

# THE TEMPLE ESTATES OF DELOS, RHENEIA, AND MYKONOS

(PLATES 89-90)

MANY temples in ancient Greece derived revenues from investments and loans, but the Temple of Apollo at Delos is the only one whose records are preserved in sufficient quantity to enable us to follow its financial career in considerable detail for several centuries. This good fortune has come about not only because the site of Delos has remained virtually deserted throughout the Christian era,<sup>1</sup> but also because temple officials at Deïos appear to have kept their accounts and permanent records with more care than was exercised by many of their contemporaries. Approximately one fifth of the inscriptions of Delos contain fragmentary or complete accounts of the treasurers of the Temple of Apollo. The earliest specimen of which we have any knowledge antedates the Peloponnesian War, and was a comparatively brief record: it consisted merely of a list of various sources of revenue and the total amount of money received from each source.<sup>2</sup> Although methods of bookkeeping appear to have varied somewhat with different treasurers, the accounts tended to become more detailed as time went on, and towards the end of the Amphictyonic Period (454-314 B.C.) it was customary to include in the permanent records itemized expenditures and lists of individual rent-payers and debtors as well as a summarized financial statement. During the Period of Independence (314-166 B.C.) the accounts were rendered still more fully by the *Hieropoioi*, who were annual officials in charge of the Temple's finances. The Hieropoioi were accustomed to keep their daily records on papyrus and to post a wooden notice board every month, and were obliged to make a monthly financial report to the Delian Boule.<sup>3</sup> At the end of their term of office the Hieropoioi

<sup>1</sup> For a convenient summary of the history of Delos during the Christian Era, see A. C. Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, pp. 68-71.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377; Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I<sup>2</sup>, No. 54.

<sup>3</sup> For the references and a discussion of prices of papyrus rolls, see J. A. O. Larsen, *Roman Greece (Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, IV)*, pp. 396-397. The papyrus appears to have been used for bookkeeping as well as for business documents (T. Homolle, *Les archives de l'intendance sacrée à Délos*, pp. 12-13).

There were two types of records on wooden tablets. At the close of each year there was made a wooden duplicate (*δέλτος*) of a part, if not all, of the text of the annual stele (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 148, line 70; 154, A, line 46; and especially 287, A, line 197): this tablet was probably stored in the temple archives, as its wood was the durable cypress (*Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 116; 440, A, line 47). Wood was also used to make notice boards (*πέτευρα* and *λευκώματα*) on which were posted monthly reports (*τῶι λόγῳ κατὰ μῆνα*: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 145, line 44; 161, A, line 89; *Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 116; 461, Ab, line 26), records of business contracts (*συγγραφαίς*: *Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 116; 461, Ab, line 22), lists of guarantors and possibly contracts with them (*εἰς διεγ-*

included in their annual report an inventory of sacred objects under their jurisdiction as well as a fully itemized record of all monies received and expended, and it was their custom to publish this report by engraving it on stone and to set up their inscription in the temple precinct, where the public might inspect—and doubtless audit—their records. This custom was continued by the successors of the Hieropoioi during

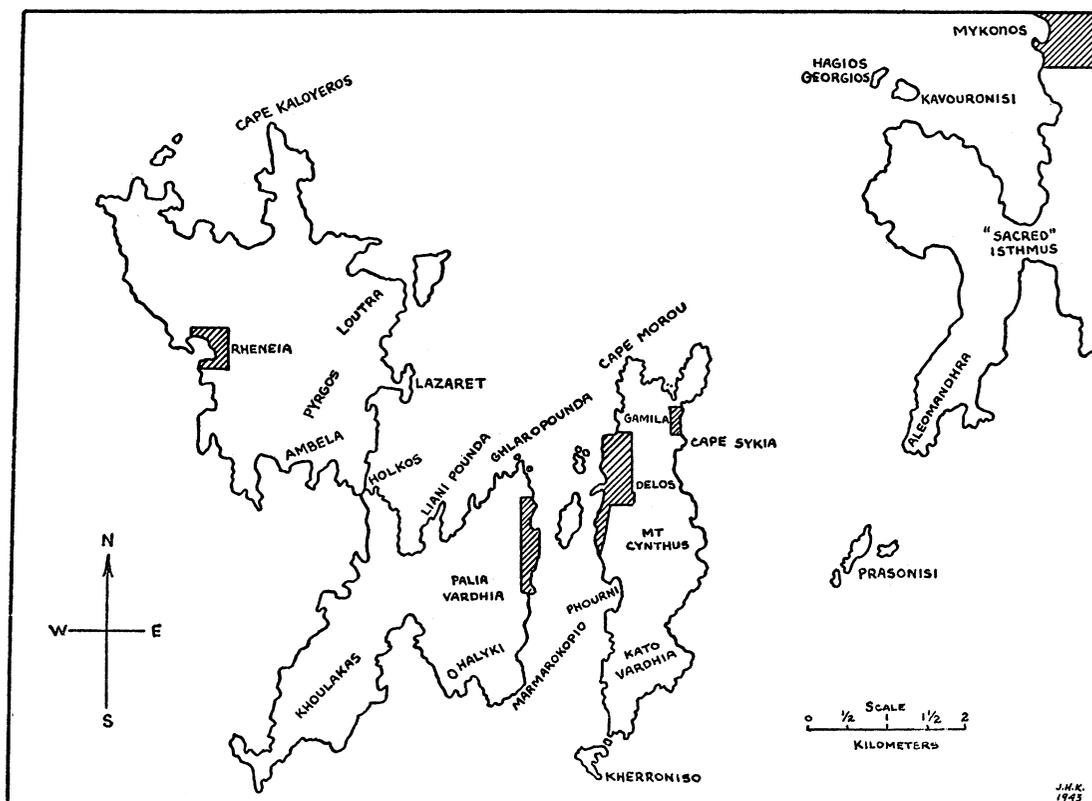


Fig. 1. Delos and Vicinity

the Athenian Colonial Period (*post* 166 B.C.) until shortly after 140 B.C., at which time it seems to have been abandoned, possibly in order to avoid unnecessary expense.<sup>4</sup>

Rentals from estates that were owned and leased by the Temple of Apollo seem to have been among the earliest of the various sources of temple revenue, though

*γνήσεις*: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 43; *Inscr. de Délos*; 461, Ab, line 26; 503, line 9), and inventories of sacred objects (*ταῖς παραδόσεσιν*: *Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, 116; 442, A, line 204). The difference between a *πέτευρον* and a *λεύκωμα* was probably one of construction; both types were whitened (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 34; 287, A, line 81). Cf. Homolle, *op. cit.*, p. 13; W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, pp. 139-140.

For the monthly reports to the Boule, see pages 274, 279, and 281.

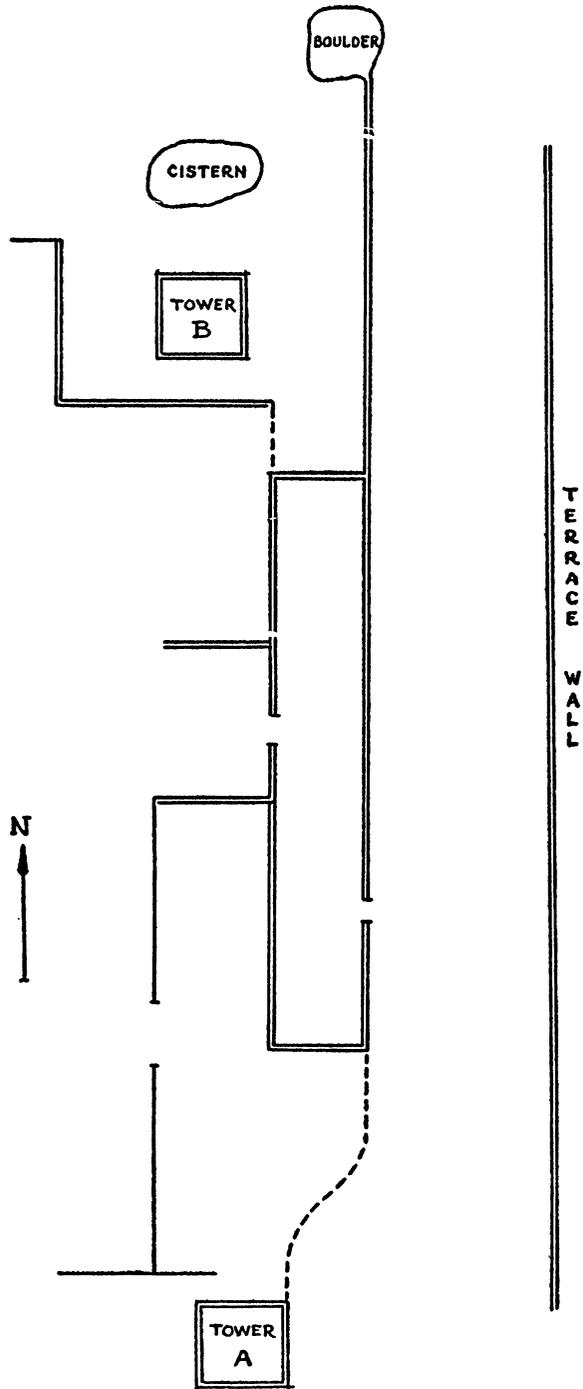
<sup>4</sup> The latest dated temple account is from the year 140-39 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, No. 1450).

it is not known precisely when the practice of leasing farm estates to tenants was first introduced. Thucydides relates that in 523 B.C. the island of Rheneia was captured by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, and was presented by him to the Delian Apollo:<sup>5</sup> this gift probably marks the earliest of the various holdings in real estate to which the Temple of Apollo held title. It is uncertain how soon after 523 B.C. the part of the island that was retained by the temple was converted into estates, but presumably the interval would not have been long; so that it well may be that the earliest leases issued for estates on Rheneia dated from the late sixth century B.C. It is, however, clear that the temple authorities did not assume direct control of the entire island. They appear to have shepherded the Rheneians into the northwest area of Rheneia, west of the hills that are known today as Loutra and Pyrgos, where they permitted them to found a small town and to continue to live in an independent city state.<sup>6</sup> At the same time a narrow strip of land in the southeast half of the island, bordering on the strait that separates Delos from Rheneia, seems to have been set aside as a cemetery area.<sup>7</sup> The remainder of the island, consisting of most of the

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides i, 13, 6; iii, 104, 2. For the date and circumstances of Polycrates' action, see H. W. Parke, *Class. Quart.*, XL, 1946, pp. 105-08. Cf. also F. Courby, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, XII, pp. 207-218; P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Greek Tyranny*, p. 71; Laidlaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 102. Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, I, p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> The existence of this state in the fifth century B.C. is attested by the Athenian tribute lists (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 392-93), and its continuance during the Hellenistic Age is attested in many Delian inscriptions (e. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 11; 287, A, lines 159-160; cf. P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, p. 16). The excavations conducted at the site of the town by Stavropoulos (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1900, pp. 67-69) and Pippas (cf. *B.C.H.*; XLVII, 1923, p. 529; XLVIII, 1924, p. 484) are for the most part unpublished: the excavators' notes, together with Stavropoulos' records of his excavation of the great cemetery, were in 1939 in the Museum of Mykonos, where they were being studied by K. A. Rhomaios (one article has appeared to date: *Δελτίον*, XII, 1929, pp. 181-224), but due to their age and bulk the work was proceeding slowly. The chief discovery in the town of Rheneia is a rectangular structure ca. 30 m. by 12 m. which seems to be a Mithraeum: it has a paved forecourt to the west and a large blue marble bench at the east (rear) end of the interior room, behind which is a small apse containing a Hellenistic dolphin mosaic (cf. Pl. 89, No. 1). There seems little doubt that the territory of the city-state embraced the whole northwest part of the island, which is a theatre-shaped geographical unit. The town's chief export seems to have been gneiss flagstones (cf. L. Cayeux, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, IV, pp. 22-24). The acropolis of the state was situated on the summit of the hill of Pyrgos; its ruins, also unpublished, include a high wall ca. 100 m. in length and foundations of two ancient towers, each ca. 8 m. square. Extensive walls of mediaeval date suggest that this was the site of the fourteenth century castle of the Knights of Saint John (cf. J. Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, II, 29 [*Corpus Script. Hist. Byzantin.*, XX]; M. Buchon, *Revue de Paris*, 1843, XVI, p. 339; R. C. Jebb, *J.H.S.*, I, 1880, p. 38; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 585). Cf. Fig. 2 and Pl. 89, No. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The cemetery area extends from almost the north end of the strait between Rheneia and Delos to a spot opposite the Bay of Phourni, and south of the area the Rheneian shore consists of the steep hills of Phylladi Martiou and Marmarokopio (cf. A. Bellot, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, I, Pl. I; this splendid map is reproduced in Cayeux, *op. cit.*, Pl. I); it is thus apparent that none of the temple estates bordered upon the strait. An amazing abundance of ancient remains have been uncovered in the cemetery (cf. Pl. 89, No. 3), among them numerous potsherds which seem to



PYRGOS: RHENEIA

Fig. 2

southern half and the eastern side of the northern half, was turned into farms. From the fourth century until 166 B.C. the number of estates on Rheneia was ten, and the rentals from Rheneia in 432 B.C. are large enough to show that the area rented in the fifth century B.C. was approximately the same as in the fourth. It therefore seems probable that when the temple administrators accepted Polycrates' gift, they divided the area that was assigned to farms into ten estates, and that the area and the number of the Rheneian estates remained unchanged from the sixth century B.C. until the end of the Period of Independence.

The identification and location of the individual estates on Rheneia was undertaken in 1890 by T. Homolle, who was able from Amphictyonic accounts to distinguish the names of the ten Rheneian estates from the estates on Delos. He also pointed out that several names have geographical significance, and demonstrated that in listing these names the Delian accountants sometimes followed a definite geographical order.<sup>8</sup> When the evidence of inscriptions discovered since Homolle wrote is added to his conclusions, it is possible to infer that the estates of Porthmos, Pyrgoi, and Chareteia lay at one end of the accountants' itinerary, and that Limnai, Rhamnoi, and Nikou Choros lay at the other.<sup>9</sup> A comparison of the surface remains on the island with the

indicate that the earliest burials antedate the fifth century B.C.; however, until the excavations are published, conclusive proof that the area was used before 426 B.C. is lacking.

<sup>8</sup> *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 421-433.

<sup>9</sup> In many inscriptions it is clear that no geographical order was observed at all, since the Delian and Rheneian estates are not kept separate; in other accounts, however, the Rheneian estates are given in one group. Of the latter, the lists in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638 and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199 are incomplete, the list in *Inscr. de Délos*, 442 groups the names according to renewals and non-renewals of leases (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243, note 2), and the order of the names in the accounts of *I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, 144, 149, and 161 is badly confused (Porthmos, however, heads the list in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638 and in *I.G.*, XI, 2; 144, 161, and 199). This leaves the single lists contained in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158 and in *Inscr. de Délos*, 290 and 399, and the two lists of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A (lines 25-34; 143-179). It is clear that, with the exception of Porthmos in the first list of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287 and in the list of *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, the two lists of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287 and the list of *Inscr. de Délos*, 290 are given in reverse order from the lists of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158 and *Inscr. de Délos*, 399. When Porthmos is put in its proper place and the lists that are given backwards are reversed, the order of the estates is as follows:

	<i>I.G.</i> , XI, 2:			<i>Inscr. de Délos</i>	
	158	287, I	287, II	290	399
Porthmos .....	1	1	1	1	1
Pyrgoi .....	2	2	2	2	2
Chareteia .....	3	3	3	3	3
Panormos.....	4	4	4	4	5
Skitoneia .....	5	6	6	6	6
Charoneia.....	6	5	5	5	7
Dionysion.....	7	7	7	7	8
Limnai .....	8	9	8	8	9
Rhamnoi .....	9	10	10	9	10
Nikou Choros.....	10	8	9	10	4

descriptions that are contained in the inventories of the Hieropoioi has furnished additional evidence for the location of some of the estates.<sup>10</sup>

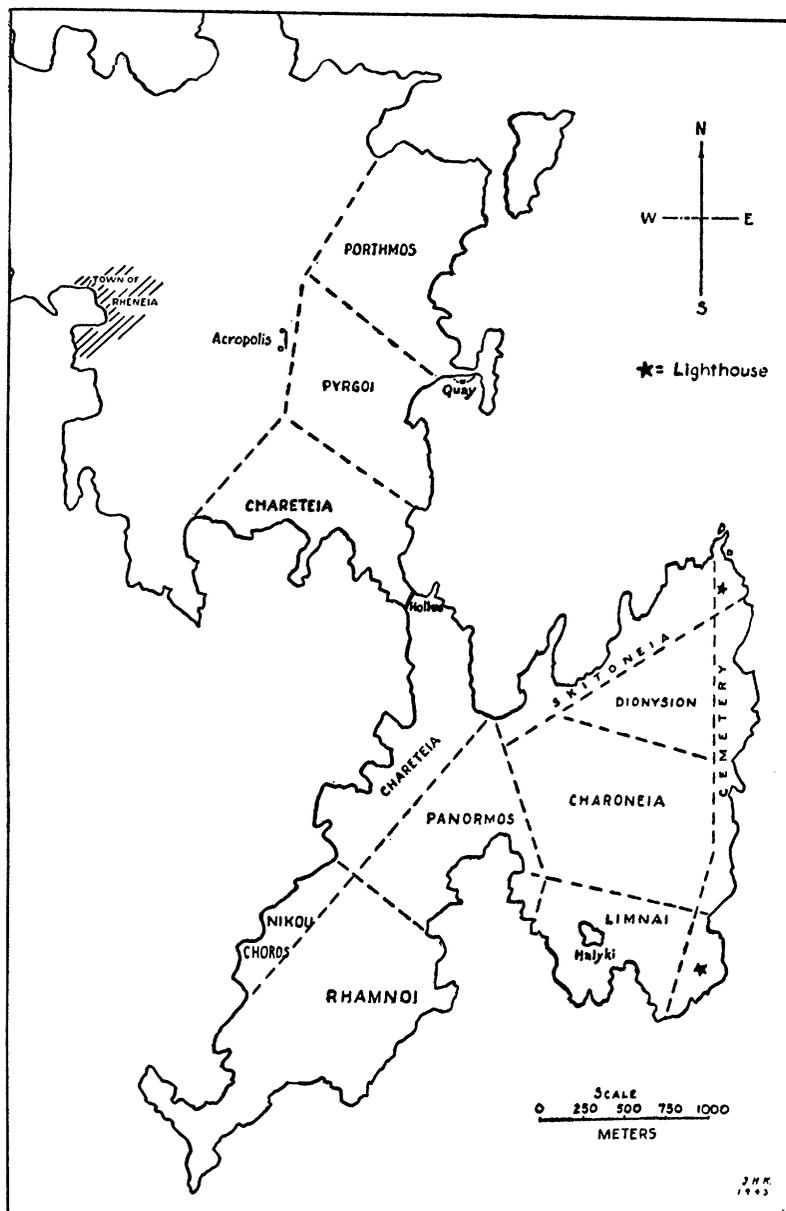


Fig. 3. The Temple Estates on Rheneia

<sup>10</sup> This Homolle failed to do, being misled by his hypothesis that only one-tenth of Rheneia was taken over by the Temple of Apollo (*B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 425, note 4); the total area he suggests for the Rheneian estates is much too small (*ibid.*, pp. 424-27). I examined the surface

Porthmos may be located with considerable confidence in the vicinity of an ancient quay in northern Rheneia that marks the spot at which ferry traffic from Delos to the town of Rheneia disembarked, and the estate probably included all the northeast area of the island that lies north of the quay and east of the hill of Loutra.<sup>11</sup> It thus becomes apparent that the Delian accountants began their geographical lists with the northernmost estate, and that the estate of Pyrgoi should lie directly south of Porthmos; this in turn is confirmed by the fact that in this area today both the plain and the hill to the west of the plain are called "Pyrgos."<sup>12</sup> The name of Chareteia offers no clue to its location, but since it comes directly after Pyrgoi in the lists, it was evidently situated south of Pyrgoi. It is probable that this estate extended across the isthmus of the island and included a large tract of land south of the isthmus along the west coast (cf. Pl. 89, no. 4), for not only were the rentals of Chareteia the largest of all the temple estates, which implies that Chareteia was considerably larger in area than either Porthmos or Pyrgoi, but the rentals of the decennium 259-

remains on Rheneia in a preliminary way in July, 1939, and again in February, 1940, but my plan of returning in the summer of 1940 for an accurate architectural study was frustrated by the spread of war. Consequently, while enough was discovered to help in locating several of the Rheneian estates, it seems best to indicate in this article merely the general nature of some of the finds, and to postpone any detailed publication of the surface remains until they can be examined thoroughly.

<sup>11</sup> The word *πορθμός* is defined by Liddell-Scott-Jones as "a ferry, or place crossed by a ferry, a strait, a narrow sea." As a place name, however, Porthmos must have applied either to a locality beside a strait or to a vicinity where there was a ferry terminal (cf. J. H. Young, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 166). It is probable that the latter alternative is the reason for the name of the estate Porthmos. Homolle (*B.C.H.*, VII, 1882, pp. 66, 68), who is followed by A. M. Andreades (*A History of Greek Public Finance*, Vol. I, 1933, p. 148, note 5) and by Young (*loc. cit.*), assumed that τὸ εἰς Ῥήνειαν πορθμείον of the Delian accounts referred to a ferry which crossed the narrow strait between Delos and Rheneia to a terminus somewhere in the area of the great cemetery. While the strait may have been called, very properly, a *πορθμός*, this does not imply that the ferry operated *only* in the strait; τὸ πορθμείον τὸ εἰς Μύκονον (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 138, B, lines 9-10; 199, B, line 97; 287, A, line 39; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 41) obviously did not. Furthermore, the income from the ferry to Rheneia varied so greatly that it argues against a ferry service to the cemetery area, which presumably would show no startling changes from year to year in the volume of its business or in its rates. In 269 B.C. the revenue received by the temple from the ferry amounted to 200 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 30); about the year 256 B.C. it was 440 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 274, line 13); in 250 B.C. it had fallen to 340 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 40); and by 179 B.C. it had shrunk to 120 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 153).

It seems more probable, therefore, that τὸ εἰς Ῥήνειαν πορθμείον was a ferry that operated between Delos and the town of Rheneia. The sunken quay on the northeast shore of Rheneia is in direct line with the town of Delos and the saddle of the hills Loutra and Pyrgos which affords the only easy approach to the town of Rheneia from the east. The quay has been published by P. Negris (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 344-347), who terms it "Roman"; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, however, considers it much earlier (*Klio*, Beiheft XIV, 1923, p. 279). In conclusion, it may be noted that the estate of Porthmos cannot have taken its name from a ferry to the cemetery area, since no estates bordered upon the strait between Delos and Rheneia (above, note 7).

<sup>12</sup> The area seems to take its name from the south tower of the acropolis of the town of Rheneia (cf. note 6 and p. 246), which is today preserved to a height of *ca.* 3 m.

50 B.C.<sup>13</sup> show that it consisted of two equally valuable halves, which can best be accounted for by supposing that these parts lay north and south of the isthmus, and that the dividing line was at the narrowest part of the isthmus where the *Holkos* was located.<sup>14</sup>

The middle group of names in the geographical lists consists of the estates of Charoneia, Panormos, Dionysion, and Skitoneia. Of these four, Charoneia can be located with certainty. Not only does the name suggest a neighborhood close to the great cemetery,<sup>15</sup> but the inventories show that Charoneia was a double estate, having

<sup>13</sup> The experiment of splitting the estate of Chareteia into two halves during the decennium 259-50 B.C. caused trouble not only for the hieropoioi but also for modern auditors of their accounts. The original lessees for the decennium were Teleson and Ekephylos; they went bankrupt in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, lines 29-31). The amount of rent they actually paid in 258 B.C. is given on the stone as 1200 dr., but since these figures come at the end of line 30, and the beginning of line 31 is not preserved, they may have paid more. It is clear that their contracts called for more than 1200 dr. from the small additional payments mentioned in line 31 and from the fact that in 250 B.C. Ekephylos still owed the hieropoioi one obol (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196).

The successors of Teleson and Ekephylos were Diogenes and Mnesimachos (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, line 33), who kept up their annual payments until 251 B.C., when it became Mnesimachos' turn to default. In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 139-142 we read that "the part of Chareteia which had been rented to Mnesimachos was leased for 281 dr. to Xenokrates, son of Hierombrotos, because Mnesimachos did not furnish guarantors. Mnesimachos, son of Autokrates, thus owes the balance that is left after the amount brought in by the re-rented land is deducted; viz., 419 dr. 3 ob. His guarantors, Hierokles, Phrasias son of Ammonios, and Phanos son of Diodotos, are also responsible for this amount, Phanos being guarantor of half of it, and Hierokles and Phrasias the other half. In addition to this, they owe the *hemiolion* of 209 dr. 4½ ob." It is clear from this statement that Mnesimachos should have paid for his half of Chareteia 419 dr. 3 ob. plus the 281 dr. that was paid by the new lessee Xenokrates; in other words, his lease called for a rental of 700 dr. 3 ob. The rental paid by his associate Diogenes for the other half of the estate was an even 700 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 30); thus the whole estate was leased for a rental of 1400 dr. 3 ob. (These are the only rental figures for Chareteia during the decennium 259-50 B.C. that are not open to question).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 568. At the narrowest point of the isthmus (ca. 90 m. in width) is a shallow depression that indicates an ancient holkos. (The word *δλκός* seems to have been applied to a track and other apparatus used for hauling ships across an isthmus [Herodotus, ii, 159 (the holkoi were evidently substitutes for unfinished canals); Thucydides, iii, 15, 1]; the word *διολκός* referred to the *place* where the hauling was done [Strabo, viii, 6, 4]. Homolle [*B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 67] states that *δλκοί* were small harbors, even though he described the true meaning of *δλκός* in a footnote; this erroneous interpretation has been followed by Andreades [*op. cit.*, p. 147] and by J. H. Thiel [*Klio*, XX, 1925, p. 66].) The Delian accounts mention two *δλκοί*, one of which was located on Mykonos (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 29-30; 354, lines 29-30) while the other is described as *ὁ δλκός ἐν Νήσοι* (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, 30; 287, A, 40; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, 30; 354, line 28; 399, A, lines 89-90; 442, A, line 154). Since there is no other place near Delos where a holkos would be either helpful or profitable, this second holkos surely refers to the holkos on the isthmus of Rheneia. Why it is called *ἐν Νήσοι* and not *ἐν Ῥηνεαί* is not clear. Ἡ Νήσος in the Delian inscriptions sometimes, but apparently not always (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pp. 566-571), refers to Greater Rhevmatiari (cf. commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, line 8). But since this islet is only 600 m. long, is not flat, has no isthmus, and offers no serious obstacle to shipping, any attempt to place a holkos on it seems preposterous. Homolle (*loc. cit.*) hesitantly identifies ἡ Νήσος with Delos: Svoronos (*B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, p. 487) puts both *holkoi* on Mykonos!

<sup>15</sup> Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 425, note 3. The name apparently means "Charon's ground."

two farmhouses and other farm buildings in duplicate, and at times two lessees. It also possessed a farm tower.<sup>16</sup> On the top of the hill today called *Palia Vardhia*, not far from the cemetery area, are clearly defined wall foundations of a rectangular enclosure approximately 80 m. by 32 m. divided by a cross-wall into two courtyards, the western *ca.* 30 m. by 32 m., the eastern 50 m. by 32 m. The latter area contains the remains of a house which was built with a cistern beneath it in the manner of many Delian town houses, and it is significant that Charoneia is the only temple estate for which an *οικία* is inventoried. The identification of the site is corroborated by the presence of a collapsed tower in the southwest corner of the larger courtyard.<sup>17</sup> The

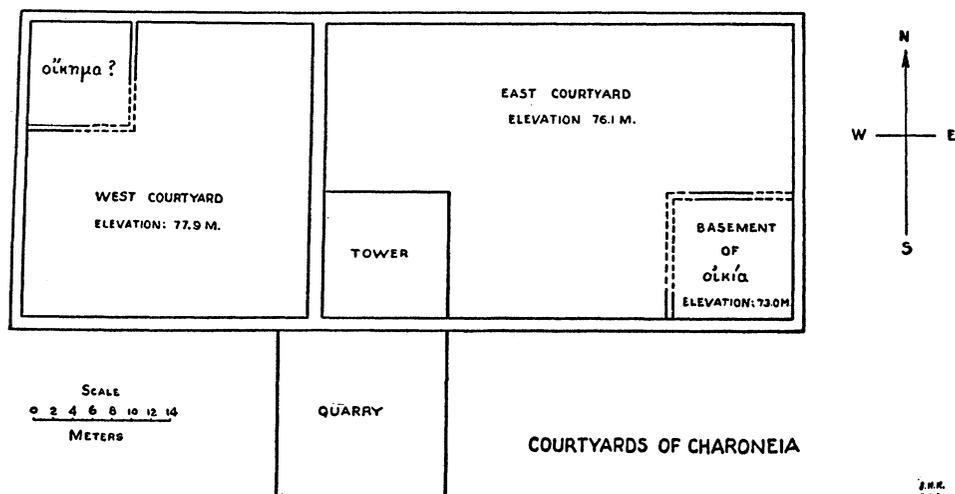


Fig. 4

estate of Panormos would appear from the lists to lie between Chareteia and Charoneia, and its name indicates that it bordered on a bay; this bay was probably the deep inlet on the southern shore of Rheneia. In the Athenian Colonial Period Panormos seems to have been enlarged to include parts of Charoneia.<sup>18</sup> The location of Dionysion and Skitoneia are more conjectural: Homolle noted that the name of the former should

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 164-169.

<sup>17</sup> Enough of the lower courses remain in place to show that the tower was *ca.* 12 m. square, and the great number of fallen stones shows that it once rose to a considerable height. The tower was still standing in the fifteenth century, when it was noted by C. Buondelmonte, whose map, while curiously leaving out the northern section of Rheneia, places the tower in approximately its correct position in the southern half of the island (L. Gallois, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, III, pp. 10-11, 84). It appears also in several sixteenth century maps, but was not seen by Spon and Wheeler in 1675 nor by Tournefort in 1717 (Gallois, *op. cit.*, figs. 13, 18, 24, 44-46, 55).

<sup>18</sup> In the Athenian Colonial Period Panormos contained a tower (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 90-94; cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 157); this is probably the same tower that belonged to Charoneia before 166 B.C. Homolle (*op. cit.*, p. 425) identified the bay from which the estate took its name with the broad gulf that lies east of the isthmus, but this is scarcely "a place always fit

indicate that the estate was near a temple of Dionysos, but he was not able to find traces of any such temple on the island. There are, however, numerous unpublished fragments of a small Doric temple just below the summit of the hill of Khomasovouni, and it is possible that this temple marks the site which Homolle desired to find.<sup>19</sup> To locate Dionysion in this area tallies well with the accountants' lists, since they show that Dionysion probably bordered on Charoneia, and since the lists also show that Skitoneia bordered on Dionysion, Charoneia, and Panormos, Skitoneia in turn may be located along the northern shore of southern Rheneia.

The name of Limnai seems sufficient to place this estate in the neighborhood of Lake Halyki;<sup>20</sup> when this is done, the only part of Rheneia left for Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros is the southwest peninsula, which consists of a small fertile coastal plain on the west and the large rugged hill of Khoulakas. The inventories show that Nikou Choros produced grain but Rhamnoi did not;<sup>21</sup> thus it seems plausible to assign Nikou Choros to the plain and Rhamnoi ("the Brambles") to the rest of the peninsula.<sup>22</sup>

It is more difficult to place the estates that were situated on the island of Delos, for not a single inventory has survived from some of the estates, and in addition several names were derived from the names of former owners of the land and thus offer no clue as to their location. Furthermore, parts, if not all, of some estates seem to have been built up with houses and shops during the expansion of the city during the Athenian Colonial Period, so that the original farm land is now unrecognizable.

for mooring in" (*πανορμός*), as it is completely exposed to the north and northeast winds. On the other hand, the bay in southern Rheneia is deep and protected by hills from all winds except those from dead south.

<sup>19</sup> The fragments include a cornice block, an anta capital, several fragments of Doric column drums, and a Doric capital, all of Parian marble. There is also a considerable number of rectangular blocks of bluish marble. An excavation of the summit of the hill should produce good results at small expense.

<sup>20</sup> The word *λίμνη* means "a pool of standing water, marshy lake" as distinguished both from an ordinary lake and a marshy meadow. Lake Halyki conforms perfectly to this definition, being a large shallow pond of brackish water which has no outlet (the only one on Rheneia).

<sup>21</sup> On at least two occasions Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros had the same lessees (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 14-15, 312 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 25; 372, A, lines 10-13, 206-200 B.C.); this seems to indicate that they were adjacent. Rhamnoi probably consisted largely of the hill of Khoulakas: the inventory (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 153-155) shows that the estate produced no grain (no *ἀχυρών* is listed), but did have extensive vineyards: these probably were located on the ancient terraces on the south slope of the hill. Rhamnoi also possessed 91 fig trees: this orchard may have been on the small plateau that forms the southwest promontory of the peninsula. Present day farmers in the Cyclades declare that fig trees should be planted from 25 m. to 30 m. apart to produce best results: this means that an orchard of a hundred fig trees will occupy from 70,000 to 90,000 sq. m., which is the approximate area of the plateau. The inventory of Nikou Choros (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 155-157) included a *μυλών* and an *ἀχυρών*, thus indicating that the estate produced grain.

<sup>22</sup> This location for Nikou Choros is partly supported by the order in which the estate is listed in *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A (line 79): the accountant has evidently followed the line of estates south (Porthmos, Pyrgoi, Chareteia) down the west shore of southern Rheneia to Nikou Choros before turning east to Panormos (cf. Fig. 3).

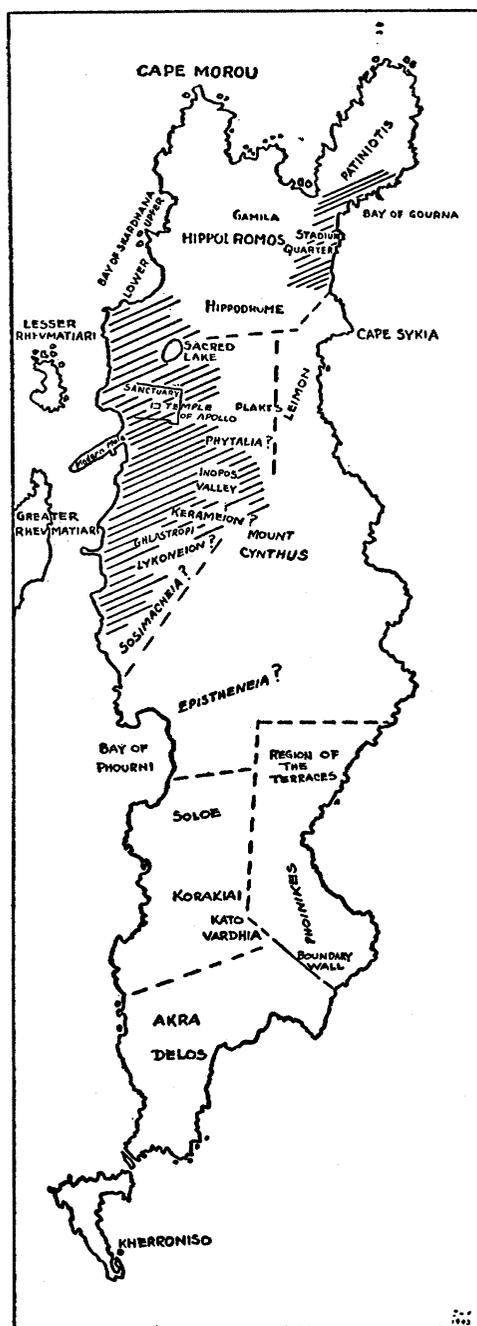


Fig. 5. The Temple Estates on Delos

Nor does Homolle's method of studying the order of the names of estates in the rental lists produce as convincing results as on Rheneia.<sup>23</sup> In addition, not all the properties on Delos were true farms, but some were included under the heading "estates" simply because there was no other category in which the temple accountants could conveniently classify them. The clearest example of this is the Sacred Lake; the income from the fishing therein was sometimes listed under estates and sometimes under "income from the sale of sacred objects"!<sup>24</sup> The "estate" Kerameion was a potter's establishment; Phytalia may have been merely a large orchard.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The lists tabulated below seem to be the only ones that repay inspection:

	<i>I. G., XI, 2</i>				<i>Inscr. de Délos</i>			
	158, A	161, A	199, A	287, A	287, A	290	399, A	442, A
	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines
	11-14	11-15	5-7	31-34	143-180	14-17	74-77	145-150
Hippodromos	1	1	1	7	1	8	5	5
Leimon	2	2	2	6	4	2	1	6
Phoinikes	3	6	5	1	6	7	9	1
Akra Delos	4	5	4	3	7	1	2	2
Epistheneia	5	7	6	5	10	5	4	3
Soloe-Korakiai	6	4	3	4	5	6	3	4
Lykoneion	7	9	7	9	11	9	6	9
Kerameion	8	3	8	8	2	10	7	10
Sosimacheia	9	10	..	2	8	3	10	8
Phytalia	10	8	9	11	9	4	8	7
Sacred Lake	..	11	..	10	3	..	11	11

It at once becomes apparent that these lists do not have any clear-cut geographical order as had the lists of the Rheneian estates. Nevertheless, the estates do seem to fall into clearly marked groups of two. Hippodromos and Leimon are listed together five times out of eight, as are also Epistheneia and Soloe-Korakiai, Phoinikes and Akra Delos. Lykoneion and Kerameion are coupled six times out of eight. These groupings seem too frequent to be fortuitous, and imply that the two estates of each pair were either adjacent or at least closer to one another than to any third estate.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 454-55; Andreades, *Hist. Gk. Pub. Finance*, I, p. 147. The Sacred Lake is listed with estates in *I.G.*, XI, 2; 287, A, lines 34 and 147; *Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, line 82; 442, A, lines 151-52, and under other headings in *I.G.*, XI, 2; 155, b, line 3; 161, A, line 36; 162, A, line 41; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 35-36; 354, line 30; 356 *bis*, A, line 23; 368, line 28.

