

## THE SALAMINIOI OF HEPTAPHYLAI AND SOUNION

At some time after 67 A.D., probably toward the end of the first century, in the construction of a tunnel for a water conduit, three inscribed stelai (No. **1**, No. **2**, and Ag. Inv. No. I 3625; cf. below, p. 18) were employed, the third in the fill of a well dug at an earlier date (first half of the first century B.C.) in an abandoned Hellenistic cistern, the second in a wall constructed 3 metres to the north of the cistern where the tunnel passed through an earlier cutting in the bed rock, and the first as a cover for the cistern, through which the water conduit was carried. All three were put in the places where they were found at the same time, and were taken from the neighboring Eurysakeion. Two (Nos. **1** and **2**) were intact when discovered, the third (Ag. Inv. No. I 3625) was already broken in pieces when it was thrown into the well. The cistern is situated at a point 39 metres to the south and 20 metres to the west of the southwest corner of the so-called Theseion.

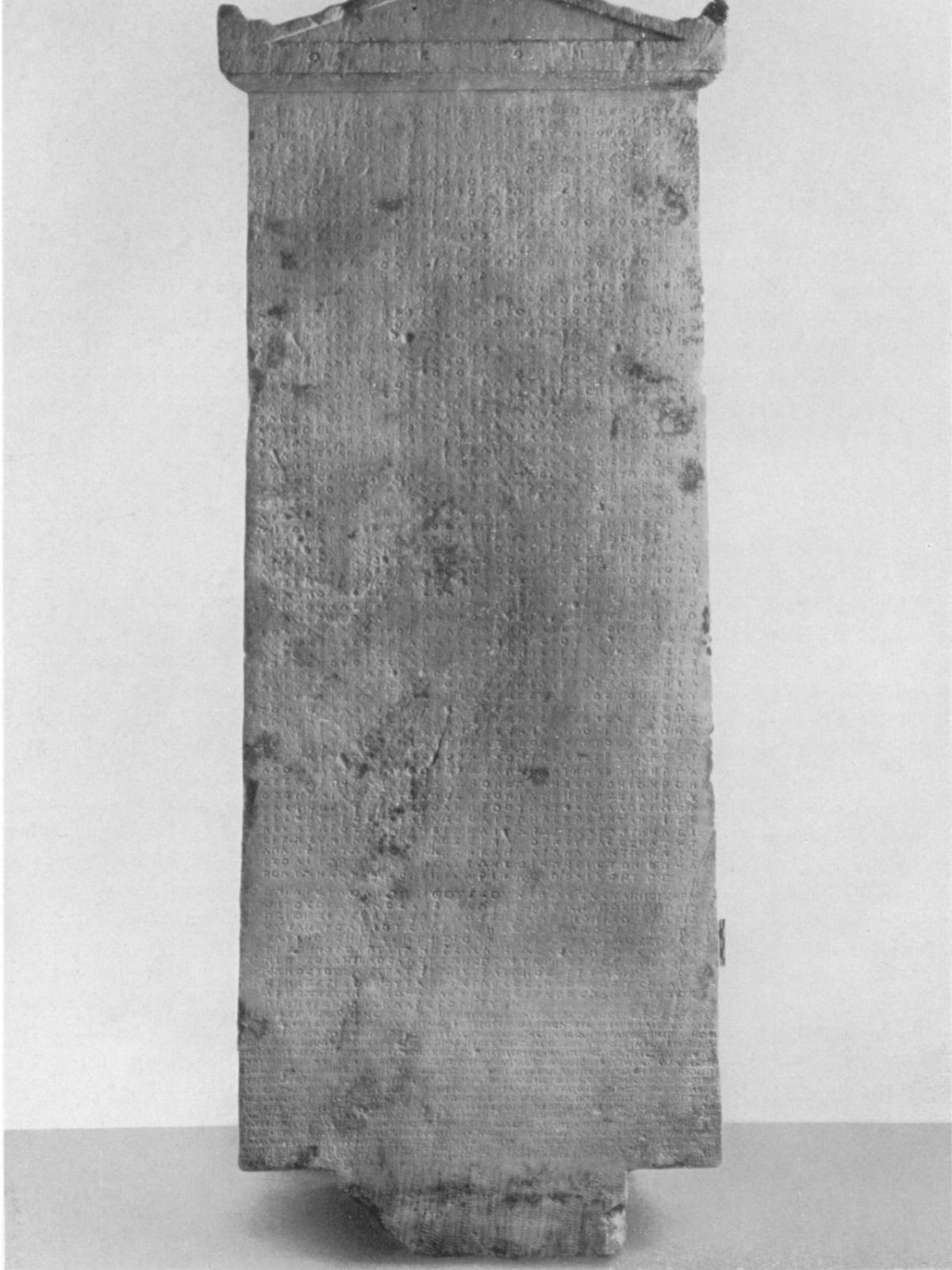
For these data I am indebted to Mr. Rodney Young. The transcription of the texts was made by Professor B. D. Meritt, who also read the Ms. and aided me most generously in its preparation. With him I have discussed, greatly to my profit, many of the points raised by the two documents; but I am solely responsible for the views expressed. Dr. Sterling Dow came to my rescue, when called upon, with pertinent information and suggestions. Professor A. D. Nock, who, too, read the Ms., put at my disposal his wide knowledge of religious things and literature. Professor Homer Thompson very kindly communicated to me in advance of publication his discussion of the remains of buildings erected consecutively in the temenos of Apollo Patroos (below, p. 29), and to him I am also under deep obligation for the exploration made, at my request, of the region of Sounion in which Porthmos, the Herakleion, and Hale (below, pp. 54f., 68f., 70f.) may have been situated. Professor Joshua Whatmough gave me wise counsel on various linguistic points. Dr. John K. Wright of the American Geographical Society helped me in determining the position of the Souniac Halyke. To all these scholars I give herewith my thanks.

**1.** A complete pedimented stele of Pentelic marble, preserved with tenon at the bottom, found on January 30, 1936, in Section IIΘ. The back of the stone is roughly dressed.

Height, 1.33 m.; width (at top), 0.43 m., (at bottom), 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters (lines 2-79), 0.006 m., (lines 80-97), *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3244.



No. 1

363/2 B.C.

CΤΟΙΧ.

Θ ε ο ι  
 Ἐπι Χαρικλείδ᾽ ἄρχοντας Ἀθηναίους· ἐπὶ τοῖσ[δ]  
 ε διήλλαξαν οἱ διαιτηταὶ Σαλαμίνιος τὸς ἐκ τῶ  
 ν Ἑπταφυλῶν καὶ Σαλαμίνιος τοὺς ἀπὸ Σονίο δημο  
 5 λογούντας ἀλλήλοις καλῶς ἔχειν ἃ ἔγνωσαν οἱ δι  
 αιτηταὶ Στέφανος Μυρρινόσιος, Κλεαγόρας Ἀχα  
 ρεύς, Ἀριστογείτων Μυρρινόσιος, Εὐθύκριτος  
 Δαμπτρέυς, Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθαλίδης. τὰς ἱερεωσ  
 10 ἰνας κοινὰς εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόν  
 ον τῆς Ἀθηναίας τῆς Σκιράδος, καὶ τὴν τῷ Ἡρακλέο  
 υ τῷ ἐπὶ Πορθμῶι, καὶ τὴν τῷ Εὐρυσάκος, καὶ τὴν τῆ  
 ς Ἀγλαύρο καὶ Πανδρόσο καὶ τῆς Κοροτρόφο· καὶ κ  
 ληρῶσθαι κοινῆι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειδὴν τελευτ  
 15 ῆσει τις τῶν ἱερείων ἢ τῶν ἱερέων· τὸς δὲ λαγχάν  
 οντας ἱερεῖσθαι ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ οἱ πρότερον ἱερ  
 εῶντο. τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν ἐφ' Ἡρακλείωι τῶι ἐπὶ Πορθμ  
 ῶι καὶ τὴν ἐλ[λ]ήν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Κοίλῃι νε  
 ἴμασθαι διχαστὴν ἑκατέρως, καὶ ὄρος σιτῆσαι τῆ  
 20 ς ἑαυτῶν ἑκατέρως. θύεν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡ  
 ρωσι κατὰ τὰδε· ὅσα μὲν ἢ πόλις παρέχει ἐκ τῷ δημο  
 σίῳ ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὠ[σ]κοφόρων ἢ παρὰ τῶν δειπνοφόρ  
 ων γίγνεται λαμβάνειν Σαλαμίνιους, τὰυτα μὲν  
 κοινῆι ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὡμ  
 ἃ τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρως· ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔ  
 25 θνον Σαλαμίνιοι παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν θύειν κατὰ τὰ  
 πάτρια, τὸ ἡμυσυ ἑκατέρως συμβαλλομένους εἰς ἃ  
 παντα τὰ ἱερά. τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱερεῖαι  
 ς ἀποδίδοναι τὰ γέρα τὰ γεγραμμένα· τῶι δὲ τῷ Ἡρ  
 30 ακλέος ἱερεῖ ἱερεύσυνα ΔΔΔ δραχμᾶς· εἰς πελαν  
 ὄν δὲ ΗΗΗ δραχμᾶς· τούτων τὸ ἡμυσυ ἑκατέρως συμ  
 βάλλεσθαι· τῶν δὲ ἱερείων ὧν ἂν κατάρξῃται τῶν  
 κοινῶν λαμβάνειν ὄαρτῷ δέσμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἐδ  
 στῷ τὸ σκέλος· βοὸς δὲ ἐννέα σάρκας καὶ τὸ δέσμα.  
 τῶι δὲ τῷ Εὐρυσάκος ἱερεῖ ἱερεύσυνα ΠΠ δραχμᾶ  
 35 ς· εἰς πελανὸν ἀμφοτέρωσε ΠΠΠ δραχμᾶς· σκέλος κ  
 αὶ δέσματος ἐν Εὐρυσάκειωι ΔΗΗΗ δραχμᾶς· τούτ  
 ων τὸ ἡμυσυ ἑκατέρως συμβάλλεσθαι· τῶι Ἡρωι τῶ  
 ι ἐπὶ τῆι ἄλλῃι τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν τὸ δέσμα  
 καὶ τὸ σκέλος. νέμειν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱ  
 40 ερείαις ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὅπο ἂν ἕκαστοι ἱερεῶντ

αι μερίδα παρ' ἑκατέρων. τὸς ἄρτος ἐς Σκιράδος ν  
 ἔμειν κατὰ τάδε, ἀφελόντας ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸς νομι  
 ζομένος ἀφαιρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια· κήρυκι ἄρ  
 τον, Ἀθηναῖς ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Ἡρακλέος ἱερεῖ ἄρτο  
 45 ν, Πανδρόσο καὶ Ἀγλαύρο ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Κοροτρό  
 φο καὶ καλαθηφόρω ἄρτον, κόπαις ἄρτον· τῶν δὲ ἄ  
 λλων νέμεσθαι τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρος. ἄρχοντα δὲ κ  
 ληρῶν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἑκατέρων ὅστις καταστήσει  
 τὸς ὠσκοφόρος καὶ τὰς δειπνοφόρος μετὰ τῆς ἱε  
 50 ρείας καὶ τῷ κήρυκος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῦτα δὲ ἂν  
 ἀγράψαι ἐς στήλην κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως καὶ στήσα  
 ι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τῆς Σκιράδος. τὸν δὲ αὐ  
 τὸν ἱερέα εἶναι τῷ Ἐδρυσάκει καὶ τῷ Ἡρωι τῷ  
 ἐπὶ τῆι ἄλῃ. ἂν δέ τι δέμη ἐπισκενεάσαι τῶν ἱε  
 55 ρῶν ἐπισκενεάζεν κοινῇ συμβαλλ(λ)ομένος τὸ ἥμ  
 υσον ἑκατέρος. ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδο ἄρχοντος οἱ ἐκ τῶ  
 ν Ἑπταφυλῶν παρέσχον ἄρχοντα. τὰ δὲ γραμματεῖ  
 α κοινὰ εἶναι ἀ[μφ]οτέρων ἅπαντα. τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐργά  
 ζεσθαι τὸμ μεμ[σ]θωμένον ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ὁ χρόν  
 60 ος ὃν ἐμισθώσατο, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν μίσ  
 θωσιν ἑκατέροις. τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τῷ ἀμίλλο ἐμ μέρ  
 ει ἑκατέρος κατάρχεσθαι· τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ ἡμίσε  
 α ἑκατέρος λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν δευμάτων. τὴν δὲ ἰ  
 ερεωσύνην τῷ κήρυκος εἶναι Θρασυκλέος κατὰ τ  
 65 ἄ πάτρια. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων ἀπάντων ἂν ἀφε  
 ῖσθαι τῶν τε ἰδίῃν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἰς τὸν ὃ Βοηθ  
 ρομῶνα μῆρα τὸν ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδο ἄρχοντος. ὃῃ  
 vacat  
 Ἐπὶ Διφίλο Διοπείθους Σουνιέως Σαλαμινίους ἄρχ  
 70 οντος οἶδε ὤμοσαν Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου· Διο  
 πείθης Φασυρίδο, Φιλόνεως Ἀμεινοῖκου, Χαλκιδ  
 εὺς Ἀνδρομένους, Χαριάδης Χαρικλέος, Θεῶφάνης  
 Ζωφάνους, Ἡγίας Ἡγησίο, Ἀμεινίας Φιλίνο. Ἐπὶ Ἀν  
 τισθένης Ἀντιγένης Ἀχαρνέως ἄρχοντος Σαλαμι  
 75 νίους οἶδε ὤμοσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν· Θρασυκλῆς Θρά  
 σωρος Βουτά, Στρατοφῶν Στράτωνος Ἀγρῶν, Μελίτιος  
 Ἐξημεστίδου Βουτά, Ἀρίσταρχος Δημοκλέους Ἀχαρ, ὃ  
 Ἀρχέων Ἐδυηλίδου Ἀχαρ, Χαιρέστρατος Πανκλείδο Ἐ  
 πικηφί, Δήμων Δημαρέτο Ἀγρυλῆ. vacat  
 80 Ἀρχέλεως εἶπεν· ὅπως Σαλαμῖνοι τὰ ἱερά θύωσι αἰεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς  
 καὶ τοῖς Ἡρωσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ

- γίνγητα[ε] ἐφ' οἷς διήλλαξαν οἱ διαλλακταὶ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ οἱ  
 αἰρεθέντες ὤμωσαν, ἐψηφίσθαι Σαλαμινί  
 οἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀρίσταρχον ἐγγράψαι τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς  
 τιμὰς τῶν ἱερέων εἰς τὴν στήλην ἐν ἑ  
 αἱ διαλλαγαὶ εἰσιν ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἄρχοντες αἰεὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εἰδῶσι  
 ὃ τι δεῖ ἀργύριον συνβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ[ς]  
 θυσίας ἀπάσας ἑκατέρους ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐφ'  
 Ἡρακλείω καὶ στήσαι τὴν στήλην ἐν τῷ  
 85 Ἐὐρυσακείω. Μουνιχιῶνος. ἐπὶ Πορθμῶϊ· Κουροτρόφω αἶγα Δ,  
 Ἰολέω οἶν δλόκαντον ΔΠ: Ἀλκμήρει οἶν  
 ΔΗ, Μαίαι οἶν ΔΗ, Ἡρακλεῖ βοῦν ΠΔΔ, ἦρω ἐπὶ τῷ ἀλεῖ οἶν ΔΠ,  
 ἦρω ἐπ' Ἀντισάρα χοῖρον ΗΗΠΙΙ, ἦρω ἐπὶ  
 Πυργιλίω χοῖρον ΗΗΠΙΙ, Ἰων(ι) οἶν θύειν ἐναλλάξ παρ' ἔτος·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ οἷς ἡ πόλις δίδωσιν ἐκ κύρβευ[ν]  
 Δ. οἰδοῖ ἐπὶ δέκα Ἐθρυσάκ[εἰ]: ὄν: ΔΔΔΔ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῦ(ς) καὶ εἰς  
 τἄλλα ΗΗ. Ἐκατονβαιῶνος. Παναθηναίοις Ἀθηναῖ  
 ὄν: ΔΔΔΔ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς κ[αὶ εἰ]ς τἄλλα ΗΗ. Μεταγεινιῶνος.  
 ἐβδόμει Ἀπόλλωνι Πατρῶϊ ὄν: ΔΔΔΔ, Ἀητοῖ χοῖρον[ν]  
 90 [Η]ΗΠΙΙ, Ἀρτέμει χοῖρον ΗΗΠΙΙ, Ἀθηναῖ ἀγέλααι χοῖρον ΗΗΠΙΙ·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τἄλλα ΗΗΠΙΙ. Βοηδρομιῶνος. Ποσει  
 δῶν Ἰπποδρομίω ὄν: ΔΔΔΔ, ἦρω Φαίαι χοῖρον ΗΗΠΙΙ, ἦρω Τεύρω  
 χοῖρον ΗΗΠΙΙ, ἦρω Νανσείρω χοῖρον ΗΗ[ΠΙΙ]·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τἄλλα ΗΗ. Πυανοψιῶνος. ἔκτει Θησεῖ ὄν ΔΔΔΔ·  
 εἰς τἄλλα ΗΗ. Ἀπατουρίοις Διὶ Φρατρῶϊ ὄν ΔΔΔΔ·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τἄλλα ΗΗ. Μαιμακτηριῶνος. Ἀθηναῖ Σκιράδι οἶν  
 ἐγκύμονα ΔΗ, Σκίρω οἶν ΔΠ· ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Η[Η].  
 κεφάλαιον οὗ δεῖ ἀναλίσκειν ἀμφοτέρους ἐς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά ΠΔΔΔΠΙΙ. ταῦτα  
 θύειν κοινῇ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆ(ς) ἐφ' Ἡρακλ[εῖω]  
 95 [ἐτ]ὶ Σονίω, ἀργύριον συμβαλλομένους ἑκατέρους ἐς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά. ἐὰν  
 δέ τις εἴπει ἢ ἄρχων ἐπιψηφίσαι τούτων τι καταλ[ῆ]  
 [σ]αι ἢ τρέψει ποι ἄλλοσε τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι τῷ γένει  
 ἅπαντι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδία ὑπό  
 δικον καὶ τῷ βουλομένω Σαλαμινίων. vacat

## TRANSLATION

## Gods

In the archonship of Charikleides at Athens. The arbitrators (*diaitetai*), Stephanos of Myrrhinous, Kleagoras of Acharnai, Aristogeiton of Myrrhinous, Euthykritos of Lamptrai, and Kephisodotos of Aithalidai, settled the disputes between the Salaminioi of the

Heptaphylai and the Salaminioi from Sounion on the following terms, both parties being mutually in agreement that the decision of the arbitrators was good: the priesthoods shall be common to both for all time, namely those of Athena Skiras, Herakles at Porthmos, Eurysakes, Aglauros and Pandrosos and Kourotrophos. When one of the priestesses or priests dies a successor shall be elected by lot from both groups taken together. Those thus designated shall officiate on the same terms as those who held the priesthoods aforetime. The land at the Herakleion at Porthmos and the Hale and the agora in Koile shall be divided into two equal parts and each party shall receive as its portion one, which it shall bound by markers. They shall sacrifice to the gods and heroes as follows: such victims as the state furnishes from the treasury or as the Salaminioi happen to receive from the *oschophoroi* or the *deipnophoroi*, these both parties shall sacrifice in common and each shall receive half of the flesh raw. Such victims, on the other hand, as the Salaminioi were wont to sacrifice from rentals they shall sacrifice from their own funds according to their ancient custom, each party contributing half for all the sacrifices.

The gifts of honor herein specified shall be paid to the priests and priestesses: to the priest of Herakles as *hierosyna* 30 drachmas, for *pelanos* 3 drachmas; of these sums the half shall be contributed by each party. Of the victims which he sacrifices for the corporation he shall receive, of pelted animals the skin and the leg, of animals singed the leg; of an ox nine pieces of flesh and the skin. To the priest of Eurysakes as *hierosyna* 6 drachmas, for *pelanos* for both cults 7 drachmas, in lieu of the legs and the skins in the Eurysakeion 13 drachmas; of these sums each party shall contribute the half; of the victims sacrificed to the hero at the Hale he shall receive the skin and the leg. To the priests and the priestesses in the shrines in which each officiates there shall be given by each party a portion. The wheaten loaves in the shrine of Skiras they shall distribute as follows, after setting apart from the whole number those customarily set apart according to ancestral practice: to the herald a loaf, to the priestess of Athena a loaf, to the priest of Herakles a loaf, to the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos a loaf, to the *kalathephoros* of Kourotrophos also a loaf, to the millers a loaf; of the rest each group shall receive the half. They shall designate by lot from each party in turn an official (archon) who shall appoint the *oschophoroi* and the *deipnophoroi* in collaboration with the priestess and the herald according to ancestral custom. Both parties shall inscribe the foregoing regulations on a common stele and set it up in the shrine of Athena Skiras.

The same person shall be priest of Eurysakes and of the hero at the Hale. If anything in the shrines should be in need of repairs they shall repair it by common action, each contributing the half of what is required. (The men from the Heptaphylai furnished the official [archon] in the archonship of Charikleides.) All the records shall be common to both parties. Until the period of his lease lapses the person who has the contract to till the land shall till it, paying half the rental to each party. Each party shall perform in turn the sacrifice which precedes the contest and each party shall receive

the half of the flesh and skins. The priestly office of herald shall belong to Thrasykles according to ancient custom. All other charges affecting both individuals and the corporation up to the month of Boedromion of Charikleides' archonship shall be dropped.

*vacat*

In the archonship for the Salaminioi of Diphilos, son of Diopetithes, of Sounion the following members of the Salaminioi from Sounion took the oath: Diopetithes son of Phasyrkides, Philoneos son of Ameinonikos, Chalkideus son of Andromenes, Chariades son of Charikles, Theophanes son of Zophanes, Hegias son of Hegesias, Ameinias son of Philinos. In the archonship for the Salaminioi of Antisthenes, son of Antigeneas, of Acharnai the following members of those from the Heptaphylai took the oath: Thrasykles, son of Thrason, of Boutadai, Stratophon, son of Straton, of Agryle, Melittios, son of Exekestides, of Boutadai, Aristarchos, son of Demokles, of Acharnai, Arkeon, son of Eumelides, of Acharnai, Chairestratos, son of Pankleides, of Epikhephisia, Demon, son of Demaretos, of Agryle.

Archeleos moved: in order that the Salaminioi may ever sacrifice to the gods and heroes according to ancestral custom, and that effect may be given to the terms on which the mediators (*diallaktai*) adjusted the differences between the two groups and to which the persons chosen took the oath, be it decreed by the Salaminioi that the archon Aristarchos inscribe all the sacrifices and the stipends of the priests on the stele on which are the terms of settlement (*diallagai*), so that the archons succeeding one another in office for both parties from time to time may know the amount of money each party must contribute for all the sacrifices from the rental of the land at the Herakleion; and [be it further decreed] that he set up the stele in the Eurysakeion.

*Mounichion.* At Porthmos: to Kourotrophos a goat, 10 drachmas; to Ioleos a sheep burnt whole, 15 drachmas; to Alkmene a sheep, 12 drachmas; to Maia a sheep, 12 drachmas; to Herakles an ox, 70 drachmas; to the hero at the Hale a sheep, 15 drachmas; to the hero at Antisara a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to the hero at Pyrgilion a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to Ion to sacrifice a sheep alternately every other year. Wood for the sacrifices and for those sacrifices which the state gives in accordance with the laws, 10 drachmas. On the eighteenth of the month: to Eurysakes a pig, 40 drachmas. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

*Hekatombaion.* At the Panathenaia: to Athena a pig, 40 drachmas. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

*Metageitnion.* On the seventh: to Apollo Patroos a pig, 40 drachmas; to Leto a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to Artemis a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to Athena *agelaa* a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas, 3 obols.

*Boedromion.* To Poseidon *hippodromios* a pig, 40 drachmas; to the hero Phaiax a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to the hero Teukros a suckling pig, 3 drachmas,

3 obols; to the hero Nauseiros a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

*Pyanopsion.* On the sixth: to Theseus a pig, 40 drachmas. Incidentals, 3 drachmas. At the Apatouria: to Zeus Phratrios a pig, 40 drachmas. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

*Maimakterion.* To Athena Skiras a pregnant ewe, 12 drachmas; to Skiros a sheep, 15 drachmas. Wood for the altar, 3 drachmas.

Total of the money which both parties have to spend on all the sacrifices, 530 drachmas, 3 obols.

These sacrifices they are to make in common from the rental of the land at the Herakleion at Sounion, each party contributing money for all the sacrifices. If any one moves, or any archon puts a motion, to abrogate any of these provisions or to divert the money to any other purpose, he shall be accountable to the whole genos and likewise to the priests and liable to an action which may be instituted privately by any one of the Salaminioi who wishes.

#### NOTES

In certain particulars the stone-cutter was negligent. He failed to incise all or parts of particular letters. Such omissions never leave us in doubt as to the words intended. I shall note first the instances which occur in the *diallagai* and the list of jurors (ll. 1–79). There are only three cases of total omissions: in l. 2 the omicron of the archon's name, in l. 66 the omega of *ιδίων*, and in l. 72 the omicron of *Θεοφάνης*. Cognate with these is the omission of the rounded strokes in l. 21 of the rho of *ὠσκοφόρον*, in ll. 32 and 38 of the beta of *λαμβάνειν*, and in l. 67 of the rho of *ἄρχοντας*. Another type of partial omissions is more common—the neglect to inscribe the short strokes of letters which require them. Such errors are found, in the alphas of l. 10 (*Ἀθηνάας*), l. 18 (*νείμασΟλι, διχλαστήν*), ll. 29 and 35 (*πέλλονον*), l. 32 (*λαμῖάνειν*), l. 58 (*ἐργάζεσθαι*), l. 73 (*Ἀμεινίας*), l. 75 (*Θροσνκλῆς*), l. 77 (*Ἀρίστλοχος*), and l. 78 (*Ἀχαρ*); in the epsilons of l. 5 (*ἰερί<sup>ν</sup>ίας*), l. 55 (*συμβαλλομί<sup>ν</sup>νος*), l. 61 (*Ἐλμέρει*), and l. 74 (*Ἀχαρνί<sup>ν</sup>ως*); in the kappa of l. 33 (*σάρι<sup>ν</sup>ας*); in the mu of l. 61 (*πρόθυλα, ἀλίλλο, Ἐλμέρει*), and in the eta of l. 79 (*Ἐπικλιφί*). The explanation of these two types of errors has been discovered by Dr. Sterling Dow: 1) the failure of the stone-cutter to use immediately the narrower chisel required for short strokes and his lack of care to use it in all instances when he laid down the chisel commonly employed and took up the tool of lesser width; 2) his tendency not to etch in with the corner of his chisel rounded strokes as they occurred. This permitted them to be overlooked later. The work did not receive a final revision. No corrections whatsoever were made. Two excessive nus are left (ll. 17 and 55). Twice he failed to dot the theta (ll. 18 and 62); and in the second part of the inscription, to which I now turn, he omitted (without leaving space) the final iota in *Ἴων(ι)* (l. 88) and the final sigma in the last *τῆ(ς)* in l. 94.

The decree of the Salaminioi (ll. 80–97), of which the letters are much more crowded (below, p. 64), manifests these same types of errors, some of them in great profusion. Twice letters are wholly omitted (with space left vacant): the sigma of *ἱεροῖς* in l. 88 and the second omicron of the first *χοῖρον* in l. 91. In the preposition *ἐφ'* in l. 89 the rounded stroke of the phi and the short strokes of the epsilon are both omitted. In the same preposition in l. 90 the short strokes of the epsilon are left out, as in the last *ἐπί* of l. 85 and in *Ἡρακλείω* in l. 84. The preposition *εἰς* in the formula *εἰς τᾶλλα* in l. 88 is noticeably clipped: it appears as *ἰϛ*, while the alphas of *τᾶλλα* lack the cross-bars in ll. 88, 90, and 93. The cross-bars of the etas are lacking in the third *τῆς*, the *στῆσαι*, and the *στήλην* (twice) of l. 84; in *Ἀητοῖ* of l. 89, and *Θηροῖ* of l. 92. The sloping strokes of the mu are not cut in *Σαλαμῖνιοι*, as the word appears in l. 80. It serves no useful purpose to list all the instances (50 or more) in which the cross-bars of the alphas are omitted. Toward the end the stone-cutter rarely put them in. A few cases may be noticed: *Λίγλ* in l. 85, *Μαίλι* and *Λλιῖ* (*ἄλλῃ*) in l. 86, *Ἄγελλᾶι* in l. 90, and in l. 95 *ΛΓΑΝΙΑΤΑΠΗΛΙΑΝ*, which Meritt reads (undoubtedly correctly) *ἄπαντα τὰ ἱερά. ἐάν*.

The cross strokes of the sign for drachma (Ϝ) are obviously omitted in l. 89 (III = ϜϜ) and l. 90 ([Ϝ]IIII = ϜϜIII).

