treasurer of the stratiotic funds did continue to appear elsewhere and he will be discussed in a later chapter (below, p. 114). It is also significant that by the time of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 the hoplite general is called merely τὸν στρατηγόν (line 55), probably indicating the non-existence of other generals with whom he might be confused.<sup>37</sup>

The hoplite generalship, like the archonship, seemed to have involved considerable expense. Philostratos (*Vit. Soph.*, II, 20 [Kayser, p. 103]) classes it with the archonship as one of the liturgies which the Athenians considered the greatest, while Plutarch (*Praecepta ger. reip.*, ch. 17 [813d]) classes it with the *prytaneia* in Rhodes and the Boiotarchia among the more burdensome. Although he probably was responsible for numerous other outlays of funds, there seems little doubt that the most onerous burden was his charge of the grain supply.<sup>38</sup> The principal ancient reference

<sup>34</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, no. 7, pp. 457-460.

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, 1042; for their dates see note 28.

<sup>36</sup> This inscription has been republished in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 255-262.

<sup>37</sup> Sarikakis apparently overlooked *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 in his study *The Hoplite General in Athens*.

<sup>38</sup> Concerning this function see Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 50; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 938; Graindor,

remains the passage from Philostratos' Life of Lollianos (*Vit. Soph.*, I, 23 [Kayser, p. 39]), who, when he was hoplite general at Athens, was on the verge of being stoned because of a bread shortage. Philostratos explains that this magistracy of old saw to enrollments and carried out the affairs of war, but now it cares for foodstuffs and the grain market. Lollianos got out of his difficulties when grain was sailed down from Thessaly and he borrowed money to pay for it, *χρημάτων δημοσία οὐκ ὄντων*. Apparently in the days of Lollianos the grain treasury<sup>39</sup> either had ceased to exist, or, more probably, the price of grain had risen beyond the capability of the public treasury for payment. Apparently the hoplite general was responsible for the administration of the grain supply, and therefore, in a case of high grain prices, would be expected to provide from his own pocket, if necessary.<sup>40</sup> So it seems to have been in the case of Lollianos (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, I, 23 [Kayser, p. 39]); and Athenion, when he gave four days' grain to the Athenians, who unsuspectingly received chicken feed instead of proper grain (Athenaios, V, 53 [214, e-f]), did so after his election as hoplite general (Athenaios, V, 51 [213, e]). At Athens the hoplite general appears to have been aided by a public grain buyer.<sup>41</sup> The matter of the grain supply at Athens was of great interest to the Roman emperors, and at least two are known to have given the city, if not an endowment, at least an annual gift: Hadrian (Cassius Dio, LXIX, 16) and Constantine (Julian, *Orat.*, I, 8d). An imperial letter (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>,

*Auguste*, p. 117; *Hadrien*, pp. 93-94; Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 163-164; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 67; and Sarikakis, "Ὁ ἐν Ἀθῆναις στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα," *Ἀθηνᾶ*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 128-129; "Αἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπισιτισμοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρμοδιότητες τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα," *Πλάτων*, IX, 1957, pp. 121-132.

<sup>39</sup> The grain treasury in Roman times seems to have been proposed by Xenokles son of Theopompos of Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3504). Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 117-119 relates its founding to the difficulties of Athens after the defeat of Antony. Both Graindor (*loc. cit.*) and Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, pp. 87-88 conclude that this proposal must have been made while Xenokles was hoplite general, since the case of the grain supply and the right to introduce proposals to the *boule* and *demos* were provinces of the hoplite general. Very soon after *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3504 another inscription was set up which mentioned the *tamias* of the sitonic funds, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3505. This document apparently was unknown to Graindor, who believed that the *sitones* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3504 and 3680) managed this fund. Such a treasury must have existed in Athens before the Roman period, since several earlier documents refer to it or to the treasurer of the grain funds, e.g. those from the second century B.C.: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1708; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 15, pp. 419-428, lines 12-13; *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, no. 25, p. 23. For the function of the treasury of the Roman period, see Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 163-164. Although there are no examples discussed from Roman times, the *symbola* connected with grain distribution from Hellenistic times in the Athenian Agora cast some light on the system of distributions. See M. Crosby, *Agora*, X, pp. 76-81, 90.

<sup>40</sup> On at least one occasion another person was persuaded to undertake the expense, Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos, who came to the rescue in the third century after Christ and obtained a profusion of honors, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, 3698; Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142 as augmented by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 and Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>41</sup> *Sitones*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3504 and 3680. Apparently at Athens the hoplite general was responsible for the financial risk which in other cities the *sitonai* undertook. For comments and bibliography on the *sitonai* at Athens before the Roman period, see Day, *Ec. Hist.*, p. 21. For comparative material from the rest of the Roman Empire see Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, pp. 146-147.

1118a)<sup>42</sup> refers to the price of grain. Finally both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1119 and 1086<sup>43</sup> mention the *sitonia* in connection with criminal jurisdiction, but the connection is not immediately apparent. The function of the hoplite general as the grain magistrate probably developed from his concern as one of the college of generals for the protection of the grain crops and the maintaining of the coastal garrisons to protect the shipping of grain.<sup>44</sup>

Although the grain supply is the most noteworthy of his responsibilities, it probably is only one aspect of his supervision of markets and shipping (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, I, 23 [Kayser, p. 39]). His competence is reflected also in the law regulating weights and measures dating from the end of the second century before Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, line 46) where he and the *prytaneis* have the charge of punishing slaves who violate their responsibilities. His control also seems to include that of shipping in the Peiraeus. In a document from 50/49 B.C. the ship owners and another group (— — —] *ευσταμενοι*, line 1) set up a statue of the general because of his uprightness and justice,<sup>45</sup> while around 15 B.C. the merchants praised Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya for his forethought regarding the safety and security of the merchants.<sup>46</sup> This same sort of concern appears in a passage from Lucian (*Nav.*, 14),<sup>47</sup> where the hoplite general is to be summoned in the case of a ship being sunk. A source which directly connects the hoplite general with a commodity other than grain is the oil law of Hadrian<sup>48</sup> where he has the charge of summoning the *boule* or *ekklesia* to punish merchants who attempt to ship oil illegally. Whether his concern for the food supply belongs in a category with his other police duties is a question beyond the indications of our evidence. Nevertheless it is clear that he did have other police duties<sup>49</sup> in the light of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3500, where a hoplite general of the later

<sup>42</sup> Kirchner has conjectured that the Alkamenes of fragment b, line 3 of this same document was Marcus Aurelius Alkamenes, hoplite general in 209/210.

<sup>43</sup> See the parallel texts in Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 62, note 84. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 318, suggests that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1119 belongs to the same document as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069 honoring Julius Nikanor. The contents of the two documents appear to be too much at variance to support such an association.

<sup>44</sup> Concerning their care of the grain supply see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1281, 1299, 1304, all of the third century B.C. See also Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 50, note 62. For the coastal garrisons see J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, CLXXIX, 1954, pp. 55, 83-92. The evidence for the connection of the hoplite general with the grain supply in pre-Roman Athens has been collected by Th. Chr. Sarikakis in *Πλάτων*, IX, 1957, pp. 121-132.

<sup>45</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2993a = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 66, p. 71. For the *naukleroi* in Egypt see Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 744, note 44, who connects them with the transport of grain.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 29, p. 41.

<sup>47</sup> For a commentary see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 72-73. Note that the same ship is connected with the civic grain supply later in the passage.

<sup>48</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100, but see the edition of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963, lines 50-54.

<sup>49</sup> On the police duties see Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 46, note 50, who would refer the police duties to a lesser *strategos* on the basis of the second *strategos* mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, but this general



years of the first century B.C. is praised for his concern for the good order of the *panegyris*. Since the stone came from Eleusis it is probable that it has reference to the Eleusinian festival. It has been shown above that the *basileus* and his subordinates had charge of conducting the procession, and the rites were in the hands of the suitable religious officials. This would leave to the charge of the hoplite general the fair which must have surrounded the festival.<sup>50</sup> It must be noted that the inscription specifies the *panegyris*, and not the procession. The hoplite general was honored once more for his forethought (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3501),<sup>51</sup> probably again concerning the Eleusinian mysteries, if consideration is given to the provenience of the stone. Because of the nature of the fair surrounding the festival, it is quite possible that this policing may have fallen under his control of the markets, since food vendors must have been the largest group of sellers. None of the documents cited in this paragraph can be dated after the end of the first century after Christ.

During the first half of the first century before Christ the hoplite general began to appear in headings of decrees and in dedications with his name and title given in the genitive. It has been generally assumed<sup>52</sup> that this was a case of the use of the name of the general along with that of the archon for the sake of eponymity, but J. H. Oliver<sup>53</sup> quite correctly has rejected the attribution of eponymity. It is much more probable that such a citation of a magistrate's or official's name in the heading of a decree or in a dedication indicates an interest in the institution either by which or for which the decree was passed or the monument erected, or it may indicate a general interest in the setting up of dedicatory monuments. To disprove the attribution of eponymity it should be necessary merely to cite a number of dedications in which the name of the hoplite general appears as a genitive absolute, but clearly outside of an accompanying formula of eponymity by the archon or priest.<sup>54</sup> Thus, since the hoplite general, or any other magistrate or official so cited, is not cited for eponymity, some other reason for the appearance of his name must be sought through an analysis of

is probably the general in charge of the island of Salamis (see below); Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 116; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>50</sup> For a description of a *panegyris* and the surrounding fair see M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, Munich, 1955, I, pp. 826-831.

<sup>51</sup> Sarikakis believes that this probably refers to the same person as 3500 because of the similar wording and the similar provenience, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>52</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 48; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 935; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 114; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 76; Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 172 comments on the position of the hoplite general's name, but does not attribute eponymity to him.

<sup>53</sup> *Expounders*, p. 82; followed by Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, p. 20 and 'Αθηναί, LVIII, 1954, pp. 130-131.

<sup>54</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3173, in which two formulae for eponymity follow, that of the priestess of Athena Polias and that of the archon eponymous; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3175, in which the eponymous archon with the formula for eponymity appears at the end; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4176 (for a more recent edition see *S.E.G.*, XII, 158 and the comments of J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1954, no. 98, pp. 125-126), which is dated by a priestess; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3277, again dated by a priestess.

the documents in which his name appears. The name of the hoplite general appears in documents dealing with four aspects of the civic government: the construction of buildings and monuments especially those dealing with the imperial cults, the ephebic institutions, relations with the city's island possessions, and the prytanies.

The first category includes building and monument dedications. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3173 is an architrave of a building dedicated to Roma and Augustus sometime after 27/6 B.C. The *demos* is the dedicator, the name of the hoplite general and priest of the goddess Roma and the savior Augustus is cited immediately after; then the priestess of Athena Polias and the *eponymos archon* are named for eponymity. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3175 is the architrave of the gate of Athena Archegetis to the Roman agora,<sup>55</sup> constructed by the *demos* from funds donated by Julius Caesar and Augustus. Here again appears the name of the hoplite general, who has inherited the *epimeleia* of construction from his father. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4478 is a dedication by Lucius Aufidius Bassus to Aesculapius and Valetudo, which contains the name of the hoplite general; A. E. Raubitschek has restored *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4176<sup>56</sup> to make the hoplite general the *epimeletes*, but Louis Robert has shown that it cannot be correct on grammatical grounds; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3266, from the early years of Claudius' reign, is a double dedication for statues of a Roman emperor and a lady of the imperial house who suffered *damnatio memoriae*, dedicated by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos*, in which the hoplite general is cited as *epimeletes*, using his own funds, and in the case of the lady also as her priest; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3270 is a dedication of a statue of Claudius by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos*, followed by the name of the hoplite general and first *agonothetes* of the Sebastoi Agones; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3185 is a dedication to Hestia, Apollo, the deified Augusti, the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos* by Philoxenos son of Agathokles of Phlya at his own expense, in which, after the name of the donor's father as sculptor, appear the names of the hoplite general and *epimeletes* of the city; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242<sup>57</sup> is a dedication of the temple at Rhamnous to the deified Livia, followed by the name of the hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus, then the name of the archon; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3273 is a statue base for Claudius dedicated by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos*, with the name of the hoplite general added; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3277 is the Roman dedication added to the Parthenon in 61/2, by which that building was dedicated by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos* to Nero, with the name of Tiberius Claudius Novius as hoplite general, *epimeletes* and *nomo-*

<sup>55</sup> Dated to 11/10-10/9 B.C. See H. S. Robinson, "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place," *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 299-303.

<sup>56</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, St. Louis, 1953, II, pp. 331-333, reproduced as *S.E.G.*, XII, 158, but see the remarks of J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1954, no. 98, pp. 125-126.

<sup>57</sup> Dated by Dinsmoor to 45/6. See his edition in "Rhamnountine Fantasies," *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 186-194.

*thetes*; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182 is a dedication to Dionysos Eleutherios and Nero by a private individual, with the name of the hoplite general added. In all twelve documents listed, five were set up by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos*, three by the *demos*, three by private citizens, and one by the hoplite general himself. In two the hoplite general is listed as *epimeletes* of the work.<sup>58</sup> In another four, which concern the imperial house, he holds a priesthood or other office connected with its cult,<sup>59</sup> while three more involve the imperial family (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3273, 3277 and 3182). The remaining two fit none of these categories, but this may be due to their incomplete state of preservation. Since one of those for which the hoplite general was epimelete involved the imperial cult, while the other, the gate to the Roman market, could be classified under his concern for the food supply, it may be assumed that his interest in dedications of most of these buildings and monuments was more truly a responsibility connected with the imperial cult. In one of these documents he is identified as the proposer (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4176). He also proposed the statue of Antonius Oxylos of Elis, who died while still a youth (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072), but this alone should not be used to indicate a concern of the hoplite general for monuments. He appeared as the reader of the *gnome* of the civic corporations when the *boule* decreed honors for the household of Septimius Severus. In the Augustan document concerning the restoration of temples and sacred lands,<sup>60</sup> not only is he recorded as the proposer (line 7), but he seems to be liable to an accounting (lines 2 and 19, if the restorations of Leonardos, followed by Kirchner, are correct) possibly for overseeing some reconstruction; his duties in conjunction with the treasurers of the sacred *diataxis* are recalled in line 19; line 30 begins a list of specific items which he restored (although he seems no longer to have been hoplite general, but was completing a responsibility undertaken while in that office); finally he initiated and participated in sacrifices (lines 28 and 12).

The second type of document in which the name of the hoplite general is cited in the genitive case is the ephebic decree. The examples are few and it hardly seems to have been a regular practice. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, an ephebic decree from the year 79/8<sup>61</sup> was passed by the *boule* on the proposal of the hoplite general.<sup>62</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990 of A.D. 61/2 is an ephebic decree in whose heading the names of the herald (of the Areopagus?) and the hoplite general are cited. A single literary reference also connects the hoplite general with the ephebes.<sup>63</sup> Ammonios, hoplite general sometime

<sup>58</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3175, 3266 (for 4176 see note 56).

<sup>59</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3173, 3266, 3270, 3242. On the hoplite general and the imperial cult, see Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>60</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035; for the date see Oliver, *Gerusia*, pp. 133-134 and Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 146-148.

<sup>61</sup> Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 24-25.

<sup>62</sup> Recall the alternation between the generals and treasurer of the stratiotic funds (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1042) and the hoplite general and herald of the Areopagus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043) as publishing magistrates of the ephebic decrees of the first century B.C.

<sup>63</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, 9, 1 (736D); Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General at Athens*, p. 40;

between A.D. 66 and 81, is said to have inspected the ephebes and to have given a dinner for the outstanding instructors. Such concern probably stems from the days when the corps of ephebes would be absorbed into the citizen army as part of the command of the generals. In fact, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 mentions the generals with the *cosmete* as trainers of the ephebes, possibly reminiscent of the duties of the ephebes in manning the border garrisons.

The hoplite general was apt to be named in the headings of documents concerning Athens' island possessions. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051b, 3 the name of the hoplite general as a genitive absolute appears to precede the dating by the *eponymos archon*. In another part of the same document, fragment a, lines 3-5, the hoplite general, the herald of the Areopagus and the secretary of the *boule* and *demos* all are mentioned, possibly with reference to a delegation to the island to publish the decree. Nor is the appearance of the hoplite general in island affairs without precedent, since in a decree of the Athenians resident in Lemnos about the year 166 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1224, b 6—a 11) the text to be inscribed in Athens begins with the names of the hoplite general, the general in charge of Lemnos, and the *hipparchos*. The dedication of a statue set up by a decree of the Athenians resident in Hephaestia on Lemnos in the first century after Christ cites the names of the hoplite general in the city, the general for Lemnos, the herald of the *boule* and the general for the city.<sup>64</sup> All the names are in the genitive case. Probably the hoplite general, as senior member of the college of generals, in the Roman period retained command over the generals charged with the administration for the Athenians on the islands, and so would actually be the chief magistrate for island affairs. This would explain a statue base from between 200 and 150 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2800), on which the Salaminians set up a statue of the hoplite general, or the base from shortly before A.D. 61 (*Insc. Délos*, 1628) on which the Athenians resident in the Delian sanctuary set up his statue. This would also explain his participation in a visit by a group of *prytaneis* of Erechtheis to Salamis in A.D. 96/7.<sup>65</sup> A second general is also mentioned in this document and Graindor is probably correct in believing him to be the general in charge of Salamis.

The largest group of documents in whose heading the hoplite general appears are the prytany decrees, but these appearances do not begin before the latter half of the second century after Christ.<sup>66</sup> These citations are too numerous to be listed here.

Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 120; Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 50; although Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 96-97 pointed out that these examinations occurred at the Diogenion, this should not alter the significance of the hoplite general to the ephebic training. For a summary of the evidence see Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *Ἀθηναίᾳ*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 127-128.

<sup>64</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 8, 26, cited by Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 116 and *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 77.

<sup>65</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, dated by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12. On the problem of the second general see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 116; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 76.

<sup>66</sup> The first certain appearance is in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774. In the light of the complete absence of his name in the headings of prytany decrees before this date and the profusion of examples afterwards,

The appearance of the hoplite general with the *prytaneis* is no new phenomenon, for even before he began appearing in the headings of prytany lists he was frequently honored with an olive crown in prytany decrees. The extant examples include one document with a crown for the ancestor of the great Herodes Atticus, Herodes son of Eukles of Marathon,<sup>67</sup> who was hoplite general sometime before 60/59 B.C.; three documents indicate a crown for one of the seven hoplite generalships of Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya,<sup>68</sup> dating from 40-30, 29/8-22/1 and *ca.* 20 B.C.; a list records a crown for Leonides of Melite<sup>69</sup> from around the end of the first century after Christ; and a crown is attested for an unidentified hoplite general in the early second century after Christ.<sup>70</sup> In a document of A.D. 96/7<sup>71</sup> he is listed among a delegation of *prytaneis* visiting the island of Salamis.

In the light of the accumulated material it may be well to review the evidence for a connection of the hoplite general with the *prytaneis*. From the decree regulating weights and measures (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, line 46) it is clear that the *prytaneis* and he had the responsibility of punishing the public slaves for infractions of the law governing weights and measures. Another clue may come from Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 43, 4) who says that the *prytaneis* "prepare the agenda for the assemblies; the main assembly (*ekklesia kyria*) in which it is necessary . . . to pay the expenses relative to grain and relative to guarding the countryside," both of which are responsibilities of the hoplite general. With respect to the grain supply it has been believed that Xenokles son of Theopompos of Rhamnous was hoplite general when he proposed the law establishing the grain treasury (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3504, and see note 39, above). Several other decrees proposed by him have been discussed above,<sup>72</sup> and he was one of the magistrates responsible for the publication of the ephebic decrees *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1044 mentions the hoplite general and the *boule* in successive lines (lines 11-12) but the document is so fragmentary that no inference can be drawn. On the basis of the restoration of his title in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3618, of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072, and of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077, Dittenberger<sup>73</sup> attributed the exclusive *ius cum populo agendi* to

it would seem that the restoration of the first two lines by G. A. Stamires in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97A, pp. 246-258, dated to 21/0 B.C., was inappropriate, nor do his restorations account for the erasures in the first two lines.

<sup>67</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 41, p. 54 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 98, pp. 166-169.

<sup>68</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 105, pp. 173-174; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 110, pp. 178-181; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191.

<sup>69</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 60, pp. 216-217.

<sup>70</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, p. 39.

<sup>71</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, dated by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> See pp. 25-26 for public monuments, p. 26 for ephebic documents.

<sup>73</sup> "Zu den attischen Ephebeninschriften," *Hermes*, XII, 1877, pp. 15-16, but see also Kaibel's restoration as republished by Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3618. On the *ius cum populo agendi*, see also W. S. Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 328; Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 34, 50, 54; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 938; Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 117, 120; *Hadrien*, p. 94.

the hoplite general, either alone or in conjunction with other magistrates. But the investigations of Keil <sup>74</sup> have called attention to an Athenian decree published at Epidauros around A.D. 40-42 (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 82-84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B), where the same man made the proposals both to the Areopagus and to the *boule* and *demos*. Indeed, although it is only a negative criterion, this man is not known ever to have been a hoplite general at Athens, nor is the proposer of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, a decree of the *demos* to restore the Eleusinian mysteries. Rather in the latter document the proposer is the archon of the Eumolpidae, a man to whom the good order of the mysteries was a concern. That the proposer need not have been the hoplite general is confirmed by the results of Delz's investigations <sup>75</sup> of the text of Lucian (for a fuller discussion see the chapter on the *boule* and *ekklesia* below).

One aspect of the relationship of the hoplite general to the *boule* and *demos* where there is no doubt was his authority to summon either assembly as a tribunal to try cases in violation of Hadrian's oil law.<sup>76</sup> Indeed the emperor enjoins him to summon one or the other, depending on the amount of oil involved in the violation, on the day after the apprehension. Thus it would seem that the hoplite general could summon the *boule* or *ekklesia*, at least in certain judicial cases, and had the right, albeit not the exclusive right, to present proposals to the *boule* and *demos*.

General references have been made above to the jurisdiction of the hoplite general and it may be well to collect the references here. It would seem that he was competent to press prosecution in each of the fields where he had authority. The evidence is fragmentary and does not cover all of the areas but it should be sufficient to show at least the probability of this conclusion. In his control over trade he is responsible for prosecuting those apprehended attempting to transport oil illegally.<sup>77</sup> That he also had control over shipping in the Peiraeus is evident from a passage in Lucian,<sup>78</sup> and this passage would make sense only if he had jurisdiction or the right to prosecute in such matters. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1118 is a grain law which mentions the hoplite general, but whether court action is involved is uncertain. There is also sufficient evidence to connect him with the handling of cases of *asebeia*. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, the law governing the restoration of temples and sanctuaries, the hoplite general probably had a share in the prosecutions.<sup>79</sup> A passage of Lucian <sup>80</sup> clearly indicates that complaints against those who mention the names of the Eleusinian priests were brought before him. Finally, the nature of the criminal actions is unclear, but the hoplite general is definitely concerned in a letter from a proconsul to the *thesmothetai* and

<sup>74</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 34.

<sup>75</sup> *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 123.

<sup>76</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100, but see the edition of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963.

<sup>77</sup> Note 76 and the comments of Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 92.

<sup>78</sup> *Nav.*, 14 as cited and commented upon by Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>79</sup> See Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, p. 71.

<sup>80</sup> *Lex.*, 9-10; see the comments of Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 73-74.

some other magistrate(s) of Athens concerning legal actions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1113 of A.D. 193-211).

The hoplite general also seems to have had certain religious duties at Athens. That he probably had authority over the fair surrounding the Eleusinian mysteries has been shown above. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1044 connects him with the Eleusinian mysteries, but the nature of the connection is obscured by the poor state of preservation of the inscription. His concern for the restoration of sacred properties (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035) also has been treated above. His religious duties included making the expiatory sacrifices together with the *basileus* (line 12) at the various shrines and he may have participated in accusations of *asebeia* (line 9). Finally, it would seem that he shared a concern for sacred properties in general. It is by no means unusual to find him holding a priesthood or office connected with the imperial cult.<sup>81</sup> In the decree of divine honors for Julia Domna<sup>82</sup> his office appears in line 17, but the stone breaks off in such a way as to obscure his function.<sup>83</sup> Line 28 specifies that he is to make sacrifices to "Good Fortune," while the other magistrates pour libations. Finally he seems to be the competent authority for cases of *asebeia* against the Eleusinian priests (Lucian, *L.c.r.*, 9-10). There seems to have been no regular cult to which the hoplite generals made dedications. From *ca.* 200 B.C. a single dedication by a hoplite general to the hero Strategos is known.<sup>84</sup> But the only other certain reference is the notice of the shrine in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, line 53. Finally the law concerning the restoration of sacred properties (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, line 44) mentions the old *strategeion*, which apparently was a shrine, or at least an historical landmark in the days of Augustus.<sup>85</sup>

It is obvious from the material collected that the hoplite general's job was hardly leisurely. It would seem from the evidence that he was the principal civic magistrate and that the good order of the city depended upon him. Obviously he was also surrounded by large numbers of lesser functionaries who carried out the details. Their functions will be discussed in a later chapter. The amount of work demanded probably explains why the Roman emperors before Constantine did not undertake the office.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>81</sup> On the hoplite general and the imperial cult see Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>82</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076, but see the edition of Oliver, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 521-530.

<sup>83</sup> Although von Premerstein, followed by Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076, restored the line to read [— — — ποιῇ | σαι δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄπ|λίτας στρατ[ηγὸν ἄ | γαλμα τῆς Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς — — —].

<sup>84</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 48, p. 221. It would seem that the inscription *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 80, p. 56 might also be such a dedication. The only alteration would be to read the *sigma* of *στρατηγῶι* in line 3 as a capital letter. This, then, would be the second instance in our records of a dedication to this hero.

<sup>85</sup> On the *strategeion* see Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp. 174-177.

<sup>86</sup> Julian, *Orat.* I, 8c indicates that Constantine, "although he was *basileus* and master of all, thought it fitting to assume the title of their *strategos*." J. H. Oliver (*per litteras*) questions the interpretation of this office (*strategos*) held by Constantine as that of hoplite general; he thinks it possible that *strategos* meant chief magistrate just as the Latin word *praetor* sometimes does. If this is so, then he would have held the archonship. However, he recognizes that Julian would have known that the title of the Athenian chief magistrate was *archon*, and not *strategos*.

It is also clear that the many noteworthy Athenians who held it cannot have performed most of its functions in person, but must have been able to delegate their authority. That the office remained unchanged through the whole period of Roman domination would be impossible, but the traces of change are difficult to interpret. Certain indications are unmistakable. From the time of Sulla he and the herald of the Areopagus began to publish ephebic documents, except for short intervals in the second half of the first century B.C. By the end of the century he and the herald of the Areopagus published again. Further indications from the ephebic documents are lost as the format changes to the typical Roman format. From shortly before the year A.D. 13/14 the hoplite general began to appear in archon lists. Another facet worthy of consideration is that his appearance in the genitive case in dedications is confined to Julio-Claudian times. Finally his appearance in the headings of prytany decrees does not begin until A.D. 167/8. This seems to coincide with his promotion above the herald of the Areopagus in *cursus honorum* and must represent a further rise in his prestige.



## CHAPTER III

### THE AREOPAGUS ACTING WITH THE OTHER CIVIC CORPORATIONS

The official address of the *polis* of the Athenians during the Roman period was "the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred and the *demos* of the Athenians."<sup>1</sup> The *boule* of the Areopagus, which had once been the dominant council of Athens, but had since sunk to a position of relative obscurity, rose again in the Roman period to become the most prominent of the three corporations of the Athenian government, and its name was usually placed first when the three corporations were listed together. The dominant position of the Areopagus was recognized by Cicero<sup>2</sup> when he wrote *sed id praecise dicitur, ut si quis dicat Atheniensium rem publicam consilio regi, desit illud "Arii pagi," sic, cum dicimus providentia mundum administrari, deesse arbitrato deorum*. Elsewhere Cicero indicates the veneration surrounding this august body.<sup>3</sup> Even in processional order the Areopagites marched before the other citizens,<sup>4</sup> and in an Eleusinian list<sup>5</sup> the Areopagites are separated from the rest of the citizen body. Bruno Keil<sup>6</sup> has raised the question of how the *boule* of the Areopagus was able to act in conjunction with the *boule* and *demos*, since there was no clearly defined constitutional relationship such as that between the *boule* and *demos* to serve as a precedent for common action. In this chapter the evidence for common action will be examined. Then a few remarks will be made about action in the name of the *synhedria*, and finally about decrees in the name of the *polis*.

#### A. THE AREOPAGUS, THE BOULE AND THE DEMOS

The most common examples of the co-operative decrees of these three corpora-

<sup>1</sup> See *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 32, pp. 72-77, lines 29-30, a letter from the archons and *boule* of Toulouse (although the letter from Narbonne, lines 11-12, was addressed only to the Areopagus and *boule* of the six hundred); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1101, a letter from Hadrian; Graindor, *Rev. Belge*, VI, 1927, pp. 753-754, a letter from Antoninus Pius; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236 = Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 24, 25, pp. 108-122, a pair of letters from Commodus; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1111 and 1109 + 2771 + 3412 (see Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 287-290 and Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 177-179), two more letters from Commodus. These documents cover a range of time from the end of the first century after Christ to the end of the second. See also the dedications by the three corporations listed in Appendix I, pp. 140-145.

<sup>2</sup> *De nat. deor.*, II, 29, 74, composed in 45 B.C. For the date see A. S. Pease's edition *M. Tulli Ciceronis de natura deorum*, I, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 20-22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Att.*, I, 14, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3606, lines 24-26, the account of the procession which met Herodes Atticus when he returned in triumph.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>6</sup> *Beiträge*, pp. 30-31.

tions are to be found in the numerous dedications on statue bases, herms, etc.<sup>7</sup> Several formulae were used, of which by far the most common reads: ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Φ (or X) καὶ ὁ δῆμος.<sup>8</sup> Appendix I catalogues over ninety examples of this, ranging in date from before the middle of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4106) through the end of the fourth century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4222, although by the time of this dedication the *boule* had 300 members). The people honored include such lofty personages as Roman emperors and such local celebrities as initiates from the hearth (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3551) and heroized deceased (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4042). Many names have no indication of office or other reason for the dedication. Several of the documents bear an indication of a third party who served as the epimelete of construction or as the constructor.<sup>9</sup> In the latter case the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred, and the *demos* passed the decree, but the cost of construction was borne by this third party. In at least one instance (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3664) the three corporations are named as constructors. In some cases when the three corporations were the constructors, *epimeletai* were assigned to the work (see below, pp. 120-121); these probably were expected to make some sort of contribution. These *epimeletai* range from the father of the dedicatee (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3551) to the hoplite general (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3266). However the majority of monuments bear no record of a third party either as constructor or as *epimeletes*. Still one suspects that the majority were privately financed, including even many of the statues of the Roman emperors or members of the imperial family.<sup>10</sup> It is probable that any Athenian able to muster sufficient resources of wealth and prestige was able to obtain decrees of the three bodies for the sake of setting up a monument.

A certain amount of evidence concerning the procedure followed in passing a decree of this sort has been preserved. From the end of the first century B.C. a decree passed by the *ekklesia* honored Julius Nikanor (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069). The text is fragmentary, but in line 5, apparently among the considerations, appear the names of the *boule* of the Areopagus and of the *boule* of the six hundred, possibly cited as precedents. Graindor<sup>11</sup> suggests that the *ekklesia* had the function, if not of merely

<sup>7</sup> A list is contained in Appendix I. Reference must be made to the collections of documents and analyses made by Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 104-105; *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 62-71; *Hadrien*, pp. 86-92, but the huge increase in documentation since these volumes has made it advisable to re-catalogue the inscriptions without reference to previous material.

<sup>8</sup> A variant of this formula puts the name of the *demos* first. For the pair of examples see Appendix I, p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναθήσεως (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3551, 3261, 3612); ἀναθέντος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3238, 3268, 3629); ἐπιμεληθέντος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3266, 3271, 3571, 3798, 3287, *Hesperia*, XII, 1944, no. 25); διὰ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3449); ἀνέθηκαν (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3956, 3959); or some other such formula (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2021, 2103).

<sup>10</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3238, 3266, and 3268, where constructors are cited; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3261, 3266, 3271 cite *epimeletai*.

<sup>11</sup> *Auguste*, p. 105.

ratifying the proposals of the other two bodies, at least of following their examples and decreeing the same honors. The real significance of the document seems to lie in the attestation of a separate meeting of the *ekklesia* and in the sequence in which the three bodies decreed, a sequence different from that on another document cited below. Four statue bases bearing dedications to Julius Nikanor are still extant.<sup>12</sup> These were constructed by the three corporations, but there is no evidence to connect any one of them with the inscription just cited, and so there is no definite indication of how the dedication based on such a decree would have been worded.

Half a century later the wording both of the dedication and of the decree can be compared in the inscriptions from a statue base for Titus Statilius Lamprias.<sup>13</sup> The three inscriptions include the dedication indicating that the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the 600 and the *demos* were responsible for the dedication; a decree of the Areopagus; and a decree of the *ekklesia*. The details of the deliberations recorded in the two decrees will be treated elsewhere, but the following items, all noted already by former commentators,<sup>13</sup> ought to be cited: first, the decrees of the *boule* and *demos* preceded the decree of the Areopagus in time; then, the Areopagus, when it framed its decree, saw fit to change the wording of the dedication, eliminating *Τίρου* from the patronymic (lines 38 and 17), changing the position of the word *υἰόν* (lines 38 and 17), substituting *ἥρωα* (line 17) for *ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν* (line 38) and correcting *ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου* (line 37) to *ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ* (line 16); and finally the decree of the Areopagus mentions only two of the three ambassadors chosen by the *demos* (lines 45-46 and 19-20). The decree of the Areopagus was the one promulgated, if we look to the wording of the dedication. The importance of the Areopagus is brought out by this fact and by the fact of its control over publication, i.e. the ratification of the embassy with the alteration in the number of ambassadors and the provision for the dispatch of a written text signed with the state seal by the herald of the Areopagus. Thus the decree of the Areopagus, the later in time, was assured against change, while the popular decree actually was altered.<sup>14</sup> It is also noteworthy that the same man made both proposals. It is obvious then that the decree of the Areopagus was not mere confirmation by vote of a proposition approved by the *boule* and *demos*; but it was a separate decree with different wording. Ratification of a previous decree by the *boule* and *demos* occurs only in the case of the embassy (*κατεστάθη*), and even here only two members of the embassy are named.

A third document, published since the investigations of Keil,<sup>15</sup> is the decree in

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789. On Julius Nikanor see Raubitschek, "The New Homer," *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 317-319.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 83-84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B; see the comments of Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 2-14; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 105; *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 62-65; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 937.

<sup>14</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 5-11, has published the texts side by side.

<sup>15</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31, pp. 125-141; for a second copy see no. 32, p. 142; for additional pieces of both stones see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354, and Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII,

honor of Ulpius Eubiotos passed around A.D. 230. Here again there is a decree of the *boule* and *demos*, followed by the decree of the Areopagus. Both decrees were passed within the same month, but the interval between them and the order in which they were passed are not known, since the heading of the former of the two decrees is lost. It seems likely that, as in the decrees for Lamprias, the decree of the Areopagus was later in time. Oliver observes<sup>16</sup> that the decree of the Areopagus again differs from that of the *boule* and *demos* as follows: the Areopagus' decree does not distinguish between precedented and unprecedented honors in articles 1-8; it transposes the section concerning the throne and concerning the immunity from taxation and liturgy down to near the end of the decree; finally a section, unclear because of the poor preservation of the stone, on the appointment of a committee of prominent Athenians is added. Oliver believes this delegation had the duty of bearing the news to Ulpius Eubiotos, but it is equally likely that they were charged with seeing that the provisions of the decree were accomplished, just as the embassy in the Lamprias decree probably was charged. Here again the decree of the Areopagus was a document entirely separate from that of the *boule* and *demos*, and here again it was the final version.

Two of these documents indicate that the Areopagus acted completely independently on a motion already passed by the other two corporations. The first, the decree for Nikanor, seems to show the Areopagus decreeing first. In this case it is not clear which of the decrees would be promulgated, nor whether the *demos* did any more than ratify a decree passed first by the Areopagus and then by the *boule*. The relationship between the *boule* and the *demos* will be discussed in a later chapter.

It was not necessary that each of the three corporations be a party to every decree, since dedications by each individually or by only two are preserved in quantity. In one series of the latter type the name of the *demos* is missing (see Appendix I, p. 143). This ranged from the first century after Christ through the fourth century, although the majority fall in the first century. A pair of series passed by the Areopagus and the *demos*, one with the name of the Areopagus first (see Appendix I, pp. 143-144) and one with that of the *demos* first (see Appendix I, p. 144), fill the whole period of the first century B.C. through the third century after Christ, although the majority fall in the early first century after Christ. Possibly of a similar type to these are a small group of dedications erected according to the *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus and the *eperotema* of the *boule* (see Appendix I, pp. 147-148, those marked with an asterisk) and those theater seats dedicated by a *hypomnematismos* (of the Areopagus) and by a *psephisma* (see Appendix I, p. 148).

One dedication adds the name of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai to those of the

1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30. *Gerusia*, no. 31 will be quoted according to Oliver's original line numbers, no. 32 according to Meritt's.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 354.

civic corporations as a fourth body passing the decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3523). It would seem that the decree had originated in the *genos*, and that the *genos* had it proposed to the three civic corporations.

One of the statue bases decreed by the Areopagus and the *boule*<sup>17</sup> has on its face the *cursus honorum* of the man honored, Q. Trebellius Rufus, while on either side are a pair of letters, one from the magistrates and senate of Toulouse apparently in thanks for the honors bestowed on a native son, and the other, which is very poorly preserved, from the *concilium provinciae Narbonensis*. The latter of these is addressed only to the Areopagus and the *boule* of the six hundred, i.e. the dedicators of the statue. The former is addressed to all three corporations, the official address proper to the *polis* of the Athenians. Apparently both were notified of the decree; the one sent thanks only to the decreeing corporations, the other to the whole city.

Finally several dedications of the three corporations are headed *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα* (and one which lacks the name of the *demos*), *ψηφισαμένης* or *ψηφίσματι*, and *κατ' ἐπερώτημα* (see Appendix I, pp. 144-145). It will be shown below that the last of these formulae is proper to decrees of single corporations, and it would appear that its appearance with all three was merely an arbitrary extension of the formula. It is not clear exactly how the extension should be justified, whether it represented a joint session, or mere ratification by the second parties of the decree of the first, or some other procedure. One of these documents, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4210, has a noteworthy feature. The archons, *boule* and *demos* of the Phoenician city of Tripolis erected a monument to Aemilius Juncus, and at the bottom was the formula *ἐπιψηφισαμένης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. Since a *psephisma* had already been passed in Tripolis providing for the erection of the monument, the Athenians used the word *ἐπιψηφισαμένης* to indicate that theirs was the second *psephisma*. Here it would seem that the motion for the decree in Athens must have been introduced by ambassadors from Tripolis.

## B. THE SYNHEDRIA

A number of documents from Roman Athens identify the corporation involved as the *synhedrion* or, in the plural, the *synhedria*. The term *synhedrion* could be applied to the *synhedrion* of the *thesmothetai*, the *synhedrion* of the *gerusia*, the *synhedrion* of the Panhellenes, the *synhedrion* of the Areopagitai, and the *synhedrion* of the five (or six) hundred. The word *synhedrion* itself is used to indicate both the place of meeting of a council or the council itself.<sup>18</sup> Several inscriptions can only refer to a place of meeting: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1108<sup>19</sup> records purchases made for a *synhedrion* in order to supply free distributions—here probably the reference is to the *synhedrion*

<sup>17</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 32, pp. 72-77; see also Oliver's commentary.

<sup>18</sup> See Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp. 126-128.

<sup>19</sup> See the text of Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 24, pp. 108-120, line 31, and the comments, p. 4.

of the *gerusia*; another document <sup>20</sup> lists the *synhedrion* of the *gerusia* as the location for erecting a statue and stele. The instances where the word explicitly refers to a session of a particular council will be treated each in its appropriate place, i.e. the discussion of the council so listed, but certain documents where the reference is not specific might well be listed here. References to the *synhedrion* of the *thesmothetai* have been discussed above (pp. 12-13).<sup>21</sup> In a letter a Roman magistrate comments upon a decision of a *synhedrion*,<sup>22</sup> which Oliver, after having limited the possibilities to the *synhedrion* of the Areopagus or that of the Panhellenes, once associated with the *synhedrion* of the Panhellenes, because the Areopagus, in approaching the Roman magistrates, customarily did so in conjunction with the *boule* and *demos*. This reasoning was rejected by the Robert and Delz because of the subject of the document, a judicial matter. It will be shown below that the Areopagus possessed broad competence as a court of law. Since this would be a matter involving only the Areopagus as a law court and not the administration of the city as a whole, to see the Areopagus as sole addressee need not be unexpected. A decree in honor of Hadrian, according to the interpretation of Graindor,<sup>23</sup> also mentions a *synhedrion* (line 11). Since the document would appear to discuss matters of concern to the Athenians rather than to the Greeks as a whole, it seems more probable that the discussion concerns a *synhedrion* other than that of the Panhellenes, as Graindor suggests, possibly the Areopagus. A further judicial matter, the judgment concerning an Eleusinian endowment,<sup>24</sup> contains references to the most august *synhedrion*; and Oliver suggests that this also is the Areopagus. One other probable example of the word used to refer to the Areopagus is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3699, a dedication set up "by the *dogma* of the most august *synhedrion* and the whole city."<sup>25</sup> Because of the fragmentary condition of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1352, the corporation to which the word *synhedrion* applies is not clear. There are also several references to *synhedroi* or members of a *synhedrion*. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1089<sup>26</sup> they are members of the *synhedrion* of the Panhellenes, as Oliver has suggested; and the *synhedros* in a document of A.D. 203<sup>27</sup> probably belongs to an Athenian council, but precisely which is not certain.

<sup>20</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31, lines 13, [38], and [39]; and no. 32, as republished by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 26-30, lines [2,] [27], and [28].

<sup>21</sup> He is mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2893, 2898, 2930, 3744, *S.E.G.*, XVIII, no. 53 = Koumanoudes, *Νέον Ἀθήναιον*, III, 1958/60, no. 1, pp. 3-6. The latest of these, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2930, is a dedication to Apollo ἱπ' Ἀκραίς, a cult peculiar to the archons.

<sup>22</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 34, pp. 78-82; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1944, no. 82, pp. 203-204; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 157.

<sup>23</sup> Graindor, "Etudes épigraphiques sur Athènes à l'époque impériale," *R.E.G.*, XXXI, 1918, pp. 227-237.

<sup>24</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092; see the edition of Oliver, "The Eleusinian Endowment," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 381-399.

<sup>25</sup> See Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> See the edition of Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 35, pp. 82-83.

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, p. 87.

The plural form *synhedria* also appears. It represents the decreeing body in a pair of dedications (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3640 and 3748), both passed according to the *eperotema* of the *synhedria*.<sup>28</sup> An ephebic document honors the cosmete for his *philotimia* toward the *synhedria* and the *demos* and the ephebes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2103). The honors decreed for the household of Septimius Severus<sup>29</sup> were passed at a session of the *boule* on the proposal (*gnome*) of the *synhedria*. All four examples can be dated to the last half of the second or to the third century. The use of the plural form suggests a joint session of two or more corporations, such as that at Priene called the *boulekleisia*.<sup>30</sup> There is no clear statement of which of the corporations were parties to the deliberations of the *synhedria*. The ephebic document (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2103) suggests that the *demos* was excluded, but it would seem that the word *demos* in this instance was applied to the massed citizenry of Athens as opposed to the participants in the civic corporations. It seems most probable that the three corporations were represented, but there are no indications of how they were represented or the procedures of a meeting.

### C. THE POLIS

Among the dedications there is a group whose nature remains obscure. These are the decrees of the *polis*.<sup>31</sup> The evidence which remains tends to confuse the issue even more. A dedication of the *boule* of the Areopagos, the *boule* of the six hundred, and the *demos* in honor of Titus Coponius Maximus of Hagnous has the phrase "the *polis*" at the bottom, much in the manner in which the name of the dedicator might appear (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3571 of before A.D. 117/8), with the result that "the *polis*" would seem to be identified with the three decreeing corporations. Just after the middle of the same century Herodes Atticus set up a statue of Flavius Dorotheos with the *polis* and *demos* decreeing (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3605), and this would seem to indicate that the *demos* was not a party to the deliberations of the *polis*. A third dedication (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3699), dated to the first half of the third century after Christ, was set up by a *dogma* of the most august *synhedrion* (of the Areopagus) and the whole city, thus indicating that the *polis* excluded the Areopagus. The theater seat reserved for M. Ulpian Eubiotos and his sons was set up by the *polis* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3700). On this last there is a control.

<sup>28</sup> For the *eperotema* see below, pp. 45-47. In addition to the *synhedria*, the Areopagus alone and the *boule* alone, but never the *demos* alone, were able to pass *eperotemata*. This formula is used in several instances in dedications in the names of all three corporations (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 42, pp. 242-243; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3613, 3669) and in the names of the *boule* and *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3982, 3678), but these are probably examples of the situation described above on p. 36.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077; see the comments of Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 32-34, who does not trust this document to be a genuine reflection of Athenian governmental functions. For another explanation see Appendix II, pp. 161-162.

<sup>30</sup> *Inscr. Priene*, Berlin, 1906, no. 246, p. 150, line 9. This is cited by Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 33 as a parallel for common sessions called *synhedria*.

<sup>31</sup> For examples of these see Appendix I, pp. 145-146.

since we possess the decrees by which honors, including this theater seat, were granted around A.D. 230 by the Areopagus, the *boule*, and the *demos* to Eubiotos.<sup>32</sup> B. Keil<sup>33</sup> accepted that the dedications by the *polis* represented dedications passed cooperatively by the *boule* and *demos*, while Graindor<sup>34</sup> saw an historical development from a time when the *polis* represented all three corporations until a time when it came to be identified with the mass of the citizens who were not Areopagites. As additional support he cites *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3945 honoring Mestrios Euphrates for his goodwill toward the Areopagus and in regard to the whole city. This interpretation is supported by the division of the citizens of Athens into Areopagites and non-Areopagites.<sup>35</sup> The result would seem to be a *senatus populusque* of the Athenians more truly resembling the Roman than did the *boule* and the *demos*, since the *boule* was not traditionally sufficiently aristocratic for this purpose. The large concentration of dedications by the *polis* begins from after the middle of the second century after Christ, not far distant from the time when the first decrees of the *synhedria* began to appear. Aside from the theater seat for Eubiotos, the only other documents which would contradict an identification of the *polis* with the non-Areopagites pre-date this time. On the other hand *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3699 which distinguishes the *polis* from the Areopagus falls neatly into this period. It would seem that the years of the last half of the second century were years of constitutional development at Athens, here witnessed by two instances of new terminology.

#### D. CONCLUSIONS

It was noted above that the official address of the *polis* of the Athenians was "the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred, and the *demos*." These supposedly were the three organs of public business, but there is no evidence, outside of the honorary decrees, on their methods of cooperation or administration. Imperial letters<sup>36</sup> on many matters were addressed to the three corporations. Those well enough preserved to permit conclusions discuss such matters as the setting up of a *gerusia* and celebrations in honor of the emperor. There is no evidence on how such letters would be processed upon their arrival in Athens. For the joint functions of the three councils we must rely on our knowledge obtained from dedications and honorary decrees.

<sup>32</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142. For new fragments see *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354, and *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>33</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 31, followed by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 351-352.

<sup>34</sup> Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>35</sup> See below, Appendix III, the Eleusinian catalogue.

<sup>36</sup> The extant imperial letters are: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1101, from Hadrian; Graindor, *Rev. Belge*, VI, 1927, pp. 753-754 from Antoninus Pius; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236 = Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 24, 25, pp. 108-122; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1111; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1109 + 2771 + 3412 (see Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 287-290 and Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 177-179), all from Commodus.



The indications are that when a monument was decreed by all three corporations, its backers had presented it separately to the Areopagus and to the *boule* and *demos* and to any other decree passing body (such as the *genos*). It was a matter of prestige to accumulate the names of several of these bodies.<sup>37</sup> That this accumulation was unnecessary can be seen from the many decrees by individual corporations. The decree of the Areopagus was probably the most sought after, since this council had the greatest prestige. It would seem to have been the more common practice to introduce the motion first into the least prestigious assembly and to work upwards (for the cooperation between the *boule* and *demos*, see below pp. 62-67). Each of the decreeing bodies passed its own decree, and sometimes there were apt to be clashes in the wording. It is clear in the case of the decree for Lamprias (see above, p. 34) that the decree of the Areopagus was the one finally used, although the names of the other corporations who had decreed were incorporated into the dedication. The question remains to be answered whether the decree of the Areopagus was the one finally used because it was passed by the most prestigious corporation, or because the Areopagus was the last corporation to decree. The honors for Nikanor (see above, p. 33) represent the decree of the *ekklesia* citing decrees of the other corporations. It would seem that only the last decree to be passed could have incorporated in its dedication the names of all the decreeing bodies.

As the evidence continues to accumulate there are more and more indications that the latter half of the second century after Christ was a period of activity and constitutional development, following periods of stability before and after Hadrian. The major portion of the evidence is to be found in the changing terminology of the dedicatory monuments, but also some indications with reference to the hoplite general have already been cited. To these there might now be added the introduction of dedications in the names of the *synhedria* and the *polis*.

<sup>37</sup> As already recognized by Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 31. Accumulations beyond the ordinary are to be found in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4210 and 3523 (see above, p. 36) and this practice is mocked by Lucian, *Tim.*, 51, where a decree is to be passed by the *boule* and the *demos* and the Heliaia *phyle* by *phyle* and by all the demes individually and in common.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE BOULE OF THE AREOPAGUS AND ITS HERALD

The Areopagus was the predominant corporation of Roman Athens. Because most of our information about the Areopagus comes from the Roman period, there is very little comparative material to be cited. With the rise to prominence of the Areopagus its president, the herald of the Areopagus, rose along with the hoplite general to become one of the two ruling magistrates of Athens. This chapter will attempt to analyze the Areopagus and its activity, first by a discussion of its appearance as a body decreeing monuments, then by an analysis of its other prerogatives, and finally by a survey of its structure and procedure. The chapter will conclude with a section concerning the herald of the Areopagus.

#### A. DEDICATIONS, THE HYPOMNEMATISMOS, THE DOGMA, THE EPEROTEMA

Bruno Keil<sup>1</sup> has already observed that from the middle of the first century before Christ the Areopagus was competent to pass decrees on its own initiative, as well as in conjunction with the other political bodies of Roman Athens. The largest single group of dedications by the Areopagus alone have merely the name of the Areopagus in the nominative to represent the dedicating body. These include statue bases, columns, and herms (see Appendix I, pp. 146-147). There is a single relief plaque, but this is a votive offering and therefore is of a slightly different nature from the others. The time span for these documents extends from 42-40 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4113) until around A.D. 218/9 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 27, pp. 64-65). A comparison of the people honored in these dedications with those honored in the name of all three corporations shows a difference in the quality of the recipients. Those honored in the name of the three corporations comprise a group in which Roman citizens predominated and many members of the imperial family were in evidence; in the dedications by the Areopagus alone Athenians without Roman citizenship predominate, and only two members of the imperial family appear, Tiberius before his accession (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3243) and Livia, mother of the emperor Tiberius (Oliver, *Cl. Phil.*, LX, 1965, p. 179). In several (see Appendix I, p. 147) of these documents the names of the person or persons who requested and probably constructed the monuments are recorded with the word *αἰτησάμενος*. These include two fathers, two sets of ephebes, a group of fellow archons and a pair of students. On the other hand, in one case (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3817) it is recorded that the Areopagus itself set up the monument, and it seems probable that it also saw to the votive relief to Asklepios and Hygeia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3197).

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 30.

Of the rest, some may have been paid for by private citizens, but there is no definite evidence.

Many of the decrees of the Areopagus alone are headed with phrases such as *κατὰ τὸν ὑπομνηματισμόν*, *κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα*, *ψηφισαμένης* or *ψηφίσματι*, *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα* or *δόγματι*. Two of these formulae appear to have been the exclusive property of the Areopagus: *κατὰ τὸν ὑπομνηματισμόν* and *δόγματι*. Neither is used to describe a decree of any other corporation, and, with only one exception in the case of the latter, neither is used of joint actions of the Areopagus and any other corporation. The term *hypomnematismos* appears in inscriptions from the first century after Christ, although its earliest appearance had been in an exchange of letters by Cicero.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that no preserved example is definitely dated later than A.D. 166/7, although this may be merely an accident of our sources. The strictness with which the *hypomnematismos* was reserved for the Areopagus is attested by a series of monuments jointly decreed by the Areopagus and the *boule* of the five hundred in which the decree of the Areopagus was by *hypomnematismos* and that of the *boule* by *eperotema* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3933, 3982, 3678). On a number of theater seats a similar distinction is made between the *hypomnematismos* and the *psephisma*,<sup>3</sup> but no corporations are named. The phrase *κατ' ἐπερώτημα* is used in decrees both of the Areopagus and of the *boule* and in joint decrees, while *κατὰ ψήφισμα* appears surely only on these theater seats; *καθ' ὑπομνηματισμόν* on the theater seats must refer to a decree of the Areopagus.

Of the documents listed in Appendix I (but excluding the theater seats) recording a *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus sixteen are sufficiently well preserved to indicate definitely whether or not a third party is recorded as the constructor of the monument. Of these only two (3584, 3803) did not contain the name of a third party. Therefore dedicatory monuments erected according to a *hypomnematismos* must have all been requested by and built by a third party. This conclusion is inherent in the formula itself, since there is a direct avoidance of stating that the Areopagus dedicated, rather it only records a permission, as it were, by which a given party might construct a monument. That all the monuments erected according to a *hypomnematismos* did not record this formula in the dedication is illustrated by the decree for young Lamprias (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 82-84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B), where the *hypomnematismos* is recorded in the text of the decree of the Areopagus, but the formula of dedication lists the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos* as dedicators.

What, then, is the *hypomnematismos*? B. Keil,<sup>4</sup> following U. Wilcken's papyro-

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, V, 11; *Ad Fam.*, XIII, 1, dated to 51 B.C. by R. V. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, Dublin, 1914, III, pp. 43-51; on the *hypomnematismos* at Athens see U. Wilcken, *Philologus*, LIII, 1894, pp. 80-126; Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 14-26; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 937; Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 62-65; E. Bikerman, "Testificatio Actorum," *Aegyptus*, XIII, 1933, pp. 349-355.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5101 (= W. Merckel, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 76-77), 5122, 5151.

<sup>4</sup> *Beiträge*, pp. 14-26.

logical studies,<sup>5</sup> stresses the fact that the word is the same as that used by magistrates in the cities of the Roman Empire as the name for their daily records. E. Bickerman<sup>6</sup> further refines the definition by distinguishing between the continuous description of the course of the day's business (*commentarii*) and individual accounts of specific cases (*acta*), and he equates the *hypomnematismoi* of the magistrates with the *acta*.<sup>7</sup> He finds no contradictions when he applies this distinction to the *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus at Athens. Is this *hypomnematismos* merely one item in the minutes of a session of the Areopagus, or is it a name applied to a decree? Etymologically the word was formed by adding a suffix, which was commonly used in the *koine* for the formation of technical vocabulary,<sup>8</sup> to the word *hypomnema*, which appears frequently in Hellenistic Athenian epigraphical formulae, as in *ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχη* or *ὅπως δ' ἂν ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχη*<sup>9</sup> ("in order that a record exist, let so and so inscribe this decree, etc."). Thus the word *hypomnematismos* is a technical term based on the word for a record or reminder. This would seem to support the view that the *hypomnematismos* was a minute of a session. Support is found in the custom in Roman Athens of not inscribing the full texts of decrees on dedications, but merely of referring to the body which voted the monument and manner in which the dedication was approved (*ψηφισαμένης, δόγματι, κατ' ἐπερώτημα*, etc.). Any questions could be settled by a reference to the extensive public records of Roman Athens.<sup>10</sup> Does this picture jibe with the literary and epigraphical references to the *hypomnematismos*? Cicero equated the *hypomnematismos* with a *decretum*;<sup>11</sup> and he sought that this be rescinded (*tolli*). Unfortunately the contents of this *hypomnematismos* are not preserved. The only actual text of a *hypomnematismos* is the decree honoring the youth Lamprias (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 82-84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B), where it is recorded that the herald of the Areopagus was to write to the city of the Epidaurians and to dispatch the *hypomnematismos* signed with the public seal. This parallels a clause in the decree of the *boule* and *demos* by which an embassy was to be chosen to convey the *psephisma* of the *boule* and *demos*. The two documents inscribed on either side of the monument obviously are the *hypomnematismos* and the *psephisma* respectively. A third century decree<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Philologus*, LIII, 1894, pp. 80-126.

<sup>6</sup> "Testificatio Actorum," *Aegyptus*, XIII, 1933, pp. 349-355. Bickerman's view is strongly commended by C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven, 1934, p. 284, note 13, although it was not incorporated into his text.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 351-352. "Die 'Ephemeriden' waren Aufzeichnung über einzelne Tage, der 'Hypomnematismos' Protokoll über einen Einzelakt, die ersten wurden auf Rollen, der zweite als Einzelschrift aufgesetzt." Italics his.

<sup>8</sup> P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en Grec ancien*, p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> Inscriptions using these formulae did not continue in Roman Athens.

<sup>10</sup> Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp. 150-151, records the types of data stored in the Metroon.

<sup>11</sup> *Ad Fam.* XIII, 1, *decretum illud Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμόν illi vocant*.

<sup>12</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31d, line 56, p. 129, but according to the emended reading by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-351, cited by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, p. 29.

uses a verbal form (*ὑπομνηματίζαι*), which can hardly be explained unless the *hypomnematismos* is a type of decree.<sup>13</sup> Finally reference must be made to the dedications set up according to a *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus and an *eperotema* of the *boule* of the five hundred (Appendix I, pp. 147-148) and to the theater seats set up according to a *hypomnematismos* and a *psephisma* (Appendix I, p. 148). In both of these instances the *hypomnematismos* is equated with a type of decree. The accumulated evidence from Roman Athens consistently uses the word *hypomnematismos* in such a way that it must be defined as a decree of the Areopagus.

The second formula apparently reserved exclusively for the Areopagus in dedications reads *δόγματι Ἀρεοπαγεύων*.<sup>14</sup> There is a single exception to this, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3699, a dedication by a *dogma* of the most august *synhedrion* and the whole city (see Appendix I, p. 149). In view of the exclusiveness of the *dogma* as an Areopagite dedication elsewhere, in this instance the *synhedrion* can only be the Areopagus. This is another example of the practice by which the formula proper to the action of only one corporation was extended to include also the action of another corporation (see above, p. 36). Possibly in instances of this sort the *dogma* of the Areopagus was read to the *boule* and *demos*, who merely approved it as it stood.<sup>15</sup> With a single exception (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3995) whose date is far from accurately determined, all of the *dogmata* have been dated in the third century after Christ. It would appear then that the use of the term *hypomnematismos* (see above) at no time overlapped the usage of the word *dogma*; and that *dogma* seems to have replaced *hypomnematismos* as the name of the decree of the Areopagus in the late second or early third century.<sup>16</sup> As Keil (p. 43) recognized, the initiative for *dogmata* lay outside of the official organs of government. Every sufficiently preserved example lists a third party as constructor of the monument, and in one case the formula [*α*]ἱρησαμένου appears (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3705). This then is another respect in which the *dogma* resembles the *hypomnematismos*. The term appears also outside of the public constitution of the Athenians in the constitutions of private organizations, as in a decree of a college of women (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1346) from early imperial times and in a series of resolutions of the Iobakchoi (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368)<sup>17</sup> of the second half of the second century after Christ. A possible contradiction to the exclusiveness of the *dogma* as a decree of the Areopagus can be found in the honors decreed for Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos<sup>18</sup> dated to *ca.* A.D. 230. Here the decree of the

<sup>13</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 23, had to recognize that, since the will of a corporation can be ascertained only through a vote of some type or other and that this would be expressed in the form of a decree, the *hypomnematismos* was a decree.

<sup>14</sup> On the *dogma* see Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 24, 36, 43.

<sup>15</sup> I am indebted to Prof. J. H. Oliver for this suggestion.

<sup>16</sup> Although the single example of the verbal form (see above, note 12) appeared around 230 after Christ.

<sup>17</sup> M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 86-87, translates *dogmata* in this document as "statutes."

<sup>18</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31, pp. 125-141 and the second copy no. 32, p. 142; for additional

*boule* and *demos* closes with the resolution that this *dogma* be in effect for all time. In a decree of the *boule* guaranteeing the sanctity of the cult places of the Egyptian Isis (*Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 125-130) J. J. Pollitt has restored in line 14 τὸδε [τὸ δόγ] | μα. This restoration is convincing in the way it fills the lacuna. Support may be adduced from the phrase τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ, which appears in lines 17. Apparently while the word *dogma* never appeared in a dedication to describe the action of any corporation but the Areopagus, it could be used in the text of a decree of other corporations to describe their own actions.