<sup>25</sup> The name Kerameion means a place where articles are manufactured from clay (pottery, lamps, roof-tiles, or even bricks): the product of the "estate" Kerameion is not known. The inventory (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-147) is noticeably different from other inventories, though it is clear that farm terminology has been used as far as possible. The establishment consisted of a group of buildings to which was attached a plot of land containing five fruit trees. It is tempting to see in the expression *ἰπνῶνα ἀθυρον ἐν κήπῳ* a reference to kilns, and in *μυλῶνα* a building containing a potter's wheel. The name Phytalia, meaning a "planted place" as opposed to land that is plowed and sown, suggests that it was an orchard (cf. W. Deonna, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 160). Three mutilated inventories of this estate are so brief that they cannot have contained more than two items at most (*Inscr. de Délos*: 351, line 8; 452, lines 24-26; 373, A, line 31; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 242).

The estate Hippodromos seems to have been so named because it contained the field in which the horse races of the Delian festivals were held. The race course lay north-east of the town of Delos, south of the hill of Gamila,<sup>26</sup> and the estate probably included both the hill, which was never used for building sites (cf. Pl. 89, No. 5), and the northwest promontory of Delos. The name of the estate Leimon ("Meadow") was probably given, not without a touch of humor, to the one estate on Delos, apart from Hippodromos, that contained level ground: this area lies east and south-east of the race-course, in the vicinity of Cape Sykia. Akra Delos ("the farthest point of Delos") may be located in the southern end of the island (cf. Pl. 90, No. 1), and Phoinikes, which is associated in the lists with Leimon and Akra Delos, probably consisted of the district along the east shore of southern Delos known as "The Region of the Terraces." The almost cyclopean appearance of the terrace walls in this area suggests that they date as early as the sixth century B.C.; this corresponds well with the fact that Phoinikes was one of the four oldest temple estates on the island.<sup>27</sup> The location of the other estates is purely conjectural. Soloe-Korakiai, because of a close association of Korakiai with Akra Delos, may have been north of Akra Delos, on the west slopes of the hill Kato Vardhia.<sup>28</sup> Kerameion is described in 375 B.C. as "next to the bath of Ariston,"<sup>29</sup> which probably means that it was well within the city limits in Hellenistic times. The situations of Lykoneion, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia are unknown.

At the close of the fifth century B.C. the temple estates on the island of Delos numbered five: of these, the date of acquisition of Leimon, Phoinikes, Lykoneion, and Soloe are not known. However, it is clear that the name of the fifth estate, Hippodromos, cannot have existed before the time of the horse races on Delos, which were held for the first time in 425 B.C.<sup>30</sup> Plutarch records that on the occasion of the great

<sup>26</sup> The location of the hippodrome has been verified by the excavations of F. Robert (*B.C.H.*; LIX, 1935, pp. 297-298; LXI, 1937, p. 472), who uncovered evidence of building activities in the second century B.C. We thus have an attested example of a Delian estate that was later partially used for real estate development.

<sup>27</sup> See the following paragraph.

<sup>28</sup> In 282 B.C. the lessee of Korakiai was also the lessee of Akra Delos (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 12-13). The inventory of the combined estates of Soloe and Korakiai in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 149-151) shows only a single list of farm buildings, which undoubtedly belonged originally to Soloe, one of the four oldest estates on the entire island. This makes it probable that Korakiai ("the places of the crows") was merely grazing land, and that in 282 B.C. its lessee dwelt in Akra Delos.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 143-144.

<sup>30</sup> Thucydides iii, 104, 6; cf. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 427. The ἄφεισις (starting-post), which is listed as a separate estate in 358/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638, A, lines 16-17) was included in the estate of Hippodromos about the middle of the fourth century (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1641, A, line 8; *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 6). The horse races were held at the festival of the *Delia*, which under the Amphictyons took place every four years (Thucydides, iii, 104, 2; Daremberg-Saglio, II, pp. 55 ff.), but in the Period of Independence horse racing was abandoned and seems never to have

festival conducted in 417 B.C. Nicias the Athenian "bought a plot of land for ten thousand drachmas and gave it to Apollo, with the proviso that the income from it was to be devoted to a festival at which the Delians were to sacrifice and to pray to the gods that many blessings should come to Nicias. And he engraved a record of this on a stele which he left behind as a sentinel to watch over his gift."<sup>31</sup> Since it would have been very inconvenient to hold horse races every four years on privately owned property, the probability is that Nicias' purchase was the hippodrome itself and the land that surrounded it:<sup>32</sup> presumably the race-course could be used for pasturage in the years that no festival was held. The identification of the gift is supported by the fact that there is a record from the year 157/56 B.C. of an "apartment house on the land of Nicias";<sup>33</sup> moreover excavation has shown that during the Athenian Colonial Period a part of the hippodrome was used for new buildings of the expanding city.<sup>34</sup> The purchase price of ten thousand drachmas also corresponds well with the earliest recorded rental of Hippodromos, which was 720 dr.<sup>35</sup>

In the fourth century B.C. two new estates on Delos, Epistheneia and Kerameion,

been revived; the *Delia* gave way to an annual *Apollonia*, and no prizes for horse racing are mentioned in any of the victors' lists (Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 505; Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, p. 48). The exhumation of a priestess in the hippodrome in 250 B.C. suggests building activities in the hippodrome at that time (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 78; cf. above, note 26).

<sup>31</sup> Plutarch, *Nicias*, 3, 6. The date of Nicias' festival is not altogether certain. The most cogent case for the year 417 B.C. is made by F. Courby, (*Explor. archéol. de Délos*; XII, pp. 221-224); this date also has the support of Ferguson (*C.A.H.*, V, 280) and of Glotz and Cohen (*Histoire grecque*, II, p. 674). F. E. Adcock (*C.A.H.*, V, 230) favors 425 B.C. The conclusion of L. Kirtland (*T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, xli) that Nicias never conducted any *theoria* at all not only flies in the face of epigraphic evidence (cf. *B.C.H.*; XXXIV, 1910, pp. 389-90; XLVIII, 1924, pp. 218-221) but is unnecessarily insulting to Plutarch.

<sup>32</sup> The common identification of Nicias' gift with the estate Nikou Choros was first doubted by Homolle (*B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 426), on the grounds that the revenues from Nikou Choros seem a very small return on an investment of ten thousand drachmas. He might have added that since Nikou Choros was on Rheneia and therefore was part of the gift of Polycrates, it is difficult to see how it could have been a gift of Nicias.

<sup>33</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 32-35: τὸ συνοικίδιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Νικιέλου. The Athenians apparently re-established the practice of applying the income from Nicias' endowment according to Nicias' proviso (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1421, Bcd, lines 1-9). There is no mention of a festival for Nicias during the Period of Independence.

<sup>34</sup> See above, notes 26, 30, and 33.

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 7. This is more than a century later than Nicias' endowment, but the records show that the rentals of Hippodromos fluctuated comparatively little. The lowest rental recorded for Hippodromos is 510 dr. (259-50 B.C.; *I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 17 [cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238]; 287, A, lines 32-33), the highest is 1012 dr. (ca. 303 B.C.; *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 10-11; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). It is probable that rentals in the fifth and early fourth centuries were somewhere within the limits of these two amounts. This means that an original endowment yielded an income from 5% to 10% per annum, with the average being about 7%. These figures agree entirely with what is known of incomes from other endowments of real estate, both at Delos and in other parts of Greece. Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 173-176; Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LII, 1917, pp. 425-441; Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 361-368.

were acquired by the temple, but their rentals were kept separate from the rentals of the earlier five. Epistheneia received its name from a Delian named Episthenes whose possessions were confiscated in 375 B.C. when he and several companions were found guilty of sacrilege after their attempt to wrest control of the Temple of Apollo from the Amphictyons proved a failure. On this occasion two houses belonging to Episthenes were confiscated and he and each of his companions was fined ten thousand drachmas. In addition, the Athenian authorities later discovered that Episthenes possessed other property and confiscated the income from it.<sup>36</sup> These facts led Homolle and Durrbach to infer that the additional property of Episthenes was a piece of real estate, and that the Amphictyons, discovering somewhat belatedly that Episthenes was the owner, confiscated the income that the land brought in and converted the property into the estate of Epistheneia. This interpretation has been opposed by Jardé, whose view has been accepted by Heichelheim.<sup>37</sup> Jardé noted that Epistheneia first appears in the list of temple estates in the decennium 289/80 B.C. and therefore inferred that the acquisition of Epistheneia took place at the same time as Akra Delos, Korakiai, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia were added to the temple possessions (ca. 290 B.C.). This inference he regarded as proven by the fact that in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135 (312 B.C.) Epistheneia is mentioned but is not included in the list of the temple estates.<sup>38</sup>

It should be noted that between 370 and 290 B.C. only two records (and those incomplete) of the rentals of houses that were leased by the temple are preserved.

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 134-151 (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 153; Hicks-Hill, p. 204, Tod, no. 125). Episthenes' houses are mentioned in lines 145 and 148-49; it seems probable that his name was once engraved in the erasures of lines 138-39; his son is fined in line 138. His additional property is mentioned in lines 24-26 of the same inscription. The presence of the article in the expression ἐκ τῶν Ἐπισθένης seems to indicate income rather than a capital sum, for the phrase in the following line for a capital sum recovered from Python is παρὰ Πύθωνος. (In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 12 the estate of Epistheneia is called τῶν Ἐπισθενείων.) The sum of 380 dr. corresponds well with the rentals of Epistheneia during the Period of Independence (see pp. 303-304, Estate XVI).

<sup>37</sup> Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 429-30; Durrbach, *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 437; Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 147, note 1; Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, p. 135, note 1. Heichelheim's sum of 210 dr. for the rental of Epistheneia in 312 B.C. is based on a misprint in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 23 (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, p. 146, col. 1); furthermore, the 200 dr. is explicitly stated to be a payment of interest, so it is scarcely rental.

<sup>38</sup> Lines 22-23: Θαρσύ[νω]ν Ἱερογώτου ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἐπισθενείας τό[κ]ον ΗΗ. This entry was taken by Jardé to mean a payment on a loan secured by a mortgage, which would mean that at the time the property did not belong to the Temple of Apollo, but to Tharsynon. Jardé further argued that the failure of Tharsynon to lift the mortgage led to the confiscation of the property. If this be so, it is difficult to account for the name of the estate. In addition, the word γῆ in the early accounts of the hieropoioi appears to have been reserved exclusively for temple estates (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, lines 10-11; 142, lines 3 and 5; 147, A, line 16; 156, B, line 10; 158, A, lines 7-10; 161, A, lines 6-14), whereas on the few occasions that private property is mentioned, the word is either κῆπος (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 15) or χωρίον (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, 25). Indeed, everything seems to militate against Jardé's view except this one passage, which shows incontrovertibly that Epistheneia and interest payments were somehow associated. Can the explanation be that the passage is a laconic record of interest on a loan that was raised on other security in order to avoid forfeiture of the lease of Epistheneia?

Yet it can scarcely be that during the late fourth century houses were rented only sporadically; it is all but certain that the incomes from house rents during this time were kept separate and recorded on separate stelai that have not chanced to survive. Since the leasing of houses began with the confiscations of 375 B.C.,<sup>39</sup> the explanation of the absence of Epistheneia and Kerameion from the estate accounts seems clear: the income from the former land of Episthenes and from the confiscated pottery establishment of Kerameion was listed along with revenue from other properties confiscated in that year; that is to say, along with the rents from houses. The presence of Kerameion in a partial list of house rents of the fourth century seems to remove all doubt in the matter.<sup>40</sup> Possibly money from the confiscated properties was originally earmarked for special purposes, in the manner of the income from the estates on Mykonos in the late third century;<sup>41</sup> this would explain why Epistheneia and Kerameion were not listed with the other temple estates before the third century.

### THE AMPHICTYONIC PERIOD

The administration of the estates of the Temple of Apollo in the early fifth century is completely unknown. It is generally assumed that the supervision of the temple by the Athenian Amphictyons began in 454 B.C. when the treasury of the Delian Confederacy was transferred to Athens, though there is no specific evidence on this point. How the estates fared under the administration of the Amphictyons is very imperfectly known, for the epigraphical records earlier than 314 B.C. are few and not all of them have been published. Presumably the estates were deserted during the temporary expulsion of the Delians in 422/1 B.C.,<sup>42</sup> and they were probably leased by local temple officials during the short-lived independence of the island between 403 and 394 B.C.,<sup>43</sup> but evidence on these points is also lacking.

The oldest inscription which is known to have referred to the temple estates was a fragment which was found at Athens more than a century ago, but which is now lost: it was engraved not earlier than 432 B.C. and contained part of an Amphictyonic account. Fortunately for the purposes of the present study, much of the extant text is concerned with leases of the temple estates, which are described as equipped with

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 29-30; cf. S. Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées" de Délos*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638, A, lines 22-23 (358/7 B.C.). In another Amphictyonic list of house rents from about the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 424-25) there is a reference to the lease of a χωρίον for 160 dr. in line 11 and the rental of a κήπος in line 37. This shows that at that time there were two plots of land owned by the temple that were not listed as estates, and it is tempting to identify them as Epistheneia and Kerameion, especially as Kerameion is known to have had a κήπος (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-147).

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 287.

<sup>42</sup> Thucydides, v, 1; 32, 1; Diodoros xii, 73; cf. M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, pp. 75-76; Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, pp. 7-9; Tod, *loc. cit.*

farm buildings and containing arable land and possibly vineyards.<sup>44</sup> The leases for the estates on Delos seem to have been drawn up according to terms of separate contracts for each estate, but the terms were doubtless similar in all cases, since the leases all went into effect at the same time, in December, 434 B.C., and seem all to have been issued for a period of ten years.<sup>45</sup> The leases for the Rheneian estates were valid for ten years, and the contracts called for a total annual rental of 7,110 dr.; their most notable feature is that they did not go into effect in the same month, or even in the same year, as the leases for the estates on Delos, but began in February of 432 B.C.<sup>46</sup> It is thus apparent that at that time there existed no general laws or set of regulations that applied to all estates alike.

It is not known how long the practice of issuing leases for the Delian and Rheneian estates in different years continued, but the two groups were evidently synchronized before 375/4 B.C., as in that year new leases were issued simultaneously for all estates.<sup>47</sup> Nor it is known whether ten-year leases during the Amphictyonic

<sup>44</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377, lines 15-24 (Tod, No. 54). The inscription has been studied chiefly for the light it casts on the fifth-century Athenian calendar (cf. A. B. West, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 1-9; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 378-380; J. Coupry, *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, p. 365). For the description of the estates, cf. line 16: [τὴν γῆν --- τὴν ἐ]εράν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ [...]. The most probable restoration of the missing item appears to be [φυσά] (possibly [τὰ φυσά]); cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, lines 126-127; 163, Bg, line 19.

<sup>45</sup> That there was more than one estate on Delos at the time is shown by the fact that there was more than one lessee ([τὸς με]μισθωμένος, lines 18-19), and the use of the plural κατὰ τὰς ἐνγγραφάς (line 19) shows that there was more than one lease contract. Lines 15-16 state that leases began in Posideon (= December) in the archonship of Krates (434/3 B.C.). The restoration [δέκα ἔτη] in line 16, which is suggested by line 21, is not altogether certain, but seems very likely. The rents from the estates on Delos in the first year totalled 716 dr. but in following years the amount was more than 800 dr. The reason for this increase is not apparent.

<sup>46</sup> Lines 21-22: Apseudes was the Athenian archon of 433/2 B.C. and the Delian month Hieros the equivalent of our February.

<sup>47</sup> In the two years 376/5 and 375/4 B.C. the rentals received from the Delian estates totalled 2484 dr. and from the Rheneian estates 13,220 dr. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 25-29), which represent annual totals of 1242 dr. and 6610 dr. However, in the following year (374/3 B.C.) the figures are 1522 dr. and less than 6400 dr. (*ibid.*, lines 65-66), thus indicating that new leases had been issued for both Delian and Rheneian estates in 375/4 B.C.

In line 65 the sum given for the rental of the Rheneian estates is ΤΗΗΗΗ[---], but examination of the stone revealed that this is not correct. The first four digits are clear enough, but of the fifth digit there remains a left hasta and a small portion of uncut surface located in a position which makes both Η and Ι impossible; there are also indications of an upper right corner. This means that the fifth digit was probably Ϙ, though Γ is also admissible. The next letter space to the right is almost entirely missing, but the upper left portion is preserved and is not engraved; it is probable, therefore, that the digit in this space was Δ. These readings show that the rental was less than 6400 dr., but they are not enough to assure restoration of the lines with certainty. The following restoration is suggested as an approximation of the original of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 65-67:

65. [ισθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν εἰ[ξ] Ῥηνε[ι]ας ΤΗΗΗΗϘ[ΔΔΔΙ· μισθώσεις τεμενῶν ἐν Δ]

66. [ἡλο] ΧϘΔΔΔΙ· μ[ι]σθώσεις οἰκ[ι]ῶν ΗΗϘΔΔ[ΔΔΓΙΙ· ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχύρων ϘΗΗΗΗΔ]

67. [ΙΙ·] λήμματος κεφάλαιον ΤΧΧΧΔΔΙ· κ. τ. λ.

For the restoration of line 66, cf. lines 25-26. The *enechyra* seem to have been monies raised from

Period were the custom or the exception. There is, in fact, very little evidence at present published which bears on the leases of the fourth century prior to 314 B.C.; it is to be hoped that the promised publication of *I.G.*, XI, 1 will throw more light on the subject.<sup>48</sup> It seems probable, however, that most of the regulations which were observed in the early years of the Period of Independence were inherited from the Amphictyonic Period, among them the practice of requiring guarantors that rentals would be paid and perhaps too the right of seizure of certain property of the lessees in cases of non-payment. It is also possible that the lessee's privilege of renewing his lease with an increase of ten per cent in rental originated during the Amphictyonic regime, for this privilege seems to have existed as early as 312 B.C.<sup>49</sup> However, until direct evidence on these points is forthcoming, it is not possible to be sure.

Evidence for the amounts of rentals of individual estates before 314 B.C. is also scant. From the fifth century there is only one fragmentary inscription which originally contained itemized entries for each estate, and not a single entry is completely preserved.<sup>50</sup> From the fourth century the most complete record comes from the year 358/7 B.C.; it preserves the rentals of six of the Rheneian estates and the rent of Lykoneion on Delos.<sup>51</sup> The amounts recorded are small compared to those of the

forfeited mortgages (Cf. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht*, pp. 690 ff.; 951). It may be noted that the amounts realized from the Rheneian rentals and mortgages can also be restored as 6372 dr. and 821 dr., or 6363 dr. and 830 dr.

<sup>48</sup> The publication of the Delian inscriptions of the Amphictyonic Period, which was originally scheduled for *I.G.*, XI, 1, was in 1940 being prepared by J. Coupry. In the meantime, there are available articles in the *B.C.H.*, the most important of which are Homolle's (VIII, 1884, pp. 282-327) and Coupry's (LXI, 1937, pp. 364-378; LXII, 1938, pp. 85-96 and 236-250). In addition, we have the duplicate inscriptions of the accounts of the Amphictyons that were set up at Athens: these are published in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1633-1653.

<sup>49</sup> The earliest unquestionable instance of a renewal with a 10% increase of rental is for the estate Chareteia, which in ca. 306 B.C. was leased for 2250 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 3) and in the next leasing period yielded 2475 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 11-12). It thus becomes probable that the rentals recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135 (312 B.C.) whose amounts are divisible by eleven, viz., 781 dr. (line 3), 506 dr. (line 9), 770 dr. (line 13), and 440 dr. (line 14), were also the result of a 10% increase. Cf. Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 82, note 1; below, note 58. J. Tréheux (*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 292-295) feels that the early records from the Period of Independence all but prove the existence of a general law (*Syngraphe*) during the last years of the Amphictyonic regime.

One Amphictyonic account contains a mutilated line which reads [---]vous HHHΔΔΔ[---] (*B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 313, no. 15, line 9). The sum of 330 dr., being divisible by eleven, suggests a 10% increase, but the full amount of the rental may not be preserved. The same is also true of the sum of 220 dr. recorded in the line above it.

<sup>50</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, pp. 369 ff. and Pl. XXIX (408/7 B.C.). The rent of one estate was at least 210 dr. (line 9).

<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638, A, lines 8-19. The rents of Porthmos (500 dr.), Dionysion (300 dr.), and Lykoneion (50 dr.) are the smallest known for these estates at any time, while those of Panormos (300 dr.) and Chareteia (700 dr.) are lower than at any time except the years 199-190 B.C. However, the sum of 300 dr. paid for Limnai is greater than any rental of this estate after 220 B.C., and 300 dr. for Skitoneia is larger than the sums paid in 219-220 B.C. and 199-190 B.C. (cf. the tables,

Period of Independence, but it is difficult to draw conclusions from them, since it is not known whether they represent normal amounts or whether they were unusually low. Other individual rentals are preserved in undated fragments.<sup>52</sup> The annual totals of the rentals may be of somewhat greater significance, although the figures must be used with great caution, since it is clear that the rentals of all estates did not rise and fall together. The following table contains the totals that have been preserved:

ANNUAL RENTAL TOTALS OF THE AMPHICTYONIC PERIOD

Year	10 Estates on Rheneia	5 Estates on Delos	Total for 15 Estates	Reference
434/3 B.C.	....	716	....	<i>I.G.</i> , I <sup>2</sup> , 377, lines 15-24
433/2	....	800 +	....	<i>ibid.</i>
432/1-425/4	7110	800 +	7910 +	<i>ibid.</i>
410/9	6000 +	1000 +	7000 +	<i>B.C.H.</i> , LXI, 1937, p. 366, lines 20-23
377/6	none?	none?	none?	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1635
376/5-375/4	6610	1242	7852	<i>ibid.</i> , lines 26-31
374/3	6381?	1522	7903?	<i>ibid.</i> , lines 65-67; cf. note 47
358/7	2400 <sup>a</sup>	....	....	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1638, A, lines 8-15

<sup>a</sup> Six estates only.

In view of the fact that these figures are widely spaced in time, the total amounts for the fifteen estates show a remarkable steadiness. It is noteworthy, however, that the rents of the estates on Rheneia show a steady decline which is balanced by an equally steady rise of the Delian rentals. The slow decline of the Rheneian estates may possibly be a reflection of the picture of slowly diminishing export markets in the fourth century as delineated by Rostovtzeff, although a categorical statement based on such

pp. 303 f.). Strangely, all six rentals of the Rheneian estates are for exact multiples of one hundred, and the rent for Lykoneion is for half a hundred. Whether this is due to more than mere coincidence is difficult to decide, but it does militate against the existence of the privilege of a ten percent renewal as early as the middle of the fourth century.

<sup>52</sup> In no. 15 of *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 313 the rent of Nikou Choros (?) is 102 dr. (line 5), and two rentals, perhaps incomplete, of 220 dr. and 330 dr. appear in lines 8 and 9. No. 16 (p. 314) records a rental of 1100 dr. for an unknown estate and 700 (?) dr. for Porthmos. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1633, aB, line 2 preserves a rental of 220 dr. (the first digit is on the stone), and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1641, A, line 16 records 250 dr. for Skitoneia. In line 13 of the latter inscription the rent for Soloe should be read H[Δ]Γ, for enough of the second letter space remains to show that the second digit was neither H nor Π. Since the dates of all these inscriptions are uncertain, the rentals they record are of little significance.

scattered evidence would be injudicious. On the other hand, the rise of rentals on Delos may reflect nothing more than inadequate housing conditions on the island.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting to compare the rental totals of the Amphictyonic Period with the figures for the same fifteen estates during the Period of Independence, which may be tabulated as follows: <sup>54</sup>

ANNUAL RENTAL TOTALS OF THE FIFTEEN OLDEST TEMPLE ESTATES AFTER 315 B.C.

Years	Ten Estates on Rheneia		Five Estates on Delos <sup>a</sup>		Total for 15 Estates		
	B.C.	dr.	ob.	dr.	ob.	dr.	ob.
312-309		8,906		2,671		11,577	
303		11,309	1	3,030		14,339	1
297		13,062		3,304		16,366	
289-280		7,816		1,950		9,766	
279-270		8,134	1½	2,205		10,339	1½
269-260		9,186		2,330	0½	11,516	0½
259-250		7,370	3	1,921		9,291	3
249-240		7,276	0½	2,076	0½	9,352	1½
219-210		4,059	4½	1,611	0½	5,670	5½
199-190		3,769		1,813		5,582	
179-170		4,048	3½	1,850	0½	5,898	4

<sup>a</sup> In 303 B.C. the lessee of Soloe appears to have defaulted approximately 200 dr. Only the amount he paid (109 dr.) is included above. (See pp. 305 f.) In the second column, after 289 B.C. the figures include the rental of the additional estate Korakiai. For fractions of obols see p. 271.

## THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE

### THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

The records from the early years of the Period of Independence, which are comparatively numerous, point to a time of confusion and uncertainty in the administration of the temple estates. It appears that immediately after the expulsion of the

<sup>53</sup> This possibility is especially strong in the case of the rise of the Delos rentals from 1242 dr. in 375/4 B.C. to 1522 dr. in 374/3 B.C., for the dispossession of several houseowners in the confiscations of 375/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 141-151) probably caused them to look for rented property as temporary domiciles. It has been pointed out that their "banishment" applied only to Attic and Confederate territory and not to Delos itself (Laidlaw, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

<sup>54</sup> The figures are obtained by adding the individual rentals listed on pages 303 f. They vary considerably from those given by W. W. Tarn (Bury, Barbour, Bevan, Tarn, *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 116-117), who was evidently concerned only with the approximate totals. Cf. also H. Michell, *Canadian Jour. Econ. and Pol. Science*, XII, 1946, pp. 4-5.

Amphictyons from Delos in 314 B.C. the Hieropoioi, who under the Athenians had sometimes acted as local assistants in the management of the temple,<sup>55</sup> took over the entire financial administration of the Delian sanctuaries. For more than twenty years they seem to have experimented with land leases of varying duration, some for four years, some for five years, some for two.

Before these leases can be arranged satisfactorily, it is necessary to digress for a moment to consider the chronology of the late fourth century documents from Delos. The standard Delian archon list of the Period of Independence is given in *Inscriptions de Délos*, II, pages 372 ff. by F. Durrbach, who places the archon Lysixenos in the year 301 B.C.: there follows an unbroken chain of archons, one for each year, down to Alkimachos in 168 B.C. The list from Lysixenos to Alkimachos has met with general approval, and is followed in the present study.<sup>56</sup> However, in the matter of

<sup>55</sup> Cf. C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, p. 655, no. 815, line 3; Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, pp. 80-81, 90.

<sup>56</sup> The sole dissenter is W. B. Dinsmoor (*The Archons of Athens*, Appendix H, "The Archons and Calendar of Delos," pp. 495-506), who accepts Durrbach's list of archons from 209-169 B.C., but who believes that the earlier part of this list is dated one year too early: according to his theory Lysixenos becomes the archon of 300 B.C. These conclusions were based primarily on a re-examination of the dates of various royal foundations at Delos and their series of dedicatory vases, and on a system of sixteen year cycles of intercalary months which Dinsmoor's new dates enabled him to postulate.

There are, however, serious difficulties in this chronology. First, in order to lower the dates of the archons from 301-210 B.C. to 300-210 B.C. it became necessary to postulate two eponymous archons in a single year (210 B.C.); while this is not without parallel in other states, it is nevertheless very unusual, and doubts have been expressed as to the validity of the expedient (cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, page 76, note 1; R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 295). Secondly, Dinsmoor's list involves a dislocation of the decennial leasing periods of the temple estates that were prescribed by the *Hiera Syngraphe* (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 143), for when the archonship of Sosisthenes is moved from 250 B.C. to 249 B.C. but the date of 179 is retained for the archon Demares, it becomes clear that a system of decennial leases running 248-39, 238-29 . . . 188-79, 178-69 B.C. cannot be maintained, because the lessees and rentals of 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines 145-152) are identical with those of 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, lines 8-19). This difficulty was observed by Dinsmoor, but he was inclined to minimize its importance (p. 499, note 1). "It may be doubted," he writes, "whether a system for which our only [*sic*] fixed date is 249 B.C. remained unmodified seven decades later; it was certainly different half a century earlier." While it is true that the system of decennial leases did not originate before the *Hiera Syngraphe* became law, an analysis of the records will show that the decennial leases were issued in unbroken succession after the ten year lease became prescribed by law down to 240 B.C. (Dinsmoor, 239 B.C.) and again were issued in unbroken succession from 219 B.C. until the end of the Period of Independence (cf. note 75). It is difficult to believe that some time in the interval between 240 B.C. and 219 B.C., from which no farm accounts have chanced to survive, there was an illegal "decennium" of only nine years, particularly when it is between these very same years that Dinsmoor is obliged to place two archons in a single year.

In addition, the sixteen-year cycle of intercalary months that is adduced as supporting evidence for the validity of Dinsmoor's dates is not without its difficulties. An examination of Geminus VIII, 36-39 fails to produce any suggestions that Geminus' proposal of a system of double *octaeterides* was ever actually in use in any Greek state (Cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Class. Phil.*, XLII,

the archons who preceded Lysixenos the list given by W. B. Dinsmoor<sup>57</sup> appears preferable to Durrbach's somewhat vague arrangement. In particular, Dinsmoor seems correct in assigning Philon rather than —eres to the year 314 B.C., for Philon's name is preserved in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 138, B, line 3, and the same inscription contains fragmentary lease contracts (A, lines 7-9). It has been already observed by Jardé<sup>58</sup> that four of the rentals called for by the leases that were issued in the archonship of —eres were for amounts that are divisible by eleven, thereby suggesting that they are renewals with a ten per cent increase from a previous leasing period. It would thus appear that temporary one-year leases were issued near the end of 314 B.C. during Philon's archonship, and that in the next year (that of —eres, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 1) four-year leases were assigned that went into effect in the year 312 B.C. The archonship of Athenis belongs to 309 B.C., the last year of the four-year leasing period 312-09 B.C., for during his tenure of office leases were assigned for the next five years.<sup>59</sup> Dinsmoor's archon list leaves the year 308 B.C. blank, and assigns Erasippos to 307 B.C. and Lysixenos to 300 B.C.: there seems to be no objection, however, to moving up Dinsmoor's names one year, so as to make Erasippos archon for 308 B.C. and Lysixenos archon for 301 B.C.<sup>60</sup> When this is done,

1947, pp. 235-243). Furthermore, when all inscriptions which do not definitely belong either to an ordinary or to an intercalary year are ruled out, we are certain of only eleven ordinary years and eight intercalary years throughout the 147 years of the Period of Independence, which does not seem to be sufficient evidence to support an inflexible series of cycles. The years that are definitely known (to use for a moment Dinsmoor's dates) are 299, 281, 280, 278, 268, 267, 249, 230, 200, 179, 171, and 169 B.C. (ordinary years), and 277, 273, 261, 257, 245, 177, 173, and 170 B.C. (intercalary years). The year of Phillis I (295 B.C., Dinsmoor) must be rejected because the evidence is contradictory (cf. *Archons*, p. 504, note 4). Similarly, the year of Olympiodoros (193 B.C.) is not proved to be intercalary, for while the interest payment in *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 102-103 is indeed for thirteen months, there is no evidence that these thirteen months all came in one calendar year. In fact, the times for which interest was paid in the other entries of lines 102-119 (14 months, 32 + years, 15 + years, 4 years 8 months, 1 month) show that the thirteen months of lines 102-3 are fortuitous. Furthermore, it was not the custom of the Hieropoioi to charge an extra month's interest in intercalary years. This can be shown by comparing the interest payments of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A (an ordinary year) with those of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A (the succeeding year, which was intercalary). In the two inscriptions we find debtors paying the same amounts of interest in both years: e. g., Geryllos, 100 dr. (161, A, line 28 and 162, A, line 22); Athenis, 60 dr. (161, A, lines 28-29 and 162, A, line 22); Mnesalkos, 60 dr. (161, A, line 29 and 162, A, line 24); Polybos, 3 dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ob. (161, A, line 35 and 162, A, line 25); etc. When to these four points there is added the vigorous dissent of R. Vallois (*B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 294-305), it seems that the traditional dating of the archons in the third century is to be preferred.

<sup>57</sup> *Archons of Athens*, pp. 499-500, 503.

<sup>58</sup> *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, I, p. 82, note 1. Cf. note 49.

<sup>59</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 143, B, lines 1-2.

<sup>60</sup> It seems worthwhile to point out additional evidence in favor of dating Lysixenos in 301 B.C. rather than in 300 B.C. During his archonship Delos was visited by Demetrius Poliorcetes (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, lines 76-77; cf. *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 193), who met an Athenian embassy there after the battle of Ipsus (Plutarch, *Demet.*, 30, 1-3). Since it is now generally agreed that the battle of Ipsus took place in the summer of 301 B.C. (Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, 2nd ed., IV, i, p. 167;

Erasippos becomes the archon that succeeded Athenis, Dinsmoor's list of fourth century archons becomes synchronized with Durrbach's archons of the third century, and the Delian archon list becomes complete for the whole Period of Independence.

The rentals recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142 belong to the five-year leases that were issued under Athenis and were in effect from 308 to 304 B.C.; furthermore, it is clear that the inscription does not belong either to the first or the last year of the five, so that its date is either 307, 306, or 305 B.C.<sup>61</sup> The next period of leases can have been only two years in duration at the longest, since the rentals and lessees of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, lines 9-12 (301 B.C.) are different from those recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 9-17. Thus the latter inscription must date either from 303 B.C. or 302 B.C.; that the year 303 B.C. is the correct choice may be shown by comparing *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144 with *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, the rentals and lessees of 301 B.C. do not correspond to those of 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149), which shows that by 297 B.C. still another set of leases had been issued. This means that the rentals of 301 B.C. belong to a leasing period of not longer than five years. Hence in the earliest years of the administration of the Hieropoioi, we have a one-year lease issued in 314 B.C. for the year 313 B.C., a four-year leasing period from 312 to 309 B.C., and a five-year period from 308 to 304 B.C. The next lease was probably for two years, 303 and 302 B.C., and the next for four (301-298 B.C.).<sup>63</sup>

W. W. Tarn, *Class. Rev.*, XL, 1926, p. 14; A. T. Olmstead, *Class. Phil.*, XXXII, 1937, pp. 5-6), Demetrius' meeting with the ambassadors most likely took place in the autumn of 301 B.C.

<sup>61</sup> The date of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142 cannot have been the first year of the leasing period (308 B.C.) because lines 5-12 show that the leases had been in effect for at least one year. The last year, 304 B.C., seems ruled out by the rentals and lessees of Hippodromos: in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 10 Nikandros leases the estate for 920 dr. and in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 11 Aristeas is the lessee and pays a rental of 1012 dr. (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Since the sum of 1012 dr. is exactly eleven-tenths of 920 dr., it is probable that Aristeas had previously leased the estate for 920 dr. and had renewed his lease with the customary ten per cent increase: in other words, he had taken over the lease of Nikomachos before the last year of the leasing period 308-304 B.C.

R. Vallois (*B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 289-91) believes that *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142 belongs to the year 305 B.C.; J. Tréheux in an unpublished study (*Les premiers années de l'indépendance délienne*, 314-301) hesitates between the years 308, 307, and 306 B.C. (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, p. 289). I share Tréheux's hesitation, but feel that the choice lies between 307, 306, and 305 B.C.: the difference in our dates apparently results from Tréheux's disbelief in the one year temporary leases of 314 B.C., and the assignment of the archon —eres to 314 B.C. rather than to 313 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 294).

<sup>62</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 26-118 and B, lines 1-70 contains a long list of expenses arranged according to months (cf. A, line 30: Lenaion, Hieros; A, line 33: Galaxion; B, line 4: Hekatombaion). *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, lines 1-45 contains a similar list of similar expenses, except that they do not appear to be listed by the month. It is extremely unlikely that both lists date from the same year, particularly since some of the items in the second list seem to mark the completion of activities mentioned in the first (e. g., 144, A, line 88 and 145, lines 9-10; 144, A, lines 59-60, 62-63 and 145, line 11). Therefore, since the date of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145 is known to be 302 B.C., the date of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144 is 303 B.C. (cf. *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, p. 283, note 2; *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 291).

<sup>63</sup> Unless the rentals of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144 were paid under the terms of a lease that was drawn

Thus the Hieropoioi during the earliest years of their administration appear to have operated not according to any definite and fixed rules but merely as circumstances dictated.<sup>64</sup> The time was evidently one of prosperity among the upper classes, for the rentals were abnormally large and renewals of lease were frequent.<sup>65</sup> Under such conditions it is probable that neither the Hieropoioi nor the lessees felt any particular need for rigid regulations. It is clear that from the beginning of their regime the Hieropoioi permitted lessees to renew leases with a ten per cent increase of rental,<sup>66</sup> and that each lessee was required to furnish guarantors who were supposed to pay the rent if the lessee were to default. In cases of non-payment they were empowered to confiscate some of the lessee's property.<sup>67</sup> However, the boom in rentals collapsed some time near the beginning of the third century B.C., and rentals shrank

up for only one year, the maximum is four years. The following table will summarize the conclusions reached above:

Year B.C.	Archon	Lease contracts issued for	Contracts in effect	<i>I. G.</i> , XI, 2
314	Philon	one year	*	138
313	-----eres	four years	1st year of 1	
312	Archeopolis?		1st year of 4	135
311	Diaitos		2nd year of 4	
310	Prostates?		3rd year of 4	
309	Athenis	five years	4th year of 4	143, 137
308	Erasippos		1st year of 5	
307	Helikandros		2nd year of 5	142 (?)
306	Timotheos I		3rd year of 5	142 (?)
305	Onomakleides		4th year of 5	142 (?)
304	Stesileos I	two years	5th year of 5	
303	Kalliphon		1st year of 2	136, 144
302	Kallisthenes I	four (?) years	2nd year of 2	145
301	Lysixenos		1st year of 4 (?)	146
300	Ktesikles		2nd year of 4 (?)	
299	Demonax		3rd year of 4 (?)	
298	Kleokritos	? years (?)	4th year of 4 (?)	148
297	Pyrrhides		1st (?) year of ?	149, 150
296	Phillis I		2nd (?) year of ?	154

<sup>64</sup> The irregular payments in *ca.* 306 B.C. called τὸ ἐναυαβληθέν are especially puzzling. The latest and best interpretation of them is given by Tréheux (*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 284-287); my remarks in *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 232-34, which arose from a misunderstanding of Lacroix, may now be disregarded.