This record of the Salaminioi is supplemented by another of the same general character, dated on the basis of the writing about a century later. It is as follows:

**2.** Stele of Hymettian marble, found on February 15, 1936, in Section ΠΘ.

Height, 0.77 m.; width (at top), 0.25 m., (at bottom), 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.07–0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

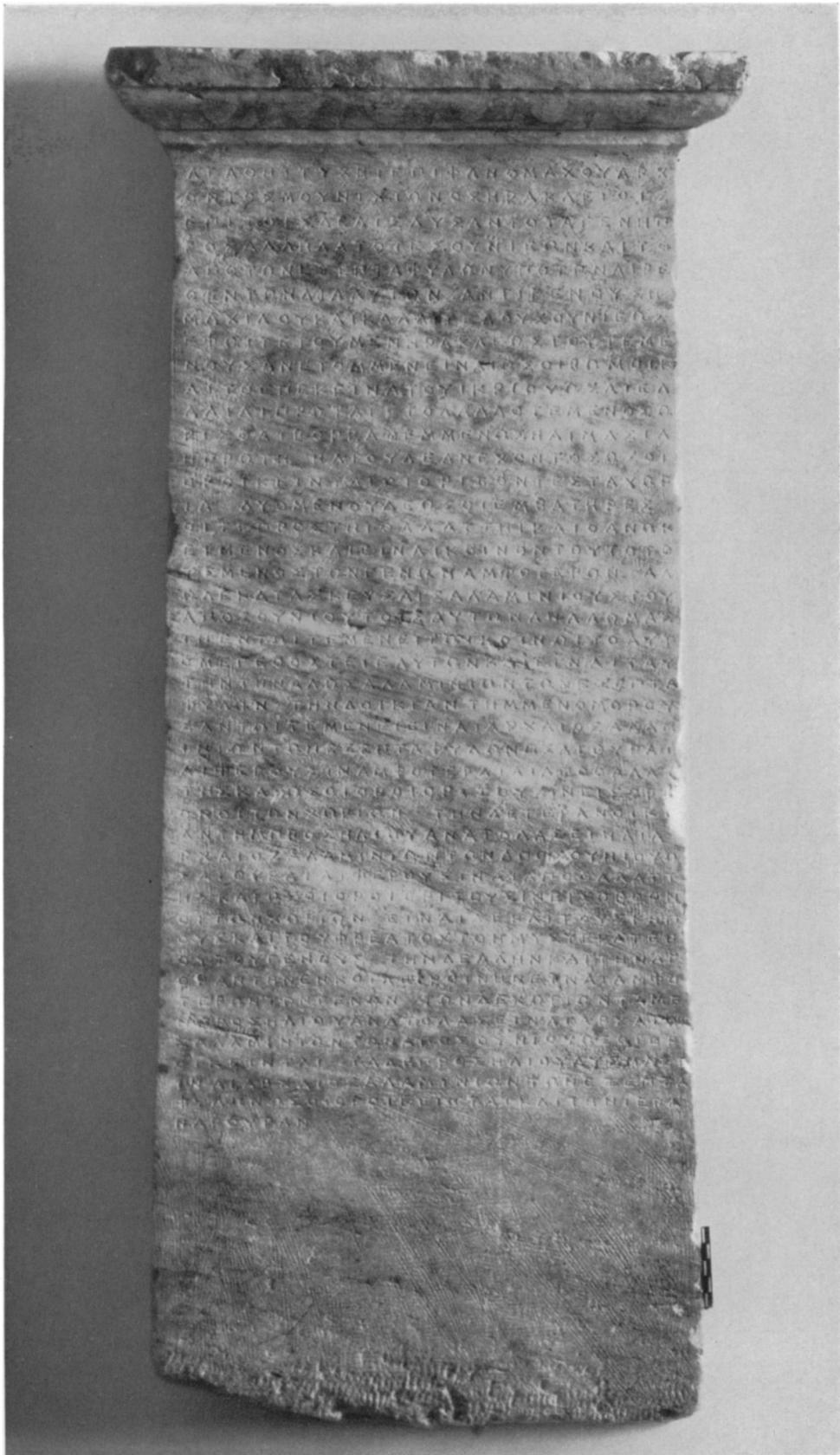
Inv. No. I 3394.

*Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. ἐπὶ Φανομάχου ἄρχ  
οντος. Μουχιῶνος Ἡρακλείοις.  
ἐπὶ τοῖσδε διελύσαντο τὰ γένη π  
ρὸς ἄλληλα, τό τε Σουνιέων καὶ τὸ  
5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρε  
θέντων διαλυτῶν, ὡς Ἀντιγένου Ση  
μαχίδου καὶ Καλλιτέλου Σουνιέως,  
ἐφ' ὧστε τοῦ μὲν Ἡρακλέος τοῦ τεμέ  
ρους ἔνετο μὲν εἶναι ὡς οἱ βωμοὶ κ  
10 αὶ τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὡς αἱ ἐλ  
ᾶαι αἱ πρῶται. ὡς τὸ δ' ἄλλο τέμενος ὡ  
ρίσθαι βορρᾶθεμ μὲν ὡς ἡ αἶμασιὰ  
ἢ πρῶτη, ὡς ἡλίον δὲ ἀνέχοντος ὡς οἱ  
δροὶ κείνται οἱ ὀρίζοντες τὰ χωρ  
15 ἰα, ὡς δυομένον δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐμβατῆρες ὡ*

οἱ τε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ὁ ἄνω κ  
εἴμενος, καὶ εἶναι κοινὸν τοῦτο τὸ  
τέμενος τῶν γενῶν ἀμφοτέρων. ὃ ἔλλ  
ω δὲ κατασκευάσαι Σαλαμινίους τοῦ  
20 ς ἀπὸ Σουνίου τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώμασ  
ιν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῷ κοινῷ τὸ αὐτ  
ὁ μέγεθος τεῖ ἐαυτῶν, καὶ εἶναι ταύ  
την τὴν ἕλω Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπτα  
φυλῶν. ὃ τὴν δ' οἰκίαν τῇ μὲν ὁμοροῦ  
25 σαν τῷ τεμένει εἶναι ἀρχαίῳ Σαλαμ  
ινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν ὡς αἱ θύραι  
αἱ φέρουσιν ἀμφοτέραι αἱ ἀπὸ θαλάτ  
της καὶ ὡς οἱ ὄροι ὀρίζουσιν εἰς ὄρ[θ]  
ὄν οἱ τῶν χωρίων. ὃ τὴν δ' ἑτέραν οἰκί  
30 αν τῇ πρὸς ἡλίῳ ἀνατολὰς εἶναι ἀ  
ρχαίῳ Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὡ  
ς αἱ θύραι αἱ φέρουσιν αἱ ἀπὸ θαλάττ  
ης καὶ ὡς οἱ ὄροι ὀρίζουσιν εἰς ὄρθῶν  
οἱ τῶν χωρίων. ὃ εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κήπ  
35 ους καὶ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ ἡμισυ ἐκατέρῃ  
ου τοῦ γένους, ὃ τὴν δὲ ἀλήν καὶ τὴν ἀγ  
ορὰν τὴν ἐν Κόλλει κοινήν εἶναι ἀμφο  
τέρων τῶν γενῶν, ὃ τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ μὲ  
ν πρὸς ἡλίῳ ἀνατολὰς εἶναι ἀρχαίῳ  
40 Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὡς οἱ ὄρ  
οι κεῖνται. ὃ τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡλίῳ δυσμὰς ε  
ἶναι ἀρχαίῳ Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπτα  
φυλῶν ὡς οἱ ὄροι κεῖνται, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰ  
ν ἄρουραν.                    *vacat*

## TRANSLATION

Good Luck. In the archonship of Phanomachos, in Mounichion, at the Herakleia. The gene were reconciled to each other, namely that of the Sounians and that of those from Heptaphylai, by the mediators (*dialytai*) chosen by them, Antigene of Semachidai and Kalliteles of Sounion, on the following terms: of the temenos of Herakles the part including the altars and what lies beyond the railing as far as the first olive trees shall be reserved for sacred uses. The rest of the temenos is to be bounded, on the north by the first stone wall, on the east by the markers which bound the fields, on the west by the *embateres*, both those at the sea and the one which lies above (or inland); and this temenos shall



No. 2

belong to both gene. The Salaminioi from Sounion shall make a threshing floor at their own expense in the common temenos of the same size as their own, and this threshing floor shall belong to the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai. The house which abuts on the temenos shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai as the gates which lead on both sides(?) from the sea and the markers of the fields (projected?) in a straight line bound it. The second house, the one to the east, shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi from Sounion as the gates which lead from the sea and the markers of the fields (projected?) in a straight line bound it. The gardens and half the well shall belong to each genos. The Hale and the agora in Koile shall be common to both gene. Of the fields those to the east shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi from Sounion as the markers lie, while those to the west shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai as the markers lie; also the sacred glebe.

#### COMMENTARY

##### THE SALAMINIOI—THEIR ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONS, ORIGIN

The genos of the Salaminioi has been known to us hitherto only through an honorary decree published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232 and dated in the fourth century B.C. (*fin. s. IV*, Kirchner). This connected it with the cult of Eurysakes and Athena Skiras. Now we have much new information.

In 363 B.C. the corporation consisted of two organized branches, οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἐπταφυλῶν and οἱ ἀπὸ Σουνίου. There was then only one genos. A century later each branch had become a genos without, apparently, dissolving the bonds which united it with the other as Σαλαμίνιοι. In 363 B.C. the name genos is reserved for the comprehensive organization; in ca. 250 B.C. it is reserved for the two sections. In the later document no abstract term is used to define the united group. It is a new fact, which may have significance for gentile origins in general, that by a process of fission two gene replaced one.

The division of the genos into two branches and the organization of each under its own executive antedated 363 B.C. This executive consisted of an annually changing civil magistrate (archon). In addition, the genos possessed a religious staff consisting of two priests and two priestesses. The priests, one of Eurysakes and the other of Herakles, were, doubtless, primarily, though not exclusively, gentile; the priestesses, one of Athena Skiras and the other of Aglauros and Pandrosos and Kourotrophos, were, probably, primarily, though not exclusively, public (below, pp. 20, 48, 57). The problem whether prior to 363 B.C. all four belonged to the genos as a whole, or some, or all, of them to its branches severally, will be taken up later (below, pp. 54, 57, 59).

One of the two groups constituting the genos in 363 B.C. consisted of men whose ancestors, in known instances, lived in 508/7 B.C. in Acharnai, Boutadai, Epikēphisia, and Agryle (II. 75–79). The last three of these demes belonged to the Asty, Acharnai to the Mesogeia. The name of this group is tantalizing. In 363 B.C. it is ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φυλῶν

or τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν, in ca. 250 B.C. ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν. If "the seven phylai" are seven of the Kleisthenian tribes (what else can they be?), the name arose simultaneously with, or subsequent to, the creation of these units. It would be obvious that the name refers to the Kleisthenian phylai if each one of the seven jurors of the group (II. 75–79) came from a different tribe. But such is not the case. Five of them belonged to Oineis and the other two to Erechtheis. Yet we cannot conclude from this disparity of tribal representation that the group was not related to seven of the Kleisthenian phylai. The jurors were manifestly selected without reference to membership in tribes or demes. The name Heptaphylai does not correspond in any perceptible way to the internal structure of the group, which acts throughout as an indivisible unit, unless the fact that the jurors are seven in number is a survival from a time when tribal apportionment of functions was a reality.

We have no means of determining which the seven phylai were. Erechtheis and Oineis were certainly of the number. So in all probability was Aiantis. Not only did Phaleron belong to this phyle, but the phyle used the Eurysakeion as its hieron. We may infer with hesitation that the tribes in the territory of which the agora of the Salaminioi and the Eurysakeion were situated—Hippothontis and Kekropis—were also of the number. The arbitrators (II. 6 ff.) were doubtless chosen two by each side and one in common, but, as other cases of arbitration show ([Dem.], LIX, 45 ff.; 71 ff.), the arbitrators need stand in no tribal or demotic relation to the litigants. In the case recorded in § 45 of the oration against Neaira the two contestants and the three arbitrators all came from different demes and phylai. Hence a scrutiny of the demes and phylai of the arbitrators is valueless in this connection. It may be thought that the phyle to which Sounion belonged (Leontis) was not one of the seven; but this is uncertain, since other demes of Leontis may have had members ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτὰ φυλῶν; and such was certainly the case if, as seems probable, Alcibiades, whose deme Skambonidai belonged to Leontis, was a Salaminios.<sup>1</sup> Without a catalogue of this branch of the genos, in default of other information, we cannot determine the seven.

But why seven? A deliberate exclusion of phyletai from Leontis is thinkable in view of the constitution of one whole branch from Sounians; but why exclude phyletai of two other tribes? A planned limitation of membership to seven phylai is inexplicable. The conclusion seems inevitable that it was not planned, but came about naturally. Nor is it difficult to see how the anomaly arose. We have simply to assume that at the time the name Heptaphylai was applied the gennetai were so distributed in Attica that, when the Sounians were segregated, the rest belonged in fact to seven phylai alone. The implication of this assumption is clear: the genos of the Salaminioi existed before 508/7 B.C.<sup>2</sup> If it

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *I Alcib.*, 121; cf. Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, 1931, p. 85; below, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> This date would have to be put back 30 or 40 years if Beloch's contention were accepted that the ten phylai were created, not by Kleisthenes, but by Peisistratos (*Griech. Gesch.*, I 2<sup>2</sup>, pp. 328 ff.). Needless to say, I do not accept it. Aristotle's statement (*Ath. Pol.*, 21, 4), rejected by Beloch, that the trittyes were grouped by threes in phylai by means of sortition, presupposes the equality of the trittyes. This,

came into being later all ten phylai would doubtless have been represented in it. The question remains open whether the Sounians, organized separately, were a part of it before the reforms of Kleisthenes. Or were they a wholly independent corporation, united with the Salaminioi at some indeterminate date before 363 B.C.? Or were they simply members of the Salaminioi until the creation of the Kleisthenian phylai manifested the desirability of reorganizing the *genos* in two branches?

As would be expected of a group of *gennetai*, among its known members in 363 B.C. some are prominent people. Thrasykles, son of Thrason, of Boutadai was probably descended from Thrason of Boutadai, Hellenotamias in 410/09 B.C. (*P. A.*, 7383); Stratophon, son of Straton and Demon, son of Demaretos, both of Agryle appear in the phratry list of contributors *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2345 (*P. A.*, 12957, 3734); Aristarchos, son of Demokles, of Acharnai was possibly the kinsman of Philokedes, son of Aristarchos, of Acharnai, Areopagite in 305/4 B.C. (*P. A.*, 14508, *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1492, l. 128; 1204); Arkeon, son of Eumelides, of Acharnai was the father of Eumelides, son of Arkeon, of Acharnai, Tamias of the Goddess in 343/2 B.C. (*P. A.*, 5830; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1443).

The archon of the Salaminioi from Sounion, Diphilos, son of Diopeithes, of Sounion belonged to a well-known family. He was probably the father of the general Diopeithes who was active in the Hellespont between *ca.* 345 and 339 B.C. and grandfather of Diophanes (prytanis in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1752) and Diphilos, trierarch in 325/4 and 323/2 B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1629, l. 774; 1631, l. 134). It was probably for him, rather than for his grandson of the same name, as Kirchner states (*P. A.*, 4467), that Demosthenes *ἔγραψεν τὴν ἐν προτανείῳ σίτησιν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνατεθρομένην εἰκόνα* (*Dim.*, I, 43). The Diphilos (*P. A.*, 4466), a rich mine owner who was condemned on suit of Lycurgus,<sup>1</sup> and of whose confiscated silver mine at Thorikos we have a record in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1587, was probably a kinsman; and the same may be the case with Diopeithes, son of Phasyrkides, one of the jurors for the Salaminioi from Sounion. All seven jurors are listed without demotics. Obviously they were all Sounians. We may connect Philoneos son of Ameinonikos with Ameinonikos of Sounion (*P. A.*, 705), Chalkideus son of Andromenes with Andromenes, son of Chalkideus, of Sounion, prytanis in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1752 (*P. A.*, 888), while Hegias son of Hegesias was probably the father of Hegesias, son of Hegias, of Sounion, Tamias of the Goddess in 349/8 B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1436). He belonged to a well-known family.<sup>2</sup>

The forebears of the Salaminioi from Sounion lived in 508/7 B.C. compactly in the district which was organized as the deme of Sounion. We do not know how widely in Attica their descendants were scattered in 363 B.C. Some had doubtless migrated to the

however, is all but proved by *Hesperia*, V, 1936, No. 10 (ll. 153 ff., p. 402), where we learn that each of the three epimeletai of Aiantis came from a different trittys, and that one epimeletes collected 666<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> drachmas of "sacred money of Aias," or "of the phyle." Obviously each of the other two collected 666<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> also. 666<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> is unintelligible except as the third of 2000.

<sup>1</sup> [Plut.], *X Orat. vit.*, 843 d; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, pp. 4 f.; A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p. 17, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For stemma see Kirchner, *P. A.*, 6330.

capital, but it is probable that the great majority of them were still domiciled in Sounion. The basis of the settlement made by the arbitrators in 363 B.C. was the full equality of the two branches of the *genos*. They were to share half and half alike in all properties, offices, distributions of sacrifices, and religious privileges. This does not prove the numerical equality of the two branches, but it excludes any marked disparity. As we have seen, both groups were alike prominent in their personnel. Sounion had four representatives in the Council of the Five Hundred.<sup>1</sup> Estimating the total citizen population of Attica in 360 B.C. at *ca.* 100,000, the total citizen population of Sounion would be *ca.* 800.<sup>2</sup> Of these *ca.* 200 would be men of the ages 18-59.<sup>3</sup> The ratio of the well-to-do (potential *gennetai*) to the total is largely a matter of guess-work. The hoplites may have amounted to 50%.<sup>4</sup> One hundred seems the outside figure for those from whom the Salaminioi were recruited. Since they furnished seven jurors they obviously formed a considerable fraction of the well-to-do men at Sounion.

Since the second branch of the Salaminioi comprised Sounians alone, it might be thought that the group was organized in 508/7 B.C. or later; for if it had been organized earlier some of its members would doubtless have moved to other districts of Attica before 508/7 B.C., and hence would have acquired other demotics on the establishment by Kleisthenes of the demes. But this point is not well taken. On migrating they might have settled in places organized as demes of the Heptaphylai. Hence prior to 508/7 B.C. there can have been Salaminioi both at Sounion and the urban and suburban districts of Athens. The *genos* of the Salaminioi, accordingly, may have existed prior to its organization in the two branches known to us, which is either Kleisthenian or post-Kleisthenian.

The name Salaminioi is appropriate in so far as two of the cults administered by the *genos*—those of Eurysakes and Athena Skiras—are concerned. The name Eurysakes is derived from the broad shield of Aias, his reputed father; that of Aias' father, Telamon, comes from the shield strap (*τελαμών*) or some distinguishing quality<sup>5</sup> of his redoubtable son. "Beide, Vater und Sohn," (affirms Töpffer)<sup>6</sup> "verdanken also ihre Existenz in der Sage erst der mythologisch völlig ausgebildeten Gestalt des Aias." In the epos Aias is designated "the son of Telamon" (*Il.*, XI, 563). Eurysakes is not mentioned, though the tower-like shield of Aias is described at length (*Il.*, VII, 219 ff.). In *Il.*, XVII, 132 it is called *σάκος ἐδού*. The chances are that Eurysakes is a post-Homeric creation. He, and the derivation of his name are, of course, well known to Sophocles (*Ajax*, 575 *et passim*). He seemingly emerged in the time between Homer and the tragedian. In this interval, we may think, "the broad shield" of Aias came to be personalized as

<sup>1</sup> Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 246; P. von der Mühl, *Der große Aias*, pp. 35 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 277 f.

Eurysakes, Aias' son, and Eurysakes came to find a local habitation in Melite in Athens. His shrine there, the Eurysakeion, existed before 508/7 B.C. (below, p. 18). Hence we can date his emergence yet earlier. If there had been, prior to his recognition, a *ἥρωον* in Melite of a nameless hero (like, for example, those at Hale, Antisara, and Pyrgilion), whose cult object was, perhaps, a shield, it is conceivable that he was identified as Eurysakes when a suitable occasion presented itself. The Eurysakeion was a *temenos* (Harpocr., *s. v.*), with an altar (Paus., I, 35, 3). It was situated in Melite (Harpocr., *s. v. Μελίτη*; cf. Plut., *Sol.*, 10), on the Kolonos Agoraios (Harpocr., *s. v. κολωνέτας*).<sup>1</sup> Since it lay in the city of Athens and was the preferred place of deposit of the published records of the Salaminioi we may think of it as the headquarters of the *genos*. There is thus a connection, which is probably genetic, between the recognition of Eurysakes and the Salaminioi.

It seems certain that the presence of Eurysakes in Melite was exploited by the Athenians to support their claim to Salamis. Eurysakes first comes into view in the period when the possession of the island was the object of the long struggle between Athens and Megara. Plutarch is our chief informant. He reports (*Sol.*, 10): *Φιλαῖος καὶ Ἐδρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήγησιν πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες παρέδωσαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατώκησαν ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δ' ἐν Μελίτῃ, καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαιδῶν ἔχουσιν, ὅθεν ἦν Πεισιστράτος*. Pausanias (I, 35, 2) connects the donation of Salamis to the Athenians with Philaios alone, but he makes Philaios the son of Eurysakes and grandson of Aias. According to Herodotus (VI, 35) and Pherekydes<sup>2</sup> Philaios was the son of Aias.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus' further statement that Philaios was the first of the Philaidai to become an Athenian disconnects from Attica Aias and his ancestors, not Eurysakes and his descendants. Sophocles (*Ajax*, 530 ff.) seems to recognize Eurysakes as the only son of Aias. The version which makes Philaios the son of Aias and the sole donor of Salamis to Athens may have been devised *ad maiorem gloriam* of the Philaidai.<sup>4</sup>

It is of course a presupposition of this legend that Aias was the lord of Salamis. He appears as such only in two passages of Homer—*Il.*, II, 557 f. and VII, 198 f. Line 558 of the first passage (*στῆσε δ' ἔγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες*) was recognized by Zenodotos as an Athenian interpolation,<sup>5</sup> and, according to Plutarch (*Sol.*, 10), it was the opinion of most writers that Solon himself composed it and palmed it off as Homeric on the arbitrators who finally awarded Salamis to the Athenians. Naturally the Athenians viewed the report of its spuriousness as an idle tale. It is a suspicious circumstance that Homer connects Aias with Salamis only twice, and many scholars regard both references as interpolations. I am, however, disposed to accept the conclusion of Bethe,

<sup>1</sup> Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 44, n. 2; 168, n. 2; 368; Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, XI, 1111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus, *vit. Thucy.*, 3 (Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, I, p. 59); cf. below, p. 46, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Steph. Byz., *s. v. Φιλαίδα*, and Tzetses, *Schol. on Lykophron*, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Töpffer, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

as formulated by von der Mühl:<sup>1</sup> "Zum Salaminier ist Aias der Telamonier bei Homer schließlich geworden, weil er schon vor Homer und ohne ihn auf Salamis Kult hatte." His worship in the Athenian cleruchy is well attested, as it should be if it were practised on the island before it passed over into Athenian hands,<sup>2</sup> and, what is more significant, he possessed a *temenos* in the old capital Ky[chreia] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, ll. 31 f.).<sup>3</sup> In the sixth century he was too strongly rooted in the island to be appropriated by the Athenians; hence they based their claim to be its rightful owner not on a donation by him, but by his sons.

The struggle of Athens and Megara for Salamis was ended by arbitration. Sparta was the mediator, and among the five arbitrators designated by her was Kleomenes.<sup>4</sup> If this was the Spartan king of that name, as Beloch contends,<sup>5</sup> the island became definitely Athenian, in all probability, between the expulsion of Hippias in 510 B.C. and the archonship of Isagoras in 508/7 B.C., approximately at the time of the dispatch of the Athenian cleruchy.<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, as we have seen, assigns the award to the time of Solon, and makes him responsible for grounding Athens' case on the donation of Philaios and Eurysakes. In so doing he is probably antedating; but the invention of the Philaios-Eurysakes legend is doubtless considerably earlier than the final settlement, for we may be sure that the mythological propaganda preceded by some time the arbitration. And so did the constitution of the Salaminioi. It would have helped the cause of Athens throughout if they could point to the existence on Attic soil of Salaminioi, ostensibly descendants of Eurysakes.

There was no *genos* of Eurysakidai in Attica to parallel the *genos* of the Philaidai. Köhler's idea,<sup>7</sup> already rejected by Töpffer,<sup>8</sup> that Eurysakidai and Philaidai conjoined formed the Salaminioi, is now proved to be incorrect. The alleged descendants of Eurysakes called themselves, not Eurysakidai, but Salaminioi—a much more significant name. It was politically programmatic.

It is affirmed that the hieron of Aias as eponymos of the Kleisthenian phyle Aiantis was situated on Salamis.<sup>9</sup> As authority for this affirmation Töpffer is cited,<sup>10</sup> but no opinion

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.; cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 f.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1227, 1006, 1008, 1011; cf. Solders, *Die außerstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 45, 100 f.

<sup>3</sup> The date is *ca.* 150 A.D.; cf. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, pp. 145 ff.; Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 294. Dr. Dow tells me that the style of writing is imperial. For Kychreus see Paus., I, 35, 1; 36, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Sol.*, 10; Aelian, *var. hist.*, VII, 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Griech. Gesch.*, I, 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 313, n. 2; cf. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, p. 257; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 871, n. 2; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, p. 356, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1; cf. Hiller, *ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>7</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, p. 265.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 289; cf. Hiller in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, VI, 1352.

<sup>9</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 974, n. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 926.

on the point is expressed by him. Wachsmuth<sup>1</sup> holds that the phylai did not hold their meetings (*ἀγοαί*) in the hiera of their eponymoi—a view which Busolt-Swoboda tacitly rejects, but which would be substantiated if it were proved that the hieron of Aiantis lay on Salamis. An Attic phyle could hardly have held its meetings outside Attica. A place of assembly on the island would have been most inconvenient for the great majority of the phyletai. Fortunately we now know that the Eurysakeion was the hieron of Aiantis. A stone containing a decree of this phyle (Ag. Inv. I 3625) was found along with our two records of the Salaminioi, and it too was set up in the Eurysakeion: so the phyle ordered. Aias was not an Athenian hero.<sup>2</sup> He was the only one of the eponymoi of the ten Kleisthenian phylai who, as Herodotus says (V, 66), was not a native but a neighbor and ally. On being adopted in 508/7 B.C. he was accommodated in the temenos of his son Eurysakes. Manifestly the Eurysakeion was well established at that date.

The name Salaminioi is also appropriate for the administrators of the cult of Athena Skiras. Its centre was Phaleron.<sup>3</sup> Skiros shared Athena's altar there (I. 93). Philochoros<sup>4</sup> locates at Phaleron τὸ τοῦ Σκίρου ἱερόν. Athena Skiras had a temple there.<sup>5</sup> The oschophorion is defined by Hesychius (*s.v.*) as a τόπος Ἀθήνησιν Φαληροῦ ἔνθα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. Strabo<sup>6</sup> tells us that Athena was called Skiras because Skiras was the ancient name of Salamis, thus making the island the original centre of this cult. There was a hieron of Athena Skiras on Salamis,<sup>7</sup> situated, beyond all question, on the ἄκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον mentioned by Plutarch.<sup>8</sup> Skiros, the founder of "the ancient shrine" of Athena Skiras at Phaleron according to Pausanias,<sup>9</sup> was the eponymos of Skiron, a place on the Sacred way, near the crossing of the Kephisos,<sup>10</sup> which played an important rôle in the celebration of the Skira (Skirophoria). Philochoros in the second book of his *Atthis* made him an Eleusinian seer who came originally from Dodona.<sup>11</sup> Another authority, Praxion,<sup>12</sup> presenting the Megarian point of view, identified him with Skiron, the allegedly misrepresented Megarian villain of the Theseus legend. Philochoros distinguished him from the Phalerian

<sup>1</sup> *Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, 1, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>2</sup> If the lectisternium which the Athenians provided for Aias μετὰ πανοπλίας (Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, 2, 19) was held in Salamis—the question is open (von der Mühl, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 228)—we should have to conclude, on the evidence we possess, that the public cult of Aias was purely insular. His cult, as the eponymos of the phyle Aiantis (cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, No. 10, p. 402, ll. 153 ff.), doubtless centred in the Eurysakeion.

<sup>3</sup> Paus., I, 1, 4; 36, 4; Hesych., *s.v.*

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 17, 6.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232; Paus., I, 1, 4.

<sup>6</sup> IX, 393.

<sup>7</sup> Her., VIII, 94.

<sup>8</sup> *Sol.*, 9; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 477 ff.; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 f.

<sup>9</sup> I, 36, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Paus., *loc. cit.*; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 488 f.; Gjerstad, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1929, p. 216; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.

<sup>11</sup> Harpocr., Suid., Phot., *s.v.*; Paus., *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 10.