Several dedications passed by the Areopagus use the name *eperotema* to describe the action of that corporation (see Appendix I, pp. 148-149). The earliest firmly dated example falls around the middle of the second century after Christ.<sup>19</sup> Two others are not precisely dated and may be earlier.<sup>20</sup> Every single example, as Keil has already noted,<sup>21</sup> involved a third party to construct the monument. The parties who set up the dedications represent a broad range of Athenian society: parents of those honored, some businessmen of the Peiraeus, and the Eumolpidae.

A few remarks must be made about the *eperotema* in general. The word is used of dedications passed by the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos* (see Appendix I, pp. 144-145, three documents); by the *synhedria* (see Appendix I, p. 145, two documents); by the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos* (Appendix I, p. 152, two documents); by the *boule* of the Areopagus (Appendix I, pp. 148-149, fourteen documents); and by the *boule* of the five hundred (Appendix I, pp. 153-154, sixteen documents). Several of those set up by the *eperotema* of the *boule* of the five hundred or by the *eperotema* of the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos* were also set up by *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus,<sup>22</sup> so that the action of the Areopagus is contrasted with that of the *boule* or the *boule* and *demos*. Out of all the *eperotemata*, a date before the Hadrianic tribal reforms has been suggested for only four,<sup>23</sup> but none securely.<sup>24</sup> Indeed all of the other dedications by *eperotema* which may belong before the middle of the second century are dated only on the fact that they

pieces of both stones see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 and Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30. Line enumeration for *Gerusia*, no. 31 is that of Oliver's original publication; for no. 32 that of Meritt. Lines 29 of no. 31 and 18 of no. 32 read [μετὰ ταῦτα φυλ]άττειν τὸ δόγμα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον]. A discussion of the procedures in the passing of this decree is contained in Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354.

<sup>19</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3607, a dedication to Regilla, whom Herodes married probably after A.D. 143 (Graindor, *Herode Atticus*, p. 81) and who died in A.D. 160-161 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>, I, 720).

<sup>20</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4200/1, dated by Kirchner to the first century after Christ; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3566, dated only to either the first or second century after Christ, both apparently dated only by letter forms.

<sup>21</sup> *Beiträge*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>22</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3678, 3933, 3982; III, 966b.

<sup>23</sup> For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3933, 4496, 4200/1, 3566 by Kirchner.

<sup>24</sup> As already has been noted by Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 37.

are later than the Hadrianic reforms. The earliest firm date is a dedication of a statue of Regilla (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3607) and this is estimated to fall around the middle of the second century after Christ. There follow shortly after several more which can be firmly dated. The time at which the word *eperotema* can be said with certainty to have appeared recalls the time of replacement of the *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus by the *dogma* of the Areopagus although both changes cannot have been contemporary.<sup>25</sup> It is noteworthy that the earliest dateable *eperotema* which we possess was a decree of the Areopagus.

There can be little doubt that a dedication by *eperotema* involved a third party who desired to erect the monument himself, since all but a very few of the dedications according to an *eperotema* list a third party either as requesting it or, more commonly, as setting it up. Those honored by a decree of this sort generally tended to be Athenians—magistrates and religious functionaries, although there are a few exceptions. Those requesting included a broad cross-section of the Athenian social structure—parents and children, a group of business men of the Peiraeus, friends, and Athenian magistrates. Although the majority of the monuments are statue bases or herms, plaques and steles also appear. The question now arises about the nature of the *eperotema*. B. Keil<sup>26</sup> has gathered the evidence for the significance of the word. In the sphere of making decrees it does not appear before Roman times, although it had been used as a legal term from a much earlier date. He defines the verb *ἐπερωτᾶν* as “to raise an official or formal inquiry,” but he sees the response as including a legal obligation on the part of the person responding. He concludes that in Roman Athens the question posed was posed by the civic corporation to a friend or relative of the person honored, asking them to undertake the expense and supervision of constructing a monument which the corporation decreed, and the answer of the person would commit him to this expense and supervision. He finds support in the fact that only Athenians were honored, since the civic corporation would hardly expect an Athenian to undertake an honorary monument to a foreigner. It is surprising that Keil was able to reach this conclusion in view of the examples found not only outside of Athens,<sup>27</sup> but also in Athens itself, of the use of the word *ἐπερωτᾶν* to describe the placing of a proposition before a corporation for a vote. A clear example is found in the laws of the Iobakchoi, where the *prohedros* “put the question ‘Whoever wishes the statutes which have been read to be ratified and engraved on a column will raise his hand.’”<sup>28</sup> Since the time of Keil’s monograph the decrees in honor of Ulpius Eubiotos have

<sup>25</sup> That there was an interval between is guaranteed by the dedications both according to the *eperotema* of the *boule* or of the *boule* and *demos* and according to the *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus. These decrees all ought to be dated to a relatively short period in the third quarter of the second century after Christ.

<sup>26</sup> *Beiträge*, pp. 36-42.

<sup>27</sup> As for example *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 898, line 17 or 901, line 10.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, lines 20-24, as translated by M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History*, p. 87.

been published.<sup>29</sup> In the second decree, that of the Areopagus, the heading begins: "And on the fifteenth day of the same month, on the motion of Aurelius . . . of the Council. The president put the question."<sup>30</sup> Thus, if the verb ἐπερωτᾶν must be taken to mean "to put the question," an action of the chairman of a meeting, and it is used with this meaning in the Roman period in Athens and elsewhere, then it would seem that an *eperotema* was a "putting of the question" to a meeting. In the two preserved decrees in which the president "put the question" the procedure seems to have been as follows:<sup>31</sup> The text of the decree was read to the assembled members, then the chairman of the meeting asked for affirmative votes or negative votes. The reader of the decree in each case was someone other than the chairman, probably the person seeking the decree. There is no evidence of any discussion in either meeting. In the decree of the Iobakchoi the provisions for publication are not included in the text of the decree, but appear in the words of the president when the matter was put to a vote. The evidence necessary to distinguish an *eperotema* from any other sort of decree is still not sufficient to warrant conclusions. Indeed, the difference may lie not in the procedure of the meeting at all, but in the way in which the person desiring the decree approached the decreeing corporation. In such a case the evidence probably would not appear in the texts of decrees.

A formula etymologically related to the formula δόγματι is the phrase κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα,<sup>32</sup> but unlike the former it appears in the headings of acts not only of the Areopagus alone, but of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred and the *demos* together, of the *boule* of the Areopagus and the *boule* of the six hundred together, and of the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred alone. A discussion of the significance of the term can wait until more evidence is presented *infra*. Of the three documents of the Areopagus alone sufficiently well preserved to permit a judgment (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3659, 3667, 3812), only one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3667) has an indication of a third party erecting the monument. Although the majority of documents belong to the third century, two could be earlier. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3521 was dated "*init. s. I p.*" on the false assumption that Augustus was meant or on the misleading evidence of undateable lettering.<sup>33</sup> Kirchner identifies Aurelius Herakleides of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3989 with

<sup>29</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>30</sup> The translation is that of Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31, lines 32-33.

<sup>31</sup> In the decree of the Areopagus of the Eubiotos document the procedure is related in a very abbreviated fashion; but immediately before this decree there stands the decree of the *boule* and *demos*, in which the procedural details are given much more fully. It seems logical that the abbreviated nature of the Areopagite decree is due to the similarity in procedure between it and the decree immediately before.

<sup>32</sup> B. Keil would like to identify the two, *Beiträge*, pp. 23-24. A recently published decree of the *boule* might lend support, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 125-130, lines 14 and 17.

<sup>33</sup> Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 84, says that it seems to date from the Julio-Claudian period. For a discussion of the fortunes of the high priest at Athens see *Expounders*, pp. 89-100.



the Stoic philosopher of the second century after Christ.<sup>34</sup>

The verb *ψηφίζω* and its noun derivative *ψήφισμα* were used to describe decrees of the Areopagus (see Appendix I, p. 150). Since some form of these words is used for decrees of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred and the *demos* together, of the *boule* and *demos*, of the *boule* of five hundred, of the *demos*, of the city and the *demos*, and of the city alone, a discussion of the significance of the term will be reserved until more evidence has been accumulated. B. Keil<sup>35</sup> has suggested that the term *psephisma* did not properly belong to decrees of the Areopagus, but that it was used only insofar as the verbal form was proper to describe any formal canvassing of the members of a body to obtain the decision of the group. The evidence of the texts would tend to bear this out. Of the eleven examples cited, two are metrical<sup>36</sup> and actually use the word *psephos* to indicate generally the decision of the group by means of canvassing. The use of the noun *psephisma* applied to a decree of the Areopagus is rare, appearing only once (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3945) among the remaining nine dedications; of these seven use the verbal form *ψηφισαμένης* while one is too poorly preserved to permit a reading (*I.G.*, III, 965e). The phrase *κατὰ ψήφισμα* never appears in dedications approved by the Areopagus. In approximately half the recorded examples a third party set up the monument, and it would seem that such decrees did not originate in the Areopagus.

#### B. POWERS OF THE AREOPAGUS

In the democratic constitution of Athens the Areopagus had ceased to occupy the foremost place, but under the Roman Empire there is ample testimony that it had regained a position of predominance. There is practically no evidence for its participation in administering the city, except insofar as its name appears in the official address of the *polis*, but there is ample testimony for its expanded judicial competence. The Areopagus never did lose its judicial significance, and a scholiast to Aristides' Panathenaic Oration<sup>37</sup> drew a contrast between the Areopagus of his day, which was merely a law court, and that of Aristides' day, which is called a *bouleuterion* and is said to have ruled the *politeia*.

Shortly before the Roman period the *boule* of the Areopagus appears as the court to try infractions against the law regarding weights and measures.<sup>38</sup> The pertinent

<sup>34</sup> On Aurelius Herakleides, see Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 208.

<sup>35</sup> *Beiträge*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4006, *βουλῆς με Ἀρείας ψήφος ἔστησ' ἐνθάδε* and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3632, line 21, *τὴν μὲν ἄρα ψήφῳ Ἀρηι φίλῃ θέτω βουλή*.

<sup>37</sup> Dindorf, III, 335, 18-21 to 194, 8, scholia BD, which seem to have gone back to a very old source, according to F. W. Lenz, "Scholien zu Aristides' Panathenaikos I 306, 3 Dindorf," *Philologus*, CVII, 1963, pp. 278-287.

<sup>38</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, see the second copy published with corrected readings for the first by Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 27, pp. 127-131; see also the comments of Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 56, 61, 75. The pertinent section includes *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, lines 56-60; Meritt, lines 8-12.

section of the law reads, "If anyone is detected acting mischievously (*κακουργῶν*) with regard to the measures and weights preserved in the Skias and in Eleusis and in the Peiraeus and on the Acropolis, whether he be a magistrate, a private citizen, or a public slave, let him be liable to the law for the punishment of malefactors (*κακούργων*). And let the *boule* of the Areopagus have the concern and let it punish any malefactor (*κακουργοῦντα*) in these matters according to the laws in effect concerning malefactors (*κακούργων*)."<sup>39</sup> *Κακουργεῖν* in Attic legal terminology was a very broad term.<sup>39</sup> The letter of Hadrian concerning fish sales<sup>40</sup> left to the realm of the Areopagus cases where fishermen sold their catch to as many as three different buyers. Here again is a case involving falsification, and possibly it may be grouped with those listed above. Tacitus refers to a condemnation for *falsum* by the Areopagus.<sup>41</sup> Although we know nothing of the precise nature of the crime, it is well possible that *falsum*<sup>42</sup> also fell under the general heading of *kakourgia*. This group may also include infractions punished by the Areopagus according to a document dealing with the price of grain,<sup>43</sup> but the poor preservation of the text does not permit more specific knowledge about the nature of the crimes.

There is evidence of the continued jurisdiction of the Areopagus in cases of kidnapping,<sup>44</sup> where the penalty apparently was death.<sup>45</sup> A charge of assault (*τραύματος*) also belonged to the jurisdiction of the Areopagites.<sup>46</sup> These would all seem to fall under the *φονικὰ δίκαι*,<sup>47</sup> traditionally belonging to the Areopagus. A speech of Himerios<sup>48</sup> attests that in the fourth century after Christ the Areopagus decided concerning status as a free man; the Areopagus is addressed as those who "now judge for the Athenians concerning freedom." A pair of documents from the time of Septimius Severus<sup>49</sup> concern the Areopagus and sentences of exile; but there is also a line reading *τοῖς ἱεροσυλίας [ἐπιτίμοις]*. The texts are poorly preserved and the

<sup>39</sup> For definitions and bibliography see Sandys edition of *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, London, 1912, pp. 199-200, notes to 52, 1 and Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>40</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1103; see Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 129; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 152-153; Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian," p. 124.

<sup>41</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, II, 55. For comment see Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 61; Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 44, 107; *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 7, 66.

<sup>42</sup> The crime of *falsum* "in the field of penal law . . . covers any kind of forgery, falsification or counterfeiting," Adolf Berger, *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (= Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, XLIII, 2, 1953), p. 467. The literary examples of the use of the word are collected in Mayor's edition of *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, London, 1889, p. 115, to I, 67. For an examination of the possible Greek equivalents see Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>43</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1118; see also Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> Lucian, *Bis Acc.*, 13, 15-17; *Vit. auct.*, 7; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109, note 48.

<sup>46</sup> Lucian, *Bis Acc.*, 24; *Timon*, 46; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 180.

<sup>47</sup> Lucian, *Anach.*, 19, and Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 182-183 and Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 71.

<sup>48</sup> *The Areopagitica*, Deubner, no. 7, Colonna, no. 7.

<sup>49</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1086 and 1119; see the texts and commentary of Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 62-63, note 84.

readings are not clear. Keil noted, with reference to this last pair of documents, that the Areopagus could pass sentences of exile, and for support he cited one additional text.<sup>50</sup>

Graindor<sup>51</sup> argues that the dedication of a statue of the Areopagus by the Athenian cleruchs of Hephaistia must represent a decision in their favor by the Areopagus, and indeed there is a series of documents from about the right time regarding disputed land on Lemnos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051, 1052, 1053) which he would connect with the dedication so as to attribute jurisdiction over lands to the Areopagus. Such a competence might well be an explanation of the *hypomnematismos* by which Memmius was granted the lands containing the house of Epicurus for private building (Cicero, *Ad Att.*, V, 11; *Ad Fam.*, XIII, 1). Whether these cases fell under the category of concern for the sacred lands, which traditionally belonged to the Areopagus, is not certain. The most recent evidence on this competence comes from the fourth century B.C.—a decree defining its share in the surveillance of the sacred *orgas* dated to 352/1 B.C.<sup>52</sup> and a legal case involving sacrilege to the sacred olive tree.<sup>53</sup>

The account of Paul's speech before the Areopagus illustrates its surveillance over the introduction of foreign divinities.<sup>54</sup> There is also possible evidence for surveillance over contagious diseases, according to an imperial letter,<sup>55</sup> if a restoration of the name can be accepted. A fragmentary letter from an Imperial official with judicial competence appears to have been sent to the Areopagus.<sup>56</sup> Oliver interprets the case as being one for non-fulfillment of a liturgy. A restoration of the name of the Areopagus, as suggested by Oliver in his publication,<sup>57</sup> in another document, permits us to view the Areopagus making a decision over a public endowment, although the nature of the judgment is lost.

Bruno Keil has gathered the evidence to indicate certain functions of the Areopagus were performed by commission,<sup>58</sup> but in only one instance did he produce evidence from the Roman period, and this, relating to the inspection of the ephebes, has been shown faulty by Graindor.<sup>59</sup> Commissions cited by Keil include that to

<sup>50</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1113, but only as restored by Keil does it lend support.

<sup>51</sup> *Auguste*, pp. 105-107, using as evidence *I.G.*, XII, 8, 26.

<sup>52</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 204, lines 16-23; see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 107 and Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> *Lysias*, *Or.* VII; see Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 60.

<sup>54</sup> *Acts*, XVII; see the very thorough analysis by Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 67, 116-124, and the comment of Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 60.

<sup>55</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 30, p. 23, where line 12 may possibly be restored to read τὴν ἐξ Ἀ[ρείου πάγου βουλὴν — — —].

<sup>56</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 34, pp. 78-82. For the attribution of this document to the Areopagus, see above, p. 37.

<sup>57</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092; see the edition of Oliver, "The Eleusinian Endowment," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 381-399.

<sup>58</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 72-77.

<sup>59</sup> Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 66.

apprehend a conspirator (p. 72); they investigate the removal of a sacred olive tree (p. 72);<sup>60</sup> and apparently a commission was addressed over buildings on the Pnyx (pp. 72-74). The evidence that a commission from the Areopagus controlled Athenian coinage is clear (p. 75).<sup>61</sup> There was also a commission to oversee the education of youths (pp. 75-76).<sup>62</sup> Thus far there is no sure evidence for the Roman period, but in two aspects of the functions of the Areopagus, evidence may now be advanced. Delegations were chosen to serve on embassies, either solely composed of Areopagites, as that embassy sent to a Roman magistrate in the second century after Christ,<sup>63</sup> or as part of embassies representing the whole Athenian state, as was probably the case with the embassies sent to the imperial court or to other cities by the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos*.<sup>64</sup> The other sphere of activity where there is evidence for activity of the Areopagus through commissions is in its functions as a court. Bruno Keil<sup>65</sup> has already conjectured that in the Roman period the Areopagus in less important cases did not sit in plenary session, but in small groups, and he uses this as a basis for an interpretation of the passage from Cicero's *pro Balbo*, 30, *Athenis in numero iudicum atque Areopagitarum, certa tribu, certo numero* . . . Thus the tribe and number would be used as the basis for allotment into courts. Unfortunately Lucian does not describe the principles of allotment of judges, but his picture of a day of court in the *Bis Accusatus* is most informative. Zeus finds that the work accumulating for him to handle is too great, so he calls a day of court, for which Dike and Hermes allot the cases to juries. For our purposes here the important points to notice are that, although the jurors are supposed to be allotted from all of the Athenians and paid three obols a day (*Bis Acc.*, 12), the allotment is to take place on the Areopagus hill, the traditional meeting place for the *boule* of the Areopagus, and that the juries selected to hear each case vary in number from three to nine (*Bis Acc.*, 13). One of the cases for which a jury of seven was allotted was a case of kidnapping (*Bis Acc.*, 13), a crime falling within the jurisdiction of

<sup>60</sup> Apparently in many sacred matters the Areopagus functioned by commission. See also the representatives attached to a committee making an inventory, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 839, line 26.

<sup>61</sup> See also Day, *Ec. Hist.*, p. 35.

<sup>62</sup> See also Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 66-67, although the mere fact of the Areopagus of the Roman period being responsible for some ephebic dedications need not prove that it had charge of the education of youth. Several dedications indicate ephebes and cosmetes honored by the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred, and the *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2021, 2103, 3008, 3731) and in one case the *demos* honored a cosmete (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3741) and in another the *boule* a *sophronistes* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3735).

<sup>63</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 34, pp. 78-82. For the attribution to the Areopagus see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1944, no. 82, pp. 203-204 and Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 157.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. one mentioned in an imperial letter, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1109 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 286-290 = *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 177-179; that sent to Epidaurus must have included some representative of the Areopagus, *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 82-84 = *S.I.G.*,<sup>3</sup>, 796B; and an embassy sent to Lemnos included at least the herald of the Areopagus, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051.

<sup>65</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 74.

the Areopagus (see above, p. 49). Delz,<sup>66</sup> who has analyzed the references contained in Lucian, suggests that the selection of jurors from the people at large and the payment of three obols are retrojections to earlier custom on the part of Lucian. Indeed, in an Athens where popular juries had contained numbers of 501 in order to prevent chicanery, and especially in a period of aristocratic influence, which the Roman period was, one wonders at the thought of permitting juries as small as three to be selected from the people at large. Such small courts, of course, would greatly increase the importance of the Areopagites as individuals, and indeed Delz is able to produce clear evidence of such an occurrence, although from the fourth century after Christ. A letter of Alciphron<sup>67</sup> relates how three parasites were apprehended and imprisoned, but a man among the first of the *synhedrion* of Areopagites opened up the prison; and another relates how the presiding officer of the Areopagus saw that a man never got to trial.<sup>68</sup> Delz also cites the increasing use of the term Areopagite to distinguish an individual member, citing Lucian, *D. Meretr.*, 7, 2 and *Scythia*, 2, to which three epigraphical references may be added.<sup>69</sup> These all would appear indicative of an increased prestige on the part of the individual Areopagite, a fact possibly explained by an increase in influence as individuals.

The Areopagus also began to be a dedicatee of statues. The Athenian inhabitants of Hephastia<sup>70</sup> set up a personification of the Areopagus (cited above, p. 50), and a statue base of the first century after Christ which is still preserved was dedicated to Hestia, Apollo, the *divi* Augusti, the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred, and the *demos*.<sup>71</sup> Finally, in a prytany decree of ca. A.D. 120 the treasurer of the *prytaneis* is honored with the customary formulae, but the name of the Areopagus has been added to the list of those for whom he sacrificed.<sup>72</sup>

### C. PROCEDURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE AREOPAGUS

The question of how a session of the Areopagus was conducted still remains. A certain amount of evidence concerning the passing of honorary decrees may be

<sup>66</sup> *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 154, 159.

<sup>67</sup> Alciphron, III, 7 (Schepers), cited by Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 180 and Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 76, note 116, cites it as an example of a single man entrusted with the powers of a commission of the Areopagus.

<sup>68</sup> Alciphron, III, 36 (Schepers), cited by Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 180 and Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 74, note 108, who sees the Areopagite as head of the commission empowered to handle the case.

<sup>69</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3689 and 3690 of A.D. 225-250 and 4017 of uncertain date. From around the beginning of the third century is the document published as Appendix III. See Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 21, 180, cited in this connection as well as an indication of the rising prestige of the Areopagus. It would seem senseless to list all of the documents where the council is called the *boule* of the Areopagites rather than the *boule* of the Areopagus.

<sup>70</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 8, 26.

<sup>71</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3185; see the comments of Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 176.

<sup>72</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073 and 1074 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 121, pp. 193-197 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308, 403.

gathered from the few texts of decrees of the Roman period preserved. The place of meeting is not certain. The hill of Ares was the traditional location, and the evidence of Lucian<sup>73</sup> would indicate that from this location jury panels were still assigned to hear trials. But there is also evidence for the use of the Royal Stoa in the fourth century B.C.<sup>74</sup> During the Eleusinian Mysteries the *boule* of the Areopagus sat in Eleusis.<sup>75</sup> This may explain the divisions into Areopagites and others in an Eleusinian list.<sup>76</sup> In Lucian's account of a day of court (*Bis Acc.*, 12) Hermes, the herald, makes the solemn announcement of the session. So also must the herald of the Areopagus have published the time and place of meetings for the sake of litigants at court and possibly also for Areopagites if the session were not a judicial session. A passage from Cicero would seem to indicate that seating in the Areopagus was by tribe and number (*pro Balbo*, 30). Ferguson<sup>77</sup> suggests that this may indicate the divisions of the Areopagus for work by commission and Keil<sup>78</sup> seems to arrive at about the same point by a tortuous route; but seating in assigned sections need not seem strange if the parallel from the fifth century B.C. of the *boule* being seated by letters is cited.<sup>79</sup> Such divisions could have been used as a basis for allotment into courts, but there is no evidence.

Two documents are preserved which record proceedings of a decree of the *boule* of the Areopagus; both supposedly represented plenary sessions. From around the years A.D. 40-42 there is the honorary decree for Lamprias found at Epidauros.<sup>80</sup> The preamble contains the date and states that the Areopagus was meeting at Eleusis. Instead of *εἶπε*, customary in decrees of the *boule* and *demos*, the formula *λόγους ἐποιήσατο* appears, echoing the Roman *verba fecit*.<sup>81</sup> This is followed by the simple word *ἔδοξε*, which Graindor<sup>82</sup> sees as still another echo of the language of a *senatus consultum*. The man making the proposal does not seem to hold any special rank, although Graindor suggests that he is at least a simple Areopagite. Although one would suspect that only a member of the Areopagus could address that council, there is as yet no certain indication. There are three instances where action is taken through

<sup>73</sup> *Bis Acc.*, 4, 12. See Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 153-154.

<sup>74</sup> Pseudo-Demosthenes, XXV, 23.

<sup>75</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 83 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B, II, cited by Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 63; *Hadrien*, p. 129.

<sup>76</sup> Republished here as Appendix III.

<sup>77</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, p. 420.

<sup>78</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>79</sup> Schol. to Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 972 = Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, III B, 328, 140 = Wycherley, *Testimonia*, no. 396, p. 130. B. D. Meritt has called my attention to the evidence for placing the restoration of democracy in 410 B.C.; see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 319-320 and the references in *S.E.G.*, X, 119.

<sup>80</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 83 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B, II; see Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 2-12; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 105; *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 62-65.

<sup>81</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 25; Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 63.

<sup>82</sup> *Loc. cit.*

a representative,<sup>83</sup> but these all involve groups of people and there is no indication that the representatives were able to address the Areopagus personally.<sup>84</sup> In the text of the decree the considerations are all expressed in the genitive absolute, and the decisions of the council follow. The herald is charged with the dispatch of the *hypomnematismos* to the city of the Epidaurians, which he is to seal with the public seal, and finally the embassy is approved.<sup>85</sup> This embassy had been selected by the *boule* and *demos* to carry its *psephisma* to Epidauros, while the *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus was dispatched in written form sealed by the state seal. Apparently the Areopagus had to approve the embassy of the *boule* and *demos* before it was sent.

The second document is the decree in honor of Ulpus Eubiotos from ca. A.D. 230, of which portions of two copies are preserved.<sup>86</sup> Meritt would restore a prytany date at the beginning of the decree of the Areopagus (no. 32, line 21), which, although it may fit the lacuna, hardly would seem in place in the heading of a decree of the Areopagus. In the session of the Areopagus the *prohedros* put the question after one Aurelius had spoken the proposal (*γνώμην*, no. 31, lines 32-33; no. 32, line 21-22). Again the formula describing the introduction of the proposal is not that to be expected in decrees of the *boule* and *demos*, nor yet is it the same as in the decree for Lamprias, rather the word used is *ἀγορεύσαντος* as a genitive absolute. Then the word *ἔδοξε* follows, apparently with the name of the decreeing council. This decree calls the presiding officer of the Areopagus a *prohedros*, while Plutarch (*an seni resp. ger. sit*, XX, 794, A-B) mentions the *epistasia* of the Areopagus. An undated dedication (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4228) refers to [τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγ]ου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ [δήμου] αἰώνιον ἡγεμόν[α] and Alciphron uses the verbal form (*Ep.*, III, 36) *πρωτεύει* to refer to the chief man. Keil<sup>87</sup> believes that the herald possessed the *epistasia* and that the reference in Alciphron was to the presidency of a commission of the Areopagus. The question may be raised whether the herald actually did sit as president, but the evidence to give a definite answer is still missing. It ought to be noted here that the herald of the *boule* and *demos* who seems to have held an office somewhat analogous to that of the herald of the Areopagus did not preside at sessions of those corporations.

The manner of voting in a meeting is not clear either. While the decrees in honor of Ulpus Eubiotos specify the raising of hands in the meeting of the *demos*, they leave no indication of how voting in the Areopagus was accomplished. In a pair

<sup>83</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3737, where the ephebes of 136/7-169/70 requested permission to erect a herm through their cosmete; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3804, of the latter half of the second century after Christ, where Gaius and Mauros represented a group of students in seeking honors for a teacher; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3008, of around A.D. 112, where Anthesterios son of Isidoros acted in behalf of his fellow ephebes.

<sup>84</sup> See Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 123.

<sup>85</sup> For a discussion of *αἴρεσις* meaning a commission see Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>86</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30. The line numbering of *Gerusia*, no. 31 is according to Oliver's original publication, of no. 32 to Meritt's.

<sup>87</sup> *Beiträge*, pp. 54 and 74, note 108. On the herald of the Areopagus see below.

of metrical inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3632 and 4006) the vote of the council as a whole was termed a *ψηφος*, which word had originally been applied to the use of a pebble or other such ballot, but which by the Roman period could be applied to any sort of vote. In court cases Lucian uses the term *ψηφοφορεῖν*<sup>88</sup> for voting, and the procedure he describes is either the use of pierced and solid ballots described by Aristotle,<sup>89</sup> or the use of black and white pebbles. Delz correctly believes that these are antiquarian references in Lucian on the grounds that such voting procedures would be strange in a court as small as those described above. In the light of the evidence of voting by show of hands being the most commonly attested procedure in various sorts of meetings (see below), it is safe to assume that the decree for Eubiotos reflects the method of voting in plenary sessions of the Areopagus.

The decree for Eubiotos continues, listing the honors conferred upon him, and finally indicating that a commission of six was to be chosen probably to bring the news to Eubiotos, or possibly to oversee the construction of the monument. Thus in both the decree for Lamprias and that for Eubiotos the ultimate publication is covered by the decision of the Areopagus.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the herald of the Areopagus it may be well to make a few remarks on the composition of that council. Bruno Keil, followed by Busolt-Swoboda,<sup>90</sup> on the basis of the title which Photius gave to a speech of Himerius (*Or.*, XXV, Colonna), believed that the proconsul of Greece named Areopagites in the fourth century after Christ, and on the basis of a note of a scholiast to Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (Schol. M to line 743), that the Areopagus of later times contained thirty-one members. But Edmund Groag<sup>91</sup> has interpreted the fragmentary words of Photius to the effect that the speech was delivered in honor of the proconsul, not in thanks for the speaker's having been made an Areopagite, but to celebrate the bestowing of this honor on the proconsul; and the scholiast to Aeschylus gives no indication of whether thirty-one was the actual number of Areopagites, or a dramatic number, or to what period this figure ought to be assigned. As early as the middle of the second century after Christ and frequently in the third century<sup>92</sup> the title *κράτιστοι*<sup>92</sup> began to be applied to the Areopagites as a group, but its use was not consistent,

<sup>88</sup> *Bis Acc.*, 8; *Pisc.*, 24; *Eun.*, 2; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 161 and note 29.

<sup>89</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 68, 4. Lucian's reference is in *Bis Acc.*, 35; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 163. Another passage speaks of a white and a solid ballot, Lucian, *Apol.*, 15; see Delz, p. 164.

<sup>90</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 81; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 936 and note 14; but compare E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätromischer Zeit*, Dissertationes Pannonicae, I, 14, 1946, p. 34. Two other Roman proconsuls seem to have also been Areopagites, Claudius Illyrius toward the middle of the third century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3689 and 3690) and Rufius Festus in the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4222).

<sup>91</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3607, clearly to be dated before the death of Regilla in A.D. 161; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, 3698, both from before the middle of the third century after Christ.

<sup>92</sup> Artur Stein, "Griechische Rangtitel in der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Wiener Studien*, XXXIV, 1912, p. 162, produces evidence showing that this title was in use for those of the equestrian order from Hadrianic times.



since *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3705, dated 238/9-243/4<sup>93</sup> on the basis of the archonship of Flavius Asclepiades, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2773, an endowment left to the Areopagus by the same Flavius Asclepiades when he was herald, do not use it. An Eleusinian list of the end of the second or beginning of the third century (see Appendix III), which lists the Areopagites separately, indicates that not all of the Areopagites used this as a predicate of rank individually. At an earlier date the Areopagites were given the honorific title of *semnotatoi*.<sup>94</sup>

It would be superfluous to repeat here the evidence of Ferguson and Keil<sup>95</sup> that the Areopagus was recruited from ex-archons, but the conclusion of Keil that only the *eponymos* and *basileus* were eligible requires re-examination. He bases his conclusion on the *cursus honorum* of the heralds of the Areopagus, assuming, probably correctly, that they also would have been members of that august body. He found no example of a herald who had served any archonship lower than either *archon* or *basileus*. Oliver has since cited one document in which it is clear that a former polemarch became herald.<sup>96</sup> In connection with the problem of ex-archons becoming Areopagites, attention should be called to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1714, an archon list dated by S. Dow<sup>97</sup> to the year of anarchy 88/7, in which Athenodoros son of Athenodoros Aixoneus is a *thesmothetes*. Among the members of the Delian Pythais of 97/6 B.C.<sup>98</sup> the herald of the Areopagus is a man of the same name. One must conclude here that both documents cannot refer to the same man, but must represent two generations of the same family.

An Eleusinian list, republished here as Appendix III, should begin to offer more specific data on the size of the Areopagus, from which some deductions about the composition should follow. This list is arranged according to tribes, and at the top of each tribal list there is a catalogue of Areopagites. For the attested tribes the numbers of Areopagites are as follows: <sup>99</sup> for Erechtheis, between nine and eleven names; for Aigeis the numbers are not clear; for Pandionis, eight names; for Ptolemais the evi-

<sup>93</sup> See Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 40-41 who would be more precise, placing the document in 239/40.

<sup>94</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3637, 3656, 3760, 3817, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 72, p. 49; no. 73, p. 49. The earliest of these is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3637, after the middle of the second century after Christ. The rest are from around the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ, when the title becomes fairly regular for the Areopagites. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3705 of the mid-third century is an exception and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2773 refers to the most august *synhedrion* of the Areopagites.

<sup>95</sup> W. S. Ferguson, "Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents, III," *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 328-330; Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 82-87.

<sup>96</sup> Oliver, "A New Letter of Antoninus Pius," *A.J.P.*, LXXIX, 1958, p. 57, note 4, citing *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3668 (= *I.G.*, III, addendum 714a).

<sup>97</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 144-146.

<sup>98</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, but see the edition Dow, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, p. 121, line 183. The date of the heraldship recorded here is somewhat in doubt; see Kirchner on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, but not enough so as to affect the sequence of the two documents in question.

<sup>99</sup> For discussions of the means of arriving at these figures, see Appendix III.

dence is not clear; for Hadrianis no names are preserved; and for Kekropis, five names. Thus for three tribes there are between twenty-two and twenty-four names of Areopagites preserved, an average of seven or eight each. A projection of this for thirteen tribes makes a total of between 91 and 104 Areopagites. Although this falls short of the number of 150 which Keil estimated as a result of the inclusion of all ex-archons, still it is considerably above his estimate of 30, if only the two top archons were included, or Oliver's estimate of 45<sup>100</sup> as a total if the three top archons were included. Oliver makes a good argument for having a number less than 150, when he points out that the thesmothetes "perhaps tended to be more mature."<sup>100</sup> Non-residents undertaking the eponymous magistracy and anarchies, not only in the eponymous archonship but in all nine archonships, would tend to reduce this figure even more. Keil's findings that the herald was more likely to have been either *eponymos* or *basileus* is probably due to the fact that these offices and the heraldship were undertaken only by the most prominent men.

#### D. THE HERALD OF THE AREOPAGUS

Just as the Areopagus rose to a predominant position in Roman Athens, so also did its chief officer, the herald of the Areopagus. His name is frequently coupled with that of the hoplite general, and together they seem to have been the principal civic magistrates of Roman Athens. One indication of the herald's rise to prominence is the appearance of his name in the archon lists (see Chapter I and Figure 1), where from the very first list in 88/7, with a single exception (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723) where the name of the hoplite general intervenes, his name appears immediately after those of the archons, while the name of the hoplite general does not appear until the later archon lists. Thus far the only acceptable explanation for the appearance of the herald of the Areopagus and the hoplite general in these lists is their rise to prominence as the ruling magistrates. Their position after the *thesmothetai* can only be attributed to the prestige traditionally associated with the archonships. The ephebic documents<sup>101</sup> which name the ephebic magistrates list the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus even more prominently. Beginning from around A.D. 180 they take second and third position between the *archon* and the *basileus*. The evidence of *cursus honorum* confirms this ranking,<sup>102</sup> although in four instances the title of herald precedes that of hoplite general.<sup>103</sup> In *cursus* from later periods it is not strange to find an archonship other than the *eponymos* listed, and this archonship is given

<sup>100</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 46.

<sup>101</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2119, 2125, 2130, 2193, 2203, 2219, 2231, 2235.

<sup>102</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086 of 163/4; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3688 of the early third century after Christ. In the last of these two archonships, *eponymos* and *basileus*, head the list.

<sup>103</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546 of the end of the first century after Christ, and 3592 (three times) of 165/6-168/9.

priority over the heraldship of the Areopagus.<sup>104</sup> The heraldship of the Areopagus, indeed, was important enough to warrant honor for itself alone, for in certain dedications no reference is made to any other magistracies or public services.<sup>105</sup> Such honors were bestowed on him by the nine archons,<sup>106</sup> by the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos*,<sup>107</sup> by the city,<sup>108</sup> by his sons<sup>109</sup> according to the *doxanta* of the most august *synhedrion* of the Areopagites. One obscure reference is to be found in a prytany decree, where the name appears in the heading in the genitive case between the names of a gymnasiarch and a priest of an eponymous hero.<sup>110</sup> Otherwise the name of the herald of the Areopagus in the genitive is unprecedented in such a position. The herald also appears as a dedicator in two instances (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3558, 4075), but these probably do not represent any action in an official capacity. Finally in the honors decreed the imperial house in 209/10 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077) the herald of the Areopagus participated in the committee which prepared the *gnome* for presentation to the *boule*.

The primary function of this herald would appear to have been his presidency over meetings of the Areopagus and his function of principal organizer and record keeper for the business brought before the Areopagus.<sup>111</sup> The question arises whether his presidency is the same as the *epistasia* recorded by Plutarch (*an seni resp. ger. sit*, XX, 794 A-B), or the *prohedria* of a third century inscription,<sup>112</sup> or the *protos* of Alciphron (*Ep.*, III, 36) or the *hegemon* of an undated inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4228). The expression of Alciphron may be compared with a similar reference in another letter (III, 7) where a man is described as *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις* of the *synhedrion* of the Areopagites. From this, and from the unspecific reference in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4228 it seems to follow that the terms indicate not presidency, but prestige, in the same fashion as *princeps* or *principes* were used of certain Roman senators of the Republic.<sup>113</sup> The

<sup>104</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3616 from the end of the second century after Christ, 4087 from the beginning of the third century, 3668 from the mid-third century, and 3688 of the early third century.

<sup>105</sup> Such an omission is rather surprising, since there must have been at least an archonship to obtain admission to the council.

<sup>106</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3540 of the middle of the first century after Christ. Note also his appearance in the archon lists.

<sup>107</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3622 after the middle of the second century after Christ.

<sup>108</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3666 beginning of the third century after Christ.

<sup>109</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3667 of the mid-third century after Christ.

<sup>110</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 7, p. 37.

<sup>111</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 54. On pp. 79-81 Keil compares the organization of the Areopagus and its herald to that of an English town council and its clerk.

<sup>112</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31 and 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>113</sup> As opposed to Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 74-75, note 108, who believed that committee chairmanships were involved in Alciphron, *Ep.*, III, 36, while the man mentioned in *Ep.*, III, 7 is called a solitary commissioner (p. 76, note 116) and the word *protoi* is ignored. For the *protoi* see Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 953-958.

evidence still is not definite that the herald possessed the *epistasia* during a meeting of the Areopagus, but the nature of his responsibilities would indicate that he did.

In an honorary decree from Epidauros (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 83) the Areopagus charges its herald to write to the city of the Epidaurians and to send them the *hypomnematismos* sealed with the public seal.<sup>114</sup> The function of publication also appears in a pair of ephebic documents of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 1043), where it is shared with the hoplite general, although he hardly seems suited to this context, since the decree being published is one of the *boule* and *demos* in one case and of the *boule* in the other. The possession of the state seal represents an important change from former custom—for in the days of the democracy the *epistates* of the *prytaneis* held the state seal.<sup>115</sup> Keil argues that if the seal were possessed by the *epistates* of the *prytaneis*, his successor in possession would also possess *epistasia*.<sup>116</sup> He also appears as a member of a delegation to visit the island of Lemnos, together with the hoplite general and the herald of the *boule* and *demos*.<sup>117</sup> These functions he may have performed *ex officio* as the principal representative of the Areopagus. His appearance so often in conjunction with the hoplite general has led Keil<sup>118</sup> to another argument that he was presiding officer of the *boule* of the Areopagus. Keil sets up a parallel structure of the hoplite general presiding over the *boule* and *ekklesia* and the herald of the Areopagus over the Areopagus. Unfortunately the presidency of the hoplite general is not proven, but only surmised on the basis of his being able to summon either assembly as a law court (see above), while it would seem that the closest opposite number to the herald of the Areopagus would be the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, who also was included in the embassy to Lemnos.<sup>118</sup>

The functions of the herald of the Areopagus in the judicial realm are more clear. In Lucian's *Bis Accusatus*,<sup>119</sup> when Zeus realizes that he is unable to handle all of the business falling upon him and decides to call a day of court sessions, the announcement of the day of court falls to Hermes (*Bis Acc.*, 12); and Hermes announces the cases to Dike, who in turn assigns jurors and courts. In this function Hermes, the herald *par excellence*, can only represent the herald of the Areopagus (as Delz suggested, who identifies Zeus with Hadrian and Dike with the governor of the province). This function is echoed in actual events in the terms of Hadrian's letter on fish sales,<sup>120</sup>

<sup>114</sup> See Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 53-54; Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 65 and note 2.

<sup>115</sup> W. P. Wallace, "The Public Seal of Athens," *Phoenix*, III, 1949, pp. 70-73.

<sup>116</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>117</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051 of after 38/7 B.C.

<sup>118</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051, line 4, where κῆρυξ is probably a better restoration than γραμματεὺς. See also the oil law of Hadrian, where the herald of the *boule* and *demos* appears in line 13; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100 = Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 959-963.

<sup>119</sup> See Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 153-156.

<sup>120</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1103, lines 7-8; see also Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 95 and note 4; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 152-153; Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian," n. 124.

where the *endeixis* is to be made to the herald of the Areopagus, indicating that it would fall to him to put the matter on a court docket.<sup>121</sup> An inscription cited above<sup>122</sup> as possibly referring to the herald of the archon, might as well refer to the herald of the Areopagus. The words of lines 6 and 7 introduce “those unpunished” and “those exercising *eisagoge*,” indicating a document concerned with legal matters. Except for a pair of references to setting limits the meaning is obscure. Finally a document dealing with grain prices<sup>123</sup> mentions the Areopagus and a herald, probably of the Areopagus. This also probably deals with regulation of prices and the procedures to control prices. These functions in the judicial sphere would tend to confirm his duties as the man who prepared agenda for the various commissions and served as manager of the business of the Areopagus.

In the religious sphere, a single possible reference to the herald of the Areopagus is preserved<sup>124</sup> in a document decreeing honors for Julia Domna, where a group of magistrates, including the [archons], all the priests, and [the herald, were to pour libations] while the hoplite general offered first sacrifice. The high rank of the surrounding magistrates would suggest that this herald was the herald of the Areopagus.

#### E. THE AREOPAGUS AS BENEFICIARY OF ENDOWMENTS

A pair of documents attest to the Areopagites being beneficiaries of wills, one from near the end of the second century after Christ<sup>125</sup> and one from *ca.* A.D. 240 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2773).<sup>126</sup> The latter of these two documents records the gifts of a herald of the Areopagus to that most august body (lines 1-8). These included meals in the *prytaneion* (line 12) for the last month, a fixed sum to be given to each Areopagite on the twelfth day of Skirophorion and on the birthday of the legator, and a pair of similar gifts to be distributed individually, the nature of which is now lost. There follows a list of dispositions for his *heroon*, followed by the word *kephalaion*, which can mean either a chapter or a principal,<sup>127</sup> then the word for a “disposition.”<sup>128</sup> Certain similarities between this and the former of the two documents may be cited.

<sup>121</sup> Although a distinction may be made between *endeixis* and *apagoge* (U. Paoli, *Studi di Diritto Attico*, Pubblicazioni della R. Università degli Studi di Firenze, Facoltà di lettere e di filosofia, IX, 1930, p. 238), it would seem that the procedure of bringing either before the court would be similar.

<sup>122</sup> See p. 14; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 33, p. 236, where Meritt likens the hand to that of second century imperial letters.

<sup>123</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1118b, lines 5 and 7; see above, p. 49 and note 43.

<sup>124</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1076, re-edited with new fragments by Oliver, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 522-535, lines 28-30.

<sup>125</sup> *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 32, p. 236; see the comments of Oliver, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 403 and J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1962, no. 107, p. 145.

<sup>126</sup> L. Robert has collected a number of such wills. See *Ét. Anat.*, Paris, 1937, pp. 379-380, note 5 and *Bull. Epigr.*, 1949, no. 205, p. 153.

<sup>127</sup> For *κεφάλαιον* meaning “principal,” see Laum, *Stiftungen*, I, p. 147.

<sup>128</sup>  $\delta[\alpha\theta]\eta\kappa\eta$ , see Laum, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116.

In the former, any heading, if it had one, is now lost. The opening line indicates a bequest to the Areopagites of six asses, to be given at the new *noumenia*. There follows a sum<sup>127</sup> related to a codicil<sup>129</sup> set out at interest (line 4), connected with birthday celebrations. A second principal is listed, followed by the regulations for its use. Oliver<sup>130</sup> suggests that the sums at the end might have to do with the cult of the dead, and such a cult would seem to pertain to both documents. The distributions to the Areopagites or to anyone else would guarantee their participation in such a cult, it would seem.

## F. CONCLUSIONS

Precisely when and how the Areopagus was raised to its predominant position in the Roman constitution is not clear. Very significant is the appearance of decrees in its name, alone or in combination with other councils, from the middle of the first century B.C. But even before these Cicero gave evidence of its importance.<sup>131</sup> The herald of the Areopagus appears to have risen in prominence at a date earlier than that at which our evidence first indicates a dominant position for the Areopagus. He figured prominently in the Delian Pythais from 103/2-97/6,<sup>132</sup> in the Delphic Pythais of 128 and 97 B.C.<sup>133</sup> and in the archon lists.<sup>134</sup> Very shortly after the reforms of Sulla he appears as publishing magistrate in an *ephebic* document.<sup>135</sup> The evidences of changes in its position in the state are few before the fourth century after Christ: in the last third of the second century the *hypomnematismos* gave way to the *dogma*; in the second and especially the third centuries the word Areopagite and its plural became common, indicating more emphasis on the individual members; and in the third century the members seem to have been predominantly Roman knights. In the fourth century the Areopagus appears to have become primarily a judicial body. At this period also, it seems that individual Areopagites exercised very summary rights of jurisdiction. These taken together can only indicate a radical constitutional reform, but like the changes due to the Sullan reform, its details are obscure.

A note must be added that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13221 is not Attic and that the reading of line 10, 'Ἀρεοπάγο[ν] οἱ τα(μίαι), is false.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>129</sup> A *codicillum* is a "written document containing dispositions of a testator to be valid after his death," A. Berger, *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, XLIII, 2, 1953, pp. 392-393.

<sup>130</sup> *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 403, note 2, who also mentions parallel documents.

<sup>131</sup> *De nat. deor.*, II, 29, 74; *Ad Att.*, I, 14, 5; V, 11, 6; *Ad Fam.*, XIII, 1, 5.

<sup>132</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336 and 2454. See the text of Dow, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, pp. 116-124.

<sup>133</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 1909-1913, nos. 2 and 3, p. 14.

<sup>134</sup> See Figure 1.

<sup>135</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, III, lines 63-64; see Raubitschek, "Sylleia," *Studies in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, pp. 49-57.

<sup>136</sup> L. Robert, "Hellenica," *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, pp. 39-40.

## CHAPTER V

### THE BOULE AND THE DEMOS

Alongside the Areopagus in Roman Athens the *boule* and the *ekklesia* continued to function. They will be discussed under six major headings, two each for the *boule*, and *demos* acting together, for the *boule* acting alone, and for the *demos* acting alone. The former of each pair of headings will deal with dedications, the latter with decrees, procedure, and structure. The documentation for the sections on dedications is to be found in Appendix I.

#### A. DEDICATIONS OF THE BOULE AND THE DEMOS

In the Roman period the official title of the government of the *polis* of the Athenians became “the *Boule* of the Areopagus, the *Boule* of the five (or six) hundred, and the *Demos*,”<sup>1</sup> but the former title, “the *Boule* and the *Demos* of the Athenians” continued to appear in dedications.<sup>2</sup> The simplest example of this continued usage was the awards of wreaths or crowns. This award, customary to the *boule* and the *demos*, never appears to have been shared with the Areopagus. The most common recipients of these crowns are religious functionaries: basket bearers, initiates from the hearth, and in one case a bearer of the secret symbols of Athena Polias. The single certain exception to this pattern is a pair of crowns included in a group of nine (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3218), where the crowns awarded by the *boule* and the *demos* recall service by an Athenian *nanarchos* as archon of the Kerykes and as an ambassador.<sup>3</sup> Each of the inscribed stones contains at least a pair of crowns, all for the same person, and the aforesaid monument of the navarch (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3218) records nine awards, although only two of these are from the Athenian state. No one of the documents is certainly later than the first century after Christ, and only two have been put forward as possibly being later.

The names of the *boule* and the *demos* appear as dedicators of statues. As with the crowns, the shorter form of the name of the *boule* is used (i.e. simply “the *boule*”).<sup>4</sup> The beginning and the end of the series of statues dedicated by the *boule*

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 140-145; in a small number of documents the name of the *demos* appears in an especially prominent position, either in front of that of the *boule* of the Areopagus, or in front of that of the *boule* of the six hundred. These exceptions will be discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> Graindor already has analyzed the types of decrees known at his time. Because of a large increase in sources it is necessary to rework the material. In order to avoid repeated reference to his excellent studies a general acknowledgment is here made to Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 101-102, 104, 108; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 67; *Hadrien*, pp. 87-90.

<sup>3</sup> For an interpretation of this inscription see Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, II, p. 949.

<sup>4</sup> In one document the long form is used, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4211. Kirchner, following Michaelis (*Rh.*

and *demos* fall at dates later than those of the award of crowns. The greatest concentration of statues falls late in the first century before Christ and early in the first century after, corresponding with the concentrations of statues by the *boule* alone and the *demos* alone (for a suggested explanation, see below, p. 83). The social position of the people so honored covers a wide range, although no Roman emperors appear. Dedicatees include Drusus Caesar (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3257) and Queen Glaphyra (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3437/8) daughter of king Archelaos of the Cappadocians, several notable Romans, prominent Athenians, and religious functionaries. Three of the bases indicate that the *boule* and the *demos* themselves set up the statues (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3490, 3887/8, 3649 [restored]), and it would seem logical to suppose that this were true of all, especially in view of the large number of foreigners, whose benefits to Athens must have far outweighed the cost of their statues.<sup>5</sup> One of the bases held a statue of a girl four of whose crowns were recorded on it (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3554, already mentioned above). Finally, both among the crowns and among the statues there are two examples of a dedication in which the name of the *demos* precedes that of the *boule* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3884 and 3489).

Three documents are recorded using longer formulas. A herm and a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3982, 3678), both set up by third parties, were decreed by the *hypomnematismos* of the Areopagus and by the *eperotema* of the *boule* and *demos*. The *eperotema*, as will be shown below, appears to have been the exclusive property of the *boule* of the five hundred and the *boule* of the Areopagus. The *demos* participated in it only in conjunction with one or both of the other two corporations. The third document was a dedication set up according to the *psephisma* of the *boule* and *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2246). It shares a stone with another inscription dated to around 276 B.C., but seems to be undated itself.<sup>6</sup> If the restoration were correct, this would be the only example of a dedication *κατὰ ψήφισμα* of the *boule* and *demos*, except for some theater seats (Appendix I, p. 148), but the restoration *ψηφισαμένης* is much more likely. The

*Mus.*, XVI, 1861, p. 225), restores the lengthened form to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4166. On the other hand Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 596 and Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig, 1885, no. 67, p. 54, do not restore the lengthened form. If Loewy's sketch is correct, there would not seem to be room for the horizontal stroke of the *tau* of the article. There seems no reason to disallow the possibility of a vacant space between the name of the *boule* and that of the *demos*.

<sup>5</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 42, sees the fact that the *eperotema* was used only for the sake of honoring Athenian citizens as evidence for his interpretation of the *eperotema* (see above, pp. 45-47) on the grounds that no Athenian would have undertaken to pay for honors to a foreigner if asked by the decreeing corporation. On the contrary, it appears to me that the *eperotema* was addressed to the decreeing corporation by an Athenian desiring to erect a statue at his own expense, and dedicatees tended to be people related to him by blood, office, or other such. On the opposite side, the high concentration of foreigners among the other sorts of decrees is not that individual Athenians would not accept the responsibility of paying for the monument, but that the benefactions of these people were to the city as a whole, not to individuals.

<sup>6</sup> The two documents clearly are separate. Koumanoudis (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1890, pp. 108-110, no. 4) refers it to Roman times, while Kirchner merely calls it the "*pars antica*."



two of these documents to which a date may be assigned both should be placed after the middle of the second century after Christ.

It has been shown above (see pp. 38-39) that from the middle of the second century after Christ dedications set up in the name of the *polis* probably represent dedications of the *boule* and the *demos* as opposed to dedications by the Areopagus. This date also marks the beginning of the heaviest concentration of dedications of the *polis* (Appendix I, pp. 145-146), which continues through the middle of the third century. The range of people so honored includes a Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3409), Julia Domna (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3415), several notable Romans and native Athenians prominent in many categories. In six instances a third party is mentioned as *epimeletes* of the work and twice the *polis* is said to have been the constructor. Not a single third party constructor appears. Thus the *boule* and *demos* appear to have been financially responsible for the work. The epimelete probably was allotted funds for the project, but was probably expected to contribute something from his own resources.<sup>7</sup>

#### B. PROCEDURES FOR JOINT ACTION OF THE BOULE AND THE DEMOS

The procedures for cooperation between the Areopagus on one hand and the *boule* and *demos* on the other have been discussed above (see pp. 32-36). Decrees continued to be issued in the name of the *boule* and *demos* jointly. These might be studied to see if these two corporations maintained the same relationship to one another as formerly.

The earliest preserved decrees from Roman Athens include a group of three ephobic documents, which probably are to be dated during the second half of the first century B.C.<sup>8</sup> It has already been suggested that these three probably form a group representing a reaction to the constitution of Sulla as exemplified in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043, on the basis of the appearance of the generals and the *tamias* of the stratiotic funds as publishing magistrates, while the documents representing the Sullan Constitution were published by the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus. This change of publishing magistrate probably is related to a more significant change also reflected in this group of inscriptions, that is, the alternation between the *boule* alone and the *boule* and *demos* as the decreeing corporations. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, to be dated to the period 83-73 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 of 38/7 B.C. are both

<sup>7</sup> It would not be surprising if the epimelete were expected to add a portion of his own money to the funds allotted him in order to make the monument more grandiose, or even it is possible that the public treasuries would award him insufficient funds. The epimeletes of work certainly are prominent enough people. Epimeletes for constructing monuments also appear in other types of dedications; those of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five (or six) hundred, and the *demos* (eleven instances); of the *boule* of the Areopagus and the *demos* (one instance); although in cases of dedications such as these third parties appear sometimes as actual constructors.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, 1042; see above, p. 20, note 28.

<sup>9</sup> For the date see Raubitschek, "Sylleia," *Studies in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, pp. 49-57.

decrees of the *boule* alone, while *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, and 1042 all contain indications of cooperation between the *boule* and the *demos*. Two of these (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 and 1042) are distinguished by the reappearance, although much restored in the preserved texts, of the proposal to reimburse the allotted *prohedroi* in the succeeding assembly and to offer to the assembly the proposal of the *boule*, thus recalling the standard probouleutic function of the pre-Sullan *boule*. The other decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040<sup>9a</sup>) resembles the two decrees of the *boule* alone, except that in the heading appears the formula *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ* just before the name of the proposer. Further, the resolution is sufficiently well preserved to indicate that it was a decision of the *boule* and the *demos*. Another decree to be dated to 49/8 B.C.<sup>10</sup> bears some resemblance to the last of these ephebic decrees. Its opening formula indicates that it also is a decree of both the *boule* and the *demos* (*[ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]*, which fits the space), and the publishing officer of the decree immediately above it is the *tamias* of the stratiotic funds. This document probably can be grouped with the ephebic decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040.

In addition to these decrees there are several other documents in which cooperation between the *boule* and the *demos* is indicated. These were for the most part passed in an assembly, and it would seem logical to suppose that they represent a continuation of the probouleutic function of the *boule*.<sup>11</sup> An honorary decree for a *dadouchos* of ca. 20 B.C.,<sup>12</sup> passed in an assembly, according to the headings, would appear to have been a joint effort of the *boule* and *demos* in the light of the similarity of its structure to that of another decree, clearly indicated as a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*.<sup>13</sup> This latter is the decree in honor of Lamprias dated to ca. A.D. 40-42, which, according to the heading, was passed in an assembly, but according to the wording of the resolution is a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*. A slightly different sort of document is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072,<sup>14</sup> since it was passed in a meeting of the *boule* and not in an assembly, but the formula of the resolution would indicate that it was a joint decree of the *boule* and *demos*.<sup>15</sup> This clearly could not be used to argue in favor

<sup>9a</sup> A new edition in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 255-262.

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1047. See also Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 174, who cites it as an example of continued cooperation between the *boule* and the *demos*. The date of the archon is confirmed by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 282.

<sup>11</sup> The documents in this section will be discussed again below insofar as the texts preserved for us are products either of a meeting of the *boule* or of the assembly.

<sup>12</sup> I. Chr. Threpsiades, *Ἑλληνιστικά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236; re-edited by P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez* (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales de l'université de Bruxelles*, II) 1934, pp. 819-834.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III; see also Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 62-65; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> See Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>15</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 29 and note 34, suggests that the *boule* alone was able to pass decrees valid as decrees of the *boule* and *demos*. Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 86-87 did not hesitate to accept it as a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*.

of a continuation of the probouleutic function of the *boule*. Finally the decree of honors for Ulpius Eubiotos <sup>16</sup> is somewhat exceptional and will be treated separately.

To the epigraphical evidence there may also be added the material gathered by Josef Delz in his analysis of the works of Lucian,<sup>17</sup> which contain three parodies of Athenian decrees (*Tim.*, 50-51; *Deor. Conc.*, 14; *Nec.*, 19). These parodies contain basically the same elements as Athenian decrees, but the arrangement of these elements differs. In only one of these is it clear that the proposal is presented at an *ekklēsia* (*Deor. Conc.*, 14). The other two do not state at what meeting they are presented, and in one case (*Timon*, 50) the context indicates that "the *demos* has been assembled and both councils are waiting." Of the decrees in Lucian's works, only that one in the *Deor. Conc.* contains a heading.

Delz, in his analysis of the decrees, stressed the following points. The epigraphical documents continued to use the long standard formula "so and so *εἶπεν*," while the decrees in Lucian all have the phrase "so and so *εἶπε τὴν γνώμην*." He compares this to similar usage in Thucydides in order to offer an alternative to the proposal of Householder <sup>18</sup> that the formula in Lucian was a borrowing from Aeolic Cyme. This matter of the wording of the formula would not seem to have deep constitutional significance, since *gnome* means merely a proposal not yet voted to the status of a decree (see Appendix II, pp. 161-162). The real contribution of Delz in analyzing the decrees is the recognition that the clause opening the resolution, *δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*, was peculiar to Roman times (p. 138).<sup>19</sup> Indeed, except for the decrees assigned to the period of reaction in the second half of the first century before Christ, all of the decrees passed in the assembly and one decree passed in a *boule* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072) begin their resolution with this formula. Delz concludes that the word *δεδοχθαι*, formerly used in the *probouleuma* of the *boule* and referring only to the action of the *boule*, when it came to be used in the Roman period to introduce the resolution of both the *boule* and the *demos*, would indicate that the probouleutic function had been lost. His suggestion is that a common session may have passed the decrees (p. 139). This would not be much different from the *boulekklesia* at Priene.<sup>20</sup> The use of the formula as Delz views it does not necessarily prove that the probouleutic function was lost, since the phrase *δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ*, which of old was

<sup>16</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>17</sup> *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 136-141. Delz treats not only the parodies of decrees found in Lucian, but he also analyzes the epigraphical material.

<sup>18</sup> F. W. Householder, "The Mock Decrees in Lucian," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 199-201.

<sup>19</sup> A problem arises in connection with the decrees reported in Lucian, since the formula opening the resolution uses the imperative mood, rather than the infinitive. The difference is that between the direct and indirect discourse of the literary and documentary source.

<sup>20</sup> *Inscriptionen von Priene*, no. 246, p. 150; see the comments of Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 32-33, who believes that in Athens there were joint meetings of the *ekklēsia* with both councils.

used in the resolution of *probouleumata*, became the formula to introduce the resolution of actual decrees of the *boule* in the Roman period, and it appears, although restored, introducing the resolution of a decree of the *demos* alone (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078). Therefore it would seem that a change of wording in the formulae occurred in the Roman period and that the word *δεδοχθαι* became the standard introduction to resolutions of any decree. There is no proof that the loss of probouleutic function caused this change. The question is still open whether these decrees of the *boule* and *demos* passed in a session of the assembly were passed by the assembly alone in the name of both corporations, or were passed by the assembly on the basis of a *probouleuma* of the *boule*.