<sup>65</sup> See below, pp. 307-308.

<sup>66</sup> See note 49 and pp. 270 f.

<sup>67</sup> The earliest reference to guarantors and to confiscation of property comes from *ca.* 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 5-12). For detailed discussion of this passage, see Durrbach, *B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, pp. 25-29; Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, pp. 92-97; Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 290; Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 288-293.

to half their former amounts.<sup>68</sup> It is probably at this time and for this reason that the Hieropoioi (or possibly the Delian Boule) drew up the famous list of regulations known as the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*, "the sacred contract," according to the terms of which all estates were in the future to be administered.

### THE HIERA SYNGRAPHE

The stele on which the *Hiera Syngraphe* was engraved was discovered by Homolle in 1877 near the colossal statue of Apollo. The stele is unbroken, but unfortunately it is made of Naxian marble of extremely coarse grain which crumbles very easily. Worse still, the stele has been re-used as a flagstone, and the upper half of the inscription is now completely worn away. The text of the lower part, which is published in *Inscriptions de Délos* under the number 503, is imperfectly preserved, and an inspection of the stone in 1939 revealed that at that time considerably fewer letters were visible on its surface than Durrbach had been able to read twenty years previously. We are therefore reluctantly obliged to conclude that there is no hope of recovering more of the text of the *Hiera Syngraphe* than is already known.<sup>69</sup>

At the top of the stele there were once engraved from twenty to twenty-five lines of text which are now completely effaced. Of the next fifteen lines, which are published as lines 1-15 of *Inscr. de Délos*, 503, there are only small patches of text preserved, and not enough survives to enable more than a partial restoration. The succeeding lines, however, are fairly complete down to line 48, with serious mutilation only in lines 21, 24, and 32; after line 48 the four or five lines which brought the inscription to an end are now indecipherable. We thus have preserved thirty-three legible lines (16-48) of a text that contained originally approximately seventy-five lines, the lost portions being the first half of the text and the few lines at the very end. It is therefore evident that certain provisions which the law is known to have contained but which do not appear in the extant lines must have been engraved in the first half of the inscription. These provisions, along with other regulations whose existence at one time seems probable but which are not fully attested, are outlined below: the order in which they were arranged in the original text of the law is, of course, not known.

I. It is probable that after a preamble indicating the date and mover of the decree, the first clause of the law would indicate by whom leases were to be issued, and to whom. That the leases were drawn up and assigned by the Hieropoioi themselves or by some assistants authorized to act under their supervision is indicated by

<sup>68</sup> See pp. 307 f.

<sup>69</sup> To the bibliography cited by Durrbach in his introduction to *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 there should be added the important alterations in the text made by A. Wilhelm, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XI, 1935, pp. 215-217. The most important analysis of the contents of the inscription is that of E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, pp. 87-109.

the words *ἐμισθώσαμεν* and *ἀνεμισθώσαμεν* which are found throughout the records of the Hieropoioi.<sup>70</sup> It may also have been stated specifically in the law that Delian citizenship was not a prerequisite for lessees; at any rate, there was evidently no provision against issuing leases to citizens of other states.<sup>71</sup> It is not known whether or not sub-leasing was prohibited.

II. The *Hiera Syngraphe* probably prescribed the place and the time for the assignment of leases. On neither of these points is there any direct information. Presumably leases were issued at Delos, but probably not in the *ἱεροποῖον*, which appears to have been used sometimes as a place of storage.<sup>72</sup> As for the time, it is evident that leases were assigned to prospective tenants in the year prior to that in which the lease contracts went into effect; the precise day and month, however, are not known. While it is not certain at what time of year a new lessee would actually obtain possession of his estate, it seems probable that his tenure began in the late autumn.<sup>73</sup>

III. The *Hiera Syngraphe* is known to have stated that leases were to be issued for a period of ten years,<sup>74</sup> and since we are assured of decennial leases down to 249/40 B.C. and again from 209 B.C. until the end of the Period of Independence, it has been assumed that once begun the series of ten year periods was strictly observed.<sup>75</sup> The sole exception to this appears to be in the case of the estate Hippodromos in the decennium 279/70 B.C. when, for reasons which are not apparent, the Hieropoioi may

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, lines 110-111; 287, A, lines 136, 138, 139, 142; etc.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 11; 161, C, line 113; 287, A, lines 159-160.

<sup>72</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 154, B, line 4; cf. *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 458. Homolle was of the opinion that leases were assigned in the Agora (*B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 430).

<sup>73</sup> In the temple accounts the appearance of two lessees in a single year is highly abnormal; but this does not necessarily imply that leases normally ran from January 1 to December 31. Indeed, if such were the case, it is difficult to see how a new lessee could produce a good grain crop in his first year of tenure, since grain required planting in the autumn for best results (cf. Jasny, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 1941-42, pp. 749, 753-54). In 309 B.C. new leases were assigned in Hekatombaion (= July: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 143, B, lines 1-3); this may have continued to be the case after the *Hiera Syngraphe* became law. In the last year of a decennium all rentals had to be paid before the end of August (*Inscr. de Délos*, 503, 27-30; see below, p. 278). These considerations suggest that new lessees took possession of their estates sometime in the autumn, after the vineyards had been harvested but early enough for the autumn grain planting.

On the other hand, it is clear that in the fifth century B.C. no allowances were made for fall planting, for leases went into effect in December (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377, lines 15-16) and in February (*ibid.*, lines 21-22; see above, p. 259).

<sup>74</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-143: *ἐμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἔτη δέκα κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν.*

<sup>75</sup> The rentals listed in *Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, lines 15-21 (209 B.C.); 368, lines 23-33 (206 B.C.); and 372, A, lines 10-18 (200 B.C.) show that the decennial leases ran 209-200, 199-90, 189-80 B.C. In the earlier inscriptions, *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 6-15 (279 B.C.); 203, A, lines 18-25 (269 B.C.); and 287, A, lines 25-34 and 142-80 (250 B.C.) show that the leasing periods ran 279-70, 269-60, 259-50, and 249-40 B.C. (For the dating of this earlier group, cf. note 56).

have issued two successive leases each five years in length.<sup>76</sup> It is highly improbable, however, that the text of the *Hiera Syngraphe* contained a clause which would allow the Hieropoioi to vary the length of leases as they had been able to do in the late fourth century.

IV. Lessees were evidently chosen by auction, and leases assigned to the highest bidder; this is shown by the unusual number of rentals whose amounts are one drachma more than an even hundred.<sup>77</sup> These rentals indicate also that at the auctions bidders were probably entitled to more than one bid, and that bidding was confined to sums of even drachmas.<sup>78</sup> If a lessee defaulted before the ten years were up, a new lease was issued for the remaining years of the decennium: this also seems to have been bid for at auction. In most cases a second lessee was found who was willing to pay the same amount of rental as that for which the defaulting lessee had contracted,<sup>79</sup> but it should be noted that in a few instances the amount of the rental stipulated in the second lease is different from that of the first.<sup>80</sup> It is also significant that there is not

<sup>76</sup> This exception is not fully attested, but the amounts of rental for Hippodromos show that it is probable. In 282 B.C. the rent was 550 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 11; this sum may itself be the result of a 10% increase), in 279 B.C. and 278 B.C. it was 605 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 11; 162, A, lines 9-10), but in 268 B.C. it was 732 dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ob., which is the figure that results if 605 dr. is increased *twice* by ten per cent ( $605 + 60.5 = 665$  dr. 3 ob.;  $665$  dr. 3 ob. +  $66$  dr.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ob. =  $732$  dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ob.). Hence the conclusion that there were *two* 10% increases between 279 B.C. and 269 B.C. seems unavoidable. It may also be noted that in the accounts of 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, lines 5-6) the restoration of 605 dr. ([ $\text{P}\text{H}\text{P}$ ]) in line 6 is unsatisfactory, being too short for the space available on the stone, whereas 665 dr. 3 ob. [ $\text{P}\text{H}\text{P}\Delta\text{P}\text{III}$ ] is the length required. Thus if two five-year leasing periods (279-75 and 274-70 B.C.) are assumed for Hippodromos, the figures are readily explained; but it is not possible without further evidence to reconcile five-year periods with the *Hiera Syngraphe*.

<sup>77</sup> E. g., Phoinikes, 1101 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 4); Sosimacheia, 201 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 14); Akra Delos, 501 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 13); Skitoneia, 201 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 36); Rhamnoi, 301 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 37). Cf. also Chareteia, 3111 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 9); Lykoneion, 111 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 33); Hippodromos, 661 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-144); Phytalia, 51 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, lines 18 and 21); etc.

<sup>78</sup> Otherwise we should probably find amounts such as 500 dr. 1 ob.

<sup>79</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 9; 161, C, line 111; 162, A, line 8 (Panormos): 224, A, line 12; 287, A, line 25 (Porthmos): 224, A, line 16; 287, A, lines 137-138 (Skitoneia): 287, A, line 145; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17 (Kerameion): *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 179; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 21 (Pyrgoi): *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 179; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17 (Lykoneion): *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 155; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 18 (Nikou Choros): 353, A, line 13; 354, line 38 (Phytalia): 366, A, lines 104-105 (Dionysion): 403, lines 48-49 (Charoneia): 403, lines 51-52 (Hippodromos): 440, B, lines 22-23 (Dorion-Chersonesos): 442, A, line 147; 452, lines 24-26 (Phytalia): 442, A, line 150; 456, A, line 18 (Panormos).

<sup>80</sup> Some of the instances known show a slight increase in the amount of the second rental. In 246 B.C. Kallisthenes paid one drachma more for the second lease of Soloe-Korakiai (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 149-150; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 16). This probably represents a bid over someone else who was willing to pay exactly the former rental, but no more. In the decennium 199/90 B.C. the rent of Soloe-Korakiai was 286 dr. in 199 B.C. and 300 dr. in 192 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243). On the other hand, Epistheneia seems to have been leased twice in the decennium 269/60 B.C.

a single example in the century and a half of the administration of the Hieropoioi of an estate lying idle for lack of a lessee. The ability of the Hieropoioi to find a second lessee whenever the first lessee defaulted, and to find one who would be willing to pay the same amount or almost the same amount of rental, speaks well not only for their own enterprise and industry, but also for the business acumen of the lessees. We may thus be assured that the bidders at the auctions, while they may occasionally have gotten a genuine bargain, very seldom bid more for a lease than it was actually worth.

V. If a lessee wished to renew his lease at the end of a decennium, the *Hiera Syngraphe* permitted him to renew it without resorting to the auctions. The price of this privilege was an automatic increase of ten per cent in the amount of his rental.<sup>81</sup> It has already been shown that this privilege was in existence before the *Hiera Syngraphe* was passed, and probably originated some time in the Amphictyonic period. Since no inventories were made at the end of the decennium for the estates of lessees who exercised this right,<sup>82</sup> it is reasonable to conclude that the law required that lessees who intended to renew their leases in this way should signify their intention to the Hieropoioi before the inventories of the estates were taken. It should be noted, however, that it was not obligatory for a lessee who wished to lease an estate for a second decennium to do so in this way. If he thought that he could obtain the lease for a lower rental than an increase of ten per cent would entail, he could let his old lease lapse and take a chance of securing the new lease for less money at the general auctions. The records attest that some of the lessees managed to negotiate this maneuver successfully and at considerable saving to themselves: on the other hand, some others whose judgment was less acute were forced in the auction to bid more than their old rental plus a ten per cent increase would have cost them.<sup>83</sup>

for 612 dr. and 600 dr., for in the next decennium the rental was 660 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 21; 224, A, line 15). In the decennium 179/70 two leases for Charoneia were for sums of 451 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 149; 456, A, line 20) and 440 dr. (459, line 42). Another slight decrease in rental within a decennium may be noted for the estate of Leimon in 259/50 B.C. (302 dr. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, lines 34-35) and 300 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 32). In 207 B.C. a second lease for Porthmos called for 121 dr. less rental than the first (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-103).

<sup>81</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 174: καὶ οἷδε τῶν μεμισ[θω]μένων ἐπέβαλον τὰ ἐπιδέκατα κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 174-180.

<sup>83</sup> Five lessees managed not only to avoid the 10% increase but actually to secure a lower rental than they had paid previously. The sharpest deals of all were made by Dionysodoros, whose two leases for Leimon were 300 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 32) and 221 dr. (*ibid.*, lines 148-149), and by Kallisthenes for Sosimacheia, 200 dr. 1½ ob. and 150 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 37; 362, A, line 16), both of them net reductions of more than 25%. The biggest saving on record was made by Kleinias for Pyrgoi: he obtained a reduction from 1343 dr. ¾ ob. to 1012 dr. ¾ ob. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 18; 287, A, line 30). In this case the hieropoioi seem to have allowed him to bid in even drachmas in relation to his former rental.

Others to negotiate reductions were Pythokles for Nikou Choros, 321 dr. and 260 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 26 and 155), and Teleson for Soloe-Korakiai, 410 dr. and 372 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2;

Since the bidding at the auctions appears to have been confined to amounts consisting of drachmas only (with the possible exception of the Mykonos estates), Homolle concluded that the amounts of rentals which contain obols and fractions of obols were in nearly every case due to increases of 10 per cent in the amounts of previous rentals.<sup>84</sup> This conclusion is fully verified by further examination of the accounts, for in all but a few cases the odd amounts of rental are divisible by eleven. The system of drachmas, obols, and twelfths of obols (*chalkoi*) which the Delians employed is a duodecimal system in which most percentages cannot be given with mathematical exactitude; accordingly, the Delian accountants calculated to the nearest twelfth of an obol. The standard figures for percentages in the Period of Independence are as follows:<sup>85</sup>

10% of 1 dr.:	$\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (0.6)	10% of 6 dr.:	$3\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (3.6)
2 dr.:	$1\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (1.2)	7 dr.:	$4\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (4.2)
3 dr.:	$1\frac{11}{12}$ ob. (1.8)	8 dr.:	$4\frac{11}{12}$ ob. (4.8)
4 dr.:	$2\frac{5}{12}$ ob. (2.4)	9 dr.:	$5\frac{5}{12}$ ob. (5.4)
5 dr.:	3 ob. (3.0)		

VI. It seems probable that the *Hiera Syngraphe* contained instructions to the Hieropoioi to make an inventory of the temple property on each estate whenever the estate changed lessees, but there is no direct proof of the existence of such a requirement. We know only that it was customary when a new lease and a new lessee for an

161, A, lines 12-13; 203, A, line 20). One lessee, Empedokles, secured his new lease for Chareteia at exactly the same rate as his old one (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 10; 203, A, line 19). Three other lessees paid more for their second lease, but not as much as 10 per cent more: Didymos for Skitoneia, 530 dr. and 560 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 10; 203, A, lines 19-20), Xenomedes for Hippodromos, 579 dr. and 622 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 38; 362, A, line 15), and Thumias for Thaleon, 356 dr. and 381 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101).

On the other hand, there are recorded a few bad errors of judgment. The worst blunder of all was made by the brothers Timesidemos and Aristodikos, who paid 800 dr. for Charoneia in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 5), but who instead of renewing with a 10 per cent increase (880 dr.) were forced up at the auctions to 1100 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 20). The others did not fare so badly, however, and paid little more than the 10 per cent increase would have amounted to; Antigonos paid 375 dr. and 429 dr. for Rhamnoi (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 10; 161, A, line 8), Hierombrotos 140 dr. and 166 dr. for Kerameion (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 12; 203, A, lines 18-19), and Aristopappos for Dorion-Chersonesos, 300 dr. and 331 dr.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101). The case of Aristopappos is especially interesting, since it shows that the rule of bidding in drachmas only did not apply to the estates on Mykonos, on this occasion at least.

<sup>84</sup> *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 430.

<sup>85</sup> Fractional amounts of obols other than those listed in the table may result from two successive 10 per cent increases (e. g., for Hippodromos, 605 dr., 665 dr. 3 ob., 732 dr.  $\frac{4}{12}$  ob.; cf. above, note 76), from a 10 per cent increase of an irregular amount (e. g., for Porthmos, 539 dr.  $\frac{3}{12}$  ob., 592 dr.  $5\frac{3}{12}$  ob.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 404, line 17; 442, A, line 151; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243), or from some other unusual kind of increase.

estate were recorded to record an inventory along with them.<sup>86</sup> Although the task of taking inventories was doubtless one that took considerable time, especially for the enumeration of the vines, nevertheless it seems to have been done by certain of the Hieropoioi themselves or else by assistants directly responsible to them.<sup>87</sup> It is likely that this article of the law also contained a provision requiring lessees to keep their farm buildings in good repair and to maintain the number of vines and fruit trees committed to their charge: otherwise the inventories would not appear to serve any useful purpose.<sup>88</sup>

VII. The lost portion of the *Hiera Syngraphe* probably referred to the duties of the officials known as οἱ ἐπιτιμηταὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τεμενῶν. These officials are never mentioned in the rental accounts of the temple estates, and we happen to know of their existence only by the fact that they are mentioned at irregular intervals in connection with the annual expenses of the Temple of Apollo. References to them, when they occur, merely record that a fixed sum of 40 dr. was paid to each *epitimetes* for travelling expenses (ἐφόδιον).<sup>89</sup>

The etymology of the word ἐπιτιμητής indicates that these officials were “evaluators” or “inspectors” who, we may infer from their ἐφόδιον, made periodical tours

<sup>86</sup> Inventories were recorded along with the assignment of ten-year lease contracts in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-174), 220 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 351, lines 6-23), 210 B.C. (*ibid.*, 356 bis, B), 200 B.C. (*ibid.*, 374), 180 B.C. (*ibid.*, 373, A, lines 1-44, B, lines 1-20; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-243), and 170 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 245). In addition, it can be shown that an inventory was made in connection with the lease contracts of 280 B.C., for *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 125-131 show that inventories were made by the hieropoioi Hegias and Anaskatos, who held office in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 2; cf., *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 70; *I.G.*, XI, 160, line 1).

For new leases issued within the ten-year periods, an inventory was taken in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 125-131), in 276 B.C. (*ibid.*, 163, Bg, lines 7 and 19), in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, lines 17-27; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244), and ca. 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 452, lines 16-32). The only inscriptions which record new lease contracts but no new inventories are *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-142 (250 B.C.) and *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-106 (207 B.C.). In the former case it was probably not considered worthwhile to engrave the same inventories twice in the same inscription (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-174); in the latter instance the annual accounts of 207 B.C. seem to have been engraved on two marble slabs, of which only the second (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366) has chanced to survive.

<sup>87</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, Bg, line 19: τὰδε φυτὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ τῇ Χαρωνείᾳ ἀπέδειξαν καὶ παρημίσθησαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἱε[ροποιοὶ ὁ δέῖνα καὶ ὁ δέῖνα· ἀμπέλους ΧΧΗΦΔΔΔΓΠΙ.] σύκινα ΔΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ. For the number of the vines, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167.

<sup>88</sup> For regulations of this nature in other parts of the Hellenistic world, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>; 2492, lines 14-18; 2494, lines 11-16; 2499, 14-18; XII, 5, 568, lines 14-15; XII, 7, 62, lines 8-13 and 17-20; XIV, 645, I, lines 135-138.

<sup>89</sup> The references are *I.G.*, XI, 2; 148, line 67 (298 B.C.); 159, A, line 55 (281 B.C.); 203, A, lines 62-63 (269 B.C.); 287, A, lines 87-88 (250 B.C.); and *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 109-110 (246 B.C.). Significantly, the *epitimetai* are nowhere mentioned in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161 (279 B.C.), an inscription which is virtually complete; nor do they appear in *Inscr. de Délos*, 442, or, in fact, in any inscription later than 246 B.C.

of inspection, visiting the temple estates. Precisely what it was that they were to inspect or evaluate we are not told. Homolle was of the opinion that the choice lay between officials who evaluated the lands and products of the estates and inspectors who were empowered to inflict fines (*ἐπιτιμῆματα*) on tenants for infringements of contracts. The latter alternative seemed to him the more probable, since in connection with the *epitimetai* we are informed of a *dikasterion* which seems to have served as a court of appeal for the fines that were assessed.<sup>90</sup> When it is further noted that no other officials are known to us who had the authority to compel the lessees to observe those terms of the lease contracts which applied to the maintenance of buildings, vines, and fruit trees, there seems to be little doubt that Homolle's opinion is correct.<sup>91</sup>

It seems possible, however, to carry this conclusion one stage farther by considering whether the *Epitimetai* held office under the *Hieropoioi* and acted as their deputies or whether they carried out their duties independent of the *Hieropoioi*. What evidence there is appears to favor the second alternative. Not only are the *Epitimetai* mentioned in the accounts of the *Hieropoioi* at irregular intervals, thus indicating that their travelling expenses were not paid every year, but these expenses seem to have been paid only in the years that the *dikasterion* met to hear appeals.<sup>92</sup> It is difficult to believe that the *Epitimetai* functioned only sporadically and that every time they did function they levied fines which were promptly appealed. Nor does it seem likely that they failed to receive any remuneration whatsoever except in years in which appeals were lodged. It seems preferable to assume that they functioned regularly and every year, but that the Temple of Apollo was obligated to pay a fixed sum of 40 dr. to help defray their expenses only on occasions when fines were appealed.<sup>93</sup> In the years from which complete accounts of the *Hieropoioi* have survived and the *Epitimetai* are not mentioned, it may be supposed that no fines were appealed.

It is known from the wage lists of the temple that the *Epitimetai* never received salaries (as opposed to expense money) from the *Hieropoioi*, and since it is unlikely that they received no pay at all for their services, it seems to follow that their salaries

<sup>90</sup> Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 490-491. For the references to this court (*τῶν δικαστηρίων τοῖς ἐπιτιμῆμασι*), *I.G.*, XI, 2; 148, lines 65-66; 203, A, line 62; 287, A, line 81; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 110.

<sup>91</sup> It may be noted that in 250 B.C., the only year from which estate inventories as well as records of payments to the *epitimetai* and the *dikasterion* have survived, the inventories list two items on the estates which were in a state of disrepair; viz., a house without a roof (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 165; later repaired: cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 50) and a collapsed wall (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 163). There surely must have been some agency which was supposed to prevent this sort of thing.

<sup>92</sup> In four of the five inscriptions which mention the *epitimetai* a meeting of the *dikasterion* is also attested. Cf. references given above. In the fifth instance, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 55, the *dikasterion* is not mentioned, but a great deal of the text of this inscription has been obliterated.

<sup>93</sup> This would explain as merely fortuitous the fact that the *epitimetai* do not happen to be mentioned in any of the inscriptions later than 246 B.C.

as well as their power to act came, not from the board of the Hieropoioi, but from some other organization which had authority in the management of the temple estates. This organization can scarcely have been other than the Delian Boule, to which the Hieropoioi were also accountable.<sup>94</sup> It thus appears that the control of the temple estates rested in final analysis with the Boule, which exercised that control through two sets of officials. The Hieropoioi in their capacity of treasurers of the Temple of Apollo handled all matters connected with the revenues from the estates: the Epitimetai saw to it that the estates were properly treated by the tenants and remained in good physical condition. In the fourth century B.C. the Epitimetai appear to have numbered two each year, and the *dikasterion* to have consisted of seventy members, but some time between 298 and 269 B.C. their numbers were increased respectively to three and one hundred and one.<sup>95</sup>

VIII. The *Hiera Syngraphe* included an article requiring each lessee to furnish sponsors who would agree to guarantee that the lessee's rent would be paid. This meant that if lessees did not pay their rents in full, the guarantors (ἐγγυνοὶ; ἐγγυηταί) were obligated to make up the deficit.<sup>96</sup> Not only did a lessee have to furnish guarantors before he could take over his lease, but he was obliged to renew them annually: if he failed to do so, his lease was cancelled and a new lease issued to someone else.<sup>97</sup> The records show that this provision of the law was strictly and rigidly enforced and that no lessee was ever permitted to hold a lease without first having furnished guarantees for his rent. The sole exception to this was made in the case of the death during the year of one of the guarantors: in this event the lessee was given a short time to find a replacement.<sup>98</sup>

The ceremony of naming the guarantors, called in the records the *διεγγυήσεις*, evidently took place annually in Lenaion [= January], and was probably one of the

<sup>94</sup> See below, pp. 279, 281.

<sup>95</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 67 (298 B.C.) records an ἐφόδιον of only 80 dr.: since this sum is not evenly divisible by three, it is all but certain that on this occasion the sum of 40 dr. was paid to each of two officials. Probably in 281 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, 55), certainly in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 62-63), 40 dr. were paid each of three *epitimetai*. Similarly, in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 66 the pay to the dicasts was 11 dr. 4 ob., but in later accounts the amount was 16 dr. 5 ob. Homolle (*op. cit.*, p. 491, note 3) has shown that in all likelihood the amount paid by the temple treasury to each dicast was one obol: hence the *dikasterion* was increased from 70 to 101 members.

<sup>96</sup> An article in the extant portion of the law makes guarantors equally responsible with the lessees. See below, pp. 279 f.

<sup>97</sup> For examples of men who failed to secure guarantors at the very beginning of a decennium, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145 and 153. Most new leases issued within the ten-year period were drawn up, not because of the death or the bankruptcy of the first lessee, but because of his failure to renew guarantors. There are many passages to illustrate this fact, the clearest evidence, perhaps, being contained in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 135-142 and *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-106. These passages show plainly that the renewal of guarantors was required every year. In addition, it is specifically stated that lessees of the Mykonos estates were required to name guarantors καθ' ἐναυτόν (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-100).

<sup>98</sup> See below, pp. 276 f.

first items on the *agenda* of the incoming Hieropoioi.<sup>99</sup> In years in which new decennial lease contracts were drawn up there were evidently additional *διεγγυήσεις*, at which the prospective tenants were obliged to name guarantors before the assignment of their leases was approved.<sup>100</sup> It has already been noted that in the fourth century new leases which were issued for the succeeding leasing period were assigned in July.<sup>101</sup> If this was the case also after the *Hiera Syngraphē* was passed, it is probable that the decennial *διεγγυήσεις* were held sometime in the late summer.

In the vast majority of cases the number of guarantors furnished by each lessee was two.<sup>102</sup> In a few instances, however, we are told that a lessee had only one,<sup>103</sup> and on two occasions at least a lessee had more than two.<sup>104</sup> It is therefore probable that the number of two guarantors was merely the custom and was not obligatory under the terms of the *Hiera Syngraphē*: probably all that the law required was that the guarantees be adequate.<sup>105</sup> This probability is strengthened by the fact that while it was customary for each guarantor to guarantee half the amount of rental,<sup>106</sup> it was not obligatory. It seems likely that, whenever guarantors did not agree each to guarantee half the rental, the amount each was to pay was decided privately. However, what method was used to determine the amounts is not apparent.<sup>107</sup>

Such were probably the articles contained in the first half of the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*: how many more there may have been is not known, but the length of the stele seems to show that if there were others, they were short. Parts of the text begin to be preserved when the section concerning guarantors is reached: in line 5 of *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 the words [ο]ἱ ἐγγυητα[ί] have been read, and in line 9 there is a reference

<sup>99</sup> When Xenomedes and Polyboulos, two lessees of 251 B.C., were unable to post guarantors for the year 250 B.C. ὅτε ἦσαν αἱ διεγγυήσεις, their leases were re-assigned to Autokles and Kallisthenes without change in the amount of rental (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-141). This implies that Autokles and Kallisthenes obtained possession of their estates very early in the year 250 B.C. It is worth observing also that the notice boards on which the names of guarantors were required to be posted (cf. note 3) were regularly purchased in Lenaion (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 42; *Inscr. de Délos*, 371, A, line 55; 372, A, line 75).

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145 and 153.

<sup>101</sup> See note 73.

<sup>102</sup> For example, all twenty estates of Delos and Rheneia in the contracts issued in 250 B.C. had two guarantors of their rentals (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-180). It seems unnecessary to cite all other references.

<sup>103</sup> Panormos, 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 114-115); Sosimacheia, 280 B.C. (*ibid.*, 161, A, lines 39-40); Hippodromos, 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 52).

<sup>104</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 27-29, 141. Cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 239-40.

<sup>105</sup> It is not unlikely that the guarantors' financial status was subject to scrutiny in much the same manner that guarantors of building contracts were investigated by the Delian Boule. Cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 504, B, line 12: ἐγγύους ἐδοκίμασεν ἡ βουλὴ.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 12; 147, A, lines 15-17; 226, A, lines 29, 31, 32, 35; etc. In the case of the three guarantors of Mnesimachos in 250 B.C. one was held responsible for half the unpaid rent and the other two for the other half (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 139-142). Cf. note 13.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 239-240.

to the notice boards on which the names of lessees and their guarantors were required to be published.<sup>108</sup>

IX. The section referring to the furnishing of guarantors evidently ended in line 10, for in lines 10 and 11 there seems to be an article to the effect that payments of rent were to be made in the month of Metageitnion. These lines are badly mutilated, but are restored by Ziebarth<sup>109</sup> on the analogy of line 28, where the obligation of lessees to pay rentals in Metageitnion is repeated.

X. Lines 12-16 are concerned with the procedure to be followed in case of the death of a lessee. Molinier<sup>110</sup> has shown that whenever the lessee of a house died his heirs were obliged to carry on the agreement he had made until the lease expired. The procedure in the case of lessees of the estates, however, was evidently not the same, for in the accounts it occasionally appears that a new lease was issued when a lessee died,<sup>111</sup> although in most cases the heirs appear to have continued the lease.<sup>112</sup> Lines 12-15, which unfortunately are poorly preserved, appear to stipulate that on the death of a lessee, the heirs—or in the case of minors the former guarantors acting as trustees for the children—were allowed to continue the lease if they wished to do so and if the Hieropoioi approved. If the heirs did not wish to do so, they might terminate the lease and the Hieropoioi would then issue a new lease for the remainder of the decennium; if this occurred, however, the heirs were obliged to pay any amount that the temple might lose in the transaction (ἐγδεία).<sup>113</sup> Lines 15-16 appear to mean “if any lessee leaves behind male children, they are responsible for the repayment of whatever sum is owing (the god) just as if it had come from the lessee.”<sup>114</sup>

XI. Lines 16-19 are mutilated, and there is some uncertainty in the matter of restorations. However, they appear to have meant approximately as follows: “If one of the guarantors dies [within the year he is serving as a guarantor], the lessee is to pay the rental immediately [or to get it paid?] by the guarantor’s son, allowing the son ten days of grace. If the lessee does not pay the rental, the Hieropoioi are to issue a new lease for the estate: if the new lease is for a smaller rental, they are to collect the sum by which it is less from [the former lessee and ?] the son of the guarantor.

<sup>108</sup> [τοὺς] ἐγγύους [ἐγγραφόντων ---- εἰς λευκ]ώμα[τα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν μισθ]οσμένων καὶ τῶν ἡγγ[νωμένων].

<sup>109</sup> *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, p. 90.

<sup>110</sup> *Les maisons sacrées*, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>111</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 156, B, lines 7-15; *Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, line 17 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244) should perhaps be restored ἀνεμ[σθώσαμεν τάδε τεμένη· τελευτήσαντος . . .<sup>ca.</sup>8 . . .] Πά[γορμο]ν. Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 109-111.

<sup>112</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 6; 203, A, lines 22-3; *Inscr. de Délos*; 290, lines 18 and 19; 356, *bis*, A, line 6; 368, line 24; 372, A, line 15; 399, A, line 75.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Ziebarth, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Arch. für Papyrusforsch.*, XI, 1935, p. 215.

If neither lessee nor guarantor's son can pay, the Hieropoioi are to inscribe their names on the stele." It seems clear from this passage that the temple authorities insisted upon an immediate payment of rental whenever the guarantor for its payment ceased to exist. It is difficult, however, to decide to what extent the son of the guarantor was held liable after his father's death, for not only are some vital words missing from the text, but the wording as a whole is somewhat vague. For example, nothing is said about the second guarantor, and it is not made clear whether the amount the lessee was obliged to pay immediately was the full rental for the year or only that part of the rental which the dead guarantor had guaranteed. The reference to the liability of the son of the dead man seems to favor the latter interpretation, for it would seem unduly harsh to hold the son responsible not only for the amount guaranteed by his father but also for any amount the second guarantor failed to pay. Unfortunately, the accounts do not preserve a single example of how this article of the law was applied, and until such an example is found, or until a completely satisfactory restoration of lines 16-19 is discovered, the precise meaning of the passage remains doubtful.

XII. Lines 19-21: "If lessees keep livestock, they are to pay in the month of Artemision (= April) a [sum of money] for each animal [which is to be counted as part] of their rental, for all the animals that they keep. The payment is to be made in coinage guaranteed to be genuine."<sup>115</sup> This regulation is apparently included in the law in order to forestall lessees who might be tempted to squander the money they obtained from the sale of wool, spring lambs, and calves, and have no cash left by the time the rentals became due.

XIII. Lines 21-25. So much is missing of lines 22 and 23 that a continuous translation of the passage is impossible. Lines 21-22 read "the Hieropoioi in the month of Galaxion (= March) are to take a census of the cattle according to custom."<sup>116</sup> If the number left on the estates in the month of Metageitnion (= August). . . ." All that appears certain from these lines is that the Hieropoioi were required to make a census each March of the specially branded cattle which were owned by the temple and were pastured on the estates.<sup>117</sup> The next sentence may perhaps indicate that a second count was made in August and that the figure then found was to be compared to the number of animals in the March census. The original contents of lines 22-23 can only be surmised: possibly their general meaning was to the effect that in no case was the lessee to sell surreptitiously any of the cattle owned by the temple, but the Hieropoioi could either take the new-born animals or turn them over to the tenants to raise.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. E. Weiss, *ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΝ Heinrich Swoboda*, p. 333. The expression is ἀκίνδνον παν[τὸς κιν]δύνου; compare *I.G.*, XII, 7, 67, lines 39-40: ἀργυρίου Ἀττικοῦ τρία τάλαντα ἀκίνδνον πα[ντ]ὸς κινδύνου. See also the phrase δοκίμον ἀργυρίου in *I.G.*, VII, 235, lines 23-24 (Buck, *Greek Dialects*, No. 14). Both expressions seem to mean merely that "no bad coin was to be palmed off."

<sup>116</sup> κατὰ τὸν νόμον: cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>117</sup> See note 177.

From the end of line 22 onward we read: "if a lessee raises (a temple animal), the Hieropoioi are to take their oath that this animal (*ἀντὸν*) will not be included in the record of the one who raises it as far as the rent is concerned. And he who wishes may lodge information and receive half the value of the beasts that were sold." This last sentence plainly refers to a reward to be given to a *delator* for information concerning illegally sold animals: hence the probability that in the lacuna of lines 22-23 the tenant was expressly forbidden to sell temple cattle without the knowledge of the Hieropoioi.

XIV. Lines 25-27: "When any farmer wishes to sell any of the branded cattle which he is obligated by law to replace,<sup>118</sup> he may do so if he furnishes a guarantor for the price for which they will be sold." In other words, it was legal for a lessee to sell temple-owned cattle provided that he secured someone to guarantee that he would not simply pocket the money. Presumably the passage means that whenever any temple cattle were sold, the lessee was obliged to replace them later, for if it were simply a matter of turning over the proceeds of the sale at some later date to the Hieropoioi, a dishonest lessee could, in order to raise a temporary loan, sell the cattle for less than they were worth, and the treasury of the temple would be the loser. To this it might be rejoined, however, that if it were a matter of replacement, there was nothing to prevent a lessee from selling a good animal and replacing it later with a poor one. In either case, therefore, this article of the law contains a loophole: whether this condition was rectified by later legislation we do not know.

XV. Lines 27-30: "(Those who raise livestock) are to pay the remainder of their rent in Lenaion (= January) in the presence of the *ekklesia*, and in the last year (of the leasing period) in Metageitnion (= August). Lessees who do not raise livestock are to pay their whole rental in genuine currency in Metageitnion (= August)." The advance payment required in April of breeders of sheep and cattle has already been noted (Article XII). It is interesting to note that their other payment was made in the following January, for this shows that the accounts of the Hieropoioi did not close on December 31 when their term of office ended, but remained open for at least another month.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> The form *καταστατήσαι* (line 26) is a misprint for *καταστήσαι*: the latter was read correctly by Durrbach in his original edition of the stone (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXXII, 1919, p. 170). I have translated the word as "replace," but it could also mean "hand over," i. e., either to the hieropoioi or to the succeeding lessee.

<sup>119</sup> That they sometimes remained open even longer is shown by some of the records of transmission of temple money from one board of hieropoioi to another. For example, the hieropoioi of 252 B.C. are recorded to have transmitted 5000 dr. to the board of 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 8): this must mean that their books had remained open for at least a year after their term of office ended. Similarly, the board of 281 B.C. transmitted 600 dr. to the board of 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 5). Examples from the second century B.C. are even more numerous (cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 341).

XVI. Lines 29-30: "The Hieropoioi must render accounts of everything every month to the Sacred Chest."<sup>120</sup> Hence the Hieropoioi were administrative treasures of the Temple of Apollo, obliged to make monthly reports to the Delian Boule. Temple funds were thus "under the ultimate control of the city."<sup>121</sup>

XVII. Lines 30-33: "If the lessees do not pay, at the times appointed, all the rent that is owing to the god from the sacred estates according to the terms of the contract, or do not turn over their crops to the custody of the Hieropoioi, they are to pay a hemiolion at [the times?] specified, and the Hieropoioi, after selling their crops [ . . . . . ] are to collect from the guarantors a *hemiolion* of the amount of the rental that is owing the god."