Skiros, since he made the latter at home in Salamis.<sup>1</sup> Mythologically Skiros thus belongs in the geographically closely knit area of Megara-Eleusis-Salamis,<sup>2</sup> and is an intruder in Attica. One fact on which modern scholars are agreed is that Skiras was a Salaminian deity, taken over by the Athenians.<sup>3</sup> Since Skiros shared her altar at Phaleron, he may have been her associate on the island also. Whether she was identified with Athena before being transplanted, or only on her arrival at Phaleron, we cannot say for certain. The latter is the view of Gjerstad.<sup>4</sup> Skiras and Skiros plainly go together.<sup>5</sup> The male member of the pair was not purely a figure of political mythology, without "kultische Beziehung."<sup>6</sup> He was the recipient of an annual sacrifice at Phaleron offered by the Salaminioi (l. 93). Incidentally we may note that the Megarian Skiron is included among the ancestors of Eurysakes. The Megarians in their propaganda possibly claimed Salamis on the ground that Aias, the admitted lord of the island, was the great-grandson of their hero.<sup>7</sup>

Since 1885 the question has been debated whether Athena Skiras possessed a shrine at Skiron on the Sacred Way in addition to the one at Phaleron.<sup>8</sup> Latterly the view has prevailed that she had only one—that the ancient testimony cited in favor of a second is the result of a double confusion, of Athena Skiras with Athena Polias and of the Skira (Skiraphoria) at Skiron with Skiras and Skiros at Phaleron.<sup>9</sup> The case against a second hieron is strengthened by our document. This proves (II. 40, 50 ff.) that the shrine of Athena Skiras over which the Salaminioi had jurisdiction (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232) was at Phaleron, not, as Gjerstad<sup>10</sup> maintained against van der Loeff,<sup>11</sup> on Salamis. Van der Loeff's point is, accordingly, well taken, that the Salaminioi must have specified which of the two shrines they meant as the place of deposit of copies of their records if there was an alternative to the hieron at Phaleron. The Salaminioi had no concern with shrines, rites, or sacrifices on the island. We do not know who had charge of the temenos of Athena Skiras on the Skiradian promontory on Salamis. It may have been left to the natives.

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 17, 6; cf. van der Kolf in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, 2. Reihe, III, p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 43, makes Salamis the original home of Skiros-Skiron; cf. Joh. Schmidt, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, 2. Reihe, III, p. 549.

<sup>3</sup> Robert, *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 352 ff.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, p. 291, n. d; Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 f.; Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgesch.*, p. 23; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358, where a *ἡρωίνη* regularly accompanies a *ἡρώς*.

<sup>6</sup> Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 10, 3; cf. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 925 f.

<sup>8</sup> Robert, *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 357 ff.; Rohde, *Hermes*, 1886, pp. 119 ff.; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 274 ff.; Farnell, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 391 f.

<sup>9</sup> Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Hanell, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The ancient testimony is assembled by Farnell and Gjerstad. Joh. Schmidt in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, 2. Reihe, III, p. 548 and Geyer, *ibid.*, p. 545 affirm the existence of a second shrine at Skiron.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>11</sup> *Mnemosyne*, 1916, pp. 125 f.

The transplanting of Skiras to Phaleron is generally thought to synchronize with the definite occupation of the island by Athens.<sup>1</sup> The latest possible date is 510–508/7 B.C. (above, p. 17). We may think that on taking possession the Athenians adopted the goddess as part of the process of sacral unification exemplified in the reception of the cults of Brauron, Eleusis, Marathon, Eleutherai, Oropos.<sup>2</sup> To this same policy we may ascribe their adoption of Kychreus, the eponymos of Kychreia, to whom were given heroic honors in Athens. Nor can the choice of Aias as one of the eponymoi of the ten Kleisthenian phylai be differently motivated.

The possession by the Salaminioi of priesthoods of Eurysakes and Athena Skiras is thus readily intelligible; but what connection a *genos* so named could have with the cults of Aglauros and Pandrosos and of Herakles at Porthmos presents a problem. The connection of the Salaminioi with Aglauros and Pandrosos is noticeably tenuous. They offered sacrifices annually from their own funds to the other deities of whom their priests and priestesses were titular, Kourotrophos (l. 85), Herakles (l. 86), Eurysakes (l. 88), Athena Skiras (l. 93), but none to Aglauros and Pandrosos. The priests of the *genos* receive special *gera* (τιμὰί), but the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos obtains only a portion (μερίς) of the sacrifices at which she officiates like all the priests and priestesses (ll. 39 ff.), and like them she obtains a loaf at the Oschophoria, but no *hierosyna*, no allowance for *pelanos*, and no skins or legs. In this respect she was like the priestess of Athena Skiras, who was obviously a public as well as a gentile official. It looks as if both priestesses drew their *gera* from public sources. It is possible that Pheidostate, daughter of Eteokles of Aithalidai and sister of the famous brothers Chremonides and Glaukon, who made two dedications in ca. 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3458, 3459) once with and once without the title of priestess of Aglauros, was at that time the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos designated by the Salaminioi. Töpffer,<sup>3</sup> however, holds that she belonged to the *genos* of the Praxiergidai, but does so on the unlikely hypothesis that the Plynteria, with which the Praxiergidai were concerned,<sup>4</sup> was, as Hesychius states, a festival in honor of Aglauros.<sup>5</sup> Public fêtes of Aglauros and Pandrosos, at which our priestess may

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 646 = III<sup>2</sup>, p. 597; Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Notoriously there is endless argument as to when and by whom (Solon or Peisistratos?) Salamis was definitely won. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 217, n. 1. Adcock (*C.A.H.*, IV, p. 61) dates the winning of the island shortly before 570 B.C. Others ascribe its conquest to Peisistratos. If what is written below (p. 39) is correct, namely that the pompe of the Oschophoria was organized in the area of the Dionysiac theatre, it may indicate that the cult of Athena Skiras was not transferred to Attica before 534 B.C. (Adcock, *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 67; Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 69, 317). Hanell (*op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.), so far as I can see, is alone in dating the transfer back to a time when, as he believes, the Megarians held, not only Salamis, but also Phaleron. But since the presence of Skiras and Skiros at Phaleron is his chief evidence that there ever was such a time, his dating hangs in the air.

<sup>2</sup> Solders, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.; Kornemann, *Staaten, Völker, Männer*, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 827 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Alcib.*, 34; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 776, 3678.

<sup>5</sup> Deubner (*op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 4) calls Hesychius' report "ein herausgesponnenes Autoschediasma." Gruppe (*op. cit.*, p. 40) connects the Plynteria with Athena Skiras. Solders (*op. cit.*, p. 10) found this view ungrounded. As is now clear, the Praxiergidai had nothing to do with her cult.

have officiated, are difficult to determine. The daughters of Kekrops are known to us by a rich mythology, but on cultus there is little documentation. Two texts alone are of interest, one of Athenagoras<sup>1</sup> to the effect that the Athenians performed *τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια* to Aglauros and Pandrosos, and another in Bekker, *Anec. Gr.*, I, 239, 7 which runs as follows: *δειπνοφόρος· ἐορτῆς ὄνομα. δειπνοφορία γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ φέρειν δεῖπνα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατρῶσιν Ἐρση καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολυτελῶς κατὰ τινα μυστικὸν λόγον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί· φιλοτιμίας γὰρ εἶχετο.* The deipnophoroi here mentioned cannot be included among those for whose appointment provision is made in our document (ll. 47 ff.). The archon charged with the business is to coöperate with only one priestess, who is manifestly the priestess of Athena Skiras, while the herald concerned is indubitably the herald who played a leading rôle in the Oschophoria. If the Salaminioi had furnished other deipnophoroi than those participating in the Oschophoria it seems likely that rules for their appointment would have been prescribed in the diallagai. If we may judge from the phrase *καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί*, the carriers of food at the fête of the daughters of Kekrops were the participating public. The officiating priestess may have been the life-long appointee of the Salaminioi.

The priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos was at the same time priestess *τῆς Κουροτρόφο*. She was thus a pluralist like several of the priestly officials of the Kerykes<sup>2</sup> and like the priest of Eurysakes after 363 B.C. (ll. 64 ff.; cf. below, p. 59). From *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5152 we learn that a seat was reserved in the theatre for a [priestess] *Κουροτρόφον ἐξ Ἀγλαύρου*. Hence the combination of the two cults may have special justification. But the association is natural. The Kourotrophion, Pandroseion, and Aglaurion lay within the area circumscribed by the *περίπατος* which defined the Acropolis,<sup>3</sup> and between Ge (Kourotrophos) and the daughters of Kekrops there was a close natural and mythological relation.<sup>4</sup> An offering to Kourotrophos was prescribed in Athens as a *prothuma* to every sacrifice;<sup>5</sup> and in the Marathonian calendar (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358) the offering to her of a victim is a part of many groups of sacrifices. In our calendar the opening act of the first gentile sacrifice of the year, that at the Herakleion at Porthmos, was the immolation of a goat to Kourotrophos. Associated with her priestess was a *kalatēphoros* (basket-bearer), who, whatever may have been her other duties, played some rôle in the oschophoric procession.

<sup>1</sup> *Leg. de christ.*, I, p. 120, 8, Geffcken; I, 13, Schwartz. The text is quoted by Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 8, cf. p. 21, n. 4. Herse was honored at the Hersephoria (Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Rousset, *Mélanges Bidez (Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II, 1934, Bruxelles), pp. 819 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2639; cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 347 ff. Cf. Paus., I, 22, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 490 f.

<sup>5</sup> Suid., s. v. *κουροτρόφος, παιδοτρόφος*. *Κουροτρόφος* Γῆ· ταύτη δὲ θῦσαι φασιν πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρῶσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ γῆ τῶν τροφείων· καταστῆσαι δὲ νόμιμον, τοὺς θύοντάς τινι θεῷ ταύτη προθύειν. Plato Comicus *ap. Athen.*, X, 441 e; Tresp, *Fragmente der griech. Kultschriftsteller*, 27. Cf. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 468; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae*, II, 1, p. 72; Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, p. 31, n. 5.

The cult of Herakles at Porthmos remains. Hitherto we have had no knowledge of this Herakles. Porthmos was at Sounion (ll. 94 f., pp. 68 f.). There were, as Hesychius tells us,<sup>1</sup> many local cults of Herakles in Attica. Hence it is not surprising to find one at Sounion. The existence there of undetermined "other shrines" is proved by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1302.<sup>2</sup> What is surprising is to find it in charge of the Salaminioi. We have not known hitherto of a Porthmos at Sounion. An attempt will be made later (below, pp. 68 f., 75 f.) to determine its approximate situation. It was the site of a temenos of Herakles with "altars" (No. 2, l. 9). Hence it was shared by two or more deities. It apparently lacked a temple of any kind. In ll. 85-87 we have a list of the sacrifices performed in it or in its vicinity by the Salaminioi. They were to Kourotrophos, Ioleos, Alkmene, Maia, Herakles, the hero at the Hale, the hero at Antisara, the hero at Pyrgilion, and (in alternate years) Ion. This group of sacrifices is separated in the calendar from what follows by the entry *ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῦς*, which regularly closes the record of an individual sacrifice or group of sacrifices. Since the next item, a sacrifice to Eurysakes, is dated on the 18th of Mounichion, the sacrifice to Herakles and his group came earlier in the month. The occasion was, doubtless, the celebration of the Herakleia, at which, as No. 2 shows, the men of the Heptaphylai foregathered at Sounion with the local members of the genos. It is unthinkable that they came all the way from Athens and its vicinity to Sounion repeatedly during the first half of the month of Mounichion. Yet their presence at gentile sacrifices was indispensable. They contributed half the money and must have been present to receive their half of the victims, which, on this occasion, were augmented by further animals furnished by the state. The conclusion is inevitable that this group of sacrifices was part of a single fête, and was made successively on the same day or days. We are therefore warranted in assuming that when, as in this case, a distinguishable group of sacrifices is entered in the calendar for a given month without specification of individual dates, it was offered as a unit. When the sacrifices of a particular month were not all performed at one and the same time, they are separated into groups by the phrase covering funds for the wood, etc., and distinguished from one another by the specification of the occasion or date (ll. 89, 92). In our calendar there are two other such distinguishable groups of sacrifices, the one offered in Metageitnion, on its seventh day, to Apollo Patroos, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Agelaa, and the second in Boedromion to Poseidon Hippodromios, the hero Phaiax, the hero Teukros, and the hero Nauseiros. These, too, the Salaminioi, assembled at the given time and place, performed as a unit. This determination has certain implications which will be pointed out later (below, pp. 25 ff., 28 ff.).

Let us return to the group with which our calendar opens. The sacrifice to Ion is in order. As Athenians the Salaminioi were his descendants (Plato, *Euthyd.*, 302 c). The offerings to the heroes were, doubtless, made, not in the temenos, but at their heroa.

<sup>1</sup> *S. v.* Ἡράκλεια. Cf. Solders, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.; also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2610, 2609.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2493.

The positions of Antisara and Pyrgilion are unknown, but they cannot have been far distant from the Herakleion. For the situation of the Hale see below, pp. 54f., 59, 73f., 75 f. The worship of local Souniac heroes by a genos composed in large part of Sounians is also in order. It was a corollary to the main sacrifice at Porthmos, which was to Herakles and personages associated with him (for Maia see below, pp. 65f.). What link of cult or myth is there between Herakles and his companions and the deities from whom the Salaminioi derived their name, Eurysakes and Athena Skiras? There is indeed a well-established mythological connection between Herakles and Aias, the father of Eurysakes. As reported by Pindar<sup>1</sup> the story goes that Herakles, in return for the friendliness of the reception given to him by Telamon, interceded so that his host's prayers for an invincible son (Aias) were efficacious. This *ἱερός λόγος* might link a cult of Herakles with Aias, but not with Eurysakes. We are left without an answer to our question. Nor can we associate in any way Herakles with Aglauros and Pandrosos. This pair, moreover, is without determinable connection with Eurysakes and Athena Skiras. We are thus led to the conclusion most clearly enunciated by Dittenberger in his study of the genos of the Kerykes,<sup>2</sup> that it was not necessary for the deities served by the priestly officials of a genos to be integrated in a single cult. The diversity of the cults served by the Kerykes has become increasingly manifest since Dittenberger's time. Their main concern was, of course, with the Eleusinian circle. They were one of the gene *περὶ τὸ θεῶν* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2944). But they had a priest of Hermes Patroos who was also herald of Apollo Pythios and another priest of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia. These cults were, however, Athenian rather than Eleusinian.<sup>3</sup> Yet the two cases are not exactly parallel. The name Kerykes permits wide extension of functions. We find it natural that the genos should play a rôle in the celebration of the Dipolieia. The name Salaminioi seems to impose limitations.

Did the association of the Sounians with the men of the Heptaphylai in the genos of the Salaminioi presuppose a real bond of kin between all the gennetai? The answer must be in the negative. The extant names do not suggest any interlocking of families. The contrast in this particular with the phrateres listed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2344 is striking. The use of Salaminioi, instead of a patronymic, as a comprehensive name is probably in itself significant. Certainly if the corporate title, genos, implied a kinship, however unreal, between the members of the two branches, this presumption is absent in *ca.* 250 B.C. when each branch was itself a genos. Nor is the case of the Salaminioi an isolated one. The many families of gene like the Kerykes and the Arynandridai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2388) were already scattered so widely in Attica at the time of Kleisthenes, with so few interlocking common names, that except for the signification of the name genos, we should

<sup>1</sup> *Isthm.*, VI, 35 ff.; cf. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 932.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 91; Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 157; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 f.; and especially Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 823 ff.

hardly suspect the existence of kinship among them even as a fiction.<sup>1</sup> The ancient interpreters take pains to differentiate the ties uniting gennetai from real kinship. "Isaios," says Harpokration,<sup>2</sup> "names kinsmen (τοὺς συγγενεῖς) gennetai, but it is not the kinsmen strictly and men linked by blood (οἱ ἐξ αἵματος) who were called gennetai and members of the same γένος, but those who from the beginning were distributed among the so-called gene." "The gennetai," affirms Pollux,<sup>3</sup> were so named, not as belonging to a family (genos), but "because of their association (ἐκ τῆς συνόδου)." They were not such "in virtue of relationship (κατὰ γένος) or of sharing in the same blood," according to the *Etym. Magn.*,<sup>4</sup> "but because they had a certain partnership in kin rites or deities (συγγενικῶν ὀργίων ἢ θεῶν)." Plainly the kinship uniting all the families of a genos was purely fictional. A genos, so it seems to me, was a closed body of well-to-do citizens open only to the legitimate children of its members. It had a pedigree, reconstructed in a single line from a mythical ancestor down to a certain point; from that point, which, I think, was the point of its organization, the stemma was a demonstrable reality for the various families of which it was composed, but not for their assumed interrelations, which were usually purely fictitious.

Viewed in the light of these determinations the real problem presented by our records of the Salaminioi is not the oddity of the cult practised in the Herakleion, nor yet the lack of evidence of a blood-tie between the families constituting the Souniac branch and the gennetai of the Heptaphylai. It is not the presence in remote Sounion of a cluster of Salaminian families; for similarly isolated families appear, for example, among the Kerykes. The anomaly of the genos of the Salaminioi consists, rather, in the size of the Souniac group and the fact that it had a civil executive officer (archon) of its own. Whatever the reason for the residence in Sounion of approximately half the gennetai, and from whatever time their local organization dates, their separateness had advanced so far that in 363 B.C. it presented a problem to the Salaminioi themselves. The solution found in that year was the division equally of properties and the fusion of priesthoods, sacrifices, and prerogatives. Yet even thereafter the Salaminioi from Sounion preserved their archon, organization, and identity to such a degree that in ca. 250 B.C. they were recognized as a distinct genos. Before 363 B.C. their distinctiveness must have been actually greater than subsequently.

The first group of sacrifices in the gentile calendar took the Salaminioi to Sounion. This was in Mounichion. On the 18th of the same month they were back in Athens. Then they performed their annual sacrifice to Eurysakes (see below, p. 67). Another group of sacrifices took them to what was doubtless the scene of their major public

<sup>1</sup> In *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340 (ca. 200 A.D.), a catalogue of the Kerykes, three brothers, two brothers, and a father and son are recognizable.

<sup>2</sup> *S. v. γεννήται* (= *F. H. G.*, Philochoros, 91). Isaios (VII, 1; 27) uses συγγενεῖς where we should expect γεννήτας. Cf. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus*, pp. 101, 551.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 111.

<sup>4</sup> *S. v. γεννήται*. The three texts just cited are quoted by Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 113, n. 3.

activity—Phaleron. The recipients were Poseidon Hippodromios, the hero Phaiax, the hero Teukros, and the hero Nauseiros. The month was Boedromion. It is Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> reporting Philochoros, who gives us our location. "Philochoros says that Theseus got from Scirus of Salamis Nausithoos for his pilot (*κυβερνήτην*) and Phaiax for his look-out man (*προωρέα*). - - - And there is evidence for this in the memorial chapels (*ἡρώα*) for Nausithoos and Phaiax which Theseus built at Phaleron near the temple (*ἱερόν*) of Scirus, and they say that the festival of the Kybernesia, or Pilot's Festival, is celebrated in their honor." Our text presents Nauseiros instead of Nausithoos. Nausithoos appears in the *Odyssey* as the predecessor and father of Alcinoos—*Ναυσίθοον μεγάλθυμον, ὃς ἐν Φαίηξιν ἄνασσε* (*Od.*, VII, 56 ff.). He was a Phaiax, king of Scheria famed for its seamanship. There is certainly a connection here. I suggest that Nauseiros was the real name of the hero worshipped at Phaleron along with Phaiax, and that the name Nausithoos which appears in Plutarch is a perversion due to Homeric reminiscence.<sup>2</sup> Clemens of Alexandria names him simply the hero *κατὰ πρόμναν*.<sup>3</sup> Nauseiros (*ναῦς* and *εἶρω*) may mean "ship-director."

The heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros (Nausithoos) were in Phaleron, near the shrine of Skiros (cf. above, pp. 18 f.). We know that Poseidon had a cult there also. It was the subject of a *diadikasia* between the Phalerians and the genos of the Phoinikes.<sup>4</sup> The site of the hippodrome, from which the epithet Hippodromios is surely derived,<sup>5</sup> has been a subject of controversy. The problem was advanced toward a solution by the discovery about 600 m. north of New Phaleron of a votive relief of Echelos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4546), the eponymos of Echelidai.<sup>6</sup> For by determining the position of Echelidai we determine that of the hippodrome also, since the hippodrome lay in Echelidai.<sup>7</sup> Judeich, however, seems to attach no importance to this find, notwithstanding that Milchhöfer

<sup>1</sup> *Thes.*, 17, 6. The translation presented is that of Perrin in the Loeb Classics.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the other hero, Phaiax, made the perversion almost inevitable. Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Protr.* 2, 40, 2, p. 30, 20 Stähl. The scholiast on this passage, however, names the hero Androgeos (Paus., I, 1, 4); cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 225, n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Diony. Hal., *Din.* 10; cf. Töpffer, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

<sup>5</sup> In the Greek poets the epithet is found only in Pindar, *Isthm.*, 1, 54: *Κρόνον σειστόχθον' υἱὸν γέλιον* - - - *ἐδεργέταν ἀρμάτων ἑπποδρόμιον*. Poseidon is meant. It is not a cult-title. The scholiast on this passage (Abel, *Scholia in Pindarum*, II, 76, p. 373), citing Chrysippos, says that there was a hieron of Poseidon Hippodromios at Thebes. Pindar's allusion (*γέλιον*) is to the temple of Poseidon Hippios at Onchestos. Bischoff in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VIII, 1735, says, on the basis of Pindar, that "*Ποσειδῶν Ἱπποδρόμιος* hat dieselbe Bedeutung wie *Ποσειδῶν Ἱππιος*." I venture to doubt it. Hippios is undoubtedly a cult-title. Hippodromios seems to me to be rather a descriptive epithet. In Athens the well-known temple of Poseidon Hippios was situated on Kolonos Hippios (Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 414, 442), far removed from the heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros. It cannot come in question in our text. In Thebes, if the scholiast is speaking by the book, the epithet is probably to be connected with Poseidon's month in Boeotia, which was named Hippodromios (Bischoff, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>6</sup> "Das Relief des Echelos steht auf der Rückseite eines Weihreliefs an Hermes und die Nymphen lediglich um den Ort ihres Kultes zu bezeichnen." Wilamowitz, *Sitz. preuß. Akad.*, 1906, p. 67, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

had already evaluated it correctly,<sup>1</sup> since, following Leake and Wachsmuth,<sup>2</sup> he still locates Echelidai, and with it the hippodrome, in "die weitere nordwestliche Umgebung des Peiraeus." We have, I think, to regard the shrine of Poseidon Hippodromios as one of a complex of shrines to which the heroa of Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros belonged (see above, p. 22), and since two of these lay near the shrine of Skiros in Phaleron, they were all situated in the same neighborhood in Old Phaleron. But since they were also in or near New Phaleron, the conclusion seems obvious that Old and New Phaleron occupied approximately the same site. An alternate site for Old Phaleron, recently taken up again by John Day,<sup>3</sup> at St. George, on the east side of the Bay of Phaleron, is too far away (1800 m.) from this group of Phalerian sanctuaries to come in question. The Phalerians cannot have lived thus remote from their temples and heroa. And the same objection applies to the site at St. Sotir advocated by Judeich<sup>4</sup> for the "Dorf und Demos Phaleron"<sup>5</sup> which, without evidence, he separates from the "Hafendorf." This he places at the same point as Day.<sup>6</sup> St. Sotir is even farther distant than St. George from the mouth of the Kephisos. The temple of Poseidon and the heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros were obviously near the coast. That the sea extended as far inland as St. Sotir in early classical times is an hypothesis only.<sup>7</sup> We have, I believe, to reckon with the close proximity of the hippodrome and Old Phaleron. The temple of Poseidon, near which the hippodrome lay, as the epithet of the god shows, was in fact in Phaleron. There is no chance that the hippodrome lay near St. George. It was not thus far distant from the Peiraeus or from Athens ([*Dem.*], XLVII, 53, 62, 76). Nor can the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi (cf. p. 26, n. 2) have lain to the east of St. George.

The problem of the Phalerian Wall is involved in this determination. There is no longer any reason for supposing that it reached the sea at St. George. I agree with Lehmann-Hartleben<sup>8</sup> that it must have included Old Phaleron. Its length, 35 stades,<sup>9</sup> would permit it, after reaching the coast at a point east of the mouth of the Kephisos, to follow the shore to the fortifications of the Peiraeus.

<sup>1</sup> In Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 171 ff. This determination rests essentially on (1) Steph. Byz., *s. v.* 'Εχελίδαι· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ 'Εχέλου ἤρωος· οὕτως δ' ἀπὸ 'Ελους τόπον μεταξὺ ὄντος τοῦ Πειραιεύς καὶ τοῦ τετρακόμου 'Ηρακλείου, and (2) the identification of the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi (Peiraeus, Phaleron, Xypete, Thymoitaiai) with the Herakleion at the ferry to Salamis (Plut., *Them.*, 13). But the identification is baseless. For an alternative location see Milchhöfer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 1911. Something is thought to be amiss in the text of Xen., *Hipp.*, III, 1, which, treating of cavalry manoeuvres, enumerates τὰ τε ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀνκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῦ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ, since "nothing in the sequel refers to manoeuvres at Phaleron." Some would excise καὶ τὰ Φαληροῦ (cf. Marchand in Loeb Classics), others would excise καὶ ἀφ' Ἐρακλείου (Koerte, Sauppe). The text may stand if τὰ Φαληροῦ were simply the preliminaries to τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ. Timaeus, *Lex. Plat.*, *s. v.* Φαληρικόν appends ἵπποδρόμον Ἀθήνησιν.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceed. A. P. A.*, 59, 1928, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 426; cf. Abb. 13, p. 156 and 14, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> See on the general subject Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Klio, Beiheft*, XIV, pp. 79 f., 247.

<sup>9</sup> *Thucy.*, II, 13, 7.

The conjunction of Poseidon with Phaiax and Nauseiros shows that we have to do with a cult of sea-faring men.<sup>1</sup> The sacrifice of the Salaminioi to this group of three heroes and a god may be motivated in their interest in Teukros, the uncle and guardian of Eurysakes (cf. Horace, *Odes*, I, 6: *Cras ingens iterabimus aequor*); or in their interest in Theseus, Poseidon's son (cf. below), the reputed founder of the heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros. But it may have no mythological motive at all. The Salaminioi may themselves have had maritime connections prompting them to win the favor of these patrons of navigators (cf. below, pp. 44f.).

According to Philochoros (above, p. 25) the Pilot's Festival (Kybernesia) was celebrated in honor of Phaiax and Nausithoos (Nauseiros). Deubner<sup>2</sup> links it with Theseus, and makes it one of the fêtes associated with the Theseia. There is unmistakably a mythological connection: the two heroes were made into the ship's officers of Theseus; but the myth is probably late, superimposed on something earlier as the legend of Theseus grew (see below, pp. 28, 41). Now that we find Phaiax and Nauseiros attached to the Phalerian cult of Poseidon we may without hesitation relate the Kybernesia to the sea-god to whom they naturally belong, and date them in Boedromion, probably on Poseidon's day, the eighth. They were probably administered by the genos of the Phoinikes; certainly not by the Salaminioi.

The Salaminioi also offered a sacrifice to Theseus (I. 92), but not in Boedromion. Theseus was honored on the sixth of the following month, Pyanopsion, two days before "the greatest sacrifice" to Theseus on the occasion of the Theseia. The *locus classicus* is Plutarch, *Thes.*, 36, 4: "The chief sacrifice which the Athenians make in his honour comes on the eighth day of the month Pyanopsion, the day on which he came back from Crete with the youths. But they honour him also on the eighth day of the other months, either because he came to Athens in the first place, from Troezen, on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer states, or because they consider this number more appropriate for him than any other since he was said to be a son of Poseidon. For they pay honours to Poseidon on the eighth day of every month."<sup>3</sup> The Theseia came on the eighth of Pyanopsion.<sup>4</sup> They were preceded by sacrifices indirectly in Theseus' honor, one to the Amazones,<sup>5</sup> one to his teacher, Konnidias, on the seventh.<sup>6</sup> On the sixth the Salaminioi sacrificed to him. On what occasion? Plutarch tells us that when Theseus reached the shore he first offered the sacrifices (those of the Osephoria)<sup>7</sup> which he had vowed to the gods at Phaleron when he set sail for Crete; then on the seventh, "after burying his father, he paid his vows to Apollo," that being the day on which "he had come back to the city (*ἄστυ*) in safety."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Radermacher, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, 1904, pp. 449 ff.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225; cf. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Perrin's translation in the Loeb Classics.

<sup>4</sup> Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 288 f.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496, ll. 134, 143.

<sup>5</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 27, 7; cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 290, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 22, 3; 23, 2 f.

<sup>8</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 22, 4.

The seventh (Apollo's day) of Pyanopsion was the day of the Pyanopsia.<sup>1</sup> On the ninth the Stenia began the cycle of the Thesmophoria, which continued throughout the tenth to the thirteenth.<sup>2</sup> The calendar of the Theseus legend is obviously derived from the dates of the fêtes with which his story, as it developed, was interwoven.<sup>3</sup> When in 475 B.C. the Theseia were taken over by the state, if not first inaugurated, they were assigned to the day conveniently vacant, the eighth,<sup>4</sup> which was construed as the day of Theseus' return to Athens. The day of the sacrifice of the Salaminioi to Theseus is that of the Oschophoria.<sup>5</sup> On that occasion they went in a procession from Athens to Phaleron. The sacrifice may have been offered at either place.

The sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros which the Salaminioi entered in their calendar fell, not at the time of the Oschophoria, but in the following month, Maimakterion, not at the time of the vintage, but in November–December, in the lambing season.<sup>6</sup> The victim offered to the goddess was a pregnant ewe. I can find no fête with which to connect this sacrifice. Maimakterion was the leanest month of the Attic year in public religious celebrations. The failure of the *genos* to enter in its calendar a sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros from the rental of the land at the Herakleion on the sixth of Pyanopsion does not mean that they did not sacrifice then. They may have used other income for the purpose, or, and this is more probable, the expense of the sacrifice may have been defrayed wholly by the *deipnophoroi* and *oschophoroi* and the public treasury. Sacrifice they certainly did (Il. 20 ff., 61 ff.).

Naturally the Salaminioi sacrificed to Athena at the Panathenaia (l. 88) and to Zeus Phratrios at the Apatouria (l. 92). As a corporation of Athenian citizens they could not fail thus to honor Athena, and as a corporation of the Athenian kindred they had to join with their "brothers" in the great festival of the phratries. The Apatouria were a three days' fête, celebrated simultaneously at different points in Attica. The victim of the Salaminioi was a single pig. It was a collective offering, participated in, at least theoretically, by the entire *genos*. If the Salaminioi belonged to several phratries these phratries obviously celebrated the Apatouria at one and the same place.<sup>7</sup> The presumption

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1363, 7; Harpoer., *s. v.*; Deubner, *op. cit.*, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163 ff., where the earlier literature is cited.

<sup>4</sup> Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III<sup>1</sup>, pp. 502 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, n. 4 f., 290, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, *s. v. πρόβατον*, *Τομ. Κ*, p. 694.

<sup>7</sup> Two Salaminioi, Stratophon and Demon of Agryle (above, p. 14), appear in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2345 as members of a thiasos, by name Diogenes' thiasos, of an unknown phratry. Since its roll (col. II, ll. 58–84), which is, to all appearances, complete, lacks the names of all the other contemporary Salaminioi known to us (unless Straton, l. 75, is Stratophon's father, and in *///ΗΜΑΡΓΟΣ Ἄγγελ*, l. 83, is hidden Demaretos, Demon's son or father), it is obvious that in this phratry thiasos and *genos* did not coincide. It is conceivable, though not probable, that all the thiasotai of Diogenes were Salaminioi, but manifestly all the Salaminioi were not members of his thiasos; and since none of the other 15 Salaminioi named in No. 1 is identifiable in the rolls of the other thiasoi, only two of which are, however, complete, it is improbable that all the Salaminioi belonged to this one phratry.

is that this place was Athens itself, where, doubtless, the largest body of phrateres was convened on this occasion (cf. Xen., *Hell.*, I, 7, 8).

The calendar of the Salaminioi records one further sacrifice. On the seventh of Metageitnion (Apollo's day) they offered a pig to Apollo Patroos, a suckling pig to Leto, another to Artemis, and a third to Athena Agelaa. Artemis is associated with Apollo Patroos in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4726. Leto may well have been. That Athena, not Leto, was the mother of Apollo Patroos is affirmed by Wernicke.<sup>1</sup> This affirmation rests on statements of Cicero (*de nat. deorum*, III, 55, 57) and Johannes Lydus (*de mensibus*, IV, p. 135, 9, Wunsch), which in turn are perversions of the legend of Erichthonios and deserve no credence.<sup>2</sup> Athena Agelaa has been unknown hitherto. Her cult was obviously associated with that of Apollo Patroos (see above, p. 22): the sacrifice to both was made on the same day. The public temple of Apollo Patroos seen by Pausanias<sup>3</sup> stood on the western side of the agora, immediately below and east of the Hephaisteion, between the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Metroon. It was erected in the fourth century B.C. in a temenos which had once possessed a smaller apsidal edifice. Directly north of it was a little detached building, which may be thought to have belonged to Athena Agelaa.<sup>4</sup> The cult statue of the fourth century temple of Apollo Patroos was the work of Euphranor, whose *akme* is placed by Pliny<sup>5</sup> in Ol. 104 (364/3–361/0 B.C.). The new temple can hardly have antedated 363/2 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> but the temenos was ancient. We cannot be sure that the sacrifice of the Salaminioi was offered in the public shrine. One genos (the Elasi dai) had a private temenos of Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2602), and since another (the Gephyraioi) had a priest of Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3629, 3630), it probably had a shrine also. The Salaminioi did not have a priest. Hence they doubtless lacked a shrine. They probably made their offering in the public temenos. Agelaa can have nothing to do with the epic epithet of Athena, ἀγελείη, ἀγελήϊς, which is derived from ἄγω and λεία and means "forager."<sup>7</sup> Ἀγελάα is a perfectly good Attic spelling of Ἀγελαιά, meaning "of a herd" (ἀγέλη). It may also be a distinct word derived from ἄγω and λαός, as ἀγέστρατος, a Hesiodic epithet of Athena,<sup>8</sup> is derived from ἄγω and στρατός; and if it reflects the epic use of λαός it may mean, like ἀγέστρατος, "leader of the host;" otherwise, "leader of the people." The adjective ἀγέλαος is not attested, but the proper name Ἀγέλαος exists.<sup>9</sup> Linguistically there is a difficulty to which my colleague Professor Joshua Whatmough kindly drew my attention: "though ἀγέ-λα-ος would be a regular formation, it belongs to a type which normally has only two terminations, masc. and neut., the fem. being the *o*-stem masc. form." There are, however, exceptions.<sup>10</sup> The epic epithet quoted

<sup>1</sup> In Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, II, 21, 63.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, p. 129, n. 32. <sup>3</sup> I, 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Homer Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 104 ff. Thompson reports that it was constructed before the temple of Apollo Patroos. He takes it to be a temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria. The earlier apsidal building he identifies as a temple of Apollo Patroos destroyed by the Persians in 479 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> XXXIV, 50, XXXV, 128. <sup>6</sup> Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, p. 5; cf. Cornutus, *Nat. Deorum*, 20, 188.

<sup>8</sup> *Theog.*, 925. <sup>9</sup> *P. A.*, 110, 111. <sup>10</sup> Kühner-Blass, II, 1, p. 539.

above, *ἀγελείη*, is a pertinent example. I think this second etymology is to be preferred. "Of a herd," even if it could be construed to mean "protectress of herds," which is doubtful, would be an unique epithet of any Athena, whereas the conjunction of Athena "leader of the host or people" with Apollo Patroos would be most appropriate.

We know that a public sacrifice was offered to Apollo in Metageitnion, but the Apollo in question has the epithet Metageitnios.<sup>1</sup> There was also an Attic festival called the Metageitnia, regarding the origin of which Plutarch<sup>2</sup> tells a curious tale: Athenian exiles and men without a country moved from Melite *εἰς Λιωμίδα*, and on their arrival founded the fête, *τὴν πρὸς ἐτέρους γειννίασιν εὐκόλως καὶ ἰλαρῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ στέργοντες*. This tale may be rejected as a myth invented to explain the name.<sup>3</sup> The name alone remains, and I do not see how we can make anything in the least certain out of it. Radermacher, with some aid from Plutarch's tale, an ingenious etymology, and far-fetched analogies, thinks of it as indicating a fête of neighbors. It is not certain that the Metageitnia honored Apollo. Gruppe,<sup>4</sup> following Mommsen, relates it with Herakles.

Very little is known about the public cult which centred in the shrine of Apollo Patroos in the agora. It had a priest, of course (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5061, 3530, 3697). The Apollo who was patroos was the Pythian Apollo (*Dem.*, XVIII, 141).<sup>5</sup> The Thargelia, on the sixth and seventh of Thargelion, were an occasion when, as part of the required solemnity, a citizen brought his own or an adopted son *ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς εἰς τοὺς γενήτας τε καὶ φράτερας* and swore that he was the offspring of an Athenian mother and born in wedlock (*Isae.*, VII, 13 ff.). What seems to be the same ceremony is described by Demosthenes (LVII, 54): *παιδίον ὄντα μ' εὐθέως ἤγον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶον μ' ἤγον καὶ τέλλ' ἱερά* (cf. 67, where *Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶον καὶ Διὸς ἐρκείου γεννῆται* follows *φράτερες*). After the oath the phrateres and gennetai took a vote and the son was admitted to their official registers only when the vote turned out in the affirmative (*Isae.*, VII, 16). On the basis of this testimony Mommsen<sup>6</sup> and Deubner<sup>7</sup> conclude that the Apollo Pythios in whose honor the Thargelia were celebrated (*Suidas*, s. v. *Πύθιον*) was Apollo Patroos. This conclusion may be accepted, but with the modification that the Apollo of the Thargelia was *an* Apollo Patroos. The Pythion was the central point in the celebration of the Thargelia (*Suidas*, *loc. cit.*). The more natural place for the gene which had a cult of Apollo Patroos to administer the oath was in their own shrines or in the shrine in the agora. All the gene did not admit new members at the same time. The Kerykes, for example, for whom Hermes was patroos, enrolled members on the occasion of the Apatouria (*Andoc.*, I, 126). I suggest that any Pythian Apollo could be

<sup>1</sup> Lysimachides *ap.* Harpoer., s. v. *Μεταγεινιών*; cf. *Suid.* and *Phot.*

<sup>2</sup> *De exilio*, 6, p. 601 b.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Radermacher, *Sitz. Wien. Akad.*, 187, 3, pp. 11 ff.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 202; *Judeich*, *op. cit.*, p. 60, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Supplbd. III, 927.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 45 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

regarded as patroos. If Herakles was the deity in whose honor the Metageitnia were celebrated, Metageitnios simply describes the Apollo who received homage in the month Metageitnion. Hence it is possible that the Salaminioi in sacrificing to Apollo Patroos on the seventh of Metageitnion did so on the occasion of their annual meeting for the admission of new members.

It is frequently affirmed that all the Attic gene possessed cults of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos.<sup>1</sup> This is, to say the least, an over-simplification. Two gene alone, the Elasedai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2602)<sup>2</sup> and the Gephyraioi (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3629, 3630; *Her.*, V, 53 ff.) are known to have had a gentile cult of Apollo Patroos. A cult of Apollo, possibly Patroos, is also attested for the Erysichthonidai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4991; *B.C.H.*, LIII, 183). We have now complete lists of the priesthoods of two gene, the Kerykes (Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819 f.) and the Salaminioi. Neither had a priest of Zeus Herkeios or of Apollo Patroos. Hermes, not Apollo, was patroos for the Kerykes (cf. also *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 59–64). His priest was at the same time herald of Apollo Pythios, with whom the genos had close relations.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, the Salaminioi offered a sacrifice annually to Apollo Patroos from their own funds and another biennially to Ion. These are the primary facts at our disposal.

Eduard Meyer<sup>4</sup> has argued with great vigor (1) that originally the Attic gene (Adelsgeschlechter) did not trace themselves back to Apollo Patroos but each to its own particular progenitor deity; and (2) that it was only comparatively late (in the fifth century B.C.) that by a fiction Apollo became their patroos. The case of the Kerykes, could he have known it, would have strengthened his argument; that of the Salaminioi would have given him no serious difficulty; and he could perhaps have explained away those of the Elasedai, Gephyraioi, and Erysichthonidai as the effect of late innovations. In their case the cult of Apollo Patroos was not a fiction but a reality: in order to make a place for it each must have dropped the cult of its own particular progenitor deity if it had one. Surely a genos cannot have had two θεοὶ πατρῶοι simultaneously. The only way I can see to get around these three cases is to maintain that these gene themselves were organized late. That is not impossible (see above, p. 12; below, pp. 43, n. 3, 46), except in the case of the Gephyraioi, the genos of which Harmodios and Aristogeiton were members (*Her.*, V, 53). On the other hand, the alternative view, the one generally held, is in flat contradiction with what we now know about the Kerykes and the Salaminioi.

A new hypothesis is required. I suggest that the worship of both Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos belonged properly to the households (οἴκοι)—the family units of which both phratries (originally at least) and gene were composed. In Plato's *Euthydemos*

<sup>1</sup> Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1885, p. 8; Töpffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 f.; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, pp. 965, 1168; De Sanctis, *Atthis*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 60 ff.; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, pp. 237, n. 1, 266.

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269, n. 13; De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 3; Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 268, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Colin, *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes*, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II<sup>1</sup>, pp. 87, 308 ff. = III<sup>2</sup>, pp. 283 ff.; *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, II, pp. 520 ff.

(302 c) Socrates says: ἔστι γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἱερά οἰκεῖα καὶ πατροῦα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὄσα περ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις τῶν τοιούτων. He points out that it was not Zeus who was patroos of the Athenians and the other Ionians,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατροῦος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν· Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν πατροῦος οὐ καλεῖται, ἐρκεῖος δὲ καὶ φρατρίος, καὶ Ἀθηναίη φρατρία. He affirms, in substance, that Zeus was herkeios and phratrios and Apollo patroos of *all* Athenians. The question put to the Nine Archons at their dokimasia<sup>2</sup>—εἰ ἔστιν ἀντιῶ Ἀπόλλων πατροῦος καὶ Ζεὺς ἐρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστιν, εἶτα ἡρία εἰ ἔστιν καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα—implies a restriction—that there were some Athenians who could not answer this question in the affirmative; but inability to designate the ἱερά or the ἡρία (and it is here that the point of the interrogation lies) can have arisen purely through neglect. The poor must often have lived in other people's houses and have lacked private burial plots.

As we have seen, the cult of Apollo Patroos was inherent in or cultivated by some of the gene and administered by them for their households either collectively or additionally. Some gene, on the other hand, failing to possess a cult of their own, recognized their descent from Apollo by offering periodically sacrifices to him and to Ion, his son. Others like the Kerykes contented themselves by paying homage to an Apollo, not their patroos. How far the gene went in this direction was a matter of their history or their volition. Yet because of the household cult their members could all answer affirmately the questions put should the lot designate them for the office of archon.<sup>3</sup> Their membership in phratries might help them in some cases. For the cult of Apollo Patroos was also cultivated by certain of the phratries, such as the Therrikleidai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4973) and perhaps the Achniadai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4974), but not, for example, the Demotionidai who had at most a hieron of Leto (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1237, l. 125).

Zeus Herkeios seems to have remained generally within the *ἐρη* of the households (ἐρκεῖος Ζεὺς, ᾧ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἐρκου ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ ἴδρυνται); but he had an altar in the Pandroseion on the Acropolis—a survival, perhaps, of the household cult of the King;<sup>4</sup> and in the passage of Demosthenes (LVII, 67) cited above (p. 30) the phrase Ἀπόλλωνος πατροῦος καὶ Διὸς ἐρκεῖου γεννῆται implies that the speaker's genos had a cult of Zeus Herkeios as well as of Apollo Patroos.<sup>5</sup> Kahrstedt identifies Zeus Herkeios with Zeus Phratrios

<sup>1</sup> Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 987 and 991 (cf. notes) show that Zeus *was* patroos for at least some Ionians.

<sup>2</sup> Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 3. The note of Harpocration, *s. v.* Ἐρκεῖος Ζεὺς is also relevant: Δεῖναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοσχίωνος· εἰ φράτορες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς Ἐρκεῖου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πατροῦος εἰσίν. Ἐρκεῖος Ζεὺς, ᾧ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἐρκου ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ ἴδρυνται. "Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτοις μετῆν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἴη Ζεὺς Ἐρκεῖος, δεδῆλωκε καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Hypereides, it appears, made the possession of a domestic cult of Zeus Herkeios the criterion of citizenship.

<sup>3</sup> See further Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VIII, 686 f.

<sup>4</sup> Philochoros *ap.* Diony. Hal., *Din.*, 3; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 350; Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 338.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1885, p. 4, n. 2. Dittenberger's observation, that the word γεννῆται "überhaupt nie anders als in der bestimmten staatsrechtlichen Bedeutung vorkommt," entails this conclusion. Dittenberger himself, however, says of Zeus Herkeios: "ille quidem eorum modo communionem qui eandem domum una habitant tuetur (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 991, n. 1)."

and thus makes him the prime person in the phratry cult.<sup>1</sup> I can find no evidence for this.<sup>2</sup> The god of the phratries is, I believe, invariably called Zeus Phratrios.<sup>3</sup>

The known scenes of the religious activities of the Salaminioi are (1) Athens (Eurysakes; Pandrosos and Aglauros; Apollo Patroos, Leto, Artemis, Athena Agelaa; Athena Polias = Panathenaia; Zeus Phratrios = Apatouria), (2) Phaleron<sup>4</sup> (Athena Skiras and Skiros; Poseidon Hippodromios, Phaiax, Teukros, Nauseiros), (3) Sounion (Ioleos, Alkmene, Maia, Herakles; the heroes at the Hale, Antisara, and Pyrgilion; Ion). The calendar has characteristics of its own. The cycle opens with Mounichion. The Herakleia at the Porthmos are its beginning. During the following two months (Thargelion and Skirophorion) the calendar is vacant. For each of the first five months of the civil year (Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, and Maimakterion) it prescribes sacrifices. The four months Posideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion (Dec.—Jan. to March—April inclusive) are blank. The opening of the cycle with Mounichion, instead of Hekatombaion, is doubtless due to the significance of the Herakleia. On this occasion the Salaminioi *ἀντοὶ ἦσαν* as they were not, for example, at the Oskophoria; and it is probably no accident that document No. 2 is dated *Μουνιχιῶνος Ἡρακλείους*. The Herakleia were the first meeting of the genos after a long suspension of activity. There would be arrears of business. There is no trace in our calendar of the division of the year into three month periods, such as exists in that of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358), where naturally the *τετάρτη τριμήνος* began with Mounichion. The four consecutive months without sacrifices do not coincide with the four months of ordinary maritime inactivity, which included Maimakterion and excluded Elaphebolion.

The sacrifices thus far considered belong to the category introduced by *ὄσα δέ* in line 24. The other category, that introduced by *ὄσα μὲν* in line 20, includes two groups of victims, those furnished by the state at the public expense<sup>5</sup> and those which reached the Salaminioi through the intermediary of the oskophoroi and the deipnophoroi. The

<sup>1</sup> *Staatsgebiet*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Plato (above) separates them. So does Kratinos the Younger: *Ζεὺς ἔστιν μοι ἐρκείος, ἔστιν φράτριος, τὰ τέλη τελεῶ* (Athen., XI, 460 f. Kock, *C. A. F.*, II, 291, 9).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, 1935, p. 21, No. 1, l. 92.

<sup>4</sup> The sacrifice to Theseus may have been made either in Phaleron (cf. below, p. 38) or in Athens.

<sup>5</sup> Aeschines (III, 18) shows that in such cases an accounting was due to the state: "The law directs that priests and priestesses be subject to audit (*ὑπεύθυνοι*), all collectively, and each severally and individually—persons who receive perquisites (*γέρα*) only, and whose occupation is to pray to heaven for you; and they are made accountable not only separately, but whole priestly families together (*κοινῇ τὰ γένη*), the Eumolpidae, the Cerycees, and all the rest." (Adams' translation in the Loeb Classics.) Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen z. Magistratur in Athen*, pp. 168 f.) affirms that only priests and priestesses appointed by the state were *ὑπεύθυνοι*, and that the word, as used by Aeschines, "bedeutet nur die Verantwortung für die rituell korrekte Vollziehung der Opfer namens des Staates, die durch eine Anklage im Verfehlungsfall, aber nicht durch *εἰθυνοαι* erzwungen werden kann." Dittenberger (*Hermes*, 1885, p. 31) concludes, on the contrary, that the accounting entailed, not "eine strafrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit der Corporation als solcher," but, probably, "nur eine Rechnungslegung über Staatsgelder." In our inscription the state appears as the donor of sacrificial animals and not of money (ll. 20, 87).

flesh of both groups is not to be eaten on the spot but carried home raw. Some victims given by the state were sacrificed at the Herakleia, but these are not included in our first group since they were roasted on the altars at Sounion. Both our groups were manifestly offered at the Oschophoria. The Oschophoria were not financed with the income of the Salaminioi from the rental of the land at the Herakleion. The sources of the victims received from the "bearers of vines laden with grapes" and the "women who carried provisions" is not indicated. The transmitters may have been also the donors, but the words used (*γίγνεται παρά*) suggests rather that they only raised the money or collected the animals. It is not made clear from whom the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi were themselves chosen. According to the rules for their appointment laid down in the text they need not have been members of the *genos*. The *genos* doubtless comprised, on the basis of consanguinity with its members boys and women—the sons, daughters, and mothers of the men; for the priestesses as well as the priests were allotted *ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων* (ll. 11 ff.). Hence the deipnophoroi may have been Salaminioi. But there is nothing in the rules to exclude the possibility that the Salaminioi went outside their own group to recruit the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi. There is, however, nothing to suggest that such was the case. The oschophoroi had to be rich and well-born (*τῷ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προύχοντες*),<sup>1</sup> i.e., *gennetai*. The chances are that both those charges were liturgical in character. The flesh of the victims they transmitted was distributed among the Salaminioi alone (ll. 23 f.). In view of this reservation it is best to think that the choice was limited to the families of the *genos*. Otherwise oschophoroi and deipnophoroi might be debarred from sharing in the sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> The deipnophoroi were doubtless responsible for the food they carried. The oschophoroi were only two in number—and boys. Since the funds for the victims for the Oschophoria are not debited to the account of the *genos* they probably represent voluntary contributions, mainly, it is to be presumed, on the part of individual Salaminioi.<sup>3</sup>

In the *gnosis* of the arbitrators provision is made that the two branches of the *genos* shall receive, half and half, the flesh and skins of the victims offered at the "*prothuma* of the contest." The *prothuma* was not one of the private sacrifices of the *genos*. Had such been the case, it must have appeared somewhere in the calendar drawn up on Archeleus' motion. Of the sacrifices there calendared the only one which could possibly be identified with the *prothuma* is that offered to Theseus. The time accords. But the victim offered to Theseus was a pig, which, of course, yielded no *derma*. The "contest" is not defined, but a contest between epebes furnished by the *phylai* was a feature of the Oschophoria. So far as we know this is the only contest with which the *genos* was

<sup>1</sup> Hesych., s. v. *ὄσχοφόροι*; cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Such contributors may have received the thanks of the *genos* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232 if Wade-Gery's restorations of lines 3 ff. (*Class. Quart.*, 1931, p. 85, n. 2) are correct: [*τοὺς τεθνη*]ένους καὶ τὰς τεθν[μένους τὰς θύσας] ἀπὲρ τοῦ θή[μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τοῦ γένους | τοῦ Σαλαμινίων]ν. Unfortunately the length of the lines is unknown.

concerned. The rule covering the sacrifice of victims not furnished by the *genos* itself runs as follows: *ταῦτα μὲν κοινῆι ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὠμὰ τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρως*. Compare this with the section dealing with the "prothuma of the contest:" *τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τῷ ἐμίλλῳ ἐμ μέρει ἑκατέρως κατέρχεσθαι· τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρως λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων*. Can the latter concern a particular feature of the former? In the one case both parties appear as *κοινῆι θύοντας*. In the other case each party is required *ἐμ μέρει κατέρχεσθαι*. There is no contradiction here: both could sacrifice in common yet each officiate in turn (see below, p. 61). The general rule prescribes only the division of the flesh. The particular prescription, if such it is, adds the division of the skins. The sacrifice obviously consisted of a number of pelted animals. The skins were not sold for the benefit of the state treasury, as they were, for example, at the Theseia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496, ll. 134, 143). Neither the repetition concerning the flesh nor the addition concerning the skins need be a differential. No moneys from the sale of skins *ἐξ' Ὀσχοφορίων* were received by the state.<sup>1</sup> The omission of *ὠμὰ* may imply a different disposition of the flesh and, hence, two occasions; but not necessarily. The absence of *ὠμὰ* does not require the consumption of the flesh on the spot. The animals for the *prothuma*, it should be noted, are taken for granted. If they were not secured from either of the two sources set forth in ll. 20 ff. they must have been acquired through gentile resources not acknowledged either in these lines or in the annual budget. In that case a ruling of the arbitrators on the method to be followed in financing the *prothuma* would be expected. It is emphasized in our record that the rent of the land at Porthmos is to be drawn on to defray the cost of *all* the sacrifices which the Salaminioi performed from their own resources (ll. 26 f., 82, 84, 94). That seems to exclude straight gentile financing of the *prothuma*. However, it is not said or implied that all the rent should be devoted to these sacrifices, nor is it suggested in any way that the Salaminioi possessed no private resources other than those budgeted for the sacrifices. And, in fact, it is clear that they disposed of funds over and above the 530 drachmas, 3 obols expended for this purpose. They had the money with which to defray the cost of repairing the shrines (ll. 54 ff.). They made outlays for inscribing their records on stone (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232). The balance of the rental, if there was any, may have sufficed for these expenditures. Possible income from the Hale and the agora in Koile may also be considered.

In conclusion, I think we may say that the *prothuma* was a feature of the Oschophoria. After all, the casual reference to *the* contest implies that the Salaminioi were concerned with only one.

<sup>1</sup> According to Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 191, n. 2, 286 ff.) the state obtained and sold for its own benefit the skins only in the case of sacrifices performed by magistrates without the services of priests. Except in the case of priests who received a salary (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 24) the skins were the perquisite of the officiating priest everywhere in the Greek world (p. 289). Kahrstedt points out himself the difficulty presented by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496—the change from year to year in the case of the same fête of the responsible magistracy. It seems to me that the receipt of the skins by the priest was conditioned in each case by the issuance of special orders to that effect. If the priest received them as a matter of course why issue the orders?

The Oschophoria were the occasion when the Salaminioi appeared most conspicuously in the public view. It seems appropriate to enter at this point a statement of what, with the aid of our new documents, we are able to ascertain regarding this fête. The oschophoroi were only two in number.<sup>1</sup> There is a confusion in Athenaeus (XI, 495 f. = Aristodemos) and Schol. Nikand. *Alexipharmaceia*, 109<sup>2</sup> between the oschophoroi and the epebes from each phyle who, according to Proclus *δημιλλῶντι πρὸς ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ*. The latter were, after 508/7 B.C., at least ten in number. Robert makes them definitely ten,<sup>3</sup> Stengel definitely twenty,<sup>4</sup> neither with any real evidence. Their *ἐμιλλος*, as we have just seen, had a place on the program of the Oschophoria. We now learn that an official (*ἄρχων*), designated by lot from the two branches of the Salaminioi in turn, selected the oschophoroi (and the deipnophoroi) "with the coöperation of the priestess and the herald." The purport of this rule was obviously to equalize the two branches of the genos. Complaints that in their selection one branch or the other was favored doubtless called for the action of the arbitrators. One oschophoros probably represented each branch. The priestess is, of course, the priestess of Athena Skiras. The herald of the Salaminioi played an exceptional rôle at this fête. The two oschophoroi were youths (*νεανίαι*) who, "clad in women's garments," i.e., probably, in old Ionic chitons,<sup>5</sup> and bearing branches of grapevines laden with clusters of grapes, went from the shrine of Dionysos to the temenos of Athena Skiras at the head of a procession which included a chorus and was marshalled by a herald (in 363/2 B.C. named Thrasykles). In Alkiphron's epistles (I, 11) the oschophoroi are depicted as charming young city lads who, when seen in the procession, might captivate impressionable maidens. They played the leading rôle in the Oschophoria, and since the Salaminioi appointed them, doubtless from their own members, it is obvious that at least the central religious feature of the fête was administered by the genos. Since it also had control over the temple of Athena Skiras (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232, ll. 15 ff.), designated the deipnophoroi and the priestess of Athena Skiras, and conducted the "*prothuma* of the contest," it can, I think, be said to have possessed the public cult of Athena Skiras.

According to Liddell-Scott-Jones (*s. v.*) deipnophoroi are "bearers of meat offerings;" but the word need not be interpreted thus narrowly. Perrin translates it as "supper-carriers."<sup>6</sup> Food-carriers is more neutral. A religious occasion for the carrying is presupposed. After dealing with the oschophoroi Plutarch (*Thes.*, 23, 3) continues: *αἱ δὲ δειπνοφόροι παραλαμβάνονται καὶ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς θυσίας*, i.e., "are taken along (Perrin has, "take part in the procession") and share in the sacrifice." Our inscription No. 1 brings

<sup>1</sup> Proclus, *Chrest. ap. Phot., Bibl.*, p. 322, 13 Bekk. (quoted by Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 10, and by Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris*, p. 55); Harpoer., *s. v. ὄσχοφόροι*; Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, I, p. 318, 23, *s. v. ὄσχοι, ὄσχοφόροι*. Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 144, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, 1885, p. 356, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Griech. Kultusalt.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 178, n. V; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Loeb Classics, *Theseus*, 23, 3.

the ἄρτοι into the picture. They are described as being in the shrine of Skiras (ἐν Σκιράδος).<sup>1</sup> From the total number of loaves the Salaminioi first subtracted the loaves which were wont to be subtracted by ancient practice. These were set apart for a purpose which is not defined.<sup>2</sup> The remainder were divided, six going to specified officials, the balance, half and half, to the Sounians and the men from the Heptaphylai. The gennetai were, accordingly, present in the shrine at Phaleron. There are only two possible designations for the loaves reserved—the goddess and the non-Salaminioi taking part in the festival, among whom were, for example, the members of the chorus and the ephebes contesting in the foot race.<sup>3</sup> If, as seems probable, the δεῖπνα which the matrons carried included, or were, the ἄρτοι, they contributed to the sacrifice by offering loaves to the goddess. If the loaves were not part of the sacrifice those given to the priests would not have been characterized as gera.<sup>4</sup> The matrons had a further duty—the telling of tales during the stay at Phaleron. What these were we do not know. At some point in the proceedings dancers unapparelled trod the oschophoric measure (below, p. 39).