To attribute these changes to a new procedure of common meetings is certainly incorrect, since there appears to be evidence for separate meetings of the *boule* and the *demos* at which each assembly acted separately on the same proposal. This appears in two separate decrees, both probably dated within the last quarter of the first century B.C.<sup>21</sup> Further, there are indications that the *boule* at least was able to decree alone in the name of the *boule* and the *demos* (see below, pp. 79-80), and the possibility suggests itself that the assembly had the same prerogative, especially in view of the extraordinary prominence of the *demos* in the Augustan age (see below, p. 82) and the decrees of the *boule* and the *demos* for which there is no record of the action of the *boule* (see above, p. 65).

Before concluding this discussion of *probouleumata* reference must be made to the decrees for Ulpian Eubiotos<sup>22</sup> passed *ca.* A.D. 230 by the three corporations. The very lateness of its date ought to be warning enough not to group it with the documents of the first century B.C. listed above. The preserved portions of this document are composed of two decrees, the latter of which appears to be a decree of the Areopagus and the former, although the heading is lost, to be a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*. The former decree offers no information concerning the relationship between the *boule* and the *demos*, but in the latter there occurs the phrase<sup>23</sup> "just as the *boule* fore-considered concerning these." This passage would seem to indicate that the probouleutic function had not been lost, even at this late date, although it hardly seems likely that its form remained unchanged.

<sup>21</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069, a decree in honor of Julius Nikanor, in which the names of the *boule* of the Areopagus and that of the six hundred appear in the considerations, which led Graindor (*Auguste*, pp. 104-105) to conclude that even if the assembly did nothing more than ratify the decisions of the two councils, at least it met separately and voted separately. A decree concerning honors for the emperor Augustus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 but see the text of G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-265 and the commentary of Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 101), probably passed by the *boule*, clearly indicates in line 4 that the *demos* had decreed beforehand.

<sup>22</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>23</sup> *Gerusia*, no. 31, lines 39-40; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30, lines 28-29 (restored); Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-351, suggests a variant restoration not adopted by Meritt.

## C. THE BOULE, DEDICATIONS

The *boule* appears alone in the role of dedicator. Just as the *boule* and *demos* could award crowns jointly, so also several crowns awarded by the *boule* alone are preserved (see Appendix I, p. 152). Besides those accompanying prytany decrees (omitted from the list given in Appendix I), crowns were awarded to athletes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3158) and religious functionaries of the same sort as those whom the *boule* and *demos* so honored (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3727). The preserved monuments are hardly numerous enough to warrant further conclusions. Likewise the *boule* alone dedicated a number of statues (see Appendix I, p. 153). Graindor<sup>24</sup> has already observed that the *boule* by itself appears as a dedicator of statues and herms only during the reign of Augustus and then again not until the reign of Hadrian. The present list includes his examples and some new documentation, but there is no call to alter his conclusions. In connection with the list in Appendix I, it is necessary to cite also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3579, a herm which the *boule* set up according to its own *doxanta*,<sup>25</sup> dated to sometime after the Hadrianic reforms. It should be noted that the concentration of dedications of statues, especially that under Augustus, coincides admirably with similar concentrations dedicated by the *boule* and *demos* and by the *demos* alone. More will be said about this later. A single document indicates that the *boule* itself set up the statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3636), and there is no indication of action by a third party in any of the dedications. So it may be assumed that the *boule* was responsible for the setting up of all which bear its name in the nominative. In a single case, not a statue, but a herm (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3735) was dedicated not with the usual formula, but with the words: "having been honored with a herm also in the *tholos* by the most august *boule* of the five hundred." Another (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4475a), from the beginning of the first century after Christ, was a statue of a man healed by Asklepios and Hygeia, set up by the *boule* on the orders of the god. A group of herms (see Appendix I, p. 153) was set up "with the *boule* decreeing." All of these appear to post-date the Hadrianic reforms. One bears an indication that a husband requested the monument (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3960), and another that the *prytaneis* set it up (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680). Only one with certainty can be said not to have indicated the name of a third party.<sup>26</sup> It seems probable that all of the decrees in this category were passed at the instigation of a third party and that the third party paid for the monument. There is a single example of the formula "so and so requesting from the *boule* of the five hundred," in this case a mother seeking to set up a statue of her son (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3996).

Before continuing with an analysis of the types of decrees passed by the *boule*,

<sup>24</sup> *Auguste*, pp. 77, 104, 108; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 67.

<sup>25</sup> Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 90, wanted to emend the reading, but concerning this see below, p. 70.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4007, but republished with a new fragment by Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 65, pp. 260-261, and again with an improved text, *Expounders*, p. 78.

notice should be taken of certain items where the name of the *boule* is conspicuous by its absence (see Appendix I, pp. 143-144). There seems to be a concentration of such in the early first century after Christ and a scattering in the first century before and down into the third century after Christ. These may be adduced as further evidence that the *boule* and *ekklesia* were able to act separately.

This would seem to be a proper occasion to discuss the use of the word *psephisma* or words related to it as used in dedications. The participial form *ψηφισαμένης* is the most common, appearing in decrees of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos* (see Appendix I, pp. 144, three instances); in decrees of the *boule* of the Areopagus alone (see Appendix I, pp. 150, eight instances); in decrees of the *boule* of the five hundred alone (see Appendix I, p. 153, four instances); in decrees of the city and the *demos* (see Appendix I, p. 146, one instance); and in decrees of the city (see Appendix I, p. 146, three instances). The word *psephos* appears twice in metrical inscriptions recording decrees of the *boule* of the Areopagus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3632 and 4006). The word *ψηφίσματι* occurs certainly only once (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3945) in a decree of the Areopagus, and, indeed, is the sole example of a dedication using *psephisma* or a related word which can be dated before the Hadrianic reforms. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3969 *ψηφίσματι* is restored in a dedication probably of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos*. The phrase *κατὰ ψήφισμα* has been restored in a single dedication approved by the *boule* and *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2246). Except for the theater seats dedicated *κατὰ ψήφισμα*,<sup>27</sup> where the expression may well refer to a decree by the *boule* and *demos*, the phrase does not appear in dedications. It might be suggested that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3969 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2246 be restored *ψηφισαμένης*. Quintus Trebellius Rufus, in his *cursus honorum*<sup>28</sup> dated to Domitianic times, is described as "having been honored by a *psephisma* for the setting up of statues and likenesses in every temple and noteworthy spot in the city." Traditionally a *psephisma* was the name applied to the decree of the people based upon the *probouleuma* of the *boule*, as was probably the case with the three ephebic documents of the democratic reaction (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, 1042), but it is clear that in the Roman period a *psephisma* might emanate from the *boule* alone<sup>29</sup> or from the *demos* alone.<sup>30</sup> The majority of the texts using the word *psephisma* belong to the early period of the Roman empire, the first century B.C. The first sure

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5101, 5105, 5121, 5122, 5124, 5138, 5151.

<sup>28</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 32, pp. 72-77; see also *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> As for example in the case of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3625, a dedication of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos*, but subscribed *ψ(ήφισμα)β(ουλῆς)* or *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, an ephebic decree from between 83 and 73 B.C., whose heading bears the legend *βουλῆς ψηφίσματα*. Indeed in the publication clauses of decrees of the *boule* alone (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043, and the prytany decrees, see below) the term *psephisma* is used.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071, as restored by Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 101, and re-edited by G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-261, where the phrase appears *πρ]ότερον ἐψηφίσαιτο ὁ δῆμος*, or *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, whose publication clause calls the decree a *psephisma*.

occurrence of *ψηφισαμένης* in a dedication must be dated not long after the Hadrianic reforms,<sup>31</sup> and they continue through the first half of the third century after Christ. The word is used only in dedications including one or the other *boule*; it never appears with the name of the *demos* alone, although the *demos* can be included, possibly as approving the *psephisma* of either *boule*.

Probably the most characteristic formula used by the *boule* in decreeing honors reads: *κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ* (see Appendix I, pp. 153-154). The first securely dateable examples all post-date the Hadrianic tribal reform. Kirchner has suggested a date in the first century after Christ for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3933 and in either the first or second century after Christ for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4496, although in neither case is there any secure criterion. The latest could fall about the middle of the third century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3815). The dedicatees seem to be limited to noteworthy Athenians. Of the monuments sufficiently well preserved to contain the information,<sup>32</sup> only two (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3638, 3815) do not contain the name either of the constructor or the requestor of the monument. Those who requested monuments include parents, friends, and fellow magistrates.

Finally the *boule* was able to use the formula *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα* (see Appendix I, p. 154). Only three examples are preserved, one of which has a strange formula (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3579), in which the name of the *boule* appears in the nominative, and not the dative. Graindor<sup>33</sup> would emend this to a dative case on the grounds that there are no other examples of either *boule* executing its own decisions. In Roman Athens, where decrees of honor were so common and could be quite extraordinary, it does not seem unreasonable that the *boule* requested permission of itself to construct a monument. Since there are so few dedications using the formula *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα* of the *boule*, it is preferable to discuss all the dedications according to the *doxanta* of any and all corporations together.

There is no sure example of dedications *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα* outside of those of the Areopagus (Appendix I, pp. 149-150, six documents) and those of the *boule* of the five hundred (Appendix I, p. 154, three documents). In both of those attributed to the Areopagus, the *boule* of five (or six) hundred, and the *demos* (Appendix I, p. 144) the formula is restored, and in the sole example attributed to the Areopagus and the *boule* of the six hundred (Appendix I, p. 144), the readings are not above suspicion. The earliest firmly dateable example (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3008, ca. A.D. 112)<sup>34</sup> is among those in which the formula is restored. The remaining dedications whose readings are undisputed all can be placed in the latter half of the second century or the third century after Christ.<sup>35</sup> The majority of these dedications indicate that a third

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4210; for L. Aemilius Juncus, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 55, no. 355.

<sup>32</sup> *I.G.*, III, 965, 966b; *Hesperia*, XIII, 1945, no. 17 are too poorly preserved.

<sup>33</sup> *Hadrien*, p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> Dated by the reappearance of the archon and an ephebe in the ephebic list, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2023.

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3521 has been dated to the early first century after Christ, probably on the basis

party was responsible for the monument, and this probably is true of the remainder. The people honored all seem to be Athenians, ranging from important magistrates and priests to men of learning. The dedicators seem to cover a wide range of Athenian society. Because of the meager number of such decrees, few firm conclusions are possible. There are no records of procedures which can be definitely related to a dedication passed according to the *doxanta*.

#### D. THE BOULE: DECREES, STRUCTURE, PROCEDURE

The *boule* continues to be the corporation addressed by the *prytaneis* seeking to set up a statue of their treasurer<sup>36</sup> or to honor him with a crown;<sup>37</sup> indeed the continuity of prytany decrees passed by the *boule* continues down from the time before Sulla into the times of Augustus, it would seem. In later times only one list is preserved, and that from the time of Hadrian.<sup>38</sup> In a number of other instances where the *prytaneis* propose honors, they are granted by decree of the *boule*. Around A.D. 132/3, prefixed to a decree in which the *prytaneis* honored themselves, is a dedication by the *boule* of "the herald."<sup>39</sup> In another dedication of the early third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680) the *prytaneis* set up a herm of a man on his becoming *sitones* with the *boule* of the five hundred decreeing. This dedication is followed by a list of the *prytaneis*. Somewhat after A.D. 200 the *prytaneis* honored the *epistates* and "sacred Elder" with a herm according to the *eperotema* of the *boule* of the five hundred.<sup>40</sup> Below this dedication they also appended the decree by which the *prytaneis* honored themselves. But dedications by the *prytaneis* need not have been passed by the *boule*

of the high priest of the Augusti, or on the basis of letter forms. The use of the word "Areopagitai" instead of "the *boule* of the Areopagus" would indicate a much later date.

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 97, pp. 165-166 of the early first century before Christ; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 13, p. 29 of around 80 B.C.; no. 14, p. 30 of 64/3 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1049 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 101, pp. 170-171 of 57/6 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 113, pp. 182-183 of 45-20 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 50, p. 198 of the end of the first century B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1070 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 119, p. 193 of shortly before A.D. 19; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073 + 1074 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 121, pp. 193-197 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-300, 403, of ca. A.D. 120.

<sup>37</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3219 of 62/1 B.C.; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 100, p. 170 of mid-first century B.C.; *ibid.*, no. 112, p. 182 of the third quarter of the first century B.C.; *ibid.*, no. 114, pp. 183-185 of the age of Augustus; *ibid.*, no. 115, pp. 185-186 of 25/4-18/7? B.C.; *ibid.*, no. 116, pp. 186-191, of ca. 20 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 49, p. 197 of the end of the first century B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 41, p. 34 of around the year 1; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 7, pp. 38-40 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 120, p. 193 of the early first century B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 62, p. 217 of the first century after Christ.

<sup>38</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073 + 1074 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 121, pp. 193-197 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308, 403. For further discussion of the *prytaneis* see below.

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763; this is a herm, and, although the two documents are lettered in different sizes, they would seem to be part of the same monument.

<sup>40</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817 = Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 29, p. 125. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 37, would date this document to shortly before 220/1 after Christ.



alone. After A.D. 125 and probably in the third century the *prytaneis* of an unknown *phyle* set up a statue of the priest of Artemis Kalliste according to the *eperotema* of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos*.<sup>41</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 is a decree in honor of the imperial house of Septimius Severus prefixed to a prytany list which apparently was passed in a *boule* convoked ἐπὶ τοῖς [εὐαγγ]ελίοις, based on a *gnome* of all three corporations. However, the resolution reads as if it were a decree of all three corporations.<sup>42</sup> Certainly no decree prefixed to a prytany list lacks the name of the *boule*, and the percentage of such decrees by the *boule* in contrast to the otherwise small number of honorary decrees passed by the *boule* is doubtless significant. Dow<sup>43</sup> has analyzed the post-Sullan prytany decree and has concluded that it is based on the old "second" decree, that is the decree of the *boule* in which a particular person, the treasurer, is praised. These decrees lack a heading. The archon date alone indicates when they were passed. The treasurer alone is honored on the basis of the good report by the *prytaneis* and *aisitoi*, while the *aisitoi* receive citations. The *boule* grants permission to erect a statue of the treasurer in gilded armor with an inscribed base. Dow believes that these decrees are a prelude to the time when the *prytaneis* honor themselves, since already the "first" decree, honors for the *prytaneis* by the *boule* and *demos*, is lost. During the time of Augustus the habit of honoring the treasurer of the *prytaneis* seems to have been lost. After this it apparently became customary for the *prytaneis*, when they wished to honor anyone, still to apply to the *boule*, but then have prefixed a simple dedication to the prytany list without any decree. The decree of honors for Atticus and Vibullia Alcia resorts to the older forms because of special circumstances.

A parallel change to that in the prytany decree can be found in the ephebic decrees. Just as that portion of the prytany decree in which the *demos* acted was lost, so in the ephebic decree the *boule* became the sole decreeing authority (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043). Except for the periods of democratic reaction (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, and 1042) the *boule* remained in charge of the ephebic institutions at Athens.<sup>44</sup> Indeed one of the preserved ephebic speeches (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2291b, line 6) is addressed to the *boule*. The post-Sullan ephebic decrees, i.e. those passed by the *boule* alone, each contain several sections. Only the first has a heading giving the date, the place of the meeting, the proposer, etc. Its considerations refer to the report of the cosmète, and the resolution states that the *boule* has decided to accept the sacrifices and to honor the cosmète and the ephebes. The second section lists the proposer, and then proceeds directly to the considerations, which are based on the proposals of the ephebes to

<sup>41</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 42, pp. 242-243. For the date, decrees by *eperotema* should not be dated before the middle of the second century after Christ (see above), and dedications to Artemis Kalliste seem to belong to the third century (see Oliver in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 243).

<sup>42</sup> For an interpretation of this document, see Appendix II, pp. 161-162.

<sup>43</sup> *Prytaneis*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>44</sup> As has already been recognized by Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 57.

honor their cosmēte, and the resolution, which grants the honors and permits a statue of the cosmēte to be set up. The third decree begins immediately with the considerations, which list the noble deeds of the ephebes, while the resolution grants honors to the ephebes. This decree also contains the publication clause that the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus were to publish the decree. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 also contains a fourth decree honoring one of the ephebes proposed by the ephebes and the cosmēte. The format is similar to the second decree.

Aside from the prytany and ephebic documents, the *boule* alone passed several other decrees. The *hieropoioi* who served on an embassy to the shrine of the Kabeiroi in Lemnos were honored with a decree passed in a session of the *boule* in 75/4 B.C.<sup>45</sup> It contains a standard heading with the dates and speaker, but also the phrase *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ*. After the considerations the resolution begins *τύχει ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ*. It is noteworthy that the publishing magistrate, probably the *tamias* of the stratiotic funds, was required to make a special accounting to the *demos*. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046, decreeing repairs to the old temple of Asklepios in the year 52/1 B.C., was a decree of the *boule* alone, although the heading opens with the phrase *Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων*. In addition to the data for dating and the other data of the heading, the meeting is identified as a *boule* in the *bouleuterion*. The considerations record that the priest of Asklepios approached the *boule*, but the name of the proposer is that of another man. The resolution indicates that it has seemed best to the *boule* to permit the priest to make the repairs. To this decree is added a section which records the completion of the repairs and that the priest set up at his own expense the memorial plaque to Asklepios and Hygeia and the *demos* on which was recorded the decree. A decree of the *boule* for celebrating the imperial birthday passed in 22/1 B.C.<sup>46</sup> was passed by the *boule* alone, but apparently the decree was based on a previous decree of the *demos*. The heading gives the appearance of having used a shortened format. The resolution is lost. A decree of A.D. 27/8<sup>47</sup> honors Philoxenos, son of Philoxenos. Except for the absence of the opening phrase, the heading resembles that of the decree of repairs to the temple of Asklepios. The considerations recorded the name of a group of people who approached the *boule*, but this unfortunately is lost, as is the resolution. A document guaranteeing the protection of the *boule* to the cult of Isis at Teithras,<sup>48</sup> passed probably in the first century after Christ, can only have been a decree of the *boule*. Only the conclusion of the decree and the publication clause are preserved, but the contents are called *τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ*, and the publication was so that “ the *boule* might give evidence that it exercised great concern

<sup>45</sup> S. Accame, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-87.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-265 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071.

<sup>47</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 51, pp. 199-200.

<sup>48</sup> Oliver's text, *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VI, 1965, pp. 292f. The decree guarantees the protection of the sanctuary by declaring that prosecutions for *asebeia* could be brought against violators and guarantees that the *boule* and *basileus* will see to the cases.

for the *eusebeia* to the goddess." A decree in honor of Antonius Oxylos of Elis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072) was passed in 116/7 in a session of the *boule*, but according to the resolution was a decree of the *boule* and *demos*. The heading resembles that of the decree for Philoxenos. The considerations do not indicate where the proposal originated.

The size of the *boule* through the opening years of the third century is amply attested. The number of six hundred members was retained from Hellenistic times up to the reforms of Hadrian, when it was reduced to five hundred. Various dates have been assigned to this reform. Graindor,<sup>49</sup> for reasons too involved to be summarized here, argued that the reforms accompanied the first visit in 124/5, while Kirchner<sup>50</sup> used 127/8 as the effective date of the reforms. The most recent suggestion is that of Notopoulos,<sup>51</sup> who by the evidence for the rotation of tribal cycles shows that the tribe Hadrianis began to function in 127/8, but the actual creation of the tribe he pushed back to 126/7 in order to allow some time for its integration into the regular cycles.

In the third century the size was changed again, this time to seven hundred fifty (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669 of 269/70), while a pair of fourth century sources (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3716 and 4222) indicate a *boule* of three hundred members. Can the cessation of prytany lists around the end of the first quarter of the third century after Christ have been connected with the enlargement of the *boule*? Very few documents which mention the *boule* have been dated after this time. These include *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3815, which Graindor<sup>52</sup> would like to put in the third century and Kirchner would place toward the middle of the third century, but which Notopoulos<sup>53</sup> would bring down to the second decade of the third century on prosopographical grounds. Oliver restores ψηφ[ισαμένης τῆς σεμνο] | τάτης βουλ[ῆς τῶν Φ Ϛ] on a base in honor of the wife of the sophist Apsines of Gadara.<sup>54</sup> At the end of the second line where Oliver restored a leaf there would have been space for the restoration ΨΝ. In a decree for Publius Herennius Ptolemaios from the middle of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3668) the word five hundred is restored where the line might just as well have read [ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ] | [καὶ ἡ βουλῇ] τῶν [ΨΝ καὶ] | [ὁ δῆμος], which would fill approximately the same number of letter spaces. B. D. Meritt restores ἡ βουλῇ τῶν Φ in line 28 of *Sacred Gerusia* no. 32,<sup>55</sup> but this might just as well read simply ἡ βουλῇ. One might ask why such a break with tradition as this enlargement of the council and the cessation of prytany decrees might occur, and the answer most readily available at this period

<sup>49</sup> *Hadrien*, pp. 18-33, who also cites previous opinion.

<sup>50</sup> Notes to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2021 and 2037, following U. Kolbe, "Studien zur attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 121-128.

<sup>51</sup> Notopoulos, "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53-56.

<sup>52</sup> *Chronologie*, p. 278.

<sup>53</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 36.

<sup>54</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 65, pp. 260-261; but see the more recent edition in *Expounders*, p. 78.

<sup>55</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

would be financial difficulties. It will be shown below that toward the end of the second century the *bouleutai* regularly served twice and in the early third century three times on occasion. This reveals a decline in the numbers of those able to bear the burden of this office. Still, such a drastic change might require a more serious financial shock to the government of the *polis*. Such did occur under the emperor Maximinus Thrax (A.D. 235-238) who plundered the wealth of the cities.<sup>56</sup> Indeed the loss of the endowments which covered so much of the annual expenses of the city would have been a blow serious enough to occasion drastic remedies. The precise nature of the changes at Athens are not clear, but a reduction in the number of those eligible to become *bouleutai* and an expansion of the *boule* might well indicate that the *boule* had become a permanent body of all eligible rather than one elected annually. Possibly this can also be related to the almost complete cessation of honorary decrees, since the costs of inscribing and setting them up would have created too great an expense.

Epigraphical evidence dealing with qualifications for membership in the *boule* is lacking. In Athens of the fourth century B.C. the right to serve in the *boule* was open to all Athenian citizens; indeed distribution was forced by the limitations to two terms as *bouleutes* (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 62, 3). Eligibility based on citizenship (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 42) involved descent from citizen parents on both sides, enrollment in a deme at eighteen years of age, and two years' service in the ephebic corps.

There are signs of change from this system in Roman Athens. The clearest evidence that increasingly fewer Athenians were getting an opportunity to serve in the *boule* is to be found in the prytany lists, where in the second and third centuries after Christ there was a rapidly increasing frequency of men who served second terms, despite the fact that the preserved prytany lists hardly give a complete picture of the annual board of five hundred *bouleutai*.<sup>57</sup> Indeed in the second half of the second century third terms begin to be attested, as for Vibullius Theophilus of Paiania<sup>58</sup> and Heliodoros son of Artemon of Kydathenaion,<sup>59</sup> whose name appears four times. Both

<sup>56</sup> Herodian, VII, 3, 5; Zosimos, I, 13, 3; see Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 453.

<sup>57</sup> The best attested tribe is Pandionis, for which between the years about A.D. 160 to 170 there are two complete and four partial lists of names (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 78, p. 176, whose date does not certainly fall within this period; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 15, p. 48, whose date is placed only around 160; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1772; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 20, pp. 53-54; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776), in which a total of 122 names is preserved. During this ten year period 400 *bouleutai* from this tribe must have held office. Eighteen of those whose names are preserved were serving a second time within the ten years, while another four served one or two terms outside of this period. We know this despite very meager documentation. For the tribe Akamantis among three lists (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 12, p. 43, dated between A.D. 146-165; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774 of 167/8; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775 of 168/9) which preserve 114 names, thirteen names appear twice. If consideration is given to the paucity of our sources, it seems very likely that the complete lists of *bouleutai* for every year would show that practically every member served twice.

<sup>58</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1772, 1773; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 68, p. 223.

<sup>59</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2478; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 15, p. 48; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776; although two of these need not necessarily be prytany lists.

of these men are members of the tribe Pandionis, the best attested for this period.<sup>60</sup>

The conditions of admission to full citizenship through the *ephebeia* also had undergone changes. In the first third of the third century B.C. the *ephebeia* ceased to be compulsory and service was reduced to a single year<sup>61</sup> with the result that the poorer families ceased to send their sons for training. It is generally assumed that the *ephebeia* at this time ceased to be a prerequisite for the exercise of the rights of citizenship.<sup>62</sup> Under the Roman Empire the ephebate remained the preserve of the wealthy, whether through census requirements or financial considerations is not indicated by our sources. The question must be posed whether full citizenship rights still were consequent to ephebic service. Such seems to have been the case at Alexandria,<sup>63</sup> whose constitution is said to have resembled that of the Athenians.<sup>64</sup> Although the indications from Athens are not conclusive, they lend a certain amount of support. The ephebes participated in a mock civic government, and thus the *ephebeia* was really a training school for those who were preparing to assume their place in the government of the *polis*. This apparently had replaced the Hellenistic custom whereby they had actually attended meetings of the *ekklesia* and *boule*.<sup>65</sup> The *ephebeia* could serve as a road to citizenship for foreigners.<sup>66</sup> Although the evidence has not been gathered systematically, it is striking the number of *bouleutai* attested in prytany lists who either have been ephebes or ephebic magistrates. The relationship of the *boule* to the *ephebeia* has been discussed above. Although the question is still open, the evidence to date would seem to indicate that admission to the *boule* probably was dependent upon enrollment in a deme and ephebic service, and like the proposed *boule* at Alexandria the Athenian *boule* guarded the ephebic rolls, thus preserving the narrowness of the curial class.

<sup>60</sup> There are indications that an attempt was being made to adhere to the old two term limitation. Note especially that of all those for whom a second term is attested, only these two appear a third time and see below, p. 96, note 40.

<sup>61</sup> Chr. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'Ephébie attique*, Paris, 1962, pp. 165-170.

<sup>62</sup> O. W. Reinmuth, "Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 218-219. Pelekidis (p. 185) implies the same when he calls the *ephebeia* "un honneur important pour le citoyen," but apparently not a necessity.

<sup>63</sup> The evidence and parallels are collected by R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*<sup>2</sup>, Warsaw, 1955, pp. 590-592, and notes 36 and 37. The principal documents illustrating the point for Roman Alexandria are two: Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, *P. Lond.*, 1912, see the text and notes of Tcherikover and Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1960, II, no. 153, pp. 36-55; and the "Boule Papyrus," *P.S.I.* 1160, see the text and notes of H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, Oxford, 1954, no. I, pp. 1-3, 83-92, and Tcherikover and Fuks, II, no. 150, pp. 25-29.

<sup>64</sup> *P. Oxy.*, 2177; see the text and notes of H. Musurillo, *op. cit.*, no. X, pp. 61-63, 196-204. A certain Athamas, an Athenian, when challenged as a witness, upheld his competence to testify before Caesar by the affirmation that the Athenians and the Alexandrians used the same laws.

<sup>65</sup> Chr. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'Ephébie attique*, pp. 273-274.

<sup>66</sup> Many questions regarding admission of foreigners to citizenship through the *ephebeia* are still unresolved. See Pelekidis, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-196 and Reinmuth, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 211-231.

The traditional meeting place of the *boule* was the *bouleuterion*,<sup>67</sup> and there is evidence that it continued to sit there during the Roman period.<sup>68</sup> As formerly, the session after the Eleusinia was held in the Eleusinion in the city.<sup>69</sup> But there were several other places of meeting attested for the Roman period, such as the theater and the Theseion;<sup>70</sup> the session in the theater, according to the heading of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 had been transferred there from the Panathenaic stadium, and so the stadium must also be cited as a meeting place. Whether the fact that both of the last cited decrees are ephebic may have some connection with the meeting place is a question well worth consideration.

The *prohedroi* continued to preside at meetings of the *boule* (see below, p. 113). Their relationship to the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, who rose to very great prominence under the Roman empire (see below, pp. 104-106), is not yet clear.

A wide range of people seem to have been able to approach the *boule*. Honorary decrees frequently opened with the phrase *πρόσοδον ποιησάμενοι*. This appears when the *prytaneis* and the *aisitai* sought honors for their treasurer<sup>71</sup> or the ephebes sought honors for their cosmete.<sup>72</sup> The formulaic use of *αἰτησάμενος* in the dedications may well be related to this usage. Those seeking dedications included fathers (*S.E.G.*, XIV, 133) and mothers (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3996, 4521a), husbands (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3960), subordinate officials (*Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 71, p. 48), grandmothers (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3962), and friends (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3683). Analogously those who are recorded as having set up monuments according to the various sorts of decrees must have approached the *boule* in a similar fashion (Appendix I, pp. 153-154). A person desiring to perform a benefaction seems to have been able to have a decree introduced which empowered him to undertake the work, as when the priest of Asklepios desired to restore the old temple (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046), and votaries of the cult of the Egyptian Isis were able to have a decree introduced guaranteeing the sanctity of their precincts (*Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 125-130). Other decrees originated among the corporations of the *polis*. The first decree of the ephebic documents, although it is based on the report of the cosmete, seems to have originated among the *bouleutai* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043). A decree regulating the celebration of Augustus' birthday apparently was patterned on an earlier decree of the *demos*.<sup>73</sup> Special procedures seem to have been in force governing decrees of honors for the imperial house (see Appendix II, pp. 161-

<sup>67</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1025.

<sup>68</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046 of the year 52/1 B.C.

<sup>69</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1026. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072 of A.D. 116/7.

<sup>70</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043, 1039, both cited by Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1026, note 3.

<sup>71</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 61, pp. 213-214; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, 1070. Some omit this formula and the word *ἀποφαίνουσιν* is left: *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 41, p. 34; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1049, 1050.

<sup>72</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043, the second decree. In the latter in the fourth decree also this formula appears when the ephebes and their cosmete sought honors for Sosis, son of Sosis, of Oe.

<sup>73</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-265.

162), and these would explain the *boule* passing a decree based on the *gnome* or proposal of the *synhedria* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077). The person originating or requesting a decree of the *boule* was not necessarily the same as the one who addressed the proposal to the corporation. Thus in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046 it is not the priest of Asklepios, nor in the ephebic second and fourth decrees (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043) is it an ephebe (although the list for the tribe of the speaker of the fourth decree is not complete) who addresses the proposal to the *boule*. Certain items seem to have been addressed by the hoplite general as the celebration of Augustus' birthday <sup>74</sup> and the honors decreed for the house of Septimius Severus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077), but these are probably due to his interest in the imperial cult. The proposals probably were still fore-considered by the *prytaneis*, who saw that a member of the *boule* or a civic magistrate was assigned to read it to the full assembly.

In the preserved documents of the Roman period the actual activity of the *boule* appears to have been restricted to accepting sacrifices in behalf of the community by the ephebes, honoring the ephebes and their cosmete, and crowning them with olive branches (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 1043, the first decree); honoring the ephebes and crowning them with a gold crown (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 1043, the third decree); honoring and crowning with olive branches among others the treasurer of the *prytaneis* and the *hieropoioi*; <sup>75</sup> and honoring and crowning with gold as benefactors of the citizens the high priest and his wife. <sup>76</sup> Under Augustus, and again under Hadrian and his successors, it erected statues, but for the pre-Hadrianic times this authority seems to have been exceptional. <sup>77</sup> The construction of the *agoranomion* in the Roman market and its dedication to Antoninus Pius was the responsibility of the *boule* of the five hundred. <sup>78</sup> A document poorly preserved only in the sketches of Fourmont (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3726) and unique for Roman Athens records that a father dedicated (a statue of) his daughter Eutychia, while the *boule* presented the daughter with  $\tau\eta\ \Phi\iota\Gamma\text{A}\text{I}\text{A}$ . Unfortunately the reading is not satisfactorily resolved. Otherwise its authority appears to have been permissive rather than active. It permitted the priest of Asklepios to make repairs to the old temple (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046) and a statue of Antonius Oxylos to be set up (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072); it permitted the ephebes to crown their cosmete with gold and set up his statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 1043, second decree); and it permitted the *prytaneis* (and *aisitoi*) to set up statues of the treasurer of the *prytaneis* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1070) and of the high priest and his wife, <sup>78</sup> and there is no reason to believe that it could not give itself permission to set up a statue <sup>79</sup> of the priest of the savior Asklepios.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1070; S. Accame, *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-87.

<sup>76</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073 + 1074 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 121, pp. 193-197 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308.

<sup>77</sup> See Appendix I, p. 153 and above p. 68; and Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 108.

<sup>78</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3391; see also H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 304.

<sup>79</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3579. Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 90, would emend this unprecedented document. See above, p. 70.

It would seem that the *boule* did not command funds to publish its own decrees. This would explain the inability to set up statues. The statues under Augustus and Hadrian and his successors may well be the result of windfalls about which we have no information. Such a state of affairs would be natural for a *boule* founded as a probouleutic body, where the final vote, and probably the control of the payment for publication and/or construction rested with the *demos*. Thus the *demos* would have a check on the *boule's* undertaking actions on its own authority. This would also explain why the treasurer who published the honors for the *hieropoioi*<sup>80</sup> acted on a decree of the *boule* alone, but was accountable to the *demos*. The expenses of the two ephebic decrees (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043) passed by the *boule* alone were handled by the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus. The charge of setting up and inscribing the prytany decrees fell to the secretary of the *prytaneis* and the cost must have been borne by their treasurer. The priest of Asklepios (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046) paid not only for the repairs to the temple which he desired, but also for the stele on which the decrees giving him permission and the record of the composition of the work were recorded. The *boule* included careful instructions on publication in the decree to protect the Egyptian goddess (*Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 125-130), but these instructions were addressed to those who had proposed the decree. The actual publisher was Demophilos son of Dionysios of Sounion, also called Daphos, a cult functionary.<sup>81</sup>

Bruno Keil has suggested that the *boule* had the ability to formulate decrees in the name of the whole community. As examples he cited four documents where the resolutions indicate that they were decrees of the *boule* (δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ), but which appeared to be decrees valid for the whole community either because they were subscribed both ἡ βουλή and ὁ δῆμος or because they began with the phrase ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.<sup>82</sup> The following may be added to his evidence. The decree for the *hieropoioi* who went to Lemnos<sup>83</sup> is a decree of the *boule* according to the heading and yet, if Accame's restoration is correct, the publishing officer of the *demos*, the treasurer of the stratiotic funds, has charge of publication and is accountable to the *demos*. The decree to set up a statue of Antonius Oxylos of Elis was passed at a meeting of the sacred *boule* in the Eleusinion, and only the *boule* is

<sup>80</sup> *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-84, see above, p. 73.

<sup>81</sup> For a description of a meeting of the *boule*, which probably had changed little from earlier times, see Busolt-Swoboda, pp. 1026-1027.

<sup>82</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 29, citing *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 1043, 1041, and 1046. The first two are ephebic decrees passed in a session of the *boule* alone, the first (lines 70-73) has a pair of crowns for the cosmete, one awarded by the *boule* and one by the *demos*, while the second opens with ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου and also contains a pair of crowns (lines 76-79) honoring the ephebes, one awarded by each corporation. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 is one of the ephebic decrees of the democratic reaction. It is a decree of the *boule* containing the provisions for transmission to the *demos*, although the only evidence for any activity by the *demos* is the publication by the generals and the treasurer of the stratiotic funds. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046 is the decree of the *boule* to permit the priest of Asklepios to repair the old temple. It opens with the phrase ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>83</sup> Accame, *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-87.



mentioned in the considerations, yet the resolution indicates that “it was resolved by the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos*” (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072). Shortly after the middle of the second century after Christ a statue base dedicated by the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3625) bears at the bottom the legend Ψ(ήφισμα) Β(ουλῆς). Finally *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 was passed in a session of the *boule*, but the resolution indicates that “it was resolved by the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos* of the Athenians.” This document is somewhat exceptional and the participation of the other corporations may have been through their cooperation in framing the *gnome* (see Appendix II, pp. 161-162).

The name of the Council originally was simply “the *boule*.” With the re-emergence of the *boule* of the Areopagus to a predominant position it became necessary to distinguish the two. This was done by the use of the title “the *boule* of the six hundred” (or later “the *boule* of the five hundred”). An early form was recorded in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013 of the second century before Christ, in the law concerning weights and measures, in which both councils are mentioned. Here the reading is ἡ βουλὴ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι. The form later to become regular appeared around the middle of the first century before Christ, and the first appearance is in the dedications of the three corporations jointly, where differentiation is most important (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4106 and 4111). The old short form of the name continued in use in documents of the *boule* and the *demos* or in documents of the *boule* alone, but there are only few scattered examples after the second century after Christ.

The *boule* possessed a judicial competence according to the terms of Hadrian’s oil law.<sup>84</sup> In cases of attempts to export oil contrary to the provisions of the law, if the quantity of oil were less than fifty amphoras, the *boule* would judge the case, but if it were over fifty amphoras, the *ekklesia*. If the informer were a crew member of the ship carrying the oil, the hoplite general was to summon the *boule* or the *ekklesia* on the following day. In case of an appeal to the emperor or to the proconsul the *demos* was to elect syndics to represent the civic government. The decree of the *boule* protecting the cult of Isis guarantees the votaries the right of *phasis* to the *boule* and the *basileus*<sup>85</sup> in cases of *asebeia* against this goddess. This competence in the realm of judicial matters can be seen to a degree even before the Roman period, since in the law concerning weights and measures the *boule* of the six hundred was to make sure that the archons punished transgressors (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, lines 6-7) and to keep vigilant that no seller or buyer used false measures (lines 16-18). It would seem

<sup>84</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100; see Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963, lines 47-55. For comments see Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 74-79, 92, 94; Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 63.

<sup>85</sup> On *phasis* to the *basileus* see E. Derenne, *Les procès d’impiété*, Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l’Université de Liège, fasc. XLV, 1930, p. 241; U. Paoli, *Studi di diritto attico*, Pubblicazioni della r. Università degli studi di Firenze, Facoltà di lettere e di filosofia, IX, 1930, p. 239. For the Isis inscription see Oliver, *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VI, 1965, p. 292.

probable that the *boule* had competence also in other realms of the judicial organization of the city.

Certain references to individual members of the *boule* are preserved. Cassius Dio <sup>86</sup> indicates that according to a law of Hadrian, no *bouleutes* in person or through an agent was to undertake tax farming. It would seem that before this time members of the *boule* may have used their influence wrongly in undertaking tax farming. In the second and third centuries after Christ a certain amount of prestige seems to have accrued to membership in the *boule*, since this membership begins to be mentioned in *cursus honorum*,<sup>87</sup> and although it does not indicate any extraordinary amount of prestige, still it should be recorded that any Iobacch attaining membership had to treat his fellows (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, line 131). The members of the *boule* also became beneficiaries of distributions of money. According to the terms of an endowment established perhaps around 135 or 140,<sup>88</sup> each member of the *boule* (line 16) was to receive a sum of unworn Attic *drachmai* probably at the Eleusinian Mysteries. It would seem that the bequest was a gift of a Cretan, Flavius Zenophilos, given when his son received the distinction of being initiated ἀφ' ἐστίας. The inscription which we possess is a stipulation added in A.D. 165 to cover a surplus, the said surplus to be used to benefit the Eleusinian functionaries listed at the bottom, "even though not of bouleutic rank."<sup>89</sup> An imperial letter of the emperor Commodus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1111) also refers to members of the *boule*. The meaning is far from clear, but the references to the tenth month and to each month recall expressions appearing in endowments for distributions of benefits or for celebrations of feasts. May not this document regulate some benefaction set up for members of the *boule*?

In the inscription recalling Herodes Atticus' triumphal return (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3606, lines 24-26) in the processional order the *boule* follows the *boule* of the Areopagus. In the mid-first century after Christ the *boule* of the six hundred was listed among the dedicatees of a votive offering.<sup>90</sup> Two very fragmentary decrees of the imperial period also mention the *boule*, although the context is far from clear. In one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1122, line 20) a decision of the *boule* is mentioned, and the rest of the context would indicate matters dealing with relations with Rome. In the other (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1123 b3) even the case of the word *boule* is not preserved. The context is not clear.

#### E. THE DEMOS: DEDICATIONS

The *demos* is the third of the corporations of the Athenian government named in

<sup>86</sup> LXIX, 16; see Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 79; Day, *Ec. Hist.*, p. 193; B. d'Orgeval, *L'Empereur Hadrien: Oeuvre législative et administrative*, Paris, 1950, pp. 231-232.

<sup>87</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 105; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3169/70, line 3.

<sup>88</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092, but see the text and comments of J. H. Oliver, "The Eleusinian Endowment," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 381-399.

<sup>89</sup> Translation, Oliver, p. 392, of lines 43-44.

<sup>90</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3185; see Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 176.

the official address. Its opinion was expressed in the *ekklesia*. Dio Cassius<sup>91</sup> relates that Augustus took away the powers in the *ekklesia* from the citizens in 31 B.C. How much power rested in the hands of the people will be reviewed in the succeeding pages. As in the case of the other corporations a beginning will be made with dedicatory monuments.<sup>92</sup>

At the outset notice must be taken of the joint decrees in which the *demos* appears in a position of unprecedented prominence. In a pair of dedications of statue bases for a hoplite general, both seeming to belong to the end of the first century B.C.,<sup>93</sup> the name of the *demos* preceeds both those of the *boule* of the Areopagus and the *boule* of the six hundred. A second pair are dedications of the *demos* and the *boule* of the Areopagus, one dating to around 71 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4104) and the other to ca. 50 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4109). A single statue base (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3884) was dedicated by the *demos* and the *boule*. Kirchner would place this around the end of the first century B.C., apparently on the basis of letter forms. A large number of dedications made by the *boule* of the Areopagus and the *demos*, without the *boule* of the six hundred, appear in the first quarter of the first century after Christ (Appendix I, pp. 143-144). A single dedication has the names of the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *demos*, and the *boule* of the six hundred (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 87 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4209). Finally a series of crowns awarded by the *demos* and the *boule* are to be dated after 86 B.C.<sup>94</sup>

The largest single group of dedications from Roman Athens was made in the name of the *demos* alone.<sup>95</sup> They begin with Sulla himself<sup>96</sup> and the last firmly dated example belongs to the year A.D. 145/6.<sup>97</sup> A moderate number is to be found in the first half of the first century B.C. and a substantial increase in the second half of the same century, but it is during the reign of Augustus that the largest concentration appears, since well over half can be dated to the period 27 B.C. to A.D. 14. The numbers continue to be only slightly diminished during the early years of Tiberius, after which

<sup>91</sup> LI, 2, 1; for comment see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 103.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 154-159. Again it may be noted that Graindor has already analyzed most of the material, but his conclusions will be considered only when pertinent, since the wealth of new material warrants an entirely new study. See Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 102-103; *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 69-71; *Hadrien*, p. 89. Decrees made in conjunction with the other corporations have been discussed elsewhere.

<sup>93</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3500, 3501; Kirchner sets the date on the basis of the spelling 'Αρῆον. Graindor, *Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 285, no. 302, dated the hoplite general named in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3500 to the early empire.

<sup>94</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3489; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 24-25 re-dates the archons mentioned in this document to 77/6 and 76/5 B.C.

<sup>95</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 155-159.

<sup>96</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4103, but δ δημος is restored. The next dateable example is *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, no. 35, pp. 253-254, of the year 72 B.C.

<sup>97</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3741; two are assigned to later dates: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3583, 4212; but their poor state of preservation leaves the restoration of the names in doubt.

there is a gap until almost the middle of the century, where another fairly large grouping falls, apparently within the rule of Claudius. After this group the examples become scattered. The dates of the concentrations of these documents in the early empire do not conflict with the dates of the documents in which the *demos* attained unprecedented prominence. It hardly seems likely that Augustus deprived the *demos* as a whole of its power. The reasons for such a sharp increase in dedications under Augustus are not specifically stated, but the very prominence of the people honored might well suggest that the Athenians had found a new source of revenue after Augustus cut off the lucrative selling of citizenship around 20 B.C. (Dio Cassius, LIV, 7,2).<sup>98</sup> Indeed this is the only pre-Hadrianic period in which the *boule* set up statues (see above), and also during the reign of Augustus came the real concentration of statues dedicated by the *boule* and *demos* (see above). The people honored by the *demos* alone included the emperor himself (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 67), countless members of the imperial family, foreign monarchs, the most noteworthy Romans and a few Athenians. The majority of the dedications are statue bases, but there is a scattering of other types. A few indicate that the *demos* itself was responsible for setting up the monument.<sup>99</sup> Since there are no indications that a third party did the building of any of these monuments, it is most likely that this fell to the *demos*, although in one instance it was done with moneys donated by Julius Caesar and Augustus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3175). One base bears the name of the *demos* in the nominative, the name of the dedicatee, Sempronia Atratina in the nominative, and finally the name of Caligula as the restorer of the monument.<sup>100</sup> Outside of these monuments, the *demos* was not very active regarding dedications. Two examples of the award of crowns are recorded.<sup>101</sup> The dedications of the *demos* do not extend beyond the end of the second century after Christ. The latest certainly dated example falls ca. A.D. 170.<sup>102</sup> The last before that date belong around the middle of the second century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3583 and 3741). Thus the waning influence of the *ekklesia* is reflected in the dedications.

#### F. THE EKKLESIA: DECREES, ORGANIZATION, PROCEDURES

The texts of several decrees are preserved which contain indications that they were passed in a session of the *ekklesia*. Most are joint decrees of the *boule* and the *demos*, probably indicating the continued use of the *probouleuma*. They include *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1047,<sup>103</sup> dated to 49/8 B.C., which contains parts of two probably contemporary

<sup>98</sup> See Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 170-171.

<sup>99</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3427, 3428, 3514, 3509, 3513, 3897, 4138, 3913, 4158; *Hesperia*, XV, 1947, no. 63; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3510, 3752, 3717.

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5179; see Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>101</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4013, undated, in which there is also a matching crown by the *boule*, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3639 of around A.D. 170.

<sup>102</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3639, dated by a reference to the invasion of the Kostobokoi in A.D. 169/70.

<sup>103</sup> See Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 174.

decrees. Not enough of the first is preserved to permit any firm conclusions concerning it, but the second has been restored convincingly to indicate that it is a decree of the *boule* and the *demos* passed in an *ekklesia kyria*. A decree in honor of a *dadouchos*<sup>104</sup> was passed sometime around 20 B.C. by an *ekklesia kyria*. Its heading begins ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῆς βουλῆς κα[ὶ τοῦ δήμο]υ τοῦ Ἀθ[ηναίων], which would seem to indicate that it was a joint decree.<sup>105</sup> A decree in honor of Julius Nikanor<sup>106</sup> belonging to the end of the first century B.C. is a decree of the *ekklesia* alone, it would seem, since decrees of the *boule* of the six hundred and of the *boule* of the Areopagus served as precedents, not *probouleumata*. The decree for Lamprias<sup>107</sup> was passed ca. 40-42 in an *ekklesia kyria* as a decree of the *boule* and the *demos* before it was sent on to the *boule* of the Areopagus. An imperial letter of ca. A.D. 130<sup>108</sup> apparently discusses a *gnome* of the *boule* and *demos* sent to the emperor for approval before it was finally passed as a decree. An honorary document of A.D. 203<sup>109</sup> contains portions of two decrees, in both of which, it would seem, shortened forms of the heading were used. There is no indication of which corporation passed the first, while the second mentions an *ekklesia* (line 12). It may be that as in *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 the former was a decree of the Areopagus and the latter of the *boule* and the *demos* passed in an *ekklesia*. Around A.D. 220 the *demos* alone passed a decree concerning the restoration of the Eleusinian mysteries.<sup>110</sup> The *gnome* of the *demos* was to have been read to the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, the hierophant and the *genos* of the Eumolpidae, indicating, it would seem, that they were informed of the contents before the decree was finally passed (see Appendix II, pp. 161-162). As in the decree above, the heading appears to be of a shortened form. The first of the two decrees in honor of Ulpian Eubiotos, passed ca. A.D. 230,<sup>111</sup> appears to have been a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*, probably passed in an *ekklesia*, although the heading is not preserved. Finally, one of the parodies of decrees in Lucian<sup>112</sup> is a decree of the *boule* and the *demos* according to the resolution, but it was passed in an *ekklesia*.

<sup>104</sup> K. Kourouniotes, *Ἑλεσινιακά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236 = P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, II, pp. 819-834. J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12, would set the date at 21/0 B.C.

<sup>105</sup> Or so Keil would have to conclude if we accept his belief that such a heading on a decree of the *boule* alone indicates validity as a decree of the whole community, *Beiträge*, p. 29.

<sup>106</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069; see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 101; Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 178; Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 318.

<sup>107</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III; see also Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 4-14; Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 69-70; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 138.

<sup>108</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 33, p. 78; see also Appendix II, pp. 161-162.

<sup>109</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1116 + 1081/5 = *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, pp. 85-90.

<sup>110</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078; see also Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 28; Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 180; Oliver, *Cl. Phil.*, XLIV, 1949, p. 202; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 139. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 37-39 would date this document to A.D. 221/2.

<sup>111</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31 and 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>112</sup> *Deor. Conc.*, 14-18; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 136-146, but especially 144-146.

Notice must be taken of the series of three ephebic documents of the reactionary period in the second half of the first century B.C. Two of these were decrees of the *boule* to be transmitted to the *demos* as *probouleumata* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, 1042), but there is no record of the action of the *demos*. The third, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 + 1025, re-edited by Reinmuth,<sup>113</sup> who dates it in or near 43/2 B.C., contains both a decree of the *boule* and a separate decree of the *demos*.

There is evidence that during the Roman period the *demos*, like the *boule*, was able to pass valid decrees by itself (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069, 1078), although probably subject to the approval of the other corporations. The *demos* was competent to set up statues (see Appendix I, pp. 155-159) and to decree honors (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069), although they were based on previous decrees of the *boule* of the six hundred and the *boule* of the Areopagus.<sup>114</sup> The *demos* seems to have been the originating corporation of a decree regulating the celebration of the Eleusinian festival (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078), although its *gnome* had first to be approved by the other corporations.<sup>115</sup> In this decree the *demos* issues instructions to the kosmets of the ephebes governing their participation. A decree concerning the celebration of the emperor's birthday,<sup>116</sup> passed by the *boule* between 27 and 20 B.C., apparently was based on a previous decree of the *demos*.

Although there is ample testimony for the several meeting places of the *ekklesia* in Athens before the Sullan invasion,<sup>117</sup> the indications for them are few during the Roman hegemony. Two inscriptions and a passage from Philostratos indicate the continued use of the theater.<sup>118</sup> The Pnyx appears to have returned to use for the election of the hoplite general, but this also occurred in the theater.<sup>119</sup> Delz offers evidence to indicate that the Agora also was used, but this is not certain.<sup>119a</sup> McDonald (pp. 60-61) arranges the evidence chronologically and suggests a return to the Pnyx at the time of Apollonios' refusal to attend the assembly in the theater. A

<sup>113</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 255-272.

<sup>114</sup> See Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 105.

<sup>115</sup> On the use of *gnome* here, see below, Appendix II, pp. 161-162.

<sup>116</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071; see the edition of G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-265, who gives bibliography.

<sup>117</sup> The history of the meeting places of the assembly is studied in detail by William A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, 1943, pp. 44-61, for the Classical and post-Classical times. His list includes the Pnyx, the Agora for ostracism, the precinct of Dionysos, the Peiraeus and the theater for regular meetings, and on extraordinary occasions at Kolonos, the theater of Dionysos at Mounychia, and the Odeion of Perikles.

<sup>118</sup> K. Kourouniotes, *Ἑλευσινιακά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236 = P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, II, pp. 819-834; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B, III; Philostratos, *Vit. Apol.*, IV, 22, p. 141 Kayser. The most recent discussion of the meeting places during the Roman period is to be found in Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 117-120.

<sup>119</sup> For the Pnyx see Schol. to Plato, *Critias*, 112a; Hesychius, *s.v.* Πνύξ; for the theater Alciphron, II, 2, 3 (III, 10) and Poseidonios in Athenaios, V, 51; p. 213e.

<sup>119a</sup> Delz, *op. cit.*, p. 120; see also McDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 60, who does not recognize this as a true meeting place of the *ekklesia*.

passage from Lucian (*I. Tr.*, 11) and archaeological evidence are cited in support.<sup>119b</sup>

There has been much discussion about the right to make proposals in an *ekklesia*, and most investigators limit it to magistrates or Areopagites.<sup>120</sup> An honorary decree for a *dadouchos*<sup>121</sup> was presented to the *demos* by a commission selected by the *genos* of the Kerykes. Although the commission contained many prominent Eleusinian functionaries, the speaker was among the lesser members, a *hymnagogos*, although still a member of a distinguished family, Diotimos son of Diotimos of Halai. The honorary decree for Lamprias (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 82-84 = *S.I.G.*,<sup>8</sup> 796 B, III) was proposed both in the Areopagus and in the assembly by the same man, who was then selected as a member of the embassy to the city of the Epidaurians. It would seem that he probably must have been a member of the Areopagus to have addressed that august body,<sup>122</sup> but even this is not certain. Because of his both proposing and participating in the embassy, it would seem likely that he was one of the initiators of the proposal. Of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078 it is the archon of the Eumolpids, the clan traditionally entrusted with the guarding of the Eleusinian mysteries, who proposed the measures for the restoration of the mysteries. In each of the decrees cited, the person addressing the assembly appears to have been one who was interested in obtaining the decree proposed. This is unlike the procedure before the *boule*, where the speaker usually was a person other than the individual or the members of the group who originated the proposal. The evidence from the parodies of meetings written by Lucian<sup>123</sup> would indicate a restriction on the right to speak, but this seems to have been based on factors other than the current holding of a magistracy or a council seat.

In the Athens of Aristotle the rights of citizenship gained through registration in a deme and a term of service as an ephebe, conditions which were fulfilled by every son of two Athenian parents, guaranteed a seat in the *ekklesia*. The right to address that assembly was open to any citizen who wished. There are indications that this was not true at Athens in the Roman period. An imperial letter of the late second century which discusses eligibility for the *gerusia* specifies that a candidate should be among οἱ ἐκκλησιάζοντες κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα.<sup>124</sup> The verb ἐκκλησιάζειν may mean simply "to attend the assembly," but more probably it indicates the right to participate by speaking. The evidence from Lucian indicates that not all those attending had the right of addressing the assembly. Such a restriction would not have been without

<sup>119b</sup> McDonald cites Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 85, for the reconstruction on the Pnyx. Graindor cites K. Kourouniotes and Homer A. Thompson in *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 139-192. Thompson has since revised his chronology in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 297-299, and the only firm evidence for renewed use in Hadrianic times are "lamps and other finds" (McDonald, p. 80).

<sup>120</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 34; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 103; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 70; Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 180. Above, pp. 28-29, there is the evidence concerning the hoplite general.

<sup>121</sup> K. Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236 = P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, II, pp. 819-834.

<sup>122</sup> As Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 34, concludes.

<sup>123</sup> As gathered by Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>124</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 24, pp. 108-120, and a new fragment, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236, lines 6 and 18; see the comments of Oliver, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 402.

precedent in Athens.<sup>125</sup> In the dialogues of Lucian Hermes restricts the privilege of speaking to τῶν τελείων θεῶν, οἷς ἔξεστιν (*Deor. Conc.*, 1; *I. Tr.*, 18).<sup>126</sup> The gods who were common and artless were excluded from an active role, while those of precious materials or of venerable age were given various priorities (*I. Tr.*, 7).<sup>127</sup> This assembly then was divided into those who had full rights and those who could only listen in silence, and probably participate in voting. There is no evidence connecting this situation with that at Athens, but it is highly likely that the right to address the assembly was the preserve of a special class, and to identify this class with those who had the right to seek membership in the *boule* is a temptation. According to Lucian (*I. Tr.*, 26) Apollo was found wanting only in age. Otherwise he was “a completely proper man to make a speech, having graduated from the ephebes some time ago and having been inscribed in the *lexiarchikon* of the twelve, and having just missed being in the *boule* of Kronos.” It is possible that every son of Athenian parents still had the right to attend the sessions, but without having had the ephebic training he was probably relegated to a passive role, except in the matter of voting; and all of the recorded votes appear to have been unanimous.<sup>128</sup>

The competence of the *demos* when decreeing jointly with the *boule* seems to have remained very broad. In three ephebic documents of the second half of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, 1042) the usual resolutions were made: in the first decree to accept the benefits of the ephebic sacrifices, to honor the cosmēte and the ephebes, and to crown each with an olive wreath; in the second to permit the ephebes to crown the cosmēte with a gold crown and to set up his statue; and in the third to honor the ephebes and crown them with a gold crown and to announce the crown at the various festivals and to honor the lesser ephebic officials and to crown them with olive wreaths. In the other documents the assembly is found awarding praise and olive crowns,<sup>129</sup> setting up statues,<sup>130</sup> including that of a Roman emperor,<sup>131</sup> and providing for the publication of its decrees.<sup>132</sup> It also appears to have been able to award meals in the *prytaneion*<sup>133</sup> and in the Tholos,<sup>134</sup> *chrysophoreia*,<sup>135</sup> *prohedria*

<sup>125</sup> See Busolt-Swoboda, p. 997, citing Deinarchos, I, 71, who indicates a restriction to land-owners in 324/3 B.C. Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 112, note 30, comments on the possibility of such a situation in Roman Athens.

<sup>126</sup> See also Delz, pp. 37-38, 123.

<sup>127</sup> See Delz, p. 123. The idealized kingdom of philosophers of *Herm.*, 23 would not grant citizenship to all. See Delz, p. 38.

<sup>128</sup> *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, see note 111; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2090.

<sup>129</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 154-155; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1037; 1990; *Gerusia*, no. 31 (see above, note 111).

<sup>130</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, pp. 85-90; Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31 (see above, note 111); Lucian, *Timon*, 51 (see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 143-144); and Appendix I, pp. 155-159.

<sup>131</sup> See the proposals which the *boule* and the *demos* offered to Hadrian, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 33, pp. 77-78.

<sup>132</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1047; IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III.

<sup>133</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, pp. 85-90; *Gerusia*, no. 31, line 15 (see above, note 111); *I.G.*,



in the games,<sup>136</sup> seats in the theater of Dionysos<sup>137</sup> and the resulting exemption from taxation and liturgy throughout Attica and the islands belonging to the Athenians and invitation by the *prytaneis* to the Dionysiac games each time they were celebrated and the honor of a front seat.<sup>138</sup> It would seem that a commission to investigate credentials for citizenship could be appointed by the *ekklesia*.<sup>139</sup> In the decree for Ulpius Eubiotos there were certain provisions which Oliver viewed as unprecedented<sup>140</sup> and therefore considered separate from ordinary competence; these include (Oliver's translations), "Invitation to the Theatre by the *prytaneis* on the occasion of every public procession and of every assembly meeting, for himself and his two sons, with the honor of a front seat and of a share in sacrifices and libations"; and "Participation in the kind of public maintenance to which the hierophant [and the *daduchus*] were entitled, and in all distributions made out of state funds or out of private benevolence [to the Athenian Councillors?]."

In addition to the items of competence found in decrees, there is evidence for the following items: the *demos* voted permission for gladiatorial shows;<sup>141</sup> it elected hoplite generals;<sup>142</sup> and it constructed and dedicated buildings.<sup>143</sup> The *boule* and the *demos* also seem to have concerned themselves with honors for the Roman emperors.<sup>144</sup>

The *demos* also seems to have had a judicial competence. The most explicit reference is the oil law of Hadrian.<sup>145</sup> According to the terms of this law, any case of an attempt to export olive oil illegally in which over fifty amphoras were involved was to be judged by the *ekklesia*; it was to be summoned on the day following the apprehension, if the informant was a crew-member of the ship carrying the oil. The hoplite general did the summoning. Further if an appeal were to be made to the emperor or to the proconsul, the *demos* was to elect *syndikoi* to represent it, or if the

II<sup>2</sup>, 1990, line 9. *Sitesis* in the *prytaneion* also is an endowed privilege for the members of the Areopagus on certain dates, according to the terms of the will of a herald (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2773 of ca. A.D. 240). On *sitesis* see Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 70 and Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp. 166, 173-174.

<sup>134</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31, line 15 (see note 111).

<sup>135</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, pp. 85-90; see also Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 71, who cites *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4193, although the corporation making the award is not named.

<sup>136</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31 (see above, note 111).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*; Appendix I, pp. 148, 152.

<sup>138</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 31 (see above, note 111).

<sup>139</sup> Lucian, *Deor. Conc.*, 15, but compare Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>140</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 353-354.

<sup>141</sup> Lucian, *Dem.*, 57; Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 89; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 116.

<sup>142</sup> See above, p. 85.

<sup>143</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3173, 3179, 3175, 3242 = *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 186-194.

<sup>144</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 33, pp. 77-78; note that the decree regulating the celebration of the imperial birthday (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-262) originated in the *demos*.

<sup>145</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100; see the edition of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963; for discussion see Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 63; Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 74-77; Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 189-192; B. d'Orgeval, *L'Empereur Hadrien: Oeuvre législative et administrative*, pp. 231-232; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 115.

oil had already been shipped before the information, the *demos* was to bring suit in the home city of the offender and before the emperor. Lucian<sup>146</sup> seems to indicate that certain cases of *asebeia* could be tried before the *demos*. If Lucian is to be trusted,<sup>147</sup> the *demos* was competent to decide on a death penalty in a case of *eisangelia* and confiscation of goods.<sup>148</sup> Kirchner has restored *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1113 to indicate that the *demos* also might decide on exile, but the restoration more probably ought to read "the *boule* of the Areopagus," as Keil has suggested.<sup>149</sup> The *demos* seems to have been charged with the choice of administrators to look after the property of orphans (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1080). Another document,<sup>150</sup> a judgment by the legate L. Aemilius Juncus, has a line connecting the *demos* with some sort of a decision over land measures.