The *ἡμιόλιον*, a payment one and a half times the original amount due, is mentioned in several of the accounts of the Hieropoioi.<sup>122</sup> The earliest reference, from *ca.* 306 B.C., which antedates the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*, shows that this article of the law was an inheritance from earlier times.<sup>123</sup>

XVIII. Lines 33-38: "If any of the rental is left unpaid after the (lessee's) crops have been sold, (the Hieropoioi) are to sell for the unpaid amount his cattle and his sheep and his slaves. And if even after these have been sold there is still some of the rental unpaid, the Hieropoioi are to make up the deficit from the personal property of the lessees and their guarantors. And if the Hieropoioi are not able to, they are to swear by Zeus Agoraios that they are unable, and are to inscribe on the stele as debtors to the god both lessees and guarantors, along with their fathers' names, and are to issue a new lease for the estate. And if there is any deficiency in the rent of the new lease, the Hieropoioi are to record on the stone both the (names of the) men and the amount of the deficiency with a fifty per cent addition."

This is a much stricter regulation than was in effect *ca.* 306 B.C., for on that occasion the sale of the defaulters' goods seems to have been confined to barley and cattle.<sup>124</sup> It is also significant that bankruptcy cases are rare after this law was passed.<sup>125</sup> The wording of the passage translated above is somewhat loose, and certain

<sup>120</sup> For lines 29-31 I have followed the emendations of Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, pp. 216 f.). The words *ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς γεγραμμένοις*, which belong in line 31, appear to have been overlooked in Wilhelm's final text which is given at the bottom of p. 217.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Article XXI, below, p. 281; also page 274; Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 340.

<sup>122</sup> The word *ἡμιόλιον* is usually used in the accounts in the strict sense of 1½ times the amount. This is its meaning also in Egyptian loan contracts (cf. N. Lewis, *T.A.P.A.*, 76, 1945, pp. 126-139). There are, however, occasional exceptions in the Delian records. Thus in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 141-142 the word apparently means "one half extra." (Cf. note 13). In no case, however, is the use of the word such that the meaning is obscured.

<sup>123</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 8: *ἡμιόλιον αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι*. See above, note 67.

<sup>124</sup> See note 67.

<sup>125</sup> There seems to be only one example in the accounts after 250 B.C. where both a lessee and his guarantors failed to pay rental. In 209 B.C. a certain Kallisthenes leased Sosimacheia for 150 dr.

of its provisions are repeated elsewhere in the law. These facts suggest that it was inserted into the text of the law somewhat hastily in order to stiffen the regulations with regard to bankruptcy cases. The same conclusion is indicated by instances in the accounts where there was a "deficiency in the rent of the new lease (*ἐγδεΐα*)." The *ἐγδεΐα* was the amount by which a second rental was less than the rent called for in the original lease. The above article of the law shows that whenever a new lessee paid less rental than that which was specified in the lease issued at the beginning of the decennium, the original lessee who had gone bankrupt was indebted for whatever reduction in rental the new lease might entail. The accounts of the Hieropoioi show that in this respect failure to renew guarantors was considered tantamount to bankruptcy.<sup>126</sup> However, in the case of the bankruptcy of Hermadas in ca. 306 B.C.<sup>127</sup> no *hemiolion* was imposed on his *ἐγδεΐα*. Also no *hemiolion* was levied on *ἐγδεΐα* that occurred in the leasing of houses.<sup>128</sup> It thus appears that before the introduction of the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή* no *hemiolion* was ever imposed on a defaulter who was held responsible for the temple's loss of rental caused by his bankruptcy.

The reference to the confiscation of slaves is of considerable importance, since it shows clearly that the temple estates were largely, if not wholly, worked by slave labor. The previous provision of the law which permitted minors to hold leases also points to the same conclusion, since it shows that the lessees did not necessarily do the manual labor personally.<sup>129</sup> This fully agrees with what can be ascertained by studying the careers of individual lessees, most of whom appear to have belonged to the upper class (i. e., the moneyed class) of Delian society. We should therefore picture the lessees not as peasants but as "gentlemen farmers," to whom an estate and its lease meant not the opportunity to earn a livelihood but an opportunity to invest capital.<sup>130</sup>

XIX. Lines 38-40 are read by Durrbach ἀπ[ο]τιμώντων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ τῶι θεῶι τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ μισθώματος οὐδ' ἄμ μὴ εἰσπράξωσιν ΩΝΑΣ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς αὐτῶν πράξων-

(*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 16) but in 206 B.C. he went bankrupt. When this occurred, one of his guarantors paid half the rental (75 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, lines 32-33) and Kallisthenes was evidently inscribed for the other half. The debt with the *hemiolion* amounted to 112½ dr. and was still unpaid at the end of the year 204 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 41). It would seem that in this case Kallisthenes somehow managed to avoid any confiscations, and it may be questioned whether this provision of the law was always enforced.

<sup>126</sup> For an illustration of this, see the case of Mnesimachos in note 13.

<sup>127</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 8-9; cf. note 67.

<sup>128</sup> Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* p. 68.

<sup>129</sup> As supporting evidence for slave labor on the estates there may be cited the decree from the middle of the third century B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1296, A, 2-8, B, 2-7): ὅστις ἐγ Δήλου ἀνδράποδον ἐξάγει εἴτε ἄκον εἴτε ἐκὼν ἢ ἐκ τῶν τεμενῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ βλάβει τοῦ δεσπότητος, ἐξώλη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος καὶ οἴκησιν τὴν ἐκείνου. For slave estates on other islands during the Hellenistic period, cf. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 76 d, line 5 and commentary on XII, 2, 80 (Lesbos); *I.G.*, XII, 3; 343, lines 16-20; 346 (Thera).

<sup>130</sup> Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 404; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1186.

ται. The general meaning of the lines seems clear: they provide that a penalty amounting to half the rental be exacted from the Hieropoioi if they fail to do their duty in collecting rentals.<sup>131</sup> The precise meaning of the lines, however, is difficult to decide, and it is possible that the letters ΩΝΑΣ have been by some inexplicable error of the letter-cutter engraved instead of ΑΜΜΗ.<sup>132</sup> We may then read: "The Hieropoioi are to pay to the god half the rental which they do not collect, if they do not exact payment from the guarantors of lessees."

XX. Lines 40-42: "It is not permissible for a lessee's guarantors who have been inscribed (for debt) to divide up the sum of money inscribed on the stele, but the whole sum (shall be ascribed) to the guarantors according to the share each guarantor contracted (to guarantee), unless he who appointed them guarantors (i. e., the lessee) pays the amount for them."

This prohibition is apparently aimed at preventing any private settlement between a bankrupt lessee and his guarantors: the passage makes it clear that in cases of non-payment of rental the guarantor and lessee were held equally responsible for the amount of rental each guarantor vouched for and that one guarantor could not transfer his debt to the other. The observance of this regulation is amply illustrated in the records of the Hieropoioi,<sup>133</sup> in which it also appears that not only guarantors of lessees of estates but guarantors of any kind were held equally responsible for payment.<sup>134</sup>

XXI. Lines 42-46: "Whatever amount of rental the Hieropoioi collect from the guarantors, or (whatever amount) the guarantor himself pays in behalf of the [lessee] who appointed him guarantor, the Boule, which has full authority to act in the matter, is to inscribe the lessee as owing to his guarantor one and a half times the amount of money that is paid, in the same manner as it inscribes debtors; and the lessees are to be classified legally as debtors who are overdue with their payments. If the Boule does not so record it, it is to pay the guarantor double the money he paid." The reference to the βουλὴ κυρία οὔσα, to which the Hieropoioi are obliged to report all cases of debt, indicates that it was to this body that the monthly reports of the Hieropoioi (cf. Article XVI) were to be given. The passage also shows that when a guarantor paid in behalf of a lessee it was not necessarily a dead loss on his part, for the lessee was obliged by law to repay one and a half times the amount to the guarantor whenever he could.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, p. 100. For a similar penalty if the hieropoioi fail in their duty with regard to building contracts, cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 502, A, lines 16-17.

<sup>132</sup> For similar serious corruption in the text of the inscription, cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 f. The rearranged text would read: οὐ ἀμ μὴ εἰσπράξωσιν, ἀμ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς αὐτῶν πράξωσινται.

<sup>133</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2: 153, lines 18-26; 287, A, line 196; 288, lines 12-13; etc.

<sup>134</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2: 158, B, lines 39-45; 161, D, lines 57-77; 199, C, lines 108-110; 203, D, lines 67-70; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, B, lines 1-50; 369, A, lines 19-38; 442, A, lines 240-253. Guarantors were often members of the same family as the person guaranteed: cf. Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* pp. 38 ff.

XXII. Lines 46-49: " All the possessions of the lessees, their domestic animals, their slaves, their household furniture, and all that is theirs, are to be subject to the god. All the possessions of the guarantors also are to be subject to the god, just as those of lessees. If the Hieropoioi who collect (the rentals) do not collect the entire amount, all the possessions of the Hieropoioi are subject to the god. . . ." This passage, most of whose provisions have been stated previously (Articles XVII, XVIII, and XIX), is apparently added to the text of the law in order that no possible loophole exist with regard to the confiscation of property. If this article of the law had been rigidly enforced, it is difficult to see how it would have been possible for the Temple of Apollo not to have received full payment every year.

XXIII. Lines 50 ff. The few lines which brought the text of the law to a close are now illegible. The lines seem to have contained a further provision concerning defaults in rental.

The articles contained in the *Hiera Syngraphe* continued to be in effect until the end of the Period of Independence (166 B.C.); there has not been preserved, however, any piece of direct evidence that establishes beyond question the precise year in which they were drawn up. This date can therefore be ascertained only by estimating the probabilities. It is clear from the decennial leases that the law could have gone into effect only in a year whose last digit is 0: that is to say, in 310, 300, 290, 280, or 270 B.C. Of these five dates the first is definitely too early<sup>135</sup> and the last is manifestly too late.<sup>136</sup> The choice therefore narrows to either 300, 290, or 280 B.C.

The probabilities are against so late a date as 280 B.C., although it must be admitted that there is nothing in the extant accounts that can prove decisively that 280 B.C. is incorrect, for no full annual account of the temple estate from the years between 297 B.C. and 282 B.C. has been discovered. The fact that several lessees of 282 B.C. renewed their leases for the decennium 279/70 B.C. may perhaps imply that there was no major change in the estates in 280 B.C., but this is very weak evidence at best. The letter forms of the *Hiera Syngraphe* (*Inscr. de Délos*, 503) appear to be earlier than those of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158 (282 B.C.), *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159 (281 B.C.) and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 160 (280 B.C.), but close dating based solely on letter forms is precarious and can seldom bear much weight. The most telling consideration against 280 B.C. is the fact that there is not a scrap of evidence in favor of it, whereas there *is* evidence

<sup>135</sup> Tréheux (*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 284-295) has demonstrated conclusively that the date cannot be placed in any year earlier than 301 B.C.

<sup>136</sup> This can be shown by the continuity of renewals of lease with a 10% increase in rental. For example, the rentals of Porthmos were: 1200 dr. in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 7), 1320 dr. in both 279 B.C. (*ibid.*, 161, A, lines 6-7) and 274 B.C. (*ibid.*, 199, A, lines 3-4), and 1452 dr. in 269 B.C. (*ibid.*, 203, A, line 19), and in each case the lessee was the same man. It is therefore clear that only one lease was issued for the years 279/70 B.C., and that the lessee twice renewed his lease (in 279 and again in 269 B.C.) with the 10% increase in rental. Hence the ten year lease was in effect as early as 279 B.C.

that points elsewhere. It therefore seems best to rule out the date 280 B.C. on the grounds that, while there is nothing absolutely conclusive to prove it wrong, there is also nothing that even faintly supports it.

This leaves the choice between the years 300 B.C. and 290 B.C. Of these, Durrbach declared for the former, admitting frankly that the only reason for his preference was that the forms of the letters in *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 appeared to him to favor the earlier date.<sup>137</sup> The year 300 B.C. soon received the support of Glotz,<sup>138</sup> who offered as additional evidence the record of the engraving of a "stele of the farmers" in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147.<sup>139</sup> On the basis of the probable rate of pay to the letter-cutter, from which he arrived at the approximate number of letters engraved, Glotz calculated that the "stele of the farmers" was a stele which contained new leases and inventories of the temple estates, and since he did not question Homolle's dating *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147 in 300 B.C. (a date based solely on letter forms), he concluded that the "stele of the farmers" referred to the first of the series of decennial leases issued under the terms of the *Hiera Syngraphe*. In this way a date of 300 B.C. for the *Hiera Syngraphe* seemed confirmed.

While the letter forms of *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 may be dismissed as inconclusive evidence, it is worth while to examine again the evidence of the "stele of the farmers." When this is done, it soon appears that while Glotz might be correct that the "stele of the farmers" was one which contained new leases and inventories of the temple estates, there are certain flaws in his proof that considerably weaken his position. The principal fault in his argument is that he evidently failed to observe that it can be demonstrated conclusively that the date of the "stele of the farmers" cannot be as early as 300 B.C. In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, A, lines 15-17 it is stated that a guarantor paid 330 dr. as his share of the rental arrears of a certain Maisiades, who had leased the estate of Panormos for 1,030 dr. Yet in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, which is dated (by the name of the archon, Pyrrhides) 297 B.C., it is stated in line 6 that in that year Maisiades paid his rent of 1,030 dr. in full. Consequently it follows that the bankruptcy of Maisiades, and therefore *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147 must be later than 297 B.C.,

<sup>137</sup> Durrbach, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXXII, 1919, pp. 177-78. While this might perhaps strengthen the case against the year 280 B.C., it hardly invalidates 290 B.C., for it may be questioned whether dating on stylistic grounds can be done with such accuracy, even in the Delian inscriptions of the third century B.C., that the date can be determined within ten years. It is noteworthy that some of the letter-cutters at Delos practiced their craft over a considerable period of time, and presumably a man's individual style of letters would alter little during his lifetime. For example, the letter-cutter Deionomenes, who is mentioned in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, A, line 20 (to be dated not later than 290 B.C.), also engraved stelai in 281 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 66) and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 118-119), and apparently was still working as late as 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, lines 54-55). Cf. the remarks of B. D. Meritt (*Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 97-99) and G. Daux (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 57).

<sup>138</sup> *B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, p. 365, note 1.

<sup>139</sup> Lines 18-19: [Εἰ]ς τὴν ἀ(να)γραφὴν τῶν γεωργῶν στήλη παρ' Ἐρμοδίκου καὶ βατὴρ Δ· γράψαντι Ἐρμοδίκῳ ΔΔΓ.

although there is no way of telling how much later. In this way the earliest date possible for the "stele of the farmers" proves to be 296 B.C. In addition, the soundness of Glotz's calculations with regard to the length of the "stele of the farmers" is seriously undermined by the fact that there is no way of telling the precise rate of pay of the letter-cutter. In 302 B.C. two rates of pay, one for 100 letters per drachma, the other for 130 letters, are recorded,<sup>140</sup> but by 281 B.C. the rate had decreased to 300 letters per drachma.<sup>141</sup> What the rate of pay may have been between 297 B.C. and 281 B.C. is not known, but it would appear probable that the number of letters per drachma was increasing.<sup>142</sup>

While it is still possible to believe with Glotz that the "stele of the farmers" was a stele which contained new leases and inventories, it seems to me more probable that the stele was the *Hiera Syngraphe* itself, for the unusual name given to it seems to imply an unusual kind of inscription, and new leases with inventories had been engraved before this time.<sup>143</sup> It appears certain, however, that the choice lies between the one or the other, for we know of no third type of lengthy farm document to which the term "stele of the farmers" could appropriately be applied.

Without attempting to decide on the exact nature of the "stele of the farmers," it may be observed that its date, *post* 297 B.C., shows that the chances that 300 B.C. is the correct date for the *Hiera Syngraphe* are remote. If the "stele of the farmers" refers to the first decennial leases issued, it is clearly impossible for the *Hiera Syngraphe* to be as early as 300 B.C. If the stele contained new leases that were not decennial, it must have antedated the *Hiera Syngraphe*, and again the *Hiera Syngraphe* cannot be as early as 300 B.C. And if the "stele of the farmers" refers to the *Hiera Syngraphe* itself, as would seem probable from its peculiar name, a date of 300 B.C. is obviously too early. Thus the only way to defend the date 300 B.C. is to interpret the "stele of the farmers" to mean, not the first, but the *second* set of decennial leases that were issued, an interpretation which seems very unlikely. With the date 300 B.C. thus all but eliminated, a very strong probability is established that the *Hiera Syngraphe* became law in 290 B.C.

Still stronger considerations point to 290 B.C. as the most satisfactory date. We know of no particular reason why the *Hiera Syngraphe* should have been passed in

<sup>140</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, lines 27 and 43.

<sup>141</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, lines 66-67; cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 118-119 (279 B.C.). The same rate, 300 letters a drachma, seems to have held good in 250 B.C.: the great stele of that year contains approximately 36,000 letters, and the pay to the letter-cutter Neogenes was 120 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 197).

<sup>142</sup> Glotz calculated that a stele recording new leases and inventories for the fifteen estates that existed in 300 B.C. would require approximately 4,250 letters. Then by taking the rate of pay recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, line 43 (130 letters a drachma) and multiplying by the 25 dr. paid the letter-cutter (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, line 19), he also obtained the sum of 4,250 letters. But, as already noted, the rate of pay of the letter-cutter of the farmers' stele is uncertain. Furthermore, twenty-five times 130 is not 4,250, but only 3,250.

<sup>143</sup> As early as 313 B.C.; cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 138, A, lines 7-9.

300 B.C., for Delos at that time was in the midst of a great boom in land values. The height of the boom came, in fact, after 300 B.C., for the rents of 297 B.C. are the greatest ever recorded. Under such circumstances it is difficult to see why the authorities of the temple should, at a time when rents were rising to unprecedented heights, introduce sweeping new farm legislation, particularly legislation which by lengthening the leases to ten year periods would tend to cut down the temple's revenue by slowing the rise in rents. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that several changes in the administration of the temple estates took place some time between 297 and 282 B.C. It is apparent from the rentals of 282 B.C., most of which are half or less than half what they had been in 297 B.C., that between these two dates the bubble in real estate values had burst.<sup>144</sup> The drop in rentals is so great that there can be little doubt that many lessees were financially ruined, and it is probable that the Temple of Apollo accumulated a considerable number of bad debts. This may perhaps be reflected in the fact that between 297 and 282 B.C. the temple acquired four new properties on the island of Delos, one of which appears to have been obtained as a result of the indebtedness of its former owner:<sup>145</sup> probably they all were. Furthermore, two properties, Epistheneia and Kerameion, which had been owned by the Temple of Apollo since 375 B.C., were within this period included for the first time in the list of temple estates.<sup>146</sup> In addition, the number of estate inspectors (*epitimetai*) was increased from two to three.<sup>147</sup> These facts point to a thorough reorganization of the administration of the temple estates sometime between 297 and 282 B.C., and it is therefore reasonable to suppose *ipso facto* that the new law with regard to the estates was also passed within these years. It has already been noted that while certain articles of the *Hiera Syngraphe* appear to have stated merely what had previously been the custom, the provisions with regard to non-payment of rent seem to have been made more severe.<sup>148</sup> This may well be a reflection of a desire on the part of the temple authorities that there should be no repetition of the number of unpaid debts that resulted from the collapse in farm values. The ten year lease may then be explained as a measure intended to help prevent a recurrence of such a disastrous inflation.

When these considerations are added to the strong probability arising from the internal evidence of the "stele of the farmers" that the law was passed in 290 B.C., the conclusion seems obvious. While we have no absolute proof, all the available evidence points to the one date, 290 B.C., as the year in which the *Hiera Syngraphe* went into effect.

<sup>144</sup> See below, pp. 307 f. The tantalizing fragment *I.G.*, XI, 2, 152, A seems to refer to the plight of certain lessees at this time.

<sup>145</sup> Phyalia. See note 149.

<sup>146</sup> See pp. 257 f.

<sup>147</sup> See note 95. If the restoration at the end of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, line 55 be accepted (and it seems probable in view of the space available on the stone) there were three *epitimetai* in 281 B.C. Thus the increase from two to three *epitimetai* probably took place between 298 B.C. and 281 B.C. For the reorganization of building commissions within this same period, cf. *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, p. 113.

<sup>148</sup> Pp. 279 f. Cf. Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, p. 295.

## ESTATES ACQUIRED IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

Several new estates were acquired by the Temple of Apollo in the third century B.C.: in the reorganization of ca. 290 B.C. not only were Epistheneia and Kerameion transferred to the list of temple estates on Delos, but four new properties were added. Two of these, Phytalia and Sosimacheia, seem to have been obtained by the temple because of unpaid debts of their former owners;<sup>149</sup> probably Akra Delos and Korakiai passed into temple ownership for the same reason. Korakiai, which seems to have been chiefly grazing land, was for the decennium 289-80 B.C. leased as a separate estate, but was attached to the old estate Soloe in 280 B.C.:<sup>150</sup> from this time until 166 B.C. Soloe-Korakiai was leased as a single property, and the number of estates on the island of Delos remained fixed at ten.

In the latter half of the third century the Hieropoioi assumed the administration of three properties which were situated on Mykonos. In the southwest corner of this island, where it approaches closest to Delos, is a peninsula today called "Diakophti," connected with the rest of Mykonos by a low sandy isthmus.<sup>151</sup> Peninsula and isthmus together form a geographical unit which is called in the Delian inscriptions τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον, and was evidently owned by the Temple of Apollo as early as 269 B.C., when the name first occurs.<sup>152</sup> When *Apollonion* first became temple property is not known, but it is evident that for some time its management was assigned to persons other

<sup>149</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 130: τὸ χωρίον δὲ ἦν Φερεκλείδων καὶ δὲ καλεῖται Φυτάλια. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287 bis (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 299), line 20 may be restored καὶ [δὲ Φυτ]αλ[ία (καλεῖται)]. Mention of Pherekleides' indebtedness is contained in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 14-15 and 182. The name Sosimacheia was originally a neuter plural (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 156, B, line 16), indicating that the estate was a combination of two or more properties; if the restoration τὸ κάτω [μέρο]ς τοῦ [Σωσιμαχ]είου in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 122-123 is accepted, the estate had two parts (cf. *ibid.*, lines 118-120). The former owner, Sosimachos, appears to have been in debt for about twenty years before his estate was taken over by the temple (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 27).

<sup>150</sup> Compare *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 12-13 and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 12-13. See also above, note 28.

<sup>151</sup> The holkos on Mykonos (τοῦ ὄλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῶϊ τῇ ἐν Μυκόνωι: *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 29-30) crossed this isthmus (cf. note 14), and its southern end probably marked the terminus of the ferry from Delos. The lessee of the ferry and the lessee of the holkos were often the same man (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 28-30; 354, lines 27-30; 399, A, lines 89-90). The revenue from the ferry varied between 55 dr. (269 B.C.; *I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 29) and 4 dr. (179 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines 153-154); from the holkos the minimum was 11 dr. (219 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 29-30), the maximum 96 dr. (192 B.C., *ibid.*, 399, A, line 89: the revenue may have been greater ca. 205 B.C., as in 204 B.C. a former lessee owed 128 dr.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 39). The ferry service seems to have originated in the Amphictyonic Period (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 138, B, ba, lines 9-10 [314 B.C.]).

<sup>152</sup> The ferry to Mykonos is sometimes called τὸ πορθμείον τὸ εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον (*Inscr. de Délos*; 290, line 29; 372, A, line 27; 399, A, line 90; 442, A, 153-154) and at other times τὸ πορθμείον τὸ εἰς Μύκονον (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 199, B, 97; 287, A, line 39; *Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 41): this shows that Apollonion was part of Mykonos (cf. *B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, pp. 487, 497). The earliest mention of Apollonion is in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 29.

than the Hieropoioi, for in their records the earliest reference to the two estates on the peninsula, Thaleon and Dorion-Chersonesos, dates about 225 B.C., and the isthmus is first listed in 219 B.C.<sup>153</sup> The rentals from these properties were kept separate by the Hieropoioi from the Delian and Rheneian rentals. The revenue from the isthmus, which was pasture land,<sup>154</sup> is regularly recorded in the accounts under the heading *τέλη*: this shows that the land was not regarded as an ordinary estate, and suggests that the lessee of the isthmus was a *τελώνης*,<sup>155</sup> to whom grazing fees were paid by Mykoniot animal breeders. For the rents of Thaleon and Dorion-Chersonesos the Hieropoioi acted merely as agents, transferring the funds partly to the Delian Boule and partly to the Delian superintendents of sacrifices and festivals.<sup>156</sup> The estates seem to have been administered, however, in accordance with the terms of the *Hiera Syngraphe*; the lessees were obliged to furnish guarantors and to renew them annually,<sup>157</sup> and an inventory was made with every change of tenant and at the expiration of every lease. The leasing periods seem to have been ten years in length. New leases were not, however, assigned at the same time as the leases for the Rheneian and Delian estates, but were issued in years whose last digit is 7;<sup>158</sup> this suggests that the Hieropoioi began their administration in either 237 B.C. or 227 B.C.

<sup>153</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*; 346, A, line 13; 353, A, lines 33-34.

<sup>154</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 30: *ἐνομίον ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῷ* (cf. *Klio*, XX, 1925, pp. 61-62). In the Athenian Colonial Period the land was converted into a farm: the passage (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 5-23) is sadly mutilated, but it seems clear from lines 11-14 that the new lessees (of 157-56 B.C.) agreed to build a dwelling at their own expense and to leave it there when their lease was up. Other lines show that in return for this the lessees were granted a ten year lease at a low rental. See the commentary of P. Roussel, *Inscr. de Délos*, III, p. 55, col. I. The revenues that the Temple of Apollo received from the isthmus during the administration of the Hieropoioi were 22 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, 33-34; 219 B.C.), 40 dr. (*ibid.*, 368, line 42; 206 B.C.), 30 dr. (*ibid.*, 399, A, lines 90-91; 192 B.C.), and 5 dr. (*ibid.*, 442, A, line 154).

<sup>155</sup> On farming of public revenues during the Hellenistic Age, cf. Andreades, *Hist. Gk. Pub. Finance*, I, pp. 159-161.

<sup>156</sup> It is significant that part of the revenue was ear-marked for sacrifices, for this is reminiscent of the purpose of the endowment of Nicias in 417 B.C. (above, p. 256), and suggests that Apollonion was originally privately endowed to help pay for certain sacrifices (cf. note 162; also *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 130-132).

<sup>157</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-100; cf. *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 454-456, Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* p. 64.

<sup>158</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-102 (207 B.C.); in this passage old leases terminate and new leases for the ensuing period are issued. The leases of temple-owned houses on Delos terminated in years whose last digits are 7 and 2, and were five year leases (Molinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45 and 64). It does not necessarily follow, however, that since the leases of the Mykonos estates also terminated in years whose last digit is 7 that they too were five year leases. No record is preserved of the Mykonos estates from a year whose last digit is 2, and it is therefore not possible to be entirely certain, but it is significant that in the records of the year 192 B.C., which are unusually full (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399 and 400) there is no mention of new leases for Mykonos estates. If new leases had been issued at this time, we should expect to find them immediately after the section devoted to new house leases (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 1-31). Furthermore, since the hieropoioi were obliged by the *Hiera Syngraphe* to issue only ten year leases, five year leases for Mykonos estates would have required an amendment of the law.

The name of the estate Thaleon is associated with the words *θάλαα* and *θάλεια*, and means "the luxuriously fertile estate." This name is fully justified by Thaleon's extant inventory, in which the following items are preserved: a courtyard gate, a farmhouse, a building for men, another building, a cattle shelter, 1140 vines, 143 fig trees, 147 cultivated olive trees, 87 wild olive trees that had been grafted, 200 wild olive trees, and 101 apple trees.<sup>159</sup> The presence of the olive trees on the estate is interesting, since Thaleon is the only temple estate for which cultivated olive trees are recorded. The large number of wild olive trees that were being converted by grafting into bearers of good fruit indicates that olive trees at this time were a profitable investment. In order to grow well, fruit trees need protection from strong winds, and we may therefore locate Thaleon in the sheltered valley in the northern half of the Mykonos peninsula that slopes between steep hills in a southeast direction to the isthmus. This valley is used today for the cultivation of vines and fig trees, and is the only spot in western Mykonos where olive trees are now found (cf. Pl. 90, Nos. 2 and 3). Only two rental figures for the estate are preserved, and these are from successive years; in 207 B.C. the rent was 356 dr. and in 206 B.C. 381 dr.<sup>160</sup>

The name Dorion-Chersonesos indicates a double estate whose two parts were probably once leased separately. Chersonesos ("peninsula") is sufficient to locate the second of the original estates: it consisted of the long promontory at the south of the Mykonos peninsula called today "Aleomandhra,"<sup>161</sup> whose many ancient terraces indicate cultivation in antiquity. The name Dorion ("little gift"), which suggests that the Mykonos estates were originally acquired by the Temple of Apollo as endowments,<sup>162</sup> was probably given to the west coast of the Mykonos peninsula, where there is a small theatre-shaped valley facing Delos. Three mutilated inventories of Dorion-Chersonesos have survived, and since they were all made within thirteen years, they give an approximate picture of the estate as it was in the first quarter of the second century. The estate at that time contained a courtyard gate, a cattle

<sup>159</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, B, lines 8-23 (207 B.C.). The number 16 is preserved of an item whose name is lost: it was probably another variety of fruit tree.

<sup>160</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101.

<sup>161</sup> Ἀλεόμανδρα is a word peculiar to the modern Mykoniot dialect, in which ἄλεος is used for the more common φορβάς or ἄλογος ("horse"). Ἀλεόμανδρα on Mykonos supplants φορβασία, and means "a corral for horses."

<sup>162</sup> Durrbach (commentary on *Inscr. de Délos*, 346, A, line 13) and Roussel (commentary on *Inscr. de Délos*, 1408, A, line 36) were inclined to believe that the revenue from Chersonesos was applied to the festival *Chersonesia*. This may be correct, even though the festival was instituted by traders from South Russia (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 126-127; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Econ. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1484, note 89). On the other hand, the similarity of names may be merely a coincidence. If, however, Durrbach and Roussel are right, the hypothesis that Mykonos revenues were kept separate because the estates were endowed to support certain festivals (cf. note 156) receives strong support. It may be significant that the lessee of Chersonesos in 207 B.C. was in the same year *epistates* of the festival of the *Chersonesia* (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 100, 101, and 132).

shelter, a storehouse for chaff, an upper storey, a building for men, a bake-house, 2750 vines, 47 fig trees, more than 25 wild olive trees, two myrtle trees, and a palm tree. There are also recorded two walnut trees and 50 apple trees in 182 B.C.; by 169 B.C. these numbers had changed to three and six respectively.<sup>163</sup> From this combined inventory it is evident that the estate supported some cattle and produced some grain, but the fruit trees seem less important than in Thaleon. The tremendous number of vines suggests that the largest part of the estate's revenue came at one time from viticulture, but this can scarcely be true in the second century, for the rentals at that time were small. The sums preserved are 300 dr. (207 B.C.), 331½ dr. (206 B.C.), 310 dr. (ca. 182 B.C.), and 210 dr. (169 B.C.: Chersonesos only).<sup>164</sup>

### FARM PRODUCTS AND FARM BUILDINGS

To return to the estates on Rheneia and Delos, the inventories of fourteen of the twenty estates on these islands in 250 B.C. are recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-174, and scattered inventories from other years raise the number of estates for which some description has survived to seventeen.<sup>165</sup> Only for Akra Delos, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia have we no information. In some instances more than one inventory for the same estate has been preserved: in the majority of these cases there is a remarkable continuity that illustrates the purpose for which inventories were made. For Hippodromos the only change between 250 B.C. and 189 B.C. was the disappearance of a cattle shelter;<sup>166</sup> for Charoneia the vines numbered 2187 in 250 B.C. and 2186 in 189 B.C., the fig trees 43 in 278 B.C., 47 in 250 B.C., and 46 in 189 B.C.<sup>167</sup> The inventories of Panormos from the years 200 B.C. and 182 B.C. show that, apart from the addition of a second *ὑπερῶδιον* between 200 and 182 B.C., the estate remained completely unchanged in seventy years: the number of vines and fruit trees recorded in 182 B.C. is precisely the number given in 250 B.C.<sup>168</sup> The number

<sup>163</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*; 440, B, lines 22-27 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244; *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, 1941, p. 165, note 21); 452, lines 26-29; 461, Bb, lines 55-57.

<sup>164</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, lines 99-100; 440, B, lines 22-23; 461, Bb, lines 54-55. Cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 406.

<sup>165</sup> The references are: *I.G.*, XI, 2: 138, A, lines 6-7 (314 B.C.); 161, C, lines 120-131 (280 B.C.); 163, Bg, line 19 (276 B.C.); 183, line 8 (for the text, see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 236; the date is either 270 B.C. or 260 B.C., as is shown by the rental of Hippodromos in line 15, which reads on the stone ΠΗΗΔΔΔΗ†); *Inscr. de Délos*: 308 (230 B.C.; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-241); 351, lines 6-21 (220 B.C.); 356 *bis* (210 B.C.; for the correct text, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, pp. 378-384); 374 (200 B.C.); 403, lines 47-53 (189 B.C.); 406, B, lines 80-86 (ca. 188 B.C.); 440, lines 17-21 (ca. 182 B.C.; for the correct text, *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244); 373 (180 B.C.; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-243); 445, lines 16-24 (178 B.C.); 452, lines 16-32 (ca. 175 B.C.); and 467 (170 B.C.; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 245).

<sup>166</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-145; *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, lines 51-53.

<sup>167</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2: 163, Bg, line 19 (cf. note 87); 287, A, line 167; *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 51.

<sup>168</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 167-169; *Inscr. de Délos*: 374, Ab, lines 1-6; 440, lines 17-21 (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244).

of vines on Chareteia also seems to have been the same in 250 B.C. and 180 B.C.<sup>169</sup> These examples go a long way to prove that there was never any general destruction of vines in the temple estates, and that the decreased vineyards of Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros during the second century were the exception rather than the rule.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>169</sup> In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 171 the number of vines given on the stone is Π[. . .]; in 210 B.C. the figures are ϙϙΔ (Lacroix, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 384, note 3); and in 180 B.C. ϙϙΔ (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, line 15; for the date, *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-42). These sums, which were first read by Lacroix, and which on inspecting the stones proved absolutely correct, are so similar in appearance that it is clear that the same digits were intended in all three cases. The letter-cutter of 250 B.C. has failed to complete his first digit, a particularly unfortunate omission, since the other two inventories leave us with a choice of either 560 vines or 5060 (560? is the usual choice; cf. Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 153). The first number is incredibly small for the largest of the temple estates, and yet 5060 vines is more than twice the number for any other estate on Rheneia (the closest approach is 2750 vines for Dorion-Chersonesos; see above, page 289). Nevertheless, in view of the tremendous rentals of Chareteia near the end of the fourth century, the larger figure, 5060 vines, seems preferable. It may be noted also that the district called "Ambela" was part of the estate of Chareteia (see note 172).

<sup>170</sup> In 250 B.C. the vines on Rhamnoi numbered 1978 (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 155); the number listed in *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, line 27 (200 B.C.) is 1350. The beginning of line 28 is lost, so that the maximum possible was 1399. Nevertheless, 1350 seems to be the correct number, for Durrbach's restoration of lines 27-28 is incorrect. Not only does [θαλάμους || τεθυρωμένο]vs in line 27 not correspond with the θαλάμους ἀθύρους of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 155, but his restoration requires fifty letters to the line, whereas other lines of *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa vary between 36 and 44 letters. It seems better, therefore, to restore lines 27 and 28 thus:

27. [βούστασιw ἄθυρον, θαλάμους ἀθύρο]vs, ἀμπέλους ΧΗ[Η]Ηϙ,  
28. [σικᾶς ϙΔΔΔΔΔ, ρόην. Λυκόνειο]v 'Ορθοκλ[ῆς] 'Αρισ[τεῖ]δ[ου]

The number of vines on Nikou Choros in 250 B.C. was 700 (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 157). An inventory of an estate whose name is lost gives the number of vines as 100 (210 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, B, lines 27-29: for the correct text, Lacroix, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 382), but although the names of Nikomachos and Xenokrates (lessees of Nikou Choros and Rhamnoi in 206 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 25) are preserved, it is unlikely that the estate referred to is Nikou Choros, since in 209 B.C. the lessee of Nikou Choros was Xenokrates only (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 17). The association of the two men in 210 B.C. was therefore the role of co-guarantors, not of co-lessees (cf. Lacroix, *op. cit.*, p. 383). In the year 180 B.C., however, the number of 700 vines had fallen to 600 (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, 8), and between 180 B.C. and 178 B.C. the number again dropped from 600 to a mere 2 (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, line 24). This reduction is so drastic that Jardé could not persuade himself that it was possible and preferred in place of || to read H, but Durrbach later reiterated his reading (cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 405) and my own reading of the stone showed that a horizontal stroke had never been engraved. It is even more surprising, however, to find that the virtually complete disappearance of the vineyards did not affect the rental of Nikou Choros, though it may have caused lessees to change. In 180 B.C. the new lease called for 96 dr. 4<sup>10</sup>/<sub>12</sub> ob. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, lines 2-8) while a second lease in 178 B.C. was issued for exactly the same amount (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, line 19).

While discussion of the rentals is reserved for pages 302-313, it should be noted that the vineyards of Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros, two adjacent estates on the slopes of Khoulakas, do not seem to have been reduced systematically or to have been deliberately destroyed. Indeed, the survival of two vines in 178 B.C. argues against it. So does the preservation of vineyards in other Rheneian estates. It seems more probable that the losses in Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros were due to some natural disaster, such as a landslide. It may have been that lessees were not obligated under the *Hiera*

It should be emphasized that the inventories of the Hieropoioi do not give a complete picture of any estate, but record only those items which happened to be the property of the Temple of Apollo. The personal property of the lessee, such as furniture, agricultural implements, slaves, livestock, produce, and so on, are not included: an inventory contains merely a list of buildings erected on the estate, which the lessee was expected to leave in good repair, and the number of vines and fruit trees for whose preservation he was responsible:<sup>171</sup> the inventory therefore gives a picture only of what the estate contained after the lessee had departed.