Ῥοσχοι were carried by the oschophoroi to the shrine of Athena Skiras and ἄρτοι by the deipnophoroi. There, in the oschophorion, an area in which the temple stood, drink offerings were made, on which occasion those present at the libations cried out “Eleleu! Iou! Iou!” (Plut., *Thes.*, 22, 3): There, too, victims were slaughtered, the flesh being distributed raw and carried away by the recipients. Each branch of the genos received half. If this sacrifice was “the *prothuma* of the contest,” the foot race of the ephebes, one or more from each phyle, followed. The winner (ὁ πρότερος, ὁ νικήσας), or, if there were as many victors as there were phylai, the victors, drank from a bowl, called the pentaploa, a punch of wine, honey, grated cheese, and a little barley meal and olive oil.<sup>5</sup> The finish of the foot race was undoubtedly the oschophorion. The starting point is uncertain. None is given by Proclus. Aristodemos (Athen., XI, 455 f.) says: τοῖς Σκίροις Ἀθήναζε ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων δρόμου. “Ἀθήναζε cannot be right as the text stands.”<sup>6</sup> If Σκίροις is right the ἀγών had nothing to do with the Oschophoria; but since we know nothing of an ἀγών at the Skira (Skiraphoria), Σκίροις is probably an error. It was easy to call a festival of Athena Skiras τοῖς Σκίροις. Aristodemos also says that the runners carried Ῥοσχοι and ran from the shrine of Dionysos to that of Athena Skiras. This was the route of the procession headed by the oschophoroi according to Proclus. One thing is certain, the runners did not form part of the procession. The matrons

<sup>1</sup> It was there that the deipnophoroi (according to Hypereides κατὰ Δημόιον as interpreted by Harpocr., s. v. δειπνοφόρος) delivered the τροφήν which they had brought. For ἐν with the genitive see Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 214, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the active ἀφελόντας we should have the middle ἀφελομένους if these formed the lot which was subsequently divided among the Salaminioi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 40 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 37, 48; 40, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Proclus, *loc. cit.*; Athen., XI, 495 f.

<sup>6</sup> Gulick, Loeb Classics, Athenaeus, V, p. 210.

and they could not have gone *pari passu*. Deubner<sup>1</sup> is, I think, right in contending that the ephebes are confused by Aristodemos with the oschophoroi, the race with the procession. Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, 239, 15, misrepresenting Philochoros probably, errs in making the deipnophoroi males. They were certainly women (l. 49). If the ἔμυλλος started from Athens we should perhaps put the *prothuma* there. It would then have to be distinguished from the sacrifice in the oschophorion, and since the Salaminioi were present at its performance it must have preceded the starting of the procession, and the *dromos* must have followed at a sufficient interval to allow the procession to reach Phaleron before the runners did. But for all we know the race may have been a short one and had its starting point not far from Phaleron. The Peiraeic Theseion was perhaps only about three stades away. As already noted (above, pp. 27 f.) the Salaminioi made a sacrifice to Theseus on the day of the Oschophoria (see also below, p. 41).

There is yet another feature of the Oschophoria to which Proclus gives attention—the participation in the procession headed by the oschophoroi of a chorus, singing songs (μέλη) called oschophoric. We are not told what these were. They may have been vintage songs. The chorus also appears in the report of Aristodemos.<sup>2</sup> Of the victor (victors?) in the foot race he says that he celebrated his triumph by reveling with the chorus (κωμάζει μετὰ χόρου). “Gewiß war es diese Form eines losen dionysischen Schwarmzuges,” says Deubner,<sup>3</sup> “in der sich alle Beteiligten nach Athen zurückbegaben.”

Deubner's interpretation of this special feature of the Oschophoria harmonizes with his general understanding of the fête. In his judgment the Oschophoria were celebrated in honor of Dionysos, and, accordingly, in his admirable book, to which I am greatly indebted, he enters the festival in the section entitled “Dionysos.” On page 143 he affirms that the ὄσχοι were “keine Gabe für Athena Skiras oder die Oschophoria ihr Fest. Am allerwenigsten aber hätte man diese das Hauptfest der Athena Skiras nennen sollen,” as Gjerstad does.<sup>4</sup> Mommsen<sup>5</sup> discusses the Oschophoria in the Section of his book entitled “Theseen und Epitaphien,” and remarks, “An den Oschophorienbräuchen fällt es auf, daß das Temenos der Athena Skiras benutzt wird, die Göttin selbst aber nebensächlich und geradezu überflüssig ist.” Pfuhl<sup>6</sup> likewise regards the association of the Oschophoria with Athena Skiras, instead of Dionysos, as accidental: “fortuito enim Oschophorium Minervae fano vicinum erat; cum autem Bacchi locus sacer templo careret, Minervae templum loci signum erat. quare, ut pompa ad illud duci videretur, factum est.” This subordination of Athena Skiras to Dionysos or to Theseus and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 144 f.

<sup>2</sup> Athen., XI, 496.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, 1929, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *De atheniensium pompis sacris*, p. 50. It seems to me obvious from the passage of Hesychius quoted above (p. 18) that the oschophorion was the enclosure (ἐπέρον) in which the temple (ναός) of Athena Skiras stood.

Dionysos conflicts with the ancient tradition. Suidas<sup>1</sup> and Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, I, 318, 23, our only authorities who make an express statement on the matter, report that the Oschophoria were an *ἐορτή* of Skiras Athena.

This tradition is substantiated by our new text. The Salaminioi, whose rôle in the administration of the Oschophoria was predominant, not only possessed the cult of Athena Skiras, but had nothing whatever to do with Dionysos. They do not even offer a sacrifice to him. The ascription of the fête to Dionysos rests on two grounds: (1) the designation of a shrine of Dionysos as the point of departure of the oschophoric procession;<sup>2</sup> and (2) the presence of allegedly Dionysiac characteristics in the ceremonies performed. It seems to me probable, in the light of our present knowledge, that by the shrine of Dionysos our authorities, i. e., their sources, meant simply *τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον*—the shrine of Dionysos *par excellence*—, and that the choice of this area as the point of assemblage for the participants in the procession was commended by its situation near the gate (the Diomeian?) whence started the road to Phaleron.<sup>3</sup> As to the second point this must be said in general, that it is hazardous to deny to Skiras Athena (and Skiros) rites which have a Dionysiac appearance. Rather, it is from the rites constituting the Oschophoria that we must form our conception of her cult. What come in question are in the first place the *ᾄσχοι* and in the second place the chorus and its performances. A chorus has no necessarily Dionysiac connotation. *Χοροί* were also associated in Athens with Apollo, Athena, Prometheus, Hephaistos,<sup>4</sup> and, doubtless, other deities as well. Of the *μέλη ᾠσχοφορικά* we know nothing; of the dances called oschophoric we know only that they belonged to the type of dancing known as *γυμνοπαιδική*. In Athenaeus they are paired with *οἱ βακχικοί*, by whom, too, both species are related to Dionysos.<sup>5</sup> At Sparta gymnopaedic dances belonged to the cult of Apollo. The performers were presumably naked, probably, but not necessarily, boys.<sup>6</sup> Like the ephebes the choreutai were probably *ἀγωνισταί*.<sup>7</sup> The “carriers of vines laden with grapes” furnish the strongest Dionysiac suggestion; but the *ᾄσχοι* were a peculiarity of the Oschophoria and are not otherwise connected with Dionysos. Plutarch offers the hypothesis that the oschophoroi carried them in honor of Dionysos and Ariadne, but prefers the simpler explanation that they bore them because the procession occurred at the time of the vintage.<sup>8</sup> His first suggestion recurs in modified form in Proclus, again as part of the aitiology connecting

<sup>1</sup> *S. v.* ᾠσχοφόρια.

<sup>2</sup> Proclus, *ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἱεροῦ*; Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, I, 318, 23, *παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου*; Aristodemos (Athen., XI, 495 f.), and Schol. Nikand. *Alexiph.*, 109, *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἡ ἄλλαδε ἐξελάνουσιν οἱ μύσται*, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 94; cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 56; [Xen.], *Const. of Ath.*, 3, 4; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 84, II<sup>2</sup>, 1138. Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 212 f. Robert (*Die griech. Heldensage*, II, p. 696) makes the chorus consist of “die übrigen zwölf Kinder, die das Festlied sangen.”

<sup>5</sup> XIV, 631 b.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hiller in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 2089.

<sup>7</sup> Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Thes.*, 23, 3.

the festival with Theseus: Theseus established the rites of the Oschophoria, *χαριστήρια ἀποδιδούς Ἀθηναῖαι καὶ Διονύσῳ, οἳ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Δίαν ἐπεφάνησαν*. That these rites were thought to have been created by Theseus is undeniable, equally so that they were understood in the light of his alleged acts on returning from Crete (see above, pp. 27 f.; below, p. 41); but this is universally recognized as relatively late mythology. Rites really Skiradic resembled rites familiar to our literary sources, all far removed in time from the age when Athena Skiras was a reality, in the many cults of Dionysos. The calendar of the Salaminioi compels us to extrude Dionysos.

From the rites, in their totality, we must seek to discover the goddess in whose honor they were performed. The fact that the grape-vines were laden with clusters of grapes seems significant. They were laid on the altar in Phaleron in thanksgiving, perhaps, for a bountiful vintage, for which, accordingly, credit was given to Athena Skiras. She was a goddess, possibly, not of generation, but of fruition. The same idea may underlie the fact that the ewe sacrificed to her in the lambing season (above, p. 28) was pregnant: she helped the flocks to safe and abundant deliverance in the critical time when their young were born. The loaves made from wheat specially ground (below, pp. 57 f.) were offered about four months after the grain harvest: bread, not grain, was the gift. The animal sacrifices and the *σπονδαί* are a common feature of Greek worship. The exclamations made at the latter, "Eleleu! Iou! Iou!" admit of a variety of interpretations,<sup>1</sup> and are not specifically Dionysiac.<sup>2</sup> A footrace of ephebes was a popular number on many religious programs; but the ingredients of the cup of which the victor (victors?) drank, olive oil, wine, honey, barley meal, and cheese, were the finished products of most of the arts of Attic husbandry. It was probably a joyous occasion, graced by a singing and dancing chorus and "eine festliche Mahlzeit" for the goddess and her worshippers.

The running contest was perhaps an Athenian addition to the rites.<sup>3</sup> The rest may have been taken over with the goddess herself from Salamis. As we have seen (above, pp. 34 f.), the Salaminioi offered the animal sacrifice before the contest, but the section of the *gnosis* dealing with the selection of the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi has nothing to say about the selection of the ephebes. The contest was a competition between representatives of phylai. Only eight at most of the ten phylai furnished members to the genos, and since one of the eight had approximately as many members as the other seven put together, the terms of the competition would have been grossly unequal if the runners were chosen from the Salaminioi alone. Besides, the fête was indubitably a state affair. According to Alkiphron<sup>4</sup> it attracted young women from the sea-coast

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 238, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> After 508/7 B.C. the phylai were Kleisthenian. Prior thereto, if the contest existed thus early (cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 145, n. 5), the Old Attic phylai can have come in question (Pfuhl, *de Ath. pompis*, p. 50, n. 27). Stengel (*Griech. Kultusalt.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 229) overlooks this possibility.

<sup>4</sup> I, 4; 11.

and the Peiraeus as well as rich ladies from the city. Alkiphron centres it in the *asty* (ἄστυδε); where in fact the *pompe* was formed. The chances are that the phylai themselves furnished the youths who were to represent them in the race. But the management of the contest—of its successive “heats”—may have been in the hands of the Salaminioi; and, if the restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232 given below (p. 62) is correct, officials of the *genos* called hieromnemes had it in their charge. Who furnished the members of the chorus we do not know.

As we have seen, there is no place for Dionysos in the part (the central part) of the Oschophoria administered by the Salaminioi; but since he had a way of insinuating himself into alien cults (the Mysteries at Agrai, the Apatouria, the Haloa, the mysteries of Eleusis, where Iakchos seemed Dionysos, to cite a few examples), he may have done this in the case of part of the Oschophoria, if there was any, administered directly by the state or its organs. Such an intrusion would explain the late interpretations noted above (p. 39). But if this had occurred before 363 B.C. it is curious that the *genos* did not recognize his presence by some religious act.

Whatever may have been the original significance of the rites of the Oschophoria we may, I think, infer from the sacrifice of the Salaminioi to Theseus on the sixth of Pyanopsion that already in 363 B.C. they had come to serve as ἀντίαι for the elaboration of the story of the hero's departure to and return from Crete. Accordingly the two νεανίαι (oschophoroi) heading the procession doubtless imagined themselves to be youths palmed off by Theseus for two of the seven maidens destined as victims for the Minotaur. The deipnophoroi envisaged themselves as the mothers of the young men and women bringing to Phaleron bread and meat for their children, and spinning out for them, while they waited before embarking on their terrible voyage, tales (μῦθοι) of “comfort and encouragement.”<sup>1</sup> Thrasylkes was the herald of Theseus returning from Athens with the sad news of Aigeus' death, and carrying the wreath which he had received from the Athenians, not on his head, as was customary, but on his staff, thus playing a part which, perhaps, magnified his office. Those partaking of the libation were the companions of Theseus, and their cries “Eleleu! Iou! Iou!” reflected their mixed feelings when, triumphant at their successful return from Crete, they heard the message of the herald. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Δῆμιον ἰστόρηκεν,<sup>2</sup> and Philochoros<sup>3</sup> followed suit. An aitiological myth, which centred the Oschophoria in Theseus, gave a national allure to rites which, transplanted from Salamis to Phaleron, originally (and doubtless for some persistently) acknowledged the help of Athena Skiras in the various activities of farmers.

Of the sacrifices performed by the priests and priestesses of the Salaminioi some were purely gentile, some were both gentile and public, and some were private. To the last class we now turn. Of the performance of private sacrifices by the priest of

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Demon is the Atthidograph of ca. 300 B.C. who also wrote a work περὶ θησιῶν; cf. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, 239, 5.

Herakles we have indirect evidence in the stipulation that the gera specified should be allowed him in the case of victims offered by him which were *koina*. Victims which were *idia* are clearly contemplated. Similar offerings on behalf of private persons were manifestly made by the priest of Eurysakes also. He received as gera 13 drachmas annually on the score of the hides and legs of the victims sacrificed in the Eurysakeion (ll. 35f.). Each of the two branches of the genos was to contribute half of this sum. The genos did not dispose of the legs and hides and give him 13 drachmas from the proceeds, nor did it simply let him keep 13 drachmas' worth. The 13 drachmas came from the rental of the land at Sounion (below, pp. 64f.). It was a payment in commutation of a right. From what sacrifices were the skins and legs derived? Not from the calendared sacrifice of the genos. The victim there was a pig, which had no hide. Clearly other sacrifices were made in the Eurysakeion. They must have been private sacrifices. Yet the genos had an interest in them. The probable explanation of the payment of 13 drachmas is that the sacrificers were individual gennetai. In consideration of this payment the priest probably waived his claims on perquisites from his fellow Salaminioi. The primary occasion for such offerings may have been the admission of new members. In the case of sacrifices made in the Eurysakeion on behalf of the phyle Aiantis the priest of Aias doubtless officiated and received the gera. The priest of Eurysakes also received the skins and legs of the victims sacrificed to the hero at the Hale. The calendar provides for only one offering—a sheep (l. 86). This animal cannot be all that is meant by *τῶν θυομένων* in line 38. Private sacrifices alone can come in question, whether by gennetai, non-gennetai, or both, there is no way of knowing.

In combining in an intelligible whole the facts now established regarding the origin and early history of the Salaminioi we have to resort to hypothesis; and it is as an hypothesis only, though, I trust, a well-grounded one, that I present what follows.

The Salaminioi as an organization so named cannot antedate the opening of the struggle between Athens and Megara for Salamis. This is inferred from the tardy emergence in myth of Eurysakes and the name Salaminioi. It was only on the annexation of Eleusis that the possession of Salamis became a sort of geographical necessity for Athens. To be sure the island had formed theretofore a bridge between Megara and the basin of the Kephisos, but it had not shut off completely from the open sea a valuable part of Attica. In fact the struggle did not open till the end of the seventh century B.C. at the earliest. The Kerykes were an association, from which residents of the Thriasian plain were excluded, organized or reorganized after the conquest of Eleusis to give other Athenians a worthy share in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Salaminioi, on the other hand, came into being to promote and justify the claim of Athens to possession, on the basis of rightful ownership, of Salamis. If, as seems probable, such possession was first made definite in *ca.* 509 B.C., the Salaminioi were already organized at that date, since they antedated the Kleisthenian phylai, and their central shrine, the Eurysakeion, was well-established in 508/7 B.C. Ignoring for the moment the public cults which they served, we see that the Salaminioi, as a genos, had

two roots, one in Melite in Athens and the other at Porthmos in Sounion. Our construction to take account of this inherent dualism is that a group of families serving a private cult of a hero in Melite, on becoming interested in Salamis, identified their hero as Eurysakes, thus transforming themselves, his descendants, into Salaminioi; and that either simultaneously or later, in return, perhaps, for a state subsidy, a similar group of families, possessing a temenos of Herakles at Porthmos<sup>1</sup> and probably an interest in Salamis also, was merged with them, thus increasing notably, to the advantage of public policy, the number of Attic Salaminioi. There was no problem of cult or kin to consider in such a merger, since unrelated cults could be thus associated, and the ties of kin between the families constituting a genos were generally fictional. Both groups undoubtedly accepted a common family tree, advancing down in a single line through Aias to Eurysakes and beyond. How easy, and at the same time essential to sixth century Attic thinking, it was for a scattered group, designed to be permanent, thus to beget a progenitor is shown by the designation of eponymous heroes for the ten Kleisthenian phylai.<sup>2</sup>

When the genos of the Salaminioi becomes really known to us in the fourth century b.c. its functions are mainly, if not exclusively, social and religious. It doubtless certified to the legitimacy and citizenship of its members. It administered public and private cults and performed a round of sacrifices. Land at Porthmos, subsidies from the state, contributions made by and through the osekophoroi and deipnophoroi, and the yield of the Hale and the agora in Koile (if any) provided it with funds. These functions are doubtless a residuum. The functions of which it was deprived by their canalization into other channels are the ones which would throw most light on its origin did we know them. The general name genos yields nothing specific. There is no trace among the Salaminioi of a leading family, like the οἰκία of Miltiades-Cimon among the Philaidai, or that of Megakles-Kleisthenes among the Alkmaionidai,<sup>3</sup> or that of Hipponikos-Kallias

<sup>1</sup> The Herakleion was probably an old shrine. In the sixth and early fifth century b.c. Herakles was eclipsed in Athens by Theseus (Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 21, 6; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 801 = III<sup>2</sup>, p. 744.

<sup>3</sup> Wade-Gery (*Class. Quart.*, 1931, pp. 82 f.) argues that the Alkmaionidai were an οἰκία, not a genos, and Kahrstedt (*Staatsgebiet*, p. 268, n. 2) follows him. His arguments are not conclusive. Herodotus distinguishes between the οἰκία and the genos of Isagoras in V, 66, 1, but even so he does not use the word genos. In VI, 35 he uses οἰκία of the Philaidai. Were the Philaidai not a genos? "The Alkmeonid οἰκία was small and compact enough to share - - - in the seventh century in the curse incurred by the archon Megakles I. It is improbable (indeed impossible) that either such a curse, or such fortunes, were shared by the Gennetai of a whole Genos." But Herodotus (V, 72) says that "to take away the curse" (Godley, Loeb Classics) 700 Athenian households (ἐπίστια) were banished in 508/7 b.c., and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 20, 2) repeats his words (ἡγγλάτει τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτακσίας οἰκίας [Κλειομένης]). In *Class. Quart.*, 1933, p. 26, n. 3 Wade-Gery accounts for the largeness of the number of ἐναγεῖς by taking them to include Kleisthenes' συστασιῶται (Her., V, 70). In fact these cannot have been all συγγενήται of Kleisthenes, since the case of Pericles (Thucy., I, 127, 1) shows that men of other gene who were connected with the Alkmaionidai matrilineally were also ἐναγεῖς. These accounted for an uncertain number of the 700 households. That the curse was thought to be transferable in the female line is also made clear by Herodotus (I, 61; cf. Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 15): Peisistratos refused to beget children with the daughter of Megakles on this score. A third point made

among the Kerykes; but our sources are so late and defective that they may give a false impression on this point. If there ever was a time when a *genos* possessed dependants (*hektemoroi*) they were lost in the age of Peisistratos.<sup>1</sup> In any case there is no sound evidence that the *gene* as corporations ever owned lands and properties beyond those which they still possessed in the fourth century and used to defray their religious and other communal expenses.<sup>2</sup> The economic influence which they had once possessed was based, not on their wealth, but on the wealth of the individual families of which they were composed, and to an even greater extent, on the will of the heads of these families to use their wealth for the promotion of gentile ends. It seems to me that the activities which explain, if not the origin, at least the enlargement of certain *gene* are to be sought in the sphere of politics;<sup>3</sup> and that it was only when these had been rendered innocuous that Kleisthenes τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίδας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἶλασεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. The political activities of the Alkmaionidai and the Philaidai consisted in the support of their leading houses in the struggle for power and office in Athens. Seven hundred households, attested as descendants of the Alkmaionidai of ca. 630 B.C. by inheriting the curse imposed upon the *genos* for massacring the adherents of Kylon, rallied round Kleisthenes in 508/7 B.C. Even though many of these are to be abstracted as being sprung from exogamous marriages of Alkmaionid women, the *gennetai* would still be very numerous. The Kerykes and Amyndridai were each some one hundred men strong.<sup>4</sup> The Salaminioi may have been in their class. They had only one discernible common interest which can be termed political—their interest in Salamis. It is, I take it, significant that the Souniac Salaminioi had their *temenos* at Porthmos, on the sea coast, near the “embarking places.” They did not offer sacrifices to the Souniac Poseidon, nor did they make his shrine a place of deposit for their published records. They had no known religious relations to the Souniac Athena. Their rites were centred in the port. It seems to me not unlikely that Phaleron was the other end of the ferry which started at Porthmos. The normal connection of Sounion with Athens was by sea (cf. Her., VI, 87)—prior to 493 B.C. *via* Phaleron. The Salaminioi

by Wade-Gery, and approved by Kahrstedt, that no one is referred to as Alkmaionid who is not a direct descendant of Megakles II, or of his father, the Alkmeon of ca. 600 B.C. (*P. A.*, 651), simply registers the fact that our authorities concern themselves exclusively with the fortunes of the members of the leading house of the *genos*. The evidence suggests that the Alkmaionidai, like the Philaidai, Salaminioi, and the Kerykes, were organized at a comparatively late date. For what it is worth I note that both Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 1) and Thucydides (I, 126, 11) use the word *γένος* in speaking of the Alkmaionidai.

<sup>1</sup> Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 327 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A regime of communal family, and by extension gentile, ownership of land is postulated by Glotz for early Greece (*La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *La travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, pp. 12 ff. and *La cité grecque*, p. 8). As concerns Attica I share the opinion of Adcock (*C. A. H.*, IV, p. 34, n. 1) that this view “is hard to reconcile with the historical evidence.” Cf. Pöhlmann, *Die Feldgemeinschaft bei Homer*, *Z. f. Social- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, I, 1893, pp. 1 ff. cited with approval by Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III<sup>2</sup>, p. 272, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, 1910, p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

from Sounion and the Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai united in offering annually at Phaleron sacrifices to Poseidon and Teukros and to Phaiax and Nauseiros, the patrons of navigators in whose honor the Pilot's Festival was celebrated. It was undoubtedly in Phaleron that boats were assembled for launching attacks on Salamis. Its rôle in the war may have something to do with the fact that it was there, and not in Athens, as was usual with such importations, that Skiras was settled on becoming an Athenian goddess. The whole south coast of Attica must have been unsafe while the war lasted. Sounians, like the worshippers of Herakles—a considerable fraction of the well-to-do-inhabitants of the peninsula—, with distinct maritime interests, could not fail to be affected by the prolongation of the struggle. Their isolation and their maritime line of communications exposed them peculiarly to Megarian enterprises. We may think that they faced the choice of throwing in their lot with the defeatists (Salaminaphetai) or with those whose program was that of Solon—to fight on till they had conquered. By becoming Salaminioi they took a definite stand and at the same time increased notably the number of Athenians who could claim that they, not the Salaminians resident on the island, were the rightful owners. On the definite assignment of the island to Athens by the Spartan arbitrators, probably in *ca.* 509 B.C., the chief insular goddess, Skiras, was transferred to Phaleron, and her cult, as Athena Skiras, was assigned, as was natural, to the Salaminioi. Theoretically at least, she thus came into the care of her rightful worshippers. The circumstances in which the Salaminioi came to possess their other public cult—that of Aglauros and Pandrosos—are wholly unknown.

The Sounians brought to the *genos* its most valuable property, the land at the Herakleion. From the income it yielded the Salaminioi defrayed, both before and after 363 B.C., *all* the gentile sacrifices. One of two inferences deducible from this fact is that the *genos* never existed as a sacrificing body, i.e., never existed at all, without the Sounians; the other is that the Sounians on joining the *genos* relieved it wholly of the financial burden of paying for the sacrifices which it had offered theretofore. Of the two we unhesitatingly accept the former, and thus resolve the problem left suspended hitherto (above, pp. 14, 24, 43) in the sense that the Sounians and the men from Athens and its environs were alike, so to speak, charter members of the organization. The only alternative is that originally the Sounians alone constituted the *genos*; but, if so, they cannot have been called Salaminioi, for this name is manifestly derived from Eurysakes. Certainly there were Salaminioi in what we may call the central branch before the time of Kleisthenes (above, pp. 13, 16 f., 18, 42).

As is well known the *gennetai* of each particular *genos* found themselves allocated by Kleisthenes' reforms to the different *phylai* assigned to the *demes* in which they were resident. Thereafter the state-determined hereditary groups of *phyletai* and *demotai* were the strongest loyalty-evoking subdivisions of the Athenians. In the rivalries of *phylai* in the Council, the army, and the athletic and musical contests the *gennetai* of any one *genos* found their sympathies enlisted on different sides. The *gene* had to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Some of them, like the *Kerykes* and the *Amyndridai*,

found that they had members in all ten phylai. They could dispense with a reorganization. The Salaminioi had to face a situation perhaps peculiar to themselves. About half their number were massed at Porthmos. These became members of the deme of Sounion, which in turn was allotted to the phyle Leontis. The rest were scattered in seven phylai. It was natural in these circumstances for the Salaminioi resident at Porthmos to be organized with an archon of their own as *οἱ ἀπὸ Σονίου*, and for the Salaminioi resident elsewhere in Attica to be drawn together in a central branch, again with an archon of their own, as *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτὰ φυλῶν*. Whether an archon continued to exist for the whole genos is a moot point (see below, pp. 61 ff.). Problems connected with the management of the cult of Athena Skiras, which, according to the most probable theory, was entrusted to the Salaminioi in *ca.* 509 B.C., may have had some bearing on this reorganization. Oschophoria had probably been celebrated by the natives of Salamis in the shrine at the Skiradion, and the native oschophoroi may have been two in number, one for Skiras and another for Skiros. We really know nothing on the point. In the Attic Oschophoria there were two oschophoroi, one probably from each branch. Had the central branch been in existence before 508/7 B.C. it would doubtless have retained its pre-Kleisthenian name. The new name *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτὰ φυλῶν*, originally at least, simply described a situation, and was hardly a title at all. *Οἱ ἀπὸ Σονίου* is of the same character. Both were make-shifts and arose, apparently, because of the lack of earlier designations, which, however, must have existed if the division into two branches had been pre-Kleisthenian. The fundamental reason for the separate branch at Sounion was undoubtedly the size, isolation and religious distinctiveness of the group composing it. For the next 145 years the Salaminioi disappear from our sight, to reappear in 363 B.C. beset with the differences between the two branches which required resort to arbitration.

How the two groups, the one with its hieron in Melite, the other with its cult centre at Porthmos, were organized before they united to form the genos of the Salaminioi, we do not know: they may have been orgeones. If the view here developed of the origin of the Salaminioi is correct, the foundation of this particular genos does not go back beyond the latter part of the seventh century and may be later. The Kerykes, as an agency for the administration of its chief charge—the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis—, cannot be traced plausibly beyond 700 B.C. Clearly gene of this type have nothing to do with “primitive” times. Nor do gene of a more common type—those built round the eminence of a single house—necessarily have a greater antiquity. The Philaidai, for example, cannot be much earlier than the Salaminioi.<sup>1</sup> Both were creations of a society becoming, or become, aristocratic, or of an aristocratic state.