The meetings of the *demos* continued to be presided over by the *prohedroi*;<sup>151</sup> although the shortened headings of the later decrees do not mention them,<sup>152</sup> ca. A.D. 230 it was a *prohedros* who put the decree for Ulpius Eubiotos to a vote.<sup>153</sup> The evidence from Lucian indicates that the herald (of the *boule* and *demos*) announced the meeting,<sup>154</sup> since in both passages Zeus ordered Hermes to make the announcement. According to the epigraphical evidence<sup>155</sup> voting was by show of hands "yea" and "nay." Confirmation can be found in Lucian,<sup>156</sup> where Zeus refused to ask for "nays," knowing that they would prevail. The election of the hoplite general also was accomplished by show of hands.<sup>157</sup>

The publication of decrees of the *boule* and *demos* traditionally fell to the treasurer of the stratiotic funds together with the generals, as was the case with the

<sup>146</sup> *Dem.*, 11; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>147</sup> *Gall.*, 22; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 127; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1009.

<sup>148</sup> Lucian, *Tim.*, 36; *Gall.*, 22; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 127; note also that confiscation was the penalty under the terms of Hadrian's oil law (lines 27, 32-33, 41, 44-45).

<sup>149</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 63, note 84.

<sup>150</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3194; see also Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 438-440 and *A.J.P.*, LXXVIII, 1957, p. 35.

<sup>151</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1047; 'Ελευσινιακά, I, 1932, pp. 223-236 = *Mélanges Bidez*, II, pp. 819-834; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III; Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 115, also cites *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072 and 1077, but these are decrees of the *boule*.

<sup>152</sup> E.g., *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, pp. 85-90 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1081/5 + 1116, 1078.

<sup>153</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, see above, note 111.

<sup>154</sup> *I. Tr.*, 18; *Deor. Conc.*, 1; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 122-123. About the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, a very prominent man in the period of the Roman Empire, see below, pp. 104-106.

<sup>155</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, see note 111 above. The record of the approval of Herodes' gift of white dress for the ephebes indicates that a similar procedure was used (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2090), although there is no indication of which corporation was acting.

<sup>156</sup> *Deor. Conc.*, 19, but see also *Tim.*, 36, ἐκκλησιαστὴς ψηφοφόρησας, see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 161 and note 29, p. 127.

<sup>157</sup> Hesychius, s.v. Πνίξ, who uses χειροτονῶσιν, but Alciphron, II, 2, 3, (III, 10) uses ἐβδών. Lucian (*Tim.*, 36) uses the word ψηφοφόρησας, but Delz believes that the secret ballot by pebbles was not used under the empire, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 127.

three ephebic decrees of the democratic reaction (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, 1042). A fragmentary decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1047, probably of the middle of the first century B.C.) was published by the secretary of the *prytaneis*, but the treasurer of the stratiotic funds paid the expenses. The treasurer of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai was instructed to publish the decree containing regulations for the celebration of the Eleusinia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078), a decree passed by the *demos* alone. The decree of honors for Lamprias passed by the *boule* and *demos* (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III) was to be published by a group of ambassadors, but this embassy was ratified later by the Areopagus.

Finally an honorary decree mentions a *prostates* of the *demos* and of the *boule* of the five hundred,<sup>158</sup> which Oliver would translate as *patronus ordinis et populi* or *patronus decurionum et populi*, and a dedication was set up to Sextus, "the age long hegemon of the *boule* of the Areopagus and the *demos*."<sup>159</sup> Finally *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1098, which mentions the *demos* several times, is actually not a letter from a Roman magistrate, but an honorary decree from the second century B.C.<sup>160</sup>

## G. CONCLUSIONS

Although there is evidence that the *boule* and the *demos* continued to function as before, it is clear that the reform of Sulla resulted in an augmentation of the powers of the *boule* at the expense of the *ekklesia*. This is reflected in the wide scope of decrees that the *boule* was able to pass on its own authority, without the vote of the *ekklesia*. The *boule* passed prytany decrees and was the corporation which approved dedications by the *prytaneis*; and except in the periods of democratic reaction it passed ephebic decrees. Several other decrees of the *boule* have been listed where there is no evidence of the cooperation from the *demos*. The preserved texts of decrees passed jointly by the *boule* and *demos* emanate from meetings of the *demos* in an *ekklesia*, where the *probouleuma* of the *boule* officially became a *psaphisma*. The *ekklesia* also gives evidence of having been able to pass valid decrees on its own authority.

The dedications preserved from Roman Athens probably should be classed into two categories: dedications made by the corporations and those merely approved by them. The former may be identified by the appearance of the name of the corporation(s) in the nominative. The others have a formula employing less direct attribution—according to the *eperotema*, to the *dogma*, to the *hypomnematismos*, or with such and such decreeing, etc. This latter class of dedication reflects vigorous constitutional activity in the latter half of the second century after Christ, for changes in terminology occur, which probably reflect more basic changes. The *dogma* of the Areopagus

<sup>158</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, pp. 85-90.

<sup>159</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4228; see above, p. 58.

<sup>160</sup> See A. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., LXI, 1924, p. 128, no. 4.

replaced the *hypomnematismos*; the *eperotema* of either the *boule* of the five hundred or of the Areopagus came into use. The participial form of the verb “to decree” had already come into usage in the second quarter of the century. The *demos* seems not to have participated in this latter form of dedication at all, while the *boule* participated in the former only under Augustus and after the beginning of Hadrian’s reign. The *demos* fades out of the picture in the later years of the second century.

A major constitutional change occurred at the end of the first third of the third century, when the *boule* was expanded to seven hundred fifty members. Later in the fourth century it was cut back to three hundred. The details of other changes in the third century are not clear because of poor documentation. It was around the same time that prytany decrees ceased to be passed.

## CHAPTER VI

### COMMITTEES, OFFICERS AND SERVANTS OF THE COUNCIL

An analysis has been made now of the functions of the three corporations which constituted the government of the *polis* of the Athenians and of the major magistrates of the *polis*. One of these corporations, the *boule*, was divided into twelve or thirteen committees, each of which took a turn in sitting as an executive council for a given period of the year. These were the *prytaneis*, who during their tenure resided in the Tholos. Closely connected with the *prytaneis* in our documentation were the *aisitai*, or lesser functionaries who had the right to meals at public expense. Finally there were several other officials of the *boule* about whom a few words must be said.

#### A. THE PRYTANEIS

The *prytaneis* continued to be recorded through the course of the Roman period down into the third century after Christ.<sup>1</sup> The reforms under Sulla are clearly reflected by the prytany decree, as S. Dow has shown.<sup>2</sup> From the earlier prytany documents the post-Sullan decree preserved only the second decree, that is the decree of the *boule* honoring a single individual, in this instance the treasurer of the *prytaneis*. No heading, other than the archon date, appears in these decrees.<sup>3</sup> The *prytaneis* in company with the *aisitai* requested from the *boule* honors and a crown for their treasurer, and usually, although not always,<sup>4</sup> permission to set up his statue in gilded armor. There followed the list of the *prytaneis* and citations for various civic officials and *aisitai*. That the decree of the *boule* included honors for the *prytaneis* themselves

<sup>1</sup> The latest date applied to a prytany list (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 59, p. 49) is 227/8-230/1 by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 40, dating by the archon [— — —] of Marathon, the younger. This date is dependent upon Notopoulos' identification of the Aurelioι omitted in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1828 (p. 38), which is faulty. A firmer date can be fixed to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1832 by the inclusion of the name of Alexander Severus. Thus the limits can be set between 222/3-234/5. Within this period various years are suggested (see Notopoulos, p. 40). Otherwise there is a whole series which can be dated in the 210's or 220's. (For a discussion see Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 305-307, note 15.)

<sup>2</sup> *Prytaneis*, p. 25; see also Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 108; Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 173. Dow's list of post-Sullan prytany decrees has been brought up to date by G. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 248, note 45, and to the composite list may be added *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 28, p. 21; no. 41, p. 34; no. 56, p. 47; XXXIII, 1964, no. 47, p. 196; no. 48, p. 197; no. 49, p. 197; no. 50, pp. 198-199; and XXXIV, 1965, no. 6, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> There is a single exception, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 14, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Merely honors and a crown were awarded in *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 47, p. 196; XII, 1943, no. 14, pp. 50-60; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 116, p. 186-191.

was very rare, although not completely unheard of.<sup>5</sup> With a single exception,<sup>6</sup> all of the preserved post-Sullan prytany decrees occur before the end of Augustus' rule, or within a short while after.<sup>7</sup> The fortunes of these decrees are probably related to the ability to find a citizen sufficiently wealthy to perform the sacrifices required in a style sufficiently magnificent to warrant such honor, and thus to the fortune of the treasurer of the *prytaneis* (see below). Awards of crowns do not generally appear in the prytany lists of a later period.<sup>8</sup> Those for whom citations are preserved include the treasurer of the *prytaneis*,<sup>9</sup> the hoplite general,<sup>10</sup> the treasurer of the stratiotic funds,<sup>11</sup> the herald of the *boule* and the *demos*,<sup>12</sup> the treasurer of the sacred *diataxis*,<sup>13</sup> the secretary and the sub-secretary,<sup>14</sup> the treasurer of the *boule* and *demos* and the secretary of the *demos*,<sup>15</sup> the treasurer of the *boule*,<sup>16</sup> the secretary of the *synhedrion*,<sup>17</sup> the *eponymos*,<sup>18</sup> a priest of the Phosporoi<sup>19</sup> and a *litourgos*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 121, pp. 193-197 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308, 403, dated about A.D. 120. Meritt would date (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 56, p. 47) to about the same period on the basis of letter forms. If this is correct, then this document would be the latest example of a decree of honors for a treasurer of the *prytaneis*.

<sup>7</sup> Dow would date *Prytaneis*, no. 119, p. 193 to before A.D. 19, and *Prytaneis*, no. 120, p. 193 to late in the reign of Augustus.

<sup>8</sup> But there are exceptions: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, p. 39 of the first or early second century after Christ.

<sup>9</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 98, pp. 166-169, before 60 B.C.; no. 104, p. 173, mid-first century B.C.; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 28, p. 39, mid-first century B.C.; XII, 1943, no. 14, pp. 56-60, 50-40 B.C.; *Prytaneis*, no. 107, pp. 175-176, 45-30 B.C.; no. 108, p. 176, late 40's-early 30's B.C.; no. 110, pp. 178-181, 29/8-22/1 B.C.; no. 113, pp. 182-183, ca. 45-20 B.C.; no. 116, pp. 186-191, ca. 20 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 63, p. 218, first century after Christ; XXXIV, 1965, no. 6, p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 98, pp. 166-169, before 60 B.C.; no. 105, pp. 173-174, ca. 40-30 B.C.; no. 110, pp. 178-181, 29/8-22/1 B.C.; no. 116, pp. 186-191, ca. 20 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 60, p. 216, end of the first century B.C.; XI, 1942, no. 8, p. 39, first or early second century after Christ.

<sup>11</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 102, pp. 171-172, mid-first century B.C.; no. 110, pp. 178-181, 29/8-22/1 B.C.; no. 116, pp. 186-191, ca. 20 B.C.

<sup>12</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 107, pp. 175-176, 45-30 B.C.; no. 108, p. 176, late 40's-early 30's B.C., in which the name is written out in full. The abbreviated form, "the herald of the *boule*," is used in *Prytaneis*, no. 110, pp. 178-181, 29/8-22/1 B.C.; no. 116, pp. 186-191, ca. 20 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 72, p. 261.

<sup>13</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 108, p. 176, late 40's-early 30's B.C.; *S.E.G.*, XVIII, no. 53 = S. N. Koumanoudes, *Νέον Ἀθηναίων*, III, 1958/60, no. 1, pp. 3-6, beginning of the first century after Christ.

<sup>14</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 110, pp. 178-181, 29/8-22/1 B.C.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 116, pp. 186-191, ca. 20 B.C.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108, p. 176, late 40's-early 30's B.C.; no. 110, pp. 178-181, 29/8-22/1 B.C. (restored).

<sup>17</sup> *S.E.G.*, XVIII, no. 53 = Koumanoudes, *Νέον Ἀθηναίων*, III, 1958/60, no. 1, pp. 3-6, beginning of the first century after Christ.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97A, p. 246, 21/0 B.C.; XXXIV, 1965, no. 6, p. 96, although this is a very early date for the appearance of an *eponymos*; see above, p. 27 and note 66 for more concerning this decree.

<sup>19</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 99, pp. 169-170, mid-first century B.C.

Around the middle of the first century after Christ the later series of prytany lists begins, in which the *prytaneis*, usually in conjunction with the *aisitoi*, honor themselves.<sup>21</sup> Although citations do not usually appear, various magistrates and officials are named in the headings, among the list of *prytaneis*, or among the *aisitoi*. The format of these lists is very simple. The heading usually records that the *prytaneis* of such a tribe and the *aisitoi*, honoring themselves, inscribed the stele. The date is usually given simply according to the archon, but often the month, the prytany date and/or the secretary's name are included; and many lists are dated also by reference to an event involving this or that Roman emperor. Certain civic magistrates and officials occasionally appear in the heading with their name and office given as a genitive absolute; this does not seem to be for the sake of eponymity, but rather should be taken as an indication of a connection between the functions of the magistrates so named with those of the *prytaneis* (see above, pp. 24-25). The most common magistrate to be cited in this manner was the hoplite general, whose appearance became customary, although not necessarily constant, from around A.D. 167/8.<sup>22</sup> The evidence for the relationship between the hoplite general and the *boule* has been summarized above (pp. 27-29). This sudden appearance of his name may well be viewed as significant in the light of other indications of change at Athens within a few years before or after this, such as the substitution of the word *dogma* for *hypomnematismos* as a name for a decree of the Areopagus and the appearance of other new formulae in dedications (see above, pp. 44-45). On two occasions the name of the herald of the *boule* and *demos* is cited in a heading,<sup>23</sup> and on another occasion the herald of the Areopagus.<sup>24</sup> Liturgists also were apt to appear, as the gymnasiarch,<sup>25</sup> the panegyriarch,<sup>26</sup> and an agonothete.<sup>27</sup> Finally there were officials of the *phyle* and the priest of the eponymous hero.<sup>28</sup> Although it was usual for the *prytaneis* and *aisitoi* to honor and inscribe themselves, sometimes they were (honored and) inscribed by the secre-

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108, p. 176 (if this is really such a citation, see note 86, p. 15), late 40's-early 30's B.C., about which Dow notes that the citation for the *litourgos*, who was a foreigner, came at the very end of the series and that it did not have "the *prytaneis*" superscribed.

<sup>21</sup> See Accame, *Il dominio romano*, p. 173 and Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 6, 26.

<sup>22</sup> Only one example of such a citation is preserved from before this date, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97, pp. 246-260, of 21/0 B.C., a restoration by Stamires which has been challenged above, p. 27, note 66. In the following documents dated after 167/8 his name is certainly lacking: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 21, p. 55; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1795, 1794; *S.E.G.*, XIV, 92; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1805; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 30, p. 65 and in several others it is probably lacking.

<sup>23</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773a, after the middle of the second century after Christ, and in an early prytany list, Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 106, pp. 174-175, ca. 40-30 B.C.

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 7, p. 37, mid-first century B.C.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 = *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, no. 2, p. 174 of A.D. 192; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 59, p. 49 (restored), of the early third century.

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, of the late first century after Christ.

<sup>28</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 7, p. 37, mid-first century after Christ.

tary of the *bouletai* of their tribe.<sup>29</sup> Several of these prytany lists were inscribed on statue bases or herms, the dedications for which were prefixed to the prytany list. The dedicators were either the *boule* or the *prytaneis* according to a decree of the *boule* (see above, pp. 71-72). Dedictees included the herald (of the *boule* and *demos*),<sup>30</sup> the archon,<sup>31</sup> the *epistates* of the *prytaneis*,<sup>32</sup> the priest of Artemis Kalliste,<sup>33</sup> a *sitones*,<sup>34</sup> and a man whose function is not specified.<sup>35</sup>

The evidence would seem to indicate very little change in the structure of the prytanies at the time of the reforms of Sulla. The *boule* continued to have six hundred members divided into prytanies of fifty members each.<sup>36</sup> Hadrian's new constitution had a very evident effect on the *prytaneis*, since from the time of the change there were only five hundred members of the *boule* distributed among thirteen prytanies. Various views have been advanced concerning the size of each prytany. Those who contemplate an even 500 members of the *boule*<sup>37</sup> are forced to assume that the *prytaneis* from some tribes numbered 38, while those from others numbered 39. Graindor<sup>38</sup> saw that the number of names listed in the complete prytany lists ranged from 40 to 42, and he estimated that the post-Hadrianic *boule* must have contained at least 540 members. This surplus of 40 or more was then taken as evidence that the tribe Hadrianis was created after the reduction of the *boule* to 500, and that the creation of Hadrianis had caused the surplus. It now seems likely that the reduction of the *boule* from six hundred to five hundred and the creation of Hadrianis occurred simultaneously in the light of the solution offered by Raubitschek,<sup>39</sup> when he formulated the rule of thumb that the *eponymos* of a tribe should not be counted among the

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764A, of A.D. 138/9; 1775, of A.D. 168/9; 1777, of A.D. 168/9; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97B, pp. 247-248, late second century; XXXIII, 1964, no. 68, p. 223 of the end of the second century. Kirchner, following Dittenberger, restored the name of the *epistates* of the *prytaneis* in this function in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1821 (early third century), but he might just as well have restored the name of the secretary.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, ca. A.D. 132/3.

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1791, ca. A.D. 180/1-181/2; 1804 of the end of the second century after Christ.

<sup>32</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817 of the third century; 4014 of unspecified date; *S.E.G.*, XVIII, 81 of the second century after Christ.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 42, p. 242, probably of the third century; for the date see above, p. 72, where it is shown that the *eperotema* probably did not appear before the middle of the second century after Christ. Oliver notices in his publication that all other references in inscriptions to Artemis Kalliste are from the third century.

<sup>34</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680 of the early third century.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 64, p. 219, sometime after the Hadrianic reforms.

<sup>36</sup> The full complement of 50 *prytaneis* is preserved in Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 106, pp. 174-175; no. 116, pp. 186-191; and no. 121, pp. 193-197 (as restored).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>38</sup> *Hadrien*, pp. 83-85.

<sup>39</sup> "Note on the post-Hadrianic Boule," Γέρας 'Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου (= 'Εταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 'Επιστημονικαὶ Πραγματεῖαι, Σειρὰ Φιλολογικὴ καὶ Θεολογικὴ, IX, 1953), pp. 242-255. Note that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 is a catalogue of Pandionis, not Hippothontis, p. 252.



number of *prytaneis* if his name occurs at the end of the list or above the list of the first deme; but if it appears within the list, then it ought to be counted. The secretary of the *bouleutai* should be included in the count whether his name appears at the end or among the *prytaneis*.<sup>40</sup> Thus when the names of the secretary and the *eponymos* appear together at the foot of a prytany list, the former is to be included in the count, but the latter not. If these rules are observed in counting the *prytaneis* the result will be that in each preserved complete list the total number will equal 40. The advantage of such a system is the use of a round number (recalling that the Attic system of numbering was decimal) and an equal number for each tribe. The disadvantage would be the total of 520 members of the *boule*, but this objection appears inconsequential in the light of the regularity of the appearance of the same number of *prytaneis*. The date of this reform has been treated above (see p. 74).

The order in which the various tribes served as prytanizing tribe must still have been determined by lot; at any rate the various tribes appear in many varied positions in the order of prytanies.<sup>41</sup> In the ordinary Attic year of 354 (355) days<sup>42</sup> each prytanizing tribe would be in office for 27 or 28 days (29 or 30 in intercalary years). S. Dow<sup>43</sup> found that among the prytany documents available to him there was no example of more than two tribes receiving honors in a given year. From the beginning of Roman times through the Hadrianic period the evidence is too scanty to permit a conclusion; but through the remaining years of the second century, where many decrees may be accurately dated, there seemed until recently to be no evidence of more than two awards in a single year, although the appearance of two awards is not infrequent in a given year.<sup>44</sup> For the archonship Tineius Ponticus, A.D. 168/9, a third

<sup>40</sup> Although in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775 this secretary is named in the heading as the publishing magistrate, his name is not included in the list of *prytaneis*, and, if it were included, it would mean that there was an extra *prytanis*. The explanation probably is due to the secretary's having already served twice as *prytanis*, the maximum number of times according to a standing rule (see below for more details), and therefore, although he is secretary, he cannot be a member of the board.

<sup>41</sup> For example Antiochis appeared in the sixth prytany in 138/9 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764A), twelfth in the last decade of the second century (1805), and eleventh and fifth in the early third century (1818 and 1831); while Akamantis was second in 167/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774), eighth in 168/9 (1775), first in 169/70 (1778), and seventh in the early third century (1821).

<sup>42</sup> See B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley, 1961, pp. 3-15 for the length and divisions of the year.

<sup>43</sup> *Prytaneis*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> In those marked with an asterisk the names of two separate tribes are preserved. In the others the names of one or both are lost, although two separate decrees are preserved: in the archonships of \*Praxagoras (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764A, 1765), of \*Tiberius Claudius Demostratos (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 12, p. 43; XVI, 1947, no. 77, p. 175), in the \*anarchy after Tineius Ponticus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1778 and 1776), in the archonship of Flavius Harpalianus (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 81, p. 179; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1786), in the hoplite generalship of Munatius Vopiscus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1801; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 26, p. 62), in the archonship of \*Demostratos (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 60, p. 213; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1795), and in the hoplite generalship of Flavius Philostratos (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 13, p. 51; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803), in the third century in the hoplite generalship of Pomp. Hegias (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>,

document has now been found and is published here in Appendix V.<sup>45</sup> In the third century multiple decrees for a single year are more frequent. From the year of the archon Gaius Quintus Kleon we possess four prytany lists, among which the names of three tribes are preserved;<sup>46</sup> and from the year of Domitius Arabianus, three lists preserving two tribal names.<sup>47</sup> Around the end of the first quarter of the third century prytany documents dwindle and disappear.<sup>48</sup>

Although there is no evidence to prove or disprove the point, it may be assumed that the *prytaneis* continued to act as the executive council for Athens while the *boule* was not in session and to prepare matter for presentation to the *boule*. There is evidence for certain specific functions of the *prytaneis*. In addition to the usual round of state sacrifices there is evidence of participation in some of the religious festivals of the city. There is little doubt that a record of a delegation of 24 *prytaneis* visiting Salamis between 90 and 100 was to indicate their participation in a festival.<sup>49</sup> The presence of the name of the agonothete in the heading and the notation that Antigonos the younger was victorious in the *epos* leave little doubt that the inscription concerned games. Graindor suggested that these were the Aianteia to celebrate the heroes of Salamis, in which the ephebes participated in a *naumachia*. Another list, whose provenience is unknown,<sup>50</sup> may also represent such an embassy. In the first place there is a similarity of personnel (see note 50 for a list) with some exceptions. In the second place in neither document is there any sign of a division between the names of the *prytaneis* and those of the other officials. An ordinary prytany decree separates these officials from the grouped *prytaneis*, but in these documents all belong to the same group. Another document from Salamis records a visit by a small delegation of six *prytaneis* of Hippothontis. It was cut into the living rock sometime in the

1831; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 44, p. 57) and in the archonship of \*Aur. Dionysios (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1816, 1817).

<sup>45</sup> The others are *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775 and *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 80, p. 178.

<sup>46</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1826, Pandionis; 1825, Attalis; 1823, Akamantis; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 73, p. 240, the tribe is lost.

<sup>47</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 32, p. 67, Ptolemais; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1824, Attalis; 1830, the tribe is lost.

<sup>48</sup> See note 1.

<sup>49</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759. See Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 68-69; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12 would date this document to A.D. 96/7.

<sup>50</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 105, pp. 173-174 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758 of 40-30 B.C. The magistrates listed may be compared with those of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759 (second column):

	hoplite general
flute player	flute player
secretary for the <i>prytaneis</i>	= <i>περὶ τὸ βῆμα</i>
checking clerk	general
subsecretary	
<i>litourgos</i>	= <i>litourgos</i> for the Skias

The hoplite general of 1759 appears in a citation in *Prytaneis*, no. 105. The checking clerk and subsecretary do not appear in 1759 and the second general is missing in *Prytaneis*, no. 105.

third century as a dedication to "the god."<sup>51</sup> Obviously this is not a delegation of the same sort as the others; and for that matter may have been merely a personal visit. An ordinary prytany list of the Roman period was found at Eleusis.<sup>52</sup> The unusual provenience coupled with the appearance of the name of the emperor as panegyriarch has led Oliver to the following points in explanation: "1) because of the services performed by the prytaneis for the penteteric festal assembly at Eleusis, 2) because in the year of the festal assembly the Council was accustomed to hold its last meeting of the first prytany . . . at Eleusis." The panegyriarch appears in the heading of one other prytany list.<sup>53</sup> Within the city of Athens the decrees for Ulpus Eubiotos<sup>54</sup> record as an extraordinary honor accorded him invitation to the theater by the *prytaneis* "[at all the religious processions] and at the popular assemblies."<sup>55</sup> The earlier precedented honors included *eiskalesis* to the Dionysiac games, again probably by the *prytaneis*.<sup>56</sup> The evidence for the relationship between the *prytaneis* and the gymnasiarchy has been summarized by J. H. Oliver.<sup>57</sup> The role of the *prytaneis* in the management of these festivals is not as yet clearly defined, but it would seem that it must have been substantial and that it may have involved considerable expense.

The *prytaneis* also had a series of annual state sacrifices for which they were responsible.<sup>58</sup> The cults for which there is evidence<sup>59</sup> include Artemis Boulaia/Phosphoros and the *phosphoroi*, Apollo Patroos/Prostaterios, Athena [Archegetis], and some traditional gods whose names are not specified. Two dedications by the treasurers of the *prytaneis* for the benefit of the *phyle* have as dedicatees Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia.<sup>60</sup> It would seem that the *prytaneis* probably had charge of the continuing round of rites of the state cult insofar as the cults of the civic government<sup>61</sup> were involved. These sacrifices must have involved considerable expense, for which the *prytaneis* or their tribe was responsible. At various periods various devices were hit upon to cover the costs.

It is clear that the prytany decrees honoring the *tamias* represent the gratitude

<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1811; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 43, would date this after A.D. 217.

<sup>52</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792, but see the text and comments of Oliver, "Attic Inscriptions concerning Commodus," *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, no. II, pp. 174-177.

<sup>53</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 59, p. 49 (restored).

<sup>54</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>55</sup> Translation by Oliver. Restoration confirmed from line 46 and from Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, p. 26, line 13.

<sup>56</sup> As Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 353.

<sup>57</sup> "Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens," *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, p. 301.

<sup>58</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 14-15; Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 302-303.

<sup>59</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 8-9; H. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 137-141; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, p. 256, *s.v.*, *Prytaneis*.

<sup>60</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 17, p. 65 of 53/2 B.C. and no. 16, p. 63 of the first century B.C.

<sup>61</sup> According to the distinction drawn by Oliver, *Demokratia, the Gods and the Free World*, Baltimore, 1960, see p. 172.

of the *prytaneis* for his having underwritten these expenses.<sup>62</sup> No matter in which of many ways his title is expressed,<sup>63</sup> he is honored for having performed all of the sacrifices falling to the *prytaneis* with regard to the *boule* and the *demos* from his own funds and for having taken care of all the other matters suitable to the *prytaneis* well and generously. In the reign of Augustus the list of the treasurer's benefactions was apt to be more profusely stated, but the items do not seem to be very different.<sup>64</sup> The treasurer of the *phyle* appears twice in later documents, in A.D. 90-100, in the record of the delegation to Salamis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759) and once in the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1827). The embassy to Salamis is probably the last appearance of the treasurer in the function which is being surveyed here, for shortly afterwards a new system for paying the expenses of the sacrifices was inaugurated.

In the reign of Hadrian an endowment was set up by Claudius Atticus and Vibullia Alcia to cover the expenses for the tribe to which their families belonged,<sup>65</sup> and later Claudius Atticus did the same for the other tribes,<sup>66</sup> if Oliver's interpretation of a series of six statue bases is correct. When Atticus died between 134 and 138 this endowment probably was among the funds recovered by his son Herodes at the expense of the Athenians (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, p. 58, Kayser), and the *prytaneis* would have been in dire straits until a new system could be worked out. Anna Benjamin<sup>67</sup> suggests with great plausibility that a pair of dedications on either side of an opisthographic stele, probably belonging to a complete series, which indicate

<sup>62</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>63</sup> In the inscriptions several titles are applied to this treasurer: the *tamias* of the *prytaneis* (*Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 47, p. 196 [restored]; XII, 1943, no. 14, pp. 56-60; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 111, p. 181; no. 116, pp. 186-191; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 63, p. 218), or their *tamias* (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 13, p. 29; *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191), or the *tamias* whom they selected from among themselves (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 14, p. 30; *Prytaneis*, no. 101, pp. 170-171; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 14, p. 56; *Prytaneis*, no. 114, pp. 183-185; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97A, p. 246; *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 49, p. 197; *Prytaneis*, no. 119, p. 193 [in this last the expression "from among themselves" is missing]), or the *tamias* from among themselves (*Prytaneis*, no. 98, pp. 166-169; no. 112, p. 182), but sometimes he is called simply the *tamias* (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 28, p. 21 [restored]; *Prytaneis*, no. 104, p. 173; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 50, p. 198), the *tamias* of the *phyle* (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 14, p. 56; *Prytaneis*, no. 107, pp. 175-176; *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, no. 6, p. 96), the *tamias* of the members of the *phyle* (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 13, p. 29 [restored]), and once only the treasurer of their term (*ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν*; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97a, p. 246). That these all are applied to the same officer is guaranteed by decrees which use two or three different titles.

<sup>64</sup> For examples see Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191 of ca. 20 B.C. and *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 50, p. 198 of the end of the first century B.C.

<sup>65</sup> Oliver, "Patrons Providing Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens," *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308, 403.

<sup>66</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3597, a-e; D. Hereward, *Πολέμων*, Δ, 1949-51, *Σύμμεκτα* λ'. On these bases see Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 20, note 1, p. 28, note 1, and especially pp. 30-31, who recognized the relationship between the bases and the honorary inscription, but did not have the proper interpretation.

<sup>67</sup> "The Altars of Hadrian in Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 1, pp. 73-74.

honorary citations for Hadrian by the tribes Hippothontis and Aiantis, may have been dedicated as a result of an imperial donation to defray the prytany costs until a new system might be worked out. It is also a possibility that dedications prefixed to prytany decrees (see above, p. 95) represented gratitude on the part of the *prytaneis* for donations beyond the funds otherwise available.

The method which was hit upon after the death of Atticus and the loss of the endowment was the selection of a wealthy member of the tribe, who was called the *eponymos* and who might or might not be a member of the prytany.<sup>68</sup> The *eponymos* appeared not only in the prytany lists, but in certain other documents. In the Agora was found an almost perfectly preserved herm, bearing the name of Moiragenes, son of Dromokles, from Koile, *eponymos* of the tribe Hippothontis;<sup>69</sup> in two instances this function appears in *cursus honorum*.<sup>70</sup> At the time of the Severi the eponymity of the *prytaneis* began to be shared with Athena Polias, in what Oliver cites as the fourth stage of the development of the prytany system under Roman rule.<sup>71</sup>

A problem arises with a pair of prytany decrees which make reference not only to a *tamias*, but also to an *eponymos*.<sup>72</sup> One is the usual decree of honors for the *tamias*, but the *eponymos* is cited with a crown. Doubt has been cast upon the restoration of the name of the hoplite general in the heading (see above, p. 27, note 66), but the rest of the text appears correct. The second of these decrees is not without difficulties. Both officials are named in citations. That for the *tamias* reads *τα[μί] | αν Δη|μήτριον|φυλῆς Ν|ικόστρα|τος*. Even if we accept an interlocking word order of the name and titles, that an individual is indicated as awarding the crown is peculiar. Further the *eponymos* is a foreigner, an Alexandrian. The awarding of crowns is characteristic of the earlier decrees, and this fact indicates that the *eponymos* cannot be the same as that in the post-Hadrianic lists. Stamires had suggested that the *eponymos* of the former decree was the priest of the eponymous hero, but the presence of a foreigner in this office in the new decree would rule this out. Therefore the honorific title of *eponymos* must have been in existence for some time as a reward for benefactors, but became regular only when it was applied to the donator of funds for the year's prytany sacrifices.

<sup>68</sup> Oliver, "Patrons Providing Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens," *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308, 403; Raubitschek, "Note on the post-Hadrianic Boule," *Γέρας Ἀγωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου*, pp. 242-255, both of whom give lists of the *eponymoi*, Oliver chronologically and Raubitschek by tribe. To their lists the following recently published documents might be added: *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 66, p. 221, second century after Christ, of Ptolemais, *eponymos* [-----]λος Ἀφροδίσι[ου], listed above the panel; no. 68, p. 223, end of the second century after Christ, of Pandionis, *eponymos* Fl. Alkibiades, listed above the panel.

<sup>69</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 16-17 of the second century, cited both by Oliver and by Raubitschek.

<sup>70</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3623 and 3675, both restored, both cited by Raubitschek.

<sup>71</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817, 1824, 1825, 1826.

<sup>72</sup> Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97A, pp. 246-258; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, no. 6, p. 96.

The other functionary who appears regularly in the prytany lists is the secretary of the *bouleutai*. That he was secretary only to the *bouleutai* of his own *phyle* is shown from his complete title.<sup>73</sup> Further, whenever the secretary of the *bouleutai* is included in a prytany list, he is the fortieth member of the prytany.<sup>74</sup> In the lists his name is not given among his fellow demesmen, but as the last of the *prytaneis*, just above the *aisitai*, although on occasion his name is included in the list of his deme.<sup>75</sup> In some lists he appears as the inscriber, and in this case his name is given in the heading; but when this is the case his name should appear again among the *prytaneis*.<sup>76</sup> The heading of one list records a secretary inscriber who is not one of the *prytaneis*,<sup>77</sup> since his name does not appear in the fully preserved register of forty *prytaneis*, but a glance through the other prytany lists shows that he had already served twice as *prytanis*.<sup>78</sup> Thus it appears that the *prytaneis* wished him to serve as secretary, either because it involved a certain amount of honor, or much more likely, expense, but the limitation to two terms as *bouleutes* was too firmly set to permit him to serve again. Therefore the solution, until now unprecedented in our sources, of having him serve as a secretary of the *bouleutai*, but not as a *bouleutes*, was used. Such a necessity may be a sign of the shrinking numbers of the curial class who were willing to undertake extra burdens. The secretary of the *bouleutai* does not appear at all in the prytany decrees of the era antedating the introduction of the simple lists. Indeed the function of publishing which he occasionally undertook was previously cared for by the secretary *κατὰ πρυτανείαν*. This change reflects a deeper change in the nature of the prytany document, for the prytany decrees recorded an honor paid by the city as a whole to certain outstanding boards of *prytaneis*.<sup>79</sup> The post-Sullan decrees were proposed by the *prytaneis* to honor their treasurer, but the decision still lay with the *boule*, and apparently the treasurers of only two tribes were honored each year. The mere lists of *prytaneis* no longer indicate the gratitude of the city for distinguished service, for the *prytaneis* now honor themselves and the publication seems to be their own responsi-

<sup>73</sup> "The secretary of the *bouleutai* of the tribe Akamantis," *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775; see also *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97B, pp. 247-248, where it is restored.

<sup>74</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, 1774, 1776, 1782, 1794; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1783, 1824, 1077.

<sup>75</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 62, pp. 214-215.

<sup>76</sup> As in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1777. In several other lists where he appears as inscriber the list of names of the *prytaneis* is not sufficiently well preserved to show the second appearance of his name; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 97B, pp. 247-248; XXXIII, 1964, no. 68, p. 223. The inscriber of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764A is identified only as secretary for the second time. It would appear likely that he was secretary of the *bouleutai*, since it would hardly be expected that an annual official would inscribe the monthly register of *prytaneis*. Here again the second appearance of his name in the list is lost.

<sup>77</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, Philoumenos son of Eros of Kephale.

<sup>78</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 12, pp. 43-44, line 21 of A.D. 146-165; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774, lines 52, of A.D. 167/8.

<sup>79</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 26-27.

bility. The final and logical development along these lines was the setting up of more than two prytany documents each year, the first preserved example being in 168/9, while in the third century the custom was more frequent (see above, pp. 96-97).

Among the lists of *prytaneis* the names of Roman emperors, either living or dead, also appear, carefully placed at the very top of the list. The tribe Hadrianis and its deme Besa were proud of their imperial members and on at least three occasions mentioned their names.<sup>80</sup> In connection with this the controversy concerning the appearance of "Aurelioi" in a pair of prytany documents ought to be noted.<sup>81</sup> Notopoulos—and, for a while, Oliver half agreed with him—presumed that the Aurelioi were Roman emperors named on prytany lists, but it is clear now that the Aurelioi were the listed *prytaneis* who had become Roman citizens according to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Besides the *aisitoi*, to be treated below, other officers of administration or priests are mentioned in the prytany documents. Frequently the priest of the eponymous hero appears among the *prytaneis*,<sup>82</sup> who, as Oliver has shown,<sup>83</sup> is not to be confused with the *eponymos*. His title is listed after his name as a courtesy if he happens to be a member of the prytany. Another such courtesy was extended to the exegete if he happened to be a *prytanis*.<sup>84</sup> The earliest example of such a notice is around 180 and the latest in the early third century.

The lists frequently also designate the *epistates* of the *prytaneis*,<sup>85</sup> but his name appears in its ordinary position in the list. In only one preserved document is his name set apart (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1801). The heading of one list has been so restored that he appears as publisher, but a more likely restoration would be *grammateus* of the *prytaneis*.<sup>86</sup> He also has appeared as the dedicatee of herms on which the prytany lists were inscribed.<sup>87</sup> In the two of these sufficiently well preserved to permit a complete reading of his titles, he also is recorded as holding an additional religious office.

<sup>80</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764B of either 141/2 or 142/3 listing the deified Hadrian; 1795 of the late second century listing Commodus and the deified Hadrian; 1832, of the reign of Severus Alexander (see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 347, note 1) listing the emperors Marcus Aurelius Severus, the deified Hadrian, and the deified Commodus.

<sup>81</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1824 and 1825; see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 38; Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, p. 305, note 15; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 65-66; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 346-349; M. N. Tod, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXXVII, 1951, p. 95; E. Schönbauer, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, VII/VIII, 1953/4, pp. 117-120; Raubitschek, *Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου*, p. 245, note 1; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1953, no. 61, pp. 134-135.

<sup>82</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 21, p. 55; XVI, 1947, no. 82, p. 179; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794, 1801, 1806.

<sup>83</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 30 and *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, p. 305.

<sup>84</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794, 1791, 1818 (where the *pythochrestos exegetes* was *eponymos*). These documents are all cited by Oliver, *Expounders*, as I 40, I 41, I 46.

<sup>85</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1801, 1813, 1814, 1820, 1833, 1825, 1828; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 34, p. 69.

<sup>86</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1821; the *epistates* is nowhere else recorded as the publisher of a prytany list. The secretary of the *bouleutai* did so commonly, and there are indications elsewhere that he sometimes was called the secretary of the *prytaneis* (see above, p. 101).

<sup>87</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817 = Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 29, p. 125; *S.E.G.*, XVIII, 81; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4014.

Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 44) describes the functions of the *epistates*. He was chosen by lot to serve for a night and a day, nor could he serve longer nor a second time. In his possession were the keys to the sanctuaries containing the public moneys, the public records, and the public seal. He had the responsibility for allotting the nine *prohedroi* and their *epistates* for meetings of the *boule* or the *demos*. Since only one *epistates* is included in each prytany list, and since it is considered worthwhile to mention his name, it seems that during the Roman period the *epistates* served for the whole term of the prytany.<sup>88</sup> Nothing of his functions at this period is known, except that he probably no longer had exclusive access to the public seal, since in one decree the duty of sealing a diplomatic communication fell to the herald of the Areopagus (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 83 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B, II).

One as yet unexplained reference to the *prytaneis* found in Lucian<sup>89</sup> indicates that a malefactor was to be taken and handed over to the *prytaneis*. Delz suggests either that this might have been a new competence falling to the *prytaneis*, or that this passage was modeled on the example of Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusai*, 923. If it is recalled that the *prytaneis* were a standing committee to manage affairs between sessions of the *boule*, then it is possible that they possessed some share of judicial competence. One other reference in a decree of honors for Hadrian to τὸν πρύτανιν ἡμῶν is referred by Graindor to a cult of Zeus Prytanis, but the reference is not clear.<sup>90</sup>

## B. THE AISITOI

The prytany lists of the Roman period usually contain a section composed of Eleusinian priests and various magistrates entitled the *aisitoi*. These represent a group of officials and priests privileged to partake of meals and lodgings at state expense in the Tholos along with the *prytaneis*.<sup>91</sup> From the third century B.C. as a group they shared with the *prytaneis* the task of proposing the treasurer of the *prytaneis* to the *boule* for honors, and this function continued through the life-span of the post-Sullan prytany decree. In the prytany lists of the Roman period the *aisitoi* joined with the *prytaneis* in honoring themselves and inscribing the stele, or in being honored and inscribed if some other official undertook to set up the stele. From the very beginning of the prytany lists of the Roman period catalogues of their names are included, although some lists did appear without them.<sup>92</sup> The usual list includes three or four of the Eleusinian priests: the *hierophantes*, the *hierokeryx*, the *dadouchos*, and the altar priest, followed by the herald and secretary of the *boule* and *demos*, then the man about the rostrum, the checking clerk, the flutist, the Skias guardian, and the

<sup>88</sup> As observed by Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 68, note 2.

<sup>89</sup> *D. Meretr.*, 15, 2; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, p. 150.

<sup>90</sup> Graindor, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XXXI, 1918, pp. 227-237.

<sup>91</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>92</sup> As for example *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817, where the lower part of the second column, normally occupied by the *aisitoi*, was left blank.



subsecretary. A number of other officials appear on occasion—the priest of the Phosphoroi, the fire-bearer, a treasurer, and the *oiketai*. Each *aisitos*, with the exception of the Eleusinian priests, will be treated in turn.

The herald of the *boule* and *demos* held a very low position among the officials honored in the pre-Sullan prytany decrees. Dow<sup>93</sup> describes his position succinctly: “In the end, the degradation of the treasurer of the *boule* saved the herald from remaining next to last.” A rising prominence is reflected in three documents involving the herald Kallikratides in the period after 40 B.C.<sup>94</sup> and in three other citations from the late first century B.C.<sup>95</sup> Dow notes that this rising prominence accompanies the ascent of the herald of the Areopagus to his leadership. His prominence is so great by the final third of the second century that in his first appearance among the *aisitoi*, not only does the herald of the *boule* and *demos* come before the other civic officials, but even the Eleusinian priests.<sup>96</sup> His regular position by 166/7 becomes that of first place among the civic officials, just after the Eleusinian priests,<sup>97</sup> and this position is maintained without change into the third century, to the end of the prytany lists. In certain years it would seem that there may not have been a herald of the *boule* and *demos*, since he is omitted in some prytany lists.<sup>98</sup>

The herald of the *boule* and *demos* is a frequent dedicatee of herms and statues—dedicated by his fellow officials,<sup>99</sup> by the *boule*,<sup>100</sup> by the *polis* (restored),<sup>101</sup> and by his

<sup>93</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 17.

<sup>94</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1757 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 106, pp. 174-175 (see also Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 121), where his name in the genitive case supplies the whole preserved heading; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3502, 3503 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 107, pp. 175-176 and no. 108, p. 176, where his citation appears in a position of greatly increased prominence.

<sup>95</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 = *Prytaneis*, no. 110, pp. 178-181, of the beginning of the rule of Augustus, where his citation appears in the first row between those of the treasurer of the *prytaneis* and the hoplite general; *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191 of ca. 20 B.C., where his citation (title restored in part) comes second after that of the hoplite general; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 72, p. 261, where only his citation is preserved. In all of these the title is shortened to “the herald of the *boule*,” which is actually the same office, according to Busolt-Swoboda, p. 995; Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 191.

<sup>96</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1796 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 279-280, dated by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 41-42 to before A.D. 165; and *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 65, p. 220 of about the same date. The phenomenon is repeated in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1790 = Oliver, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539, dated to 179/80 by Notopoulos, tab. 1, but by Oliver to ca. 197, “On the Order of the Athenian Catalogues of *Aisitoi*,” *Harv. Th. Rev.*, XLIII, 1950, pp. 233-235. This last document seems strangely out of place, for by the period to which either scholar dates it, the Eleusinian priests always were the first *aisitoi* listed.

<sup>97</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, 1774; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, 1776, 1781, 1794, 1795; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48; XI, 1942, no. 6, p. 36; no. 4, p. 33; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1798, 1806, 1806a, 1799, 1815, 1077.

<sup>98</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 13, p. 45; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1808, 1797; in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 21, p. 55 only the Eleusinian priests are recorded among the *aisitoi*.

<sup>99</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 61, p. 217, part of a dedicatory monument containing a recessed relief the nature of which is no longer evident.

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, a herm containing the list of *prytaneis*. The dedication does not specify

*antikeryx*.<sup>102</sup> The augmented prestige of the herald of the *boule* and *demos* is also reflected in *cursus honorum*. A statue base from the end of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546) lists this office third after those of eponymous archon and herald of the Areopagus, while an ephebic list from the third century indicates that the cosmète had also served as *agoranomos* and herald of the *boule* and *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2223, although this is hardly an impressive *cursus*). Certain other *cursus honorum* list only the name and title of a herald, although they probably refer to the herald of the Areopagus.<sup>103</sup> His name also appears in the genitive case in the headings of documents, in a prytany list of the latter half of the second century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773 a), on a marble urn dedicated in the early third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4949), and possibly in an ephebic decree.<sup>104</sup> Finally the name of a herald, but not specifically of any council, appears in the nominative case in a prytany decree, but in an unknown context (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1779). Because this is a prytany decree, he may well be the herald of the *boule* and *demos*.

It would appear that the office of herald of the *boule* and *demos* had gained in prestige in the Roman period. Dow has shown that in pre-Roman times the herald was a skilled professional who was likely to hold office for an extended period of time.<sup>105</sup> A comparison of names of the heralds of the Roman period shows no patterns of long term or repeated service. It would appear that the office had become an annual one, held by the members of the leading families of the city. One inscription even includes a *summa honoraria* of two denarii paid by Tiberius Claudius (Oinophilos) the hierophant.<sup>106</sup>

The evidence for the functions of the herald is not extensive. The clearest is to be found in Hadrian's oil law<sup>107</sup> which indicates that the producers of oil should "file with [the *elaionai* and] the herald (of the Council and Demos) [a declaration as to the amount and character] of the harvest and hand over two [copies] and get [one copy back] with an endorsement" (trans. Oliver). If it is recalled that the *boule*

which herald is the dedicatee, but the herald of the *boule* and *demos* is the one most likely, because of his close connection with the *prytaneis*.

<sup>101</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3618, metrical. The subject of the dedication had already served as hoplite general and archon.

<sup>102</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 71, p. 48; A. N. Oikonomides, *Tà 'Aθnαικά*, XIV, 1959, no. 23, pp. 7-10, republished by Meritt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>103</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, p. 67; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531, 3687 (twice). In the last of these it appears to have been the herald of the Areopagus (Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 115) and this is probably true for all.

<sup>104</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990 of A.D. 61/2. Again this may just as well be the herald of the Areopagus.

<sup>105</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 17.

<sup>106</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546; Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 67, 145. For the man's cognomen see A. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger Akad. Wiss. Wien*, LXXII, 1935, pp. 83-90.

<sup>107</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100; see the edition of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963, lines 11-16; although the full title of the herald is not given, it seems probable that it was the herald of the *boule* and *demos*; see Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 76, note 1 and 95, note 4; Oliver, *Ruling Power*, p. 962.

or the *ekklesia* were the competent courts for deciding cases of violation of the oil law, then the herald must be pictured as their executive officer, among whose duties would be the keeping of records for use in meetings concerning this matter in much the same way as the herald of the Areopagus probably was responsible for records of business over which that assembly had charge or jurisdiction.<sup>108</sup> Our evidence indicates two noticeable differences between the heraldship of the Areopagus and that of the *boule* and *demos*. The information regarding violations of Hadrian's decision on the sale of fish (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1103), which were to be tried before the Areopagus, was to be given to the herald of the Areopagus, who, it seems, called the court together and presented the case, while violations against the oil law were reported to the hoplite general, who had the competence to summon the courts. It seems likely that the herald of the Areopagus presided over its meetings, while the indications are that the *prohedroi* and their *epistates* continued to function in the *boule* and *ekklesia* (see below, p. 113). Still these are minor items when weighed against the vastly increased prestige, the evidence for management of business, and the obvious parallelism in Lucian where Hermes, the herald *par excellence*, summoned the Areopagus to its day of court in one instance (*Bis Acc.*, 4, see above, p. 53) and in another the participants in the celestial *ekklesia*,<sup>109</sup> and they contradict Keil's contention<sup>110</sup> that the hoplite general was the opposite number in the *boule* and *ekklesia* of the herald of the Areopagus. Rather it seems that Graindor was correct in suggesting the parallel between the herald of the Areopagus and the herald of the *boule* and *demos*.<sup>111</sup> Indeed a commission sent to Lemnos to publish the decisions from Athens regarding the disputes of the Lemnian cleruchs consisted of the hoplite general, the herald of the Areopagus, and then a magistrate of the *boule* and *demos*, whose title might well be restored as herald to balance the presence of the herald of the Areopagus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051).

This herald had an assistant, at least in the latter half of the second century when a pair of dedications of statues of the herald were set up by his *antikeryx*.<sup>112</sup> This assistant herald appears also in a pair of prytany lists among the *aisitai*.<sup>113</sup> The same man is named in both of these latter, probably indicating an office held over several years.

<sup>108</sup> See above, Chapter IV, pp. 58-60, and Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 79-80, who compares him to an English town clerk in his relation to the town council.

<sup>109</sup> *Deor. Conc.*, 1; *I. Tr.*, 18; see Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>110</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, p. 54.

<sup>111</sup> *Auguste*, p. 121; *Hadrien*, p. 76, note 1.

<sup>112</sup> For both see Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 71, p. 48. One is a republication with the corrected restoration of *antikeryx*, a word unsuspected before its appearance in the new document here published by Meritt. For former restorations see *S.E.G.*, XVIII, 83; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1961, pp. 158-159, no. 269. For the date of this document see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 318.

<sup>113</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 of A.D. 209/10, where his name immediately follows that of the herald; and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 6, pp. 35-36, restored on analogy with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077.

The second of the civic officials appearing in the lists of *aisitoi* is the secretary of the *boule* and *demos*.<sup>114</sup> Normally he follows the herald immediately, but in the documents in which the herald precedes the Eleusinian priests, he follows the priests. On one occasion another officer intervenes between herald and secretary, the *antikeryx* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077). In a list of the early third century the *grammateus* appears in a much lower position, with the man about the rostrum and one other official intervening.<sup>115</sup> The name of the secretary of the *boule* and *demos* is much less likely to be missing from a list of *aisitoi* than that of the herald.<sup>116</sup> This secretary had an undersecretary, who in the lists of the Roman period usually appeared in last place (see below, pp. 110-111). Like the herald, the secretary rose from a relatively low position in pre-Roman times, where his place in the list of citations was above those only of the undersecretary, the herald, and the flute player.<sup>117</sup> He, like the herald, in pre-Roman times was a skilled professional subordinate who could rise to greater things eventually. On the other hand, in the prytany lists of the Roman period the office seems to have been annual, since the only times the name is repeated are in the cases of two documents from the same year. From the post-Sullan decrees, only two citations are preserved, both near the bottom of the stele.<sup>118</sup> In a record of an embassy to the cleruchs of Lemnos sometime after 38/7, Koehler, followed by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1051), has restored the secretary of the *boule* and *demos* after the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus. It would seem more likely to find the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, an official of some prestige (see p. 104, above), rather than the still very lowly secretary of the *boule* and *demos*. Evidence from deposits in the Athenian Agora associated with the Herulian destruction in the late third century after Christ indicates that the secretary of the *boule* issued lead *tesserae*.<sup>119</sup> Miss Crosby suggests that they were "possibly for use by members of the *boule* at some festival," or they may have been used for one of the endowed distributions to the *bouleutai* (see above, p. 81).

The next official in order in the majority of the lists of *aisitoi* is the man about the rostrum (*περὶ τὸ βῆμα*). Ferguson first recognized that he was the same officer as the secretary for the prytanies (*κατὰ πρυτανείαν*).<sup>120</sup> The usual position for this official

<sup>114</sup> Meritt's restoration of the list of *aisitoi*, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 87B, p. 182, line 1 ought to be changed from [γραμματ]εὺς β[ουλευτῶν - - -] to [γραμματ]εὺς β[ουλῆς καὶ δήμου].

<sup>115</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 36, pp. 70-71. Oliver restores the secretary for the *prytaneis*, but it will be shown below that he and the man about the rostrum are the same; for a new edition see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 16-17.

<sup>116</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1806 is the only case where his name alone of the civic *aisitoi* is missing. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 21, p. 55 contains only the names of the Eleusinian priests.

<sup>117</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 16.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 110, pp. 178-181, where he is next only to his subsecretary and the treasurer of the stratiotic funds, and no. 116, pp. 186-191, where he is last.

<sup>119</sup> M. Crosby, *Agora*, X, pp. 112-113.

<sup>120</sup> W. S. Ferguson, "The Athenian Secretaries," *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, VII,

in the lists of the *aisitai* was immediately following the secretary of the *boule* and *demos*, or second after him with the checking clerk intervening. On only two occasions when the other civic *aisitai* are preserved, is this official clearly lacking.<sup>121</sup> For the modern scholar the greatest significance of this secretary is the use of his name in establishing dates for inscriptions on the basis of Ferguson's Law of tribal cycles.<sup>122</sup> Although the basic soundness of the system as worked out by Notopoulos for the Roman period cannot be challenged, frequently the cycle is extended over long periods of time on the basis of a single document. The frequent interruptions or changes which occurred in Hellenistic times are not at all allowed for in the cycles of Roman times, and such irregularities may well account for the difficulties cited by scholars.<sup>123</sup>

The most important attested function of this secretary was the publication of decrees of varied sorts: prytany,<sup>124</sup> ephebic,<sup>125</sup> and of an unidentified type.<sup>126</sup> All but one of these fall in the first half of the first century B.C., and the one exception comes only a few years after the mid-century. On only one other occasion during the Roman period does he appear as the publishing magistrate, in the year 120, of the decree in honor of Claudius Atticus proposed by the *prytaneis*.<sup>127</sup> He continued to be cited in the headings of the decrees of the *boule* and/or of the *demos* as the secretary in office when the decree was passed<sup>128</sup> with a few exceptions: the two post-Sullan ephebic decrees<sup>129</sup> and a decree of honors for the *hieropoioi* who were sent to the Kabeirion on Lemnos, passed in 75/4.<sup>130</sup> The inscriber of one prytany decree is identified only as the secretary for the second time (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764A) but it is more likely that he is secretary of the *boulentai* (see above, p. 95, note 29). The man

1898, p. 65. See also Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 79-80; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 9, 14-15.

<sup>121</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 31, no. 2 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1799.

<sup>122</sup> Notopoulos, "Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire," *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, pp. 44-45; "Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 1-57.

<sup>123</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 190, note 30; Oliver, "On the Order of the Athenian Catalogues of *Aiseitai*," *Harv. Th. Rev.*, XLIII, 1950, pp. 233-235; *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 305-307, note 15.

<sup>124</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 97, pp. 165-166 of the early first century B.C.; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 13, p. 29, of ca. 80 B.C.; XII, 1943, no. 14, pp. 56-57 of ca. 50-40 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1049 = *Prytaneis*, no. 101, pp. 170-171 of 57/6 B.C.

<sup>125</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 (restored) of 47/6-43/2.

<sup>126</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1062 of mid-first century; 1047 of 49/8 B.C.

<sup>127</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073 + 1074 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 121, pp. 193-197 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308, 403.

<sup>128</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 14, p. 30; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046, 1047; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 51, pp. 199-200; P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, II, pp. 819-834 = K. Kourouniotes, *Ἑλεουσινικά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-265; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796B, III; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 52, p. 200; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077, 1078; see also Lucian, *Deor. Conc.*, 14.

<sup>129</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043. The heading of the three decrees of democratic reaction are lost.

<sup>130</sup> S. Accame, *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-87.

about the rostrum was a member of the delegation of *prytaneis* visiting Salamis in A.D. 90-100 and of another such sacred delegation.<sup>131</sup> This secretaryship was an annual office and Notopoulos<sup>132</sup> suggests that the office was elective, since he finds one man serving in two separate cycles.

Alternating with the secretary for the *prytaneis* in third and fourth position among the *aisitōi* was the checking clerk (*antigraphēus*). On a single occasion his name was relegated to a place below the undersecretary, the *litourgos* and the secretary.<sup>133</sup> For the Roman period he does not seem to be known outside the lists of *aisitōi*. He does appear in one of the two prytany pilgrimage lists.<sup>134</sup> His office has been known since the fourth century B.C.,<sup>135</sup> but he seems always to have been of very low rank. In the later Roman period he was the last of the annual officers, for in the lists of *aisitōi* there followed only the professionals who served from year to year. Still the prestige of the checking clerk had once reached such a height that until about A.D. 170 his name followed those of the herald and secretary of the *boule* and *demos* and came before that of the man about the rostrum.

Grouped at the end of the lists of *aisitōi* were the skilled professionals, whose services were maintained for periods of many years. The first of these was the *hieraulēs* or flute player. It has been shown above that this was probably the same as the official who appeared in the archon lists, and that the archons probably shared his services with the *prytaneis* and the *boule* and the *demos* (see above, pp. 14-15). His varying fortunes in different periods have also been noted. His professional services were retained for periods of several years, and it would seem that a change in personnel need not have taken place coincident with the beginning of a new magisterial year, since in the course of 168/9 Eucharistos, who had been flute player from some time in or before 165/6,<sup>136</sup> by the eighth prytany had given way to his successor Epigonos, who served at least through 169/70.<sup>137</sup> Epigonos' successor Epaphroditos, also called Aphrodisios, the son of Epaphroditos, served for a period of well over ten years.<sup>138</sup> The *auletes* took part in the embassy to Salamis for the games and in the other unidentified sacred embassy.<sup>139</sup> In these lists his name comes first of the participating officials, except for the hoplite general in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1759.

<sup>131</sup> I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1759, 1059 = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1758 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 105, pp. 173-174.

<sup>132</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 10.

<sup>133</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 2, pp. 31-32.

<sup>134</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 105, pp. 173-174.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19; *Busolt-Swoboda*, p. 1043.

<sup>136</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 23, p. 77; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1774; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50.

<sup>137</sup> I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, 1776, 1781.

<sup>138</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 43, p. 56 of 173/4; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1794 of ca. 180; 1795 of ca. 181; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48 (but compare *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 246) of 182/3; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1796 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 279 of 186/7; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 6, p. 36 of ca. 186. Dates are given according to Oliver, *Harv. Th. Rev.*, XLIII, 1950, p. 234.

<sup>139</sup> I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1759; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 105, pp. 173-174 = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = I.G., II<sup>2</sup> 1758.

The two final regular *aisitōi* were the subsecretary and the Skias guardian, who alternated in sixth and seventh place—the subsecretary holding seventh position from 169/70 on (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776) and the Skias guardian holding it before that. A sketch of the history of the development of the Skias guardian has been given above (pp. 14-15). He began as a public slave (*demosios*) charged with overseeing the weights and measures preserved in the Skias or Tholos. Sometime in the latter half of the first century B.C., before 14/13, the duty was given to a metec and his title was changed to *litourgos*. By A.D. 173/4 a citizen appeared in this office.<sup>140</sup> At the end of the first century after Christ the title *litourgos* for the Skias appeared twice (see above, p. 15 and note 86), and in the lists of *aisitōi* he is generally called ἐπὶ τὴν Σκιάδα or ἐπὶ Σκιάδος. Around the end of the second century after Christ the priesthood of the Phosphoroi appeared either instead of or in addition to the function of Skias guardian.<sup>141</sup> The only two instances where the demotic of the Skias guardian is given are when his office was coupled with the priesthood of the Phosphoroi (when the office was held by Hermeias son of Hermeias of Azenia and by Aristides son of Theogenes of Phrearrhoi). After Aristides, Protion, for whom no patronymic nor place of origin is given, takes up the office of Skias guardian, but not that of priest of the Phosphoroi. In the earlier period of Roman domination, while the *prytaneis* were still being recorded with the post-Sullan prytany decree, the priest of the Phosphoroi was honored with a dedication by the *prytaneis* of his own tribe.<sup>142</sup> Since he was clearly a citizen at a time when the guardian of the Skias was probably still a public slave, the two offices cannot have been connected.