One of the most notable features of the temple estates is the large number of vines that many of them possessed. This seems to be the chief difference between the modern farms on Delos and Rheneia and the ancient estates, for these two islands today have no vineyards, and present day vineyards in western Mykonos are few and very small. In 250 B.C. nine of the ten Rheneian estates contained a total of 16,772 vines, and if the numbers listed elsewhere for other estates are added, the total is greater than twenty thousand. It is thus clear that many of the ancient terraces must have been occupied with vineyards,<sup>172</sup> especially if one assumes—and it seems very likely—that the type of vine in the temple estates was that which is found today in the Cyclades, where the plants, instead of being trained upright and supported by sticks, are trained to grow close to the ground in order to avoid as much as possible the strong summer winds. However, it should not be assumed that most of the arable land was filled with vineyards, for while some vineyards were extensive, it does not appear that they ever occupied more than a fraction of the soil available for cultivation.<sup>173</sup> The fruit orchards of Delos and Rheneia seem to have been smaller and less important than the orchards of the Mykonos estates.

*Syngraphē* to replace vines or fruit trees that were destroyed through no fault of the lessees: in modern times whenever a contract's fulfilment is prevented by "an act of God," the contract becomes null and void.

<sup>171</sup> See note 88.

<sup>172</sup> Vine planters on Mykonos informed me that vines must be planted at least half a meter deep and that care should be exercised to find a place sheltered from the north wind. This must mean that on Delos and Rheneia the vineyards were to be found only in valleys and on terraces on the south slopes of hills. The most fertile valley in Rheneia today is called "Ambela," although no vines have grown there within the memory of the oldest inhabitants (cf. above, note 169).

<sup>173</sup> A comparison of modern vineyards on the mainland and on the islands showed that the island vines require considerably more space. At Stiris in Boeotia and at Corinth vines are planted one meter apart in rows that are also one meter apart. Each vine therefore occupies one square meter. At Mykonos, on the other hand, where vines grow horizontally rather than vertically, one small vineyard 10 m. by 12 m. contained only eleven vines which were planted at irregular intervals, and in another vineyard 20 m. square there were 41. A vineyard on Syros 40 m. by 25 m. contained 106 vines. Thus the average area need for an island vine is approximately ten square meters. The total number of vines listed in 250 B.C. for the estates that were located in southern Rheneia (including half of the Chareteia vines) is 11,892 (for the figures, see page 299), which presumably occupied approximately 120,000 sq. m. The area of the whole of southern Rheneia is given by Stavropoulos as 6.261 sq. km. (*Πρακτικά*, 1900, p. 67, note 1), so that if the estimated area of the

It is only by the inclusion in the inventories of storehouses for chaff, mill-houses, and in one case a granary that we know that many of the estates produced grain. No figures are given of the amount of grain grown, and there seems no way of arriving at even approximate estimates. Nor are we told what types of grain were produced, though it seems probable that most of it, if not all, was barley.<sup>174</sup> Neither do the inscriptions preserve any set of regulations according to which lessees were expected to cultivate their estates, and it is not known whether any were ever codified. It may be assumed, however, that agricultural methods followed those that were prevalent in most parts of Greece, and were probably very similar to the standards set in nearby Amorgos.<sup>175</sup> In general, it would appear that the farming methods employed today in Delos and Rheneia differ little from those of ancient times. It is noteworthy that in the case of the plow there has been practically no change, and farmers still use the forked stick of their forefathers.<sup>176</sup> Alternation of plowed and fallow fields still follows the pattern described in the Amorgos inscriptions, and the names of several types of farm buildings are the same today as in the Delian accounts. This remarkable continuity in farming tradition seems due partly to the nature of the terrain, on which modern farm machinery would be useless; one might also add that the farmers in the vicinity of Delos have seldom enjoyed sufficient prosperity to afford the luxury of experimentation.

All but one of the fourteen estates inventoried in 250 B.C. had either a cattle shelter or a sheep pen, and ten estates had both. It thus appears that nearly all the estates supported some cattle and sheep, though here once again there seems no way of arriving at even approximate numbers. While some cattle were privately owned,

Rheneian vineyards is even remotely close to the mark, only a small fraction (less than  $\frac{1}{500}$ ) of southern Rheneia contained vineyards. Even after a maximum deduction is made for the cemetery area, the barren hillsides, and other useless ground, a considerable amount of arable land seems to have been available for orchards and grain fields.

<sup>174</sup> It has been shown by N. Jasny (*Am. Hist. Review*, XLVII, 1941-42, pp. 751-57) that in ancient times in the Aegean area not only was barley easier to grow, but when marketing costs were low, it yielded greater profit. The only two references in the Delian inscriptions to grain possessed by lessees are to barley (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 7 and 11).

<sup>175</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 7, 62, lines 7-13. The inscription is edited together with translation and full commentary by J. Delamarre (*Revue de Phil.*, XXV, 1901, pp. 165-188). Vines were cultivated twice during the spring and fig trees once, while the two field system of sowing grain each year in only half the area available and leaving the other half fallow was strictly observed. This was the usual Greek practice (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 1186-89; Jardé, *Les céréales*, pp. 81 ff.).

<sup>176</sup> A. S. F. Gow (*J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, pp. 249-75) distinguishes four forms of the ancient plow. The common type today in use in mainland Greece is essentially the same as the ancient, but somewhat different in detail. In the Cyclades, however, where farms are poorer, implements are often more primitive, and I noted in use near the cemetery area of Rheneia a plow that consisted merely of a forked branch with a handle fastened to it (Gow's "Form II," which seems to have been the most common in ancient Greece; *loc. cit.*, p. 250). Even cruder plows (Gow's "Form I") have been noted in use on Amorgos (J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades* [London, 1885], p. 97).

others belonged to the Temple of Apollo, and were doubtless kept in preparation for various sacrifices. The lessees were probably allowed to use these animals for draught purposes and for milk in return for their maintenance.<sup>177</sup> On the other hand, all sheep seem to have been privately owned. The inventories have no direct evidence for the presence of any other farm animals, but it seems probable that many lessees kept swine,<sup>178</sup> for which there was a ready market on Delos, and there was doubtless the usual complement of goats and dogs. A chance reference in Aelian makes it unlikely that there was any bee-keeping.<sup>179</sup>

The inventories of the Hieropoioi list several kinds of farm buildings, and for each one it is carefully noted whether it is a building "with a door" (*τεθυρωμένος*) or "without a door" (*ἄθυρος*). It was evidently the custom in ancient Greece to regard all wooden architectural parts of a farmhouse as part of the household furniture, and an Attic lease of 306/5 B.C. shows that in the case of rented farms the woodwork was usually the property of the tenant.<sup>180</sup> The words *τεθυρωμένος* and *ἄθυρος* in the Delian inventories indicate that while farm tenants in other parts of Greece may have had to bring their own doors, the Hieropoioi supplied many of the doors needed on the temple estates, and it was only for buildings "without a door" that the lessee, if he wished any, had to supply doors of his own.<sup>181</sup> Some buildings

<sup>177</sup> The provisions in the *Hiera Syngraphē* concerning lessees who cared for cattle owned by the temple have already been noticed (page 277). These animals were specially branded to distinguish them from others (*Inscr. de Délos*, 503, lines 25-26; cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 58). Since they were temple property, it is somewhat surprising to find that they were not included in the inventories. For privately owned cattle, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 11; *Inscr. de Délos*, 503, lines 19-21 and 27-30. For the importance of cattle breeding in Greek economy, Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 1190-91 and bibliography on p. 1619, note 147; H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, pp. 59 ff.

<sup>178</sup> In 269 B.C. two pigs were sold to the hieropoioi by Timesidemus and Aristocrates (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 52 and 53), who in the same year were lessees of Charoneia (*ibid.*, line 20). For prices of swine at Delos, cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 386-87. Heichelheim's table (*Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, Tab. XIV, pp. 128-29) contains errors, and must be used with caution.

<sup>179</sup> Aelian (*Περὶ Ζωῶν*, v, 42) states that bees could not live on Mykonos.

<sup>180</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2499, lines 11-14 and 30-37. Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XIX, 1906, p. 281; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, pp. 449-50, 461. Thucydides (ii, 14, 1) relates that when the inhabitants of Attica moved into Athens in 431 B.C. they brought from the farms (*ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν*) all their household equipment (*τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἢ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο*) and the woodwork of the houses (*τῶν οἰκιῶν τὴν ξύλωσιν*). Cf. also *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872, line 44 (Tenos, ca. 300 B.C.): *ἐπρί[ατο τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν] ἐ[ν] ἄστει πάσαν καὶ θύρας τὰς ἐπούσας καὶ τὸ οἰκόπεδομ ἅπαν [τὸ πρ]ὸς τεῖ οἰκίαι ἃ ἦμ. Φιλοθέου* (see also line 63 of the same inscription): this shows clearly that house, doors, and lot were regarded as three separate entities.

<sup>181</sup> Even today the lessees of Rheneian farms, which are owned and leased by the municipality of Mykonos, are obliged to furnish their own doors. These doors are roughly rectangular and have attached to one vertical edge a pole which projects beyond the top and bottom of the door proper and acts as a pivot. To fit the door in place, the top of the pole is thrust upward into a slot hollowed in the lintel—or more usually into a crack in the stonework—and the bottom of the pole is pushed into a hole dug in the threshold. While such doors usually fit very badly into their doorways, they have the advantage of being easily removed.

were also furnished with interior wooden props and beams.<sup>182</sup> An item supplied to all estates was a *θύρα αὐλεία*; a door which implies that a courtyard containing farm buildings and surrounded by a wall was a feature of all the temple estates, for the *θύρα αὐλεία* surely refers to a door set in the gateway of a courtyard wall, through which access was gained into the farm compound from the world outside.<sup>183</sup> This is

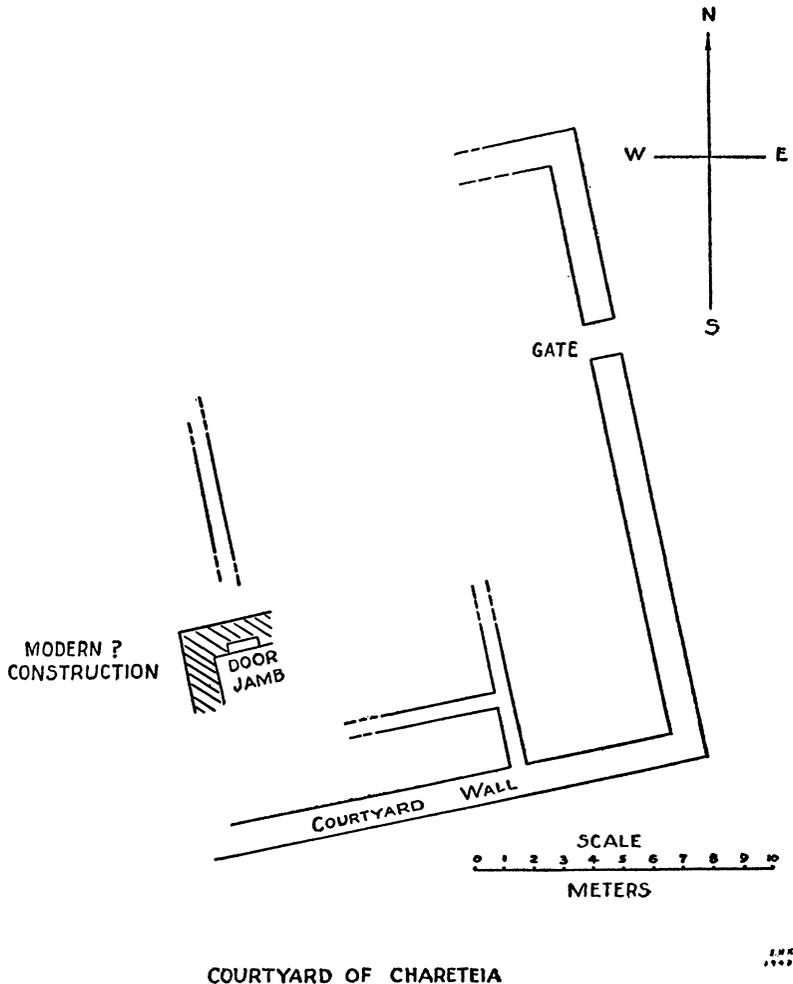


Fig. 6

<sup>182</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 166, 170, 171; *Inscr. de Délos*, 445, lines 22-23. For a ladder (*κλίμαξ*) of date palm wood, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 146.

<sup>183</sup> In the case of Greek city houses the *θύρα αὐλείας* was the main door of the house (cf. Plato, *Symp.*, 212, C; Lysias, i, 17; Theophrastos, *Char.*, 18, 4), which was so-called because it opened into an *αὐλή* within the house (D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Olynthus VIII*, p. 152). In the case of the temple estates, however, *θύρα αὐλεία* cannot mean "farmhouse door," for the only building common to all estates (the equivalent of a farm-house) was the *κλείσιον*, which is always described separately as *τεθρωμένον*.

partially corroborated by the discovery of the remains of four farm courtyards, three on Rheneia and one on Delos: at each site there are remains of stone walls enclosing rectangular areas which contain vestiges of ancient buildings.<sup>184</sup>

The farm buildings in the inventories that were not used for human habitation may be passed over briefly. Ten estates had an *ἰπνών* ("bake-house"), which was probably a small building containing an oven:<sup>185</sup> *βούστασις* means "a standing place for cattle" and probably, as today, indicated any kind of cattle shelter. *Προβατών* (mod. *provatona*) was a shelter for sheep: it is invariably described in the inventories as *ἄθυρος*, which may indicate that the structure was not walled on all sides. Four estates on Rheneia had a *μυλών*, "mill-house," whose mill was presumably the rotary type common in the Hellenistic Age.<sup>186</sup> An *ἄχυρών* (mod. *achyrona*) was a structure used as a storehouse for chaff. Since chaff is stored for winter fodder, the presence of this building on an estate indicates both animal husbandry and grain fields, while estates without one probably produced little or no grain. A *σιτοβολών* (granary) is listed for Chareteia, and a *πιθών* for Panormos; in the latter structure, which was possibly a cellar, large storage jars (*πίθοι*) were buried up to the neck.<sup>187</sup> Two estates, Charoneia and Rhamnoi, had a farm tower (*πύργος*; *πύργιον*); the first has been located on the top of Palia Vardhia, the second was probably on the summit of Khoulakas.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>184</sup> In northern Rheneia, in the district called "Ambela," 50 m. northwest of the French surveyors' marker (Marker TN in Fig. 1 of Bellot, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, I) are remains of a courtyard wall 1 m. thick preserved to a height of 0.30 m. A gateway approximately a meter wide appears in the east wall, and the ground plan leaves little doubt that the site contains the remains of a farm compound (cf. Fig. 6). On Delos, at the northwestern corner of the "Region of the Terraces" (the site is marked in red on Bellot's map, and lies directly east of a hill whose altitude is 55.9 m.) are remains of a courtyard ca. 30 m. square, within which are wall foundations and one door jamb still standing to a height of 1.4 m. These two sites probably mark the farm compounds of the estates Chareteia and Phoinikes. The double courtyard of Charoneia has already been mentioned (page 251).

<sup>185</sup> Liddell-Scott-Jones (followed by D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, p. 480) gives the meaning of *ἰπνών* as "kitchen," a word that usually indicates a room *in a house* where food is cooked. The inventories, however, list *ἰπνών* as a separate item, which seems to imply that it was not entered through another structure, but had an outside entrance of its own. Accordingly, I have preferred the translation "bake-house." At least one *ἰπνών* seems to have been a free standing building (cf. *Class. Phil.*, XLII, 1947, p. 201); another is described as having a beam supported by pillars (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 166). Hellenistic bake-houses, containing four or five ovens, have been found in Egypt (A. R. Schütz, *Der Typus des hellenistisch-ägyptischen Hauses* [diss. Giessen, 1936], pp. 35-36).

<sup>186</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86-90; Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 326 ff. For the meaning of *μυλών*, cf. W. Petersen, *Class. Phil.*, XXXII, 1937, p. 326.

<sup>187</sup> D. M. Robinson; *T.A.P.A.*, LXV, 1934, p. 128; *Olynthus* XII, pp. 204-5, 258, 468; W. Petersen, *loc. cit.*

<sup>188</sup> In city houses the *πύργος* was often part of the house used as quarters for women (cf. Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, p. 469), but this was scarcely a tower's function on a farm. Buondelmonte describes the tower of Charoneia thus: *non longe a meditate dicte insule turris erigitur, que olim*

The evidence concerning farm buildings used for living quarters, and thus presumably located within the circuit of the courtyard walls, is more difficult to interpret. The word *ὑπερώδιον*, a diminutive of *ὑπερώον*, "upper storey," is peculiar to the Delian inventories. Strangely enough, the inventories do not indicate on which farm buildings the upper storeys were erected, but list each upper storey as a separate item. This is enough to show that other structures listed separately were not necessarily separate buildings, but may have been part of a larger building and had a separate entrance, or else may have stood wall to wall with other structures. In Olynthus<sup>189</sup> sleeping quarters for both men and women seem to have been located almost without exception in the second storey, but in Athens and Delos the upper storey appears to have been intended primarily for women.<sup>190</sup> It is therefore probable that on the temple estates the upper storeys were intended more for the use of women than of men, though they could, of course, have been used for anything the tenant saw fit. Possibly the upper storeys had exterior entrances independent of the ground floor and exterior steps leading up to them: this is the common method of access to upper storeys in the houses of the Cyclades today.

That the upper storeys were intended primarily for women is also suggested by the *ἀνδρώνια* on the estates, which were almost certainly sleeping quarters for men. This diminutive of *ἀνδρών* would ordinarily mean a small men's banqueting room, but in the Delian inscriptions *ἀνδρῶνες* and *ἀνδρωνίτιδες* appear to mean parts of a

*habitabatur tempore suspicionis atque timoris* (L. Gallois, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, III, pp. 10-11): there is little doubt that this explanation of the purpose of farm towers, especially in the Aegean islands, is substantially correct. Most of the towers have a wide view of surrounding territory and of the sea, and were thus intended primarily as places where watch could be kept for the approach of pirates (cf. H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 41-49) and as places of refuge in emergencies. When not so used, the towers were probably employed as places for storage (cf. *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872, line 53: *τοῦ πύργου καὶ τοῦ πιθῶνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ πύργῳ*). For the significance of farm towers, see Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 202 and 1460; for a catalogue of towers in the Aegean, R. M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace, *Ann. Br. Sch. Athens*, XII, 1905-06, pp. 151-174. To their bibliography may be added I. Dragatsis, *Πρακτικά*, 1920, pp. 147-172; J. P. Droop, *Ann. Arch. Anthropol.*, X, 1925, pp. 41-45; H. Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 37-44. None of these mention the towers on Rheneia.

The tower of Charoneia has already been mentioned (cf. notes 17 and 18). Although special effort was made to locate the "little tower" of Rhamnoi, especially on the ridge of Khoulakas, no traces of it were found.

<sup>189</sup> Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 207, 214-219; G. Mylonas in Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, pp. 280-82.

<sup>190</sup> Lysias (i, 9) shows that upper storeys in Athens were normally for the use of women, though the same passage shows that they might be used by others. For the Delian houses, J. Chamonard, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, VIII, pp. 196-200 (cf. Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 167-69). It therefore seems plausible that upper storeys on the temple estates were intended for women's quarters. The distinction between *ὑπερώον* and *ὑπερώδιον* is not clear: possibly the former was a second storey with an area equal to the ground floor, while the latter was smaller. One *ὑπερώον* contained a separate sleeping compartment (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 152).

house complex that were used only by men:<sup>191</sup> the *ἀνδρώνια* of the estates were therefore men's dormitories. They may have been either free-standing buildings or have been attached to other structures, but it is evident that they had outside entrances, as we are told of one *andronion* whose door opened into a garden.<sup>192</sup> That *hyperodia* and *andronia* were quarters for farm workers seems assured by the fact that the two estates, Phoinikes and Skitoneia, that had a large upper storey (*ὑπερῶον*) had no building for men (*ἀνδρώνιον*).<sup>193</sup>

The word *θάλαμος* means "an inner room" or "chamber," and is the usual Greek word for a bedroom. That this is the meaning of the word in three of the inventories is shown by the fact that the *thalamos* is described as an inner room that was part of a larger structure.<sup>194</sup> In other cases, however, the *thalamos* is listed separately, which probably means that it was either a free-standing building or else that it was a room that opened, not into another room, but directly into the courtyard. Moreover, since all estates did not have a *thalamos*, it was evidently not a building or room intended for the use of the lessee. Since it is clear that the upper storeys were intended for women and the *andronia* for men, and since it is difficult to imagine either that no provision was made on estates for housing married workers or that all farm workers were unmarried, the most plausible hypothesis seems to be that the *thalamoi* were structures that were intended for the use of married couples. That they were sometimes apartments of considerable size is shown by the fact that one of them is recorded to have had a roof beam supported by pillars.<sup>195</sup>

Other buildings listed in the inventories are *οικία*, *οἶκημα*, and *κλείσιον*. The first is found on only one estate, and the second only on three, so that it is evident that neither was important for an estate to have.<sup>196</sup> The *kleision*, however, seems to have been the principal building on the estates, since it is the only building that is listed for every estate, and the Hieropoioi invariably supplied it with a door. In most in-

<sup>191</sup> S. Molinier (*Les "maisons sacrées,"* p. 18 and Tab. II) shows clearly how in *ἡ οἰκία Χαρήτεια* (not to be confused with the estate of the same name) the men's and women's quarters were leased separately (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2: 158, A, line 17; 161, A, lines 16-17; 162, A, lines 14-15; 199, A, lines 8-9; 203, A, lines 25-28; 204, lines 29, 32-33).

<sup>192</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 147. Another *andronion* consisted of two rooms, an outer and inner chamber (*ibid.*, line 171).

<sup>193</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 152 and 163.

<sup>194</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-146, 152, 171.

<sup>195</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 170.

<sup>196</sup> *Οικία* in the Delian inscriptions is the word used for houses in the city of Delos. Only one estate, Charoneia, had an *οικία* (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 165), and its remains indicate that it was a house of the city type (see p. 251). An *οἶκημα* is also listed for Charoneia, which seems to have been a second house (cf. *ἄλλην οἰκίαν*, *loc. cit.*; Fig. 4, p. 251). However, the three *οικήματα* of Skitoneia (*ibid.*, line 163) seem to have buildings in the broadest sense of the word, though they may have had some special function of which we are ignorant (see p. 300). The *οἶκημα* of Leimon seems to have housed farm workers, as this estate had no *thalamos*, *andronion*, or upper storey (*ibid.*, lines 148-149).

ventories it is listed second to the courtyard gate, which was also supplied for every estate. The *kleision* was, therefore, what we should call the “farmhouse.”<sup>197</sup> In one instance a *kleision* is described as having separate sleeping quarters, from which it may be inferred that the “farmhouse” usually consisted of only one room.<sup>198</sup> The only literary passage describing the *kleision* of a farm comes from Homeric times (*Odyssey* xxiv, lines 208-210):

ἔνθα οἱ οἶκος ἔην, περὶ δὲ κλίσιον θέε πάντη  
 ἐν τῷ σιτέσκοντο καὶ ἴζανον ἠδὲ ἴανον  
 δμῶες ἀναγκαῖοι:

“There was his [Laertes’] house, and all around it ran the *kleision*, in which ate, and sat, and slept the slaves who were forced to serve him.” It is not clear from the passage whether the *kleision* was built wall to wall with Laertes’ house and opened away from it, or whether it formed a courtyard around the house and opened inward towards it: if the latter was the case—and this might seem more probable—the *kleision* on the temple estates may have been set back to back with the courtyard wall, or may have been built into it. More important than the architecture, however, is the function that Homer ascribes to his *kleision*: it was the place that “slaves ate, and sat, and slept.” The sleeping quarters on the temple estates are already accounted for, but it may well be that the *kleision* of the estates retained its Homeric role as the place where farm workers “ate and sat.” If we think of it as a sort of living room for farm workers, and the place where the lessee normally had his headquarters, we are able to explain satisfactorily why the *kleision* was an essential feature of each estate.

Apart from the *οικία* and possibly the *kleision*, the general appearance of the farm buildings listed in the inventories may best be pictured by describing the farm buildings today on Rheneia and Delos, some of which appear to be partly of ancient construction. These all conform to one pattern, being rectangular structures from

<sup>197</sup> The references to the *κλείσιον* are collected in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, IV, *s. v.* *κλείσιον*; see also the important discussion by A. Grenier in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, V, 871. The word is usually taken to mean an outhouse, a shed, or a lean-to (so Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.* *κλείσιον*; Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, p. 462), but there is much disagreement among ancient sources as to the precise meaning of the word, from which it would seem that the use of it varied with place and time. In Homer the *kleision* was a building for slaves that was built around the farmhouse (see above); in Lysias (xii, 18) it was a cheap house or hut; in Plutarch (*Publicola* 20) it was part of a house, probably the vestibule. This may be the meaning also in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 55-56 (282 B.C.): *τῆς οἰκίας τῆς Ἐπισθενείας τῆς ἐν Κολωνῶνι ἐξέδομεν τὸν τοίχον τὸμ πρὸς νότον τοῦ κλεισίον οἰκοδομήσαι*. The scholiasts and lexicographers in later times declare almost unanimously that a *kleision* was a shed or outhouse used to shelter animals, but this cannot be the meaning in the estate inventories, where cattle shelters and sheep pens are listed. It may be that on the temple estates *kleision* was the ancient equivalent of the American “shack” or “shanty,” words that denote a small, mean dwelling whose architecture is too humble to merit the name “house.”

<sup>198</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 146.

five to ten meters long with a length two to three times their width, oriented east and west. They have only one door, which is always found in the long south side: the doorway varies from a meter and a half to two meters in height. The walls are built of rough stones laid carefully one on the other and are usually half a meter thick and from two to three meters in height: crevices between stones are filled by stacks of smaller stones or, occasionally, by mud. The interior usually consists of one bare rectangular room, but if the building happens to be used as a dwelling, it often has an interior wall and doorway. The roof is flat and consists of two layers of reeds, the lower laid crosswise from the side walls and supporting a second layer placed lengthwise above it, on top of which is a thick covering of mud or turf. Outlets for smoke are made by cutting a hole in the roof near a wall. There are seldom any windows, and never any flooring. In outward appearance all these buildings are similar, and from their construction alone it is impossible to guess the purpose that each serves; nevertheless, they are given different names by the natives according to the particular use of each (cf. Pl. 90, nos. 4, 5, and 6). It therefore seems probable that in ancient times also the name of a farm building depended on its function more than its architecture.

The inventories of the temple estates show that the four principal sources of revenue were livestock, grain, grapes, and figs. It is clear, however, that few estates were engaged in producing all four: of the estates whose inventories are complete, some had no vineyards, some no orchards, some no buildings for animals. The following tables show the items listed by the Hieropoioi for each estate.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Courtyard Gate	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
<i>Kleision</i>	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
<i>Thalamos</i>	—	2	2	1	2	1	4	2	2	1
<i>Andronion</i>	—	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	1
Upper Storey	—	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Cattle Shelter	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	1
Sheep Shelter	—	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	1
<i>Achyron</i>	—	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
Mill-house	—	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Bake-house	—	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Vines	1538	2250	5060	1298	629	1056	2187	1514	1978	700
Fig Trees	—	73	72	29	1	36	47	32	91	15
Other trees	—	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0

	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XXI	XXII
Courtyard Gate	1	1	2	1	1	1	—	1	1
<i>Kleision</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—
<i>Thalamos</i>	1	0	1	3	1	—	2	—	—
Andrionion	0	0	0	0	2	—	—	1	1
Upper Storey	0	0	1	1	1	—	—	—	1
Cattle Shelter	1	1	1	1	0	—	—	—	1
Sheep Shelter	1	1	1	1	0	—	—	—	—
<i>Achyron</i>	0	1	1	0	0	—	—	—	1
Mill-house	0	0	0	0	1	—	—	—	—
Bake-house	1	0	1	0	1	—	—	—	1
Vines	0	0	596	0	0	487	—	1140	2750
Fig Trees	0	0	40	0	4	—	—	143	47
Other trees	0	0	5	0	1	—	—	551	79

I. Porthmos. An incomplete inventory of 230 B.C. is preserved in *Inscr. de Délos*, 308, lines 3-5 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-241): the number of vines reads on the stone  $\text{X}^{\text{P}}\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{P}^{\text{III}}$ .

II. Pyrgoi. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 172-174. The absence of a mill-house suggests that the grain fields were not extensive, the number of vines that viticulture was the chief activity.

III. Chareteia. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 169-172; *Inscr. de Délos*: 356 *bis* (correct text in *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 384); 373, B, lines 8-15. For the number of vines, see note 169. Chareteia was the only estate to possess a granary (cf. note 187), and its cattle shelter and sheep shelter seem to have been larger than the average (*ἑστρωμένον*). The estate therefore produced grapes, grain, and livestock on a large scale.

IV. Panormos. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 167-169; *Inscr. de Délos*: 374, Ab, lines 1-6; 440, lines 17-21 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244); 452, lines 22-24. A second upper storey was added to the estate between 200 B.C. and 180 B.C. Here again the absence of a mill-house suggests subordination of grain growing to animal husbandry and viticulture. Panormos was the only estate to possess a *πιθών* (see note 187).

V. Skitoneia. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 162-163; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Ab, lines 7-11. The

omissions in the inventory of this estate are peculiar: no *andrionion*, no storehouse for chaff, no mill-house, no bake-house, no sheep shelter, and after 200 B.C., no cattle shelter. The estate therefore produced no grain, and had few cattle and no sheep. Yet the number of vines is much too small to account for the rentals recorded for the estate (cf. Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 153, note 1 [cont. on p. 154]). The highly irregular item of three *οἰκήματα* in the inventories confirms the impression that Skitoneia was not an ordinary estate and that its revenue came chiefly from some unusual and unknown source.

VI. Dionysion. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 159-161. The absence of a cattle shelter shows that stock raising on this estate was not as important as grain and vines.

VII. Charoneia. *I.G.*, XI, 2: 161, C, lines 120-131; 163, Bg, line 19; 287, A, lines 164-169; *Inscr. de Délos*: 374, Aa, lines 1-10; 403, lines 47-52. See also page 251 and notes 17, 18, and 188. Two of the estate's four *thalamoi* had disappeared by 189 B.C. The listing of only one storehouse for chaff indicates that only one of the two parts of the estate produced grain, and the absence of a mill-house suggests that the amount of this grain was not great. Evidently most of the arable land of Charoneia (notably the many ancient terraces on the south slope

of Kato Vardhia) was occupied by the vineyards. Cattle and sheep were a second source of revenue.

VIII. Limnai. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 157-159; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 10-15. A third inventory, partially preserved, appears in *Inscr. de Délos*, 406, B, lines 80-83; Limnai is the only temple estate that had the combination of *θύρας αἰλέας δύο* (line 82) and *ἀνδρόνιον ἄθυρον* (line 83). Since 199-90 B.C. the estate was leased to Melesippos and Philonikos (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 81), the lessee Δημ [---] (line 80) belongs to the decennium 189-80 B.C., from which no other lessee for Limnai is known. Accordingly, the date of *Inscr. de Délos*, 406 is later than 188 B.C., and line 80 may be restored [*Ἀνεμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ Λίμνας, οὐ καθίστα*]ντος τοὺς ἐγγύους Δημ[---]. The absence of a sheep shelter indicates that grapes and grain were the principal products of the estate.

IX. Rhamnoi. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 153-155; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 20-29. For the reduction of the number of vines to 1350 in 200 B.C., see note 170. The estate produced no grain (see note 21). The size of the hill Khoulakas is so great that it is probable that the number of sheep and cattle the estate supported was unusually large.

X. Nikou Choros. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 155-157; *Inscr. de Délos*: 373, B, lines 2-8; 445, lines 16-24. For the disappearance of the vineyards in the second century, see note 170. The number of fig trees had by 180 B.C. fallen from 15 to 8 (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, line 8). In the third century the estate produced vines, grain, and livestock. In 178 B.C. the storehouse for chaff is described as *ἐστρωλωμένον*, whereas in 250 B.C. it had been simply *ἄθυρον*. The building had thus been enlarged, and the change suggests that the area once occupied by the vineyards was at this time converted to grain fields.

XI. Hippodromos. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-145; *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, lines 51-53. The absence of vineyards, orchards, storehouse for chaff, and mill-house shows that the estate was almost entirely devoted to livestock. In 189 B.C.

there was no cattle shelter (cf. note 166); therefore, the estate was primarily a sheep ranch.

XII. Leimon. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 148-149. The estate is unique in that it had no *thalamos*, *andromion*, or upper storey; evidently the small number of farm workers were housed in the *οἶκημα* (cf. note 196). The estate had no vineyards, and its proximity to Hippodromos suggests that livestock rather than grain was its chief source of revenue.

XIII. Phoinikes. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 151-153; *Inscr. de Délos*, 308, line 18 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-241). The number of vines shows that viticulture was probably subordinate to grain and livestock. The latter may have been the most important, as Phoinikes had no mill-house and was the only estate with a double sheep shelter (*προβατώνα διπλοῦν*).

XIV. Soloe-Korakiai. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 149-151. The estate produced neither grain nor grapes, and was therefore a stock ranch.

XV. Kerameion. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-146; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Ab, line 1. This "estate" was a manufacturing establishment (see note 25) with a tiny garden attached.

XVI. Epistheneia. Incomplete inventories are preserved in *Inscr. de Délos*; 373, A, lines 8-13; 467, lines 1-4; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 242, 245. The number of vines given in 180 B.C. is [. . .]HHH<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΠII, and the figures preserved for 170 B.C. are HHHH<sup>Π</sup>Δ[---].

XVII. Lykoneion. An incomplete inventory is contained in *Inscr. de Délos*, 351, lines 18-19. It is possible that *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 28-30 also refers to Lykoneion: see above, note 170.

XVIII, XIX, and XX. Nothing has been preserved of the inventories of the estates Akra Delos, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia. Possibly the inventory of *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, B, lines 27-29 refers to one of them, or to Lykoneion.

XXI and XXII. Thaleon and Dorion-Chersonesos. See above, pages 288 f.

## RENTALS

Economic historians of the Hellenistic Age have been interested in the temple estates chiefly because of the fluctuations in the rentals.<sup>199</sup> Seen from this point of view the accounts of the estates during the Period of Independence divide themselves into three distinct groups, the first containing the rentals for approximately twenty years, the last two for fifty years each. The first group of farm records consist of those which date from the years 314–*ca.* 294 B.C. and antedate the *Hiera Syngraphē*: this group is separated from the next by an interval of approximately ten years from which only one mutilated fragment survives.<sup>200</sup> The second group dates between the years 284 B.C. and 246 B.C. Records from these years are preserved in sufficient quantity to enable us to recover all the rental prices of the fifty year period between 289–80 B.C. and 249–40 B.C. Following the year 246 B.C. there is another gap, this time for twenty-six years, so that the rentals of the decennia 239–30 and 229–20 B.C. are unknown.<sup>201</sup> The rentals from 219 B.C. to 170 B.C. constitute the third group; these are not as fully preserved as the records of Group II, for the decennial rentals of a few estates are lacking. Group I is featured by steadily rising rents which reached their highest point in 297 B.C.; between this year and 290 B.C. rents evidently fell rapidly, for in Group II the rents, while on the whole steady,<sup>202</sup> are much lower than the peak levels of Group I. Group III is very similar to Group II in that the rental totals are steady, but the rentals of most estates fell between the years 246 B.C. and 220 B.C. Rentals of the estates on Rheneia and Delos during the Period of Independence are as follows: <sup>203</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Attention for the most part has centered on the annual rental totals. Cf. G. Glotz; *Journal des Savants*, XI, 1913, pp. 19–20; *Ancient Greece at Work*, pp. 347–348; W. W. Tarn in Bury, Barbour, Bevan, and Tarn, *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 116–117; F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, pp. 82–83. The exception is J. A. O. Larsen (*Roman Greece*, pp. 404–407; *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, 1941, p. 165, note 1), who was the first to point out the danger of focusing attention exclusively on totals. For full bibliography, see Rostovtzeff (*Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1357, note 2), who repeatedly warns that Delian statistics must be treated with extreme caution (*op. cit.*, pp. 190–191, 235–236, and 1488, note 110).

<sup>200</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 152, A, lines 7–11.

<sup>201</sup> A fragmentary record from *ca.* 233 B.C. is contained in *Inscr. de Délos*, 314, A, lines 36–41 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 241). The accounts of 231 B.C. seem to have been recorded in *Inscr. de Délos*, 316, lines 50–57.

<sup>202</sup> This steadiness was first noted by Jardé (*Les céréales*, p. 155, note 4).

<sup>203</sup> Obols and fractions of obols have been reduced to decimal fractions of drachmas (cf. page 271). Brackets enclose a rental that seems probable but which is not fully attested; frequently these rentals are for ten-elevenths of the rental of the following leasing period, the inference being that the lessee renewed his lease with an increase of ten per cent in rental. The complete list of passages that contain information on estate rentals is as follows: GROUP I. 313 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 23–26. 312–309 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, lines 1–16; 142, lines 1–12; 143, B, lines 3–4. 303–302 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144; A, lines 9–17 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 234–35), B, lines 78–81. 301–298 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, lines 9–12. 297–? B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 149, lines 1–10; 147, A, lines 15–17. GROUP II. 289–80 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, lines 7–20; 157, A, lines 1–6; 158, A, lines 7–14; 160, lines 15–16.