<sup>1</sup> The genealogy of the Philaidai given by Pherekydes (Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, I, p. 59) runs as follows: Aias—Philaios—Daiklos—Epilykos—Akestor—Agenor—Oulios—Lykes—Tophon (Iophon?)—Laios—Agamestor—Teisandros—[Miltiades]—Hippokleides (archon in 566/5 B.C.). This would place Philaios *ca.* 900 B.C. (Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 310 = III<sup>2</sup>, p. 285, n. 1). All the names in the stemma except Daiklos and Tophon are attested as Athenian. It is impossible to say where reality ends and construction begins. Philaios and Aias are clearly fictional. I do not think that we can evaluate highly the chronological implications

Toward the end of the first century A.D. marble tablets were taken from the Eurysakeion for use in constructing a water tunnel in the neighborhood. We might think that the Salaminioi, who had this shrine as their headquarters, were already extinct at this date. But the evidence does not warrant this conclusion. For one of the tablets thus discarded was a decree of the phyle Aiantis, which shared the Eurysakeion with the Salaminioi; yet Aiantis was an active organization long after the end of the first century. A different explanation of the removal of the marbles suggests itself. From *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1498 we learn that stelai erected on the Acropolis during the last decade of the fifth century B.C. were *πλαγίαι χαμαί* seventy or eighty years later. We have no reason to suppose that the Eurysakeion was better tended than the central sanctuary of Athena. It is therefore conceivable that the Eurysakeion was renovated near the end of the first century A.D. and that the marble tablets which were then re-used in the water tunnel had been broken in pieces or had fallen to the ground during the centuries which had elapsed since they were set up. Hence both the genos and the phyle can have continued to offer sacrifices in their hieron for an indeterminate period thereafter. If this is the true explanation, and if the Eurysakeion was set in order toward the end of the first century A.D., we may conclude that the genos of the Salaminioi was still a going concern at this date.

## NOTES ON No. 1

Line 2. In drafting their decision the arbitrators used for purposes of dating the name of the Athenian archon (ll. 2, 56, 67). In the two records appended to the decision—the list of the jurors and the decree of the genos—the dating is given by the names of the archons of the Salaminioi. In all cases except one (l. 82) it is made clear to whom the archon belonged. The exception is discussed below (pp. 61 ff.). From line 67 it is clear that the decision was rendered at or after the first of Boedromion, 363 B.C.

Line 3. The diaitetai (named diallaktai in line 81) are private arbitrators, not the public officials of the same name. In cases of public arbitration a single arbitrator was assigned by lot by the Forty to try the case (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 2; cf. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, pp. 5 ff.; Harrell, H. C., *Public Arbitration in Athenian Law* [Univ. of Missouri Studies, XI, 1], p. 21). In other cases of private arbitration known to us the number of arbitrators varied from one to four (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n. 14; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenc.*, V, 314). There was no rule on this point.

of a pedigree of this character, especially since it is clear that the stemma, as it stands, is irreconcilable both with data given by Herodotus (VI, 127, 35) and the chronology of Kastor (Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, I, p. 174, n. 1; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>2</sup>, pp. 37 ff.). If Agamestor is identified with the life-long archon of that name, he ruled, according to Kastor (De Sanctis, *Atthis*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 99 ff.), from 794 to 778 B.C., and Philaios will fall ca. 1060 B.C. In any case the pedigree does not disclose when the family became the leading house of a genos. In a study entitled "Classes and Masses in Homer" (*Class. Phil.*, 1934, pp. 192 ff., 301 ff.) Calhoun has presented reasons for doubting that the Iliad and the Odyssey reflect a society in which aristocracy was highly institutionalized.

The disputants determined the number. In our case they settled upon five. In instances where the arbitrators were three each party nominated one and the third was *κοινός* ([Dem.], XXXIII, 14; for the use of *κοινοί* for arbitrators in general see Klaffenbach, *Sitz. preuß. Akad.*, 1936, pp. 25, 30), designated either by the two already nominated ([Dem.], LIX, 45), or by the two disputants ([Dem.], XXXIII, 14); where they were four (Dem., XXXVI, 15; Isae., V, 31f.) each party nominated two. It is probable that our five consisted of two nominees of each party, while the fifth was *κοινός*.

The first step of the public *diaitetai* is described thus by Aristotle: *οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες, ἐὰν μὴ δύνωνται διαλύσαι, γιγνώσκουσι* (*Ath. Pol.*, 53, 2; cf. Harrell, *op. cit.*, p. 23). They modelled their procedure on that of the private *diaitetai* (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Bonner, *Class. Phil.*, 1916, pp. 191f.; Bonner-Smith, *Administration of Justice*, I, pp. 346f.; Harrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 5ff.). The first step of both was to effect a reconciliation (*διαλύειν*) without the formal proceedings involved in *γιγνώσκειν*. In our second record (No. 2, ll. 3ff.) a reconciliation was effected (*διέλυσαντο τὰ γένη πρὸς ἄλληλα*), and the arbitrators are accordingly named *διαλυταί*. In our first record (No. 1) formal proceedings had to be taken (l. 5: *ἔγνωσαν οἱ διαιτηταί*), and the arbitrators are accordingly named *diaitetai* or *diallaktai*. The latter name is descriptive of their function: they mediated (*διήλλαξαν*), and their findings are appropriately called *diallagai* (No. 1, l. 83). Counting No. 2, which differs only in the phraseology of the preamble, we have now five texts emanating from private arbitrators, two transmitted in the Demosthenic oration against Neaira (LIX, 71 and 47), our two, and the fifth preserved in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1289. The latter, dated *med. s. III*, is an "arbitrorum disceptatio in lite orgeonum." It is introduced by *τάδε διέλυσαν οἱ δικασταί*. The verb (*διέλυσαν*) indicates that in this instance, as in our second case, which belongs to approximately the same time, reconciliation was successful without resort to formal proceedings. *Δικασταί* is peculiar. The following phrase (*[ἐπιτροψάν]των ἀμφοτέρων*) proves that we have to do with private arbitration (Hubert, *de arbitris atticis*, p. 8; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 341; Bonner-Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 349). *Δικασταί*, therefore, is either used in a loose sense for *διαλυταί*, or the litigants chose on this occasion *dialytai* from among those drafted for heliastic service.

The introductory phrase in our two literary texts is in the one case identical ([Dem.], LIX, 71) with that of our *diallagai* (*ἐπὶ τοῖσδε διήλλαξαν*), in the other ([Dem.], LIX, 47) approximately so (*κατὰ τάδε διήλλαξαν*). The new record proves the authenticity of the literary documents, if any proof is needed (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 223, n. 9); and since these documents concern merely stark adjustments of roisterers' quarrels about courtesans and consist of little more than one sentence, we have now for the first time in our possession records of some length covering important cases of private arbitration. An analysis of this type of Athenian legal record is now possible. The language is simple and the style clear and uninvolved. As is commonly the case in psephismata the command is conveyed by the infinitive. The text records the decisions only. The points at issue and the counterclaims of the two litigants are not set forth. The arbitrators never present an argument for their findings. In No. 1 the decisions succeed one another

until we reach line 52 in an orderly sequence. Beginning with this line we have a series of decisions unrelated to one another. One of them (ll. 58–61) deals with a point raised by an earlier decision (see below, p. 60). Another covers particulars not touched upon in a general ruling already made (see above, pp. 34 ff.). To another is appended a sentence which is anachronistic in that it records the execution of a ruling just made (ll. 56 f.; see below, p. 59). Omitting as it does the points at issue and the grounds of the controversies, the text is not as illuminating historically as we should like it to be. We may tentatively infer what the points at issue were in some instances (cf. above, p. 36; below, pp. 50, 53 f., 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 71 f., 73 f.).

Lines 4 f. Agreement to accept the decision of the arbitrators appears as part of the contract of submission (*συνθήκαι*; cf. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n. 12) in [Dem.], XXXIII, 14, and other texts cited by Lipsius (*loc. cit.*) show that this was customary. Indeed the law quoted below (under l. 5) required it. In our case all that is recorded is the contentment of both parties with the decision rendered. This does not exclude an advance agreement to accept the findings. The phrase *ὁμολογοῦντας—ἔγνωσαν* cannot have been in the original judgment of the *diaitetai* since it describes the action taken by the two parties after the decision was rendered. See below, p. 59. If the arbitrators failed to take an oath before adjudicating, the state might refuse to recognize and execute their findings (Isae., V, 31 f.; Lipsius, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 f.; Thalheim, *op. cit.*, 313 f.). Lipsius affirms that an award made by sworn arbitrators was a *δίαιτα* and that one made by unsworn arbitrators was a *διαλλαγῆ*. *Διαλλάττειν* he takes to be a synonym for *διαλύειν* (p. 223, n. 9). But this is incorrect. As we have seen (above, p. 48), *διαλύειν* and *διαλυταί* are the technical terms employed for the action and the actors in the first stage of arbitral procedure—that of reconciliation. If the arbitrators failed to effect a settlement by persuasion, then and then only they gave a formal hearing and issued an arbitral order. Such an order was, however, a *διαλλαγῆ*. I take it that *δίαιτα* and *διαλλαγῆ* were synonyms; and that an oath on the part of the arbitrators was mandatory before they were competent *γινώσκειν*. The *diaitetai*-*diallaktai* of No. 1 doubtless took an oath, the *dialytai* of No. 2 did not. In the agreement to arbitrate it might be required that the litigants bind themselves by oath to give effect to the decisions (Isae., V, 31 f.). In our case No. 1 an oath was taken by seven representatives of each party (ll. 69 ff.), but by it they ratified, not the articles of submission, but the findings themselves (l. 81).

Line 5: *καλῶς ἔχειν*. *Ἐμμένειν* is the formal word of acceptance used in advance agreements (Isae., V, 31; Dem., XXVII, 1; XXXIII, 14; XL, 31). The law quoted in Dem., XXI, 94 has *μενέτωσαν ἐν*. Cf. Dem., LVII, 12 f.: *καὶ ὁ τι γνοίησαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, τούτοις ἤθελον ἐμμένειν*. *Καλῶς ἔχειν* is an appropriate term to express satisfaction with a decision already reached.

Lines 6–8. Stephanos of Myrrhinous is known: *P. A.*, 12891. He was a trierarch *p. annum* 358/7 B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1615, 102; 1616, 125). His tribe was Pandionis. For Kephisodotos of Aithalidai (Leontis) see *P. A.*, 8321–23. Euthykritos came from Erech-

theis, Aristogeiton from Pandionis, and Kleagoras from Oineis. The arbitrators were acquaintances of the Salaminioi, and probably of the same social position.

Lines 8 ff. The first ruling of the arbitrators would have no point if the priesthoods had been *κοινὰ ἀμφοτέρων* theretofore, unless it was directed against a project to distribute them among the two branches. The perpetual unity of the *genos* in this important particular was its object in either case. In lines 63 ff. the office of the herald is also named a *ἱερωσύνη*.

Lines 11 f.: *καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀγλαύρο, κτλ.* One priesthood, but two cults—that of Aglauros and Pandrosos and that of Kourotrophos. From lines 45 f. we see that the *genos* had also a kalathephoros of Kourotrophos. See further above, p. 21.

Lines 12 ff.: *καὶ κληροῦσθαι, κτλ.* Harpokration, *s.v. γεννῆται* reports that gentile priest-hoods generally were assigned by sortition (*πάλιν δὲ τῶν φρατριῶν ἐκάστη διήρητο εἰς γένη λ, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἱερωσύναι αἱ ἐκάστοις προσήκουσαι ἐκληροῦντο*). In the *Lexicon Dem. Patm. (B.C.H., I, 1877, p. 152)* we have the same statement, with the addition *οἷον Εὐμολπίδαι καὶ Κήρυκες καὶ Ἐτεοβοντάδαι*. Their common source is Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.* (Rose, *frg.* 385<sup>3</sup>). Sortition of priest-hoods may also be inferred in a particular case from Pseudo-Plutarch, *X or. vit.*, 843 f, where it is affirmed that Habron, the son of Lycurgus, *λαχῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους (τῶν Ἐτεοβονταδῶν) τὴν ἱερωσύνην*, withdrew in favor of his younger brother Lykophron. This last statement opened a long controversy. Dittenberger (*Hermes*, XX, 1885, p. 22, n. 2) accepted *λαχῶν* at its face value and concluded that in case of a vacancy in the priest-hood of Poseidon-Erechtheus the successor was designated by lot from the whole body of the Eteoboutadai without reference to his relationship to his predecessor. Töpffer (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 125 ff.) asked very pertinently, How in that case did Habron pass the office along to his brother? Transference of the priest-hoods of the Eteoboutadai by sortition he found irreconcilable with the genealogy of the priests and priestesses of the *genos* given by Pseudo-Plutarch, and, accordingly, he rid himself of the evidence for allotment by translating *λαχῶν*, not, wie gewöhnlich, "durchs Los erhalten," but as "einfach erlangen." "Wie ist es möglich," he inquires, "wenn der Staatspriester durch das Los aus der Mitgliederzahl des Eteoboutadengeschlechtes designiert wurde, daß der Fall eintreten konnte, daß die Priesterämter des Poseidon Erechtheus und der Athena Polias auch mit Nichteteoboutaden, z. B. mit Eumolpiden und Keryken besetzt wurden? Dieser Fall ist aber in der Tat eingetreten. Wie Plutarch im Stemma des Redners Lykurgos ausdrücklich angibt, haben sowohl Medeios (*P.A.*, 10098: his son was also *ἐξηγητής, I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3490) als auch Philippe, die Kinder des schon früher erwähnten *ἐξηγητής ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν* Medeios (*P.A.*, 10097), also zweifellos Angehörige des Eumolpidengeschlechtes, jene beiden Staatspriestertümer verwaltet. Ein gleiches gilt von dem Hagnusier Diokles (rather his brother Theophrastos, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3509), der *τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως διετάξατο*, obwohl er als Sohn des Daduchen Themistokles notorisch zu dem Geschlechte der Keryken gehört hat." These instances raise a preliminary question: How could the son of a high official of the Kerykes come to hold a priest-hood of the Eteoboutadai? How could the

children of the Eumolpid Medeios do likewise? The only possible answer is that they became eligible matrilineally. Yet eligibility presupposed membership in the genos of the Eteoboutadai. Hence persons might be, at one and the same time, both Kerykes or Eumolpidai and Eteoboutadai, or cease to be Kerykes or Eumolpidai and become Eteoboutadai. Similar cases of confusion or transference of *gentilitas* are known. Nor are the persons concerned in them all members of the two great Eleusinian gene. An exegetes of the Eupatridai (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 59), Diotimos, son of Diodoros, of Halai, sprang from the genos of the Bouzygai (Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 1924, pp. 124 ff.). Wade-Gery (*Class. Quart.*, 1931, pp. 83 ff.), acting on a suggestion of Wilhelm, argues that the name Eupatridai does not designate a genos but only the nobility as a whole. If true, this contention would vitiate this example; and its truth is contested by Kahrstedt (*Staatsgebiet*, p. 266, n.). But the careful examination of the stones recently made by G. Daux (*Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle*, pp. 551 ff.) shows that the Delphian texts by which Kahrstedt was influenced favor the view that the Eupatridai figuring in them were the caste. Let us, then, reject this case. A second case concerns Pammenes, the son of Zenon, of Marathon (Sundwall, *Nachtr. P.A.*, p. 85), who, as Roussel has shown clearly (*B.C.H.*, 1929, pp. 179 ff.), belonged simultaneously or successively to the Bouzygai and the Erysichthonidai. More recently Roussel has added another such case. "Dans le dernier quart du 1<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C., un *Ἀεωνίδης Μελιτεύς* appartient au *génos* des Amyndridai. Pourtant un descendant immédiat de ce personnage, si l'on en croit la généalogie donnée par J. Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3609), inaugure la série des dadouques de Melitè qui reçoivent cette charge après Themistoklès (II) d'Hagnous." (*Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 827 f., 831 f.; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3510, substitutes Themistokles [III] for Themistokles [II].) I am also inclined to place in the category of men with double *gentilitas* Diotimos, the son of Diodoros, of Halai, a member of the Bouzygai (cf. above), who appears in the important new document first published by Threpsiades (Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, pp. 223 ff.) and republished by Roussel (*Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819 ff.) as one of twenty appointees of the genos of the Kerykes, all of whom I rate as Kerykes because they were neither Eleusinioi nor Thriasioi (cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1885, p. 9; *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 605, n. 6; Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, 1910, pp. 276 f.; above, p. 42).

Let us examine the situation predicated by our text. The use of sortition for the designation of priests and priestesses serving both gentile and public cults is clear and unequivocal. Any woman of the Salaminioi might become priestess of Athena Skiras or of Aglauros and Pandrosos and Kourotraphos. She might be married to a man from another genos or might marry such a man subsequently. Though the wife (it may be) of a Keryx or an Eumolpid, she would hold the charge since it terminated only with her death. Did her children cease to be Salaminioi? The cases adduced above show that this was not at all times necessary. Under certain conditions and circumstances men assumed their mother's *gentilitas* in lieu of or in addition to their father's. There must have been some limitation since otherwise the lines between gene would speedily have become completely blurred. The instances cited of double or alternate *gentilitas* have two things

in common: they all belong to the last half of the second century B.C., an epoch of much social and religious confusion (*Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 418 ff.), or later; they all involved persons who held gentile *ἱερωσύνη*. We may assume, tentatively, that restrictions earlier existent were abandoned in the interest of men or women who, on the basis of matrilinear connection, had a claim on a priesthood.

This duality or transference of *gentilitas* is unattested earlier than 150 B.C. It has yet to be proved that it existed in Aristotle's time. What then existed was clearly compatible, at least in the case of the Salaminioi, with the designation of gentile priests and priestesses by lot. The tenure of a priesthood by the mother gave a child no right to the succession whether she had married within or without the genos. Writing in ca. 325 B.C. Aristotle affirmed that sortition was the rule for the transmission of the gentile *ἱερωσύνη* generally. Habron *ἔλαχε* the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus at about this same time. Allotment accords with the view expressed by Isocrates (II, 6, post 374 B.C.), that a priesthood was a charge which any man could fill (*ἱερωσύνην παντός ἀνδρός εἶναι*). Sortition was the logical way of realizing equality among the members of a group whether they were *Ἀθηναῖοι* or *γεννηταί*. Shall we defer to this evidence and accept Aristotle's statement as true for his time? The only opposing evidence, so far as I can see, is the transaction by which Habron yielded the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus to his brother Lykophron, and the tenure of the dadouchia, apparently in succession, by Kallias II of Alopeke, whom Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>2</sup>, pp. 44f.) rather arbitrarily divides into two Kalliases, uncle and nephew, both dadouchs, Hipponikos, his son (*P.A.*, 7658), and Kallias III (*P.A.*, 7826), his grandson. There is, however, no evidence that Hipponikos was dadouch. Andocides (I, 115) does not say so (Foucart, *Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 191, n. 5). These cases may be, and perhaps are, explained satisfactorily by the formula advocated by Foucart (*op. cit.*, pp. 192 f.), that the Kerykes, while using the lot, could, "par une abstention volontaire laisser aux membres d'une famille plus riche ou plus influente une sorte de possession exclusive de la dadouchie." But if we interpret these cases in the light of later practice we can hardly find this formula adequate. Leontios of Acharnai (*akme* ca. 204 B.C.) and his descendants for seven generations held the dadouchia as a sort of family possession. Then (ca. 50 A.D.) it passed over to the family of Leonides of Melite, whose descendants held it for four generations and possibly longer. Such control of this *ἱερωσύνη* by members of two families implies so prolonged une abstention volontaire on the part of other Kerykes that sortition cannot have continued to exist even as a fiction.

Roussel in his commentary on the Eleusinian document (*Mélanges Bidez*, p. 831) raises another point. "Le décret," he writes, "ne s'accorde guère avec cette théorie" (Foucart's). "Ce n'est pas que l'expression *μεταπαραλαμβάνειν τὴν δαιδουχίαν*, employée à deux reprises (l. 48 et 50), exclue nécessairement une désignation par le sort, mais l'hérédité de certains droits dans certaines familles paraît ressortir du passage qui introduit la généalogie de Thémistocle (II): *παρειληφότα τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερωσύνην ἐγ διαδοχῆς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφράστου*." The important phrase is, I suppose, *ἀπ' αὐτῆς*. It connects derivatively the priesthood which Themistokles took over from

his father at his father's death with the nobility which he inherited from his father at his own birth. There were, of course, differences of social position, wealth, and influence between the families of any genos; but, so far as I know, all gennetai of a given genos were *εὐγενεῖς*. If this is so, the *εὐγένεια* which Themistokles inherited from Theophrastos may be, though it need not be, simply that of any Keryx; and from this a priesthood might be said to spring. Strictly, therefore, the passage does not prove the traditio of the dadouchia by inheritance; but it certainly misrepresents the transaction if the traditio was actually effected by sortition, even if this was a mere form. The implication of the passage is clearly that Themistokles, like his father, was of noble birth, that his birth gave him a claim to the office, and that accordingly he succeeded his father. Inheritance of the dadouchia by some rule seems indicated. Töpffer (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 89f.) suggested a right of seniority. Roussel dissents and concludes: "D'après le tableau qu'on a pu dresser, l'hypothèse la plus simple est qu'il y avait hérédité, mais que, selon des règles déterminées, la dadouchie passait à un autre membre de la famille, si les fils du dadouque défunt n'étaient pas en âge de remplir la charge."

No data permitting inferences as to the traditio of the dadouchia are extant for the period between the succession of Kallias the son of Hipponikos in *ca.* 425/4 B.C. and *ca.* 200 B.C. Kallias presumably held the office till his death (post 358/7 B.C. Kirchner, *P.A.*, 7826). For anything we know his successor may have been designated by lot. But to enable the use of sortition during the whole or part of the interval between 424 and 200 B.C. we should have to postulate two changes, one away from heredity (if the succession of Kallias III, *P.A.*, 7826, was really thus determined) and another back to it, which in the absence of positive evidence we are hardly warranted in doing. The maintenance of heredity throughout, if it really existed in the fifth century B.C., is more probable. But we cannot draw a valid conclusion from a premise thus weakly grounded. Moreover, what may be true of this particular office of this particular genos is not true of all gentile *ἱερωσύναι*. *Κληροῦσθαι* in our text proves it. The Kerykes may have been governed by an ordinance peculiar to them alone. The exclusion, valid in 508/7 B.C., of Eleusinioi and Thrasioi from the genos shows in itself that the Kerykes were, at least in one respect, unique among Attic gene (above, p. 51). By the fourth century the gene generally, not excluding the Eteoboutadai (Lykophron's receipt of the priesthood allotted to Habron may have been facilitated by une abstention volontaire), can have passed on, and probably *did* pass on, their priesthoods by lot.

This raises the question whether allotment in the case of the Salaminioi was an innovation of 363 B.C. That the clause *καὶ κληροῦσθαι κοινῆι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ τις τῶν ἱερείων ἢ τῶν ἱερέων* settled a controversy is indubitable; but this controversy is not defined. The point at issue may be found in the words *κοινῆι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων* rather than in *κληροῦσθαι*; and, indeed, this harmonizes better with the general tenor of the diallagai. Had allotment existed before 363 B.C. *κληροῦσθαι* would still have to be used. Some of the priestly officers of the genos served public cults. Is it likely that the Salaminioi were competent to alter radically the mode of designating the priestesses of

Athena Skiras by agreeing among themselves to be content with the rule private arbitrators selected by themselves laid down? The authority of the state itself to regulate disputes as to priesthods and conflicts between gene and priests *ὑπὲρ [τῶν γε]ρῶν* (or *[ἰε]ρῶν*) was vested in the King, with whom a *graphe* might be entered by anyone who wished. A trial followed in a heliastic court (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 57, 2). Such trials were of frequent occurrence in Athens (Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, p. 267, n. 4). Whether *κληροδοῦναι* is accented or not, the ruling *κοινῆ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων* suggests that the controversy centred in the monopoly of the priesthods, not by particular families, but by the branches individually, that of Eurysakes, for example, by the men of the Heptaphylai, and that of Herakles by the men from Sounion. The opening of them to all *gennetai* would be a proper subject for settlement by arbitration, especially if allotment was already in use for designating the holders.

Lines 14 f. Again the stress need not be, and probably is not, upon *τοὺς λανχάνοντας*. The effect of the decision was (we may believe) to limit the duties of the priests and priestesses in the way in which they had been limited before they came to be selected from the *gennetai* collectively. The widening of the area of their recruitment was not to entail any change in their functions.

Line 17. *αλλην* is undoubtedly a scribal error for *ἀλήν*. The same misspelling is found in Mss. and Papyri (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s.v. ἀλή*). Hitherto the plural alone, *ἀλαί*, has been found. It means "salt works." If the singular has a quite different meaning I do not know what it is. In any case the Hale was something of which the halves, like those of the agora in Koile and the land at Porthmos, could be bounded by markers. A salt pond (*ἄλνκῆ* in modern Greek) attests the territory of the Attic deme Halai Aixonides, another that of Halai Araphenides, and a third that of Halai in Lokris (Kolbe in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 2226 ff.). Our Hale doubtless lay in the vicinity of Porthmos since it was near the Herakleion there that the sacrifice to the hero at the Hale was offered (l. 86; cf. above, p. 22). There exists, however, in the Souniac region a Halyke to-day. According to the *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, IV, p. 92 the coast of the southeastern recess of the Bay of Sounion, between the northwestern corner of the phrourion and a small shallow pond, is now known as Halyke. It forms a microscopical *ἄλιπέδον* at Lat. 37° 39' 00", Long. 24° 01' 52". The pond is visible in the distance on the photograph published by Staes in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1917, p. 173. Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, p. 8) observes that it contains fresh water; but this report is correct, if at all (cf. below, p. 75), only when it was swollen by winter freshets (Milchhöfer in Curtius und Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Text, Heft III-VI, p. 30). The Great Hellenic Encyclopedia (*loc. cit.*) defines *ἄλνκῆ* as follows: *Τοπωνύμιον ἐν χρήσει, παρὰ ναυτικοῦς ἰδίως, καὶ ἀπαντῶν εἰς διάφορα μέρη τῶν ἐλληνικῶν ἀκτῶν, ἐνδισκόμενα πλησίον ἀντοπήκτων ἄλνκῶν, ἢ καὶ πλησίον ἀλιπέδων ἢ ξηρολιμνῶν ἐπικαλυπτομένων ὑπὸ "ἔλοσάχνης."* It thus applies to a great many coastal points at which we have no reason to infer the existence of ancient salt works. There may have been another salt pond in antiquity in the Souniac region. At the moment

I do not know of any. In view of Thompson's report (below, pp. 75 f.) I do not hesitate to identify Hale with the modern Halyke, and to claim that the floor of the pond served as a basin in which salt water deposited by evaporation salt. One such basin I take to have been a hale. Usually several pans were used in a salt works; hence the plural *ἄλαι*. A division of the Hale (so defined) was feasible and *ἔροι* could be placed to mark it. Half the area on which the salt formed could thus be assigned to each branch of the Salaminioi. In *ca.* 250 B.C. the mediators decided that the Hale should be held in common, thus abrogating the division of the property made in 363 B.C. (No. 2, ll. 36 ff.).

Line 17. The agora in Koile is unknown. The deme Koile adjoined Melite, the site of the Eurysakeion. It lay in the "hollow" south southwest of the Pnyx, between the points at which the north and south "legs" of the Long Walls reached Athens. The agora need not have occupied much space. We learn from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1180 (*ca. med. IVs.*) of the delimitation, for the benefit of the demotai, of a new agora at Sounion approximately two plethra long by one plethron wide (214 by 107 English feet according to Dinsmoor, 194 by 97 according to Dörpfeld). The only other urban agora (apart from *the* Agora) known to us is that of the Skambonidai (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 188, 19 and 53). We learn that this was used for the distribution and sale of *ἱερεῖα* to the members of the deme. As to its other uses we have no information. The division of the agora in Koile into halves, one for each branch of the genos, involves the use of it for other than communal gentile purposes. Previous to 363 B.C. it was, of course, undivided. It may have belonged to the whole genos, or, more probably, to one branch only. And the same was true of the Hale. For the *γῆ* see below, p. 60, ll. 58 ff. It is likely that before 363 B.C. the agora belonged to the men from Heptaphylai, the Hale to the men from Sounion. An agora was a place for the buying and selling of goods. Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai who lived in Athens and its neighborhood would find a business centre of their own a convenience, or, if it was let (cf. below, p. 60, ll. 58 ff.), a source of profit. The purpose of the division made in 363 B.C. may have been to put the Salaminioi from Sounion, some of whom undoubtedly lived in the capital, on an equality with them in its use or exploitation. In *ca.* 250 B.C. (No. 2, ll. 36 ff.) the division was annulled and the two branches (then separate gene) were given the enjoyment of the agora in common.