In a single prytany list<sup>143</sup> the *hieraulēs* and the Skias guardian have the same name, Eleusinos, and it seems possible that at least this once the same man occupied both functions. The *litourgos* participated in both pilgrimages of which we have a record.<sup>144</sup> Between 40 and 30 B.C. a group of citations for civic officials, probably from a prytany decree, contains the name of the *litourgos*,<sup>144</sup> but the context in which he appears is not certain.

The final member of the *aisitōi* was the subsecretary. In the prytany decrees of

<sup>140</sup> At least this is the first time that the demotic of the *litourgos* was given, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 43, p. 56; Julius Zenobios (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776) who held the office in 168/9 and 169/70, also was an Athenian citizen.

<sup>141</sup> In place of: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 24, p. 58; XVI, 1947, no. 87b, p. 182; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077; in addition to: *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 43, p. 56; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1795; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1796.

<sup>142</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 99, pp. 169-170 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1755 of the mid-first century B.C.

<sup>143</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 11, pp. 40-43 of 135/6.

<sup>144</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 108, p. 176 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3503. It has been thus far assumed that the *litourgos* was cited in the same manner as the other officials, but without the name of the *prytaneis* given as the body granting the honors. Dow believes that this was due to the fact that the *litourgos* was not a citizen, but a metec. There is no guarantee that the title should be restored as a nominative (as Kirchner) or as an accusative (natural if he were the object of a citation), since a genitive absolute could also fit the preserved traces. For an improved restoration see above, p. 15, note 86.

the pre-Sullan period the secretary of the *boule* and *demos* and his subsecretary occupied the fourth and fifth places in the list of those receiving citations, coming after the treasurer of the *prytaneis*, the secretary of the *prytaneis* and the priest of the eponymous hero, but ahead of the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, the flute player, and the treasurer of the *boule*.<sup>145</sup> In the only group of citations from the post-Sullan period in which he appears<sup>146</sup> the name of the subsecretary appears in the last row of citations, on the left of his secretary, who occupies the center. There is no wreath carved for the subsecretary and his name appears with neither patronymic nor demotic. In the prytany lists of the Roman period his name is apt to be given without patronymic and/or demotic, although other lists which include the name of the same man usually attest both of these. In the prytany lists of the Roman period the subsecretary was the seventh *aisitos* among the civic officials, following the *hieraules*, but preceding the guardian of the Skias, until the year 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776), when, with the advent of Myron son of Myron of Lamptrai to office, he changed places with the Skias guardian, who at this time was an Athenian citizen.<sup>147</sup> The secretary of the *boule* and *demos*, on the other hand, in the prytany lists of the Roman period had moved up to a position second only to the herald.<sup>148</sup> The subsecretary was a perennial office holder and must have been a professional clerk employed for the sake of continuity in record keeping, since the secretary was an annual official. In one of the pilgrimage documents his name appears, last except for the *litourgos*.<sup>149</sup>

Certain other people appear occasionally among the *aisitoi*, as Aelius or Aurelius the *pyrphoros*,<sup>150</sup> but he is a religious official and need not be of concern here. On several occasions the single word *grammateus* appears. In one fragmentary list from the end of the second century it must be referred to the secretary of the *boule* and *demos* because of its position in the list.<sup>151</sup> The final name in a list of 191/2 bears the abbreviation  $\Gamma$ <sup>152</sup> which is usually resolved to mean *grammateus*. The abbreviation and name appear in the position where the title and name of the subsecretary usually

<sup>145</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 4, 16.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 110, pp. 178-181 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 of 29/8-22/1 B.C.

<sup>147</sup> For the citizenship of Julius Zenobios see *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 31.

<sup>148</sup> A very fragmentary list of 187/8, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 87a, p. 182, has the name of the secretary following that of the *hieraules*. It may be argued that the restoration of the title of the secretary be emended to the subsecretary. Unfortunately no confirmation is to be found from comparison of names, since the names of the subsecretaries from some years before and after are all lost.

<sup>149</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 105, pp. 173-174 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758 of ca. 40-30 B.C.

<sup>150</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1796 of 186/7; *Hesperia* XI, 1942, no. 4, p. 33 of 187/8; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 of 209/10, in all of which he appears just after the Eleusinian priests and before the civic officials. In *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34 of 191/2 Oliver has restored his name convincingly between that of the man about the rostrum and of the *antigraphheus*.

<sup>151</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 3, p. 32.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 5, p. 34.



appear. A list from the end of the first century before Christ has the name of a secretary following those of the subsecretary and the *litourgos*.<sup>153</sup> The specification as to which secretary is referred to has been lost. This same list has another peculiarity in that the name of the *antigraphus* (partially restored) follows the name of the secretary. A list from the late second century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1806) has as a final entry  $\text{πρ}[υ]τάνεων$  N[— —], which is the abbreviation for  $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma) \text{πρ}[υ]τάνεων$  N[— —], an office probably to be identified with the  $[\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma] \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\nu$  of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1796 and the  $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma)$  of *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34, both of whom also appear at the end of the list (see also p. 102 above and note 86). A prytany list of around 200 after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1815) contains a pair of abbreviated titles between those of the herald of the *boule* and *demos* and the man about the rostrum which read  $\text{πρ} \text{Κ}$  and  $\text{πρ} \text{ΒΔ}$ . The first can only be resolved  $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma) \text{πρ}(\upsilon\tauάνεων) \text{Κ}[\text{---}]$ , an official not usually expected in this position; the second  $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma) \beta(\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota) \delta(\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu)$ , who appears regularly here among the *aisitai*.

A list from the late second century, found on Salamis, contains the names of a *tamias* and six slaves for the Tholos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1799). The treasurer may be the treasurer of the *boule* (see below p. 115). The slaves for the Tholos probably are related to the *hestiouchoi* listed in a prytany decree from the first century after Christ.<sup>154</sup> With these *hestiouchoi* are a pair of men called *klerotai* who probably have related functions. These slaves also are probably related to those discussed above (see pp. 14-15).<sup>155</sup>

A few final observations must be made concerning the *aisitai*. The order in which they are listed tends to be surprisingly regular. Those listed fall into three groups: first the priests, who are of no concern here, then the annual officials, the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, the secretary of the *boule* and *demos*, the man about the rostrum, often called the secretary for the *prytaneis*, and the *antigraphus*; the final three names are the perennial professionals who served for periods of several years. They are either slaves or hired specialists and include the *hieraulas*, the guardian of the Skias, who can also be the priest of the Phosphoroi if he is an Athenian citizen, and the subsecretary. These last can be valuable as criteria for dating, since their terms extend over several years, but one caution ought to be added, that individuals are apt to leave the list for short periods of time, then reappear.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2, pp. 31-32.

<sup>154</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 63, p. 218.

<sup>155</sup> On the public slaves see O. Jacob, *Les esclaves publics à Athènes* (= University of Liège, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, XXXV, 1928), and S. Waszynski, *De servis Atheniensium publicis*, diss. Berlin, 1898.

<sup>156</sup> See the references given by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 23 and the list given by Oliver, *Harv. Th. Rev.*, XLIII, 1950, pp. 233-235.

## C. OTHER MAGISTRATES AND OFFICIALS

Aristotle relates <sup>157</sup> that in his day the *epistates* of the *prytaneis* had the duty of selecting by lot nine *prohedroi*, one from each of the non-prytanizing tribes, and an *epistates* from the prytanizing tribe who were to preside at meetings of the *boule* or *demos*. The evidence would seem to indicate that they continued to function in the Roman period, since in the vast majority of decrees passed in either council or *ekklesia* the *epistates* of the *prohedroi* and his *symprohedroi* are recorded as putting the motion to a vote. In each of these, as was customary, the name of the *epistates* was given.<sup>158</sup> Two of the ephebic decrees of the democratic reaction in the second half of the first century B.C. whose texts are sufficiently well preserved contain at the beginning of the resolution the decision to reimburse the *prohedroi*.<sup>159</sup> In some later decrees where the voting procedure is described the man who puts the question to a vote is called a *prohedros*,<sup>160</sup> although the word *prohedros* was a generic term for anyone who presided at a meeting.<sup>161</sup> There were a few decrees in whose heading no reference was made to the *epistates* of the *prohedroi* and his *symprohedroi*.<sup>162</sup> In the sole mock decree from Lucian with a heading preserved (*Deor. Conc.*, 14) Poseidon is listed as *prohedros* and Apollo as *epistates*.

Two prytany decrees contain citations for the *tamias* of the sacred *diataxis*, one from the late 40's or early 30's B.C.<sup>163</sup> where he is in the company of the herald of the *boule* and *demos*, the treasurer of the *boule*, and the *litourgos*, and one from the early first century after Christ.<sup>164</sup> The major source regarding his functions is the law concerning the restitution of sacred properties from the time of Augustus,<sup>165</sup> in which

<sup>157</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 44; on the *prohedros* and his *symprohedroi* in pre-Roman Athens, see Dow, "The Preambles of Athenian Decrees Containing Lists of Symproedroi," *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 335-365.

<sup>158</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 14, p. 30, a post-Sullan prytany decree from 64/3 B.C., although other such decrees usually do not have headings; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046, 1047, 1043; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 84 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 796 B, III; P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, II, pp. 819-834 = K. Kourouniotes, *Ἑλεσινιακά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 52, p. 200; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077. These documents are scattered over a time span ranging from 64/3 B.C. to A.D. 209/10.

<sup>159</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, 45/4 B.C. and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1042 of ca. 41/0.

<sup>160</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2090 of 165/6 and Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; see also *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30; *Gerusia*, no. 31, lines 30-31; Meritt, line 20.

<sup>161</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, lines 20-21; Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; see also *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30; *Gerusia*, no. 31, lines 32-33; Meritt, lines 21-22.

<sup>162</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 of 83-73 B.C.; S. Accame, *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-87 of 75/4 B.C. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, no. 98, pp. 260-265 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 of 22/1 B.C. and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078 of ca. A.D. 220 both mention an *epistates*, but with a different formula, so and so *ἐπιστάται*, but he may merely have been the *epistates* for that particular session (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 44, 2).

<sup>163</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 108, p. 176 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3503.

<sup>164</sup> *S.E.G.*, XVIII, 53 = S. N. Koumanoudes, *Νέον Ἀθήναιον*, III, 1958-60, no. 1, pp. 3-6.

<sup>165</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, lines 10-20; for the date see H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 298-299; Day, *Ec. Hist.*, p. 148; Oliver, *Gerusia*, pp. 133-134.

this treasurer appears as a major official. His responsibilities included the supplying of victims for sacrifice and a share in the inscribing and setting up of the stele, for which he was to be reimbursed at least in part by those appointed. He also had a hand in leasing and selling sacred property<sup>166</sup> in association with the hoplite general and the *basileus*. By the time of the decrees of honors for Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos<sup>167</sup> ca. A.D. 230 the single treasurer had given way to a board. Oliver suggests that this may have occurred during the Hadrianic reforms. Precisely what function this board served with regard to the decree of honors for Eubiotos is not clear. Another inscription from some time between A.D. 170 and 190<sup>168</sup> records a payment of three-hundred two *denarii* from the sacred *diataxis* to the *imperial fiscus*. A *diataxis* "was a permanent arrangement in regard to the distribution of funds,"<sup>169</sup> which was not voted anew each year, like a budget, but continued in effect until altered by special legislation. The connection of the treasurer of this fund with the *prytaneis* is not clear, but Graindor<sup>170</sup> suggests that the *boule* retained some control of financial matters, or preserved certain functions with regard to cults.

Another *tamias* often cited by the *prytaneis* was the treasurer of the stratiotic funds.<sup>171</sup> He also was the dedicatee of a statue by the *boule* and *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3506).<sup>172</sup> His principal attested function was as publishing magistrate. So he appeared with the hoplite general in the three ephebic decrees of the democratic reaction (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, 1041, 1042), and a decree whose purpose is not preserved (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1047), where he alone is to pay the expenses. He is to pay some unidentified expense in a decree concerning the problems of the cleruchs of Lemnos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1053; after the middle of the first century before Christ). *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1062 is a decree of the middle of the first century whose purpose is not clear, but which contains the suggestive passage: "in order that this decree might not [with passage of time become] obsolete, let [the secretary] of the *prytaneis* inscribe this decree [on a stone stele] and place it [on the Acropolis and in the *dikasteria*, and let the treasurer of the stratiotic funds] pay the costs incurred, in order that when these [have been accomplished, no motion contrary to the laws] or prejudicial might come about, [but that there might remain for the] Athenians the democratic and the customary [———],” which may well argue to a connection with a democratic reaction in the mid-first century. Dow<sup>173</sup> has

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134, which presents the most recent discussion of this treasurer.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30. For no. 31 see Oliver's first edition, lines 12 and 55; for no. 32 see Meritt, line 19.

<sup>168</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 37, pp. 29-32 = Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian," pp. 126-127.

<sup>169</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, p. 133; see also L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX, 1950, pp. 14-18.

<sup>170</sup> *Auguste*, p. 122.

<sup>171</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 102, pp. 171-172 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1756 (ca. 50 B.C.); *Prytaneis*, no. 110, pp. 178-181 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 (ca. 29/8-22/1 B.C.); *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191 (ca. 20 B.C.).

<sup>172</sup> Dated by Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, p. 162, as hardly more remote than the principate of Augustus.

<sup>173</sup> "The Archons of the Period after Sulla," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 116-125. The

published a double list of magistrates arranged by archon years. The first list is headed "these served as treasurer." Dow believes that because of their prominence these treasurers were probably those of the stratiotic funds, after having eliminated the other treasurers. One final document must also be introduced as evidence.<sup>174</sup> This is a decree in honor of the *hieropoioi* who served on an embassy to the shrine of the Kabeiroi on the island of Lemnos. The publication formula, as restored by Accame, reads: "let the treasurer [of the stratiotic funds give for the] inscribing [and setting up of the stele from] the sacred funds drachmas [to the amount of ——— and] let him make an accounting to the *demos*." This decree is to be dated to the year 75/4 B.C. It seems clear now that the treasurer of the stratiotic funds, at least in the Roman period, was almost exclusively connected with the *demos* (though earlier he could draw money from funds at the disposal of the *boule*; see below, note 179), since, in the one document of Roman date where he is instructed to publish by the *boule*, he is required to make an accounting to the *demos*. In the other decrees passed by the *demos* in the first century B.C. the publication clauses are not preserved. The democratic reaction of the last half of the first century may be connected at least with the three ephebic documents, and so can be said to have been responsible in part for the frequency of appearances of the treasurer of the stratiotic funds at that time. This treasurer does not seem to be attested after the end of the first century B.C.

On several occasions the *prytaneis* honored the *tamias* of the *boule*<sup>175</sup> with a citation. Whether the treasurer in the archonship of Aristaios, awarded a crown by the *boule* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3219 of 62/1), is this same treasurer is questionable. A dedication from the final years of the first century B.C.<sup>176</sup> honors the treasurer of the *boule* and the treasurer of the grain funds in the archonship of Apolexis. The *tamias* who appears at the end of a list of *aisitoi* for ca. 180<sup>177</sup> is possibly the *tamias* of the *boule*. These represent our complete knowledge about this treasurer in the Roman period, but he probably is the direct descendant of the treasurer elected annually from among the members of the *boule* in the fourth century B.C.<sup>178</sup> It was argued above (p. 79) that the *boule* did not command large funds. Would not the existence of this treasurer contradict this viewpoint? This treasurer is hardly as prominent as the treasurer of the stratiotic funds or of the sacred *diataxis*. There is no evidence of his performing

joining of the two stones made in this article by Dow is challenged by N. Herz and W. K. Pritchett, "Marble in Attic Epigraphy," *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, pp. 81-83, on the basis of geological findings, but this would not affect the conclusions reached in this study.

<sup>174</sup> S. Accame, *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, no. 6, pp. 83-87.

<sup>175</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 108, p. 176 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3503 of the late 40's or early 30's B.C. (restored); *Prytaneis*, no. 110, pp. 178-181 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 of 29/8-22/1 B.C. (restored); *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, pp. 37-40 of the first or early second century after Christ.

<sup>176</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3505 of 8/7-1 B.C. Dittenberger's restorations, preserved by Kirchner, are not convincing.

<sup>177</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1799. Notopoulos would date this to A.D. 183/4, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, Tab. 1.

<sup>178</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1044.

any activity. It would therefore seem likely that he concerned himself only with small matters. There is a single reference to the treasurer of the *boule* and *demos*<sup>179</sup> who may well be the same official if we can assume that the inscriber of the decree mistook the title "treasurer of the *boule*" for a shortened form of "treasurer of the *boule* and *demos*" in the same manner as the secretary of the *boule* and *demos* was sometimes shortened to secretary of the *boule*.

#### D. CONCLUSIONS

The prytany documents seem to be very sensitive to the political fluctuations of Athens. It was noted above how they changed drastically with the beginning of Sulla's new constitution. The next question to arise is when the prytany lists of the Roman period replaced the post-Sullan prytany decrees. The decrees continue into the first century after Christ, but the latest date cannot be set. The earliest date assigned to a prytany list of the Roman period is the end of the first century after Christ<sup>180</sup> on the basis of the title *litourgos*, but it would seem that this title may have continued into the second century also, since the title *ἐπὶ τὴν Σκιάδα* did not appear until A.D. 135/6.<sup>181</sup> If this is so, then the first accurately dated prytany list of the Roman period<sup>182</sup> can be dated shortly after the Hadrianic reforms. It has already been shown how the gaining of an endowment at about this same time relieved the need of selecting a treasurer to pay for the sacrifices. Whether this was connected with the Hadrianic reforms is a moot point, but it certainly would have done away with the need of honoring the treasurer, which was the main purpose of the post-Sullan prytany decrees.

The traces of a reorganization in the second half of the second century are reflected in the prytany decrees, for it is only during this period that the order of the *aisitōi* reaches its final form, for it was during the 170's that the subsecretary and the Skias guardian exchanged places and that the man about the rostrum moved up before the *antigraphēus*. This coupled with the changes recorded in other chapters point to a period of rapid constitutional development, reflecting an interest in the conduct of government which is best attested by the great mass of prytany lists of the Roman period, which begins from around the 160's and continues into the third century.

<sup>179</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 116, pp. 186-191 of ca. 20 B.C. Earlier, in the third century, the *boule* had its own funds for publication which were doubtless handled by the treasurer of the *boule*, but they could be drawn on by the treasurer of the stratotic funds as well. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674, lines 19-21, and the citation in Meritt's article "Polyeuktos and Philoneos," in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1966, p. 39.

<sup>180</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 2, pp. 31-32.

<sup>181</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 40, no. 11.

<sup>182</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 13, p. 45 of A.D. 130-150; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 11, p. 40 of A.D. 135/6. For the date of the latter see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 13.

## CHAPTER VII

### VARIOUS OTHER MAGISTRATES AND OFFICIALS

A number of magistrates and officials do not fit readily into the various categories of civic institutions discussed above, and they form the subject matter of this chapter. For the sake of convenience they may be divided into four categories: the *epimeletai* of various sorts, financial officials, the *nomothetai* and police officers. A final section includes references to magistrates and officials who cannot be identified precisely.

#### A. EPIMELETAI

A wide assortment of *epimeletai* are attested for Roman Athens, and it would seem that they might be broken down into four categories. The first includes a group of important civic magistrates, such as the epimelete of the city, of the Peiraeus, or of the Agora. A second is composed of those who were concerned with the care of particular buildings, such as gymnasia, courts, or the *prytaneion*. The third class involves those charged with public construction. The final group will not be discussed in this chapter; it includes administrators of trust funds and endowments, as the epimelete chosen by the *demos* to oversee the property of orphans (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1080, lines 4, 9) or the epimelete of the gymnasiarchy of Hadrian (see below, pp. 130-131).

The epimelete of the city <sup>1</sup> was indeed an important magistrate; only the most important men in the city tended to undertake his office. The known epimeletes include Titus Coponius Maximus,<sup>2</sup> Tiberius Claudius Theogenes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3449, mid first century after Christ), Tiberius Claudius Diotimos,<sup>3</sup> Tiberius Claudius Novius (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990 of *ca.* A.D. 61/2), Hermaios son of Hermaios of Kolonos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3542 + 3548 of the first century after Christ), Tiberius Claudius (Oinophilos) the Hierophant,<sup>4</sup> Tiberius Julius Herodianus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1103 of A.D. 124/5, or a little later), Quintus Alleius Epiktetos,<sup>5</sup> Coponius Maximus (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 95), and Julius [—] the Hierophant (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792).

<sup>1</sup> On this magistracy see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 123; *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 80-81; *Hadrien*, p. 96; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 90 and note 8; "The Main Problem of the Augustus Inscription from Cyme," *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, IV, 1963, pp. 115-122; and especially pp. 163-164 of his article "Augustan, Flavian, and Hadrianic Praefecti Iure Dicundo in Asia and Greece," *A.J.P.*, LXXXIV, 1963, pp. 162-165.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, p. 39, late first or early second century after Christ.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 67-68 of *ca.* A.D. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546 of the end of the first century after Christ. For the name see Oliver, "The Senatorial but not Imperial Relatives of Calpurnia Ar[ria]," *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, pp. 347-349, who reproduces Wilhelm's (*Anzeiger Akad. Wiss. Wien*, LXXII, 1935, pp. 83-90) text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3548a.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691 of the mid-second century after Christ; for the name see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 86-87, note 32.

One document contains a citation for the *epimeletes* of the city by the *prytaneis*, granted at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century after Christ.<sup>6</sup> His name appears in the topmost row of citations with that of the *agonothetes* of the Greater Eleusinia and an official whose title is lost, while the hoplite general and the *tamias* of the *boule* appear in the second row. In the second half of the first century and the first half of the second this office appears in the *cursus honorum* of men who were important enough that no minor offices were listed.<sup>7</sup> Its position is usually at the head of or at the end of the list of liturgies in the *cursus*, and it usually does not take precedence over the *archon eponymos*, the hoplite general, the herald of the Areopagus, or the herald of the *boule* and *demos*. In one instance the office is held διὰ βίον (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990). The name of this magistrate frequently appears as a genitive absolute on dedicatory monuments,<sup>8</sup> although the most important appearance of this type is probably on the letter of Hadrian about fish sales (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1103). A monument to Berenike, the daughter of Julius Agrippa, was set up through the foresight of the epimelete of the city, Tiberius Claudius Theogenes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3449, around the middle of the first century after Christ).

The functions of the epimelete of the city are hardly made clear by the epigraphical sources from Athens. At one time Oliver<sup>9</sup> suggested that the office was a parallel for the *eparchia* in an inscription from Cyme in Asia Minor, now in Leyden,<sup>10</sup> that is, a city prefecture instituted by Augustus to protect the sacred and public property of Greek cities, but he has since decided otherwise,<sup>11</sup> since "the epimelete or *epi tes poleos* in a free city of the Roman Empire was a more permanent official chosen from the local *astoi*," while the prefect was selected outside the *astoi* and was appointed by the consuls, and he was chosen to deal with cases occurring under special circumstances. The epimelete had a regular sphere of competence. When the office at Athens was founded is not certain, but all the earliest *epimeletai* came from families whose Roman citizenship was granted under the post-Augustan Julio-Claudians. One might think that the office would be given only after a grant of Roman citizenship, from the evidence of these Roman names, but by the time of Hermaios this can no longer have been true (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3542 + 3548 of the first century after Christ). The appearance of his name in the genitive case at the bottom of inscriptions publicly set up might indicate some control over the erection of such monuments. J. H. Oliver has

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, pp. 37-40.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 67-68; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990 is not a *cursus*, but a list of offices currently held.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3542 + 3548 of the second half of the first century after Christ; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3185, possibly an altar, of the mid-first century after Christ; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 95, the Sarapion monument of the third century after Christ.

<sup>9</sup> *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, IV, 1963, pp. 119-121.

<sup>10</sup> H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leyden*, Diss. Leyden, 1958, no. 57, pp. 49-66.

<sup>11</sup> Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXXIV, 1963, pp. 163-164.

suggested *per litteras* that he served as the chief of police of Roman Athens.

A single inscription refers to the epimelete of the Peiraeus. In A.D. 41 the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred, and the *demos* dedicated a statue of Claudius which was set up by the son of Diokles of Peiraeus, who at that time was epimelete of the Peiraeus for the second time.<sup>12</sup> This officer probably was holding an office descended from that of the epimelete of the waterfront of the Peiraeus, sometimes called epimelete of the Peiraeus. In the pre-Sullan period he is recorded as having made annual contributions to the Delian Pythaid between 103/2 and 97/6 B.C.<sup>13</sup> and in the law concerning weights and measures (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, lines 47 and 48) from the end of the second century B.C. he is assigned punitive duties in the Peiraeus which in the city belong to the *prytaneis* and the hoplite general, and at Eleusis to the hierophant and the annual board appointed for the Panegyris.

A single inscription mentions the epimelete of the market in the region of the city.<sup>14</sup> Phidias son of Phidias of Rhamnous is honored by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred, and the *demos* because of his *arete*. Beneath the dedication on the stone are cut representations of a pair of bread stamps. Graindor likens him to a Roman aedile in charge of the *cura annonae* and attributes to him the policing of the agora, surveying of the provisioning of grain, and guarding the quality and weight of bread, in conjunction with the *agoranomoi*.

There were also *epimeletai* of the *dikasteria* who are attested in four catalogues from the end of the first century B.C.<sup>15</sup> Each catalogue contains the date by archon, the names of the four *epimeletai* of the *dikasteria* and of two secretaries. The office must have been annual, since the dating is by archon for successive years and there seems not to be any repetition of names. Graindor suggested that they presided over courts which tried civil cases, but since our knowledge of legal procedure in Roman Athens is so scanty, no definite statements can be made.

After the middle of the first century B.C. the epimelete of the Lykeion, Dionysios son of Dionysodoros of Kropidai, set up a dedication to Apollo. Beneath the dedication the name of the gymnasiarch appears.<sup>16</sup> The epimelete, who supervised the Lykeion, may have contributed oil for the gymnasium.<sup>17</sup>

The only evidence for the existence of the *epimeletes* of the *prytaneion* is a dedi-

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3268; see Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 82.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336 + 2454 + several Agora fragments as edited by S. Dow, "The First Enneëteric Delian Pythais," *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, pp. 116-124.

<sup>14</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3545 from around the end of the first century after Christ. See Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 81; *Hadrien*, pp. 88, 96.

<sup>15</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1732, a catalogue for a single year; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1733, catalogues for three successive years. For this office see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 123; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 82 and addenda, p. 208.

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2875; see Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 123.

<sup>17</sup> For a possible parallel, see *T.A.M.*, III, 25 from Termessos, cited by L. Robert, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, LXII, 1960, p. 295, note 5. and below, p. 130 and note 16.



cation made by Theophilos son of Diodoros of Halai upon his entering that office near the end of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2877).

The final class of *epimeletai* were those in charge of public construction assigned individually to various projects. Their names appear on simple statue bases<sup>18</sup> or on monumental gateways (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3175). It cannot be asserted that these men paid for constructing these monuments, for the dedication on one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3647) indicates that the *boule* of the Areopagus and *demos* constructed it, and another, that of the gate of Athena Archegetis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3175), indicates that the *demos* constructed it with funds donated by Julius Caesar and Augustus, with Eukles of Marathon taking over the *epimeleia* of construction from his father Herodes while he was serving as hoplite general. These last two citations clearly indicate that the *epimeletes* was an administrator who supervised the completion of a monument which was decreed and financed elsewhere, just as *epimeletai* were appointed by foreign governments to erect statues of Hadrian in Athens which had been decreed at home.<sup>20</sup> The hoplite general and certain other magistrates often appear as *epimeletai* of construction, and they appear also without other designation than their name and magistracy as a genitive absolute<sup>21</sup> on certain dedications. Might this not be another way of indicating an *epimeleia*? Although the *epimeleia* concerned monuments decreed and financed elsewhere, doubtless, when the name of the *epimeletes* appears, it is to be taken as an indication that he contributed something, probably by exceeding the original specifications at his own expense.<sup>22</sup>

It has been shown that the title of *epimeletes* was applied in connection with very many different sorts of institutions: the city itself, the Peiraeus, an agora, public buildings, a gymnasium, public monuments, endowments and trust funds, etc. It would seem that underlying this varied usage there was a constant principle with regard to his duties. Suggestions have been made of his function in a few cases, and most of these seem to indicate a trustee or manager to whom funds and/or facilities for a given project or institution were entrusted. In each of the cases discussed above the *epimeletes* was an Athenian citizen, which would indicate a fairly responsible charge, especially considering that the responsibility for public weights and measures fell to slaves and metics. In many cases it seems that the office may have outgrown its original meaning, especially in the case of the municipal officials of the first category. At least two of these offices involved a concern in the grain supply, those of the agora in the region of the city and of the Peiraeus.<sup>23</sup> As for the other offices where a case of

<sup>18</sup> E.g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3261, 3266, 3271, 3277, 3283, 3287, 3551, 3689, 3690, 3798, 4779.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3297, 3299, 3300, 3301.

<sup>21</sup> As for example, the hoplite general, see above, pp. 24-25.

<sup>22</sup> In this connection see the story of the aqueduct at Troas constructed on a grant from the emperor by Herodes Atticus, Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, Kayser, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> If he is truly descended from the original ten *epimeletai* of the *emporion* (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 51, 4).

management was involved it would hardly be surprising if the system worked in much the same way as the farming out of public works in democratic Athens, where it was considered good figure to exceed the specifications at one's own expense.<sup>24</sup>

## B. FINANCIAL OFFICERS

Most of the discussions of public funds have found their places in other chapters where they fit more naturally. These include the public grain funds (see above, pp. 21-23), the funds of the *boule* (see above, p. 79), the funds of the *prytaneis* (see above, pp. 98-100), the treasurer of the sacred *diataxis* (see above, pp. 113-114), the treasurer of the stratotic funds (see above pp. 114-115), the treasurer of the *boule* (see above, pp. 115-116), public oil funds (see below, pp. 121-122) and the liturgies (see below, pp. 128-139). Certain additional features of public finance also will have to be cited.

First there are the *argyrotamiai*. Recent investigation by J. H. Oliver<sup>25</sup> tends to confirm a similarity to the *curatores Kalendarii* of the west, that is to the officials responsible for lending public moneys at interest. Oliver argues that they were in charge of one of the two attested public treasuries at Athens, the *opisthodomos*. There are only three documents from Roman Athens indicating the activity of this board of treasurers. The first is an inscription recording a bequest of Akousilaos<sup>26</sup> of one hundred thousand *denarii* for the purchase of lands. The document is fragmentary, and the meaning is not clear, but one line translated would read, "*argyrotamiai*, in order that they be bought." The *argyrotamiai* appear in the oil law of Hadrian.<sup>27</sup> According to its provisions, when the civic quotas of oil are fulfilled, those who were, as a result, released from selling a percentage of their crop to the city had to make a declaration stating the amount of oil owned by them which the *elaionai* and *argyrotamiai* did not wish to take from them. It has been suggested that the *argyrotamiai* lent public moneys and that this provision is concerned with crop loans to be paid back in kind. An *argyrotamias* of the oil funds is known from Prusias (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 68 and 1423), but the references are in *cursus honorum* and hardly shed any further light. Finally the *argyrotamiai* appear in a document generally believed to set regulations governing tax farming.<sup>28</sup> The preserved portion describes

<sup>24</sup> Rather well known examples are the Alcmeonid temple at Delphi, Herodotos, V, 62, or the boasts of Demosthenes about his use of personal funds instead of public funds, *De corona*, 110-119.

<sup>25</sup> "Athens of Hadrian," pp. 124-133. See also J. Oehler, *R.E.*, II, 1896, col. 802; *R.E.*, X, 1919, col. 1567; Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 96-97; Day, *Ec. Hist.*, p. 192; see also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, II, p. 1513.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 25, pp. 24-25, line 8.

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100; see the text of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963, lines 67-68 and his comments, "Athens of Hadrian," p. 129.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1104, but see the augmented and corrected text and commentary of Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian," pp. 129-130; see also Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 598, note 7; Day, *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 193-194.

the procedure whereby the *argyrotamiai* and the herald were to dispose of securities deposited with them by defaulting tax farmers. The *argyrotamiai* would appear to have charge of a sizeable public treasury. The size of the board of *argyrotamiai* is not known.

There is evidence for the continued existence of the *opisthodomos* as a public treasury. A list of sums of money from ca. A.D. 180<sup>29</sup> includes that which the city gave from the *opisthodomos*, 278 *denarii*, a sum second only to that of the donation from the sacred *diataxis* among the few preserved sums. A pair of inscriptions, one on an epistyle (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5187) and the other known only from sketches (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5213) indicate that the respective structures were built with public funds. The former was built under the care of Aelius Homoulllos as *epitropos* and the latter under Aristokrates son of Kallias as *epistates*. These positions must have been the equivalents of the *epimeleia* of work described above. Several fines for disturbing graves were to be paid to the *tameion* or to the most sacred *tameion*.<sup>30</sup> The latter is the imperial *fiscus*, so that these inscriptions do not concern us.

### C. NOMOTHETAI

There are faint traces of a *nomothesia* in Roman Athens. Under Nero the office was held by Tiberius Claudius Novius, according to the testimony of two *cursus honorum* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990, 3277). In both cases the title occupies the last position on the *cursus*. Under Hadrian the title belonged to Annius Pythodoros according to a group of Delian documents<sup>32</sup> which record that he was leader of the Delian Pythaid for each year from 113/4 through 125/6. First in the year 119/20 he was titled *nomothetes*, and he retained this title through the latest of the preserved documents. Graindor<sup>33</sup> observes that the latest of these is one year too early to coincide with his dating of the Hadrianic reforms. Since the office cannot have been connected with the Hadrianic reforms, he believes that it involved codification of the common laws. He refuses to see the title as purely honorary. A metrical inscription first published by Pittakis,<sup>34</sup> whom Dittenberger followed (*I.G.*, III, 3849), was reported to have contained in the third line the reading NOMOΘETOT. W. Peek,<sup>35</sup> having examined the stone, suggests that the first two letters were actually a restoration made

<sup>29</sup> Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian," pp. 129-130, presents an attractive hypothesis that these are payments to the *fiscus* for the use of imperial estates, and that in case of delays by private users the public *opisthodomos* advanced the money to the *fiscus*.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13211, 13215, 13220; and a pair of late examples, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13219, 13224. A group of monuments setting fines for disturbing graves are really not Attic: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13212, 13218, 13221. See L. Robert, "Hellenica," *Rev. Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, pp. 37-40.

<sup>32</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXVIII, 1904, p. 172; XXXIV, 1910, p. 421, no. 88; p. 423, no. 90; XXIII, 1899, pp. 85-86.

<sup>33</sup> *Hadrien*, p. 32, note 1.

<sup>34</sup> *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens, 1835, p. 93.

<sup>35</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, no. 63, p. 46.

by Pittakis, and would change the reading to *θεσ]μοθέτον*. Finally there is a very fragmentary document, lines 12 and 13 of which can be restored either as *νομ]ο-θετήσαντα* or *ἀγων]οθετήσαντα* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1122 = III, 50).

#### D. POLICE OFFICERS, GUARDS, AND THE LIKE

A very important function was filled by the *agoranomos*. His title begins to appear in *cursus honorum* from the mid-second century after Christ.<sup>36</sup> He is cited in a prytany decree (*Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, no. 6, p. 96). Two statue bases honor *agoranomoi*, one because of his *arete* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3651, of the second century after Christ), and the other for his *arete* and *dikaiosyne* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3493, of around 27 B.C.). The latter was dedicated by a group of merchants, probably similar to that which honored a hoplite general around 15 B.C.<sup>37</sup> Sometime in the first or second century after Christ a man upon his becoming *agoranomos* dedicated a balance-bar and measures to an unidentified divinity (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2886), and a pair of measuring tables found in the Roman Market were reported to have been dedications of *agoranomoi*.<sup>38</sup> His duties cannot have been far different from the modern counterpart who sits at the crossroads of the Athenian meat market with a public scale as an authority to whom a buyer can appeal if he believes himself cheated. It would seem that the *agoranomoi* of the Roman period had absorbed the functions of the *metronomoi* of the period of Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 51, 2) as well as having retained the function peculiar to them in the time of Aristotle, that of overseeing the genuineness and purity of the goods for sale. Hellenistic tokens found in the Athenian agora bear the abbreviated title of the *agoranomos*, and they seem to have been used as records of payment of the *agoranomikon* or market tax.<sup>39</sup> The *agoranomia* must have involved a certain amount of expenditure, otherwise Herodes Atticus would hardly have used it for his debut into public life.<sup>40</sup> Confirmation may be found in comparative material from Ephesos<sup>41</sup> of the Roman period in which various *agoranomoi* were honored. Many of the citations indicate the price of bread as reason for the honor and many add that the bread was pure and plentiful. A document from Akraphaia<sup>42</sup> gives some indication of how this might have been accomplished. The benefactors honored, when they

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3621, 3649; *I.G.*, XII, 8, 27; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2223. The last two date to the third century.

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 29, p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Πρακτικά, 1890, p. 16; see also Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 193. I have found no reference to any dedicatory inscriptions from these tables, and it may be that the attribution to the *agoranomoi* was an assumption of the excavators.

<sup>39</sup> Crosby, *Agora*, X, pp. 112-113.

<sup>40</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3602; see also Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 55.

<sup>41</sup> *Forsch. in Ephesos*, III, Vienna, 1923, nos. 10-18, pp. 101-107; J. Keil, *Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIII, 1926, Beibl., col. 282; for comments see Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 599, note 9.

<sup>42</sup> L. Robert, "Études sur les inscriptions et la topographie de Grèce centrale," *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 438-452. Robert's notes are not only an invaluable commentary, but supply additional references, especially to lines 59 ff.

were *agoranomoi* at their own expense, gave grain to the bakers and to the others (retail dealers and cooks) gave money for a year without interest, with the result that there were constant cheap prices. Graindor summed up the functions of the *agoranomoi* as policing the agora, assuring the bread supply, and keeping watch on the quality and weight of bread,<sup>43</sup> while M. I. Rostovtzeff<sup>44</sup> compared them to the *aediles* of the west. The burdens of this office must have been closely tied to those of the hoplite general, although they cannot have been as great.

Aristotle records that in the fourth century B.C. (*Ath. Pol.*, 51, 1) there were ten *agoranomoi*, five for Athens and five for Peiraeus. For the Roman period there is no epigraphical reference to those in the Peiraeus, but there were two at Athens, according to a pair of dedications closely associated with the Roman market. The first is a statue base for the deified Julia Augusta with the epithet Pronoia, dedicated by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred, and the *demos*, set up by Dionysios son of Aulus of Marathon, when Dionysios of Marathon and Quintus Naevius Rufus were *agoranomoi* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3238). The second is the dedication of the *agoraneion*, or headquarters of the *agoranomoi*, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, which was built when Antipater son of Musaios from Alopeke and Lucius son of Lucius of Marathon were *agoranomoi* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3391).

It would seem that the *agoranomoi* functioned primarily in the Roman market. Several documents which refer to the *agoranomoi* were discovered in the vicinity of the gate of Athena Archegetis,<sup>45</sup> the main entrance to the Roman market. It has been assumed that a building to the east of the Roman market was the *agoraneion*. In addition to its being dedicated to Athena Archegetis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3183) and its proximity to the market, as evidence Graindor<sup>46</sup> associated with it the arcuated lintel block containing the dedication of the *agoraneion* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3391), but H. S. Robinson would deny this attribution.<sup>47</sup> Finally, one dedication of statues of the deified Julia Augusta and another member of the imperial household has been restored so as to make the dedicator an *agoranomos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3239), although there are any number of other magistracies, liturgies, or offices which could be restored with more probability.<sup>48</sup>

The *astynomoi* appear in only one Athenian inscription from the Roman period which is dated to the first century after Christ. It is a stone block, hollowed out,

<sup>43</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>44</sup> *Roman Empire*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>45</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3238 of after A.D. 29; 3602 of around A.D. 122; and 3391 from the reign of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>46</sup> *Auguste*, p. 196, notes 2 and 4.

<sup>47</sup> H. S. Robinson, "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market Place," *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 304.

<sup>48</sup> The original suggestion was made by Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques*, Ghent, 1924, p. 19, and *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 4, who restored the title of *agoranomos* with a question mark.

with three apertures on the inscribed face and one on the right side.<sup>49</sup> Immediately below each of the apertures of the façade is an abbreviation, under the first  $\overset{\text{B}}{\text{M}}$ , the second  $\overset{\text{A}}{\text{M}}$  and the third  $\overset{\text{<}}{\text{M}}$ . Wilhelm recognized that B, A, and < equalled 2, 1, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but he was puzzled by the rest. Kirchner concluded that M equalled 10,000, and thus the abbreviations were for the numbers 20,000, 10,000, and 5,000. M. Tod<sup>50</sup> has suggested with much more plausibility that the M denotes  $\mu$  ( $\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) or  $\mu$  ( $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ ). Thus the block is some sort of measuring device, but how it functioned and for what it was made remain mysteries. The apertures were placed at a certain level and the names of the *astynomoi* were inscribed above and below in such a way that the apertures cause the name of the final *astynomos* to be split between the name and patronymic. Three lines are lost above the apertures, so that there is room only for the names of two *astynomoi* on the block. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 50, 2) indicates that in his day there were ten *astynomoi*, five for Athens and five for the Peiraeus. They controlled the prices charged by flute, psalter and kithara players, saw that the dung-gatherers disposed of their burdens at a suitable distance from the city walls, prevented obstructions to the public roads from the buildings bordering them, and kept the roads clear of corpses. The Hellenistic astynomic law from Pergamon<sup>51</sup> reveals that *astynomoi* are responsible for keeping roads clear, for deciding cases involving party walls, guarding sewers, springs and cisterns. Although the law was Hellenistic, the copy which we possess was set up during the Roman period, thus guaranteeing its continued validity.

During the period of the Julio-Claudian emperors after Augustus there are extensive records of *pyloroi* for the Acropolis.<sup>52</sup> Why they received so much notice at this period is not known, but the continued existence into the third century after Christ is attested by a single document (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3691 of 238/9-243/4). The office was annual, since the lists are dated by archons, and it would seem not limited to a single term, since Protogenes son of Protogenes of Azenia served eleven times (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2302).<sup>53</sup> Others who appear in more than one list are Nikias son of Nikias

<sup>49</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2878; for a photograph and description see A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (= Sonderschriften oest. arch. Inst. in Wien, VII, 1909), no. 68, p. 83.

<sup>50</sup> "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 128-129.

<sup>51</sup> See the edition of G. Klaffenbach, *Die Astynomeninschrift von Pergamon* (= Abhandlungen Akad. Wiss. Berlin, 1953, 6). For more recent comments on this law see Oliver, "The Date of the Pergamene Astynomic Law," *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 88-92; G. Klaffenbach, *Varia Epigraphica* (= Abhandlungen Akad. Wiss. Berlin, 1958, 2), pp. 24-25; Oliver, "The Main Problem of the Augustus Inscription from Cyme," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, IV, 1963, p. 120, note 5.

<sup>52</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292-2309; *addenda*, 2297a; 4719.

<sup>53</sup> After the name of Protogenes in this document is the abbreviation  $\text{—}\text{A}\Phi$ , which is generally taken to represent a number, but one whose significance is unknown. M. Tod, "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 138, interprets it as 1500, but admits that he does not understand the reference.

of Marathon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, 2293), Ktesikles son of Ktesikles of Araphen (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, 2294), Aemilius of Kephisia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2296 [partially restored], 2297), Timokles son of Timokles of Peiraeus and Primus of Halai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 2297 I and 2298, although it is possible that both lists represent the same year) and possibly Sosinikos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2297, 2299). Publius Cornelius Satyros appears in two lists, once alone (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292) and once with his partner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2297), but these both probably are from the same year, since both indicate that they represent the year in which the stairway was begun. Repeated terms need not have been consecutive, since all of the repeated services listed above could not possibly be arranged so that all were consecutive. The usual list contains two names of *pyloroi* and a trumpeter, although sometimes the trumpeter is lacking. Although a demotic is usually given, citizenship seems not to have been a prerequisite, since the *pyloros* Lastratos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292) came from Itea and the trumpeter Plution (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292) was from Hephaistia. The trumpeters were also likely to serve more than once, as Apollonios of Lamptrai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, 2295, 2296) and possibly Demetrios of the deme Apollonia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2293, 2303). Some lists contain three names of *pyloroi* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2298, 2293) but neither of these lists a separate trumpeter. The *pyloroi* maintained a cult of Apollo Agyieus, as is evidenced by the dedication of an altar to him (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4719) and by the appearance of a sketch of a statue of Apollo at the bottom of one list.<sup>54</sup> Opposite the statue is sketched a table under which are a jar and two *phialai* as votive offerings. One of the trumpeters was given the added title of *hieronikes*, indicating that he had taken a prize in their art at the sacred games (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, 2295). One board can be dated by the additional note that during its tenure Gaius Caesar was proclaimed emperor (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292). Graindor observed that the office of *pyloros* was considered an *arche*, since one inscription calls them *synarchontes*.<sup>55</sup> The *pyloroi* are called *eusebeis* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292) or *amemptoi* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2302) and on one occasion they and the *akrophylakes* are commended for their *pistis* and *eusebia* toward the city (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2309).

The *pyloroi* must have controlled access to the Acropolis, since it was there that the vast majority of the lists were found, and since on one dedicatory monument from the Roman period they are coupled with the *akrophylakes* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2309), just as in a list from the fourth century B.C. both boards were listed together (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2308). Precisely which gate they tended is not clear. Graindor suggests that the beginning of the large number of lists of *pyloroi* marks the construction of a gate at the foot of the Acropolis,<sup>56</sup> but there is no evidence for this. Very many of the lists were found around the Propylaia, and most of the rest on the Acropolis itself, not at its base. The trumpeter obviously was responsible for announcing the hours of opening

<sup>54</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2304; see the edition and photograph of Raubitschek, "The Pyloroi of the Acropolis," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVI, 1945, pp. 104-107.

<sup>55</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2299; see Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 83.

<sup>56</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 83.

and closing. Although two of the lists noted the beginning of the construction of the new stairway (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, 2297), Graindor <sup>57</sup> has shown that this cannot have been the occasion for the institution of the *pyloroi*.

The *akrophylakes* served a separate function from the *pyloroi*, since they were a separate but contemporary board cited on the same inscription once in the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2308) and once in the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2309). Otherwise they are recalled only twice, in a catalogue containing three names from the mid-first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2310) and an inscription containing only part of the word *akrophylakes* (*I.G.*, III, 3908, cited by Kirchner in a note to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2310). Our material is even more scarce concerning the *hierophylakes* since the fullest inscription contains the names of the three members of one board and the date by archon from the heading of a second list (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1739 of 181/2 or 182/3, and 182/3 or 183/4). In this list one instance of repeated service is recorded. Is it possible that the *hierophylakes* may have served an office similar to that of the *nyktohylakes* at the temple of Artemis in Ephesos? <sup>58</sup> A single document, the inscription listing the rules of the Iobakchoi, mentions an *eirenarchia*, and this stipulates only that an Iobakch attaining this office had to treat his fellows (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, line 134). The title as it appears here need not represent a specific office at Athens, but it may be a general term for any police officer or magistrate engaged in the apprehension of criminals. In Asia the *eirenarchia* was introduced by the Roman emperors as a municipal liturgy in order to help combat the rising brigandage in the latter half of the second century after Christ,<sup>59</sup> but these appear to have been charged with policing outside of the city limits and according to Hirschfeld were confined to Asia Minor. The precise nature of the Athenian police force under the Roman empire is not clearly attested and no conclusions can be firmly stated. In this connection J. H. Oliver has suggested that the *epimeletes* of the city served as chief of police.

#### E. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain references to civic functionaries are not precisely enough defined to be able to be identified with any of those treated elsewhere. These include a secretary (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4764) and a pair of heralds (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3719, 5191, the latter of which being a participial form need not even necessarily refer to a civic official). Finally *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1086 contains the restoration τοῖς δημο[υργοῖς (line 9), but B. Keil <sup>60</sup> suggests that it be read τοῖς δημο[πράτοισι — — —.

<sup>57</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 83 and 161.

<sup>58</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 18, pp. 102-104.

<sup>59</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 739, note 17; see also Otto Hirschfeld, "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreiche," *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 602-612, originally published in *Sitz. Akad. Wiss. Berlin*, 1891, pp. 845-877.

<sup>60</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 62.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE LITURGIES

Athens was a city noted for its brilliant annual round of games, processions, and festivals. Although large sums of money were attracted with the crowds from all over the world, they did not contribute directly to the costs of the festival. Rather this financial burden continued to fall on individual public spirited citizens, if they were available, or probably on the *boule* and its officials. Beyond the festivals, there were a number of daily requirements which were cared for in about the same manner, such as the assurance of an oil supply in the various gymnasia and of an adequate cheap bread supply for the populace. Any of these liturgies might be financed also by endowments. Certain aspects of this liturgical system have been examined already: the eponymous archonship was considered a burdensome office (see above, pp. 6-10), but aside from possibly the *agonothesia* of the Dionysia (see above, p. 9) there are no indications of the nature of the burdens; the religious duties of the *archon basileus* (see above, pp. 10-11) probably involved considerable expense, and it has been suggested that he continued to pay for the celebration of the Lenaia (see above, p. 11); the hoplite general concerned himself with the public grain supply (see above, pp. 21-23), a particularly onerous duty, in which he was aided by the *agoranomoi* (see above, pp. 123-124), the *sitones* (see above, p. 22) and others; the annual series of prytany sacrifices was financed by the treasurer of the *prytaneis*, then by an endowment, and finally by a wealthy member of the tribe to whom the title *eponymos* was given (see above, pp. 98-100). In the *cursus honorum* of the Roman period three liturgies commonly occur which have yet to be treated in this survey: the *gymnasiarchia*, the *agonothesia*, and the *panegyriarchia*. There is limited evidence for a continued or resurrected *choregia* of the dramatic contests. In the late second century in an attempt to rearrange the financing of certain festivals a *gerusia* was founded.

#### A. GYMNASIARCHIA

Comparative evidence from the other Greek cities of the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup> and certain indications from Athens show that the principal burden of the gymnasiarchy was the provision for an adequate supply of oil for public uses. A dedication preserved only from the sketches of Fourmont (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3773) records that those who used the oil honored the gymnasiarch. Among the ephebes, where a mock civic government was maintained, the gymnasiarchy was usually rotated on a monthly basis, although occasionally a single ephebe might assume it for a whole year, or the members

<sup>1</sup> For examples see those cited by A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 221-222 and 351, note 23; L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (= *Études Orientales*, V, 1937), pp. 315-317.

of a group might each take a certain number of days out of a month. These gymnasiarchs begin to be recorded regularly from the middle of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990). Graindor,<sup>2</sup> in pointing out the connection between the gymnasiarchy and the oil supply, has cited one list of ephebes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2026) in which the three ephebic gymnasiarchs account for only two months out of the year, while among the strangers each of several is reported to have provided oil for five days. He concluded that in this particular year these foreigners were asked to contribute towards this liturgy, ordinarily defrayed by Athenians, but these foreigners were not permitted to attain the honor of the title of gymnasiarch. It has already been noted that the gymnasiarchy figured prominently in *cursus honorum*<sup>3</sup> and warranted the honor of a statue,<sup>4</sup> although in every instance involving the dedication of a statue the liturgist was also hoplite general for the year. A man who undertook to secure the public supply both of grain and of oil indeed performed an extraordinary service. As with the other liturgies, service as a gymnasiarch was not limited to a single term, and several served on more than one occasion.<sup>5</sup> The name of the gymnasiarch was apt to appear in certain other contexts. Some dedications by victors in games contain his name in the genitive case,<sup>6</sup> as also do a dedication by an *epimletes* of the Lykeion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2875) and a catalogue associated with the Lykeion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945).<sup>7</sup> These documents might be taken as an indication that he possessed a wider competence than that of mere oil supplier. Indeed it would hardly seem out of place to credit to him the general supervision of all the gymnasia of the city and their functions, probably excluding those dedicated to the ephebic corps. A connection between the gymnasiarchy and the *prytaneis* is pointed out by Oliver in his edition of the prytany decree of around A.D. 120 honoring Atticus<sup>8</sup> for having assumed the burden of treasurer of the *prytaneis* and of the gymnasiarchy. Oliver cites another prytany decree whose heading contains the name of the gymnasiarch.<sup>9</sup> There is also a group of dedications made by gymnasiarchs, including one to Apollo (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 66-71 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 71, p. 74 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3580; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546, 4071 line 24, 3592 (three times, lines 6, 10-11, 15), 3687; *I.G.*, XII, 8, 27. All of these inscriptions can be dated from around the middle of the first century after Christ into the third century.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3544, 3573, 3593, 3591 ranging in date from the end of the first through the middle of the second century after Christ. The two other examples of service as hoplite general and gymnasiarch are to be found in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072, 2883.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072, 1945, 2883, 2998, 3531, all twice; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 66-71, three times.

<sup>6</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2998, 2999, both of the mid or late first century after Christ.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix II, pp. 160-161.

<sup>8</sup> Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308 and 403 (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073 + 1074 with new restorations), especially 301 and 403.

<sup>9</sup> *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, p. 403, a corrected version of the reference in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 7, p. 37.

3002) and the others to unspecified deities.<sup>10</sup> They resemble a number of dedications by gymnasiarchs which have clear ephebic connections<sup>11</sup> and may themselves be associated with the ephebes. An unidentified catalogue contains the name of the gymnasiarch in its heading.<sup>12</sup> A dedicatory plaque contains the legend "the hoplite general Antiochos son of Apollonios of Sphettos when he was gymnasiarch for the second time," all as a genitive absolute (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2883). The decree in honor of Antonius Oxylos of Elis, who died while still a youth, was introduced into the *boule* by Titus Coponius Maximus of Hagnous while he was hoplite general, gymnasiarch for the second time, priest of Ares and Zeus, and *hierokeryx* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072). *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1737 is a list of annual *gymnasiarchoi*, but it is hardly certain whether they represent the civic gymnasiarchy or that of a private organization.

A change in the financial arrangements of the gymnasiarchy occurred in the second century after Christ, for then there first appears the *epimeletes* of the gymnasiarchy of the deified Hadrian.<sup>13</sup> The regular gymnasiarch continues to appear, but never on the same document with the *epimeletes*, and in many of the instances when his name does appear it is also indicated that the funds came from his own resources.<sup>14</sup> Obviously the emperor Hadrian had set up an endowed gymnasiarchy,<sup>15</sup> whose administrator was called *epimeletes*.<sup>16</sup> Public spirited citizens still were permitted to

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3001, 3003a, 3009. The last is inscribed on an oil jar.

<sup>11</sup> See the section of the *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> containing the inscriptions numbered from 2993 through 3013 for several examples.

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1946. The name of the hoplite general also appears. Those named all would seem to belong to the tribe Kekropis, and this could be another list of *prytaneis*. Still its date is very much before the period when the name of the hoplite general began to appear in the headings of prytany lists. It was found in Salamis and the presence of the hoplite general and gymnasiarch relate it to the pilgrimage documents (see p. 97 and note 50). If this is so line 5 might be restored [*πρυτάνει*]; *Κεκροπίδος*.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2888, 3620, 1077, 3688; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691.

<sup>14</sup> As in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592, line 6, line 15; 3687, lines 25-26. Those on which this is not specified include *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3593, 3591, 3592, lines 10-11; *I.G.*, XII, 8, 27.

<sup>15</sup> For examples of endowed gymnasiarchies elsewhere in the cities of the Roman empire see footnote 1 and Laum, *Stiftungen*, I, pp. 88-90, and II, nos. 9, 121, 122, 124, etc.; A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (= Sonderschriften oest. arch. Inst. Wien, VII, 1909), pp. 193-195, no. 167.

<sup>16</sup> For the *epimeletai* of gymnasiarchies or of a gymnasium see L. Robert, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, LXII, 1960, pp. 294-296 and especially note 5 on p. 295; *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 449-450. A further distinction probably can be drawn here on the basis of the Athenian material. Robert cites from Termessos an inscription (*T.A.M.*, III, 25) containing the name of a man who "served as *epimeletes* of the gymnasia." This case may be likened to that of an *epimeletes* of the Lykeion at Athens, who made a dedication to Apollo in the latter half of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2875). This document also contains the name of the gymnasiarch. Although the relationship is not clear, one would suspect that an *epimeletes* of a gymnasiarchy managed an endowment to pay for oil for the whole city, while the *epimeletes* of a gymnasium, or of the gymnasia, had charge of the endowments relating to the physical equipment and operation of the gymnasium or gymnasia over which he had charge. When Hadrian gave a gymnasium to Athens for the boys and youths, he supplied an

assume the full cost of the gymnasiarchy, and that explains the continued existence of the gymnasiarch and the specification in certain documents that the money came from personal funds.<sup>17</sup> The *epimeleia* of Hadrian's gymnasiarchy was considered of sufficient importance to be listed in *cursus honorum*.<sup>18</sup> Marcus Aurelius Alkamenes of Lamptraï, who was hoplite general when the decree for sacrifices in honor of the household of Septimius Severus was passed, was also at the same time *epimeletes* of Hadrian's gymnasiarchy and *antarchon* of the Panhellenion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077).

In the case of Athens we are singularly fortunate to have precise information concerning the machinery for procuring oil. The oil law of Hadrian<sup>19</sup> specifies that one-third of the crop of each grower (or one-eighth in the case of the confiscated lands of Hipparchos) was to be sold to the city, probably at prices below those current on the world market, until sufficient oil should be on hand to cover public uses for the whole year (lines [10-11] and 63). This indeed must have been a large amount of oil, especially since Athens was one of the leading producers in Greece (Pausanias X, 32, 19). The law details the procedures for registering the crop and selling the required third, penalizing those who disobeyed and releasing those whose oil would create a surplus in the city's supply. The public uses for which such a supply of oil was earmarked can only have been the supplying of the public baths and gymnasia, the realm of services allocated to the gymnasiarch. Thus at Athens the burden of the liturgy was lightened somewhat by a state control of the cost of oil. A possible clue to the method of distribution can be found in a lead token, probably Hellenistic, found in the Athenian Agora, which bears the legend ΕΛ|ΑΟΥ within an olive crown.<sup>20</sup> Miss Crosby suggests a reading either as ἐλα<ι>ου or as the Attic deme Ἐλα<ι>οῦ(ς). In view of the absence of the final *sigma* the former seems more likely. This token would probably entitle the bearer to a certain amount of oil, on the analogy of the grain tokens cited above. It is tempting to associate it with the prizes awarded in the Panathenaia.

The officers in charge of the purchase of oil according to the Hadrianic oil law were called the *elaionai*. In other cities this official bore much of the burden of the cost of oil.<sup>21</sup> Their function is defined by Arcadius Charisius (*Digest*, L, iv, 18, 5): *Cura quoque emendi frumenti olei (nam harum speciarum curatores, quos σιτώνας et ἐλαιώνας appellant, creari moris est) inter personalia munera in quibusdam civitatibus numerantur.* At Athens since his name does not appear in *cursus honorum* nor

additional fund "for it that it become an ornament to the city" (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1102). May not such a fund have been an endowment for expenses outside of the oil supply?

<sup>17</sup> The facts have already been recognized by Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3620 = Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 23, p. 107; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3688; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691.

<sup>19</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100; see the edition of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963. See also Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXXIV, 1963, p. 89.

<sup>20</sup> Crosby, *Agora*, X, p. 89, L 38.

<sup>21</sup> L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, pp. 317-318.

on dedicatory monuments, it would seem that the *elaiones* was primarily an administrator. The relationship of the *elaiones* to the gymnasiarch is probably analogous to that of the *sitones* to the hoplite general; both were subordinate officers, probably professional buyers, who purchased for the liturgist.

One document from Roman Athens would connect the *gerusia* with the *elaiothesia* (see Appendix IV). The context is not clear, but there are two possibilities. Either the *gerusia* was required to guarantee the oil supply for the games it financed, or the *elaiothesia* was that for the use of the *gerusiasts* themselves.

## B. AGONOTHESIA

A major asset to the prestige of Athens was the brilliant round of festivals, both quadrennial and annual. The staging of these involved tremendous expenditures which again were taken care of through the generosity of the citizens. Ephebic lists contain many names of *agonothetai* of various games, but our interest will center on the citizens outside of the ephebes who were willing to undertake these liturgies. The games for which an *agonothesia* is attested in Roman Athens include the Greater<sup>22</sup> and Lesser<sup>23</sup> Panathenaia; games in honor of the imperial house,<sup>24</sup> including the Hadrianeia;<sup>25</sup> the Eleusinia, Greater<sup>26</sup> and ordinary;<sup>27</sup> the Dionysia;<sup>28</sup> the Olympia;<sup>29</sup> and the Greater Asklepieia.<sup>30</sup>

The major *agonothesiai* at Athens were that of the Panathenaia, especially the penteteric Greater Panathenaia, and that of the feasts of the imperial house. A certain amount of information about the duties of the *agonothetes* of the Panathenaia is preserved for us in the account of Herodes Atticus' elaborate preparations (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, I, p. 59, Kayser) and in an honorary decree from the middle of the second century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 968). Basically he had the responsibility for outfitting the ship which was to carry the *peplos* and for paying the expenses involved in the procession, the accompanying sacrifices, and the games. It seems probable

<sup>22</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3535; *Insc. Délos*, 1628; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4207, 3650, 3649, 3416, 3198, 3669; these range in date from around A.D. 57 through A.D. 269/70.