B.C.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
313	1000	....	....	....	[460]	....	....	[700]	....	[400]
312-09	1200	890	1750	750	506	750	1050	770	800	440
308-04	....	[1180]	2250	....	[704]	[1201.5]	....	600	....	420
303-02	1653	1298	2475	925	774.4	1321.65	1050	660	601	551.1
301-298	....	1650	....	....	....	1000	....	....	[650]	435 +
297-?	1622	1650	3111	1030	900	1372	1450	612	715	600
289-80	1200	1110	1800	660	560	602	800	361	375	348
279-70	1320	1221	1800	704	530	662.2	800	397.1	429	271
269-60	1432	1343.1	1800	830	560	7[05]	1100	573	471.9	351
259-50	931	1012.1	1400.5	731	483	560	872	{[580] 480}	580	321
249-40	1024.1	1000	1113	611	473	804	1100	343	553	260
219-10	550	602.5	832	384	201	402	421	175	301	191.25
209-00	{812 691}	[495]	915.2	390	311	390	....	212	290	171
199-90	680	521	661	285	225	290	400	208	319	80
189-80	539.04	....	727.1	....	....	[310]	300	....	350.9	88
179-70	592.94	472	799.81	332	332	341	{451 440}	280	351	96.8

B.C.	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
313	....	[710]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
312-09	720	781	810	240	....	....	120	....	....	....
308-04	920	....	[1000]	330	....	....	[190]	....	....	....
303-02	1012	600	1100	....	....	....	209	....	....	....
301-298	[910]	650	1101	....	....	....	200	....	....	....
297-?	1001	661	1101	321	....	....	220	....	....	....

279-70 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 6-15 and C, lines 109-131; 162, A, lines 5-13; 199, A, lines 3-7; 200, lines 1-5; 201, lines 4-8. 269-60 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 183, line 15; 203, A, lines 18-25; 204, lines 6-20. 259-50 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 223, A, lines 33-39; 224, A, lines 12-17; 225, lines 8-16; 226, A, lines 28-37; 275, A, lines 12-17; 287, A, lines 25-34; 136-142. 249-40 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-180; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 14-21. GROUP III. 219-210 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 351, lines 6-21; 353, A, lines 3-15 (half the rent only is given in this passage, except for Limnai); 354, lines 35-39; 356, lines 12-15; 356 *bis*, A, lines 1-13. 209-200 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 *bis*, B (for correct text, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1932, pp. 381 ff.); 362, A, lines 15-21; 366, A, lines 102-107; 368, lines 23-33; 369, A, lines 40-41; 371, A, line 26; 372, A, lines 10-18. 199-90 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 374; 384, A, lines 2-5; 399, A, lines 74-82. 189-80 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 397, B, lines 1-3; 403, lines 48-53; 404, lines 15-18; 406, B, lines 80-86; 418, lines 2-3; 440, B, lines 17-21. 179-170 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 373, A, lines 1-44, B, lines 1-19 (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-43); 442, A, lines 145-152; 445, lines 16-24; 452, lines 16-32; 456, A, lines 18-19; 459, lines 39-43; 460, u, lines 24-26; 467, lines 1-11 (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 245).

B.C.	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
289-80	550	300	720	300	120	500	80	300	201	60
279-70	605	330	710	410	140	590	150	501	340	60
269-60	732.1	350	723	372	166	612	153	512	150	72
259-50	510	{ 302 } { 300 }	600	400	171	660	111	400	250	44
249-40	661	221	651	{ 420 } { 421 }	250	726	122.1	440	275	48.4
219-10	579	204	474.1	201	262	422	153	340.25	200.25	50
209-00	622	[210]	....	354	....	....	....	[431]	150	51
199-90	572	231	580.8	{ 286 } { 300 }	[250]?	345	130	[430]	210	52
189-80	629.2	....	554	....	275	[379.5]	156	....	....	....
179-70	665.5	284	491	248	302.5	411	171.6	150	178	30

I. Porthmos. The payment by a guarantor of 500 dr. in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 23-26) was presumably for half the rent. The fact that there was no *hemiolion* (500 is not evenly divisible by 3) suggests that the payment was made promptly, and that the default occurred in the preceding year (313 B.C.). For the sum 1622 dr. in 297 B.C., cf. *B.C.H.*; XXIX, 1905, p. 440; LXIII, 1939, p. 236. For the sum 812 dr. in 208 B.C., see *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-103, where it is stated that Lampron's rental was 121 dr. less than his predecessor's. The digit  $\text{M}$  is restored both in this passage and in *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 29, but no other figure seems appropriate.

The inclusion of  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol in the rental of 189-80 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243) is puzzling, since the rental (539 dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol) cannot have resulted from a ten per cent increase. It may be explained, however, if one supposes that the amounts paid in 192 B.C. by Tlepolemos, son of Amnos, and Tlepolemos, son of Krittis, were 190 dr. and 490 dr. respectively (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 78), and that when the time for renewals of leases arrived, the second Tlepolemos wished to renew with the ten per cent increase but his partner did not. This would have put the Hieropoioi in a dilemma, which they may have solved by granting to Tlepolemos, son of Krittis, a renewal with a ten per cent increase of *his* share of

Porthmos (490 dr. + 49 dr. = 539 dr.), and when they were unable to lease the remaining part of the estate, they permitted Tlepolemos to use it for the token payment of  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol. This explanation, while it is based entirely on speculation, is the only one that seems to be mathematically plausible.

II. Pyrgoi. In 279 B.C. the amount of rental paid was 1222.1 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 7), which is the figure that results from a ten per cent increase, not of 1110 dr. (the rental of 282 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 8), but of 1111 dr. The Hieropoioi were evidently guilty of an error in calculating the ten per cent increase for Dorkon in 279 B.C., but Dorkon's heir, Kleinias, detected and rectified the error when he took over the lease in 278 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A, line 6 [the erasure indicates the correction] and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 4). For a similar error in calculation that remained undetected, see below (Phytalia). The sum of 1012.1 dr. paid by Kleinias in the decennium 259-50 B.C. is one of the few certain examples of a fractional sum that was not caused by a ten per cent increase. It would appear that in this case Kleinias was permitted to bid in even drachmas with reference to his former rental. The sum read in *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 24 is  $247\frac{1}{2}$  dr.; this can scarcely be the full rental for 206 B.C., but may be half of it (cf. *ibid.*, lines 26-27).

III. Chareteia. For the rentals of the decennium 259-50 B.C., see note 13. For the rentals from 219 B.C. to 170 B.C., *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243, note 1.

IV. Panormos. The amount of the rental in the contract of 250 B.C. which went into force in 249 B.C. reads 606 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167) but the amount paid in 246 B.C. was 611 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). The rental total given in the latter inscription adds up correctly, so the sum of 611 dr. must be right. It seems probable that the letter-cutter of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167, who had just previously made an error in engraving the word δραχμ{ν}ῶν, also made an error in his numerals, cutting Γ for Δ.

V. Skitoneia.

VI. Dionysion. For the rental in 303 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 234-35. For the decennium 279-70 B.C., *ibid.*, pp. 236-37. There is one digit missing in the rental preserved in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 24 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 237): the amount therefore may have been 705 dr., 710 dr., 750 dr., or 800 dr. (701 dr. or 700 dr. 1 ob. are also possible).

VII. Charoneia. The sum read on the lost Oxford stone (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 28) by J. Selden (*Marmora Arundelliana* [London, 1629], p. 45) for the rent of Charoneia was [.]<sup>π</sup>[.], but there seems to be an error in the line, either on the part of Selden or the letter-cutter. Durrbach's restoration [H]<sup>π</sup>[.] must surely be for half the amount of rental (less than 180 dr.), yet the restoration [π]<sup>π</sup>[.] (at

least 550 dr.) is too large a sum. The name of the estate was erroneously engraved (or read) τοῦ ἐμ Πανόρμου.

VIII. Limnai. In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196 an ἐγδεία of 100 dr. is charged against Moiragenes, a former lessee of Limnai. This means that Moragenes' successor (presumably Kynthiades, the lessee of 250 B.C.: cf. *ibid.*, line 26) paid less than Moiragenes had contracted to pay, and Moiragenes' contract had called for a higher rental than 480 dr. The two passages could mean that his contract had called for 580 dr. (nothing is mentioned about a *hemiolion*), but Moiragenes is not listed among the defaulters of 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-142), so that his ἐγδεία was of more than a year's standing by 250 B.C. and he had had time to pay some of it off. The amount of his original ἐγδεία is therefore uncertain. The minimum his contract could have called for, assuming that the 100 dr. ἐγδεία includes a *hemiolion*, was 546 dr. 4 ob. (480 dr. +  $\frac{2}{3}$  of 100 dr.).

Limnai is the only estate of *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, whose rental was paid in full (cf. Durrbach's commentary). This phenomenon is still unexplained, but it may possibly be significant that Hegias, the lessee who paid in full, had in the previous year been one of the Hieropoioi who had issued the new contracts (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 5 and 20).

IX. Rhamnoi. For the rental payment of 303 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 234-35. I now believe that the payment of 601 dr. was made for this estate, and that *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, lines 79-82 may be restored:

79. [καὶ ἐγλίποντος Χίονος ἀνμισθώσαμεν τὴν γῆν] τὴν ἐν

80. [Ῥάμν]οις· ἐμισθώσα[το ὁ δείνα τοῦ δείνος κατὰ τ]ὴν [συν]

81. [γραφ]ὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τεμέν[η· ἐγγυηταὶ] Ἐπικύ[δης Δ]υκόφρ[ο]

82. vos, Ἐπικύδης Ἀριστέου· δραχμῶν ΠΗΓ.

The restoration of line 79 is suggested by *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 13 and by the formulae of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-142. The phrase κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τεμένη, "in conformity with the contract and with the rest of

the estates" is far from satisfactory, but nothing better suggests itself, and the expression κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν appears a few lines previously. With the rent of Rhamnoi determined at 601 dr., the rent paid for Soloe was 109 dr. (*I.G.*,

XI, 2, 144, A, line 10 may thus be restored [Σο]λό[ης] Καλλι[ας ΗΠΗΗ]†: cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234), which makes it evident that the lessee of Soloe defaulted some of his rental. This inference is corroborated by the plural words οἶδε and οὔτοι in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, lines 71 and 73, and by the two lines below line 71 that have been deliberately effaced, lines which evidently once contained a record of a default. The erasure suggests that the debt was subsequently paid.

X. Nikou Choros. For the rental of 301 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 236; for the rentals of 269 B.C. and 268 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 237; for the rental of 180 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 242.

XI. Hippodromos. The half-rental of *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, line 12 (219 B.C.) is given as 289 dr. 2 ob., whereas in *Inscr. de Délos* 354, line 38 (218 B.C.) the full amount is 579 dr. For the latter figure Durrbach preferred ΗΗ rather than ΗΗ, but did not question the reading of 219 B.C. The simplest solution of the difficulty seems to be to assume that in *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, line 12 the letter-cutter failed to engrave one of the obols—an easy error to make when four drachmas and three obols are required—and that the reading should be ΗΗΠΔΔΔΠΗΗΗΗ(Ι).

XII. Leimon. The sum read by Selden in *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 29 was 250 dr., 2 ob., but his readings were often so inaccurate that it is preferable to believe that the rent paid in 192 B.C. (231 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 74) was the result of a ten per cent increase, and that in 209-200 B.C. the rent was 210 dr. After I had arrived at this conclusion independently, I observed that the same opinion had been expressed by Lacroix and Durrbach (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, Addenda, p. 341, comment on no. 362).

XIII. Phoinikes.

XIV. Soloe-Korakiai. Rentals in Group I are for Soloe alone. For the rent of Soloe in 303 B.C., see above under Rhamnoi. In 282 B.C. the

rent of Soloe was 200 dr. and Korakiai 100 dr. The sum of 300 dr. rental for 192 B.C. is called doubtful by Durrbach (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 75), but further examination of the stone showed that the reading is correct.

XV. Kerameion. The amount of rental in *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76 (192 B.C.) reads ΗΗ[...], and the sum thus cannot have been 250 dr. if all the letter spaces were filled. On the other hand, the rental 275 dr. for 189-80 B.C. (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244) suggests a ten per cent increase of 250 dr.

XVI. Epistheneia.

XVII. Lykoneion. For the rental 153 dr. in 269 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 237. The amount of rental preserved at the beginning of *Inscr. de Délos*, 362, line 16 does not belong to Lykoneion (cf. *B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 51): no rentals for this estate from the decennium 209-200 B.C. are known.

XVIII. Akra Delos. In *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, B, line 19 (a contract for the decennium 199-90 B.C.) a sum of 430 dr. is preserved, but the name of the estate is lost. However, all rentals in this decennium for all other estates are known (except Kerameion, which may have been 250 dr. [see above] and certainly was not 430 dr.) and the sum does not belong to any of them. It would thus seem that it must belong to Akra Delos, but the figures preserved for this estate in 192 B.C. are [...]† (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 75). Nevertheless, if we accept the figure 430 dr. for Akra Delos in 199-90 B.C., we can assign another sum, 431 dr., from the decennium 209-200 B.C. to Akra Delos. The restored name of the estate, Epistheneia (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, lines 11-12) does not tally well with the rental of Epistheneia in 199 B.C. (345 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, B, lines 15-16). On the other hand, rentals of 431 dr. in 209-00 B.C. and 430 dr. in 199-90 B.C. for Akra Delos do not correspond well with the rental of 218 B.C. (340.2 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 13; 354, line 38) or of 179 B.C. (150 dr.;

*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 146). Rentals of 431 dr. and 430 dr. for Akra Delos are thus very doubtful.

XIX. Sosimacheia.

XX. Phytalia. There is an interesting error in arithmetic in the rentals of 249-240 B.C. A ten per cent increase of 44 dr. is not 48 dr.  $2\frac{8}{12}$  ob.

(cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 177-178), but only 48 dr.  $2\frac{5}{12}$  ob. Either the temple accountant calculated the amount  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol too much, or else he carelessly wrote in his books II C // for III // . The repetition of the error in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 15) shows that the fault lies with the accountants and not with the letter-cutters.

The generally steady rentals in Groups II and III tell heavily against anyone who might try to explain rental fluctuations in terms of contemporary political events. In the fifty years between 290 B.C. and 240 B.C. the Aegean area was the scene of naval campaigns of far-reaching importance, yet neither these campaigns nor their results seem to be reflected in the rentals of the temple estates. For example, in 280 B.C., a year in which we might expect to find a considerable amount of hesitancy on the part of investors because of the troubled state of affairs in the Aegean, fourteen of the new decennial leases called for an increase of rental, seven for more than ten per cent, six for exactly ten per cent, and one for less than ten per cent, while of the other six contracts three were for the same amount as in the preceding decennium and three for less. Again in 250 B.C. the struggle between Macedon and Egypt for the control of the Cyclades did not affect the rentals: in the new contracts for 249-40 B.C. twelve leases called for an increase in rental, four for more than ten per cent, six for exactly ten per cent, two for less than ten per cent; while of the eight decreases three were for less than ten per cent and five for more. Other records point to the same conclusion. In 200 B.C., the year in which Rome first enters the Aegean picture, four new leases were for higher rental, eight for lower, and two remained the same; in only two estates, Chareteia (lower) and Lykoneion (higher) was there any marked change. Similarly, in 190 B.C., when Rome's war with Antiochus the Great was at its height and investors might be expected to be unusually cautious, seven new leases called for increases over the previous decennium and four called for decreases. It therefore seems futile to endeavor to connect the high rents of Group I with the career of Demetrius Poliorcetes, or the rents of Group II with the political program of the Ptolemies, or the rents of Group III with the activities and policies of Rome.<sup>204</sup> It appears that the temple estates were affected to a very slight degree, if at all, by the varying fortunes of war during the Period of Independence; consequently, any explanation of rental fluctuations must lie elsewhere, in the field of economics rather than of politics.

The table of rentals shows clearly that before 296 B.C. the rent of every estate was unusually large, and that the inflation of values affected them all. The universal

<sup>204</sup> Cf. F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Swankungen*, p. 83; *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*, pp. 452-53. See also the remarks of Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1469, note 32 and Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, 1941, pp. 164-65.

drop in rentals between 297 B.C. and 290 B.C. is equally marked: there was not a single estate whose rental did not fall. It is important to observe that the inflation of the late fourth century was one of rentals and not of purchase prices of estates. In the matter of land sales a boom may be caused by one of several reasons, but there seems to be only one plausible reason for higher and higher bids on the part of prospective lessees, namely, that the value of farm products was unusually high and, in the opinion of the lessees, was increasing. It is plain, then, that in the late fourth century the demand for the products of the estates had become greater than the supply, and the reason for this is not difficult to find. "The new settlers and the soldiers of the Successors [of Alexander the Great], who constituted the principal market in the new world, were partially hellenized Macedonians, partly Greeks who were used to Greek life and naturally continued to live this life in their new homes. Greek life meant Greek food, Greek dress, Greek houses and furniture, Greek temples, Greek public buildings, Greek plate, Greek jewels, and so forth. For a while all these Greek products were certainly imported from Greece. Some time had to elapse before the new centers of Greek life could begin their own production of Greek goods."<sup>205</sup> At the same time it is well established that there was a considerable rise in prices of all commodities and in wages throughout Greece and the Aegean which seems to have been caused not only by the new demands for Greek products abroad but also to some extent by increased spending power of those who remained in the homeland.<sup>206</sup> The high rentals thus fit perfectly into the general picture of the state of Greek economy in the late fourth century.

The cause of the collapse in rentals between 297 B.C. and 290 B.C. is therefore not as mysterious as it might at first appear. It is clear that in their anxiety to realize the attractive profits that were to be made from farm produce, and possibly moved as well by a false optimism engendered by their newly acquired independence, the Delians were led on to bid for the leases more than they were worth. At the same time the demand for certain commodities in the international market may have eased off to some extent, for by 297 B.C. some Greek settlers in foreign lands would have had time to plant vineyards and orchards and to breed livestock. However this may be, the Delian records show that after the general reorganization of the administration of the estates had been brought into effect with the codification of the *Hiera Syngraphē* the inflation had ended, and henceforth the lessees probably were content with more modest profits.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59.

<sup>206</sup> W. W. Tarn in *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>207</sup> It is impossible to estimate how much the lessees may have profited from their leases; all that we have to work on is the rentals that they paid. It has already been noted (pp. 269 f.) that, while we know of no instance in which an estate lay idle, leases often changed hands within a decennial leasing period. This might be taken to mean that the margin of profit was comparatively small and that a poor year would find a lessee operating at a loss. It should be remembered,

The rental tables also show that compared to the general collapse of 296-90 B.C. the corresponding decrease in rentals between 245 B.C. and 220 B.C. was not nearly as severe or as generally felt. Indeed, in the case of three estates, Kerameion, Lykoneion, and Phytalia, the rentals of 219 B.C. were slightly higher than they had been in 249-40 B.C. and in the case of Leimon the rent was only slightly less. It is thus clear that the depressions were fundamentally different; in the first decline the rentals of all estates were reduced, but in the second decline some rentals remained unaffected and even increased. Furthermore, after 219 B.C. some rentals began to climb and eventually approached or surpassed the levels of 246 B.C., while others remained low until the end of the Period of Independence.

The explanation of the second decline must therefore lie, not in a general change which affected all estates, but in a change which affected some sources of farm revenue and not others. Accordingly, I have endeavored in the table that follows to group the temple estates as far as possible according to their products. This, of course, can be done only in a general way, since the products themselves have to be inferred from the inventories, and when there is more than one source of revenue for an estate, there is no certain indication which was the most important.<sup>208</sup> In order to facilitate comparisons of fluctuations, I have reduced the rentals of each estate to percentages of the rental paid in 282 B.C.: in this way fluctuations are reduced to the same proportions for each estate and it becomes easier to observe the general trend of the prices for leases.<sup>209</sup> The first eight estates listed in the table are those that are

however, that profit and loss depend to some extent on the individual: for example, the owner of a great many sheep might make a profit from a lease whose rental would have been ruinous to the owner of only a few animals. Furthermore, the leases were a form of capitalistic venture and were in the same general category as investments in banking, shipping, manufacturing, and other business activities. This must mean that there was some profit to be made from the estates at all times; otherwise, the money would have been invested elsewhere.

<sup>208</sup> For the products of each estate, see above, pp. 299-301. Eight estates on Rheneia (the terrain suggests that Porthmos was an estate similar to Pyrgoi) produced grapes, grain, and livestock: the proportions or amounts are not known. Of the two other Rheneian estates, Skitoneia had some unknown source of revenue and Rhamnoi is a special case in that it produced no grain. Thus, while Rhamnoi had more vines than some of the Rheneian estates whose rentals were higher, the higher rentals were probably due to grain production. For example, in 249 B.C. Rhamnoi with 1978 vines rented for 553 dr., whereas Panormos with 1298 vines rented for 611 dr. Since grain prices in the third century were high (Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 383-86), it is understandable how the rent of Rhamnoi was lower. On the other hand, in the estates on Delos the chief source of revenue seems to have been livestock. Hippodromos and Soloe-Korakiai were stock ranches, and Leimon and Phoinikes seem to have depended more on livestock than grain. Only two Delian estates, Phoinikes and Epistheneia, are known to have had vines.

<sup>209</sup> The choice of the rentals of 282 B.C. is arbitrary, but the same general picture results (though not, of course, the same percentages) if the rents of any other year be taken as the yardstick. A table of this kind does not show the relative size of rentals of one estate with another, but merely the variations in the rents of each estate in proportion to the size of the rents of that estate. In the table the figures for Soloe-Korakiai prior to 289-80 B.C. are percentages of the rental paid in 282 B.C. for Soloe alone.

known to have had vineyards, grain fields, and livestock; the next three seem to have been devoted primarily to livestock, though they possessed vines; in the third group are the estates which are known not to have had vineyards, while the chief source of revenue of the last five estates is unknown.

Estate	312 -09 B.C.	303 -02 B.C.	297 -? B.C.	289 -80 B.C.	279 -70 B.C.	269 -60 B.C.	259 -50 B.C.	249 -40 B.C.	219 -10 B.C.	209 -00 B.C.	199 -90 B.C.	189 -80 B.C.	179 -70 B.C.
Porthmos	100	104	135	100	110	121	78	85	46	{68 58}	57	45	49
Pyrgoi	80	117	149	100	110	121	90	89	54	...	47	...	43
Chareteia	97	137	173	100	100	100	78	62	46	51	37	40	45
Panormos	113	137	156	100	107	126	111	93	58	59	43	...	50
Dionysion	125	220	228	100	110	117	93	134	67	65	65	51	57
Charoneia	131	131	181	100	100	137	109	137	54	...	50	37	55
Limnai	213	183	169	100	110	159	{161 133}	90	48	59	55	...	78
Nikou Choros	127	158	172	100	77	101	92	74	55	49	23	25	28
Rhamnoi	213	160	191	100	114	126	155	147	80	77	85	94	94
Phoinikes	113	153	153	100	99	100	83	90	66	...	80	77	70
Epistheneia	...	...	...	100	118	{122 120}	132	145	84	...	69	76	82
Hippodromos	131	184	182	100	110	133	93	120	105	113	104	114	121
Leimon	260	200	220	100	110	117	100	74	68	70	77	...	95
Soloe-Korakiai	120	165	160	100	137	124	133	140	67	118	{95 100}	...	83
Kerameion	...	...	...	100	117	138	142	209	219	...	...	230	253
Skitoneia	90	139	161	100	95	100	86	84	36	56	40	...	60
Lykoneion	150	252	275	100	188	191	138	151	191	...	163	195	215
Akra Delos	...	...	...	100	167	171	133	147	114	[144]	[144]	...	50
Sosimacheia	...	...	...	100	169	75	125	137	100	75	105	...	89
Phytalia	...	...	...	100	100	120	74	81	83	83	84	...	50

The table demonstrates conclusively that the value of vineyards decreased sharply between 246 B.C. and 220 B.C. The rentals of all eight estates which were dependent largely on vineyards are distinctly smaller in 219 B.C. than in 249-40 B.C., being in nearly every case approximately half of their former amount. Not only this, but once down, the rentals of these estates, with the exception of Limnai in 179 B.C., stayed down. This great decline in rentals and failure to make a recovery later is paralleled in the case of other estates only by the rentals of Skitoneia, which is known to have had vines, and to a lesser extent by Epistheneia and Phoinikes, the two estates on Delos that possessed vineyards. Only in the case of Rhamnoi are there any signs of

recovery, and this recovery came after 200 B.C. when the number of vines on the estate had been considerably reduced.<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, of the four estates which had no vines, Kerameion's rental increased steadily, and Hippodromos and Leimon slowly recovered from slightly reduced rentals in 219-10 B.C. until in 179-70 B.C. their rents were greater than those of 249-40 B.C. Only Soloe-Korakiai failed to make a recovery back to the level of 246 B.C., and even in this case the proportional lowering of the rentals was considerably less than for the eight vineyard estates.

The conclusion seems clear. The pronounced and prolonged drop in the rentals of the vineyard estates shows that after 220 B.C. the vines yielded little or no profit, but were able to bring in merely enough revenue to pay for the expense of maintaining them. This is confirmed by the case of Nikou Choros, whose vines were reduced between 180 B.C. and 178 B.C. from 600 to 2, but whose rental in a new lease of 178 B.C. was for exactly the same amount as the lease of 180 B.C.<sup>211</sup> This is as clear evidence as we could hope to find that the vineyards after 220 B.C. were no longer of great value; yet there is evidence to show that there was no deliberate destruction of vines,<sup>212</sup> and it is probable that the Hieropoioi, perhaps hoping for better days to come, insisted that the vineyards be maintained according to the law long after they had ceased to be profitable. The rentals of the vineyard estates after 220 B.C. may thus be taken to indicate the amount of revenue obtained from livestock and grain. It has already been observed that the estate of Chareteia probably produced more grain and livestock than any other, and it is noteworthy that even in the second century its rental was still the greatest of all the temple estates.<sup>213</sup>

Since loss of revenue by the vineyard estates was not due to loss of vines, we are obliged to conclude that the decrease was caused by a sharp drop in the value of wine. Scattered statistics for wine prices in the Hellenistic Age show that in the second century wine prices were low, and since wine, oil, and grain were the foundation of Greek economy, it has been pointed out that in the early second century the economic situation in Greece was in a decline.<sup>214</sup> The rentals of the temple estates show, however, that at Delos the price of wine had fallen to an absolute minimum by 219 B.C. and that it remained at this low level until the end of the Period of Independence. Furthermore, there are clear indications that the decline had already begun by the middle of the third century. In the case of three vineyard estates, namely, Porthmos, Pyrgoi, and Chareteia, the rentals of 259-50 B.C. show a decided decrease from the rents of 269-60 B.C., and in the years between 259 and 249 B.C. the rent of Limnai plunged rapidly. In the leases that were issued in 250 B.C. the rentals of only two vineyard estates, Dionysion

<sup>210</sup> See above, notes 170 and 208.

<sup>211</sup> See above, note 170.

<sup>212</sup> See pages 289-90.

<sup>213</sup> Except in 199-90 B.C., when it was second in size to the rent of Porthmos (cf. p. 303).

<sup>214</sup> The available evidence is collected by Larsen (*Roman Greece*, pp. 391-94), and his conclusions have been accepted by Rostovtzeff (*Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 628).

and Charoneia, were as high as they had been twenty years before, and the rentals of the other six were decidedly lower. The vineyards of Phoinikes and Skitoneia also seem to have become less valuable. It thus appears that while the great collapse of wine prices came in the third quarter of the third century, prices had already begun to decline to some extent in the second quarter. If we were to draw a curve for wine prices, we should show a slight decline between 260 and 250 B.C., a noticeably steeper decline from 250 to 240 B.C., and between 240 and 220 B.C. a sharply angled line which before 219 B.C. reached the bottom of the chart. From 220 to 170 B.C. the line would be horizontal along the bottom.

In the second century B.C. the accounts of the Hieropoioi record purchases of Cnidian and Coan wines for the festival of the Posidea, and stamped amphora handles show that wine was imported also from the city of Rhodes.<sup>215</sup> Possibly these imported wines were of better quality than the local product.<sup>216</sup> It is important to note, however, that the decline in wine prices at Delos began at a time prior to the imports from Rhodes and her dependencies. This must mean that prices had declined at Rhodes also,<sup>217</sup> for it is unthinkable that the Rhodians exported wine to a place where prices were lower than at home. The prices of wine at Delos cannot have been very much different from prices in other parts of the Aegean. If prices had been much lower, no merchants would have sent wine to Delos: had they been much higher, wine would have been sent nowhere else. Consequently, the decline of wine prices at Delos which

<sup>215</sup> For Cnidian and Coan purchases at Delos, see Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 393. The amphora handles found at Delos (as yet unpublished) are 70% from Cnidus, 25% from Rhodes, and only 5% from elsewhere (Roussel, *Dél. col. athénienne*, p. 29, note 4). Curiously enough, the stamped amphora handles that I found while searching for remains of farm buildings on Delos and Rheneia show virtually the same ratios: of the fifteen that were found, ten are Cnidian, four Rhodian, and one, a double handle, probably Coan (cf. A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* [Firenze, 1925], pp. 245-49).

<sup>216</sup> There is little evidence by which we can judge the quality of the local wines of Delos and Rheneia. The fact that the lessees of the vineyard estates seem to have had no especial difficulty in marketing their product before 260 B.C. seems to indicate that the quality was good. On the other hand, the fact that Cnidian and Coan wines were preferred for Delian festivals shows that imported varieties were better. Possibly local wine was sold in Delos principally to the poorer classes: this is the situation today on Mykonos, where local grapes are devoted to the plebeian *retsina*, and better wines are imported from Samos and Thera. Delian wine is never mentioned in Greek literature in the lists of the choicest varieties.

<sup>217</sup> Low wine prices at Rhodes in 220 B.C. are suggested by the passage in Polybius (iv, 56, 2-3) that records a shipment to Sinope, at a total cost of 140,000 dr., of 300 talents of hair, 100 talents of bowstrings, 1,000 suits of armor, 3,000 gold badges (?), and 10,000 kerameia of wine (cf. *A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, p. 297), as well as four pieces of artillery along with their artillerymen. The cost of each item is not recorded, but the total cost of 140,000 dr. for such a large amount of equipment is surprisingly low, and it is clear that only a fraction of the total amount can have been spent on the wine. It does not seem improbable that the price of the wine was as low as the price of Coan wine at Delos in the second century (3 dr. a kerameion on the average: cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 393), if not lower. The earliest Rhodian stamped amphora handles that have been found date about 300 B.C., but the great majority are later than 225 B.C. (cf. *Hesperia*, III, pp. 214-220).

is indicated in the rentals of the temple estates cannot have been something peculiar to Delos, but must have been symptomatic of conditions in the whole Aegean world. Thus the situation of Greek vine-growers had completely changed in less than a hundred years, and their product, which at the beginning of the third century was in great demand, had by the middle of the century begun to be unprofitable, and by 220 B.C. was a drug on the market.<sup>218</sup>

It should be pointed out, however, that the fluctuations in the rentals of the temple estates cannot be taken, as was once hoped, to be indicative of the general agricultural situation in the Hellenistic Age throughout all of Greece. The high rentals of the late fourth century reflect, it is true, a favorable condition in the marketing of farm products at Delos, but they should certainly be taken, not as a proof, but as an example of the effects of Alexander's conquest of the East. Not many farmers in Greece were as favorably situated geographically to take advantage of a demand for farm products in the export market. Nor can it be assumed that, because there was a great fall in estate rentals at Delos between 297 and 290 B.C., a similar deflation of land values occurred in other parts of the Greek homeland. Above all, the fall of wine prices in the latter half of the third century cannot indicate a decline in agriculture in general.<sup>219</sup> It was at this very time, as Tarn<sup>220</sup> has pointed out, that there was great agitation in many parts of the Greek mainland for redistribution of land, and this is ample proof that agriculture still played the leading role in the economic life of Greece. Delos was unique in that agriculture was a distinctly secondary consideration in her economy. Under these circumstances we are obliged to conclude, however we may have wished it otherwise, that apart from evidence for the collapse of wine prices, the temple estates furnish us with a picture of local agricultural conditions that cannot be regarded as typical of Greece in the Hellenistic Age.

<sup>218</sup> The rentals show other, though less important, trends in prices of certain farm produce. The rents of Hippodromos, a sheep ranch, show remarkably little fluctuation after 290 B.C., and the rents of other ranching estates, though varying considerably from time to time, show on the whole only a slight decline. This probably means that there was little change at Delos in the price of such commodities as wool, milk, cheese, and hides, items for which there is little evidence elsewhere in the Delian inscriptions. The steady rise in the rent of Kerameion, a manufacturing establishment, suggests, though it scarcely proves, that local manufacturing in Delos during the Period of Independence was not unprofitable and that investments in manufacturing tended to increase slowly in value as time went on. The behavior of the rents of Lykoneion makes it probable that it too derived its income from manufacturing. The evidence for the prices of figs and other fruit is inconclusive. If Phytalia was an orchard, there may have been no decline in fruit prices before the end of the third century. The evidence of the Mykonos estates confirms the low wine prices of the second century, but otherwise is not helpful, except to show that olive trees were still profitable in 207 B.C. (cf. page 288).

<sup>219</sup> As was thought by Homolle (*B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 66). Tarn has stated that the records show that agriculture declined at Delos only (*Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 110); Larsen was the first to point out that the decline affected only certain kinds of agriculture (*Roman Greece*, p. 407).

<sup>220</sup> *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 127 ff. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 1180 ff.

## THE ATHENIAN COLONIAL PERIOD

In the year 166 B.C. the Roman Senate presented the island of Delos to the people of Athens as one of several rewards of territory granted in return for Athenian support in the Third Macedonian War. Athens was given complete control of the island, the native Delians were expelled from their homes, and in their place came not only colonists from Attica but many settlers and traders from other parts of the Hellenistic world. Henceforth, Delos was inhabited, not by a native population whose interests centered chiefly in the sanctuary of Apollo and in a modestly prosperous trade, but by a motley throng of foreigners whose chief purpose of residence in the island was to make as much profit as possible from the commercial advantages of a free port.<sup>221</sup>

At the beginning of the new regime the Athenians entrusted the supervision of the property of the Temple of Apollo to a commission chosen from the Areopagus. The commission made an enumeration of the sacred objects in the various temples at Delos, and seems to have been in charge of the lots assigned to new settlers from Attica and to have redistributed the real estate owned by the Temple of Apollo.<sup>222</sup> The commissioners also seem to have promulgated a general law according to which temple properties were to be administered. The terms are difficult to ascertain, since none of the text of the law has been identified,<sup>223</sup> and the law is mentioned only once in the extant accounts of the temple administrators,<sup>224</sup> but presumably it contained regulations concerning things that are not touched upon by the rulings of 157/6 B.C. (see below). These regulations would be concerned with the time, place, and manner of assigning leases, the necessity of furnishing guarantors, the obligations of guarantors, penalties for non-payment of rent, and so forth. A few details of the law may

<sup>221</sup> The chief sources for the expulsion of the Delians are two passages in Polybius (xxx, 31, 10; xxxii, 7, 1-5). For the circumstances, cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 321 ff., P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, pp. 1-13, 33 ff.; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, pp. 51 ff.; W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, p. 169. There can be little doubt that this brutal ejection caused great hardship as well as the bitterest resentment among the Delians. Polybius states that the exiles were permitted to take with them only τὰ ὑπάρχοντα: in *Inscr. de Délos*, 503, lines 34-35 this expression does not include cattle, sheep, or slaves. Thus it may be doubted whether the Delians were able to salvage much more than their clothing, household furnishings, and whatever cash they might have had on hand. It may be significant that ten years after the expulsion the new settlers were still in the process of repairing various buildings (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B: I, lines 61-62, II, lines 39-40; 1417, B, II, line 92; 1417, C, lines 30-98). It is not improbable that some of the Delians had deliberately damaged or destroyed property that they could not take with them.

<sup>222</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1403, Bb, I, lines 23-28. Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 121; 127; 160, note 5.

<sup>223</sup> A fragment of a law dating from the earliest years of the Athenian colony is preserved in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1480, but not enough of the text has survived to identify the subject with which the law is concerned. The mention of an architect in A, line 13 and the severe 1000 dr. fines suggest that it may be part of a law concerning property.

<sup>224</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, line 15: κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν τὴν κοινήν.

be inferred from the practices in operation later. Leases seem to have been assigned at auction, but the privilege of renewing the lease with an increase of ten per cent in rental was abolished.<sup>225</sup> The customary length of leases was five years, but for properties where repairs or improvements were needed a lease of ten years was issued;<sup>226</sup> this probably means that the commissioners' law left it in the power of the temple administrators to decide the length of leases. It is certain, however, that the law provided that leases were to run concurrently with the Athenian calendar year,<sup>227</sup> and that it applied not only to the temple estates but to all real estate that the temple possessed:<sup>228</sup> it was thus of much broader scope than the *Hiera Syngraphe* of the Period of Independence.

After the work of the commissioners was finished, the government of Delos was turned over to annual officials who were elected by the Athenian demos,<sup>229</sup> and the administration of temple properties was undertaken by two officials whose title is uncertain.<sup>230</sup> Only six inscriptions of these officials are extant which refer to temple

<sup>225</sup> Bidding at auction is indicated by such sums as 51 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 83-86), 161 dr. (*ibid.*, lines 107-110), and 1009½ dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 57-63). Not a single rental from the Athenian Colonial Period is for a sum divisible by eleven, and in the case of one renewal (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 60-63) the first lease called for 50 dr. and the second for 71 dr. In another renewal, the second amount was [.]ΔΔΔ††, which shows that the original sum was indivisible by eleven (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 131-134).

<sup>226</sup> For leases of five and ten years, see Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 149-156. In the earliest years of the colony some leases seem to have been shorter, a situation analogous to the early years of the Period of Independence (cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 161). A lease issued for two years is recorded in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1482, line 9. There is this difference, however, that in the Period of Independence all leases were assigned at one time, whereas under the Athenians leases for different properties terminated in different years. This probably means that in the first year or two of the colony there were more properties available than there were prospective lessees.

<sup>227</sup> Leases were normally assigned in Skirophorion, the last month of the Athenian calendar year (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*; 1416, B, II, line 28; 1417, B, II, 78). That leases were concurrent with the calendar year is also shown by the phrasing in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 59-60 ([εἰς τοὺς] ὑπολοίπους [μ]ῆ[νας] δέκα καὶ εἰς ἔτη τε πέντε τὰ μετ[ὰ ἄρχοντα Ἀνθεσ]τήριον) and by the expression εἰς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε (*ibid.*, lines 67-68, 77-78, 82-83, etc.).