Lines 17 f. The adjective *διχαστός* appears in [Iamblichus], *Theologumena Arithmeticae*, 35, with the meaning "divisible by two" (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s.v.*). Here it seems to mean "halved."

Line 25. *Παρὰ σφῶν ἀντῶν* means "from their own resources;" cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1277, ll. 10, 13. For it to mean "among themselves," i.e., without the presence of non-gennetai, the dative would be in order. The phrase might be construed with *ἔθνον* or *θύειν*. If taken with *θύειν* its position would make it emphatic, and thereby authorization would be given to the Salaminioi to draw on other revenues than rental if they had any. Since the rental belonged to the Salaminioi, *παρὰ σφῶν ἀντῶν* would be redundant if taken with *ἔθνον*. The implication of the phrase is that the genos was not wholly dependent on the

land at the Herakleion for its income. By their decree (ll. 80 ff.) the Salaminioi limited their expenses for gentile sacrifices to receipts from the rental.

Line 27. The section of the *gnosis* ending with the sentence *ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγράψαι, κτλ.* (ll. 50 ff.) probably begins with *τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι*. In it are specified αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἱερέων mentioned in line 82 of the decree of the Salaminioi. The arbitrators ordered this section to be inscribed on a "common" stele which was to be erected in the hieron of Athena Skiras. For all we know this may have been done. It is clear, however, that the Salaminioi caused the entire text of the *gnosis* (αἱ διαλλαγαί, l. 83) to be inscribed on stone and that this was already done when the decree of the Salaminioi was passed. If it was already erected the stele was taken down so that the decree of the Salaminioi might be added (below, p. 60), as required (ll. 82 f.). Then it was set up, also as required (ll. 84 f.), in the Eurysakeion, near which it was found. In the decree of the Salaminioi known heretofore (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232) it is prescribed that two copies of the record should be inscribed on stone, one to be set up in the Eurysakeion, and the other in the [peribolos] of the temple of Athena Skiras. Since the stone which is preserved was discovered in Athens it is obviously the copy which was set up in the Eurysakeion. The reason for erecting in the shrine of Athena Skiras the stele specifying the *γέρα* (l. 50) was, doubtless, the fact that upwards of one half the regulations to be inscribed on it concerned the Oschophoria. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232 a special reason is also perceptible for the requirement that a copy of this honorary decree be set up in the [peribolos] of the temple of Athena Skiras. The anathema referred to in line 15, with which the vote of thanks was somehow connected, was a gift to Athena Skiras. A copy of the vote of thanks was manifestly in place in the shrine which contained the dedication. The Eurysakeion was probably the normal place for the deposit of the gentile records. In ca. 250 B.C. no provision was made for recording on stone the findings of the dialytai. None the less, they were inscribed on a stele which, as the place of finding shows, was erected in the Eurysakeion. The Eurysakeion was, in all likelihood, the central headquarters of the genos. The *grammateia* referred to in lines 57 f. were presumably written rather than inscribed records. They were to be all *κοινὰ ἀμφοτέρων*, i.e., equally accessible to both parties. Where they were to be kept is not stated.

Line 30. For the accentuation *πελανόν* see Bücheler, Herond., *Mim.*, IV, 91, cited by Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae*, II, 1, p. 20, n. 7, and Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s.v.* "Πέλανος bezeichnet 'den erlesensten Teil des einem Gott gelieferten Getreides, aus dem man die Opferkuchen bereitet,'" writes Nilsson (*Griech. Feste*, p. 90), quoting Stengel (*Hermes*, 1894, p. 283). Stengel later (*Griech. Kultusaltertümer*<sup>3</sup>, p. 99; cf. *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 66 ff.) defined it as follows: "Es ist das ein mehr oder weniger flüssiger Mehlteig, Honig, oft auch Mohn enthaltend, der je nachdem in die Flammen geworfen oder als eine Art Spende gegossen werden konnte. In festerem Zustand erscheint er als flaches, rundes Gebäck, unsern Eierkuchen oder Flinzen ganz ähnlich. Gegessen wird niemals davon. Er ist als Opfergabe namentlich in chthonischen Kulte häufig, begegnet jedoch auch in andern." Cf. Ziehen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.

Line 31. *Κοινῶν*, i.e., "of the genos," not "of the state," which would be *δημοσίων* (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 190, ll. 32 ff., 24; cf. Ziehen, *op. cit.*, p. 201, ll. 26 ff.). The contrast of both is *ιδίων*.

Line 32. *Τό* may be thought to be lacking after *δαρτό*. The omission would be intelligible in view of the *-το* which precedes. If it were also absent with *σκέλος* no question would arise: cf. ll. 35 f. For the distinction between *δαρτά* and *εδστά* see Ziehen, *op. cit.*, p. 44, n. 21; Stengel, *Griech. Kultusal.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 112, n. 21.

Line 33. For *σάραξ* cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 190, l. 29; II<sup>2</sup>, 1359, l. 4. Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1047, 1171; *S.G.D.I.*, I, 276.

Line 35. *Ἄμφοτέρωσε* = "for or to both." "Both" must mean Eurysakes and the hero at the Hale; cf. ll. 52 ff. For *σκέλος* (gen.) *καὶ δέματος* see above, p. 57. Each of the two priests receives specific gera and a portion (*μερίς*) from each branch of the genos. The two priestesses receive the two portions but no special gera except in the case of the offerings of *ἄρτοι* to Athena Skiras, when, however, they receive no more than the priests. Probably the priestesses fare thus badly because they served public cults and hence can have received special gera from the state. Ordinarily priestesses received gera just as priests did (Stengel, *Griech. Kultusal.*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 40 ff.). The two portions awarded by the arbitrators to the priests and priestesses are connected with the organization of the genos in two branches: each furnished one. Since, as officiants, they would receive without question a portion, the sole point of this section is to double the portion, and (or) to make each branch responsible for the half. If several possession of priesthoods and ownership of property obtained before 363 B.C. (above, pp. 54, 55), the chances are that the first of these alternatives is correct. It is quite conceivable that theretofore a priest or priestess offering a sacrifice in his or her own shrine received a portion only from the branch by which he or she was appointed even though both parties were present and participated in the offering; and it is equally conceivable that the priests and priestesses should claim two portions.

Lines 41 ff. See above, pp. 33 ff.

Lines 44 ff. It is remarkable not to find the priest of Eurysakes among the recipients of *ἄρτοι*. Conceivably the herald took his place; but this is not plausible, since ordinarily the herald was remembered on such occasions. Perhaps Eurysakes had no share in the Oschophoria precisely because, though of Salaminian descent, he had had no place in the cult of Skiras and Skiros on Salamis. His absence may emphasize the fact that his cult was Athenian, that of Athena Skiras an importation.

Lines 45 f. "Also to the basket bearer." The priestess of Kourotrophos was at the same time priestess of Pandrosos and Aglauros (l. 12), and is thought of as already attended to; hence the position of *καί*.

Line 46. *Κῶραι* (English, haft, heft) means "handles." Since handles cannot have been the recipients of a loaf, the persons who used the handles must be meant. From *κώρη*, the handle of an oar, the meaning "rowers" might be deduced, just as from

*κωπέες*, "pieces of wood for making oars," the meaning "oarsmen" (*κωπηλάται*) was in fact derived (Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, II, 274, 31). A good parallel is the use of *δπλα* for *δπλίται*. But what have rowers to do with the *Oschophoria*? As we have seen (above, p. 27) the ship's officers of Theseus were associated with Poseidon, not Athena Skiras. Besides the *κῶπαι* are obviously subordinates: as a group they receive a single loaf. *Κῶπη* is also the handle of a handmill, specifically the "Drehstange am Mühlstein" (Preisigke, *s. v.*). *Κῶπαι* can, therefore, mean "millers," i.e., the men who turned the millstones. In English a parallel use is found when it is said that a tithe of the grist goes to the mill, i.e., to the miller. The justification for interpreting the word here in this sense is found in the context: the grinders of the wheat from which the *ἄρτοι* were made were suitable recipients of a loaf, especially if, as is probable, selected wheat was used and the grinding was done in a particular way.

Line 47. A similar use of intermediaries in the selection of religious officials is found in the section of the King's Law quoted by Athenaeus (VI, 235 c): *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως ἂν καθιστῶνται καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶνται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα* i.e., *ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἄρχοντες καθιστῶνται καί, κτλ.* As the rule stands two objects were effected: (1) the delegation of the business of selecting the *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* to a single person, and (2) the alternation of his charge between the two branches. Since we do not know how the *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* were selected before 363 B.C., the extent of the innovation of the arbitrators is conjectural. Some change was certainly made. Otherwise the arbitrators would have passed over the whole matter in silence. The absence of specifications as to the number and provenience of the *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* indicates that in this matter no change was made. Presumably the rôle of the priestess and the herald was not affected. In view of ll. 56 f. (below, pp. 59 f.), I am inclined to think that the entire provision *ἄρχοντα δὲ κληρῶν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἑκατέρων* is an innovation, and that the new official relieved the annual archons of the task described in the following relative clause. He had this charge alone: they had much other business. His jurisdiction extended each year over the whole organization: theirs concerned primarily the branches severally. Responsibility was vested in a single person thenceforth. If an official favored his own branch, his successor would favor the other. Thus the score would be evened up. Wrangling each year between the two archons, each backed by his own branch, would be precluded. We can thus see how the new rule would remove a cause of dissension. The selection of the new official by sortition would have significance only if the two archons were not so designated (see below, pp. 61 ff.).

Line 49. The spelling of *ῶσχοφόρος* with an omega occurs both here and in line 21. The omega is also found in our best Ms. tradition (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 146; cf. the texts quoted in footnotes to pp. 142 ff.). *ῶσχοφόροι* is a variant given by Harpokr., *s. v.*, Hesych., *s. v. δειπνοφόροι*, Phot., *s. v. ὄσχοφορεῖν*. The form *ῶσχοφόροι* is derived from *ῶσχοφόροι* in accordance with the rule that two rough consonants should not occur

in successive syllables of the same word (Goodwin-Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, § 105; Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 102). Ὠσχοφόρος is derived by the scholiasts and lexicographers from ὠσχη or ὠσχος (Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 3 has δσχοί), which in turn is defined as a κλάδος κατάκαρπος ἀμπέλου; κλήμα ἀμπέλου μεστὸν εὐθαλῶν βοιτρώων. Van der Loeff's derivation of the first component of the word from δσχεά, δσχεός = the scrotum = Hodenbeutel (*Mnemosyne*, 1915, p. 414), in itself most improbable (Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 146), is definitely overthrown now that we have inscriptional proof that the first letter was omega.

Line 50. Ταῦτα, the foregoing γέρα. Τὰ γεγραμμένα, written out in the *gnosis* of the arbitrators.

Lines 52 f. If, as seems assured, the Hale was at Sounion, the priest of Herakles was the natural person to tend to its hero. The assignment of half of it to the men from the Heptaphylai gave the priest of Eurysakes a counterclaim, and the arbitrators decided the question in his favor. Since thereafter the priest of Eurysakes was as likely as not to be a Sounian and the priest of Herakles to be from the Heptaphylai the juncture of the cult in Melite with the cult in Sounion did not affect the branches as such. It affected only the emoluments of the priests.

Lines 54 ff. The question whether the phrase ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδο ἄρχοντος belongs with the sentence beginning with ἐὰν δέ (l. 54) or with that introduced by οἱ ἐκ τῶν (l. 57) may be raised. I have chosen the latter alternative mainly because of the position of the phrase. If it belonged with ἐὰν δέ we should expect it to precede or follow immediately ἐπισκευάζειν. Affixed to οἱ ἐκ τῶν it falls in its natural place in the sentence. The conditional form of the first sentence, and possibly the use in it of the present instead of the aorist infinitive of the main verb suggest, moreover, that the continuing rather than the immediate problem of repairs was being dealt with. If the problem had been one of specific repairs, the need would have been known, and the order would perhaps have run ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ τὰ δεόμενα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀντίκα μάλα (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2496). The asyndeton would also be less harsh if ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδο ἄρχοντος stood at the beginning of the second sentence; but in any case an asyndeton was inevitable. The ensuing sentence has no connection with what precedes. It is couched, not in the form of an order, but of a report. It is an historical postscript such as frequently appears in Athenian inscriptions (Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, p. 51; Dinsmoor and Ferguson, *A.J.A.*, 1933, p. 55; cf. above, p. 49). It registers the fact that the archon whom each party was to designate in turn to select the youths and matrons serving at the Oschophoria—the only archon with whom the diallagai are concerned—was furnished in the initial year by the men from the Heptaphylai. The arbitral order did not determine with which party the rotation was to begin. This problem was settled by lot or by arrangement, possibly through the agency of the diaitetai. It is pertinent to ask why this postscript was not inserted in l. 50. I suppose the answer is that a record of this sort was alien to the material to be recorded on the stele in the shrine of Athena Skiras. It dealt with a situation which could never recur. The natural place for it would be,

perhaps, in l. 52, but, as has been remarked already (above, p. 49), the entire section beginning with l. 52 contains "a series of decisions unrelated to one another."

Now the activity of this archon fell in the period preceding the Oschophoria, and this fête came, as we have seen (above, pp. 27 ff.), on the 6th of Pyanopsion. Since the arbitrators took cognizance of all disputes which originated *εἰς τὸν Βοηδρομιῶνα μῆνα τὸν ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδο ἄρχοντος* (ll. 66 f.), this phrase must mean "up to the beginning of Boedromion;" otherwise the archon for Charikleides' year would have had only six days in which to act, and the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi yet fewer. We might appropriately date the meeting at which the findings of the diaitetai were accepted and sworn to by the Salaminioi on the 8th of Boedromion—on the occasion of the sacrifice at Phaleron to Poseidon, Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros (above, p. 27). In such circumstances the order to erect the stele containing the ritualistic prescriptions (ll. 27–50) in the shrine of Athena Skiras might have seemed all the more natural (above, p. 56). The diallagai, however, were inscribed before the decree of Archeleos was enacted (ll. 80 ff.). Unfortunately neither the occasion nor the date of the meeting of the Salaminioi at which the enactment took place is indicated. Meetings of the genos were held at the Herakleia in Mounichion (No. 2); but they were also feasible on any occasion of collective sacrifices. Such occasions during the remainder of the archonship of Charikleides were, possibly, the Oschophoria, certainly, the Apatouria and the Herakleia, to say nothing of the meeting to sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros. Archeleos' decree can hardly have been cut on the stone while the stele containing the diallagai was upright in its socket. If such had been the case, not incomplete, but badly formed letters would have resulted, especially since the lower lines were practically on the level of the foundation (cf. below, p. 64). Yet we do not need to conclude that the decree was passed before the stele was erected: the stone might have been taken down for the addition to be made and then set up again. It finally came out of its socket undamaged. The space left at the end of the diallagai was normal. Hence at the time they were inscribed the addition was not contemplated. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the stele was not set up immediately after the diallagai had been accepted. Since it can have been taken down at any subsequent time, we can allow any desired interval to elapse between the acceptance of the diallagai and the passing of Archeleos' decree. Yet *prima facie* no grounds exist to justify the supposition that the decree was not enacted in 363/2 B.C. In favor of dating it thus early two considerations may be urged: (1) the desirability that the budget for *τιμαί* and *θυσίαι*, which forms the substance of the decree, should be enacted and recorded publicly as soon as possible, and (2) our expectation that the date *ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἄρχοντος* should appear at the head of the decree if it were not enacted in Charikleides' archonship. Neither of these is, however, conclusive.

Lines 58 ff. The motive of this finding is to be found in the division of the land into halves, with two owners instead of one (ll. 16 ff.). With the division the problem would arise as to the validity of the existent lease. The arbitrators decided that the lessee was to be undisturbed during the period of his tenancy, but that the rental was to be paid

half and half to each branch. The land was obviously leased to a single party. The division of the agora and the Hale apparently did not raise a like problem. They may not have been leased at all. In the case of the land, after the expiry of the lease each party might do what it pleased with its own.

Lines 61 ff. See above, pp. 34 f. "Das Wort *προθύμα* bezeichnet in allen diesen Fällen das Opfer, das vor dem Hauptopfer stattfindet" (Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, p. 4; cf. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, p. 31). Here the word is used in a different sense. *Προθύμα τὸ ἐμίλλο* means simply *τὸ θῦμα πρὸ τοῦ ἐμίλλου*. Cf. Aesch., *Agam.*, 225: *προτέλεια καῶν*; *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 5: [*προτέ*] *λεια* - - *Ἐλεωνίων* for which see Ziehen, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 7 f.; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, l. 37: *προθύματα τῆς ἐορτῆς*. Elsewhere the accusative is found with *κατάρχεσθαι* only in Hom., *Od.*, 3, 445 (Stengel, *Opferbräuche*, p. 40). The genitive appears in line 38, as is usual. The word means literally "to make a beginning of," and technically, according to Stengel, it comprised only the sprinkling of the sacrificers and the victims with water and the scattering of meal on the altar and the victims. "Beim Speiseopfer," he says (p. 44), "vollziehen alle Teilnehmer das *κατάρχεσθαι*," but in the note he adds the qualification: "Wobei freilich anzunehmen ist, daß der Priester oder der das Opfer Darbringende die heilige Handlung zuerst vornimmt." In line 38 the priest *κατάρχεται*, in line 61 *ἐκάτεροι*. It seems to me that in both cases *κατάρχεσθαι* means "to officiate at the sacrifice," its primary significance of "beginning" being lost even grammatically in line 61.

Lines 63 f. The office of herald is not included in the *ἱερωσύναι* (ll. 8 ff.) of which the incumbents serve for life. The question probably was whether the heraldship should be rated with these or with the annually changing archons. The arbitrators decided that it was a priesthood and named it such. They cited *τὰ πάτρια* in support of their finding. The special rôle of the herald at the Oschophoria (above, pp. 36, 41) probably influenced them. There, it will be noted, the herald received *γέρα*, the archons did not. Thrasykles, the herald, is, doubtless, the first juror for the men of the Heptaphylai—Thrasykles, the son of Thrason, of Boutadai (above, p. 14).

Lines 65 f. This use of *ἀφείσθαι*, "to be discharged" is well recognized; cf. Dem., XLVII, 64: *εἰ μή τις αὐτὸν ἀφήσει καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐγγλημάτων*. Here we have the passive with *ἐκατέρος* understood.

Lines 66 f. See above, pp. 47, 60.

Line 69. At this point the writing ceases to be stoichedon. The number of letter spaces per line varies from 39 to 41. The stonecutter is the same. For the identity of individuals among the jurors see above, p. 14. From lines 69 and 74 f. we see that the Salaminioi had two eponymous archons, one taken from and representing each branch. One further "archon" per year, taken from each branch in turn, was to be designated by sortition in the future to attend to the nomination of oschophoroi and deipnophoroi. It is improbable that this archon existed before 363/2 B.C. (above, p. 58). In 363/2 B.C. he was taken from the men of the Heptaphylai. He was appointed

for the performance of a single definite act. In his case archon means only "official." In the decree of Archeleos (l. 82) there is mention of "the archon Aristarchos." He is ordered to inscribe "all the sacrifices and the stipends of the priests" on the stele on which the diallagai were already engraved. Aristarchos is indubitably the Aristarchos, son of Demokles, of Acharnai whose name appears inconspicuously in the catalogue of jurors for the men of the Heptaphylai (l. 77). The two archons representing the branches in 363/2 B.C. were Diphilos and Antisthenes. We have, therefore, in Aristarchos' case to consider two possibilities: (1) the Salaminioi had an archon who represented the genos as a whole in addition to the two representing its branches, (2) Aristarchos was one of the two archons of the year 362/1 B.C. The points which militate against dating the decree of Archeleos as late as the archonship of Molon (362/1 B.C.) have already been made (above, p. 60). If they are accepted as valid Aristarchos must have served in 363/2 B.C., and the first possibility must be accepted. But, as already stated, they are not conclusive; and there are points which can be urged against its acceptance: (1) from the position of Aristarchos' name in the list of jurors we should never imagine that he was at the time *the* archon of the whole genos, (2) from *Σαλαμινίους* in lines 69 and 74f. we infer that Diphilos and Antisthenes, notwithstanding that each was taken from and represented a single branch, were archons of the whole genos, and (3) the archons who are to be kept cognisant of the sums required for all the sacrifices and gera are those serving from time to time *παρ' ἀμφοτέρων* (l. 83). Again the evidence is not conclusive. It would prevail if we should assume that the officials of the Salaminioi served, not from Hekatombaion 1 to Hekatombaion 1, but from Herakleia to Herakleia—the cycle followed in the religious calendar (see above, p. 33).

We must now turn to the old record of the Salaminioi, the honorary decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232. The significant section runs as follows:

*νέμειν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ-*  
*[ατέρωι κρέα τ]ὸν αἰεὶ λανχάνοντα ἄρχο-*  
*[ντα ἐκ τοῦ γέν]ους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμ[ον]-*  
*[ας τοὺς ἐφ' ἀμ]ίλλους· κατανέμειν δ[ὲ κα]-*  
*[ὶ ἐκάστωι ἄρτων]· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψή]-*

The restorations *κρέα*, *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*, and *τοὺς ἐφ' ἀμίλλους* are my own. (For the filling in of other portions of the text see Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, 1931, p. 85, n. 3. Instead of *[τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Ἐῶν]σακ[εῖα]* in line 27 I should prefer *[τὸ ἱερὸν Ἐῶν]σάκ[ους]*. If Wade-Gery's restoration of line 3 is correct we should substitute *ἐκάστωι* for *ἐκατέρωι* in ll. 16f. Cf. above, p. 34, n. 3.) They meet the spatial requirements. For *ἐκ τοῦ γένους* cf. *Mélanges Bidez*, p. 821, l. 63: *τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἱερέων*; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1235: *τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς αἰεὶ καθισταμένους ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ γένους*; and above, p. 50. For *τοὺς ἐφ' ἀμίλλους* cf. *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας*. The archon mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1232 has been identified with the *ἀρχων τοῦ γένους* found generally in the gene (cf. Töpffer, *Att. Gen.*, p. 21; Kahrstedt,

*Staatsgebiet*, p. 267), and the passage has been taken as an indication that this officer was elected by lot (Töpffer, *loc. cit.*). Our texts show that the question is not thus simple. We have to determine which of the archons of the Salaminioi is meant. The occasion of his activity is a sacrifice; a sacrifice, moreover, which seems to concern Athena Skiras. If the proposed restorations are correct, the persons honored were given prerogatives at the sacrifice of the Oschophoria. Naturally the task assigned to the archon would be appropriate for *the* archon of the genos, if there were one; but the archon specially elected by lot to select the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi (above, p. 58) also comes up for consideration. His rôle, however, was limited to the selection of these persons and ended before the day of the festival. In the festival itself, according to the rule establishing the office (ll. 57 ff.), he took no special part. Another archon, moreover, demands attention. Each branch of the Salaminioi performed the prothuma of the contest in turn (above, pp. 34 ff., 61). *Ἐκατέροσ* is the word used for those officiating. As the executive officer of each branch its archon must have been in general charge. Though selected from a particular branch, he was, as we have seen (above, p. 62), an official of the whole genos; and those for whom the prothuma was offered in each particular year were the Salaminioi collectively. This was an occasion when meat (*χορέα*) was distributed. If, as seems likely, he had charge of the distribution, he was designated clearly enough by *τὸν αὐτὸν λαγχάνοντα ἀρχοντα*. But could either he or the archon for selecting the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi have been designated as allotted *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*? For the latter archon "allotted" is, of course, as it should be. We do not know by what method the archon of the genos (assuming it to have had a single head) or the two archons (assuming it to have had a double headship) were selected, nor have we this knowledge regarding the archon of any genos. Kahrstedt (*Staatsgebiet*, p. 267) says, "der ἀρχων mag das Altershaupt der Hauptlinie gewesen sein," but the wide use of sortition and the annual term of the office does not commend this conjecture in the case of our genos, which apparently did not have a "Hauptlinie." Since all the priestly offices and one of the civil offices were subject to sortition, it is natural to suppose that the rest of the civil offices were subject to it also. If this is so, the word *λαγχάνοντα* does not limit us to the archon for the selection of the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi. What about *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*, assuming this to be correct? I do not think it compels us to conclude that the Salaminioi had a single archon taken from their entire membership to the exclusion in this connection of the two archons taken each from one of their branches. In an honorary decree, which, of course, had no occasion to notice the internal structure of the Salaminioi, any archon could, I believe, be said to have been taken *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*.

In conclusion I think it more probable that the Salaminioi were headed by two archons than by one, that these archons were elected by lot, and that Aristarchos, one of the jurors of the Heptaphylai in 363/2 B.C., succeeded Antisthenes on the expiration of his term. If this was at the Herakleia, in Mounichion, 362 B.C. things would go a little easier. The reason why Aristarchos was selected (to the exclusion of his colleague) for the task

of engraving on the stele the budget for priests and sacrifices is unquestionably (this conclusion being accepted) because the stele was to stand in the Eurysakeion. His colleague lived too far away, in Sounion, to be associated reasonably with him.

Elsewhere *ιεροουρήμονες* appear three times in Attic records and *μνήμονες* (obviously a synonym) once. In three of these four instances they have to do with a cult of Herakles. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1596 two hieromnemones of Herakles in Kynosarges sell a piece of land; in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1248 (as restored) the archon and the hieromnemones of the Mesogeioi are instructed to give some individual a share [*τῶν κ*]οιτῶν ἀπέριτων; in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1247, a decree of the Mesogeioi in honor of their archon, praise is bestowed on the priests of Herakles and Diomos, the mnemones, the pyrphoron, the koragogon, and the herald for having helped the archon in administering the procession and sacrifice for Herakles. Since the Herakleia at Porthmos were one of the chief fêtes of the Salaminioi it is tempting to think that the Sounians brought the title with them into the genos. But the fourth case (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, 80) gives us pause. There hieromnemones are associated with the demarch of Eleusis in the commonplace task of proclaiming a crown and making and setting up a stele. The stele, however, was to be erected "in the court of the sanctuary." This fact, doubtless, explains their association with the demarch. They had, apparently, authority over the use of sacred property.

It is not permissible to regard hieromnemones as a comprehensive term for the priestly personnel of the genos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1247). They are a board which does not appear in our document because their duties were rather administrative than priestly (Hepding, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 1495; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 489, n. 1). If [ἐμ]ίλλους is correct, the plural may be reconciled with the singular ἐμίλλο in line 61 of No. 1 by the fact that a foot-race consisted of a number of "heats" (E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 277 f.). [A study of the stone, made at my request, did not confirm -ίλλους.]

Line 80. At this point the style of writing changes. The stonecutter was hard put to it to inscribe on what was left of the stele the record resulting from Archeleos' motion. He had one seventh of the stonospace for about one third of all the letters. Accordingly, the lines become crowded, the letters are made smaller and set closely together, 78-104 to the line. The margins on both sides were used and no space whatsoever was left at the bottom. Since the same kinds of errors of inscribing occur in all sections of the record (above, pp. 8 f.) a single stonecutter doubtless did the whole job.

Line 82. The *τιμαί* of the priests were engrossed in the diallagai and hence did not need to be recorded again. They amounted to 59 drachmas (30, 3, 6, 7, 13). The cost of the *θυσίαι* was 460½ drachmas (Mounichion: 10, 15, 12, 12, 70, 15, 3½, 3½, 10, 40, 3 = 194; Hekatombaion: 40, 3 = 43; Metageitnion: 40, 3½, 3½, 3½, 3½ = 54; Boedromion: 40, 3½, 3½, 3½, 3 = 53½; Pyanopsion: 40, 3, 40, 3 = 86; Maimakterion: 12, 15, 3 = 30). This makes a total of 519½, or 11 drachmas short of the sum entered on the stone as *κεφάλαιον*, 530½ drachmas (l. 94). For one sacrifice—the sheep offered to Ion in alternate

years—no sum is entered in the budget. The reason for this omission is obvious—the occurrence of a biennial charge in an annual budget. To halve the sum without an explanatory statement might result in the purchase of an undesirable sheep. At the regular price paid for a sheep (15 drachmas) the cost to the genos would be  $7\frac{1}{2}$  drachmas per year. The difference ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  drachmas) may be the allowance for *ξόλα ἐφ' ἱεροῦς καὶ εἰς τἄλλα* (cf. l. 90). This would be excessive for the sacrifice of one sheep in alternate years, but I see no other way of making the account square. The budgeting for an extra supply of wood, etc., may be taken to mean that the sacrifice to Ion was made on a different day from the other sacrifices in or near the Herakleion.

Lines 85–93. See above, pp. 21 ff.