<sup>23</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3615, 4071, 3592; Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142 = *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 = *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, p. 27, ranging in date from the mid-second century after Christ to ca. 230.

<sup>24</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069, 3270, 4174, 3531, 3535, 3571, 1077, from the end of the first century B.C. through 209/10.

<sup>25</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3649; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3015, 3707; these range from the end of the second century after Christ through the middle of the third.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, pp. 37-40; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3605; second century after Christ.

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4071, mid-second century after Christ.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3112 of A.D. 75/6-87/8 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3649 of the end of the second century after Christ.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4075, second half of the second century and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3687, lines 14, 25, the beginning of the third century.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3614 of the mid-second century after Christ.

that some public work might also be involved, since Herodes undertook to build the Panathenaic stadium, while the *agonothetes* of the honorary decree made repairs to the roads, on the Acropolis, in the Odeion, and in the Anakeion. A more detailed parallel is to be found in a series of decrees of honors for the *agonothetai* of the Theseia which date to the middle of the second century B.C.,<sup>31</sup> in which the *agonothetes* is praised for having sent off a well-ordered procession, completed the sacrifices to Theseus in the ancestral manner, taken complete care of the torch race and gymnastic games, provided that no contestant should suffer injury, set up prizes for the contestants with all zeal according to the decrees of the *demos*, set up prizes for the winning *phylai* in the contests involving cavalry and military teams, and likewise for the companies of foreigners; for having given daily sums of money to the *boule* and to the *prytaneis* for sacrifices; for having set up a *hoplotheke* in one case; and for having paid for the stele with the names of the victors. For an *agonothetes* to dedicate the ship, or part of it, as a public monument does not seem to have been unusual.<sup>32</sup> There is also evidence that the *agonothetes* exercised a certain amount of jurisdiction over the spectators (Lucian, *Nigr.*, 14) as well as over the contestants (Lucian, *Herm.*, 33), and he appears to have had control over admission of spectators, according to the interpretation placed upon some lead tokens.<sup>33</sup>

There is some indication that during the reign of Hadrian there may have been a contribution by the emperor to help pay the costs. Graindor<sup>34</sup> advanced this suggestion on the evidence of two *cursus honorum*: in one inscription, probably Hadrianic, it is noted that the *agonothetes* contributed from his own funds (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592); in the same inscription that man's father is indicated as having served upon appointment by the emperor. Graindor suggests that this may be a case of the emperor undertaking the expenses, but through a local dignitary. This could hardly have been a permanent arrangement, since there seems to have been no further occasion for the boast that the money was supplied from the personal resources of the *agonothetes* until the *agonothesia* of P. Herennius Dexitippos in 269/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669). A similar device may have been used by Commodus, when he and the *kosmetes* of the ephebes were said to have renewed the games of the Panathenaia.<sup>35</sup> There is some evidence

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 956, 957, 958 are the best preserved examples.

<sup>32</sup> Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, I, p. 59, Kayser; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3198. The nature of the dedication *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3650 is uncertain. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3416 is a dedication of the members of the imperial family, but again it is not clear what was dedicated.

<sup>33</sup> Crosby, *Agora*, X, pp. 82-83, 116-117.

<sup>34</sup> *Hadrien*, pp. 47-49.

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2116 as restored by Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 284, note 8. The transcription of Pittakis, as given by Kirchner, would see the games as the Athenaia, which Graindor believes was another name for the Panathenaia (*Musée Belge*, XXVI, 1922, p. 209, note 4), citing Pausanias, VIII, 2, 1, and the problematical passage of Athenaios, XII, 561e, but which L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, p. 237, denies had any connection with the Panathenaia.

from the third century that this liturgy was not the most sought after in the community, since the decrees in honor of M. Ulpius Eubiotos praise the fact that he undertook it voluntarily!<sup>36</sup> Hadrian's contributions probably were an attempt to revitalize the Panathenaic festival, probably languishing because of lack of wealthy contributors. Oliver, basing his conclusion in large part on the decree in honor of Eubiotos, suggests that part of the function of the *gerusia* founded after the visit of Marcus Aurelius in 176 was the assuring of proper financing for the Panathenaia.<sup>37</sup> In this way it would oversee the financing of a civic cult in much the same way as the *gerusia* at Ephesos cared for the cult of Artemis. Of course private citizens who wished to undertake the expense were still welcomed, and an *agonothetes* is attested for the first decade of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3416), nor should Eubiotos be forgotten. Whether the continued existence of the *gerusia* was responsible for Dexippos' boast of having used his own money cannot be answered with the present state of our evidence.

Next to the Panathenaia the best attested *agonothesia* is that of the games in honor of the imperial house, the *agones Sebastoi*. The first attested *agonothetes* of such games was Julius Nikanor at the end of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069). The next reference to these games is the identification of Novius son of Philinos of Oion as the first *agonothetes* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3270) of the *Sebastoi agones*. Graindor<sup>38</sup> thinks that Novius was the first *agonothetes* under the new emperor, and he refers to another inscription where the games are called the "games of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus" (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4174). On the other hand may it not be possible that games of this name were not regularly celebrated under Tiberius or Gaius? Other documents indicate that certain of these games were called the Greater Caesarica Augusta.<sup>39</sup> The Hadrianeia were a festival of great endurance, and an *agonothetes* is attested as late as the mid-third century. One other *agonothetes* is attested with regard to games in honor of the imperial household in the decree of a festival for the household of Septimius Severus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077), Marcus Aurelius Alcamenes who was *agonothetes* of the games of the August [household?]. Although later emperors had games in their honor, there are no records of *agonothetai* outside of the ephebic lists.<sup>40</sup>

It was not at all unusual for a wealthy man to serve more than once as *agonothetes*. The epigraphical evidence indicates that Tiberius Claudius Novius was *agono-*

<sup>36</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142 = *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 = *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>37</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, pp. 1, 5, 28; *Historia*, VII, 1958, pp. 476-477.

<sup>38</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 11, note 7.

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531 of before the middle of the first century after Christ; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3571 of before 117/8 after Christ; on the other hand *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3535 does not use the adjective "Greater."

<sup>40</sup> For summaries of these see the references in L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche*, Rome, 1953, for the Hadrianeia, p. 221; the Gordianeia, p. 203; and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 236-237, who discusses in addition the Sylleia, the Antinoeia, the Kommodeia, the Severeia, the Philadelphieia (honoring Caracalla and Geta), and others.

*thetes* for games in honor of Claudius twice,<sup>41</sup> once in games in honor of Nero (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3535) and once of the Greater Panathenaia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3535; *Insc. Délos*, 1628); Tiberius Claudius Diotimos was twice *agonothetes*; <sup>42</sup> Claudius Demonstratos was *agonothetes* of the Panathenaia and the Eleusinia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4071); Aelius Praxagoras of the Panathenaia and the Greater [Asklepieia?] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3614, 3615); L. Memmius of Thorikos, the altar priest, three times (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3620); and an unidentified Athenian of the late second century was *agonothetes* of the Greater Dionysia, the Greater Panathenaia, the Hadrianeia Augusta and the Panhellenia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3649). Service as *agonothetes* was appropriate for inclusion in a *cursus honorum* <sup>43</sup> or was a basis for a decree of honors or a statue, although usually only when held in conjunction with another office.<sup>44</sup>

Certain additional contexts in which there appear the names of *agonothetai* ought to be cited. In a prytany list of the first or early second century after Christ the *agonothetes* is awarded a crown.<sup>45</sup> The list of *prytaneis* who visited Salamis on a pilgrimage contains the name of an *agonothetes* in its heading (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759), who was probably the master of the games occasioning this pilgrimage. Three monuments contain the name of Tiberius Claudius Novius when he was *agonothetes*. A statue of Publius Memmius Regulus was erected by him (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4174) and a statue of Claudius set up by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred, and the *demos* with his name included in the dedication (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3270) when he was hoplite general and *agonothetes*, and the third statue, again of Claudius, was set up with Novius serving as *epimeletes* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3271) when he was herald of the Areopagus and *agonothetes*. In the fourth century after Christ Flavius Septimius Marcellinus boasted that he was an *ex-agonothetes* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5206).<sup>46</sup> Three further documents mentioned the *agonothetes*, but in an obscure context. The first, which refers to an *agonothetes* for the procession, may be a decree of honors, since an olive crown is mentioned, but a reference to white clothing is unexplained (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1060). The second contains parts of a letter and of a decree of honors for an *agonothetes* who Kirchner believes served for the Theseia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1095). The third permits only the conclusion that the title of *agonothetes* is a likely restoration (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1122, lines 11-12). A dedication by the *rhabdophoroi* of a statue of the hero Polydeukion is dated by the *agonothesia* of

<sup>41</sup> In A.D. 41 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3270 and 4174) and 42 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3271).

<sup>42</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 67-68.

<sup>43</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3531; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 18, pp. 67-68; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546, 4017 (line 25), 3614, 3615, 3624, 3605, 4075, 3592 (twice), 3620, 3649, 3687 (three times), 3707, 3669; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, I, 691.

<sup>44</sup> For an *agonothetes* alone, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4207; for an *agonothetes* who also undertook simultaneously another office: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069, 3535; *Insc. Délos* 1628; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3571, 3668; Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142 = *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354 = *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30.

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8, pp. 37-40.

<sup>46</sup> For this interpretation see Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 88-89.



Vibullius Polydeukos, but this is probably a private *agonothesia* set up by Herodes Atticus for a cult (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3968). Similarly an inscription published by W. Peek<sup>47</sup> would seem to refer to an *agonothetes* for an *eranos*. The deified Hadrian is named as *agonothetes* in a series of imperial letters to the Dionysiac *technitai*,<sup>48</sup> but the context is unclear.

There is a single epigraphical reference to the *athlothesia* in the statutes of the Iobakchoi.<sup>49</sup> Lucian shows the *athlothetai* acting as referees at games (*Adv. Ind.*, 9; *Pisc.*, 33) and as a group having the right to special seats (*Herm.*, 39). In the fifth century B.C. they are attested as handling money for the Panathenaic festival.<sup>49</sup> There is no reason to believe that this custom changed very greatly, and we may assume that they assisted the *agonothetes* in the financial administration.

### C. PANEGYRIARCHIA

The third of the very common liturgies cited in *cursus honorum* was the *panegyriarchia*.<sup>50</sup> The name of the *panegyriarchos* appears in the headings of two prytany catalogues,<sup>51</sup> in one of which the holder of the office was no less than the emperor Commodus.<sup>52</sup> Our knowledge of the functions of the panegyriarch is limited to the fact that he was expected to feed the visitors to the Eleusinian festival.<sup>53</sup>

### D. CHOREGIA

Although the meaning of the word *choregia* had been broadened by the time of the Roman empire to mean almost the same as *litourgia*,<sup>54</sup> the technical meaning of the title *choregos* continued, and it is this aspect of the *choregia* which is of interest here.

<sup>47</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, no. 29, p. 30.

<sup>48</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1105, B, b, line 15. The use of the form *θεὸν Ἀδρια[νόν]* would exclude the composition of this letter during Hadrian's lifetime. Therefore the letters of side B must have been written by his successor. Such series of letters spanning two reigns are not unexpected, e. g. see Appendix IV.

<sup>49</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109 = Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 22, pp. 106-107, lines 131-132. The fifth century reference is in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 304A, lines 5-6, and is commented upon by B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, Ann Arbor, 1932, p. 97.

<sup>50</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3609, 3614, 3615, 3592 (four times), 3692, 3669, in which the dates of service as liturgist range from the end of the first century after Christ to sometime before 269/70.

<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 = Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 174-177; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 59, p. 49; of the late second and third centuries.

<sup>52</sup> As first noticed by Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 284.

<sup>53</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, V, 5, 2, 679b; see Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 175-176; Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 97.

<sup>54</sup> See Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 55-56. A clear example of this usage is found in an imperial letter to the *gerusia*: Oliver, *Gerusia*, no. 24, pp. 108-120, line 31 = Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236 and Oliver thereto on pp. 402-403 of the same volume; for the use of *choregia* to mean *elaiothesia* see A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, V (Sitz. Akad. Wiss. Wien, CCXIV, 1932), pp. 45-46; to describe Eleusinian liturgies *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1338.

It would seem that the Dionysiac dramatic contests were in a state of decline from the beginning of the Roman period through the latter half of the first century after Christ. The only support for this statement is the lack of choregic dedications. The festival undoubtedly continued, but without its former grandeur. The first dateable choregic dedication was set up by the tribe Oineis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3112) to commemorate the games offered by Philopappos. These games have been dated to 75/6-87/8 by Graindor.<sup>55</sup> This same *choregia* is recalled by Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, I, 10, 1, 628A, but a comparison of the two sources gives rise to problems. First the dedicating tribe of the inscription was not the same as the tribe which Plutarch mentioned as victorious; and second Philopappos was called *choregos* by Plutarch, while the inscription ascribes this office to Boulon. Graindor<sup>56</sup> notes first that on the inscription the word εὖ of the expression εὖ ἀγωνισαμένων has been erased, probably indicating that Oineis was not the victor, and second that when Plutarch indicated that Philopappos was *choregos* for all twelve tribes, he was merely indicating that Philopappos supplied the money for each of the tribes,<sup>57</sup> while Boulon had been chosen, probably by Philopappos, to perform the actual duties of *choregos* for the tribe Oineis. The evidence from Lucian (*Icar.*, 17; *Nec.*, 16; *Sat.*, 19) would indicate considerable duties for the *choregos* in staging a production. The inscription then contains a list of participants. There seems to have been a reduction in the numbers of the chorus from the former fifty to only twenty-five.<sup>58</sup> One other choregic monument can be dated to the latter part of the first century.<sup>59</sup> This declares that the *demos* of the Athenians was victor, since all the *choregoi* and choruses withdrew from the competition and agreed to set up a statue of the *demos* so that no one would have to bear the onus of being a loser. Three other dedications from the late first or early second century are too fragmentary for further comment (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3113, 3115, 3119). The choregic contests of the second century<sup>60</sup> appear to have involved only two contestants, each representing half the tribes according to the interpretation of A. Brinck.<sup>61</sup> A large triangular base inscribed in archaizing style indicates that it holds a list of the *choregoi* of Oineis, but only a single name is subscribed.<sup>62</sup> The very

<sup>55</sup> *Chronologie*, pp. 95-100, no. 66; *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 51 and note 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 52; see also Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis*, pp. 54-55, note 3.

<sup>57</sup> For another example of a single man financing several choruses, see the Sacred Speeches of Aelius Aristides, L, 43, p. 436, Keil.

<sup>58</sup> As observed by A. Brinck, "Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes," *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses*, VII, 1886, no. 71, pp. 157-159.

<sup>59</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3114, dated to 70/1-110/1 by Graindor, *Chronologie*, no. 72, pp. 108-109; see also Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 26.

<sup>60</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3116, 3117, but see the edition of M. MacLaren, "A Choragic Epigram from Athens," *T.A.P.A.*, LXVIII, 1937, pp. 78-83; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3118; although the second of these concerns games for Antinoös.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>62</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3121; see Oliver, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539 for an improved reading. Room was left for more names, but none were ever added.

latest testimony for the Dionysia occurs in a *cursus honorum* from the end of the second century<sup>63</sup> which records an *agonothesia*. It must also be noted that dramatic contests occurred in other games besides the Dionysiac under the Roman Empire, such as during the Panathenaic festival (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3157) and the games in honor of Antinoös.<sup>64</sup> Although it need not have reference to dramatic contests, there is evidence now of the continued production of plays in Athens into the third century after Christ from a lead token bearing the name of Menander's *Theophoroumene*.<sup>65</sup>

#### E. THE GERUSIA

The financing of the great festivals at Athens was becoming increasingly burdensome. Examples have been cited above, especially with reference to the *agonothesia* of the Panathenaia and the lessened scale of the Dionysiac games. Various remedies were undertaken to alleviate the burden. Hadrian created an endowed gymnasiarchy and seems to have undertaken the financial burden of the *agonothesia* of the Panathenaia. His oil law reduced the danger of speculation in oil causing the cost to rise beyond what Athens could afford. Commodus also revealed himself a benefactor of Athens when he undertook the *agonothesia* of the Panathenaia and the *panegyriarchia*. Probably the most significant item of imperial concern for the continuance of the festivals was the organization of the *gerusia* to manage the financing of the imperial cult and the Panathenaia. Very little can be added to the studies of this institution published by J. H. Oliver.<sup>66</sup> The problems concerned in the founding of the *gerusia* can be studied in a series of imperial letters sent during its formative years (*Gerusia*, nos. 24-26), from the foundation in A.D. 176 through 184. It seems that the idea of a *gerusia* for Athens came from Marcus Aurelius during the visit to Athens in 176, at which time he became an Eleusinian initiate. Not until the third letter, sent in 178 or 179, can the *gerusia* have been functioning, since this is the first addressed directly to it. The *gerusia* was to be composed of 400 members from the Athenians of a status sufficient to participate in the *ekklesia*. Eligibility was also based on age and wealth, but the sources do not specify the norms. The *gerusia* was headed by an archon (*Geru-*

<sup>63</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3649. Only the *delta* of Dionysia is preserved.

<sup>64</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3117, but see the text of M. MacLaren, *T.A.P.A.*, LXVIII, 1937, pp. 78-83.

<sup>65</sup> Crosby, *Agora*, X, p. 122, L 329; see also p. 116.

<sup>66</sup> *Gerusia*, and "Gerusiae and Augustales," *Historia*, VII, 1958, pp. 472-496. The only additional material has been the publication of new fragments of the documents contained in *Gerusia*. These include the following. To *Gerusia*, nos. 24-26, pp. 108-122: Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 29, p. 22; XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236 and the comments of Oliver in the same volume, pp. 402-403; Appendix IV of this study. To *Gerusia*, nos. 31, 32, pp. 125-142: Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-354; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, no. 27, pp. 26-30. Possibly one more document may be added to the collection of references, although it contributes no new data, a metrical funerary inscription which indicates that the deceased had left behind life, the *demos* of Kekrops, *ἱερὰν βουλὴν τε γε[ραίρων]* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13150, line 4). Finally there are the lead tokens found in the Agora, see note 67.

*sia*, no. 27) and many questions still unsettled were to be referred to the imperial procurator. The income from holdings in land were to furnish the necessary financial backing. References to the imperial birthday and instructions on the sorts of images of the emperor to be used are an indication of the concern for the imperial cult. In other places references are made to the composition of odes and distributions, both indicating participation in festivals. Distributions or admission to events at festivals are probably explanations for a pair of lead tokens found in the Agora excavations,<sup>67</sup> one inscribed ΓΕΡ[ΟΤ]ΣΙΑΣ and the other ΙΕΡΑΣ ΓΕΡΟΤΣ[Ι]ΑΣ. The connection of the *gerusia* with the Panathenaia is made via the decree in honor of Ulpus Eubiotos (*Gerusia*, nos. 31 and 32) and the parallel of the *gerusia* at Ephesos which financed the civic cult of Artemis in that city.

<sup>67</sup> Crosby, *Agora* X, pp. 82, 109, L 244, 118-119, L 310.

# APPENDIX I

This appendix contains a list of dedications, *i.e.* statue bases, herms, epistyles, and theater seats, from Roman Athens, in which the formal wording of the decree as passed in a meeting does not appear, but merely one of the common formulae of the period. The division is according to formula, and is chronological within each section.

## A. DECREES OF THE AREOPAGUS AND OTHER CORPORATIONS

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή καὶ ἡ βουλή τῶν Φ (OR X) καὶ ὁ δῆμος

I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4106	<i>a. med. s. I a.</i>	Γάιο[ν . . .] κώνιον ἀνθύπατον	statue base
4111	<i>c. a. 45 a.</i>	Claudius Marcellus and his wife	statue base
3786	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	[Ἴο]ύλ[ιον Νικά]νορα	statue base
3787	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Ἰούλιον Νικάνορα	statue base
3788	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Ἰούλιον Νικά[νορα]	statue base
3789	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Ἰούλιον Νικάνορα	statue base
3907	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Δημήτριον [— — — δ]ω[ρ]ου Ἀλιμούσ[ιον]	statue base
3721	<i>aet. imp.</i>	[— — — — — — — — — —]	
4126	<i>non a. a. 14 a.</i>	Λ Ἀκύλλιον Φλώρον Τουρκιανόν Γάλλον ἀνθύπατον	statue base
2803	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	statue base
3523	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	τὸν ἐξ[ηγητὴν Παμμένη]ν Παμμέ- νου[ς Μαραθώνιον]	statue base
		(τὸ γέν[ος τὸ Εὐμολπ]ιδῶν) is a fourth dedicator)	
2804	<i>s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	statue base
2805	<i>s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	statue base
2806	<i>s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	statue base
3551	<i>s. I p.</i>	Σείλωνα Ἀπολλωνίου Μ[ε]λί[τ]εα μνηθέντα ἀφ' ἐστίας (ἐπιμεληθέντος τ[ῆς] ἀναθέσεως τοῦ πατρὸς)	statue base
4199	<i>s. I p. ut vid.</i>	Γν Ὁρά[ριον]	capital
4244	<i>s. I p. ut vid.</i>	[— — — ο]ν θυγατέρα [— — — γυναῖκ]α	statue base
Hesp., XXVIII, 9	<i>s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	statue base
Hesp., XXIX, 54	<i>s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3238		Ἰουλίαν θεὰν Σεβαστὴν Πρόνοιαν (ἀναθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διονυσίου τοῦ Αὔλου Μαραθωνίου)	statue base
3261	<i>a. 14-37</i>	Claudius (ἐπιμεληθέντος τῇ[ς] ἀναθέσεως] ἱερέως ὄντος διὰ [βίου])	statue base
3266B	<i>a. 37-41</i>	[— — — — — — — — — —] ([ἐπιμεληθέντος] τοῦ ἐπὶ το[ῦς] ὀπίστας στρατηγοῦ])	statue base
3268	<i>a. 41 p.</i>	Claudius ([ἀ]ναθ[έ]ν[τος] — — — ἐπιμελητεύσαντος] ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιέα)	statue base
3270	<i>a. 41 p.</i>	Claudius	statue base
3271	<i>a. 42 p.</i>	Claudius	
		(ἐπιμεληθέν[τος] τοῦ ἔργου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νουίου)	
3449	<i>p. a. 48 p.</i>	Ἰουλίαν Βερενίκην βασιλίσσαν (διὰ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῆς πόλεως)	statue base

4042	a. 41-54	Ἀθην[αῖδα] ἡρωεῖνην	
3273	a. 49-53	Claudius	statue base
4173	a. med. s. I p.	[Γνα]ζον Δομ[έτιο]ν Ἀηνόβαρβον	statue base
S.E.G., XII, 158	a. med. s. I p.	A relative of Publius	statue base
(= I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4176)		Memmius Regulus leg. pro pr.	
S.E.G., XII, 159	a. med. s. I p.	Son of Publius Memmius	statue base
(= I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4177)		Regulus, leg. pro pr.	
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3927	med. s. I p.	Γ Καϊκίλιον Κάσιον Ἀχαρνέα	statue base
3928	med. s. I p.	Διοκλέ[α Θεμιστοκλέους]	statue base
		Ἀγνούσιον]	
4043	med. s. I p.	Στατι[λίαν Πασχάρε]αν	
4184	med. s. I p.	Μάρκον Ἀννιο[ν] Ἀφρέεινον ὑπατον	statue base
4044	p. med. s. I p.	Κλα[υδιαν Δη]μητρίαν	
3535	c. a. 57 p.	Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νούιον	statue base
3277	a. 61/2	Nero	dedication on Parthenon
3283b	69/79?	Domitian	statue base
4193	a. 85/6-94/5	Κόντον Τρεβέλλιον Ῥούφον	statue base
		Λαμπτρέα	
3545	fin. s. I p.	τὸν [ἐ]πιμελητὴν τῆς κατὰ [τ]ῆν πόλιν ἀγορᾶς Φιδίαν [Φι]δίου Ῥαμνούσιον	statue base
3731	s. I/II p.	[— — —]να ἔφηβο[ν]	statue base
4205	s. I/II p.	T[— — — — —]	
Hesp., VII, 27	c. a. 100 p.	Τιβ[έριον] Κλαύδιον Κ[υρείνα]	
		Ἀσκληπίδην Ἰουλ[ιανόν] Περγα- μηνὸν ἡρω[α]	
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3988	s. II p.	Δ[ιο]νύσιον I[— — —]ου Ἀχαρνέ[α]	cippus
4078	s. II p. ut vid.	[Κ]λαυδιαν Παν[— — — ἐκ Μαρ]α- θωνίων	
2021	a. a. 112/3	τὸ[ν] κοσμητὴν Ἡλιόδωρον ) Π[ε]ραιέα	prefixed to ephebic catalogue on a herm
3286	a. 112/3	Hadrian as archon	statue base
3284	a. 113 p. ut vid.	Trajan	statue base
3571	a. a. 117/8	[Τ Κωπώνιον] Μάξιμον Ἀγνούσιον (ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἑρμαίου ) Κολωνήθεν	statue base
3573	c. a. 119/20	Κωπώνιον Μάξιμον Ἀγνούσιον	statue base
3798	a. 119/20	Σώζοντα Λαδίκου Σουνιέα ἱατρὸν ζακορεύοντα Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Υγεία[ς]	herm
		(ἐπιμελητεύντος Κωπώνιου Μαξίμου)	
3589	a. 122/3	Τί Φλά[Ἀλ]κιβιάδην Παιανιέα τὸν ἐπώνυμον ἄρχοντα καὶ ἱερέα Δρούσου ὑπάτου	statue base
3287	a. 124/5	Trajan	series of four statue bases
		(each of four <i>phylai</i> ἐπιμελουμένης)	
3599	a. a. 126/7	[τὸν ἀρχι]ερέα Τιβ Κλ [Ἀττικὸν ὕ]πατικόν	
3664	a. a. 126/7	Ἰάσονα Ζήθου τὸν καὶ Λόγισμον Ἀγνούσιον ζακορεύσαντα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῆς Υγείας (Areopagus, <i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i> ἀνέθηκαν)	herm

3799	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	*Ασυλον Ζή[ωνος] Στειριέα ιατρὸν ζα[κορ]εύσαντα Ἀσκληπιῶ[ι]	statue base
3800	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	Κόιντον Πομπήιον Κολλείνα Καπίωνα ποιητὴν Περγαμηνὸν τὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖον	statue base
3955	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	Διογένην [-----]	statue base
3956	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	Τοφῶντα (her daughter and one other [ἀν]έθηκαν καθὰ ἐνετείλ[αντο])	statue base
4059	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	Ἀφ[φίαν? Σε]κοῦνδαν	
4064	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	Βιτελλίαν Εἰσιδῶραν	
4060	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	[----- δ]ῶραν Ἀκατε[-----]	
4208	<i>a. a.</i> 126/7	Δ Οὐε[ψτανόν] Μεσσάλ[α]ν	statue base
3736	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	Εἰσιδῶρον ) [Μα]ραθῶνιον	herm
3958	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	[-----] τὸ<ν> Ἀττάλου Φλ[υέα]?	
3959	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	*Ατταλον [-----] ([-----] ἀνέθηκεν ἐν Μητρώῳ)	
3963	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	Τί [Διό?]φαντον Ἀχαρ[νέα]	statue base
3964 <i>add.</i>	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	Τί Φλ Γ[λανκίαν Ἀ]χαρ[νέα]	statue base
4062	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	Μουνδικίαν Σεκουνδίλλα[ν]	statue base
<i>Hesp.</i> , XVI, 75	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	[-----]	statue base
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXIX, 57	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7	no dedicatee	statue base
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3311	<i>c. a.</i> 132 <i>p.</i>	Hadrian	statue base
3617	<i>a.</i> 138-161	τὸν ἀ[ρχιερέα?]	herm
3593	<i>p. a.</i> 139/40	Τίτον Φλ[ά]ουιον Ἀλ[κι]βιάδην Παιανιέα	statue base
3594	<i>a. med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	Κλαυδιαν Ἀθηναίδα	building epistyle
3595	<i>a. med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	Herodes Atticus ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου	building epistyle
3612	<i>med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	Θεμιστοκλέα Θεμιστοκλέου[ς] Μελιτέα ([ἐπιμε]ληθέν[τος τῆς ἀνα]θέσεως [-----])	statue base
3622	<i>p. med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	Μ Αὐρ Ἐλεῦθ[ερον Συ]ντρόφον Εὐ[ωνυμέα] κηρυκεύσαντα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς	
3625	<i>p. med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	Κύντον Ἀλ[λῆιο]ν Ἐπίκτητον (at bottom Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς))	statue base
3629	<i>p. med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	Εὔδημον [Ἀφροδεῖσιον Φυ]λά[σ]ιον ιερέα δ[ι]ὰ βίου Ἀπόλ[λωνος] Πατρῶου Γεφυραίων (ἀναθείσης τῆς γυναικὸς [αὐτοῦ])	statue base
3592	<i>a.</i> 165/6-168/9	[Τίτον Φλ Λεωσθένην Παι]ανιέα	statue base
2103	<i>a.</i> 172/3 <i>aut</i> <i>pauillo post</i>	τὸν κοσμητὴν Αὐρ Φίλωνα Πειραιέα	prefix to ephebic stele
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXIX, 58	<i>s.</i> II/III <i>p.</i>	Φλ> [-----]	stele
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXX, 108	<i>s.</i> II/III <i>p.</i>	[-----]	plaque
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4088	<i>init. s.</i> III <i>p.</i>	Κλαυδιαν Μενάνδραν	statue base
3712	<i>c. a.</i> 211-218	Κασσιανὸν Ἀντίου τὸν καὶ Συνέσιον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μουσίου[ν] Πανελλήνων ἄρχον[τα]	statue base
<i>Hesp.</i> , XII, 25 <sup>1</sup>	<i>a.</i> 215-217	Δ Λου[κίλιον Πά]ρσ[αν] Πρεῖσ[κι]λλιανόν (αἰτ[ησα]μένου κ[αὶ ἐπιμε]ληθέντος) Θεο[φίλ]ου ) Ὑβάδο[ν]	statue base

<sup>1</sup> See Oliver, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 247-250.

<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4222 <sup>2</sup>	<i>fin. s.</i> IV <i>p.</i>	τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀ[ν]θύπατον τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ῥούφιον Φῆστον καὶ Ἀρεοπαγίτην	
<i>Hesp.</i> , XVI, 8	Roman	no dedicatee	statue base

A group of fragmentary dedications from the *I.G.*, III should also be mentioned, although in some the use of the formula is not certain: *I.G.*, III, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 963, 963a, 968.

This formula is sometimes varied by the omission of one of the corporations, or by the re-arrangement of their order.

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν X (or Φ)

<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 2807	<i>s. I p.</i>	no dedicatee	statue base
3931	<i>s. I p.</i>	Ἐράτωνα Ἐράτωνος Βησαιέα	column base
3247	<i>a. a. 4 p.</i>	Tiberius	
<i>Hesp.</i> , X, 32	<i>fin. s. I p.</i>	[Κόιντον Τρεβέλλ]ιον Ῥούφον [Λαμπτρέα]	statue base
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3957	<i>p. a. 126/7</i>	Μένανδρον Ἀδ[-----]	
3668 <sup>3</sup>	<i>med. s. III p.</i>	[Πό] Ἐρένιον [Πτολεμαῖον Ἑρμει]ον (with a list of magistracies)	herm
3716 <sup>4</sup>	<i>s. IV p.</i>	[-----] Μελιτέα	herm
III, 963b		[-----]	

ἡ [βουλ.] ἡ ἐξ Ἀρήου πάγου [καὶ ὁ δ]ῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ [τῶν ἐ]ξακοσίων

<i>Hesp.</i> , XXVIII, p. 87 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4209)	<i>a. 14-37 p.</i>	Τιβεριῶν [Καίσαρι] Θεῶν Σεβασ[στ]ῶν	large monument
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ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος

<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4232	<i>p. med. s. I a.</i>	Κεθήγιλλαν	statue base
3446	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	τὸν δ[ῆμον τὸν Δ]ελφῶν	statue base
3920	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Ἀνταμένην Λεοντίχον Ἐπικικίδην	statue base
3921	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Νικόδημον [...κ]λέους Φλυέα	epistyle
3550	<i>s. I p.</i>	[Δ]ημήτριον [---] ζακορεύσα[ντα]	
4198	<i>s. I p.</i>	Τίτον Φλάουιο[ν ----]	capital
3258	<i>a. 18 p.</i>	Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα	
3259	<i>a. 18 p.</i>	Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα	
4171	<i>c. a. 27-30 p.</i>	[Σ]έστον Πομπή[ι]ον [ἀνθ]ύπατον	
4183	<i>med. s. I p.</i>	[Γ]έλλιον Ῥοτίλιον [Α]οῦπον ἀνθύπατον	statue base
4194	<i>fin. s. I p.</i>	Ἀγριον Σατορνίνον τὸν κράτιστον	statue base
<i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 65 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4205a)	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	[.....] ἀν[ι]ον Σα]βίνον	statue base
<i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 66 <sup>5</sup>	<i>s. II p.</i>	Πόπλιον Ἀπολλήιον Οὐᾶρον	statue base
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3647	<i>fin. s. II p.</i>	Νεικοστράτην μνηθεῖσαν [ἀ]φ' ἐστίας (ἀνέθηκε ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναθέσε[ω]ς τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου)	

<sup>2</sup> ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the corporations are largely restored.

<sup>4</sup> ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν τριακοσίων.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXVIII, 1947, p. 160, would date this document to the first quarter of the first century after Christ.



4221	s. III p.	Δ Ουέτ[τιον - - -] Ίουεντ<ι>α- νοῦ Μεσ[- - - -]	statue base
	([ἀ]νέθηκεν)		
III, 969		[-----]	
ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν X			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3500	fin. s. I a.	τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας στρατηγὸν Καλ- λικρατίδην Συνδρόμου Τρικουρύσιον	column
3501	fin. s. I a.	τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας στρατηγόν [- - - -]	
ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4104	c. a. 71 a.	Δεῦκ[ι]ο[ν] Λι[κ]ίνι[ον] Λεύκολ[λον]	statue base
4109	c. a. 50 a.	*Αππιον Κλώδιον Πόλχερ αὐτοκράτορα	statue base
Hesp., VI, 12 <sup>6</sup>	a. 14 p.	*Ιουλίαν Σεβαστὴν [*Αρτεμιν] Βουλα[ί]αν	statue base
κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Φ (or X) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. (But the phrase κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα is restored in both examples. In fact there is no certain instance of its use in a dedication involving more than a single corporation.)			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3008	c. a. 112 p.	[-----]	herm
	(ἀνέ[θηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶ]ν συνεφέβων Ἀνθεστή[ριος Εἰσιδύρου])		
Hesp., XXX, 109	s. II/III p.	[-----]	statue base
	(Γάιος [- - - -]σιανός [- - - -])		
κατὰ τὰ <δόξ>αντα τῇ <ἐ>[ξ] <Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ> βουλῇ τῶν X. This is preserved in only one very poor copy. For suspicions concerning the formula, see immediately above.			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3577	a. a. 126/7 p.	τὸν [ἀφ' ἐσ]τία<ς> μνηθ<έ>ντ[α 'Αθ]ήναιον τ[ὸν] καὶ Ἐπ[αφ]ρό- δειτον Φλυέα.	statue base
ψηφισαμένης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων			
Hesp., XVI, 76 (= I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4196)	p. a. 126/7 p.	Κλ Πρό[κλον Κόι]ντον ἀνθ[ύ]πατον]	monument
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4210	p. a. 126/7	Αἰμίλιον Ἰοῦγκον πρεσβευτὴν Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον (Τριπολιτῶν τῆς Φοινίκης οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀνέθηκαν ἐπιψηφισαμένης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου)	statue base
3969 <sup>7</sup>	a. 148/50	Βιβού[λλιον] Πολυδευκίωνα	statue base
	(Ἡρώδης)		
Hesp., X, 61	fin. s. II a.	[Σωσία]ν Φα[λκω]νίλ[λαν] (Α[- - - - - ἀνέ]σ[τησεν])	statue base
κατ' ἐπερώτημα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου			
Hesp., X, 42	p. a. 125 p.	Πριμο[- - - - -]σιον ἱερέα διὰ βίον Ἀρτέμιδος] Χαλλίστης καὶ [- - - -]	
		([οἱ πρυτάν]εις τῇ[ς - - - - - φυλῆς])	

<sup>6</sup> See the edition of Oliver, "Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens," *Cl. Phil.*, LX, 1965, p. 179.

<sup>7</sup> As restored above, p. 69.

I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3613	c. a. 186 p.	Τιβ Κλ Λυσιάδην Μελιτέα	statue base
		(Κοκκήια Ἀρέτα τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα)	
3669 <sup>8</sup>	c. a. 269/70	Πό Ἐρέν Δέξιππον Ἑρμειον	statue base
		(οἱ παῖδ[ες])	

## B. DEDICATIONS BY THE SYNHEDRIA, THE POLIS, OR THE ATHENIANS

κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῶν συνεδρίων

I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3748	p. a. 161 p.	Τιβ Κλ [Πολύξ]ηλον Ἀχαρν[έα]	statue base
		([Τ]ιβ Κλ Ἀπολλ[όδωρος] Ἀχαρνέως [τὸ]ν υἱόν	
3640	c. a. 172/3	πυρφόρο[ν (Ἀσκληπιοῦ)]	cylindrical block
ἡ πόλις			
Hesp., XXIX, 96	aet. Rom.	no dedicatee	statue base
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4172 <sup>9</sup>	med. s. I p.	[Γάι]ον Ἀσί[νιον]	statue base
		Πλακεντε[ῖνον]	
4942c <sup>10</sup>	s. I/II p.	no dedicatee	plaque
3571 <sup>11</sup>	a. a. 117/8	τὸν ἱερέα Δήμον καὶ Χα[ρίτων καὶ	statue base
		ἀγωνο]θέτην τῶν Μεγάλων Καισαρήων	
		[Τ Κωπώνιον] Μάξιμον Ἀγνούσιον	
		(ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἑρμαίου ) Κολωνήθεν)	
3618 <sup>10</sup>	med. s. II p.	[κῆρυκα] βουλῆς δήμου τε	herm
		(Φιλήμωνα)	
		(ἀνέθηκε—metrical)	
4779	a. 165/6	σω[τῇ]ρσι θεο[ῖς] φιλαδέλφων	statue base
		αὐτοκ[ρατόρων]	
		(Ἑρῶδου ἐπι[μελητεύοντος])	
4779	a. 165/6	[σ]ω[τῇ]ρσι θεαῖ[ς] φιλαδέλ[φ]ω[ν]	statue base
		αὐτοκρατόρων]	
		([Ἑρ]ώδο[ν] ἐπιμελητεύοντος)	
3409	a. 176 p.	[αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκο]ν	statue base
		Αὐρ[ήλιον Ἀντω]νίνο[ν Σεβαστόν]	
		([διὰ Τιβ Κλ] Ἑρῶδ[ου Ἀττικοῦ])	
3620	a. 177/80	Λ Μέμμιον Ἐπὶ Βωμῷ Θορίκιον	statue base
3415	a. 195-198	Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν Σεβαστήν	
		μητέρα κάστρον	
Hesp., XXX, 110	s. II/III p.	[Τι]β Κλ Ἐπὶ Βωμῷ	statue base
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4215	fin. II/init. III	Τιβ Κλ Καλλιππιανὸν Ἰταλικόν	statue base
3666	init. s. III p.	Τὸν κῆρυκα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου	statue base
		βουλῆς Πό Ἐρέννιον Πτολεμαῖον	
		τὸν σοφιστήν	
4216	a. a. 205 p.	Φούλβιον [[Πλαντιαν]ὸν	statue base
		πρ[ο]στάτην καὶ ἐ[π]αρχο[ν]	
3810	c. a. 210 p.	Τίτον Πομπήιον Διονύσιον Παιανία	statue base
3690	a. 225-250	[Κλα]ύδιον [ . . . . . ] Ἰλ[υριόν]	statue base
		(ἐπιμελουμένου Μάρκου Ἰουνίου ΜινουκIANOῦ)	

<sup>8</sup> κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρίου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν <ΥΝ> καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.<sup>9</sup> For the date see Oliver, "The Descendants of Asinius Pollio," *A.J.P.*, LXVIII, 1947, p. 150.<sup>10</sup> ἡ πόλις restored.<sup>11</sup> Dedication by the Areopagus, the *boule* and the *demos*, with ἡ πόλις at the bottom.

3689	a. 225-250	τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον Κλαύδιον Ἰλλυριόν (ἐπιμελουμ[ένου Μάρκου Ἰουνί]ου Μινο[υκιανοῦ])	statue base
3692	a. med. s. III p.	τὸν λαμπρότατον Ἡγείαν (ἡ πόλις σύνπασα ἀνέστησεν)	statue base
3696 <sup>12</sup>	a. med. s. III p.	Φλ Ἀβροίαν τὴν [λαμπροτ]ά[τη]ν ὑπατικὴν	statue base
3700	229/30-230/1	Μάρκῳ Οὐλίπῳ Εὐβιότῳ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ	theater seat
3701	med. s. III p.	Μ Οὐλίπῳ Φλ Τεισαμενὸν τὸν κράτιστον τὸν θεσμοθέτην	statue base
3707	med. s. III p.	τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύστην Κασσιανόν	round base
3715	s. III/IV p.	Αἰράριον Σωσίπατρον δαδοῦχον	round base
ψηφισαμένης τῆς πόλεως			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4093	aet. imp.	Αἰλ Λυσ[ιστράτ]ην ἐκ Κεραμέω[ν]	plaque
3609	med. s. II p.	Τιβ Κλ Λυσιάδην Μελιτιά (οἱ ἀδελφοί)	
Hesp., XXVI, 78	a. 157 p.	Κεῖβικα Βάρβαρον ὑπατον (Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος ὁ φίλος)	statue base
ψηφισαμένης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ δήμου			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3605	p. med. s. II p.	Φλ Δωρόθεον (Κλ Ἡρώδης ἀνέθηκεν φιλίας ἔνεκεν)	statue base
Ἀθηναῖοι			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> 3410	a. 176 p.	Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καίσαρα τὸν προστάτην	statue base
C. THE AREOPAGUS PASSING DEDICATIONS IN ITS OWN NAME.			
ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4113	a. 42-40 a.	[Δεύ]κιον Μάρκιον Κησωρεῖον	statue base
3906	aet. Aug.	Λήναιον Ἡλιοδώρου Φλυέα	statue base
3906	aet. Aug.	Ἡλιοδώρον Ἡλιοδώρου Φλυέα	statue base
S.E.G., XIX, 208	aet. Aug.	Θεόδ[ωρ]ον Εἰσιδώρου [ρή]τορα	statue base
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4010	aet. Aug.	Ἀσκληπιάδ[ην] — — — Τρικορύσιον	statue base
4124	c. a. 22 a. ?	[Πόπλ]ιον Κυντίλιον Οὐά[ρον]	statue base
3431	p. a. 20 a.	[βασιλέα Ἀρ]χέλαον Φιλό[πατριν]	statue base
4128	c. a. 9 a.	Παῦλλον Φάβιον Μάξιμον	column
3522	init. s. I p.	[name lost, bits of <i>cursus</i> ]	statue base
3919	init. s. I p.	Πόπλιον Παπίνιον Στ[εφάνου]	statue base
3932a	init. s. I p.	[— — —]ιον Φα[— — —]	
Hesp., XXXII, 34 <sup>13</sup>	init. s. I p.	[Σέξτον Αἴλιο]ν Κάτον [πρεσβευτήν . . . καὶ ἀν]θύπα[τον]	statue base
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3932	s. I p.	Τε[— — —]διον Νει[καίε]α	column
Hesp., XXIX, 91	s. I p.	[— — — — —]	
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3243	a. a. 4 p.	Τε[βέρριον Κλαύ]διον Νέρ[ω]να	column
Hesp., XI, p. 348	s. I/II p.	Γάιον Οὐέττιον Σαβίνον Γρανιανόν ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον	

<sup>12</sup> = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4053; see Oliver, *Gerusia*, p. 132, note 23.

<sup>13</sup> See the re-edition of Oliver, *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, VI, 1965, pp. 51-55.

I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3197	s. II p.	[Ἄσ]κληπιῷ [καὶ Ὑγίειᾳ]	relief
3987	s. II p.	[Ἴο]ύνιον Ἀγαθόποδος Μαραθώνιον	herm
3744	med. s. II p.	τὸν κοσμητὴν Ὀνασον Τροφίμον Παλληνέα	herm
3967	med. s. II p.?	Δημήτριον Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν (?) Μαραθώνιον	herm
3630	p. med. s. II p.	Ἀφροδεί[σι]ον Εὐδήμου Φυ[λάσ]ιον	statue base
4195	fin. s. II p.	Ἀγριον Σατουρνίνον τὸν κράτιστον	statue base
3809	s. II/III p.	[ιέρε]α πρῶτον Παιήονος ἔξοχον ἐσθλῶν [ιητρῶ]ν	
4005	init. s. III p.?	Διονύσιον — — — Παλλην[έα]	statue base
4217	init. s. III p.	Λ Ἐγνάτ Οὐίκτορα Λολλιανὸν τὸν ῥήτορα	statue base
3817	s. III p.	Πτολεμαῖον Σερήνον Γαζαῖον (ἀμειβόμενοι ἀνέστησαν οἱ σεμνότατοι Ἀρεοπαγῖται παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς)	statue base
Hesp., IV, 27	raullo post 218/9	τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ κοσμητοῦ Αἰρ Ἀφφιανὸν Μαραθώνιον	statue base
I.G., III, 962		[-----]	
ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ αἰτησάμενου τοῦ δέινα			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3791	init. s. I p.	Ἑλικά Μηνοφίλου Παλληνέα ποιητὴν παράδοξον	herm
3986	fin. s. II p.	(αἰτησάμενου τοῦ πατρὸς) Κάλλιστον Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (αἰτησάμενου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ)	herm
οἱ δέινα αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3733	a. 126/7	Γν Λικίνιον Ἀττικὸν Γαργῆτιον τὸν ἐαυτῶν συνέφηβον	statue base
3804	p. med. s. II p.	(οἱ ἐφηβοὶ αἰτησάμενοι κτλ.) τὸν διδάσκαλον	statue base
3737	a. 136/7-169/70	(Γάιος καὶ Μαῦρος αἰτησάμενοι κτλ.) τὸν διὰ βίου παιδοτρίβην Ἀβάσκαντον Εὐμόλπου Κηφισία	herm
3672	s. II/III p.	(οἱ ἐφηβοὶ διὰ τοῦ κοσμητοῦ αὐτῶν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Ἀρεοπαγιδῶν) τὸν [ἐ]αυτῶν ἄρχοντ[α] (οἱ συνάρχοντες αἰτησάμενοι κτλ. ἀνέθεσαν)	herm
καθ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιδῶν οἱ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς. (Those marked with an asterisk also are κατ' ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ.)			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4091	aet. imp.	[-----]ἱ[α]ν τὴν α[ὑτοῦ θυγατέρα]	plaque
4012	aet. imp.	([ὁ δέινα]) Εἰσίδωρον (Εἰσίδωρος τὸν υἱόν)	statue base
3933* <sup>14</sup>	s. I p.	[-----]	
4245	s. I p.	(ὁ φίλος ἀνέθηκεν)	
3946	s. I/II p.	[-----]	statue base
3947	s. I/II p.	[-----] Μητρο[-----]	stèle herm
		([ὁ φί]λος)	

<sup>14</sup> The date assigned is open to question. See above, pp. 45-46.

3952	<i>fin. s. I/ init. s. II</i>	T[ίτ]ον Φλάβιον Κόνωνα Σουνιέα (Φλαβία Σοφία τὸν ἐαντῆς υἱόν)	statue base
4052	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	[Εὐ]τυχίαν Φι[-----]	statue base
4054	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	an Athenian woman	statue base
3578 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4080)	<i>c. a. 128/9</i>	[Ἡ]λίον ἱέρα[ν] Α[-----] (Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀχαρνέ[ς τὴν ἐαυ]τοῦ μητέρα)	statue base
3584	<i>aet. Hadr.</i>	no dedicatee listed	statue base
<i>S.E.G.</i> , XVIII, 82	<i>s. II p. (Hadr.)</i>	Μενεκρ[άτην Κηνσω]ρείνον Φ[αληρέα]	plaque
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4071	<i>med. s. II p.</i>	[Με]νάνδρ[α]ν ([ἡ δείνα] πόλις κ[-----])	statue base
3803	<i>p. med. s. II p.</i>	·Γ· Ἰούλιον Σαβῖνον Πλατωνικὸν φιλόσοφον	herm
3982*	<i>p. med. s. II p.</i>	Ἀθήναιον Θεοφίλου Παιανιέα (ὁ π[α]τήρ Δο Ο[ύ]βουλλιος Θεό[φιλο]ς Παιανιεύς [ἀνέθ]ηκεν)	herm
<i>Hesp. Sup. VIII</i> , p. 243 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3631 + 3796)	<i>p. med. s. II p.</i>	[Σαραπίων]α Χολλείδην π[οιητὴν --- καὶ φι]λόσοφον Στωικ[όν]	statue base
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3984	<i>c. a. 166/7</i>	(Κο Στά[τιος] Χολλείδης τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον ἀνέθ[ηκεν]) Φλάβιον Εὐθυκό[μαν] Παιανιέα (Πο[μ]πρία Πώ[λλα] τὸ[ν ἐαυ]τ[ῆς ἀνδρα])	statue base
3985	<i>c. a. 166/7</i>	Τίτον Φλάβιον Μένανδρον Παιανιέα	herm
3678*	<i>s. II/III p.</i>	(ἡ μήτηρ Πομπηρία Πώλλα τὸν ἐαντῆς υἱόν) ἱέριαν Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς Σαβεινιανῇ Ἀμυλλών (τὸ γένος τὸ Πραξιεργιδῶν)	statue base
III, 966a		[-----]	
966b*		[-----]	
καθ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν καὶ κατὰ ψήφισμα on theater seats			
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 5101		Ὀλβίας ἱερῆας	
5122		Ἀλκίας	
5151		δειπνοφόρο[ν]	
κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῶν Ἀρεοπαγαιτῶν οἱ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς			
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4200/1 <sup>15</sup>	<i>s. I p.</i>	Κη[νσωρεῖ]νον Κηνσω[ρείνου] (Χρηστ[ος -----])	
3566 <sup>15</sup>	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	Ζω[σίμην Πα]μφίλο[ν --- κανηφορήσας]αν?	plaque
3607	<i>med. s. II p.</i>	(ὁ π[ατήρ]) Ἀππίαν Ἀτειλίαν Ῥήγυλλαν (οἱ ἐν Πειραῖ πραγματευταί)	statue base
2959	<i>med. s. II aut pauilo post</i>	τὸν ἄρχοντα (τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν) Μάρκον Ἰούλιο[ν] Ἀπελλάν Μαραθώνιον	statue base
3635	<i>p. med. s. II p.</i>	(Εὐμολπίδαι) [Παυλ]λείναν Ἀντ[----- κ]αληφορήσα[σαν]	statue base

<sup>15</sup> Date disputed in the text, pp. 45-46.

3637	<i>p. med. s. II p.</i>	τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας Αὐρ Μάγναν τὴν καὶ Ἑρμόνην	statue base
	(οἱ γονεῖς)		
3652 <sup>16</sup>	<i>p. a. 161 p.</i>	τὸν λαμ[πρότατον]	statue base
3760	<i>s. II/III p.</i>	Μέ[νανδρον]	herm
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXXII, 72	<i>s. II/III p.</i>	[-----]	herm
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXXII, 73	<i>s. II/III p.</i>	[-----]	herm
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3656 <sup>17</sup>	<i>init. s. III p.</i>	Τίτ Φλ Ἀτείμητον Πειραιέα τὸν γενόμενον ἀφ' ἐστίας	statue base
	(ἡ μήτηρ τὸν υἱὸν τοῖν θεοῖν)		
4011 <sup>18</sup>	<i>aet. imp.</i>	[--- Γ]έμνον	
	(Οὐείβι[ος ----- αν]δρος [ἀνέστ]ησ[ε?])		
III, 964		[-----]	
965c		[-----]	
δόγματι Ἀρεοπαγαιτῶν			
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3995	<i>s. II/III p.</i>	Ἑπαφρόδειτον	herm
	(Εὐτύχη)		
3697	<i>a. med. s. III p.</i>	τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν καὶ ἐπώνυ- μον ἄρχοντα Μ Οὐλπ Εὐβίσιον Λεύρον Γα<ρ>γῆ[ττιον]	arch
	(ἱερεὺς Πατρώου Ἀπόλλωνος)		
3698	<i>a. med. s. III p.</i>	[τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν καὶ ἐπώνυ- μον] ἄρχ[οντα Μ Οὐλπ Ε]ὐβίσιον [Λεύρον Γαρ]γῆττ	stele
	(([ἱερεὺς Πατρώ]ο[υ Ἀπόλλωνος]))		
3705	<i>med. s. III p.</i>	τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ [Τριπ]το[λ]έμου καὶ ἐπώνυμ[ον] τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς [Ἀφρ]οδείσιον Στεφάνου [Μαρα- θ]ώνιον	statue base
	(([α]ἰτησάμενου τοῦ ἐπών[υμου] ἄρχ[οντος] Φλ Ἀσκληπιάδου [Διο]- μαί[ε]ως ἱερ[εὺς] Λ[.]τ[.....] τὸν α[ὐτοῦ] φίλον?))		
<i>Hesp.</i> , XVI, 9	Roman	[-----]	
δόγματι τοῦ σεμνοτάτου συνεδρίου καὶ τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης			
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3699	<i>a. med. s. III p.</i>	Μάρκον Οὐλπίον Εὐβίσιον τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἄρχοντα	statue base
	(Αὐρ Ἑρμῶναξ ὁ κήρυξ)		
κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἀρεοπαγίταις οἱ τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ			
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3521 <sup>19</sup>	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	τὸν δ[ρ]χ[ι]ε[ρ]έα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ	herm
3989	<i>s. II p.</i>	Αὐρ Ἑρακλ[εῖδην]	herm
3659	<i>c. a. 200 p.</i>	Σεκοῦνδον Ἀτ[τικόν] Εὐδό[ξ]ου Σφήττ[ιον] τὸν Εὐμολπίδην	statue base
3812	<i>init. s. III p.</i>	Ἀπολλώνιο[ν ..... τ]ὸν σοφι[στήν]	statue base

<sup>16</sup> Re-dated on the basis of τὸν λαμ[πρότατον], which does not appear as a predicate of rank before the time of Marcus Aurelius, A. Stein, *Wiener Studien*, XXXIV, 1912, p. 162.

<sup>17</sup> For the date see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, Tab. I.

<sup>18</sup> The formula is mostly restored.

<sup>19</sup> Date questioned in text, see p. 47.

3667	<i>med. s. III p.</i>	τὸν κήρυκα τῆς ἐξ Ἀξείου πάγου βουλῆς Πό Έρέννιον Πτολεμαῖον Έρμειον (Έρέννιος Δέξιππος ὁ κράτιστος τὸν πατέρα σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς) Εὐδ[ημον - - - -]	statue base
III, 965d			
ψηφισαμένης (ψηφίσματι) τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3945 <sup>20</sup>	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	Μέστρ Εὐφράτην	statue base
3632 <sup>21</sup>	<i>p. med. s. II p.</i>	ιερόφαντιν (metrical)	statue base
4073	<i>a. a. 160 p.</i>	Μαρκίαν Ἀθηναίδα	statue base
4212	<i>c. a. 160 p.</i>	[Γ Ί]ούλιον Σκάπλαν	statue base
		(Κύντος Φά[βιος Δασού]μιος Θαλῆς Κ[υδαθηναίε]ύς	
3806	<i>fin. s. II p.</i>	Πομπηριανὸν Κο[λ]λυτέα τὸν συγγραφέα (Σωσιγένης Παλληνεὺς ὁ σοφιστής)	herm
3643	<i>fin. s. II p.</i>	Πόπλιον Αἴλιον [Δ]εῦκιον Παλληνέα	herm
Hesp., XXXIII, 74 (= I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4004)	<i>init. s. III p.</i>	Κορνήλιο[ν] Ὀνόμαρχ[ον]	
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3765	<i>a. 226/7-234/5</i>	τὸν ἰὸν τοῦ κοσμητοῦ Αὐρ Ἀφριανὸν Χρήστου Μαραθώνιον (οἱ περὶ τὸ Διογένειον συνάρχοντες)	herm
4006 <sup>22</sup>	<i>c. a. 230 p.?</i>	Πομπωνιανόν	statue base
3704 <sup>23</sup>	<i>a. med. s. III p.</i>	Κόιντον Στάτι[ον] Θεμιστοκλέα Χολλεῖδην (Τίτος Φλαῖνιος Γλαῦκος Μαραθῶν(ιος) ποιητῆς καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ φιλόσοφος) [-----]	statue base
III 965e			

## D. DEDICATIONS BY THE BOULE AND DEMOS

Certain types appear to be carried over from earlier times, such as the simple award of a crown (omitted in this list are the crowns mentioned in the texts of decrees and in prytany documents).

ἡ βουλὴ (καὶ) ὁ δῆμος

I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3220	<i>s. I a.</i>	[-----] κατηφορήσασαν Ἀσκληπιῶι κατηφορήσασαν μητ[ρ]ὶ θεῶν κατηφορήσασαν Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀλωπεκῆσι
3498	<i>s. I a.</i>	ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεύσαν κατηφορήσασαν Σαράπιδι
3489 <sup>24</sup>	<i>p. a. 76/5</i>	κατηφορήσασαν Διονύσῳ κατηφορήσασαν Μητρὶ θεῶν κατηφορήσασαν Διονύσῳ [-----]

<sup>20</sup> Sole surviving example of the use of ψηφίσματι.

<sup>21</sup> See Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 248-250. ψήφῳ μὲν Ἀρρη φίλῃ θέτο βουλή, her daughter and grandsons set it up.

<sup>22</sup> Metrical: βουλῆς με Ἀρείας ψήφος ἔστησ' ἐνθάδε.

<sup>23</sup> See Oliver, "Two Athenian Poets," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 246-248.

<sup>24</sup> For the date, see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 24-25. In this document the name of the *demos* comes before that of the *boule*.

3218 <sup>25</sup>	<i>c. a. 79 a.</i>	ἄρχοντα [γ]ενόμενον τοῦ [γέ]νους Κηρύ[κ]ων πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς Λεύκιον Φούριον Κρασσόπην
3554 <sup>26</sup>	<i>s. I p.</i>	[ἐρρη]φ[ορ]ή[σ]ασαν ἀφ' ἐστίας [μνηθεῖσ]αν κατηφορή[σας]αν Ἐλε[υσινίοις] κατηφορήσασαν Ἐπιδαυρίοις Φρασισθένην
3221 <sup>27</sup>	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	
The <i>boule</i> and the <i>demos</i> also set up statues.		
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος <i>Hesp.</i> , XXIII, 37	<i>s. I a.</i>	Ζήνωνα Ζήνωνος Μαραθώνιο[ν] πρεσβύτερον
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3490	<i>med. s. I a.</i>	Μήδειον Μηδείου Πειραιέα τὸν ἐξηγη- τὴν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Εὐμολπιδῶν
	(ἀνέθηκαν)	
3885	<i>a. a. 31 a.</i>	Λαχάρην Εὐρυκλέους Λακεδαιμόνιο
3506	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	[τὸν δεῖνα Ἄ]ριστονίκου Φλυνέα [ταμειύσ]αγα στρατιωτικῶ[ν] Γάιον Τούλιον Ν[ικ]άνορα Ἀρήο[ν] υἱόν
3785	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	
4152	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	[----- Μετ]είλιον
<i>Hesp.</i> , XVI, 74	<i>aet. Rom.</i>	[-----]
<i>Hesp.</i> , XVI, 74	<i>aet. Rom.</i>	[...]ο[...]σιον [Ε]ὐμόλπου [Προ]βαλείσιον
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3437/8	<i>p. a. 4 a.</i>	[β]ασίλισσαν Γλαφύραν
3884 <sup>28</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[----- Δι]οδώρου Ἀλαιέα
3504	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Ξενοκλῆν Θεοπόμπου Ῥαμνούσιον εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον τοῦ σιτωνικοῦ ταμείου καὶ σιτωνήσαντα δις καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας γενόμενον
3887/8	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Πολύαινον [Νικάνδρου Σουνι]έα
	(ἀνέθηκαν)	
<i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 50	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[Σύ]νδρομον Καλλικρατίδου [Στ]ει- ρία ἀγνωθετήσαντα Ἐλενο[ινίω]ν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 4149	<i>fin. s. I a./init. s. I p.</i>	Κόιντον Μάριον Νέπωτα
3922	<i>init. s. I p. ut vid.</i>	Νεικόστρατον Ἐπαφρ<ο>δέιτον υἱόν
3923	<i>init. s. I p.?</i>	[-----]ίων[ος-----]
4166	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Γάιον Ἀμβίβιον Βάλ[βον]
4167	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Πόπλιον Σ[-----] Ποπλίου [υἱόν]
4168	<i>init. I p. ut vid.</i>	Λεύκιον Κάσιον
4240	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	a Roman woman

<sup>25</sup> These two are among a group of nine other crowns.