<sup>228</sup> This is implied by the expression *ιεράν συγγραφὴν τὴν κοινήν* (cf. note 224) and by the fact that the supplemental regulations of 157/6 B.C. applied to all types of temple-owned real estate: cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 7, 12, 14-15, 53-54.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 97-125.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-144. Down to the year 161/60 B.C. the title "Hieropoioi" seems to have been retained (Roussel, p. 128), but after that year the title of the officials is not known. In 157/6 B.C. the two officials are called *οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσόδους* (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 1-2), but elsewhere in the same inscription (B, I, lines 42, 52) they are simply "the men" (*τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες*). In the following year they are described as *οἱ κεχειροτονημένοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσόδους* (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 78-80). In spite of the latter passage, Roussel (p. 135) prefers to believe on the basis of other documents that there were two boards of two officials each, one pair of officials in charge of the business administration of revenues (*ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κ.τ.λ.*), the other of the votive offerings and other sacred treasures and possibly of sacrifices (*ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά*). Ferguson suggests (*Hellenistic Athens*, p. 347) that the two boards may have occasionally worked

estates, and of these only two are sufficiently well preserved to yield much information.<sup>231</sup> The most important passage is contained in the first fifty-six lines of *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I (157/56 B.C.), which record a series of supplementary regulations for the administration of temple properties.<sup>232</sup> In lines 5-34 the lessees of all properties, estates or otherwise, are made responsible for all necessary repairs.<sup>233</sup>

as one body; this may well have been so, but it does not account for the fact that in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 78-81 there are only two officials named, not four. The alternative, favored by Day (*Econ. Hist. Athens*, p. 53, note 24), is to have one two-man board with two distinct functions. In any case, it appears that the title "Hieropoioi" was restricted shortly after 161/60 B.C. to minor officials (perhaps the sponsors) of certain festivals. In 144/3 B.C. the hieropoioi connected with the Apollonia numbered more than twenty (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2593, lines 2-15) and in 127/6 B.C. the hieropoioi of the Romaia numbered twenty-two (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2596). The hieropoioi of the Apollonia in 119/8 B.C. numbered twenty-two (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2598, lines 35-58) and on that occasion their responsibility consisted in supplying oil (*ibid.*, lines 4-5).

<sup>231</sup> The two important inscriptions are *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416 (B, I, lines 1-115; B, II, lines 1-68) and 1417 (B, II, lines 78-167; C, lines 1-98). The other four are *Inscr. de Délos* 1408 (which seems to have a reference to the estate Chersonesos in A, line 36) and three mutilated fragments, *Inscr. de Délos*, 1481, 1482, and 1483.

<sup>232</sup> These fifty-six lines have sometimes been called a *Hiera Syngraphē* (e. g.: 'Ἐρὰ Συγγραφῆ II, Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, pp. 87-109; ἱερὰ συγγραφῆ, Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1373, note 66. Roussel [*Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 145, 157, 160, etc.] and Tréheux [*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-45, p. 293] are more careful). That the lines do *not* contain a law of this sort is shown by *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, line 15 (cf. note 224) and by the first five lines of the passage, which indicate that the provisions are subject to revision by the will of the Athenian demos. The fifty-six lines are thus not a law but contain interpretations and extensions of the law on specific points, and may be compared to high court decisions of modern times. Roussel was inclined to believe on the basis of *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 63-66 that the regulations were drawn up by a second commission of the Areopagus (*Dél. col. ath.*, p. 160, note 5), but there is nothing in the inscription elsewhere to support this, and the passage he cites unfortunately makes little sense as it now stands; the words διὰ τὸ ἐποχὴν καὶ ΕΠΙΔΙΓΑΩΝ (or perhaps better ΕΠΙΔΙΓΑΩΝ) γεγόνεuai ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀ[ρε]ῖου πάγου are especially tantalizing. It seems more likely that the reference to the Areopagus is concerned with the commission of 166 B.C. (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1403, Bb, I, lines 23-28).

<sup>233</sup> In the Period of Independence repairs of houses were the responsibility of the hieropoioi (cf. Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* pp. 56 ff.), and, as Roussel points out (*Dél. col. ath.*, p. 163), the change was probably due to the fact that houses were in demand in the early years of the colony and the temple authorities could afford to be less generous. In the case of estates, however, the lessees had always been responsible for repairs (cf. pp. 272-74). Lines 5-19 read: "The lessees are to make repairs, substituting the same (type of) wood in place of worn out woodwork, whatever it was that was furnished, wood either for houses or buildings, or for beams, crossbeams, or planks; and such houses or buildings that have ceiling coffers or pointed roof timbers or a crossbeam or floor planking either broken down or [---], they are to repair according to what has been damaged. Similarly (they are to make repairs) according to what has been damaged if a wall be crumbling or [---] or fallen, whether it be a wall built of uncut stones or one of brick. Similarly also in the case of houses or workshops which have tiled roofs they are to replace tiles that have crumbled, and whatever houses or buildings or workshops or shipsheds or warehouses, or farm buildings either in *choria* or belonging to *kepoi*, contain plastering, they will furnish the (new) plaster [---] and let them dig [---] of earth. And whatever walls are [---] the sacred [---] they are to put them up, and whatever doors are worn out (the lessees) are to repair them. If there are no doors, the lessees are to put doors on whatever houses or buildings there are that have none."

Lines 40-42 state that lessees “owe instalments every three months to those who have been appointed by the [demos] to guard the sacred monies: the instalments are to be paid into the public bank.”<sup>234</sup> Lines 42-45 read “the lessees are to receive the *kepoi* from the men (in charge of sacred properties), and also the vines and fig trees and olive trees, and are to hand over precisely the same number (when their leases terminate). If they do not hand over some of them, the one who fails to hand them over is to pay [---] drachmas for each vine and fig tree and wild fig tree and olive tree.”<sup>235</sup> Lines 45-46: “it is not permitted to allow sheep in the vineyards: if this is not observed, (the lessee) is to pay two hundred drachmas each year.” Lines 46-50: “it is not permitted lessees of houses or *choria* or *kepoi* to lease a second or *chorion* or *kepos*, or to sublease to someone else, but lessees are to dwell in (their leased properties)<sup>236</sup> themselves. If anyone is caught doing any of these things, he is to pay a fine of five hundred drachmas.”<sup>237</sup> Lines 50-54 read “if anyone goes bankrupt or

<sup>234</sup> This regulation is more stringent than the annual payment required in the Period of Independence, and doubtless reflects the change in the nature of the population: the new comers to Delos seem to have been less stable and sudden departures from the island frequent. Instalment payments were evidently designed to keep bad debts to the minimum (cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 162). Instalments were due in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months of the year. This can be ascertained from new leases issued because of non-payment of rent in different months of the year 157/6 B.C. The first group of such leases were issued in the second month (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 57-74) and the next in the fifth month (*ibid.*, lines 74-96), thus showing that instalments fell due in the first and fourth months. In line 97 of the same inscription the restoration seems to be [Ἀνθεστηριώνο]ς and in B, II, line 1 [Ἐαργηλιών]ος (the space on the stone is exactly what is required). The lease issued in the intercalary month Posideon II (B, I, lines 111-115) was not caused by a default in rental, and therefore was irregular in cause as well as time. For the public bank, cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177; Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 358; Day, *Econ. Hist. Athens*, p. 59.

<sup>235</sup> The passage merely indicates the penalty for failure to maintain the number of vines and fruit trees: nothing is said about replacements. Either replacements were not required, or, more probably, they had been made obligatory in the law of the commissioners.

<sup>236</sup> Day (*Econ. Hist. Athens*, pp. 59-60) understands ἐνοικεῖν to mean “dwell on the island,” i. e., on Delos. This does not make allowance for lessees of Rheneian estates, or for P. Aemilius and G. Annius, who were specifically instructed to build an adequate dwelling (ἐποίκιον ἱκανόν) for themselves on the isthmus of Mykonos (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, line 12).

<sup>237</sup> In line 50, restore τ[ιμὴν] (“fine”). The regulation was intended to forestall speculation in real estate at the expense of the Temple of Apollo (cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 162). A provision to this effect seems not to have existed in the Period of Independence, for there are occasional examples in the records of the hieropoioi of a lessee of an estate leasing other property also. In 279 and 278 B.C. Aristeides, son of Aristeas, was lessee of both Hippodromos and Lykoneion (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 11 and 14-15; 162, A, lines 10-11 and 13). Amnos, son of Hierombrotos, leased both an estate and a house in 191 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76; 400, line 15; for other possible instances, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2: 158, lines 14 and 18-19; 287, A, lines 31 and 37; 287, A, lines 38 and 138; *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 5-6, 12, and 22). Under the Athenians it was evidently not illegal to lease two pieces of temple property at one time, but only two properties that both afforded places of domicile. In 157/6 B.C. Serambos, son of Heraippos, leased an estate and a workshop (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B; I, lines 98-99; II, lines 50-51. An *ergasterion* presumably included no living quarters, except perhaps for slaves (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2747 and 2748).

dies within the time (his lease is in effect), the men (in charge of temple properties) are to collect (the rentals) from what he leaves behind and from his guarantors, and are to issue new leases for the houses and workshops and *choria* and shipsheds and apartment buildings (?) for the remaining years of the five-year leasing period.”<sup>238</sup>

After 166 B.C. the former names of most of the estates fell into disuse and a new nomenclature was introduced; hence few of the old estates are recognizable in the Athenian Colonial Period.<sup>239</sup> The new regime also listed temple estates in two categories, *choria* and *kepoi*;<sup>240</sup> the records of 157/6 and 156/5 B.C. contain leases issued for nine *kepoi* and five *choria* as well as leases for four other estates whose classification is not clear and for a new estate on the isthmus of Mykonos. If it may be inferred that all estates that are not stated to have been elsewhere were situated on Delos, there are preserved records of sixteen estates on Delos, two on Rheneia, and one on Mykonos. The increase in the number of Delian estates from ten to at least sixteen may be accounted for partly by the acquisition of new properties by the temple and partly by the subdivision of some of the old estates.<sup>241</sup> That the nineteen estates of which we have knowledge was not the total number that existed under the Athenians is virtually certain. The lessees and rentals of the nineteen have been conveniently

<sup>238</sup> The phrase ἐκ τῶν καταλει[φ]θέντων (lines 51-52) may be taken to refer either to a dead lessee's property or to his heirs, or to both.

<sup>239</sup> Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 404-5. To the three estates he mentions, add Hippodromos, which was subdivided (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 114-117), the new estate on the isthmus of Mykonos (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 5-13), and possibly Chersonesos (see note 231) and Sosimacheia (see note 149).

<sup>240</sup> The distinction between *χωρία* and *κῆποι* is uncertain. The distinction can scarcely have been one of size, since the greatest and smallest rentals recorded are both for *choria*. Nor does it appear that the *kepoi* were Delian and the *choria* Rheneian, for Panormos and Dionysion are specifically described as situated on Rheneia, thus implying that other *choria* were on Delos. Roussel suggests (*Dél. col. ath.*, p. 157, note 1) on the basis of *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, line 14 that the only walls on the *kepoi* were enclosure walls, whereas *choria* had other walls (presumably of farm buildings); he thus infers that a *kepos* was an enclosed field that contained no buildings. This, however, seems contradicted by *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 47-49, where lessees of *kepoi* as well as of *choria* are instructed to dwell on the properties they lease. It seems more probable that *kepoi* were estates whose revenues were derived entirely from arable land (vines, grain, fruit trees), whereas *choria* in addition to arable land contained grazing areas. The distinction in the Period of Independence between breeders of livestock and other lessees (pp. 277, 278) shows that categories based on this criterion might have been a convenience, and the word *κῆπος* nearly always refers to a plot of land under cultivation, whereas *χωρίον* means merely a section of the countryside (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.* *κῆπος*, *χωρίον*, and *χώρος*).

<sup>241</sup> For subdivided estates, see notes 239 and 149. As to new properties, an apartment house of the Mapsichidai (an old Delian trittys, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 12) was certainly one (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 74-79) and the two *kepoi* of the Theandridai (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 103-107 and 138-141) were probably two more. The *chorion* of the Pyrrhakidai (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 57-63) may also have been new. Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 158-59.

tabulated by Roussel. Most of the lessees were Athenians, but a few were citizens of other states; two of the earliest lessees were slaves,<sup>242</sup> and one a native Delian who had somehow escaped expulsion.<sup>243</sup>

How the temple estates fared after the year 152/1 B.C., in which the leases issued in 156/5 B.C. expired, is not known, but we may presume that all the estates did not cease to be temple property for a considerable time. There is a record of a sale of one of the temple-owned houses that dates as early as 162/1 B.C.,<sup>244</sup> and it seems probable that as the demand for new building lots increased with the expansion of the city, the Temple of Apollo later sold some of its estates. Indeed, this appears to be verified by the case of the “*kepos* near the Letoön,” for the area in the vicinity of the Letoön is now filled with remains of late second century buildings.<sup>245</sup> On the other hand, there is no indication of any real estate development on the Rheneian estates. The discovery on the estates of stamped amphora handles,<sup>246</sup> some of which date as late as the early first century B.C., shows that some estates continued to be used as late as the sack of Delos in 88 B.C. There is literary evidence for this also, for Poseidonius records that in that year, on the occasion of the defeat of the Athenians at Delos by sympathizers of Rome, the Roman leader Orbilius “observed many fleeing for refuge into farmhouses (*εις ἐπαύλεις*) and burned them up, houses and all.”<sup>247</sup> Whether any of these farmhouses were temple property at that time is not known. Later in the same year Delos was sacked by Mithradates’ general Archelaus, and in 69 B.C. the island was again sacked by pirates.<sup>248</sup> If some of the temple estates had lasted after 88 B.C., it is virtually certain that they were abandoned after 69 B.C., and although Delos continued to be inhabited as a “ghost town” until after the age of the Antonines,<sup>249</sup> it is unlikely that the estates were ever rehabilitated.

<sup>242</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 99-100 and 104. It thus appears that slaves were permitted at this time to invest in real estate as well as to own property and practice some trade or craft. Cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 417; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 1465, note 27; 1467, note 30; and especially W. L. Westermann, “Sklaverei” (*P.-W.*, Suppb. VI, 894-1068, at cols. 927-934).

<sup>243</sup> Cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 100-103; 1417, B, II, line 95; Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 18, note 1. He was evidently given Athenian citizenship, for he was enrolled in the deme Acharnai.

<sup>244</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1408, A, II, line 46.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 205-225.

<sup>246</sup> See above, note 215.

<sup>247</sup> Athenaeus, V, 215, a. For the events at Delos in 88 B.C., cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 445-47; Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 317-327.

<sup>248</sup> Phlegon of Tralles, in F. Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, IIB, p. 1164, no. 12, line 13 (= Müller, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 606, no. 12).

<sup>249</sup> Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 336-40; Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, pp. 268-71; Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 68.

## THE LESSEES OF THE TEMPLE ESTATES, 314-166 B.C.

The large number of lessees of the temple estates that are known to have had leading roles in public affairs at Delos, and the large number who served as guarantors of contracts and whose credit was good for loans of considerable size, show that for the most part the lessees were men of high social standing and considerable wealth. To such men agriculture was regarded as a field for investment rather than a means of livelihood. The family depicted by M. Lacroix (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, pp. 188-237) consisted chiefly of men who were primarily lumber merchants, and to them the leasing of estates was probably a secondary interest. This family was more active in investing in estates in the first half of the third century than it was later, a fact that suggests that after the middle of the century the temple estates were losing ground to other types of investment.

Whenever the patronymic of a lessee is known but is not contained in a particular reference, that reference has been listed *in italics*. In cases where the lessee's patronymic is unknown, any identification is, of course, uncertain, but the number of men at Delos wealthy enough to afford investments in temple estates was probably never large, so that even when no patronymic is known, identification is often plausible. For example, it is probable that the Dionysios who leased Nikou Choros in 279 B.C. was the same Dionysios who leased a house from 274 to 258 B.C. (cf. number 78), but he is almost certainly not identical with the workman Dionysios who was hired to cut down olive trees in 281 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 49). In the following catalogue of lessees, the reference "Lacroix" refers to the list given in *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, pp. 222-237; the reference "Molinier" to the lessees of Delian houses listed in *Les "maisons sacrées" de Délos*, pp. 93-104. Square brackets indicate that the passage cited is largely restoration.

1. Ἀγασικλῆς. Lessee of Soloe in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, lines 2-3).

2. Αἰσχρων Καλοδίκου. Lessee of Porthmos in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 102). Guarantor in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 103); mover of a decree ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 745, line 2). A worshipper of Sarapis, to whom his father was priest (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 1223, line 9; 1124, line 5).

3. Ἀκριδίων Διονυσόδωρου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 258, 250, and 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 16; 287, A, line 33; 287, A, lines 179-180). *Archon* in 240 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 298, line 70; 313, line 59; etc.).

4. Ἀ[λθ]αιμένης [Ἀλθ]αιμένου. Lessee of Dionysion in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 80-81).

5. Ἀλκίμαχος Ἀντικράτους. Lessee of Phytalia in ca. 175, 173, 171, and 169 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 452, lines 24-26; 456, A, lines 11-12; 460, u, line 24; 467, line 8). *Archon* in 168 B.C. (Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 345).

6. Ἀλκίμαχος. Lessee of Hippodromos in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 26; 372, A, line 16). Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 206 B.C. (368, line 28). Sitones and donor in 200 B.C. (370, lines 37 and 44).

- 7.** \*Αλκιμος. Lessee of Panormos in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 8; 354, line 36). An unpublished grave stele from the cemetery of Rheneia (now in the Mykonos Museum, serial number 10) reads \*Αλκιμος Θεοτίμο. The lettering is from the early second century, and since the name Alkimos is rare at Delos, the identity of the dead man with the lessee seems probable.
- 8.** \*Αμνος Ίερομβρότου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 192 and 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, lines 75-76; 403, lines 51-53). Guarantor in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 125) and in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, line 52); lessee of a house in 191 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, line 15); trictyarch in 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, lines 152-53). Dedicator of a statue to Anubis (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1232, line 2). Lacroix, Amnos IV; Molinier, no. 6.
- 9.** \*Αμφέας \*Αριστέου. Lessee of Soloe in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 4-5). Brother of no. 37, no. 38, and no. 91.
- 10.** \*Αμφίστρατος. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 284, 283, and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, lines 16-20; [157, A, line 5]; 158, A, line 14). Probably identical with \*Αμφίστρατος \*Υψοκλέους, who was a debtor in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 39-40), and whose father was archon in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 1 and 25).
- 11.** \*Αμφοτερός. Lessee of Chareteia in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 9). He paid the largest annual rental known for any temple estate (3111 dr.). Father of no. 36.
- 12.** \*Ανάξανδρος Νεοκροντίδου. Lessee of Kera-meion in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 150). *Epistates* in 176 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 133, line 35). Brother of no. 163. Possibly great-grandson of no. 164. His son may have been a building contractor (*Inscr. de Délos*, 462, A, line 18).
- 13.** \*Αναψικτίδης. Lessee of Korakiai in 283 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 157, A, lines 4-5; 158, A, lines 12-13). Lessee of Akra Delos in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 12). Winner of a lawsuit in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, B, lines 28-31); lessee of a house in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 17); listed among business men in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 165, line 46); building contractor in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 109; 199, C, lines 27-40). Molinier, no. 8. A marble funeral urn from Rheneia, now in the Mykonos Museum (unpublished: no serial number) reads \*Ανφικλείδης \*Αναψικτίδου χαίρε. The lettering seems to be late third century B.C.
- 14.** \*Ανεκτος \*Αντιγόνου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 204, line 11). Son of no. 16; grandfather of no. 15. Lacroix, Anectos II.
- 15.** \*Ανεκτος \*Αν[τυγόνου]. Lessee of Dionysion in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 9; 354, line 39; 356 bis, A, line 10). Debtor in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, lines 65-66). Lacroix, Anectos III. Grandson of no. 14; father of no. 17.
- 16.** \*Αντίγονος \*Ανέκτου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 282, 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 10; 161, A, line 8; 162, A, lines 6-7; 199, A, 4). Father of no. 14; great-grandfather of no. 15; great great-grandfather of no. 17. Lacroix, Antigonos IIIC.
- 17.** \*Αντίγονος \*Ανέκτου. Lessee of Panormos in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 105-106). Son of no. 15. Lacroix, Antigonos VC.
- 18.** \*Αντίγονος \*Αντιγόνου του Τηλεμνήστου. Lessee of Limnai in 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 148; 456, A, line 13; 459, line 41). Great-grandson of no. 22. Lacroix, Antigonos ζ.
- 19.** \*Αντίγονος Διδύμου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 151-153; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 16). Guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 131); lumber merchant in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 174). Lacroix, Antigonos IVB.
- 20.** \*Αντίγονος Μενύλλου. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, lines 22-23). Debtor in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, line 28).

- 21.** Ἀντίγονος Νικ[---]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 441, line 13).
- 22.** Ἀντίγονος Τηλεμνήστου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-45; [*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 16-17]). Debtor in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, line 43). Great-grandfather of no. 18. La-croix, Antigonos γΒ.
- 23.** Ἀντίγονος Χαριστίου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 77). Epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 132); guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 22 and 29) and ca. 185 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 35); borrower ca. 185 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 26); tax-collector and debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos* 442; A, line 155; D, line 20); banker in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 455, Ab, line 18). Mover of two decrees (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 813, lines 1-2; 815, lines 1-2). He erected a statue in honor of his father (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1180, line 1). His grandfather, Ἀντίγονος Χαριστίου, was archon in 255 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 116, line 1). Father of 247.
- 24.** Ἀντίγονος. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 4; [354, line 39]).
- 25.** Ἀντικράτης Ξενομήδους. Lessee of Porthmos in 303 and 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 144, A, line 11; 149, lines 8-9). President of the assembly early in the third century (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 732, line 6). Brother of no. 168 and no. 188.
- 26.** Ἀντικράτης Τιμησιδήμου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 24; 204, line 8). Debtor in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, 161, A, line 42); choregos in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 108, line 14); logistes in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 63). Son of no. 223; brother of no. 245. His son, Ἀντικράτης Ἀντικράτους, was choregos in 265 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 111, line 14).
- 27.** Ἀντίρρητος [Ἀντιγόνου]. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 18). Guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 154).
- 28.** Ἀπατούριος Φέλ[vos]. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai ca. 175 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [452, lines 31-32]; 456, A, lines 20-21). Brother of no. 41 and of no. 233.
- 29.** Ἀπολλόδωρος Ε[-----]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 13).
- 30.** Ἀπολλόδωρος Ξενομήδους. Lessee of Porthmos in 282, 279, 278, 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 7; 161, A, line 6; [162, A, line 5]; [199, A, lines 3-4]; 203, A, line 19; 204, lines 6-7). Possibly the son of no. 176.
- 31.** Ἀπολλόδωρος [Φωκαίως]. Lessee of Lykoneion ca. 214 B.C. and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [356, line 13]; 356 bis, A, line 9). Treasurer (?) of the city in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, line 9); councillor in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, lines 12-13). Brother of no. 201.
- 32.** Ἀπολλώνιος Κρήσωνος. Lessee of Dionysion in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 148; [456, A, line 14]).
- 33.** Ἀπολλώνιος. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 258, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, 17; 287, A, lines 31 and 176; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 15).
- 34.** Ἀρησίμβροτος Νικάνδρου. Lessee of Charoneia in 199, 192, and 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Aa, line 1; 399, A, line 80; 403, line 48). Lessee of Leimon in 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 147; [456, A, lines 10-11]; 459, line 40). Brother of no. 141. For the stemma of his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 344.
- 35.** Ἀρησίμβροτος Πολυξένου. Lessee of Panormos in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 22; 204, line 17). Winner of an athletic contest ca. 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1157, line 1). Father of no. 199.
- 36.** Ἀριστέας Ἀμφοτεροῦ. Lessee of Limnai in 282, 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 10; 161, A, line 7; 162, A, line 6; 199, A, line 5). Lessee of a house in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 8). His son, Ἀμφοτερός

'Αριστέου, was archon in 228 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 371, A, line 16; etc.); his grandson, 'Αριστέας 'Αμφοτεροῦ, was a choregos in 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 128, line 11); his great-grandson, 'Αμφοτεροῦς 'Αριστέου, was a hieropoios in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 1). Molinier, no. 23. Son of no. 11.

**37.** 'Αριστέας 'Αριστέου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 11; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Probably the brother (possibly father) of no. 9, no. 38, no. 91, and of 'Επικύδης 'Αριστέου (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, line 81).

**38.** 'Αριστείδης 'Αριστέου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 297, 282, 279, and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 149, line 2; 158, A, line 11; 161, A, line 11; 162, A, lines 9-10). Lessee of Lykoneion in 279 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 14-15; 162, A, line 13). Witness of a building contract in 297 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 502, A, line 29); secretary of the boule in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 71). Brother of no. 9, no. 37, and no. 91. Father of no. 39.

**39.** ['Αριστείδης] 'Αριστείδου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 5). Son of no. 38.

**40.** 'Αριστείδης. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 8). Lessee of a house in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 17). Possibly identical with no. 37, but more probably was 'Αριστείδης Χαρίλα, choregos in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 106, line 9). Lacroix, Aristeides I; Molinier, no. 24.

**41.** 'Αριστίων Φέλνος. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 146). Brother of no. 28 and no. 233.

**42.** 'Αριστόβουλος. Lessee of Porthmos in 313 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 24-26). Father of no. 145.

**43.** 'Αριστόβουλος. Lessee of Soloe in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 13). Probably to be identified with 'Αριστόβουλος Λυσιξένου, son of no. 145 and grandson of no. 42, who was priest

of Asklepios in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, D, lines 3-6). Another possibility is 'Αριστόβουλος Μενεκράτους, choregos in 255 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 116, lines 9-10) and guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 162). Molinier (no. 25) lists an Aristoboulos who was lessee of a house from 272 to 242 B.C., but the identity of this man (if it is the same lessee for thirty years) is not known.

**44.** 'Αριστόδικος 'Αντικράτους. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 199, A, line 5; 203, A, line 20; 204, lines 9-10). Debtor in 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A, line 36); choregos in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 110, lines 14-15). Brother of no. 223. His son, 'Αντικράτης 'Αριστοδίκου, was a guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 172).

**45.** 'Αριστόδικος 'Αρ[ε]στοκράτους. Lessee of Soloe ca. 305 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 5-6).

**46.** 'Αριστόδικος Λυκάδου. Lessee of Dionysion in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 104). Went bankrupt before 205 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 40), but the restoration of *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 33 is doubtful, since it makes a certain Timostratos pay on behalf of Aristodikos in 206 B.C., whereas the guarantors named in the previous year were Phillis and Elpines (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 105).

**47.** 'Αριστόδικος. Lessee of Phoinikes in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 11-12). Possibly identical with no. 44.

**48.** 'Αριστόπαππος Τέλλιος. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 100-101). Epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 132). His father, Τέλλης 'Αριστοπάππου, was the mover of a decree ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 639, lines 1-2).

**49.** 'Αρχανδρος. Lessee of Hippodromos, ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 9-12). Father of no. 170.

**50.** 'Αρχεδάμας 'Αρχεδάμα. Co-lessee of Skitoneia in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19). Son of no. 51 and brother of no. 155.

- 51.** Ἀρχεδάμας Κτησικλείους. Lessee of Skitopenia in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 161-62). Died before 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19). Father of no. 50 and no. 155.
- 52.** Ἀστέας. Lessee of Nikou Choros, ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 4; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 232).
- 53.** Αὐτοκλήης Τελέσωνος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-37). Lessee of Limnai in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 157). Choregos in 259 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 115, lines 4-5); guarantor in 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, line 31); borrower in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 126); mover of a decree in honor of his father, ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1022, line 1). Died before 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 12-13, 18, and 33). Lacroix, Autocles II. Son of no. 220; father of no. 130.
- 54.** Αὐτοσθένης. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 15). Lessee of Dionysion in 301 and 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 146, A, line 11; 149, lines 6-7).
- 55.** Ἀφροδίσιος Σωπάτρου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 149; 456, A, line 15).
- 56.** Ἀχαιὸς Ζηλομένου. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 192, 180, and 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, line 79; [441, line 12]; 442, A, line 150; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 242), but failed to secure guarantors for the year 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, lines 16-17). Paid interest in behalf of his father in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 47); debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 172). His father, Ζηλομένης Ἀχαιοῦ, was hieropoios ca. 235 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, line 15), and died ca. 210 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 724, bc, line 11). His grandfather, Ἀχαιὸς Ζηλομένου, was choregos in 259 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 115, line 9), and won an athletic contest ca. 260 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1162, line 1).
- 57.** Βόηθος Ὀρθοκλέους. Lessee of Kerameion in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76). Epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 89-90); guarantor ca. 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 37); hieropoios in 183 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, B, line 134; 443, Bb, line 58), debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines 20 and 57); treasurer in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 12). His grandfather, Βόηθος, was a lessee of the "house of Orthokles" in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 26-27; Molinier, no. 42).
- 58.** Βούλων Τύννωνος. Lessee of Chareteia in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 138-39). Lessee of a house in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 204, line 28); guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 179); mover of a decree and ambassador to Thessalonika ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 664, lines 1-2; 665, lines 1-2 and 26; 1053, lines 2, 12, and 25); archon in 234 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 320, B, lines 19, 26, 27, 30); epistates in 229 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 320, B, lines 63-64). His son, Τύννων Βούλωνος, was secretary of the hieropoioi in 217 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 355, line 3).
- 59.** Γέφυλλος Καρυστίου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, lines 147-148; 456, A, line 12). Treasurer in 197 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 67); guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 9-10). Husband of Aristagore and father of Xenokleides (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1186, lines 1-3). Lacroix, Géryllos (iv).
- 60.** Γέφυλλος Πιστοξένου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 279 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 15; 162, A, line 13). Guarantor for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, line 20); debtor in 279 B.C., in 257 B.C., in 253 B.C. and in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 28; 226, A, line 25; 274, line 20; 287, A, line 190). Guarantor in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, C, line 113). Lacroix, Géryllos III. Son of no. 193.
- 61.** Γλαῦκος Γλαύκου. Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 147). His father, Γλαῦκος Σκύλακος, was agoranomos in 297 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 500, B, line 18; 502, A, line 28) and mover of two decrees ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 518, line 3; 519, line 2).

- 62.** Γνωσίδικος Ἡρακλείδου. Lessee of Nikou Choros and Rhamnoi in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 14-15). Lessee of Limnai in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 12-13). Brother of no. 147; probably grandfather of no. 63. His father (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1163, line 2) seems to have been a Phoenician (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, line 45), and the family to have been grain merchants (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 27). His son, Ἡρακλείδης Γνωσιδίκου, was a debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 183), in 247 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 289, line 11), and in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 38).
- 63.** Γνω[σίδικος]. Lessee of an unknown estate, ca. 230 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 308, line 8; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-41). Probably the grandson of no. 62.
- 64.** Γοργ[ίας]. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos in 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 55).
- 65.** Δεξικράτης Ἀχαιοῦ. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 164; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). Brother of no. 102.
- 66.** [Δ]ήμαρχος. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, A, line 8; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 241).
- 67.** Δημέ[ας]. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 10). The name is common at Delos in the early third century; cf. Δ. Αὐτοκλέους (Lacroix, Demeas IIA), Δ. Εὐμήδους (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 21), Δ. Ἰτωνος (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 110, line 16), Δ. Κάτωνος (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 654, line 2), and Δ. Πυθοκλέους (Lacroix, Demeas IIB). Cf. also Demeas I, archon in 286 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 122, line 25; 155, b, line 7; etc.) and Demeas II, archon in 277 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 118, line 13; 164, A, line 1, etc.).
- 68.** Δημοκράτης [Θαρσιδίκου]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 314, A, line 36). Debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 194) and ca. 240 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 303, line 3). Son of no. 113; brother of no. 238.
- 69.** Δημόνους Σωσιδήμου. Lessee of Leimon in 209 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, line 21; 399, A, line 74). Treasurer of the city in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, line 12); hieropoios in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 138); debtor in 200, 194, and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 62; 396, A, line 28; 399, A, line 131). Son of Lacroix's Sosidemos IIB.
- 70.** Δημόστρατος Διογένου. Lessee of Skitoneia in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, lines 148-49; 456, A, lines 14-15). Treasurer in 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 405, line 26; 442, B, line 87); secretary of the city in 182 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 439, A, line 1). Possibly the brother of no. 150.
- 71.** Δίαυρος Διαιτῶν. Lessee of Hippodromos in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, lines 146-147; 456, A, line 10). Perhaps the great-grandson of no. 72.
- 72.** Δίαυρος. Lessee of an unknown estate, ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 152, A, line 7). Durrbach identifies him with Δίαυρος Ἀπολλοδώρου (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 41; 161, D, lines 82-83; 199, C, line 85; 203, D, lines 77-79; 226, A, line 24; *Inscr. de Délos*, 502, A, line 29), but he may also have been Δίαυρος the archon of 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 32) or the father of Φίλλης Διαιτῶν, archon of 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 109, line 1; 4, 580, line 2).
- 73.** Διάκριτος Καλλισθένους. Lessee of Phytalia in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, lines 22-23; 204, line 18). Lacroix, Diacritos II. Son of no. 126.
- 74.** Διακτορίδης [Θεωρύλου]. Lessee of Phoinikes in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 31). In 250 B.C. he was also a guarantor (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 41), debtor (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 129 and 188), banker (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, D, line 11), and lessee of a foundry (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 37). Hieropoios in 247 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 142), debtor in 231 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, lines 21 and 118). Died before 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 24 and 40). His son erected a monument ca.

200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1185, line 1). Lacroix, Diactorides II. Son of no. 118, father of 96.

**75.** Διακτορίδης Τλ[ηπολέμου?]. Lessee of Epistheneia in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 351, line 13; 353, *A*, lines 8-9; 354, line 37).

**76.** Δίδυμος Καλλιδικού. Lessee of Skitoneia in 279, 278, 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, *A*, line 10; [162, *A*, line 8]; [199, *A*, lines 4-5]; 203, *A*, lines 19-20; 204, lines 11-12). Hieropoios and guarantor for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158; *A*, lines 2-3; *B*, line 19).

**77.** Διογένης [Τελέσωνος]. Lessee of Chareteia in 252 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 275, *A*, line 17; 287, *A*, line 30). Guarantor in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 135), hieropoios in 231 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, line 1), guarantor for the city in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 12). Lacroix, Diogenes I.

**78.** Διονύσιος Αὔτοκλέους. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, *A*, line 9). Contractor for many various building enterprises, and lessee of a house from 274 to 258 B.C. For the references, cf. Lacroix, Dionysios II; Molinier, no. 59.

**79.** Διονυσόδωρος. Lessee of Leimon in 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, *A*, lines 32 and 148; [*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 14-15]). Probably father of no. 133.

**80.** Δόρκων. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 282 and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, *A*, line 8; 161, *A*, line 7). Died childless in 278 B.C. (162, *A*, line 6; cf. no. 134).

**81.** Ἐκέφυλος. Co-lessee of Chareteia in 258 B.C. ([*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, *A*, line 14]; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238), but went bankrupt in 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, *A*, lines 30-31). Debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, *A*, line 196).

**82.** Ἐλπίνης. Lessee of Skitoneia in 209 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, *A*, line 17; 356 *bis*, *B*, line 34 [cf. *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1932, p. 384]; 368, line 30). Hieropoios in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, line 18); died before 200 B.C.

(*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, *A*, line 15). To be identified either with Ἐλπίνης Κλεοδήμου, who was a guarantor in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, *A*, line 105), or with Ἐλπίνης Ἀκριδιῶνος, whose unpublished gravestone in the Mykonos Museum (serial no. 11: late third century lettering) reads Ἐλπίνης Ἀκριδιῶνος χαίρει. For his father, Ἀκριδιῶν Ἐλπίνου, cf. *I.G.*, XI; 2, 223, *A*, line 52; 2, 287, *A*, line 194; 4, 633, line 2.

**83.** Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Χαριλέοντος. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, *A*, lines 10-11). Lessee of Chareteia in 279, 278, 272, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, *A*, line 10; 162, *A*, line 9; 200, line 1; 203, *A*, line 19; 204, line 14). Choregos in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 110, line 14). His son, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Ἐμπεδοκλέους, was lessee of a house and a debtor in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353; *A*, line 25; *B*, lines 46-47: Molinier, no. 69).

**84.** Ἐμπεδος Ἀσβήλου. Lessee of Panormos in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, *A*, line 79). Guarantor in 200 B.C. ([*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, *Ab*, lines 2-3]); hieropoios in 187 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, *B*, line 106); archon in 186 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 2).

**85.** Ἐμπεδος Ξένωνος. Lessee of Akra Delos in 258, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, *A*, line 14; 287, *A*, lines 31 and 175; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 14). Lessee of a house ca. 230 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, *A*, line 62). Lacroix, Empedos I; Molinier, no. 71. Son of no. 180 and brother of no. 221.

**86.** Ἐμπεδος. Lessee of Akra Delos in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, *A*, line 13; 354, lines 37-38; [356 *bis*, *A*, lines 10-11]). Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [368, lines 31-32]; 372, *A*, line 17). Probably to be identified with Ἐμπεδος Ξένωνος, donor or epistates in 219 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 125, line 15) and thus grandson of no. 85 (so Lacroix, Empedos II); but he may have been Ἐμπεδος Διογένων, lessee of a house in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 16-17; Molinier, no. 72).