Line 85. The sacrifice of a sheep to Ioleos, for whom see Kroll, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, IX, 1843 ff., and Robert, *Die griech. Heldensage*, II, pp. 618 f., is also entered in the Marathonian calendar (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358, col. ii, l. 14). A holocaust was prescribed in chthonic, and was traditional in heroic, cultus; but a hero might be treated like a god and the holocaust dispensed with (Stengel, *Griech. Kultusal.*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 138 ff.; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 433; Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, p. 474; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II<sup>1</sup>, pp. 425 ff.). Ioleos is the only deity in our calendar who receives a holocaust. I doubt if the word is to be supplied in the case of the other “heroic” sacrifices, even though our record is one, not of rites, but of prices. The priest of Herakles received a leg of the porker sacrificed, on behalf of the genos, to the hero at Antisara, as he did also in the case of the porker offered to the hero at Pyrgilion (ll. 32 f., 86 f.). He could not do this if the animal was completely burned. The name *ἦρωος* is reserved in our calendar to the three heroes at Porthmos who were known only by the places in which they resided, and Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros, who were associated with Poseidon Hippodromios at Phaleron. It is not applied to Skiros or Theseus, or in its masculine or feminine form, to any of the Herakles group. The only one of the six *ἦρωες* (so entitled) who did not receive a *χοῖρος* was *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ ἄλῆ*: he received a sheep.

Line 86. The association of Ioleos and Alkmene with Herakles calls for no comment. Maia, on the other hand, was famed in myth as the mother of Hermes (Homeric Hymn). Thus on the François vase (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, pp. 1–14, 55–62; Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, pp. 150 ff.), dated ca. 570–560 B.C., she appears along with him among the thirty deities represented as present at the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis. Herakles was absent. To the best of my knowledge (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, XIV, pp. 527 ff.) she lacks elsewhere *kultische Beziehungen* until Hellenistic times, when she possesses them, but only in conjunction with Hermes (Mercury). In the peribolos of the Hermaistai (Mercuriales) at Delos there were, it seems, altars of Hermes and Maia and, in addition, others of Herakles and Athena (Minerva) (*B. C. H.*, 1912, pp. 164 f.; Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne*, pp. 272 ff.); but there we have to do with the fused Greek-Italian goddess Maia. This juxtaposition of cults has no relevance to that of Herakles and Maia at Porthmos.

A mythological connection of Maia with Herakles is possible. She was a daughter of Atlas, the collaborator of Herakles in his quest of the apples of the Hesperides; but neither Maia nor the Pleiades figure in this story. I have been unable to discover any connection in cult or myth between Maia and Ioleos or Alkmene. More to the point is the report of Joh. Laur. Lydus (*de mensibus*, IV, 46, p. 122, Wünsch) that his seventh Herakles (Her., II, 44 knew only two) was the son of Zeus and Maia. Since Maia figures nowhere else as the mother of Herakles one suspects that Lydus confused him with Hermes, but it must be remarked that Lydus knew perfectly well that *the* son of Zeus and Maia was Hermes (*de mensibus*, IV, 52, pp. 127 ff., Wünsch). Cf. also Gruppe, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Supplbd. III, 1101. It seems to me improbable that the constant association of Hermes and Herakles in the gymnasium led to their fusion (cf. T. A. Brady, *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, XI, 1936, pp. 18 ff.; A. D. Nock, *Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, 1936, p. 72, n. 99; C. C. Edgar, *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, 19, pp. 62–65). The fourth day of the month, on which Herakles was born, was also Hermes' day (Tresp, *op. cit.*, 37).

Maia, the "fairest" (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 85), or the "eldest" (Apollodoros, II, 10, 2, 15), and perhaps the most luminous (*candidior Atlantidum*, Martianus Capella, II, 180; cf. R. H. Allen, *Star-names and their Meanings*, p. 405), sometimes gave her name to the whole constellation (Verg., *Georg.*, I, 225). But it is not easy to synchronize the sacrifice to Maia at Porthmos with a significant point in the movement of the Pleiades. The first half of Mounichion, in which the sacrifice fell, normally belonged in the forty days between the heliacal setting (April 6–10, Ginzel, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, p. 27, II, p. 345) and the heliacal rising (May 15–19) of the Pleiades (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 427), during which they were invisible. [The date set for the heliacal rising of the Pleiades in Aëtius, III, 1, 164 and Geoponica, I, 9, May 7, holds only for the times in which these treatises were written. For further "later dates" cf. Nock, *Gnomon*, 1934, p. 291, n. 2: the Greek calendars discussed by Rehm, *S. B. Heid.*, 1913, iii, pp. 11, 31 and Bianchi, *ibid.*, 1914, iii, p. 33 date the rising "May 8 or 9, always between 7 and 11."] In such years, however, as Mounichion coincided with May (Meritt, *A. J. P.*, 1936, p. 383) the Herakleia might fall at the heliacal rising. The grain-harvest, the beginning of which Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 383 ff.) synchronizes with the rising of the Pleiades, is in Attica now normally at the end of May (Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 379). For the significance of the rising of the Pleiades, cf. also Arat., *Phain.*, 264 ff.; Hippokrates, *Ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμόνης*, III, 68.

Lines 86–87. For the Hale see above, pp. 54 f. Both Antisara and Pyrgilion are unknown places. The sixth letter of *Ἰνργιλίωι* is lambda, not delta; hence *Ἐπιπυργιλίωι* (for which as a cult title cf. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819, 823 f.) is excluded.

Line 87. The final iota of *Ἰων(ι)* was omitted by the stonecutter (cf. above, p. 8). For Ion, one of the Other Gods (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310, 212), see Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, IX, 1857 ff. The sacrifices offered on behalf of the Old Attic phyle of the Geleontes also came in alternate years, at least after 401 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21). The

*θύειν*, like the *θύειν* in line 94, is thought of as governed by *ἐψηφίσθαι* in line 81. The sentence interrupts the grammatical structure of the calendar. Ziehen (*Leges sacrae*, II, 1, pp. 30, 65), following Dittenberger (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1026, 1038), identifies *τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς* found in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1363, with *ἱερά* found in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843, 7, cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 31 f.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1673, 62 and elsewhere: "voce ἱερά sine dubio minora illa, quae ad sacra perficienda opus erant, velut mel mola oleum, significantur, quae sacerdos praebere debebat." In *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843 (cf. *Class. Stud. presented to Edward Capps*, p. 148, n. 20) we have *ἱερέαι ἀπόμειτρα τῶν χοίρον, χύλον, ἱερῶν*. In our text *ἐφ' ἱεροῖς* goes with *ξύλα*: otherwise we should have *ξύλα, τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς* (or *ἱερά*). *Τάλλα* (ll. 88 ff.) designates minora illa. They may have been provided by the priests, but the *genos* paid for them.

Line 87. The wood was used also for the sacrifice of the victims given by the state; hence their flesh was roasted, not left *ἀμά* (cf. above, p. 34). *Ἐκ κέρβεων* must mean "in accordance with," i.e., "as prescribed by" law. In 363/2 B.C. the law in question can be only the code of 410–401 B.C. The name *κέρβεις* was carried on to this code from the code of Solon which it superseded. Whatever its origin may have been, the word came early to denote an "abstraction, the ancient Law of the Land" so that it made no difference, so far as its use was concerned, whether the law was inscribed on wooden axones or a wall of marble stelai in the Royal Stoa (Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 9; Ferguson, *Class. Stud. Capps*, pp. 144 ff.). For older views see Swoboda, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, XVI, 134 ff.; Kathleen Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, pp. 143 ff.; and the earlier literature cited by these authors.

Line 88. The sacrifice to Eurysakes was made on a different (obviously later) day than those preceding it in our text. It is separated from them by the entry *ξύλα, κτλ.*, which regularly closes a sacrifice or group of sacrifices. In line 92 we have a shift of place, similarly indicated. There is no other sacrifice to Eurysakes entered in the calendar. Hence we can be pretty certain that the place of offering was the Eurysakeion, not Porthmos. Of course the priest of Eurysakes attended the Herakleia: he had to offer the sacrifice at the Hale after 363/2 B.C. But the place for the *genos* to make its one annual offering to Eurysakes was his own shrine in Athens. The Herakleia must have preceded the 18th of Mounichion long enough to permit the Salaminioi to reassemble in the capital.

Line 89. For *Πατρώϊω* see above, pp. 28 ff.

Line 90. For *Ἀγελάαι* see above, pp. 29 f.

Line 91. For *Ἴπποδρομίω* see above, pp. 25 ff. For Phaiax and Nauseiros see above, pp. 25 ff.

Line 92. For the sacrifice to Theseus see above, pp. 27 f. The Apatouria were a three days' fête, celebrated simultaneously at different points in Attica in Pyanopsion (Schol. Aristoph., *Achar.*, 146; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 232). Since they came later than the sixth they doubtless came later than the thirteenth (above, p. 28). The exact days are unknown. The Salaminioi probably offered their sacrifice in Athens (above, p. 28).

Line 93. For the sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros see above, p. 28. Ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν is synonymous with ἐφ' ἱεροῖς, κτλ. Why it was used here, and not in the cases of Eurysakes, Athena, Zeus Phratrios, and Theseus, we cannot imagine. The scribe also left out καὶ εἰς τῆλλα. He also left out ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς in the entry dealing with Theseus in line 92, and in lines 92 and 93 he failed to insert the preposition εἰς. Perhaps all these omissions are to be attributed to the stonecutter, hard pressed for space. In any event the synonym discloses that Athena Skiras and Skiros were σύμβωμοι. For other examples see A. D. Nock, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, XLI, p. 46, note.

Lines 94 f. We learn from this passage that the Herakleion to which the rented land was attached lay at Sounion. Since the Herakleion was ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ Porthmos was also at Sounion. The land yielded at least 530<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> drachmas per year. Capitalizing this figure at 7% (the mean between the two rates established for Attica in the fourth century—6%, Isae., XI, 22; 8%, *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2492; cf. Billeter, *Gesch. d. Zinsfußes*, pp. 15 ff.), we obtain 7578<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> drachmas as the minimal value of the land. From Lysias (XIX, 29) we learn that a property of "more than 300 plethra of land" (70<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> acres) was worth 25,000 drachmas, thus giving us a fourth century B.C. valuation for land (without a house) of 354<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> drachmas per acre. On this basis the land at the Herakleion would amount to at least 21 acres. Naturally this is only an approximation. The figure should probably be raised. The chances are that 354<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> drachmas per acre is an excessively high value (Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 317, n. 2). We do not know the quality of the land at Sounion. It included κήποι (possibly olive groves), a sacred glebe (ἄρουρα), and χωρία, on which, obviously, grain was grown (cf. No. 2, ll. 18 ff., 34 f., 44). The yield in money per unit of land seems to have been about the same whether olives, grapes, or cereals were grown on it (Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, p. 251, n. 2).

A Porthmos has been known hitherto in Euboea (Dem., IX, 33, X, 8, XVIII, 71, XIX, 87; cf. *I. G.*, XII, 9, p. 152, 50 ff.), and another on the strait between Karpathos and Saros (*I. G.*, XII, 1, p. 158 and Nos. 1031 ff.). The Euboeic Porthmos probably occupied the site of the present Skala Aliveriού (Baedeker, *Greece*<sup>4</sup>, p. 228), a port in which passenger boats are to be found to-day for Chalcis and Laurion. The position of the Souniac Porthmos remains to be determined. The data for its determination are as follows: it was on the sea coast, with the sea to its west (below, pp. 70 f.); east of it lay at least 21 acres of cultivable land (No. 2, ll. 24 ff.; below, p. 72); near it was the Hale (above, pp. 54 f.); it was possibly at some distance from the temples of Poseidon and Athena (above, p. 44. But see the additional topographical note by H. A. Thompson at the end of this article).

Line 96. Ὑπεύθυνον: responsible as all Athenian office-holders were (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 52, 2; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 1076). The accounting was to be rendered to the whole genos and the priests. The priests were, of course, primarily interested in the maintenance of the schedules and were given moral support for the protection of their rights by being thus singled out. Ὑπόδικον: liable to legal action, which would normally be entered with the King Archon (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 57, 2).

## NOTES ON No. 2

Line 1. Phanomachos was the Athenian archon, if, as seems probable (above, pp. 61 ff.), the Salaminioi did not have a single archon at their head. As it happens, the other records of Attic gene (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1229–1236), except one (*B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 245), are either broken away at the top or undated altogether. The exception, like two catalogues of gennetai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2338, 2339), uses both archon-names in the prescript. Orgeones and thiasotai regularly date their records by the Athenian archon, but these corporations did not have archons. There was a risk of ambiguity in our record since the Salaminioi had archontes of their own. Either Ἀθηναίοις (No. 1, l. 2) or Σαλαμινίοις (No. 1, ll. 69, 74) was required to avoid this. There are certain considerations which favor taking Phanomachos as the archon of the Athenians. While the stele was undoubtedly inscribed and set up by the Salaminioi, the record it contained originated with the dialytai, who were indubitably non-Salaminioi. There was the same reason for dating No. 2 by the Athenian archon as there was for dating No. 1 ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου. Since the two stones were found in the same water tunnel, it is probable that they stood close together in the Eurysakeion, and that the contents of No. 1 were known to the drafters of No. 2. Both records deal with the same general problem. No. 2 contains amendments and additions to No. 1. No. 2 may have followed the example of No. 1 in dating by the Athenian archon.

Assuming Phanomachos to be the Athenian archon we cannot do more than date him ca. 250 B.C. (cf., however, below, p. 74). The chief evidence is the style of writing, which seems to both Meritt and Dow to belong to this period. One slight prosopographical index is confirmatory (below, note on l. 6). Now that Polyektos is dated with security in 243/2 B.C. there is abundance of room for Phanomachos in the 'fifties.

Line 2. See above, p. 33.

Line 3. See above, pp. 47 ff.

Line 5. Note the omission of the article before Ἑπταφυλῶν. Cf. above, pp. 12 f. Without the article the reading Ἑπταφυλῶν is to be preferred to ἐπὶ φυλῶν.

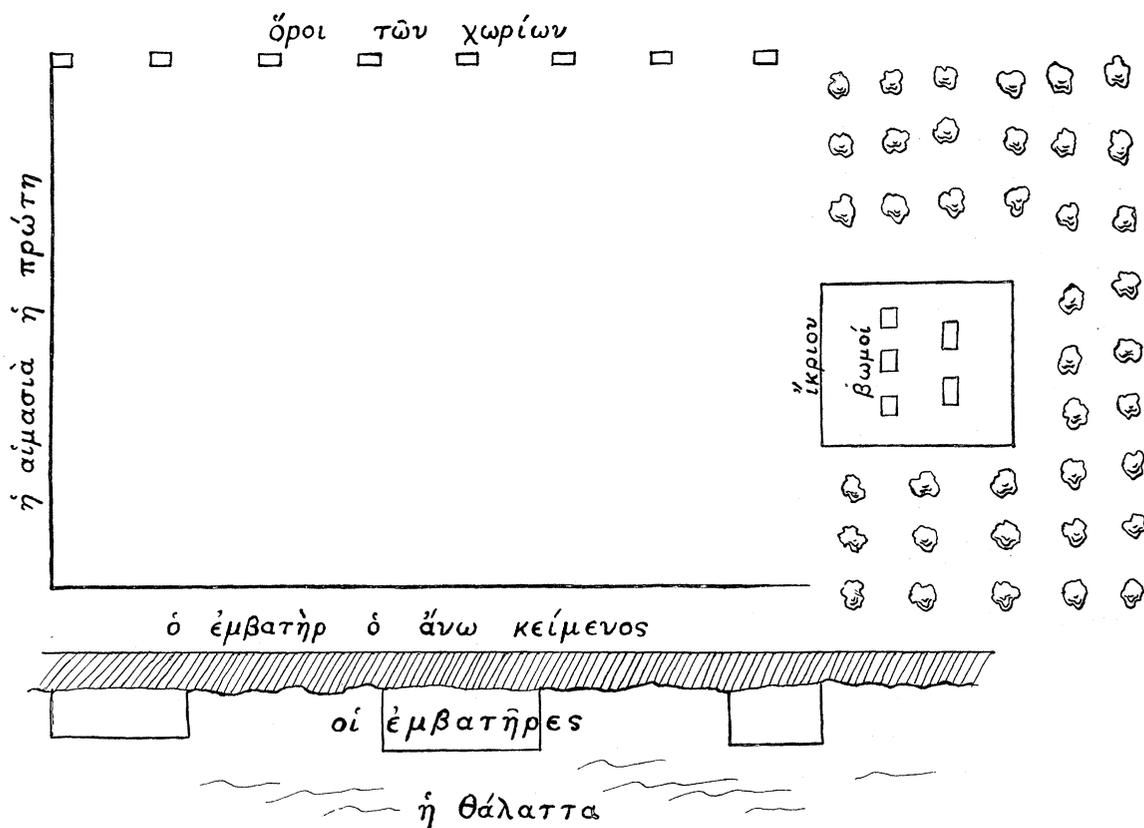
Lines 5 f. Αἰρεθέντων by itself shows that we have to do with private arbitrators. We have no evidence for the existence of public arbitration after 322 B.C. (Harrell, *Public Arbitration in Athenian Law*, p. 9); but in view of the slenderness of our documentation hitherto for private arbitration, we must not stress too much the argument *ex silentio*.

Line 6. Antigenes is probably the son of Xenokles, son of Antigenes, of Semachidai, owner of a property which was sold by the poletai at *fin. s. IV* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1581). For ἄνετομ cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 204, l. 30. The reservation of part of the temenos implies the non-reservation of the remainder.

Line 10. The singular, ἵκριον, is rare and late (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.*), and means a mast or pole. Here it must, I think, be used in the general sense in which the plural appears in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 94: *καιεθέτο (τὴν σιγήλην) ἐν τῷ Νελείῳ παρὰ τὰ ἵκρια*. “Cancelli significari videntur,” writes Dittenberger (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 93), “quibus delubrum (ἱερὸν) a reliqua area (τέμενος) separatur.” The plural is also used in *I.G.*, IV, 39, where the item ἵκρια *περὶ τὸ ἔδος* appears in an inventory made by the Athenian cleruchs of the temenos of Aphaia at Aegina. The holes, one at each corner of the basis for the statue, in which were set the uprights supporting the fence, have been found in the ruins (Furtwängler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Text, p. 43, Taf. 31, 32, 37). The *ikrion* was, I take it, a rail, probably wooden, set on, or nailed to, posts, setting apart the area in which the altars stood. For such a rail the singular would be permissible. The railing ran, in all probability, on all sides of the altar area. Certainly this would be necessary if its object was to protect the altars from straying animals. With ὡς the appropriate form of *δοῖζειν* is understood. The first olive trees defined the outer limit of the reserved area that lay beyond the railing. The reserved area obviously formed the southern portion of the temenos, and was situated in an olive grove.

Line 11. In line 17 “the rest of the temenos” is designated *τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος*, if this phrase does not comprehend also the part reserved for religious purposes, which is improbable. I submit a rough plan of the temenos. The dimensions and shape are of course unknown, as are the form of the area marked off by the *ikrion*, the extent of the olive grove and the number of the *embateres*. The unreserved portion of the temenos contained enough level ground to admit of two threshing floors. The only problem of interpretation is presented by *ἐμβατήρες οἱ τε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ὁ ἄνω κείμενος*. The word *ἐμβατήρ* is defined by Hesychius (*s. v.*) as *τοῖς ἀρχιτέκνοσι τόπος*. This does not help us, though it may be relevant to the other known use of the word ([τ]ὸνς *ἐμβατ[ήρας]*) in a Nemean building account (*I.G.*, IV, 481, 2). In our context I think *ἐμβατήρες* must mean “embarking places.” I imagine that there was a series of piers jutting out at or near sea level, each leading by grading, or steps, or passages up to a quay which ran parallel to the coast at the level of the sea-wall. They may be compared to the “moles” set along the water front of Delos, south of the Sacred Port (J. Paris, *B.C.H.*, 1916, pp. 30 ff.; cf. Planches i–iv, Môles, 4, 5, 6, 9). Paris notes that similar “moles” are found at Larymna and Gytheion. Lehmann-Hartleben (*Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, pp. 157, n. 6; 158) objects to calling these projections moles. They were, he thinks, designed to create “Anlegefläche.” He refers to Carthaginian and Alexandrian analogues (pp. 139, 135). On page 135, n. 1 he collects many cult-titles, etc., derived from *ἐκ-*, *ἐπι-* and *ἀπο-βατηρ-*. *Ἐμβατήρια* (ἱερά), sacrifices made on embarking, are also known (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.*). The Herakleion was conveniently situated for such rites. Naturally this construction for docking and loading and unloading boats lay outside the temenos. The temenos was, however, immediately contiguous. It probably overlooked the Porthmos (ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ).

Lines 18 ff. There was a famous *έλωσ* at Delphi which was used for organizing processions and other religious ceremonies (Plut., *de def. orac.*, 15; cf. Pomtow, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Supplbd. IV, 1296), and at Eleusis *ή έλωσ ή ιερά* is known (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, 233). In the case of the boundary property (*εσχατιά*) at Poros in Attica entitled *δημοσία έλω* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1594, 17) we may have to do simply with a threshing floor that was public property. In the absence of any indication to the contrary we



Suggested Plan of Temenos. North is on the left

may take *έλωσ* in our text in its common work-a-day sense. The situation seems to be that the Salaminioi at Sounion had encroached on the temenos without authorization by constructing in it at their own private expense, or more probably with gentile funds in the possession of their "branch," a threshing floor for their exclusive use. The dialytai sanctioned this encroachment by opening all but the reserved portion of the temenos to profane uses, but they required the local Salaminioi to duplicate their *έλωσ* at their own expense for the use of the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai. Presumably each group used its floor for threshing the grain reaped on its own *χωρία* (see below, p. 72). We do not know whether the Salaminioi now farmed the "fields" themselves or continued

to let them to a tenant or tenants. Nor do we know whether Salaminioi individually tilled private lands in the vicinity of Porthmos and used the floors for threshing the yield. Presumably those resident in Sounion did. A fee may even have been collected from non-Salaminioi for their use of the floors. This portion of the findings of the dialytai plainly met demands made by the genos of Heptaphylai.

Lines 24 ff. This same spelling, *αρχαιο*, occurs also in lines 30, 39, and 42. It is, therefore, not a stonecutter's slip. The form is troublesome. If it is a neuter adjective, *ἀρχαῖο(ν)*, the systematic omission of the final nu is hard to explain. If it is the genitive of the substantive, *ἀρχαῖον*, "capital" as opposed to *ἔργον*, "interest," we have two difficulties: (1) the omission of the article, and (2) the use in this document of omicron for the false diphthong *ov*. The omission of the article is intelligible if, despite its form, the word was thought to be a predicate neuter adjective. The spelling is not only unparalleled in this text, but is an anachronism. Meisterhans (*op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 22) cites parallels from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1534 B (241/0 B.C.), but Kirchner (n. on l. 199) rightly points out that in this crowded inventory, in which many words are clipped, *o* is written for *ov* *compendii causa*. Otherwise there is no instance of the use of *o* for *ov* after 300 B.C. None the less I think that we should write *ἀρχαίο*. I assume that it is an archaic spelling preserved as a business, perhaps legal, expression, and thought of as a neuter adjective. The word is used to denote a particular kind of ownership; otherwise it would be unnecessary. What *ἀρχαίο* adds to plain ownership is, doubtless, the limitation of inalienability. That gene might sell property is, I think, clear (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1594 ff.). But it seems to me unimaginable that either genos of the Salaminioi was given the right freely to dispose of its *χωρία* by sale or otherwise. The *χωρία* were, of course, in accordance with the terms of No. 1, pledged for the maintenance of the sacrifices offered by the Salaminioi from their own funds. The case of the *ἕρὰ ἄρουρα* is particularly clear. The genos of the Salaminioi from Heptaphylai, of whose *ἀρχαίο* it thenceforth formed part, cannot have possessed full rights of ownership in its regard. They cannot, for example, have had the power to sell it even if they were to devote the interest of the price received to the support of the cult. It was *ἕρὰ*.

Lines 26 ff. A house with two doors opening on the sea is intelligible, but how these two doors could form boundaries for the house I cannot understand. The first house abuts on the temenos, but was not in it; the second is to the east of the first. Both houses are bounded by the *θύραι* and the markers of the fields; but in the first case the *θύραι* are defined as *ἀμφοτέραι*, in the second not. The *θύραι* are doubtless the same in each case, but they stand in different relations to the houses. The markers may denote in each case a different section of the boundary of the fields. It is unlikely that the houses were situated one in each farm. If such were the case it would have sufficed to say that a house and *χωρία* were to belong to each genos. It seems clear that the two houses were not far apart. It is in connection with them that the common *κῆποι* and the well, of which each genos received half, are mentioned. The well should be within

easy reaching distance of both houses. *Εἰς ὀρθὸν* means "in a straight line" (cf. Diphil., *Paras.*, 2, 5: *εἰς ὀρθὸν τρέχειν*), i.e., from *δρος* to *δρος*, or continuing a row of *δροι*. This definition of a boundary is unintelligible of a house. The wall of the house was already there and did not need to be thus defined. The use both of *θύραι* and of *δροι* leads to the conclusion that what is defined is not the house but the lot on which the house stood. *Θύραι* must, therefore, be a gate opening from the sea, or from the side facing the sea, into the lot or lots. The first house-lot had a gate on both sides, the second had a defining gate on one side only. There may have been only three gates in all. Gates seem meaningless, unless there was a wall closing the lot or lots at certain points. Perhaps the walls of the houses were extended at suitable heights to serve as a fence in barring access to the lots. If so, the lines indicated by the *δροι* were not so walled, and why indicate the boundaries by the gates and not by the walls themselves?

With these data I do not see how we can place the house-lots on the Plan. We know the location of only one (probably a small) section of the *δροι τῶν χωρίων*. How the other sections ran we cannot conjecture. The situation of the *κῆποι* is not indicated. They may be the olive grove which bounded the reserved portion of the temenos, or they may be gardens rather than orchards, and hence placeable anywhere. We do not know what lay south of the part that was *ἔνετον*. The house-lots lay outside the temenos and the *χωρία*. Without finding the temenos and tracing its remains a plan seems to me impossible.

The houses are not mentioned in No. 1. They were probably built between 363/2 and *ca.* 250 B.C. The diaitetai assigned the land at the Herakleion half and half to each branch and required the owner to bound it by markers. This order was executed. What they did not do was to determine which half belonged to which branch. This may have seemed unnecessary, since a fair division would have left no basis for preference. The situation very likely changed in 100 years. In any event the dialytai were called upon to decide which fields and which house belonged to each genos. They assigned the easterly house and the easterly fields to the Sounians, the house which abutted on the temenos and the fields which were nearer to it to the men from Heptaphylai. They did not disturb the existing markers. They gave half the well to each. It was presumably unimportant to divide the *κῆποι*. They were to be held in common.

Lines 35 f. By this decision the halving of the Hale and of the agora in Koile ordered in 363 B.C. was annulled. Thenceforth both gene were to enjoy them in common. Why was the item inscribed at this point? It separates rather unnaturally the section dealing with the houses and their appurtenances from that relating to the fields. Two reasons occur to me: (1) the Hale was so situated that it seemed appropriate to dispose of it immediately after the *κῆποι* and the well, (2) the Hale and the agora were dealt with in conjunction by the diaitetai in 363 B.C. Both can have been operative. The implication of the latter is that the dialytai had in their hands in *ca.* 250 B.C. a copy of the diallagai of 363, as, indeed, is probable on other grounds. The mediators of *ca.* 250 B.C. accepted

as the basis of their settlement the diallagai of 363 B.C. There seems not to have been resort to external authority during the intervening period. The presumption is, therefore, that all the earlier enactments regarding cultus remained in force. Another conclusion is permissible, that the substitution of two gene for one was a spontaneous development. It was substantially simply a shift of the name *genos* from the comprehensive organization to its branches. At various times during the interval Athens and Sounion were isolated one from the other. For a generation and more the sea route between Athens and Sounion was seldom in Athenian hands. Each branch was thus impelled to act independently. A similar consequence of the political separation of Athens and the Peiraeus in the early third century was the constitution of a separate branch of the Thracian orgeones of Bendis in the *asty* (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1283). In 261/0 B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 477; XI 2, 114; cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 75 ff.) the conclusion of peace between Ptolemy II and Antigonos Gonatas, in which Athens was involved, opened the roads between Athens and Sounion. Shortly afterwards, we may think, the two gene came together and agreed to settle differences which had arisen by referring them to mediators. Phanomachos can have been archon in 260/59 B.C. He cannot well be placed before 271/0 B.C.—one of the other alternatives. But he may come after 252/1 B.C.

**3.** A pillar of poros found on December 4, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section N. It is broken away above, below, and behind. Sides and inscribed surface are very roughly dressed.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.04 m.

Inv. No. 2221.

[h]όρος [οί]  
 [κ]ίασ ηιεθ  
 ἄσ Ἀθηναίωσ  
 Πολιάδοσ

For other mentions of an *οικία ἰσοά* see *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 363, l. 24; 364, col. ii, l. 8; 367, l. 6. The word *δρος* may have two related meanings: (1) a marker, and (2) a boundary stone. In other words, the stone may be one of a series establishing the boundaries of a property, or it may be a single stone designating an object (Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, II, pp. 877 ff.: "Now a single Horos cannot *delimit* a property or a house, it can only *mark* it"). Wade-Gery argues that the *δροι* which served as "pawn-stones" of houses or lands or lands and houses were, as he calls them, *singletons*. It is indeed difficult to imagine why a building, which is the ordinary meaning of *οικία*, should have boundary stones; but when *οικία*, as seems to be the case in No. 2 (above, p. 73), designates the lot on which the building was set (including the building), *δροι* in the sense of boundary stones are quite possible.