<sup>26</sup> Four crowns which are inscribed on a statue base for Τερτίαν Λευκίο[ν] ἐρρηφορ[ή]σαν Ἀθ[ηναῖοι] Πολιάδι.

<sup>27</sup> With a second crown awarded by οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου.

<sup>28</sup> The names of the *boule* and *demos* are reversed.



3549	s. I p.	[ . . . . ] ον Περικ<λ>ῆν [ - - - - ] ἐξηγητὴν γε[ νόμενον ]	
3554 <sup>29</sup>	s. I p.	Τερτίαν Λευκίο[ υ - - - - ] ἐρρηφο- ρ[ ῆσασαν Ἀθ ]ηναῖ Πολιάδι	
3556	s. I p.	Ἀπολλοδώραν [ ἐ ]ρρηφορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ Πολ[ ιάδι ]	
3257	p. a. 20 p. ut vid.	Δροῦσον Καίσαρα νέον θεὸν Ἀρη	
4185	med. s. I p.	Μάρκον Οὐψτανὸν Γάλλον	
4185	med. s. I p.	Λεύκιον Οὐψτανὸν Γάλλον	
4241	med. s. I p.	Πορκίαν	
4045	p. med. s. I p.	Κλανδίαν Δημητρίαν	
2809	s. I/II p.	ὁ Σαμίων πρεσβεύσας πρὸς τὴν [ - - ]	
3564	s. I/II p.	Φίλιον [ - - - κλ ]ειδουχῆσαντα Εἰ[ σιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος ] [ Ἀ ]θήναι[ ον Εὐτ - - - Ἀ ]θμον[ έα ] Πό Ὀρδεώνιον Λολλιανὸν τὸν σοφιστὴν [ - - - - - - - ]	
Hesp., XXIX, 104 I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4211	s. II p. aet. Hadr.		
3649	fin. s. II p. ([ ἀνέστη ]σαν)		
κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου. (Both here cited also were set up καθ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς.)			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3982	p. med. s. II p.	Ἀθήναιον Θεοφίλου Παιανία (ὁ π[ α ]τῆρ Λο Ο[ ὑ ]βούλλιος Θεό[ φιλο ]ς Παιανιεύς [ ἀνέθη ]κεν)	herm
3678	s. II/III p.	ἱέρειαν Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς Σαβεινιανὴν Ἀμυλλῶν (τὸ γένος τὸ Πραξιεργιδῶν)	statue base
[ ψηφισαμένης βο ]υλῆς καὶ δήμου			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 2246	undated	τοὺς [ ιδίους ] συνάρχοντα [ς] (Ἀφειανὸς ) Μα[ ραθώνιος ἀνέγ ]ραψε)	statue base
κατὰ ψήφισμα (all theater seats).			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 5105		Μεγίστης	
5121		γ[ . . . . . ]μ[ . . . . . ]τας Λαμυδίου	
5124		Λαμυδίου	
5138		Μεγίστ[ ης ]	
E. BOULE ALONE.			
It continued to award crowns (N.B. Crowns awarded as part of prytany decrees are omitted.)			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4013 <sup>30</sup>	aet. imp.	Δημοφάνην Σμικ[ ι ]ρίου [ - - - - - ] κανηφορήσασαν Ἰσιδι ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεῖσαν	(on a statue base)
4020			
3727			
3158	s. I p.	Honorary monument for an athlete. Lines 17/18: τὸν βουλῇ ἔστε[ ψεν εὐπρεπέσιν στεφάνουσιν ] δώδεκα.	

<sup>29</sup> The monument also contains four crowns awarded by the *boule* and the *demos*.

<sup>30</sup> One of five crowns recorded on this monument for the same man.

It also dedicated statues.

ἡ βουλή

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3518

Hesp., XXX, 114

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4139

4141

4142

4143

4475a

3576

3735

3636

aet. Aug.

aet. Rom.

c. a. I a.

fin. s. Ia./init. s. I p. Δίβιον

fin. s. Ia./init. s. I p. Δέπεδον Αἰμ[ίλιον]

fin. s. Ia./init. s. I p. Μάρκον Κυρήνιον

init. s. I p.

[Ὁ]κνίαν [μ]νηθείσαν ἀφ' ἐστίας

[-----]

Μάρκον Δόλλιο[ν]

Σωσικλῆν Ἡσιόδου Σφή[ττιον]

ιαθέντα Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑ[γίει]

προστάξαντος τοῦ [θεοῦ]

[τὸν ἐπ]ώνυμον [ἄρχοντα]

σωφρονίσαντα ἐφήβους

(τετεμνημένον Ἑρμᾶ καὶ ἐν τῇ θόλῳ ὑπὸ τῆς σεμνοτάτης βουλῆς τῶν Φ)

Ἀθηνα[ίδ]α κληρο[ρῆ]σαν

Ἀφροδείτ[η] Ἀλωπεκῆσι

([ἄ]ν[έ]θ[η]κεν)

ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ

(all herms)

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3960

3961

3680<sup>31</sup>

Hesp., X, 65<sup>32</sup>

[παρὰ τῆς βου]λῆς τ[ῶν] πεντακοσ[ίων] αἰτησαμέ[νη]

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3996

κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ (or X). I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3933 and III, 966<sup>b</sup> were decreed also κατὰ τὸν ὑπομνηματισμόν of the Areopagus.

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3933<sup>33</sup>

4496

4521a

p. a. 126/7 p.

p. a. 126/7 p.

init. s. III p.

a. a. 238 p.

s. II/III p.

s. I/II p.

s. II p.

s. II p.

τὸν ἐαυτῆς υ[ί]ον Γλαῦκον Μ[έ]-

μονο[ς] Ἀν[α]φλύστιον

(Τελέτη, αἰτησαμέ[νου το]ῦ ἀνδρός)

[-----]

(Πτολεμαῖος Σερή[νου] -----)

Ἀθη[νί]ωνα Σφή[ττιον] [σιτ]ώνην

γενόμε[ν]ον

(ο[ὐ] πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀκα[μαν]τίδος φυλῆς [ἀνέ]στησαν)

Ἀννίαν Στατ[ι]ν ----- νειλαν

[τὸν ἐαυτῆς] υ[ί]ον

([Πα]ραμόνα Ἀ[ρίστω]νος [ἀνέ]θ[η]κεν)

[ὁ] φίλος Ἡλι[όδωρος] ἀνέθ[η]κεν)

no dedicatee listed

(Εὐτυχίδης Ἀ[νέ]θ[η]κεν) Ἐλευσίνιος)

Αὐρ Ζώσιμον Εὐημέρον Ἑρμιόδην

ζακορεύσαντα τοῦ σωτήρος

Ἀσκληπιῶι

(ἐτησ[α]μένης τῆς μητρὸς αὐ[τοῦ] ἱερείας Γῆς Ὀλυμπία[ς] Αὐρ

Ζωσίμης)

τὸν [ἐαυτοῦ υ]ῖον Ζώσιμο[ν]

Εὐκόλου] Εὐπυρίδη[ν]

([αἰτησα]μένου τοῦ π[ατρὸς Εὐκ]όλου τοῦ Ζ[ωσίμου Εὐ]πυρίδου)

statue base

herm

herm

<sup>31</sup> This herm also contains a prytany list.

<sup>32</sup> The type of monument is uncertain.

<sup>33</sup> The date of this is uncertain, see above, p. 45.

<i>Hesp.</i> , XXXIII, 64	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7 <i>p.</i>	[----- 'Αφρ]οδᾶ Φλυέα	herm
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXXII, 69	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7 <i>p.</i>	(ο[ι πρυτάνεις τῆς] Πολεμαίδος [φυλῆς] [π]αῖδα [-----])	herm
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3962	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7 <i>p.</i>	(ἔστησεν πατὴρ Μο[.]πων Ἑρεσίω[ν-----]) Φιρμάνιον Αἰγίαλο[ν] τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἔκγονον (αἰτησαμένη Φιρμανία Εὐγαμία Σεραπίδης ἀνέστησεν) [-----]	statue base
<i>Hesp.</i> , XIII, 17 <sup>34</sup>			herm
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3638	<i>p. med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	τ[ὴν ἀφ'] ἐστίας Αὐρ Παραμ[όν]αν	stele
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXXII, pp. 48-49; cf. p. 318	<i>a. a.</i> 186/7 <i>p.</i>	τὸ[ν κήρυ]κα [β]ουλῆς καὶ δ[έ]μου Ὀλβιον Θισβια[νὸν Μαραθώνιον] (ὁ [ἀντι]κήρυξ αὐτοῦ Ἐκ[παγ]λος [Εὐ]κάρπου Βερ[νεκί]δης τὸν ἴδιον θεῖον)	
<i>Hesp.</i> , XXXII, 71	<i>fin. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	[τὸν] κήρυκα βουλ[ῆς καὶ δήμου] Αὐρ] Ἀπολλώνιο[ν-----]	herm
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1817	<i>raullo post</i>	([αἰ]τησαμένου [τοῦ ἀντικήρυκος] αὐτοῦ Αὐρ Ὀνησ[ίμου-----]) τὸν ἐπιστάτην Αἴλιο[ν] Εὐφρόδωνον	herm
3683	<i>a.</i> 200 <i>p.</i>	Παλληνέα τὸν ἱερὸν γέροντα (οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχίδο[ς] φυλῆς ἀνέστησαν)	
	<i>init. s.</i> III <i>p.</i>	Εὐτυχιανὸν Μαραθώνιον ἱερασάμενον τῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι [Ἀ]φ[ρο]δείτης καὶ κοσμητῇ[ν] τῶν θεῶν	statue base
3815	<i>med. s.</i> III <i>p.</i> ?	(α[ἰ]τησαμένου τοῦ φ[ίλ]ου Αὐρ Διονυσίου[ν] τοῦ Νεικοστράτου Φαληρέως) Χαρίτωνα Νεικίου Μαραθώνιον ξακορεύσαντα Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Υγείας	herm
III, 965 966b		[-----] [-----]	statue base
κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Φ			(all herms)
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3579	<i>p. a.</i> 126/7 <i>p.</i>	τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸν κλη[ρ]ωτὸν Πό Αἴλιον Διο[ν]υσό- δωρον Ἀχαρ[νέα]	
3801	<i>med. s.</i> II <i>p.</i>	(κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα ἡ σεμνοτάτη βουλὴ τῶν Φ) Αὐρ Ἑρακλείδην Εὐπυρίδην τὸν διάδοχο[ν] τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνο[ς] λόγων (Σύμμαχος) Φλυεὺς τὸν διδάσκαλον [-----] ([Ἀ]ντών[ιος])	
III, 965f			

## F. DEMOS ALONE AS DEDICATOR.

It awarded crowns.

ὁ δῆμος

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4013<sup>35</sup> *aet. imp.* Δ[ημοφάνην Σ]μ[κρίου]<sup>34</sup> For the restoration of the name of the *boule* of the five hundred, see above, p. 45. The name of the Areopagus is also possible.<sup>35</sup> One of a group of five crowns.

3639

c. a. 170 p.

A metrical inscription, whose  
seventh line reads: ᾗ μάκαρ, ὃν  
καὶ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσε γεραίρων.

The *demos* also set up statues and other dedicatory monuments.

ὁ δῆμος

I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3889	s. I a.?	Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον [Ἀρι]σ[το- κρ]ά[την]	statue base
Hesp., XXIII, 36	s. I a.	Κόιντον Λυτάτιον Κοιντ	column
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4103 <sup>36</sup>	c. a. 83 a. ([ᾗ]νέθηκεν)	[Λεύκιον Κορν]ήλιον Σύλλαν	
Hesp., XXIII, 35	a. 72/1 a.	Μᾶρκον [Τ]ερέντιον Οὐ[άρω]να Λε[ύκολλ]ο[ν]	column
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4105	c. a. 71 a.	[Λεύ]κιο[ν] Δικίνιο[ν] Λεύκολ[ον]	
4107	<i>pauculo post</i> a. 69 a.	[Κό]ιντον Καικίλιον	statue base
3427	a. 63/2-52/1 a. (ἀνέθηκεν)	Μέ[τελλον αὐτοκράτορα] Βασιλέα Ἀριοβαρξάνην Φιλοπάτορα	round column
3429	p. a. 63 a.	Δειώταρον Σινόριγος Γαλ[ατ]ῶν Τολισ[τ]οβωγίων β[ασιλέα]	statue base
3428	a. 52-42 (ἀνέθηκεν)	Βασιλέα Ἀριοβαρξάνην	statue base
4108	c. a. 50 a.	Τίτον Πινάριον	
3442 <sup>36</sup>	p. med. s. I a.	Βασιλέα Ῥασκούποριν	statue base
4117	p. med. s. I a.	Γάιον Αἴλιον Γάλλον	statue base
4230	p. med. s. I a.	Σενπρωϊαν Λευκίου θυγατέρα	statue base
4231	p. med. s. I a.	Σενπρωϊαν Λευκίου θυ[γ]ατέρα	statue base
4233	p. med. s. I a.	Λικινίαν Λευκίου Λικινίου Λευκόλλου θυγατέρα	plaque
S.E.G., XIV, 121 <sup>36</sup>	a. 48 a.	Γάιον Ἰούλιον [Καίσαρα]	crown
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3222 <sup>37</sup>	a. 47 a.	[Γ]άιον Ἰούλιον Καίσα[ρα]	statue base
4110	a. 45-27 a.	Γάιον Κοκκήιον Βάλβον αὐτοκράτορα	column
S.E.G., XVII, 75 <sup>36</sup>	a. 44/3 a.	[Κόιντον Σερβίλι]ον Βρούτον	statue base
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 4112	a. 43 a.	Λεύκιον Μ[ο]νάτιον Πλάγκον αὐτοκράτορα	statue base
3440	a. 37-27 a.	Βασιλέα Ἡρώδην	statue base
4115	p. a. 34 a.	Παύλλον Αἰμίλιον Λέπεδον ἀνθύπατον αὐγορα	column
4116	c. a. 30 a.	Μᾶρκον Ἀρτώριον	
4118	c. a. 27 a.	Μᾶρκον Δικίνιον Κράσσον ἀνθύπατον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα	statue base
3441	c. a. 27-4 a.	[Βασι]λέα Ἡρώδην	statue base
Hesp., XXI, 14 <sup>36</sup>	c. a. 27-4 a.	[Βασιλέα Ἡρώδην]	statue base
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3179 <sup>38</sup>		θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι	
3237	aet. Aug.	Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου θεοῦ	
3514	aet. Aug. (ἀνέθηκεν)	Ἱερόφαντιν	

<sup>36</sup> ὁ δῆμος restored.

<sup>37</sup> See Raubitschek, *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 68-69.

<sup>38</sup> See above, p. 88, note 143.

3904	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Πολύχαρμ[ον Πολυκρίτου] 'Αζην[ι]έα	statue base
3905	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Διόδοτον Καλλιφώντος Παμβωτάδην	statue base
4070	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Κλεώ	statue base
4150	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Γάιον Τούλιον 'Ακύλαν	statue base
4151	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Λεύκιον Γράτ[τιον] Κίλωνα	statue base
4236	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Σ[ολφικίαν Σερ]βίον Σολ[φικίου Γάλ]βα θυγα[τέρα]	
4237	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	Σολφικίαν Σερβ[ίου] Σολφικίου Γάλβα θυγατέρ[α]	statue base
4238	<i>aet. Aug.</i>	[Π]ομπων[ίαν] Μετειλίου 'Ρούφ[ου] γυναικ[α]	
4102B	<i>imit. princ.</i>	Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον αὔγορα	statue base
4260	<i>imit. princ.</i>	[βασιλέα] 'Αλέξανδρον	statue base
3452	<i>aet. imp.</i>	[τὸν δῆμον] τὸν 'Ανδρίων	statue base
3173	<i>p. a. 27/6</i>	θεᾷ 'Ρώμη καὶ Σ[εβασ]τῷ Καίσαρι	epistyle
4119	<i>p. a. 27 a.</i>	Γάιον Μά[ριον] Μάρκελλον πρε[σβευτὴν] Καίσαρος [Αὐτ]οκράτο[ρα Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν]	statue base
<i>Hesp., XXVIII, p. 67 I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4120</i>	<i>p. a. 27 a.</i>	Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον	
4121 <sup>86</sup>	<i>c. a. 25 a.</i>	[Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ταμίαν καὶ ἀ]ντιστράτηγον	statue base
<i>Hesp., XI, 4, p. 347 I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4123</i>	<i>a. 25-1 a.</i>	Γάιον 'Αλλιηνόν	statue base
4122	<i>c. a. 23 a.</i>	Μάρκον 'Αγρίππαν	statue base
3430	<i>p. a. 23 a.</i>	Μ[άρκον] 'Αγρίππα[ν]	statue base
3432	<i>p. a. 20 a.</i>	[βασιλέα] 'Α[ρχέλαον Φι]λόπατριν	statue base
3443	<i>p. a. 20 a.</i>	[Ἀρχ]έλαον Φιλόπατριν	statue base
4125	<i>a. a. 16 a.</i>	βασιλέα Κούττυν	
3175 <sup>89</sup>	<i>a. a. 15 a.</i>	Πόπλιον Οὐγῆδιον Πωλλίωνα	statue base
3249	<i>a. 10/9-2/3</i>	'Αθηναῖ 'Αρχηγέτιδι	gate to Roman market
4129	<i>a. a. 9 a.</i>	Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Δροῦσον	statue base
4130	<i>ca. a. 9 a.</i>	Παῦλλον Φάβιον Μάξιμον [Παῦλλ]ον Φά[βιον Μάξιμον] πρεσβευτὴν Σ[εβα]στοῦ	statue base
4131	<i>ca. a. 9 a.</i>	[Παῦλλον Φάβ]ιον Μάξιμον	statue base
4132	<i>ca. a. 9 a.</i>	[Παῦλλ]ον Φάβιον Μάξιμον	statue base
4133	<i>a. a. 8 a.</i>	Γάιον Μαικῆναν	statue base
4134	<i>c. a. 3 a.</i>	Λεύκιον [Κορνήλιον] Λέν[τλον]	statue base
4234	<i>c. a. 2 a.</i>	Πόλλαν 'Αν[τωνίαν?]	statue base
4140 <sup>86</sup>	<i>c. a. 1 a.</i>	[Μάρκον Λό]λλιον	
3433	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	βασίλισσαν Πυθοδωρίδα Φιλομήτορα	statue base
3509	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[δαδοῦχον Θεόφρ]αστο[ν]	statue base
	(ἀνέθηκεν)		
3513 <sup>86</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[— — Βε]ρενικίδου [θυγατέρα]	plaque
	(ἀνέθηκεν)		
3513	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Λυσιάδην Βερενικίδην ἐξηγητὴν πυθόχρηστον γενόμενον	plaque

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 25.

3513	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Χρυσόθεμιν Φαίδρου	plaque
		Βε[ρενικίδου] θυγατέρα	
3896	<i>fin. s. I a.?</i>	Γάιον Ίούλιον Νικίαν Λαμπ[τρέα]	statue base
3897 <sup>40</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[Λεύκιον Σωφ]ήμιον	
	(ἀνέθηκεν)		
4135	<i>fin. s. I a.?</i>	Μάρκον Ουαλέρ[ιον] Μεσσάλαν	
4136 <sup>36</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[Λ]εύκιον [ν Κ]ανολήμιον Κρίσπον	statue base
4137 <sup>36</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Ναῖον Κορνήλιον [Λ]έντλον	statue base
4138	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Μάρκον Ι[-----]	statue base
	(ἀνέθηκεν)		
5179	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Σεμπρωνία Ἀτρατίνα Παῦλ[λα]	statue base
5179	<i>a. 51-54</i>	Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος [Καῖσαρ	statue base
		Σεβαστὸς Γερ]μανικός	
3436 <sup>36</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[βα]σιλέα Ίού[βαν]	
4144	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Λεύκιον Δομέτιον Ἀγνόβαρβον	statue base
4145	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Γάιον Ἀνθέστιον Ουέτερα	statue base
4146	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον Πα[ῦλλον]	statue base
4147	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[Λεύκιον]ν Αἰμίλιον Παῦλλον	statue base
4148 <sup>36</sup>	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	[---]ριον Ἀν[-----]	statue base
4235	<i>fin. s. I a.</i>	Λυτατίαν Γ[-----]	statue base
3447	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων	statue base
3527	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	ιερόφαντιν Μοσχ[-----]	
3790	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[Σωκρ]άτη Σωκράτους	statue base
		Θορίκιον[ν], a teacher	
3912	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀθηνοδόρον	
3913	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[Δ]ιονύσιον Ἀθηναγόρον Μελιτέα	capital
	(ἀνέθηκεν)		
3914	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[.....]πιον Ἡρακλείτ[ου	statue base
		....]ήττιον	
3915	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[---]ωρον[-----] Παιαν[ιέα]	
3916	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Ίούλιον [-----]	statue base
3917	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[---] Ἀριστείδου	statue base
		[Περγα]μηνόν	
3918	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Ἀρι[---] Ἀντιόχου Φαλ[ηρέα]	statue base
4159a	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Δούκιον Ουαλέ[ριον] Κάτυλλον	statue base
4159b	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Τερεντίαν Ἰσχυλλαν	statue base
4161	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Σέξτον Ουίβιδιον Ουίρρωνα	statue base
4162	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Γάιον Καλπόρνιον Πίσωνα Φρούγια	statue base
4162	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Γναῖον Καλπόρνιον Πίσωνα	statue base
4163	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Λεύκιον Καλπόρνιον Πείσωνα	statue base
4163	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Μάρκον Δικίννιον Φρούγι	statue base
4164	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	Κόιντον [---] Κοίντον	statue base
		[---] πρεσβ[ευτήν]	
4165	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[.....]ον ἀνθύπατον	statue base
4239	<i>init. s. I p.</i>	[--- Κ]ατόλαν Ι[-----]	column
3448	<i>init./med.</i>	[τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν [Λα]κεδαιμονίων	statue base
	<i>s. I p.</i>		
4047	<i>s. I p.</i>	[Ῥω]ξάνην Ι[-----]	
4197	<i>s. I p.</i>	[--- Ο]υαλέρι[ον---]	statue base

<sup>40</sup> One of three dedications on the same monument.

4246	s. I p.	[Π]ῶλλαν [-----]	statue base
3250	a. 2 p.	Γάιον Καίσαρα νέον Ἄρη	
3251	non p. a. 2 p.	Λούκιον Καίσαρα	statue base
3244	ante a. 4 p.	Τεβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα	column
3245	ante a. 4 p.	Τεβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα	
3246	ante a. 4 p.	Τεβέριον Κλ[αύδιον Νέρωνα]	statue base
3248	ante a. 4 p.	[Τεβέ[ρ]ιον [Κ]λαύδιο[ν] Ν[έρ]ων[ο]ς νιόν]	statue base
3253	a. 4 p.	Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα	statue base
3254	a. 4 p.	Τιβέριον Καίσαρα	statue base
3255	a. 4 p.	Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα	statue base
3256	a. 4 p.	Δροῦσ[ον]	statue base
4154 <sup>36</sup>	c. a. 6 p.	Λούκιον Ν[όνιον] Ἀσπρη[νάν]	statue base
4155	c. a. 7 p.	Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Δολαβέλλαν στρατηγόν	statue base
4156	p. a. 14 p.	Πόπλιον Ὀκταίον	statue base
4157	a. a. 15 p.	Γάιον Σολπίκιον Ἀ[ν]θήπατον	statue base
3444	a. a. 17 p.	[Βασιλέα] Ἀντίοχον	statue base
3434	p. a. 17 p.	Ἀρχέλαον	statue base
3435 <sup>36</sup>	p. a. 17 p.	[Ἀρχέλαον]	column
3260	a. 18 p.	Γερ[μ]ανικ[ὸν Κα]ίσαρα	statue base
4158	c. a. 20 p.	Γάιον Ἀσίτιον στρατηγόν ἀποδεδειγμένον	column
(ἀνέθηκεν)			
Hesp., XV, 63 <sup>36</sup>	c. a. 20 p.	Γάιον Ἀ[σίτιον] στρατη[γόν] ἀποδεδειγμένον	statue base
(ἀνέθηκεν)			
I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 3926a <sup>36</sup>	p. a. 21 p.	[Γάι]ον Ἰούλιον Εὐρυκλέα	statue base
3926b <sup>36</sup>	p. a. 21 p.	[Γάιο]ν Ἰ[ού]λιον Δεξιμάχον	statue base
3445	a. 23-40 p.	Βασιλ[έ]α Πτολεμαῖον	statue base
4180 <sup>36</sup>	c. a. 43 p.	[Δέκμον Ἰούν]ιον Τορκουάτον	statue base
3532	a. med. s. I p.	[Οὐιβιδίαν, ἰ]ερὰν παρθένον	statue base
3533	a. med. s. I p.	Οὐαλερίαν ἱερὰν παρθένον	statue base
3534	a. med. s. I p.	Αὐρηλίαν ἱερὰν παρ[θέ]νον	
3510 <sup>36</sup>	a. med. s. I p.	[-----]	
([ἀνέθηκεν])			
3510	a. med. s. I p.	δαδοῦχον Θεμ[στοκ]λήν	
(ἀνέθηκεν)			
3510	a. med. s. I p.	Σοφοκλήν	
(ἀνέθηκεν)			
4243	a. 50-100 p.	Αἰφικίαν Καλνίναν	statue base
3242 <sup>41</sup>	p. med. s. I p.	Θεᾶι Λειβία(ι)	architrave at Rhamnous
4189	p. med. s. I p.	Μάρκον Δικίνιον Κράσσον Φρούγι	statue base
3792	a. a. 52 p.	[Βαρέαν] Σωρ[ανόν]	
3544 <sup>36</sup>	fin. s. I p.	τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας στρατηγὸν καὶ γυμνασίαρχον καὶ ἱερέα Διὸς Βου- λαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας Λού- κιον Φλάουιον Φλάμμαν Κυδαθηναίεα	statue base

<sup>41</sup> See the edition of W. B. Dinsmoor, "Rhamnountine Fantasies," *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 186-194, and above, p. 26, note 59.

3569	<i>s. I/II p.</i>	[— — — μνηθείς]αν ἀφ' ἐστίας	capital
3752	<i>s. II p.</i>	Δεύκιον	herm
		(metrical, giving a <i>cursus</i> ; δ[ῆμος στήσα]τ')	
3741	<i>a. 145/6</i>	τὸν κοσμητὴν [Ἄ]θήναιον	statue base
		Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἑρμ[ο]ύσιον	
3583	<i>a. med. s. II p.</i>	[Φλαβίαν] Φαίνα[ρέτην]	
4214	<i>fin. s. II p.</i>	[..... Καλ]πύρρι<ο>ν	statue base
		[Πείσωνα Ὀρφί]του	
3717 <sup>36</sup>	undated	τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἱερέα Ἑρακλέους	statue base
	(ἀνέθηκεν)		
Δελτ., XI, 6, p. 131	undated	[Μεν]έλαον	statue base



## APPENDIX II

### NOTES ON ATHENIAN INSCRIPTIONS

#### A. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945 \*

On 23 August 1844 Ludwig Ross first saw in the garden of the queen at Athens an inscription containing a list of names arranged according to phylai and demes.<sup>1</sup> Of the heading he read only the date by archon. Graindor<sup>2</sup> made a careful study of the stone, read the whole heading, and noticed on the moulding below the pediment the single word 'Απόλλωσιν. This, Graindor suggested, indicated that the document was a list of the priests of Apollo under his various titles. Kirchner, whose edition (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945) is the most recent, rejected this explanation on the ground that the names would not be given in a tribal arrangement; he suggested that the inscription might be a dedication to Apollo under his various titles. No one has thought to question the appearance of the names of the gymnasiarch, a *hyperetes* and an *anthyperetes*.

Possibly a key to the explanation of the inscription is to be found in its place of discovery. The royal gardens, where Ross first saw it, are now the National Gardens. In antiquity somewhere in this general area was located the gymnasium called the Lykeion.<sup>3</sup> An association with a gymnasium would explain the presence of the gymnasiarch, *hyperetes*, and *anthyperetes*.<sup>4</sup> A noteworthy feature of the Lykeion was a traditional cult of Apollo, for the gymnasium had been built on a spot sacred to the god,<sup>5</sup> and it contained a statue of the god.<sup>6</sup> This explanation is reinforced by a dedication to Apollo by a victor in the games (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2999), which also was found *in horto regio*, and which has the name of the gymnasiarch in the genitive case. Apollo was not unusual as a divinity cultivated by those interested in athletics,<sup>7</sup> as is evidenced from dedications found elsewhere in the city. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, therefore, is probably a catalogue of those who were devotees of Apollo by the fact that they exercised in the Lykeion. How then is the form 'Απόλλωσιν to be explained? Why can

\* The conclusions reached regarding this inscription are similar to those reached separately by John Lynch and S. Dow. They intend to develop the ideas at greater length.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, first published as *I.G.*, III, 1280.

<sup>2</sup> *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 318-322, no. 87.

<sup>3</sup> J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (= Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, CXCVI, 1960), pp. 43-44; it must be noted that points as far apart as Kolonaki Square and the Russian Church have been suggested for the location of the Lykeion.

<sup>4</sup> Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 84-85, has already noticed that the *hyperetes* and his assistant were citizens, not public slaves. They must have been servitors concerned with the operation of the gymnasium.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, I, 19, 3; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, VIII, 4, 724c. Delorme, pp. 45 and 346, comments on the *testimonia* for the Lykeion.

<sup>6</sup> Lucian, *Anach.*, 7-8.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3002, 3006, 2996 (from the Roman period).

it not be a locative of the type so often formed from the names of *phylai*,<sup>8</sup> this example indicating that the stele was to be set up at the statue of Apollo.

The gymnasiarch is none other than Tiberius Claudius Novius, a man with a very distinguished career.<sup>9</sup> By the time of this catalogue, dated to A.D. 45/6 by the archon's name,<sup>10</sup> he had already served as hoplite general, herald of the Areopagus, eponymous archon, and agonothete. This is the only indication of his having been gymnasiarch, which otherwise would have been a conspicuous lacuna in his *cursus honorum*.

B. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077, 1078 and *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 33, pp. 77-78.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 is a decree of the *boule* of the five hundred *συνήχθη ἐπὶ τοῖς [εὐαγγ]ελίοις ἀναδειχθέντος [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Ποπλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]*. In this meeting of the council the *gnome* of the *synhedria* was made known by the magistrates, with the hoplite general doing the actual reading. Certain items in the heading of this decree seemed so strange to Keil<sup>11</sup> that he attributed the irregularities to an attempt to make the document more impressive in the eyes of the emperor. The major difficulty revolves around the word *gnome*, which should be interpreted as meaning proposal, and not *probouleuma* as Keil took it. But there still remains the question of how and why the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos* make known their *gnome* to this meeting of the *boule*, and do so *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*.

The answer is probably to be sought in the nature of the decree, honors for a newly raised emperor. There is evidence that honors for the imperial family were usually cleared through the emperor himself before they took effect.<sup>12</sup> The procedure by which such approval was sought by the city begins to become clear in the light of a document found in the Athenian agora.<sup>13</sup> This is a letter apparently from the emperor Hadrian regarding divine honors for the dead Antinoös. The final line of the letter reveals that this is an answer to an embassy which has brought for his consideration and approval a *gnome* of the *boule* and *demos*, not a decree. In this

<sup>8</sup> For examples see K. Meisterhans-E. Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 146 and note 1260.

<sup>9</sup> See Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 141-143; Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 81-83; Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General at Athens*, pp. 74-76. Graindor had restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945 Novius' second hoplite generalship.

<sup>10</sup> Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 83.

<sup>11</sup> Keil, *Beiträge*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>12</sup> The tradition of refusing divine honors is discussed by M. P. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honors, An Augustan Formula," *Papers of the British School in Rome*, II, 1939, pp. 1-10, who catalogues the examples from the times of the Julio-Claudian emperors, but also shows traces of the tradition continuing down to Marcus Aurelius and the later Christian emperors, although his evidence for the approval of honors decreed by cities seems to be lacking after the Julio-Claudians.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 33, pp. 77-78.

manner, apparently, approval could be obtained before the finality of an actual decree was in effect. The *gnome* was the proposal read to a session of a corporation who could pass it as a decree. In this respect the *probouleuma* of the *boule* had been a *gnome* for the *demos* in democratic Athens. It would seem that in Roman Athens the *gnome* was approved by all of the corporations whose names would appear on the eventual decree, then this *gnome* was sent for imperial approval, and finally it would be passed as a decree in the form which the emperor approved.

In the case of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 J. H. Oliver has brought to my attention that a *curator civitatis* was present in Athens at that time, indicating that Athens was not financially independent. Thus the expenditures for the celebration would have to be approved before they could be decreed.

The use of the word *gnome* has caused difficulties in another document, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, passed by the *demos* in the third century after Christ. It is a decree outlining the functions of the ephebes in the Eleusinian festival. Just after the last line of the text of the decree and before the publication clause there is the stipulation (lines 36-38) that this *gnome* was to be revealed to the *boule* of the Areopagus, to the *boule* of the five hundred, to the hierophant, and to the *genos* of the Eumolpidae. Schult-hess<sup>14</sup> recognized that the text of the decree and proposal must have been the same, but that to be published on the stone it was necessary that the proposal be raised to the status of a decree. Still, this does not explain the publication formula for the *gnome*. May it not be possible that regarding religious matters of this sort it was at least advisable to receive the approval of the other two civic corporations and of those responsible for the celebration of the Eleusinia before making regulations regarding them?

<sup>14</sup> *R.E.*, VII, 1912, p. 1496.

## APPENDIX III

### A CATALOGUE FROM THE ELEUSINION AT ATHENS

(Plates 1-6)

In 1958 J. H. Oliver <sup>1</sup> re-published two fragments of a rather unusual catalogue. Since his work two new fragments have come to light, as well as two small pieces related by their nature and script, but not definitely pieces of the same catalogue. These latter two pieces will be discussed separately at the end of this appendix. The four certain fragments are EM 5898 (Pls. 1, 3, 5); <sup>2</sup> EM 3628 (Pls. 2-4); <sup>3</sup> EM 8542 (Pls. 2-4); <sup>4</sup> and Agora I 6889 (Pls. 1, 3, 5).<sup>5</sup> They will be designated as follows:

#### FACE A:

a) EM 5898 + 3628 + 8542 (Pls. 1-3). The stones were found the first in the Propylaia and the third *εἰς τὰς πρὸς τὸ ἀνατολικο-νότιον μέρος τοῦ βάθρου τῆς Προμάχου ἀρχαιολογικὰς ἀνασκαφάς*; <sup>6</sup> the provenience of the second is unknown. After its original publication by Dittenberger, 5898 was lost, and Kirchner's text is based on Dittenberger. It was rediscovered in the Epigraphical Museum by Mitsos, who recognized that it belonged to the same document as 8542. Kirchner had already recognized that 8542 and 3628 probably belonged to the same document. Mitsos has since found that the three stones join top to bottom. The fragment as joined together is broken away at the top, at the bottom, and on the right side. On the left side for about one-third the length of the stone from the top the smoothly dressed side is preserved. It is of Pentelic marble and opisthographic.<sup>7</sup> The total dimensions are height, 0.82 m., width, 0.28 m., thickness, 0.111 m. at the top tapering to 0.10 m. at the bottom. The letter heights vary, lines 1-4, 0.02 m., but rising to 0.03 m., line 6, 0.11 m., but rising to 0.02 m., lines 7, 8, and 83 are 0.006 m., 0.004 m., and 0.007 m. respectively; and the list of names, column I, 0.003-0.005 m., column II, 0.003-0.004 m. at the top, but 0.005-0.007 m. near the bottom, column III, 0.005-0.008 m.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 38-46.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 1279 A (Koehler's transcript); Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339 A (based upon Dittenberger's text); Mitsos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950-51, pp. 29-33; and Oliver, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2003; Mitsos, *B.C.H.*, LXXIV, 1950, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Pittakis, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1858, no. 3398, pp. 1777-1778; Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 1233 (Lueder's transcript); Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1999 (with the assistance of Stadel); Mitsos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950-51, pp. 29-33; and Oliver, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished, but cited by H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 365.

<sup>6</sup> Pittakis, whom Dittenberger misquotes *εἰς τὰς . . . ἀρχαιολογικὰς ἐρεῖνας*.

<sup>7</sup> Face B will be discussed below.

b) Agora I 6889 (Pls. 1, 3), a non-joining piece which can be aligned horizontally with EM 5898. It was found on 14 May 1959 in late Roman fill at the southwest corner of the Eleusinion. E. Vanderpool recognized that it belonged with this Eleusinian document. It is broken away on all sides, of Pentelic marble, and opisthographic. Its height is 0.29 m., width, 0.255 m., thickness, 0.107 (top)- 0.104 m. (bottom). The letter heights are lines 3 and 4, 0.02 m., line 5, 0.015 m., line 6, 0.013 m., but rising to 0.02 m., and the remaining lines *ca.* 0.005 m.

The stele is opisthographic and portions of the reverse text are preserved on fragments *a* and *b*.

#### FACE B:

a) EM 5898 (Pls. 5, 6), 3628, and 8542.<sup>8</sup> For the history and dimensions see the description of Face A. The stone is broken away on all sides except for the upper one third at the right, where a dressed side is preserved. There are only eight lines of text and the rest of the face consists of a smoothly dressed surface.

b) Agora I 6889 (Pls. 5, 6), a non-joining fragment which aligns horizontally with EM 5898. For a description and history, see that of Face A. The letter height is 0.02 m.

#### FACE A

##### HEADING

\**Ἀρχων [τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων Κλαύδιος]*  
 \**Ἐπὶ Βωμ[ῶ Μελιτεὺς -----]*  
*ψηφισαμέ[νων τῶν σε]μνοτάτων Κη[ρύκων]*  
*τὰ ὀνόματα ἅ[πάντω]ν ἐν στήλῃ ὁ τ[αμίας]*  
 5 *vacat [ἔγραψε]ν vac[at ]*  
 \**Ἀφ' ἐστίας Τ Φλ — [...<sup>ca.</sup>?...] Α]χαρνεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ]*

##### COLUMN I

\**Ἐρεχθείδος*  
 \**Ἀρεοπαγείται*  
 \**Ἐπίγονος Συντρόφου*  
 10 *Μέμ Πιστοκράτης*  
 \**Ἐλεύθερος Συντρόφου*  
 [*Ἀὐ*]*ρ Θεόξενος*

<sup>8</sup> The bibliography is the same with the following exceptions: whenever Face A is indicated, substitute Face B (i.e. *I.G.*, III, 1279 B = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339 B); Oliver, *op. cit.* does not treat Face B; Face B was known before Face A, having been first reported in LeBas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, I, *Attica*, no. 556, p. 159.

- [Ἄλκ]αμένης )  
 [Ἄλκ]αμένης Νε(ώτερος)  
 15 [ca. 3 Δ]ημήτριος  
 [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης Κάρπου  
 [-----] traces [-----]  
 Lines 18-21 are lost.  
 [-----] ΚΙ [-----]  
 [ca. 5 . . . . . Δ]υσιμάχου  
 [ca. 6 . . . . .]ος )  
 25 [-----] )  
 [ca. 5 . . . . .]αρεινος  
 [Ἀπολ]λόδωρος Κέλσου  
 [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης Κέλσου  
 [ca. 5 . . . . .]νης Κέλσου  
 30 [ca. 5 . . . . .]ρος Κάρπου  
 [ca. 5 . . . . .]λος [Ἀ]φροδισίου  
 [ca. 8 . . . . .]ς Ἀπολλωνίου  
 [ca. 7 . . . . .] Ἀπολλωνίου  
 [ca. 6 . . . . .]ς Ἴπποκράτους  
 35 [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης Ἀφροδισίου  
 [ca. 8 . . . . .] Θεογένους  
 [ca. 8 . . . . .]ς Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδου  
 [.. Θεοδώ]ρητος  
 [ca. 7 . . . . .]ος Θεοδωρήτου  
 40 [ca. 7 . . . . .]ς Θεοδωρήτου  
 [ca. 4 . . . . . Αὐ]φ Διονυσόδωρος  
 [-----] )  
 [-----] )  
 [-----] ππου  
 45 [ca. 8 . . . . .] Ἀττικοῦ  
 [ca. 8 . . . . .]ιος Θεοφίλου  
 [-----] κύρου  
 [-----]  
 [-----] δώρου  
 50 [-----] traces [-----]  
 Lines 51-54 are lost.  
 55 [-----] ΟΝ . . . . ΟΡΟΥ  
 [-----] Τ. Ν[-----]  
 [ca. 8 . . . . .] Ἀττικοῦ  
 [ca. 9 . . . . .] Πανσανίο[υ]  
 [ca. 9 . . . . . Θ]εογένης )

- 60 [ . . . <sup>ca. 6</sup> . . . Θε ] ογένους  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 6</sup> . . . ] μης Ἀσκληπι[άδ]ου  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 6</sup> . . . ] ος Φίρμου  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 6</sup> . . . ] σιος Φίρμου  
 [ . <sup>ca. 4</sup> . . . Ἀ ] θηνόδωρος [ --- ]  
 65 [ . <sup>ca. 4</sup> . . . ] υς )  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 5</sup> . . . ] μος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀριστό[β]ουλ  
 [ . <sup>ca. 5</sup> . . . ] νος )  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 8</sup> . . . ] δείσιος Κέλσου  
 [ *vacat* ] *vacat*  
 70 [ <sup>v</sup> Αἰγ ] εἶδος  
 [ Ἀρεοπ ] αγείται  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 10</sup> . . . ] αϊανός  
 [ ----- ] *vacat*  
 [ ----- ] ος  
 75 [ . . . . . <sup>ca. 14</sup> . . . . . ] Ποπλί[ο]υ  
 [ ----- ]  
 [ ----- Φρο ] γτείν  
 [ ----- ] έσιος  
 [ ----- ] ίον  
 80 [ ----- ] ογγος  
 [ ----- ] υ

## COLUMN II

- [ Πανδιονίδος ]  
 Ἀρεο[πα] γείται  
 Αἰλ [ ----- ] ς  
 85 Αἰλ Σ[ ----- ] νος  
 Ἰούλ Ἰέρων  
 Ἰούλ Στρατόλας  
 Αὐρ Δημύλος  
 Κας Φίλιππος  
 90 Ἰούλ Θεμίσων  
 Ἀσκληπιάδης Δημ[ ----- ]  
 ὁ κρά Ἐρέν Ροῦφος  
 ὁ κρά Κορ Μαρ[ ----- ]  
 ὁ κρά Κορ Μα[ ----- ]  
 95 [ ----- ] ναρ[ ----- ]

Lines 96-98 are lost.

Βιβούλ Θεόφιλος

100 Ἐπαφρόδειτος Ἀρτέμων  
Ἀβάσκαντος Ἀρτέμωνος  
Ἐπαφρόδει[τος] Ἀφροδεισίου  
Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀλεξάνδρου  
Ἐπάγαθος Κασίου

105 Ζώιλος Θεμιστοκλέους  
Ἀγαθώνυμ[ο]ς Θεμιστοκ  
Διογένης )  
Ἀλέξανδρος Παμφίλου  
Πάμφιλος )

110 Ἰούλ Ἀφροδείσιος  
Λύδος Ἀλεξάνδρου  
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Εὐαγάθου  
Διονυσόδ[ωρος] )  
Ἀσκληπ[ιό]δωρος Διονυσίου

115 Θεμιστοκλ[ή]ς Ζώιλου  
Δημύλος Ἀσκληπιάδου  
Ζώπυ[ρ]ος Ἀσκληπιάδου  
Εὐτύχης )  
Διογένης )

120 Μεννέας )  
Φίλων )  
Χειλιарχιανὸς Διονυσίου

Πασιχαριανὸς Καλλίου  
Εὐδοδος Ἀγαθ[ων]ύμου  
125 Δεΐφιλος Δειφ[-----]  
Διονυσοκλῆς [Ἀπολ]ωνίου  
Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἐγλέκτου  
Ἀγαθώνυμος )  
Μέμνων )

130 Ἀρτεμ[ε]ίσιος Κελάδου  
Γάι[ος] Ἡρακλείδου  
[----] traces [----]

Lines 133-135 are lost.

Ερατ[-----]  
Μο[-----]  
Απ[-----]  
Θεμιστοκ[λή]ς [-----]



- 140 Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἐ[-----]  
 Ἀθήναιος Μουσωνί[υ]  
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Αὐτοβούλου  
 Διογ[έ]γης Παυλείνου  
 Αἴλ Καλλίας
- 145 Παυλείνος  
 Ἀρχικλῆς ὁ καὶ Εὐσχήμεων  
 Καλλίας ὁ κ(αὶ) Καρποφόρος  
 Ζωσιμανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Αὐτόβουλος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀρτεμίδωρ(ος)
- 150 Ἀπολλωνίδης Μέμνονος  
 Λεωνίδης Παμφίλου  
 Μηνόδωρος Διογένους  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Διογένου[ς]  
 Κάσιος Ἐπαγάθου
- 155 Ζώπυρος Ἀγαθωνύμ[ου]  
 Κέλαδος Ἀρτεμισίου  
 Διονύσιος Ἀρτεμισί[ου]  
 Ἀντίοχος Ἀλεξάν[δρου]  
 Εὐδοὸς Ἀγαθωνύ[μου]
- 160 Βότρυς Δημύλου  
 Δημύλος )  
*vacat*  
*vacat*  
 Ἀσκληπιάδης )
- 165 Ἄνθος Ἀσκληπιάδ[ου]  
 Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀσκλη[πιάδου]  
 Λικ Ζώσιμος  
 [-----]

## COLUMN III

- [-----]  
 Εὐ. [-----]  
 Ζώπυ[ρος] [-----]  
 170 Βασιλ[-----]  
 Καρεῖ[-----]  
 Βασιλ[-----]  
 Μακα[ρεὺς] [-----]  
 Σόλω[ν] [-----]  
 175 Μακ[-----]

Αἰμ[-----]  
 Ἄλν[-----]  
 Εὐτν[χ-----]  
 Δημ[-----]  
 180 Νεικ[-----]  
 Ζμν[-----]  
 Ευ[-----]  
 Κ[-----]  
 Ζ[-----]  
 185 Εμ[-----]  
 Αι[-----]  
 Τι[-----]  
 Πα. [-----]  
 Επ[-----]  
 190 Εὐ[-----]  
 Lines 191-196 are lost  
 Ἡρακ[-----]  
 Αἶλ ^ [-----]  
 Διο[-----]  
 200 Απο[-----]  
 Αἶλ [-----]  
 Τρ[-----]  
 Ε[-----]  
 Ι [-----]

## Fragment b, Column IV

205 [Ἀδριαν]ίδος  
 [Ἀρεοπαγ]εῖται  
 [-----]ου  
 [-----]

## COLUMN V

Κεκροπίδος  
 Ἀρεοπαγείται  
 210 ὁ κρά Κλ Βηρατιανός  
 Αὐφ Μάρκελλος  
 Γέλ Πολύζηλος  
 Αὐφ Ἀτταλος  
 Προκίλ Εἰρηναῖος

215 *vacat*  
 [Μέμ Σ] ὥσπισ Νε(ώτερος)  
 [ . . . ] ἵππος  
 [ . . . . . ] τῆς Νικοστα' [ - - ]  
 [ - - - - - ]

## FACE B

[ - - - - - ]  
 [ - - - - - ] Σ  
 [ - - - - - ] Κηρ] ὕκων  
 [ - - - - - ] πανηγυρι] ἀρχον  
 [ - - - - - ] ταμι] εὔοντος  
 5 [ - - - ] . Σ [ - - - - - ] - - τοῦ ) Μαρ  
 [ ψηφισαμ] ἐνων Κηρύ[κων - - - - ] Οἱ[ . ] ἐν στή  
 [ λη τὰ ὀνό] ματα ἀπάντων [ - - - - - ] γρ] ἀφῆνα[ι] καὶ  
 [ ἐκτεθῆ] ναι ἐν τῷ Ἐλευ[σινίῳ ὁ ταμί] as  
 υ υ  
 α α  
 ς ς  
 α α  
 τ τ

The text here presented is based entirely upon a new reading of the stone. Variant readings will be noted in the commentary only if they have significance in the restorations or in the interpretation of the text. Previous attempts to restore the heading have been antiquated by the discovery of fragment b (Pls. 1, 5). Probably the greatest boon of this new fragment is the revelation that faces I and II say about the same thing, but in a slightly different manner, permitting restoration by comparison.

## COMMENTARY

## FACE A

Lines 1 and 2. Dittenberger \**Ἀρχων* [τοῦ γένους τῶν . . . . ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Μεμμίου] | Ἐπὶ Βω[μῷ Θεορίκιον ἐνιαυτῷ etc. Kirchner (based upon Dittenberger) gives the same except ἐπὶ βω(μ)[ῷ]. Mitsos corrected this to ἐπὶ Βω[μῷ], while Oliver read and restored ἄρχων [τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων δευτέρας πανηγύρεως Μέμμιος] | Ἐπὶ Βωμ[ῷ Θεορίκιος]. The reconstruction of the stone presented below would not leave space for either Dittenberger's or Oliver's restoration of the first line. Since this represents a decree of a *genos* the archon recorded is more likely to be the archon of the *genos* (indeed the civic archon's name if it had been included probably would

have been given in the formula for eponymity). Since the altar priest, if he were included in a list with the archon of the Kerykes, would take precedence over the archon,<sup>9</sup> the title of altar priest probably belongs to this archon. At the period to which we date this document the altar priest was Κλαύδιος Ἐπὶ Βωμῷ Μελιτεύς.<sup>10</sup> The office of ἐπὶ βωμῷ was traditionally filled from the ranks of the Kerykes. His priestly office would be no hindrance to serving as an officer of his *genos*, since Memmius while altar priest served as archon of Athens.<sup>10</sup>

Line 3. Dittenberger and Kirchner ψηφισαμέ[νων τῶν γεννητῶν — — — — — κτλ.]; Oliver ψηφισαμέ[νων τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων]. Only the first vertical hasta of the eta of Κη[ρύκων] is preserved, but for the restoration see Face B, lines 2 and 6. Compare this line with line 6 of Face B.

[Σε]μνοτάτων is a common adjective in Athenian inscriptions of the Roman period, used of the Panhellenes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1088 [restored], 1090, 3626, 3627 [restored]), of the synod of the *eranistai* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1369), of the *boule* of the five hundred (or of the 750) (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817, 3579, 3638, 3680, 3735, 3962, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 65, p. 261), the *boule* of the Areopagus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2773, 3571, 3637, 3656, 3667, 3817). It is also applied to the *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3625), to individuals or individual magistrates (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3198, 3802, 4067), and to the city itself (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 37, p. 87). Therefore there seems to be no reason why the hallowed family of the Kerykes should not have usurped it.

Line 4, Dittenberger and Kirchner τὰ ὀνόματα [τῶν γεννητῶν . . . . .]; <sup>11</sup> Mitsos τὰ ὀνόματα ἀ[νέγραψεν — — — — —]; Oliver τὰ ὀνόματα ἀ[νέγραψε τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος μνηθέντων]. For the restorations, compare Face B, lines 6-7.

ὁ τ[αμίας]. See Face B, line 8. Probably the treasurer of the *genos* of the Kerykes, just as the treasurer of the Eumolpidae saw to the erection of a decree of the *demos* regulating the Eleusinian Mysteries which was passed upon the instigation of the Eumolpidae (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078). In an earlier decree of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes the publication fell to the archons (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1235). It would seem that there was no specification regarding the material of the stele.

Line 5, [ἔγραψε]ν. The only trace of this are a vertical and a bit of the slanting stroke of the nu on fragment b, and so former editors had no idea of the existence of this line. The letter height of the nu is not in keeping with that of the lines above, nor are the interlinear intervals above and below the nu. At one point the interval between lines 4 and 6 is equal to that between lines 3 and 4, while in other places the

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092 B, lines 51, 45-46. For this section use the text of Oliver, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 382, and see his comments, pp. 392-395.

<sup>10</sup> For Tiberius Claudius (Sospis) Meliteus, the altar priest, see Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 78-81; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 403 to *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 110, p. 273. Memmius the altar priest was archon of Athens in 161/2 (Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 87).

<sup>11</sup> Although in his transcript Dittenberger records — AONOMATA/.

former is slightly greater. It would almost seem that the stonecutter had forgotten this word and had to add it sometime after line 6 was cut. The nominative case of *ταμίας* demands a finite verb, and such an aorist is a common enough occurrence.

Line 6. Dittenberger and Kirchner *Ἀφεισσίας* /// Φλ. . . . . This line was very puzzling until Oliver's suggestion that it be read *Ἀφ' ἐστίας* [T] Φλ [-----].

Τ Φλ [----- Ἀ] *χαρνέως* ὁ υἱὸς [αὐτοῦ]. The Φλ is clear and the sign of an abbreviation indicates that probably there are no more letters in this name. Just the faintest traces of the tau can be seen and they probably could not have been read if they were not expected. The missing part of the name is the Greek cognomen, which should be *ca.* 7 letters long. As is common, and without exception in this list, no patronymic is included in the Roman names. It is not possible to identify this initiate from the hearth with any attested in dedicatory inscriptions. On the restoration of *αὐτοῦ* see the comments of Oliver, below.

The diaeresis on *υἱός* appears on the stone.

Line 9, *Ἐπίγονος Συντρόφου*. Descendents of *Σύντροφος* of *Εὐώνυμον* are commonly attested in the second half of the second century after Christ. This inscription is the first to mention Epigonos. For the family see the note to line 11, *Ἐλεύθερος Συντρόφου*, probably his brother.

Line 11, *Ἐλεύθερος Συντρόφου*. This may well be a brother of *Ἐπίγονος* (line 9). He is probably the same man as the herald of the Areopagus honored by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred and the *demos* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3622). By the time of this honorary document he had become a Roman citizen *Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἐλεύθερον* | [*Συντρόφου* *Εὐ(ωνυμία)*]. Therefore the honorary inscription as yet undated will have to be placed sometime around or after A.D. 200, since it surely postdates this Eleusinian list, in which he has not the prenomens and nomen. Another relative, either a brother or nephew, depending upon how one constructs the stemma, is *Εὐέλπιστος Συντρόφου Εὐωνυμείας* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2068, ephebe in 155/6; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2085, *hyposophronistes* in 161/2; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086, again *hyposophronistes* in 163/4, although in the same year *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2087 places him among the *sophronistai*).

Line 12. The name *Θεόξενος* is clearly preserved. Mitsos first read the rho, while every editor has seen the horizontal stroke above it indicating an abbreviation. In an ephebic decree dated 238/9-243/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2239)<sup>12</sup> a *Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θεόξενος Λαμπιτρεύς* is listed as anticomete. Whether he is the same man or a descendant is uncertain.

Lines 13 and 14, [*Ἀλκ*]*αμένης* ) and [*Ἀλκ*]*αμένης* *Νε(ώτερος)*. The names as restored fit precisely the estimated length of the gap. As Oliver<sup>13</sup> has indicated, these are members of a very well attested family. He cites the following documents: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2191, an ephebic list in whose heading one encounters *Ἀλκαμένους κοσμητεύοντος*

<sup>12</sup> Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 40-41, would date this to A.D. 239/40.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 39.

(lines 1 and 2) and near the end of the text (lines 128-138) ἀντικοσμήτη δὲ οὐκ ἐχρησάμην διὰ τὸ ἐν νόμῳ περὶ τούτου μηδὲν γέγραπθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἐχρησάμην εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμελείαν M(άρκῳ) Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλκαμένει Λαμπτρῷ (Werner Peek<sup>14</sup> would see this joining *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2131, which is dated to the last decade of the second century after Christ); *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 29, pp. 63-64, a prytany catalogue of Erechtheis dated around A.D. 220 which lists the names Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλ[κα]μέν[ης] and Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλ[κ]αμέ[νης Νε(ώτερος)]; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077, a prytany catalogue dated to 209/10, in which the proposer of the decree is (lines 8-9) [τ]οῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ γυ[μνασιαρχί]ας θε[οῦ] Ἀδρι[α]νοῦ καὶ ἀ[ντ]άρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀγ[ῶνος τοῦ Π]ανελληνίου [Μά]ρ(κον) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀλκαμένους Λαμπτρέως. To these three documents there may be added: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2119, an ephebic decree of the end of the second century, in which the ephebe-archon and the *agonothetes* and victor τοῦ περὶ ἄλκης is Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλκαμένης (lines 24, 18 and 239); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2081, another ephebic list on which under Erechtheis is listed [Ἀ]λκαμένης ) Λαμ[πτρεύς]; possibly *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1118, a law concerning the sale and price of grain which reads (lines 3-5) [ἐπιμ]ε[λ]εία προνη[θῆναι | [-διά]φορον? Ἀλκαμέν[ης] | [-]μετὰ τοῦ κηρυκεύ[οντος], which Kirchner dates to 209/10;<sup>15</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1104 with the fragment Agora I 5198,<sup>16</sup> whose second line reads [-----]ι Ἀλκαμένην Λαμπτρέ[α -----]. The last two citations have little effect in plotting the stemma. Here follows Oliver's stemma

II <sup>2</sup> , 2081	Areopagitai Alkamenes )	II <sup>2</sup> , 2119	II <sup>2</sup> , 2191	II <sup>2</sup> , 1077	<i>Hesperia</i> , 1942
Alkamenes ) Lamptreus, ephebe (?)	= Alkamenes, Jr.		= Alkamenes, cosmete, 195/6		
		Aur. Alkamenes, ephebe, 190/1-191/2	= Alkamenes (M. Aur.), would be anticosmete, 195/6	= M. Aur. Alkamenes, hoplite general, 209/10	= Aur. Alkamenes <i>prytanis</i>
					Aur. Alkamenes, Jr., <i>prytanis</i>

slightly expanded. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2119 may be dated to the reign of Commodus, while the Eleusinian list is later. Those members of the family recorded in the Eleusinian list belonged to generations previous to that to which Roman citizenship was first granted.

Lines 18-21. Measurement indicates that probably four lines are missing. Calculations later will indicate that the list of Areopagites must have ended here.

<sup>14</sup> "Eine Attische Epheben-Inschrift," *Epigraphica*, XIX, 1957, pp. 87-92.

<sup>15</sup> Alkamenes was hoplite general in 209/10 and would have had charge of the grain supply *ex officio* (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, I, 23, 1).

<sup>16</sup> Associated by Raubitschek and Bodnar (see E. Bodnar, S.J., *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels, 1960, p. 146).

Line 22. These traces were unnoticed by Kirchner.

Line 26. Kirchner suggests [— — — X] *αρεῖνος*.

Lines 27-29 included three sons of Celsus: [Apol]lodoros, [Askl]epiades, and [ . . . . ]enes.

Lines 32 and 33, [ . . . . . ] *γος Ἀπολλωνίου* and [ . . . . . ] *Ἀπολλωνίου* are probably brothers.

Line 35. Kirchner read only [— — — —] *λης Ἀφροδεισίου*, but the new readings are clear except for the pi, whose traces are faint.

Lines 38-40. These are probably three brothers or a father and two sons.

Line 41. Kirchner [— — — —] *Διονυσόδωρον*; Mitsos — — — Κ *Διονυσόδωρος*. The four unrestored spaces may have contained the predicate of rank *ὁ κρά(τιστος)*, as suggested by J. H. Oliver (*per litteras*).

Lines 42 and 43. Kirchner would leave this *vacat*, but the traces of the lunas are unmistakable.

Lines 46-49. The lettering tends to increase in size in these lines with the last, line 49, being the largest, having letters 0.008 m. high. This may indicate that the end of one list is at hand and the neat small lettering below is another group, but in the light of the reconstruction of the stone presented below this would seem unlikely.

Line 48. Whether this is a blank line or whether it was filled by a very short name is impossible to determine.

Lines 51 through 54. Because of the break in the stone these lines are lost. Measurement indicates that a total of four or five lines is missing, and the smaller figure seems the more probable if one allows for even one other single line as high as line 49.

Lines 51-57. Fragment d has been subjected to very bad wear, probably from fire, to judge from the nature of the corrosion, in this the upper left hand corner. Only traces of the preserved lines are still present and occasional very clear letters. Traces too doubtful to record seem to exist for the lines above line 54.

Line 54. Pittakis and Dittenberger both read [— — —] *ΗΣ* [— — —], but there is no trace today.

Line 55. Pittakis and Dittenberger read only [— — —] *ΟΝ* [— — —]. The traces are very faint.