- 87.** Ἐπικύδης. Lessee of Limnai in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 10). In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, line 81, Ἐπικύδης Ἀριστέου and Ἐπικύ[δης Λ]υκόφρ[ο]νος are associated in 303 B.C. as joint guarantors; there seems no way of telling which Epikydes was lessee of Limnai and which was lessee of Pyrgoi (no. 88).
- 88.** Ἐπικύδης. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 5). See above, no. 87.
- 89.** Ἐργοτέλης. Lessee of Kerameion in 258 B.C., but went bankrupt the following year (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 15; 226, A, lines 35-36).
- 90.** Ἐρμάδας. Lessee of Soloe, ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 5-9).
- 91.** Ἐρμόδοτος Ἀριστέου. Lessee of Charoneia in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 14). Mover of a decree, ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 541, line 1). He died in bankruptcy before 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, line 24), and his heirs are listed as debtors down to the end of the Period of Independence (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 189; *Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 127; 372, A, line 170; 444, A, line 40; 463, B, line 4). Brother of no. 9, no. 37, and no. 38. His son, Ἀριστέας Ἐρμοδότου, was a debtor in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, B, line 97).
- 92.** Ἐρμων Κλεοκρίτου. Lessee of Leimon in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 3). Lessee of Phoinikes in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 10). Payer of interest in 312 B.C. (135, lines 26-27). His son, Κλεοκρίτος Ἐρμωνος, was a guarantor in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 12); cf. also no. 135.
- 93.** Ἐροπίων. Lessee of Skitoneia in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 6).
- 94.** Ἐτεοκλείδης. Lessee of Kerameion in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 13). Seller of a pig, ca. 276 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, line 22); lessee of a house in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 25-26). Lacroix, Eteocleides (i); Molinier, no. 78. Father of no. 120.
- 95.** Εὐβίος Θεοδότου. Lessee of Phytalia in 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 34 and 177; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 15).
- 96.** Εὐδήμος [Διακτορίδου]. Lessee of Leimon in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 11; 354, line 37). Lessee of a house in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 95); guarantor ca. 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 406, B, line 15). Debtor in 219, 218, 207, and 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, B, line 42; 354, line 45; 366, A, line 121; 442, A, line 175), and died in debt shortly before 174 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, B, line 30). Lacroix, Eudemos III; Molinier, no. 81. Son of no. 74.
- 97.** Εὐδικος Φιλιππίδου. Lessee of Kerameion in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 145).
- 98.** Εὐέλθων Λυσαγόρου. Lessee of Skitoneia in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 8-9).
- 99.** Εὐέλθων Νυκίου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 148; [456, A, lines 12-13]). Mover of a decree ca. 190 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 839, lines 1-2). His father, Νυκίας Εὐέλθωνος, was archon in 185 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 3), logistes in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, A, line 42), and a guarantor for the city in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 210). He was also a debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 167).
- 100.** Εὐθέας Μ[εν]ύλ[λ]ου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 172; wrongly restored in *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 240 as Εὐθέας Γ[ερύ]λ[λ]ου). Brother of no. 157.
- 101.** Εὐκλείδης. Lessee of Lykoneion in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17). May have been the son either of no. 204, no. 234, or no. 244.
- 102.** Εὐκτῆμων Ἀχαιοῦ. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 164; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). Listed as a debtor in 219, 207, 204, 200, and 177 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, B, lines 31-32; 366, A, line 117; 369, A, line 25; 372, A, line 177; 444, A, line 44). Brother of no. 65.

- 103.** Ἐδμήδης. Lessee of Lykoneion in 283 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 157, A, line 4; 158, A, line 13).
- 104.** Ἐχεκρατίδης [Θυμίου]. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 7; 354, line 35). Epistates in 202 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 128, line 60). His father, Θυμίας Ἐχεκρατίδου, was a guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 154) and hieropoios in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, line 2). Father of no. 119.
- 105.** Ζώπυρος Αὐτομέδοντος. Lessee of Akra Delos in 279, 278, 274, and ca. 272 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 13; 162, A, line 11; 199, A, line 6; 200, line 5).
- 106.** Ἡγέας Μένιος. Lessee of Phytalia in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 77). Treasurer in 195 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 14, 39, 42, and 45); sitones in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 72); guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 112).
- 107.** Ἡγῆμων. Lessee of Chareteia in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 7).
- 108.** Ἡγησαγόρας Ἀναξιμένους. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 278 and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, lines 116-120; 162, A, lines 7-8; 199, A, line 5). Secretary of the boule in 286 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 155, b, line 8); borrower for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 10-12); mover of a decree ca. 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 568, line 2); epimeletes in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 99). His son, Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησαγόρου, was the mover of a decree ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 618, lines 3-4). Father of no. 190.
- 109.** Ἡγίας. Lessee of Limnai in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 6; 354, line 36). Hieropoios in 220 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 354, lines 5 and 20; 460, t, lines 25-26); member of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐναπιστῶν (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 1228, line 6; 1229, line 5).
- 110.** Ἡραΐππων. Lessee of Thaleon in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 55). Possibly the son of Ὠκυνείδης Ἡραΐπ[πωνος], who was epistates in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, lines 2-3) and president of the assembly ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 759, lines 29-30).
- 111.** Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ἐρηναίεύς. Lessee of Dionysion in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 159-60; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19).
- 112.** Ἡ[ρ]ῶδης Θεοδώρου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 15; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Son of no. 116.
- 113.** Θεαρσίδικος. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 204, line 9). Father of no. 68 and no. 238.
- 114.** Θεοδωρίδης Ἐπικράτ[ο]ς. Lessee of Leimon in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 10).
- 115.** Θεοδωρίδης. Lessee of an unknown estate in 308 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 143, B, line 3). Probably identical with no. 114 (Durrbach so assumes in his restoration), but he may have been the son of Πύθεος Θεοδωρίδου, who was a debtor in 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 16) and epimeletes in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 150, A, line 9).
- 116.** Θεόδωρος Ἀριστάρχου. Lessee of Porthmos in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 10). Father of no. 112.
- 117.** Θεοστίας. Lessee of Charoneia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 9).
- 118.** Θεωρύλος Διακτορίδου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 279, 278, 274, and ca. 271 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 13; 162, A, lines 11-12; 199, A, line 6; 201, line 7). Choregos in 284 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 105, line 7) and in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 106, line 9). Lacroix, Theurylos II. Father of no. 74 and no. 237.
- 119.** Θυμίας Ἐχεκρατίδου. Lessee of Thaleon in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101). Debtor in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, line 21). Son of no. 104.
- 120.** Ἱερόμβροτος Ἐρεοκλείδου. Lessee of Kera-meion in 279, 278, 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 12; 162, A, line 10; 199, A, line 7; 203, A, lines 18-19; 204, line 13).

Lessee of Hippodromos in 258 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [224, A, line 17]; 287, A, line 32). *Epimeletes* in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 98). Lacroix, Hierombrotos IIB. Son of no. 94.

**121.** Ἱερός Φανοδίκου. Lessee of Panormos in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 7-8).

**122.** Ἰηκλῆς. Lessee of Panormos in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 9).

**123.** Ἰππακός Δηλίκου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 269, 268, and 262 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 23; 204, line 19; 223, A, line 38). His father, Δηλίκος Δριμάχου, was a metec, and was choregos in 282 and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 106, line 13; 108, line 16).

**124.** [Καλ]ίας Καλλίου. Lessee of Panormos, ca. 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 452, line 21). His father was possibly the Καλλίας Ἀντιπάτρου who was the mover of a decree ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 750, line 2).

**125.** Καλλί[ας]. Lessee of Soloe in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 10; cf. pp. 305 f.). Probably a brother of Lacroix's Antipatros I and son of Lacroix's Arignotos I.

**126.** Καλλισθένης Διακρίτου. Lessee of Phytalia in 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 14; 162, A, line 12; 199, A, line 7). Lessee of Phoinikes in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 23; 204, lines 18-19). Lessee of Skitoneia in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 137-38), but went bankrupt (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 26-27). Lacroix, Callisthenes IIA. Father of no. 73.

**127.** Καλλισθένης [Θεωρύλου]. Lessee of *Epistheneia*, ca. 285 B.C., but died before the end of 284 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 156, B, lines 7-12). *Architect* ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 23); archon in 302 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, b, line 7; cf. *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, p. 217, note 6); hieropoios in 298 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 2). Lacroix, Callisthenes I.

**128.** Καλλισθένης. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 16). Either

identical with no. 126 or, more probably, with Καλλισθένης Θεωρύλου, grandson of no. 127; guarantor in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 14-15), debtor in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 75), and guarantor and debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 41 and 129-131). Lacroix, Callisthenes IIB.

**129.** Καλλισθένης. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 219, 218, 210, 209, and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 10; 354, line 37; [356 bis, A, line 11]; 362, A, line 16; 368, line 32). Bankrupt in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 32) and debtor in 205 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 41). Probably identical with Lacroix's Callisthenes III.

**130.** Καλλίφαντος [Αὐτοκλέους]. Lessee of *Pyrgoi*, ca. 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 24). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 5). Died before the end of 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 24). Son of no. 53.

**131.** Κάσσανδρος Κατωνάνδρου. Lessee of Charoneia in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 149; [456, A, lines 19-20]).

**132.** Κερκίων. Lessee of Dionysion in 252 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 275, A, line 13; 287, A, line 26).

**133.** Κυνέας Διονυσόδωρου. Lessee of Phytalia in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 351, line 8; 353, A, line 13). Epistates in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 314, B, line 154); hieropoios in 217 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 16). Died before 206 B.C. (366, A, line 127; 372, A, line 176). Probably the son of no. 79.

**134.** Κλεινίας Ὀρθίου. Lessee of *Pyrgoi* in 278, 274, 269, 268, 258, and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 162, A, line 6; 199, A, line 4; 203, A, line 18; 204, line 12; [224, A, line 14]; 287, A, line 30). Heir of no. 80 (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A, lines 5-6).

**135.** Κλεόκριτος Ἰφιάνακτος. Lessee of Limnai in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 13). Dedicator of a votive offering to Hestia (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1285, lines 1-3). Was probably the archon

of 298 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, c, line 1), though the archon may have been Κλεόκριτος "Ερμωνος (cf. no. 92).

**136.** Κ[λ]εόκρι[τος]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 30). Possibly identical with Lacroix's Cleocritos III.

**137.** Κόνων. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai at the beginning of 219 B.C. but died during the year (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 6; 354, line 36). Probably identical with Κόνων Φωκαίεως, whose heirs are listed as debtors in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, lines 23, 26, and 27-28), and who was the mover of a decree ca. 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 625, line 2).

**138.** Κοσμάδης [Σήμων]. Lessee of Kerameion in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17). His son, Σήμος Κοσμάδου, was epistates ca. 225 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 346, B, line 11), president of the assembly ca. 225 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 693, line 20; [696, lines 3-4]), hieropoios in 216 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, B, line 21), and was given honorary citizenship in the Carian town of Theangela (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1054). His grandson, Κοσμάδης Σήμου, was epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, B, lines 5-7), hieropoios in 198 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 106), and archon in 197 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, B, line 54; *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, d, line 1).

**139.** Κριτόβουλος. Lessee of Phytalia in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 38). His son, Μελιχίδης Κριτοβούλου, was choregos in 179 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 130, lines 4-5) and hieropoios in 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442; A, line 74; B, lines 2 and 216).

**140.** Κυνθιάδης [Τελέσωνος]. Lessee of Limnai in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 26). His lease for Rhamnoi for the decennium 249-40 B.C. was cancelled (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 153). President of the assembly some time between 240 and 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 664, lines 18-19; 665, line 25). Died between 224 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 338, Aa, line 7;

354, line 55). His son, Κυνθιάδης Κυνθιάδου, was president of the assembly ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 745, line 32; 746, lines 18-19).

**141.** Λάμπρων Νικάνδρου. Lessee of Porthmos in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, lines 102-103; 368, line 29). Lessee of Skitonia in 199 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Ab, line 7; 399, A, line 80). Guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 3-4). Brother of no. 34. For his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 344.

**142.** Λεώνυμος. Lessee of Lykoneion in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 11).

**143.** Λυκομήδης Κριτ[ίον]. Co-lessee of Nikou Choros in 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, lines 16-19). Guarantor ca. 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 27). Father-in-law of no. 247. His father, Κριτίας Λυκομήδου, was president of the assembly ca. 210 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 706, line 22). For his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 205.

**144.** Λυσής Σίμος. His lease for Kerameion for the decennium 249-40 was cancelled in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 145). His father, Σίμος Λύσου, was a guarantor in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 12).

**145.** Λυσίενος Ἄριστοβούλου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 303 B.C. ([*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 16]). Archon in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, line 46). Son of no. 42 and father of no. 43.

**146.** Λυσίενος. Lessee of Kerameion in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 14-15; 354, line 36; 356 bis, A, line 9).

**147.** Μαισιιάδης Ἡρακλείδου. Lessee of Panormos in 303 and 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 144, A, line 12; 149, lines 5-6). Bankrupt post 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, A, lines 15-17). Of Phoenician descent (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, line 45). Brother of no. 62.

**148.** Μάχων Πραξιμένο[υς]. Lessee of Charoneia in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 9). Brother of no. 153.

- 149.** *Μελιχίδης Σιλῆ[νου]*. Lessee of Epistheneia in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, lines 9-10). Brother of no. 209.
- 150.** *Μελ[ήσιπ]πος [Διογ?]*ένου**. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos ca. 182 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, line 22; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244). Possibly a brother of no. 70.
- 151.** *Μελήσιππος ὁ Ἐρηναίεύς*. Lessee of Charoneia in 279 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 10-11; 162, A, line 9).
- 152.** *Μελήσιππος ὁ Ἐρηναίεύς*. Lessee of Skitoneia in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 7-8; 354, line 36). Co-lessee of Limnai in 199 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Aa, lines 10-15; 399, A, line 81). Lessee of work buildings in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 17 and 22) and in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 32 and 33). Molinier, no. 107.
- 153.** *Μένανδρος Πραξιμένους*. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 135, line 11). In 297 B.C. he was one of seven guarantors for three merchants who borrowed 30,300 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 500, B, lines 14-15). Brother of no. 148.
- 154.** *Μενεθάλης*. Lessee of Hippodromos in 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, lines 51-52).
- 155.** *Μενεκράτης Ἀρχεδάμα*. Co-lessee of Skitoneia in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19). Creditor in 240 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 298, A, lines 187-190); died before 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, line 8). Son of no. 51 and brother of no. 50.
- 156.** *Μένεστρατος Τιμοστράτου*. Lessee of Epistheneia in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 146).
- 157.** *Μένωλλος [Μενώλλου]*. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 21). Guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 177). Brother of no. 100.
- 158.** *Μερόνυμος*. Co-lessee of Phytalia in 209, 206, and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, line 18; 368, line 26; 372, A, line 18).
- 159.** *Μίκων*. Lessee of Panormos in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 105).
- 160.** *Μησιμάχος Αὐτοκράτους*. Lessee of Chareteia in 257 and 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 226, A, lines 30-33; 287, A, lines 139-142). For his bankruptcy, see note 13.
- 161.** *Μουραγένης Καλλισθένους*. Lessee of Limnai ca. 252 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196). Debtor in 250 B.C., ca. 245 B.C., and 219 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 191 and 196; *Inscr. de Délos*; 291, f, line 12; 353, B, line 30; cf. 323, line 35). Died before 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, line 62). Lacroix, Moiragenes (i). Probably son of no. 128 (Callisthenes II B).
- 162.** *Ναξιάδης*. Lessee of Lykoneion in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [351, line 18]; 353, A, line 14). Bankrupt in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 38).
- 163.** *Νεοκροντίδης Νεοκροντίδου*. Lessee of Kerameion in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, line 21). Secretary of the hieropoioi in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 181). Brother of no. 12.
- 164.** *Νεοκροντίδης*. Lessee of Kerameion in 252 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [275, A, line 16]; 287, A, line 33). Possibly identical with *Νεοκροντίδης Βλεπύρου*, who was choregos in 282 and 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 106, line 11; 107, line 7).
- 165.** *Νέων Δημητρίου*. Lessee of Lykoneion in 180, 179, and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [441, line 12]; 442, A, line 150; 456, A, line 19). His father was probably the archon of 184 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 4).
- 166.** *Νησιώτης Δωριέως*. Lessee of Lykoneion in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76). His father was perhaps the archon of 238 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 124, line 52).
- 167.** *Νίκανδρος [Ἀγοράλλου]*. Lessee of Porthmos in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 10-11; 354, line 35). Choregos in 236 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 120, line 6); debtor in 207, 204, and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 127; 369, A, line 33; 372, A, line 53).

- 168.** Νικάνδρος [Ξενομήδ]ους. Lessee of Chareteia in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 11-12; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Brother of no. 25 and no. 188.
- 169.** Νίκαρχος. Co-lessee of Limnai in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 31).
- 170.** Νικόμαχος Ἀρχάνδρου. Lessee of Hippodromos ca. 305 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 9-12). Son of no. 49.
- 171.** Νικόμαχος Νικομάχου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 16). Co-lessee of Rhamnoi in 206, 200, and 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 25; 372, A, lines 10-11; [374, Aa, lines 20-24]). Lessee of Rhamnoi in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 81-82) and in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 397, B, 1-3). Co-lessee of Nikou Choros in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 25; 372, A, line 12). Guarantor in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, line 38) and in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, lines 33 and 42); treasurer in 203 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, B, line 18); borrower of large amounts ca. 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, lines 27, 36-37). Dedicator of a monument ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1176, line 4).
- 172.** Ξενοκράτης Ἀντιγόνου. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, lines 16-17). Co-lessee with no. 171 of Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 25; 372, A, lines 10-13). Co-lessee with no. 171 of Rhamnoi in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 20-24). Gave up lease before 192 B.C. (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 81-82). Mover of a decree, ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 714, lines 2-3). Lacroix, Xenocrates II. Cf. no. 175.
- 173.** Ξενοκράτης Ἱερομβρότου. Lessee of half of Chareteia for the single year 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 139-140). Hieropoios in 252 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 7-8); logistes in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 88-89); borrower for the city in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 124); mover of a decree ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 598, line 2). Debtor in 278, 269, 250, and ca. 248 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 162, A, line 28; 203, D, lines 47-50; 287, A, line 185; 289, line 13) and died in debt before 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, lines 11-12). Lacroix, Xenocrates I.
- 174.** Ξενοκράτης. Lessee of Phoinikes in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 4-5; 354, line 35).
- 175.** Ξενοκράτης. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 210 B.C. and ca. 193 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 356 bis, A, line 7; 399, A, line 78). Died before the end of 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 78); he may therefore have been identical with no. 172.
- 176.** Ξενομήδης. Lessee of Charoneia in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, lines 7-8). Possibly father of no. 30.
- 177.** Ξενομήδης. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 136).
- 178.** Ξενομήδης. Lessee of Hippodromos in 219, 218, 210, and 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 12; 354, line 38; 356 bis, A, line 11; 362, A, line 15).
- 179.** Ξένων Ξένωνος. Lessee of Chersonesos in 169 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 461, Bb, lines 54-55). Probably son of no. 181.
- 180.** Ξένων Τελέσωνος. Lessee of Epistheneia in 269, 268, and 262 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 21; 204, line 16; 223, A, lines 36-37). Borrower for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 23-24). Lacroix, Xenon a. Brother of no. 249. Father of no. 85 and no. 221.
- 181.** Ξένων Φερεκλείδου. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, lines 27-28; 372, A, lines 13-14). Guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, line 17); debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 169) and in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 455, Ab, line 16). Lacroix, Xenon IIIB. Son of no. 235; brother of no. 191 and no. 240.
- 182.** Ὀδοιτέλης. Lessee of Leimon in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, lines 20-21; 204, line 15).

- 183.** Ὀνομακλείδης Μησιλίω. Lessee of Dionysion in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 12).
- 184.** Ὀρθοκλ[ῆς] Ἄρισ[τεί]δ[ου]. Assigned the lease of an unknown estate, probably Lykoneion (cf. note 170) for the decennium 199-90 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, line 28), but not mentioned in the complete list of lessees of 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 74-82). Possibly the father of no. 57.
- 185.** Παρμενίων Χοιρύλου. Lessee of Dionysion in 282, 279, and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, lines 9-10; 161, A, line 8; 162, A, line 7). Father of no. 219.
- 186.** Παρμικὸς Ἐπικύδου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 145; 456, A, line 8; [459, line 39]).
- 187.** Παρμίσκος Διοδότου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 153). Brother of no. 194.
- 188.** Πασίτιμος Ξενομήδους. Lessee of Phoinikes in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 5-6). Lessee of Dionysion in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 13). Brother of no. 25 and no. 168.
- 189.** Πέλοψ. Lessee of Leimon in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 10).
- 190.** Περίανδρος Ἠγησαγόρου. Lessee of Epistheneia in 258, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [224, A, line 15]; 287, A, lines 31-32 and 178-79; *Inscr. de Délos*, [290, lines 15-16]). Choregos in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 114, line 13); astynomos and dedicator of a monument, ca. 255 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1144, line 2). Son of no. 108.
- 191.** Πιστήης Φερεκλείδου. Lessee of Akra Delos in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 146; 456, A, line 9). Debtor in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 39). Lacroix, Pistes IV. Brother of no. 181 and no. 240; son of no. 235.
- 192.** Πιστήης. Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 34). Treasurer in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 8-9 and
- 34). Probably identical with Lacroix's Pistes II, who was hieropoios in 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161; A, line 124; D, lines 107-108); guarantor for the city in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 74); and debtor in 269, ca. 255, 250, and 248 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 6; 274, line 21; 287, A, line 187; 289, line 18). He was a banker by profession (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 78; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 131).
- 193.** Π[ιστόξ]ενος. Lessee of Phoinikes in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 9; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 235). Debtor in 312 B.C. and ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, lines 19-20; 142, line 14). Father of no. 60.
- 194.** Πόλυβος Διοδότου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 24; 204, line 20). Epimeletes in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 89 and 92); guarantor in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 74); debtor in 282, 279, 278, 274, and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 29; 161, A, line 35; 162, A, line 25; 199, A, line 11; 287, A, line 184). Brother of no. 187.
- 195.** Πολύβουλος [Παρμενίωνος]. Lessee of Skitoneia in 258 and 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [224, A, line 16; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238]; 287, A, lines 137-38). Debtor in 278, 250, and ca. 248 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 162, A, line 43; 287, D, 27-28; 288, line 5). His son, Παρμενίων Πολυβούλου, was president of the assembly ca. 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 681, line 19) and mover of a decree ca. 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1025, line 1); he died before 208 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XXXIV, 1910, pp. 370, 373). A grandson, Πολύβουλος Παρμενίωνος, was hieropoios in 197 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 385, a, line 1).
- 196.** Πολύζηλος. Lessee of Porthmos some time between 297 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 14). Debtor in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, C, lines 2-3) and in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 14).
- 197.** Πολυκράτης. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai ca. 193 B.C. and died before the end of 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 75).

- 198.** Πολύκριτος. Lessee of Epistheneia in 284 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, lines 7-15; 158, A, line 12).
- 199.** Πολύξενος Ἀρησιμβρότου. Lessee of Panormos in 258 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 16; 287, A, line 30). Secretary of the city in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 3); guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167); borrower for the city in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 124); debtor in 246 and ca. 244 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 290, line 44; 291, m, line 10). Son of no. 35.
- 200.** Πολύξενος [Παρμενίωνος]. Lessee of Akra Delos in 206, 200, and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 31; 372, A, lines 11-12; 399, A, line 74). Archon in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 17; *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, d, line 6).
- 201.** Πολύξενος Φωκαίως. Lessee of Epistheneia in 199, ca. 197, 192, and 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, B, lines 15-16; 384, A, line 2; 399, A, line 75; 404, line 15). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, lines 3-4); president of the assembly ca. 185 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 820, line 13). His father, Φωκαίεὺς Πολυξένου, was a debtor in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 71). His grandfather, Πολύξενος Φωκαίως, was a debtor in 284, 279, 278, 274, 268, and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, A, line 8; 161, D, line 81; 162, A, line 28; 199, A, line 11; 204, line 90; 287, A, line 189). His great-grandfather, Φωκαίεὺς Πολυξένου, was archon in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 8) and choregos in 265 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 111, line 6). Brother of no. 31.
- 202.** Πόττος. Lessee of Dionysion in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 104).
- 203.** Προκλῆς. Co-lessee of Phytalia in 209 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [362, A, line 21]; 372, A, line 12).
- 204.** Πρόξενος Εὐκλείδου. Lessee of Leimon in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 4). Brother of no. 234 and no. 244.
- 205.** Πυθέας Φερεκ[λεί]δου. Lessee of Porthmos in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 12). Brother of no. 206 and no. 239.
- 206.** Πυθοκλῆς Φερεκλείδου. Lessee of Porthmos in 252, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 275, A, line 12; 287, A, lines 25 and 174; *Inscr. de Délos*; 290, line 17). Lessee of Nikou Choros in 250 and 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 26 and 155). Guarantor ca. 250 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 299, 287 bis, line 30); secretary of the city in 231 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, lines 9-10). Brother of no. 205 and no. 239. Lacroix, Pythocles II.
- 207.** Σαρπηδὼν Καρνείου. Lessee of Lykoneion and Hippodromos in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 3-4 and 6-7). His grandson, Σαρπηδὼν Καρνείου, was astynomos ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1296; A, lines 14-15; B, lines 13-14).
- 208.** Ξ[αρπη]δὼν Φιλοκράτου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 77 [the sixth letter of the name is completely preserved on the stone]). Possibly the father of Ὀλυμπιάδωρος Σαρπηδόνο[s], archon in 193 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, d, line 5), and of Σαρπηδὼν Σαρπηδόνος, choregos in 170 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 133, line 10).
- 209.** Σίληνος Σιλήνου. Lessee of Phytalia in 179 and ca. 176 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 373, A, line 31; 442, A, line 147; 452, line 24). Hieropoios in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442; A, line 1; B, line 151); guarantor in 175 and 170 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 38; 467, line 5). Brother of no. 149.
- 210.** Σκύλαξ Λεοντιάδου. Lessee of an unknown estate in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 441, line 14). Secretary of the hieropoioi in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 6); guarantor in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, line 52).
- 211.** Σκύμνος [Φανοδίκου]. Lessee of Lykoneion in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 3). Hieropoios in 298 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 2); treasurer ca. 289 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, B, line 101); mover of a decree ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1349, line 6).

- 212.** Στήσαρχος. Lessee of Panormos in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20).
- 213.** Στράτων. Lessee of an unknown estate ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 4).
- 214.** Στράτων. Lessee of Chareteia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 8). Mover of a decree ca. 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 583, line 2).
- 215.** Σωσίδημος. Listed among lessees, but probably a guarantor of Nikou Choros in 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, A, line 12). Debtor in 207 and 204 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 122; 369, A, line 29). Died before 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 247).
- 216.** Σώσιλος [Μησάκου]. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 5). Mover of a decree, ca. 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 581, line 4); choregos in 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 109, line 8).
- 217.** Σωσίστρατος Ἀμφίου. Assigned the lease of an unknown estate in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, B, line 6). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 9), archon in 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 128, line 1). His grandfather, Σωσίστρατος Ἀμφίου, was choregos in 265 and 263 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 111, line 20; [113, line 6]). His son, Ἀμφίας Σωσιστράτου, was a guarantor in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 34).
- 218.** Σωτάδας ὁ Κρής. Lessee of Panormos in 278 and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, line 113; 162, A, line 8; 199, A, line 4). Metec choregos in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 108, line 12).
- 219.** Τελέσανδρος Παρμενίωνος. Lessee of Panormos in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 8-9). Lessee of Dionysion in 274, ca. 273, 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 199, A, line 4; 200, lines 2-3; 203, A, lines 23-24; 204, line 7). Choregos in 263 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 113, line 7); debtor ca. 253 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 274, line 19). Son of no. 185. A brother, Πολύξενος Παρμενίωνος, was mover of a decree ca. 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 571, line 2), and died before 262 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 223, A, line 59).
- 220.** Τελέσων Αὐτοκλέους. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 279, 278, 274, and 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 12-13; 162, A, line 11; 199, A, line 6; 203, A, line 20). Secretary of the boule in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 3); epimeletes in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 91); debtor in 284 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, line 1; 162, A, lines 26, 31, 34, and 35). Honored by the demos of Chios with a gold crown and a bronze statue about the middle of the third century (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1022). Lacroix, Teleson IIB. Father of no. 53.
- 221.** Τελέσων Ξένωνος. Lessee of Chareteia in 258 and 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 14; 226, A, lines 30-31; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238). Choregos in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 114, line 15); guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 176). Son of no. 180; brother of no. 85. Lacroix, Teleson IIA.
- 222.** Τηλέμνηστος Ἀριστείδου. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos ca. 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 452, line 27). Lessee of a house in 192 and 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 400, lines 4-5; 442, A, line 140); debtor in 177 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 444, A, line 46). Mover of at least fifty decrees (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 751-798; 1024, 1032), including the famous Anaxibios decree (752) and a decree authorizing the sending of ambassadors to Rome, ca. 197 B.C. (756). Lacroix, Telemnestos IIIB; Molinier, no. 150. For his family, see Roussel's commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 4, 751.
- 223.** Τιμησίδημος Ἀντικράτους. Co-lessee of Chareneia in 274, 269, and 268 B.C.; sole lessee in 258, 257, and 251 B.C.; co-lessee in 250 B.C., in which year he went bankrupt (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [199, A, line 5]; 203, A, line 20; 204, line 9; 224, A, lines 13-14; 225, A, line 16; 287, A, lines 27-29 and 138-39). Treasurer in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 6-7); mover of a decree ca. 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 538, line 2); epimeletes in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 6, 70, 83, and 97). Brother of no. 44; father of no. 26 and no. 245.
- 224.** Τιμόξενος Τιμοξένου. Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines

151-152). Secretary of the hieropoioi in 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 3); *hieropoios* in 175 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 133, line 42; 134, line 15); archon in 170 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 133, line 1). His father was hieropoios in 221 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 8, 20, 21) and archon in 224 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 85); his brother, Δημήτριος Τιμοξένου, was archon in 184 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 4).

**225.** Τιμοξένος. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 31). Possibly identical with Τιμοξένος Ἀπολλοδώρου, mover of a decree ca. 260 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 610, lines 4-5).

**226.** Τιμοσθένης. Lessee of Limnai in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 19). Probably identical either with Τιμοσθένης Κλεοκρίτου, debtor and guarantor in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, lines 19 and 21), or with Τιμοσθένης Τιμο[—], epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 132).

**227.** Τληπόλεμος Ἄμνον. Co-lessee of Porthmos in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 78). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 4); honored in a decree of 187 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 768, a, line 2); president of the assembly ca. 185 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 789, line 26; 799, line 4; 800, line 11); mover of a decree ca. 180 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 801, line 2). Debtor in 179 and 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, C, lines 28-29; 449, B, line 35). Son of Lacroix's Amnos III.

**228.** Τληπόλεμος Κρίττιος. Co-lessee of Porthmos in 192 B.C. and sole lessee in 188, 179, and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, line 78; [404, line 17]; 442, A, line 151; [456, A, line 16]).

**229.** Φανόδικος Χαρ[ίλ]α. Lessee of Chareteia in 219, 218, 210, 209, and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 3; 354, line 35; [356 bis, A, line 6]; 356 bis, B, lines 40-41, for which see *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1932, p. 384; [*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 29]). Son of either Lacroix's Charilas IIA or his Charilas IIB. Father of no. 230.

**230.** Φανόδικος Φανοδίκου. Lessee of Chareteia in 192, 180, 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de*

*Délos*; 399, A, line 79; 373, B, lines 9-10; 442, A, line 151; 456, A, line 16; [459, lines 42-43]). See also *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 242-43. Son of no. 229, father of no. 246.

**231.** Φάνος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 18). For his family, see commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1080.

**232.** Φάνος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 219, 218, and ca. 214 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 11; 354, line 37; [356, line 15]). Died before 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, A, line 6). Identity with no. 231 seems improbable; cf. commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1080.

**233.** Φέλως Φέλως. Lessee of Panormos in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 149). Brother of no. 28 and no. 41.

**234.** Φερεκλείδης Εὐκλείδου. Lessee of Leimon in 282, 279, and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 11; 161, A, lines 11-12; 162, A, line 10). Hieropoios in 304 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 3); mover of a decree ca. 285 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 540, lines 2-3). Died between 278 and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 6). Brother of no. 204 and no. 244. His son, Εὐκλείδης Φερεκλείδου, was choregos in 265 and in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 111, line 9; 114, line 4).

**235.** Φερεκλείδης [Φιλονίκου]. Lessee of Charoneia in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 5; 354, line 35; 356 bis, A, line 10). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 5); lessee of buildings in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 95; 368, line 36); hieropoios in 203 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, B, line 19). Lacroix, Pherecleides IIB; Molinier, no. 155. Son of no. 239; father of no. 181, no. 191, and no. 240.

**236.** [Φί]λαρχος Δεξικράτους. Lessee of Skitoneia in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 14).

**237.** Φίλαρχος Θεωρύλου. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 149). Son of no. 118, brother of no. 74.

**238.** [Φίλ]ις Θαρσινδίκου. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 23:

the stone reads [...]*λιος*). Debtor *ca.* 250 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 299, 287 *bis*, line 24). Son of no. 113; brother of no. 68.

**239.** Φιλόνικος Φερεκλείδου. Lessee of Chareteia in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 169; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). Brother of no. 205 and no. 206; father of no. 235; grandfather of 181, 191, 240. Lacroix, Philonicos I.

**240.** Φιλόνικος Φερεκλείδου. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, lines 27-28; 372, A, lines 13-14). Debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 166). Brother of 181 and no. 191; son of no. 235; grandson of no. 239.

**241.** Φιλόνικος ὁ Ῥηναίεύς. Co-lessee of Limnai in 199 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Aa, lines 10-15; 399, A, line 81).

**242.** Φίλτης [Τληπολέμου]. Lessee of Phytalia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 14). Hieropoios in 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, B, line 1). Lessee of a house in 282, 279, and 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, lines 18-19; 161, A, line 23; 203, A, line 28). Debtor in 282, 279, 278, 274, 257, *ca.* 255, 250, and *ca.* 247 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 28; 161, A, lines 32-33; 226, A, line 25; 274, line 21; 287, A, lines 186 and 190; *Inscr. de Délos*, 291, *d*, line 24). Molinier, no. 159.

**243.** Φίλων. Lessee of Phoinikes in 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 *bis*, A, line 7).

**244.** Χάρης Εὐκλείδου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, lines 3-4). Debtor in 284, 282, and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, A, line 9; 156, B, lines 1-6; 158, A, lines 27, 29, and 30; 161, A, lines 31-32; 161, D, line 90). Brother of no. 204 and no. 234.

**245.** Χαρίλας Τιμησιδήμου. Lessee of Akra Delos in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 21; [204, line 16]). Son of no. 223; brother of no. 26; nephew of no. 44.

**246.** [Χαρίλ]ας [Φ]ανοδίκου. Lessee of Panormos in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, line 18). Son of no. 230 and grandson of no. 229.

**247.** Χαρίστιος Ἀντιγόνου. Co-lessee of Nikou Choros in 178 B.C. and sole lessee in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 445, lines 16-19; 456, A, line 17). Guarantor *ca.* 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 35); debtor in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 448, A, line 5). Dedicated a statue to his wife (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1184, lines 1-3). Son of no. 23; son-in-law of no. 143. For his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 205.

**248.** Χίων Λυκόφρονος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 303 B.C. but defaulted his contract (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144; A, line 13; B, line 72). Brother of either no. 87 or no. 88.

**249.** Χοιρύλος Τελέσωνος. Lessee of Epistheneia in 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 14; 162, A, line 12; [199, A, line 6]). Lessee of Limnai in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 22; 204, line 10). Debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 15-16), and in the same year paid interest (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 185) on a debt contracted by his father, Τελέσων Χοιρύλου, in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 12). Brother of no. 180.

**250.** Χοιρύλος. Lessee of Skitoneia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 9). Possibly identical with no. 249, but more probably Χοιρύλος Θαρσύνωντος, who was the mover of two decrees *ca.* 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 613, line 2; 614, line 2). The latter's son, Θαρσύνων Χοιρύλου, was hieropoios in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, B, line 92) and archon in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 114, line 1).

**251.** ΑΛ[---]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 25).

**252.** ΑΝΤ[---]. Lessee of Panormos, *ca.* 181 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244).

**253.** ΔΗΜ[---]. Lessee of Limnai, *ca.* 188 B.C. (see page 301).

**254.** Κ[---]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 169 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 467, line 4).

**255.** Α[---]. Lessee of Phoinikes in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, line 15).

- 256.** Στησι[---]. Co-lessee of an unknown estate in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, A, line 32).
- 257.** Τιμη[---]. Lessee of Charoneia in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 48).
- 258.** [---]δης Πολ[---]. Lessee of Panormos in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Ab, line 2).
- 259.** [---]δωρος. Lessee of Leimon, ca. 272 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 200, line 4).
- 260.** [---]λαρχος. Lessee of an unknown estate in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 314, A, line 39).
- 261.** [---]vos. Co-lessee of Limnai in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 31).
- 262.** [...]ξιμένης. Lessee of an unknown estate in 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 225, line 14).
- 263.** [---]ος. Lessee of an unknown estate in 209 B.C., paying a rental of 231 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 16).
- 264.** [---]ος. Lessee of Phoinikes in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 441, line 16).
- 265.** [---]πίδης. Lessee of an unknown estate, ca. 271 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 201, A, line 8).
- 266.** [---]χος. Lessee of an unknown estate in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 16).
- 267.** [---] [Με]νύλλου. Lessee of Chersonesos in 170 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 461, Bb, line 55).
- 268.** [---] [---]ίσωνος. Lessee of an unknown estate ca. 185 B.C., paying a rental of 229 dr. 3¼<sub>2</sub> ob. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 418, line 2; the passage is concerned with the rental of an estate, not of a house, for in the following line part of the rental of Rhamnoi is preserved: cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 401 bis, B).



1. Unpublished Mithraeum (?) in Rhencia



2. Rheneian Acropolis from South Tower



3. Columbarium in Rheneian Cemetery



4. Pyrgoi, Chareteia, and Southern Rhencia



5. Hippodromos from Plakes

PLATE 90



1. Ancient terraces, Akra Delos



2. Lower Thaleon Valley, Mykonos



3. Vineyards in Upper Thaleon



4. Rheneian Farmhouse with outside cellar



5. Cattle Shelter on Rheneia



6. Storehouse for Chaff on Delos