Line 57. Pittakis and Dittenberger were able to read [— — — —] *ς Ἀττικοῦ*.

Line 59, [ . . . . . Θ ] *εογένης*). Pittakis and Dittenberger were able to read the theta. It is likely that the missing letters represented an office or priesthood held by Theogenes, since the use of the luna would exclude his having a Roman nomen (nowhere in this list is a patronymic given with a Roman name). This name seems to have been passed down from father to son in a family of the Attic deme of Kephisia, of the tribe Erechtheis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759 and 2049). The son of Theogenes in line 60 probably is a brother.

Line 60. All previous editors were able to read the epsilon.

Line 62, [ . . . . . ] *ος Φίρμου*. Pittakis and Dittenberger read a slanting hasta at the beginning of the line, interpreted as a lambda by Dittenberger. He is probably a brother to the man listed in line 63.

Line 64. All previous editors read the alpha.

Line 68. Pittakis [ - - - - - ] *είσιος Κτεάσου*; Dittenberger [*Ἀφροδ*] *είσιος Κτεά[τ]ου*; Kirchner and Oliver [*Ἀφρο*] *δείσιος Κέλσου*. The first four missing letter spaces are unexplained.

Line 69. This was probably left completely vacant as a divider before the catalogue of Aigeis began.

Line 70. This restoration was first suggested by Oliver. Pittakis mistook this for part of the list of names, [ - M ] *είδος*. The reading of the following line confirms Oliver's suggestion. Aigeis is the usual second tribe in lists of the Roman period.

Line 71. Pittakis [ - - - - - ] *Ἀγείται*, which he considered a misspelling of *Ἀγῆται*. All subsequent editors have recognized the reappearance of the sub-heading *Ἀρεοπαγείται*.

Line 75. [ . . . . . ] *Ποπλί[ο]υ*. Pittakis [ - - - - - ] *τοπαρ.ι*; Dittenberger [*Ἀρε*] *οπα[γείται (?) ]*; Kirchner [*Ἀρε*] *οπαγ[είται]*; Mitsos [*Ἀρ*] *εοπαγ/*. The new reading is unmistakable; of the first pi half the horizontal and the final vertical hastas are preserved. Pittakis read it as tau, Mitsos as epsilon, and the others chose to ignore this letter. All have read the lambda as alpha. Although there is no sign of the horizontal bar, all interpret the clear iota as gamma. The omicron is obscured by a crack in the stone, but the spacing is perfectly correct. Pittakis read the preserved long stroke of the upsilon as iota and Mitsos as an abbreviation sign. Others chose to ignore it. Oliver, who was dependent upon the readings of previous editors, realized that the left hand portion of the line would not be filled up by the word as restored, and that if this were true, there would be no need of the abbreviation. Therefore he completed the line as [*οἱ οὐκ Ἀρ*] *εοπαγ*.

Line 80. [ - - - - - ] *ογγος*. All previous have read [ - - - - ] *ηνος*. The letters read as *gamma-gamma* may be *sigma-sigma*, but they do have straight backs. The horizontal hastas of the two *gammas* are suspiciously short. J. H. Oliver suggests *Δ* *όγγος* (*per litteras*).

Line 82. *Παν[διονίδο]ς* is the reading of Mitsos and Oliver. Dittenberger and Kirchner *Παν[διονίδος]*. The present editor was unable to find any traces of these readings, but to judge from the reconstruction of the stone, they must be correct. The presence of a tribal name is guaranteed here by the reading of line 83. The loss of line 82 is due to serious corrosion of the surface of the stone.

Line 84. Dittenberger *Αἴ(λιος) Δημ. .ος*; Kirchner *Αἴ Δημ[ύλ]ος*; Mitsos *Αἴλ Ν - - - ς*; Oliver *Αἴλ [ - - - ]ς*.



Line 85. Omitted by Dittenberger and Kirchner. Mitsos and Oliver Αἴλ(ιος) Σ[—]ενος. One gets different readings since there are many deceptive scratches.

Line 86. Dittenberger and Kirchner again omit. Mitsos Ἰο[ύ] \ Ἰέρων; Oliver Ἰού Ἰέρων.

Line 89. Dittenberger [Κασ(ιανὸς)] Φίλιππος; Kirchner . . . / Φίλιππος; Mitsos and Oliver [Ἰο]ϋλ Φίλιππος. Although this abbreviation is not usual for the name Cassianus, it has been restored on the assumption that this man is to be identified with the hoplite general shortly after A.D. 200 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817), who probably was the father of the archon of the same name (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1832, A.D. 225 or later) and grandfather of the ephebe of the same name (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2235, A.D. 226/7-234/5).

Line 90. Julius Themison may be the same man as the *eponymos* of an unknown tribe (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 1, p. 31, A.D. 169/70 or later).

Lines 90-93. A vertical line which may be merely a scratch, but which appears intentional runs down the face of the stone in front of these four names.

Line 92. Dittenberger Ὀκ[ράτ(ιος)] Ροῦφος; Kirchner Ὀκ[ράτ] Ροῦφος; Mitsos Ὀκρά Ἐρέν Ροῦφος. Oliver first saw the significance of this predicate of rank; see below, p. 183.<sup>17</sup>

Lines 93 and 94. Editors previous to Oliver again failed to recognize the predicate of rank. These two are probably father and son.

Lines 96-98. Measurement indicates that the gap caused by the break in the stone probably held three lines.

Line 99. The reading is clear, except for the final letter. The context seems to guarantee the reading of the faint traces as a *sigma*. This letter is vital as an indicator of whether or not the man held Roman citizenship. A Βιβούλλιος Θεόφιλος is attested as *prytanis* of Paiania in a catalogue of 162/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1772, line 6) and again in 166/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, line 13, [Βιβ] Θεόφιλος); these documents may be too early to permit identification with the man in the Eleusinian list, but in that case they probably list his father.

Lines 100 and 101. Ἐπαφρόδειτος and Ἀβάσκαντος are probably brothers. An Abaskantos son of Artemon of Kydathenaion was *prytanis* in the early third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1826).

Line 102. Although the names Epaphrodeitos and Aphrodeisios are very common, two possible identifications are offered. A man of the same name of the deme Steiria was ephebe in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130). Another possibility is that he is related

<sup>17</sup> Although L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, I (= Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, XIII) 1963, p. 221, believes that these involve an abbreviation for Ocratius, which he describes as "parfaitement attesté." The name is hardly common at Athens. Further, the Eleusinian list, without exception, avoids giving more than two members of any name, Roman or Greek. According to Robert an exception would have to be made in the case of names beginning in Ocratius.

to Aphrodisios son of Epaphroditos of Paiania, the *hieraulos* of ca. A.D. 180,<sup>18</sup> and to Epaphrodeitos son of Aphrodeisios of Paiania, the *pyloros* of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2301).

Line 104. Ἐπάγαθος Κασίου may be the father of Κάσιος Ἐπαγάθου (line 154).

Lines 105 and 106. Zoilos and Agathonymos must be sons of the same Themistokles. Themistokles son of Zoilos (line 115) is probably a son of the former of the brothers.

Line 107. In 209/10 a certain Diogenes son of Diogenes of Paiania was a prytany member (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077 line 47), but the name is very common and the men need not be the same. For still another man of the same name, see line 119 below.

Line 108. Kirchner Ἀλέξανδ[ρ]ος Θρασύλλον. Alexander, son of Pamphilos, is probably a brother of Pamphilos, line 109.

Line 112. Kirchner Ὀλυμπιόδ[ωρ]ος [Δ]αμύλο[ν].

Line 113. Kirchner Διονυσόδ[ωρος]. Διονυσόδ[στος] is also a possibility, but the former is the much more common in Roman Athens. The index of *I.G.*, III has no examples of the latter. He may be identified with the Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros of Paiania, a *prytanis* of around A.D. 210 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1826, line 22). The same man was *hyposophronistes* in an ephobic decree of around A.D. 200 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193). The *grammateus* of the *bouleutai* of Paiania in 169/70 was Dionysodoros, although there is no patronymic or demotic to make the identification more certain (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776).

Line 114. An Asklepiodoros son of Dionysios is attested by an inscription found on the North Slope of the Acropolis (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 186-188, line 28). This is a list of names dated to the early third century.

Line 115. See the note to lines 105 and 106.

Line 117. The name Asklepiades son of Zopyros occurs on a grave stele found in the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 30, p. 67 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10888), but no demotic is preserved.

Line 119. See above, the note to line 107.

Line 122. Cheiliarchianus is an unusual name, formed by the addition of a common Latin suffix to a Greek word originally indicating the commander of 1000 men, but in the Roman period used as the equivalent of the Latin *tribunus militum*. For another person of this name at Athens, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2239, line 277.

Line 123. If this is the same man as an ephebe of Pandionis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2039 + 2076), he would be well advanced in years. The rareness of the name indicates the

<sup>18</sup> ἱεραύλης Ἀφροδείσιος Ἐπαφροδίτου: *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 43, p. 56 (ca. A.D. 180); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794 (ca. A.D. 180). ἱεραύλης Ἀφροδείσιος: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1795 (the date is disputed, Notopoulos A.D. 183/4, Oliver ca. A.D. 198). Ἀφροδείσιος [Ἐπαφρ]οδείτου Παι[ανιεύς]: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1796 (A.D. 186/7). [ἱεραύλης] Φλ Ἀφροδείσιος: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1797 (Notopoulos, A.D. 181/2; Oliver, ca. A.D. 191). Ἐπαφροδείτος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδείσιος: *S.E.G.*, XIV, 92 (A.D. 182/3).

likelihood of a relationship. It is formed by the addition of the Latin suffix indicating a dependency to the Greek name Pasichares, or the feminine Pasichareia. A Statilia Pasichareia is known in a document from Roman Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4043).

Line 124. Euodos son of Agathonymous may be related to the man of the same name in line 159.

Line 125. Kirchner read Δέκ[μ]ος Μν[— — —]. One is tempted to restore Δειφ[ίλου], but it would be the only example of the non-use of the luna to indicate homonymous patronymic.

Line 127. The standard spelling of the patronymic would be Ἐκλέκτου. The epsilon and gamma are very small, but clear.

Line 129. Kirchner read Με[ί]λ[ιχ]ος ). This may be the father of the ephebe of Pandionis, Memnon son of Memnon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2235, of the year 226/7).

Line 130. Kirchner Ἀφρ[οδε]ΐσιος Κελάδου. He may be the father of Kelados and Dionysios, lines 156 and 157. An ephebic list of 230-235 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2237) includes Artemeisios, also called Dionysis son of Kelados, and Tryphon son of Kelados, as ephebes of Pandionis, who are probably sons of Kelados son of Tryphon of Kydathenaion. The “also called” of Artemeisios’ name was probably to distinguish him from Artemisios son of Kelados, of the Eleusinian document.

Lines 133-135 have been lost because of the break in the stone, but measurement indicates that there were probably three lines.

Lines 136 ff. have suffered damage from fire. The writing tends to become taller, but with no compensating increase in interlinear space. The result is that the top of one line tends to run up into the bottom of that above. The hand of the stonecutter does not appear to have changed, rather he seems to have been tiring. The letters reach a height of 0.07 m. in line 158.

Line 136. Pittakis Φ[————]; Kirchner [.]Η[————].

Line 137. Pittakis Ἴν[————]; Kirchner Μ[————].

Line 140. Dittenberger was able to read Ἀσκλη[η]πιάδης Ἐ. . . . ου.

Line 142. Artemidoros son of Autoboulos may be related to Autoboulos, also called Artemidoros, line 149.

Line 144. An Aelius Kallias Paianieus was *prytanis* in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776).

Line 147. Pittakis Καλλίας ὁ καὶ Ἀρίστιος; Dittenberger Καλλίας ὁ καὶ . . . . .; Kirchner and Oliver Καλλίας ὁ κ[αὶ. . . .]ιος.

Line 148. Pittakis and Dittenberger Ζωσιμιανὸς Μενάνδρου; Kirchner Ζωσιμιανὸς [Με]νάνδρου; Mitsos and Oliver Ζωσιμιανὸς Θερ(σ)άνδ[ρ]ου.

Line 149. See the note to line 142.

Lines 152 and 153. Menodoros and Apollonios are probably brothers.

Line 154. See the note to line 107.

Lines 156 and 157. See the note to line 130.

Line 158. Antiochos son of Alexander may be the same man as the member of

the deme of Paiania whose gravestone was found in the Kerameikos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7023).

Line 159. See the note to line 124.

Lines 160 and 161. Botrys and Demylos are probably brothers.

Lines 162 and 163 are completely blank and must represent a break of some sort in the list, but the reason for it is completely unknown.

Lines 164, 165, and 166. Ἀσκληπιάδης), Ἄνθος Ἀσκληπιάδ[ου], Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀσκλη[πιάδου] are probably three brothers or a father and two sons. The letters, which tended to become larger down to line 164, now resume a smaller size after the double *vacat*. The hand appears to be the same as above, but in this section he has more difficulty keeping the letters on an even line.

Line 167, Δικ(ίνιος)Ζώσιμος. Pittakis Ἀλ Ζώσιμος; Dittenberger Μέ(μμος) Ζώσιμος. Kirchner first saw the correct reading.

### COLUMN III

No traces of this column are preserved on the topmost piece of fragment *a*, while on the other two pieces there are only the initial letters of each name. The lines of this column are clearly the work of a new hand. For details see below.

Line 171. Καρεῖ[νος? — — —].

Lines 191-196. Measurement indicates that six lines are missing from this gap.

### COLUMN IV

In column IV the lettering appears to have been resumed by the first hand. For more details, see below for the hands.

Line 209. Since Hadrianis was the seventh tribe in the official order, it ought to be the first in the fourth column. For the reconstruction of the stone see below.

### COLUMN V

Line 211. Kekropis is the ninth in the order of tribes in the Roman period. For its use in reconstructing the inscription, see below.

Lines 210, 211, 212, 213, and 214. No abbreviation signs were used for the first four names, since they represented common Roman nomina, but the abbreviation for Proclius was so noted. Elsewhere in this list abbreviations are indicated regularly with a line over the abbreviation.

Line 212. Gellius Polyzelos was a member of a distinguished Delphic and Athenian family,<sup>20</sup> and is attested in two other inscriptions (*B.C.H.*, XX, 1896, p. 719; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3706). His father was archon in the early third century and his

<sup>19</sup> For the join see M. Mitsos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1950-51, no. 3, pp. 19-20.

<sup>20</sup> For the stemma see Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 164. See also G. Daux, *Chronologie Delphique*, Paris, 1943, p. 119.

grandfather around A.D. 183. When Gellius Polyzelos filled his own archonship is not yet known.

Line 215 was left blank probably as a division between Areopagites and non-Areopagites.

Line 216. The name of Claudius Sospis of the great priestly family of the Claudii of Melite <sup>21</sup> cannot be restored here, since he was altar priest at the time of this list (see line 1). This coupled with the estimated size of the lacuna suggest an ancestor of the Memmii Sospis, son of Memmii, who was an ephebe between 230 and 235 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2237).

Line 218. It is tempting to assume a stonecutter's error and insert a rho, Νικοστ<ρ>άτ(ου). No name spelled as it is on the stone is attested.

#### FACE B

Line 1. All editors previous to Mitsos read omega. The bottom horizontal and the lower part of the slanting stroke of the sigma are preserved.

Line 2. Of the upsilon only the vertical hasta is preserved clearly, but there are traces of what might be the tip of the right hand slanting stroke. The spacing is such that upsilon would fit properly. Compare the restorations on Face A, lines 3 and 1, and Face B, line 6. This may be the end of the title of the archon of the *genos*.

Line 3. For the restoration see the communication of Oliver, below.

Line 4. For the restoration see the communication of Oliver, below.

Line 6. Compare Face A, line 3. Of the word Κηρύκων the kappa and eta are clear, but only the vertical hastas of the rho and upsilon remain, but the peculiarities of their spacing suggest these letters.

Line 7. Compare Face A, line 4.

Line 8. J. H. Oliver suggests *per litteras* [ἐκτεθῆ]ναι. It should be noted that fragment b actually was found in the vicinity of the Eleusinion in the city. The restoration of [ὁ ταμί]ας fits the space available precisely, and a similar restoration seems correct on Face A, line 4. This is probably the treasurer of the *genos*.

There is no trace of further lettering on this side of the inscription, although it is clear from line seven that a list of names should follow. The blank face on fragment a extends for over 0.56 m. J. H. Oliver has made the following comments on the relationship of this unfinished face to Face B and offered the following restorations *per litteras*.

“ The expense of the catalogue was borne personally by the treasurer, because his son was chosen for initiation ἀφ' ἐστίας. When the treasurer saw a first version of the heading on marble, it displeased him and he decided to discard it. Inscription No. 1 was ignored; the stone was turned in such a way as to hide it probably. Inscription No. 1 and the heading of No. 2, being variants of the same type, supplement each other.

<sup>21</sup> This family is related to the Gellii. For stemmata see Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 80, 164.

"The surest restoration is that of No. 2 line 3. The phrase of No. 1 ἐν στήλῃ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπάντων, as you rightly restore it, reappears in No. 2. On No. 2 line 5 you have a verb in the singular. Since the name of the treasurer in neither version accompanies the nominative ταμίης, the name must be sought above No. 1 and below (at least by implication) on No. 2. That imposes the restoration ταμι]εύοντος in line 4 of No. 1, and it suggests for No. 2, line 6 the restoration ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ]. The heading of No. 2 is much superior to No. 1 both in economy and taste. No. 2, line 2 may have read Ἐπὶ Βωμ[ῳ demotic πανηγυριάρχῃσε]."

Face A shows evidence of the work of two separate hands, the first cutting column III and probably lines 1-5 of the heading, while the second did columns I, II, IV, V and line 6 of the heading. The first hand may be characterized by the squareness of his style, since he avoids curved lines. Note particularly the squared omega and epsilon of column III versus the curved ones of the other columns. He uses a squared epsilon and sigma also in the heading. He makes larger letters than the second hand. The second hand tends more to curvilinear shapes and his letters tend to be broader and shorter. The sizes and spacing of his letters are not always consistent (compare lines 7-16 with lines 147-161).

Many different dates have been suggested for this document. Dittenberger dated EM 5898 to 163/4 (or 162/3) on the basis of the archonship of Memmius the Altar Priest, while Kirchner, using a different chronology, dated it to 161/2 for the same reason, while he suggested a date at the end of the first century for EM 3628 and 8542, the former on the basis of letter forms, the latter on prosopographical grounds. Mitsos, using letter forms alone, would have it as late as the second half of the third century, while Oliver, in his attempt to fit the document into an historical context, suggested 164/5.

Since letter forms cannot be used with any great accuracy during the Roman period, the dating will have to be made on prosopographical grounds. One well attested family is that of Alkamenes and Alkamenes, Junior (see lines 13 and 14 and commentary thereto). Roman citizenship is attested for the third generation listed on the stemma. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 2191 the prenomen and nomen are given for M. Aur. Alkamenes, the man who would have been anticomete, but not for his father, the cosmete, probably indicating that the former had received the grant only recently from either Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. This was the key for reconstructing the stemma. This Eleusinian list must be dated either within the lifetime of the father of the cosmete of 195/6, but not earlier than the archonship of that cosmete, or if we want to identify the two in the Eleusinian list with a later generation, before the grant of citizenship to the would-be anticomete (and certainly before 195/6).

The family of Syntrophos (lines 9 and 11 and commentary thereto) is of little help, since the relationship of Syntrophos son of Syntrophos to the rest is not clear. Even if we assume that he was the father of Eleutheros, Euelpistos and Epigonos, the range of possible dating could still cover over fifty years. The grandfather of Gellius Polyzelos (line 212 and commentary) was archon in A.D. 183, but there is no indica-

tion at what ages he, his son, and his grandson were archons. Because of the prominence of the family it may be assumed that at least the later generations served at a relatively early age, and it would be possible for all three to have served by the early third century.

The other indicators include Cassianus Philippos (lines 89 and commentary), who was hoplite general in the early third century (but two other citations in the commentary would have to be applied to some other man of the same name); Epaphrodeitos son of Aphrodeisios, who was ephebe in 192/3 (line 102 and commentary; again note that one citation must be referred to another man of the same name). A certain Diogenes son of Diogenes (lines 108 and commentary) and Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros (line 114 and commentary) were *prytaneis* around A.D. 210. The final decision must remain to find that point of balance between the tendency of the family of the Gellii to make the document later and that of the family of Alkamenes to make it earlier. In the light of the present evidence that point would seem to fall in the early third century.

In plotting the reconstruction of the whole stone a beginning was made from Face B, line 8 because of the greater consistency of letter size and spacing in order to determine the distance between fragments a and b.<sup>22</sup> The completion of the restoration and the allowance for margins indicated that the stele would be around 0.83 m. wide. The measurements from Face B can be applied to Face A, permitting estimates of the lengths of the lines. Except for a slight crowding in line 3, the restorations suggested in the commentary all seem to fit, thus confirming the measurements made on Face B.

The plotting of the position of the columns is based upon two sorts of data—the preserved traces of columns I, II, III, IV and V and the estimated width of these and of the missing columns. The distance from the left hand edge of column I to the left hand edge of column II on fragment a is *ca.* 0.115 m., and from the left hand edge of column II to the left hand edge of column III is 0.105-0.11 m. If the position of fragment b is actually as it has been plotted above, then the distance from the left hand edge of column III to the left hand edge of column V is 0.23 m. making an average width of 0.115 m. for each of the two columns. The remains of column V have been measured to at least a width of 0.135 m., a full 0.02 m. wider than any other column. Line 215, although not fully preserved, has traces of an abbreviation sign at the end, thus indicating that the beginning of the next line is not far beyond. The total distance from the left hand edge of the stone through the maximum preserved width of column V is 0.615 m., leaving 0.215 m. at the right hand side. If 0.02 m.

<sup>22</sup> The restoration was accomplished by the use of tracings of the preserved portions, and each letter which has been restored, whenever possible, has been traced from the tracings of the preserved portions. See Plate 3.

is permitted for a margin, a width of 0.195 m. is left for the last two columns containing the last three tribes. If we assume that the last column, containing only half as many names as any other column, allowed two lines per name (one each for name and patronymic), this leaves *ca.* 0.125 m. for column VI and *ca.* 0.065 for column VII, figures well within the maximum and minimum widths of the other columns.

At the time of this catalogue there were thirteen tribes, who were listed in a very regular official order: Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Ptolemais, Akamantis, Hadrianis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis, and Attalis. Since each of the preserved columns is headed by the name of a tribe, and the fifth column is headed by the name of the ninth tribe, each column must have contained a list for two tribes, thereby confirming the evidence of column I, where the names of two tribes are preserved, while the second column, if we accept the readings of former editors, begins with the name of the third tribe. Thus the restorations of the names of Aigeis in line 70 and of Hadrianis in line 205 are assured. The stele would have contained six full columns of two tribes each and one half column listing a single tribe.

Oliver, basing his readings on those of previous editors, restored line 75 as [οἱ οὐκ Ἀρ]εοπαγῶν (see commentary). This, he judged, was the point of division between Areopagites and non-Areopagites. Since it has been shown that the line actually contains a name, some other criterion must be found for making this division. Two become apparent from a study of the stone. First, in line 215 there is a *vacat* following a list of five Areopagites. It seems natural that this probably represented a change in the status of persons whose names appear on the list. But this is the only example of such a *vacat* sufficiently close to the top of a column. Therefore a second criterion might be applied. In the listing of Pandionis the ninth through eleventh names are all Roman Knights. The list preceding them contains eight ordinary Roman citizens and an Athenian citizen. Such a sharp contrast in the order of precedence would seem to indicate that the *equites* were at the head of a new category of names, which probably would be that of the non-Areopagites. There is no other place in the inscription where this criterion can be applied, since elsewhere individual Roman citizens are frequently mixed among the Athenian citizens, and since with a single exception in line 210 there are no other Roman *equites*. It is also possible that a division was indicated between lines 95 and 99 where three lines have been lost because of the splitting of the stone.

Using these criteria for dividing the lists, it is possible to estimate the numbers of Areopagites in each tribe. For the tribe Erechtheis the division is probably lost in the break between the two upper pieces of fragment a (lines 18-21), since no other indicator is to be found. This permits a total of 9 to 11 names of Areopagites. The evidence from the tribe Aigeis is too scanty to permit any conclusions. Using the criterion indicated above we may conclude that there were eight Areopagites from Pandionis. The top portion of the list from Ptolemais is lost (col. III) and no names



are preserved from Hadrianis (col. IV). There are five names preserved above the *vacat* for Kekropis. The significance of these calculations for the study of the constitution of Athens has been discussed above (see pp. 56-57).

The major contribution of Oliver was the recognition that the stone was connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries<sup>23</sup> on the basis of the appearance of the initiate from the hearth. This is confirmed by the recently found fragment which indicates that the stele was to be set up in the Eleusinion and permits the restorations of the name of the *genos* of the Kerykes. Many other suggestions had been made previously: an ephebic catalogue,<sup>24</sup> in which the Areopagites would have been the ephebic Areopagites;<sup>25</sup> a list of men's names from Roman times, perhaps military officers;<sup>26</sup> and the catalogue of a *genos*.<sup>27</sup> Oliver suggested that this is a list of initiates. He assumed that because no other lists have come down to us, the ordinary records of the initiates were kept on a perishable material, and, since this was on stone, it represented an extraordinary occasion. He therefore connected it with the initiation of Lucius Verus in 164/5. The new chronological data has rendered this suggestion improbable. If this is a list of initiates accompanying an emperor it would have to be a later emperor, possibly Septimius Severus, although he was initiated before he became emperor.<sup>28</sup>

Certain factors argue against the identification as a list of initiates. According to Oliver's calculations<sup>29</sup> if all of the archons became Areopagites, the total of the Areopagus would be less than 150 members, but it has been estimated that this list has the names of around 100 Areopagites (see above, pp. 56-57). Is it possible that over two-thirds of the Areopagus was initiated on one occasion? It also seems likely that a disproportionately large percentage of the population of Athens was represented on the huge stele.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the stele apparently contains only the names of male Athenians, while initiation in the Mysteries was open to anyone who desired it. From the heading as restored one might expect that it were a catalogue of a *genos*, but this explanation is equally unacceptable. Two such catalogues are known from Roman Athens, one of the Kerykes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340 and *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, no. V, pp. 359-360) and one of the Arynandridai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2338). In the former three tribes whose catalogues are complete have a total of 25 names, and in the latter three com-

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 38-46.

<sup>24</sup> EM 8542: Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 1233; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1999; M. Mitsos, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1950-51, pp. 29-33. EM 3628: Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2003. EM 5898: M. Mitsos, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1950-51, pp. 29-33.

<sup>25</sup> As in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990.

<sup>26</sup> Pittakis, Έφ. 'Αρχ., 1858, no. 3398, pp. 1777-78 for EM 8542.

<sup>27</sup> Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339A of EM 5898.

<sup>28</sup> On his initiation, see Day, *Ec. Hist.*, p. 200, note 141, citing the author of the *vita Severi*, III, 7 among the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 45-46.

<sup>30</sup> There are fifty-nine names listed for Erechtheis and seventy-eight for Pandionis. Projecting these figures to all thirteen tribes gives a total of eight hundred ninety names.

plete tribal lists have 26 names. Projecting these figures, we find that the probable total contained between 100 and 110 names. Further the former list has names of the members of the same *genos* as that which would supposedly have been catalogued in the list from the Eleusinion, and both of these are approximately contemporary.

In all, in the Eleusinian list, twenty-six Areopagites are listed. Among them there is only one Roman citizen entitled to the predicate of rank *κράτιστος*. Otherwise there are 17 Roman citizens, four whose families are on the verge of obtaining Roman citizenship, and only four for whom only Athenian citizenship is attested. Among the others listed, aside from the three *κράτιστοι*, there are only eight Roman citizens from among the 95 for whom a determination can be made.

Two other inscribed fragments are related to the Eleusinian list by their nature, i.e. lists of names, and by the character of their script.

c) Agora I 6022 (Pls. 4, 6), a non-joining possible fragment which would align vertically with EM 5898. It was found on 16 June, 1947 in a latest Roman-early Byzantine context southwest of the market square, east of the great drain. It appears to belong to the bottom left-hand corner of a stele. Broken away at the top, on the right side and at the back, it does have the right side and roughly worked bottom surface preserved. The bottom is chipped away probably where it was attached to its base. It is of Pentelic marble. Height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.092 m.; letter height, 0.005-0.007 m.

d) Agora I 6390 (Pls. 4, 6), a non-joining, non-aligning possible fragment. It was found on 29 May, 1951 in an early Byzantine road fill northeast of the Temple of Ares. It is broken away on all four sides and at the back. It is of Pentelic marble. Height, 0.107 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.; letter height, 0.004-0.007 m.

#### Fragment c

[-----]  
 1 ..[.]δος Ὀνησικράτους  
 2 Κλ Λυσιάδης  
 3 Οὐλ Ζωτικός  
 4 *vacat*

#### Fragment d

[-----]  
 [----]τατους[----]  
 [----] *vacat*  
 [----] ὁ κ(αὶ) Πούφος  
 [----]κτου  
 5 [----Κ] ὀρνηλιαν[ός]  
 [----]νου  
 [----] *vacat*

[-----]ov  
 [-----] vacat  
 10 [-----] vacat  
 [-----]τοvs  
 [-----]ov  
 [-----]

Commentary to fragment c:

Line 1. The reading was first seen by J. H. Oliver and communicated *per litteras*.

Line 2. Claudius Lysiades may be a member of the distinguished Claudii of Melite, whose stemma has been worked out by Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 76-81. If he is, this fragment cannot be associated with the Eleusinian list, since the tribe of Kekropis would not have been found at the end of the first column.

After line 3 the stone is blank for about three or four lines, and then the apparent bottom is reached.

Fragment c is doubtful primarily because of the presence of Claudius Lysiades. The length of the lines is greater than the width of the first column on the upper part of the stele, although this would be likely if the second column had ended at a higher level on the stele. The former objection might be answered if it were supposed that at the bottom of the list there was a group of officials or dignitaries, but this is tenuous.

## APPENDIX IV

### FIVE LETTERS FROM THE EMPEROR COMMODUS CONCERNING THE GERUSIA OF THE ATHENIANS

(Plates 7-8)

To a pair of joined fragments in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (EM 9494 and 9497) the Agora Excavations have produced three new related pieces. Of the fragments in the Epigraphical Museum the uppermost was first published by K. Pittakis;<sup>1</sup> both were published by W. Dittenberger.<sup>2</sup> J. Kirchner<sup>3</sup> first saw that they joined, and in this form they were republished by J. H. Oliver.<sup>4</sup> A. E. Raubitschek<sup>5</sup> republished the imperial titles as contained in this document with his own restorations. The first of the Agora fragments (Agora I 2138) which joins the pieces in the Epigraphical Museum was published by B. D. Meritt.<sup>6</sup> Two additional pieces (Agora I 6935 and 3703) are here published for the first time.<sup>7</sup> In the course of this study the following system of enumeration will be used.

Fragment a: EM 9494 + 9497, Pentelic marble, now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, but originally found on the Acropolis in the Pinakothek and in the Propylaia respectively. Each is broken away on all sides; the roughly worked back is partially preserved.

Height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Letter height, 0.007-0.009 m.

Fragment b: Agora I 2138, Pentelic marble, found on 25 October 1934 in the wall of a modern house east of the north part of the Odeion (N-O 10) and identified by B. D. Meritt. It is broken away on all sides, but the roughly worked back is preserved. The face is very badly worn. This piece joins the fragments in the Epigraphical Museum.

Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Letter height, 0.007-0.009 m.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Ancienne Athènes*, Athens, 1835, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, III, 43 (from the transcript of Koehler), 42 (from the transcripts of Koehler and Velsen). He realized that both fragments came from the same stone, but not that they joined.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1112.

<sup>4</sup> *Gerusia*, no. 26, pp. 122-123.

<sup>5</sup> "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 29, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Although Agora I 6935 was noted in the annual report of the Agora Excavations for the year 1959; see H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 365.

Fragment c: Agora I 6935, Pentelic marble, found on the first of July 1959 in the demolition of the foundation of the gymnasium above the front foundation of South Stoa II, near its middle (M 15). The right edge and back are preserved, but it is broken away on all other sides. Down the right side is a vertical groove, probably decorative, and the angle where this side meets the front surface has been beveled.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Letter height, 0.008 m.

Fragment d: Agora I 3703, Pentelic marble, consisting of two pieces, P 112 and P 308, the former found on 7 March 1936 and the latter on 8 May 1936, both in modern fill north of the Odeion. The two pieces were joined by Meritt. The right side and the roughly worked back are preserved. A vertical groove runs down the right side aligning with the groove of fragment c.

Height, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.; width, 0.125 m.

Letter height, 0.007 m.

A.D. 182-184

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 85.

[-----]  
 [-----] . ΗΘ. [-----]  
 [-----] . ν καὶ / [-----]  
 [-----] ἐ τῶν ὄρω[ν -----]  
 [-----] προν] οῆσεται ὁ [-----]  
 5 [-----] αν ὀρίζειν [-----] ν  
 [-----] ς καὶ δυναμ[-----] ου  
 [-----] καὶ Γαργίλιο[ς Ἀντίκος οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου. *vacat* Ε] ὑτυχεῖτε.  
 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρ Αὐρ Ἀντῶ] νίνου Εὐσεβο[ῦς Γερμανικοῦ  
 Σαρματικοῦ υἱὸς Θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱῶ] γὸς Θε-  
 [οῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] Παρθικοῦ καὶ [Θεοῦ Νέρουα  
 ἀπόγονος Μάρ Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος] Ἀν] τωνῖνος  
 10 [Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς] Μέγιστος ἀρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος  
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ > > αὐτοκρ] άτωρ τὸ > Ε>  
 [ὑπατος τὸ > > πατήρ πατρίδος Ἀθη] ν[αί] ων γερουσία. *va*[*cat*  
 Χαίρειν. *vacat* ] *vacat*  
 [τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἃ ἐπεστείλατε π] ἐρὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου [θέσιν -----  
 -----] ιδου τοῦτο καὶ  
 [-----] ῖπὲ] ρ τῶν προηπαρξά[ντων -----  
 -----] μῇ] καινοτομεῖν πε-  
 [ρὶ -----] τῇ] ν ἡλικίαν [ . . . ] ^ [-----  
 -----] καὶ Γαρ] γίλιος Ἀντίκος οἱ

- 15 [κράτιστοι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλ]ωνίου. *va*[cat  
Εὐτυχεῖτε. *v*]acat  
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρ Ἀνρ Ἀ]ντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ  
Σαρματικοῦ υἱὸς Θ]εοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνὸς  
[Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγον]ος [Θεοῦ Τρα]ιανοῦ Παρθικο[ῦ καὶ Θεοῦ  
Νέρουνα ἀπόγονος Μάρ Ἀνρ]ήλιος Κόμμοδος[ος] Ἀντωνί-  
[νος Σεβαστὸς Σαρμ]ατικὸς [Γερμ]ανικὸς Μέγιστ[ος ἀρχιερεὺς  
μέγιστος δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ >H> αὐτοκράτωρ  
[τὸ > > ὑπατος τὸ > >] πατὴρ πα[τρίδ]ος Ἀθηναίων γ[ερονσία. *vacat*  
Χαίρειν. *v*]acat
- 20 [-----]σθαι τὰ πά[τρι]α τῆς πόλεως τ[-----]  
-----]ες καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ ταύτην γεγονότες  
[-----]ηκην ἔχει[ν τ]οῦ τοιούτου πεφ[-----]  
-----]ει δὲ ἐπιστέλλοντες νῦν ἡξιώσατε τὸν  
[-----]ἀ]γωνιζομέν[ω]ν ἐγκωμίωι τ[-----]  
-----]ν γραφομένωι τοῦτον εὐθέως τῆς πολει-  
[τείας μετέχειν] παρ' ὑμῶν κα[ὶ τ]ὸ προκείμεν[ον ----- τοῦ  
στ]εφάνου λαμβάνειν εἰς τοῦτό τε παράδειγμα  
[-----]ἐπι]θύμ[ω]ς τότ[ε . . .] οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ηρ[-----]  
λόγῳ μετὰ τὸ κριθῆναι ἀξιόνικοι εἶναι εὐ-
- 25 [θέως -----]ΓΜ[ . . . . .]υσιν συνκεχ[ώρηκα ----- ε]ν τῷ  
κριθέντι τῆς νίκης ἀξίωι εὐθέως καὶ πολει-  
[τείας -----] Ἀντ]ίπατρος κ[αὶ -----] οἱ  
κράτιστοι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου. Εὐτυχεῖτε.  
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Ὡ Μάρ [Α]νρ Ἀντω]ν[ίν]ου Ε[ὐσεβοῦς  
Γερμανικοῦ Σ]αρματικοῦ υ[ἱὸς Θεοῦ Ὡ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνὸς Θεοῦ  
Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος Θ]εοῦ Τρ[αι]α[ν]οῦ [Παρθικοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρουνα  
ἀπόγονος Μάρ Ἀνρ]ήλιος Κόμμοδος[ος] Ἀντωνίνος]  
[Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικ]ὸς Γερ[μαν]ικὸς Μ[έγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος  
δημαρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ > > αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ > >]
- 30 [ὑπατος τὸ > > πατὴρ πα]τρίδος Ἀθηναί[ων γερονσία. *vacat*  
Χαίρειν. *vacat*]  
[-----]ΑΣ[-----]ΟΥΜΕ[-----]  
[-----]!ΝΑΤΑ^C[-----]  
*traces*  
[-----]  
[-----]  
Lacuna of indefinite length.  
[-----]  
[-----] *va*]cat

- 35 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρ Ἀὐρ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ  
 Σαρματικοῦ υἱὸς Θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱ]ωνὸς  
 [Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρονα  
 ἀπόγονος [Μάρ Ἀυρήλιος Κόμμοδος] Ἀντωνίνος  
 [Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος  
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ >Θ> αὐτοκρ]άτωρ τὸ >Ζ>  
 [ὑπατος τὸ >Δ> πατήρ πατρίδος Ἀθηναίων γερουσία. *vacat*  
 Χαίρειν *vacat* ] *vacat*  
 40 [-----]ρηται καὶ αἱ ἐξ  
 [-----]ρας καὶ φιλαν-  
 [θρωπείας? -----]ρεθειεν καὶ  
 [-----]. μεν  
 [-----]

The new fragment confirms the basic soundness of the restoration of the imperial titles by A. E. Raubitschek.<sup>8</sup> A few changes must be made in the titulature of individual emperors, but none is of major significance. Line 27 indicates that fuller titulature was given for Marcus Aurelius, while a minimum was given for Antoninus Pius. The lacuna at the beginning of line 18 is too short to permit both Εὐσεβής and Σεβαστός, and so only the latter may be retained. That the addressee of all of the letters in the series was the *gerusia* was first recognized by J. H. Oliver<sup>9</sup> who restored it from line 11.

#### LETTER I

Because of its poor state of preservation few conclusions can be reached regarding the contents of this letter. Clues are found in the expression τῶν ὄρω[ν (line 3) and ὀρίζειν (line 5). The former probably refers to reserved areas of land,<sup>10</sup> but whether sacred lands or property held or administered by the *gerusia* is not certain; the latter is used of setting boundaries in the widest possible meaning of the word. The letter has instructions that some person or other shall exercise supervision (line 4) but no other details are preserved. Line 7 has been restored on the basis of lines 14-15 and 26 below. The final *tau-epsilon* of Ε|ὕτυχεῖτε forms a ligature (Ξ).

#### LETTER II

For the restoration of the opening words of the emperor's reply (line 12), see *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236, line 16. Such a restoration fits precisely the space available here. Kirchner, followed by Oliver, restored the next phrase

<sup>8</sup> "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 286.

<sup>9</sup> *Gerusia*, no. 26, pp. 122-123.

<sup>10</sup> For the probable meaning of ὄρος here see Oliver, "Horoi as Reserved Areas," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, IV, 1963, pp. 141-143.

—τ]ρίτην [τ]οῦ ἐλαίου on the analogy of Hadrian's oil law,<sup>11</sup> lines 2 (οἱ τὸν ἔλαιον γεωργοῦντες τὸ τρίτον | καταφερέτωσαν) and 62 (πλέον εἴη τὸ ἐκ τῶν | τρίτων ἢ ὀγδόων καταφερόμενον), but the difference in gender argues against this. Probably a better precedent is to be found in an ephobic document (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1028, line 79) which honors a cosmete because he provided for τῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου θέσεως.<sup>12</sup> The phrase —μῇ] καινοτομεῖν πε[ρί—(line 13) is commonly used in endowments to forbid alterations of customs or regulations.<sup>13</sup> This letter, then, is a reply to a letter of inquiry sent by the *gerusia* concerning the oil supply. The emperor advises that they not alter their former practise.<sup>14</sup> Precisely what aspect of the public oil supply was allotted to the *gerusia* is not known. Because of the brevity of the letter the phrase—τῇ]ν ἡλικίαν (line 14) also must have reference to regulations regarding the distribution of oil, but whether it refers to the age of those who might give it or those who used it cannot be determined. For the restoration of line 15, see lines 7 and 26.

### LETTER III

This letter apparently begins with a reference to ancestral practice (line 20). Meritt (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 29, p. 22) reads the beginning of line 22 as — — — ἀ]γωνί τὸ μέ[ν ἐ]ν ἐγκωμίῳ τ[ — — —. The only textual difference between his reading and that given above is the interpretation of a single uncertain letter as either tau or zeta, and either reading is possible. Since the encomium was generally given in praise of the victors, one might restore τῶν εἰς ἀγωνιζομένων.<sup>15</sup> It is also true that contests in encomia were parts of the various games.<sup>16</sup> The word ἐγκωμίῳ has been misspelled by the insertion of an iota after the first omega, a not uncommon mistake.<sup>17</sup> Two themes predominate in the letter, that of participation in a contest and that of gaining citizenship, with the latter dependent upon the victory in the contest. Reference is made to an example (line 23); and the emperor himself grants permission, but for what precisely is not clear (line 25). Provisions concerning the conduct of

<sup>11</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1100, but see the edition of Oliver, *Ruling Power*, pp. 960-963.

<sup>12</sup> This example comes from the year 100/99 B.C.; other examples of similar phraseology from other Greek cities within the Empire are to be found in the following documents: *S.I.G.*,<sup>3</sup> 717, line 79; Laum, *Stiftungen*, no. 72, line 10; no. 136, line 10.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. in endowments, see L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (= *Études Orientales*, V, 1937), p. 316, "ces formules, . . . καινοτομήσαι se retrouvent dans les documents relatifs à des fondations, lorsqu'on précise l'interdiction d'innovation et les peines attachées à une telle tentative."

<sup>14</sup> In the third letter note another probable example of a call to ancestral practice, line 20.

<sup>15</sup> For this phrase used with this meaning see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3112, where it has been partially erased. See the comments of Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 52 and above, p. 137. For the dative after ἀγωνιζομένων see again *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3112, line 2.

<sup>16</sup> On the encomium as a part of the games see Johannes Frei, *De Certaminibus Thymelicis*, Diss. Basel, 1900, pp. 36-41.

<sup>17</sup> See K. Meisterhans-E. Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 67, no. 13; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, Berlin, 1923, pp. 132-137, especially 136 b.



games would naturally fall to the *gerusia* in its agonothesia of the Panathenaia and games in honor of the imperial house.

#### LETTERS IV AND V

The final two letters are only preserved in fragments and no conclusions can be drawn about the contents.

Three accurate dates may be assigned to various portions of the text. The second letter (see line 10) is dated by the fifth imperial salutation, which occurred in the course of A.D. 182,<sup>18</sup> and this was superseded by a sixth acclamation in 183. Thus a restoration of either the seventh or eighth tribunician power and the third or fourth consulship is possible. The third letter is dated by the eighth tribunician power (see line 18), which probably ran from 10 December 182 to 10 December 183.<sup>19</sup> Since the consulship was not assumed until the first of January, this letter might have been written during the closing days of the third consulship (10 December 182-1 January 183) or during the fourth (1 January 183-10 December 183). Either the fifth imperial salutation (during the course of 182) or the sixth (during 183) may be restored. The fourth letter can be dated only by its position between the third and fifth. The fifth letter was written after the seventh imperial salutation (line 37), but before "Britannicus" was added to the imperial titles, since the reconstructed heading allows no room for its inclusion. Therefore it may be dated to sometime in the year 184.<sup>18</sup> The ninth tribunician power and the fourth consulship may be restored.

The known number of imperial letters concerning the *gerusia* of the Athenians now totals eleven.<sup>20</sup> It has been shown that *Gerusia*, nos. 24 and 25 can be joined and belong to the same stele.<sup>21</sup> It is clear from the new fragments of *Gerusia*, no. 26 that these five letters belong to a second stele. The two stelai can be differentiated by thickness (*Gerusia*, no. 24/25, 0.07 m.; no. 26, 0.09 m.), by letter height (no. 24/25, 0.007 m.; no. 26, 0.009 m.) and by the facts that no. 26 has a smoother side surface into which a vertical groove has been cut and that the edge where the face meets the side has been beveled away, while no. 24/25 has neither the groove nor the beveling.

The letters preserved on the first stele<sup>22</sup> are six in number and begin with the first

<sup>18</sup> The dates are based upon H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, IV, London, 1940, pp. clvi-clviii and 770-796.

<sup>19</sup> For the date of the assumption of the tribunician power see Mason Hammond, "The Tribunician Day during the Early Empire," *M.A.A.R.*, XV, 1938, pp. 53, 60; H. Mattingly, "Tribunicia Potestate," *J.R.S.*, XX, 1930, pp. 83-84.

<sup>20</sup> Oliver, *Gerusia*, nos. 24-26, pp. 108-123; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 29, p. 22; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 402-403; and this publication.

<sup>21</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, no. 31, pp. 231-236.

<sup>22</sup> *Gerusia*, nos. 24 and 25; see the summary in Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 235-236.

communication from the emperor regarding the founding of a *gerusia*. This first letter was addressed to the *boule* of the Areopagus, the *boule* of the five hundred, and the *demos* in the autumn of A.D. 176. It is not until the third letter of A.D. 178 or 179 that the *gerusia* was actually in existence, since the second, of A.D. 178, again was addressed to the three governing corporations. The remaining three letters were sent between some time in A.D. 179 and some time in 181 or 182. Since the second letter of the second stele must be dated to sometime in 182 or 183, and since the average frequency of letters is about one a year, it is hardly likely that the first stele held more than one additional letter. It seems doubtful that there can have been more than the single letter, partially preserved as letter 4 of the second stele, between the first four letters of this stele and the fifth letter on fragment d because of the relatively small lapse of time. Since the first stele has approximately four times as many lines of which some part is preserved as are preserved for the second stele, it is possible that the second stele contained additional letters for which no evidence has yet appeared.

Although the character of the lettering is remarkably uniform, it is probable that the two stelai were set up at different times, if we may judge by the differences listed above. Each stele was probably erected as it was needed. The series of letters must have been on public display for well over ten years, since they were still standing not only at the time of the *damnatio memoriae* of Commodus, but in 195, when Commodus was restored to honor by Septimius Severus and his name reinscribed within the erasure.

The identities and significance of the three men named at the end of each letter will be discussed elsewhere by J. H. Oliver.

## APPENDIX V

### A SECOND CENTURY PRYTANY LIST

(Plate 4)

The preserved portion of this list consists of six joining fragments, one non-joining inscribed fragment which can be aligned with lines 6-8, and several small non-joining uninscribed chips. The lot was found on 14 July 1954 in the wall of a pithos of the Turkish period located west of the propylon of the bouleuterion in the Athenian Agora. The inscribed surface is convex, as if the document had originally been written on a large drum. The first three lines were inscribed within a pediment, in the center of which there is a large boss. The pediment is separated from the body of the text by a simple raised moulding.

a. The six joined fragments.

Height (overall) 0.45 m., (inscribed face) 0.35 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, lines 1-3, 0.014-0.016 m., lines 4-10, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 6685a.

b. The aligning fragment.

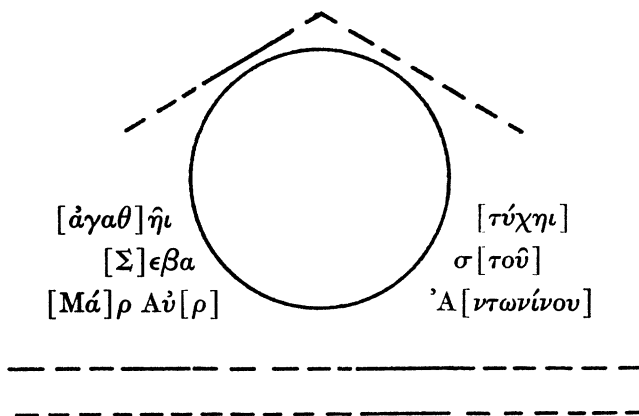
Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 6685b.

A.D. 168/9

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 18-19



- [Ἐπὶ ἄρ]χοντ[ο]ς Τ[ιμηίου]  
 5 [Ποντ]ικοῦ Βησα[ιέως στρα]  
 [τηγοῦ]ντος ἐπὶ τ[ὰ ὄ]πλ[α Β]  
 [αλερί]ου Μαμερτί[ο]ν Μ[α]  
 [ραθωνίου ο]ἱ πρυτά[ν]ει[ς τ]  
 [ῆς --- α. 83 --- φ]υλῆ[ς τιμήσα]  
 10 [ντες ἑαυτοῦς κ]αὶ τ[οὺς αἰ]  
 [σίτους ἀνέγραψαν]

Lines 4-8 have been restored on the basis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, of the year 168/9, a prytany list in which the same archon and hoplite general are named. A third prytany list (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 80, p. 178) of this same year makes it the earliest year since the conquest of Sulla from which more than two boards of *prytaneis* are honored (see above, p. 97). The hoplite general, Valerius Mamertinus, had been archon two years previously in 166/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773). Both the years 167/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774) and 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776, 1778, 2097, 3749; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 19, p. 52) were years of anarchy.

The pediment, as reconstructed, would not admit the names of both Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Therefore it may be assumed that the list was inscribed sometime between the death of Lucius Verus in January or February 169 (see *P.I.R.*<sup>2</sup>, II, 1936, no. 606, pp. 138-141) and the beginning of the new Athenian year in Boedromion<sup>1</sup> or October of 169.<sup>2</sup>

The restorations have been made without regard for syllabic division of words principally because such restorations better fit the estimated lengths of the lines and because syllabic divisions would cause disproportions in the lengths of the lines. Beneath this heading there probably was a list of *prytaneis*.

<sup>1</sup> Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of these equivalencies see Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, p. 171. The new moon would have fallen on 7 October, according to F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II, Leipzig, 1911, p. 552.

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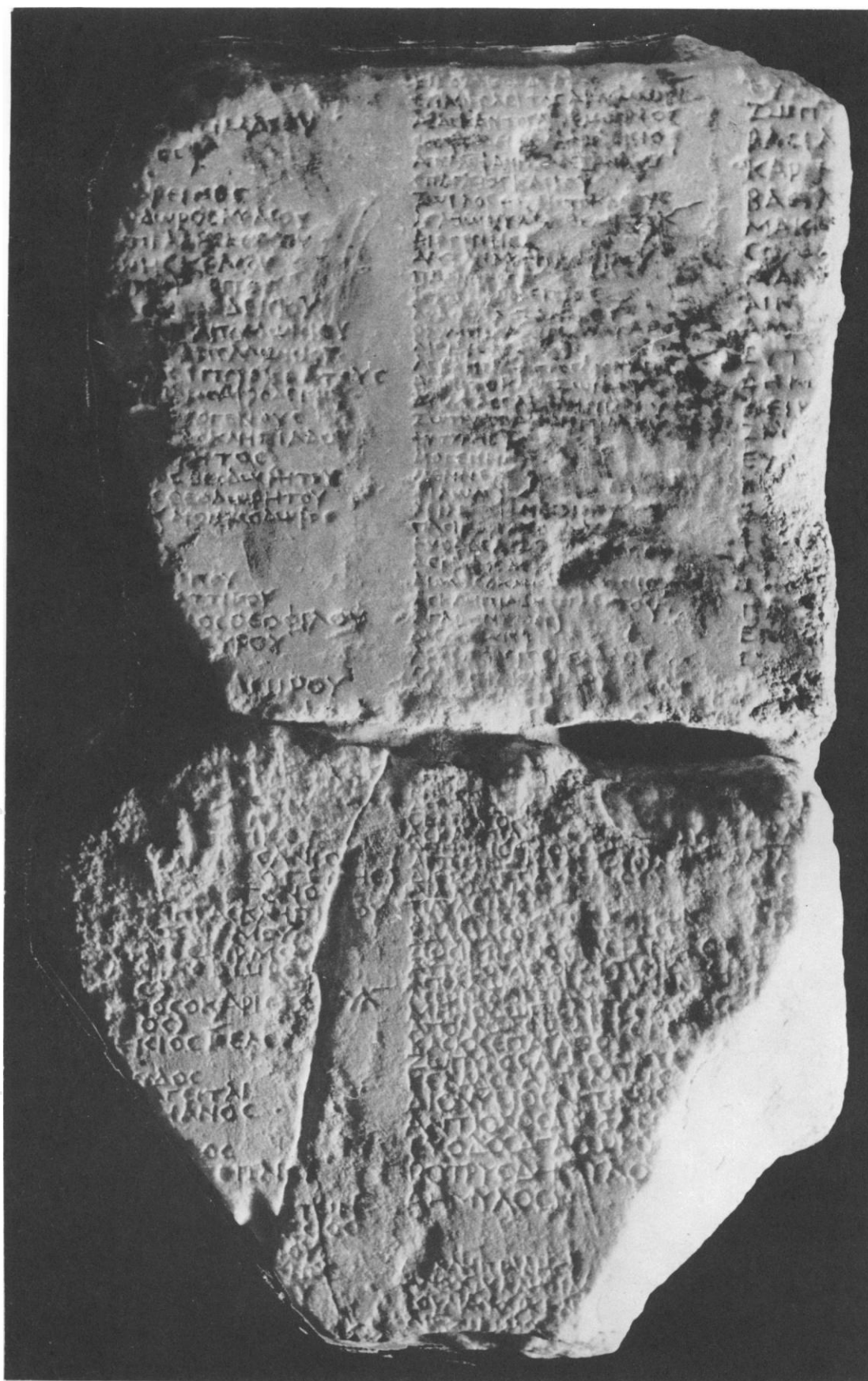
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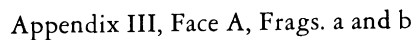


Frag. b, I 6889

Frag. a, Top, E.M. 5898 (I.G., II², 2339 A)



Frag. a, Middle and Bottom, E.M. 3628 + 8542 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2003 + 1999)





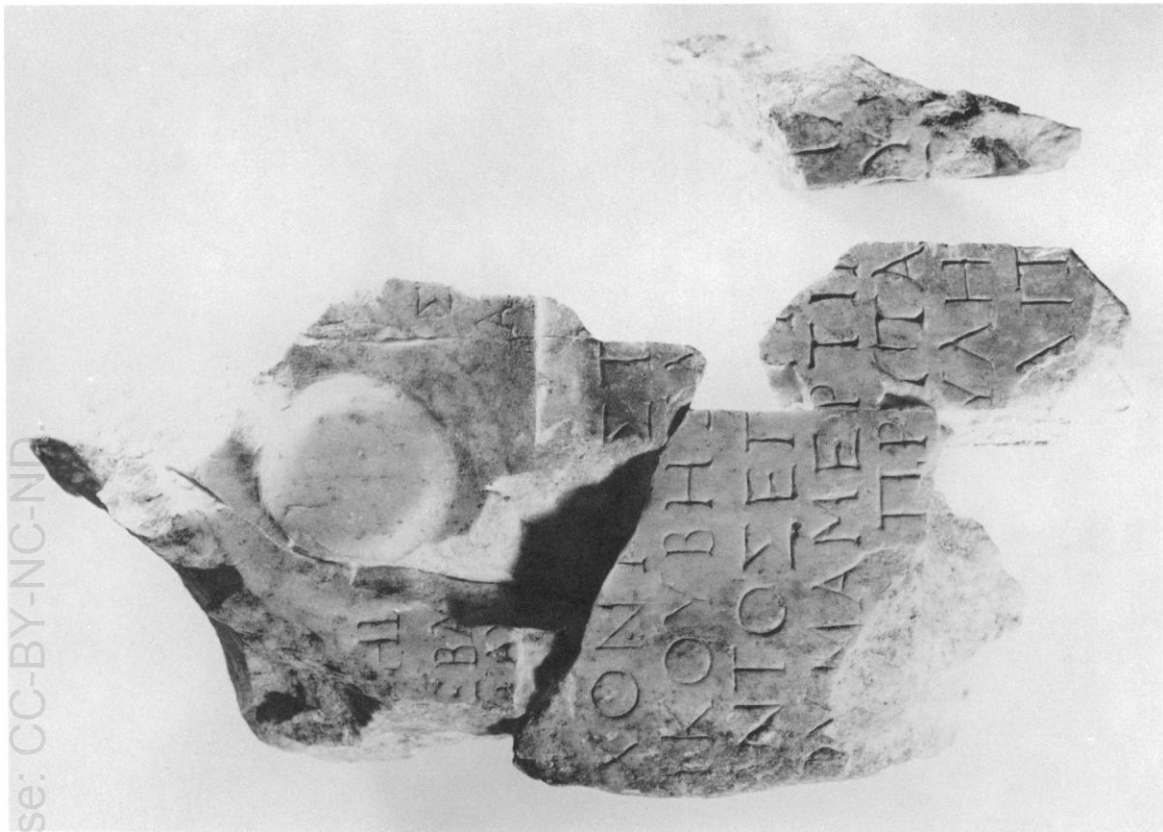
Frag. a, Bottom, E.M. 8542 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1999)



Frag. c, I 6022



Frag. d, I 6390

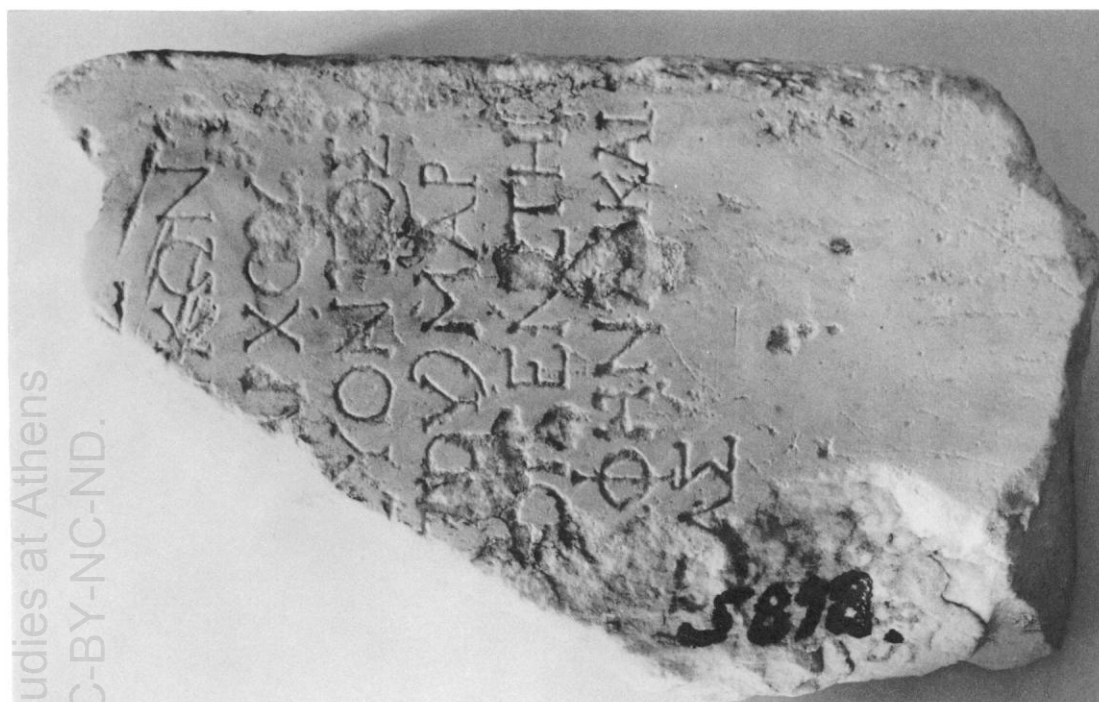


Appendix III, Face A

Appendix V, I 6685



Frag. b, I 6889



Frag. a, E.M. 5898 (I.G., II², 2339 B)



ΚΗΡΥΚΩΝ  
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ΤΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡ  
ΟΥ ΕΝΕΣΤΗ  
ΓΡΑΦΗΝΤΙΚΑΙ  
ΙΩΟΤΑΜΙΑΣ

Ο ΣΟΦΗΣΤΑΙΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ  
ΟΥΑ ΖΩΤΙΚΟΣ

ΠΑΙΟΙΣ  
ΟΚΡΟΥΦΟΣ  
ΚΤΟΥ  
ΡΗΛΙΑΝ  
ΙΟΥ  
ΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ  
C

Appendix III



